

**Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics,
Publication No. 25**

Poona

A Socio-Economic Survey,

Part II

BY

D. R. GADGIL,

Assisted by the Staff of the Institute.

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P R E F A C E

This publication represents the second volume of the report of the socio-economic survey of Poona City, the first volume having been published in 1945. The main facts relating to the inception and conduct of the work have been stated in the preface to the first volume and need not be reiterated. The time interval between the publication of the first and second volumes has been extraordinarily long, as was also the interval between the completion of the investigational work of the survey and the publication of the first volume. The reasons for the latter have been explained in the preface to the first volume. The reasons for the former are almost entirely personal. I had, from the beginning, been chiefly responsible for the planning and conduct of this survey; and the compilation and writing of the report had to depend to a large extent on the amount of time I could find to do the work. But in allotting this time, other work which came to be accepted later was given priority, as it came to be argued that a work which had been delayed so long could easily wait a little longer. The result was a series of cumulative delays. Also the increase in the population of the City after 1940 was so rapid and so many changes took place in important economic and social aspects and in living conditions within the City, that the 1937 data came to represent a picture at the end of a historical period, on the eve of large and striking new developments. From this point of view there appeared no great urgency about immediate publication of the data. Whatever that may be, it is to be deeply regretted that personal difficulties made it impossible to put forth this volume earlier. It is hoped that even so this somewhat unusual study of many aspects of social and economic life, on the eve of the war, in an important Indian City will be thought both interesting and instructive.

Reference has been made in the preface to the first volume regarding arrangements for the conduct of the survey. Mr. L. V. Gogate was in general charge of most of the field-work, and Mr. R. G. Kakade was entrusted with some special intensive surveys; the detailed work on Community Organizations, the results of which are incorporated in this volume was, for example, very largely Mr. Kakade's. Mr. Sovani also helped in the preparation of this volume by preparing drafts of many parts of the work. In drawing upon unpublished material from the Peshwa Daftar for tracing the development of the various wards and of the City as a

IV

whole, Mr. G. H. Khare of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhaka Mandal was requested to help and the data in these respects set out in the volume are the result chiefly of Mr. Khare's researches in the manuscript material at the Peshwa Daftar. The chapter on Poona City Municipality is the work of Dr. B. R. Dhekney.

Our acknowledgments for help in connection with the conduct of the investigation would have to be so numerous that it is impossible to make them in any detail, at this place. Our thanks are due to the authorities of the Poona City Municipality whose help alone made possible the launching of this work. Even though later events made the initial estimates of expenditure appear inadequate, it is due chiefly to the help given by the City Municipality that the work was accomplished. We have also to thank the authorities of the Suburban Municipality for the financial help given. The various Presidents of the City Municipality and a large number of councillors helped us by enabling us to form contacts with various trades and communities. The Presidents and councillors of the Suburban Municipality were similarly helpful. Above all, we obtained ready co-operation and assistance from prominent persons in most industries, trades, professions, etc. and from a large number of social, economic, educational and community organizations in the Poona area. It was this that made possible the collection of the varied and extensive data required by us. The staffs of the Municipalities were also extremely helpful in all aspects of our work. Among these we might make special mention of the help rendered by Mr. S. R. Bhagwat, Mr. Wable, Mr. Dalvi, Dr. Mohile, Mr. Kale and Mr. Khopkar. I record with thanks the help given by Mr. D. V. Ambekar, Secretary, Servants of India Society, in correcting proofs of the publication.

Gokhale Institute of Politics
and Economics,
8th December 1952,

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D. R. GADGIL.

CONTENTS

	PAGES
PREFACE	iii-iv
Chapter I— Development of the Town and the Wards	1-59
A Before 1820 p. 1, B After 1820. p. 12. Statistical Appendix p. 42.	
Chapter II— Wards and Communities	60—97
Section I—Wards p. 60 Wards and Occupations of Heads of Families p. 62. Wards and Family Income p. 62. Wards and Poverty p. 65 Wards and Communities p. 67. Section II—Communities p. 75. Incomes of Communities p. 78 Size of Family p. 81. Unemployment p. 84. Earner Status p. 86. Caste and Occupation p. 91.	
Chapter III— Housing	98-171
Historical Development p. 98. Data relating to number of houses in Poona p. 109. Movement of Population and Houses p. 111. Number of Storeys and Urban Concentration p. 123. Classes of Houses p. 130. Courtyards and Open Spaces. p. 135. Water-taps and Latrines. p. 138. Density in Tenements p. 141. House Ownership and House Rentals p. 150. Supply of housing for different classes. p. 155. Development of housing conditions and housing supply p. 157. Town Development and planning. p. 166. Note p. 169.	
Chapter IV— Community Organization	172-222
Characteristics of Indian Society p. 172. Caste or Community Bond p. 175. Characteristics of Caste Organization p. 176. Unit of Caste Organization p. 180. Panchayats and their Constitution p. 182. Two Recent Tendencies p. 184. Caste Activities : Old and New p. 185. Associations and Conferences p. 187. Functions of Caste Panchayats p. 188. Economic activities attempted p. 189.	

CHAPTER IV—	PAGES
<p>(Continued) Daivadnya Brahmin (Sonar) p. 192. Namdeo Shimpi p. 194. Somavanshi Arya Kshatriya p. 196. Twashta Kasar p. 198. Koshti p. 200. Swakul Sali (Paithan) p. 201. Swakul Sali (Narayan Peth) p. 202. Padma Sali p. 202. Parit p. 204. Sena Nhavi p. 205. Maratha Kumbhar p. 207. Paradeshi Kumbhar p. 208. Maheswari Bania (Marwadi Vaishnava) p. 210. Marwadi Bania (Jain) p. 211. Gujarati Bania (Jain) p. 212. Gujarati Vaishnava Bania p. 213. Bagwan p. 214. Misgar p. 215. Momin p. 216. Daudi Bohoras p. 217. Bene Israel p. 220. Pathan p. 222.</p>	
<p>Chapter V— Poona City Municipality</p> <p>Historical p. 223. Municipal Expenditure p. 225. General Administration p. 227. Collection of Taxes and Rates p. 228. Public Safety p. 229. Public Health and Convenience p. 233. Night Soil and Kachra Depot p. 240. Hospitals and Dispensaries p. 241. Markets and Slaughter Houses p. 242. Public Works p. 242 (a) East-West Road p. 243. (b) Tilak Road p. 243. (c) Reay Market to Govind Halwai Chowk Road p. 244. River Improvement p. 244. Nagzari Improvement p. 244. Public Instruction p. 244. Technical School p. 246. Compulsory Primary Education p. 247.</p>	<p>223-247</p>
<p>Chapter VI— Education</p> <p>The Historical Situation p. 248. Numbers of Pupils in Primary Schools p. 251. Data for Municipal Primary Schools p. 256. Numbers of Boy and Girl Pupils p. 258. Classification of pupils by Communities p. 260. Scheme of Compulsory Education p. 264. Age Composition and Civil Condition of Pupils p. 270. Secondary Education p. 274. University Education p. 276. Government and Private Institutions p. 276. Growth in University Education p. 279.</p>	<p>248-298</p>

VII

CHAPTER VI—	PAGES
<i>(Continued)</i> Growth in Secondary Education p. 281.	
Growth in Vocational Education p. 282.	
Distribution of Students by Sex p. 284.	
Distribution of Students by Religion and Caste p. 285. Students in Hostels p. 292.	
Other Educational Activity p. 294.	
Chapter VII—Public Health And Use of Leisure	299-318
Public Health Statistics p. 299. Municipal Improvements p. 300. Epidemic Diseases p. 300. Endemic Diseases p. 302. Death Rate by wards p. 302. Medical Aid, p. 303. Care of the Poor p. 305. Parks and Open Spaces p. 306. Use of Leisure and Cultural Activity p. 306. Toddy Shops p. 307. Liquor Shops p. 311. Opium, Ganja, etc. Shops p. 311. Cinema Houses p. 315. Theatres p. 317.	
Chapter VIII—Concluding Observations	319-324

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE NO.	PAGES
1 Population of Poona City in 1822 classified by type of residence, caste, age and sex ; and Animals belonging to persons of various castes in Poona in 1822 and the broad occupational classification of persons in each caste. ...	42—49
2 Complete details of the Population Census of Poona City in 1822 classified by Wards ...	50—52
3 Persons of Different Communities in Poona in 1822 classified by Wards. ...	53—56
4 Number of houses occupied by families of different communities in certain wards of Poona at selected dates. (1764-65, 1818 and 1822). ...	57—58
5 Population of Poona by wards 1851-1881. ...	59
6 Families in different Wards classified according to the Occupational Grades of their Head (H. S.) ...	61

VIII

TABLE NO.	PAGES
7 Families in different Wards classified according to the range of their Incomes (H. S.) ...	63
8 Families in different Wards classified according to their Income per Adult Unit (H. S.), ...	64
9 Families in different Wards classified according to their Religion and Community (H. S.) ...	68
10 Families belonging to different Communities classified according to Occupational Grades of their Heads (H. S.) ...	77
11 Families belonging to different Communities classified according to the range of their Income (H. S.)	80
12 Families belonging to different communities classified according to their Size (H. S.), ...	82
13 Number of Families belonging to different Communities classified according to the number of Unemployed in them. (H. S.) ...	85
14 Earner status of Families belonging to different Communities (H. S.) ...	87
15 Occupational Grades of and number following Hereditary Occupation among Heads of Families of certain selected Hindu Castes (H. S.) ...	92
16 Classification of Heads of Families in Selected Occupations by Community (H. S.) ...	93
17 Number of Houses in Poona Wards in 1764-65 ...	99
18 Number of Houses in Poona in 1883. ...	106
19 Number of Houses, Population and Number of ... Persons per house since 1822, ...	112
20 Number of Houses and Number of Independent Structures in them (H. S.) ...	117
21 Density per square acre for different wards, ...	120
22 Number of Houses in Poona Wards (1882). ...	124
23 Number of Storeys in 1822 and in 1935-36. ...	127
24 Classification of houses by types of material used in their construction and by Wards (H. S.) ...	133
25 Number of various categories of houses and the number of families residing in them (H. S.) ...	134
26 Courtyard or Open Space area in houses in different wards (H. S.) ...	136
27 Courtyard or Open Space area and number of families in houses (H. S.) ...	137
28 Number of water taps in houses and the number of families residing in them (H. S.) ...	139

TABLE NO.	PAGES
29 Number of latrines in houses and the number of families residing in them. (H. S.)	... 140.
30 Number of tenements classified according to number of living rooms and number of members in families living in them. (H. S.)	... 143
31 Number of tenements of various classes and number of occupants in them in Bombay (1931) and Poona (H. S.)	... 145
32 Size of families and number of living rooms in tenements in Lucknow and Cawnpore (1931) and Poona (H. S.)	... 146
33 Number of families classified according to members in family and the area in <i>Khans</i> of tenements occupied by them. (H. S.)	... 148
34 Family incomes and house ownership and rentals (H. S.)	... 149
35 Occupational classification of house-owners and of persons obtaining free housing (H. S.)	... 151
36 Rent-Area Ratio and family Income (H. S.)	... 153
37 Rent-Area Ratio by Wards (H. S.)	... 154
38 Number of Houses in Poona City in 1883 and 1935	160
39 Hypothetical Calculations illustrating likely Post-War housing situation.	... 170
40 Progress of Municipal Expenditure	... 227
41 Expenditure on General Administration.	... 227
42 Expenditure on Tax Collection.	... 228
43 Expenditure on Public Safety.	... 230
44 Expenditure on Fire Service.	... 230
45 Expenditure on Lighting.	... 231
46 Expenditure on Electric Lighting.	... 232
47 Expenditure on Public Health and Convenience...	233
48 Expenditure on Water Supply.	... 234
49 Scale of charges for Canal Water.	... 235
50 Water Connections and Water Consumption	... 235
51 Expenditure Incurred on Drainage Service	... 236
52 Expenditure on Health Supervision Establishment	237
53 Expenditure on Road Cleaning	... 238
54 Expenditure on <i>Bhangi</i> Service	... 239
55 Number of <i>Bhangis</i> and of Basket Latrines	... 239
56 Expenditure on Night soil and Kachra Service	... 240
57 Expenditure on Road Watering	... 240

TABLE NO.	PAGES
58 Expenditure on Medical Service	... 241
59 Expenditure on Markets, etc.	... 242
60 Expenditure on Public Works	... 243
61 Expenditure on Public Instruction	... 245
62 Scales of Pay of Primary Teachers	... 245
63 Number of Primary Schools and of their Students and Teachers	... 246
64 Expenditure on Technical School	... 247
65 Expenditure on Compulsory Education Staff	... 247
66 Number of Pupils in Primary Schools in Poona City	... 252
67 Number of Pupils of Primary Schools in Poona City shown as percentages of the total population of the City	... 254
68 Number of Boy and Girl pupils in Primary Schools in Poona City	... 257
69 Number of Pupils in Municipal Primary Schools classified by groups of Communities	... 259
70 Number of Schools conducted by the Poona City Municipality in different wards and the number of pupils in them	... 268
71 Age Composition of Pupils of Municipal Primary Schools in Poona City	... 271
72 Classification of Social Condition of Pupils of Municipal Primary Schools in Poona City	... 271
73 Number of married pupils in Municipal Primary Schools in Poona City expressed as percentages of total pupils above certain ages	... 273
74 Number of Institutions in Poona with number of Pupils attending on 31st March of the following years (1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, and 1937).	217
75 Number of Girl Students of Poona Colleges passing University and College Examinations in 1921 and 1931.	... 285
76 Students of Poona Educational Institutions Classi- fied by Caste, Religion, Sex and residence in Hos- tel (1937-38).	... 286-289
77 Unattached Hostels in Poona in 1936-37.	... 293
78 Secondary and Higher Educational Institutions in Poona with number of pupils attending on 31st March of the following years. (1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1931, 1931, and 1937).	... 295-298

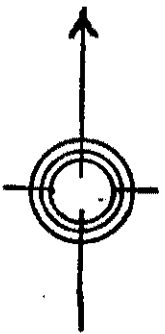
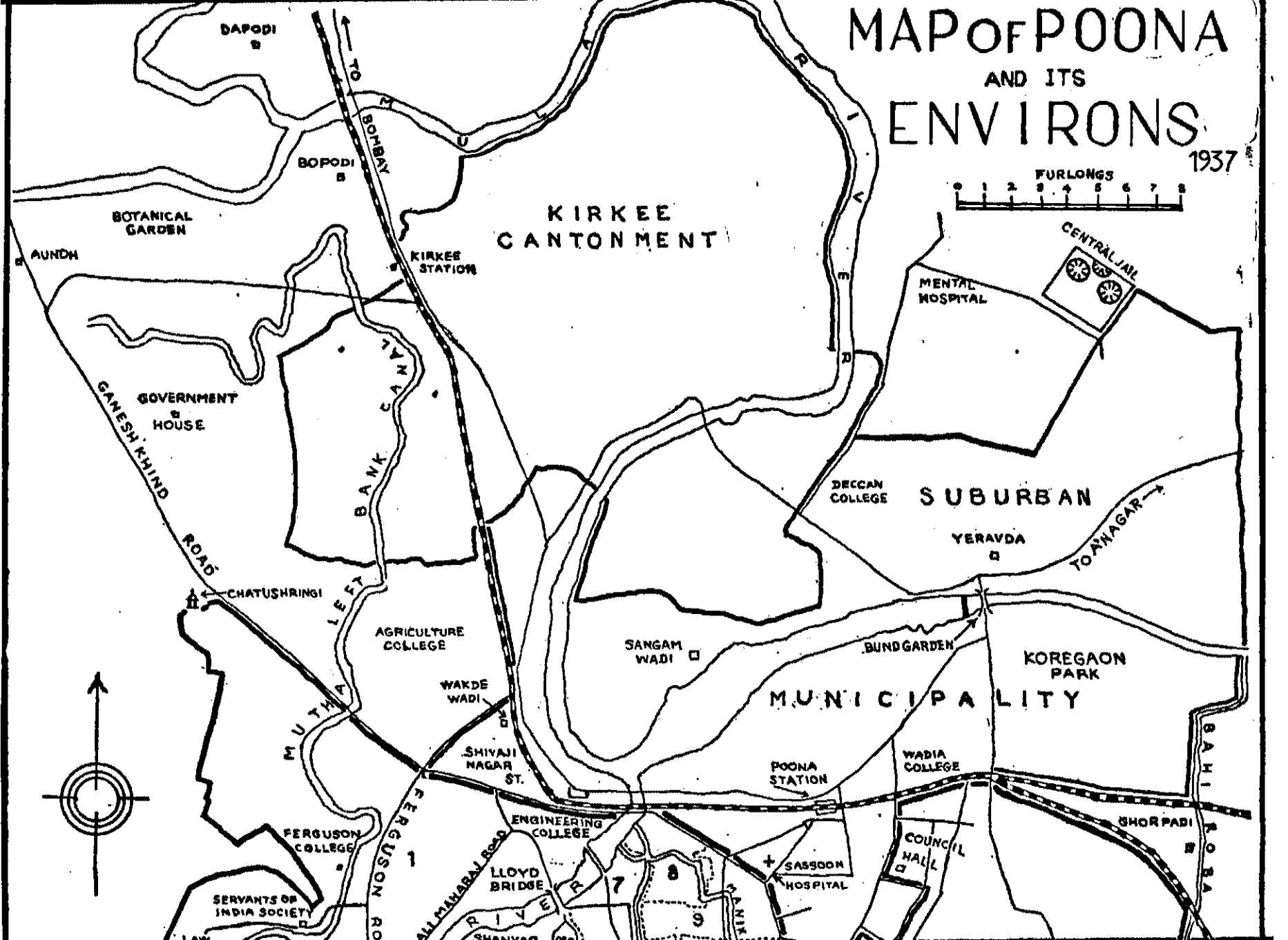
TABLE NO.	PAGES
79 Number of licences and trees allowed for tapping, rates of taxes and selling prices in 1935-36 and 1936-37 ...	308
80 Vend fee, sales, and number of trees allowed to be tapped for toddy shops in 1935-36 and 1936-37. ...	310
81 Quantity of Liquors allotted from Govt. ware house to different classes of Consumers. ...	312
82 Licence fees and sales of Country Liquor and Country Spirit from individual shops in 1935-36 and 1936-37 ...	313
83 Licence fees and sales of Opium, Ganja and Bhang from individual shops in 1935-36 and 1936-37. ...	314

MAPS

	FACING PAGE
I Map of Poona and its Environs, 1937	xii
II Map showing Growth of Poona City about 1600, 1700, 1764, and 1820 ...	12
III City of Poona about 1870 ...	108
IV Map showing Density per acre of Population in Poona City Wards (1881) ...	118
V Map showing Density per acre of Population in Poona City Wards (1931) ...	118
VI Map showing Density per acre of Population in Poona City Wards (1941) ...	119

MAP OF POONA AND ITS ENVIRONS

1937



CHAPTER I.

Development of the Town and the Wards.

A. Before 1820.

A general sketch of the historical development of Poona has been given in Chapter I, Volume I. In this chapter an attempt is made to indicate certain broad features of the growth and composition of the city at various stages of its history. Poona seems, in the beginning, to have been the headquarters town of a region (विषय) which, however, was neither densely populated nor rich in agricultural resources. The location of the town seems to have been determined chiefly by the site of the ford on the river Mutha and it was conveniently situated in relation to the important hill fort of Kondana, later called Sinhgad. Poona under the Muslims, before the beginning of the 17th century, was eminently a fortified place around which the town was established. The description of the settlement given in the Purandare Daftar¹ appears to describe the layout of the town and the composition of its inhabitants in early Muslim times fairly correctly, even though the document in which it is contained is ascribed to a comparatively late date. The layout of the town seems to have been dominated by the inner fort which was on the bank of the river. The town round the inner fort appears to have been surrounded by some sort of a wall, most probably a mud wall. The exact line of demarcation of the inner fortification may have varied from time to time, but could not have done so to any material extent. The inner fortification, usually called the *Kot*, was most probably first constructed by early Muslim rulers. The fortifications are said to have been demolished when Murar Jagdeo razed the town to the ground in 1631. The extent of the damage done by Murar Jagdeo to the inner fortification cannot be determined nor is it known by whom and when it was rebuilt or repaired during the 17th century. It is clear, however, that during the opening decades of the 18th century there was an inner fortification called (किले हिसार) and also an outer town wall called the गांवकुसू.

1. " कोंट पांडरीचा नवीन बांधला कोटाचे भोवती बस्ती दरगे व मोहतर्फा देशमुख व देशपांडे व स्थायी उपरी अदमी ऋग्वेदी ब्राह्मणांची घरे घर्माधिकारी यांची होती गोलक सेदे महाजन व्यवहारे यांची घरे होती " पुरंदरे दफ्तर, भा. ३. पृ. १२८

The traditional limits of the inner fortification given by the Gazetteer were as follows :—“ Under the Musalmans (1290-1636) the military portion of the town or Kasba was enclosed by a wall built, like other Deccan village walls, of mud and bricks on stone and mud foundations. The wall was called the Pandhri or White wall and is now called the Juna Kot or Old Fort. It stretched from the younger to the elder Shaikh Salla's tomb along the bank of the Mutha river, leaving both the mosques outside of it. From the elder Shaikh Salla's tomb the wall turned south to the northeast corner of the Mandai or Market ground, where was a gate called Konkan Darvaja or Konkan Gate. The stone steps which led to this gate remain. From the Mandai the wall passed east along the backs of houses on the north side of Dikshit and Pethe streets to Pethe's cistern. It then turned north and continued almost straight to the younger Shaikh Salla's tomb. Midway between Pethe's cistern and the younger Shaikh Salla's tomb was another gate facing east called the Nagar Darvaja or Ahmednagar gate. The site of the Nagar Gate can still be traced, exactly opposite Lakdi street. The Maruti which belonged to this gate remains. The wall was in the form of an irregular rectangle, the sides being north 280, south 260, west 130, and east 200 yards. It had several bastions and loopholed parapets. ”²

It is not known by what stages this inner fortification was either ultimately dismantled or went out of repair. It may, however, be presumed that the process of its dismantling began with the construction of the new palace for the Peshwa Bajirao I during the thirties of the 18th century. The inner fortification which no longer contained the residence of the chief of the town, the Peshwa, would serve no particular purpose and the steady growth of the town may render its presence inconvenient. It is on record that Bajirao I ordered the dismantling of the fortification on the river side to provide level ground for building the residences of his lieutenants.³ The place of the dismantled inner fort was not taken by any new line of fortification under the Peshwa.⁴ While it is not possible to say whether the inner fortification throughout Muslim times included the same area as that given by the Gazetteer there is no reason to believe that the two materially differed from each other.

2. P. 272.

3. See footnote No. 2, p. 14 Poona Vol. I.

4. See Poona, Vol. I pp. 15-16 for Balaji Bajirao's intention to fortify Poona.

The town wall (गाव कुल्ल) which obviously enclosed a much larger area than the fort was confined broadly to the extent of the present Kasba ward of the city. References to this town wall are to be met with in documents from the earliest available to those dating till about the beginning of the 19th century.⁵ The wall had gates and it is clear that they could be closed in and made secure with locks. There are references to the keys of the inner fortifications and those of the town gates as being independent.⁶

Apart from the main town, which comprised the inner fort and the settlement round it, there were even before the 17th century other areas which obviously constituted parts of Poona. These were referred to by separate locality or ward names, while the main town was referred simply as Kasbe Pune, i. e. the town of Poona. The most important of these wards was Shahapur later called Somwar. This seems to be almost as old an inhabited locality as the town proper. Its nucleus appears to have been the temple of Nageshwar which is traditionally considered to be ancient. Another old ward was Murtazabad later called Shanwar. This ward's original name suggests that it might have been named after one of the Murtazas of the Ahmednagar dynasty. If the name is also taken as giving an indication of the time of its establishment that date cannot be put earlier than the accession to the throne of Murtaza I i. e. 1564. The nuclear region in this ward is the strip along the river bank above the Elder Shaikh Salla mosque. It has been suggested that in this strip are to be found traces of old Jain temples and also of the oldest ghats along the river in Poona, which might date from Yadav times. In contrast to the main town and Shahapur or Somwar, Murtazabad or Shanwar was definitely a settlement along the river. The old town or Kasba was for the larger part cut off from the river by the inner fortification and Shahapur was situated not so much on the river as on the stream Nagzari. Between Shahapur and the river lay land largely unfit for residential purposes. It is likely that from ancient times this was appropriated for the use of the depressed classes, especially Mahars. The definite establishment of a ward in this part (now contained within the ward of Mangalwar) is usually put at the middle of the 17th century; the first name of the ward was Astapur.

5. The town wall (गाव कुल्ल) is mentioned in a list of temples, etc. contained in an extract pertaining to the year 1810 in the "*Selections from the Peshwa's Diaries*", Vol. V, Bajirao II, p. 299.

6. See Vol. I, p. 15; footnote No. 5.

It might, however, be even older than the middle of the 17th century, as there is a reference to the ward as Astilpur in a document which might be dated as early as 1610. These four settlements, the main Kasba, Shahapur round the Nageshwar temple, Murtazabad along the river and the chiefly depressed class locality in the land beyond Nagzari and between Shahapur and the river seem to have been all ancient settlements. There are no data available for determining the time or defining the order of their establishment or of the original reasons or impetus which led to it.

The quotation given in the footnote from the Purandare Daftar describes the main classes of the inhabitants of the town proper i. e. Kasba, as composed of families of hereditary administrators and land-holders, of traders and moneylenders and of old established or newly-settled Brahmins. No evidence is available for indicating definitely what classes were prominent in Shahapur ; it is likely that while Kasba contained a larger proportion of the more prosperous elements the inhabitants of Shahapur were chiefly composed of cultivators, artisans and petty traders. It is also likely that Murtazabad being a river bank settlement had greater religious and Brahminical and less cultivating, trading, etc. elements within it than the other wards. Astapur ward had, it may be presumed, only two important elements, cultivators, chiefly Malis and the depressed classes. Such could be the broad picture in the 16th century.

The 17th century marks a change in the character and importance of the town of Poona. The troublous times which were ushered in with the 17th century brought into prominence the ridge of hill forts of Maharashtra and the area commanded by them. Political interest shifted, in these times, from the open country of peaceful settlement in the East to the Western country which was more difficult to subjugate. Poona was first raised to importance characteristically, as a seat of the Jagir of Shahaji and Shivaji and as a convenient centre from which the daring designs of the two could be launched. The special severity with which Murar Jagdeo acted against the town early in the 17th century seems also to have been a result of the realisation on his part of the danger of this centre to the more settled powers of the East. Throughout the 17th century Poona was a centre of military occupation and very often of warlike operations and was used alternatively by both the contending parties. This new status of political importance with which the town became invested held its own dangers. A centre of military

and political importance becomes naturally the object of military attack. The fact had a compensating advantage; for, it led to the settlement and residence of important political personages and of officials and brought in the retinues and the trade that went with such a settlement. Thus Poona trade seems to have grown in importance during the 17th century. This is evidenced by the rise in importance through that century of a new ward south of the town, originally named Malkapur and later Raviwar, and the establishment towards the end of the 17th century of the ward Budhwar. Raviwar and Budhwar, the first dating from the beginning and the second from the end of the 17th century, may be taken to be the first known extensions of the older settlements of the original town. Modern Poona is usually supposed to date from the time that the Peshwas made it their official residence. However, the history of the town for the hundred years previous to the establishment of the Peshwas in it, foreshadowed later history and indeed helped to make it. The development during the rule of the Peshwas is thus to be taken not as an entirely new phenomenon but as a continuation of the trend set in motion during the 17th century.

A word may be said at this stage regarding the term Mali and Munjeri that occur in all the earlier records. As has been explained in the Volume I⁷ these terms are best explained as pertaining to certain types of land.⁸ The Mali lands of Poona seem to have been confined to the area near the river, chiefly in the present Mangalwar ward. Munjeri on the other hand seems to denote all the remaining unirrigated dry land. The area covered by Munjeri seems to be large and to be coterminous with the limits of Poona itself. The extent and distribution of the present Munjeri lands might be best explained by the assumption that they form the residue of the agricultural lands of Poona after the progressive deductions made by the establishment of new wards through the centuries. The representatives and the hereditary officials of Mali and Munjeri who figure in all the earlier documents may be taken to be the representatives and officials of the two sets of farming

7. Vol. I, p. 12 foot note.

8. There are two words which must be considered in connection with "Mali". The first is मळी which Molesworth defines as a "river-side spot suitable for a plantation or garden" and the other माळी which is said by him to mean "level or arable land on the acclivity of a hill". If one looks to the location of माळी lands in Poona, it would be proper to assume, that even though they are called माळी they are connected in origin with riverine i. e. मळी lands.

communities. In the post-Peshwa enumeration (Circa 1822) the adult inhabitants of Mali and Munjeri are put at 229 and 752 respectively and it is significant that they are put in a class, separate from the wards, together with the village of Parvati.

The extension of Poona in the first half of the 18th century took place chiefly to the south of the original Kasba. The main reasons for this appear to be the importance of the north-south arterial road and the difficulties of expansion to the east and to the west represented chiefly by main lines of streams. Expansion north-eastwards along the river was barred by the condition of land along and near the river bank in that direction. The existence of Nagzari which made for difficulties of communications with the main town must have prevented further growth on that side inspite of the fact that in Shahapur there was an old established ward of the town. On the west development appears to have been barred by the line of a stream which is no longer in existence. Tradition has it that a stream flowing from a point near the Parvati lake passed the city broadly along what constitutes today the dividing line between the Shukrawar and the Sadashiv wards, flowed past the Jogeshwari temple emptied itself into the river near the temple of Amriteshwar. It is said that this stream was diverted some time during the rule of the early Peshwas by the construction of a dam near the Parvati lake. The diverted stream was joined to the present Ambil odha. Before this diversion took place the stream formed an obstacle in the way of an easy expansion of the city towards the west. This would explain why the old western ward Murtazabad or Shanwar, spread originally not by the side of the wards Kasba and Budhwar but chiefly along the bank of the river.

The lines of streams to the east and to the west chiefly explain the direction that the development of the city took during the 17th century and the first half of the 18th. Apart from the existence of streams the main artery of communications in the city naturally lay north-south. The location of the ford was of course the governing point. Through communications east-west could not be established at any other point without re-fording the river. The route to the west Maval and Konkan, also branched off conveniently immediately after fording at this point. The main direction of communication for the town was also with the south. Poona with its political and military importance looked to Sinhgad and Purandar as places of vital importance. The east-west line within the city was impeded by many streams like the old

Peshwa stream, the Nagzari and the Manik Nala, and was also not an important line of through communications. As a result of these conditions all the main through routes in the city until very recent times lay north-south and there was in existence no important through route east-west.⁹

It has been pointed out above that the first fairly definitely dated extension of old Poona was the establishment of the ward Malkapur, present Raviwar, most probably towards the beginning of 17th century. This lay immediately to the south of the Kasba ward along the main north-south route as it then existed. The next expansion was the establishment of the ward Budhwar also directly to the south of Kasba and to the west of the Raviwar ward. The first three wards established during the 18th century after the establishment of Budhwar, lay along the north-south line between Nagzari and the older stream on the west. These were, in the order of their establishment, Shukrawar, Vetal and Ganesh. Ganj and Muzferganj were also most probably established during the fifties. Shukrawar, established in 1734, extended from the limits of the Budhwar and Raviwar wards southwards fully upto the southernmost limit of the city. The two other wards, established towards the middle of the century, both lay to the east of the older wards, between the limits of the older wards and Nagzari, Vetal was established in 1750 to the east of Shukrawar, and Ganesh established in 1755 to the east of Raviwar. When all the area between Nagzari and the old stream on the west had been taken up by wards, later expansion had to take place beyond the stream lines both to the east and to the west. The earliest new ward beyond these lines either to the east or to the west was the ward Nihal situated along the Nagzari immediately south of Shahapur or Somwar and established in 1755.

The era of establishment of the new wards of Poona under the Peshwas opens with the ward Shukrawar established by Bajirao I in 1734. The Peshwas had definitely decided upon making Poona their permanent residence in the twenties and Bajirao I got constructed his chief residence in the city in the early thirties. The establishment of the Shukrawar ward, it may be noted, was due in the first instance not to a natural expansion of population or trade but to the need of providing camping, etc. facilities for the large military personnel whose presence in the town was the inevitable result of the continuous campaigns of the Peshwas. It is not till

9. "The chief streets run north and south...No through streets run east and west." Poona Gazetteer, Part III, p. 283.

about 1750 that ordinary expansion in urban activities leads to the establishment of wards connected chiefly with populations of artificers and traders. The fifties might be said to have witnessed rapid development in this direction with the establishment of Vetal, Ganj, Ganesh, Muzferganj and Nihal.¹⁰

There was an inevitable lull in the progress of Poona following the unsettled times after Panipat during which took place the memorable invasion of Poona by the Nizam in 1763. The recovery after Panipat under Madhavrao I was, however, surprisingly rapid and towards the end of the sixties three new wards were established one on the east and two on the west, Bhavani in 1767 and Sadashiv in 1769 and Narayan formally established at almost the same time. There comes another break in the expansion of the city with the unsettled times following the murder of Narayanrao and the expansion was resumed only with the firm establishment of the influence of Nana Phadnis. Then in the eighties of the 18th century we have further rapid expansion and establishment of three new

10. The dates of the establishment of wards cannot in all instances be settled with accuracy with the help of the available data. The house list of 1764-65 may be taken to indicate positively the wards that were in existence at that date and also negatively the wards that were not then, at least, formally established. The list contains the names of two wards Ganj and Muzferganj the period of whose establishment we have not indicated before. The following extract indicates that Ganj was not only in existence in 1759 but also that it may have been established many years before.

“कौलनामा राजश्री खुनाथ शिवराम दि॥ राजश्री पंत प्रधान ताहा मोरो मल्हार उदकणे रा ॥ कसबे पुणे सु ॥ सन सितैन मया व अल्फ तुमचे तीर्थरूप मल्हार चिंतामण उदकणे याणी पेट गंज कसबे पुणे येथे मेहेनत करून पेटेची वसाहत केली व तुम्ही पुढे पेटेची लावणी करावयास उमेदवार आहात या करिता तुम्हावर कृपाकू होऊन पेट मजकूरचे सेटपण वतनी तुम्हास मिरास करून दिले असे...” Peshwa Daftar Rumal No. 171 (Unpublished)

Equally definite evidence is not available for Muzferganj. It has been indicated elsewhere how the establishment of wards all along the north-south line took place prior to the expansion either to the east or the west. From this point of view also, it is natural to expect the establishment of Ganj and Muzferganj to have taken place by the fifties of the 18th century. In the historical survey in Vol. I the time of the establishment of Narayan was put as the reign of Balaji Bajirao on the basis of the extract quoted. (p. 14-15). The 1764-65 list, however, makes it appear that the formal establishment of the ward Narayan took place after 1765. It may be that the localities mentioned as कारकूनपुरा and ह्दामपुरा in the 1764-65 list were precursors of the wards Narayan and Sadashiv to the west. (The Gazetteer, Part III p. 280 mentions 1773 as the date of the establishment of Narayan. The Gazetteer information on such points is, however, not necessarily to be relied upon. The Gazetteer mentions, for example, that Somwar or Shahapura was established in 1755.)

wards all to the east and south in Ghorpade, Rasta and Nana. With this the eastern limits of the city had overflowed over the Nagzari to the Manik Nala and on the west the city had expanded along the river bank upto the new bridge. The expansion eastward took place fully along the old north-south arterial road and along Nagzari in the east. It was neither equally broad nor deep in the west. No further important extensions of wards took place under Bajirao II, though under him all luxury trades and industries experienced specially favourable times.

After the fall of the Peshwas the city suffered a severe setback in political importance and trade and there was for some decades a recession. The development during the decades immediately after the fall of the Peshwas was chiefly in the Cantonment area where the establishment of the British Military Posts created new demands and new markets. With the possible exception of the establishment of the Navi Peth no new wards arose during the whole of the 19th century. It is chiefly after the close of the war 1914-18 that another era of rapid development was ushered in. The extension this time took the form chiefly of extension across the river to the north-west. An important factor in making this possible was the construction of a new bridge opposite the Shanwarwada and town-planning activity on the other side of the river across the western portion of the city.

Before launching further on a historical discussion it is necessary to examine the significance of the date of the establishment of a ward. The formal establishment of a ward usually took the form of a grant to a person, enjoining him to take steps to populate the ward with artificers, traders, etc. and giving in return the hereditary office of the chief of the ward with certain dues and perquisites attached to it. Usually the newly settled traders and artisans were exempted from payment of occupational and other taxes for a stated number of years after the establishment of the ward. The dates of the establishment of various wards mentioned in this and other accounts are dates of the original grant and the creation of the hereditary offices. This does not necessarily mean that the area enclosed in a ward was not settled upon before the ward was established and created. Some irregular settlement may be presumed in most cases before the formal establishment of the ward. The establishment of the ward pointed chiefly to the need felt of a regular extension of the city in a particular direction and the possibility of bringing it about by systematic efforts and also of

creation of lucrative hereditary revenues. The date of the establishment of a ward further gives no indication regarding its subsequent development or the time that such development would take. In particular attempt at the establishment of a ward may come to naught. For example, in the later Peshwa records references are found to a ward called Narsipura which was obviously situated round the temple of Narsoba, now in Sadashiv. Narsipura, however, failed to grow and even to maintain its identity and was merged in the days of later extension in the ward Sadashiv.

There does not seem to have been any procedure laid down for the construction of roads or the layout of the settlement on the formal establishment of a ward. This seems to have been left to the devices of the holder of the grant and to have followed lines dictated chiefly by the lie of the land. The development of the road system of the southern wards seems to have followed a plan only in respect of the main, perhaps pre-existing, arterial north-south routes. Otherwise, no definite order or pattern in the lines of streets is noticeable in them. It might well be that the road systems were never planned as a whole at the establishment of the wards and that the initial development of the wards was the result largely of separate settlements of occupational or caste groups in various parts of the ward and these were joined together haphazard, with further growth. It is only in the case of wards established towards the end of the 18th century that present arrangements indicate some initial planning. The rudiments of a "grid" pattern are discernible in the street layout only in wards like Rasta, Nana, and Sadashiv, all established after 1765.

For building up a more detailed picture of the development of the city recourse must be had to information relating to population, trades, the number of houses, etc. in the various wards at different stages in their history. Such data for Poona are, however, meagre. The earliest full information available is that collected as a result of a detailed enquiry into houses, numbers of families, occupations etc. conducted by the British within a few years of their occupation of the city. When this material is worked up in its entirety it should be possible to give a full account of the state of Poona at the beginning of British rule. It was not possible for us to undertake this work and we have contented ourselves with extracting from this record certain summary statements relating to the wards and the city which throw light on their main characteristics. Most of the statements made below regarding conditions at the beginning

of British rule are based on these extracts from the unpublished records.

The Peshwa Daftar in Poona also contains voluminous manuscript material relating chiefly to the latter half of the 18th century which includes documents relating to conditions in Poona city. Search for these documents is, however, a laborious and difficult process. We asked some research workers to work in the Daftar for us for a limited period and their search was rewarded by one list enumerating the number of houses in all wards of the city in 1764-65 and certain other papers giving particulars of the composition of the population in some wards. The Gazetteer gives the number of houses per ward for the year 1883 and the number of persons per ward for 1851, 1872 and 1881. Thus, beginning with the list giving the number of houses in the city round about 1765, one can obtain a glimpse of conditions at about every sixty year interval upto the time of our survey.

The earliest document (1764-65) refers only to 12 wards; the omission of Rasta, Nana, Bhavani, Sadashiv and Narayan from this document may be taken as evidence of the non-existence of these wards at the time. The wards covered by the document do not also all show similar stages of development. The information contained in the list throws light on the extent to which the various wards had then developed. It had already been emphasized that upto the sixties of the 18th century the main development of the town had taken place in a north-south direction between Nagzari on the east and another stream which presumably flowed on the west. The only expansion of the old town upto 1760 east or west of the central north-south block had been the establishment of the small ward of Nihal. On the west no new ward had been added to the old ward of Shanwar.

The 1764-65 list and subsequent data regarding the number of houses in different wards has been examined in detail in the chapter on housing. We may at this stage briefly summarise, in anticipation, the findings of that examination. Poona was in the early sixties a town of perhaps 40,000 inhabitants. The list of 1764-65 shows a large proportion of temporary structures like huts in the city. This was partly due to the destruction of houses during the recent invasion of the city by the Nizam. It would also be partly due to the rapid development in the recent past of the population of the city. The population of the city grew rapidly during the last

four decades of the 18th century. Most probably it more than doubled itself and reached one lakh inhabitants by the opening of the 19th century. Within the central wards of the city, an increase in population was provided for largely by house building replacing the temporary and restricted accommodation afforded by huts. The growth of number of houses resulted, however, in a large expansion of the area of the city. This took place, among wards already in existence in 1764-65 to the largest extent in Shukrawar and Ganj; the movement was also marked in Mangalwar. The expansion, however, mainly resulted in the establishment and growth of new wards. Among these new wards, the most vigorous progress was exhibited by Sadashiv and Narayan on the west and Bhavani, Rasta and Nana on the east.

It would thus appear that during this period the town progressed vigorously in all directions. In the wards in which the area had been fully taken up for the existing houses and their compounds, etc. in 1765 new developments would not be reflected in an increase in the number of dwellings. But outside such wards to the east as well as to the south and west unoccupied land was rapidly taken up and new houses built. This development was reflected in the east and west chiefly by the establishment of the new wards. In the south all the ground having already been incorporated in the old wards the development was reflected in the increase in the number of dwellings for persons in the older wards like Shukrawar.

B. AFTER 1820

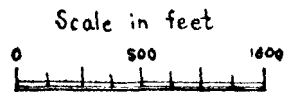
After 1820 it is no longer necessary to rely solely on statistics relating to the number of houses. From this date fairly reliable estimates of numbers of the population also become available. In the first decade of the 19th century Col. Close put the population of Poona at about one lakh persons¹ and Elphinstone estimated it at 1,10,000 in 1818². The detailed enquiry conducted in 1822 placed the total number of persons in all the wards of Poona together with the population of Mali, Munjeri and Parvati at 81,402. In case all the estimates are considered fairly accurate, there was a large decline in the population of Poona within a year or two of the fall of the Peshwa. Such a large decline is not improbable. The population of Poona throughout the rule of the Peshwas must have

1. Poona Gazetteer, Pt. II, p. 290.

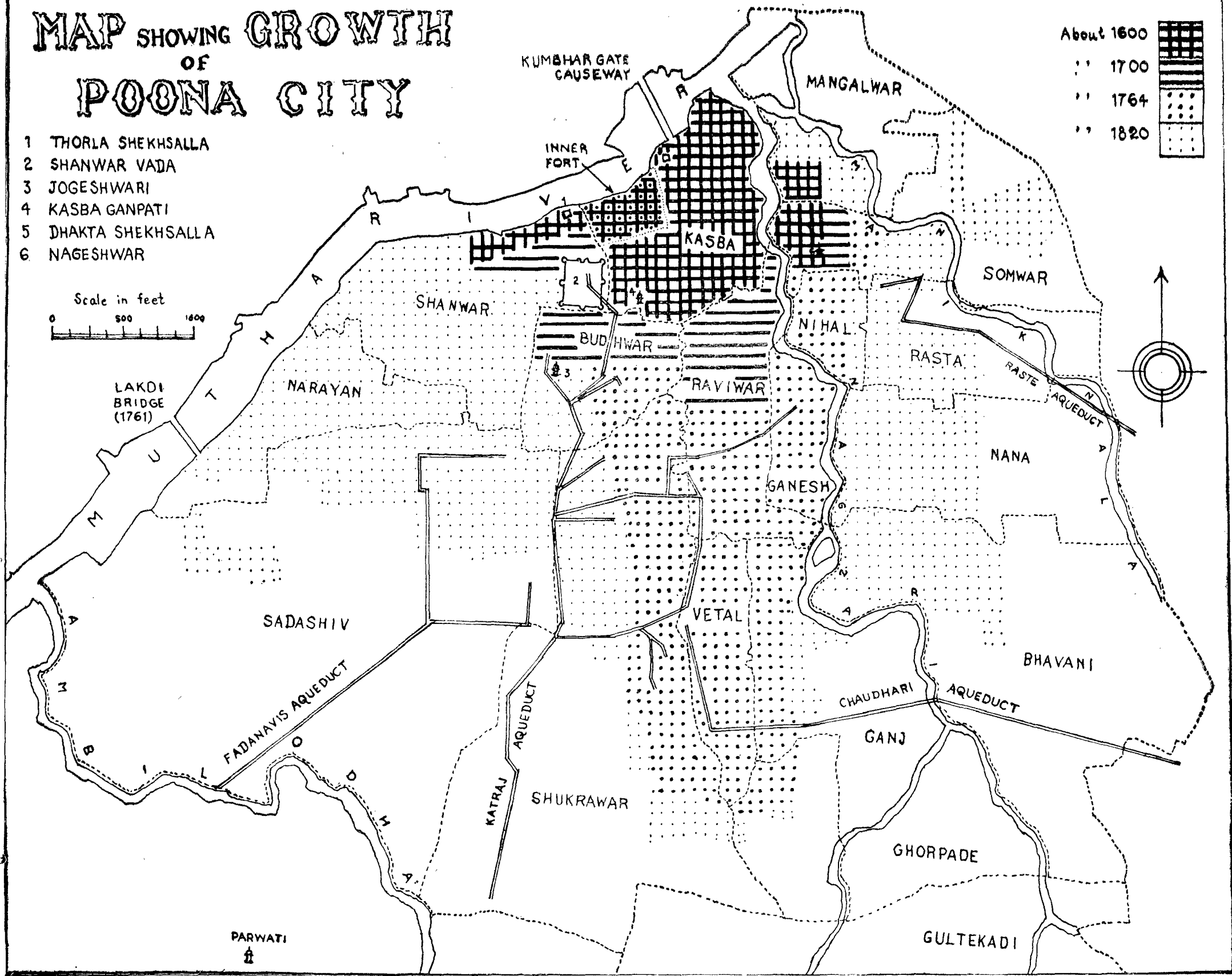
2. Report on the Territories Conquered From the Peshwa, p. 5.

MAP SHOWING GROWTH OF POONA CITY

- 1 THORLA SHEKHSALLA
- 2 SHANWAR VADA
- 3 JOGESHWARI
- 4 KASBA GANPATI
- 5 DHAKTA SHEKHSALLA
- 6 NAGESHWAR



About 1600
 " 1700
 " 1764
 " 1820



contained a considerable element of military personnel. Most of the major nobles and feudatories had their own camps and camping sites in Poona and the floating population of military men and their camp followers would tend to be very large especially at the beginning of a campaign. Further, after the last Peshwa had been deposed by the British he was banished by them to North India and a large retinue accompanied him out of Poona. The dispersal of all military personnel, the migration of the Peshwa and his retinue and the migration of other elements in the population who had been attracted to Poona through any business or relation with the old court may well account for a large decline in population within few years of the fall of the Peshwa. It may thus be assumed that the population of Poona suffered a sudden and large decline immediately on the fall of the Peshwa. The figure of 81,402 given by the enumeration of 1822 indicates the low level at which the population was stabilised after the change of regimes. The comparatively reliable census of 1851 places the population of the 18 wards of the city at 73,209. This shows a downward trend in population from even the low level of 1822 during the three decades following that year. No fully reliable estimate of the population of the city is available for any year between 1822 and 1851. However it is reported that in 1838 the population of Poona was rated at 75,170.³ The figure appears credible and if the estimate is held comparable with the figures for 1822 and 1851 it would indicate that the rate of decline of the population of Poona was more rapid during the period 1822 to 1838 than during 1838 to 1851. The process of decline must have been arrested during the fifties and there was a steady increase in the population of the city during the latter half of the 19th century.

It would be interesting to observe how these variations in the numbers and fortunes of the city affected its various parts. This may be done in the first instance by a comparison of the numbers of houses and population in the various wards in 1822, 1851 and 1881. As might have been expected, the results yielded by the comparisons of the house data are not identical with those given by the comparison of the population data. The more important index is, of course, that of the variation in population. The period between 1822 and 1881 may be treated as consisting of two distinct phases the turning point in which is fairly appropriately indicated

3. Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Company, E. Thornton 1854, Vol. IV, p. 161.

by the mid-date 1851. The period 1822-1851 is marked by a general decline in the population; the rates of this decline, however, varied widely between ward and ward. The decline is most marked in the eastern wards of Mangalwar and Somwar and the western wards of Narayan and Shanwar. The rate of decline is large also in Vetal, Rasta and Sadashiv. The decline is not large in the central wards of Budhwar and Kasba and the southern wards of Shukrawar and Ganj. The central ward Raviwar and the eastern wards Nihal and Bhavani show a slight increase and the increase in population is significant in Ganesh, Nana and Ghorpade. The period 1850-1880 is by contrast a period exhibiting a general fairly rapid increase in population in all wards. Except in Ganesh the increase is not less than ten per cent. in any ward. The variations in the proportion of the increase are again marked. In all the wards beyond Nagzari on the east—Mangalwar, Somwar, Nihal, Rasta, Nana and Bhavani—the increase in population between 1850 and 1888 was more than sixty per cent. In the western wards the increase was large only in Shanwar. The central trading wards—Budhwar and Raviwar—show a moderate increase. The large southern ward, Shukrawar, was stagnant during 1820-1850 and showed a moderate increase during the next thirty years. The general movement over the whole period may be indicated by referring to certain groups of wards. The three western wards Shanwar, Narayan and Sadashiv form a well-marked group. The population of the three wards fell between 1820-1850, by more than 20 per cent. and rose by a little more than the percentage of the previous decline in the next thirty years. In 1881 the population of these wards was higher by less than 2 per cent. than the 1821 figure. In both Sadashiv and Narayan the population in 1881 was lower than in 1821; in Shanwar, however, it was significantly higher at the latter date than at the former. The central trading wards Budhwar, and Raviwar, show a slight decline in the first period and a substantial increase in the second, so that at the end of the sixty years their population had increased by more than 25 per cent. The picture in the southern wards—Ganj, Vetal and Shukrawar—is very similar though the total increase is somewhat lower than in the central trading wards. By contrast the new eastern wards of Nana and Bhavani show no decline but a small increase during the first period and a large increase in the second so that their population had been doubled at the end of the sixty year period. The older eastern wards—Mangalwar and Somwar—show a double movement, a large initial decline, i. e. till 1851 and subsequent rapid increase, which

took their combined population to a level more than 30 per cent. above the 1822 level.

Another set of data which is useful for estimating the room for growth within the limits of the established wards at particular dates is that of the area occupied by houses. The Gazetteer gives (presumably for the year 1881), the total area of each ward and the area under houses in each ward. This reveals that the total area of the wards Narayan, Vetal, Ganesh, Raviwar, Kasba, Budhwar and Shanwar was fully under houses. In the other wards this was not the case; and in Rasta, Nana, Ganj, Bhavani, Sadashiv, Shukrawar and Ghorpade more than 30 per cent. of the area of the wards was not under houses. The exact connotation of the term "area under houses" is not known. It does not obviously mean area actually built upon. Because the city survey map of 1869-72 shows large areas, especially in the river-side wards like Kasba, Shanwar and Narayan, which were not built upon. It probably means area occupied by or included within the compound of a house or other building. Thus even in the wards in which the area was shown to be fully occupied by houses there would be room for new buildings and, of course, for extensions of old buildings. In the other wards, in the absence especially of any regulated town development, there was ample room for further house building and growth of population in 1881.

The period between 1895 and 1915-18 was one of stagnation because chiefly of the recurrent visitations of the plague. When towards the end of the war of 1914-18 the fortunes of the city began to revive, house building development and increase of population were marked in all the outlying wards. An added feature was some reshifting of the emphasis in development towards the west. The filling of the open areas in western wards, especially Sadashiv, and the remarkable development beyond the river on the same side were indications of this.

This bare recital of the facts of the growth of the city and its population may be made meaningful by adding to it an account of changing economic characteristics and social composition of the city.

The economic life of Poona was not highly developed till Peshwa rule. The increase in the political importance of Poona during the 17th century must have been accompanied by some

growth in population. It did not appear, however, to have led to a diversification of its economic life. The traditional elements of the population officials, cultivators, the Brahmins, and traders retained their previous importance and characteristics. 17th century Poona does not appear to have been an important centre of any craft, or noted for any special product or for the handling of trade in any goods. Political conditions during the 17th century were not favourable to increased or new economic activity. With the establishment of the rule of the Peshwas events took a new turn. Political conditions became comparatively stable and Poona became the seat of the chief official of the State and gradually the centre of a large dominion. The city grew rapidly in size and the volume of trading and the ordinary consumption trades and activities must have expanded rapidly even in the early decades of the 18th century. However, no new elements, either crafts or trades, appear to have been introduced before the middle of the 18th century. The earlier Peshwas were greatly occupied with military campaigns and during their rule the stream of tribute from external Maratha Dominions was yet small in size. During the latter half of the 18th century a court, steadily growing in prosperity, was established at Poona. This had a reaction on the economic characteristics of the city. Crafts became diversified and grew in size and numerous trades were established. This was done, to a large extent, with the help of immigrant elements. The economic growth, therefore, affected the social structure of the city. The diversification and growth of economic activity did not lead to the establishment of any specialised crafts or manufactures within the city. The population of craftsmen was composed chiefly of the common set of artisans such as smiths, carpenters, tailors, cobblers, etc. who would be found in any large centre of population. The only special emphasis observed in economic activity was that connected with luxury trades based on a court; but even here the trading activity was more important than the manufacturing activity. Gold and silversmiths, jewellers, and ornament makers are very prominent in the population of the city towards the beginning of the 19th century. These reflect the demand for certain types of luxury products; however, none of the important luxury crafts such as gold and silver threadware, fine cloths, wooden and ivory carving, specialised metal work, usually found in other Indian cities were prominent in Poona. The importance that weaving and brass and copperware attained in Poona in the latter half of the 19th century was not observable at the beginning of the century. There was, at the time, a small population of 2 or 3 castes of weavers, dyers, etc. and

a similar complement of those working in brass and copperware. The strength of these crafts was, however, small as compared with that attained by them in the last quarter of the 19th century.*

The main economic activities in Poona at the end of Peshwa rule can be indicated in a broad manner with the help of detailed list of castes and occupations compiled soon after the establishment of British:

4. At the time of the Gazetteer the main communities of weavers were Sali, Koshtis and Momins and those of brass and copper workers were Tambats, Jingars, Kasars and Otaris. The table given below prepared from the Poona caste list of 1822 shows the number of families of these castes and their occupational classification at that date. These dates indicate that from among the weaving castes 122 families practised handicraft in 1822; presuming that all these were engaged in weaving and that every adult male operated a loom separately the number of handlooms in operation at that date could not at a maximum be put at more than 220. This is in contrast with the more than 1200 looms reported at the time of the gazetteer. In interpreting the corresponding statistics relating to the metal worker castes, two points must be borne in mind; firstly, all Kasar families, except one well-to-do family, have been classed as traders in 1822, not a single one being returned as practising handicraft and secondly, that Jingars were at this date most probably little interested in brass and copper work proper, being engaged in the various occupations connected with the activity that gave their caste its name viz. saddle-making. Artisan families engaged in brass and copperware must thus have been mostly confined to the 83 families of Tambats and Otaris, together comprising approximately 160 males. The latter figure has to be compared with the 2,320 brass and copper workers mentioned by the Gazetteer.

Caste	Families	Shops	Adult Males	Well-to-do	Trade	Artisans	Labourers
Koshti	80	...	130	...	...	80	...
Sali	41	3	76	...	...	32	9
Momin	10	...	16	...	...	10	...
Total	131	3	222	...	...	122	9
Tambat	74	29	152	1	...	73	...
Kasar	127	21	225	1	126	...	...
Otari	10	...	10	...	...	10	...
Jingar	96	19	176	...	...	96	...
Total	307	69	563	2	126	179	...

rule. Numerically the important occupational castes are the service castes and those of craftsmen producing general consumption goods. The most numerous of these castes were Shimpis, who combined cloth dealing with tailoring; the gold and silver smiths, the potters, barbers, milkmen, fishermen, market gardeners, oilmen, saddlers, washermen, dealers in metal utensils, leather workers, carpenters and thatchers. Barring the saddlers, whose importance to a Maratha military centre was obvious, the specialised manufacturing occupational castes of any numerical importance were the weaving and allied castes and the castes of brass and copper workers. Even larger than the numbers of these artisan castes were the members of the general trading communities. These dealt in grains and groceries and all other types of consumer goods.

The elements that suffered decline on the fall of the Peshwa were (i) Military personnel and retainues of Chiefs and Nobles, (ii) the Brahminical elements dependent on the service, patronage or the bounty of the Peshwa, and (iii) crafts and trades specially connected with the court. The first quarter of a century after the fall of the Peshwa most probably witnessed a serious decline in the population and prosperity of the city in most directions. The end of the thirties may have witnessed the lowest point reached in numbers, etc. of the city. Towards the beginning of the forties new forces seem to have made themselves felt which initiated a revival in certain sections. The first of the operative forces, in point of time, was the establishment of the Cantonment and the demand created by it and the decision to make Poona a seat of government during monsoon months. A very powerful factor was added to this by the construction of the Railway line from Bombay to Poona (1851) and later from Poona to the Southern Maratha country (1889). The construction of the Mutha canals made for a considerable increase in the prosperity of the agricultural region near Poona after 1880. Thus with a slow turning round the corner in the forties a fairly rapid recovery in the fortunes of the city took place. After 1850 this would seem to have continued without a break till almost the end of the 19th century. The reasons for this recovery as indicated above were many-sided and the increase in population, etc. brought about was shared by all wards. However, for the larger part of the period, this growth was contained within the limits of the city as they broadly existed during the early decades of the 19th century. This was largely because the new population increase did not take the total population of the city much beyond that at the beginning of the century.

The economic characteristics of the city in about 1850 have been described in the following terms: "With the exception of grain-dealers, and those who trade in the raw products of the country, the mercantile classes in Poona are said to be declining in wealth. No market is now found for jewellery and precious stones, which were much sought after when Poona was the seat of native rule. The introduction of European piece-goods has caused the disappearance of native fabrics, which could not compete with them in price, and Poona has now scarcely any manufacture except a very small one of paper."¹

After the middle of the 19th century the economic life of the town staged a rapid recovery, as has appeared from the increase in houses and population after this date. It was between 1850 and 1880 also that some important new crafts grew rapidly to importance in Poona. Among the main crafts of Poona listed by the Gazetteer some like copper and brass ware and silk and cotton weaving and iron pots were essentially new growths, others like ivory combs and paper making, felt making, wood turning, etc. which were stagnating remnants of older crafts and some like clay figures which had received a temporary fillip because of a new demand.

The Gazetteer in 1883 lists crafts in the order of their importance, as follows:—The making of copper and brass wares, the weaving of silk and cotton cloth, ivory combs, clay figures, paper making, iron pots, tape weaving, felt making and wood turning. Of these ivory comb making and paper making, felt making and wood turning, were already declining crafts of small size. The Gazetteer places the establishment of ivory work as well as of paper making, brought about by the special encouragement of the Peshwa, in about the last quarter of the 18th century. No establishment engaged in these crafts was recorded at the time of our survey (1937). Clay figure-making was a new specialised occupation which became prosperous and active for some time in this particular form because of the European demand for Indian curios. It cannot be traced definitely to the period before British Rule and no survivals of this particular craft were noted in 1937. Products of wood turning were reported to be declining in demand in 1880 and it is not recorded as a separate industry in our census of establishments. Wood turners, i. e. Katkaris, are however, noted in

1. Thorn, oprit, Vol. IV, p. 162.

some of the wards in the lists of 1822. Tape weaving and felt making seem to have become important in post-Peshwa times. They did not employ a large number of persons at the time of the Gazetteer and since seem to have almost disappeared. The products produced by these crafts, tape and felt, had a demand in the 19th century but this had declined in the 20th.

The making of copper and brass wares, the weaving of silk and cotton cloth, the making of gold and silver thread and of iron ware, were noticed during the census undertaken by us and their history has been recorded in Vol. I. In common with other large towns in the tract⁵ certain artisan industries increased in importance in Poona during the period after the middle of 19th century. These developing industries based themselves largely on the products of machine industry such as yarn, or metallised sheets. The most important of such crafts in Poona were cotton and silk weaving and the brass and copperware industry. The third important occupation noted in Poona in 1937, that of *bidi*-making, rose to importance chiefly during the 20th century.

The location of the various crafts and trades in 1822 makes an interesting study. Clothiers and tailors, gold and silver smiths and also to a certain extent dealers in metal utensils were widely spread through all the wards. The oilmen, the barbers and washermen were also widely distributed. The concentration of certain crafts was, on the other hand, marked. Potters were heavily concentrated in Kasba on the one hand and Shukrawar, Ganj and Guruwar on the other. The weaving castes were concentrated in Somwar, Vetal and Ganj. Activities requiring ample room were naturally located in the outlying wards. Milkmen were found chiefly in Shukrawar, Sadashiv and Narayan; though milk dealing was concentrated in Raviwar. The fishermen were to be found in the wards along the river bank as also in Ganj and Shukrawar. The basket makers were located chiefly in the newer eastern wards, though they had their centres in Kasba and Raviwar also. Kasba and Raviwar on account of their old standing exhibited some peculiar characteristics. Though at the centre of the city and fairly fully developed they retained traces of the time when they had contained all elements of population within themselves. This is specially true of the Kasba ward. It continued to have an important Muslim element connected chiefly with the mosque of Shaikh Salla; it contained an old cultivat-

5. Cf. "Urban Handicrafts of the Bombay Deccan, N. M. Joshi, 1936."

ing nucleus connected chiefly with the Mali lands of Mangalwar, it retained the older settlements of potters and fishermen and made room also for the newer artisan activities such as those of paper makers and utensil makers. The list of Kasba castes available for about 1765 shows it to be microcosm of all elements in the town. To a lesser extent this was also true of Raviwar. Raviwar had, since its establishment, been a traders' ward and never had such elements in its population as the potters, the fishermen or the cultivators. The trading in Raviwar was, however, highly diversified and also a large extent of producing activity and service personnel was included in the ward. It was the centre of all types of marketing and every variety of shop was to be found in it. Vetal and Ganj, on the other hand, constituted the main artisans' and craftsmens' wards. The new wards of the east were largely settled with elements which were considered obnoxious and were, therefore, kept at a distance such as the depressed castes of Mahar and Mang and the occupational castes of sweepers and tanners and basket makers. Mangalwar, which was presumably an old cultivating settlement with a Maharwada attached, continued to have the traditional elements as also new activities such as that of pulse makers, who find the water and space facilities near the river convenient. Somwar had the older established weaving community together with cloth dealers and also some new elements such as the Gosavis. The new ward Rasta lay between Somwar on the one hand and Nana-Bhavani on the other, both in physical location and in economic characteristics.

The location of the older crafts and trades was not materially changed after 1820. Some shifting, of course, took place from the old and the more cramped centres, as, for example, from those in Kasba to new centres that had not been established at the end of the 18th century. Thus no potters were any longer found working at their craft in Kasba in 1937. The oldest centre of weaving, that of Somwar had fallen in importance already by 1880 and no longer possessed any weaving establishment in 1937. Vetal and Ganj wards were already important in 1820 as centres of weaving by Salis; and it was chiefly in these wards that the later developments associated with the immigration of Momins and Padmasalis took place. In brass and copperware the importance of Vetal and Kasba was maintained throughout the succeeding decades. The difference between the history of location of weaving and brass and copperware may be attributed to two factors. Firstly, the rise in importance of the craft in the latter half of the 19th century

was associated in the one case with new immigrants, while in the other it was the older settlers who developed it. Secondly, weaving required more open space and room for its expansion which would not be available in the older fully occupied wards,

The location of the degraded castes like Mahar, Mangs and Halalkhors has not also materially changed. At the end of the 13th century there were two centres of this population, one in Mangalwar and the other in the new eastern wards of Nana and Bhavani.* These centres persist today, though later expansions have of course taken place mostly in the eastern wards. Among other changes in location that took place in the 19th century the following may be noted. Firstly, there was a general shift of trading activity more to the east. This has resulted in the two wards of Nana and Bhavani exhibiting today a curiously composite character. A section of its population today is composed of depressed castes and lowly occupations; this is the continuing effect of the original settlement in the 18th century.

6. It will be noticed in the classification of houses by communities, Mangalwar (see Appendix to this chapter.) that no houses occupied by either Mahars or Halalkhors are mentioned. This omission was due, perhaps, to the areas occupied by Mahars and Halalkhors not being considered as constituent parts of the ward. The following extract from a document of 1822 describing the boundaries of the ward and dating from the same period as the classified house list speaks of the Maharwada and Halalkhorpura as being attached to the ward. Another extract which follows gives details regarding the number of houses and total number of persons belonging to the two communities. It is not clear whether this omission from the Mangalwar house record affects the totals in the list of persons, etc. classified by the castes for the whole city.

(१) पेट मंगळवार याची चतुःसीमा—... "उत्तर बाजू वायव्येचे कोनापासून इशान्ये-कोनास टपे नीलकंठ प्रभू यांचे वाडगे जमीन सरकारी दरम्यान टेपा नागझरी व माणीक बोडा यांचे दरम्यान बाजूस महारवाडा पेट मारखा तेथून माणीक बोडा याची हाद परसु मार याचे धांस्मा पावेती तेथे वेस याचे पळीकडे हलालखोर याची घरे."

(२) "खानेसुमारी शहर पुणे पेट मंगळवार लगत हलालखोर पुरा सु।सलास अशरीन मयातेम व अलफ १२३२ फसली शके १७४४ चित्रभानु नाम संवत्सरे

हलालखोर	घरे	यो।जुमला
	३२	१४८

"खानेसुमारी पेट अस्तापूर उर्फ मंगळवार लगत महारवाडा सु।सलास अशरीन मयातेम व अलफ सन १२३२ फसली शके १७४४ चित्रभानु नाम संवत्सरे

	(घरे)	(जुमला)
महार वतनदार	४८	२८८
मंग वतनदार	६	२६

Peshwa Daftar, Jambay Section, (Unpublished).

The other section represents important trading castes and population connected with trading activities; this is the element that increased in importance in the 19th century. Another new feature was the settlement of the non-Brahmanic professional classes which came to settle in Poona under British rule in the eastern wards of Rasta, Nihal and Somwar. This settlement must have been due to a number of factors; firstly, these eastern wards were less occupied than others; secondly, their location in relation to Government offices, etc. was favourable and thirdly, these new elements might not have felt socially comfortable in the dominantly Brahminic wards of the west where the Brahmins, occupationally and educationally on a par with them, were settled. The decline in importance of the artisan crafts resulted in the fall in importance of both Vetal and Ganj; they continued to retain the older artisan activities such as weaving or brass and copperware but newer trades seem to have settled not in these wards but either more to the east in Nana and Bhavani or in the large southern ward of Shukrawar. The central wards of Raviwar and Budhwar continued to hold their dominant position in economic activity, specially trading, in the same manner as before.

The central marketing and business of the city must, from ancient times, have laid along the north-south arterial routes. The main street in Raviwar seems to have been the most important route from early times and this was a continuation of what was perhaps the still older main road, i. e. Vyavahar Ali in Kasba. In the 18th century the main route may be taken to have laid from the Phadke Gate to the Jamat Khana. However, the main trading centre lay chiefly to the west of this route rather than to the east. The central trading area at this time was thus the western portion of Raviwar together with the whole of Budhwar ward. This fact is well brought out by the statistics of the number of shops in the different wards. The importance of the main street in Raviwar persisted throughout the 19th century, together with that of the two parallel north-south routes, one in Shukrawar-Budhwar-Shanwar and the other through Ganj-Ganesh-Raviwar. The removal of the vegetable market (Mandai) from outside the Shanwar Wada to its present site in Shukrawar in the closing decades of the 19th century only changed its location from southern end of the Shukrawar-Budhwar route to its northern position. The central portions on the north-south routes continue to retain their importance in the main to this date. The construction of Laxmi Road, the first through east-west route, has been an important event in recent

times. This has not affected the importance of the central areas except that it has made an east-west route important for the first time and has perhaps also resulted in extending the shopping centre further to the west than was formerly the case.

On a broad review the economic characteristic of Poona might be indicated for the different periods of its history in the following manner. Before the establishment of Peshwa rule it was an important military and political centre without any specialised crafts or trades. In the early part of Peshwa rule the population grew rapidly and with it grew the general forms of economic activity appropriate to a large consuming population. In the latter part of the regime of the Peshwas the wealth of the town increased greatly and there was development, especially of the luxury trades. Considerable diversification of craft activity also took place but none of this was highly specialised. The decades immediately following the fall of the Peshwa saw a decline in the fortunes of the city, the luxury trades suffering specially severely. The decline was arrested with the emergence of new trading activities such as those demanded by the Cantonment and the population dependent on it and by the building of the railways. Certain crafts also grew rapidly in importance after 1850. The last quarter of the 19th century witnessed the fullest development of this phase. The progress was arrested in the opening decades of the 20th century and the decline of artisan industry was precipitated by the depression of the thirties. The impetus given to the growth of population after the twenties, however, brought in some new trading activities; the same period also witnessed the emergence of new types of repair and manufacturing activities connected with modern industry and transport.

The various phases of economic history have their counterpart in the social history of the city. The old town has been described as consisting of one main settlement (Kasba) and three supplementary wards. The town during the 17th century may be considered as neither growing fast nor changing its characteristics rapidly nor attracting any large number of immigrants. The first real growth that can be dated is connected with the establishment of the wards of Raviwar and Budhwar. Some movement of population in and out of the town may have taken place in the troubled times of the Maratha war of Independence, as a result of the movements of the forces of Aurangjeb. Many of the Musulman castes of Poona seem to date their conversion and separate existence from

this time. To the extent these were immigrants the movement was not from any long distance; they came in chiefly from districts surrounding Poona or from Poona district itself. The first instance of immigration of an important community from a long distance that can be ascertained is that of the Bohoris. The Gazetteer states that the Jamatkhana of the Bohoris in Raviwar was built in 1730. By this date, therefore, the Bohori settlement in Poona must have been large and their first arrival may be put at the time of Aurangzeb towards the end of 17th century. Any other migrations that might have taken place in the first half of the 18th century were most probably those of indigenous artisan and trading castes. The migrant elements from outside Maharashtra appear chiefly in the latter half of the 18th century. Their variety and size indicate the rapid rise in importance of Poona as an all-India centre at this time. The main immigrant elements were those of either trading or artisan castes and classes. There were in addition immigrant Brahmins attracted by the patronage of the Peshwa or immigrant soldiers attracted by opportunities of military service.

Among the trading classes the most important are numbered those from Gujrat and Marwad. Of these the Gujaratis were the earlier immigrants. Their earlier migration is reflected in their strength in such wards as Raviwar, Budhwar and Shanwar in 1820. The Marwadis are not to be found in large numbers in Budhwar or any western wards at this time. Their chief concentration in 1820 was in Vetel, Raviwar, Shukrawar and Bhawani. The artisans and other specialised castes came from a variety of directions. There was a number of migrant castes from North India described under the generic term Pardeshi. Among these North Indian migrants may be mentioned artisan castes like potters, leather workers, chapperbunds or thatchers; there were also the Kachis who took to dealing in garden produce and the Kirads who took to a variety of trading activities. Another group of artisan and labouring immigrants who came in fairly large numbers was known as Kamathis. The term covers a group of castes of speakers of Telugu who followed a variety of occupations the commonest amongst which was some form of more or less skilled labour.¹ There were Kamathipurans both in Shukrwar and in Vetel. It is remarkable that the more skilled among even ordinary craftsmen of Poona in the later days of Peshwa rule were immigrants from other regions. Carpenters (Badhais) from North

¹ See R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. II, P. 133

India and masons from Kathiawar and Cutch are instances of these. This is perhaps evidence of a previous lack of urbanization in the region round Poona.

Attention may be drawn at this place to an important difference between the composition of population of trading immigrants from Gujarat and Marwad and the artisans and other immigrants from other parts of India. The later migration was of whole families and resulted later in permanent settlement and complete naturalisation. It is only in the record of families of the Gujarat and Marwad trading communities that the ratio of adult males to adult females shows a serious disproportion in the enumeration of 1822. Interest is added to this feature because it was these trading communities from Gujarat and Marwad that came to dominate economic activity all over India during the next hundred years. The following table brings out the contrast in sex, etc. ratios among the two sets of immigrant communities.

POONA

Castes	Families	Shops	Adult males	Adult females	Young males	Young females	Total
1. Gujar	529	161	914	375	167	77	1533
2. Marwadi	233	53	544	121	55	41	761
3. Bohori	96	57	172	66	35	27	300
Total	858	271	1630	562	257	145	2594
1. Pardeshi	510	37	665	635	224	154	1678
2. Kachi	180	1	204	236	135	103	678
3. Lingayat	374	54	659	656	269	192	1776
4. Kirad	58	2	102	128	48	57	335
5. Badhai	45	1	66	86	38	27	217
6. Kamathi	304	1	480	626	180	137	1423
Total	1471	96	2176	2367	894	670	6107
Grand total for all communities in the city.	10,143	1407	29,101	30,092	12,812	9,391	81,402

The expansion of the city, the growth of population and volume and variety of immigrant elements all reflected the growing prosperity of the city during the latter half of the 18th century. The decline in its fortunes after 1820 was equal in all aspects. Immigration of new elements into the city ceased and its social composition became stereo-typed for almost the next century.

It must be observed at this place that the omission of the Poona Cantonment from the scope of the survey renders this account partial in one important respect. Since the fall of the Peshwas, Poona City had not experienced any marked economic prosperity such as would attract immigrant elements to it. For the most part, therefore, it grew, when it did, largely through the growth of the local population and through local immigration. As Mr. Sedgewick remarked in 1921, "In the matter of birth place Poona is not a particularly cosmopolitan place. Poona City Municipality is essentially old fashioned and is simply the hub of Maharashtra. Few strangers from other parts of India will be found there." The account of the 1820 population given above will show, in contrast, that in 1820 Poona City contained a remarkable percentage of immigrants from other parts of India. Most of these immigrant elements settled down and became part of the indigenous population, so that birth-place data in later times would not indicate the distant origin of their forefathers. After the fall of Peshwa rule the stream of immigrants dried up as the city suffered a decline. It was then Poona Cantonment that grew in size and in importance and attracted immigrants. The immigrants according to the Gazetteer were mostly "Parsis from Bombay, Boharas from Gujarat, Memans from Cutch and Vanis from Guj rat and Marwar." But such as they were, they settled in the Cantonment and not in the city. While, in origin, the city and the Cantonment were in a large measure distinct units, they constitute today one social and economic whole. Trades and industries dependent on or arising out of the existence of a European population and a military cantonment were all concentrated in the Cantonment area; horse racing and its attendant activities were also localised there and a number of new trades such as motors and their accessories came also to have their main centre in the Cantonment. All these were connected to a small or large degree with the economic and social life of the city.¹ A study of the data of the city and suburbs

1. Wholesale trade for most important commodities is also organised for Poona (City and Cantonment) as a whole and the centres of this trade might

(Continued on the next page)

by themselves is, therefore, apt to give a somewhat exaggerated idea of arrested development or non-diversified social structure. This difference between the Cantonment attracting outside or non-Maharashtra immigrants and the growth within the city being confined to local or Maharashtra elements persisted even after the city began to grow rapidly after the first World War. The elements which are noted in the Gazetteer as being immigrants into the city after 1820 were confined to certain castes which settled in Rasta, Nihal and Somwar. These were chiefly those who accompanied the British military such as Mudaliars, Bene-Israelis and certain non-Brahmin educated professional castes from Maharashtra. There were also the Momin and Padmasali weavers who seem to have come in large numbers only after 1850.

The composition by caste of the various wards and its changes through history are also interesting. The first data we have relate to Kasba in 1765; these show this ward to be the microcosm of all social elements. This is because, in origin, the Kasba was the whole town in itself. Because of this it also reveals, in later times, small trace of immigrant elements who came after 1760. In 1765 the Brahmins in Kasba constituted the largest single community, the second largest group was of Kunbi-Marathas. Apart from the Kunbi-Marathas, who were found in large numbers in every ward, Kasba contained a large number of families of Malis and Musalmans and had a fair representation of a large number of artisan castes. In 1820 the newer wards on the west were Brahminical in their composition to an extent which had never been true of Kasba at any time of its history. In Shanwar and Sadashiv, Brahmins formed the most important single community; moreover there was no concentration of any occupational, trading or artisan classes in these wards. Shanwar revealed some concentration of gold and silver smiths and a small element of immigrant Gujaratis. In Sadashiv, apart from Kunbi-Marathas, the only significant elements were those of gold and silver smiths and milkmen. Narayan which was the other new ward on the west was more mixed in composition. The Brahminic concentration in it was confined to parts adjacent

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rest in either the city or the Cantonment. Also the communities which handle most wholesale trade such as Marwadis, Gujaratis, Boharas, etc. have settlements both in the city and the Cantonment which are integrally connected. The extent and location of wholesaling and the size and strength of these communities is thus not completely presented in the development sketched above because of the omission of data for the Cantonment.

to Shanwar and Sadashiv; the part near the bridge (Lakdi Pul), had a mixed population of cultivating and labouring classes. The concentration of depressed classes and the occupational castes held inferior in the Hindu social scale in the newer eastern wards of the city, especially in Nana and Bhavani, has already been alluded to before.

