

## EVOLUTION OF CHAMAR AND JATAV MAHASABHA FOR DALIT SOCIETY IN UNITED PROVINCES

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### ABSTRACT

*Dalit a category made deep forays into academic circles. The march of Chamar and Jatav towards development trajectory in terms of socio-political and economic captured by several studies. Especially the success of Chamar and Jatav assertions in the sphere of politics in Utter Pradesh has been a stimulating factor for several studies on various aspects of Chamar and Jatav Mahasabha. This paper deals with historical frames and structural organization of these Mahasabha's. It will also trace the initial step taken by these Mahasabha's for the social development of Dalits and how these Lower Caste mahasabha's worked for the inclusion of the excluded Dalits as well as marginal communities in United Provinces.*

### Introduction

As has been stated, the early socio-religious reform movements played a major role in inspiring the nationalist, struggle by awakening the people and reforming the society. However, it is equally true that the nationalist struggle in turn contributed to the emergence of social reform movements. Almost all of these movements emerged in the 20th century to work for the upliftment of the lower castes.

A major cause for the rise of caste movements was the grievances nurtured by the educated among the low and backward castes. To improve their lot, the Bhakti and NeoVedantic movements worked by way of embracing the activities of Hindu reform associations. Schools for lower castes were started by K. Ranga Rao in the 1890's. The Depressed Classes Mission Society of India was started as an independent set-up by the Prarthana Samaj to provide facilities for education to persons from lower caste. The Depressed Classes Mission Society of Madras began functioning in 1909. Caste

movements also emerged to uplift the status of the deprived castes by helping them to assert a superior status by following the customs and manners of the traditionally superior groups. These movements, termed Sanskritisation movements, began among the Nadars and Pallars of Tamil Nadu (who claimed a kshatriya status), the Ezhavas and Nairs of Kerala and the Chamars of Jaunpur (who followed the ways of the Siva-Narayana sect).

Radical movements arose from the desire to challenge the domination of Brahmins and question the very basis of the traditional caste set-up.

The British rule, on one hand, encouraged movements for the upliftment of castes, both directly and indirectly, and on the other, strengthened caste feudalism by forming alliances with landlords and feudal classes and through non-interference in religion. Its divide and rule policy and the 1890 census which classified castes generated a great deal of confusion and caste uprisings. The Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850 and the

Special Marriage Amendment Act of 1872 helped in breaking caste rigidity.<sup>1</sup>

After 1920 Dalits aware and began to make his Caste Panchayats (Sabhsa/ Assembly/Associations) in deferent areas in U.P. This Sabha organized their meeting own caste at the many time. By that conference, they focused on education, prohibited to child marriage and dowry system as well as strengthen to the Associations. They sent petition to government the problem of society and gave the advice to Dalit prohibit to eat death animals. Many place of the country were celebrated the birth of Sant Ravidas by Ravidas society and they take the interest to participate birthday in Ravidas Mahasabha, Passi Mahasabha, Jatav Mahasabha etc. these Mahasabha made in deferent areas of villages and cities in Uttar Pradesh.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAMAR MAHASABHA

The first step in the Dalit political struggle centered on the question of identity and the strategies of liberation that might overcome the “untouchable” status assigned to them by caste Hindus. How we write about such struggles, and what meanings do they hold for historians? Generation of caste Hindu Historians have been accustomed to write about social and economic conditions, anti colonial and class struggles but have never encountered the humiliation of being addressed as Chamar. Chamar histories that borrowed from the Hindu Puranic tradition to redeem and reclaim their past by claiming “pure” Kshatriya status equal to that of the dominant Hindu caste. Chamar politics in the 1920 century negotiate their position within Hindu religious especially within the form religion propagated by the Arya Samaj. Chamar’s questioned markers’ of their “untouchability” especially begari (unpaid labour) in the form of agriculture work, leather work and personnel service of Zamidar’s and Government officials. Chamar assertion of identity and the role of Arya Samaj in creating new Hindu rituals and idioms to address Chamar concerns. This assumption has characterized Indian Historiography

on the Dalit movement of the first two decades of 20th century. First almost all liberal and radical historians assume that Dalit histories must begin by critiquing Hindu religion and claiming the status of original inhabitance. Second also assumed that Hindu organization like the Arya samaj wanted to Hinduize Dalits in order to them part of the Hindu community both of these assumptions ignore actual Chamar writing and fail to take seriously the agendas laid out by Chamar’s in their own histories and politics. The 1930’s Chamar activists had raised a new set of issues and constituted an effective Dalit political force.<sup>3</sup>