The economic changes that took place after the fall of the Peshwa brought about changes in the location of some castes. The rise in importance of the Cantonment and the construction of bridges on the Manik Nala and Nagzari shifted the centre of trade in grain, etc. more to the east than before. As a consequence the traders also shifted more to the east. Marwari and Gujarati traders were prominent in this movement. Marwadi traders now came to occupy Nana and Bhavani to a much larger extent than before. There was a similar shift on the part of Gujarati traders who were no longer to be found to any significant extent in the ward of Shanwar. They moved on to Budhwar and also to some extent to Nana and Bhavani.

Attention may be called to a social phenomenon which may be inferred from the information regarding the location of castes and communities. Musulmans appeared to have been comparatively widely dispersed through the city during Peshwa rule. In the 19th century they came to be more heavily concentrated in certain wards. The wards in the west appear similarly to become more highly Brahminic in their composition through the 19th century. This tendency towards caste or community isolation was not the result merely of stagnant conditions but was part of the general effects on Hindu society of the establishment of British Rule which are noticed in particular by Dr. Ghurye in his *Caste and Race in India*.

The connection between economic and social evolution may become clearer by dwelling on the interrelation at present and in the past between caste and occupation. It may be presumed that till the fall of the Peshwa rule, occupation and caste were closely correlated, especially in the case of Hindu occupational castes. As a general rule a person, at that period, would not be found in an occupation outside the occupation of his caste and where occupational caste was specialised entry into the occupation to other castes would ordinarily be barred. A number of occupations were not confined to a single caste even

at this time. For example, weaving was followed by the Hindu Salis, Koshtis, Khattris, etc. and by the Muslim Momins. The caste composition of gold and silver smiths was also diversified. In metalware Jain Bogars or Kasars and Hindu Kasars traded in metal utensils and the latter also tinned metal vessels; the Hindu Tambats usually engaged themselves in the manufacture of brass and copperware; but these distinctions were not adhered to rigidly. Again a single caste name may be used for designating occupational castes hailing originally from different regions who far from constituting a single caste might even be placed far apart in social gradation. The inclusion of a varied complement of castes within an occupation might have allowed some room for changes and adjustments in occupation. In the main, however, the situation must have been comparatively rigid at the beginning of the 19th century. A large number of artisan industries and specialised trades suffered from the difficult times after the fall of the Peshwas. All these suffered a dispersion in population or had to adapt themselves to allied or even widely different occupations or had to fall back upon general unskilled labor. During a period of general economic decay transfer between occupation and occupation would not be possible to any large extent and the ranks of general labour would tend to swell. When, however, new crafts came to be established or old ones experienced a revival, the course of events would be manysided.

After the establishment of British rule the barriers to entry into specific occupations would begin to break down because of the influence of the new rulers. This break-up of the close relation between the occupation and caste would ordinarily not affect occupations which substantially maintained their traditional technique and which were either stagnant or declining. In these the workers in the occupation would belong almost entirely to the occupational castes; only, all the members of the older occupational castes would no longer be engaged within the hereditary occupation and some would have to seek other avenues of employment. Where new occupations arose, or the occupational technique was substantially modified or an occupation experienced a period of considerable prosperity the correspondence between castes and occupation would markedly diminish.

A number of minor occupational castes have through the 19th century almost ceased to have a separate existence through the occupations followed by them having no longer any demand.

Examples of these are Sikalgars or armourers, Lakeris or Lacquer workers, Chhaperbands or Thatchers who were all separately enumerated in the 1822 count. Where, however, a caste was numerically large it would continue to exist as a separate group even though it no longer followed the traditional occupation. Such, for example, is the case with the Koshtis of Poona. For the major part, however, the castes or occupations faced not extinction but stagnation or decline. Among stagnant and declining occupations in Poona may be mentioned those of Telis or oilmen, Buruds or basket makers and Kumbhars or potters. Persons following these occupations have till the present been mostly persons belonging to the occupational castes. In other instances, while a part of those following the occupation would still be members of the old occupational castes, new entrants would come in from a variety of directions. This would happen especially where there was a distinct modern side to the occupation. For example, while washermen working on the traditional lines would mostly continue to belong to the old occupational caste, those engaged in or working new types of laundries might be recruited from other caste group also. Such a distinction was not necessarily observed in all cases. With a growth in demand, numbers employed in gold and silver smithy or tailoring may increase and the new recruits may be drawn from a number of different sources. In this matter of the correspondence of caste and occupation the two important crafts in Poona offer a contrast. Brass and copperware manufacture was followed at the time of the Gazetteer by the hereditary copper, brass and bell metal working castes such as Tambats, Kasars and Otaris. It was also followed to a very substantial extent by Jingars who had made a natural transition to it from their hereditary occupation of sadlery where they had to concern themselves with metal work to a considerable extent. In addition, high profits of brass working had been drawing for about 15 years large numbers of Maratha Kunbis into this occupation when the Gazetteer account was written. Cotton and silk weaving was the other craft which was fairly prosperous in Poona in 1880, but the Gazetteer does not record any recruitment of persons from outside the occupational castes into this craft. The weavers were also Koshtis, Salis or hereditary Musulman immigrant weavers. This difference between the two was marked also at the time of our survey. The reason for this would appear to be as follows. Weaving, though it might prosper in particular places, did not offer increasing employment in a region or the country as a whole at any period of time. The prosperous

centres could therefore easily draw upon skilled personnel out of employ elsewhere. Metal working, on the other hand, offered increased employment as a whole and therefore had to recruit its personnel in part from the occupationally non-specialised communities.

The history of Jingars is also instructive in this connection. The traditional occupation of the caste was saddlemaking. In Peshwa-times saddlery was made with cloth, felt, cotton, rope-metal work and embellished with embroidery and ornamental metal bosses. During the rule of the Peshwa, the equipment of the large military forces would have led to extensive demand for saddlery and the Jingars of Poona were presumably prosperous. A double change came over with the establishment of British rule. The demand for saddlery was not as extensive as before and leather was introduced in the making of saddles. Because of the decay of their main occupation Jingars were forced to take to making of wooden toys, decorating houses and to other occupations allied to their hereditary calling. They declined in economic importance and could stage some recovery only when brass and copperware manufacture became important in Poona and a number of them entered this occupation. In the meanwhile, however, because of their economic decline but much more because of the new connection of leather working with their hereditary occupation they became depressed in the social scale and came to be looked upon as being tinged with some impurity. One of the consequences was that they took a new caste name and the term Jingar today is not generally acknowledged.

The social effects of decline of traditional occupations may also be exemplified by the fall in numbers and importance of the Shimpis and Sonars of Poona. In 1820 these two occupational and caste groups were among the most important in the city. They existed in large numbers and were also widely dispersed. Their decline may be partly attributed to their having been more highly specialised than the groups of general traders like Marwadi and Gujarati, whether Banias or Jains, though it should be noted that the rise in importance of the Marwadi and Gujarati trading communities throughout the Indian economy might, in any case, have proved too strong for these indigenous localised castes.

The enumeration of 1822 gives a great many details regarding the economic conditions of the population of Poona city subdivided into the various caste and community groups. These include the numbers and types of houses occupied, the ownership of houses,

cattle and other livestock. These data could no doubt be made the basis of some conclusions regarding the economic position of the total population and of the various castes. The enumeration itself divided the population into four broad categories based obviously on economic condition and status. This economic classification of the total population is made the basis of the observations made below. The four categories are termed respectively (i) well-to-do, (ii) traders, (iii) specialised occupations and (iv) labourers and beggars. The terms are translated as (1) gentlemen and idlers, (2) traders and merchants, (3) artisans, and (4) day labourers and beggars in M. R. Montgomery Martin's *Possessions of the E. I. Company (1837)*. The term well-to-do seems to cover professional and administrative personnel and all those in Government service, whether civil or military. It may therefore be taken to consist of two elements; one of the rentiers and the other of members of the learned professions and civil and military employees of government. The fourth category, that of labourers and beggars, also consists of two distinct elements. Firstly, beggars including religious mendicants and secondly, general unskilled labour. Whenever there was a specialised occupation it was included in the third category even though there might not be a large element of skill in it; so that sweepers and scavengers and Mangs, who were chiefly rope-makers, were all included in the third category. The differentiation between traders and specialised occupations made in the classification in this list throws an interesting side-light on contemporary practice and ideas. Milkmen, oilmen and thatchers are all put in the category of traders; evidently the trading element in these occupations was held to be dominant. On the other hand, all Sonars (gold and silver smiths) were included in the category of specialised occupations. Kasars were all classified as traders whereas Tambats and Otaris all among specialised occupations. Among Bhois, who had two distinct traditional occupations (1) that of fishermen and (2) that of palanquin carriers there were no traders; but a small number of them is placed among unskilled labour; these must be those members of the caste who followed the occupation of carriers. The Shimpis were divided between the three categories of well-to-do, traders, and specialised occupations. It is likely that the division between traders and specialised occupations in this caste represents the two occupational groups within it: (1) clothiers and (2) tailors. Occupational castes performing personal service such as washermen and barbers are put in the third category.

The caste and occupation composition of the four economic categories is extremely interesting. Brahmins formed a little over a half of the well-to-do group. No Brahmins are noted in the category of specialised occupations. Nearly 40 per cent. of the total Brahmins enumerated are entered as well-to-do, 10 per cent. as traders and another 10 per cent. as religious mendicants. Amongst Musalmans also the numbers among the well-to-do are larger than those in any other category but they have a substantial representation in each of the other three categories also. Kunbi-Marathas are in a vast majority in the unskilled labour group and their number is the largest in this group. However, they are the next largest in number to Brahmins in the well-to-do group and have fairly substantial numbers among traders. They are least well represented in the third category, that of specialised occupations. The other most numerous sections represented in the well-to-do group are Pardeshis, a composite group formed of all types of castes and occupations and Shimpis, Lingayats and Gujars. Among the Pardeshis the most numerous category is that of the well-to-do. They have proportionately large numbers also among traders and labourers but none among artisans. The latter feature is most probably due to the fact that the immigrant artisan castes from North India were all recorded among such occupational caste groups as potters, cobblers, etc. and not under the generic term Pardeshi. The earlier migration of the Gujaratis as contrasted with Marwaris is shown by the fact that no Marwari was classified as well-to-do in 1-2). The well-to-do among the Gujaratis formed only about 25 per cent. of the total enumeration, almost all the rest being traders. The most numerous single group in the class of traders and shopkeepers is that of Kunbi-Marathas; next to them come Gujars and Shimpis and below these Brahmins, Lingayats, Marwaris; among the other important castes or communities among traders to be noticed are Kachis and Bohoris. There is obviously no one dominant caste group in the class of traders and shopkeepers which is well distributed over all the trading communities and the composite caste groups or communities following a variety of occupations such as Brahmins, Maratha-Kunbis and Musalmans. The distribution in the third category is even more widespread than among traders and shopkeepers. All the various artisans and allied occupational castes are naturally included herein. In the beggar subdivision of the fourth category the most important are of course the Brahmins; specialised religious mendicants such as Bairagis are also to be found here. In general labour the Kunbi-Maratha group completely dominates.

The only other indigenous element is represented by a small number of Musalmans. Immigrant element is represented by the Kamathis, most of whom are to be found in this group, and some Pardeshis.

The most important characteristic of the socio-economic structure of Poona at the end of Peshwa rule is the importance of the class termed well-to-do and the dominance of Brahmins within it. In the latter half of the 18th century Poona grew rapidly in political importance and became the political and military centre of a far-flung dominion. As a result, numbers in administrative and military services increased enormously; there was also a growth in the class of rentiers. The rentiers in Poona of the opening decades of 18th century were only drawn from the Poona region; towards the end of the 18th century, they were drawn from the whole of at least West Maharashtra. A Brahminic court has not been usual in Hindu history; this feature distinguished 18th century Poona and influenced its social structure. To the ordinary types of the rentiers, i. e. nobles and landlords, was added the class of learned and unlearned Brahmins sustained by the bounty of the Peshwas. The bounty grew in size in course of time and became almost phenomenal during the rule of the last Peshwa. In consequence of this as well as of the special opportunities of state service, large numbers of Brahmins from Maharashtra, including Chitpavans and other Brahmins from Konkan, came to settle in Poona. A small number of Brahmins from outside Maharashtra, especially from South India, also immigrated into Poona during this period.

It is not possible to institute, with the help of available data, a satisfactory comparison between the socio-economic structure of Poona population in 1820 with that in 1883 or 1937. The content of the named categories of 1820 cannot be defined accurately enough for this purpose. The conclusion is, however, incontrovertible that at the end of Peshwa rule a much larger population was being sustained in the service of and by the patronage of the state than in 1937 and that the bulk of the benefit of this was derived by Brahmins. The fact explains adequately the stagnation exhibited by the western Brahminic wards during the half century following the end of Peshwa rule. Apart from the occupations included in the term well-to-do, trade was practised by a small number of Brahmins but none of them followed a craft or similar specialised occupation.

The Kunbi-Maratha complex represents the main element in the population of Maharashtra and includes within it the highest nobility and military leaders as well as the bulk of peasants and labourers. This class which has always been numerically by far the most important had within it large numbers of the well-to-do as also the vast majority of unskilled labourers. It contributed some numbers to trade but almost none to handicraft, etc. It is likely that the bulk of the ordinary artisans castes formed in the countryside had arisen by the process of occupational differentiation from parent Maratha-Kunbi stock; and that for such of the main body as found their way into these crafts entry into the occupational caste would not be difficult.

The Brahmins and Kunbi-Marathas are large non-occupational caste groups which represent rather ranks in social hierarchy than grades in an occupational structure. These groups, especially the latter, had a wide range of permissible occupations but were also limited by fairly strict taboos or prohibitions. The other groups which had considerable members among the well-to-do were all religious or regional groups rather than caste groups. These were Musalmans, Gujars, Pardeshis and Lingayats. Musalmans were recruited from a variety of streams of immigrants and from indigenous Hindus who had been converted to Islam. They contained Mujawars or servants or priests at local mosques; some landlords and nobles, immigrant Arabs or other military personnel, immigrant trader groups, e. g. Bohoris and a variety of occupational communities such as Attars or perfumers, Bagwans or gardeners, Sikalgars or armourers, Saltangars or tanners. Musalmans were, therefore, widespread among the occupational groups and were to be found among all the economic classes or categories. They constituted an important original element in the population of Kasba but not in that of the other old wards of Shanwar, Somwar and Mangalwar. With the expansion of the city they spread through all the trading and artisan wards as also in the new wards of the east, chiefly inhabited by the depressed classes. Their members were small in Budhwar and in all the Brahminic wards of the west. In the 1820 enumerations the Musalmans are recorded as such or a general group; they are recorded also under the names of certain individual trading or artisan communities which had a markedly separate existence apart from the general body of Muslims. The enumeration of Muslims in separate communities was, however, usually confined to occupational groups which were composed only of Musalmans, i. e. Muslims would not be mixed up

because of their occupations in the general Hindu occupational castes. Outside these communities there were a large number of Muslim traders, artisans, etc. who would be included only under the general term Musalman.

Lingayats represented a religious sect which also embraced all economic and occupational strata in society. The 1820 enumerations, however, presumably embraced chiefly the Lingayat Wanis. Other Lingayats must have been mostly enumerated in the occupational caste groups to which they belonged. Only such an assumption could explain the fact that barring about 40 labourers all Lingayats are classified as either well-to-do or as traders. The regional groups are Pardeshis and Gujaratis. Pardeshi was a term used to describe in a general way immigrants from North India and is still so used. The members recorded in the 1820 enumeration as Pardeshis do not, however, account for all immigrants from the North. Where these immigrants formed an important and distinct caste group and was known as such the enumeration would be under the specific name, e. g. Badhai, Kirad, Lodhi, etc. Where the immigrant group had no distinctive caste name but belonged to a broad occupational caste, its members would tend to be enumerated together with members of the local occupational group, e. g. among Kumbhars or potters. The general name Pardeshi thus covered only those not already enumerated in any of the above groups.

The terms Gujar and Gujarati were used to designate immigrants from the Gujarati speaking regions. The Pardeshis were in the main recent immigrants who had come to Poona chiefly after 1750. The Gujaratis or Gujars contained a mixture of both old and recent immigration. The immigrants from the Gujarat region did not contain much artisan or labouring element. Some specialised craftsmen such as Gavandis or masons, who migrated from Gujarat, would be known by their occupational name. The term Gujarati or Gujar was applied to immigrants who were chiefly Banias. These were, therefore, almost all found among either the well-to-do or the traders. The term Marwadi similarly denoted immigrants of the trading classes from Marwad and were all included in the category of traders.

The occupational adjustments of the various groups during the succeeding century presents considerable contrasts. The Brahmins as the most favoured group in Peshwa rule may be expected to

have suffered most severely from its end. This was no doubt the case in the decades immediately after the event. However, the Brahmins adapted themselves quickly to new conditions and continued, though now in a secondary role, to hold positions similar to those held by them in former times. They supplied most of the administrative and clerical personnel for the British and manned the newly emerging professions. They maintained, as a consequence, their older status in the city to a large extent. The Kunbi-Marathas suffered in comparison. The well-to-do element in this group under Peshwa rule consisted of members of the nobility, landed gentry and military services. They were not to be found among the learned professions or in the administrative services. The nobility declined in wealth and importance, the landed gentry suffered in a similar manner and ceased also to stay in the cities and higher military service became a closed profession to Indians. Consequently the Kunbi-Maratha representation among the higher economic categories decreased enormously. The Kunbi-Marathas continued to form the bulk of the unskilled labour class, they also entered all the newer occupations or trades as unskilled or partially skilled or supervisory workers. They were also to be found in trade and business in a small way but they did not make their way in significant numbers to the higher ranks in them.

In the occupational classes mentioned in the Gazetteer, the following would comprise the "well-to-do" category: lawyers, government servants, medical practitioners, landlords, pensioners and moneylenders. The Gazetteer mentions the Brahmins in the first place in all these occupations. The Marathas figure prominently as a well-to-do element only among landowners or inamdars and military pensioners. Gujarat Vanis and Musalmans are mentioned among house-owners and Gujarat and Marwar Vanis among moneylenders.

The well-to-do amongst Brahmins and Musalmans supported their economic condition either by landowning or by state service or patronage. Most others owned their prosperity to profits of trade. The trading classes also suffered a decline after the fall of the Peshwa; their decline was, however, not long drawn and stable conditions and a moderate measure of even growth began to be experienced by them by about 1850. Thus in course of time the trading classes came to be comparatively much more affluent than the main classes of the well-to-do under the old regime. The history of the comparative fortunes of various sections of traders is

instructive. It exhibits the superior adaptability to changing circumstances of the immigrant elements as compared with the indigenous or local population. No new immigrant elements appeared on the scene in the 19th century and Gujaratis, Marwadis, and Bohoras continued to dominate it. The immigrant elements had two obvious advantages. They had connections with centres of trade outside and there was frequent infusion of new blood amongst them. The trade of the 19th century was for the large part trade in imported goods; also in internal trade inter-provincial trade came to have much greater importance as compared with purely local distribution of commodities. The cloth trade illustrates the trend of events well. Poona in 1820 had a strong local class of cloth dealers in Shimpis. In 1820 Shimpi traders were almost as numerous as Gujarati traders and the well-to-do amongst Shimpis exceeded the number of the well-to-do amongst Gujaratis. The two following extracts from the Gazetteer illustrate subsequent history.

"The Marwar Vanis live in Raviwar and are the largest traders. They do business both wholesale and retail and almost exclusively in the handmade cloth. They supply the rich. The Shimpis mostly live in Budhwar and chiefly sell bodice cloths. They also deal in poorer kinds of handwoven cloth. They supply the middle and low class demand. The Brahmans and Marathas, who mostly deal in handmade cloth, have their shops in Raviwar. The Bohoras live in the Bohori Ali in Raviwar and sell all kinds of European piece goods as well as the produce of the Bombay mills. Kinkhabs or embroidered silks and coloured China and European silks are also sold by Bohoras."

"Of handmade cotton cloth, coarse waistcloths or dhotars and robes or sadis are brought from Sholapur by Shimpis, and fine waistcloths and robes are brought by Marwar Vanis from Nagpur and Dharwar or Narayan Peth in the Nizam's Territories and sometimes from Benares in North India, and Salem and other parts of Madras. Steam-made cotton piece goods, both of English and of Bombay make, were formerly brought by Bohoras and are now also brought by Brahmans and Marathas. Of late the use of Bombay made cloth has greatly increased. Foreign silks, brocades, and woollen cloth are brought by Bohoras from Bombay, and country blankets are brought by Sangars from Sholapur."

The extracts bring out two important features of the situation. The indigenous and traditional occupational castes

have a narrow range of operations and their activities are confined to traditional lines. The immigrant or non-indigenous communities reach greater distance in their dealings, have the more lucrative trade in their hands and handle all the new lines. Every change thus depresses further the position of the older elements.

It is, in addition, interesting to observe that the indigenous traders did not belong to a general trading caste. Maharashtra did not have a general Bania community. The Shimpis were not members of a general trading community, some of whom had taken to trading in cloth, but were a caste whose traditional occupation was tailoring and dealing in cloth. Presumably, the adaptability possessed by a general trading caste would be much greater than that by a caste whose traditional occupation was confined to trading in one commodity or group of commodities only. The history of the position of Kasars in trade in brass and copperware follows a course similar to that of the Shimpis in the trade in piece goods. The Kasars have not, however, lost ground to the same extent as the Shimpis, neither was their original position as high as that of the Shimpis. Two reasons appear to explain the difference in degree between the decline in fortunes of the two communities. The trade in piece goods was subjected to greater and more varied changes than the trade in brass and copperware and in its newer forms cloth trade required close connection with the origins of imports outside Poona. The trade in brass and copperware was trade which originated in Poona and the Kasars had hereditary connections with local manufacturers. Secondly, the distribution of brass and copperware was confined, in the main, to districts in Maharashtra, while the trade in piece goods originated to a large extent outside Maharashtra districts and was in its earlier stages not in the hands of castes from Maharashtra. Though the ground lost by Kasars was not as extensive as that lost by the Shimpis, it was yet considerable and it was all lost as in the other case, to Marwadis and Gujaratis.

It has been suggested above that immigrant general trading castes forged greatly ahead of the local, specialised castes because of their greater adaptability to changing circumstances. It does not, however, appear that this greater adaptability was exhibited by the larger non-occupational groups like the Brahmins, Kunbi-Marathas or Muslims. The extent to which the Brahmins and Kunbi-Marathas participated in trading activities in the century

succeeding the fall of the Peshwas was not larger than during Peshwa time. This happened even though the fall of Peshwa rule affected the fortunes of this group adversely and might have induced them to take to new occupations. It would thus appear that the fact of having trading as hereditary occupation was helpful in taking to trade and succeeding in it.

The fortunes of the sub-communities within the general Muslim population showed the same features as those exhibited by the Hindus. Thus the non-specialised local Muslim population lost ground and made adaptations similar to Brahmins and Kunbi-Marathas. The specialised trading craft groups shared the fate of the trade or occupations as with Atars, Maners, Shikalgars, etc. The non-specialised trading groups like Bohoras and other immigrants from Gujarat and Kathiawad fared best in the economic sphere; their history running parallel to that of the Gujarat and Marwad Vanis

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

Table 1—Population of Poona City in 1822 classified by type of residence, caste, age and sex.
 [Source—Peshwa Daftar, Jamao Section. (Unpublished)]

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 8 9			10 11 12			13 14 15		
	No. of Families	Houses with Earthen Terraces	Houses with Tiled roofs	Hutments	Total Houses	Shops	Males			Females			Persons		
							Adults	Non-adults	Total	Adults	Non-adults	Total	Adults	Non-adults	Total
1 Brahmin	3208	726	1703	78	2507	393	6856	2363	9219	5848	1688	7536	13704	4051	16755
2 Kunabi	4974	136	1055	809	2000	59	8380	3941	12321	10424	2909	13333	18804	6850	25654
3 Musalman	1067	59	322	335	716	42	1635	808	2445	1871	679	2550	3508	1487	4995
4 Gaoli	206	21	69	12	102	8	297	170	457	329	135	464	616	305	921
5 Jaugam	15	2	4	2	8	...	21	3	24	20	1	21	41	4	45
6 Parit	132	1	25	18	44	...	162	108	270	194	80	274	356	188	544
7 Halwai	26	2	9	...	11	9	36	10	46	31	13	44	67	23	90
8 Telang kum	24	...	1	20	21	...	48	17	65	38	16	54	86	33	119
9 Komati	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	3	...	1	1	2	2	4
10 Lonari	70	5	26	4	35	4	68	39	107	120	27	147	188	66	254
11 Parsi	13	1	2	...	3	1	20	2	22	10	...	10	30	3	33
12 Gujar	529	19	97	2	118	161	914	167	1081	375	77	452	1289	244	1533
13 Jati	24	2	1	...	3	...	35	3	38	3	...	3	38	3	41
14 Pardeshi	510	44	170	67	281	37	665	224	889	625	154	789	1300	378	1678
15 Kalal	2	1	1	...	2	...	3	1	4	2	1	3	5	2	7
16 Koli	6	...	2	...	2	...	7	9	16	11	3	14	18	12	30
17 Bah	41	5	2	...	7	3	76	29	105	63	16	79	139	45	184
18 Marwadi	233	14	36	...	50	53	544	55	599	131	41	162	665	96	761
19 Johari	48	7	23	5	35	10	52	35	87	62	23	85	114	58	172
20 Katsi	90	...	12	77	89	...	116	75	191	126	70	196	242	145	387
21 Beldar	6	1	3	...	4	...	10	9	19	6	2	8	16	11	27
22 Kanjare	10	...	1	10	11	...	16	13	29	17	5	22	33	18	51
23 Ohambhar	118	...	20	97	117	23	170	135	305	183	90	273	353	225	578

24	Baltangar	26	5	20	4	29	...	36	21	57	38	24	62	74	45	119
25	Kehatri	3	...	19	...	19	...	7	...	7	6	2	8	13	2	15
26	Bairagi	110	9	32	65	106	...	84	43	127	113	36	149	197	79	276
27	Bajegar	12	...	3	10	13	...	8	6	14	18	8	21	26	9	35
28	Kachhi	180	1	21	103	125	1	204	135	339	236	103	339	440	238	678
29	Tamboli	63	1	6	6	23	22	83	37	120	79	24	103	162	61	223
30	Kathilkute	2	...	2	...	2	1	3	1	4	3	2	5	6	3	9
31	Mochbi	3	...	1	...	1	3	8	5	13	9	4	13	17	9	26
32	Ohnaparbandh	88	2	8	44	54	2	76	54	130	79	30	109	155	64	239
33	Patawegar	11	2	5	...	7	1	20	9	29	20	9	29	40	18	58
34	Bhoi	183	4	48	20	72	...	267	144	411	251	80	331	518	224	742
35	Raul	22	...	7	8	15	...	38	27	65	45	21	66	83	48	131
36	Lakeri	14	13	...	...	13	42	91	34	125	79	27	106	170	61	231
37	Katari	17	4	11	...	15	3	25	11	36	28	9	37	53	20	73
38	Lingayat	374	172	127	26	325	54	659	269	928	656	192	948	1315	461	1776
39	Kirad	58	9	22	29	60	2	102	48	150	128	57	185	230	105	335
40	Teli	178	13	101	39	153	27	265	141	406	284	110	394	549	251	800
41	Jingar	96	19	31	...	50	19	176	89	265	203	60	262	378	149	527
42	Kumbhar	245	31	148	48	227	10	343	210	553	425	170	595	768	380	1148
43	Sonar	341	61	65	4	130	142	869	413	1282	896	324	1220	1765	737	2502
44	Dalwale	47	17	22	3	42	3	65	31	96	73	22	95	138	53	191
45	Jain	4	1	...	...	3	...	7	...	7	9	...	9	16	...	16
46	Gosavi	180	105	54	12	171	...	556	353	909	86	24	120	652	377	1029
47	Lodhi	21	...	2	8	10	...	28	7	35	32	13	45	60	20	80
48	Hede	2	...	...	...	...	...	9	4	13	2	2	4	11	6	17
49	Sutar	88	7	17	2	26	2	158	76	234	160	55	215	318	131	449
50	Sanger	16	...	2	...	2	...	24	8	32	25	5	30	49	13	62
51	Kalavantin	45	31	4	1	36	...	25	12	37	157	61	218	182	73	255
52	Khastri	21	2	4	1	7	2	33	15	48	40	13	53	73	28	101
53	Kamathi	304	10	104	258	372	1	480	180	660	626	137	763	1106	317	1428
54	Mavefarash	4	...	...	...	...	4	5	...	5	5	...	5	10	...	10
55	Kiristav	13	2	3	...	5	4	20	6	26	17	12	29	37	18	55
56	Tambat	74	10	13	1	24	29	152	70	222	132	46	178	284	116	400
57	Goud Brahmins	1	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	2	...	2
58	Dhangar	39	4	6	3	13	1	28	19	47	32	16	48	60	35	95

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			10			13			14	15	
	No. of Families	Houses with Earthen Terraces	Houses with Tiled roofs	Hutments	Total Houses	Shops	Males			Females			Persons			Adults	Non-adults	Total
							Adults	Non-adults	Total	Adult	Non-adult	Total	Adults	Non-adults	Total			
59 Nhavi	217	21	19	16	56	...	366	155	521	316	111	427	682	366	948			
60 Shimpi	760	175	304	13	491	58	1282	712	1994	1552	505	2057	2834	1217	4051			
61 Burud	64	5	27	16	48	5	107	61	168	128	58	186	235	119	354			
62 Golak	45	22	47	1	70	8	93	33	126	101	29	130	194	62	256			
63 Parabhu	24	23	9	...	32	6	63	22	85	51	16	67	114	38	152			
64 Gaodi	74	1	40	8	49	...	99	64	163	118	51	169	217	115	332			
65 Gurav	30	11	14	...	25	...	56	29	85	63	21	84	119	50	169			
66 Bhadbhunje	45	...	1	3	4	17	58	17	75	28	4	32	86	21	107			
67 Koshti	80	8	42	8	58	...	130	74	204	145	56	201	275	130	405			
68 Lohar	51	...	21	...	21	18	56	28	84	62	27	89	118	55	173			
69 Gandhi	6	3	2	...	5	4	18	3	21	10	2	12	28	5	33			
70 Ghisadi	27	1	2	22	25	6	48	17	65	43	26	69	91	43	134			
71 Patharwat	29	3	8	3	14	...	32	13	45	45	17	62	77	30	107			
72 Maljadya	22	...	2	19	21	...	25	10	35	71	33	104	96	43	139			
73 Hijade	5	...	...	4	4	...	7	...	7	...	...	...	7	...	7
74 Shenvai	17	1	2	...	3	...	30	19	49	33	12	45	63	31	94			
75 Kasta	10	...	2	...	2	...	8	3	11	12	5	17	20	8	28			
76 Gondhall	31	...	1	...	1	...	14	13	27	17	5	22	31	18	49			
77 Zarekari	23	...	1	21	22	...	19	13	32	33	9	42	52	22	74			
78 Kaikadi	31	...	1	30	31	...	39	42	81	45	43	88	84	85	169			
79 Badhai	45	3	33	15	51	1	66	38	104	86	27	113	152	65	217			
80 Kasar	127	35	18	1	54	21	225	106	331	235	76	311	460	183	642			
81 Agarwalla	12	...	12	...	12	...	22	3	25	17	5	22	39	8	47			
82 Golakbepari	28	6	1	...	7	7	8	13	21	12	6	18	20	19	39			
83 Dhor	31	...	11	20	31	4	45	20	65	57	11	68	102	31	133			
84 Vataril	10	...	...	...	...	...	10	11	21	13	7	20	23	18	41
85 Ramoshi	46	1	4	39	44	...	50	30	80	61	21	82	111	51	162			
86 Rangari	48	...	11	1	12	16	69	32	101	78	30	108	147	62	209			

87 Attar	18	...	14	2	16	...	34	17	51	34	9	43	68	26	94
88 Kagatkute	5	2	5	...	7	...	18	9	21	12	3	15	24	13	36
89 Chitari	6	...	2	...	2	...	10	4	14	7	6	13	17	10	27
90 Holar	11	...	...	10	10	...	11	5	16	14	5	19	25	10	35
91 Kasbinya	106	8	7	5	20	1	25	14	29	227	71	298	252	85	337
92 Bohari	96	30	38	30	98	57	172	35	207	66	27	93	238	62	300
93 Varakhwale	2	...	3	...	3	...	4	5	9	3	...	3	7	5	12
94 Vanjare	7	...	...	...	...	...	6	4	10	11	6	17	17	10	27
95 Momin	10	1	9	...	10	...	16	15	31	21	8	29	37	23	60
96 Mahar	187	...	54	125	179	...	277	150	427	328	112	440	605	262	867
97 Khatik	90	11	28	32	71	...	171	92	263	170	65	235	341	157	498
98 Mang	75	...	4	71	75	...	78	48	126	79	30	109	157	78	235
99 Halalkhor	145	...	64	77	141	...	161	144	305	196	112	308	357	256	613
Total	16934	1952	5369	2822	10143	1407	29101	12818	41919	30092	9391	39483	59193	22209	81402

(Table 1—Continued).

Animals belonging to persons of various castes in Poona in 1822 and the broad occupational classification of persons in each caste.

Community	Bullocks	Cows	She- Buffaloes	He- Buffaloes	Sheep	Goats	Horses	Mares	Young Horses	Camels	Asses	Well- to-do	Tras- ders	Arti- sans	Labourers & beggars
1 Brahmin	372	1812	343	19	7	16	123	144	136	12	...	2748	240	...	220
2 Kunabi	1855	888	580	29	253	378	14	34	226	...	4	1223	534	270	2947
3 Musalman	148	78	4	9	76	108	73	37	41	11	1	565	143	233	126
4 Gaoli	123	419	926	41	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	206	...	...
5 Jangam	...	7	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15
6 Parit	75	4	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	133	...
7 Halwai	4	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	...
8 Telang kum	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	24	...	...	...
9 Komati	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
10 Lonari	53	8	10	...	...	1	...	...	13	...	76	...	...	70	...
11 Parsi	...	1	...	...	...	7	...	1	...	...	...	...	13	...	...
12 Gujar	23	82	9	...	...	2	3	1	1	...	...	108	407	14	...
13 Jati	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24
14 Pardeshi	86	112	14	1	14	31	9	14	17	1	7	239	125	5	141
15 Kalal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0/2	...
16 Koli	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
17 Sali	2	3	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	9
18 Marwadi	5	18	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	10	194	...	29
19 Johari	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	48	...	...
20 Katsi	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	90	...
21 Beldar	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	33	...	...	6	...
22 Kanjare	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...
23 Chambhar	...	5	7	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	118	...
24 Saltangar	2	5	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...

Community	Bullocks	Cows	She- Buffaloes	He- Buffaloes	Sheep	Goats	Horses	Mares	Young Horses	Camels	Asses	well- to-do	Traders	Arti- sans	Labourers & beggars
58 Dhaugar	...	4	...	...	35	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	39	...	...
59 Nāvi	1	15	4	...	3	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	217	...
60 Shimpi	28	100	27	...	3	5	...	...	12	...	...	156	383	0/221	221 म
61 Burud	2	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	64	...
62 Golak	4	19	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	42	...	...	3 भी
63 Parabhu	4	13	4	1	...	1	4	2	10	...	...	24	...	...	...
64 Gaodi	7	2	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	74	...
65 Gurav	3	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	...
66 Bhadbhunjje	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	45	...
67 Koshti	4	10	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	...
68 Lohar	2	3	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	51	...
69 Gandhi	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
70 Ghisadi	...	2	6	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...
71 Patharwat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	27	...
72 Māljadya	2	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	...	29	...
73 Hijade	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	...
74 Shenvai	2	4	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	भी 5
75 Kāsta	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	...	...	...
76 Godhali	...	...	2	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...
77 Zarekari	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	22	भी 31
78 Kaikādi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	34	...	...	31	...
79 Badhai	1	4	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	45/0	0/45	...
80 Kāsār	7	42	8	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	126	...	...
81 Agarwalla	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...
82 Golakbepari	...	7	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	...	...
83 Dhor	16	2	3	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	31	...
84 Votari	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...
85 Ramoshi	2	4	4	...	1	1	1	3	5	...	...	...	...	46	...
86 Raugāri	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	48	...
87 Attar	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
88 Kagatkute	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	...	...
89 Chitari	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	मुस 5	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...

90 Holar	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11 भी
91 Kasbiryā	8	40	7	...	5	39	...	...	1	...	...	...	96	106	...	...
92 Bohari	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
93 Varakhwale	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	3	...	7	10	...	...
94 Vanjare	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	187	...	...
95 Montin	1	6	13	1	4	5	4	...	8	...	...	...	...	धनगर	...	...
96 Māhar	4	4	1	...	121	31	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	90	...	...
97 Khātik	...	...	...	6	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	75	...	...
98 Mang	9	9	7	53	2	12	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	145	0/145	...
99 Halalkhor	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	3454	4270	2156	165	567	748	241	252	541	24	398	5318	3791	3591	4234	...
														16934		

Table 2: Complete details of the Population Census of Poona City in 1822 Classified by Wards
 [Source: Peshawa Daftar, Jamav Section, (unpublished)]

1 Wards.	2 No. of Families.	3 Houses with Earthen Terraces	4 Houses with tiled roofs	5 Hutments	6 Total Houses	7 Shops	8 Adult Males	9 Non-adult males	10 Total Males	11 Adult Females	12 Non-adult Females	13 Total Females	14 Total Adults	15 Total Non-adults	16 Total
Narayan	669	...	302	2	304	57	1519	70	2220	1520	549	2069	3039	1250	4289
Nagesh	153	17	56	10	83	...	217	107	324	214	69	283	431	176	607
Somwar	462	103	215	48	366	...	1006	621	1627	731	265	996	1337	886	2623
Mangalwar	401	29	169	155	353	2	606	281	887	666	244	910	1272	525	1797
Budhwar	1129	...	356	...	356	385	1971	678	2649	1965	536	2501	3936	1214	5150
Bhavani	854	103	195	485	783	25	1159	675	1834	1257	495	1752	2416	1170	3586
Guruwar	1038	...	338	103	441	26	1480	556	2036	1337	453	1790	2817	1009	3826
Raviwar	1848	...	872	223	1095	247	2827	1107	3934	2687	774	3461	5514	1881	7395
Musafarjang	47	...	21	21	42	2	59	31	90	69	11	80	128	42	170
Ghorpade	210	2	30	169	201	...	251	158	409	273	107	380	524	265	789
Morobadada wada	53	...	22	20	53	...	61	36	97	71	10	81	132	46	178
Kasaba	611	502	420	19	941	49	3111	1489	4600	3550	1157	4707	6661	2646	9307
Gunj	999	186	232	327	745	15	1326	634	1960	1334	487	1821	2660	1121	3781
Shaniwar	239	...	375	12	387	95	2718	788	3506	2517	493	3010	5235	1281	6516
Ganesh	927	79	110	148	337	32	986	472	1458	1170	344	1514	2156	816	2972
Sadashiv	2888	...	622	143	765	145	2945	1490	4435	3166	1041	4207	6111	2531	8642
Hanmant	605	16	135	269	420	11	790	368	1178	900	338	1238	1690	726	2416
Shivpuri	423	281	...	142	423	107	1182	380	1562	1101	371	1472	2283	751	3034
Shukawar	2404	556	528	271	1455	187	4053	1744	5797	4697	1343	6040	8750	3087	11837
Total	15960	1874	5008	2667	9549	1385	28267	12336	40603	29225	9087	38312	57492	21423	78915

Munjeri	148	21	70	53	144	...	363	190	553	389	124	513	752	314	1066
Mali	164	9	122	9	140	...	156	365	521	73	334	407	299	699	998
Parvati	188	...	77	86	163	1	259	163	422	301	87	388	560	250	810
Petha Nibaye	16434	1892	5100	2644	9636	1512	28316	12100	40426	29329	8846	38175	57645	20946	78591
Total	16934	1922	5369	2792	10083	1513	29094	12818	41912	30092	9391	39483	59256	22209	81465

Table 2 (Continued.)

Wards	Bullocks	Cows	She- Buffaloes	He- Buffaloes	Sheep	Goats	Horses	Mares	Young Horses	Camels	Asses	Total
Narayan	374	252	182	5	98	18	2	20	17	...	...	968
Nagesh	14	27	12	...	...	8	...	...	3	...	43	107
Somwar	52	160	40	2	8	12	3	10	27	...	5	319
Mangalwar	50	79	16	27	4	21	...	...	8	...	7	212
Budhwar	71	325	79	1	17	22	36	42	4	2	...	599
Bhavani	120	100	37	35	48	43	1	5	19	2	69	479
Guruwar	179	100	29	6	19	27	38	21	25	10	24	478
Raviwar	219	333	349	8	13	102	8	19	37	...	...	1088
Musafarjang	1	2	10	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	12	26
Ghorpade	48	21	16	1	1	13	1	2	5	...	24	132
Morobadada wada	14	4	9	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	30
Kasaba	158	560	175	13	46	25	20	12	29	2	20	1060
Gunj	217	72	31	1	71	3	20	12	33	...	54	514
Shaniwar	75	429	127	9	23	...	47	28	40	5	...	783

Wards	Bullocks	Cows	She- Buffaloes	He- Buffaloes	Sheep	Goats	Horses	Mares	Young Horses	Camels	Asses	Total
Ganesh	97	70	40	1	3	48	10	2	30	...	...	301
Sadas Shiv	630	536	360	27	37	129	15	30	99	...	...	1863
Hanmant	185	56	27	...	...	5	2	2	15	2	38	332
Shivpuri	53	100	56	1	5	42	4	8	10	2	11	292
Shukrawar	355	770	490	21	178	12	43	49	94	2	125	2139
Total ...	2912	3996	2085	158	571	533	250	262	496	27	432	11722
Munjeri	227	109	61	1	12	13	...	1	6	...	...	430
Mali	166	80	92	30	110	42	...	...	2	...	...	522
Parvati	107	84	40	2	...	88	1	2	7	...	...	331
Petha Nibaye	2954	3997	1963	132	445	605	240	249	526	24	398	11339
Total	3454	4270	2156	165	567	748	241	252	541	24	398	12622

Note:—The names of wards and other localities in this Table and those following, have been reproduced as given in the original lists. The names, current at present and used elsewhere throughout this publication, corresponding to the older names (in italics) in these lists are as follows:—

Nihal = *Nagesh*; Vetal = *Guruwar*; Nana = *Hanmant*; Rasta = *Shivpuri*.

The term Morabadada Wada, evidently indicates a locality in the neighbourhood of the mansion of Morabadada which was, perhaps, then not incorporated in any old or new Ward; this is at present included in Budhwar Ward.

The terms Mali and Mujeri have been discussed and explained above (p. 5). Parvati was a village adjoining Poona which was incorporated in Poona City after 1911. The term "Petha Nihaye" means the total for all wards. It will be observed that the figures in the Tables opposite "Petha Nihaye" differ to some extent from the totals of the ward figures given in the Tables. We were unable to find an explanation for the discrepancy and have, therefore, printed all the figures as recorded in the original documents.

Table No. 3—Persons of Different Communities in Poona in 1822 Classified by Wards.
 [Source : Peshwa Daftar, Jamaat Section, (unpublished)]

Wards→ Castes ↓	Wards													Total
	Gunj	Ganesh	Guruvar	Narayan	Nihal	Bhavani	Muzafarjang	Raviwar	Shaniwar	Shivpuri	Shukrawar	Sadashiv	Hanmant	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
1 Brahmin	142	200	181	1164	50	249	..	850	2909	320	2330	3197	102	11,694
2 Kunabi	822	1375	595	2465	116	1350	14	850	2505	445	3047	3196	742	17,522
3 Musalman	424	310	361	89	15	342	89	1271	..	117	833	87	239	4,157
4 Gaoli	15	..	16	63	4	..	..	139	..	52	306	198	16	809
5 Jangam	12	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	8	25
6 Parit	28	..	53	36	12	..	..	77	22	15	74	64	46	427
7 Halwai	..	..	27	..	..	..	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	55
8 Telang Kunabi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	103	103
9 Komati	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	4
10 Lonari	10	..	109	..	..	..	11	39	..	6	76	..	..	251
11 Parsi	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	14	..	2	..	6	5	32
12 Gujar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	72	..	72
13 Jati	..	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	..	..	41
14 Pardeshi	149	63	93	..	43	35	32	439	35	20	369	69	53	1400
15 Kalal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	4	7
16 Koli	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	20
17 Sali	95	..	157	..	..	..	..	37	..	..	22	..	..	311
18 Marwadi	..	..	278	39	7	102	..	207	..	18	62	27	27	767
19 Johari	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	105	12	23	..	..	..	140
20 Katai	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	41	..	..	..	..	..	46
21 Beldar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	..	..	27
22 Kanjare	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	51	..	..	..	..	..	51

CC.

Wards → Castes ↓		Wards →													Total
		Gunj	Ganesh	Gururav	Narayan	Nihal	Ebhavani	Muzafarjung	Ravivar	Shanivar	Shirpuri	Shukawar	Sadashiv	Hanmant	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
23	Chambhar	143	122	...	57	...	75	...	73	...	...	13	97	141	721
24	Saltangar	70	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	...	...	5	...	100
25	Khatri	39	...	15	...	...	...	...	26	...	11	14	11	...	116
26	Bairagi	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	7	...	22	...	1	...	45
27	Bajegar	...	...	7	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	12
28	Kachhi	68	...	240	...	...	...	...	232	...	...	14	58	...	612
29	Tamboli	...	...	92	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	6	130
30	Kathil kute	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	9
31	Mochhi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	...	...	...	...	26
32	Chhapparbandh	90	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	76	16	24	206
33	Patwegar	35	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	46
34	Bhoi	117	...	35	36	7	...	...	23	...	9	115	47	...	389
35	Raul	...	...	...	...	26	...	...	...	...	...	57	...	...	83
36	Lakeri	...	...	...	...	...	33	...	...	...	192	...	...	6	231
37	Katari	9	...	...	...	...	10	...	59	...	...	...	...	...	78
38	Lingayat	389	...	...	...	33	156	...	113	...	400	285	...	64	1439
39	Kiradi	...	...	...	...	...	83	...	...	...	21	...	...	44	149
40	Feli	41	28	90	69	...	35	2	177	10	31	43	50	43	619
41	Jingar	...	...	102	...	22	...	...	81	103	11	126	6	5	456
42	Kumbhar	145	14	123	...	35	50	...	...	...	9	600	17	60	1,053
43	Sonar	31	...	75	67	5	5	6	212	439	124	379	255	19	1,617
44	Dalwale	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	9	21
45	Jain	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2
46	Gosavi	14	...	...	...	58	...	...	31	...	70	48	...	34	255
47	Lodhi	...	...	80	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	80
48	Hede	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	...	17
49	Sutar	2	39	20	...	1	...	...	...	10	19	68	114	8	281
50	Sangar	...	...	62	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	62

51	Kalavantin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	240	...	...	240		
52	Kamatbi	...	...	97	...	8	311	...	102	...	851	...	1363		
53	Mevefarash	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	10		
54	Kiristav	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	5	...	55		
55	Tambat	...	48	42	...	...	...	...	103	...	59	51	303		
56	GoudBrahmins	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	2		
57	Dhangar	185	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	9	46	13		
58	Nhavi	39	74	76	26	10	...	...	78	95	19	118	95	61	691
59	Shimpi	113	...	50	...	119	...	...	395	63	573	652	117	32	2114
60	Burud	...	...	7	12	...	23	...	107	17	59	...	2	31	258
61	Golak	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	16
62	Parabhhu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19	16	10	...	45
63	Gaodi	...	...	138	11	7	...	...	114	...	...	...	...	20	290
64	Guruv	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	8	7	15	2	...	45
65	Bhaddhunji	...	...	25	3	5	...	...	...	11	...	...	11	7	62
66	Koshti	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3
67	Lohar	...	...	32	...	5	...	...	74	8	...	...	13	...	132
68	Ghisadi	14	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	34	80
69	Patharwat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	45	...	...	14	...	6	65
70	Maljade	...	25	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	116	143
71	Hijade	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	3
72	Shenvai	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	35	...	59	...	99
73	Kasta	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	...	28
74	Gondhali	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	49	...	49
75	Zarekari	...	...	...	...	...	74	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	74
76	Kaikadi	...	...	...	...	...	55	...	...	...	9	...	...	14	78
77	Badhai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	217	...	...	...	...	...	217
78	Kasar	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	125	14	153	108	44	...	456
79	Agarwalla	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	47	...	...	...	...	...	47
80	Dhor	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	64	...	27	...	18	...	117
81	Ramoshi	11	...	...	20	...	46	...	...	...	17	...	...	42	136
82	Rangari	...	...	29	...	5	...	...	24	20	...	...	16	3	97
83	Attar	...	...	26	...	4	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	32
84	Chitari	...	...	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	27
85	Holar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	26
86	Koshinya	...	...	45	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	173	38	37	296
87	Bohari	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	309	...	...	1	...	...	310
88	Varakhwale	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12
89	Vanjare	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	27	...	27

Wards→ Castes ↓	Wards→													Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
90 Mahar	27	...	...	...	...	120	...	8	6	3	14	31	105	314
91 Khatik	18	...	153	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	105	16	...	292
92 Mang	22	...	...	...	26	...	...	...	...	...	26	5	36	128
93 Halalkhor	...	...	...	...	...	394	...	9	9	...	26	4	15	457
94 Kirkoli	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
95 Gujarathi	...	13	...	90	...	...	...	482	128	21	226	...	...	960
96 Govardhan	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	90	11	...	114
97 Daruwale	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
98 Nalbandh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	20
99 Pinjari	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	59	...	...	...	8	75
100 Fakir	29	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	50	...	...	82
101 Bagwan	...	...	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	57
102 Bairagi Kunabi	223	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	223
103 Bairagi Mathpali	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	...	...	43
104 Bhisti	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22
105 Mali Kunabe	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	322
106 Mirdhe	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	...	...	...	...	24
107 Waghe murli	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
108 Vani Gujarati	...	...	152	...	...	38	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	201
109 Vaidya kamathbi	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
110 Joshi Daku	105	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	105
111 Arab	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22
112 Gavai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	...	...	24
113 Pahad	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	7
Total	3781	2267	3828	4289	649	3586	170	7596	6516	3034	11837	8669	2416	58,638

Table 4—Number of houses occupied by families of different communities in certain wards of Poona at selected dates [Source—Peshwa Daftar, Jamao Section. (Unpublished)]

Kasba (1764-65)

Budhwar (1818)

Community	No. of Houses	Community (Continued)	No. of Houses (continued)	Community	No. of Houses
1 Brahmin	311	31 Sutar	7	1 Gujarati	19
2 Bairagi	3	32 Parit	9	2 Lohar	3
3 Koshti	2	33 Ghadai	1	3 Brahmin	201
4 Sali	1	34 Memin	5	4 Bairagi	2
5 Shimpi	20	35 Gavai	2	5 Sutar	2
6 Vani-Pardeshi	7	36 Koli	3	6 Mirdhe	12
7 Teli	12	37 Nalband	2	7 Shimpi	50
8 Kunbi		38 Patwegar	1	8 Naykin	1
Marathe	203	39 Attar	10	9 Vani	8
9 Pardeshi	24	40 Manyar	3	10 Teli	4
10 Sonar	40	41 Kalai	1	11 Kunbi	•
11 Musalman	34	42 Sikalgar	4	Marathe	19
12 Nhavi	12	43 Shenavi	1	12 Golak	8
13 Parabhu	6	44 Tapkire	1	13 Pardessi	1
14 Jangam	1	45 Patharvat	1	14 Sonar	5
15 Gavandi	1	46 Lonari	3	15 Vinewala	1
16 Tambat	6	47 Beldar	1	16 Jaratarkha	1
17 Jingar	8	48 Saltangar	4	17 Musalman	2
18 Bhoi	12	49 Agarwala	1	18 Tapkire	8
19 Kumbhar	9	50 Mochi	6	19 Parabhu	2
20 Kasar	9	51 Dhor	3	20 Gavandi	2
21 Khatik	3	52 Kasab	2	21 Gzoli	2
22 Tamboli	7	53 Mehtar	10	22 Parit	3
23 Bagwan	2	54 Chambhar	1	23 Jingar	1
24 Mali	43	55 Natwa	1	24 Halwai	3
25 Gujar	7	56 Burud	16	25 Bhoi	1
26 Lohar	2			26 Kasar	4
27 Halwai	4			27 Tamboli	2
28 Vaidu	2			28 Bhadbhunja	3
29 Kalavantin	9			29 Bagwan	2
30 Gurav	6			30 Rangari	2
				31 Pabadi	8
				32 Bohori	1
		Total	905	Total	383

Table-4 (Continued)

[Somwar & Mangalwar (1818)]

Ghorpade (1822)

Community	Somwar No. of Houses	Mangalwar No. of Houses
1 Brahmin	46	42
2 Gosavi	77	3
3 Koshti	53	...
4 Bangar	15	...
5 Shimpi	40	3
6 Kirad	22	13
7 Vani	37	27
8 Teli	11	12
9 Kunbi-		
Marathe	30	46
10 Golak	9	1
11 Pardeshi	10	10
12 Sonar	8	1
13 Raul	7	...
14 Nirhali	6	...
15 Musalman	4	6
16 Nhavi	4	...
17 Parabhu	4	2
18 Jangam	3	...
19 Gaoli	2	...
20 Johari	1	...
21 Tambat	1	...
22 Mang	1	...
23 Dalkari	...	36
24 Jain	...	4
25 Kumbhar	...	3
26 Bhadbhunje	...	1
27 Katai	...	40
28 Budhikari	...	2
Total	391	252

Community	No. of Houses
1 Nalband	3
2 Shimpi	1
3 Vani Pardeshi	5
4 Teli	4
5 Raul	1
6 Kumbhar	1
7 Chambhar	19
8 Kalkadi	15
9 Khatik	4
10 Chhapar- band	6
11 Mali	26
12 Bajegar	5
13 Bhoi	1
14 Kalal	1
15 Ghisadi	5
Total	97

Table 5—Population of Poona by wards 1851-1881
[Source—Poona Gazetteer. Part III p. 274]

WARDS	Total Area Square yards	Area under Houses Square yards	People		
			1851	1872	1881
1 Mangalwar	485,000	340,000	1195	1742	2192
2 Somwar	545,000	479,000	1752	2995	3808
3 Rasta	365,000	225,000	2533	3676	4267
4 Nihal	105,000	75,000	665	832	1107
5 Nana	525,000	365,000	2866	4544	5408
6 Bhavani	1,235,000	672,000	3606	5294	6737
7 Kasba	575,000	575,000	8831	10,855	11,890
8 Raviwar	325,000	325,000	7461	8928	9726
9 Ganesh	155,000	155,000	3612	3760	3695
10 Vetai	195,000	195,000	3366	4293	4458
11 Ganj	405,000	285,000	3742	4433	4969
12 Muzafarjang	23,000	23,000	85	34	90
13 Ghorpade	655,000	325,000	1936	1119	1139
14 Shanwar	445,000	445,000	5152	7323	7786
15 Narayan	375,000	375,000	3046	3582	3563
16 Sadashiv	2,275,000	1,209,000	7142	8015	8366
17 Budhwar	185,000	185,000	4518	5881	6083
18 Shukrawar	955,000	555,000	11,701	13,130	14,137
Total	9,828,000	6,808,000	73,209	90,436	99,421

CHAPTER II

WARDS AND COMMUNITIES

In Section II of Chapter II in Volume I the general characteristics of the population of Poona as revealed by the sample family enquiry were set forth. In doing this the data relating to all the individuals in the sample families were added together and were classified chiefly in terms of the characteristics of individuals. Tables were presented classifying the information regarding the age, sex, civil condition, literacy, etc. of individuals included in the sample for the various wards and comments were offered on the significance of this information. Also, certain measurements which it is usual to express *per capita*, such as that of income or living space occupied, were at the same time computed and discussed. In the sections that follow the data relating to the sample families are treated in another manner. The unit of classification is here the family and not the individual. All characteristics which could be expressed in relation to the family have been so classified. Moreover, an attempt is made in the following sections to discover whether any of these characteristics, features or attributes are significantly related to others. It is only by making such an attempt that further light could be thrown on the complex of social or economic conditions and the attempt is best made in relation, not to the individual but, to the family.

The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section the data relating to the families enumerated in each ward are presented together. An examination of these data is useful chiefly for elucidating and amplifying points raised in the comments made in Section II of Chapter II in Volume I. The second section presents the data for families grouped together according to a classification of communities. In view of the great importance of caste in Hindu history and society the data for sample families presented together in significant groups of communities should yield valuable information on many aspects of social and economic life.

SECTION I; WARDS

We begin with a series of tables which classify the sample of families in each ward in regard to certain characteristics. The purpose

Table No. 6—Families in different Wards classified according to the Occupational Grades of their Heads (H. S.)

Ward ↓	Occupational Grade →														
	I Unskilled Manual Work	II Skilled Manual Work	III Lowest Professions and Administrative Posts.	IV Small Businesses	V Highly Skilled and Supervisory Manual Work	VI Clerks & Shop Assistants	VII Intermediate Professions & Administrative Posts	VIII Medium Business	IX Highest Professions & Salaried Posts	X Owners of Factories and Large Shops, etc.	XI Pensioners	XII Beggars & Prostitutes	Unclassified	No Earner	Total
1 Shivajinagar	52	49	19	36	7	21	7	17	12	...	2	...	...	15	252
2 Sadashiv	57	46	23	23	24	75	29	21	7	1	28	...	1	29	368
3 Narayan	17	17	13	16	3	24	2	11	2	...	2	...	1	11	131
4 Shanwar	21	9	22	13	23	16	10	11	2	...	...	...	1	18	164
5 Budhwar	14	18	18	16	26	33	10	19	3	...	11	1	...	19	186
6 Raviwar	32	53	20	77	49	36	12	63	4	3	5	2	...	14	371
7 Kasba	89	83	30	49	30	28	3	19	3	...	9	3	...	28	374
8 Mangalwar	29	40	14	22	2	6	...	6	1	...	1	...	...	8	146
9 Somwar	54	45	20	21	14	20	10	15	2	...	6	...	1	11	219
10 Rasta & Nihal	7	15	10	10	15	22	11	8	2	1	9	...	...	7	118
11 Ganesh	22	36	5	26	13	10	2	10	...	...	...	1	...	5	130
12 Nana	71	114	23	51	24	23	4	30	1	...	5	...	...	17	365
13 Bhavani	101	72	12	52	11	17	3	23	...	1	2	20	...	6	320
14 Ganj	52	73	7	27	10	6	2	10	...	...	...	1	...	8	198
15 Vetal	35	24	23	23	13	17	7	12	2	...	6	1	...	14	178
16 Shukrawar	121	84	44	82	38	57	17	52	5	1	13	23	...	32	580
17 Ghorpade Gultekadi	7	12	2	3	3	1	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	31
18 Suburban Rds.	120	100	22	3	14	2	...	9	12	2	...	...	...	7	308
19 Yerawada & Saburban wadis	21	24	7	10	2	1	7	2	...	...	2	...	...	6	90
Total	943	914	350	560	333	421	143	342	66	10	121	68	3	255	4529

that these tables are intended to serve is two-fold. In the first instance they may indicate the extent of the localisation of certain types of populations in certain wards or divisions and secondly, they may throw additional light on the data and the discussion contained in Section II, Chapter II, of Vol. I. Important distinguishing features exhibited by the ward samples and discussed there—in regard, for example, to literacy or civil condition—may be interpreted in the light of the data given in the following tables. Whether any of the particular features could be associated with, for example, the caste or income groups to which the population of the ward belonged in the main, would be an interesting enquiry. And it is partly answered by the detailed classification of the ward samples that follows. It should, of course, be remembered that the following tables reveal almost every ward sample to be homogeneous only to a limited extent.

Wards and Occupations of Heads of Families: Table No. 6 shows the distribution of families in different wards classified according to the occupational grades of their heads. In Shukrawar, Kasba, Somwar, Bhavani, Vetal and the Suburban Municipal area the largest number of families were found in Grade I. The second largest concentration in Bhavani, Somwar, Vetal and the Suburban area was in Grades II and III while in Kasba and Shukrawar it was in Grades II and IV. In Shivajinagar, Mangalwar and the Suburban *wadis* the largest number of families were concentrated in Grades I and II and were almost equally divided as between the two grades. In all of them the next large concentration was in Grades IV and III in order of importance. In Nana, Ganj and Ghorpade-Gultekadi the concentrations were in Grades II, I and IV in the descending order but in Ganesh the order was slightly different viz. Grades II, IV and I. In Raviwar the largest number of families was concentrated in Grade IV, the next concentrations were, in the descending order, in Grades VIII, II and IV. The large bulk of families in Sadashiv, Budhwar, Narayan and Rasta were concentrated in Grade VI. In Sadashiv and Narayan the other concentrations, in the descending order, were in Grades I and II. In Rasta the scale of grades in order of importance was Grades VII, II and IX and in Budhwar, Grades V, II and VIII.

Wards and Family Income: Table No. 7 shows the total income of families classified by wards. In Nana, Ganesh and the Suburban *wadis* a large number of the families were almost equally

Table No. 7—Families in different Wards classified according to the range of their Incomes (H. S.)

Ward ↓	Total Income in Rs. →	Below	100 to	150 to	200 to	300 to	400 to	500 to	750 to	1000 to	2000 &	No	Not	Total
		100	150	200	300	400	500	750	1000	2000	over	Income	Given	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1 Shivajinagar		39	30	24	49	32	12	16	8	16	19	1	6	252
2 Sadashiv		16	25	22	45	57	34	63	21	48	36	1	...	368
3 Narayan		5	10	7	24	19	8	19	15	14	6	...	4	131
4 Shanwar		3	15	11	31	21	14	18	12	23	9	1	6	164
5 Budhwar		3	11	9	27	33	13	34	20	23	12	...	1	186
6 Raviwar		13	27	45	43	59	32	62	18	42	22	3	5	371
7 Kasba		30	38	57	94	60	23	32	13	15	7	3	2	374
8 Mangalwar		10	15	9	54	32	16	6	...	2	2	...	...	146
9 Somwar		11	23	26	50	24	21	30	5	18	9	...	2	219
10 Rasta		...	1	3	8	9	2	14	6	18	16	...	...	77
11 Nihal		2	3	5	7	15	2	4	2	...	...	...	1	41
12 Ganesh		3	13	19	26	25	16	14	5	7	1	...	1	130
13 Nana		21	31	47	82	81	38	28	6	20	4	1	6	365
14 Bhavani		51	40	50	61	37	25	21	15	12	5	...	3	320
15 Ganj		5	18	36	47	43	12	17	12	6	2	...	...	198
16 Vetal		16	8	24	36	22	14	22	7	15	5	2	7	178
17 Shukrawar		20	40	76	114	115	71	74	24	29	12	1	4	580
18 Ghorpade, Gultekadi		3	2	4	10	4	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	31
19 Suburban Rds.		10	24	56	99	44	25	11	2	11	23	...	3	308
20 Yerawda and Suburban wadis		6	5	12	23	25	8	7	...	2	...	...	2	90
Total		267	379	544	932	757	387	494	192	321	190	13	53	4529

Table No. 8—Families in different Wards classified according to their Income per Adult Unit. (H. S.)

Ward. ↓	Total Income per Adult Unit: Rs→											
	Below 30	30 to 45	45 to 60	60 to 90	90 to 120	120 to 150	150 to 225	225 to 300	300 to 600	Above 600	Not Given	Total
1 Shivajinagar	13	25	22	58	26	23	19	10	25	22	9	252
2 Sadashiv	4	19	28	56	50	31	60	35	63	19	3	368
3 Narayan	3	4	11	22	25	10	25	9	16	2	4	131
4 Shanwar	3	4	14	23	22	17	33	15	18	8	7	164
5 Budhwar	...	1	9	24	35	19	31	23	36	7	1	186
6 Raviwar	5	18	26	51	44	43	68	41	39	27	9	371
7 Kasba	7	32	33	107	65	41	41	17	22	4	5	374
8 Mangalwar	3	14	11	43	37	17	15	2	2	2	...	146
9 Somwar	5	11	16	50	37	20	33	14	14	17	2	219
10 Rasta	...	...	1	7	10	7	18	9	21	4	...	77
11 Nihal	1	3	4	8	11	6	6	1	...	...	1	41
12 Ganesh	...	3	7	36	28	22	20	5	7	2	...	130
13 Naus	8	16	29	96	65	39	49	28	22	6	7	365
14 Bhavani	24	22	46	90	42	32	27	8	20	6	3	320
15 Ganj	4	10	25	61	42	20	21	7	6	2	...	198
16 Vetal	6	9	16	40	30	15	22	13	13	5	9	178
17 Shukrawar	2	12	33	113	109	77	105	45	63	15	6	580
18 Ghorpade & Gultekdi	2	5	5	11	7	...	1	...	...	...	...	31
19 Suburban Rds.	1	12	25	68	69	31	36	18	23	19	4	308
20 Yerawda & Suburban wadis	1	2	9	27	19	12	10	3	4	1	2	90
Total	92	222	370	990	774	483	640	303	414	170	72	4,529

divided between the 4th and 5th income ranges and the remaining were to be found, in order of importance, in the 3rd, 6th and the 2nd ranges. In Kasba, Vetā, Ghorpade-Gultekadi and the Suburban Municipal area the largest concentration of families was in the 4th range and in the first three of these wards the 3rd and the 5th ranges claimed, almost equally, the bulk of the remaining families. In the Suburban Municipal area, after the 4th range came, in order of importance, the 3rd, the 5th and the 2nd ranges. The 4th and the 5th ranges, claimed a large number of the families in Shukrawar, Ganj and Mangalwar. In Shivajinagar and Bhavani the 4th range was dominant and after it came the 1st range. In Raviwar and Budhwar a large number of families was almost equally divided between the 5th and the 7th ranges and after these the ranges next in importance were the 4th and the 9th. In Sadashiv, the order of ranges according to their importance was the 7th, the 5th and the 9th, the last two being of almost equal importance. In Nihal the 6th and the 5th were the most important ranges. In Rasta the 9th range claimed the largest number of families and after it came, in order of importance, the 10th and the 7th ranges. •

Wards and Poverty: Table No. 8 shows the income per adult unit in families classified by wards. The poverty and destitution lines have been already defined and we now proceed to comment on the location and concentration of poverty and destitution as revealed by these figures. The wards can be arranged as follows according to the increasing index of poverty and destitution, the figures in brackets giving the percentage of families living below the two lines.

Poverty.		Destitution.	
Rasta	(31%)	Rasta	(1.5%)
Shukrawar	(42%)	Budhwar	(6%)
Budhwar	(47%)	Shukrawar	(8%)
Raviwar	(51%)	Ganesh	(8%)
Shanwar	(51%)	Suburban	(13%)
Sadashiv	(54%)	Wadis	(13%)
Narayan	(58%)	Shanwar	(13%)
Vetal	(65%)	Narayan	(13%)
Shivajinagar	(67%)	Raviwar	(14%)
Somwar	(67%)		
Nana	(68%)	Sadashiv	(14%)

Poverty.		Destitution	
Suburban	(69%)	Nana	(15%)
Ganesh	(74%)	Somwar	(15%)
Kasba	(74%)	Vetal	(17%)
Wadis	(78%)	Kasba	(19%)
Bhavani	(80%)	Ganj	(20%)
Ganj	(81%)	Mangalwar	(20%)
Nihal	(82%)	Nihal	(20%)
Mangalwar	(84%)	Shivajinagar	(24%)
Ghorpade &		Bhavani	(29%)
Gultekadi	(87%)	Ghorpade &	
		Gultekadi	(38%)

The order in which the wards are arranged in the above makes it easy to locate the poverty-stricken and the destitute areas in Poona. Very broadly it might be remarked that the wards on the eastern side of the city, except Rasta, are the poorer localities while the wards on the western side are, as compared with them, rather better off.

It is interesting to compare the relative position of the various wards as indicated by the calculations above with that in the table regarding calculations of total and *per capita* income in Chapter II of Part I (p. 64). There are considerable variations in the comparative positions of wards in the poverty and destitution calculations as compared with the *per capita* income calculations. The *per capita* income is calculated by dividing the total income of all earners in the ward sample by the total number of persons included in it. The poverty and destitution lines are determined in relation to income per adult unit, of each family. A variation in the results of the two sets of calculations may be brought about by either of two factors. The *per capita* income figure does not take account of differences in sex and age in the composition of the population. It also treats the whole ward sample as one unit, while the poverty and destitution calculations are specially related to the destitution over various income ranges of the families in the ward. As a result of the first factor indicated above a ward with a comparatively large proportion of non-adults in its population may show better ranking in regard to poverty and destitution than in the *per capita* income calculations. This factor does not, however, appear to play an important part in these particular sets of data relating to Poona wards. Even *a priori* considerations indicate the second factor as

being important, and it is clear from the actual data that the range of variations in levels of family incomes may differ widely from ward to ward.¹ It appears that this factor explains, in the main, the difference in ranking of wards not only as between the *per capita* income and the poverty and destitution data but also the differences in the results of the poverty and destitution rankings themselves. Some of the more marked differences in the relative rankings could illustrate the above. The ward Shukrawar ranks eleventh in the *per capita* income calculations; however, it takes the second highest place in relation to poverty and the third in relation to destitution. This is obviously due to a comparatively even distribution of income among families in the ward. There are no specially rich elements in the Shukrawar population; on the other hand, there is no large representation in it of the specially handicapped classes such as the depressed or the weaving castes. Ganesh ranks fourteenth in the *per capita* income calculation and thirteenth in the poverty ranking but takes the fourth place in the gradation regarding destitution. This indicates a generally lower level of income and greater poverty than in Shukrawar but a remarkably even spread which is reflected in the very low destitution percentage. The community and occupational composition of both Shukrawar and Ganesh support the presumption regarding the evenness of spread. On the other side, there are the Shivajinagar and the Suburban Municipal areas. Shivajinagar stands fifth in *per capita* income, ninth in poverty ranking and eighteenth in destitution. The corresponding figures for the Suburban area are second, twelfth and fifth. The explanation in both is the presence in the sample of large numbers of families of the poor and the destitute together with a small number of the rich or very rich. The latter element is able to affect the *per capita* income calculation for the ward as a whole; the high proportions of the poor and the destitute are, on the other hand, fully brought out by the poverty and destitution calculations.

Wards and Communities: Table No. 9 presents the data regarding the families enumerated in the sample for each ward classified according to religion and community. It is obvious that the Hindus form a large majority of the population. They are more numerous than the total population of all other religions put together in the sample for all wards except in the small sample belonging to Nihal. The samples for some wards recorded either no family or an insignificant number of families as belonging to

1. See Table 7.

Table No. 9—Families in different Wards classified according to their Religion and Community. (H. S.)

Ward.	Hindu Castes																Other Religions					Grand Total						
	Maratha	Desh. Brahmins	Kok. Brahmins	Other Brahmins	Total Brahmins	Mali	Dhangar & Gsoli	Weaving Castes	Artisan Group I	Artisan Group II	Koli and Bhoi	Mahar	Chambhar	Other Depressed Classes	Total Depressed Classes.	Pardeshi	Gujarati	Marwadi	Jains	South Indians	Others		Total Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Parses	Others
1 Shivajinagar	80	21	18	4	43	8	..	..	4	10	3	18	1	1	20	6	7	1	1	6	36	225	31	5	..	1	..	252
2 Sadashiv	87	76	124	30	230	7	1	..	13	13	..	..	7	1	8	1	2	2	1	..	2	368	..	..	..	..	..	368
3 Narayan	31	13	31	24	73	1	..	..	7	7	2	..	1	1	2	2	..	1	1	..	2	131	..	..	..	..	..	131
4 Shanwar	31	44	50	22	116	3	..	..	7	7	2	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	1	163	1	..	..	..	..	164
5 Budhwar	42	84	30	3	117	5	..	..	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	7	4	3	..	..	1	184	2	..	..	..	..	186
6 Raviwar	44	11	1	8	20	6	..	..	2	2	..	..	7	1	8	23	51	10	25	4	26	263	107	..	1	..	..	370
7 Kasba	140	33	6	11	50	15	..	..	4	4	21	..	4	2	6	4	1	4	1	5	9	331	43	..	..	..	..	374
8 Mangalwar	60	2	..	1	3	9	3	4	3	3	..	14	..	24	38	1	..	1	1	6	7	138	7	1	..	..	..	146
9 Somwar	69	10	4	6	20	9	4	1	14	8	..	26	..	7	33	10	4	7	..	4	17	300	14	4	1	..	..	219
10 Rasta	12	8	2	7	17	..	..	..	7	7	1	..	..	..	3	3	..	1	..	13	4	58	4	7	1	..	..	77
11 Nihal	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	13	28	..	..	..	..	41
12 Ganesh	62	..	1	2	3	6	1	..	7	3	..	..	10	..	10	3	1	2	..	..	10	108	20	2	..	..	..	130
13 Nana	98	1	..	1	2	9	8	2	15	19	1	4	12	28	44	18	2	5	8	3	10	242	92	21	6	13	..	365
14 Bhavani	48	1	..	..	1	22	14	1	3	4	1	32	3	47	82	39	5	2	2	7	9	248	66	5	..	1	..	320
15 Ganj	33	..	1	..	1	17	3	46	3	3	2	..	8	8	28	..	2	2	..	..	13	170	25	3	..	..	..	198
16 Vetal	61	4	..	4	8	2	4	4	10	10	5	..	..	5	6	19	13	8	..	..	7	150	11	17	..	..	..	178
17 Shukrawar	220	51	27	17	95	28	2	1	45	9	..	6	..	2	8	18	16	8	9	3	51	522	47	11	..	..	..	580
18 Ghorpada and Gultekdi	6	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	1	..	1	2	6	..	8	2	..	..	..	..	2	23	6	2	..	..	..	31
19 Suburban Rds.	99	2	1	4	7	9	1	..	6	..	60	1	20	81	8	5	..	..	4	9	229	30	36	..	13	..	..	308
20 Yeravada & Suburban wadis	42	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	17	2	2	21	3	..	1	..	1	5	77	10	2	..	1	..	..	90
Total	1267	366	296	144	806	160	55	66	218	145	35	184	54	144	382	183	116	61	67	60	222	3843	534	116	15	18	3	4529

religions other than Hindu.¹ Such wards were Sadashiv, Narayan, Shanwar and Budhwar. Next to Hindus the religion whose adherents numbered most was Islam. Muslims outnumbered Hindus in the sample for Nihal. Elsewhere their numbers were much smaller proportionately. The chief concentration of the Muslim population was to be found in Raviwar, Nana, Bhavani, Kasba and Shukrawar. The proportions of the followers of other religions were much smaller than even that of Muslims. Christians were recorded in the samples chiefly of Vetal, Nana and Shukrawar, Jews in Rasta and Nana and Parsees mostly in the Suburban area.