A series of histories were written and published in U.P. During first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, U B S Raghuvashi’s Shree Chanvar Purana (between 1910 and 1916), the Jaiswar Mahasabha’s Suryavansh Kshatriya Jaiswar Sabha (1926), Pt. Sunder Lal Sagar’s Yadav Jivan and Ram Narayan Yaduvendu’s Yaduvansh ka Itihas (1942). Sagar and Yadvindu who were Jatiya’s claimed a Jatav Kshatriya status by associating their lineage to the Yadav Tribe of Lord Krishna. Jatiya Chamar was predominantly located in western UP, with large presence in the Meerut, Agra, Moradabad, and Badaun districts. Jaiswara Chamar’s were dominant in eastern UP, where they assert a Kshatriya status by claiming descent from the Chanvar dynasty. Jatiya and Jaiswar are the two major Chamar jati, and together they constituted two-fifths of the Chamar population of U.P.<sup>4</sup>

The themes outlined in the Chamar’s histories of the 1920’s had a wider social base among the Chamar’s of UP Weekly police reports give evidence of Chamar protests meetings between 1920 and 1928. Unfortunately, no such evidence exists for the period prior to 1922. Chamar protest describe in great deal in the weekly police report were noted in the nationalist press. Hindu language news papers like Pratap, Abhyudaya and Aaj begin the report on them when the Hindu reform organization started their campaigns among Dalits. The Chamar movement is an indication of the first phase in 20<sup>th</sup> century, Dalit struggle in north India. A distinguishing feature of this phase is the adoption by the Chamar’s of pure

Hindu writes and practices, such as vegetarianism and the abandonment of impure practices like eating beef and doing leather work as part of their claim to Kshatriya status. In 1929 Sunder Lal Sagar referred to the ongoing struggles in Chamar's in western UP, which he hoped would succeed in changing their status.<sup>5</sup> Chamar Sabhas (Associations) and Panchayats (Council) organized such gathering in both eastern and western U.P. In Moradabad, Bulandshahar Meerut, Bijnaur, Saharnpur, Jaunpur and Basti such meetings provided a context to establish *Chamar Mahasabhas*.<sup>6</sup>

Although Chamar protests evident in many part of the state, police report indicate that the most organized and sustained agitation took place in western UP. These protests were first noticed in 1920 in the districts of Meerut, Muradabad, Bulandshahar, Badaun, Bijnor, Barielly, Pilbhit, Agra and Aligarh. By 1923-24 evidence of Chamar protest had also appeared in the districts of Saharanpur, Eta, Mainpuri, Mathura, Dehradun, Lucknow, Unnao, Khiri, Sultanpur and Pratapgarh in central UP. In Eastern UP Beanras Jaunpur, Basti and Gorakhpur.<sup>7</sup> But the police report describes the meetings and activities in western UP as a "movement." In Moradabad hear of "A general revolt of Chamar's' in Bulandshahar we are told that "their scarcely a large village not having trouble with the Chamar's." and in Meerut it was noted that "the Chamar movement continues to cause trouble."<sup>8</sup> A notable feature of the movement in this region was the collection of donations during meetings to fund various reform activities, particularly schools for Chamar children. In 1922 and 1923 the money collected in these meetings varied from Rs 200 to Rs 1000 in Moradabad and was as much as Rs 1500 in Rampur. The meetings appear to have been fairly well attended, with an average attendance of 500 or 600 and obtained as money as 1000 or 2000. in one case seven thousands Chamar meet in Bijnor in 1924 in this meeting they criticized Congress demand for Swraj. Similar resolutions were passed in Bulandshahar, Dehardoon and Kumaun. A congress activist named Babu Guru Prasad organized a Panchayat at gathering of five hundred Chamar of

Tahsil Bansaon of Gorakhpur district in February 1921 to undertake various reform activities<sup>9</sup> The Chamar Sabhas were the most vocal advocates of abstaining from meet and alcohol. In his novel *Karmabhoomi*, Premchand identified three factors for Chamar's untouchability *Daru-sarab, Murdamans and Chamra* (Drinking alcohol, eating beef and doing leather work) one of the main characters, Amerkant, a caste Hindu and Congress activists who settles downs in a Rae dasi Village somewhere in Haridwar, convene the Chamar's to give up the first two as a way of attaining a pure status of like Hindus.<sup>10</sup> In eastern UP, Dalit caste Panchayats of Chamars did pass resolutions 'not only to abstain from liquor and *Ganjha* but also meat and fish. In other parts of UP, especially in the western region Chamar Sabhas accented the agenda of and aspiration to Kshatriya status without outside intervention. Extensive debates over these issues in the meetings in the districts of Moradabad and Meerut were regularly reported. In the Tahsil of Chandausi, Sambhal, Rehra, Delari, and Gajraula in Moradabad. The Chamar asserted a status similar to that of Jats claiming to be vegetarian caste Hindus. Meerut district was particularly noted for the strength of this movement. At meeting of four thousands Chamar's gathered from the deferent part of the district at Mawona Qasba in November 1920, a series of resolutions were passed claiming Kshatriya status and committing to a purified life style. In Mainpuri a *Chamar Mahasabha* was form in May 1924 explicitly to claim Kshatriya status for Chamar's.<sup>11</sup> Chamar's vegetarianism and the purity of their living conditions were repeatedly mention in resolutions passed a meetings held through the 24 districts of the state. Some Sabhas instituted fines to enforce their new rules of purity.<sup>12</sup> Baba Ram Chandra participated in the meetings of Chamar Sabha's at Pratapgarh and in surrounding district.<sup>13</sup> In eastern Uttar Pradesh Gorakhpur was a major centre of reforms and protest, particularly in Hata and Padraona Tahsil. In July 1926, Chamars passed resolution in different areas of Benaras to abandon the impure and defiling occupation of leather work and the practices of removing carcasses, skinning and tanning. Interesting details include the refusal of

Chamar in Moradabad to repair and stitch and shoes, refusal to skin dead animals in the Siana quasba of Bulandshahar and desertion of the occupation of Mochi in the Rajpura quasba of Badaun. In Saharanpur Town the Chamars sold their annual contract for hide to the Bhangies.<sup>14</sup> The Chamar's of Awadh region participated in Kisan Sabha agitation of 1921-22 which fought against *bedekhali* (eviction) and *begari*. Protest against the *begari* continued even after the movement ended. They were noted in many districts of western UP, including Meerut, Moradabad, Bulandshahar, Aligarh, Saharanpur, Bijnour, Etah, Kanpur agitations against *begari*. A report by the Hindi Weekly Pratap in April 1928 commented on the two day conference organized by the Raidass Sabha of Kanpur to demand the abolition of *begari* and similar practices. In the districts of eastern Uttar Pradesh, like Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Allahabad, Benaras, Ghazipur and Gorakhpur, however, Protest against *begari* was less evident than the promotion of vegetarianism and purity. The Rudhali area of Basti District in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Chamar demanded wages for their women's work as *dais*.<sup>15</sup>

The core difficulty confronted by the Chamar activists was the fact that their "impure" origin and "unclean" occupation condemned them to an untouchable and present this fate was recognized and respected by the British. By writing histories of their caste and by political mobilization of their community, the Chamar challenged the British and Hindu representation of both their past and their present. Writings histories that identified Dalits as the original inhabitants of India and launching political struggles to mobilize all untouchable caste in Uttar Pradesh, Chamar were at the forefronts of the Adi Hindu movement. Chamar politics and struggle were constituted primarily with this movement.

## JATAV MAHASABHA

Lower caste movement of Agra region was very important. Starting from caste movement to caste