Among Hindus, Marathas easily dominate. This is the main Maharashtra caste and the fact is shown by its preponderance in the population of almost every ward. In a majority of the wards the number of Maratha families is larger than that belonging to any other sub-class of Hindus shown in the table. The minority of wards in which the Marathas are not the most numerous single group are the four wards in which Brahmins dominate and Nihal, Bhavani and Ganj. Also in Raviwar and Rasta the Maratha population is comparatively small. The Brahmins, the next most numerous class, are much more highly localised than the Marathas. They dominate the four wards—Sadashiv, Narayan, Shanwar and Budhwar. The only other wards in which they are important are Shukrawar, Kasba and Rasta. On the other hand, they are insignificant in the sample for Nana, Ganj, Bhavani, Nihal and Ganesh. The Brahmins have been classified in the table into three sub-groups, Deshastha,² Konkanastha and others. Deshastha Brahmins are somewhat more numerous than the Konkanastha. They are also more evenly spread. They decisively outnumber the latter in Budhwar, Kasba and Shukrawar. The Konkanasthas are to be found chiefly in the four Brahmin wards and in Shukrawar and Shivajinagar. In other wards their numbers are negligible. They are more numerous than any other sub-group in Sadashiv and Shanwar and more numerous than the Deshastha also in Narayan. Other Brahmins, which is a mixed group, shows naturally a somewhat

1. For the purpose of the whole of this analysis Jains and Lingayats have been considered as Hindus.

2. It should be noted that the term "Deshastha" does not connote only one sub-caste as the term "Konkanastha" does. It embraces two important and a number of subsidiary separate sub-caste groups. This omnibus term is, however, used in the Indian Census. Also, it is used so frequently in common parlance that most of our investigators failed to distinguish carefully between the various groups embraced in it. Hence its use by us was unavoidable.

wider dispersion than the Deshastha or the Konkanastha. The Malis, a very important element in old Poona, are also fairly widely dispersed but with marked concentration in Kasba, Bhavani and Shukrawar. Among the depressed classes, Mahars form obviously the most important single group. Their population is naturally highly localised. No Mahar family was included in the samples of eight of the wards. The chief Mahar colonies are to be found in Bhavani, Somwar, Mangalwar and Shivajinagar. Mahars are also numerous in the Suburban area sample and are in a fair proportion in the wadis. The other depressed classes—a mixed group—are to be found chiefly in Bhavani and Mangalwar and also in Nana and Ganesh. The castes following handicrafts and other traditional small scale industries have been divided, for the purpose of the table, into three groups. One group consists of those whose hereditary occupation has some connection with weaving cloth. The other group, designated, Artisan Group I, consists of castes who hereditarily work in metals of all kinds (gold, silver, brass, copper-iron, etc.) together with Shimpis, the hereditary clothier and tailor caste of Maharashtra. The third group, designated Artisan Group II, consists of miscellaneous kinds of service trades and others such as barbers, washermen, potters, etc. i. e. castes who have been usually included in the group of public servants, *balutedars*, in village together with a few small groups similarly situated economically and socially, as that of basket-workers.¹

The group of weaving castes is most highly concentrated, most of the sample having been enumerated in Ganj. The two combined artisan groups are not highly localised. In spite, however, of their being mixed groups they show some signs of concentration; one group in Raviwar, Kasba and Shukrawar and the other in Kasba, Nana and Ganj.

The above classification refers to what may be called the local and regional i. e. the Maharashtra castes. There is an element of immigrants in Poona and this has not been included in the classification of Hindu castes described so far. In order to indicate the extent of this element four other classes have been introduced in this table. The basis of this classification is, however, not the caste but the

1. Note that the English term used in this context denoting the group is to be taken merely as a translation of the original caste name which, of course, has both a caste and an occupational connotation. The term in this context refers only to the caste and has no reference to the actual occupation in which persons belonging to the caste may be engaged at the present time.

region of origin ; so that families coming from one region have been put into one class to whatever caste they may belong.¹ Of the four regional classes the one having origin in Northern India has the largest numbers and shows the widest dispersion over wards. The numbers in this group, however, show some concentration in Bhavani, Ganj, Raviwar and Nana. Gujaratis, the next biggest group, show marked localisation in Raviwar and Vetat. Marwadis, though less numerous than Gujaratis, are yet to be found spread over most wards with some concentration, however, in Vetat and Raviwar. Families coming from South India are comparatively few and the chief feature exhibited by the figures relating to them is their concentration in Rasta. An attempt was made to obtain a separate enumeration of Jains. Jains in Poona, belong mainly to the Gujarati and the Marwadi regional groups and it was found on an examination of the returns that the Jain families among these groups were not always separately indicated. As it was not found possible to redistribute the schedules relating to Jains among Gujaratis and Marwadis, the data relating to them have been separately tabulated but it has not been thought worthwhile to offer any comments on them.

It should be remembered in interpreting these figures that in the regional classes not only are the different castes mixed up but that they also consist of migrant streams belonging to different chronological periods which may have little in common with each other. In each of these classes may be found included, on the one hand, families which immigrated so far in the past that barring the remembrance of the origin and some peculiarities, perhaps, of caste government and structure they differ little from families belonging to the indigenous castes. Indeed, to these classes belong some of the most respected and ancient families of Poona city. On the other hand, in the same class in our table might be included families who are merely temporary residents in the city having come there for trade or service and having little connection with it in the past or little interest in its future; and there would also be a number of graded classes in between these two extremes. It was not possible for us to separate these various strata in our tabulation or classification.

1. This procedure, which was followed largely in the 1922 enumeration also, has not been rigidly followed in one or two cases where its enforcement was likely to lead obviously to the introduction of a heterogeneous element into the class. For example, the Bhangis of Poona are originally supposed to have come from Gujarat but they have not been put into the class of Gujaratis in the table.

There is some danger in interpreting the distribution of the population of the city by communities from the sample data. For a large number of communities the numbers in the sample are so small that the sample distribution cannot be confidently taken to represent faithfully the actual distribution of the community. That the distortion in a small sample might be quite large is shown by the distribution of the Salis and Koshtis in the sample among wards and the population in some wards of Salis and Koshtis as enumerated in the complete census taken by us at the time of the survey. The results of the survey are shown in Table No. 31 in Chapter IV of Vol. I (p. 107). The population of these castes in Bhavani as recorded in the Census was not far below that in Ganj. The Bhavani population was, however, very inadequately represented in our sample of families. The choice of sample families through selection of house numbers must be held partly responsible for this result. There are cases where a large number of families live in one house or area designated as such in municipal records. There is a tendency for persons belonging to the same caste and following the same occupations to live near together. In the circumstances, the choice of a single number may result in the enumeration in a ward of a large number of families belonging to a particular occupation or caste in the sample of the ward, and *per contra*, leaving a particular caste or occupation almost entirely unrepresented. The results from the sample have, therefore, to be used with caution especially in relation to small specialised castes or occupational groups.

At the same time, the general picture of caste distribution among wards may be considered broadly representative and may be profitably compared with conditions at the time of the Gazetteer or that of the 1822 enumeration. Such a comparison will reveal that, in the main, the pattern of social composition of the wards has persisted through more than a century. The most notable feature of Poona at the end of the 18th century was the existence of what have been termed the Brahminic wards of the west. This was equally evident at the time of the survey. The Maratha population was spread broadly over all the wards in 1937 with only limited concentration in particular wards. The concentration of the depressed classes was, however, as marked as that of the Brahmins. It has been pointed out that originally the depressed class locality was situated in the present Mangalwar. With the growth of the city in the latter half of the 18th century new depressed class localities emerged on its fringe in the east, in Nana and Bhavani wards. These two, Mangalwar and Nana-Bhavani, continue to be

the main centres of the depressed class population. The 1937 sample shows a concentration of the main depressed class communities in the following wards. The Mahars are concentrated in Somwar and Mangalwar, in Bhavani and Shivajinagar. They are also very important in the Suburban area and the wadis. The Somwar-Mangalwar concentration is the continuation and extension of the old Mangalwar nucleus. The Bhavani concentration reflects the new depressed class localities established late in the 18th century. The Shivajinagar population denotes the continuation of the Mahar locality in the old village of Bhamburda which was, until recent decades, an independent locality, on the other bank of the river with its own Maharwada not incorporated in the city. The population in the Suburban roads reflects the large complement of domestic and other servants enumerated in the Hospital and bungalows of Suburban roads area and the *wadi* population represents the Mahars of those rural settlements. The other depressed classes show a similar concentration in Nana, Bhawani and Mangalwar. They are also fairly well represented in the Suburban roads area but not so well in the *wadis*. The last is due to the fact that in rural areas the Mahars are much more important than other elements of the depressed classes. The growth of the city has today put the old depressed localities, which started by being at the fringe of caste Hindu settlement, in the very heart of the city. This has, however, not brought about any change in either the amenities or the surroundings of these localities. They continue to be, in all respects, slum areas, as they began, except for the fact that the growth of the city round the areas has greatly increased congestion and removed such advantage of surrounding open space as the settlements might have originally possessed from being at the fringe of the town.

The comparative segregation of certain elements is emphasized by the fact that the samples of Sadashiv, Shanwar, Narayan and Kasba contain only one Mahar family, enumerated in Shanwar. The sample also contained no representatives of Muslims. Among the depressed it was only the Chambhars who are comparatively widespread. The other depressed castes were conspicuous by their absence from the important western wards. The persistence of the old pattern of distribution is shown by the wider dispersion of Chambhars than of the other depressed class groups in the 1937 sample. The Chambhars are, in most respects, circumstanced differently from the other depressed class groups. Their traditional occupation, leather tanning and working, which they still follow to a large extent, gives them a better economic status and also necessarily gives them a place

in important trading localities. In the 1822 enumeration the Chambhars were concentrated in the following wards in the order of importance: Ganj, Nana, Ganesh, Sadashiv, Raviwar, Narayan, Ghorpade. Their distribution in the 1937 sample may, on similar lines, be indicated as follows: Nana, Ganesh, Raviwar, Sadashiv, Ghorpade. Considering the element of uncertainty introduced by the smallness of the sample the persistence of the old pattern of distribution may be said to be remarkable.

The scavenger caste, the Halalkhors or Bhangis, present naturally an extreme instance of original concentration and its persistence. In 1822 the Halalkhors were found almost all concentrated in Bhavani.¹ This high degree of concentration in Bhavani indicates, perhaps, that they attained numerical importance in Poona only after the rapid growth of the city in the latter half of the 18th century, and that their main migration is to be placed during that period. In 1937 they were found almost equally concentrated in the Bhangi Hatti (scavengers' centres) in Bhavani.

The distribution of castes has no direct bearing on the location of occupations. The occupational composition of each ward cannot be inferred from the distribution of communities among wards, for a variety of reasons. In the first instance, the sample family enumeration indicates location of residence of family and not of occupational activity. Secondly, there are many communities for whom hereditary occupations are not rigidly fixed; there is also an increasing divorce between actual and hereditary occupation, to a greater or less degree, in castes even with fixed single hereditary occupations. The occupational location, in 1937, of the main industries and trades is shown fairly well by the census of establishments taken in 1937. There is, therefore, no need to discuss in detail the occupational distribution of the sample families in the various wards. Table No. 6 which shows the distribution of the families enumerated in the wards according to the occupation of the head of the family will be found chiefly useful for interpreting the data relating to income, etc. of the families, given in Chapter II in Vol. I. As might have been expected, the table shows concentration of families belonging to certain occupational grades in certain wards. To a large extent this concentration will be best explained by reference to the communities which follow these occupations i. e. the primary fact should be

¹ See, however, above for Halalkhorpura in Mangaiwar.

taken to be the concentration in given localities of certain communities rather than of certain economic classes. There is not yet in Poona any large population of industrial labour which might lead to the development of special labour class localities. As has been made clear in the detailed discussion of the handlooms, brass and copper-ware industries, there is not also any significantly large concentration of artisan activity any longer in evidence. Consequently, the distribution of population through wards in 1937 appeared to be much more influenced by social than by economic considerations. It has, however, been made clear in the earlier discussion that the original settlement of particular castes or communities might have been influenced by occupational activities, and the effects of this indirect influence may be still in evidence.

SECTION II : COMMUNITIES

In a society in which the economic criterion is dominant, the occupation and earnings of a person would determine completely both his social and economic position. In a society in which the caste system is still important, the social position of a person would depend both on his caste and on his occupation and income. The caste gradation may not tally with the economic gradation i. e. castes which, on an average, were economically worse off than others may yet hold a socially superior position. On the other hand, caste may itself determine facility of entry to specific occupations and may thus ensure to the superior castes, superior economic status. In Hindu society the caste of Brahmins, though the highest in social gradation, was not traditionally supposed to be as well off as many classes among the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas. It is difficult to say how far through historical times, this theoretical concept was evidenced in real life. As has been pointed out, in Poona of the latter half of the 18th century the concentration of political power and social prestige in the Brahminic group was also combined with their holding a superior economic position. After the fall of the Peshwa the immediate basis of this position was undermined; also, during the course of the 19th century purely economic forces became important under the British and with the growing impact of capitalist development. As a result, the purely trading communities gained large economic power and influence. Modern industry was conspicuous by its absence from Poona and the old artisan industries had a chequered career. As has been made clear, the older indigenous artisan and trading castes suffered a continuous set-back and the immigrant general trading communities with all-India

connections increased their hold on the economic life of the city. In this matter of entrance to and progress in modern industry and trade, caste taboos or prohibitions did not count for much and backwardness in education, lack of capital accumulation and, above all, a lack of traditional training and connections seemed to determine the position of the different communities. These latter factors are themselves, of course, not unrelated to the traditional structure of castes and communities.

Apart from the field of modern industry and trade the occupational distribution of various communities is seen to be influenced even more directly by the older social structure. Brahmins and other lettered castes enjoyed an advantage in the new era because of their practice and tradition of taking to formal learning. This habit stood them in good stead in the early days of British rule and secured entry to Government service and the new professions which, next to modern industry and trade, proved the most lucrative. Those caste groups in indigenous society which had neither a tradition of book learning nor aptitudes and opportunities for modern trade and industry were to a large extent kept away from economic and, in consequence partially from, social advance also. The compelling effect of the caste situation was most clearly evident among the depressed and the untouchable castes. Though all the old taboos were no longer fully operative against them, their influence was yet powerful in all spheres. The original lowly occupations of these castes were rigidly defined and though, with the progress of the 19th century, the strict confinement of the members of these communities to their traditional occupations was not formally enforced they would, for a variety of reasons, find it difficult to get away from those occupations. The social taboo would prevent them from getting easy employment elsewhere and they found, for the larger part of the period, great difficulty in taking advantage of even such educational opportunities as were formally open to them; so that but for exceptional instances, chiefly in large industrial conglomerations, economic and social advance was as difficult for members of these communities as if all the old prohibitions were enforced in their severity.

These generalisations may be concretely illustrated by reference to certain broad features of the occupational distribution of the 1937 sample population. Table No. 10 sets out the distribution in the sample of the heads of families belonging to various communities among various occupational grades. In the first instance,

Table No. 10—Families belonging to different Communities classified according to the Occupational Grades of their Heads. (H. S.)

Occupational Grade	H i n d u C a s t e s																			Other Religions					Grand Total			
	Maratha	Desb. Brahmin	Kok. Brahmin	Other Brahmins	Total Brahmins	Mali	Dhangar & Gawli Weaving Castes	Artisan Group I	Artisan Group II	Koli & Bhot	Mahar	Chamber	Other Depressed classes	Total Depressed classes	Pardesbi	Gujarati	Marwadi	Jains	South Indians	Others	Total Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Jews		Parsees	Others	
I Unskilled Manual Work	446	15	10	6	31	37	18	12	13	28	7	94	7	84	185	37	5	4	5	6	33	867	68	8	...	...	...	943
II Skilled Manual Work	304	20	13	6	39	50	8	35	55	90	12	41	39	21	101	45	7	1	2	13	26	738	83	43	...	...	...	914
III Lowest Professions and Administrative Posts	84	59	28	10	97	7	4	1	3	3	3	19	1	9	29	10	2	12	3	3	15	276	62	12	...	...	...	350
IV Small Businesses	161	15	11	8	34	41	15	9	13	7	4	9	3	11	23	36	8	2	4	2	63	422	133	2	2	...	1	560
V Highly Skilled and Supervisory Manual Work	65	25	21	9	55	2	2	2	88	3	2	10	1	4	15	9	7	3	3	7	6	270	47	14	1	1	...	333
VI Clerks and Shop Assistants	63	100	65	37	202	8	1	2	21	4	2	2	1	1	4	10	30	2	6	11	15	381	23	14	2	...	1	421
VII Intermediate Professions & Administrative Posts	13	37	23	14	74	2	2	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	5	2	9	5	3	121	13	6	1	2	...	143
VIII Medium Businesses	51	26	30	9	65	5	1	4	8	3	2	...	1	...	1	20	33	34	29	3	25	284	50	1	...	6	1	342
IX Highest Professions and Salaried Posts	...	15	20	13	48	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	2	56	...	7	...	3	...	68
X Owners of Factories and Large Shops, etc.	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	6	2	...	1	1	...	10
XI Pensioners	14	20	32	17	69	1	...	...	2	2	2	...	...	1	1	3	1	...	4	...	2	101	12	2	5	1	...	121
XII Beggars & Prostitutes	12	1	2	...	3	...	2	...	...	...	...	8	1	6	15	...	...	...	1	...	23	56	12	...	...	...	...	68
Unclassified	1	...	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
No Earner	52	33	39	14	86	6	2	1	11	5	1	1	...	7	8	10	10	...	6	5	9	212	29	7	3	4	...	255
Total	1267	366	296	144	806	160	55	66	218	145	35	184	54	144	382	183	116	61	67	60	222	3843	534	116	15	18	3	4529

74

there is to be observed in this table the highly limited occupational range of the entire depressed classes group, including the Chambhars. The sample population of this group is almost entirely confined to four grades—unskilled and skilled manual workers, smallest businesses and beggars and prostitutes. Their presence in the skilled manual grades must also not be taken as indicating ability to move easily into the skilled manual occupations. Some of the hereditary occupations of these communities such as leather work have been classified by us amongst skilled manual work. The grade also includes work in modern industry such as cotton spinning and weaving. It is in these occupations that the depressed castes are represented in our classification. At the other extreme is to be found the non-representation or very scanty representation of certain communities in occupations involving manual work. Less than 15 per cent. of the sample population of Zoroastrians, Jews, Brahmins, Gujaratis and Marwadis was found in Grades I and II i. e. Unskilled and Skilled manual work. Among these communities who are scantily represented among manual workers two types of further concentration may be noticed. The Gujaratis and Marwadis are heavily concentrated in grades which include businesses of all sizes. They also formed the most important single class in the largest business grade. On the other hand the Brahmins show an almost equal degree of concentration in occupations connected with clerical and administrative services and in all grades of professions.

The Marathas and the artisan castes who formed the bulk of the population do not, of course, show as limited a range of occupational distribution as the depressed classes. However, among Marathas and the Artisans of Group II, skilled and unskilled manual work is definitely the predominant occupation, whereas among Artisans of Group I the dominant occupational grade is the grade of their traditional occupations. The Marathas and Artisans Group II have comparatively little representation in grades beyond Grade IV; this indicates a large degree of backwardness in both educational and economic advance. Artisans of Group I are slightly better situated in this regard but their position is yet seen to be vastly inferior to the group of Brahmins. The dominance of services by Brahmins and of the service element amongst them is brought out by the remarkable concentration in the group of pensioners. Over two-thirds of all pensioners enumerated in our sample were Brahmins.

Incomes of Communities :—The occupational distribution of the communities determines, in the main, their income distribution

also. For reasons which have been stated in Vol.I, the data relating to unearned income may best be neglected in this connection. Its obvious defects are brought out by the community classification which shows that among communities classified on the basis of income from property, the Marwadis stand low. Confining attention to the earned income figures the main features are such as could have been foreseen from the occupational distribution. (Table No. 11) Among the depressed castes no family enumerated in the sample showed an annual income of above Rs. 1,000 and there was high concentration in the lower income groups. Certain other communities were not represented at all in the group of incomes of Rs. 2,000 and over. These were Artisans Group II and such castes as Dhangar, Gaoli, Koli, Bhoi, etc. At the other end of the scale no Zoroastrian family in the sample had an income of less than Rs. 500 per annum and a large majority of the Zoroastrian families were enumerated in the group Rs. 2,000 and above. The superior economic position of the Brahmins was shown by their greater proportionate representation in income groups of Rs. 1,000 and above. A comparison of the position of Marathas with the Brahmin group brings this out strikingly. The Marathas are much more numerous in the sample than either of the two important Brahmin groups and in the lower income ranges the Marathas outnumber Brahmins many times over. In the income group Rs. 500 to Rs. 750 the two Brahmin groups together outnumber the Marathas for the first time; whereas in all income groups above Rs. 750 the numbers in the sample of the Konkanastha and Deshastha Brahmins separately and individually outnumber the Marathas and outnumber them many times in the highest income groups. In the actual distribution over ranges of incomes, the Marwadi and the Gujarati groups of our sample do not have a superior showing over the Brahmin group. This may be due to either of two factors or partially to both. As the incomes of the trading communities are derived from business there is considerable likelihood of the returns being underestimates. Secondly, while there may be a concentration of the very rich amongst these communities our classification would show nothing more than the proportionate numbers in the highest income class. The highest income class in our classification is put at Rs. 2,000 and over; thus the further qualitative differentiation as within this class which may be marked as between Brahmins on the one hand and the Gujaratis and Marwadis on the other would not be brought out by our tables. The position of the Artisan Group I is, as

Table No. 11—Families belonging to different Communities classified according to the range of their Incomes (H. S.)

Community ↓	Total Income Rs. →												Total
	No Income	Below 100	100 to 150	150 to 200	200 to 300	300 to 400	400 to 500	500 to 750	750 to 1000	1000 to 2000	2000 & Over	Not Given	
1. Maratha	2	93	135	205	348	230	90	80	26	40	12	6	1267
2. Desh. Brahmin	2	10	12	15	46	55	37	60	29	61	36	3	366
3. Kok. Brahmin	1	8	10	10	25	36	23	51	26	52	46	8	296
4. Other Brahmins	...	...	6	4	16	20	13	26	15	21	17	6	144
<i>Total Brahmins</i>	3	18	28	29	87	111	73	137	70	134	89	17	806
5. Mali	...	9	16	20	50	24	16	16	2	3	2	2	160
6. Dhangar & Gaoli	...	7	3	10	13	12	3	4	1	1	...	1	55
7. Weaving Castes	...	3	8	13	20	8	4	3	3	3	1	...	66
8. Artisan Group I	2	4	6	19	45	56	21	30	17	13	1	4	218
9. Artisan Group II	...	10	12	29	34	30	10	14	3	3	...	...	145
10. Koli & Bhoi	...	4	5	7	6	5	2	3	2	...	...	1	35
11. Mahar	...	19	25	30	58	31	11	9	1	...	...	...	184
12. Chambhar	...	4	9	10	11	4	9	5	1	1	...	...	54
13. Other Depressed Classes	2	15	23	30	35	18	13	5	2	...	...	1	144
<i>Total Depressed Classes</i>	2	38	67	70	104	63	33	19	4	7	...	7	382
14. Pardesbi	...	11	22	28	36	25	14	22	4	17	3	1	183
15. Gujarati	...	1	4	4	6	8	20	27	11	11	18	6	116
16. Marwadi	...	6	2	4	6	7	5	10	5	13	3	...	61
17. Jains	...	2	3	3	4	5	6	14	2	17	10	1	67
18. South Indians	...	4	4	4	9	11	4	7	3	10	5	...	60
19. Others	3	20	18	29	38	39	24	25	8	12	4	2	222
Total Hindus	12	230	323	474	806	624	325	411	160	278	158	42	3843
20. Muslims	1	30	47	55	109	109	46	62	26	30	11	8	534
21. Christians	...	4	9	14	15	22	16	15	4	8	6	3	116
22. Jews	...	3	...	1	...	2	...	4	1	...	4	...	15
23. Parsees	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	4	11	...	18
24. Others	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	3
Grand Total	13	267	379	544	932	757	387	494	192	321	190	53	4529

seen in the classification of occupations, intermediate between Marathas and Artisan Group II on the one hand and the Brahmins on the other. The income classification shows them as holding the same position. But in the income classification also they are a good way behind the Brahmins.

The broad picture revealed by this study of occupations and incomes exhibits very considerable correspondence between the old caste social gradations and the economic gradation. The depressed classes are confined to the lowest occupations and the lowest range of incomes. The Marathas and the artisans, though capable of rising further and in a few instances actually doing so, are yet, in fact, dominant chiefly in manual work, lowest services and professions and have consequently a low range of incomes. Members of Artisan Group I, whose educational and economic status always approximated to Brahmins, exhibit similar approximation though not in a high degree, in occupational distribution and receipt of income. This is with reference to the indigenous communities. Outsiders such as Zoroastrians, Gujaratis and Marwadis do specially well in economic activity because of their special position. As has been pointed out above, the Musalmans are a mixed group. One section of these, which is local, has only a little better position than the Marathas, while the other, represented chiefly by immigrant trading elements has similarities with the position of Gujaratis and Marwadis.

Size of Family:—Data regarding certain aspects of the composition of the family may also be examined in relation to the different communities. These might throw some light on features of social and economic life which vary from community to community. The number of persons in a family may be taken as indicating the size of families and thereby perhaps as shedding light on variations in rates of growth of communities. We may begin with a consideration of the number of families whose members resided partly in Poona and partly outside it. There is a certain amount of migration in and out of the city and our sample includes not only complete resident families but also families of persons, who either came alone to the city or only with a part of their family or had left it temporarily in a similar manner. We attempted, through questions in the schedule, to obtain some data regarding the extent of this migration. A return was asked to be made of members of the sample family residing out of Poona at the time of the survey. This enumeration met with difficulties of both clear definition and accuracy of return. It is, on the whole, not

Table No. 12— Families belonging to different Communities classified according to their Size. (H. S.)

No of Persons in Family→ Community ↓		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten and over	Total
		1 Marathas	169	290	248	203	138	103	59	22	15	20	1267
2 Desh. Brahmin	49	55	58	57	46	40	26	17	9	9	366	
3 Kok. Brahmin	41	30	40	49	36	25	27	20	11	17	296	
4 Other Brahmins	12	15	24	18	25	15	14	7	7	7	144	
<i>Total Brahmins</i>	<i>102</i>	<i>109</i>	<i>122</i>	<i>124</i>	<i>107</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>806</i>	
5 Mali	12	32	29	28	26	15	7	4	1	6	160	
6 Dhangar & Gaoli	9	7	11	13	4	6	3	...	1	1	55	
7 Weaving Castes	4	6	16	12	4	9	5	3	1	6	66	
8 Artisan Group I	14	40	35	98	30	20	10	8	9	14	218	
9 Artisan Group II	12	28	17	26	22	16	12	7	3	2	145	
10 Koli & Bhul	2	4	12	6	4	2	2	...	1	2	35	
11 Mahar	21	32	26	31	28	22	14	6	2	2	184	
12 Chambhar	3	4	7	12	13	3	2	5	2	3	54	
13 Other Depressed Classes	12	32	18	28	23	17	3	5	2	5	144	
<i>Total Depressed Classes</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>322</i>	
14 Pardeshi	32	36	40	26	15	10	9	8	2	5	183	
15 Gujarati	16	23	16	20	10	17	6	5	1	2	116	
16 Marwadi	8	15	9	11	11	1	4	...	1	1	61	
17 Jains	9	12	15	19	1	4	1	2	2	2	67	
18 South Indians	8	11	15	6	6	6	3	1	1	3	60	
19 Others	37	48	30	36	24	16	13	7	4	7	222	
Total Hindus	470	720	666	639	465	347	220	127	75	114	3843	
20 Muslims	88	109	80	85	75	45	31	11	10	10	534	
21 Christians	25	21	16	13	9	9	15	3	3	2	116	
22 Jews	2	1	1	...	3	3	2	1	2	...	15	
23 Parsees	2	6	3	1	2	1	1	...	1	1	18	
24 Others	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Grand Total	589	858	766	738	554	405	259	143	90	127	4529	

considered reliable enough to throw any light on the position of particular communities in this regard. Apart from a direct enumeration of incomplete families residing in the city, an indication of migrant status and incompleteness of families might be obtained by the number of single individuals enumerated in the city. For, it might be argued that single individuals, whether immigrants or not, are, in the vast majority of cases, members of a larger family. In an examination of the size of the family made in connection with the sample families in various wards in Vol. I (p. 68) it was found that the size of families varied considerably from ward to ward when single individuals were included in the average and that the elimination of single individuals when calculating the average size of the family led to a considerable narrowing of the variation in the size of the family from ward to ward. That the enumeration of single individuals might denote migrant status is also partly revealed by examination of these data in relation to communities. (Table No. 12). For example, Catholic Christians and Pardeshis are the two communities which have the highest percentage of single individuals enumerated in the total sample of families. Among the larger population groups the Muslims also show a comparatively high proportion of single individuals. It has been noted frequently that part of the Muslim population is indigenous while there are other elements in it which are migrant. There was no way by which these two classes could be separated in the statistics ; if this could have been done the single member families among non-indigenous Muslims might have revealed a specially high proportion. Migration into the city or out of it of a part of a family is not necessarily connected with elements outside the region. Such migration may and does take place even among local communities, though this would be only as between the city and the surrounding district or other parts of Maharashtra. The extent of such migration is indicated by the fact that the proportion of single member families amongst Brahmins and Marathas was as high as that among Marwadis and Gujaratis. The proportion of single member families is significantly low only in castes which are highly localised and in which evidently no large movements between the city and the district or Maharashtra as a whole take place. The Chambhars and depressed classes other than Mahars show the smallest proportion of single member families and this was also the case with both the artisan groups.

The prevalence of the single member family may be used as indication of the extent of migration with reference to a community. The prevalence of large families may be indicated by directing

attention to the proportion of families with many members. It may be presumed that having six or more members in a family is indication of largeness of size. An examination of the data relating to various communities reveals that the percentage in the samples of families having six and more members has no necessary relation with either economic or social status of the community. In the sample data, the highest percentage of families with six and more members was found among Konkanastha Brahmins and the lowest, for indigenious communities, among Marathas. The group with a high proportion of large families contains communities with such varying status as Deshastha Brahmins, Artisans, Chambhars and Gujaratis; while the Muslims, the depressed classes other than Mahars and Chambhars and, as pointed out above, the Marathas have a smaller than average percentage of families having six or more members. It would thus appear that family size is not significantly related to social or economic status. No further examination of the data in this connection is, therefore, attempted.

Unemployment:—Among data relating to economic status attempt had been made to enumerate persons who were unemployed at the time of the survey. The total enumeration of the unemployed was however small; and it was not certain that the enumeration was exhaustive. Moreover, statistics relating to the unemployed have not the same significance in a society in which there is considerable amount of self-employment and of casual wage work as in one in which a large proportion of the people are regular wage or salary earners. Even so, the tabulation by communities of the unemployed throws some interesting side-light on social and economic condition. (Table No. 13) The unemployment figures have been tabulated in relation to (1) unemployment of the head of the family and (2) the total number unemployed in the family. The highest unemployment among heads of families was to be found among members of depressed classes other than Mahars and Chambhars and among weaving castes. The depressed classes, other than Mahars and Chambhars, depend on a series of miscellaneous types of work such as rope making, basket weaving and, being depressed, the variety of such types and the opportunities of employment open in them to these classes are restricted. The high unemployment of the heads of families in the weaving castes is due obviously to the then prevailing depression in handloom weaving. The highest total unemployment among members of the family, including its head, is to be found among Mahars, among the residual depressed class group and the weaving castes. The Mahars are found to suffer from

Table No. 13—Number of Families belonging to different Communities classified according to the number of Unemployed in them. (H. S.)

Communities		One unemployed	Two unemployed	Total	Head unemployed
		1	2	3	4*
1	Maratha	29	3	32	18
2	Desh. Brahmin	9	1	10	4
3	Kok. Brahmin	10	1	11	4
4	Other Brahmins	10	1	11	4
	<i>Total Brahmins</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>12</i>
5	Mali	5	...	5	3
6	Dhangar & Gaoli	2	...	2	2
7	Weaving Castes	4	...	4	3
8	Artisan Group I	9	1	10	6
9	Artisan Group II	2	1	3	3
10	Koli & Bhoi	1	...	1	1
11	Mahar	12	...	12	4
12	Chambhar	...	...	...	...
13	Other Depressed Classes	10	2	12	7
	<i>Total Depressed Classes</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>17</i>
14	Pardeshi	2	1	3	1
15	Gujarati	3	...	3	1
16	Marwadi	...	...	...	...
17	Jains	1	...	1	1
18	South Indians	3	...	3	2
19	Other Hindus	5	1	6	5
Total Hindus		117	12	119	69
20	Muslims	18	3	21	14
21	Christians	5	...	5	4
22	Jews	1	...	1	...
23	Parsees	...	...	...	...
24	Others	...	...	...	...
Grand Total		141	15	156	87

*Already included in previous columns.

general unemployment in a special degree even though the incidence of unemployment on heads of families among them is less than in the other two groups. It is possible that this is due to the fact that heads of Mahar families, that is mostly adult males, find easy work in various directions but that the other members of the family who find it necessary to work do not find employment equally easily. The chief occupations in which Mahars were found employed were as follows:—(1) scavengers and sweepers; (2) earthwork and building labour; (3) casual labour; (4) lowest administrative posts (peons, etc.); (5) domestic and other servants; and (6) cooks and ayahs. It may be noted that the employment of Mahars in domestic service and as cooks and ayahs is a special feature which would be found only in cities with a population composition as that of Poona.

Earners Status:—We now turn to a consideration of the information regarding earners' status in relation to the various communities. (Table No. 14) In the first instance, we may consider the proportion in various communities of families who have no adult male earners. The fact of there being no adult male earner in a family may indicate (1) the inability or unwillingness of adult males in the family to work or (2) the non-existence of an adult male in the family. It is not likely that the factor of unwillingness to work is operative in a significant number of cases. Inability to work on the part of the adult male may be more important but would still account only for a small minority of the examples. In the large majority of cases of no adult male earner included in the sample, the head of the family, who is usually everywhere an adult male, may be presumed to be non-existent due to death, desertion or separation. The difference in proportions among various communities, of families without adult male earners may thus indicate either liability to premature disability or death among adult males or the disintegration of the family owing to desertion or separation. It is difficult from our data to separate the incidence of these two types of factors or to assess their relative importance. However, both premature physical disability or death and social disintegration are likely to be closely associated with poverty. Association of social disintegration with economic distress is emphasized by the fact that the absence of adult male earners among various communities does not seem to depend so much on social status or practices as on economic well-being. For example, among all depressed class communities, other than Chambhars, more than 15 per cent. of the total number of families in the sample

Table No. 14—Earner Status of Families belonging to different Communities. (H. S.)

Earner Status→		No Earner	No Adult Male Earner but others	One A. M. Earner	One A. M. Earner & others	Two Adult Males only	Two A. M. and others.	Three or more A. M. Earners	Three or more A. M. & others	Not Given	Total
Communities	↓										
1	Maratha	53	153	740	160	125	11	22	3	...	1267
2	Desh. Brahmin	34	18	244	7	44	2	17	...	...	366
3	Kok. Brahmin	40	19	185	11	29	...	12	...	...	296
4	Other Brahmins	14	1	98	5	19	1	5	...	1	144
<i>Total Brahmins</i>		<i>88</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>627</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>34</i>	...	<i>1</i>	<i>808</i>
5	Mali	6	20	90	21	19	2	1	1	...	160
6	Dhangar & Gaoli	2	17	17	10	5	1	3	...	...	55
7	Weaving Castes	1	5	13	27	7	7	4	2	...	66
8	Artisan Group I	11	12	135	13	33	3	11	...	...	218
9	Artisan Group II	5	15	78	20	16	4	6	1	...	145
10	Koli & Bhoi	1	5	13	8	6	2	...	...	...	35
11	Mabar	1	28	89	42	17	5	2	...	...	184
12	Obambhar	...	7	26	7	7	4	3	...	...	54
13	Other Depressed Classes	7	24	46	48	8	8	2	1	...	144
<i>Total Depressed Classes</i>		<i>8</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>161</i>	<i>97</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>1</i>	...	<i>388</i>
14	Pardeshi	10	13	103	25	17	5	8	2	...	183
15	Gujarati	10	1	85	1	14	...	6	...	...	116
16	Marwadi	2	1	44	2	10	1	4	...	...	61
17	Jains	6	2	45	1	8	...	5	...	...	67
18	South Indians	5	2	39	4	9	...	...	1	...	60
19	Other Hindus	9	29	122	26	20	5	10	1	...	222
Total Hindus		215	370	2212	438	413	61	121	12	1	3843
20	Muslims	29	43	327	41	73	7	13	1	...	534
21	Christians	7	14	83	6	4	1	1	...	...	116
22	Jews	3	...	10	...	2	...	...	...	...	15
23	Parsess	4	...	9	...	4	...	1	...	...	18
24	Others	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grand Total		258	427	2643	485	497	69	136	13	1	4529

had no adult male earners. It is well known that the Chambhars among the depressed classes have a more fixed and a comparatively better paying profession than any of the other groups.

There were more than 10 per cent. of families with no adult male earners among Marathas, Malis, Dhangar and Gaolis, Artisan Group II and all groups of depressed classes. The relative absence of adult male earners may also be expected to depend on such social practices as the prohibition of widow remarriage. Widow remarriage is prohibited and the prohibition is generally operative only among the highest castes. These groups of communities are also among those which are the best off. The number of families having no adult male earners is not entirely insignificant even among Brahmins, but it is small in relation to the number of widows in the families.¹ The explanation of this comparatively small number of families with no adult male earner among Brahmins and in the other higher caste groups would appear to be the prevalence of joint families among them or the ability and practice of assuming responsibility for a widow and her children by near relatives. This again emphasizes the connection between poverty and social disintegration. The desertion of wives or the prevalence of separation of husband and wife are phenomena into which no direct enquiry was made during our investigations. However, considering that there is no prohibition of widow remarriage in the groups indicated above as having a high proportion of families with no adult male earners, the prevalence, to a certain extent, of desertion and separation among them may be presumed.

The earner status data may have significance in two other directions. Firstly, where there are two or more adult male earners in a family, this might be taken to indicate prevalence of joint family. Secondly, where earners other than adult male earners are noted in significant numbers the prevalence of the employment of women or juveniles is indicated. It is possible that conditions in both these respects vary from community to community. Joint or composite families may be defined as families that reside together as one economic unit, the nucleus of a family being, in this case, considered as a man and his wife and children or a widower or widow and his or her children. The general prevalence of marriage and the fact that it usually takes place

¹ See Vol. I. P. 60

early in life may be held to justify the assumption that a joint family generally exists wherever two adult male earners are to be found. These may be either a man or his son or other relative in the second generation or a man and his brother or other relative in the same generation. The assumption is given support by noting the communities in whom the highest proportion of families having more than two adult male earners are found. These are weaving castes, Artisan Group I, Marwadis and Koli-Bhois. It may be suggested that in these communities families live jointly because it is an advantage for them to do so in following their occupations. Weaving and other crafts as well as the running of shops and trading establishments acquire strength by an increase in family membership, especially of adult males ready to devote their attention to it. Thus families in crafts or in trading occupations may tend to have more than two adult male earners and the adult males may have inducement to keep on living jointly. This is further supported by the fact that Artisan Group II and the Gujaratis also show a proportion of more than 18 per cent. of the families having more than two male adult earners. Deshastha Brahmins and Muslims also have a proportion of more than 18 per cent. in the same class. This might show that in certain communities, as specially exemplified by Deshastha Brahmins, a joint or composite family may continue to exist even though no special occupational considerations may warrant or make for its continuance. A joint or composite family has been traditionally prevalent in Maratha society. However, during recent decades it has broken down, especially in the cities. Its general disintegration may be indicated by the small size of the family amongst the caste group of Marathas and the small number of families, less than 15 per cent., which showed more than two adult male earners amongst them. Konkanastha Brahmins who showed, on an average, a larger family than the Marathas also showed less than 15 per cent. families with more than two adult male earners. It is thus clear that the break-up of the joint family has proceeded far, at least in cities like Poona. The joint family, however, continues to have significance specially among the artisan and the trading castes presumably for reasons of occupational convenience.

We may finally consider, in this connection, the employment of other than adult males in a community. The prevalence of families having no adult male earners has already been considered and in what follows attention may be paid only to families in which earners, other than adult male earners work in addition to one or more adult male earners. Less than 5 per cent. of the families

of Jains, Jews, Zoroastrians, Gujaratis and Brahmins showed such earners in addition to adult males. This indicates that in these communities, wherever there was an adult male earner, earning activity by other than adult males was not ordinarily undertaken. It should be made clear that in Maharashtra, there is no *pardah* and no social stigma attaches to women of any caste doing work. In this region, therefore, the earning activity of others than adult males i. e. of females or juveniles is determined almost entirely by the economic situation. If the economic situation requires it, mere social consideration is not likely to prevent women in any caste from seeking work. Obviously the type of work sought by women would depend on certain social and caste considerations, but there would otherwise be no special reluctance other than the reluctance found everywhere for making women and juveniles work. Therefore, a low percentage of families in which juveniles and women work may be supposed to indicate comparatively good economic position of the particular communities. At the other end of the scale are to be found communities in which women and juveniles work to a large extent. In more than 20 per cent. of the families of all the depressed classes and of the weaving castes members of the family other than adult males joined with adult males in earning. Obviously in relation to the depressed classes other than Chambhars the question was one of economic necessity. Their economic circumstances were so depressed that juveniles and women had to work to such an extent as they could. Chambhars though a little better off than other depressed classes find it profitable to employ juveniles and women in their craft of leather work; or it may rather be that it is because of the possibility of employing the whole family in their craft profitably that they are better off than the other sections of the depressed classes. The high percentage of other than adult male earners among weaving castes may be attributed to a double set of circumstances; on the one hand, the traditional occupation of this group, handloom weaving, requires, where it is followed by the family, the participation of all members of the family in preparatory and other work if the occupation is to prove profitable. On the other hand, the general depression in handloom weaving and the large extent of consequent unemployment or underemployment of the adult males forced the employment, in such occupations as bidi-making, of other than adult males, especially females, of these communities. It was thus found that in more than half of the total number of the families of the weaving castes workers other than adult males worked in addition to adult males. This propor-

tion was also specially high, being a little over a third, among the depressed classes other than Mahars and Chambhars.

Caste and Occupation: The material available regarding sample households was subjected to special scrutiny to discover the present relation between caste and occupation. The data relating to selected castes and selected occupations from among sample families was intensively studied for the purpose. The study was made from two points of view. In the first instance, the occupations followed by the head of the family among families belonging to certain selected castes and included in our sample were studied. Secondly, the composition by caste of the number of heads of families included in the sample family population in a number of selected occupations was analysed. It is obvious that such intensive study could not yield significant results in relation to castes which had either no traditional occupations or had previously spread over a wide occupational range. The Brahmins and the Marathas represented castes with these characteristics. In their case no special features other than those relating to distribution over grades of occupations, pointed out above, could be expected to be revealed. The smaller castes with distinct traditional occupations, especially of the artisan type, were the best field for a study of the continued relation between caste and occupation. Similarly, a close connection between occupation and caste may be expected in only those occupations which were old and in which it used to be customary for a single caste or a few distinct castes to occupy the whole field. (Table Nos. 15 and 16).

A preliminary observation that may be made in relation to this study is that the numbers of families in the sample of particular castes or of persons following a particular occupation were in some instances very small. The conclusions reached on the basis of the sample could, in such instances, not always be treated as valid. In our survey of handloom weavers and weaving castes a complete census of the present occupations of the families of Padma Salis, Swakul Salis and Momins in Poona was attempted. Table No. 41, Vol. I (page 123) sets out the numbers of families in these castes who still followed the traditional occupation of handloom weaving and the numbers who had given it up. The results yielded by a classification of the sample survey families may be compared with these findings. Among the Padma Sali families included in the sample, more than two-thirds followed handloom weaving; the proportion was less than half among Swakul Salis and lower still among the other weaving castes. The corresponding figures yielded by the full census

Table No. 15—Occupational Grades of and number following Hereditary Occupation among Heads of Families of certain selected Hindu Castes. (H. S.)

Occupational Grade → Caste and its Hereditary Occupation ↓	Unskilled Manual Work	Skilled Manual work	Lowest profession	Smallest Business	Highly Skilled & Supervisory manual work	Clerks.	Intermediate	Small Business	Highest Ad Post & Liberal Arts.	Owners of Factories	Pensioners	Beggars and Prostitutes	No Occupation	Total	Number following hereditary occupation
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII			
*Mahar ... Village servant	94	41	19	9	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1	184	...
Dhangar ... Shepherd	17	6	3	13	2	1	2	1	...	...	...	2	1	48	...
Gaoli ... Milkman	1	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	6	1
*Mang ... Rope-making	53	18	6	9	2	1	...	...	...	...	1	6	6	102	1
*Ramoshi ... Watchman	4	2	2	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	...
*Mehtar ... Soavenger	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	14
*Bhangl ... "	13	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	12
Khatri ... Weaving and allied	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1
Sali ... "	3	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
Koshti ... "	4	...	1	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	9	...
Swakul Sali ... "	3	5	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	5
Padma Sali ... "	2	27	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	31	23
Kehatriya ... "	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	4	1
Koli ... Fisherman	2	5	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	8	...
Bhol ... "	2	7	3	4	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	27	6
Shimpi ... Tailor and clothier	3	1	1	4	42	12	2	7	...	1	2	...	...	80	39
Sonar ... Gold and silversmith	6	3	1	2	42	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	59	40
Sutar, Badhai etc. ... Carpenter	3	36	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	41	36
Kasar ... Copper & brass work	1	6	1	5	4	4	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	25	6
Tambat ... " "	...	2	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	2
Ghisadi ... Ironsmith	...	5	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	5
Lohar ... Blacksmith	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	1
Nhavi ... Barber	2	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	10	36
Parit ... Washerman	5	38	2	2	...	...	...	3	...	...	2	...	1	50	35
Teli ... Oil-pressing	9	2	1	5	2	4	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	27	...
Kumbhar ... Potter	12	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	22	5
Burud ... Basket-weaving	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	7	6
Total	856	262	45	66	115	29	5	18	...	1	7	16	28	848	275

* Depressed Caste.

Table No. 16—Classification of Heads of Families in Selected Occupations by Community (H.S.)

Community →	H i n d u C a s t e s																Other Religions			Grand Total					
	Maratha	Desb. Brahmins	Kok. Brahmins	Ober Brahmins	Total Brahmins	Mali	Dhangar Gaoth Weaving Castes	Artisan Group I	Artisan Group II	Koli Bhoi	Mahar	Chambhar	Other Depressed Classes	Total Depressed classes.	Pardesbi	Gojarathi	Marwadi	Jains	South Indians		Other Hindus	Total Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Others
Bidi Workers	22	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	17	...	...	...	1	5	50	11	...	...	61
Sweepers & Scavengers	17	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	19	1	26	46	...	...	...	...	...	...	66	5	...	...	71
Handloom weavers	3	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	...	...	...	...	...	51	3	...	...	54
Brass & Copper Smiths	22	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	37	3	...	...	40
Carpenters	41	2	...	...	2	...	...	37	3	...	1	...	...	1	2	3	...	...	4	4	104	7	6	4	121
Sawyers	19	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	1	...	...	24
Masons	37	...	...	1	1	1	1	...	4	...	6	2	10	18	12	...	...	...	...	5	79	19	1	2	101
Workers in leather	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	35	1	26	2	...	...	...	...	5	44	1	...	...	45
Washermen	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	5	...	45	...	1	...	46
Barbers	4	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	36	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	44	6	...	...	50
Goldsmiths	3	1	2	1	4	...	...	45	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	5	...	...	...	59	...	...	...	59
Tailors	7	5	8	3	16	3	...	2	41	2	...	...	...	...	1	8	...	...	2	1	81	6	2	...	89
Total	176	8	10	6	24	20	36	132	83	2	26	38	37	101	52	13	5	...	13	23	683	62	10	6	761

are Padma Salis 58 per cent. and Swakul Salis 52 per cent. For weaving castes and handloom weaving a comprehensive and exhaustive enumeration gave us data in the light of which we could test the reliability of the results yielded by an analysis of the sample families. We have, however, no data to check the results in other instances.

Below are set out brief notes regarding the selected castes for which the study indicated above was made: Mehetar-Bhangis are castes traditionally confined to the business of removing night-soil in cities. They are, on this account, considered among the most degraded in Hindu society. Moving out of the caste occupation is, therefore, extremely difficult for them. Of the 29 families belonging to the two castes included in the sample only three were found in other than the occupational grade of sweeping and scavenging. Confinement of present members of castes to their traditional occupation was the most extreme amongst Mehetar-Bhangis. In the sample, the next highest concentration in the traditional occupation are to be found among certain personal service castes such as Nhavi (barbers) and Parit (washerman) and in the Sutar and other Carpenter castes. This high concentration in the traditional occupations may be due to the following reasons. In the first instance, all these occupations are not declining occupations in a city like Poona. Persons belonging to these castes should, therefore, find little difficulty in continuing to find employment in their traditional occupation. It is also likely, on the other hand, that persons belonging to these castes who for a generation or more, have left their traditional occupation may cease to report their traditional castes. It is widely recognised that all these castes have been formed in Maharashtra by a functional separation from the original Maratha-Kunbi group. It may, therefore, happen that any long divorce from the caste occupation may lead a person to return his caste as the generic Maratha rather than the specialised occupational caste. It is difficult to say to what extent the second suggestion is responsible for the high degree of concentration among traditional caste occupations shown by Nhavis, Parits and Sutar in our sample of families. It is, however, expected that the contribution of this factor would not be large and that the first suggested explanation is, in the main, responsible for the observed phenomenon. Next to these groups, Sonars (gold and silversmiths) and Shimpis (clothiers and tailors) show the most considerable adherence to their traditional occupations. Almost two-thirds of the heads of Sonar families included in the sample were connected with gold-

smith's or silversmith's work and approximately half of the Shimpis in the sample were connected either with tailoring or the conduct of cloth shops. It has been made clear in the description of industries in Vol. I that goldsmith's work and tailoring are both fairly flourishing in Poona city. These occupations, therefore, continue to afford a large field for members of castes who have traditionally followed them. The Sonar and Shimpi castes are larger and more advanced than the Nhavis and Parits. They are, therefore, perhaps not as completely confined to their traditional occupations as these others. Also, as we shall see later, goldsmith's work and tailoring being fairly lucrative occupations are liable to be entered into in a larger measure by outsiders than occupations such as that of a washerman or a barber. It is chiefly the castes mentioned above together with the small numbers of families included in the sample of Buruds whose traditional occupation is of basket weaving and Ghisadis or ironsmiths who showed continued special connection with the hereditary occupation of their caste.

On the other hand, there were castes who had a marked hereditary occupation in the past but who were found to have almost completely strayed away from it. Among these there were some whose traditional occupations had either declined heavily in recent years or had little scope in cities. Telis, whose traditional occupation is oil pressing, Kumbhars whose traditional occupation is pottery-making and Dhangars i. e. shepherds may be mentioned as among this class. It would also include Bhois, a once important caste in Poona, who had traditionally the two distinct occupations of fishing and palanquin bearing. Moving away from the caste occupation cannot, however, be explained on either of the two grounds, mentioned above in the case of those castes whose traditional occupation was either weaving or brass and copperware. Weaving castes other than Padma Salis were yet found to have largely left weaving and castes such as Kasars and Tambats (workers and dealers in brass and copperware) do not also any longer follow, in the main, the traditional occupation of their castes. In the case of the handloom weaving castes the phenomenon could at least be explained by the fact of the decline of handloom weaving especially of certain types of production. But this explanation does not hold good of the brass and copperware industry.

The caste-occupation relation could also be studied, as mentioned above, from another point of view. Instead of noting the

extent to which persons belonging to certain castes followed traditional occupations, we might note how far persons in certain occupations belonged to the traditional caste following them. For this study we selected a certain number, of prominent traditional occupations. Among these occupations, handloom weaving, washing, and working in leather showed the highest degree of concentration of members of traditional castes. (It may be parenthetically remarked that this study was confined to Hindu families in the particular occupation. Among non-Hindus, the caste factor is not important and even though some groups of Muslims retained associations with traditional occupations the tie in their case was not as close. Further, the reporting of sub-groups for Muslims and non-Hindus in general is neither so invariable a practice as among Hindus nor is such reporting likely to be equally accurate). It has been already explained that handloom weaving is a declining occupation and, therefore, entrance into it by people who did not follow the craft traditionally is not likely to be sought by a large number of persons. It cannot be said that the occupation of washermen is a declining one. The fact that members of the traditional caste continue to occupy the field of the occupation almost entirely may be due to the occupation not growing rapidly or to its having not been revolutionised by a new technique and, therefore, not to have become prosperous above the average. It would appear that the innovations in the line such as laundry shops are confined to its merchandising aspect and the actual work of washing continues to be done traditionally by members of the old caste. Working in leather has been considered unclean and has been looked down upon in Hindu society; this has made workers in it to be treated as untouchables. This would explain, in the main, why workers in leather continue to be recruited almost entirely from among castes of traditional leather tanners or workers. Trading in leather and leather goods is being taken to more and more by the higher castes but these do not obviously yet turn to the actual operations of tanning or leather working.

Next to these three groups came goldsmithy and tailoring; more than two-thirds of the total workers in the sample who followed goldsmithy or silversmithy and more than 50 per cent. of those who followed tailoring belonged to the castes who had these two occupations as their hereditary occupations. It is likely that this is due to a certain amount of skill and training being required for following these occupations and this being available more readily to members of the old castes. Non-entry of outsiders may also be due in some propor-

tion to (1) absence of any large change in technique of the craft and (2) to the occupations not being specially lucrative. In contrast with these occupations some others that were studied showed a preponderance of workers who did not belong to castes hereditarily connected with the occupations. This was, for example, the case with carpenters, masons and with the brass and copperware industry. Indigenous carpenters and masons have been neither numerous nor noted for their skill in Maharashtra ; therefore, both these occupations have been freely entered into by immigrant skilled workers and also by members of non-specialised general castes like Marathas. The conditions in the brass and copperware industry have been discussed in some detail in Vol. I. It appears that in this industry the number of changes in technique and conditions of training have been large and the rapid growth and high prosperity attained by the industry during a part of its recent history made for a large influx of outsiders into it. This has left a permanent impression on it and has crowded out of it members of the old castes like Tambat, Kasar and Jingar.

CHAPTER III

HOUSING

Historical Developments:— Before going on to a consideration of housing conditions in modern Poona the data relating to the earlier period may be passed under review. For the period before 1880, data relating to houses in Poona are available for two years viz. 1764-65 and 1822. The oldest housing data for Poona that we have been able to obtain are contained in a Ward list giving a classification of houses for the year 1764-65, (Table No. 17). Information collected as a result of British enquiries in 1822 is the source of the next series of housing data. We proceed to examine these two sets of data. The ward list of 1764-65, having been compiled soon after the invasion of the city by the Nizam, has specific reference to that invasion and its effects. It gives information relating to houses in the different wards classified as follows. (1) Number escaping destruction during invasion, (2) Number newly built, (3) Number of empty plots, (4) Number of huts, and (5) Total. It may be noted that the total includes the number of empty plots. Hence the total number of actual houses or dwellings, inclusive of huts, has to be obtained by deducting the number of empty plots from the total. The number of houses given as newly built and the number of huts have both been added together in arriving at the total; the number described as newly built must, therefore, be held to refer to houses or structures other than huts. It is not clear how the term vacant plots or sites is to be interpreted. It may refer to plots once appropriated to building purposes but then lying vacant or it may also include areas within the boundary of a ward which had never been used or demarcated for residential purposes. A comparison of the figures in the 'total' column given in the 1764-65 list with the number of houses in 1822 indicates that only in two wards viz. Shukrawar and Ganj does the 1764-65 total figure fall materially below the 1822 number of houses. The comparison also shows that the number of houses in some wards, notably Guruwar and Budhwar, in 1822 was actually smaller than the total, inclusive of vacant plots, given in the 1764-65 list. These comparative figures can be reconciled by supposing that the vacant plots of the 1764-65 list were plots definitely appropriated to building purposes and that by 1764-65 most of the area of wards mentioned in the list, excepting the outlying wards of Shukrawar and Ganj, had been so appropriated.

Table No. 17—Number of Houses in Poona Wards in 1764-65.

[Source : Peshwa Daftar : Unpublished]

Wards	Escaped destruction during Mogul invasion	Newly built	Empty Plots	Huts	Total
1 Shanwar	99	140	60	75	374
2 Budhwar	60	230	55	119	464
3 Raviwar	153	221	126	834	1334
4 Kasba	550	147	61	164	922
5 Mangalwar	35	2	40	166	243
6 Somwar,	134	37	54	147	372
7 Nihal	39	8	23	40	110
8 Ganesh	43	3	44	282	372
9 Ganj	95	16	67	315	493
10 Guruwar	52	41	60	569	722
11 Shukrawar	117	96	81	396	690
12 Hasehampura, Karkunpura	22	12	17	36	87
13 Muzfarjang	3	...	52	55	110
Total	1402	953	740	3198	6293

The reduction in number in 1822 in specific wards may best be explained by supposing that during the development of these wards, plots separately occupied by huts or smaller houses were often joined together in erecting bigger structures and this led to a diminution in the total number of dwellings in 1822 as compared with the total of dwellings and plots in 1764-65.

Even a cursory examination of the 1764-65 list shows that it is dominated by the situation arising out of the invasion which took place in 1763 i. e. about two years before the compilation of the list. The most significant column in this regard is that of houses newly built. This number, for the whole city, is more than two-thirds of the number of houses recorded as having been left standing at the end of the invasion. The rapid progress of building during these two years may indicate both that the extent of the damage done by the invading forces was extensive as also perhaps that the destruction of houses was only partial. Plundering was perhaps more the aim of the forces than physical destruction and it might, therefore, have been comparatively easy to make habitable, within a short time, many damaged houses.¹ If the new building operations are presumed to have been largely carried out for reconstruction, their volume may indicate the comparative incidence of the results of the invasion on the various wards. The two wards to suffer most heavily were obviously Budhwar and Raviwar. This is not surprising as these represented the central trading area of the city.

The extent of new construction or reconstruction of houses was, of course, connected with the invasion. It is not clear whether the number of vacant plots and the number of huts have also much connection with this event. Possibly the large number of vacant plots in a ward like Raviwar may be a result of the invasion which may also be responsible for a part of the number of huts recorded in wards like Budhwar, Raviwar and Kasba. Apart, however, from some immediate increase in the number of huts, the phenomenon of the large proportion of huts in the city does not appear to be itself due to the invasion. The dominance of huts is to be explained chiefly by reference to the rapid rise in the population of the city. The varying importance of huts in the housing

¹ Cf. The following. "Nizam Ally encamped at a short distance from the city and allowed his army to plunder it; after which, all houses not ransomed were torn down or burnt." Grant Duff: History of the Mahrattas, Vol. II p. 173.

situation in Poona will be studied in the course of this chapter. Huts formed more than 37 p.c. of the total of houses in Poona in 1883; a percentage of huts of the order of even 50 p.c. should not, therefore, be considered surprising for Poona in 1765. It must be remembered that wards like Guruwar, Ganj and Ganesh had at this time been recently established and contained an influx of artisans and labourers whose first habitation, as in growing Indian cities even today, would be hutments. Shukrawar with perhaps a large population of floating military personnel would be in a similar position. Nana and Bhawani had been established for over three decades in 1822 and yet showed a percentage of huts of over 60 in the total number of dwellings at that date. Guruwar, Ganj, Nihal, Ganesh had all been established for less than two decades and Shukrawar for just about three in 1764-65.

Disregarding the effects of the invasion, the 1764-65 situation clearly reflects the continuing dominance of the older established wards. The most numerous houses proper i.e. dwellings excluding huts were in Kasba, Raviwar and Budhwar. It is likely that the large number of huts in Raviwar is due partly to the effects of the invasion. However, Raviwar even in 1822 continued to contain a number of huts which is surprising for a central ward. This can be explained by a possible difference in the character and composition of the two central trading wards, Raviwar and Budhwar. The detailed data for 1822 reveal the following conditions. Budhwar was a ward of permanent shops where shops and residences were combined and where economic activity was chiefly confined to trading, the main businesses being those of clothiers and goldsmiths and moneychangers, grain dealers and grocers and snuff makers. Raviwar, on the other hand, was mixed. It contained, an element similar to that of Budhwar. The Boharis, for example, were concentrated in this ward. It also contained a considerable proportion of miscellaneous artisan activity as that of carpenters, potters, saddlers, leather makers, basket makers etc. Raviwar in this aspect was chiefly the centre of all the varied activity of a bazaar carried on to a large extent in hutments or temporary sheds.

The 1764-65 list also indicates the importance of Shanwar and the growth in the large southern ward, Shukrawar. The contrast between the conditions in the two old wards, Somwar and Mangalwar, is marked. The low proportion of houses proper in Mangalwar reflects the social ranking and status of its population.

It is also clear that Nihal is rather an extension of Somwar than an artisan and labouring ward like Ganj, Ganesh or Guruwar.

Before closing this discussion of the 1764-65 list an attempt may be made to estimate on its basis the then population of Poona city. Such an estimate can be made only by assuming an average number of persons per dwelling. Information regarding both the number of dwellings and of persons residing in them is available for 1822 and gives an overall figure of 8.22 persons per dwelling at that date. An examination of the data for 1822 and 1883 regarding the number of houses and persons per ward indicates that the proportion of huts in a ward materially affected the total number of persons housed. The estimate of persons per dwelling has, therefore, to be made separately for the number of persons per house and per hut. The 1822 and 1883 data can be best reconciled in all respects by assuming an average number of 10 persons per house and the corresponding figure per hut as 5. There is nothing to indicate that these estimates would not be appropriate also for 1764-65. Applying these estimates to the figures of huts and houses in 1764-65 we get the figure of 39555 for the total population. We may, therefore, safely estimate the population of Poona in 1764-65, at, approximately, 40,000.

The data for 1822 (Table No. 2 in chapter I page 50) indicate that the city had grown and expanded greatly during the last decades of the 18th century. Baji Rao II was given to luxury and is reported to have been interested in town improvement and in building new palaces and public buildings. Poona during his regime, however, rather shrank than grew in political importance. There were no large military campaigns undertaken from Poona after the turn of the century and its hold over the outer territories steadily weakened. At the beginning of the century, in 1802-03, the city also suffered from the invasion of Daulatrao Shinde. Thus it is likely that its effective growth had taken place before 1800 and that during the first two decades of the 19th century the city was most probably stagnant. It has been already indicated that the population as given by the enumeration of 1822 is most probably much lower than that before 1818. In a broad way it may be said that the population of Poona had increased to nearly one lakh by the end of the 18th century and remained at about that level till the fall of the Peshwa. Between about 1760 and 1800 the population would thus have more than doubled itself and the total number of dwellings in the city must have increased very rapidly.

One of the most striking features of the developments between 1764 and 1820 is the great fall in the proportion of huts to the total number of dwellings between the two dates. The fall is the largest in the central wards of the city. Budhwar, Kasba, and Shanwar contain none or almost no huts in 1822. This is not surprising. In Raviwar there was, during the period a large fall from the exceptionally high proportion of huts in 1764-65. Even so the number of huts in 1822 continues to be considerable in this ward. As pointed out above, this would be due to the concentration of all the miscellaneous trading and bazaar activity in this ward. At the other extreme, the new eastern wards—Nana (or Hanmant) and Bhavani—inhabited chiefly by communities low in the economic and social scale exhibit a very high proportion of huts. Ganj, Ganesh and Guruwar, the artisans' and labourers' wards, which had been established within two decades of 1764-65 and Mangalwar, the old cultivator and depressed class ward, still show a proportion of huts of more than 40 p.c., but this is almost half of the corresponding proportions in 1764-65.¹ The other wards, new and old, take an intermediate position corresponding to the date of their establishment and the composition of their population. If it is assumed that the data relating to the proportion of huts available to us for 1764-65, 1822 and 1883 are all comparable, the 1822 proportion of huts is seen to be remarkably small. A number of reasons could be put forward to explain the phenomenon. It has been pointed out above that it is likely that the population of Poona fell sharply between 1818 and 1822 and that considerable numbers of retainers, military personnel and certain other types of floating population left the city. These elements would chiefly occupy huts or other temporary accommodation and a diminution in their numbers would bring about a contraction in the volume of such accommodation. This is a consideration relating specially to the post-Peshwa Poona. However, during the regime of Bajirao II, Poona though continuing to be important was not a growing city. To the extent, therefore, that a high proportion of huts indicated a stage of rapid growth, 1822 or even 1818 differed radically from both 1764-65 and 1883. Whenever the influx of immigrants decreased, the pace of continued house-building would result in a larger and larger proportion of the population being housed in permanent structures rather than in temporary dwellings. Finally, to a small extent there might have been some under-enumeration in

1 It may be noticed that in Ganj the fall in the proportion had been brought about not by a decrease in the number of huts but chiefly by an increase in the number of houses.

the number of huts. Such a suspicion is specially relevant regarding their recorded number in Narayan.

We may now turn to a consideration of the total number of huts and houses in the various wards. In the total figures for the city for 1822 there was not only a fall in the proportion of huts to all dwellings but also a net decrease in the total number of huts from that recorded in 1764-65. The total number of houses, thus, increased during the interval between 1764-65 and 1822 at a pace larger than that of the total number of dwellings. An increase in the number of houses was common to all wards. The percentage of the increase was naturally low in old wards like Budhwar and Kasba. In Raviwar, however, the number of houses more than doubled on account of circumstances which have been indicated in a previous paragraph. Previous comments will also help to explain the comparative range of increase in the number of houses in the other old wards. The new wards show vigorous growth. The house-building was rapid in the old southern outlying wards of Ganj and Shukrawar and in the two new western wards of Sadashiv and Narayan. In the eastern wards the most intensive house-building development took place in the new Shivpuri (Rasta) ward.

The changes in the number of huts show a less uniform trend. In most of the older wards, there was a large decrease in the number of huts from the figure of 1764-65. This is specially marked where, for particular reasons, the number of huts in the former year had been large e. g. in Raviwar and Guruwar. In most of the older wards the growth in the number of houses was brought about partially by a decrease in the number of huts. There were, however, some wards in which the number of huts decreased, during this period, only slightly and in two it even showed a slight increase. The most notable cases of persistence of huts are Shukrawar, Mangalwar and Ganj. The development of Shukrawar was so rapid and the ward was so large that though houses may take the place of huts in some areas new huts would spring up at the enlarged fringe. Ganj was similar in this respect to Shukrawar and its development is in contrast with that in other wards with similar composition of population viz. Guruwar and Ganesh. In these latter the area was limited and, therefore, a growth in the number of houses led necessarily to a diminution in the number of huts. The existence of a large number of huts in Mangalwar may, on the other hand, be explained with reference to certain elements in its population who would always and habitually live in huts.

No information regarding the number of houses in different wards or in the city as a whole is available for the period between 1822 and 1883. The progress or decline of the number of houses during the intervening period has therefore to be guessed from data relating to movements in population and economic activity. It has been indicated in a previous chapter that from the fall of the Peshwas in 1818 to about the middle of the century the population of Poona was stagnant or declining. The decline was large in most wards and small in others. In some eastern wards of the city there was even some increase during the second quarter of the 19th century; and a substantial increase in population and in economic activity took place between 1820 and 1850 in the area of the Poona Cantonment. The proximity of the cantonment influenced, it appears, the fortunes of the eastern wards of the city and there is record of some new house-building activity in them in the forties.¹

For 1883, we have a detailed classification of houses given in the Gazetteer and this is the starting point regarding any discussion about modern conditions of housing. The Gazetteer table (Table No. 18) classifies houses into five broad classes. For purposes of comparison with the 1822 data the relevant division is that between huts and houses. Class five of the Gazetteer classification may be identified with the class of huts in the earlier data. Numbers in the other four classes have, therefore, to be added together for purposes of comparison with the 1822 data. Assuming that the two sets of figures are broadly comparable (and there is nothing to indicate that they are not) certain interesting features emerge from the comparison of the 1883 with the 1822 figures. The increase in the total number of houses between the two dates is small. On the other hand, there is a very large increase in the number of huts. As has been explained above, the high proportion of huts may indicate a rapidly growing city population and a high proportion of houses indicates conditions in which the population has ceased to grow for some time. We know that the population of Poona was

1 "In the period intervening between the years 1841 and 1846 no less than 400 new houses were built, and several more were in the latter year in the course of construction. A stone bridge of excellent masonry across the Nagjuree Nullah was also in the last-mentioned year completed, at the private cost of a wealthy courtesan, affording greatly increased facilities to a large class of grain-dealers for the transport of their grain into the heart of the town." ... "The streets and thoroughfares of the whole of the eastern portion of the city adjacent to the cantonment have been macadamized." E. Thornton: Gazetteer of the territories under the Government of the E. I. Co. (1854), p. 160 and 161.

Table No. 18—Number of Houses in Poona in 1883.

Source : Poona Gazetteer Part III p. 286.

Wards	Class					Total
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	
1 Sadashiv	...	25	194	369	200	788
2 Narayan	...	2	86	181	239	508
3 Shanwar	...	22	174	258	138	582
4 Budhwar	19	57	196	225	53	550
5 Raviwar	36	263	468	370	319	1456
6 Kasba	3	50	268	582	593	1496
7 Mangalwar	...	1	19	80	200	300
8 Somwar	2	25	89	166	123	404
9 Rasta	2	24	98	223	130	477
10 Nihal	...	7	23	49	15	94
11 Ganesh	...	12	133	159	166	470
12 Nana	...	40	133	197	248	618
13 Bhavani	4	26	133	254	521	938
14 Ganj	...	2	86	257	528	873
15 Vetal	3	23	172	238	257	693
16 Shukrawar	16	52	425	559	649	1701
17 Ghorpade	...	...	...	28	284	312
18 Muzfarjang	...	...	2	2	7	11
Total	85	631	2699	4197	4659	12,271

stagnant or declining from 1818 to about 1850. The rapid increase in economic activity and in population in Poona must have begun to take place only a decade or two before 1881. The general picture of a small increase in the number of houses and a large increase in the number of huts is, therefore, such as might have been expected. An examination of the increase for individual wards brings out the differences in their fortunes and throws further light on general trends. There was a notable decline in the number of houses between 1822 and 1883 in only one ward. This was in Mangalwar and this decline in the number of houses was obviously due to the general decline in the fortunes of the ward commented on by the Gazetteer.¹ There was a significant decline in the number of houses also in Ganj. There are some wards, on the other hand, in which there was a fairly large increase in the number of houses between the two dates. All these wards were either eastern or central wards. The most remarkable proportionate increase was in the eastern ward Nana followed by Ganesh and Bhavani. There were large proportionate increases also in Budhwar, Raviwar, Guruwar and Rasta. The increase in all these wards is explained by reference to circumstances which have already been noted above. The improvement of conditions in eastern wards may have begun as early as the forties; during the sixties and after, the central trading wards of the city also began to experience prosperous times.

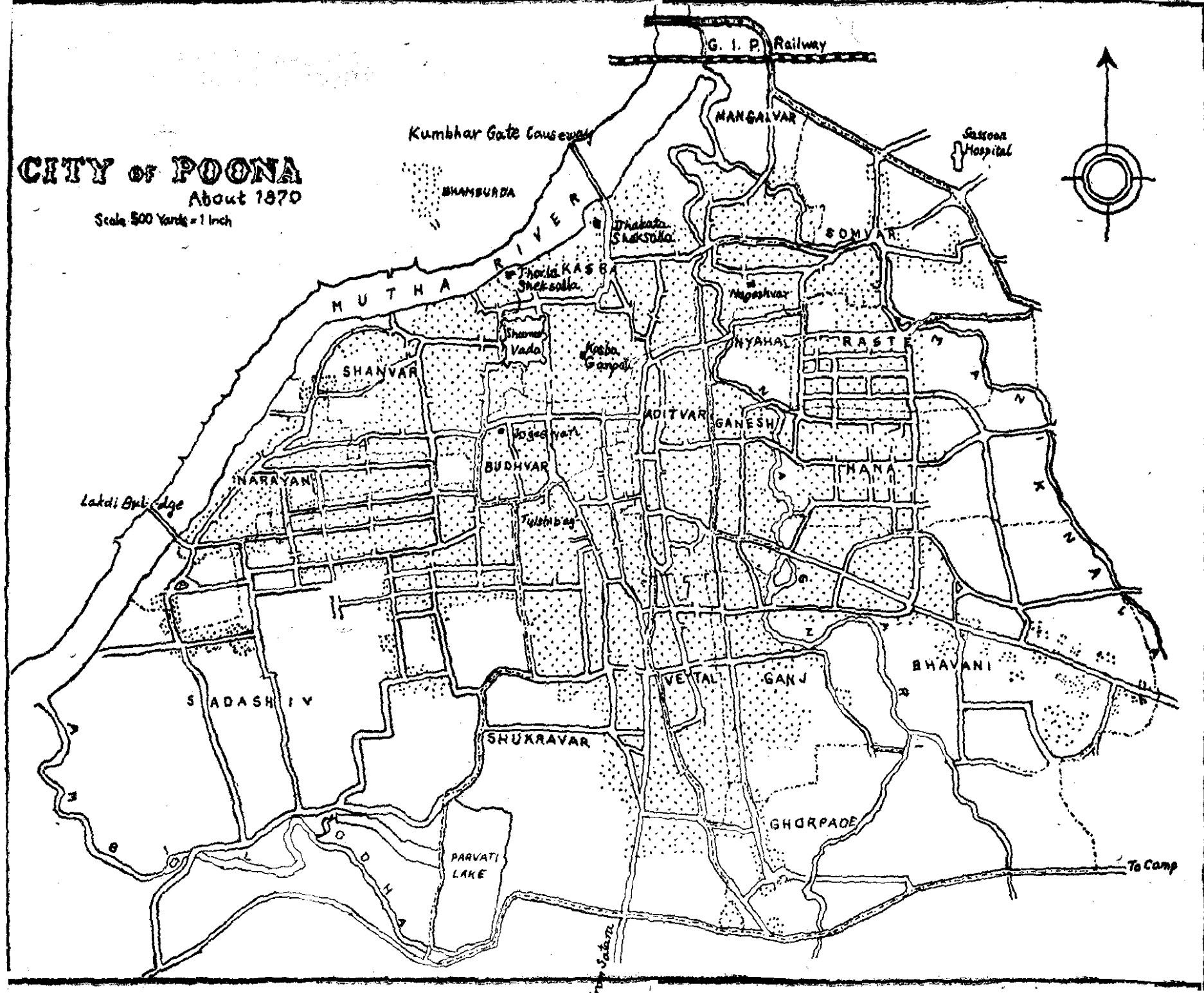
As noted above, there was a large increase in the number of huts for the city as a whole. The increase in the total number of huts was reflected in an increase in their number in almost all wards. Only in two wards, Nana and Rasta was there a decline in the number of huts. Nana had benefited specially from its proximity to the Cantonment and Rasta had become an important residential ward and in both these wards there had been a large increase in the number of houses. The increase in the number of houses and the decline in the number of huts emphasizes the transition in the fortunes of these wards. No generalisation can be made regarding the wards in which a particularly large increase in the number of huts was recorded. Wards so differently circumstanced or located as Kasba, Narayan, Shanwar, Ghorpade, Ganj and Shukrawar recorded large increases. The only features common to all these wards appear to be (1) that they had

¹ "Mangalwar has considerably fallen in importance during the last sixty years. From being the market-place of the old town it has sunk to be the resort of a few pulse-makers." Poona Gazetteer, Part III, p. 174.

CITY OF POONA

About 1870

Scale 500 Yards = 1 Inch



G. I. P. Railway

Kumbhar Gate Causeway

BHAMBURDA

MANGALVAR

Sassoon Hospital

MUTHA RIVER

Thakata Shaksola

SOMVAR

Thakata Shaksola

Nageshvar

SHANVAR

Shamrao Vado

NYAHA

PRAST

Lakdi Boli Bridge

INARAYANI

Kosba Gampal

ADITVAR

GANESH

ANANA

BUDHVAR

Kosba Gampal

SADASHIV

SHUKRAVAR

VE TAL

GANJ

BHAVANI

PARVATI LAKE

GHORPADE

To Camp

From Sabar

of the west, and the notable cases of the contrary type of divergence were wards in which the size of houses may be expected to have been smaller than the average.

Data relating to Number of houses in Poona:—From the period of the Gazetteer to the present day information is available at frequent intervals regarding the number of houses in various wards in Poona. Most of the information is to be obtained from either municipal administrative reports or the municipal records. Before an elaborate analysis is made of the statistics and other information regarding houses given in the Gazetteer and in subsequent administrative reports it is necessary to examine the nature of this information. The detailed table about Poona houses in 1883 inserted in the Gazetteer¹ is stated to have been compiled from municipal statements. The total number of houses shown in this table is classified both by wards and by the class of houses. It is likely that this table was either specially prepared or that municipal records regarding houses were at the time maintained on a basis different from the basis subsequently adopted for the purpose. The statements regarding houses in municipal reports at later dates appear to be no more than enumeration of the numbers of houses registered in each ward. Our experience with the list of house numbers in the municipal register has been commented upon, in part, in Volume I (pages 34 to 38). It has been pointed out at that place that the original list of house numbers had been often disturbed by later introduction of extra numbers or by disappearance of certain numbers owing to demolition of houses etc. In compiling the list of house numbers for drawing our sample it was necessary to take account of these additions and omissions before arriving at the correct sequence and the total number. Further, in the registered house numbers were found included all kinds of buildings and plots, such as mosques and temples, schools and markets, police stations, gymnasia, public latrines and also open yards. It is obvious that for ascertaining the number of houses used for residential purposes these categories of buildings would have to be eliminated from the list of house numbers. In selecting our sample we did this to the extent that was possible from indications given in the municipal register itself and prepared a list of numbers which, on the basis of the evidence contained in

1. See above p. 106.

the municipal register, was of houses used either for private residential or commercial purposes. Even so, on actual investigation we found, in the sample of house numbers selected by us, numbers which belonged to almost all the categories referred to above. It is thus clear that the total number of houses in the municipal register includes a significant element which cannot be designated houses in any sense of the term and among houses or buildings are included others which have to be eliminated before obtaining the net number of residential houses.

The total number of separate numbers in the municipal register of houses at the time of our investigation was found to be 15,907. Of these the number eliminated during our examination of the registers was 3,829. If a further elimination is made from this number on the basis of our experience with the house numbers selected in the sample, the total would be further reduced by, say, another thousand. It is not known and it cannot now be ascertained what the information regarding houses given in the administration reports of the Poona City Municipality at different times definitely represents i.e. whether the numbers are gross numbers representing per ward and for the whole city, all numbers in the house register, as in 1936, or whether they are in some way or other corrected to represent the net number of buildings or residential houses. On the evidence before us and in view of general considerations it appears highly unlikely that the house numbers at any date represent the net numbers of houses available for residential purposes. Even the Gazetteer data for 1883 are most probably inclusive of such categories as mosques, temples, gymnasia, schools etc. It is likely that the original house register numbers referred mostly to buildings but that in course of time when houses were demolished or acquired under road-widening schemes or were in any other way put out of use their numbers were not necessarily removed and that in the gross number the element of numbers representing no actual buildings might have tended to grow with the passage of time. This is, however, again a mere guess which cannot be supported by any definitive evidence.

The number of houses in the city or in the various wards, then, cannot be accurately ascertained at any time subsequent to the 1883 data; the 1883 data may, perhaps, be taken to have been specially prepared for the Gazetteer and being, as such, fairly reliable. The likelihood that an element of error has crept into the gross statistics of registered number of houses is no reason for

entirely neglecting consideration of the data regarding the number of houses contained in the municipal administration reports. We have, therefore, used these data in the discussion that follows, but preface the discussion with these remarks so that the limitations on the validity of conclusions drawn from them may be borne in mind.

Movement of Population and Houses:—In interpreting the house statistics at different dates (Table No.19) one feature of the data which cannot adequately be explained is the decrease in the number of houses, as between certain dates, revealed by the figures. For example, the number of houses in Raviwar, Vetal and Shukrawar decreased slightly between 1881 and 1891. It does not appear that the decrease was due to road widening or other similar operations. It is likely that this decrease in the number of houses within a period of 10 years may be the result of adjustments brought about in registration during the two periods. In this case little significance can be attached to this fact of decrease. Another significant feature of the statistics is that the number of houses in certain wards remains absolutely constant over long periods. This was the case, for example, with the number of houses in Bhavani, Budhwar, Shanwar, Raviwar, Mangalwar and Somwar, from 1891 to 1911. As the situation of these various wards in relation to location, stage of development, numbers of population, etc. differed greatly, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that between these two dates no revision of the statistics took place and that this led to the same numbers being repeated from year to year. It may thus be said that in recent decades the decrease in numbers of houses or their constancy may not be related to any definite movement as regards the supply of houses. There is, however, no reason to doubt that an increase in numbers where such is clearly indicated by the statistics of registered houses indicates a definite upward movement.

The period from 1895 to 1911 was marked by plague epidemics and no marked increase in population or houses was likely to take place during this period. The decade 1881 to 1891 was, however, free from disturbances arising out of famines and epidemics and movements during this decade might be taken to indicate trends of a type which had been, perhaps, operative for some time even before 1881. The increase of population during the decade 1881-1891 was general and in almost no ward was the increase less than 9 p. c. In most wards

Table No. 19—Number of Houses, Population and Number of persons per house since 1822.

Wards	No. of Houses					Population						No. of persons per house			
	1822	1883	1891	1911	1935	1822	1881	1891	1911	1931	1941	1822	1881	1891	1911
1 Shivajinagar	...	...	652	706	1512	...	...	3334	4122	10,609	19,902	...	...	5.11	5.84
2 Sadashiv	765	788	...	904	1396	8642	8366	10,093	10,349	17,327	29,602	11.30	10.62	...	11.45
3 Narayan	304	508	...	486	625	4289	3563	4257	5106	6934	10,883	14.11	7.01	...	10.51
4 Shanwar	387	582	607	607	672	6516	7786	9132	9721	10,631	14,702	16.84	13.38	15.04	16.01
5 Budhwar	356	550	544	544	744	5150	6083	6720	6408	9165	11,576	14.47	11.06	12.35	11.78
6 Raviwar	1095	1456	1435	1436	1462	7395	9726	10,694	8559	12,717	16,077	6.75	6.68	7.45	5.96
7 Kasba	941	1496	1511	1534	1458	9307	11890	13,534	13,025	14,812	19,884	9.89	7.95	8.96	8.49
8 Mangalwar	353	300	351	351	397	1797	2192	2558	...	4400	6475	5.09	7.31	7.29	...
9 Somwar	366	404	418	418	537	2623	3808	4516	7944	7602	11,305	7.17	9.43	10.80	10.33
10 Rasta	423	477	512	613	516	3034	4267	4828	...	5442	9898	7.17	8.95	9.43	8.49
11 Nihal	83	94	101	...	102	607	1107	1368	...	1551	...	7.31	11.77	13.54	...
12 Ganesh	337	470	458	455	468	2972	3695	4078	5426	4996	5982	8.82	7.86	8.90	11.93
13 Nana	420	618	772	842	954	2416	5408	7352	6119	9534	14,388	5.75	8.75	9.52	7.27
14 Bhavani	783	938	1071	1071	1097	3586	6737	7661	7748	11,661	17,302	4.58	7.18	7.15	7.23
15 Ganj	745	873	881	906	1009	3781	4969	5425	3722	6863	8826	5.08	5.69	6.16	4.11
16 Vetal	441	693	664	664	676	3826	4458	5237	5615	6874	9267	8.68	6.43	7.89	8.46
17 Shukrawar	1455	1701	1638	1638	1867	11,837	14137	16,359	16,431	20,846	31,577	8.14	8.31	9.99	10.03
18 Ghorpade & Gultekdi	201	312	302	336	410	789	1139	1388	1956	937	...	3.92	3.65	4.60	5.82
19 Muzfarjang	42	11	...	...	...	170	90	256	...	...	...	4.05	8.18	...	...
20 Morobodada wada	52	...	...	...	...	178	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	9,549	12,271		13,511	15,902	78,915	99,421	118,790	117,456	162,901	237,546	8.29	8.10		8.69

Note—The ratio of the number of persons per house for the year 1881 represents the relation between the number of persons in 1881 and the number of houses in 1883.

it was between 10 p. c. and 20 p. c. The number of houses did not, of course, increase in the same proportion as the number of inhabitants. Some increase in the number of houses was, at the same time, a widespread phenomenon. In certain wards, however, viz. Shukrawar, Vetal, Ganesh and Raviwar, decline in the number of houses was recorded as between 1883 and 1891. A close correspondence between population increases and house increases was shown by Nana which recorded the highest increases in both population and houses during this decade. Similarly, Somwar, Mangalwar, Shanwar and Bhavani showed fairly substantial increase in both houses and population. The rather low increase in wards like Kasba and Budhwar may be explained by suggesting that the older wards of the city were now getting filled up and that the movement of growth in houses had begun to intensify in the more outlying wards.

The period between 1891 and 1911 was a disturbed period in respect of public health in Poona and no increase in population took place between the two dates. The number of houses increased only in a few wards, the most notable increases being those in Nana and Rasta. Thus, in the period between 1881 and 1911 no large change came about in the housing situation in the main wards of the city. For most of the wards the number of houses was either stagnant or the total increase in the number of houses was of the order of less than 5 p. c. The wards in which a really substantial increase i. e. more than 10 p. c. took place were Rasta and Nana. None of these belonged to the group of the older central ward. These figures of increase are not inconsistent with what is indicated by information from other sources.

The position in regard to both houses and population changed rapidly after 1911; with the exception of the influenza epidemic of 1918 there was no check to the growth of population in years after 1914; and the number of houses also grew apace, especially in the outlying wards. The numbers of inhabitants through this subsequent period rose much more rapidly than the number of houses.

For the year of our survey two sets of data relating to the number of houses are available to us. Firstly, the number as shown in the municipal register and secondly, the numbers arrived at by us for the selection of the sample of houses after eliminating certain categories from the registered house numbers on the evidence contained in the register itself. For purposes of comparison, how-

ever, the latter figure cannot be used. The data for earlier years are not corrected and, therefore, it is the uncorrected numbers of 1935-1936 that must be compared with, say, the 1911 figures. The comparison shows a decline in house numbers which is substantial in Rasta and Kasba and an increase of less than 5 p. c. in the number of houses in Vetal, Raviwar, Ganesh and Bhavani. The position of the older wards like Kasba, Vetal, Raviwar and Ganesh need cause no surprise; of the wards to the east Rasta is a small circumscribed ward and it may, therefore, be that there was little room for the growth of new houses in it even though it was not one of the central wards. Large increases are noticed in Sadashiv, Narayan, Budhwar, and Somwar and fairly substantial increases in Mangalwar, Shanwar, Shukrawar and Nana. Narayan and Shanwar, though older wards, had open areas especially on the river side and Sadashiv, Mangalwar, Nana, Shukrawar and Somwar had fairly large unoccupied areas. An increase in the number of houses in them was only to be expected with an enlargement of the city. A special explanation must, however, be found for the large number of additional houses in Budhwar. It is highly likely that this was a development that followed certain road widening operations during this period, that affected Budhwar more than any other ward; and that as a consequence certain open spaces previously maintained within the ward were built upon. During this period also the ward Bhamburda, later named Shivajinagar, first rose to importance. Very large developments took place in this ward in the 20 years before our survey, which vitally affected the course of future development of the city.

In spite of the increase in the number of houses, amounting to 20 p. c. the number of persons per house increased substantially during this period. For obtaining the index of persons per house the population of 1911 enumerated by the census of the year can be related to the house register statistics of that year. For the year 1935-36, however, no census data are available and this makes it difficult to obtain with accuracy an index for the latter date which would be comparable with that for 1911. The results of our house sample survey give a certain relation between the number of sample houses and the population living in it. In this relation, however, the houses are all residential houses and it cannot be compared with the 1911 index obtained by dividing the census population by the number of houses in the municipal register containing, as pointed out above, numbers representing either non-residential buildings

or no buildings at all. In order to obtain a comparable figure of persons per house in 1935-36 it would be necessary to use the gross registered number of houses for 1935-36. However, the calculation is rendered difficult in this case by lack of the corresponding data relating to population. An estimate of the population might, however, be arrived at by multiplying the population obtained in our sample by 13 which appears to be the proportion of our sample to the total, as indicated by a close scrutiny of the house data. If calculations are made on this basis the results obtained reveal a degree of increase in density which may be considered as broadly reliable. On this basis the number of persons per house in the Poona City municipal area was 8.16 in 1881; 8.69 in 1911 and 13.64 in 1935-36. The increase was thus very considerable between 1911 and 1935-36.

It is obvious that the figure of the number of houses gives only a broad idea of housing accommodation available. The accommodation may increase considerably without the number of houses themselves increasing. In its quantitative aspect housing accommodation may be increased by the addition of stories, by building over of previously open spaces or by any other type of extension. There is little doubt that with increase in the pressure for rented premises or housing accommodation, following especially the first World War considerable increase in house accommodation took place which was not related to and not reflected in the number of houses. It has already been indicated how the preponderance of such class of houses as huts may lead to a low ratio of persons per house in particular wards. The process of the substitution of huts by houses would continue with the pressure on housing accommodation and the average size of a house could also continually increase without the number of houses showing any variation.

The increase in the number of persons per house or dwelling is accounted for, to a large extent, by the large diminution in the proportion of huts in the total number of dwellings in 1935-36 as compared with the proportion in 1883. No detailed classification of houses in Poona comparable with that in 1883 is available for 1935-36 or for any year after 1883. The proportion of huts in the total number of dwellings to which we have attached so much importance in discussing the earlier data is also not available for years after 1883. In the absence of this information we have to rely on data obtained from the classification of houses included in our

survey house sample. This indicates that habitations comparable to huts formed approximately 12 p.c. of the number of sample houses in 1935-36. This has to be compared with about 38 p. c. which is the proportion of houses of the 5th class to the total number of houses in 1883. In the earlier calculations the number of persons per house has been assumed to be double that per hut. On this assumption the fall in the proportion of huts between 1883 and 1935 indicated above should, by itself, lead to an increase in the number of persons per dwelling from 8.16 to about 9.5

Before taking up in detail the question of the increase in average accommodation per house, it may be noted that there is no necessary correspondence between the number of separate dwelling places and the number of registered houses. The house number register denotes primarily a plot or an area of land. It has been already pointed out that in a number of instances vacant plots or open areas may carry a house number. Per contra, a plot of land may carry more than one house and this would still be entered in the municipal register as one house, just as the partition of a single house among two owners may lead to a spurious addition to the number of houses. The possibility of there being more than one house or habitation in an area was specially large when open areas were built over with only temporary structures. This happened particularly in some parts of the city ; the most extreme cases were where the owner of an extensive plot merely rented the site to a number of lessees who put up temporary structures like huts on them. A significant proportion of the population was housed in this manner in 1935-36. Table No. 20 indicates the number of separate structures found in the numbers of the houses selected in our sample. Disparity between the two is especially marked in Somwar, Shivajinagar and Suburban Roads. It is clear that in the vast majority of cases, the disparity between the number of houses and the number of independent structures is due to the building of huts or other temporary accommodation chiefly by the tenant himself on an area carrying a single house number.

It would appear that the accommodation of the growing numbers of people in the city was brought about during 1911 and 1935 to the extent that it did not merely increase crowding of the average tenement more largely by the extension and enlargement of existing houses than by the building of new houses. It is, however, likely that the two different movements met the needs of two types of classes. Between 1911-1935 the gross number of houses

Table No. 20—Number of Houses and Number of Independent Structures in them (H. S.)

Wards ↓	Number of Structures per house →											Total
	One	Two	Three	Four	Six	Seven	Nineteen	Twenty-four	Twenty-nine	Thirty		
1 Shivajinagar	55 (55)	3 (6)	3 (9)	1 (4)	1 (6)	...	1 (19)	...	...	...	64 (99)
2 Sadashiv	72 (72)	3 (6)	1 (3)	...	1 (6)	...	...	...	...	...	77 (87)
3 Narayan	39 (39)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	39 (39)
4 Shanwar	42 (42)	2 (4)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	44 (46)
5 Budhwar	46 (46)	1 (2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	47 (48)
6 Raviwar	84 (84)	3 (6)	1 (3)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	88 (93)
7 Kasba	90 (90)	3 (6)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 (30)	93 (96)
8 Mangalwar	29 (29)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30 (59)
9 Somwar	26 (26)	6 (12)	2 (6)	...	...	...	1 (24)	...	...	...	35 (68)
10 Rasta	34 (34)	1 (2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	35 (36)
11 Nihal	8 (8)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8 (8)
12 Ganesh	28 (28)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28 (28)
13 Nana	53 (53)	3 (6)	2 (6)	2 (8)	...	...	...	...	...	...	60 (73)
14 Bhavani	64 (64)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	64 (64)
15 Ganj	42 (42)	1 (2)	...	...	...	1 (7)	...	...	...	...	44 (51)
16 Vetai	40 (40)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40 (40)
17 Shukrawar	103 (103)	4 (8)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	107 (11)
18 Ghorpade & Gultekdi	13 (13)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13 (13)
19 Suburban Rds.	10 (10)	2 (4)	3 (9)	...	1 (6)	...	...	...	1 (29)	...	17 (58)
20 Yerawda and Suburban wadis	30 (30)	2 (4)	1 (3)	1 (4)	...	...	...	...	...	...	34 (41)
Total	908 (908)	34 (68)	13 (39)	4 (16)	3 (18)	1 (7)	1 (19)	1 (24)	1 (29)	1 (30)	967 (1158)	

N. B.—Figures without brackets indicate number of Houses and figures in brackets indicate number of Structures in them.

in the municipal register rose by nearly 2500. More than half of this number is accounted for by the addition of new houses in the two wards Sadashiv and Bhamburda or Shivajinagar. These two wards house, in the main, the middle and the rich classes of the population of the city. The requirements of these classes for housing were thus met substantially by the building of new houses. It is likely that during this same period the movement towards break-up of the joint family was intensified among these strata of society. The requirement of tenements for independent families of populations of these wards would then have concurrently increased.

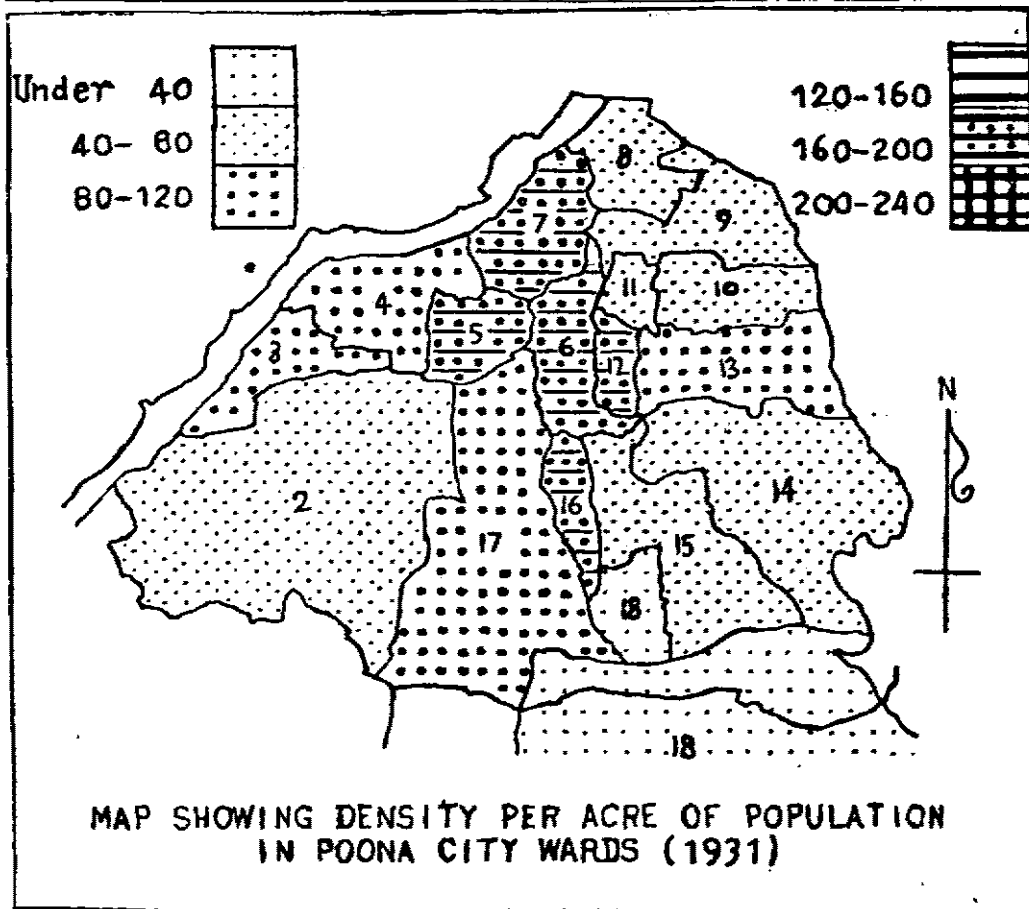
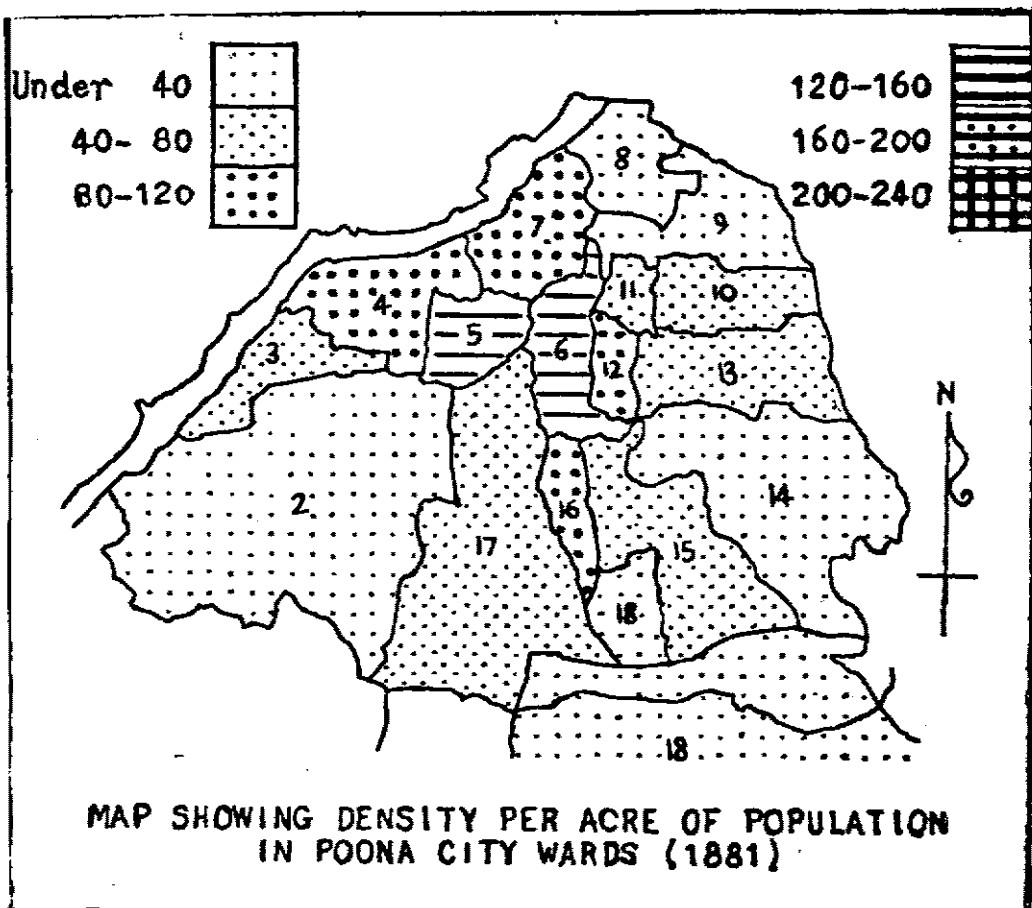
On the other hand, in the older wards the increase in the number of persons per house reflects, in part, the tendency of the houses to get bigger. There was a general movement observable in many cities during the early decades of the 20th century in India for the small independent huts or houses to be demolished and to have their place taken by larger buildings accommodating a large number of families of the poorer classes and of the lower middle classes. This might lead in certain cases to an actual fall in the number of buildings in an area though this meant no diminution or even perhaps, an actual increase in the area available per family.¹

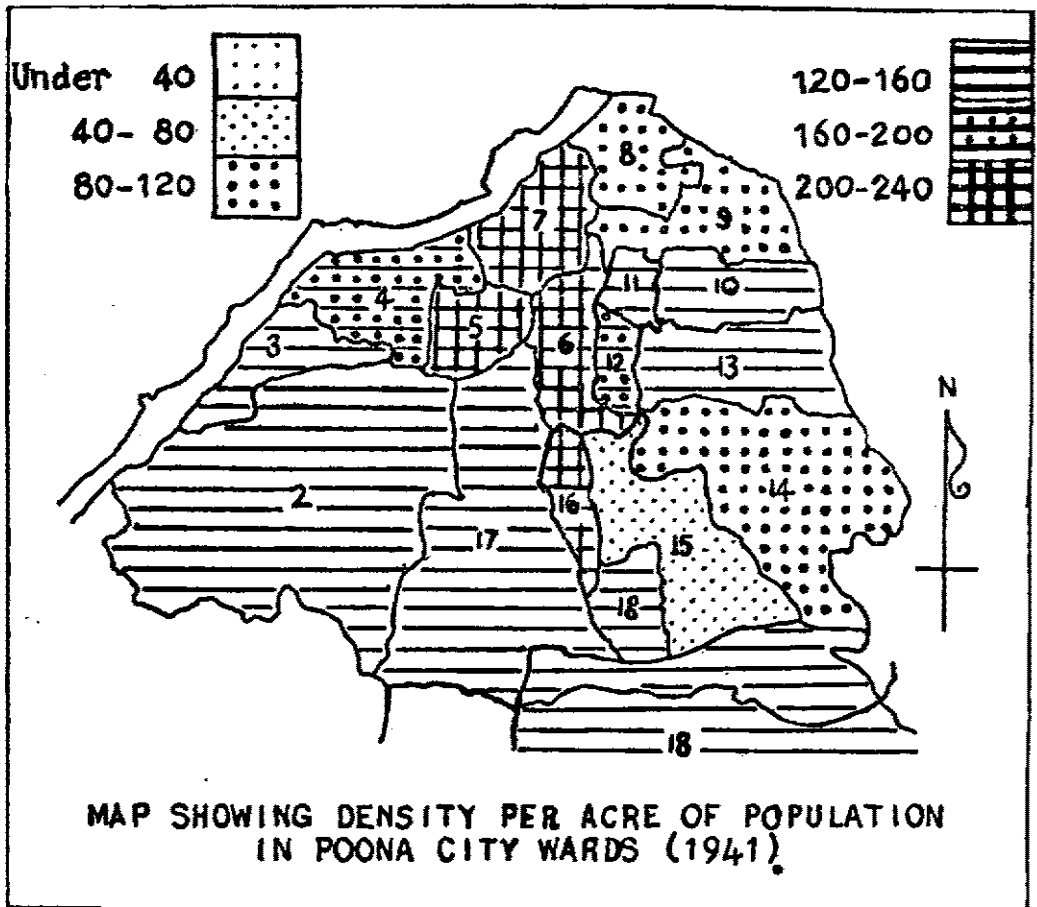
Whatever the fluctuations in the number of persons per house an increase of urban population resulted usually in an increase in the number of persons per square unit of urban land area and to some decrease in the amount of open space available to urban inhabitants. Overcrowding in the sense of a very large number of

¹ Cf. the following from the Report on the Census of the Cities of the Bombay Presidency (1931).

"Whether the decrease in the number of buildings this Census is real or not is hard to decide. Faulty enumeration has certainly been at work. But it is likely that there has been a change in the kind of building erected for the working classes. The practice is growing of providing large chawls containing accommodation for many families in one building instead of the smaller buildings which used to be the chief means of providing cheap housing accommodation." (p. 77).

"Kamathipura has the highest number of buildings per acre, 17.55 as against 19 in the last census; and its density is 601.71, as against 714, whereas Kumbharwada, with a density of 726.57 as against 736 in 1931, has only 15.54 buildings per acre. Similarly, Second Nagpada with a density of 636.37 has only 15.58 buildings per acre. This is due to the fact that small buildings have been demolished and replaced by larger buildings without affecting the number of occupants per unit of surface area." (p. 77-8).





Numbers in Maps showing Density per Ward represent wards as follows :

- | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|
| 2 Sadashiv | 11 Nihal |
| 3 Narayan | 12 Ganesh |
| 4 Shanwar | 13 Nana |
| 5 Budhwar | 14 Bhavani |
| 6 Raviwar | 15 Ganj |
| 7 Kasba | 16 Vetar |
| 8 Mangalwar | 17 Shukrawar |
| 9 Somwar | 18 Ghorpade and Gultekdi |
| 10 Rasta | |

persons per square acre could not go as far in Poona as in a city like Bombay. In the more crowded parts of Bombay city the density of population per acre rises to 600 and more. No such figures are reached in Poona. However, there has been, through the last quarter of a century or more, a consistent increase in the density of population which must be considered to have reached a fairly high point for the central wards of the city like Budhwar and Raviwar even in 1931 (Table No. 21) This increased density, though much lower than in the crowded parts of Bombay, may be usefully compared with that obtaining in other Indian cities.

In the reports of many provincial Censuses for 1931 attention has been paid to density of population per square area unit within cities and large towns and also to the number of houses and the number of persons per house. Among these data, some of the highest densities recorded are for Lahore and Amritsar. In Lahore Town (within the Circular Road) 176,692 persons were recorded in an area of 570 acres giving a density of 310 persons per acre. For Amritsar the density was much higher; for the area of the city excluding the cantonment which was almost 10 square miles the density was about 500 persons to the acre. These densities are much higher than those for any ward of Poona; indeed even the overall densities for Lahore and Amritsar exceed the densities for the central wards of Poona. The overall densities noted for municipalities in U. P. were much lower. In this province these densities rarely exceeded 80 persons per square mile even where separate figures are calculated for city municipalities and in no case went above 100 persons to the square mile.¹

The U. P. figures are not strictly comparable with those cited above for Lahore and Amritsar. The Lahore and Amritsar figures were calculated not for an administrative unit but for selected areas which were specially crowded. However, these areas were fairly extensive and carried very large populations. That conditions in U. P. cities were different from those in Lahore and Amritsar is further exemplified by the detailed housing statistics for Cawnpore and Lucknow.² These show that though the densities for very small units are high, the highest densities for wards as a whole were even in Cawnpore only 164 and 158. The 1931 Madras report contains more varied data on these questions than most other reports. These

1 Report of the Census of United Provinces, 1931 pp. 134-35

2 Op. cit. Chap. II Subsidiary Table V,

Table No. 21—Density per square acre for different wards

Wards	1881	1931	1941
1 Shivajinagar	...	7.55	14.18
2 Sadashiv	17.81	71.15	121.58
3 Narayan	45.98	92.15	144.62
4 Shanwar	84.70	119.35	165.04
5 Budhwar	159.14	184.50	233.05
6 Raviwar	144.86	180.19	227.82
7 Kasba	100.09	176.32	236.72
8 Mangalwar	21.88	69.99	103.04
9 Somwar	33.83	78.94	117.37
10 Rasta	56.63	75.17	136.73
11 Nihal	51.01	...	...
12 Ganesh	115.39	163.93	196.31
13 Nana	49.85	85.81	129.47
14 Bhavani	26.43	69.21	102.08
15 Ganj	59.39	42.30	54.40
16 Vetal	110.64	168.04	226.56
17 Shukrawar	71.63	91.43	138.47
18 Ghorpade & Gultekdi	27.34	21.30	...
19 Suburban Rds.	...	...	...
20 Yerawda and Suburban wadis	...	...	...

Note—The calculations regarding density for 1881 have been made on the basis of the data for area and population contained in the Gazetteer. For the 1931 and 1941 calculations, information regarding the area of wards, as given by municipal authorities recently, has been used.

indicate that densities in Poona in 1931 were comparable to those in Madura which was noted to have the highest run of densities for wards among cities of Madras Province and higher than Madras city itself.

Resort may also be had to the Madras census for data to be compared with the Poona figures of persons per house. Comparable data are not available for other provinces like the Punjab or U. P. The number of persons per house in Poona has been calculated above as having been more than 13 in 1935-36. Among Madras cities the figures for the five, having the highest average of persons per 100 houses, were as follows: Madras 877, Rajahmundry 793, Mangalore 727, Madura 723 and Vellore 709. The Poona average is comparatively much higher. The Madras report also gives some information regarding variations by ward in the number of persons per house in the different cities of Madras Province. It appears from these that the highest number of persons per house in a ward was 12.8 in Madras City and that the highest minimum reached of persons per house in a ward in a city was 6.3 for Vellore. The Poona highest and lowest are both higher than these two figures.

The extension of housing accommodation in a ward whose total area is already completely under houses can take place mainly through the addition of stories to a building or by area hitherto left as open space being built upon. There is little doubt that in the matter of open spaces a revolution has come about in housing conditions in Poona during the last 3 or 4 decades. The housing conditions in Poona before the beginning of the first World War may be considered to have been not strikingly different from those described in the Gazetteer, as obtaining in 1881. The Gazetteer description reads :

“As it is built according to no regular plan, and has only two main streets and many narrow broken and winding lanes, Poona City is difficult to describe. Most of its roads, though well kept and clean, are narrow with side gutters either open or covered with stone slabs and with rows of houses generally built close to the road side. Some of the houses are one storeyed, little better than sheds, with long sloping tiled roofs and low plain front walls of unbaked brick coated with white earth. Other houses are two storeyed, the under storey with a heavy tile-covered eave resting on plain square wooden pillars, the upper storey plain,

with perhaps a row of arched wooden windows closed on the outside with plain square shutters and slightly shaded by a shallow eave. In other houses the ground-floor stands back and beams of wood support an overhanging upper storey with a more or less ornamental balcony and a heavy upper eave. Every now and then the line of commoner dwellings is broken by some large building, either a new house, two or three storeys high with bright wood work and walls of burnt brick picked out with cement, or the long blank walls of one of the old mansions. The overhanging irregular wood work, the sharp turns and windings, and the variety in size and style of houses, make some of the streets picturesque in places, and trees planted at the roadsides, or, oftener, hanging from some garden or temple enclosure, give many of the streets a certain greenness and shade. In the western wards the roads are broader, and both there and in the south-west they are bordered by long lines of walls. Most of the houses are poor, but the lanes are redeemed from ugliness by occasional temples, houses with picturesque overhanging balconies, and magnificent *nim*, *pipal*, and banyan trees growing in raised circular pavements. The lanes are quiet, with few people and little cart or carriage traffic, with here and there a grain or sweetmeat shop and wells with groups of water-drawers. The main streets are called after the days of the week. Only two of them, Aditwar and Shanvar, differ much from the lanes in breadth or in the style of their buildings." ¹

The rapid increase in population that took place during and after World War I and in particular the increase during World War II, has changed Poona housing conditions as regards all the special points noted in the above quotation. Small independent houses with open yards are rapidly becoming exceptional and the large shady trees which were the characteristic of Poona until the first World War have almost vanished. The most striking evidence of this phenomenon in the survey statistics is that relating to open spaces or court yards in sample houses. It has been indicated above that a growth of population in a city is likely to be accompanied by an increase in the average number of stories at least in the central portions of the city. The distribution of storeyed houses in a city might thus be another index of congestion in certain parts and it might also throw light on some features of

¹ *Poona Gazetteer*. Part III, pp. 270-1.

the development of the city. One ward-list of houses obtained from the Peshwa Daftar gives details regarding storeys of houses, among other information, in the various wards of Poona, for the year 1822 (Table 22).¹ Such information is, however, not available in the Gazetteer or in any subsequent series in the municipal reports etc. In this respect, as in many others, the only recent data available to us are those obtained through our sample survey.

Number of Storeys and Urban Concentration :— A study of building structures in a city may throw light on the process of urban concentration. A study on these lines of American and European towns and cities shows a contrast in the process of development. In the U. S. A., "Intensive examination of the city of medium or large size will show that the city is more densely built up at the core, where, even if it is only a few square miles in area, one or more tall structures will loom up grotesquely, marking the location of the central business district. If the city is large the number of these sky-scrapers will be correspondingly multiplied and they will reappear irregularly at places somewhat distant from the city centre, indicating the location of subcentres. The central business district will flatten out abruptly towards the edges where the cities' light manufacturing and warehouse areas may be recognised, interspread by ramshackle structures constituting the blighted areas and slums. Adjacent to this belt are to be found the tenements and workingmen's houses, and beyond are the more densely built apartment house sections tapering off rather unsymmetrically and stretching finger-like along the main traffic streets into areas of single homes with small yards and open spaces. Along these radials that follow the main transportation lines and

1. It will be noticed that the tables printed as appendix to Chapter I also contain data relating to the number of houses in Poona in 1822. Table I contains classified information relating to houses occupied by families belonging to different communities. Table II contains classified information regarding houses in the different wards and suburbs. The documents from which these tables were compiled related primarily to information other than that regarding houses. Table 22 in this chapter is copied from a document which contained specifically and solely, data relating to houses. It will be observed from the classification adopted in the table that its primary objective was the ascertainment of residential accommodation. It classifies houses by storeys and gives data relating to vacant plots and also regarding the total living room area in the "khan" measure. As noted previously, the figures in the various tables do not tally exactly.

Table No. 22—Number of Houses in Poona Wards (1822)

Source : Peshwa Daftar, Unpublished.

Wards	Total Buildings	Temples & mosques etc.	Net Houses	One Storeyed	Two Storeyed	Huts	Open Spaces	No. of Khans
1 Sadashiv	852	84	768	346	294	64	64	3705
2 Narayan	353	9	344	171	126	15	32	2009
3 Shanwar	465	27	438	71	350	17	...	3091
4 Budhwar	375	11	364	43	321	...	...	1731
5 Raviwar	1375	46	1329	421	421	433	54	3394
6 Kasba	1048	41	1007	455	436	42	74	3964
7 Mangalwar	261	9	252	83	73	81	15	699
8 Somwar	405	14	391	174	131	50	36	1280
9 Rasta	435	18	417	40	228	109	40	1248
10 Nibal	93	5	88	40	37	9	2	372
11 Ganesh	431	26	405	176	35	158	36	1029
12 Nana	457	27	430	94	92	210	34	1836
13 Ganj	861	66	795	304	51	349	91	1410
14 Vetal	596	23	573	207	156	181	29	1842
15 Shukrawar	1741	155	1586	575	499	461	51	495
Total	9748	561	9187	3200	3250	2179	558	28105

Open spaces have been included in the total of both buildings and houses in this table.

like a web between them, will cluster other less intensively built up settlements. The city will thus approximate a circular or semi-circular pattern at the edges of which tentacles will protrude tending to stretch the circle into a star-shaped outline. The symmetry of the total configuration is sometimes warped by waterfronts, rivers, elevations and depressions in the topography and by the proximity of other cities" ¹

The European cities provide a contrast to this pattern. "In general it may be said that the European cities have assumed their urban character and proportions more gradually than those of the United States. Whereas the modern urban civilization of Europe emerged by slow stages out of the town economy and culture of the Middle Ages, the United States acquired its urban cast relatively suddenly upon a background of primitive agriculturalism... Many of the European cities were planned from the beginning and in comparison to American urban communities show a degree of order, symmetry and integration only rarely found in the United States. While many of them are more densely and solidly built up than our American Cities, they do not show the abrupt contrast between the sky-scrapers at the centre and the low, scattered structures at the periphery that is so characteristic of the American city. ... Similarly because European governments as a rule exercise greater social control over private enterprise, they have been able through their building regulations, zoning and other regulatory activities, to control the growth, the development and adaptation of their cities to new conditions more effectively in the interest of the common welfare than has been the case in the United States" ²

No such general picture of development can be given at the present stage regarding the growth of towns and cities in India; the material bearing on the point is scanty, and such material as exists has not been analysed or consolidated. In ancient India town planning was not unknown and discussions regarding the laying out of various types of towns etc. can be found in treatises like Kautilya's Arthashastra. In the days of the Mughals some attention was paid to the building of cities but there does not appear to be any definite or predetermined design

¹ Our Cities, Their Role in the National Economy, National Resources Committee, June, 1937, p. 36.

² Ibid. pp. 26-27.

about them. As pointed out above, during the 18th century when modern Poona grew there was little planning and no regular procedures appear to have been adopted as regards the layout of streets, etc. When the British came almost the same set of unregulated conditions persisted except with regard to areas like cantonments and civil lines occupied by British personnel. The local self-governing authorities established by the British towards the end of the 19th century were equally indifferent to town planning.

Poona does not go back to before the 6th century A. D. and upto the latter half of the 15th century it was a comparatively small town round a fortification. Poona cannot, therefore, boast of any ancient nuclear layout. Also the town is said to have been almost completely raised to the ground in the beginning of the 17th century. Its comparatively uninterrupted progress dates only from the latter half of the 17th century. The main stages and processes of this growth have already been described. Against this background one may examine the changes in the number of storeys in the different wards between 1822 and the time of the survey and see whether any growth pattern could be made out as a result. We have information regarding the number of storeys in 1822 and we noted the number of storeys of the houses in the sample at the time of the survey. No information on the point is, however, available for any year during the intervening period.

The data regarding housing in Poona in 1822, (Table No. 22). contains details about the storeys of houses. Comment may be made on urban concentration at this date by noting the proportion of houses with two storeys in various wards. It will be observed that both Shanwar and Budhwar had more than 75 per cent of houses which were two storeyed. The highest percentage of two storeyed houses in other wards was as follows: Kasba, the original nucleus which was contiguous with both Budhwar and Shanwar had 46 per cent. of two storeyed houses. The western wards adjoining Shanwar i. e. Sadashiv and Narayan had 42 per cent. and 44 per cent. of two storeyed houses respectively. In continuation with Budhwar, Rawiwar, Somwar, Nihal and Rasta showed two storeyed houses with the following respective percentages: 34, 37, 44 and 60. Poona at this time appears thus to have had two focal regions; one was Shanwar and the adjoining western wards. The centre of this region was the Peshwa's palace, Shanwar Wada; a large area adjoining to the

Table No. 23--Number of Storeys in 1822 and in 1935-36.

Wards	1822				1935-36 (H. S.)					
	One Storeyed including Huts	Two Storeyed	Total Houses	Percent of one Storeyed to Total	One Storeyed	Two Storeyed	Three Storeyed	Four Storeyed	Total Houses	Percent of one Storeyed to Total
1 Shivajinagar	...	...	...	...	70	24	4	1	99	70.70
2 Sadashiv	410	294	704	58.24	14	49	24	...	87	16.09
3 Narayan	186	126	312	59.63	15	18	6	...	39	38.46
4 Shanwar	88	350	438	20.09	8	25	13	...	46	17.39
5 Budhwar	43	321	364	11.81	3	30	14	1	48	6.25
6 Raviwar	854	421	1275	66.98	22	32	35	4	93	23.66
7 Kasba	497	436	933	53.26	29	50	14	3	96	30.21
8 Mangalwar	164	73	237	69.20	51	6	2	...	59	86.44
9 Somwar	224	131	355	63.10	47	17	4	...	68	69.12
10 Rasta	149	228	377	39.52	13	18	5	...	36	36.11
11 Nihal	49	37	86	56.98	2	6	...	...	8	25.00
12 Ganesh	334	35	369	90.51	8	15	3	...	26	30.77
13 Nana	304	92	396	76.76	49	22	2	...	73	67.12
14 Bhavani	...	...	...	...	34	23	5	...	62	54.84
15 Ganj	653	51	704	92.75	45	4	2	...	51	88.24
16 Vetal	388	156	544	71.32	9	27	4	...	40	22.50
17 Shukrawar	1036	499	1535	67.49	30	60	18	3	111	27.03
18 Ghorpade & Gultekdi	...	...	...	...	13	2	1	...	16	81.25
19 Suburban Rds.	...	...	...	...	44	11	...	...	55	80.00
20 Yerawda & Suburban Wadis	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	5379	3250	8629	62.34	539	444	158	12	1153	46.75

palace to the west and another area immediately adjoining on the east in Kisba were occupied, to a large extent, by noblemen, courtiers and other well-to-do persons connected with the Court. The Budhwar-Raviwar complex, on the other hand, was chiefly a trading area and was the nucleus of economic activity in the city. The specially high percentage of two storeyed houses in Rasta can be explained only by the fact that it was a new ward in 1820, established in the last regime by an important nobleman and was one of the few wards to be regularly laid out; it was occupied initially by an important section of the cavalry, and seems to have attracted members of indigenous trading castes like Shimpis, Sonars and Kasars who were doing well in the latter part of Peshwa rule.

In determining the sample of families for our survey we chose every fifteenth house from among a list of houses in the city and included in the sample all the families found recorded in that house. In every case, in which information was obtained about the families in a house, data regarding the house itself were also gathered by means of a separate questionnaire. The information sought for was regarding the number of storeys, the plinth, the quality of the structure and the roof of the building, the area of the court yard, the number of tenements and tenants, water supply, sanitary arrangements, shops, cattle sheds, godowns, etc. in the house. The total number of houses covered by our enquiry was 1,005. The distribution of these different wards of the city is set out in Table No. 8 in Vol. 1.¹ Information collected in our sample survey is the only recent informatian regarding the number of storeys.

Urban concentration as revealed by the proportion of storeys at the time of our survey is different only in few respects from that a century or more before. Shanwar and the western wards no longer possessed a centre of attraction like the palace and the concentration of population was now related, in the main, to the central trading area of the city. If attention is paid to houses with two storeys or more, it would be clear that Budhwar and Raviwar are in this central position. It may parenthetically be pointed out that the percentages for Raviwar, as a whole, do not bring out to the fullest the concentration in the trading area. The main trading area in Raviwar is that adjoining Budhwar. Here, all signs of concentration are well marked. In the averages for the

¹ Pp. 36-37.

ward, however, conditions in other parts of the ward help to depress the total percentage). While the central area of concentration is fairly well-marked, intensity of development as indicated by the proportion of two storeyed houses is rather wide spread. Thus all the older wards like, Kasba, Shanwar, Nihal, Vetal, Shukrawar, Rasta etc. had half or more than half of the houses with two or more storeys.

Of the total number of houses included in our sample 40 percent had only ground floors. In the city municipal area the proportion of such houses to the total was 37 percent but it was 75 percent in the Suburban area and *Wadis* together. The high percentage in Suburban area and *Wadis* was due to two factors, (i) the predominance of bungalows, which were in the past usually ground floor structures, in the Suburban Municipal area and (ii) the housing in the *Wadis* which is rural in character; in both these types ground floor structures predominate. Similarity in housing condition between the Suburban area and the *Wadis* is confined to this single aspect; in all other respects, they provide an extreme contrast; for, the bungalows are generally occupied by the rich and well-to-do sections of the urban population while the *Wadis* are inhabited mostly by a semi-rural and a comparatively poor population.

In the city the proportion of houses with only ground floors was very high in 1935, in Mangalwar, (86%), Ganj (88%), Ghorpade-Gultekdi, (81%), Shivajinagar (70%), Nana (67%), Bhavani (54%), (Table No. 23). The element of the well-to-do in the population of Shivajinagar or Nana and Bhavani was not sufficient to affect the average in respect of house storeys. The lowest proportion of houses with ground floors only was to be found in Budhwar (6.5); next came in ascending order Sadashiv (16%), Shanwar (17%), Vetal (22%), Raviwar (23%), Nihal (35%), Shukrawar (27%) and Kasba (30%). There was thus no undue concentration at one locality and an abrupt change between it and the outlying portions, as in American cities, was not noticed. The fact that the city has grown gradually through two centuries has resulted in a wide area being densely and solidly built up. However, in contrast with European cities there has been no planning from the beginning and Poona shows no traces of order, symmetry or integration. The building regulations have been perfunctory and there is little sign of deliberate zoning or of planned town development. Therefore, though the city shows no abrupt contrasts as in U. S. A., yet in

the composition of its population, the stages of development reached, the standards of sanitation, of buildings and maintenance, many parts of the city are full of contrasts and incongruities and show, through this heterogeneity, traces of various phases of its history and of the haphazard course its development has taken.

Classes of Houses :—Apart from the information that was obtained regarding the composition etc. of the family and the tenement in which the family was living, some details about the structure etc. of the house as a whole were obtained in our schedule. For example, information relating to courtyards or open spaces was obtained for the house as a whole. Similarly, information regarding the structural aspects of the house was also obtained. The more important features regarding which such information was sought to be obtained was the height of plinth, the material used in the construction of the walls of the house, the material used for roofing etc. On the basis of this information it is possible to classify houses by certain broad categories and to indicate the supply of houses of varying qualities which was available in Poona. In the following discussion, instead of attempting to classify houses by each individual characteristic, certain broad combinations of features have been made in order to indicate main categories of house qualities. In making these combinations it was found that data regarding variations in roofing material noted by us were not of much significance. The overwhelming majority of houses were roofed over with either local country tiles or corrugated iron sheets or with partly one and partly other. No distinction can or need be made between these two types of roofing materials, either as indicating a better social or economic status of house owners or of residents of houses. On this account it was decided that attention should be confined to information relating to the structure proper i. e. the plinth and the walls of the house. The presence or the absence of a plinth makes considerable difference to the quality of housing. The comparative height of a plinth is also a matter of some significance but the most important difference is that between houses that have a plinth and that have none. The number of storeys is of importance from the point of view of density; also an increase in storeys above the ground floor demands a minimum of housing quality. At the same time there is usually no marked difference made to the quality of housing because a house has two or three storeys instead of only one. Therefore, the number of storeys was not considered significant in indicating the quality of housing though

it was important in determining the average size of the housing unit.

The classification adopted by us provides for seven broad classes. The first consists of houses which had a plinth and in whose construction the main materials used were from among the following : bricks, stone, lime and cement. The second class comprised houses in which the walls were made of bricks or stones or both but in whose construction partly lime and partly earth were used. These were houses in which the use, in part, of earth as binding material indicated distinctly a lower quality than in the first category. It may, however, be noted that in the construction of most of the older buildings of even the more substantial and richer sort use was made of earth as binding material. The third category was that of houses with a plinth in which the walls were of brick or stone and which used earth exclusively as binding material. The fourth and the fifth categories were of houses with no plinth. There were no houses with no plinth which made exclusive use of lime or cement as binding materials. There were, therefore, in this category only two classes. (i) Brick and stone houses which used both lime and earth, and (ii) those which used earth exclusively. The sixth and the seventh categories were of houses which did not have either brick or stone in their structure. The walls of these houses were made either of bamboo or wattle frames daubed with clay or mud or of other materials such as corrugated iron sheets, old kerosene tin sheets, matting, sacking etc. Housing of this sort was so inferior that in almost none of it was there a plinth. It was, therefore, not thought significant to make a distinction by introducing an additional sub-class of those having and those not having a plinth. However, where the walls were made of bamboo or wattle frames, the structure was of a more permanent type than where they were merely of tin sheets or sacking or matting. The bamboo or other framed wall structures were, therefore, put into the 6th class, while those with walls of tin sheets or matting have been put into the 7th. Table No. 25 sets out the total number of houses in the sample classified according to these categories and the number of families that lived in them.

The 6th and the 7th categories of our classification may be equated with the "huts" i. e. the 5th class of the Gazetteer. If this assumption is made and the two sets of figures are held comparable, some progress in the quality of housing in Poona would appear to have taken place during the 50 years before our survey.

In the 1883 statistics, houses of the 5th class form almost 38 per cent of the total of houses and are to be found in all wards of the city. The Gazetteer account of Poona houses says that, at that time, houses of the first category i. e. large mansions of the older type were no longer built but that houses of the second and the third class were growing in number.¹ It adds that "the poorer classes have rarely houses of their own but lodgings or chawls are being built for them in different parts of the city, neater and better planned than their former huts".² The tendency indicated by the last remark, that of huts being replaced by more durable structures in which the poorer classes began to live, seems to have proceeded far during the subsequent period. The number of structures placed in the 6th and 7th categories was less than 12 per cent of the whole at the time of our survey. At the time of the survey, the walls of houses in Poona were in the large majority of cases of brick or stone. It is, however, remarkable that the number of houses without a plinth was still very large. The absence of a plinth indicated in most cases the possibility of damp creeping into the house, especially during the rainy season; further, it increased the possibility of the insanitary surroundings of the house affecting conditions within it more directly.

The most important category of houses was clearly that of houses of brick or stone with earth used as the binding material (Table Nos. 24 and 25). Such houses with a plinth and roofed over either by country tiles or corrugated iron sheets were most characteristic of Poona houses and they constituted nearly 40 per cent of the total houses in the sample; and nearly 45 per cent of the families in the sample lived in such structures. The first category of houses which indicates houses built chiefly in modern times, constituted nearly 20 per cent of the number of houses and in these nearly 16 per cent of the total number of families lived. It would thus appear that in recent years the quality of housing available had improved and it is likely that the tendency towards this improvement was and is continuous. Apart from the housing of the poorest, which was housing of the temporary type indicated by our 6th and 7th categories, the quality of housing tended to improve because of the economics of modern house building. As site values and site rents within the area of the city continued to mount up it was found more and more economical to put up durable structures which were large and many storeyed. Thus a tendency to replace small houses built with inferior materials by

¹ op. cit. Vol. I p. 285,

² op. cit. Vol. I p. 286

Table No. 24.— Classification of houses by types of material used in their construction and by wards. (H. S.)

Description of House category → Wards ↓	Plinth			No Plinth		VI Bamboo, and wattle frame	VII Tin sheets, matting etc.	Total
	I Brick and/or stone with lime and cement	II Brick and/or stone with lime and earth	III Brick and/or stone with earth	IV Brick and /or stone with lime and earth	V Brick and/ or stone with earth			
1 Shivajinagar	24	1	45	6	3	2	18	99
2 Sadashiv	35	1	37	6	2	2	4	87
3 Narayan	19	...	11	7	1	1	...	39
4 Shanwar	12	1	29	2	2	...	...	46
5 Budhwar	12	1	32	1	1	...	1	48
6 Raviwar	4	1	57	7	23	1	...	93
7 Kaaba	4	4	54	9	22	...	3	96
8 Mangalwar	1	...	7	8	7	20	16	59
9 Somwar	7	1	9	15	7	7	22	68
10 Rasta	20	...	8	8	...	...	...	36
11 Nihal	2	...	2	3	1	...	...	8
12 Ganesh	8	1	7	4	6	2	...	28
13 Nana	9	...	23	9	23	5	4	73
14 Bhawani	9	1	18	13	13	4	6	64
15 Ganj	1	...	29	...	14	7	...	51
16 Vetal	13	...	14	6	6	...	1	40
17 Shukrawar	5	3	84	3	11	4	1	111
18 Ghorpade and Gultekadi	1	...	6	1	5	...	...	16
19 Suburban Rds.	26	14	7	6	...	...	5	55
20 Yerawade and Suburban Wadis	7	...	11	8	11	4	...	41
Total	219	29	490	122	158	59	81	1158

Table No. 25.—Number of various categories of houses and the number of families residing in them. (H. S.)

House category ↓	Houses with Families →													Total
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten to Fifteen	Sixteen to Twenty	Twenty one to Twenty five	Twenty Six and More	
I	65	50	19	26	13	14	7	5	3	9	6	1	1	219
	65	100	57	104	65	84	49	40	27	105	109	23	39	867
II	3	5	3	4	1	4	3	...	2	4	1	...	...	29
	3	10	9	16	5	24	21	...	18	49	20	...	...	174
III	149	69	68	48	37	28	20	20	10	33	3	3	2	490
	149	133	204	192	185	163	140	160	90	409	53	70	53	2016
IV	36	24	20	12	4	4	3	2	1	13	3	...	...	122
	36	48	60	48	20	24	21	16	9	163	54	...	...	499
V	49	27	24	14	11	5	5	7	7	5	1	2	1	158
	49	54	72	56	55	30	35	58	63	51	20	46	29	616
VI	37	8	3	4	3	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	59
	37	16	9	16	15	6	7	...	9	...	...	...	36	151
VII	60	4	5	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	...	...	1	81
	60	8	15	8	10	6	7	8	9	39	...	...	36	208
Total	398	187	142	110	71	57	40	35	25	67	14	6	6	1158
	398	374	426	440	355	342	230	280	225	316	256	139	193	4529

197

large ones built with superior materials was generated. This was specially the case where house building was commercially undertaken to satisfy specially the demands of the middle classes and the better off among the working classes. In recent decades the use of cement had also become common and the style of buildings and the materials used in them had improved. The information contained in the Gazetteer regarding houses of classes 2, 3, and 4 is not specific enough to enable quantitative comparisons to be made between the various types of housing available in 1883 and in 1935-36. In a general way, however, the statistics sustain the claim made above that the quality of housing, so far as it related to the materials used in building, had improved during the intervening period. This has to be set off against the diminution in the availability of open spaces in and around houses and in the city as a whole.

Courtyards and Open Spaces.—The tendency indicated above of open spaces in the older wards being filled by the construction of new buildings or the expansion of old ones is illustrated in our data by the extent of open spaces or area of courtyards recorded for the sample houses. The approximate area, in square feet, of a courtyard within or of open spaces around a house was recorded in the schedule of information relating to each house in the sample. The information is set out in Table No. 26 which classifies the number of houses in each ward according to the extent of open space area. It is clear from this that in only two wards of the city, Shivajinagar and Sadashiv, was there any substantial amount of open space in or around the residential buildings. In Sadashiv the number of sample houses having an open space area of more than 1500 sq. feet was almost a sixth of the total number of houses in the sample for the ward. Neglecting the small sample for Ghorpade this proportion was much less than a tenth in other wards. The extreme at the other end is indicated by Raviwar where not a single sample house for that ward had an open space exceeding 1500 sq. feet in area. Budhwar, another central ward, had only a little better showing and it is remarkable that wards like Shanwar, Narayan and Rasta which are among the leading wards in relation to the other aspects of housing quality show equally small proportions of structures with significant areas of open space. Another way of looking at the statistics is to find out the number of houses which had no or almost no open space connected with them. Houses having no open spaces in or around

Table No. 26 :—Courtyard or open space area in houses in different wards. (H. S.)

Wards ↓	Area in sq. ft.→	No Area	below 100	100 to 300	300 to 500	500 to 1000	1000 to 1500	1500 to 2000	2000 to 3000	3000 to 5000	5000 and above	Not given	Total
1 Shivajinagar		3	11	13	1	18	4	2	4	6	27	10	99
2 Sadashiv		12	15	11	16	11	7	2	6	3	3	1	87
3 Narayan		16	8	8	...	2	2	2	...	...	...	1	39
4 Shanwar		8	2	15	11	2	2	3	...	...	...	3	46
5 Budhwar		17	4	9	7	7	2	1	...	1	...	...	48
6 Raviwar		11	42	25	6	7	1	...	...	...	...	1	93
7 Kasba		24	29	14	9	8	3	5	1	1	2	...	96
8 Mangalwar		13	33	3	3	2	2	1	...	...	2	...	59
9 Somwar		13	27	10	2	9	2	...	1	...	...	4	68
10 Rasta		17	5	7	1	2	3	...	...	1	...	...	36
11 Nihal		3	1	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	8
12 Ganesh		1	12	6	2	3	2	...	1	...	...	1	28
13 Nana		27	16	12	4	9	3	1	...	...	...	1	73
14 Bhavani		16	19	11	5	5	3	...	...	1	2	2	64
15 Ganj		6	16	14	7	3	3	...	2	...	...	...	51
16 Vetal		15	6	9	3	4	...	1	1	...	1	...	40
17 Shukrawar		14	40	27	13	7	3	1	...	1	1	4	111
18 Ghorpade and Gultekdi		6	1	3	...	1	...	2	...	3	...	...	16
19 Suburban Rds.		4	3	12	11	10	4	7	...	...	2	2	55
20 Yerawada and Suburban Wadis		13	14	3	2	2	...	...	...	1	1	5	41
Total		239	304	214	103	113	47	28	16	18	41	35	1158

Table No. 27 :—Court yard or open space area and number of families in houses (H. S.)

18

Houses with Families→ Area in Sq. ft. ↓		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten to Fifteen	Sixteen to Twenty	Twenty one to Twenty five	Twenty six & above	Total
		No Area	H F	95 95	55 110	30 90	24 98	10 50	2 12	6 42	5 40	3 27	7 88	...	...	2 52	239 697
Below 100	H F	142 148	39 78	41 123	27 108	15 75	11 66	5 35	8 64	4 36	11 122	1 17	...	...	304 878
100 to 300	H F	48 48	36 72	35 105	27 108	15 75	14 84	9 63	5 40	9 81	12 150	1 20	3 71	...	214 817
300 to 500	H F	26 28	11 22	5 15	11 44	10 50	10 60	5 35	5 40	6 54	10 123	4 71	...	...	103 540
500 to 1000	H F	26 26	17 34	15 45	11 44	6 30	9 54	4 28	7 56	2 18	10 123	4 71	...	2	113 602
1000 to 1500	H F	13 13	5 10	3 9	5 20	4 20	4 24	5 25	...	...	7 78	...	1	...	47 231
1500 to 2000	H F	11 11	3 6	1 3	2 8	...	3 18	2 14	3 24	1 9	1 11	1 20	...	...	28 124
2000 to 3000	H F	1 1	6 12	2 6	...	...	1 6	...	1 8	...	3 38	1 20	...	1	16 130
3000 to 5000	H F	3 3	5 10	2 6	1 4	2 10	2 ...	2 14	1 8	...	1 10	...	1	...	18 83
5000 and above	H F	19 19	2 4	3 9	2 8	4 20	2 12	1 7	...	...	5 66	2 37	...	1	41 221
Not Given	H F	14 14	8 16	5 15	...	5 25	1 6	1 7	...	...	...	...	1	...	35 108
Total	H F	398 398	187 374	142 426	110 440	71 355	57 342	40 280	35 280	25 225	67 316	14 256	6 139	6 198	1158 4529

137

them amounted to more than 20 per cent of the total number of houses and houses having less than 300 sq. feet of open space area were another 35 per cent of the total number of houses; so that about two-thirds of the total number of houses had either no open space or open space less than 300 sq. feet. It is true that this category of houses was chiefly that of smaller houses and, therefore, did not contain an equally large proportion of families in the sample. However, houses providing for a larger number of families would have, per contra, a small area of open space per unit of family even though the total area of the open space might be large. It would appear from Table No. 27, which sets out the relation between the number of families staying in a house and the open space available in it or around it, that in the class of buildings with very substantial open spaces there existed two distinct types. There was, on the one hand, the housing of the comparatively rich where the number of families living in a house was small and the open space relatively large; on the other hand, there were the larger buildings, especially of the newer sort, containing a large number of tenements which were included in the large open space category, because even a comparatively narrow strip of open space around these big buildings or a quadrangle within them put them in the higher categories in our classification.

Water-taps and Latrines :—Another aspect of housing conditions to which attention might be paid is the availability of water taps and latrines. Table Nos. 28 and 29 set out the number of houses classified according to the extent of facilities in both these matters enjoyed by them. The most important feature to be noticed is the number of houses which had neither of these conveniences (Table No. 29). The absence of the two usually went together. The number of houses in the sample which had no water connection was 338 and the number with no latrine was 348. Of these 303 were common to the two groups i. e. they possessed neither a latrine nor a water tap. Not only is the number of such houses fairly substantial but also they are to be noticed among wards which were well in the interior of the city and not on its outskirts where there might be surrounding fields or open spaces. Some information is later given regarding the location and number of public water taps and public latrines in the city. It is, however, obvious that the absence of any latrine in the house would be liable to create insanitary conditions in the surroundings and the existence of large areas of

Table No. 28 :— Number of water taps in houses and the number of families residing in them. (H. S.)

Houses with Families →		Water Taps ↓														Total	Total Taps
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten to Fifteen	Sixteen to Twenty	Twenty one to Twenty five	Twenty six and above			
No Tap	H	185	56	40	20	13	9	6	4	3	7	...	...	1	338	...
	F	185	118	180	80	65	18	42	38	27	86	...	...	86	808	
One Tap	H	129	35	32	38	20	17	13	8	10	12	2	2	1	313	313	
	F	129	70	96	138	100	108	91	64	90	125	34	46	31	1106		
Two Taps	H	32	53	19	16	15	7	5	6	2	15	2	1	...	173	346	
	F	32	106	67	64	75	42	35	48	18	190	86	38	...	426		
Three Taps	H	19	15	28	9	8	10	1	2	3	8	1	...	1	105	315	
	F	19	30	84	36	40	60	7	16	27	104	17	...	29	469		
Four or more Taps	H	33	28	23	33	15	20	15	15	7	25	9	3	3	229	1391	
	F	33	66	69	138	75	120	105	120	63	311	169	71	102	1496		
Total	H	398	187	142	110	71	57	40	35	25	67	14	6	6	1158	2365	
	F	398	374	426	440	365	342	280	380	225	316	256	190	198	4522		

136

Table No. 29 :—Number of latrines in houses and the number of families residing in them. (H. S.)

Houses with Families → ↓ Latrines		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten to Fifteen	Sixteen to Twenty	Twenty one to Twenty five	Twenty six and above	Total	Total Latrines
		No Latrine	H	195	54	41	22	12	4	4	5	4	6	1	348	...
	F	195	108	123	88	60	24	28	40	36	74	...	...	36	818	...
One "	H	163	89	66	47	33	26	17	12	9	16	...	...	1	479	479
	F	163	178	192	188	165	156	119	98	81	179	...	...	31	1554	...
Two "	H	28	33	26	27	20	19	13	13	7	27	5	1	2	221	442
	F	28	66	78	108	100	114	91	104	63	354	87	21	58	1252	...
Three or More	H	12	11	9	14	6	8	6	5	5	18	9	5	2	110	535
	F	12	29	27	58	30	48	48	40	45	229	169	118	73	911	...
Total	H	398	187	142	110	71	57	40	35	25	67	14	6	6	1158	1456
	F	398	374	426	440	355	348	220	220	225	816	256	139	198	4529	...

140

Number of Families in houses with no water taps and no latrines. (H. S.)

Houses with Families → ↓ no taps and no latrine		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten to Fifteen	Sixteen to Twenty	Twenty one to Twenty five	Twenty Six and above	Total Houses
		Number of Houses	174	49	36	17	10	3	3	2	2	2	6	...	...	1	303
Number of Families	174	98	108	68	50	13	21	16	18	18	74	...	...	28	661

such insanitary conditions are revealed by our data in certain wards like Kasba, Mangalwar, Nana and Bhavani i. e. in what may be considered as central parts of the city. Table Nos. 28 and 29 which give the number of families in a house related to the number of taps and latrines indicate the extent of the pressure on such facilities exerted by the number of families among whom they had to be divided.

Density in Tenements:—An idea of conditions of housing and of overcrowding in a city might be obtained through a variety of indices such as the number of buildings per acre, the number of persons per acre, number of persons per house or of number of storeys per house. All these throw light chiefly on the relation of structures or persons to a unit of survey area. Of these relations the number of buildings per acre or per any other unit of square area which was much used in past Censuses in India is obviously unsatisfactory. The concept of a "building" is far from being homogenous and the density of a building to a square area or variations in it cannot be said conclusively to indicate anything in particular. In the same way the number of persons per house is also related to the type of housing and a house is a term which has no more a definite connotation than a building. The density per square area is a more definitive measure and the statistics relating to this density given above undoubtedly give an indication of the increasing pressure of population on space within the Poona area.

These measures, however, cannot be used to any large extent for commenting on conditions of housing or of overcrowding in houses or rooms in which the population of a city lives. The Merseyside Survey used two indices for throwing some light on housing accommodation. These were (i) number of families sharing a house (ii) and number of persons sharing a room. The assumption in the use of the first index is that an independent house per family is or should be the normal condition and that when several families live in the same house some extent of overcrowding takes place. It is obvious that it is unrealistic to use this measure in conditions in Indian cities. The idea of an independent house being also an independent tenement, is very far from actual conditions in many Indian cities.

Table No. 8 in Volume I (pages 36-37) gives details regarding the houses included in the sample in each ward and the number

of tenements in each. This shows that within the Poona city municipal area less than 7 p. c. of the families enumerated in the sample were living in houses which contained a single tenement and that more than half of the total number of families were living in houses which contained each seven or more tenements. Special attention may also be drawn to the substantial number of houses included in the sample which had 11 or more tenements. These sample houses, which were fairly evenly distributed over all the wards, indicate that large aggregation of tenements in a single building or house was an important characteristic of housing conditions in Poona and that a large proportion of the families in the city lived under these conditions.

Because the idea of associating a house with an independent tenement is not a practicable one in Poona, no considerable attention need also be paid to the number of storeys in houses in relation to the problem of overcrowding. An increase in the number of storeys may indicate either of two tendencies. Firstly it may be the result of high site rents in central areas of the city and the possibility of obtaining high rentals for other than residential accommodation. Secondly, even in areas where building construction is dominantly for residential purposes the restriction on space and its high cost may lead to an increase in the number of storeys, specially where buildings of the type denoted by the term *chawl* are being built. Either way, though some extension of housing accommodation in wards like Sadashiv and Shivajinagar may be associated with building additional storeys for a single family or a few families of middle or the richer classes, the bulk of activity resulting in an increase in the number of storeys would be directed towards an increase in the total number of tenements, made because of the growing number of families seeking accommodation.

Information regarding the number and quality of houses cannot directly be utilised for evaluation of conditions under which families live. The house is not a unit of family accommodation. An average house includes many independent families; therefore, for evaluating family living conditions reference must be made to the unit which is the unit of accommodation of separate families. This is usually termed, in the Indian census, tenement and it is now necessary to consider the information collected in the sample survey in relation to independent tenements and the composition of families which lived in them.

Table No. 30 :— Number of tenements classified according to number of living rooms and number of members in families living in them (H. S.)

Members in family→ Rooms in tenement ↓	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten or More	Total
	One	463	624	474	428	367	166	71	33	10	19	2,555
Two	99	169	208	199	171	116	73	47	30	23	1,135
Three	15	36	50	66	60	69	49	26	14	20	405
Four	3	18	19	24	23	23	27	17	14	17	185
Five and more	9	11	15	21	33	31	39	20	22	48	249
Total	589	858	766	738	554	405	259	143	90	127	4,529

Information regarding independent tenements is first presented in relation to the number of inmates living in a tenement. Table No. 30 sets out information relating to the number of separate living rooms included in tenements and the number of families classified according to the number of members of the family living in each type of tenement. It will be observed that considerably more than half of the total number of tenements are one-room tenements and that the one and two room tenements constitute more than 80 per cent of the total tenements surveyed. It is obvious, therefore, that the supply of accommodation in Poona was mostly in terms of small units of one and two room tenements. In the circumstances there can be little discussion of amenity and convenience. The only point to be considered is the extent to which actual overcrowding may be said to obtain. For a discussion of this question one has to start with some standard of overcrowding. It is usual in Indian conditions to define overcrowding as existing when there are more than two persons to each living room. A large number, more than 30 per cent of the families, recorded in the sample survey, were families of only one or two members. According to the definition given above there could be no overcrowding of families with only one or two members. Overcrowding began when a family of three or more members lived in a one-room tenement or of 5 members or more lived in a two-room tenement and so on. The table reveals the number of families who were living under conditions of overcrowding according to the standard indicated above. It comprises a large majority of all families with 3 and more than 3 members. The proportion is even larger when the phenomenon is considered in relation to the number of persons involved. The fact that the larger families lived in overcrowded conditions meant naturally that the proportion of persons in the total sample living in such conditions was even higher than the proportion of families. In the circumstances, the proportion of children brought up in conditions of overcrowding would be specially large, as it may be assumed that the one and two member families none of whom are supposed to be living under conditions of overcrowding included hardly any children.

Comparative data which would indicate whether conditions in Poona were better or worse than in other Indian cities are not readily available. Tables No. 31 and 32 set out some information available in the Censuses of 1931 for the cities of Bombay, Cawnpore and Lucknow. Conditions in Bombay were obviously much worse

Table No. 31 :—Number tenements of various classes and number of occupants in them in Bombay (1931) and Poona (H. S.)

Place and year	Tenements classified by number of rooms	Number of tenements	P. c. of total tenements	Number of occupants	P. c. of population	Average no of persons per room
*BOMBAY 1931 (census)	One room	197,516	81	791,762	74	4.01
	two rooms	26,231	11	131,872	12	2.51
	three rooms	7,416	3	44,821	4	2.01
	four rooms	6,169	2	42,013	4	1.70
	five rooms	2,953	1	22,302	2	1.50
	six rooms and over	3,836	2	39,199	4	...
POONA (Sample)	One room	2,555	56	8232	46	3.22
	two rooms	1,135	25	4815	27	2.12
	three rooms	405	9	2107	12	1.73
	four rooms	185	4	1078	6	1.46
	five rooms and over	249	6	1663	9	1.34

* Source :—Census of India 1931 Vol. IX. The cities of the Bombay Presidency (Page 101)

Table No. 32:— Size of families and number of living rooms in tenements in Lucknow and Cawnpore (1931) and Poona (H. S.)

Municipality	Percentage of families who lived in					Percentage of families which consisted of						
	1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	4 rooms	5 or more rooms	1 or 2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons	8 or more persons
*Lucknow (1931)	50·4	28·9	10·7	5·2	4·8	27·5	18·9	13·6	11·9	8·1	7·4	14·6
*Cawnpore (1931)	62·5	24·8	7·5	2·9	2·3	43·2	18·2	14·2	9·0	5·8	3·2	6·4
Poona Sample	56·4	25·1	8·9	4·1	5·5	32·0	16·9	16·3	12·2	8·9	5·7	8·0

* Source.—Census of India 1931, United Province (Page 136)

than in Poona. The Cawnpore and Lucknow data are more closely comparable. It might have been thought that Lucknow, a non-industrial city with administrative and educational importance would reveal conditions similar to those in Poona. However, Poona conditions indicate greater industrialisation than those of Lucknow and whether judged from the point of view of the percentage of families living in one-room tenements or the size of families, Poona stands half way between Lucknow and Cawnpore, which is a new and highly industrialised city.

Rooms may and do vary in size. Therefore, a more accurate idea of overcrowding may be obtained if it is possible to calculate the area available per person. We had enquired into the area of each living room occupied by sample families in terms of a current local measure of area called a "*khan*", which is generally considered as equivalent to 50 sq. ft. Table No. 33 gives data regarding the relation between the number of members in a family and the area occupied by the family, in terms of *khans*. This relation is obtained by dividing the area in *khans* occupied by each family by the number of persons in the family. The table brings out the connection between the increasing size of the family and the decreasing amount of the area per person. The largest class of tenements is that with two *khans* and tenements with two, three and four *khans* make up two-thirds of the total number. For all classes of families with 6 members or less the largest concentration of numbers was in two-*khan* tenements. The distribution in tenements with larger number of *khans* did not also increase proportionately with increase in the size of the family and, therefore, the degree of overcrowding increased progressively with an increase in the number of members in family. The largest extent of overcrowding is indicated by the ratio of two persons or more per *khan*. It is only families with four or more inmates that show a significant extent of such overcrowding. The proportion of families in the class indicating the highest degree of overcrowding goes on steadily increasing with the size of the family among families with 4, 5 and 6 members. The highest proportion (more than 40 per cent of families with 25 sq. ft. or less per person) of such overcrowding is shown by families with 6 members. It is curious that this proportion ceases to increase when families with more than 6 members are reached; moreover, in some groups, with a higher number of members than six in the family, the proportion of overcrowded families is distinctly less than for families with 6 members. This phenomenon can only be explained on the assumption that either

Table No. 33:— Number of families classified according to members in family and the area in *khans* of tenements occupied by them. (H. S.)

Members in family → Khans in tenement ↓	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten- or more	Total
One	93	56	30	30	13	3	...	2	...	1	228
Two	314	457	323	287	185	110	46	15	7	8	1752
Three	56	104	122	108	78	58	33	16	6	1	582
Four	58	115	137	129	104	59	45	24	13	15	699
Five	13	16	31	23	23	21	9	9	5	7	157
Six	22	39	47	57	47	50	27	17	11	18	335
Seven	3	14	7	11	14	12	7	4	2	3	77
Eight	6	18	19	22	20	25	16	14	4	11	155
Nine	2	7	16	18	15	15	12	8	3	4	100
Ten & above	22	32	34	53	55	52	64	34	39	59	444
Total	589	858	766	738	554	405	259	143	90	127	4529

Table No. 34 :— Family incomes and house ownership and rentals. (H. S.)

Family Income Rs. ↓	House rental Rs. →										Total
	Below Two	Two to Three	Three to Four	Four to Six	Six to Ten	Ten to Twenty	Twenty or more	Free or nominal	House owner	Not given	
No Income	2	1	3	1	1	...	...	3	2	...	13
Below 100	94	85	19	8	2	2	...	38	19	...	267
100 -B. 150	103	115	77	24	6	...	...	40	14	...	379
150 -B. 200	73	180	113	40	16	3	2	85	32	...	544
200 -B. 300	92	241	185	149	32	11	5	130	87	...	932
300 -B. 400	26	128	139	180	112	31	3	58	90	...	757
400 -B. 500	6	35	55	70	88	42	4	30	57	...	387
500 -B. 750	5	20	40	77	113	113	19	19	88	...	494
750 -B. 1000	...	1	6	23	41	57	8	6	50	...	193
1000 -B. 2000	...	1	3	14	39	112	56	6	90	...	321
2000 and over	...	...	...	3	6	24	65	5	85	2	190
Not given	1	3	6	14	9	6	3	6	5	...	53
Total	402	810	636	603	465	401	165	426	619	2	4529

(i) families with more than 6 members are usually joint families and have more than one adult male earner and can, therefore, afford better accommodation or (ii) that when there is a single adult male earner, families with more than 6 members are found only among classes who are better off. In this connection attention may be drawn to the discussion regarding composite families in connection with the size of the family as related to caste and occupation.¹

House Ownership and House Rentals:—We may now turn our attention to facts relating to house ownership and house rentals as collected in the family survey. Table No. 34 sets out information relating to families classified according to their annual incomes and the monthly rentals paid by them. An important feature of this table is the large number of houses that are owned by persons living in them. As might have been expected the proportion of those owning houses increases rapidly with each increase in the income class. More than 45 per cent of the families who had an annual income of Rs. 2,000 or more per annum were found to be living in houses owned by themselves and the proportion was larger than 25 per cent in case of families between the income levels of Rs. 750 and 2,000 p. a. There is a gradual fall in this proportion of house owning for each lower group of incomes. In the lowest groups the proportion falls to less than 7 or 8 per cent. This phenomenon is not unexpected and the large proportion of houses owned by residents in the middle income groups may indicate the fact that in Poona house ownership was comparatively diffused and that in its population, at least in 1937, numbers of temporary immigrants were not large.

Another class of persons, to whom attention may be paid in this connection, is of those who obtained housing either rent free or at nominal rents. It will be observed that this class constitutes almost 10 per cent of the total number of families in the sample. As the proportion is high it is worth while looking into its composition in some detail. On analysing the data (Table No. 35) it was found that a large proportion of those obtaining rent free or accommodation at a nominal rent were in official or private service. Various types of domestic servants such as cooks and ayahs, gardeners and their assistants, menials, motor drivers etc. were given accommodation by the families, who employed them. Among official or business employment the occupational grades who obtained free accommodation were chiefly sweepers, scavengers,

¹ See above page 81 sqq.

Table No. 35 :— Occupational classification of house-owners and of persons obtaining free housing. (H. S.)

Occupational Grade	Nominal Rent or Rent-free housing	House Owners
1 Unskilled Manual work	168	62
2 Skilled Manual work	128	76
3 Lowest Professions and Administrative Posts.	54	32
4 Small Businesses.	14	97
5 Highly Skilled and Supervisory Manual work.	19	32
6 Clerks and Shop Assistants	14	49
7 Intermediate Professions and Administrative Posts.	3	22
8 Medium Businesses	1	72
9 Highest Professions and Salaried Posts	8	19
10 Owners of Factories and Large Shops.	1	4
11 Pensioners	2	45
12 Beggars and Prostitutes	5	2
13 Unclassified	...	...
13 No Earner	9	109
Total —	426	621

ward boys, servants in eating houses and restaurants, watchmen, peons, policemen and tradesmen's clerks. There are some cases of persons conducting small business who obtained free accommodation; the largest class among these was of milkmen. This is most probably because owners of bungalows with big compounds would give such accommodation, induced thereto, perhaps, by the possibility of obtaining on their own premises a reliable supply of good milk.

Putting aside these two classes i. e. owners of houses or those who obtained free housing accommodation, it would be observed that the rental paid for a tenement increased with an increase in the income of families. Before commenting on this phenomenon it is necessary to draw attention to some cases where the rental paid is obviously inordinate and the presumption regarding inaccurate return is very high. On examining the most glaring of such cases it was found that they related almost invariably to persons who maintained shop or other business on the premises. The rent was the composite rent for business premises and living rooms and in most such cases living room accommodation was indistinguishable from the accommodation required for business. As the income return was supposed to be net, most of the rental, as business cost, was supposed to be a charge on business and was not to be included in the expenditure incurred out of net income. These cases of composite rentals constituted the largest number of these disproportionately high rental cases. They point to where we had failed in our attempt to separate the domestic from the business data. The small number of remaining cases of disproportionate rentals also threw some light on the weak spots in our returns of net incomes. The high rental cases included a remarkable number of Pathan money-lenders. Most of these had returned an income of only about Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 per month. Many of them were found paying rentals of from Rs. 20 to 25 per mensem. Obviously their return of income, for checking or correcting which no data were available to our investigators, was of doubtful accuracy. A small number of cases in which the high rent-income ratio threw some doubt on our income calculations was found in the categories of nurses and cooks. The income calculations, in these cases, must have probably ignored the fact that the meals for a number of these, especially cooks, would be provided for by the employer. Also, among these categories of persons it sometimes becomes necessary to pay a disproportionately high rent; this was especially the case when a woman was living by herself and felt the

Table No. 36:— Rent-Area Ratio and Family Income. (H. S.)

Rent-area Ratio→ Family Income ↓ Rs.	Below	Below	Below	Below	Below	300	Free	Rent	Total
	0.75	1.00	1.50	2.00	3.00	and more	or own- ers	Not Given	
No Income	1	...	3	3	1	...	5	...	13
Below 100	50	19	106	17	14	4	57	...	267
100—B. 150	62	39	142	53	22	7	54	...	379
150—B. 200	53	40	220	74	26	14	117	...	544
200—B. 300	83	66	368	125	56	17	217	...	932
300—B. 400	41	48	314	122	64	20	148	...	757
400—B. 500	9	20	119	77	51	24	87	...	387
500—B. 750	11	25	130	104	76	41	107	...	494
750—B. 1000	1	8	54	32	30	11	56	...	192
1000—B. 2000	4	11	65	48	62	35	96	...	321
2000 and over	1	2	23	18	24	30	90	2	190
Not Given	1	...	22	4	12	3	11	...	53
Total	317	278	1566	677	438	206	1045	2	4529

Table No. 37.—Rent-Area Ratio by Wards (H. S.)

Wards ↓	Rent-Area Ratio →								Total
	Below 0.75	Below 1.00	Below 1.50	Below 2.00	Below 3.00	3.00 and over	Free or owners	Rent Not Given	
1 Shivajinagar	36	13	49	29	28	11	86	...	252
2 Sadashiv	11	14	129	78	55	9	72	...	368
3 Narayan	6	8	52	28	...	...	31	...	131
4 Shanwar	5	16	76	21	4	4	38	...	164
5 Budhwar	5	13	72	37	19	8	32	...	186
6 Raviwar	10	13	109	68	74	48	49	...	371
7 Kasba	22	20	172	51	33	6	70	...	374
8 Mangalwar	19	15	65	24	1	1	21	...	146
9 Somwar	13	18	84	26	19	12	47	...	219
10 Rasta	1	6	12	10	23	1	24	...	77
11 Nihal	...	...	13	10	14	...	4	...	41
12 Ganesh	16	6	41	32	14	3	18	...	130
13 Nana	15	23	158	78	38	14	39	...	365
14 Bhavani	47	23	90	31	43	38	46	...	320
15 Ganj	41	32	79	7	2	3	34	...	198
16 Vetal	25	12	71	28	7	...	36	..	178
17 Shukrawar	23	35	257	111	51	23	80	...	580
18 Ghorpade and Gultekdi	6	3	8	...	1	...	13	...	31
19 Suburban Rds.	...	2	10	5	10	24	255	2	308
20 Yerawada and Suburban Wadis	17	6	19	3	...	1	44	...	90
Total	317	278	1566	677	438	206	1045	2	4529

need of securing housing of certain minimum standards in particular localities. If these, rather abnormal returns of rentals in special circumstances are put aside, it is clear that the level of income determined the ability to pay rent and influenced chiefly the distribution of payers of rent in various categories. This distribution exhibits also, on the whole, the high incidence of rentals on all categories of lower incomes. Among families with an annual income between Rs. 750 and Rs. 1000 a majority paid a monthly rent of between Rs. 6 and Rs. 20. The high proportion of rent to income is brought out even more forcibly for the lower categories. Thus persons in receipt of incomes between Rs. 400 and Rs. 500 p. a. were found in a majority of cases to pay rentals of Rs. 4 and more per month.

Supply of housing for different classes :— The state of the supply of housing to the poor may be indicated by absolute rentals charged per tenement as also by the rental charges per unit of area. Conditions regarding the former have been indicated in Table No. 34. To obtain a measure of area-unit rentals we divided the total rent paid for each tenement by the number of *khans* of living space for which the rent was paid. This yielded, for each tenement, a ratio which we call the rent-area ratio. We set out two Tables, No. 36 and 37, in the first of which the rent-area of ratio of each tenement is related to the income of family occupying it and in the second is given the classification of the tenements in the sample by wards and the rent-area ratio. In interpreting the first of these tables, the reservations set out at the beginning of the discussion, on rent and income relations must be borne in mind. Making due allowance for these, the table yet shows that a significant number of families in the lower income groups rented tenements in the higher rent-area ratio classes. We have no data to account definitely for this phenomenon. It would, most probably, be due to the total small supply of low rent housing or to the requirements regarding location etc. of particular classes of tenant families.

The position regarding the supply of low rent housing is best examined in connection with the ward data. The rent area ratio statistics indicate the dominant rent-area ratio class as that between Re. 1 and Rs. 1-8-0 per *khan*. Almost half of the total of rented accommodation falls within this category. The statistics show a comparatively uniform incidence of rent over the whole sample in most wards of the city, the dominant range being the one indicated above. Cheaper rental accommodation is available only to a very limited extent. In this respect there is some concentration

in the ward sample, i. e. in some wards the proportion of rental accommodation noted in the sample below one rupee per *khan* is considerable as compared with the accommodation available in the dominant class. On examining the ward figures, Shivajinagar stands out as an entirely exceptional ward. It indicates a surprisingly uniform distribution of rental accommodation over the whole range; the number of units of rental accommodation below Re. 1/- is equal, in the sample for Shivajinagar, to the number of the units in the Re. 1/- to Rs. 1-8-0 category. Also the number of units having a higher rental than Rs. 1-8-0 per *khan* is larger than the number in the Re. 1/- to Rs. 1-8-0 category. The ward has also a specially high number of owner-residents. In respect of the first phenomenon, conditions in the ward are entirely exceptional. In no other ward is the number of tenements with a rent lower than Re. 1 equal to the number of tenements with rent between Re. 1/- and Rs. 1-8-0 per *khan*. As regards the other features there are three wards viz. Sadashiv, Raviwar and Rasta, which show a larger number of tenements with rentals above Rs. 1-8-0 per *khan* than those in the Re. 1/- to Rs. 1-8-0 category. As indicated elsewhere Shivajinagar reflects in the rental statistics its highly non-homogeneous character. It contains a larger than average representation of both the rich and the poor. The nearest resemblance that any other ward has to this is that borne by Somwar. Disregarding these extremes, the variations among the other wards are, from the low rent category accommodation being more than 80 per cent. of the dominant category, as in wards like Ganj, to its being less than 25 per cent. in wards like Sadashiv, Raviwar, Budhwar, etc. It must be noticed that the apparent availability of low rent accommodation may at times be due to some special circumstances. In Shivajinagar, for example, the inclusion of some units of concessional housing given by the Municipality affected the general picture. Also, in Shivajinagar, Somwar, etc. the low rent housing included a number of cases of rents for sites on which the tenants themselves had put up temporary accommodation such as of huts of sacking or old kerosene tins. It would be an elaboration not, perhaps, worth while to indicate the correlation of rental accommodation with the quality of housing and differentiated by its location. Broadly, it is clear that apart from certain central and western wards the quality of housing as well as the rentals charged for it showed little variation over the various wards.

In judging of the gradation of housing conditions, among the various wards it may be possible to employ a number of criteria.

The main criteria that may be suggested are, for example, the proportion of house owners, the rent per *khan* and the quality of houses. In the light of all these criteria, Rasta, Sadashiv and Shanwar hold the highest place; and Mangalwar, Bhawani and Nana hold the lowest. While the rentals are high in Raviwar, Budhwar and Somwar, the ownership proportion is low in these wards and some aspects of the quality of housing which are affected by their central position in the city are also unsatisfactory. On the other hand, Narayan shows high ownership proportion and a fair quality of housing and yet is rather low in rental levels. In the group at the other end, a special position is occupied by Ganj which has a low rental level, somewhat low quality of housing, but has a specially high proportion of ownership. This may indicate the fact that Ganj which was originally mainly an artisans' ward retains, because of historical reasons, a high ownership proportion though it has become, with the general fate of hand-industry, a distinctly poor ward.

The Bombay Rent Enquiry Committee (1939) recommended as follows with special reference to conditions in Bombay city: "It is desirable to discourage construction of one-roomed tenements, but wherever they are found necessary, they should not be less than 180 sq. feet in size and should not accommodate more than 4 persons." This minimum standard recommended for the specially congested conditions of Bombay city should be considered even more desirable and necessary for conditions of Poona. Reference to Table No. 33 which gives the relation between area occupied and the number of persons in a family shows how the vast majority of tenements afford less than the 45 sq. feet per person laid down as the minimum by the Bombay Rent Enquiry Committee. According to the minimum standard of the Committee, the rental for an average family of 4 persons would have worked out in Poona in 1937 at between Rs. 4/- and Rs. 6/-; this would indicate the necessary annual income by the usual proportion of rent to income as between 400 to 500 rupees. It is clear that in 1937, by these standards, the actual state of housing and of income levels was far from satisfactory for the majority of the population of Poona.

Development of housing conditions and housing supply:—We may next deal with the manner in which the increasing requirements of housing arising out of the growth of population in Poona City have been met and the adequacy of that process. In dealing with the quality of housing it has been indicated above

that this may be said to have become better in Poona during the 50 years before the survey. It is not possible to say whether the measure of overcrowding increased during that time. It has been indicated that there is clear evidence of a much larger number of persons per house in 1935 than in 1911 or 1881. During the same time there has been some increase in the average number of storeys per house and also possibly in the average size of the floor space in a house. It is not, however, clear whether the two different tendencies were evenly matched or whether the number of rooms per family or the square area per person had materially diminished. Out of the total number of houses in 1883 more than a third were huts and there is reason to believe that the average size of these huts and the number of persons accommodated by them was distinctly less than the size and the number of families accommodated by an average house. The extent of this difference between the average house and the average hut is brought out in the statistics of houses in our sample. The sample shows that the average number of families housed in houses falling within categories 1 to 5 in our classification was almost the same in each category viz. about 4. On the other hand, the corresponding average number was only 2.5 in categories 6 and 7. (See Table No 25).

While there is little doubt that in relation to the availability of open spaces or the courtyard area, conditions in 1937 were worse than in the previous decades, evidence is not conclusive regarding overcrowding having significantly increased in the city during the period. This fact of a comparatively small increased pressure on house room was largely due to the growth of population in the city not having been too rapid for house building to keep pace with the needs of the increasing population. It has been pointed out before that the municipal statistics relating to the number of houses are of doubtful validity; it is, therefore, not possible to determine definitely the net increase in the number of houses in Poona during any period on the basis of these statistics. It would still be of some interest to discover the trends that are indicated by the gross numbers of houses in the municipal register for various years. The calculations may be made conveniently as for the three years 1883, 1911 and 1935. House data for 1883 do not include figures for Shivajinagar (Bhamburda). These are, however, available for 1891 and an allowance for 1883 may be made on the basis of the 1891 number. The municipal house register indicates that between 1883 and 1935 there was a net addition of a little over 2100 house numbers in wards of the city excluding Shivajinagar; the corresponding number

including Shivajinagar, may be put at about 3000. As indicated above, the rate of progress was very uneven through the period. Between 1883 and 1911 there was a net addition of less than 550 new house numbers in wards of the city excluding Shivajinagar; the increase inclusive of Shivajinagar during the same period may be put at about 600. The corresponding figures for the period 1911 and 1935 may be put at a little less than 1600 and a little less than 2400 respectively. The addition of new house numbers during 1911 to 1935 was almost three times as large as during the period 1883 to 1911 for the city wards excluding Shivajinagar. In Shivajinagar the rate of progress in the second period was even more rapid. These statistics need not be considered as measuring accurately the extent of new house building in the city during any period, but there is no reason to doubt that they indicate in a broad manner the difference as between the two periods in the tempo of new house building activity.

In the absence of accurate house statistics we have made an attempt to estimate the total net increase in the number of houses for the fifty years before our survey in another manner. We assume that the elaborate classified statistics of houses of 1883 have a considerable measure of accuracy. The sample of houses for our survey in 1936 as ultimately determined upon by us gives another firm basis for the estimation of the number of residential houses in Poona in that year. It is, however, necessary to decide upon the appropriate multiplier, at the latter date, in order to arrive at the total number of houses in Poona at the time of the survey. It appears to us, from a variety of indications, that 13 is an appropriate multiplier in this case. We may estimate the total number of houses in Poona in 1935-36 with considerable accuracy by multiplying the sample number by 13. The resulting number for the City Municipality amounts to 12,090. Before calculating the net number of houses added in Poona during this period it is necessary to allow for a very important feature of the housing situation to which attention has been drawn above. This is the replacement, on a large scale, of huts by houses during this period. It is necessary to estimate house building in terms of houses proper i. e. structures of the brick or stone type. The number of such houses existing in 1883 may presumably be obtained by deducting from the total number of houses at that date, houses which have been put in the 5th class. Correspondingly, houses that we have put in the 6th and the 7th categories must be

Table No. 38 :— Number of Houses in Poona City in 1883 and 1935.

	1883		1935-36 Sample x13		Net Increase	
	Houses	Huts	Houses	Huts.	Houses	Huts
All wards other than Bhamburda (Shivajinagar)	7612	4650	11037	2943	+ 3425	— 1716
Bhamburda (Shivajinagar)	Not Given	Not Given	1027	485	...	...

deducted from the number of houses in our sample. In this manner estimates may be made of the comparative number of houses, excluding huts, in 1883 and 1936 from which the net number of houses added during the period may be derived. Table No. 38 sets out the total number of houses in the various wards in classes 1 to 4 of the Gazetteer classifications in 1883 and the number of sample houses falling in the first 5 of our categories in each ward in 1935-36 multiplied by 13. The Gazetteer statistics do not include houses in Bhamburda. The number of houses in Bhamburda in 1891 given in the municipal register is 652. However, a very large number of these would be huts in view of the fact that Bhamburda was then largely rural. Confining one's attention, in the first instance, to the wards of the city other than Bhamburda it is found that according to our calculations the net addition of new houses that took place during this period was in the neighbourhood of 3400. One may add for Bhamburda a figure of over 600 and thus arrive at 4000 or more as the net addition of new houses. On the basis of the relative progress between 1883 and 1911 and 1911 and 1935 indicated by calculations based on the municipal statistics we may estimate that of this total of 4000 only about 1000 were added before 1911 while the rest i. e. more than 3000 were added during the 25 years after 1911.

If one refers to the figures of population growth of the city at various censuses it is clear that a housing problem in Poona could have begun to emerge in connection with an increasing population only after 1911. However the increase of population in the city between 1911 and 1921 was less than 16,000 and between 1921-1931 less than 30,000. It was only between 1931 and 1941 that the population increased somewhat rapidly, the increase in that decade being nearly 65,000. The average rate of the net addition of new houses for the 25 years after 1911 indicated by our calculation is 120 houses per year. If the average new house was capable of accommodating 20 persons this would provide net addition of accommodation for 2400 persons annually and for 24000 during a decennium. This house building activity would be additional to the process of replacement, maintenance and also of the extension of the older structures. At times of a housing boom the progress of construction would, of course, be at a much higher rate than the annual average. At the time of our survey, in 1937, it was noted that 77 new houses or substantial extensions to old houses were in progress, on a particular day in April. Activity on this scale might well add 150 or more new houses during a year. The rate of new

house building indicated by these calculations could, however, take care of the increase in population only of the size that took place between 1911 and 1931. Even the specially accelerated movement in house building of the thirties could not take care of a much larger increase than of the size of say between 30,000 or 40,000 persons within a decade. When increases of a larger magnitude took place this would necessarily lead to increasing overcrowding. Additional population could be accommodated only by diminishing the available house room per person.

As everywhere else, an acute phase of this type was experienced in Poona within the decade after the survey was completed. The increase in numbers of population was greatly accelerated and between 1937 and 1946 the population of the city is supposed to have almost doubled. The net addition to the number of housing units, barring the special temporary accommodation created by military authorities, could not have amounted during the whole of this period, to even 1,000. The extent of overcrowding brought about at this time can therefore be gauged in the light of the data set out above. Broadly the availability of space per person would have lessened by anything from 40 to 50 per cent. during this period. There has been some relief in post-War years on account of (i) some decrease in the population from the War peak and (ii) an increased rate of house construction since 1947. Conditions yet remain vastly worse than they were in 1936-37.

The calculations made above regarding the net addition of new houses take account of the process of the replacement of huts by houses. No reference has, however, been made in them to the maintenance of the old stock of houses intact by replacement, renovation, etc. The stock of houses, other than huts, in 1883 may be put at about 7,500. Maintaining this stock intact would itself involve fairly considerable house building activity. There are no data available regarding the rate of replacement necessary to maintain intact given numbers of given types of houses in Poona. If the rate is put at an overall of 2 per cent. the number of houses to be replaced would amount to nearly 150 a year. However, it has to be remembered that houses of the inferior sort predominated in the houses existing in 1883. Thus, of the total of 7500 houses in the Poona city wards belonging to classes 1 to 4 in 1883 almost 4200 belonged to the 4th class. This class is described by the Gazetteer as consisting of houses costing from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 to build. Allowing for the difference in prices between the two dates, replacement

of a house of this type would have cost, on an average, not more than Rs. 1,000 in 1935. Work of this size would have been considered a minor work in 1935; and among the substantial housing or building works in construction whose survey was carried out by us on one day in April 1937 works involving the replacement and maintenance of houses of the 4th category in 1883 would not have been included at all; the non-inclusion would extend even to a part of the house types included in the 3rd class in 1883. Building activity required for maintaining the old stock of houses would be thus much less substantial than the number of 150 houses required for replacement would at first suggest.

As in other old cities, the stock of houses in Poona in 1935 was of a variety of sizes and of different standards and conditions. The picture presented by our survey in 1937 is particularly of a transitional stage. It shows a considerable residue of older constructions side by side with the contribution of new house building activity during the previous 25 years. Conditions in 1937 also forecast trends for future, which were greatly accentuated during the next decade. It has been pointed out that in 1937 considerable numbers in even low income categories owned houses. To a large extent this represented the continued ownership chiefly in succession of older elements of small, low quality housing. In the twenties and the thirties it was already becoming increasingly difficult for people in the lower income categories to think of building houses for themselves or acquiring them. In spite of the fall in costs of construction in the thirties the general level of house building requirements etc. and the increase in site values were making it impossible for persons in the lower income categories to come to own houses. This tendency was, of course, greatly reinforced by subsequent events. Building costs have increased in a very large measure and site values at a phenomenal rate. Therefore, even persons in the middle class categories who could think of owning houses in Poona in the thirties can no longer contemplate the possibility. As a result, the proportion of owner residents in the total population is getting less and less and that of tenants increasing.

Another feature to be noticed is the uneven manner in which the supply of different types of housing appears to be forthcoming. It has been pointed out at another place that there was a large concentration of new house building activity in the period after the first world war in wards like Sadashiy and Shivajinagar

and that this activity met, in the main, the needs only of the rich and the middle classes. Activity in the direction of housing for the poor was distinctly less noticeable. This situation which indicated an approximation to conditions of housing in a modern industrial city has developed further during the last 10 years. Progressively the new housing that is coming into existence does not provide for the really poor. Facts regarding the situation in 1937 set out in connection with the level of rentals show that even in 1937 for most categories of lower incomes a substantial proportion of persons were paying rents at levels of a 5th or even a higher fraction of their total income. Allowing for some measure of underestimation of incomes in our income statistics it would still appear that a substantial proportion of persons in the lower income categories were paying a 5th of their income in rent, a level which is taken even in a rich country like the U. S. A. as the maximum of rent paying ability. There is little doubt that in this matter the position has, since 1937, worsened greatly. It may be said that in the post-War period the level of monetary income has risen in Poona by about 2 to 3 times of the pre-War level for most categories and types of incomes. The unregulated rental levels and house costs inclusive of site values, on the other hand, may have increased at a rate about double of this rate. Therefore, except for families that are effectively protected by the rent legislation, all others in the lower income categories will have found it necessary to pay much more than a fifth of their income in rentals. There has been no recent survey either of costs or of rentals to indicate the exact proportion in which this is happening. It is clear, however, that a family with an income lower than, say, Rs. 750 per annum would find it extremely difficult to obtain accommodation of the unprotected sort within a fifth of its income.

It has been indicated above that in 1937 there was a considerable proportion of persons obtaining accommodation either rent-free or at a nominal rent. It is likely that mounting construction costs have led to a diminution of the proportionate availability of such accommodation also. Poona does not contain a large proportion of industrial workers in its population. There is, therefore, not available in Poona any considerable housing afforded by employers or by the State for workers.

Another very important aspect of housing to which, however, we have not been able to pay attention is the economics of low

rent housing in centres like Poona. It has been indicated that in 1936-37 a small one room tenement was all that could be afforded by families in the lower income categories. There were no schemes of subsidised housing and the supply of housing forthcoming was all on the strictly economic basis. The extent and quality of new house building available on this basis has been discussed above. The position was already getting difficult in the thirties. It has worsened greatly as regards both costs and requirements in the subsequent period. Rent restriction further complicates the problem of the supply of houses at present. The incidence of rent restriction is heavy chiefly on owners of old houses and the new supply is determined chiefly by the ability of tenants to bear rentals at levels dictated by the post-War levels of construction costs. Thus, today a considerable disparity exists in the conditions under which different categories are housed. There is the class of those who retain their older habitations and in whose case the element of over-crowding has not perhaps greatly increased and the rental burden, in real terms, perhaps, even lightened. Those who do not belong to this class bear, on the other hand, in varying degrees, the double burden of excessive over-crowding and high rentals; and because of mounting costs the higher is the incidence of the burden, the lower the category of incomes.

To recapitulate, it is clear that during the last 10 years the tendency in new house building is more marked than even before for building extension to take place in areas inhabited by the well-to-do and the middle classes and for housing to be built predominantly to satisfy the needs of these classes; that progressively house ownership by persons belonging to the lower income categories has become difficult and also perhaps the proportion of houses available to particular occupational grades without rent or at nominal rent has become less. Thus while a large increase in population has necessarily increased suddenly and to a very large extent the demand for accommodation by lower income classes the supply of suitable accommodation at rentals within their capacity is limited; it is also not likely to increase in a satisfactory manner. The result is a considerable worsening of housing conditions for these classes and an unduly high proportion of income that has to be paid as rent.

An important aspect of housing conditions in Poona to which special attention may be called, in this connection, is the extent of

temporary accommodation in hutlike structures. It has been indicated above that a substantial portion of the families in the sample were still accommodated in this manner in 1937. The sample data show how these temporary huts or their clusters were concentrated in certain wards with a fairly central position. Comment has been made above also on the location of houses with no water taps and latrines. These data indicate how patches of housing of the worst description, in very insanitary conditions, were to be found in even central parts of the city, cheek by jowl with modern buildings and public business. During the 10 years after our survey this element of temporary hut accommodation which should progressively be a diminishing element has increased suddenly. The activities of the modern commercial sort make it difficult in post-War conditions to provide for housing which will meet the needs or rather suit the pockets of this class. Conditions in Poona today thus emphasise what was in evidence before. It has been said regarding conditions in another country that "Modern housing calls for sober planning and the most serious and systematic effort to integrate all types of housing needs in rational proportions. The wedge of low-rental housing needed to restore the balance is bigger, and covers a wider income-range, than ever before. Post-war economics make it essential that new forms of publicity-assisted rental housing be devised, and given a vital place in our cities."¹ The above describes completely the situation in Poona today, as also possibly in the majority of Indian cities.

Town Development and Planning: There appears to have been no planned development of Poona City for the greater part of its history. Traces of street building on regular lines and other aspects of planned development are to be found, among the city wards, only in Rasta and parts of Nana and Sadashiv. This indicates that, possibly, some regular planning was attempted in wards which were developed during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. During the early period of British rule the City was stagnant. The development of the Poona Cantonment in this period was connected chiefly with British military establishments and must have been planned, at least partially. A municipality was established in the City in 1856-57; town planning and development were, however, not among its functions for a long time. It was only after the Town Development Act was passed in 1915 that the municipality was

¹ L. C. Marsh: "Economics of Low-Rent Housing" *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, February, 1949.

empowered to undertake this responsibility. Fortunately, this legislation was passed at a time when Poona was on the eve of another era of rapid development and the large growth after 1918 across the river could, therefore, be planned and controlled to a considerable extent. The powers of the Municipality and its ability to act were comparatively small in the already developed areas. Hence the planning of new roads was found more difficult and the growth of buildings, etc., was much less effectively controlled in the developed parts of the City, than in the newer areas. The following account of the progress of Town Development gives details regarding the works constructed and the areas affected. It will be observed that the main activities were building roads and planning the lay-out and the supply of services; reservation of open spaces and the laying out of parks which were totally absent in the City wards was also attempted. Some areas were reserved for co-operative housing development, chiefly for the middle class. With the notable exception of the Mang Colony, nothing was attempted regarding the housing of the poor.

The Poona City Municipality has so far initiated the following Town Planning Schemes :—

- (1) Town Planning Scheme No. 1 relating to Deccan Gymkhana, Bhamburda and Yerandavana covering approximately 1,300 acres.
- (2) Town Planning Scheme No. 2 relating to Mangalwar and neighbouring localities and covering an area of about 50 acres.

Town Planning Scheme No. 1: The Poona City Municipality declared its intention to make a scheme for the area comprising Bhamburda and Yerandavana in the year 1917. The object of the scheme was to relieve congestion in the heart of the City. The proposed area was not far away from the City and had hundreds of acres of undeveloped lands rising in a gentle slope from the river to the hills of Bhamburda and Ganeshkhind. The lands were specially suitable for building sites. It was considered that the existing bridges would not be sufficient to develop the areas to be included in the scheme and a new bridge on the Mutha river somewhere in the neighbourhood of Shanwar Wada would have to be provided for. The construction of a new bridge was, therefore, made part of the scheme.

The final scheme included the following: (1) Construction of a bridge across the river opposite Shanwar Wada; (2) Construction of Purandhare Wada Bridge and straightening and widening of the road through that area, (3) Reservation of 16 acres of land for Co-operative Housing; (4) Provision of metalled roads; (5) Construction of culverts and a fair weather crossing near the Lakdi Bridge cremation ground; (6) Provision of public playgrounds and public garden and a river-side park; (7) Provision of health camp; (8) Provision for markets, Municipal offices, and Municipal Schools; and (9) The minimum area of a plot was provided from one acre to 1/12th acre.

Town Planning Scheme No. 2: This scheme was in respect of an area of 50 acres. It made provisions for roads, Hume pipe culverts across Manik Nala, a cast iron water supply line, a drainage pipe line and also street lighting. Improvement to Manik Nala lying within the scheme was also provided for. A plot measuring about one acre and thirteen gunthas was reserved for a Mang Colony and also a part measuring about two acres was reserved for playground for children.

The possibility of Municipal Housing was first considered by the Poona City Municipality in the year 1929. By the making of the Poona Town Planning Scheme No. 1 some Mangs were displaced and it was decided by the Municipality to construct huts for them. A colony for them was located in Survey No. A, Final plot No. 115, Shivajinagar. The total area of the plot is three acres and one guntha. There are 76 blocks with 76 tenements, out of which 35 are occupied by Municipal servants. The rent per month charged to the Municipal servants is rupee one and for others it is rupees two.

Between 1920 and 1940 the Poona City Municipality undertook the following road widening schemes which included opening of new roads viz. Laxmi Road and Tilak Road. The Laxmi Road Scheme was initiated by the Municipality about 1920 and is now (1951) said to be complete excepting that in some sections the work of acquiring properties for widening the road is in progress. This road runs from Lakdi Bridge right upto Quarter Gate linking with the Poona Cantonment area. The total length of this road from Lakdi Bridge to Quarter Gate is approximately 6,700 feet. This road served two purposes. Firstly, it gave direct access from western wards to Poona Cantonment and secondly, it helped in clearing

some unhealthy and insanitary localities in the midst of the City. The Tilak Road starts from the Lakdi Bridge and goes upto Swar Gate and has a total length of 6,500 feet and width of 50 feet. This is an altogether new road and has been constructed mainly through agricultural lands.

Note—The following note is intended to illustrate by means of hypothetical calculations the situation regarding housing which is likely to have developed in centres like Poona during the post-War period. The assumptions made in the calculations are as follows. It is assumed that the population of the city was 250,000 at the first date, say 1939 and 400,000 at the subsequent date, say, 1949. This population is held to have been divided into three income categories in the ratios indicated below. Annual Income: (1) below Rs. 300, 45 per cent. (2) Between Rs. 300 and Rs. 750, 34 per cent. and (3) Above Rs. 750, 20 per cent. (The ratios approximate to the actual distribution in the sample of families surveyed by us in 1937). It is further assumed that the percentage distribution of population amongst various income categories remained unchanged during the subsequent 10 years, but that on account of the change in the value of money the dividing lines between the different classes at the latter date were as follows. (1) Annual Income below Rs. 750, (2) Annual Income between Rs. 750 and Rs. 2,000, and (3) Annual Income above Rs. 2,000. In relation to the supply of tenements it is assumed, at the first date, (i) that the demand was fully met by supply in the sense of there being no unsatisfied demand and (ii) that no significant demand was met by supply costing more as rent than 1/5th of the total family income. On the 1/5th basis the limits of maximum rentals for the two lower categories would be represented by Rs. 5 p. m. and Rs. 12-8-0 p. m. at the first date and by Rs. 12-8-0 p. m. and Rs. 33. p. m. at the second date. It is assumed that the total supply of tenements at the first date (at the rate of one tenement per 5 persons) was 50,000 and that it was appropriately divided i. e. in proportion to population, between the various rental categories indicated above. Between the first and the second date the supply is assumed to have increased by 5,000 tenements to a total of 55,000 and this increase is supposed to have been distributed as follows over the various categories: an increase of 1500 in tenements with a monthly rental of less than Rs. 12-8-0, of 1500 in tenements with a monthly rental of between Rs. 12-8-0 and Rs. 33 and of 2,000 in tenements with a monthly rental of more than Rs. 33. It is assumed that the rent

Table No. 39 — Hypothetical calculations illustrating likely post-War housing situation

Family Income Class	Population at 1st date	Population at 2nd date	No. of Tenements at 1st date	Increase between 1st and 2nd date	Total Tenements at 2nd date	No. of Tenements required at 2nd date	Deficiency at 2nd date
Class 1	112500	180000	22500	1000	23500	36000	12,500
" 2	87500	140000	17500	1500	19000	28000	9000
" 3	50000	80000	10000	2500	12500	16000	3500
Total	250,000	400,000	50,000	5,000	55,000	80,000	25,000

restriction legislation had not materially affected the situation and that there was a uniform increase in rentals for all houses and that this increase was of the same order as the increase in income levels. On these assumptions Table No. 39 sets out the deficiencies at the latter date that would be felt by various types of income classes in the supply of tenements. It shows that the deficiencies would be very large in the two lower income classes ; the additional requirements for housing of these classes would indeed be of such dimensions and at such low rental that no ordinary commercial activity could be hoped to meet them. The assumptions made above broadly represent Poona conditions except for assumptions regarding the operations of rent restrictions and the uniform rate of increase in rents. Our assumptions, by spreading the changes evenly over the whole situation minimise the subsequent difficulties and show them as being less concentrated and less severe than they, in fact, would be if the assumptions were not correct. These hypothetical calculations, even if they may not approximate to facts very closely, yet emphasise the need for public action in the matter of housing and bring out strikingly the changed character of the housing situation in Indian cities during the post-War period.

CHAPTER IV

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION.

No attempt was made by us to study the social life of Poona as a whole or that of any particular section of the city or of any community within it. The families included in our sample were all studied as individual units detached from the context of their social life. The study of social life would have required the use of techniques and agencies different from those used for the investigation of living conditions of families or of working of units of economic activity. We were not in a position to evolve these specialized techniques and, therefore, made no attempt to cover this aspect in our Survey. It is also not possible with the help of the data gathered during the other work of the Survey to present even an outline picture of social life or to comment on such features of it as class or status ranking. It is, indeed, doubtful whether the social life of Poona or for that matter of any locality or region in India can be studied or presented to-day in terms of an integrated structure or, to vary the analogy, even that of a coordinated pattern. The main characteristic of Indian social life appears to be its continuous disintegration. The process may have started over a century ago but has not yet been halted; and there exist today no widely accepted notions regarding a scale of values, new or traditional, with reference to which the social framework can be defined. It is true that the bulk of the population is Hindu and that the traditional Hindu concepts regarding society, centred round the caste unit and a hierarchical gradation of castes, have shown an amazing power of persistence and survival. But this survival or persistence is not due to an open and wide acceptance of the basic concepts of the caste system and is, in fact, in evidence in spite of their avowed public repudiation.

Characteristics of Indian Society:—Caste hierarchy defined gradations in Hindu society fairly precisely and it might be said that at the beginning of the 19th century this gradation was comparatively fixed and generally accepted. The establishment of British rule affected it in a variety of ways. The prestige of Hindu concepts and the sanctions of Hindu social organization began to suffer progressive decline after the advent of the British. In old times, for its internal administration

tion a caste or community was treated as largely autonomous and the general relations between community and community were defined by a fairly well settled tradition; however, the State or secular authority intervened in inter-caste or inter-communal disputes and superimposed or rather interpreted the pattern which contained the autonomous community groups, and helped to delineate the details wherever it became necessary to do this for particular groups. Though it was true that non-Hindu communities could not be fitted into the Hindu hierarchical gradation they also functioned to a large extent, as autonomous groups in social matters, having organizations modelled on the lines of Hindu caste *panchayats*. Their relations vis-a-vis each other or vis-a-vis elements in Hindu society were also under regulation of the State; though, the definition in point of gradation would not, perhaps, be as meticulous in their case as in those of members of Hindu society. The Muslim and the Maratha rulers of Maharashtra might have exercised this power in different ways and with differing results but the significant point in this context is that they both held it and exercised it.

Many documents survive from Muslim times which record decisions of a whole local or regional community in important disputes and exhibit the foregathering of Hindu and non-Hindu elements; and there are numerous recorded instances of intervention of Maratha rulers in inter-communal disputes.¹ Under the British the general power exercised by the State in former times fell rapidly into disuse. This left Indian society as a collection of independent autonomous groups without an overall authority which brought them, when such need arose, into significant relation with each other. In the circumstances, while elements in Hindu society may continue to be held together through force of tradition and the sanction of social customs, the relation of non-Hindu communities to Hindu communities would be untended. This aspect of the change was emphasised by other developments also. The political power of the British and their resulting dominance in other walks of life set up new standards of social values. A remarkably early record of this change was the observation of a collector of Dharwar that drinking had, with the advent of the British, become respect-

¹ Many references to such intervention are found, for example, in the Peshwa's Diaries. For general Indian conditions see J. H. Hutton; *Caste in India*, (1946) pp. 81-85.

able because the British drank.¹ Concepts of social gradation could now become affected by standards of approximation, in the life of a community, to British ways of thought or modes of living. Communities which approached the British in these respects came to look upon themselves and, to a certain extent, were looked up to by others as superiors. This affected in particular the position of certain non-Hindu communities *inter se* and as towards the Hindus. Particular communities e. g. the Parsis or the Bene-Israel who for special reasons were able to take to English education and English ways, profited materially from the transition and secured great advance in general social position also, as a consequence.

At the same time the economic factor whose operation had been partially repressed or deflected by the fixed hierarchical caste gradation began to operate in society in a more direct manner than before. Progressively, economic position began to count for more and more in social ranking. In this respect, the most important change in Poona conditions was the rise in importance of certain groups of immigrants. Within Hindu society of indigeneous castes i. e. within what may be termed the Maratha society the hierarchical pattern was not rapidly affected; but the comparative position or influence of the non-indigenous or immigrant castes, who were not fully integrated with the indigenous society, was liable now to be determined by consideration chiefly of economic position. The most remarkable instance of this has been the steady rise in importance during the last century of trading elements, such as Gujarati Banias and the Marwadis. During the last few decades economic influence has been supplemented and reinforced by the fact that figures dominating general public life in India have been closely associated in public mind with members of these trading communities.

Conditions during the last century have thus favoured the tendency towards a general lack of cohesiveness in Indian society and more specially towards loosening the tie that may in the past have bound Hindu and non-Hindu elements together; they have also encouraged the break-away of non-Hindu elements from the

1 "The manners of the higher orders seem to have had much influence on the habits of the lower, and as drunkenness was regarded as the lowest form of debauchery, a sot would not have been tolerated, except in the worst society. This feeling had great weight under the Peshwah and I think its perversion is chiefly to be ascribed to the effects of our habits and those of our domestic servants." R. D. Choksi, *Period of Transition (1818-1876)* 1945; p. 173.

values and patterns dominating Hindu society. Secondly, they have emphasised the economic criterion even in Hindu society, especially in the relation of regional society with non-local and non-indigenous elements. This has had the effect of loosening the tie of non-local Hindu elements with regional society within which they had occupied a comparatively well-defined though not fully integrated position in former times. In regard to the bulk of the local Hindu communities these forces had a less immediately disturbing influence, and among local elements of Hindu society the older hierarchical pattern survived and continued to function fairly fully. In local Hindu society there was no noticeable break-away on the part of any section or element; but, as has been pointed out elsewhere, there was the cumulative effect of a number of other changes e. g. continued divergence between the actual and the traditional occupations and a softening of the more glaring social and economic disabilities, imposed by specific or general taboos and strictly maintained through the political power of the former Hindu rulers. Divergence between actual and traditional occupations had, however, little direct effect on caste organisation or ranking; and the softening of taboos was a slow process which, though it went far in certain directions, yet left the comparative socio-economic position of indigenous strata materially unchanged.

Caste or Community Bond :—The forces that have loosened the tie between the non-Hindu and Hindu elements or that between the indigenous Hindu and non-local Hindu elements have also affected the old compelling character of the caste or the community bond. The caste bond has always been, in Hindu society, far more powerful than any other and has always been in explicit and continuous evidence. The chief organ of its enforcement has been the governing body of the caste or community. If the process of the loosening of the caste bond is carried far enough it would be capable of radically altering the character of Hindu society, which would then no longer be, as it has always been, a set of distinct autonomous groups held together loosely in a hierarchical frame of reference. A disintegration of the caste bond may give an opportunity for emergence of the idea of membership of Hindu society as such, instead primarily of a membership of a section thereof, or it may lead to other unpredictable results. Disintegration of this bond may be indicated by the non-existence or abolition of the specific organ of caste government, or a slow and increasing disregard of its authority. However, the non-existence of a caste or community organ must not be inter-

preted as necessarily indicating the lessening of the caste feeling. Many castes have had in historical times, no well-defined caste organizations, but this has not come in the way of existence of strong caste feeling. Again, while traditional organizations might decay, caste feeling might find expression through newer types of activities and organizations. The subject is obviously both vast and complex and we were not in a position to study it or any of its aspects thoroughly. However, it was found possible by us during the course of our work to collect data regarding the constitution and working of the governing bodies of certain castes and caste-like communities.

The material presented in this chapter is a summary of the information obtained from these caste or community organizations. The material is merely illustrative. No attempt was made at obtaining an exhaustive enumeration of all existing caste or community organizations or at obtaining data regarding all such organizations as were known to us to exist. Moreover, we collected information only regarding those communities in which the type of organization was the traditional type and where the organization had continuous existence, presumably, from pre-British times. This necessarily excluded from the survey, organizations of the newer types formed for specific social, economic or political purposes by members of a caste or community. We also omitted from our survey general organizations of the religious or social type embracing more than one community or caste. This left out of consideration all general religious organizations. Our main objective was the study of the traditional governing bodies, *panchayats*, of the Hindu castes. In case of religions other than Hindu, community organizations or *panchayats*, were studied where either the community or its organization showed some features which were similar to the Hindu caste or caste organization. The caste and communities about whose organization information has been collected thus also covered religions other than Hindu and belonged to various economic and social strata and types.

Characteristics of Caste Organization:—We may begin discussion of caste organization and government with some quotations from a recent book on caste in India.

“The vast majority of caste matters, however, are now-a-days disposed of by the caste councils which exercise the final

powers of expulsion and restoration to caste as well as imposing fines and other penalties for less serious breaches of custom. Now it is clear, of course, that with a widely spread caste the ideal of a council for the whole caste is impossible of attainment. The whole caste may, it is true, nowadays have a *sabha*, an association, that is, with branches all over India and even a central headquarters. But such an organization, if it exists, must be a recent development subsequent to the introduction of a cheap postal system and rapid communications of various kinds, and it has not replaced the older system of caste control for the purpose of imposition of sanctions, though it may represent the caste for purposes of social or political agitation. The caste council only can act for a limited area, an area small enough for the members of the council to assemble and for members of the caste within the area to have some knowledge of each other as a general rule. In any case they will not consist of a group so large as to embrace more than one endogamous unit, since an endogamous sub-caste will normally have rules varying from those of other such sub-castes and each must administer its own rules."

"The caste council is commonly spoken of as a *panchayat*, literally, that is, a body of five men, but in practice it is usually very much larger. It may be a permanent institution with a continuous existence, or it may be an intermittent one only called into being when circumstances demand it and dissolved again after its work is done. Similarly, the officials who perform its executive functions, as well as sharing its judicial ones, may be appointed *ad hoc* for the particular purpose in hand, or for a much longer period, or they may be hereditary, or some may be elected while others are hereditary. It has frequently been observed that the lower the caste in the social scale, the stronger its combination and the more efficient its organization. This has been pointed out by Sir William Sleeman, O'Malley and Blunt, and probably by many others, since the fact is patent. The *panchayat* of the Baghel Rajputs in Banda has not met for three generations. Indeed, the high castes rarely have any organization strictly comparable to the lower ones. They may well have a *sabha*, a loose association which may be India-wide, but a *panchayat* and

officials, permanent or impermanent, are rarely to be found. The rules of the caste are maintained, in so far as they are maintained, by public opinion and by the feeling of the caste members themselves. Informal ostracism is generally the sanction applied, and it is clear that in such cases some members of a caste will apply the sanction while others will refrain from doing so."¹

Considering specific conditions in Western India there does not appear to be much ground for the statement, in the above quotation, that the higher castes have organizations rarely comparable with those of the lower castes. It may no doubt be true that in recent times the rigour of caste rule or even the functioning of the older types of formal organization may have declined specially among castes whose members came largely under the influence of Western education. This may lead to some difference in the enforcement of caste discipline as between the higher and the lower castes. Even this differentiation is, however, not well marked everywhere. At the time of the Census of India in 1911 special attempts were made to collect information regarding the details of caste rule and organization. The report of that Census for the Presidency of Bombay has considerable information regarding forms of organization among various castes. It would appear from these data that in Gujarat, for example, caste organization amongst particular castes of Brahmins and Banias, the highest among the castes, was as developed and rigorous as among any of the lower castes.

The situation in relation to the caste organization in Maharashtra is affected by one important feature which differentiates it from the corresponding situation in, say, Gujarat. In Maharashtra sub-castes have not been easily formed by separate groups of people residing in different places or according to a system of, what has been called, degrees. The result has been the continued existence in Maharashtra of fairly numerous and ordinarily widespread castes. It is obvious that caste governance would be more highly organised and more powerful among a small number of families confined to a single place than among large and widely dispersed groups. Again, in recent times in Maharashtra the tendency has been strong towards ignoring minor distinctions based on locality or notional ranking

¹ Hutton *op. cit.* pp. 86-87.

and this has led to a further widening, at least conceptually, of the overall caste group. The most remarkable instance of the tendency has been the virtual abolition of the avowal of the distinction between Kunbi and Maratha. The main Maharashtra Brahmin castes also have not, in modern times, been highly localised. Traditionally, inter-marriage was not common or usual among the Brahmin sub-castes but the main Brahmin sub-castes, especially in the *Desh*, i. e. Deccan districts as distinct from the Konkan districts never seem to have formed independent caste organizations of their own. In regard to the caste organization of Maharashtra Brahmins the 1884 Gazetteer noted in most places, that the Deshastha, Konkanastha, Karhada and Devrukhe Brahmins formed the local Brahmin community and settled social disputes at meetings of men of all the four castes. These meetings would presumably be of the leading men of all the four sub-castes who would be called upon to decide regarding matters of Brahminic practice and not exercise caste rule in the ordinary sense of the term. The decisions of such a meeting would, of course, be related to a specific issue and would have binding force upon particular affected persons. The decisions of the local meeting would be enforced chiefly through force of the local Brahmin public opinion and may be communicated to affected places elsewhere. Apart from such occasional meetings of persons belonging to many sub-castes there would not appear to have existed in historical times any other organization of the *panchayat* type amongst the larger Maharashtra Brahmin castes. Even the decision of men of all the four sub-castes to which the Gazetteer refers, was not the decision of a formal organization having final authority. Frequently, reference or appeal may be made and was made to bodies of learned Brahmins at places like Paithan or Benares or to the generally recognised head of the leading religious foundation, the Shankaracharya of Sankeshwar.

The strength of the leading Maharashtra caste, the Kunbi-Maratha group, in most villages of West Maharashtra was so large that the caste was not clearly distinguishable from the local community as such. This was so important a feature of the Maratha country that it led writers of the Bombay Census report of 1911 to dispute whether there ever existed any village *panchayat* apart from the caste *panchayat*. The report has the following :....."All permanent *panchayats* except the big trading guilds of Gujerat have been caste *panchyats*, and the myth of the village *panchayat*

has probably arisen from the fact that a village is generally, if not invariably, formed by several families of some one caste settling in one spot and it is often possible to refer loosely to a village as being a Koli or a Kunbi village."¹ It is obvious that the remark regarding the village being mainly a village of people of one caste could occur to writers familiar chiefly with conditions like those obtaining in West Maharashtra. The Kunbi-Maratha group which is large, fluid, and wide-spread has little by way of separate caste organization as distinguished from traditional organizations for governance of local communities.² Moreover, neither the Kunbi-Marathas nor the Brahmins of Maharashtra have ever had considerable urban connections or have ever been organised specifically for urban life. As a consequence the data presented in this chapter regarding caste organization relate to castes and communities other than the dominant Kunbi-Marathas and Brahmins. It also follows that in our survey, confined to cities, information was collected chiefly regarding castes and communities which were distinctly urban in character such as those of traders and craftsmen.

Unit of Caste Organization :—Did caste organization ever aim deliberately at a comprehensive governance of all members of a caste and was there, at least theoretically, an underlying concept of a gradation of area authorities in caste government? The evidence available from our investigations does not point to the concept of a comprehensive organization. In this connection, difference must be made between the traditional form of caste rule and the more modern attempts at increased cooperation amongst members of a caste. The traditional form was concerned chiefly with caste purity and caste discipline and

1 Report of the Census of Bombay Presidency, 1911, p. 200

2. "There are no regular *panchayats* among the Marathas of the Deccan though occasionally caste questions are decided at meetings of the castemen presided over by the Deshmukh or Patil or a leading member of the locality" Ibid p. 290.

It is necessary to make clear that we are not sure of the correctness, in all instances, of information given in the 1911 Bombay Census Report regarding caste organisations. Apart from confusion between village and caste *panchayats* made by writers of this report a statement made by them regarding the increasing importance, in the central districts of the Deccan, of Dharmadhikaris i. e. agents of spiritual heads (p. 199) is also open to doubt. In the same way some statements regarding *panchayats* among Deshastha Brahmins (p. 245) are not consistent with other information that we have on this subject.

the ultimate sanction exercised by it was the possibility of putting a person out of caste. The more modern forms concern themselves with questions chiefly of social and economic progress of the members of the castes and do not seem to possess the powers of discipline and excommunication of the traditional bodies. At least, this is so where the modern forms of organization run parallel to and are independent of the traditional authorities. A different situation may, no doubt, arise if the traditional local authorities themselves formed, in modern times, an organization on the federal model.

The basis of caste organization and caste governance is the local community and its manifestation, the local *panchayat*. Ordinarily this is supreme within its jurisdiction and does not derive authority from or form part of a wider organizational unit. This situation is, however, changed when a religious head wields authority over a whole community or an entire region. When this happens the strength and independence of the local organization varies in inverse proportion to the real exercise of the power by the religious head. When a religious head functions actively he has an agent in each important community; this agent not only collects dues and is the channel of communication between the local community and the head but also intervenes often in local affairs. The local community organization, in such instance, would be reduced almost to the status of an advisory committee. In contrast with the neighbouring regions of Karnatak and Gujarat the prevalence and power of Hindu religious heads was insignificant in Maharashtra. Our notes on Hindu communities do not, therefore, show traces of their influence. The organization of the Daudi Bohora community, however, is essentially a centralized organization under a supreme religious head and the description of their local organization in Poona reveals the main features connected with this type.

From information collected by us it was clear that the existence and operation, in Poona, of organizations of castes whose members were widely spread over Maharashtra were not subject to and did not derive authority from any more comprehensive i. e. from the area point of view, wider organization. In fact, it appeared that when within the city a caste was split into groups which were separately organized for caste governance there was not necessarily any over-all organization for the city as a whole. In the main, therefore, the primary caste organization was concerned with a distinct local

community. Concept of the basic area of local community was itself not uniform. In some cases the local community may contain members of a caste residing in the whole town or city. Contiguous local communities may, however, be considered separate in case the two localities were originally independent, as for example, in Poona City and Poona Cantonment. Moreover, for special reasons, as for example, when numbers were large, there might be a number of local communities within a city formed on the basis of wards or grouped in other ways, as round a place of worship. The elasticity of the concept and of the mode of formation of local communities in a city, within a caste, is well exemplified by the extreme case of formation of local communities as voluntary groups round a personal leader. Formation of such independent local community groups may be noticed among castes of such diverse regional, cultural and occupational background as the Padmasalis of Sholapur and the Marwadi Jains of Poona.¹ This extreme example of elasticity emphasises the necessarily local and social character of the primary caste organization.

The above discussion may explain why formal caste organization persisted and was important in a region composed of numerous small community groups as in Gujarat or among small groups of small castes living amongst a population dominantly of members of other castes, with a large membership and why no formal organization continued to exist in modern times among the larger castes where the local community was composed chiefly of persons belonging to the caste or in which members of a caste were numerous. It will also happen that in a region where society is broken up in a large number of small castes and where the traditions of caste governance are strong and living, forms of organization more elaborate than the primary local caste *panchayat* may be found. For example, the 1911 Census Report for Bombay Presidency mentions organizations of elaborate central committees formed out of the traditional village *panchayats* for Gujarat but does not note similar organizations for any Maharashtra castes of the *Desh*. Some examples of a federal organization are, however, recorded for particular Maharashtra castes in the Konkan, such as Agris and Bhandaris

***Panchayats* and their Constitution :—**Before going on to considering questions of organization of the governing bodies of

¹ See R. G. Kakade : Socio-Economic Survey of Weaving Communities of Sholapur (1947), Chap. VIII and below pp. 211-2.

castes it is necessary to point to two meanings of the commonly used term *panchayat* which sometimes lead to confusion. The term *panchayat* may denote the general meeting of a caste i. e. presumably a meeting of the heads of households or, perhaps, of all adult males in the caste; the word is also used to indicate a small group of persons, holding office hereditarily or by election, and not necessarily five in number, who are the main governing body of the caste. It may often happen that the caste has *panchayats* in both senses of the term i. e. for important purposes a meeting of the whole caste is held, and the caste may also have an executive body in the form of a small committee or group of persons. On the other hand, a caste may govern itself only by an occasional meeting of all members and have no executive committee; and especially when the office of *pancha*, the caste headman or executive officer, is hereditary, the caste may have a *panchayat* in the second sense without necessarily also having it in the first. And, of course, in modern times castes such as the main Brahmin castes of Maharashtra and the bulk of Kunbi-Marathas may not have *panchayats* in either sense. The *panchayat* in the first sense is essentially a mass meeting and may be described as a form of direct democracy. A regional organization could be shaped on the lines only of a representative government. It is not clear always to what extent such regional representative governing bodies existed and functioned in the past. Most of the instances known as the *Sabhas* mentioned by Hutton, and the conferences and associations mentioned in our notes are obviously of comparatively recent origin.

The constitution of the *panchayat*, as the meeting of all castemen, would be traditionally determined. It is difficult to get a clear cut description of the composition of this general meeting. The Bombay Presidency Census Report (1911) in its detailed notes on individual castes has two separate types of descriptions. In one type e. g. that of Chambhars, Devangs, Nhavis, etc. the meeting is described as that of all adult male members of the caste. In the other type as for example in describing the village *panchayat* of Anavala Brahmins of Surat District it is reported that "every head of a family is a member of the village *panchayat*,"¹ From information received by us it would appear that in most castes with functioning *panchayats* it is usual for castemen to meet together many times a year on such occasions as festivals, special

¹ op. cit. p. 240

celebrations or marriages. However, a *panchayat* of all castemen to consider a specific question has to be specially convened for the purpose, usually on the initiative of an interested party.

A caste in which the sole governing authority is the general meeting of castemen will usually have no corporate property and will perform only a minimum of functions; with greater cohesiveness and increasing complexity of functions, organs of government other than the general caste meeting will appear. The simplest type of executive will be that of a hereditary headman called by various names such as Choudhary, Mehtra, etc. The office may be purely honorific or may be vested with some real executive authority. A more elaborate organization is indicated by the existence of a committee of *panchas* with one or more *sarpanchas* or headmen among them. The whole body of *panchas* including the *sarpancha* may be hereditary or the entire personnel may, in modern times, be elected; and between these two extremes, any combination of the hereditary and elective principle may be found. When a caste office is hereditary one can further distinguish between cases where only one supreme head is generally recognised in authority and where a head functioned together with a number of elders or leaders, amongst whom the head was not much more than a *primus inter pares*. It would appear reasonable to suppose that the hereditary principle is the older and original; it appears that election arose out of exercise of the undisputed latent right of a caste to remove from office an absolutely incompetent hereditary head. The exercise of such power may result in entirely abolishing hereditary office and substituting for it elected heads or officers who again may be elected either for life or for short periods, the transition being continuously affected by modern ideas on the subject. Thus ultimately one finds castes in which the constitution of governing bodies and the entire set of caste rules are reduced to writing, the governance of caste is vested in a regularly elected body and the whole is changeable by fixed procedures. Even so allowance for the older tradition would be often made by incorporating a small hereditary element in an otherwise elective organization.

Two Recent Tendencies :—In commenting upon caste rules and caste governance it is necessary to notice that during recent decades there have been in operation two different and somewhat opposed tendencies. Firstly, there is the obvious tendency for social observances and rules to become loose and for the authority of the governing

bodies of castes to become less and less effective, and, in many cases, for the traditional governing bodies themselves to cease to exist or function. The slackening has been most apparent and has gone the furthest in matters of social observances and behaviour and religious rites and taboos in all matters, excepting perhaps, marriage. The rapidly changing conditions of living, especially in urban areas, have helped this tendency; the trend of informed public opinion has also operated in its favour. The decline in the authority of caste *panchayats* has followed as a consequence and the decline has been hastened by the indifference of the State and by the actual or possible intervention of the law courts in the exercise of caste authority. On the other hand, there has been an equally strong, though perhaps not equally noticed, tendency for caste organizations to take new forms, to cover wider fields and to launch into new activities. This tendency has been exhibited partly through the traditional caste authorities and partly through new social organs. In many parts of India governing bodies of individual castes have formed, in modern times, an organizational net-work over wide areas. Instead of each local *panchayat* acting by itself independently, something like a federation of local *panchayats* has, in instances, come to be formed. And sometimes new elaborate systems even in respect of marriage customs like the Gols in Gujarat have emerged.¹ These organizational elaborations have not been important in *Desh* Maharashtra. In Maharashtra the tendency towards extension of the traditional organizations has been exhibited chiefly by their taking on new activities and new powers. It is difficult to get a record of the progressive steps by which powers or activities have been increased or to know definitely which powers and activities are or are not modern. It is only occasionally that one gets a specific record as the following in the account of Sonars in the Poona Gazetteer, "Sonars are bound together as a body, and they settle their social disputes at caste meetings. During the last ten years they have levied a marriage tax of Rs. 3, the boy's father paying Rs. 2 and the girl's father Re. 1. With this money they have built a caste house and intend to build another when they have funds enough."²

Caste Activities: Old and New :—The extension of taxing powers and the acquisition of temples or other property by caste bodies may well be, as would appear from the above,

1. Report of Census, Bombay Presidency, 1911, p. 200.

2. *op. cit.* Part I p. 374.

a comparatively modern practice. In no case of a temple or a house owned by a caste, noted by us, did it appear that it had been held for a period longer than a century. Also, in the list of temples, etc. available from Poona for the first decade of the 19th century none is noted as belonging to a caste or a caste *panchayat*. The most important occasion for levy of a caste cess or tax was the marriage and in many instances the burden of the cess increased progressively. Indeed, in some cases it seems to have grown so large that instances were reported in which it had to be specially lowered during the depression of the thirties.

Apart from levy of cesses and the acquisition of property, undertaking of other important activities by the caste *panchayats* was noticed. In modern times, with the realisation of the importance of education for the progress of members of the caste, a variety of educational activities such as grant of scholarships or other assistance to students and even the establishment of schools or hostels for students were undertaken by many castes according to their financial capacity. Apart from assistance to education, other types of social relief such as poor, old age or sickness relief do not, however, appear to have been attempted. Such activities, when attempted at all, would be on the basis of the family or other relationship group rather than that of the caste.

Another typical modern phenomenon is the activity of castes in matters of social reform. It had been traditional for caste authorities to preserve the code and standard of social behaviour of their members; it was, therefore, appropriate that these bodies should be looked to, in the first instance, for promoting social reforms required by modern opinion. Caste authorities were, in this context, in a curiously mixed position. They were, properly speaking, the guardians of tradition and thus were supposed to be ordinarily conservative; on the other hand, it was clear that their support could accelerate greatly the pace of reform. Hence advocates of reform, who were often in positions of influence though in a numerical minority, tried hard to influence caste organizations in favour of reform. Age of marriage, payment of dowries and other items of marriage settlement, suppression of the drink habit, etc., were matters in which caste *panchayats* were sought to be influenced and there were particular instances of castes in which some reforms were in this manner expedited. What is important to observe in all this is how social reformers also sought the caste platform and how general reform organiza-

tions or special women's organizations or even new youth organizations were formed on the basis of caste.

Associations and Conferences :—However, in the matter of such new activities as education or social reform the local caste *panchayat* was often found to be inadequate or unsuitable. The area and resources of the local *panchayat* were usually inadequate for any considerable educational activity. Local *panchayats* were also often inclined to be conservative and it was difficult to influence each individual *panchayat*. Hence, it was natural that new organizations should arise for these purposes. These took the form usually of conferences or associations covering fairly wide areas. These were not associated with the local caste *panchayats* and were ordinarily called or formed on the initiative of some influential persons in the caste. The area and extent of their activity, the degree of their effectiveness and continuity, all these varied widely from caste to caste. The more educated and the more prosperous castes could obviously achieve more elaborate organization and assure more effective action than those less fortunately circumstanced. But the personal factor and the tradition of caste solidarity also counted for much. An important point to be noticed about these new organizations like caste conferences or associations, was that it was not necessary that they should be confined like the ordinary caste *panchayats*, strictly to an endogamous group. A tendency was soon noticed, therefore, not to confine these conferences to particular sub-castes, but to extend their scope to cover whole generic castes or even wider groups. Such larger coverage would also be associated with social reforms like that of breaking down barriers to marriage among sub-castes.

No generalisations can be made regarding the total result of the operation of the two opposing tendencies noticed above. During the thirties and later they were both noticeable, so that while in general the area and influence of the activity of local *panchayats* declined, the proliferation of organizations and activities over wider area and social purpose, but still essentially on a caste basis, was equally strongly in evidence. As a result it might well happen that in a locality the traditional caste *panchayat* may cease to function or exist and yet caste activity and sentiment would be strongly evidenced found a school or hostel or other institution. Even more extreme cases were found. For example, where formerly, as among Maharashtra Brahmins or Marathas, little caste

activity had been traditional, new activities for an educational, economic or social purpose may come into existence on the basis of a broad group of sub-castes or on the basis of even a single sub-caste.

Functions of Caste *Panchayats*—Among the surviving functions of the traditional *panchayats* the one that appeared most tenacious was the sanctioning or attesting of marriages. Castes being social organisms defined chiefly in terms of limits of marriage for their members, this primary interest in marriage was natural and justifiable, and it was no wonder that the sanction of marriage or the attestation at marriage should be an important function of caste organizations wherever they existed. Beyond this concern with marriage, and aspects of sexual behaviour related to it, there would be a large variety of other traditional duties which may or may not be performed by a caste organization. All these would generally fall under the heading of matters relating to social observance and behaviour. With a rigorous caste organization the field of definition of social observance and behaviour would be large and the performance of members would be strictly observed. The caste organization, in all such cases, would have the right of rebuke, the imposition of a fine or other penalty in the nature of penance and, of course, the final sanction of ostracism, or putting out of caste.

Ordinarily, the caste organization would also be the owner or custodian of common caste property. Among this would be included temples or other places of worship and possibly common halls or other structures where common functions may be held or which may be used by members of the community for purposes of marriage and other ceremonies. Such a community organization would also have an annual programme of celebrations in which all members of the caste participated. The celebrations would ordinarily be of two types. Firstly, those connected with the guardian or other deities whose worship was specially common in the caste and secondly, a comparatively modern practice, celebrating the anniversaries of notable historical figures in the caste. It is a characteristic expression of society broken up in castes that the celebration of anniversaries of even personages of the greatest national importance should come to be or be claimed to be specially appropriated by the particular castes to which they belonged. Another type of celebration would be any sacramental rites to which the caste attached particular importance, for example, the

performance annually of the communal thread ceremony especially by castes whose right to the sacrament may have been challenged in the past. These functions assume the existence of common property and would arise only when the caste was above a certain level in social and in economic status. The lowliest and the poorest castes would have no such communal property and their organizations would, therefore, not be marked by the performance of such functions even if in other respects they were still vigorous.

Economic activities attempted:—Something may be said regarding economic activities attempted on the basis of caste. There is no record, in Poona, of the existence at any time of craft or trade guilds or Mahajans as existed and exist even today in the cities of Gujarat. There is mention of a Nagarshet of Poona during the latter part of the 18th century. The fact that he was most probably a Gujarati Bania indicates that the urge for the creation of that office was the result of the natural desire of a large body of important immigrants to follow practices with which they were acquainted in their own region. The Nagarshet of Poona does not appear ever to have been, as in Ahmedabad, a supervisory official over and above the particular trade and craft guilds. The office was most probably chiefly honorific and when, presumably, the family of the Nagarshet died out round about 1870 no other Nagarshet took its place.

The following extract describes conditions towards the end of the 19th century. "There are no trades-unions or *mahajans* in the district, nor is there any Nagarshet or recognised head in matters of trade. Dayaram Atmaram, a Vani, who died fifteen years ago and was the recognized head of the banking business, was the last Nagarshet of Poona. Disputes between traders are frequently referred to the whole body of traders in any one branch of trade. The chief members form a committee or *panch*, and their decisions are always accepted. Formerly a few recognized head traders formed the *panch* in each trade, but here as elsewhere the levelling tendency of British rule has had its effect, and except that petty dealers are not consulted and do not expect to be asked to join a trades meeting, all the members of a trade have, and exercise, an equal right to appear at a meeting of a trade's *panch*. Regular strikes are unknown, but a falling market or scarcity of labour from time to time causes changes in wages. When any change has to be made the chief members of the trade meet the artisans and after discussion fix a revised rate. In this manner in 1881 a claim

by the silk weavers for a rise in wages was settled in their favour after the matter was discussed with the silk merchants. The decisions of these committees have hitherto been accepted as final. At the same time there is no recognized means of enforcing them except that if an artisan refuses to work at the rate settled he receives no employment. So also traders will cease to deal with any member of their trade who refuses to abide by the decision of a trade committee or *panch*.¹¹

The result of the absence of *Mahajans* or guilds was, as the extract from the Gazetteer makes clear, to make the voice of a few rich and influential merchants in each trade decisive in most matters. The dangers inherent in such a situation were emphasised by the fact that in Poona the merchants and the craftsmen belonged to entirely different castes and that usually the merchant belonged to an immigrant caste and the craftsman to a local one. The merchant was thus interested essentially in overall profits of trade and nothing bound him specially to the growth or prosperity of the local craft. Thus the class that obtained the largest profits of the activity was not specially interested in technical or economic progress of the craft or in nursing it through a depression. Inevitably, therefore, occasions of conflict between merchants and craftsmen also increased and it fell to craftsmen themselves to attempt to safeguard the economic interest of their craft. And in this matter they naturally took action, at least in the first instance, on a caste basis.

It has already been noticed that in all the older crafts there existed the system of apprenticeship by which the young learner either learnt the craft in his own house, if it was being practised there, or was apprenticed to a working member of the caste. The extent to which this practice still survived has been indicated in the first volume. (Vol. I Chapter IV). With change in the technique of the crafts a need would arise for newer forms of training which could not be satisfied by the older types of apprenticeship. This need, however, could not usually be satisfied by activity of the caste *panchayat*. Cases have been noticed where caste organizations tried to make provision for technical education. However, the correspondence between the traditional occupation and the caste remained marked chiefly in cases where the older

¹¹Poona Gazetteer, Part II, p. 173.

technique suffered least change. In such cases the apprenticeship system served well enough; in others, when the occupation was prosperous, entry into it was sought by many persons other than those belonging to the traditional caste. Moreover, craftsmen belonging to the traditional caste ordinarily represented an older technique and a skilled tradition which they were always more or less reluctant to change or abandon.

Two other directions in which the following notes show the older castes or the caste organizations attempting novel economic functions were, firstly, the establishment of cooperative societies chiefly of producers and secondly, some kind of price fixation. The notes record almost uniform failure of these attempts. No definite conclusion can be drawn from the record of this failure. These failures are all failures of special bodies of craftsmen when pitted against traders; and usually in India, as perhaps elsewhere, the craftsman in modern economic society has found it impossible to stand up against the trade. The mere fact that the particular efforts were undertaken in relation to membership of a caste give them no special significance, except perhaps to indicate that the contribution of a feeling of caste solidarity was insufficient to overcome the inherent difficulties of working a cooperative society of comparatively poor members of a craft, especially when it had to operate in opposition to traders in control. The attempts at price fixation were usually those either of craftsmen producers who wanted a fixed price for their product from the body of intermediate traders or of craftsmen wage earners who wanted to obtain a fixed wage, usually a piece wage, from the merchant-wholesalers for whom they worked. The disparity in economic strength of the two sets of parties was in both these types of cases large and the efforts of the craftsmen were bound to fail.

It would appear as if cooperation, formal or informal, was much more significant when practised by members of the trading castes themselves. Such cooperation was largely in the nature of grant of credit and of other business facilities especially in times of difficulties for enabling castemen to tide over them and for allowing new entrants to establish themselves. Such cooperation may be practised either informally, by lowering commission or other charges and may be particularly marked when members of an immigrant caste helped new immigrants from their original homes; or it may become formalised into a system, especially when the whole organization

of the community was under the ægis of a powerful and rich sectarian head.

The comments above are based largely on information gathered during our survey. The main elements in Indian society mentioned at the beginning of the chapter are all well marked in Poona. The non-Hindu element is not fully revealed in the results of our survey as the area of its main concentration, the Poona Cantonment, was not included in it. The moving away of this element from Hindu society was exhibited by the large gap between social life and interests of the cantonment and those of the city. The characteristics of the non-local Hindu element are brought out in the survey tables and the community notes cover this section fairly fully. The data set out in Section II of Chapter II describe the conditions, at the time of the survey, of the various strata within local Hindu society and reveal, in some measure, the extent to which caste gradation and rules had ceased to affect economic life and the improvement that had been made by the lowliest. The comments in this chapter are intended to draw attention to certain trends within Hindu society which had been indicated by our community studies. It is clear that our notes neglect a number of important aspects of this question. Apart from organizations built on the basis of caste, sect and other traditional unit, forms of social organisation characteristic of modern industrial society have also emerged in recent decades in India. Social clubs, industrial and professional organizations, trade unions, political parties have all been in evidence. The mutual interactions of these and the caste society are of great importance and significance. We were not able to pay any attention to them. The subject is a vast one and the future is yet uncertain. It is also too early to say what the results of the most important event of the century for India, the gaining of independence, are going to be. The presence of the British was the most important factor fostering a feeling of indifference between various elements in Indian society.¹ It remains to be seen whether their departure makes or not for greater cohesiveness and unity within its ranks.

Daivadnya Brahmin (Sonar) :—Daivadnyas are a distinct group among the castes described as *Sonar* i. e.

¹ For an admirable discussion of Indian caste society under British rule the reader may refer to G. S. Ghurye : "Caste and Class in India," (1930). Chapter VII.

those whose traditional occupation is working in gold and silver. They claim to be Brahmins and are the highest in social status, among the *sonars* as a whole. At the time of our survey there were about 50 families of this community in Poona. They were fairly widely dispersed over all the wards of the city. According to the tradition in the community, they came to Poona from the Ratnagiri District at the time of Bajirao I. The right of Daivadnya *sonars* to employ priests of their own caste was upheld by the Peshwas against the opposition of the Poona Joshis. Members of the community no longer kept up any connection with their native places in Ratnagiri District, except rarely to visit their ancestral deities.

Their traditional business is gold and silver smithy and at the time of our survey nearly 80 per cent. of the members of the community were reported to be following the traditional occupation. The remaining were engaged in government, semi-government and private employments and two were pleaders.

The local caste organization was formed by 3 *panchas* at the time of our survey. The number of *panchas* was not fixed and may at times be five. The practice of electing the *panchas* had been recently established but there were no definite rules as to the time when new elections should be held to fill vacancies etc. The *panchas* carefully looked after the observance by members of the community of the old customs and traditions of the caste.

There was also a local association in Poona formed for the educational, social etc. advancement of members of the community as a whole. This had been established some twenty years before the time of the survey. The association arranged lectures, organized debates and conducted a library. It also awarded scholarships to students of the community. Every year a small sum was raised by subscription and paid into the central fund of the community at Bombay. The central fund which was large gave scholarships to deserving students of the community throughout the province. The resolutions of the local reform association on social matters etc. were considered as recommendatory to the *panchas* who alone had the right to take a final decision in these matters.

The community owned a Durga temple in Narayan Peth. This was an old temple constructed in the days of the Peshwas and an

annual grant of Rs. 50 was being still made to it by the Parvati Samsthan. One house in Kasba was also owned by the community. It fetched an annual rent of about Rs. 800 to Rs. 900. Students of the community were also given free lodging facilities in this building. The use of the building was also given to members of the community for celebrating marriages etc. The *panchas* controlled both the temple and the house. The house was a public trust owned by Devi Samsthan. The cost of its construction had been met by incurring a debt. At the time of our survey Rs. 500 from the annual rent of the house were used towards the service of the debt and its repayment and Rs. 100 were spent annually for the celebration of the festival of the goddess in Navaratri. This was celebrated by the community as a whole, which also celebrated the Nana Shankarshet day.

There was in existence a sort of apprenticeship system for teaching the traditional business. Apprentices were trained in shops without any charge and were paid a salary after they were trained.

Namdeo Shimpi :—Namdeo Shimpis are an indigenous community. They belong to Maharashtra and the members of this community in Poona City have either been very old settlers or have been recruited since old times largely from the Poona and the Satara districts. They had little connection with their original native places even for marriages, etc. at the time of our survey. There were, on a rough estimate, about 850 Namdeo Shimpi families in Poona in 1937, about 600 of these were in the city and suburban areas, and the rest in the Cantonment. In the city they were mainly concentrated in Kasba, Budhwar, Shukrawar, Ganesh, Rasta, Vetar, Nihal, Somwar and Raviwar. Their traditional business was tailoring and the selling of cloth. At the time of our survey it was reported that about half of the total families were engaged in tailoring, either as independent artisans or as servants in tailoring establishments, and another quarter, was engaged in the cloth trade. The remaining had abandoned the traditional occupations and were serving in government, semi-government and private institutions.

The local community organizations were called *daiva sansthas*. In Poona there have been, since old times, separate *sansthas* for different wards. At the time of our survey there were separate organisations for the following wards; Kasba, Budhwar, Raviwar, Shukrawar, Nihal, Rasta, and Somwar. There was a separate

sanstha for the Cantonment. All these eight *sansthas* in Poona functioned separately and independently of one another. There was, however, a good deal of cooperation between all of them. For instance, all of them jointly owned a *dharmashala* at Alandi.

Each *sanstha* consisted of a *panchayat* with a maximum of five members and headed by a *sarpanch*. For the performance of religious and social ceremonies in the community under its jurisdiction, the permission of the appropriate *panchayat* had to be necessarily sought and for every ceremony a fixed sum had to be paid to it. The *panchayat* appointed a person, known as *Mhetra* for helping the people of the community in all their ceremonies. He was paid a fixed sum for every ceremony. He was responsible to the *panchayat* and acted according to its instructions. The celebration of such occasions as the *Namdeo Jayanti*, *Gokul Ashtami*, etc. was organized by each *daiya sanstha* separately and the necessary funds were collected by subscription from the members of the community. The monies left over from such collections were controlled by the *panchayat* who used it in its own discretion for the maintenance of *dharmashalas* or temples or for the buying of furniture, utensils, etc. for the use of the members of the community on occasions like marriages. All such property was collectively owned. In Poona the eight *daiya sansthas* owned the following property.

Daiva Sanstha	in Budhwar	1 Dharmashala.
— „ —	in Raviwar	1 Dharmashala.
— „ —	in Kasba	1 Khandoba Temple.
— „ —	in Somwar	A Vithoba and Hanuman Temple.
— „ —	in Nihal	Hanuman temple.
— „ —	Rasta	A Hanuman and Khandoba temple.
— „ —	in Cantonment	1 Dharmashala and a Rama temple.

The income of the *daiya sansthas* was derived from the marriage and other cesses and fines, rents from buildings and subscriptions and donations from members of the community.

In former times, it was reported, the power of the *sanstha* over its members was almost supreme and recalcitrant members of the community were severely dealt with. With the passage of time caste discipline had, however, become lax.

Apart from the ward organizations which represented the traditional *panchayat* organization in the community there were usually joint organizations started in modern times for other purposes which covered a wider field. Usually such organizations were organized separately for the Cantonment and for all the city wards. There were, at the time of the survey, two reading rooms and there had been, in the past, organizations for awarding scholarships to deserving students of the community, for holding debates, etc. An association of members of the community all over Maharashtra had been formed and it had been holding conferences at various places since 1907. At the conferences matters relating to educational and economic uplift as well as such questions of social reform as the unification of sub-castes were discussed and resolutions adopted in relation to them. There was an important trust in the community, the Khandke Trust, at Bombay and it helped students in Poona also.

With a view to improving the economic condition of the community a cloth shop jointly owned by some members of the community was started in 1913. In 1915 a cooperative society and in 1917 a cooperative stores were also started. However, all these were unsuccessful and no joint or cooperative ventures had since been undertaken.

The traditional practice of accepting, for training, young persons of the community in shops or tailoring establishments belonging to members of the community continued. Further, under the auspices of the general community Association a training class in tailoring had been started in 1935.

Somavanshi Arya Kshatriya:—Members of the community have no definite information regarding the region from which they might have migrated to Poona. The community has been settled in Poona for nearly 200 years and has become a local community with little contacts outside. The community is and has always been concentrated in Vetal and may be supposed to have been in significant numbers in Poona before the establishment of that ward towards the middle of the 18th century. The number of families

in Poona at the time of the survey was reported to be about 250. It was believed that the population was much larger about a couple of generations ago. It was also said that members of the community owned extensive properties in Raviwar and Vetāl at the end of Peshwa rule. This would not be surprising in view of the important part played by craftsmen of the community in furnishing military equipment.

Their traditional business was reported to be metal work of all kinds. About 75 per cent. of the people in the community were in the traditional occupation as *Karkhandars*, as workers in *Karkhanas* or as outworkers and as traders in brass and copperware. Of the rest, many were said to be in Government factories or service and a small number was scattered over other occupations.

The whole community i. e. the adult males in it constituted the *samaj sabha* which was the ultimate authority in all matters. The *sabha* elected *panchas* and appointed *sarpanchas*. The election of *panchas* took place once in every four or five years. At the time of the survey the number of *panchas* was 22 and there were two *sarpanchas*. The enforcement of caste customs and observances was a matter for the *panchas*. The community properties were the temple of Maruti in Vetāl and two *dharmashalas*, one in Vetāl and the other in Shanwar. There were three standing committees appointed by the community. One was called the building committee, this looked after the management of the community property; the cess committee whose chief function was the recovery of the community cess which had to be paid at each marriage (Rs. 26 from the two parties together) and without payment of which a marriage could not be solemnised. A third committee called the rules committee considered suggestions regarding changes in community observances which on approval by the *samaj sabha* became operative. It was claimed that many desirable changes in old customs had been brought about in this way in recent years. The marriage cess in particular, which used to be very high formerly, had been reduced by stages to its present level.

More than a decade previous to our survey the community had started a cooperative shop for the supply of brass and copper sheets to brass and copperware manufacturers in the community and to market their finished products. The shop had not been successful and though it had not gone into liquidation at the time of our survey, it was reported to be running at a loss.

Education was encouraged by giving help to needy students in the community in the form of books, fees, etc. A total of nearly Rs. 500 from the income from property and the marriage cess was reported to be spent in this manner every year. The community also gave help to needy members in such matters as funeral expenses.

The traditional skill was maintained by means of an apprenticeship system. Apprentices from the community were given preference by worker members of the community.

Twashtha Kasar :— The Twashtha Kasars are an immigrant community. They appear to have come to Poona in significant numbers only during the last hundred years. The number of *kasars* enumerated at the end of Peshwa rule in Poona was not large. There was, however, a Kasar Ali or lane in Kasba ward by the end of the 18th century and the later settlement of the *twashtha kasar* immigrants took place in this locality in Kasba. They came to Poona chiefly from the districts of Kolaba and Ratnagiri in Konkan. At the time of our survey there were reported to be about 170 families of this community in Poona, and these were concentrated chiefly in Kasba. Some members of the Poona community owned lands, etc. in their native villages in Konkan and were reported to visit those parts occasionally. Most of the marriages in the community were, however, performed at Poona, except when the bride hailed from the native village, in which case the marriage ceremony took place in the village of the bride. The traditional business of the caste has been working in brass and silver as well as trading in copper and brass and silver ware. At the time of our survey nearly 75 per cent of the families in this community were believed to be engaged in copper, brass and silver smithy.

The local caste organization was the *panchayat* and a committee of *sarpanchas*. The office of the *sarpanchas* was hereditary. The original selection of *sarpanchas* was made, it was said, in relation to their standing in the community and wealth. However, a number of original *sarpanchas* had no representative left and families of some others had declined in importance. Ordinarily permission of the *sarpanchas* was sought for marriages and a small fee was collected, at the time of the marriage and other ceremonies by the *panchayat*. The cesses were Rs. 1-4-0 for the thread ceremony and Rs. 3-12-0 for a marriage ceremony (Rs. 1-4-0 from the bride's side and Rs. 2-8-0 from the

bridegroom's side). Other cesses current in former times had ceased to exist. The *sarpanchas* used to look after general social discipline and enforce observance of caste customs and traditions. We were, however, informed that the authority of the *sarpanchas*, in this respect, had considerably waned in recent years, particularly since certain members of the community had challenged in the civil courts decisions of the *panchayat* in social matters. Social life of the community was largely confined to ceremonies like marriages, the annual meetings of the community and the temple festivals.

There were two religious trusts, the Ganesh and the Kasardevi temples. Both of the temples were situated in Kasba and the trusts were managed by the *sarpanchas*. The Ganesh temple trust owned a house fetching an annual rent of Rs. 75. This sum was spent at the annual Ganapati festival. The Kasardevi trust had invested Rs. 1500 in war bonds which annually yielded Rs. 75 in interest. A part of the temple premises was rented out to members of other communities for marriage ceremonies, etc. and a rent of Rs. 5 per day was charged. The annual collection on this account came to about Rs. 100 to Rs. 150.

Some 20 years before the survey a cooperative society of members of the community with an authorised capital of Rs. 25,000 and a subscribed capital of Rs. 10,000 had been established. The society used to purchase brass and copper sheets and supplied them to copper and brass smiths of the community. The finished goods were bought back and the workers were paid certain fixed rates of wages. The finished articles were marketed through a shop, also managed by the society. The society had considerable success and used to distribute large dividends. The local brass and copperware merchants, however, it was reported, joined together and made it difficult for the society to work by enticing away workers and by refusing, as a body, to buy the finished articles of the society. The society went into liquidation after about 8 years' working. It was, however, said that the difficulties of the society were due not entirely to the opposition of local merchants but also partly to mismanagement of its affairs.

Apart from the caste *panchayat* there was an organisation in Poona for looking after the welfare of members of the community ; this organization used to manage the cooperative society mentioned above. It had also conducted a quarterly "Twashtra" for 9 years. It had also taken an active part in organizing in Poona,

many years ago, a conference of all members of the community. Similar conferences had later been held at Satara and Mahad. The Poona organization managed a free education class and a library. Students were helped by gifts of books and fees and, in some cases, the students were also given prizes. Expenses on these accounts did not exceed Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 per year.

The traditional occupation of copper etc. smithy was learnt by the boys in the community by working as apprentices in workshops of members of the community.

Koshti :—The *Koshtis* are a small community who have a tradition that they originally migrated from Nagpur to Poona. The members of the community in Poona have, however, no connection at present with Nagpur. The original settlement of the community was in the wards of Kasba and Somwar. Somwar appears to have been the first location of the weaving industry in Poona. At present the members of the community are distributed over the wards of Kasba, Somwar, Rasta and Vetal. At the time of the survey there were reported to be only 50 to 60 families of the caste in Poona. It was reported that this number was much larger about two generations ago and that a large number of families had migrated from Poona during recent decades because of adverse economic circumstances. The traditional occupation of the community was handloom weaving. However, not a single family was reported to be following the traditional occupation at the time of the survey. The bulk of members of the community were engaged, at the time of our survey, in either casual labour or small business.

The general meeting of the members of the community was called the caste *panchayat* and all important decisions were taken by this body. The *sarpanchas*, called in this community, *choudhary* or *shetty*, held office by hereditary right. The *choudharys* had special rights and perquisites on ceremonial occasions. They were also generally responsible for caste discipline. It was reported that the authority of the *choudharys* and of the caste *panchayat* had come to be held in little regard. There had been a number of occasions when members of the community had gone to law courts in connection with decisions of the *choudhary* and the *panchayat* and this had made the *choudhary* or the caste *panchayat* chary of exercising their old functions. The permission of the *choudharys* was, however, still considered

necessary for the performance of marriages and there was a marriage cess which had to be paid to the community. The community owned one temple, which was in an unfinished state at the time of the survey, in Poona near the temple of Nageshwara in Somwar.

Members of the community had, it was reported, attempted in former times, to reach agreements with traders who were mostly Marwadis on a community basis to solve marketing difficulties. The production of weavers in the community used to be chiefly of the superior varieties and of varieties in which silk was used. The traders held that it was necessary for members of the community to guarantee the quality of production and an attempt was made to evolve a scheme of stamping cloth on behalf of community ; these negotiations, however, never progressed far.

Swakul Sali (Paithan):—Members of this community are reported to have migrated from Paithan and have to be distinguished from members of the community of the same name whose original place was Narayan Peth. The first migrations are supposed to have taken place in Peshwa times. The main settlement at present is in Ganj and Vetal and it is reported that this has always been so. At the time of the survey a considerable proportion of members of the community in Poona had left their traditional occupation and were engaged either in private service or in small business. Members of the community, it was reported, still retained some social connections through ties of marriage etc. with their original hometown of Paithan.

The whole caste in a meeting constituted the general *panchayat* and there were hereditary *panchas* and *sarpanchas* who were chiefly responsible for maintaining discipline and running the caste organization. The consent of the *sarpanchas* had to be obtained for settlement of marriages and the *panchas* had to be paid a cess of Rs. 11 per marriage. The authority of the *sarpanchas* was reported to be fairly strict. A member of the community could ask the *sarpanchas* to call a meeting of the whole caste for settling a dispute. When making such a request the *sarpanchas* had to be paid Rs. 1-4-0. There was one *dharmashala* owned by the community at the time of the survey but it was at that time mortgaged to a creditor. Most of the income from the marriage cess and other funds was supposed to be spent towards payment of

interest and repayment of principal of the debt for building the *dharmashala*. It was reported that two or three years before the survey a youth organisation had been formed within the community which attempted some work in social reform and in helping the poorer members in special circumstances. The special community celebration was the festival of Shri Jivaji Maharaj.

Swakul Sali (Narayan Peth):—This community, whose migration to Poona appears to be distinctly later than that of *swakul salis* from Paithan, is reported to have migrated from Narayan Peth. The present settlement of the community is concentrated in Vetal and Ganj and is a result of the settlement at the time of the first migrations. The members of the community in Poona are connected by marriage and other relationships with their home-town. Most of the members of the community had not yet deserted their traditional occupation of handloom weaving. They were, however, reported to be suffering from considerable unemployment at the time of the survey. The meeting of the whole community constituted the supreme *panchayat*. The special community celebration was the festival of Shri Jiveshwar Maharaj when all members of the community met. They would, at such times, transact business for which a meeting of the whole caste *panchayat* would be necessary. At other times during the year such meetings would be called only by special request for settlement of internal disputes etc. There were 10 *sarpanchas* or *choudharys* who, it was said, were elected by the community *panchayat* and could also be dismissed by it. The *sarpanchas* had authority in usual matters relating to caste discipline and were entitled to be paid a cess at times of marriages. This was Rs. 11 in former times but had been reduced recently. The community owned a *dharmashala* which had been built out of donations and community funds. A special fund at the rate of one pice per *saree* woven by members of the community had also been levied for some time for this purpose. The caste discipline was reported to be fairly strict. Attempts made to open a primary school and a library for members of the community had not proved successful. Young persons learnt work by working with adults and there was no other special arrangement for training. Attempts made in the past by the community as a whole to get fair terms of discount etc. from traders were reported to have proved unsuccessful.

Padma Sali:—Padma Salis were comparatively recent immigrants into Poona; they were reported to have come here less than

a century before the time of the survey from Narayan Peth. The home-tongue of members of the community was Telugu. They were concentrated chiefly in Ganj, Bhavani and Nana. Till about a generation ago, it was said that it was chiefly adult males of the community who came to Poona leaving their families behind in Narayan Peth. It was reported that since about 1910 immigrants had started to come with their entire families with the result that at the time of the survey there was little of an annual seasonal movement to the home-town; a large majority even of marriages among members of the community in Poona had begun to be arranged and celebrated locally. It was reported that this change in the type of migration had been largely due to the growth in Poona of the *bidi* industry which afforded employment to women and children of Padma Salis. Excepting a small number engaged in the manufacture of *bidis* and some employed in service of private traders most families in the community still followed their traditional occupation of handloom weaving.

Members of the entire community in a meeting constituted the caste *panchayat*. There were nine *sarpanchas* or *choudharys*. The office of *sarpanchas* was hereditary. Members of the community were divided into groups called *dhada* or *phali* over each of which a *sarpancha* had authority. Each *dhada* or *phali* consisted, on an average, of 50 to 60 families and almost constituted a separate sub-community for internal governance. It was possible for a family to change its *dhada* or *phali*.

The *sarpanchas'* consent was necessary for celebrating marriages. The amount of marriage cess used to be Rs. 44. However, this had been reduced, at the time of the survey, to Rs. 9. The community owned a temple of Markandeya, a temple of Vithal and a gymnasium. Annual festivals were held in connection with both the temples and also in connection with the gymnasium. The expenses in connection with these were met by contributions or subscriptions. A weekly collection was also made among members of the community. The building of the temple had involved contracting of a loan which was being repaid out of the proceeds of the marriage cess and other community funds. Attempts had been made to organise weavers in the community vis-a-vis traders and also to consider joint marketing schemes but the general depressed conditions of the market had made all such attempts generally abortive. There was a youth organisation which ran the community

gymnasium and made attempts to agitate in favour of social reform. About three years before the time of the survey the community had elected a new *panch* committee of about 25 persons which was vested with authority superior to the *sarpanchas* and which was credited with having brought about some reforms such as a reduction in the amount of the marriage cess and a better organisation of the finances of the community's temples.

Parit :—The Parits are an indigenous Maharashtra community. Some of the Poona families have been here for generations while others have been attracted in course of time from neighbouring areas. According to a rough estimate there were, at the time of our survey, about 300 families of this community in Poona. They were well distributed over all the wards but were more numerous in Narayan, Sadashiv and Kasba than elsewhere. The vicinity of the river, where washing could be done conveniently, was reported to be the main reason for this concentration. They had practically no connexion with any original native villages even for marriages etc. Most of the families in Poona had been settled in Poona city for some time. Their traditional occupation was washing of clothes. Most of the members of the community in Poona were following the traditional occupation.

The community met occasionally in a *panchayat* of all members and had also a body of *panchas*. There were 5 to 7 *panchas* of whom two were *Mehetars* or *sarpanchas*. The office of the *mehetars* was hereditary; the other *panchas* were elected and were removable by the community. At any social or religious ceremony the *panchas* were invited first and the invitation was extended by and through them to the whole community. According to the custom of the caste, certain perquisites had to be given to the *mehetars* on specific occasions such as of marriage dinners which had to be served to the whole community. On the other hand, the *mehetars* had at their own cost to give certain perquisites to the head of a family in which a death had taken place. If any member of the community desired the *panchayat* i. e. the whole community in a meeting to intervene in a social etc. matter he had to arrange for the meeting and to pay to the *mehetars* an arbitration fee which was, at the time of the survey, Rs. 1-4-0. The income from such receipts was devoted to charitable purposes. The caste discipline

was reported to be fairly strict and even disrespectful behaviour towards the *mehetars* was liable to be punished by fine.¹

There was no communal property, no caste temple and no educational or other activity. No general or social welfare association had also been formed among members of the community.

It was reported that whereas in Poona city most of the business of washing clothes was in the hands of members of the caste in the suburban and cantonment area there was considerable influx of members of other castes and of Muslims.

Sena Nhavi :—The *senā nhavis* are an indigenous community of Maharashtra. There were three territorial divisions among the Poona *nhavis* according to their region of origin. There were (1) Satara Kolhapur area, (2) Poona, Nagar, Nasik and Sholapur area, and (3) Khandesh area. For all practical purposes these divisions amounted to separate sub-castes and members of these groups did not intermarry. One of the three groups was considered specially inferior in social status by the others and efforts to bring about intermarriages among members of the different groups had not proved successful at the time of the survey. At the time of our survey there were about 500 families of all the three groups together and they were fairly evenly distributed in all the wards of the city. According to caste tradition, this community had been in Poona from the very beginning of the city and as the city grew in size more families came in. Members of the community, except those who had their native villages round about Poona, had little connection with their original villages.

The *nhavi* is the traditional barber caste and shaving and hair dressing is their main traditional occupation. Besides this drum beating and playing of music, especially the clarionet, is also a traditional but secondary occupation. About 95 per cent. of the

¹ "The Parits of the city of Poona settle their social disputes at meetings of all adult male members of the caste, presided over by the *mehetar* or hereditary headman. In the year 1907 one of these Parits committed suicide by drowning himself in a well in consequence of action taken by his caste *panchayat*. It may safely be assumed, therefore, that considerable importance still attaches to *panchayat* rulings. Generally, such meetings are held at the time of marriage feasts when all are present. In urgent cases, the *mehetar* calls special meetings on payment of a fee of Rs. 1-4-0. The amounts realised from fines are spent on charitable purposes such as building *dharmashala* (rest-houses) at Alandi." Bombay Census Report (1911) p. 297.

families in Poona were reported to be following the main traditional occupation and some of them also followed the secondary occupation, in addition. Some had established shops, saloons, for hair cutting etc. service, in place of the old method of going from house to house for shaving etc, or of supplying the service at a fixed public spot. About 25 to 30 families in Poona were reported to be solely dependent on the secondary traditional occupation, while about 10-15 families in Poona might have abandoned the traditional occupations. These were employed in government, semi-government and private institutions as clerks, teachers, etc. Three had become building contractors.

The three groups were for all practical purposes organized separately. There was in each of them a *panchayat* of the whole group and one head or executive *panch*. The powers of the group *panchayat* had declined especially since one person outcast by the *panchayat* had appealed successfully to the law courts. Formerly there was supposed to be a committee for the whole community of three *panchas*, one each from the three groups referred to above. We were informed, however, that this was merely a facade. In practice each *panch* acted independently of the others and was supreme in his own group. Each *panch* acted as arbitrator in disputes arising in his own group and claimed some fee for it. The office of the *panch* was hereditary and his permission had to be obtained in advance, for social and religious ceremonies such as marriages, etc. The customs and conventions of the community were guarded by the *panchas* and any member violating them was reprimanded, fined or in the last resort declared an outcaste. The Sena Nhavi Parishad i. e. a periodic conference of the whole Nhavi community in Maharashtra had been begun a few years before the survey. It had passed resolutions in favour of a merger of the sub-groups but these had met with no success so far.

The community owned two temples in Poona City, a Vithal Rukmai temple in Kasba and a Maruti temple in Ganesh. The construction of the latter was incomplete at the time of the survey. An annual expenditure of about Rs. 250 was incurred for their maintenance and for the religious celebrations connected with them. This sum was raised by subscription from the members of the community. The Khandesh *nhavi* group in Poona owned a *dharmashala* in Budhwar and this was let to some Mohamedans. The *panchas* were at the time of our survey contemplating the

selling of this *dharmashala* and the purchasing of land elsewhere from the proceeds of sale.

For promoting education in the community a free primary school was being conducted at the time of our survey in the Vithal-Rukmai temple in Kasba and about 30 to 35 students attended it. The training in the traditional occupation was acquired by the boys in this community through apprenticeship to adult working members.

Maratha Kumbhar:—Maratha *kumbhars* or potters were among original residents of Poona city. At the time of our survey there were reported to be about 120 families of Maratha *kumbhars* in Poona; about 80 of these lived in Kasba and the rest in Nana and Bhavani. The part in Kasba occupied by this community was known as *kumbhar wada*. The gate of the old town near this locality was also called *kumbhar ves* or gate. The original families in Poona were added to by later immigrants from rural parts round about Poona as the town increased in size. The families in Poona, at the time of our survey, had no connection with their original villages. The traditional business of the community was the manufacture of earthenware, and of bricks, tiles, etc. It was reported that about 20 families in Poona were engaged in the manufacture of earthenware such as pots and pans and 15 to 20 others in conducting brick-making establishments. Members of about 60 to 70 other families were engaged in brick-making establishments as wage earners. The remaining 15 to 20 families had abandoned the traditional occupation for government or private service and other business.

The *panchayat* organization of the community was reported to have almost ceased to function for nearly 15 to 20 years before the time of the survey. The permission of the *panchayat* or of the hereditary *meheters* or *sarpanchas* was no longer held necessary for celebrating marriages etc. However, the hereditary *sarpanchas* were still given precedence on such occasions. At the time of every marriage Rs. 3 (Rs. 2 from the bridegroom and Rs. 1 from the bride) had still to be paid to the funds of the community. This sum was spent for the upkeep of the *dharmashala* at Alandi owned by Maratha *kumbhars* in and outside Poona as a whole. The *dharmashala* was originally built out of funds raised by subscriptions. The Gokul Ashtami was also celebrated annually by the community in Poona and the expenses were met by subscription. It was reported that even though the *panchayat* no longer functioned effec-

tively the community as a whole frowned upon the non-observance of traditional practices and customs.¹

Five or six years previous to our survey an organization for the social and educational betterment of the Maratha *kumbhar* community had been started. It helped students by grants-in-aid of books and fees. The total annual expenditure on this account came to about Rs. 50 to Rs. 75. Two years previous to our survey a night school for the spread of literacy among adult males of the community had been started but owing to general apathy this had to be closed down. Most of the members of the community were reported to be illiterate. There had also been made some attempts at social reforms in such directions as reducing expenditure at marriages. Members engaged in brick-making in the community attempted, on occasions, to fix minimum prices for bricks to avoid competition among the bricks-makers of the community. But all these attempts had been unsuccessful due, it was reported, to the apathy of Kumbhar brick-makers as well as to the opposition and competition of members of other communities in that business. The traditional skill was handed down by means of apprenticing young persons in establishments owned by the members of the caste.

Paradeshi Kumbhar.—This community is said to have originally come to Poona from Rajputana about 200 years ago. At the time of our survey these were about 250 families of Paradeshi *kumbhars* in Poona and most of them were residing in Vetal and Ganj. Their main original business was the making of bricks. When members of the community came to Poona in the old days, they had to stay in the two outlying and newly established wards suited for plying their craft which required ample space and water. The settlement of Paradeshi *kumbhars* in Vetal and Ganj in contrast with concentration in Kasba of the indigenous *kumbhar* community would indicate that their immigration took place in the middle of the 18th century and after. The original nucleus attracted later arrivals thus making for the concentration. The community had now become permanently resident in Poona and had lost all contact with Rajputana. The traditional occupations of the community were brick-making and making of earthen figures and they evidently

1 "They have a headman or *mhetrya* who punishes breaches of caste rules by fines. The amount of the fine which seldom exceeds Re. 1 is spent on clarified butter served at a feast in any castefellow's house." Gazetteer of Poona District, Part I (1885) p. 351.

also turned to bricklaying at an early date. The bricklayers had progressively become building contractors and at the time of our survey it was reported that about half of the community was in the building industries as contractors, large and small, and most of the remaining half were occupied as bricklayers. Only two or three families were reported to be engaged in the two original occupations of brick-making and the making of clay figures. About 10 to 15 families had abandoned the traditional business for government and semi-government service.

The caste executive was the *panchayat* consisting of five *panchas*. Two of these were *sarpanchas* and their office was hereditary. The permission of the *sarpanchas* was necessary for the celebration of marriages etc. The scale of the cess levied by the community at marriages was, at the time of our survey, Rs. 24 from the bridegroom and Rs. 4 from the bride. Formerly, the cess was reported to have been Rs. 53 and Rs. 18 respectively. After granting permission, the *sarpanchas* arranged for the priests to officiate at the ceremonies and also arranged, as required by tradition, to extend the invitation for the marriage to all the members of the community through the barber. It was reported that the community faced the contingency of the line of one *sarpanch* becoming extinct; there was no known established tradition regarding how a new *sarpanch* would be appointed in such an event. The *panchayat* looked after the observance of old customs and imposed fines ranging from Re. 1-4-0 to Rs. 5 for any breach of them. In the last resort the offending party was declared an outcaste. The *panchayat* arbitrated in disputes among individuals in the community only if asked by both parties to do so. A meeting of the whole community usually took place at such arbitration proceedings. The monies derived by *sarpanchas* as marriage fees, fines, etc. were utilized at the annual *Holi* celebrations which were a special feature of the community. A community meal was arranged during these celebrations. Out of the remaining funds, Rs. 2 per month were spent for the lighting of a lamp in a Datta temple in Shukrawar. For some years before the survey the members of the community had begun to meet in an annual conference at which questions of social reform were discussed. There was also an all-India Association of the community whose recommendations on social matters were respected.

There has been an education fund of Rs. 4,000 since 1930 for the whole of the *Pardeshi kumbhar* community in and outside

Poona. From this fund grants for books and fees were made to students in the community. The help so rendered amounted to about Rs. 50 per year.

Literacy was fairly widespread in the community. The traditional occupations were learnt by working under old and trained craftsmen.

Maheshwari Bania (Marwadi Vaishnav):—This is an immigrant community. The first immigrants originally came from Rajputana some 200 years ago to carry on their hereditary occupation of trading and most of them became concentrated in Kapad Ganj in Raviwar and Dane Ali in Nana. At the time of our survey, there were reported to be about 300 families of this community in Poona. About half of these had been completely naturalised and had no contact with Rajputana. The other half, however, had their near relations and lands in native Rajputana and had close contact with it. No regular remittances were, however, made to Rajputana by them. Most of the marriages took place in Poona. Their hereditary occupation was trading in grocery, cloth, etc. and money-lending. Almost all families in the community followed the traditional occupations and were either in trade or in service with traders. All important disputes in social matters were settled by a *panchayat* of the whole community. The *panchayat* of the whole community consisted of an adult representative of each household and this was the supreme authority in the community. If a party was dissatisfied with the decision given by the *panchayat* he had a right to call the *panchayat* again and to submit his case for re-examination. The decision given after reconsideration was regarded as final. There were also a number of hereditary *panchas*. For marriages and for the traditional dinner after a death had occurred the permission of the *panchas* was necessary. The *panchas* looked after the proper observance of social and religious customs and punished any infringement with fine etc. It was reported that the authority of the *panchas* and the *panchayat* in this respect had, however, considerably declined during the last 20 years and at the time of the survey the *panchas'* work was confined to granting permission for marriage etc.

There was a Maheshwari youth organization in the city which tried to put into practice the recommendations of the Provincial Maheshwari Parishad on social reform. This youth organization owed its origin to an agitation for the abolition of harmful social

practices and customs and was reported to have encountered opposition from the orthodox elements in the *panchayat* which naturally consisted of elderly persons.

The community owned 12 temples in the city. Almost all of these were managed by trustees. About half of these had been originally built by individual members of the community and were later given over to the community in the form of trusts. The others had been built by raising public subscriptions. In the Someshwar Temple there was a *sadayart* where free meals were served daily to ascetics, *bairagis*, etc. There was a capital trust of about Rs. 35,000 for the maintenance of this *sadayart* and this trust also owned a couple of houses. In addition to this it was reported that a number of persons were fed daily at the other temples. A funeral ghat had been built near the Lakdi Bridge by the community by spending about Rs. 20,000 raised by subscription.

For encouraging education the community had started an organization called Maheshwari Vidya Prasarak Mandal. It conducted a boarding house for students of this community. This had been built out of a donation of Rs. 25,000 by a prominent member of this community. There was also the Mukund Bhavan Vaidic Pathashala run by the community. This Pathashala or school had a building of its own and had in addition an endowed trust of about one lakh of rupees. There were 15 students in this school at the time of the survey. The school admitted children of other communities also. Being apprenticed to a trader was the traditional and continuing method of training for the hereditary occupation.

Marwadi Bania (Jain):—The number of families of Jain Marwadi Banias in Poona was reported to be nearly 800 at the time of the survey. They were mostly concentrated in Raviwar, Ganesh, Vetal, Bhawani and Nana. The concentration was reported to have been in evidence since the time of the original settlement. The migrants were reported to have come mostly from the States of Jodhpur and Sirohi. It was said that immigrants from Sirohi had very close connections with their original home, and always contracted marriages in that region. The immigrants from Jodhpur, on the other hand, had become permanent residents of Poona to a considerable extent. Almost all families in the community were engaged in the traditional occupations of trading and money-lending. There were divisions corresponding to sub-castes within the community but the community

was also divided for purposes of social organisation into nearly 15 groups called *dhadas*. These could not be called sub-castes, as it was possible to move from one *dhada* to another. The formation of a *dhada* was attributed largely to emergence of new leadership groups. Once a *dhada* was established its leadership went by hereditary succession. The *dhada* leader had the same authority as the *sarpanch* of a caste and acted as such. Though the general customs and observances were similar for the whole community, there might be minor differences in practice between one *dhada* and another.

Economic cooperation was close within members of the community as a whole and assisting each other financially on concessional terms was a general practice. The custom of employing apprentices in each trading etc. shop and concern was also very common. Ordinarily apprentices in all the shops belonged to the community. At the time of the survey it was reported that there might be a total of 100 apprentices in Poona in the various Marwadi (Jain) shops.

Gujarati Bania (Jain):—It was reported, at the time of the survey, that there were nearly 300 families of this community in Poona. The families were concentrated chiefly in the trading wards of Rawiwar, Nana, Vetal, Bhawani, Budhwar and Shukrawar, etc. The extent to which various members were connected with their native places varied greatly according to the time of their migration. Older migrants had no longer close connections with their native places, while those who had migrated recently had very close connections. A large majority of members of the community were in trade or in service with traders. The type of trading in which they were interested was varied. In contrast with the Marwadi Jain community the different groups within the Gujarati Jain community were formed on the comparatively stable basis of sub-castes. In each sub-caste there was caste organisation on the lines of a *panchayat*. The head of the *panchayat* organisation corresponding to the *sarpanch* succeeded to office by hereditary right. It was necessary to obtain permission of the *sarpanch* for contracting a marriage and the *sarpanch* or the chief of the group was given a privileged position at the time of the marriage. There was, however, no marriage cess as in some Hindu sub-castes. The system of apprenticeship in Gujarati Jain shops etc. worked on the same lines as in the Marwadi Jain community.

The real estate owned by the Jain community was of three types, (i) Temples, (ii) *sthanakas* or *upashrayas*, and (iii) *dharmashalas*. The temples were all in Vetal. Of the 5 *sthanakas* which were residences specially set apart for Jain *sadhus*, 2 were in Vetal and 3 in Bhawani; and of the 4 Dharmashalas, 2 in Budhwar, 1 in Ganj and 1 in Bhawani. All these belonged to the particular sub-caste or the *dhada* which originally built it. The community as a whole owned a students' boarding house and had also started recently a maternity home. Attempts had been made to discuss problems of social reforms etc. for all the sub-groups of the Jains as a whole, but they had not proved very successful. The boarding house and the maternity home, however, represented results of joint efforts. The boarding house could accommodate 40 to 50 students studying in schools and colleges, many of whom came from outside Poona. There was also a small primary school chiefly for women and girls conducted in Vetal. Expenditure in connection with all these institutions was undertaken with the help of proceeds of subscriptions and donations. It was reported that the temples, *sthanakas* and *dharmashalas* owned by the Jain community were valued, at the time of the survey, at about Rs. 4 lakhs. Members of the Jain community as a whole met together at the time of the celebration of Jain festivals and holidays.

Gujarati Vaishnava Bania :—The Gujarati Vaishnava Bania community was also formed of a number of sub-castes. It consisted of families, some of whom had come to Poona only temporarily for service etc., others who had migrated but recently and still others who had migrated generations ago. The connection of these different types of families with their native places was consequently of a varying degree of closeness. Among the comparatively permanent or settled community, whose size was put at about 300 families, there were three primary groups. All these three groups had the same temples and recognised the same *gurus* or preceptors. One of them, which had come to Poona via Khandesh was, however, reported to be considered as being of somewhat lower status by the others. There were no inter-marriages between the three groups. Each group functioned virtually as a separate sub-caste. Each had 3 or 4 *panchas* who were hereditary. It was necessary to obtain permission of the *panchas* for marriages, and the *panchas* had a special or privileged position on ceremonial occasions; there was, however, no marriage cess. Each of the sub-castes or groups had a separate *dharmashala* and there were two Gujarati Vaishnava temples. The annual expenditure in

connection with the temples including feeding of the cows etc. was estimated, at the time of the survey, at between Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 thousand a year. The temples owned 5 houses in the city and the expenditure was defrayed out of the rent of these houses and through donations and subscriptions. The Vaishnava community as a whole conducted 2 Gujarati schools, one primary and the other a secondary school. Training in trading was through a system of apprenticeship and most of the apprentices in shops of members of the community belonged to the community.

Bagwan :—Our informants among Bagwans claimed that their community hailed from Kabul-Kandahar and that it came into India and subsequently into the Deccan along with the Mughals. However, they had no present connections with any places outside Poona district. Enthoven includes Bagwans among mixed Musalman castes. He writes: "They are descended from Kunbis and Malis said to have been converted during the time of Aurangzeb (A. D. 1686-1707). Even now when Kunbis are converted to Islam they are styled Bagvans ." (Vol. III; Page 101).

Bagwans are traditionally gardeners and fruiterers and deal in fruits and vegetables. At the time of our survey there were about 70 to 80 families of this community in Poona and they were concentrated in Kasba, Raviwar and Shukrawar. The concentration was, it was said, due to the vicinity of the main market place in the city. This was originally in Kasba and was shifted to Shukrawar, after the existing market, the Phuley Market, had been built. Almost all the families were dependent on the cultivation of and trade in fruits and vegetables. Families solely dependent on dealing in fruits were reported to be about 10 to 15.

A meeting of the whole community constituted the *panchayat* and this was presided over by the Mehetar or the Choudhary. The office of the Mehetar is hereditary and the succession is by primogeniture. In case of a minor succeeding to the office of an adult male in the *mehetar* family officiates during the period of minority. The *panchayat* meets for settling internal disputes and for considering cases of infringement of the customs of the community. The *mehetar's* permission is sought in arranging marriages and he is accorded some special privileges at such ceremonies. Marriages are arranged only within the community. This rule was reported to be strictly observed at the time of the survey.¹

¹ " They marry only among themselves and have a well organized union under a *chaudhari* or headman chosen from among the oldest and richest members. He has the power to fine anyone who breaks the caste rules." Poona Gazetteer, Part I (1885) p. 499.

The community had a mosque in Govind Halwai Chowk. This had been built towards the beginning of the century by raising a subscription. An adjacent house was also owned by the mosque and it fetched a rent of Rs. 30 per month. Collections in the charity box amounted to about Rs. 25 per month. The marriage cess was Rs. 10. The expenditure of about Rs. 50 per month connected with the upkeep of the mosque etc. was met from the community fund and income from the mosque estate.

Misgar :—The Misgars are a community who are said to have originally come to Poona, some 150 years ago, from Nagor in Marwad. At the time of our survey there were about 25 families of Misgars in Poona City and they were concentrated in Vetal and Shukrawar. The concentration seems to have been mostly due to the location in the city of the traditional business of members of the community of manufacturing of and trading in copper and brassware. Members of the community had no connection any longer with their native places. About 3 families were reported to be *karkhandars*, and 4 traders in brass and copper ware, about 15 others were in government and private service.

The *panchas* in the community were appointed by the whole community every 2 or 3 years. The office of the *panchas* was not hereditary. They were, however, eligible for reappointment any number of times. The funds of the mosque and other endowments of the community were controlled by the *panchas*. Members of the community met together at marriages etc. and a meeting of the whole community could be called to deal with special matters or major disputes. The *panchas* also arbitrated in settling disputes. Any infringement was liable to be punished by declaring the party responsible for it as out of caste. Many of the old customs from Marwad were being observed by the community some 20 years previous to our survey. A number of these were then abolished by common consent. An attempt, a few years back, to eliminate the remaining customs of Marwad origin was not successful because of the opposition to it of the majority of the community. The community owned a mosque, a school for religious education, a funeral ground and 3 houses, 2 in Vetal and 1 in Raviwar. The houses fetched a monthly rent of Rs. 60. The expenses in connection with the mosque came to about Rs. 30 per month and those in connection with the funeral ground and the school were about Rs. 10 and Rs. 20 respectively. Children of other communities were also admitted to the school for

religious instruction. It was being attended by about 30 students at the time of the survey. An old and dilapidated mosque in the funeral ground had been repaired by spending Rs. 2,000 in the year previous to our survey; the sum had been raised by subscriptions from members of the community. The community made efforts to promote education by awarding scholarships to students etc. It was reported that the community had helped deserving students even to go abroad for education.

The community actively looked after the economic well-being of individual members. Some years ago the community had collected the necessary capital for starting a shop of copper and brassware. This was prospering at the time of our survey. Young persons in the community were given facilities for learning the traditional occupations by employing them in this shop and in *karkhanas* owned by members of the community. When they were fully trained and showed sufficient enterprise the community provided them with funds to start a new shop or a new *karkhana*. Upto the time of our survey the sums provided for such purposes by the community were reported to have amounted to approximately Rs. 10,000. This sum was raised mainly by subscriptions.

Momin:—The Momins were an immigrant community and were reported to have settled down in Poona some two hundred years ago. They claimed to have originally come from Hyderabad (Deccan). At the time of our survey there were said to be about 120 Momin families in Poona, and they were concentrated mostly in Vetal, in the Momin Pura in Ganj and to a smaller extent in Shukrawar. Descendants of families who were said to have first come to Poona during the time of Baji Rao I were reported to be existing in Poona at the time of the survey.

The hereditary occupation of the Momins was weaving but most of the families in Poona had abandoned it. At the time of our survey only 6 or 7 families were reported to be engaged in the hereditary occupation.¹ Of the rest about 7 or 8 families were in government and private service and about 40 were in some kind of trade.

¹ These data are recorded as given by Momin informants. It may be noted, however, that in the actual census taken by us the number of such families was found to be 17 out of a total of 65 included in the census. Vol. I' p. 123.

The whole community constituted the *jamat* or the supreme *panchayat*. The *sarpanch*, called *mutavali* in the community, was elected and he retained office till he possessed the confidence of the *Jamat*. The *mutavali* was assisted by three persons called the lesser *mutavalis*, who were also elected by the *jamat* and retained their office during its pleasure. The chief and the lesser *mutavalis* together constituted a committee in which decisions were reported to be taken strictly according to the majority rule. The *mutavali* arbitrated in petty disputes; he also looked after the management and up-keep of the two mosques owned by the community. The enforcement of religious and social customs by the *jamat* had considerably slackened during the last few decades. In cases of grave breaches of custom the *jamat* declared the offender an outcaste and other communities were appraised of the fact. The offender was, however, usually readmitted on paying the prescribed fine and tendering an apology. The two mosques owned by the community were in Ganj and were originally constructed by raising a subscription. One of the mosques known as the Mecca Mosque, owned 10 to 12 houses in Momin Pura, Vetal, Ghorpade and Raviwar. The expenses connected with the two mosques came to about Rs. 100 per month.

There was a school for religious education of the boys of the community; at the time of our survey it was three years old and there were about ten students attending it. It was managed by a committee or Anjuman consisting of 10 to 15 members. The monthly expenditure for the school came to about Rs. 10 and was met out of subscriptions received through the charity box carried round weekly or monthly.

Daudi Bohoras:—Daudi Bohoras are *shiahs* of the Mustaalian division of the Ismaili sect. They are an immigrant community in Poona. They are reported to have originally come to Poona some 300 years ago from Ahmedabad, Aurangabad and Ahmednagar mainly for carrying on the traditional occupation of trading. At the time of the survey there were estimated to be about 200 families of this community in Poona and most of them were concentrated in Raviwar. The concentration was chiefly due to the commercial character of that ward and to the fact of their original settlement in it.

Many of the families in Poona had close connections with their places of origin and they usually owned some property there.

They often visited them, at least once a year. It was neither necessary nor usual for families in Poona to send money to their native places. But on the occasion of a marriage or a death in the family the community in the native place had to be given a dinner. They had also to contribute to religious funds in those parts. Unless the bride was from those parts the marriages usually took place in Poona.

The main business of Bohoras in Poona was trading in iron and ironware, glassware, stationery and building materials. Most of the families were in this business either as independent traders or as servants in shops owned by other Bohoras. About 10 to 12 were building contractors and 2 or 3 were manufacturers of varnishes etc. and a few were in government service.

The Daudi Bohoras in Poona were very well organised as a community and had frequent occasions to come together. The whole Daudi Bohora community in India was under a religious head, the Mullaji Sahab at Surat. His position was supreme. For local administration in various parts of the country he appointed his representatives, called the *amils* or governors. Locally, the Amil was supreme and against his decision an appeal lay only with the chief at Surat. The *amil's* permission was necessary for every religious or social function in the community. The *amil* was usually transferred after five years from one place to another. At the time of our survey the *amil* at Poona was paid a salary of Rs. 50 per month by the Head Mulla and he got Rs. 50 per month as perquisites from the local community. He officiated at religious functions. There was a local organization called the *samaj sabha* nominated by the *amil* and the main business of the community was conducted by the executive committee of the *sabha* and its sub-committee. The executive committee of the *sabha* consisted of old and honoured persons in the community and their appointment was made by the Head Mullah upon recommendation of the *amil* in Poona. There were 6 sub-committees viz. (1) madrasa or school committee, (2) building committee, (3) wakf committee, (4) kabarastan committee (5) sabil committee and (6) liaison committee.

The school committee consisted of 21 members and it was entrusted with the duty of raising and administering the education funds. The community ran a primary and a secondary school, and a boarding house was attached to them which accommo-

dated about 100 students. Many of the students in the boarding house were from outside Poona. There were about 150 students in the high school, including those that came from outside Poona. The funds for this committee were raised by means of a *madrassa* tax, on all shops owned by the members of this community. The amount that each shop-keeper gave was left to his own discretion. The monthly collection came to about Rs. 100. This tax was also levied on religious and social occasions as, for instance, Rs. 10 per marriage, Rs. 5 to 7 at every death, etc. An education fund was also raised at the time of Ramzan through subscriptions and the fund was subscribed to even by members of the community residing outside Poona. All the monies thus raised first went into the general community fund known as Dawat, and all appropriations were later made from it by permission of the Head Mulla. The *madrassa* committee was responsible for the upkeep and the working of the school and the boarding house.

The building committee consisted of 3 members. The community owned 3 buildings in Raviwar. The building committee looked after their upkeep etc. They fetched a rent of Rs. 150 per month. The monies so collected were spent on upkeep of the houses and also on celebrations of the Head Mulla's birthday etc. The remaining sum was used to meet deficits arising in the funds for other purposes. The *nayaj* or *wakf* committee was constituted of 5 members. It looked after *wakf* estates. The *kabarastan* committee consisted of 3 members. The community had a separate burial ground in Ghorpade. The ground was divided among Bohora families in Poona. Every family had to pay a tax for its own piece of land. The yearly collection came to about Rs. 100 to Rs. 125. This sum was spent upon the upkeep of the burial ground. The *sabil* committee consisted of 5 members and looked after the mosque, the Jamatkhana, etc. The funds necessary were raised by means of tax on all shopkeepers, in the community. Every shopkeeper had to pay annas 2 for every Rs. 100 worth of goods he bought; formerly the rate was Re. 1-4-0 per Rs. 100 worth of goods bought. A tax was also levied on marriage; for the first marriage this tax was Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 for the second. The liaison committee consisted of about 25 members. Its main duty was to maintain amicable relations with other communities etc. It was also entrusted with the duty of dealing with Government or the Municipality in connection with matters that might arise both for individuals and collectively for the whole community.

The religious organization was known as the Dawat. This organization conducted the religious and social functions, arbitrated in disputes and controlled the Madrasa committee. It also collected the *Jakat* which was a tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, on incomes of the members of the community levied by the Head Mullah at Surat. The *Jakat* and all other tax collections were first handed over to the Dawat which was wholly controlled by the Head Mullah. The Head Mullah made all the allocations from this common pool. The observance of social and religious customs on the part of the members of the community was closely watched by the Dawat and their infringement was punished by fine etc. or in the last resort, by declaring the party an outcaste by the Head Mullah. The *amil* in his own right, could only make slight departures from traditional practices and observances. The *samaj sabha* might recommend any changes to the Head Mullah but he might or might not approve of them.

There was a cooperative bank of the community in Poona called the Muslim Cooperative Bank with an authorised capital of Rs. 50,000 and a subscribed capital of Rs. 10,000. Members of the community, as a whole, are according to the strict tenets of Islam, prohibited from receiving any interest. A dividend on the shares of the cooperative bank was declared in order to conform with banking regulations etc., but it was returned to the bank by purchasing shares worth the amount of the dividend due by each shareholder. [Members of the community lent money to one another without any interest. The Head Mullah also made loans without interest but in the form of goods. Every year the Head Mullah issued a statement surveying the conditions of trade etc. which might also contain suggestions or advice in these matters. The traditional occupation of trade was fostered and preserved by an apprenticeship system. The community helped such trained apprentices to set up independently in business.

Bene Israel:—The Bene Israel are reported to have come to Poona along with the British on account of being employed with British regiments. Originally, they came from the Konkan. At the time of our survey there were about 150 families of the community in Poona and a majority of them resided in Rasta. The rest were scattered in Nana, Somwar and the Poona cantonment. The concentration in Rasta is explained by the general tendency of the professional and clerical non-Brahminic classes who immigrated during the early decades of British occupation to settle in this eastern ward. The local

synagogue was located in Rasta. Members of the community in Poona had practically no contact with their original native places at the time of our survey.

Their traditional business in Konkan was oil-pressing; but not a single person in Poona followed this original traditional occupation. About 75 per cent. were employed in government and military service; another 15 per cent. practised carpentry and allied crafts; the rest were in other business.

The religious organization was centred in the synagogue. The property of the synagogue was held by 5 trustees. The synagogue was managed by a committee of 15. The trustees were ex-officio members of this committee; the other ten were annually elected at a meeting of the general body. A new trustee was also elected by the general body when a vacancy occurred. It was reported that the power exercised by the synagogue committee in religious and social matters had only a moral sanction behind it.

The synagogue conducted a Hebrew school which was attended by about 50 to 60 pupils. The priest at the synagogue and his assistants taught at this school. The expenses connected with the synagogue came to about Rs. 200 per month. The synagogue was financed by public subscription, which was voluntary, at the rate of half a pice per rupee of income, and by the levy of special charges on occasions like marriage, circumcision, fulfilling vows, etc. Other sources of income were bidding of oil, prayers for dead, blessings for the living, etc.

The synagogue owned two houses, one of which was not in repair. The other fetched a rent of Rs. 50 per month when fully occupied. There was a library, the Poona Jewish Reading Room, managed by a committee of five persons. There was also a benevolent association of the community managed by a committee of 9 persons. At the time of our survey the association was supporting three disabled or old persons by paying them Rs. 5 per month each. The benevolent association also extended its help to deserving persons such as poor students in the form of gifts of clothes, books or money. The funds necessary for the work were raised by the association by obtaining donations and subscriptions. The Jewish welfare association was also doing work of a similar type. At the time of our survey Rs. 5,000 had been collected by the community in Poona with a view to establishing a poor asylum.

Pathan:—The Pathans in Poona, at the time of the survey, constituted a group of temporary immigrants composed entirely of adult males. There were reported to be only four migrant families among them. They could hardly be called a community; their organization, however, illustrated the organization of another type of a social group. They lived in groups or gangs of 7 to 15 adult males in Raviwar, Shukrawar, Nana, Genesh, Bhavani, Rasta, Mangalwar, Shivajinagar and the Poona Cantonment. At the time of our survey there were reported to be more than 50 such gangs or groups of Pathans. Of these 12 were in the Cantonment, 8 each in Raviwar and Nana, 7 in Ganesh, 4 each in Shukrawar, Bhavani and Mangalwar and 2 each in Rasta and Shivajinagar. This distribution was determined by the existence, in the wards, of classes of poor, casual etc. workers among whom their moneylending operations chiefly flourished.

They were very closely connected with their native land, and visited it usually once every year. All their relations, property etc. were in their native land and they sent money to their relatives at home. Except in cases of very great urgency the funds were not sent by money order but with some one from amongst themselves who was going home. For marriages they went, of course, to their native land. Some of them, however, contracted locally, temporary marriages with female converts to Islam from the depressed classes. Their main business was money-lending and service as guards etc. Those serving as guards only and not lending money were about 100 at the time of our survey. There were 10 or 12 Pathans who were hawkers, mainly dealing in cloth but they were also money-lenders. All the rest were mainly moneylenders though some might also be engaged in part-time service.

They lived and dined together in groups which were well organised. Each group had a leader or head. He maintained good relations within the group and also arbitrated in petty quarrels. Members of the group shared the living expenses. The group also cooperated closely together in lending to each other without interest for short periods. The various groups did not form a community as a whole. However, in exceptional instances a *jamat* of all Pathans in the place may be held to consider specially grave cases of religious or other delinquency. Pathans, as a group, had no property or special mosque of their own in Poona.

CHAPTER V

POONA CITY MUNICIPALITY.*

Historical:—It was in the year 1856 that the Government of Bombay established a municipality in Poona. The actual administrative machinery began to function in 1857. Till the year 1877 the annual reports of the municipality were not printed or made available for public information. The first annual report was published for the year 1877-78. The report for the year 1879-80 contains an appendix which gives a short account of the administrative and financial system that prevailed during the period 1858 to 1879. Figures are available regarding the total population of the city in 1870, total revenue of the municipality, and total expenditure incurred by the municipality during the same period. It mentions the sources from which the city population received its water supply, the arrangements made for conservancy and promotion of health and convenience of the people and their education.

Conservancy was performed by manual labour. Night-soil was collected by Bhangis in baskets, and deposited in iron cylindrical carts kept at convenient centres. The carts removed it to a depot $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles out of the city on the south. It was then treated into manure and stored in heaps for sale. The conservancy service was introduced in 1878-79. The municipality did not employ special staff to register vital statistics of the city. They were registered at the police stations in the city. Statistics of births and deaths previous to 1868 are not available. There were only two municipal vaccinators.

The municipality had no market buildings of its own till the Reay Market building was constructed. Before this the principal vegetable and fruit market of the city was held daily on the open ground in front of the Shanwar Wada. There was a small private vegetable market in the building known as Kotwal Chawadi. There were three municipal meat markets in the city. The municipality hired buildings in Ganesh and Raviwar wards for two more meat markets. There was also a private fish market in Raviwar licensed by the municipality.

* This chapter has been written by Prof. B. R. Dhekney, M. A., Ph. D. and formed part of his unpublished thesis on "Studies in Municipal finance in Bombay Province".

The municipality had no water works of its own. The following were the main sources from which the city received its water supply.

1. The old Katraj aqueduct	6,50,000	Gallons
2. The Khadakwasala aqueduct	6,50,000	"
3. Chaodharis'	50,000	"
4. Nana Fadnavis'	1,00,000	"
5. Rastia's	50,000	"

The Mutha on the north of the city and the Nagzari stream which runs through it provided water for washing and ablution to a large portion of the population. There were 1,282 wells in the city which provided drinking water to the people. The municipality had to pay about Rs. 10,000 per year to Government for taking water from the Khadakwasala Canal. The average daily consumption of water was over 6,00,000 gallons in 1879.

The city had sixteen miles of macadamized main roads, sixteen miles of roads of lesser importance also macadamized, besides fourteen miles of lanes kept in repair with murum and sand. The expenditure on roads was Rs. 14,499 in 1858-59; and Rs. 16,986 in 1879-80. The streets were lighted with kerosene lamps. The number of such lamps was 460 in 1879-80, and the cost of lighting Rs. 7,048. The principal thoroughfares were watered, and the cost was Rs. 2,327 in the same year.

Upto 1877-78 the municipality contributed yearly Rs. 1,000 towards the maintenance of a charitable dispensary in Shanwar. In 1878, the municipality discontinued the grant, and started a dispensary under its own control. The municipality used to pay an annual grant of Rs. 12,000 to the David Sassoon Infirm Asylum in the city.

The municipality maintained four to five fire engines which rendered valuable assistance to the public particularly during the great fires of 1877-78 and 1880-81. The municipality maintained at its own cost 50 constables in the city. The expense on this item was Rs. 5,376. These arrangements were introduced in 1869. It rose to Rs. 15,509 in 1879-80.

The early efforts of the municipality in the field of education were confined to annual grants to Government and

private schools in the town. The municipality did not conduct its own schools, primary or technical. The expenditure on education did not go beyond Rs. 980.

Till the year 1866-67 no direct taxes were levied, and the municipal income consisted mostly of indirect taxes, music fee, license fees, rents, sale proceeds of lands, manure, etc. In 1858 indirect taxes contributed Rs. 25,737 out of the total income of Rs. 28,005. Other miscellaneous items amounted to not more than Rs. 2,268. The incidence of taxation was Re. 0-4-7, the incidence of total income per head being Re. 0-4-9.

The municipality levied direct taxes like the house tax from the year 1866-67. In that year direct taxes amounted to Rs. 25,039, indirect taxes to Rs. 35,710 in the total revenue of Rs. 63,063. During the period 1866 to 1879 income increased by about 168 per cent. The incidence of taxation per head was Re. 1-12-4.

During this period the municipality was levying the house tax, water rate, and *halalcore* cess. There were about 11,434 houses in the city in 1872, and the house tax, based on the annual rental value, amounted to Rs. 17,762. In 1878 the number of water connections was only 95. But in 1880 about 967 houses had their own water connections. The municipality paid Rs. 10,000 to Government for the use of canal water. To defray this expense, the municipality levied the water rate. It was not till 1878-79 that the receipts from the rate equalled the amount paid to Government. The municipality also levied the wheel tax. The income from this source was Rs. 2,967 in 1878-79. The *halalcore* or sanitary tax was introduced in 1878-79. In 1880-81 the receipts on this account amounted to Rs. 29,694, and the *halalcore* service became self-supporting from that year. The other items in income were music fee, rents, sale proceeds, fines, and receipts from pounds. The municipality received no grant either from the provincial or central Government.

The municipality had no debts worth speaking. It possessed no property beyond the three small meat markets, and strips of roadside lands yielding a yearly income of Rs. 500 only.

Municipal Expenditure:—The task of tracing the development of municipal expenditure is rendered difficult because of a variety of reasons. In the first instance, there have been frequent changes

in the budget procedure. The classification of expenditure is twisted from time to time, and without making these changes sufficiently clear in the budget or annual reports. Therefore, it is difficult to compile and compare the data of one year with that of another year. Secondly, all the important and indispensable information for the investigational work is not either available or in existence in the records office. This is due to the practice of destroying much of the old records after a lapse of years. Therefore, only the broad and general facts have to be considered in many cases. Thirdly, one single function or service is often entrusted to a number of different authorities for management. The water supply, for instance, is managed by the engineering and development departments. The same is the case with regard to roads and drainage.

In the discussion on this subject, it has always to be borne in mind that the city has developed remarkably during the last half a century. It has grown both in its area and population. There were 99,622 people in 1885; 1,18,790 in 1895; 1,11,381 in 1901; 1,33,227 in 1920 and 1,63,100 in 1930. Had it not been for the heavy loss of human life from 1897 to 1908 caused by plague and during 1918-1919 caused by influenza, the figures would have indicated a much larger increase in population. Similarly, the city has extended on the North, West and South. The village of Parvati, the Bhamburda village and the area round about the Fergusson College have all been included in the city. The municipality has been called upon to meet the needs of this growing population and extended areas. It was essential to enlarge the scale of services which already existed. Again, with changing circumstances and changing notions about municipal functions, it was necessary to enlarge the scope of municipal activities. There was a gradual addition of new services and activities to those that already existed. We cannot also forget that the municipality was occasionally called upon to face such emergencies as the outbreaks of epidemics in the city when huge funds had to be expended for the health of the city. Similarly the position of the price level in the country cannot be ignored. It is well known that during the first World War and some years after its termination, the prices of commodities had gone up very high. The Poona Municipality had also to face this situation while framing its budgets. We have to view the development of municipal expenditure against this background.

The following statistics may give an idea of the expansion of expenditure at a glance.

Table No. 40:—Progress of Municipal Expenditure.

Year	General administration	Public Safety	Health & convenience	Educa-tion	Roads
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1901	73,055	12,913	1,59,371	21,073	21,417
1910	38,014	24,216	2,20,884	41,916	59,630
1915	50,187	27,287	2,91,063	55,325	59,981
1920	86,148	39,799	3,11,941	1,13,873	67,031
1925	1,04,546	43,663	10,98,973	1,70,874	1,43,806
1930	1,32,691	56,588	12,91,366	4,18,905	2,03,149
1934	1,48,031	66,318	10,11,230	3,23,229	1,88,731
1936	1,61,033	64,702	9,00,312	3,65,113	1,85,233

During the same period the total municipal expenditure has grown as under:—

1901-	Rs. 2,70,633	1930-	Rs. 21,45,919
1910-	" 3,33,263	1935-	" 17,95,965
1920-	" 9,13,957	1936-	" 17,92,196

The total expenditure increased in the first decade by 23 per cent. in the second, by 174 per cent. in the third, by 134 per cent. and during 1930 and 1935, it decreased by about 16 per cent. During the whole period, the expenditure rose by 563 per cent. This growth in the total expenditure is shared, though unequally, by all the important heads. The explanation for this growth of expenditure can best be given by treating each head separately and in detail.

General Administration:—This item usually includes the charges of the president's office, the chief officer and his staff, the accountants' office, the auditor's office, stores, and contingencies. Recently, the expenditure on the special magistrate's court has been included under this head. In the past, it was shown under the miscellaneous head. The figures of expenditure are as follows:—

Table No. 41:—Expenditure on General Administration.

Year	Presi- dent's Office	Chief Officer's Staff	Account- ant's Office	Audi- tor's Office	Contin- gencies (Press &c.)	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1905	255	9,265	1,246	325	4,955	17,636
1910	300	9,244	2,256	84	5,967	20,674
1915	339	9,332	2,868	-	9,876	25,310
1920	532	16,607	4,119	-	23,394	50,456
1925	720	20,107	6,654	-	9,991	53,693
1930	744	22,994	5,539	-	14,169	67,577
1935	744	26,888	8,007	4,206	15,398	58,735

In 1885 and 1896, expenditure on general administration was Rs. 16,844 and Rs. 18,482 respectively. Various reasons can be attributed to this growth of expenditure. The pressure and volume of administrative work were increasing with the expansion of municipal activities. To cope with them the staff had to be strengthened from time to time. In 1901, the Chief Officer's office consisted of 12 employees. The Accountant's office consisted of one accountant, one treasurer and one clerk. There were then only two auditors, the stores department had one store-keeper, one clerk, one *mucadam*, and two watchmen. The Press maintained one compositor, one printer and two pressmen. The Magistrate's office maintained six clerks and two peons. In 1935, the Chief Officer's staff consisted of 30 employees. The Magistrate's court consisted of six servants. The municipal press maintained 16 servants. The figures speak for themselves. Secondly, the scales of salaries have been revised from time to time, particularly during the time of the first World War. Again, the municipal employees were given special war allowances, which, however, were stopped after 1920. But the scales of salaries, which were raised, continued even after the War.

Collection of Taxes and Rates : The Municipality has to maintain an increasing staff of clerks and other servants to collect the various taxes, rates and fees from the public. It is necessary to divide this head into two sub-heads. (1) collection of octroi, and (2) collection of other taxes and rates. Again, some care has to be taken in comparing the figures, because, in the past, the refunds were generally included in expenditure but which, in fairness, ought to be excluded. Refunds are not expenditure.

Table No. 42 :—Expenditure on Tax Collection

Year	Octroi Collection	Other taxes and rates	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1885	—	—	14,452
1895	—	—	19,908
1905	17,385	3,774	21,159
1915	21,685	4,804	28,525
1925	55,634	20,711	76,345
1930	64,253	27,263	91,516
1935	91,134	39,976	1,31,110

The causes which explained the growth of expenditure on general administration may also be attributed to the above increase in expense. There is increase both in the staff personnel employed for collection, and in the scales of salaries paid to these employees.

With regard to the expenditure on octroi, it must be remembered that the import and export trade of the city increased much during the last fifty years and with it the collection of octroi levied by the municipality on the incoming articles. To collect this growing revenue the staff had to be strengthened and the number of octroi Nakas increased from time to time. In 1901, the octroi department consisted of 72 servants who received Rs. 809 per month. The collection of registration fee required 5 clerks and 11 peons who were paid Rs. 135. In 1936-37 there were about 138 employees in the Octroi department and their monthly pay bill amounted to about Rs. 4,083. A word of criticism needs to be added. Though the expenditure on collection is adding to itself year after year, the work of collection itself is not executed as satisfactorily as the public can justly expect. The arrears of taxes and rates are increasing every year, and there seems to be no end to this state of affairs in spite of the remarks of the auditors and public criticism.

As far back as the year 1885, the municipality had endeavoured to deal with the question of arrears. It was then declared that a discount of half an anna in the rupee, or a little over 3 p. c. might be allowed to those rate-payers who would pay off their bills on or before a certain date, and that defaulters, on the contrary, would be made liable to a penalty of one anna in the rupee or 6½ p. c. It is not known how far this system worked successfully. The municipality has of late introduced the system of employing extra clerks for the collection work and also of giving some bonus to the clerks as an inducement to expedite the work. But the figures of arrears do not indicate any improvement in the work, and the question still remains where it was.

Public Safety: Under this head are included two important items of expenditure, namely, the fire service and lighting. The figures of expenditure on public safety are as follows:—

Table No. 43:—Expenditure on Public Safety

Year	Rs.	Year	Rs.
1901	12,913	1925	43,662
1905	23,071	1930	56,588
1910	24,216	1935	57,139
1915	27,287	1936	64,702
1920	39,799		

The expenditure on public safety has developed much more gradually than that on other heads. It may be due to the fact that there has been little capital outlay either on the fire service or on lighting. From 1901 to 1935 the expenditure increased by 342 per cent. The causes of this increase can best be explained by treating each sub-head separately.

The municipality has been maintaining its own fire brigade ever since the last sixty years to render timely help to the needy citizens. No special fire rate is being charged as is being done at Bombay for instance. The service is entirely free. The figures of expenditure are as follows:—

Table No. 44:—Expenditure on Fire Service

Year	Establishment	Contingencies	Hoses & appliances	Telephone	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1905	1,739	909	1,489	—	5,036
1910	1,599	1,195	1,781	—	6,711
1915	1,523	1,188	1,814	672	5,623
1920	3,529	1,561	1,862	2,687	10,088
1925	5,362	1,242	1,237	—	9,953
1930	9,063	—	1,924	1,346	12,847
1935	6,742	373	99	1,238	9,642

During the period 1905 to 1935 the expenditure on fire service increased by more than 50 p. c. Much of this increase is absorbed by the establishment alone. In 1901 there were three steam and four ordinary engines. The staff consisted of 15 servants who were paid Rs. 173 p. m. In 1936-37 there were 17 employees who received

Rs. 507 plus Rs. 25 p. m. It is well to bear in mind that in the past the fire engines had to be driven to the place of fire with the help of the citizens. There were few motor engines. Naturally it took much time to reach the spot. Again, there were no telephonic connections, and the news of the fire was received late. Owing to these factors, there was much loss of property and life. But at present the municipality possesses motor engines which can reach the place of fire in a few minutes only. There is no dearth of water supply as in the past. Big tanks of 900 gallons capacity are fixed on the engines. On reaching the place the firemen use this water first, and it is said that a number of fires are extinguished without having resort to the water from the mains. Fires can now be promptly reported with the help of the telephones. All these factors denote a definite improvement in the efficiency of the fire service. Large amounts are spent every year to purchase new hoses and machinery so as to maintain the most up-to-date and fully equipped fire brigade.

Both the scales and methods of the lighting service have undergone vast changes during the last fifty years. The classification of expenditure is as below:-

Table No. 45:—Expenditure on Lighting

Year	Establishment	Oil	Other materials	Total	Electric lamps	Kerosene Lamps
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1895	3,136	14,274	1,928	19,339	...	1,441
1905	3,485	8,748	5,609	17,705	...	...
1915	4,990	11,792	2,905	19,687	...	2,292
1920	7,020	16,808	4,600	22,488	...	1,646
1925	9,672	21,497	...	33,207		
				7,310	92	1,671
1930	7,955	12,203	1,388	21,405	538	1,268
				22,637		
1935	5,620	6,464	439	12,628		
				34,870	1109	1,025

In 1896 the staff consisted of 55 lamp-lighters and 3 *mucadams*. In 1935 the staff consisted of 44 servants who received Rs. 730 p. m. It may be noted that since the installation of electric lights the expenditure on oil and other materials has shown an inevitable decline. It was in 1920 that the municipality for the first time inaugu-

rated the system of electric lighting in the city. In 1924 it entered into an agreement with the Poona Electric Supply Company. The energy was sold at the rate of As. 8 per unit. The agreement was renewed in 1934 for a period of further ten years. The municipality paid the bill during the first ten years at a flat rate of annas 8 per unit of energy consumed. According to the new agreement the rates are (a) four and half annas per unit for the first 10,000 units consumed per month; (b) three and half annas per unit for all consumption in excess of 10,000 units per month, (c) the rates per unit quoted in (a) and (b) above will be subject to a discount of one anna in each whole rupee provided the full amount of the bill is deposited at the Company's office within 15 days from the date on which the bill is delivered to the municipality. The progress of electric lighting and its increasing charge on the municipality will be illustrated by the following statistics.

Table No. 46.—Expenditure on Electric Lighting

Year	Units	Hours	Charge	Rate	Rebate	Lamps
1930	—	—	Rs. 22,637	Annas 8	—	538
1932-33	76,619	2,805	28,508	"	—	844
1933-34	93,833	3,569	33,889	"	—	969
1934-35	1,011,28	2,672	36,030	"	—	1,033
1935-36	1,37,928	4,147	36,599	4½ & 3½	2,433	1,648
1936-37	1,93,512	3,195	39,558	" "	3,024	2,041
1937-38	2,35,860	—	32,067	" "	3,461	2,333

The municipality has to pay for a minimum of 10,000 units per month at the above rates subject to discount as provided in clause (c) quoted above. It is complained that the rates are still exorbitant, and the burden of electric lighting is too heavy for the citizens to bear. There are two alternatives to meet the situation. The municipality itself should generate electrical energy and supply it to the citizens. This enterprise requires large capital outlay which the municipality can incur from borrowed money only. The question whether it is in a position to undertake this costly scheme in view of its present resources and commitments, should be carefully investigated before any decision is taken. The other alternative is to suggest to Government to control and supervise the working of the private electric supply companies with a view to guarding the interests of the consumers.

Public Health and Convenience:—This head is too unwieldy to be studied with convenience and clarity. It needs to be re-divided into two groups, viz., (a) public health, and (b) public works. The several items of expenditure under these two main groups may now be considered. But before this is done, it may be observed that the major portion of the municipal funds has been expended over health and convenience, and it is growing steadily with the increase in the amenities provided to the citizens. During the period under review the funds have been disbursed as follows:—

Table No. 47:— Expenditure on Public Health and Convenience

Year	Expenditure	Year	Expenditure
	Rs.		Rs.
1901	1,59,371	1925	10,98,973
1905	2,38,423	1930	12,91,366
1910	2,20,884	1935	9,38,978
1915	2,91,063	1936	9,00,312
1920	6,11,941		

During the first fifteen years the rise in expenditure was not very appreciable. It is due to the fact that the Municipality did not undertake any great schemes involving heavy capital expenditure. But after 1915, and till the year 1930, the expenditure has gone up by leaps and bounds. During this latter period the municipality had undertaken the water works and drainage work construction, the town-planning schemes and other big schemes where large amount of capital was sunk. Most of these schemes were completed by about 1930, and so the expenditure figures shows a downward trend.

The Municipality, for a very long time, had no water works of its own. The water supply was derived from the wells, private aqueducts, and the Khadakwasala Canal. The Municipality had to pay Rs. 10,000 to the Government for the canal water. But with the growth of population and the extension of municipal limits, the then existing arrangements proved inadequate and unsatisfactory. The Municipality floated in 1912-14 a

loan of Rs. 10 lakhs for the construction of water works and drainage. The Government contributed Rs. 10 lakhs as grant-in-aid. The scheme was completed by 1923-24. But the question was not settled as yet. The growing population, and particularly the conversion of basket into flushing privies necessitated an abundant supply of water. The Municipality undertook in 1930-31 the work of enlarging the water mains in the city. The total expenditure on the old and new water supply schemes amounted to Rs. 5,02,574 and Rs. 5,91,934 respectively. It is necessary to study how the funds are normally spent over this service.

Table No. 48:— Expenditure on Water Supply

Year	Establishment	Capital Expenditure	Repairs & Maintenance	Water treatment	Government charges
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1895	886	23,848	2,897	...	16,069
1905	341	6,629	3,893	...	10,000
1915	357	144	13,182	...	14,905
1925	2,295	...	10,670	13,712	55,813
1930	901	45,905	1,22,797	14,951	89,720
1932	...	1,80,017	1,52,575	17,164	1,16,124
1934	...	28,469	1,67,116	13,603	1,31,227
1935	2,358	20,616	1,75,600	14,439	1,36,239

To avoid confusion it must be stated that till 1925 expenditure on repairs and maintenance did not include that on chemical treatment of water and charges paid to Government. It will be observed from the above figures that expenditure on establishment forms not a significant part of the total expenditure. In 1901 there were 10 persons in the establishment who received Rs. 101 monthly. At present there are 18 servants on the staff who receive Rs. 715 per month.

The charge for repairs and maintenance is growing every year, and the major part of it is paid to the Irrigation Department for canal water. The following information regarding rates may explain why this charge for canal water has been increasing.

Table No. 49:— Scale of Charges for Canal Water

Years	Rate
1911-1924	Rs. 1 per 62,500 gallons.
1924-1928	Rs. 2 per 62,500 gallons
1928-1933	Rs. 2-8-0 per 62,500 gallons
1933-1937	Rs. 2-8-0 per 62,500 for the first 60 lacs gallons; Rs. 4 per 62,500 for the next 90 lacs gallons; and Rs. 8 per 62,500 for the next 90 lacs gallons.

The Municipality has been protesting against the raising of the rates arbitrarily time and again. The Minister for Local Self-Government replied in 1933 : "there is not a single town in which the rate works out to as low a figure as one anna three pies per 1,000 gallons and there is no reason why it cannot be raised". It must be admitted that the consumption of water has increased very much owing to the system of flushing and wash privies, and that there is also much waste of water which the Municipality can avoid if it so desires. There is an increase in the number of water connections and per head consumption of water. The following figures may well explain this fact.

Table No. 50:— Water Connections and Water Consumption

Year	No. of water connections.	Year	Per head consumption.
1923	2,651	1878	15 gallons
1925	5,339	1926	35 gallons
1928	6,209	1936	55 gallons
1930	6,755		
1932	7,504		
1936	8,765		
1937	9,176		

It will now be clear that the increasing consumption of water in the city and the enhanced rates of canal water have been

responsible for the growing expenditure on maintenance. In order to lighten this burden, the Municipality has been trying to economise the use of canal water. It is preventing wastage by adopting an intermittent system of supply. It is said that Rs. 200 are saved daily since the adoption of this system. Secondly, the Municipality takes the canal water in the day time, and at night water from Katraj tank is utilized for filling up flushing tanks, etc. The Municipality had also submitted a scheme of its own water works to Government for sanction.

Before 1923-24 the drainage system of the town was considered as most unscientific and prejudicial to public health. The first drainage scheme was completed in 1923-24. Again in 1925 the Municipality undertook the drainage improvement scheme, which has now been completed except a few items and only small works are being carried out as occasion requires. The total expenditure on the old and new drainage schemes amounted to Rs. 8,44,283 and Rs. 27,97,111 respectively. The execution of these two schemes has helped much to improve the general health and sanitation of the city. The expenditure incurred on this service was as below :—

Table No. 51.—Expenditure Incurred on Drainage Service

Year	Establishment & repairs	New Works	Pumping Stations
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1895	8,585	3,159	—
1905	8,875	4,943	22,534
1914	11,874	2,78,079	97,338
1925	67,145	4,17,007	40,000
1930	37,049	2,80,222	4,877
1934	40,680	1,12,313	16,844
1935	42,243	20,616	22,804

With the construction of new drainage works, the expense on establishment and repairs is increasing every year. The main item is the expense on the low level and subsidiary pumping stations. The expenditure on them increases or decreases according as these stations are in working during the whole year or for some months only. The establishment consists of 6 permanent and 104 temporary servants who are paid Rs. 1,475 per month on

average. There is also a special drainage department for completing house connections.

The following items are usually included under the head Conservancy : (a) general supervision establishment, (b) road cleaning, (c) *bhangi* Service, (d) night soil and *kachra* Depot, (e) road watering, and (f) urinals and latrines. Each of these items may be considered separately.

Under the head of establishment are generally included the salaries of the health officer, sanitary inspector, *mucadams*, etc. who supervise the work of the menial staff. Since 1915, however, the salaries of the health officer and sanitary inspectors are shown under a separate head. Since 1920 the Government have agreed to contribute three-fourths of the salaries of the health officer and qualified inspectors. The figures of expenditure are :-

Table No. 52:—Expenditure on Health Supervision Establishment

Year	Expenditure	Health Officer & Inspectors
	Rs.	Rs.
1905	9,835	—
1915	6,579	5,939
1920	12,707	9,840
1925	25,847	18,279
1930	19,885	20,344
1935	25,987	21,848

During the period of the first World War the scales were revised and special allowances were given to the staff which, however, were discontinued after 1920. In 1895 the staff in the supervisory section consisted of 45 servants who received Rs. 679 p. m. In 1936 the staff personnel in the same section consisted of 66 servants whose monthly salaries varied from Rs. 2,810 to Rs. 3,625 p. m. In cases of emergencies the Municipality has to employ temporary staff of inspectors and *mucadams*.

The expenditure on road cleaning consists of the payment to road sweepers and the cost of removing *kachra* to the depot. The figures are :-

Table No. 53:— Expenditure on Road Cleaning

Year	Expenditure on Road Cleaning	Year	Expenditure on Road Cleaning.
	Rs.		Rs.
1885	13,491	1920	33,747
1895	14,514	1925	76,159
1905	31,770	1930	93,451
1915	31,582	1935	98,479

With the extension of municipal limits and increase in the mileage of roads, the staff of road-sweepers had to be strengthened from time to time. Expenditure rose more rapidly after 1920 when salaries of sweepers were increased. In 1885 there were 150 sweepers who cleaned 38 miles of roads daily and 16 miles of lanes every second or third day. In 1901 the number had increased to 203 sweepers who were paid from Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 each. About Rs. 950 were disbursed every month. In 1936-37 there were 270 sweepers who were paid from Rs. 10 to Rs. 9 each. Their monthly wage-bill amounted to Rs. 2,573. The refuse removal staff consisted of 144 employees. The work of removing street refuse was often done by contract agency. In 1915 the system was discontinued and the Municipality itself undertook the work. The contract system was again resorted to in 1925, in spite of the protests from the health department. But in 1932-33 the Municipality once again undertook the work. The number of sweepers is being increased every year to suit the new extension of the city, and they will still have to be increased as many new roads are being constructed in the extended area of the town. The roads though tarred, get full of dust in a short time and the improvement in the old macadamized roads did not relieve the public from the dust nuisance.

Bhangi service is the most important one from the view point of public health and sanitation. The Municipality has been spending large amounts over it for the last so many years. But recently the compulsory conversion of basket privies into flushing and wash privies has led to progressive decrease in expenditure on this service.

Table No. 54 :—Expenditure on *Bhangi* Service

Year	Expenditure on <i>Bhangi</i> Service	Year	Expenditure on <i>Bhangi</i> Service
	Rs.		Rs.
1895	52,046	1930	1,16,879
1905	52,927	1932	38,490
1915	55,121	1934	13,787
1920	1,22,000	1936	10,919
1925	95,634		

Till 1915 the expenditure was almost steady and the increase was slight. But during the period 1915-20 the expenditure more than doubled due to revision of the salaries of *bhangis* and special allowances paid to them which, however, were discontinued after 1920. The expense dropped to Rs. 95,634 in 1925 due to this latter reason. It again rose to Rs. 1,16,879 in 1930 due to increase in the staff personnel, and thereafter there is a progressive decline in expenditure. It was due to the fact that rapid and compulsory conversion of basket into flushing privies rendered the services of *bhangis* unnecessary, and the Municipality had to curtail the staff gradually. But then, there was the danger of a *bhangi* strike which would have been very harmful to the public health and sanitation. Therefore, in order to compensate the dismissed staff, the Municipality decided to grant gratuities to those *bhangis* who had rendered long and loyal services to the public. The following statistics show the staff of scavengers (*bhangis*) and the amount of work they had to do, etc.

Table No. 55 :—No. of *Bhangis* and of Basket Latrines

Year	<i>Bhangis</i>	Private Latrines	Public Latrines
1885	296	7,040	60 with 310 seats
1895	327	7,971	84 " 397 "
1915	341	6,808	59 " 403 "
1925	—	8,971	426
1930	380	4 000	
1931	123	1,606	
1932	78	504	
1936	65	171	

After 1925 all public latrines were of the flushing type.

The figure of the flushing privies is not given since they are not served by *bhangis*. In 1901, about 343 scavengers were paid

Rs. 2,621 per month. The salary of every scavenger varied from Rs. 9 to Rs. 5 p. m. In 1936-37 the individual salary varied from Rs. 13 to Rs. 16 p. m.

Night Soil and Kachra Depot: In order to dispose of the street rubbish, *kachra* and nightsoil, there should be some place at a conveniently long distance from the city. The Municipality often utilizes the rubbish for reclaiming unhealthy marshy places and filling up the ditches in the ground. Whatever is left is taken in motor lorries to Parvati Tank, Kothrud Depot during dry months and to Bibewadi Depot during the monsoon. In the past the work of removal was executed by contract agency. The contractor was allowed to convert the rubbish into manure and sell it. He was to pay a fixed amount to the Municipality from the sale proceeds. But the work was not done properly and there was also much loss of revenue from poudrette manufacture. Since 1932 the work is undertaken by the Municipality and the depots have become a source of some income to the Municipality. The expenses on this service have developed as under :—

Table No. 56:—Expenditure on Nightsoil and Kachra Service

Year	Expenditure	Year	Expenditure.
	Rs.		Rs.
1895	13,179	1920	5,179
1905	8,735	1930	4,979
1915	9,895	1935	8,513

In 1901 about 74 persons were engaged on the depots who received Rs. 517 p. m. At present, however, there are only 37 persons engaged on the depots who receive Rs. 514 per month. There is a close co-ordination between this and road-cleansing departments and there is often intermingling of expenditure.

Road Watering :—The figures of expenditure are:—

Table No. 57 :—Expenditure on Road Watering

Year	Expenditure	Year	Expenditure
	Rs.		Rs
1885	2,671	1920	6,267
1895	3,681	1930	11,190
1905	3,556	1935	13,375
1915	4,660		

Till recently the work was done by carts and Bhistis. In 1885, about 2,60,600 sq. feet length of roads was watered. In all, 15 wards were served, 12 wards twice in a day, 2 wards once, and one ward thrice in a day. At present, however, the work is done by motor lorries and carts. There are about seven water sprinkling lorries.

Hospitals and Dispensaries: Though there has never been a central municipal hospital in the city, there are small dispensaries in different wards of the city where free medical aid is made available to the poor. Funds have been expended in the following manner.

Table No. 58:—Expenditure on Medical Service

Year	-Estab- lishment	Contin- gencies	Medi- cines	Lunatic charges	Grants	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1905	1,970	—	1,441	—	—	5,563
1915	2,346	—	2,776	—	4,560	11,160
1925	12,063	3,096	4,426	—	10,122	27,625
1930	16,317	2,854	3,809	3,702	20,355	50,554
1932	17,466	2,949	3,866	5,365	16,500	47,590
1934	20,812	2,632	3,810	4,247	20,200	52,905
1935	23,666	3,127	3,850	10,466	19,200	61,254

It will be observed that the Municipality did not spend much on medical service till 1925. Even after 1925, the larger part of the expenditure, was absorbed by such items as grants to local hospitals, establishment, etc.

In 1900 the medical establishment consisted of 5 servants who cost Rs. 63 p. m. In 1936 there were 38 servants costing Rs. 2,205 p. m. The cost of medicines does not indicate any striking increase when compared with other items. Large amounts are distributed every year as grants to local medical institutions and the number of such institutions is on the increase. Again, the Municipality has to contribute towards the cost of maintenance of such poor lunatics as are sent from within municipal limits to the lunatic asylum. The number of such lunatics is growing and with it the cost of their maintenance.

In 1885 there were three municipal dispensaries. In 1895 there were about five. In 1905 the number again dropped to 3. In 1925 there were five dispensaries, and this number increased to 8 in

1936-37. There were then seven allopathic dispensaries and one Ayurvedic.

As regards the statistics of patients treated in the dispensaries, about 99,883 patients were treated in 1895; the more recent figures are 28,061 in 1920; 1,63,011 in 1925; 2,51,351 in 1931-32; 3,09,149 in 1934; and 4,05,861 in 1936.

Markets and Slaughter Houses : There were vegetable markets and meat markets in the town in the past as at present. But there is an important difference which should be noted. The old markets were small and scattered. It was inconvenient for the Health department to inspect them and ensure their cleanliness. The first attempt to bring together these small stalls in one place was made in 1884-85 when the Reay market was constructed. In regard to the meat and fish markets the same promptness was not witnessed. It was only in 1930 that large meat and fish markets were constructed costing Rs. 50,627 and Rs. 8,629 respectively. But the question of markets still remains to be solved. The Reay Market is now too small to accommodate all the sellers under its roof; and the people living in the eastern and western extensions of the city find it inconveniently situated. The construction of new markets in these areas is a pressing necessity and is receiving attention. The following figures will explain the progressive growth of expenditure over markets :

Table No. 59 :—Expenditure on Markets, etc.

Year	Establishment	Repairs	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1905	3,287	...	6,812
1915	3,502	1,294	6,489
1920	9,322	3,493	16,616
1925	14,993	...	24,510
1930	16,949	164	54,561
1934	17,734	1,653	22,621
1935	18,695	1,158	24,570

The market establishment consisted of 30 persons with a total pay of Rs. 262 p. m. in 1900. The corresponding figures in 1936 were 56 and Rs. 1,209 p. m.

Public Works : Attention may now be given to those activities which come under the second sub-head, viz., Public Works,

The most important item, one on which heavy recurring outlay is incurred, is roads. The city has witnessed a remarkable development of roads and of expenditure thereon.

Table No. 60 :—Expenditure on Public Works

Year	Public Works establishment	Road Widening and opening	Repairs and maintenance
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1885	3,229	...	25,409
1895	4,225	19,873	24,860
1905	4,734	22,582	34,153
1910	5,136	17,008	42,202
1915	7,036	11,882	48,099
1920	14,087	6,089	61,441
1925	20,489	92,429	50,516
1930	24,768	96,583	80,494
1935	26,682	89,201	1,11,278

In 1900 the Public Works establishment consisted of 15 servants who were paid Rs. 364 p. m. In 1936 there were 29 servants on the staff who received Rs. 1,503 p. m.

In 1885 there were 36 miles of roads and 18 miles of lanes, in all 54 miles. In 1915 there were 68 miles of roads and lanes; the more recent figure is 92 miles in 1936. The development of roads in the city will be explained by the above figures. With the increase in the mileage of roads, the charges for their maintenance and repair, were bound to increase.

To remove congestion and facilitate the growing traffic in the city, new roads are being constructed and old ones are widened. The following are the important road schemes :

(a) **East-West Road** :—The scheme was started in 1920, and a number of properties had to be acquired for the purpose. The total receipts and outlay on the scheme from 1920 to 1937 amounted to Rs. 8,19,031 and Rs. 10,52,668 respectively. The scheme is expected to be a financial success in view of the great demand for adjoining sites, and the high prices paid for them.

(b) **Tilak Road** :—The scheme was completed in 1933. The total receipts from the sales of plots upto 1937 amounted to Rs. 2,19,872 while the total cost of the scheme was Rs. 2,71,794.

(c) **Reay Market to Govind Halwai Chowk Road**:—The scheme was approved by Government, and the Municipality was allowed to float a loan of Rs. 1,50,000 for the purpose.

The other schemes to be noted are the Ganesh Road, and the North-South Road schemes. Recently the Municipality has completed the asphalt road scheme at a total cost of Rs. 11 lakhs. The first experiment was made in 1934 when 1.60 miles of road were asphalted at a cost of Rs. 26,333. The main work was started in 1935, and was spread over a period of four years. It is expected that as a result of the scheme, the recurring charges on repairs and maintenance would decrease.

The Municipality had undertaken some other improvement schemes which deserve mention.

River Improvement : Since the construction of the Jamshetji Bund in 1850, the Mutha river had become a breeding place of mosquitoes and other insects. The Municipality had been requesting Government to lower the level of the water at the Bund. But no action was taken by Government for long. It was only in January 1934 that Government agreed to lower the water level by 3 feet from 1st April and by 5 feet from 1st May 1934, and as a last concession informed the Municipality that the permanent lowering of the level would in no circumstances exceed 2 feet in future. The work of improvement was started immediately, though the Municipality had expected a more generous attitude from Government.

The length of the river to be improved measures 8,600 feet and Rs. 1,50,000 have been sanctioned for the scheme. The work, when completed, would rid the city of a number of diseases and improve the health of the city.

Nagazari Improvement : The work consisted of canalising the stream during its course within municipal limits. About Rs. 43,306 were spent over the scheme before 1930, and the total expenditure amounted to Rs. 79,293.

Public Instruction : Though founded as far back as 1855, the Municipality had no powers till 1884 as regards imparting of primary education in the city. Whatever schools then existed belonged to Government and private individuals and institutions. The Municipality could only give annual grants to some of these. It was only in 1884-85 that Government decided to transfer the

management of their primary schools to the Municipality. The Municipality was to receive one-half of the expenditure on schools from the Government as grant-in-aid. With the development of primary education in the city during the past 50 years, the municipal expenditure on this function has developed very remarkably. The following statistics may be interesting :

Table No. 61 :—Expenditure on Public Instruction

Year	School Board Establishment	Salaries	Rent	Repairs
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1885	992	8,936	1,591	...
1895	1,481	18,261	3,149	534
1905	1,089	16,411	2,938	...
1915	1,632	36,372	6,897	1,235
1920	3,756	55,946	9,607	1,068
1925	7,072	1,08,714	17,146	3,675
1930	15,617	1,70,158	37,007	4,218
1935	17,571	1,62,372	49,711	4,371

The expenditure on establishment did not rise much till 1920. But with the transfer of primary education to the local body after 1920 the establishment had to be strengthened sufficiently to cope with the new administrative work. The rise in the expenditure on salaries also was steady, but after 1920 it became more pronounced owing to the appointment of many new teachers, and also owing to the introduction of compulsory education in certain parts of the City. Again the changes in the scales of salaries must not be overlooked. Some interesting figures are available. In 1885 the salaries of head-masters varied from Rs. 13 to Rs. 15 per month. The scales in force in 1926 and 1936 were as under.

Table No. 62 :—Scales of Pay of Primary Teachers

Teachers	1926	1936	Selection Grade.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
3rd year trained	40-2/3- 50-1-60	40-2-80	100
2nd year trained	35-1/2- 45-1-50	35-3/2-65	
1st year trained	30-1/-3 35-1/2-40	30-1-50	55
Qualified teachers	25-1/5-30	25-1/2-30	

Thus the tremendous increase in payment of salaries was due to frequent revisions in the scales, and also to the increase in the number of teachers. The rent charges have also shown similar growth, due to the fact that there has been an increase in the number of schools all of which cannot be housed in municipal buildings. The grants to private institutions and schools have increased much, particularly after the Reforms of 1925. The Municipality has been empowered to approve private primary schools, inspect them and give annual grants as per Primary Education Act of 1923. With the increase in the number of these approved schools the amounts of grants have also increased.

There was a rapid growth of primary education from 1885 to 1896. This growth was arrested during the period from 1896 to 1908 when the City was in the grip of terrible epidemics. After 1909, however, the progress was contiguous. It again received a set-back in 1918-19 and 1919-20 when the City suffered from influenza. After 1920 the progress has been remarkable as shown by the following statistics.

Table No. 63 :—No. of Primary Schools and of their Students and Teachers

Year	No. of Schools	Students	Teachers	Trained	Untrained
1905	33	2,872	118	...	...
1910	37	3,506	163	...	...
1915	43	4,367	190	...	...
1920	35	4,398	202	95	107
1925	39	6,918	285	171	114
1931	57	11,544	381	207	174
1936	57	13,143	421	224	197

Technical School :—The school was established by the Municipality in the last quarter of the 19th century for imparting technical education. In 1935 there were about 56 students. Special drawing and weaving classes were attached to the school for the benefit of those who could not attend the school as regular students. The present building of the school was built in 1895 at a cost of Rs. 21,507. The expenditure on the school during recent years is shown below :

Table No. 64 :—Expenditure on Technical School

Year	Establishment	Contingency	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1930	7,196	1,866	9,336
1932	7,566	2,189	10,419
1934	8,135	1,257	9,915
1936	8,091	582	10,025

Compulsory Primary Education:—In 1931-32 there were six boys' and girls' compulsory schools. The number of schools was the same in 1936-37. In 1931-32 about 715 boys and 734 girls attended the compulsory schools. In 1936-37 there were 771 boys and 747 girls or about 1,548 pupils in the compulsory schools. In 1930-31 there were 38 teachers while in 1934-35 there were 37 teachers. In 1936-37 the number was the same as in 1934-35. Government, however, had sanctioned only 35 posts of teachers for purposes of grants. In addition to teachers, there were 10 call-women; only one of these posts was sanctioned by Government. The administrative staff consisted of one attendance officer, one clerk and one peon. The figures of expenditure are as below :—

Table No. 65 :—Expenditure on Compulsory Education Staff.

Year	Total	Year	Total
	Rs		Rs.
1931	23,700	1934	19,964
1932	20,426	1935	19,982
1933	18,006	1936	19,110

To enforce compulsion the local authority has been issuing first general and ordinary notices to the defaulting parents. Later prosecutions are lodged in the courts and parents are fined. In spite of the strenuous attempts of the local authority the scheme of primary education did not make much progress mainly because Government refused to contribute towards the expenditure of new schemes of expansion. The Municipality itself was not in the financial condition to enforce compulsion in other parts of the City and bear the whole cost of the scheme.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION

The Historical Situation :—Poona has, for long, been an important centre of educational activity, and this aspect of its life was strikingly developed during the last hundred years.

The following quotation gives an account of institutions, number of pupils, etc. in primary and other stages of education in Poona in 1825 :—

" It is usual for the superior classes to have private teachers of Sanskrit in their families, who also teach the children of poorer neighbours, or several families subscribe for a teacher.

The great Shastrees instruct gratis at their own houses ; the poorer at the houses of their scholars, from whom they receive charitable presents.

Of the schools in the City of Poona in 51 the *veds* are read—pay per month 60 to 40 rupees to the teacher. One teacher can teach from 5 to 10 boys according to their proficiency ; from 10 to 20 years are stated to be consumed in the acquisition. In 10 the Jotish shaster is studied during 8 or 10 years—the master receiving per month 50 to 100 rupees. On the same system the *Vedant* is taught in 2 schools, the *Mimams* in 1, the *Dhurmasastree* in 4, *Nyaye* or logic in 7, and Grammar in 10. The *Kavye* and *Alankar* (tales, belles lettres, etc.) in 4.

There are also in Poona [53] Mabrattra Schools, one master teaching 25 to 40 children and receiving from 2 to 8 annas monthly pay for each—2 telingee and 1 goozratee at the rate of 4 to 8 annas each—2 persian at the rate of 1 to 5 rupees for each child, one master teaching 5 boys—8 or 10 years is necessary for the acquisition, the boys generally going at 6 or 8 years of age.

There are now in the English School supported by the Bombay Education Society 36 Scholars." ¹

1. R. D. Choksey : The Aftermath (1818-1826) 1950, pp. 233-34.

The situation described above was altered radically during the succeeding years. The number of pupils in primary schools in Poona in 1825 was roughly about 2000. At the time of the Gazetteer the corresponding number appears to have been about 6000. The important factors in this growth of primary education were the development of the indigenous system and the establishment of Government schools. Progress in the latter was slow till 1847. The main growth in Government schools appears to have taken place after 1847 and this in two stages. Firstly, during the decade 1847 to 1857 and then again in the period after 1865-66. The nature and extent of the change is brought out in the following quotation from the Gazetteer.

“ Poona City has 116 educational institutions, twenty-four of them Government and ninety-four private. Of the twenty-four Government institutions four are colleges and twenty are schools. Of the four colleges one is an Arts College with 140 pupils and a daily attendance of 122 ; one is a Science College in three divisions with 138 pupils and a daily attendance of 118 ; and two are vernacular Training Colleges, one for boys with 127 pupils and a daily average attendance of 106, and the other for girls with forty-six pupils and a daily average attendance of thirty-one. Of the twenty schools one is a High School with 597 pupils and a daily average attendance of 588 ; one is the Bairamji medical school with sixty-two pupils and a daily average attendance of fifty-nine ; one is a female practising school with sixty-nine pupils and a daily average attendance of fifty-three ; one is a Marathi preparatory school with 277 pupils and a daily average attendance of 227 ; five are vernacular girl schools with 301 pupils and a daily attendance of 215 ; two are Hindustani schools with fifty-three pupils and a daily average attendance of thirty-seven ; one is a low caste primary school with fifty-three pupils and a daily average attendance of twenty-two ; and eight are Marathi schools with 1522 pupils and a daily average attendance of 1366. Of the ninety-four private institutions, except one Arts College started in January 1885, all are schools, eighty-five of them Native and seven Missionary. Of the eighty-five Native Schools two are High Schools, one the Native Institution with 197 pupils and a daily average attendance of 155, and the other the New English School with 1200 pupils and a daily average attendance of 1000 ; one is a high school for native girls and ladies with about seventy pupils started in January 1885 ; one is a drawing or Arts' school with about ten pupils and a daily

average attendance of seven; fifteen are registered primary schools with 1079 pupils and a daily average attendance of 882; and seventy-seven are purely private primary schools with 3990 pupils and a daily average attendance of 3500. Of the seven Mission schools five belong to the Free Church Mission and two to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Of the Free Church Mission Schools one is a high school with 170 pupils and a daily average attendance of 158; one a vernacular school for boys with 172 pupils and a daily average attendance of 106; two are vernacular girls schools with 137 pupils and a daily average attendance of seventy-six; and one is an orphanage anglo-vernacular school with ten pupils and a daily average attendance of five. Of the two S. P. G. Mission schools one is a vernacular school with thirty-eight pupils and a daily average attendance of twenty-eight, and one an industrial school with fourteen pupils and a daily average attendance of eight".¹

Except for the patronage extended by the Peshwa to learned Brahmins the system of education before British rule may be said to have been entirely private. The participation of the State in all stages of education began to grow under British rule. The first Government primary school was established in Poona in 1826 and by 1847 the number had increased to three. The number of these schools was 18 in 1883 but the primary school was yet essentially private in the early eighties. The number of pupils in primary schools appears to have been about 6000 at this time but only about a quarter of these were in Government institutions; a small number was in the registered private institutions but the bulk was in the purely private schools. The purely private elementary schools were a development of the older system, while the Government and the private registered schools represented developments in British times. The older system had two main aspects which may be termed, respectively, Brahminic and Jain-Bania. In the first, education was oriented towards the priestly, clerical and administrative occupations while in the second the purpose was to equip members of the trading classes. It has been stated that the older or "indigenous" schools had been greatly neglected in Bombay Province;² the great vitality of the indigenous system was shown by the important contribution made by it to the growth of educational facilities in Poona for the greater part of the nineteenth century

1. Op. cit. Part III pp. 330-331.

2. Nurullah and Naik: History of Education in India (1943) p. 376.

in spite of the neglect. Government schools and private schools recognised or registered by Government, catered for classes who were attracted by the openings in administrative and other new employments and careers. The large majority of the rest continued to be provided for by developments in the older system.

However, important changes were impending at the time the Gazetteer account was written and following the report of the Indian Education Commission (1883) a system of payments of grants by results for the purely private schools was adopted by Government. In consequence, the private or indigenous schools were attracted into the official educational system and lost their special character; and by the beginning of the twentieth century the problems of indigenous schools ceased to exist.¹ The change in the situation appears to have taken place very rapidly. Whereas at the time of the Gazetteer account (1885) purely private schools taught more than half the pupils in primary schools in Poona, during the ten following years the vast majority of pupils and schools had become part of the new aided system. An incidental result was that educational statistics, which disregarded the purely private schools, began to afford a fairly complete coverage of pupils in the primary schools system.

Numbers of Pupils in Primary Schools: We begin consideration of the development of primary education in Poona by presenting a statement (Table No. 66) giving the numbers of pupils in primary schools in Poona City at various dates since 1891. The data have been obtained from returns published in the annual reports of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Province. The statistical tables in the report of the Director of Public Instruction contained information relating only to schools conducted by Government or the Municipality till the last decade of the 19th century. For the period after 1890 the statistical tables in the reports of the D. P. I. yield connected series of number of pupils in both the municipal and the aided and recognised primary schools. The data still leave a gap as regards the non-aided or non-recognised primary schools. As pointed out above, however, the number of such pupils may be considered to have become negligible, at least by the end of the 19th century.

Before proceeding further attention might be drawn to some important characteristics of the system of primary education which

1. *Ibid* p. 411.

Table No. 66 :—Number of Pupils in Primary Schools in Poona City

Year	Municipal Schools			Aided Schools			Unaided Schools			All Schools		
	Number of Schools	Boys	Girls	Number of Schools	Boys	Girls	Number of Schools	Boys	Girls	Number of Schools	Boys	Girls
1881	16	2138										
1885	15	2002							40	3891		
1891	16	2002		91	5585				107	7537		
1895	38	2882		75	5165				113	8047		
1901	22	1458		56	3697				78	5155		
1905	32	1733		44	3820				76	5553		
1911	34	3359		46	6383				80	9743		
1915	40	4144		54	6332				94	10,476		
1921	35	2641	1757	43	3527	1519			78	6168	3276	
1925	35	3437	2385	41	3604	1431			76	7041	3816	
1931	58	6165	4847	28	3629	1687	13	699	159	99	10,493	6693
1937	57	6908	6235	30	5068	2554	13	527	382	100	12,503	9171

Source:—From 1881 to 1921 Reports of the D. P. I. Bombay Presidency.

From 1925 to 1937 Administrative Reports of the Poona City Municipality.

affect the data regarding number of pupils in primary schools. For most of the period, primary education was divided into two stages. The first or the lower primary stage usually embraced the first four grades and the upper primary stage the next three. There has always been a large number of schools teaching only the lower primary standards but the two stages together are called primary. An increase in the number of pupils in primary schools could be the result either of a larger proportion of the population being drawn within the primary educational system or of the average pupil staying for more years within it. The situation was not materially changed by the introduction of compulsion in 1929. Compulsion was enforced practically for only the lower primary stage; therefore, even after the introduction of compulsion an increase in the number of pupils in the upper primary stage would increase numbers without the percentages of boys and girls brought to school having been increased.

Another aspect of the educational system was the parallel maintenance of what was called the lower secondary with the upper primary stage. Admission to the first standard of secondary schools was open to those who had successfully completed the fourth primary standard i. e. passed the examination at the end of the lower primary stage. Students who completed the upper primary stage were eligible for admission directly to the higher secondary stage i. e. to the fourth standard of the secondary schools, but only if they had a sufficient knowledge of English which was an important subject of study in the lower secondary stage but was not taught at all in the upper primary stage. Migration from primary to secondary schools was, therefore, easier at the end of the lower primary than at the end of the upper primary stage. An important factor in determining the number of pupils in the upper primary stage would thus be the proportion of pupils seeking or pursuing secondary education. If a large number of pupils chose to enter secondary schools at the end of the lower primary stage this would reduce numbers in the upper primary stage. Variations in numbers in primary schools could thus be brought about by variations in choice by pupils regarding the two parallel stages without the total number of pupils in the educational system being changed.

It will be noted that the two features of the educational system mentioned above affect the statistics in opposite directions. A lengthening of the average stay of a pupil in primary schools might lead to an increase in the number of pupils of primary schools with-

out increasing the total number of educands; on the other hand, increased migration to secondary schools at the end of the lower primary stage might lower numbers in primary schools without decreasing the number of educands. Sufficient data are not available to indicate what the combined result of the actual operation of the two factors might have been from time to time.

Before examining in detail the data regarding the numbers and composition of pupils of primary schools, an attempt may be made to assess broadly the progress in primary education made in Poona during the period. This may be best done by relating the total number of pupils of primary schools to total numbers in the population. Assuming that the age composition of the population did not significantly change during the period, variations in percentage of population represented by pupils of primary schools would indicate progress or retrogression in general quantitative terms. Table No. 67 sets out these percentages for the census years since 1891 for the total number of pupils and for boy and girl pupils separately. The proportionate distributions of the total number of pupils between boys and girls are not fully known for the years before 1921, and have been calculated on the basis of certain procedures which are explained later.

Table No. 67:—Number of pupils of Primary Schools in Poona City shown as percentages of the total population of the City.

Year	Percentage of Population of Poona City Municipal Area		
	Boy pupils	Girl pupils	all pupils
1891	—	—	6.34
*1901	3.16	1.47	4.63
†1911	5.79	2.50	8.29
1921	4.63	2.46	7.09
1931	6.44	4.11	10.55

*The division of the total number of pupils between boys and girls for 1901 and 1911 has been made on the basis of data in the next table.

The percentage of pupils of primary schools to total population would not appear to have been larger than 3 p. c. in 1825; and among the pupils at that date the number of girl pupils must have been insignificant. By the time of the Gazetteer the number of pupils appears to have gone up to nearly 6,000 i. e. to about 6 p. c. of the population of the city. However, no definite figures are available for detailed calculations before the census year of 1891. The proportions set out in the table indicate the extent of the alternating recessions and advances between 1891 and 1921.¹ They show that the extent of the net overall gain made between 1891 and 1921 was small, especially in the case of boys. Marked progress was made in girls' education and the progress was comparatively uninterrupted. The table also indicates the extent of the progress made during the twenties. 1931 reveals a high watermark in all the percentages. Absence of the figure of total population makes it difficult to ascertain the position at the time of the survey. However, rough calculations indicate that the progress in the number of pupils of primary schools from 1931 to 1937 was not much more rapid than the probable rate of growth in numbers of the population of the City. In interpreting the percentages set out in the table the warning stated above regarding the effects on the statistics of tendencies towards an increase in the average number of years spent at school by pupils and of the migration to the secondary system directly from the end of the lower primary stage must be borne in mind.

Details regarding the classification of all pupils of primary schools by sex are available only after 1920. Before that date the information is available only for municipal schools and for a number of aided schools, separate details regarding which are given in the reports of the Director of Public Instruction. However, the number for which such detailed classification is available for the earlier years, forms more than 80 p. c. of the total number of pupils in primary schools. We may, therefore, safely assume that the proportion of girls to boys shown by the data for these schools is broadly the proportion for the total number of pupils also. The data of the type indicated above are available for 1901 and after. The Gazetteer account indicates that the percentage of girls in the total

1. Incidentally the data would indicate that the return of pupils made by the Director of Public Instruction is fairly inclusive and does not leave out even in 1891 any significant section of the school or pupil population; this supports the contention that by the nineties the "Indigenous" schools had lost their special character and had been absorbed within the grant-in-aid system.

number of pupils was about 10 to 15 p. c. in 1885. The details available for only the pupils of municipal schools in 1890 show that at that date the proportion of girls to total pupils stood at 22 p. c. in those schools. The much fuller information available for 1901 and later, gives proportions which are indicated in Table No. 68. The proportions for 1921, 1931 and 1937 in the table are for the total pupil population. The table indicates that progress in the relative proportion of girls was continuous but that it was specially rapid in the period after 1921.

At the beginning of British rule education was common only among the Brahminic and the Bania i. e. the priestly, clerical and trading castes. Subsequent general progress in education was marked by a series of movements. In each socio-economic stratum progress was indicated by an increase in proportionate numbers in higher and higher stages of education and by progressing towards a point of saturation in the lower stages. In society as a whole, the movement was exhibited by progress being made simultaneously, though at different levels, in all strata. The progress in the education of girls, in this process in each stratum, was similar to progress in boys' education; but it was usually a step or two behind and corresponded to the level of boys' education at the lower socio-economic strata. It is not possible to present for Poona a full statistical picture of the progress in education, as the data required for the purpose are lacking. We have information regarding special sets of institutions or regarding particular aspects, but no connected series covering all aspects of educational activity. Data relating to primary schools conducted by the Municipality are fairly full and are available in a connected series for a long time. However, in regard to the private aided schools little information, barring numbers of schools and total pupils, is available.

Data for Municipal Primary Schools:—The reports of the D. P. I. do not contain detailed classification of pupils in schools. Annual reports of the Poona City Municipality contain such information; but till the year 1927 the information in the municipal reports related only to pupils of primary schools maintained by the Municipality. Any observations based on data relating to pupils of municipal schools could not apply to the entire number in primary schools because the municipal schools contained, for most of the period, less than half of the total number of pupils in primary schools and because, in all probability, the

Table No. 68 :—Number of Boy and Girl pupils in Primary Schools in Poona City

Years	Municipal		Non-Municipal		Total		Total Pupils	Per cent. of Boys in total	Per cent. of Girls in total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls			
*1901	1103	473	1980	965	3083	1438	4521	68.19	31.81
*1911	2366	1140	3405	1355	5771	2495	8266	69.82	30.18
1921	2641	1757	3527	1519	6168	3276	9444	65.31	34.69
1931	6165	4847	4328	1846	10493	6693	17186	61.06	38.94
1937	6908	6235	5595	2936	12503	9171	21674	57.69	42.31

* These are partial figures based on information for pupils in municipal schools and in a large number of aided schools containing more than 80 per cent. of the total number of pupils in non-municipal primary schools.

composition of pupils in municipal schools was not the same as that of the total number of pupils. It is likely that, for a greater part of the period for which statistics are available, municipal schools contained a larger proportion of pupils from classes lower in the social and economic scale than private schools, as a whole. Private schools charged, as a rule, higher fees than municipal schools. Some private schools, conducted by missionaries and others, catered for special classes of the population, in particular, classes which were socially or economically depressed and such schools charged low fees or no fees at all. The number of such private schools was, however, small; and the composition of the pupils of private schools appears to have differed from that of the pupils of municipal schools in the manner indicated above. The observation applies in particular to male pupils.

In spite of the partial coverage and somewhat unrepresentative composition of the pupils of municipal schools, the series of statistical information relating to them is of considerable importance and might be made to yield certain broad results. In the data for municipal schools the longest continuous series available are the classifications of pupils by sex and by groups of castes or communities (Table No. 69). Looking, in the first instance, at the growth in total numbers, the trends revealed are the same as those noted from the statistics of overall numbers. There is the rapid growth upto 1896 and a disastrous fall in the closing years of the century well-marked in the 1901 figures, a steady resumption of growth during the opening decade and half of the 20th century, interrupted by the influenza epidemic, which causes a retrogression which affects even the 1921 figures. The growth in numbers during the decade 1921-1931 is at a phenomenal pace, which seems definitely to slacken after 1931. From the point of view of total numbers the twenties of this century was the only period when very notable progress took place. The progress during the period 1901-1916 was mainly concerned with making up the ground lost during the disastrous years at the close of the previous century.

Numbers of Boy and Girl Pupils. : When the statistics for the numbers of boy and girl pupils are separately examined the fact of little net progress having been achieved in numbers in the opening decades of the twentieth century is specially noted in the case of boys. The fall in the number of boy pupils was very large during 1896-1901 and the number of boy pupils in 1906 was still lower than in 1896. There was an increase in their number

Table No. 69 :—Number of Pupils in Municipal Primary Schools classified by groups of Communities

Community	1887	31st March 1890		31st March 1891		31st March 1896		31st March 1901		31st March 1906		31st March 1911		31st March 1916		31st March 1921		31st March 1925		31st March 1928		31st March 1931		31st March 1935	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Brahmins	1106	850	215	} 2518	805	346	278	241	506	532	669	786	701	963	624	1033	766	1307	1145	1621	1255	1964	1222	2478	
Other Hindus		822	299		1051	294	547	133	1015	203	1249	223	1533	365	1488	421	2069	621	2902	1359	3621	1862	3900	2232	
Mahar & Mang	885	122	...	...	80	...	35	...	63	...	62	...	82	...	86	...	189	1	337	68	511	167	513	158
Aborigines		...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	4	2	...	...	2	...	21	15
Mohomedans	147	222	58	271	478	191	243	99	415	135	308	102	527	184	543	204	612	241	788	292	1102	511	1164	679	
Jews	...	8	3	14	9	...	...	...	2	...	16	...	5	5	2	2	10	...	9	...	11	5	5	10
Parais	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
Total	2138	2024	575	2803	2423	831	1103	473	2002	870	2395	1111	2850	1517	2738	1660	3650	2172	5181	3340	6503	4509	6828	5572	
											-33	-4			-97	+97	-213	+213	-290	+290	-378	+338	-294	+294	
											2366	1140			2641	1757	3437	2385	4891	3630	6165	4847	6532	5866	

Note :— In the boys' columns figures with minus signs are the number of girls attending the boys' schools and figures with positive signs are of boys attending girls' schools. Similarly in the girls' columns figures with minus signs are of boys attending girls' schools and figures with plus signs are of girls attending boys' schools.

between 1906 and 1911; however, comparing the total populations of the City Municipality in 1891 and in 1911 the proportionate increase in 1911 over that in 1891 does not appear to be more than about 10 p. c. The same net result of comparative stagnancy appears at the end of the decade 1911 to 1921. There was considerable rise in numbers in the early years of the decade and a sharp fall towards its end, and the total result was that the number of boy pupils at the end of the ten years i. e., in 1921 had increased at approximately the same rate as the increase in the general population during the period.

In the numbers of girl pupils the secular trend towards growth is evidently much stronger; it moderates, much more than in the case of boys, the periodic set-backs. This is seen even in the retrogression during the years 1896 to 1901. The number of girl pupils in the latter year is smaller only by about 20 p. c. than in the former year. The corresponding number in 1906 is larger than in 1896 and increases still further in 1911. So that, with total populations which are roughly equal in strength the number of girl pupils in municipal schools in 1911 was almost double that in 1890. In the same way the net proportionate increase in the number of girl pupils during the decade 1911-1921 was much larger than the corresponding increase in total population. Also, in the next decade when the number of boy pupils increased very rapidly the number of girl pupils increased at an even more rapid pace, and when after 1931 the growth in the number of boy pupils slackened, the rate of growth in the number of girl pupils maintained a relatively high pace. The net result of this steady secular trend in the number of girl pupils is reflected in the changed relation between the proportions of boy and girl pupils in the total municipal school population as between 1890 and 1935. Whereas in the former year the proportion of boys and girls in every 100 pupils in municipal schools was about 78 and 22, the corresponding proportion in the latter year was 53 and 47.

Classification of pupils by Communities: No detailed comment is necessary on composition by caste or community of the pupils of municipal primary schools at various dates. The main groups for which the data are available are Brahmins, Depressed Classes, other Hindus and Mohamedans. For the larger part of the period for which statistics are available the number of Brahmin girl pupils in municipal schools far exceeded that of boys. This is most probably to be explained as due to a much larger proportion

of Brahmin boy pupils attending private schools than that of girls. It is likely that the much higher average fees charged by primary schools as compared to the fees charged by municipal schools had something to do with this trend. It is also perhaps due to a larger proportion of Brahmin boys than girls going directly to secondary schools at the end of the lower primary stage. In the last decade of the 19th century the number of Brahmin boy pupils in municipal schools is much larger than that of girls; but during the disastrous closing years of the 19th century the number of Brahmin boy pupils seems to have been very much more affected than that of girl pupils. No reason can be adduced to explain this phenomenon, though a parallel to it is found later; the decline in the number of Brahmin boy pupils during the years 1916-1920 is also proportionately much greater than that in the number of Brahmin girl pupils. In the early years of the century the number of Brahmin girl pupils is larger than that of Brahmin boys and the relative disparity in numbers continues to increase throughout the following years. Apart from the periods of decline the only noticeable features in the growth in the number of Brahmin boy pupils are the generally low rate of growth, the rapid increase between 1925 and 1931 and the stagnancy after 1931. The growth in the number of Brahmin girl pupils has, on the other hand, been remarkable for its continuous strength, including that during the years after 1931.

These comments on the proportions of Brahmin boy and girl pupils would indicate that the picture of the progress of girls' education presented by the totals of pupils in the municipal schools is somewhat misleading. General conditions in this regard are better exhibited by the relative distribution among boy and girl pupils for the categories "Other Hindus" and "Mohamedans." In both these categories the number of girl pupils in 1937 stood at between 35 to 40 p. c. of the total number of pupils in the category. In 1890 the proportion of girl pupils in these categories was much lower. It increased as a result of an almost uninterrupted trend for the number of girl pupils to increase at a more rapid rate than that of boys. No special feature, however, characterised the growth of boy and girl pupils of the other Hindu and Mohamedan categories which could mark it out from the overall general movements.

The movements in the number of pupils of the Depressed Classes show marked differences from those of other categories. It would have been easier to comment on the progress of different

communities in education if we had data regarding the proportion of the populations of these communities to the total population of the City and the communal classification of all pupils in primary schools. A classification confined to pupils of municipal schools could not give valid results, as has been observed above in the case, for example, of Brahmins; and unless one knows the total population from which a particular number of pupils was drawn it would be difficult to hazard an opinion regarding the comparative progress of the spread of education in a community. In the absence of the full data we have to consider the possibility of forming judgments based on some assumptions and the available information. It may, for example, be assumed that in such categories as Other Hindus, Depressed Classes and Muslims, variations in the number of pupils in municipal schools represent adequately the broad total movements; we may also assume that the proportionate distribution of the population among various communities as revealed in our sample house survey represents broadly the conditions obtaining in Poona at the time of the survey and for some decades previously. Working on these assumptions, the following observations may be offered.

In the context of this discussion the number of families of the different categories having more than two members are alone relevant. Of such families in the sample Brahmins formed about one-fifth of the total and the Depressed and Muslims together another fifth, the number of the Depressed being, however, somewhat smaller than that of Muslims. Expressed in terms of ratios it may be said that the total of Other Hindu families was about six times that of the Depressed and about five times that of Muslims. Looking at the number of pupils in the Depressed category it is obvious that the figure for 1890 is exceptional. It cannot be now ascertained whether the figure is mistaken or whether there was some temporary special reason for the large number of pupils of the Depressed Classes shown in the returns for the year. The number reported for 1896 appears more credible as representing normal conditions at the time and is also more consistent with the whole data. On the basis of the 1896 numbers it is clear that elementary education among boys of the Depressed was lagging considerably behind the Other Hindu category. The number of depressed class boy pupils was one-thirteenth that of the other Hindu boy pupils as compared with a probable population ratio of about 1:6. Education among girls of the depressed classes may be considered to have been almost non-existent till after

1921; no girl pupil of the depressed classes is shown in the municipal primary school data till 1921. Educational condition of the depressed classes was thus relatively very backward in 1896. The position grew even worse during the next twenty-five years. The growth in the number of pupils of the depressed classes from 1896 to 1921 was less than 10 p. c. and their relative position vis-a-vis, for example, other Hindus and Muslims worsened during this period. The ratio of boy pupils of the depressed classes to those of the Other Hindu category fell in 1921 to 1:17 as against 1:13 in 1896. Progress in education among the depressed classes became notable only after 1921. There was rapid growth of numbers of boy pupils during 1921-1925 and a real leap forward during 1925-1931. It is during the latter period also that education among girls of the depressed classes took root. As a result of the growth of numbers after 1921 and 1925 the relative position of the depressed classes improved greatly as compared to what it was in 1896 and even more to what it was in 1921. The ratio of the number of boy pupils of the Depressed Classes in 1935 to the number of boy pupils of Other Hindus was larger than 1:8 though smaller than 1:7. The number of depressed class girl pupils made much worse showing; but the progress in the thirties in this direction has to be judged as against the almost complete absence of any education among them in 1921.

Progress in primary education is, in India, initially a matter of getting pupils into the school. The point of saturation in this regard may be supposed to be reached when every boy or girl of school going age is enrolled in a primary school. We have no data which would enable us to judge how far and in what categories a stage of saturation in primary education had been reached at the time of the survey. It is likely that primary education had become universal for some of the higher Hindu castes by 1935 and that this was more generally so for boys than for girls. The rate of increase in numbers of Brahmin girl pupils after 1931 shows that even for Brahmin girls universality or a point of saturation in primary education had not been attained in the thirties. Attention may be invited in this connection to the discussion in Vol. 1¹. It is pointed out there that if the numbers of educands and of those that had attained literacy in the age-group 6 to 15 from among the sample families in various wards are added they form more than 92 p. c. of the population in that age-group in the sample for both males and females in Rasta ward and more than 80 p. c. for three other

1. Op. cit. Chap. II pp. 54-55.

wards. This shows a condition not far from saturation so far as primary education is concerned ; but this is confined to wards inhabited by families in the higher social and economic grades. The calculation given above refers only to education which imparts literacy and not much more; it refers to what was generally called in Bombay Province the lower primary stage, confined to four or five years' schooling, broadly between the ages of 6 and 11. Even this amount of schooling had become near universal in Poona at the time of the survey only in one or two wards. The data of the survey give the general outlines of graded progress that are readily recognizable. Progress in the matter would depend largely on economic position ; it was clearly and closely associated with community also. The Brahmins, the other advanced professional castes and the trading castes were in the vanguard : the Muslims distinctly led the rest of the Hindu castes and the Depressed came the last ; and everywhere education among boys was in advance of education among girls.

One of the reasons for the relatively better position of Muslim education might have been the special emphasis placed on it by Government. The Municipality was required to open special Urdu schools for Muslims and the rates of fees charged in these schools were almost a quarter of those charged in Marathi schools. For many years a special report on Mohamedan education in Urdu schools had to be submitted to Government together with the general report of the School Board of the Municipality. Special attention to Muslim education was supposed to be justified on the ground that special attention should be paid to the education of classes backward in education. The data presented above make clear how Mohamedans had better showing in education throughout the recent period than the Hindus excepting the most advanced castes. The special emphasis on Muslim education preceded, it should be noted, by decades any move towards general free and compulsory education or even special attention being paid to the education among the Depressed.

Scheme of Compulsory Education : Data regarding the increase in the total number of pupils in primary schools in general as also in municipal schools indicate that the greatest progress took place in the twenties and particularly during the years 1925 to 1931. Partly, the progress was due to general social and economic factors; however, it was, in the main, due to efforts of educational authorities and in particular to the efforts of

the Poona City Municipality and its School Board. The campaign of Mr. Gokhale in favour of free and compulsory primary education began, after his demise, gradually to bear fruit and the first Act in this behalf was passed in the Province of Bombay in 1918. This aroused great interest in the subject in Poona and the City Municipality appointed a Committee to consider the possibility of making primary education free and compulsory and to prepare a scheme for the purpose, for the first time in April 1918. From this time onwards a paragraph on the consideration of schemes of free and compulsory education became a constant feature of the annual report of the Municipal School Board. Though no concrete step was taken for many years after 1918, various schemes were discussed, plans and estimates were prepared, arrangements made for census, etc. and all this activity was undoubtedly responsible for some progress being made even in the prevalent conditions. No further progress in the direction of free and compulsory education was made under the 1918 Act. With the formation of reformed legislatures another step forward was indicated and a new and comprehensive Primary Education Act was adopted by the Bombay Assembly in 1923. Some time was taken in framing the rules and regulations under the new Act and after this had been done the Poona City Municipality finally declared its intention, in December 1925, to introduce free and compulsory education within its area. Reformed School Boards under the 1923 Act also came into existence in 1925. In the changed circumstances considerable progress was achieved. The new School Board immediately set about preparing a scheme of free and compulsory education and getting it sanctioned by the Municipality and Government; it also took steps to expand educational facilities and strengthen its resources. The most important effective step taken in this regard was the opening of new schools. The number of municipal schools had been on an average more than 35 in the last decade of the 19th century. In 1901 the number had slumped to 25 but rose to well above 30 during the next ten years; it had reached 46 in 1916 but had again fallen and been stabilized at 35 during 1921 to 1925. Of the 35 schools in 1925, 17 were in the relatively advanced wards of Rasta, Raviwar, Kasba, Narayan and Sadashiv. The development of private schools was also the greatest in these wards. Thus in 1925 the supply of primary educational facilities in Poona was definitely lop-sided. Even before the introduction of free and compulsory education the new School Board took active steps to remedy the situation. From the year 1925-26 a number of new schools were opened every year and by the end of 1927-28 the total

number of municipal primary schools had increased to 48. The new schools were located chiefly in wards which were backward in education; the result was that in the new schools the large bulk of the pupils belonged to categories such as Other Hindus and the Depressed Classes, a phenomenon to which the School Board in its report for 1927-28 drew special attention.¹

The first sanction from Government to the introduction of the scheme of free and compulsory education was obtained only in March 1929. The first stage of the programme was adopted during that year and primary education was made free and compulsory in the Nana, Bhavani, Ganj, Ghorpade and Gultekdi wards. The introduction of the scheme necessitated opening of more new schools and the total number of municipal schools stood at 58 in 1931, the highest number to be reached before the date of our survey. The Municipality decided to expand the area of compulsion and proposed to extend it to another group of wards, viz., Somwar, Mangalwar, Kasba, Bhamburda and Yerawada. Government, however, refused to sanction the extension and at the time of the survey compulsion was operative only in the wards in which it had been introduced in 1929. After 1931 the vigour of the School Board also lessened greatly on account of financial stringency and other reasons. The progress in the numbers of pupils in the period 1925 to 1931, was thus due to a specially favourable conjuncture of circumstances.

It is difficult to assess the results of the working of the scheme of compulsory education. Some data are contained in the municipal reports regarding the results of censuses of children in the age groups liable to compulsory attendance and of prosecutions of parents for not sending children to schools. It is, however, not possible to comment on the fullness of the coverage of the censuses. It is further not possible to say anything regarding complaints that school attendance figures were unreliable. Attention may, however, be drawn to the comments on the ward data made in the first volume of this survey. The compulsory age group i. e. the group of ages at which children were compelled to attend primary schools, was 6 to 11. The scheme of compulsion was introduced in 1929

¹ It is notable that the table in this report giving classification by communities of the new schools shows pupils of depressed as attending, with a single exception, only the two schools in particular depressed class localities; and out of these two schools one was attended exclusively by students of the depressed classes and the other predominantly by them.

and our survey was conducted more than seven years after. This meant that all persons who were below the age of 15 in 1937 had been liable to be compelled to attend school for almost the full period if they had stayed in the wards included in the scheme of compulsion when they were in the appropriate age group. Therefore, if the scheme of compulsion had been completely successful any person in the age group 6-15 in the particular wards, who had stayed continuously in the ward, should have been either at school or fully literate, having passed a period of four years, at the least, at school. The results of the sample survey show the situation to have been far different from this. In matters of education, both voluntary and compulsory, the situation in respect of girls is so much worse than in respect of boys that attention may be confined to examining the case of the latter. For Poona as a whole the total number of literate and educand non-adults, as a proportion of the total population in the age group 6-15, was over two-thirds for males and less than half for females. The ratio for males was higher than 75 p. c. in seven wards; on the other hand for seven other wards the ratio was lower than 60 p. c. The latter seven wards included Ghorpade, Gultekdi, Bhavani and Ganj for which the ratio was lower than 50 p. c., and Mangalwar, Ganesh and Somwar for which it was between 50 and 60 p. c. It may not be possible to attach importance to the ratio in the case of particular wards as the sample for some of the wards was small. However, the evidence is conclusive for groups of wards taken together. They show, in the first instance, that the choice made by the municipality regarding the wards in which compulsion should be introduced was correct and secondly, that even eight years after the introduction of compulsion the situation in the particular wards had not significantly improved. (The somewhat better showing of Nana, between 65 and 70 p. c., need not be attributed to the working of compulsion; the higher proportion was most probably due to the ward having a mixed population and containing a significant population of the trading communities.)

Table No. 70 sets out details regarding the number of municipal primary schools and their pupils in the different wards of Poona City grouped into three divisions according to the results for the wards in our house sample survey. The great disparity in the number of boy and girl pupils of municipal schools in the first division indicates how the municipal schools formed only a part of the total supply of educational facilities in these wards. For the third division, on the other hand, the municipal schools were,

Table No. 70 :—No. of Schools conducted by the Poona City Municipality in different wards and the number of pupils in them.

Wards	1896		1906		1916			1925			1931			1937			Population in 1931	*Percentage in Survey House Sample of Literate & Educand in non-adult Males to male children of age group 5-15	
	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools	Boys	Girls	No. of Schools	Boys	Girls	No. of Schools	Boys	Girls	No. of Schools	Boys	Girls			
1 Rasta	1	51	2	102	2	97	80	2	256	157	2	336	178	2	317	225	5442	92.73	
2 Budhwar	1	137	71	1	230	113	9165	83.56
3 Narayan	2	183	1	120	2	117	0	2	367	61	2	113	219	2	169	273	6934	81.70	
4 Vetal	1	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6874	81.05
5 Sadashiv	2	347	2	419	2	524	333	1	...	337	2	391	524	2	470	790	17,327	78.81	
6 Raviwar	4	304	6	336	8	524	171	6	651	271	7	892	763	5	388	1157	12,717	76.80	
7 Shanwar	3	361	3	486	2	0	458	2	0	505	2	47	661	2	68	846	10,631	76.74	
Total	13	1264	14	1463	16	1262	1042	13	1274	1331	16	1916	2416	14	1642	3404	69,090		
Percentage to Grand Total		40.01		50.94		42.31	65.78		37.07	55.81		31.08	49.85		23.77	54.61	42.41		
8 Nana	2	51	2	63	2	74	6	1	68	36	5	593	340	5	575	314	9534	68.75	
9 Shivajinagar	3	105	1	191	1	94	17	1	72	19	2	195	74	2	255	66	10,609	66.67	
10 Nibal	1	228	24	1551	66.67
11 Shukrawar	6	599	3	290	4	391	122	3	487	287	4	991	450	4	1129	506	20,846	64.73	
12 Kasba	3	215	2	101	5	379	252	4	415	479	5	729	232	5	925	281	14,812	61.44	
Total	14	970	8	645	12	938	397	9	1042	821	16	2508	1096	17	3112	1191	57,352		
Percentage to Grand Total		30.71		22.46		31.44	25.07		30.32	34.42		40.68	22.61		45.05	19.10	35.21		

13 Somwar	2	182	1	101	1	124	0	1	237	10	2	248	35	2	247	57	7602	55.93
14 Ganesh	3	219	1	64	2	99	38	3	170	36	2	...	186	3	340	196	4996	52.00
15 Mangalwar	3	149	2	182	3	206	0	2	331	13	4	545	355	4	565	440	4400	50.75
16 Bhavani	1	48	2	132	2	67	25	3	178	57	9	479	362	9	515	419	11,661	44.17
17 Ganj	5	327	3	285	6	287	82	4	205	117	6	421	351	6	421	457	6863	43.59
18 Ghorpade and Gultekdi :	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	48	46	2	66	70	937	31.82
Total	14	925	9	764	14	783	145	13	1121	233	26	1741	1335	26	2154	1639	36,459	
Percentage to Grand Total		29.28		26.60		26.25	9.15		32.61	9.77		28.24	27.54		31.18	26.29	22.38	
Grand Total	41	3159	31	2872	42	2983	1584	35	3437	2385	58	6165	4847	57	6908	6234	162,901	

* These percentages are calculated by taking Literate & Educand non-adult Males from Table No. 17 Poona Volume I and Male Population of age group 5-15 from Table No. 20 Poona Volume I.

probably, almost the only ones available, in terms both of physical proximity and the economic resources of parents. The progress in the various wards and divisions through the whole period in total numbers, in the proportion of boy and girl pupils, etc. underlines and illustrates many trends broadly indicated above. The limitations of the data make it inadvisable, however, to elaborate these.

Age composition and Civil Condition of Pupils: Two supplementary tables containing additional information on special points available in the municipal reports have been printed below (Table Nos. 71 and 72). These tables classify the total number of pupils of municipal primary schools according to age groups and according to their being married or unmarried. In relation to age composition of pupils, opposite trends are noticeable for boys and for girls. In 1893 boys above the age of 15 formed 10 p. c. of the total boy pupils of municipal schools and boys above the age of 12 formed 34 p. c. of the same number. The corresponding percentages in 1934-35 were less than 3 and 16. This trend towards a concentration of the number of pupils in primary schools in the lower ages was a continuing trend which is to be observed in the statistics year after year and is not affected either way significantly by the introduction of compulsion or the opening of new schools. This can be seen from a comparison of the figures for the year 1924-25 with earlier and later years. The age composition of girl pupils exhibits an opposite tendency. In 1893 there was only one girl above 15 at a municipal school and the percentage of girls above 12 to total girl pupils was only 3.5. In 1934-35 out of the total population of girl pupils, girls over the age of 15 formed a little less than 2 p. c. and girls over the age of 12 a little less than 16 p. c. The operation of the trend in the case of girls also was continuous throughout the period. Thus, starting from positions that were radically different in 1893 the age compositions of both girl and boy pupils nearly forty years after i. e. in 1934-35 were remarkably similar.

Another feature of the age statistics to which attention may be drawn is the apparent large change in numbers in particular age groups after the periods associated with plague and influenza epidemics. The decrease in the number of boys, attending municipal schools, above the age of 15 and 12 is remarkable between 1896 and 1901 and the phenomenon is repeated during the period 1916 to 1921 for the age group above 15 only. For the period 1896 to 1901 numbers of girls in the age group above 15 were insignificant,

Table No. 71 :—Age Composition of Pupils of Municipal Primary Schools in Poona City

Ages	1893		1896		1901		1906		1911		1916-17		1920-21		1924-25		1927-28		1930-31		1934-35	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
5 to 8 years	325	453	549	390	371	225	683	443	748	508	643	447	918	654	1135	798	1669	1539	2250	1840	2241	2033
8 to 12 years	990	316	1123	400	504	215	944	409	1067	590	1177	834	1322	996	1776	1398	2920	1692	2779	2413	3245	2906
12 to 15 years	482	27	518	40	191	90	275	14	385	36	339	137	356	103	396	174	779	367	910	499	853	814
Above 15 years	203	1	233	1	37	3	100	4	166	6	123	10	45	4	130	15	223	41	226	95	193	113
Total	2000	797	2423	831	1103	473	2002	870	2366	1140	2282	1428	2641	1757	3437	2385	4891	3630	6165	4847	6532	5866

Table No. 72 :—Classification by Social Condition of Pupils of Municipal Primary Schools in Poona City

Social Condition	1896		1901		1906		1911		1916-17		1920-21		1924-25		1927-28		1930-31		1934-35	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Married	451	67	42	20	63	28	83	28	41	47	40	28	45	61	55	79	85	163	47	136
Unmarried	1972	764	1061	453	1939	842	2283	1112	2241	1381	2601	1729	3392	2324	4836	3551	6080	4684	6485	5730
Total	2423	831	1103	473	2002	870	2366	1140	2282	1428	2641	1757	3437	2385	4891	3630	6165	4847	6532	5866

For girls between 12 and 15 the decline in the number is not large between 1896 to 1901 but there is a continuing and large decline in their numbers during 1901-1906 while their numbers in all other age groups increased. The result is that while the number of girl pupils in all other age groups was larger in 1906 the numbers in the age group 12 to 15 were, in 1906, only 15 p. c. of the number in 1896. The period 1916-1917 to 1920-21 also showed a decline in the numbers of girls above 12. Here again the numbers of girls at ages lower than 12 increased substantially during the same period. Among boys in the age group 12 to 15 no decline is registered during the period 1916-17 to 1921-22, though the increase recorded is slight and is much smaller than the increases for the lower age groups. The explanation of these phenomena is not obvious. Was it due to a differential incidence in mortality or was it the result of some reactions of the plague or influenza epidemics such as migration or withdrawal from school, for a variety of reasons, or had the phenomena no connection at all with the epidemics? Available data do not make it possible to answer such questions.

Information relating to the number of married pupils may indicate general social trends. A general trend is evident for the number of married boys at school to decline; the number of married girls at school, however, increases. The absolute figures convey little by themselves. They must be related to the total number of pupils and especially to the number of pupils in particular age groups. Table No. 73 sets out, for approximately five year intervals, relation of the number of girl and boy pupils above certain ages to the number of boy and girl pupils who were married. The ratio of the number of married boy pupils was about 60 : 100 to the total number of boy pupils above 12 in 1896. This ratio fell dramatically to less than 17 in 1906 and it continued to decline in subsequent years falling to the low figure of 5 in 1934-35. The same trend is observed even when attention is confined to numbers above the age of 15. In 1896 the number of married boy pupils is almost double the number of boy pupils above 15. In 1906 the number of married boys is only 63 p. c. of the number of boys above 15, by 1934-35 the proportion falls to 24 p. c. The statistics indicate that while the trend towards an increase in the number of boys remaining unmarried till 15 and after, was continuous a sharp step forward was taken during the decade 1896-1906. This was a decade full of famines and epidemics. It may be that the heavy mortality of the plague and the large problem of child

widows created thereby accelerated sharply the tendency towards an increase in the boys' age at marriage.

Table No. 73 :—Number of married pupils in municipal primary schools in Poona City expressed as percentages of total pupils above certain ages.

Years	P. C. of Married boy pupils to boy pupils above 12 years.	P. C. of Married boy pupils to boy pupils above 15 years.	P. C. of Married girl pupils to girl pupils above 12 years.
1896	0.60	1.94	1.63
1906	0.17	0.63	1.56
1916	0.09	0.33	0.32
1924-25	0.09	0.35	0.32
1934-35	0.05	0.24	0.15

The age at marriage for girls and the proportion of the married among girl pupils are naturally different from those for boys. In 1896 the number of married girls greatly exceeded the number of girls above 12; the corresponding proportion in 1934-35 was only 15 per cent. of the total number of girl pupils above 12. However, even in 1934-35 the number of married girls was larger than the total number of girl pupils above 15. The latter figure indicates that among girls attending primary schools the vast majority of those above 15 were married in 1934-35 and a small proportion of those even below 15 were married at that date. It is difficult to say whether the general trend for the increase in the age at marriage of girls, which is clear from the data for girl pupils above 12, was specially accelerated during the decade 1896-1906. The data, in this respect, for the different years are somewhat conflicting. The data for 1901 indicate a somewhat exceptional situation. On the one hand, if the 1896 figures are compared with those for 1906 and subsequent years no dramatic turn, as in the case of boys, appears for the decade 1896-1906. However, the next decade 1906 to 1916 registered a change in the proportion of married girl pupils as large as the one in the case of boys for the closing years of the 19th century. It is interesting to speculate whether this lag in changing proportions was symptomatic of any social phenomenon. As regards absolute numbers, from the low figure of 1906 the absolute

number of married girls continued steadily on the increase during the subsequent three decades. At the same time, the proportion of married girls to total girls at school above 12 continued steadily on the decline.

In interpreting these data as shedding light on the general social movements it must be remembered that the composition of the boy and girl pupils of municipal primary schools was not representative of the whole population. The remarks made above regarding composition by caste of pupils of primary schools indicate the abnormally large representation of the more "Advanced" groups in the population of pupils which was only slowly reduced. The social trends indicated are thus chiefly those for the more advanced groups. However, the continuity in trends may also point to the trends being generally operative in all strata of society; they operated, as with educational advance, with only a progressive lag in each of the less advanced strata; on this hypothesis the continuity of the trends with even a changing social composition of the pupils' population would be explained.

Secondary Education:— It has been noted above that for part of the period there were parallel courses in secondary and primary education. Education upto the end of the first four classes was only primary and was called the lower primary stage. Primary education continued for another three classes, those of the upper primary stage. However, a student could enter secondary education immediately at the end of the fourth primary class; and ordinarily all who could and had decided to pursue secondary education usually migrated to secondary schools at the end of the lower primary stage. The upper primary stage came, thus, to be resorted to chiefly by those whose education was not likely to be continued in the secondary stage. This severance of connection between the two stages and making of the upper primary stage somewhat of a blind alley was emphasized by the introduction of and the great importance attached to the teaching of English from the beginning of the secondary stage. So that, though in most other subjects the standard and content of teaching did not differ greatly between the lower secondary and the upper primary the absence of any knowledge of English made it difficult for one who had passed out of the upper primary stage to migrate readily to the secondary stage. For the bulk of the educands, there was thus no easy ladder for continuing progressively upwards; and only those who had obtained adequate knowledge of English could pursue the courses offered in the

institutions of higher learning. Problems of secondary and higher education were thus usually connected with classes which had obtained or could obtain English education and these classes were mostly urban.

In secondary schools, an important division, which counted for a great deal in the early stages, was made by the distinction between schools in which all education was based on and conducted through English and schools in which English was taught as an important subject but in which education was conducted through an Indian language for, at least a certain number of classes and in which some attention was paid to the teaching of Indian languages, modern and classical. The two divisions of secondary schools thus made were called respectively, the English teaching and the Anglo-Vernacular. There was a further division among the English teaching schools, some of which catered exclusively for European and Eurasian pupils, while others provided for admission of Indians also. Ordinarily, girls attended separate girls' schools, which also were divided into European, English teaching and Anglo-Vernacular i. e. Indian schools.

This was the structure of secondary schools of the ordinary sort i. e. those schools which offered instructions in courses of studies leading upto the Matriculation Examination of the University or some corresponding examination which gave entrance to institutions of higher learning. This type of secondary education was by far the most important throughout all the period. There was another side to secondary education which may be described as that of technical, industrial or specialised education. The development of this was not considerable. Among special institutions at the end of the primary stage may be counted firstly the training classes for primary teachers, both for men and women which provided the vocational training necessary for teachers in primary schools. These were rather vocational schools coming at the end of the primary stage of education rather than secondary schools. The number of pupils in a number of drawing classes attached to secondary schools was also large. These classes, however, could hardly be considered as imparting special or technical training. Their strength merely indicated the number of students of ordinary secondary schools who appeared at the examinations for drawing certificates while undergoing secondary education. The schools for special training attached to the higher institutions in agriculture, engineering, etc. also belonged to a special

type. These classes offered shorter courses of the practical sort in agriculture, engineering, etc. to students who had usually completed their secondary education; in the same manner the medical school was an institution for medical education, providing a shorter and less expensive course than the medical colleges, for students who had completed their secondary education. This left only a very small number of institutions which gave technical or special training to students at the secondary stage itself. Perhaps the first of such institutions was the technical school established by the Poona Municipality which began with courses in carpentry, smithy, etc. Important among types which emerged later were commercial schools and allied schools, training for general clerical jobs, such as, typing and shorthand classes and the tailoring colleges.

University Education:—Among institutions of higher learning the arts and the professional colleges were distinguished from the beginning. The Arts Colleges taught courses of study usually in both the arts and the science faculties of the University. Instruction in science subjects was everywhere provided later than instruction in arts subjects and the term Arts colleges continued to include institutions imparting instruction in both arts and science subjects. Already in 1891 all types of higher education later provided for were available in Poona in a rudimentary form. There were two Arts colleges; there was a Law class; the College of Science provided courses both in Engineering and Agriculture, and the medical school arranged for medical education not for a University degree but for a diploma or licenciate and training at a similar level was provided for in the workshops, etc. attached to the College of Science.

The higher institutions of learning were all English teaching i. e. education in them was based on and conducted through English but there were no separate institutions catering for Europeans and Eurasians as distinct from Indians; also there were no separate institutions for girls. Such girls as took to higher education, attended the institutions which catered primarily for boys.

Government and Private Institutions:—It is clear from the statistics (Table No. 74) that there was rapid development of secondary and higher education of all types during the 50 years or so, before the date of our survey. Until the last quarter of the 19th century the share of European and English teaching schools was dominant in secondary education and continued to be large for some time after.

Table No. 74:— Number of Institutions in Poona with number of pupils attending on 31st March of the following years.

Classes of Institutions	1881		1891		1901		1911		1921		1931		1937	
	No. of Institutions	No. of Pupils	No. of Institutions	No. of Pupils	No. of Institutions	No. of Pupils	No. of Institutions	No. of Pupils	No. of Institutions	No. of Pupils	No. of Institutions	No. of Pupils	No. of Institutions	No. of Pupils
Colleges														
1 Arts Colleges	1	133	2	339	2	443	2	942	3	1639	3	2109	3	2777
2 Professional Colleges	1	86	2	80	2	164	2	246	2	376	3	881	3	746
<i>College of Science</i>	1	86	1	66	1	129	1*	186*	1*	189*	1*	170*	1*	216*
<i>College of Agriculture</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	110	1	187	1	266	1	196
<i>Law College</i>	...	...	1†	24†	1†	35†	...	...	...	...	1	466	1	536
High Schools and Middle Schools (Boys)														
3 European & English Teaching	3	310	4	598	4	622	3	464	5	571	4	1027	3	984
4 Anglo-Vernacular	7	1182	10	2753	10	1576	10	4061	12	4775	14+3	6403	17+2	7185
												+69		+175
High Schools and Middle Schools (Girls)														
5 European & English Teaching	4	338	5	504	7	623	6	469	7	837	4	885	5	1100
6 Anglo-Vernacular	...	...	5	128	6	167	6	335	3	586	7	1426	9+1	2310
														+43
Professional and Technical Schools														
7 Professional Schools & classes	1	153	1	272	1	294	2	351	1	346	1	548	1	598
<i>B. J. Medical School</i>	1	61	1	106	1	89	1	127	1	227	1	272	1	346
<i>College of Science Engr. Workshop</i>	...	73	...	143	...	171	...	114	...	109	...	275	1	252
" " <i>Agricultural</i>	...	17	...	14	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
" " <i>Forestry</i>	...	12	...	9	...	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
" " <i>Veterinary</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	(110)	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 Other "Special & Technical Schools	...	...	2	16	3	52	6	258	17	1511	19	1644	21	1489
						(4)		(216)		(159)		(92)		(137)
9 Training Colleges for Men (Primary)	1	134	1	163	1	132	1	206	2	314	2	238	2	326
10 Training Classes for Men (Secondary)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	101
11 Training Colleges for Women (Primary)	1	37	1	34	1	42	1	85	5	268	6	263	6	362
12 Drawing Classes attached to other Institutions	...	...	7	48	8	26	8	37	11	...	...	...	...	...
				(879)		(586)		(1929)		(1851)		...	...	...
Total	19	2373	40	4935	45	4141	47	7454	57	11,223	63+3	15492	74+3	18196
				(879)		(590)		(2135)		(2010)		(92)		(137)

Note:—Figures in brackets indicate the number of pupils attending Special & Technical institutions who were already enrolled in the parent institutions; additional figures shown by plus sign are the English classes attached to Primary Schools and of the number of pupils in them.

* Engineering College only. † Govt. Law Class.

This was even more marked and marked for a longer time in secondary education for girls, than in those for boys. It was during the last quarter of the 19th century that efforts began in Poona which were soon to transform the situation.

An important division among all institutions of secondary and higher learning was that between institutions conducted by Government and those conducted by private agencies. The share of Government in all activities was not ordinarily an expanding one. Government policy was defined as one of conducting institutions directly only to a limited extent and in limited fields, and to encourage efforts of private agencies. The higher institutions of learning were at first confined to those conducted by Government. Government also conducted high schools of the Anglo-Vernacular type, first for boys and later, for girls. In the initial stages, the institutions available to ordinary Indians were thus established and conducted by Government.

Private effort was, in the early stages, specially evident, in the European Eurasian and English teaching schools. Poona had a considerable European and Eurasian population and population of communities, like Parsees, who took early to complete English education. With its salubrious climate, Poona also became an important centre for residential schools of the European and English teaching type. Therefore, private effort, missionary or otherwise, received a stimulus in Poona and by the end of the 19th century it was a notable centre for this type of school. The private Indian effort in secondary education came much later than the private effort of the European and English teaching schools. Though the first of such schools catering for Indians was established in the sixties, it is usual and appropriate to mark the beginning of the new movement with the establishment of the New English School (1831) which later led to the formation of the Deccan Education Society and the establishment of the Fergusson College by it (1885). The New English School and the Deccan Education Society established a type in educational effort and organisation which was, in time, to be widely copied in Maharashtra and to lead to a considerable multiplication of institutions of both secondary and higher learning all over the region.

The growth in the 20th century was growth brought about mostly by private effort. The secondary schools maintained by Government were in due course either abolished or transferred to private agencies. In 1937, Government effort in the secondary

field was confined to the specialised field, opened largely for political reasons in the early days of the 20th century viz. the Anglo-Urdu schools catering primarily for Muslims. The old Government High School for boys had been abolished in 1922 and the old High School for Indian girls was transferred to the management of a private agency. In the same way, the first Arts College of Poona, the Deccan College, had been closed in 1934. The Government Law Class had been discontinued in 1908. Government retained its direct participation in the field of professional colleges. The College of Science had given place to two Colleges, one for Engineering and the other for Agricultural subjects. The only representation of private effort in the field of professional college, on the other hand, was the Law College.

Growth in University Education:— Taking a broad view of developments for approximately half a century before the survey, it would appear that there was no increase in the effective number of institutions providing higher professional education. The College of Science in Poona had developed from the Poona Engineering Class and Mechanical School which was opened in 1854. In 1866 the degree of L. C. E. was instituted for matriculated students and the College was affiliated to the University of Bombay. Even after this, the classes for workshop apprentices and overseers were continued in the College. In 1878-79 a forest class and an agricultural class were added to the College; the agricultural class after some years was also made altogether into a University class. However, the forest class and the veterinary class which were added subsequently were not raised to the University degree status. The agricultural classes were separated from the College of Science in 1908 and an independent College of Agriculture was established in Poona in that year. For many years after the Government Law Class had been closed, there was no provision for higher legal education in Poona. The establishment of the Law College by the Indian Law Society in 1924 made good this deficiency. At the time of the survey medical education did not go up to the university level but remained on the diploma or licentiate standard at the B. J. Medical School. The numbers in the professional colleges increased steadily over the period. They did not increase as rapidly as in the ordinary Arts Colleges, presumably because the provision made for admission to these institutions was not correspondingly increased. The professional colleges were mostly Government institutions and the increase of provision of teaching for increased numbers in them was dependent

on the decisions of Government. It may also be noticed that till the time of the survey, the engineering and agricultural colleges were the only ones of their kind in Bombay Province. Increased numbers in them, therefore, reflected increased demand not only in Poona or in Maharashtra, but over the whole of Bombay Province. The law colleges were more numerous and the law college in Poona provided chiefly for students in Maharashtra as also for students from further South. The increase in the number of students at the professional colleges was gradual throughout the period and was not much affected by such phenomena as the plague or influenza epidemics. This, of course, was due to the fact that numbers in these colleges were not closely connected with local circumstances. The special increase in numbers in professional colleges between 1921 and 1931 was the result of the establishment of the law college in the twenties. The decline in numbers in the professional colleges between 1931 and 1937 is also to be explained by the decline in numbers chiefly in the law college which may have been due either to the depression or to the opening of new law colleges in the areas from which the Poona College derived its pupils in 1931 or to both. Between 1931 and 1936 there was, however, a marked fall in the number of students at the Agricultural College also. The Principal of this college currently explained the decline by referring to a change in the standard of passing made by the University¹. However, it is likely that the phenomenon had something to do with probable effects of the depression on the employment of agricultural graduates.

During the non-co-operation movement of 1920-21 an attempt was made to found an institution of higher learning, the Tilak Vidyapeetha, outside the official and recognised system of education. The attempt did not meet with much success. However, at the time of the survey the Ayurveda Mahavidyalaya was still conducted by this institution for the training of medical practitioners on *ayurvedic* lines. There was no facility in the official and recognised system for such training in Poona at that time. The number of students in the Ayurveda Mahavidyalaya was 98 in 1936-37.

The number of Arts Colleges increased from one in 1881 to three at the time of the survey. The Fergusson College was established in 1885, the Sir Parshurambhau College in 1917 and the Nowrosjee Wadia College in 1932. Soon after the Wadia College was established, the earliest of the Poona Colleges, the Deccan College,

1. Quinquennial Report on Public Instruction in Bombay 1932-37 p. 52.

was closed and the number thus again became three. The increase in number of pupils of the Arts Colleges was continuous; it will, however, be noticed that the rate of increase between 1891 and 1901 was specially low. This, no doubt, was due to the influence of the plague epidemics and the famines which affected not only Poona but also most other parts of Maharashtra from which students of these Poona Colleges were drawn. There was another slowing down of the rate of increase of pupils of Arts College after 1931. This slackening may be fairly attributed to the prevailing depression of the early thirties and the consequent unemployment among the educated middle classes.

An important development regarding women's education was the establishment in Poona in 1917 of the independent Indian Women's University and an Arts College conducted by it. The University was established specially to impart education suited to women, and in particular, to impart it through the mother tongue instead of through English as in the prevailing general system of education. The college attached to the University made good progress during its early years. The total number of students in the college and the number of students graduating from it were respectively 14 and 3 in 1920-21. The corresponding numbers in 1925-26 were 24 and 6, in 1930-31, 30 and 3 and in 1936-37, 47 and 12

Growth in Secondary Education :—Turning to secondary education the numerical importance of the European and the English teaching schools in the early years is striking. The European and English teaching schools registered a very rapid growth in the second half of the 19th century, and their strength was not much affected by the prevailing plague epidemics; this showed that they were more immune to local influences than the Anglo-Vernacular schools. After a period of what appears like stagnation, in the first two decades of the 20th century, there was rapid increase in strength of the European and English teaching schools in the twenties, but they failed to keep up this rate of progression or even to maintain their full strength in later years. The Anglo-Vernacular schools show a pattern of growth which was evidently more dependent on local circumstance and more to be compared with the movements traced for numbers in primary schools. The rapid progress till 1895 was held up abruptly in the closing years of the 19th century, so that the numbers in 1901 in these schools were appreciably lower than those in 1891. The rapid progress in the opening decade of the 20th century was not maintained and at the end of

the second decade, i. e. in 1921, because evidently of the influenza epidemic and other reasons, the numbers were not much larger than those in 1911. Subsequently, however, there was a rapid increase which does not appear to have been damped by the depression or any other circumstance of the thirties.

Girls' education in the secondary stage shows close similarity in movements to the education of boys. The dominance of European and English teaching schools in the early period is even more marked in the case of girls than that of boys; so that the numbers of girls in the European and English teaching schools were larger than in the Anglo-Vernacular schools till almost 1921. The progress in numbers of pupils in the European and English teaching girls' schools was not affected by the plague and famines of the closing years of the 19th century, but in common with the European and English teaching boys' schools a marked decline in numbers took place in the girls' schools between 1901 and 1911. The equally marked rise in numbers in these girls' schools pre-dates the rise in numbers in boys' schools by a decade and is apparent between 1911 and 1921 instead of between 1921 and 1931.

Numbers of pupils in the Anglo-Vernacular girls' schools show a steady increase over the whole period. As in the case of the number of girls in primary schools, the number of girl pupils in Anglo-Vernacular secondary schools is not as affected by the plague or the influenza epidemics as the numbers in boys' schools. Evidently the strong upward tendency in an early stage of growth counteracted, in this case, any effect that these epidemics might have had on general educational conditions. As in the primary stage of education the rate of growth in the number of girl pupils gains momentum after 1921 and is continued after 1931 right upto the year of the survey. The comparative numbers in Anglo-Vernacular high schools for boys and girls may be taken to indicate very broadly the relative progress in boys' and girls' education in Poona in relation to Indian society. Throughout this period the more rapid growth in girls' education narrowed the great disparity between the two, existing at the end of the 19th century. Even so at the date of the survey, the number of pupils in boys' Anglo-Vernacular high schools was more than three times the number of pupils in girls' Anglo-Vernacular high schools.

Growth in Vocational Education :—Among institutions of vocational education, special mention may be made of the Primary

Teachers' Training Colleges. To begin with, the only training institutions were the respective government training colleges for men and women. These continued throughout the period and had numbers which were substantially higher in 1937 than those fifty years before. The establishment of new institutions for training primary teachers began in the second decade of the 20th century. With the policy of encouraging Muslim education Government established a male training college for Urdu teachers. In the same decade a number of private institutions for training women primary teachers were established. This extension of institutional facilities for training women teachers was most probably due to teaching being one of the few vocations open to women. The report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1923-24 had the following significant comments. "There is no difficulty in securing women teachers for schools in larger towns, but they refuse to serve elsewhere. There is little doubt that the facilities for the training of women teachers, at any rate in the Marathi Districts, are excessive rather than inadequate."¹ With the extension of primary education after 1925 the demand for primary teachers increased somewhat. It does not, however, appear that the demand for women teachers outstripped supply. On the other hand, the supply of trained men teachers increased only slowly while the demand for them continued to increase at a rate much more rapid than that for women teachers.

Technical education other than that imparted at the higher institutions of professional learning was not of great importance in Poona even in 1937. The B. J. Medical School referred to above was an institution only slightly inferior in status to a full-fledged medical college. The number of pupils in this institution had grown steadily. A similar growth was marked in the enrollment of pupils in the diploma classes attached to the College of Engineering. Diploma classes and shorter courses used to be conducted at the Agricultural College also. Their character and composition differed from time to time and they included, at one time, courses in veterinary and forestry also. However, owing to retrenchment of staff of the Agricultural College the diploma and short courses had all been closed since 1932-33.

The Municipal Technical School was established towards the end of the 19th century. The courses in it were meant chiefly for

¹ Op. cit. pages 52-53.

students who had not made much progress in secondary education and were of a directly vocational type. In the opening decades, the courses were in carpentry, smithy, metal turning and signboard painting. There was also a drawing class attached to the school for the benefit of those who could not afford to become regular students of other schools. During the decade before the year of the survey an attempt was made to provide new courses of studies and to give more effective practical education by attaching the school for actual work to the Municipal Workshop. To the older types of training, fitting, moulding and wiremen's work were added and courses for *mistries* in the civil, mechanical and electrical engineering departments were adopted. The number of students, however, grew only slowly over the decades and the preponderance of Brahmins among the students was marked from the beginning till the year of the survey.

At the time of the survey a recent addition to technical training facilities was the Weaving Institute which had been established in 1930. The only other types of technical education which were aided and recognised were, tailoring colleges and commercial schools. The numbers even in these institutions were not very large at the time of the survey. A technical institution which was in a class of its own was the industrial school attached to the Reformatory at Yeravada. This was not a general school for technical training and was only meant for boys sent to the reformatory as a means of setting them up in life by teaching them some craft or skill by the time they obtained their release. As compared with the large growth in the general secondary and higher education and as compared even with the growth of numbers in the professional colleges, the lack of variety and the smallness of the number of technical schools and of the number of their pupils was quite remarkable at the time of the survey.

Distribution of students by sex:— Table No. 76 presents a detailed classification by community and sex of the total number of students in various institutions in Poona in 1937-38 and indicates the number staying in hostels attached to these institutions. This table gives a complete picture of the progress in various directions made at that date. Some remarks have already been offered on the progress of girls' education at the secondary stage. There were, in 1937-38, almost no girl students in the professional colleges i. e. in the College of Engineering, Agriculture and Law. Girls' education had, however, made considerable

progress in the Arts Colleges. More than 10 p. c. of the total number of students in these colleges were girls in 1937-38, and they were fairly evenly distributed over all the three colleges.

The progress in the number of girl students in the Arts Colleges in Poona had been recent at the time of the survey. This is brought out by the following table which sets out the number of girl students passing the various college and university examinations from all the Arts Colleges in Poona in 1921 and 1931.

Table No. 75:—No. of Girl Students of Poona Colleges passing University and College Examinations in 1921 & 1931.

Year	First Year	Inter Arts	Inter Science	B. A.	B. Sc.	Total
1921	12	5	—	1	—	18
1931	22	19	10	5	1	57

In secondary education the proportion of girls in the total was much larger than in the Arts Colleges. The total number of girl students at the secondary stage was nearly 2900, including the number of girls attending boys' schools. This was out of a total number of students at the secondary stage of a little over 11,000 representing more than 25 p. c. of the total number of students at this stage. Comment has already been made above on the number of women's Primary Teachers' Training Colleges and the growing number of female students in them. As compared to the number of male students the growth in this number is seen to be very large. Another branch of vocational education in which girl students entered in significant numbers was medical education; the number of girl students in the B. J. Medical School in 1937-38 was more than 20 p. c. of the total enrollment of students in that institution. The only other notable feature in girls' education was a significant number in the tailoring classes. The Seva Sadan Workroom classes were not strictly vocational education classes but rather classes which enabled needy women to earn, while learning some useful industrial or other skill.

Distribution of students by Religion and Caste:—The analysis of the number of students by community reveals features that might have been expected from a study of other aspects of the

Table No. 76.—Students of Poona Educational Institutions

Name of the Institution	Brahmins		Other Advanced		Total of Advanced			Total Intermediate		
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Fergusson College	714	84	263	17	977	101	1078	148	6	154
S. P. "	620	84	67	17	687	101	788	47	4	51
Wadia "	105	14	15	13	120	27	147	53	3	56
Total for Arts Colleges	1439	182	345	47	1784	229	2013	248	13	261
Engineering College	66	...	21	...	87	...	87	40	...	40
Agricultural "	56	...	46	...	102	...	102	43	...	43
Law "	223	1	9	...	232	1	233	83	...	83
Total for Professional Colleges	345	1	76	...	421	1	422	166	...	166
Anglo Urdu High School	1	...	3	...	4	...	4	12	...	12
New English School	1046	155	119	17	1205	172	1377	288	3	291
Nutan M. V. High School	1449	...	206	...	1655	...	1655	322	...	322
M. E. Society's " "	581	...	38	...	619	...	619	82	...	82
Shri Shivaji Maratha " "	8	...	8	...	16	...	16	353	...	353
Sirdar Dastur " "	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...
Camp. Edu. Society's " "	152	...	95	...	247	...	247	262	...	262
Bharat High School	76	1	6	...	82	1	83	32	1	33
Sarasvati Mandir Poona Eng. "	170	15	8	2	178	17	195	65	...	65
Badria High School	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shri Gopal " "	177	24	11	5	188	29	217	22	1	23
Modern " "	311	61	30	19	341	70	411	97	11	108
Anglo Gujarathi High School	15	1	26	4	41	5	46	9	...	9
Shri Shivaji Preparatory Mily. "	8	...	7	...	15	...	15	42	...	42
M. E. Society's High School (D. Gymkhana)	156	128	34	16	190	144	334	36	9	45
Total for High School for Boys	4190	385	593	63	4783	438	5221	1622	25	1647
A. V. School Yeravada	2	...	...	...	2	...	2	29	4	33
Rasta Peth Edu. Society's School	23	1	8	...	31	1	32	60	1	61
Alegoankar A. V. School Kirkee	15	4	1	...	16	4	20	77	4	81
Bunter Bernard Memorial A. V. School, Hadapsar	3	...	...	...	3	...	3	26	2	28
Total for Middle School for Boys	43	5	9	...	52	5	57	192	11	203
High School for Indian Girls	...	571	...	88	...	659	659	...	75	75
Sirdar Dastur High School	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
St. Andrews " "	...	11	...	2	...	13	13	...	18	18
Seva Sadan " "	...	246	...	8	...	254	254	...	14	14
S. N. D. T. Kanya Shala	...	314	...	15	...	329	329	...	15	15
Mahilashram High School	...	81	...	1	...	82	82	...	14	14
Agarkar " "	...	117	...	31	...	148	148	...	77	77
M. E. Society Girls School	...	326	...	21	...	347	347	...	13	13
Total for High Schools for Girls	...	1666	...	166	...	1832	1832	...	226	226
A. V. Girls Middle School	...	...	...	2	...	2	2	...	...	...

Classified by Caste, Religion Sex and residence in Hostel (1937-38)

Total Backward			Total Hindus			Mahomedans		Parsis		Christians		Total of others including Jains			Total All Students			Hostel Students		
Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
14	...	14	1139	107	1246	17	1	17	...	13	1	74	1	75	1260	110	1370	358	38	396
9	...	9	743	105	848	8	...	1	...	2	...	19	3	22	773	108	881	81	25	106
6	...	6	179	30	209	45	7	58	12	57	11	9	4	13	348	64	412	56	7	63
29	...	29	2061	242	2303	70	8	76	12	72	12	102	8	110	2381	282	2663	495	70	565
3	...	3	130	...	130	18	...	43	...	11	...	8	...	8	210	...	210	82	...	82
1	...	1	146	...	146	7	...	5	...	10	...	6	1	7	174	1	175	126	...	126
14	...	14	329	1	330	9	...	2	...	5	...	17	...	17	362	1	363	23	...	23
18	...	18	605	1	606	34	...	50	...	26	...	31	1	32	746	2	748	231	...	231
...	...	...	16	...	16	159	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	7	182	...	182	13	...	13
26	...	26	1519	175	1694	37	...	...	...	8	3	17	2	19	1581	180	1761	...	...	...
41	...	41	2018	...	2018	6	...	...	...	4	...	27	...	27	2055	...	2055	...	...	...
5	...	5	706	...	706	3	...	...	...	4	...	12	...	12	725	...	725	...	...	...
16	...	16	385	...	385	1	...	...	...	29	...	...	...	...	415	...	415	41	...	41
...	...	...	2	...	2	3	...	172	...	1	...	...	...	...	178	...	178	64	...	64
46	...	46	555	...	555	34	...	5	...	47	...	36	...	36	677	...	677	...	...	...
1	...	1	115	2	117	11	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	2	129	2	131	...	...	...
15	...	15	258	17	275	3	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	5	266	17	283	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	84	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	84	...	84	56	...	56
1	...	1	211	30	241	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	211	30	241	...	...	...
2	...	2	440	81	521	3	...	...	...	2	...	15	...	15	460	81	541	...	...	...
...	...	...	50	5	55	6	...	...	...	...	...	24	...	24	80	5	85	...	...	...
...	...	...	57	...	57	9	...	2	...	3	...	3	...	3	74	...	74	74	...	74
...	...	...	226	153	379	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	226	153	379	...	...	...
153	...	153	6558	463	7021	359	...	179	...	99	3	148	2	150	7343	464	7811	248	...	248
9	1	10	40	5	45	4	...	...	...	4	2	2	...	2	50	7	57	...	...	...
14	...	14	105	2	107	12	...	...	...	10	1	4	...	4	131	3	134	...	...	...
27	3	30	120	11	131	14	...	...	...	7	...	3	1	4	144	12	156	...	...	...
4	...	4	33	2	35	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	34	2	36	...	...	...
54	4	58	298	20	318	30	...	...	...	21	3	10	1	11	359	24	383	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	734	734	...	...	...	...	...	2	8	8	...	744	744	...	117	...	117
...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	127	...	...	...	1	1	...	129	129	...	72	...	72
...	1	1	...	32	32	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	187	187	...	...	...	...
...	4	4	...	272	272	...	...	...	...	...	131	...	19	19	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	344	344	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	6	6	...	...	...	13	...	13
...	1	1	...	97	97	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	97	97	...	90	...	90
...	8	8	...	233	233	...	1	...	3	...	9	...	9	9	...	255	255	6	...	6
...	...	...	...	360	360	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	360	360	...	...	...
...	14	14	...	2072	2072	...	7	...	130	...	143	...	43	43	...	2395	2395	...	298	298
...	...	...	...	2	2	...	78	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	80	...	...	...

Table No. 76:— (Continued) Special

Name of the Institution	Brahmins		Other Advanced		Total of Advanced			Total Intermediate		
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
B. J. Medical School	154	21	17	15	171	36	207	40	9	49
Teachers Training Institute attached to N. M. V.	27	...	...	...	27	...	27	1	...	1
Teachers Training Institute attached to Camp Education School										
Training College for Men	59	...	2	...	61	...	61	160	...	160
Urdu Training College										
Training College for Women	...	31	...	7	...	38	38	...	53	53
Urdu Training " " B. M. Wadia " " Seva Sadan										
Training College	...	57	...	...	57	57	...	7	7	
C. S. M. Training College										
Training College for Women Hingne										
College of Engineering workshop	160	...	12	...	172	...	172	44	...	44
Seva Savdan Workroom classes	...	62	...	23	...	85	85	...	...	...
Govt. Hand Weaving Institute	35	...	3	...	38	...	38	6	...	6
V. J. Municipal Tech. School	43	...	3	...	46	...	46	4	...	4
Mission Industrial School Panch Howd	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
D. C. Mission Tailoring class	7	5	8	2	15	7	22	2	...	2
Jadhav College of Tailoring	41	7	2	...	43	7	50	20	...	20
Zarapkar Tailoring College	3	...	6	...	9	...	9	...	...	...
Victory Tailoring " "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
The Poona Phonetic Institute	36	1	11	...	47	1	48	...	...	...
S. P. Mandali's School of Commerce	63	...	2	...	65	...	65	4	...	4
The Marathi Centre Institute	26	7	2	1	28	8	36	3	...	3
N. G. Gondhalekar's School for Dumb & Deaf.	9	8	3	2	12	10	22	6	3	9
Total of Special Schools and Classes	672	229	71	50	743	279	1022	290	80	370

Schools & Classes

Total Backward			Total Hindus			Mahomedan		Parsis		Christians		Total of others including Jains			Total All Students			Hostel Students		
Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
...	211	45	256	10	1	...	211	15	8	...	8	240	63	303	65	...	...	65
...	28	...	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	...	28	...	...	...	...
...	9	...	9	2	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	12	3	15	...	...	...	...
41	...	41	262	...	262	11	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	5	278	...	278	278	...	278
...	73	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	73	...	73	73	...	...	73
...	6	6	...	97	97	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	98	98	...	89	...	89	89
...	55	...	...	...	...	...	...	55	55	...	55	...	55	55
...	2	2	...	66	66	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	68	68	...	17	...	17	17
...	1	1	...	...	...	...	45	...	...	...	46	46	...	40	...	40	40
...	37	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	37	37	...	37	...	37	37
...	216	...	216	5	...	21	...	7	...	7	7	256	...	256	22	...	...	22
...	85	85	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	87	87	...	9	...	...	9
...	5	5	44	...	44	3	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	48	...	48	...	...	...	...
...	55	...	55	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	61	...	61	...	...	...	...
...	2	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...
4	...	4	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	5	...	5	...	...	...	...
...	17	7	24	6	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	24	7	31	...	...	...	...
2	...	2	65	7	72	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	65	9	74	...	...	...	...
...	9	...	9	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	13	...	13	...	...	...	...
...	47	1	48	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	49	1	50	...	...	...	...
...	69	...	69	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	71	...	71	...	...	...	...
...	31	8	39	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	2	34	8	42	...	...	...	...
...	18	13	31	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	13	34	...	...	...	...
52	8	60	1085	367	1452	115	56	22	2	34	67	24	3	27	1280	495	1775	438	247	685

social and economic life of the city. In the Arts Colleges the distribution among communities reveals a pattern that is in keeping with the general picture. Brahmins and the other advanced Hindus distinctly dominate this group, forming an overwhelming proportion not only of the total of Hindus but also of total numbers. The representation of backward classes is extremely small and the intermediate Hindu group is also represented very poorly in relation to its total numbers in the population. Among religions other than Hindus, Parsis were much more advanced in education than Brahmins or other advanced Hindus and are represented very well in the Arts Colleges. Muslims make a showing which is good as compared with the intermediate classes among Hindus. As elsewhere the proportion of girl students is the largest amongst those communities who are most advanced in the education of boys. The Parsis and the advanced Hindus lead in the matter. The number of girl students in the intermediate Hindu classes is markedly low and there are none of them among the backward.

The picture presented by the professional colleges is somewhat different. In these colleges there was a more even representation of various religions and communities. The dominance of Brahmins and the other advanced classes is not at all marked, especially in the composition of pupils of the Engineering and Agricultural Colleges. The pre-eminence of the Parsis is, however, even more marked in these two professional colleges. The representation of the intermediate and the backward, especially, the intermediate classes, is much better than in the Arts Colleges. There appear to be two reasons for this. Firstly, pupils of the professional colleges hailed from outside Maharashtra to a large extent and the dominance of Brahmins in regions of Bombay Province other than Maharashtra, was not as marked as in Maharashtra. The composition of students in the professional colleges would be affected by this factor to some extent. Even more important than this factor was the policy governing the admission of students to the Engineering and Agricultural Colleges that had been adopted by Government since the early twenties. A proportion of seats in the colleges had been reserved to communities classified as intermediate or backward in education, and this gave them a special preference which, coupled with liberal Government scholarships made it possible for the most promising of students among them to take to this education. The composition of students in the Engineering and Agricultural Colleges was thus the result chiefly of deliberate policy on the part

of Government to bring about a more even distribution of educational opportunity and ultimate educational attainment among various classes. The almost entire absence of girl students in professional colleges makes it unnecessary to offer any comment in their regard.

The composition of students of boys' schools at the secondary stage also shows the dominance of the Brahmins and other advanced Hindus. However, as was to be expected, the disproportion in numbers was not as great at this stage as in the Arts Colleges. The Depressed Classes, however, do not show an improvement in relative position at the stage as great as the proportion of improvement among the intermediate.

An interesting feature of the data is the light they throw on the ability of the different communities to continue education to higher stages. Taking the total number of boy students among Brahmins or advanced Hindus, as a whole, it is seen that their numbers in the Arts Colleges represented more than one-third of their total number in the secondary stage. Similar proportions for the intermediate and the backward are very low, and among the Parsees the proportion is much higher than among the advanced Hindus. It is true that students of the Arts Colleges in Poona were drawn from a much wider area than students of the Middle and High Schools in Poona. However, if one assumes, and there is nothing against this assumption, that the potential area from which students were drawn at the respective stages was more or less the same for all communities, the proportion throws considerable light on the varying ability to continue education of the different strata.

The proportion of girls undergoing secondary education among different communities reveals the familiar pattern. The proportion was very high among the Parsis, and among Jews the number of male students at the secondary stage was actually much lower than the number of female students at the same stage. Among Brahmins and advanced Hindus the number of girls in the secondary stage was almost one-third of the total number of students belonging to those communities in that stage. The proportion falls quickly to a comparatively low figure among intermediate Hindus and also among Mahomedans, and it falls very low, less than a tenth, among the backward.

The dominance of advanced Hindus is more marked in the B. J. Medical School than in the professional colleges. The intermediate classes make a fair showing in this school but there was no enrollment at all of the backward classes in it. Among

institutions for teachers' primary training the position was affected even to a larger extent, than in the Engineering and Agricultural Colleges, by reservations in favour of intermediate and backward classes; with the result that in the Government Training Colleges for men, the intermediate groups were dominant and the backward had significant proportions, alone among all the educational institutions in Poona. To a lesser extent this was true also of the training colleges for women. The Urdu Training Colleges were almost communal institutions and, therefore, had enrollment of Muslims only.

What would happen in the absence of special aid or reservation is revealed by the proportions of different communities in the non-governmental training institutions. The same feature is also partially brought out by the composition of students in the diploma classes of the College of Engineering. In this case both the factors affecting composition in the Engineering College, (i) that of recruitment of students from outside Maharashtra and (ii) large reservations in favour of intermediate and backward classes were absent, with the result that the dominance of the advanced Hindus was considerable, the intermediate classes were comparatively poorly represented and the backward classes not at all. The divorce of industrial and commercial education from the older occupational distribution is also brought out in the composition of the population of students in the industrial and commercial schools. Brahmins and advanced Hindus dominate this composition and the intermediate Hindus, within which term fall the majority of the old artisan and industrial castes, are in most of these institutions represented by numbers much lower than those of the advanced.

Students in Hostels:—As was to be expected, hostel accommodation in relation to the number of students was the largest in the Agricultural and Engineering Colleges. It was fairly substantial, more than 20 p. c., in the Arts Colleges. Among schools only a small number, specially those in the Cantonment, provided hostel accommodation for their students. In the schools in the City, the High School for Indian Girls was specially prominent in providing hostel accommodation and the Mabilashrama High School at Hingne with its distant location was an almost a completely residential school. It is notable that in relation to numbers of total pupils, the hostel accommodation provided by girls' schools was much larger than that by boys' schools. This would indicate, perhaps, that Poona girls' schools drew their students from over a wider region than Poona boys' schools. Among other

institutions the Training Colleges provided the largest proportion of hostel accommodation. Residence in hostel was almost compulsory in Government training institutions and was provided to a very substantial extent by the private institutions also. Substantial hostel accommodation was provided by the B. J. Medical School; but the accommodation was comparatively low in the case of the Engineering College Workshop Class emphasizing again the much more local character of the recruitment to this class.

It has been pointed out that educational institutions in Poona catered for a fairly wide region. Upto the date of the survey, the Agricultural and Engineering Colleges at Poona were the only ones in the whole Province and students from all over the Province resorted to these institutions for specialised studies. Even where Poona institutions were not the only ones in the Province or in the Maharashtra region they were taken advantage of, by students from a wide area, including the whole of West Maharashtra. One result of this was that a large number of students in Poona institutions had to make arrangements for their accommodation in Poona during their period of study. The arrangements were of a variety of types. In the first instance, there were the hostels attached to the educational institutions themselves. Comments on the data relating to these in 1936-37 have already been offered above. Apart from the hostels provided by particular educational institutions there were some hostels in Poona unattached to any school or college. A small number of such hostels was maintained by Government. In Poona, Government maintained a special hostel for Depressed Classes. A number of hostels maintained by private agencies and unattached to any particular institution were recognised and aided by Government. (Table No. 77).

Table No. 77:—Unattached Hostels in Poona in 1936-37.

Name of Hostels	Number of Inmates on 31st March 1937 attending				Total
	Colleges	Secondary Schools	Primary Schools	Special School	
Govt. Hostel for Depressed classes (Govt.)	...	46	...	...	46
Union Boarding House (Aided)	11	8	...	1	20
Poona Seva Sadan Hostel for Depressed Class Women (Aided)	4	1	5	1	11
Total	15	55	5	2	77

Apart from such aided and recognised hostels, there would be some which did not seek recognition or aid. In the notes on particular communities included in Chapter 4, will be found mention of hostels for students maintained by caste *panchayats* or other communal organisations. We have no complete record of the number of such hostels or of the number of pupils taking advantage of them. Considerable number of students would also be staying outside the hostels, either singly or in groups. Whereas the population of hostels could not be covered by the sample survey of houses conducted by us students living by themselves or in groups would be included in it. The number of such students in our House Survey sample was 130. In Vol. 1 (pp. 75-76) is included a short description of the population of students included in the house survey and tabular information relating to them. A number of students would, for a variety of reasons, specially lack of means, not be staying either in hostels or in hired rooms by themselves. They would be staying either with relatives or friends. There was no way of determining the number of such students and no data were available on this point. If all the categories mentioned above are taken into account it would appear that the total number of students coming from outside for taking benefit of educational activity in Poona was very considerable.

Other Educational Activity:—Apart from the main educational institutions, data regarding whom have been presented above, there would be other activity of the educational type conducted in Poona. The most important type of such activity would be giving tuitions and conducting coaching classes for students in the educational institutions or other students who were not registered in the educational institutions and studied independently, usually for some course or examination. A large part of such activity would be part time activity of teachers and others ordinarily employed in the educational institutions. However, a certain number of persons found it profitable to devote themselves fully to such independent coaching or tutorial work. We have no data which would enable us to estimate numbers engaged in such work. In similar manner miscellaneous educational activity such as classes of music, type-writing etc. not noted or registered anywhere was also fairly widespread. However, neither in our census of establishments nor through other sources of information was it possible to obtain adequate information in this regard.

Table No. 78:—Secondary and Higher Educational Institutions in Poona with number of pupils attending on 31st March of the following years.

Name of the Institution	Govt. Aided unaided Municipal	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1937
Dacca College	Govt.	133	140	176	212	232	277	...
Fergusson College	Aided	...	199	267	730	1058	1256	1319
Sir Parashurambhau College	"	...	...	...	...	349	576	840
Nowrosjee Wadia College	Unaided	...	...	...	...	...	...	518
College of Science	Govt.	115	103	198	136 ¹	189 ¹	170 ¹	216 ¹
Agricultural College	"				110	187	256	195
Law College	Unaided		24 ²	35 ²			455	335
Poona High School	Govt.	547	384	227	302	308		
Poona Camp 1st. Grade	"	84	92	91	132	142		
Second Grade School	"	154	22					
Bishops High School	Aided	100	126	90	53	92	143	138
St. Vincent School	"	153	216	320	286	323	457	540
Freechurch Mission Institute	"	177						
Pensioners School	"	57						
Conference School	"	45						
Mission Orphanage Christian Boys and Girls School	"	12						
Native Institution	Unaided	163	562	264	785	564		
Taylor's High School	Aided		106	114				
Ornella's School	"		150	98	125	133	218	306
New English School	"		1108	320	1268	1504	1876	1606
Kirkee School	"		13	11				
Camp Education Society's High School	"		102	97	60	81	465	624
City English School	"		118					
Nutan Marathi Vidyalaya	Unaided		352	541	1250	1698	1755	1910
Methodist Episcopal Boys School	Aided			8	29			
A. V. portion of F. C. M. Industrial School	"			11				
Govt. House, Establishment School	Unaided			6		5		
St. John's A. V. Panch Hawd	Aided				31			
St. Helena School	Unaided				160	148	209	
Shri Gopal A. V. School	"				44	42	102	174
Union High School	Aided					104		
Sirdar Dastur Hoshang Boys High School	"					87	131	149
Bahadurji Parsi High School	"					22		
Alegaonkar's School	"					26	83	
Shri Shivaji Maratha High School	"					197	339	373
Miss Bernard's A. V. School (Hadapsar)	Unaided					18	32	

1 Engineering College only. 2 Government Law Class.

Table No. 78:—(Continued)

Name of the Institution	Govt. Aided unaided Municipal	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1937
		Anglo-Urdu High School	Govt. Aided					
M. E. Society's High School	" Aided						890	638
Bharat High School	" Municipal						216	134
A. V. School Yeravada	" Municipal						63	66
Rasta Peth Education Society's A. V. School	Aided						103	132
Saraswati Mandir Society's Poona English School	Recog- nised						158	263
Badria High School	Aided							78
Modern High School	"							432
Anglo Gujarathi High School	"							63
Shri Shivaji Preparatory Military School	Recog- nised							71
M. E. Society's High School (Gymkhana)	"							292
St. Mary's Girls School	Aided	82	138	111	96	159	240	241
Victoria Girls School	"	87	142	170				
Convent School	"	135	143	156	153	164	248	256
St. Ann's School	"	34	44	59	46	132		
High School for Native Girls	Govt. Aided		74	56	171	441	527	718
Pensioners School	Aided		37	40	34	23		
Carp Orphanage Mission	"		12					
Zanana Mission Civil Lines	"		19	15	17			
Zanana Mission Kamathipura	"		11	8	15			
Boni Israel School Rasta Peth	"		12	5				
Sirdar Dastur Nosharwanji Girls High School	"				76	88	135	126
Zoroastrian Girls High School	"			70				
Anglo Indian Girls Home	"			51	73	113	147	145
Ephimany High School	"			36	29			
F. C. Mission Girls Boarding School	"			13	27	57		
Taylor's High School	"				67			
Convent Middle School	"					98	250	233
Seva Sadan High School	Aided						145	303
S. N. D. T. Kanya Shala	"						373	311
St. Andrews Girls High School	"						143	150
Mahilashram High School	"							
Hingne	"						71	103
Anglo-Urdu Girls School	Govt. Aided						32	39
Agarkars High School	Aided							274
M. E. Society's Girls High School	Recog- nised							286
St. Helena's High School	Aided							225
Medical School	Govt.	51	106	89	127	237	273	346
Training College for Masters	"	134	163	132	206	254	184	262
" " Mistresses	"	37	34	42	85	105	67	92
Urdu Training School	"					60	54	64
Urdu Training College for Women	"						23	57
St. Mary's Training College	Aided					9	20	34

*High.

Table No. 78:— (Continued)

Name of the Institution	Govt. Aided unaided Recog- nised	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1937
B. M. Wadia Seva Sadan	Aided					121	74	83
Training College for Women	"						48	56
G. S. M. Training College	"						31	40
Training College for Women, Hingne	"					18	...	...
U. F. C. M. Training Class	Recog- nised							30
Teachers Training Institute attached to N. M. Vidyalaya	"							37
Secondary Teachers Training Institute attached to New English School	"							34
Secondary Teachers Training Institute attached to Camp Education Society's High School	"							20
Nursery and Kindergarten Training School	Aided							
College of Engineering Work- shop	Govt.	73	149	171	114	109	275	252
Free Church Mission Industrial School	Aided		6	4				
Panch Howd Mission Industrial School	"		10	13				3(42)
Government Hand Weaving Institute	Govt. Municipal				39	27	15	23 71
Victoria Jubilee Technical School	Aided						(10)	56
Manual Art Society's Industrial School	"				31 (10)	2	2	
Empson Workshop and Techni- cal School	"						13 (25)	
Work room classes of Seva Sadon	"					157	119	84
Muslim Girls Orphanage Industrial School	"						42 (28)	
New Shorthand and Type- writing Institute	Unaided					400	...	...
Chamber of Commerce Educa- tion Office	"					161	61	...
Deccan Institute of Commerce	"					30	14	...
The Ideal Commercial Institute	Recog- nised						17	...
The Poona School of Commerce	"						21	...
The Poona Phonetic Institute	"							36
The Shikshan Prasarak Mandalis' School of Commerce	"							40(6)
The Marathi Centre Institute	"							61
Tailoring Class of Depressed Classes Mission	Aided					37	3(29)	5(59)

Table No. 78 :—(Continued)

Name of the Institution	Govt. Aided unaided Recog-nised	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1937	
Jadhav's College of Tailoring and Cutting	Tailoring } Recog-nised							35	
Zarapkar's Tailoring and Cutting College		"						70	
Victoria Tailoring and Cutting College		"							15
Reformatory School Yeravada	General } Govt.				162	166	190	227	
Veterinary Class		"			(110)				
Agricultural Class attached to Poona Training College		"			(206)				
Carpentry Class of Depressed Classes mission		Aided					(33)		
Sanskrit Pathashala Shanwar		"					61		
St. Anthony's English Tamil School		"					127		
Bene Israel Hebrew School		"					50		
N. G. Gondhalekar's School for Dumb and Deaf		"						36	31
Madrasai Mohomediya		Unaided					80		
Zainobhai Dost Mohomed		"					120		
Madrasai Talimal Koran School		Aided					94		
Gayani Samaj Music School		"					(89)		
Music class of Seva Sadan		"							
St. Mary's Normal class	General English Schools and Classes } "				5				
Z. M. Normal class, Civil Lines		"			17				
St. Hilda's Normal class		"			16		15		
Seva Sadan Special classes for Advanced		"					48	102	205
Seva Sadan Eng. and First Aid classes		Aided						69	32 (30)
Poona Night High School		"						91	64
Night School for Adults		Dist. and Local Board						293	27
" " " "		Municipal						233	159
" " " "		Aided						244	59
" " " "		Recog-nised						...	218
Alegaonkar's Advanced Night School	Aided						118	...	
Saraswati Mandir Society's English class	"						25	...	
English class attached to Govt. House Establishment School	Govt.						5	...	
English class attached to Municipal Gujarati School	Municipal						39	132	
English class attached to St. Hilda's Primary School	Aided							43c	
English class attached to Abdul Wahed School	Recog-nised							43	

N. B.—The numbers in brackets denote the numbers of pupils who were already enrolled in parent institutions.

CHAPTER VII

PUBLIC HEALTH, AND USE OF LEISURE

Public Health Statistics:—Fairly elaborate information bearing on public health in the city is available in the annual reports of the City Municipality, especially after 1919. The reports give a fair idea of conditions for at least twenty years before the survey. The statistics given in them are elaborate but cannot, unfortunately, be used for indicating definite trends. The difficulty in using the statistical information arises firstly from lack of basic data against which a significant and continuing comparison can be instituted. Most of the health statistics are given for wards or for the city as a whole. For establishing a trend year by year it would be necessary to know with considerable accuracy the total population on which the incidence of a particular phenomenon fell; this it is not possible to obtain. Moreover, much of the information is of doubtful reliability. A case in point is the annual record of births. The margin of error in this was very large; the extent of the error is indicated in the following account by the Medical Officer of Health of his attempts to cover the gap, left through under reporting.

" There is improvement in the registration of births. As stated in the last report, the Medical Officer of Health having tried all other methods to secure a correct registration of births, was after all compelled to resort to finding births from infant deaths. Each infant death was personally verified by the Sanitary Inspector in charge, and if the birth of the infant was found to have occurred within city limits and in the year under report and not reported, it was registered by the department. "

Enquiry made in this way could not, of course, cover the whole gap; even so it was found that in the first year in which this method was followed 1671 births were added to the 2797 reported in the ordinary way.

Almost the same degree of unreliability may be presumed in the case of the elaborate classification of the causes of death given in the annual reports. In the vast majority of cases the causes

1. Administration Report of the Poona City Municipality 1928-29. Report of the Health Department p. 1.

were reported by the person who approached municipal authorities for the necessary permit for burning or burial. Data relating to total mortality were considered to be fairly accurate as also the data relating to infant mortality.

Municipal Improvements :—During the twenty years before the survey certain important improvements had been undertaken in the city, though the results of these were not to be fully evident in the statistics relating to health at the time of the survey. The most important of these improvements was the transformation of the drainage and sewage disposal system. A previous attempt at instituting an underground drainage had failed and this was held partly responsible for the unhealthy conditions at the end of the World War I. However, the later attempt at improving the drainage system, executed chiefly during the twenties, succeeded and by the time of the survey, Poona City was one of the small number of cities in India with an underground drainage system functioning in the larger part of its area. By 1936-37 the conversion of private latrines of the old type i. e. basket privies cleaned by scavengers, to latrines flushed with water and connected with underground drainage had been virtually complete. At the same time the number of public latrines and public urinals was greatly increased and these were also all connected with the underground drainage. Great improvement was also achieved by the abolition of the pumping stations in Nagzari and by drainage and improvement of the bed of the Nagzari. The work of drainage and improving the bed of the main river was, however, far from completion in 1936-37.

A great deal was accomplished also in the improvement of road and lane surfaces. Many roads were asphalted and many of the narrowest lanes were paved. In some cases slaughter houses were removed from the city, but this was not done completely and no action had been taken on such matters as the removal of stables containing cattle out of the city or, at least out of its more congested parts. There was, as has been indicated in the chapter on housing, some retrogression in the matter of open spaces generally available. The number of parks or common open spaces maintained by the municipality was very small and with the continuous growth of house building the position in this matter became very unfavourable.

Epidemic Diseases :—In spite of the general improvement of the health of the city to which the various improvements contri-

buted, the reports of the Health Officer for the fifteen years preceding the survey refer to the persistence of a number of diseases. Prominent among diseases visiting the city in an epidemic form during this period, were influenza, plague, small pox and meningitis; while the most important among endemic diseases were tuberculosis and malaria. The Gazetteer had described Poona as generally healthy and no special reference to the incidence of any epidemic is made in the Gazetteer of Poona City and District. The uninterrupted growth of the population in the latter half of the 19th century also indicates the comparative absence of any important adverse factor in relation to the health of the population. However, in common with many other regions and cities in India, Poona suffered severely from epidemics of bubonic plague for more than two decades beginning with 1896. The mortality from these epidemics was specially heavy during the years 1896-1901, and continued to be large during the first decade of the 20th century. The Bombay Census Report for 1901 remarks, "After Bombay, the plague has fallen with greater severity on Poona than any other city of the Presidency. From 1896 there has been registered mortality from this cause of 23,000 and many cases must have passed under other names."¹ For the period of ten years from 1901 to 1911, it was reported that the City suffered from five serious epidemics of plague and lost 30,000 inhabitants from the disease². In time the severity of the plague epidemics lessened and the disease was more effectively brought under control. The epidemics of plague, however, continued to visit Poona at frequent intervals till 1917-18. The mortality due to plague was recorded as 1693 in 1917-18. After 1917-18 there were only two serious epidemics of plague in Poona till the time of the survey. The first was in 1922-23 during which year deaths due to plague were reported to be 1055; and the second in 1933-34 when the reported deaths due to plague were 1079.

Influenza visited the City during the course of its countrywide incidence in 1918-19. The epidemic was of short duration, its virulence being notable only from about 5th September to the end of October 1918; but 3,500 deaths were registered as being due to influenza during 1918-19.

Plague dominated the situation for two decades after 1896; the influenza epidemic was an isolated phenomenon. Among the

1. *Op. cit* p. 34. 2. Bombay Census 1911 Report, p. 11.

older well-established epidemics cholera had always been held in check in Poona but small-pox often assumed a serious form. Remedies like compulsory vaccination had been in force for many decades. The defectiveness of registration of births, however, points to the difficulty of enforcing such compulsion. Therefore, the possibility of a recrudescence of the disease remained. During the two decades before 1935-37 there were two specially virulent epidemics of small-pox in Poona. These took place in 1929-30 and 1934-35. During the former year deaths due to small-pox were reported, as 1157 and in the latter, as 901. The above account indicates that in the period of 20 years before the year of the survey Poona was visited by six epidemics, each of which had a registered mortality, in the year of incidence, of more than 900.

Endemic Diseases:—Among endemic diseases the two that figured persistently in the annual health reports were malaria and tuberculosis. The prevalence of malaria was attributed chiefly to a defective sewage system, to bad drainage and to the pools of stagnating water in the Nagzari and in the main river bed. The incidence of tuberculosis was attributed to congestion, the lack of fresh air and open spaces and inadequate house ventilation and lighting, especially in the central wards of the city.

Death Rate by Wards:—As pointed out above, the annual statistics of deaths per ward cannot be used for indicating definite trends. We have data regarding populations of wards only for census years. As the population in the different wards was growing at different rates, the data for deaths in the intervening years could not be related to definite figures of population; also, as would have been clear from the above account, the varying incidence of epidemics, between various years and as between different wards would considerably vitiate comparison of annual death rates of wards. The statistics of total deaths point to certain broad features relating to the period of about 15 to 20 years before the survey. There appears to have been a general fall in death rate in the City. This is indicated by the following broad ratios; the population of the city during these years expanded by about 30 p. c. while the number of deaths during the same period increased by about 10 p.c. only. It may be noted that infant mortality, which accounted for a considerable part of total mortality, retained a constant proportion of total deaths throughout this period. Roughly, one-third of the total deaths were due to infant mortality throughout the fifteen years before the survey. The diminution in the rate of infant morta-

lity was thus, roughly, of the same order as the diminution in the general death rate.

Though an elaborate comparison of wards figures could not be made for reasons stated above, it is significant that the gradation of rates of death per thousand of population corresponded to a material extent with the socio-economic status of the population of the wards; so that, throughout the period, wards such as Rasta, Sadashiv and Shanwar had the lowest death rates in proportion to their populations, whereas wards like Ghorpade, Ganj. Nana, Bhawani, Mangalwar and Ganesh had among the highest corresponding death rates.

The classification of causes of death could not be considered very reliable; even so, it is interesting to observe that at the time of the survey, deaths due to malaria accounted roughly for about 8 p. c. of the total deaths. At the time of the survey and for the whole period since the early twenties mortality due to tuberculosis accounted for about 9 p. c. of the total deaths in the city. The wards in which deaths due to tuberculosis accounted for more than 10 p. c. of the total deaths in the ward for most of the period, were Raviwar, Budhwar, Shukrawar, Somwar and Ganesh.

Medical Aid:—The facilities for free medical aid were fairly considerable in Poona at the time of the survey. The City Municipality maintained, at that date, 8 municipal charitable dispensaries out of which 6 were allopathic and 2 *ayurvedic*. The number of charitable dispensaries had increased considerably during the two decades preceding the survey. In 1917 there had been only 2 allopathic dispensaries and one *ayurvedic* dispensary maintained by the Municipality. Treatment at the dispensaries of the Municipality was free except for a nominal charge of As. 2/- per patient on the first day and anna one on each of the subsequent days. The dispensaries were widely utilised by the public. The Municipality maintained 2 nurses for attending to labour cases. The Municipality also contributed towards maintenance of patients from within city municipal limits, treated at the Infectious Diseases Hospital. The Infectious Diseases Hospital had its beginning in the plague camp started in 1896. Its scope had, however, greatly widened and it made provision for treating infectious diseases of a wide variety of types. The hospital was maintained jointly by the Poona City and Suburban Municipalities, the Poona and Kirkee Cantonment Boards, the District Local Board, the Government of Bombay and

the Government of India in the Army Department. At the time of the survey, it was estimated that out of the total admissions to the hospital those from the area of the City Municipality represented nearly 60 p. c. The Poona City Municipality also contributed for the maintenance at the Hospital for Mental Diseases at Yerwada of those lunatics from within municipal limits whose relatives were unable to contribute towards their maintenance at the hospital. The hospital was maintained by the Government of Bombay and was a provincial institution.

Apart from the dispensaries, which made no provision for in-patients, and the specialised hospitals for infectious diseases and mental diseases, there was in Poona a number of public free hospitals or charitable hospitals maintained by missionaries and other private agencies. The oldest of these was the Sassoon Hospital which had been established in 1867 and was maintained by the Government of Bombay. This was a large group of well-equipped hospitals with different wards and departments and units of honorary physicians, surgeons, etc. The hospitals had, at the time of the survey, an accommodation of nearly 300 beds and were supposed to cater for needs of people of Poona City and District. Admission was not confined to people belonging to this area but the larger proportion of the patients were supposed to be drawn from it. Two general charitable hospitals were maintained by non-official agencies. The older of these was the N. M. Wadia Hospital of the Scottish Free Church Mission established in 1912 having an accommodation of nearly 100 beds at the time of the survey. This was a general hospital located in Shukrawar and intended for medical relief mainly of the sick and the poor in Poona District and drawing a large number of patients from the city as well as from the nearby villages. The second institution was the Seth Tarachand Ramnath Charitable Ayurvedic Hospital established in 1925 and having more than 50 beds at the time of the survey. It was intended to afford charitable medical treatment on *ayurvedic* lines to poor people. The hospital provided clinical material for students of Ayurvedic Section of the Tilak Mahavidyalaya. The same service was performed by the Sassoon Hospitals for students of the B. J. Medical School. There were, in addition, two charitable hospitals meant specially for women and children. These were (i) a missionary hospital in Mangalwar, the St. Margaret Hospital with an accommodation of more than 100 beds and (ii) the King Edward Memorial Hospital and Sardar Mudliar Dispensary in Rasta which had, at the time of the survey, accommodation of nearly 50 beds. The hospital

had started in 1936 an Orphan Babies Home which looked after babies sent by the Juvenile Court. A special hospital facility available very near Poona was the Leper Asylum at Kondhwa which had been started by the Scottish Mission in 1908.

Care of the Poor :—The facilities for free medical relief were thus comparatively fair in Poona City at the time of the survey. In contrast there was little provision made for the relief of the destitute or the poor. There was only one Asylum for the infirm poor, the David Sassoon Infirm Asylum which had been established in 1865 and provided accommodation for about 40 persons at the time of the survey. The provision was, however, for only the infirm poor and there was no institutional provision made either by the Provincial Government, the Municipality or private charity for the needy or the destitute; and no kind of organised poor relief was undertaken. The notes on organisation of communities show that to a small extent some communities undertook relief of the poor within their ranks. But the capacity of communal organisations to undertake poor relief ordinarily varied in inverse relation to the requirements of poor relief within the community. Therefore, the few instances of effective poor relief by communities were of the richer communities in which the poor were in very small numbers. The community organisations of the poor communities could not think of organising such effort. Some public charity was organised in the traditional manner at temples, Jain *bastis*, mosques, etc. The relief thus afforded was, however, available to a limited class of people. Similarly private charity expressed itself through gifts of food, clothing, etc. to the poor on special occasions or on specific days in a year either through household or trading establishments. The incidence of relief afforded by such charity was also both sporadic and selective.

A new development at the time of the survey was the application to Poona of the Childrens' Act and the establishment in the city of a Juvenile Court. Under the Act cases of juvenile delinquency or of children who were in moral danger or were destitute were cared for by a special set of Juvenile Courts. The Act had been made applicable to Poona in 1935 and destitute children were sent to the Remand Home maintained in Poona or to a set of certified schools in and outside Poona. The number of children brought before the Poona Juvenile Court in 1936-37 was 105; of these 20 were classified as destitute. No legislation regarding beggars had been adopted or beggars' homes opened in Poona at the time of the

survey. Thus medical treatment at the dispensaries and hospitals, was the main type of free social service available in Poona at the date of the survey. No other type of social service or social security measure, except what was available through non-organised and selective private charity, was noted.

Parks and Open Spaces:—Reference has been made in the chapter on housing to the changed situation in regard to open spaces available in and around houses in Poona, especially after 1920. In the Poona of the 19th century congestion was restricted to very limited areas; courtyard and back yard spaces, areas not built over, etc. were comparatively ample. In these conditions the absence of any parks, play grounds, etc. reserved and maintained by municipal authorities would not be felt. However, since the end of the World War I Poona was achieving a rapid transition to more modern conditions. Roads were being widened and straightened, trees cut down, storeys increased in number and yards and open spaces built upon at a fairly rapid pace, with the result that by the time of the survey the lack of parks, play-grounds and open spaces in general was beginning to be acutely felt in many wards. At the date of the survey there were no important parks maintained by the Municipality in or near the more densely populated wards of the city. The new town development areas were mostly on the other side of the river or in the comparatively undeveloped areas of the north and the west. The development plans, therefore, could not and did not give much relief to the central wards. Near these, the only park properly maintained by the Municipality was a small area called the 'Jijamata' Garden. Its location near Kasba was suitable, but its extent was so small that it did not afford an adequate service. The comparatively large plot of land enclosed by the outer walls of the old Shanwar Wada was not utilised for any particular purpose and it was not open freely to the public.

Use of Leisure and Cultural Activity:—No specific investigations were planned by us for collecting information regarding cultural activity or the use of leisure. Some information relating to these topics was, however, collected incidentally. The chapter on municipal expenditure makes it clear that municipal activity was confined largely to certain essential functions. In the field of education it was confined to maintenance of primary schools and one technical school. No cultural activities were directly undertaken by the Municipality, with the exception, perhaps, of the

maintenance of the Reay Industrial Museum. This museum owed its origin to an exhibition of indigenous articles and handicrafts of India organised by the Industrial Association of Western India in the year 1888. It had later come under the control of the Municipality but remained moribund for some decades after the close of the 19th century. It was revived by the Poona City Municipality in 1930. The Museum maintained a library and a free reading room devoted largely to technical, scientific and industrial subjects, and organised periodic inter-provincial Industrial Exhibitions. It conducted a scheme of museum education for the general public and for students in schools. The Museum also maintained a patents section.

The Municipality did not maintain a general public library or a free reading room. There were no public free libraries or reading rooms in the city maintained by other agencies. The Municipality, however, gave grants to certain institutions which maintained libraries though their use was not entirely free to the public. The Municipality did not incur any expenditure on any other cultural activities.

Liquor shops and the trade in drugs and drink may be supposed to fall partly under public health and partly under the use of leisure. In obtaining information regarding these, the traffic and the shops were treated chiefly as aspects of economic activity. The information, however, throws light incidentally on broader problems through indicating the location of shops, the extent of the consumption of liquor, etc. Similarly, our investigations of theatres and cinemas as economic activities also throw some light on the extent of the use made by people of this recreational medium. It must be admitted that the results of our investigations are deficient in relation to the broader aspects of these activities.

Toddy Shops:—In 1935-36 there were 12 toddy shops and 3 tree-foot booths in Greater Poona. Of the former 2 were in Nana and one each in Raviwar, Ganesh, Mangalwar, Rasta, Ganj, Ghorpade, Vetal, Shukrawar, Sadashiv and Shivajinagar. Of the tree-foot booths one was in Nana, another near Parvati and the third near the Infectious Diseases Hospital. Eight of the toddy shops were owned by Iranis and Parsis, 3 by Marathas, (two being owned by one man) one by a Bhandari, the caste traditionally engaged in tapping palm trees for toddy. Of the 3 tree-foot booths, 2 were owned by Iranis and Parsis and one by a Rangari woman.

The location and number of toddy shops were regulated by Government rules in that respect. Every shop had to take out a licence for selling liquor, toddy, etc. The location and site of every toddy shop had to be approved by Government. If a shop was shifted or transferred from one place to another, of course, with the approval and sanction of the Government authorities, a transfer fee had to be paid to the Government. In case the new location and site was not approved by Government, the shop had to be closed and the Government was not held liable for any expenditure caused to the owner of the shop, nor was the licence fee refundable on that account. At the time of any fairs, etc. the Government had power to close the shops and the Government was not held liable for loss incurred on that account. If another shop was opened under Government sanction near an older shop the Government was not held liable for any consequent loss of business.

The shops were also prevented from displaying advertisements or pictures, etc. which might increase the attractiveness of wine or toddy sold in the shops. The sites and shops were auctioned by Government every year.

Toddy is tapped from the cocoanut, brab, date and wild palm-trees. A young tree yields about one gallon of toddy every day but older trees yield only about half a gallon daily. When the toddy shops were auctioned the number of trees from which toddy could be tapped per shop and the licence fee per tree were fixed beforehand. The rate at which toddy was to be sold was also fixed by Government. The following table shows the number of licences issued to toddy shops and booths during 1935-36 and 1936-37, the number of trees tapped, the tree tax and the selling price of toddy.

Table No. 79:—Number of licences and trees allowed for tapping, rates of taxes and selling prices in 1935-36 & 1936-37.

Year	Number of Licences		Number and Kind of trees tapped		Total Number of trees	Rate of tree-tax	Selling price at toddy-shops	Selling price at tree-foot Booths
	shops	booths	shops	booths				
1935-36	17	4	7858	170	8028	Rs. 5-0-0 per tree	As. 0-9-0 per gallon	As. 0-6-0 per gallon
1936-37	17	4	9306	165	9471	Do	Do	Do

Toddy drinkers drank toddy mostly at the shops, so that the shop had to provide the necessary sitting space. Generally in a toddy shop there was a manager and about 4 servers. The manager was paid from Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 per month as salary. An Irani manager, however, was paid at the rate of Rs. 40 per month. The servers were paid a monthly salary of Rs. 12 each. Toddy drinking often caused vomiting etc. The toddy shop had, therefore, to be necessarily provided with latrines, wash-rooms, etc. Every shop had to keep a record of the total daily sales of toddy and these were often scrutinized by Excise Inspectors. Under Government regulations, toddy was to be sold in an unadulterated form to the customers. Names of all servants in toddy shops had to be filed at the Excise Office; only the persons whose names were so registered were authorised to open or close a shop and to serve toddy to the customers. If there was any false statement regarding daily sales of toddy or if toddy was found adulterated the servants along with the owner of the shop were held liable under the law. The shops were to be kept open from 8 a. m. to 8 p. m. only and any sales made before or after the scheduled times were illegal. The following table (Table No. 80) shows the total sales of toddy in each of the shops in Poona during 1935-36 and 1936-37 along with the figures of vend fee and the number of trees allowed to be tapped. Toddy shops were auctioned for a period of 9 months. For the remaining 3 months in the year a separate licence fee had to be paid.

It will be noticed that a large majority of the toddy shops were to be found in the eastern part of the town. In summer the consumption of toddy increased considerably. It was reported that Government regulations regarding adulteration, business hours, etc. were usually infringed to a very large extent. It was said that toddy in an unadulterated form was hardly ever sold in these shops. Unadulterated toddy was diluted with water and in order to maintain its intoxicating effect, *ganja*, copper sulphate, *kuchala*, etc. were mixed with it. It was said that without doing this, toddy selling would not be at all profitable. A few cases of adulteration came to light every year but such cases were few. A large degree of corruption prevailed, according to information supplied to us. So also with regard to business hours. The front door of the shop was often closed at the scheduled time but business was done through the back door. The accounts of daily sales were inflated beforehand for adjusting the sales made during the illegal hours. We were told that such cases

Table No. 80:—Vend fee, sales, and number of trees allowed to be tapped for toddy shops during 1935-36 and 1936-37

Wards & Shop addresses	1-8-1935 to 30-4-1936			1-8-1936 to 30-4-1937		
	Vend fee Rs.	Sale gallons	Trees allowed to be tapped	Vend fee Rs.	Sale gallons	Trees allowed to be tapped
1 <i>Raviwar</i> Govind Halwai Chawk	21,150	23,300	600	20,000	20,675	650
2 <i>Ganesh</i> Near Police Gate, Road leading to Daroowala Bridge	21,100	42,758	881	20,000	36,387	782
3 <i>Ganj</i> Gudam (Near Gunda works)	10,500	18,049	450	12,200	16,382	625
4 <i>Mangalwar</i> Road to Mal Dhakka (Goods shed)	13,750	22,713	330	13,500	25,571	380
5 <i>Nana</i> Opp. Bidi Works of Abdul Satarkhan	15,000	27,214	500	15,600	26,955	550
6 <i>Bhavani</i> Behind Badade Stores	16,000	34,544	570	15,600	19,873	700
7 <i>Vetal</i> Road from Mithaganj Police Chawki to Khadak	13,100	30,367	646	13,000	24,753	670
8 <i>Ghorpade</i> In front of Mominpura, on road leading to Shankar Sheth road	10,100	26,356	250	10,000	23,682	901
9 <i>Rasta</i> Near Power House	14,000	31,572	520	13,500	27,870	550
10 <i>Narayan</i> Near Lakadi Bridge	8,500	19,222	323	9,800	19,207	483
11 <i>Parvati</i> Ambilodba, Near, Brick Work	9,500	22,313	400	9,500	22,337	415
12 <i>Bhamburda</i> New Motor Stand	16,900	34,591	350	16,500	37,405	500
Total for 12 shops	169,600	332,999	5,820	169,200	301,097	7,206
1 <i>Nana Peth Tree-foot Booth</i>	950	2,020	40	1,150	1,870	50
2 <i>Sangam</i> " "	2,050	3,572	50	3,000	2,343	50
3 <i>Parvati</i> " "	1,050	779	30	800	847	30
Total of Tree-foot Booths	4,050	6,371	120	4,950	5,060	130

of the infringement of excise sales were very frequent but only a few such cases came to light. The toddy shop-owners and managers, it was reported, practised corruption on an extensive scale and this was said to be the main reason why the majority of cases of infringement of the excise laws by the toddy shop-owners were connived at.

Liquor Shops.—There were 16 shops selling country and foreign liquors in Greater Poona. Of these 8 were in the Poona Cantonment, one at Yerawada and the rest in the city. In the city there was one shop each in Raviwar, Shukrawar, Mangalwar, Ganj, Nana, Narayan and Shivajinagar. Of these two shops, the one in Ganj and that in Narayan, were closed under the Prohibition Orders of the Provincial Government, with effect from June 1938.

All the regulations regarding location, licences, permits, accounts, etc. that were prescribed in connection with the toddy shops were applicable to these shops also. All country and foreign liquors were supplied from the Government ware-house near the Poona Railway Station. The sale price and the rate of duty were fixed by Government. The following table (Table No. 81) gives figures regarding the quantity of liquor supplied to shops from the Government ware-house, for the City and Cantonment together.

Unlike toddy drinkers, the consumers of foreign and country liquor did not usually consume them in the shops; so that no seating accommodation had to be provided nor were any servers needed. The following table (Table No. 82) shows the total fee charged to each shop in the city and the total sales of each shop of country liquor and country spirit during 1935-36 and 1936-37.

Opium, Ganja, etc. shops.—As regards location, hours of business, etc. these shops were subject to regulations similar to those of the liquor shops. There were 9 opium shops in the city, there being 2 shops each in Raviwar and Kasba and one each in Shukrawar, Bhawani, Nana, Vetal, Narayan. There were 10 shops selling Bhang, Ganja, etc. Of these 2 each were in Raviwar and Shukrawar and one each in Budhwar, Vetal, Ganesh, Narayan and Shivajinagar. Details regarding the licence fees of each shop, total sales, etc. are embodied in the following table. (Table No. 83)

Table No. 81.—Quantity of Liquors allotted from Govt. Warehouse to different classes of Consumers.

Consumers	Total Licences	1935-36					Total Licences	1936-37				
		Fermented liquors		Wines	Spirits			Fermented liquors		Wines	Spirits	
		Imported	Indian		Imported	Indian		Imported	Indian		Imported	Indian
Of	28	28,611-0	279-0	2,114-24	5,698-8	2,336-0	28	34,005-40	131-0	2,120-28	6,257-40	2,402-4
Railway Refreshment Rooms	1	1,586-12	...	9-12	98-0	...	1	1,756-28	...	7-4	92-0	...
Ordinary Refreshment Rooms Foreign liquors	5	8,040-4	...	116-40	528-24	58-0	5	10,792-12	6-4	130-28	607-4	60-8
Permanent Refreshment Rooms	3	1,261-36	...	4-0	69-16	0-24	4	1,318-12	...	4-16	60-28	1-24
Hotels	4	654-16	...	26-36	90-16	0-16	4	660-12	...	42-40	114-8	1-8
Canteens	9	21,443-12	...	161-12	335-24	0-24	10	22,285-32	8-16	139-32	329-42	...
Clubs	13	10,578-12	...	511-24	1,693-28	...	13	11,694-24	...	434-0	1,331-24	...
Total	63	73,174-44	279-0	3,944-4	8,513-20	2,395-16	65	82,513-16	145-20	2,879-4	8,793-2	2,464-44

Table No. 82 :—Licence fees and sales of Country Liquor and Country spirit from individual shops in 1935-36 and 1936-37.

Wards and Shop Addresses	1935-36						1936-37					
	Country Liquor		Country Spirit				Country Liquor		Country Spirit			
	Fee	Sales	Sales				Fee	Sales	Sales			
	Rs.	Gallons	25 U. P. Masala	40 W. P. Plain	Masala	60 V. P. Rashi	Rs.	Gallons	25 U. P. Masala	40 W. P. Plain	Masala	60 V. P. Rashi
1 Raviwar Govind Halwai Chawk	43,200	6,983	...	3,981-32	810-4	10,269-0	36,200	4,623	...	2,371-40	1,021-40	9,708-0
2 Shukrawar Near Khadak Motor Stand	21,900	3,580	...	1,527-0	749-40	5,533-32	19,500	2,292	...	1,419-40	626-32	4,670-16
3 Mangalwar Road to Mal Dhakka	35,100	4,886	...	2,472-16	757-8	7,370-16	27,525	3,335	...	2,011-32	925-8	6,760-16
4 Ganj Next to Police Gate	12,600	2,096	...	...	617-16	4,313-32	12,800	1,605	19-24	551-16	512-4	3,796-24
5 Nana Opp. Abdul Satar Khan Bidi Works	23,000	3,094	50-0	...	993-32	6,151-0	23,000	2,461	...	848-24	705-12	5,883-0
6 Narayan Near Jakadi Bridge	10,000	1,820	25-0	956-40	410-32	2,452-35	10,000	2,036	...	1,048-0	435-24	4,333-24
7 Bhamburda On the road from Shivaji Statue to Jangli Maharaj Rd.,	24,000	4,160	...	1,785-0	740-20	6,611-36	24,200	3,222	...	1,568-40	633-40	7,202-4
Total	1,69,800	26,619	75-0	10,722-40	5,079-8	42,702-7	1,53,225	19,579	19-24	10,320-0	4,860-16	42,353-36

Table No. 83 :—Licence fees and sales of Opium, Ganja and Bhang from individual shops in 1935-36 and 1936-37

Wards and Shop Addresses	1935-36					1936-37				
	Opium		Ganja and Bhang			Opium		Ganja and Bhang		
	Licence fee	Sales S T	Licence fee	Sales Ganja S T	Sales Bhang S T	Licence fee	Sales S T	Licence fee	Sales Ganja S T	Sales Bhang S T
1 Shukrawar	13,200	169-63	4,900	268-5	91-74	11,600	109-30	5,000	210-63	63-46
2 " (Ghota)	...	...	8,500	...	566-30	...	...	8,000	...	434-39
3 Raviwar (Phadake Gate)	8,001	88-14	...	...	...	6,500	52-32	...	...	...
4 " (Dane Ali)	6,900	95-7	...	...	...	5,600	87-3	...	...	...
5 " (Moti Chawk)	...	...	4,100	135-53	50-23	...	...	3,300	93-66	23-27
6 " (Tobacco Ali)	...	...	3,400	115-63	36-41	...	...	3,100	70-18	26-71
7 " (Halwai Chowk)	...	...	3,200	125-25	43-30	...	...	2,800	19-28	31-7
8 Kasba	6,000	62-41	...	...	...	5,250	38-24	...	...	...
9 " (Old Mandai)	5,000	54-3	...	...	...	4,550	33-22	...	...	...
10 Bhavani	3,600	106-35	...	...	...	4,000	56-8	...	...	...
11 Budhawar	...	...	4,000	237-00	85-52	...	...	3,800	168-25	77-64
12 Nana	5,000	78-7	...	...	...	4,250	62-66	...	...	...
13 Ganesh	...	...	2,955	149-5	53-22	...	...	3,200	116-16	26-70
14 Vetal	5,200	59-19	3,900	151-61	36-76	5,050	36-79	3,000	79-59	20-60
15 Bhamburda	...	...	2,000	122-32	22-20	...	...	2,600	88-65	11-12
16 Narayan	2,600	20-3	1,351	89-15	44-15	2,600	15-65	1,800	52-63	30-35
Total	55,501	733-32	37,306	1,394-19	1,030-63	49,400	491-9	36,600	900-3	751-31

All these were supplied to the shopkeepers from the Government godown. The issue rate of opium was Rs. 75/- per seer and those of Ganja and Bhang were Rs. 3/- and Rs. 4/- per seer, respectively.

Cinema Houses.—At the time of our survey there were 2 theatres and 10 cinema houses in the city. One of the two theatres was being used for presenting dramas and the other for presenting *tamashas*, an indigenous variety of drama and musical extravaganza. All the 10 cinema houses in the city exhibited talking pictures. Of these 4 were in Shukrawar, 3 in Budhwar and one each in Bhavani, Shanwar, Rasta and Shivajinagar. One more cinema house was under construction in Bhavani. One of the two theatres, the one for dramatic performances, was in Budhwar and the other in Ganesh. We collected detailed information regarding both the theatres and two cinema houses, one in Budhwar and the other in Shivajinagar.

Both the cinema houses in our sample were owned by Brahmins. In one case the owner of the cinema house had rented out the building to another person who ran the cinema business. The latter had installed the necessary machinery and made the necessary lighting and other arrangements for the cinema, at his own cost. This cost came to Rs. 10,800. The owner was paid a fixed rent of Rs. 600 per month. The house-tax was paid by the owner. All the other taxes as, for instance, the drainage tax, entertainment tax, etc. were paid by the proprietor. In the case of the other cinema house in our sample the owner himself ran the cinema business.

In one theatre in the sample only English and American films were exhibited and in the other theatre also the majority of the films exhibited were English and American. All the remaining theatres in the city exhibited Indian pictures, exclusively. The total capacity of one of the cinema houses in our sample was 500 persons and it was 760 persons in the other. We were not able to gather detailed information regarding the sales of tickets in all the theatres in Poona. In respect of the two cinema houses in the sample details regarding the patronage given by the public were available only in one case. During a period of 6 months, a total of 26,620 people had paid a visit to the cinema house. Of these 1800 had bought three anna tickets, 2000, seven anna tickets, 129, ten anna tickets (family circle), and 200 Re. 1/2/- tickets (box). There were two shows on week-days and three each on Saturdays and

Sundays. In the case of the other cinema house in the sample we were informed that during one year about 1,50,000 people had paid a visit to this cinema house. The majority of these had bought 4 anna and 7 anna tickets. There were three shows daily in this cinema house. In both the cinema houses in the sample the brisk season of the year was reported to extend from June to January. A reason put forward for this seasonality was that in June the schools and colleges in the city opened and a large number of students returned to Poona from their holidays; the brisk season did not last beyond January because the examinations began from February onwards and the students got busy with their studies. This would imply that college and school students formed an important element among patrons of the cinema. The monthly expenditure on advertisement ranged from Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 each in both the cinema theatres in the sample.

The films exhibited were secured through firms of distributors in Bombay. In Bombay there were, at the time, seven distributors of English and American pictures and thirty of Indian films. These distributors lent their films on a percentage basis; that is, of the total takings on the film a certain percentage, usually varying from 30 to 50 per cent. was to be paid to the distributors. All the expenses of bringing the film from Bombay and returning it had to be paid by the cinema theatres. Films imported into the city had to pay octroi duty at the rate of Re. 1-15-3 per maund.

The cinema theatres had to pay annually Rs. 20 as Government licence fee and Rs. 150 as electric licence fee. All cinema theatres had to pay a municipal tax of Rs. 2 per day. In one cinema theatre the electric charges per month came to Rs. 250 and annual drainage and water tax to Rs. 200. Information regarding these was not available in the other case.

The two cinema theatres in the sample employed a total of 38 persons. One of them employed a manager. Of the remaining 37 employees, six were machine operators, 4 in one and 2 in the other, who were paid a monthly salary of Rs. 20 each. Four apprentices were working in one cinema theatre and were being trained as operators. They were not paid anything. In all there were 9 doorkeepers, six in one and three in other and they were paid a monthly salary of Rs. 8 each. In all 8 boys were employed, 5 in one and 3 in the other, for doing all sorts of miscellaneous jobs, and their monthly salary was Rs. 9 each. In the booking offices

of the two cinema theatres in all 6 clerks were employed, 4 in one and 2 in the other and they were paid Rs. 15 per month. Both the cinema theatres employed one painter each on a part-time basis, to whom Rs. 4 were paid. One cinema theatre also employed sweepers, and a gardener and a watchman and their respective monthly salaries were Rs. 3, Rs. 14 and Rs. 14. The clerks were almost all Brahmins. Of the operators nearly half were Brahmins and the rest Marathas. Doorkeepers were equally divided between Marathas and Christians. As noted earlier, the painters worked part-time and so also did the two clerks employed by one cinema theatre in the sample. The turnover was largest in the case of doorkeepers.

Theatres :—The theatre used for presenting dramatic performances only was, as noted earlier, in Shukrawar. The theatre was rented to dramatic companies for performances. The owner had spent about Rs. 35,000 on the building and the equipment of the theatre. Three permanent servants for cleaning etc. were in the employ of the owner and they were paid a monthly salary of Rs. 15 each. All the other arrangements necessary for a dramatic performance were made by the dramatic companies who rented the theatre. They also paid all the incidental taxes.

The theatre presenting *tamashas* was in Ganesh and was owned by a Mahommedan. The owner and his three sons worked as doorkeepers, etc. Besides them two doorkeepers, on a monthly salary of Rs. 25 each, and a clerk and a wireman with monthly salaries of Rs. 45 and Rs. 75 respectively were employed. Nobody was employed as a part-time servant. The owner had spent about Rs. 10,000 on the building and the equipment of the theatre. The total capacity of the theatre was 650 but one hundred more persons could be accommodated if there was a rush.

The owner engaged teams of performers of *tamashas* on a fixed monthly payment. A team usually consisted of about 10 to 12 people, 2 or 3 being *nautch* girls. The team as a whole was paid from Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 per month. The individual share of each of the performance was fixed by agreement by members of the team among themselves. These teams were mostly local but teams from other places were also sometimes engaged. If a team was found to be particularly popular the theatre owner engaged them for a period of 4 to 6 months continuously.

Tamashas were presented every day. The rates of tickets were 3 annas, 4 annas and 9 annas. Audiences were specially large on Sundays, Saturdays and Wednesdays and in the rainy season they were comparatively small. During the month previous to our enquiry about 5,000 persons had paid a visit to the theatre.

A municipal tax of Rs. 5 per day had to be paid by the owner; also Rs. 227-2-0 were paid annually as house and drainage tax, and Rs. 40 as water tax. About Rs. 400 were annually paid in the form of entertainment taxes, and there was an annual licence fee of Rs. 20.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The picture presented in these two volumes is undoubtedly a fragmentary and partial picture in many respects. Especially, on important cultural aspects nothing of significance has been said in them. Even so, the volumes recount much that is of value regarding the evolution of one urban community, if one can use such a term in relation to Poona. The picture presented is certainly not of one integrated community but rather of groups and communities stratified both in the economic and social aspects, having relations more or less intimate with one another in particular fields, but obviously held together only loosely. It is also a picture of a city in a comparatively stationary state. Mobility was not considerable, in most senses, within the community nor was a large influx of new elements taking place. It is clear that this was far from being the case with Poona during the period of its development in the 18th century. At that time it was rapidly absorbing immigrants from all over the country and traces of various components of this stream of migration are clearly evident in Poona to this date. On the other hand, from 1820 to 1914 or even later, large migratory movements inwards or outwards were not evident.

The survey was not concerned with political events. These, however, shaped to a considerable extent the background of social and economic development, and in Poona City in particular, political happenings have been of the utmost importance. Modern Poona was the centre of the early activities of Shivaji and it was the nuclear point of the wide-spread, though short-lived, Maratha Empire. The rapid development and the growing prosperity of Poona in the latter half of the 18th century were reflections of its political position. With the fall of the Peshwas the dominant political position of Poona passed away and the City entered upon a career bereft of all the advantages, direct and indirect, of high political power. Political importance, henceforward, was related not to direct political rule emanating or exercised from it, but to activities of individuals and groups in Poona in the fields of political thought and action. These, though inviting much attention to Poona and having considerable influence on its intellectual and cultural life, had not much direct influence on either economic or social development. The centre of political life

for the country as a whole shifted definitely away from Poona on the fall of the Peshwas; it was also carried far away from the region in which Poona was situated. Under the British and after the attainment of independence, the centre of gravity of political life of the country has remained substantially in the eastern and northern parts of the country and is destined for the foreseeable future to remain in those regions.

On an humbler plane, however, political i. e. governmental and administrative factors continued to affect development in Poona City even after the advent of the British. The climate of Poona was an important factor in the decision made by the British to locate an important military centre in Poona, and the policy of early British rulers of conciliating important elements in the old ruling hierarchy was responsible for locating the secondary capital of the Bombay province and important administrative offices, etc. in Poona. Thus, though no longer a centre of direct political rule and deprived of the consequences or by-products flowing from the exercise of such rule, Poona continued to be important from the administrative point of view.

The creation of a military cantonment and the military and the ancillary activities associated with it were responsible for introducing a counteracting factor in the situation at the very time that the decline of old Poona City commenced. The Cantonment and connected areas thus showed growth in activity even in the second quarter of the 19th century. The emergence and growth of the Cantonment were indicative of another new factor in the situation, a factor which in its extreme form created the plural societies of some regions in Asia. In the Cantonment and related areas was created a socio-economic unit, the focus and development of whose activities were very different from those of the City. The composition of the population, and the degree of its integration with the surrounding area were different and of a distinct type. The impact of these developments on the life of the City proper was, however, neither immediate nor considerable. Therefore, at the emergence of British rule there began for the City a slow period of decay and later of stabilization at a contracted level of activity. At the middle of the 19th century Poona was composed of what may be termed the stratified remnants of its 18th century prosperity and development. To these new elements were added only slowly. Some new elements were entirely new, as for example the communities coming for the first time

with the British and settling in the new areas in the eastern wards. Chiefly, however, what took place was not so much an advent of entirely new elements as a gradual transformation of the old. This was most importantly evidenced in the Brahmanic wards of the west where the older ruling, clerical and priestly classes turned attention to new openings in the liberal professions and the administrative services. Related to this new development and supporting it immediately and, in the main, but ultimately making for a departure from it or a break in it was the special development of educational activity which becomes a marked feature of private activity in Poona from the last quarter of the 19th century onwards.

In trading activity and personnel there was no similar change-over to new occupation. But a considerable change came over the methods, the scope, the field of operation, etc. of the trading classes and there was some infiltration of new elements. In artisan industry and labouring employment there was considerable ebb and flow in particular activities. Ordinarily the transformation was marked not so much by change in technique, etc. in continuing activities as by the decay of old and rise of new activities. Except for the immigration, in the last quarter of the 19th century, of Padmasali weavers there was no important immigration of artisans or labouring elements into Poona City after 1820. The trading and financial classes of the City had connections with those in the Cantonment area and it is noteworthy that the feature commented upon in chapter 2 of this volume, that the artisan immigrants usually settled down quickly in the City while the trading immigrants rarely became fully integrated in its social set-up, was as true at the time of the survey as it was in the picture presented by the data in 1820.

Another feature of the life of the City, which invites pointed comment, is the amazing degree of fairly rigid stratification attained by caste and occupational distribution in wards and its maintenance through a long period. The wards remained divided from each other and the life of various social strata comparatively unaffected by mutual impact through decades and decades. This feature has some reference to the basis of economic life of the City. Poona City owed its rapid growth neither to trade and transport activity nor to industrial and manufacturing activity but to political rule and military importance. Economic activity was thus not woven into the

main fabric of its being; it had not become, at any time, the main pillar on which development rested, but was rather a by-product, an ancillary development of its dominant aspects. No particular set of economic activities marked Poona even at the end of the 18th century. It had no particular tradition of finance or trade or skill in handicrafts. In the latter part of the 19th and in the early 20th century three small scale industries gave considerable employment in Poona. These were copper and brassware, weaving and *bidi* making industries. Among these it could be said only of brass and copperware that it had some continuing tradition and that large numbers of workers engaged in it were indigenous to Poona. The weaving industry of the latter half of the 19th century was largely the result of a new stream of immigrant weavers and its finance and trade was largely in the hands of a new set of immigrant traders. It may be that the location of Poona and the resources of its hinterland did not invite or favour the development of any particular handicraft, trading or, in the more recent times, manufacturing activity. It is true at the same time that those who were dominant either in the political or social sense in Poona society in the 18th and in the 19th century took little interest in and had little control of specific economic activities in Poona. For the major part, therefore, Poona economic life was not woven around any individual or group of economic activities and no defined pattern of economic life emerged at any time within it.

It is important to observe in this connection that the considerable educational activity to which special attention has been drawn was also not related to direct economic productive activity. Its main interest and purpose was a literary and clerical type of education which prepared persons for administrative and clerical jobs of a type for which there appeared to be a continuous and expanding demand. The concentration on problems of education of this type also made for a divorce between directly productive economic activity and the life and interest of the classes connected with educational activities. This development had an implication for socio-economic life which was also significant. It meant that progressively the reins of economic life were concentrated in classes who were not connected with educational activity and who were otherwise not supposed to be leaders of local society.

The divorce of artisan activity from finance and trade was also continuous throughout the 19th century and after. Artisan

activity became continuously of less and less importance and trading more and more so throughout this time. The control of economic life thus came to rest largely within the trading and the financial classes. With the peculiar development of Poona in the 19th century there thus came about a divorce between the three important elements. The intellectual leaders of society or those who were graded high in the social scale were connected neither with the finance and trading nor with artisan activity; and there was no bond of social life or tradition which bound the traders and the artisans together. This is in contrast to pictures presented by some other cities in the region. For example, at Sholapur in the main artisan industry i. e. handloom weaving many traders and *Karkhandars* and the bulk of artisans belonged to one group of castes and were closely bound together socially. This made for continuous cooperation among these elements and the emergence of a point of view of the Sholapur handloom industry as such, for which there was no parallel in Poona. In Poona the trader was interested only partially in the continuance or rehabilitation of local artisan industry. The competing wares from all other centres of production were to him almost as much a source of profit as local manufacture. Hence he evinced no special interest in the latter, in whose welfare the leaders of society, intellectual or otherwise, also took no interest though they were apparently absorbed on a wider plane with more abstract and more distant issues of a related character. In Kolhapur, the third City surveyed by us, there existed no single element coordinating a large section of economic life like the weaving communities of Sholapur. However, the continuance of the rule of a Maratha Prince in the City gave its life a different kind of integration. The structure of political and social life in Kolhapur was held more firmly in the traditional framework and the operation and articulation of movements of, even, change or reform in it were for the most part purposive and explicitly directed. This feature also affected activities in Kolhapur in related spheres such as that of education. Social life in Poona lacked this kind of coordinating or integrating element.

Comment has been made in this chapter on what appeared to be special aspects of conditions in Poona. The data in the two volumes may also be found useful as presenting a general picture of conditions in an Indian City for many aspects; as for example, poverty and its distribution, housing and general conditions of

living, the lack of social services and social security. In these and many other features the Poona data represent essentially what may be found in most other parts of the country. Comments on these aspects have been made sufficiently in particular chapters and reference to them has been avoided here as it would indicate little that was special about Poona.

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