identity, it became very strong in this region. In 20<sup>th</sup> century Jatavs of this region started their movement for their social assertion. Elite People of Jatav Community followed the upper caste Hindus in earlier time. They emphasis on copying the Vedic practices, wearing of Yagyopavita (Ganeu) and abolition on flesh eating.<sup>16</sup> Elites of Jatav community started sending their child's in Missionary schools, Arya Samaj schools and Government Schools. In 1917, they established *Jatav Veer Mahasabha (Jatav Men's Associations)* and Jatav Pracharak Mandal was came in to existence in 1924. Its main aim was to change the educational status and to give the new identity as well as consciousness among Jatavs.<sup>17</sup> First; Jatav conference was organized by Pt. Sundarlal Sagar on 28 October 1917 in Agra. In this conference, they frame the "*Akhil Bhartiya Jatav Sabha*", Boharey khemchand (MLC) became its President and Seth Banwari Lal was elected as minister. In 1939, Jatav Jan Shiksha Sansthan was built and objectives of this Sansthan were to increase the education among Jatav society.<sup>18</sup> Jatav Yuvak Parishad (Jatav youth league) was established in 1930. In April 1930, Ram Swaroop Thekedar forms the Bharat Varshiya Jatav Yuvak Parishad. It was renamed in 1935-1937 as *Akhil Bharatiya Yuvak Parishad (All Indian Jatav Youth League)* in the changing social cercomstances and politicization. They emphasizes on the development of Jatav society. It expanded its many branches all over the nation like Rajasthan, Punjab, Madhya Bharat (Central provinces) etc. In 1930's, during Round Table Conference, Jatav Youth League accepted Dr. Ambedkar their true leader and they rejected the M K Gandhi's false symbolism as leader of lower caste. They supported Dr Ambedkar on the issue of separate electorate in spite Gandhi.

Jatav intellectuals demanded for "*Jatav*" term by state and Central Government as official authorization. They argued for this term with Census Commissioner and Viceroy. When, they were not included in government schedule in 1935, then they started a movement for their demands. They asked for separate caste identity and denied their inclusion with Chamar schedule; Jatavs were mentioned as

separate caste in census reports and United Province government ask central Government to include Jatav's in Scheduled caste.<sup>19</sup>

## ALL INDIA JATAV YOUTH LEAGUE

Babu Ram Narayan Yadvendu, B.A., LL.B. Vakil, who describes himself as the President of the "All India Jatav Youth League" Head Office- Raja Mandi Agra.<sup>20</sup> All India Jatav Youth League Agra about recognition of Jatav community as a distinct and separate caste in list of scheduled castes.<sup>21</sup> On May 30, 1938 Jatav made two requests to Government.

- (a) that they may be recorded in the papers of the Education department as "Jatavas instead of "Jatav" (Chamar)
- (b) The Jatavas may be placed on the list of scheduled Castes Published with the Govt. of India Act. (Scheduled castes) order, 1936 as a separate caste distinct from Chamar.<sup>22</sup>

On Jan 11, 1938 "Jatav" in place of the words 'Jatav' (Chamar) as directed in Government order No. 2019/XV- 1041-1935 dated October 12, 1935.

A note saying that Chamar include Jatavas will be appended to the list of scheduled castes approved by Government of India.<sup>23</sup>

The Indian Franchise Committee was of opinion that the term should be applied to those castes only as are untouchable and the tests of untouchability were accepted as follows:

- (i) Persons who are denied access to the interior of ordinary Hindu temples:
- (ii) Persons who cause pollution
  - (a) By touch
  - (b) Within a certain distance.

The U.P. Government were from the beginning averse to adopting any concrete definition of the term 'depressed classes' and had strong objections to the definition adopted by the I.F.C. (Indian

Franchise committee). The position of the Hindu Castes was examined by sir Edward Blunt and a note was prepared by him which guided the Government in deciding the castes that were included in the scheduled castes. The formula of untouchability was held inappropriate as there are clearly considerable classes of people who need special consideration on account of social disabilities which differentiate them from other classes.<sup>24</sup> Untouchability is not the only differentiating factor. The people concerned constitute rather a "special interest" needing protection than a minority community.

A list of Depressed Classes was on the principles mentioned above prepared and incorporated by His Majesty's Govt. in the white paper. They were all considered in the light of Sir Edward Blunts note: Aheriya, Baheliya Bhuiyar, Dhobi, Khatik, Tharu and the Eastern Kori were included and Saun was excluded. The case of Jatavas was considered at length. Certain sects of Chamar, including Jatava, have taken to cleaner professions have risen in the social scale and are not regarded as untouchable.<sup>25</sup> They have begun to ape the manners and customers of high castes and have put forward a claim to Kshatriya descent; Sir Edward Blunt did not believe the story of this descent.

In order to decide whether the Jatavas should be included in the scheduled under a separate designation the social status of the caste has to be examined if the caste has risen in the social scale and does not need any special protection, the Jatavas should not be scheduled. If they are still as backward as the Chamar or other communities scheduled, they have a claim for being included in schedule. The fact is that they have advanced in the social scale according to Sir Edward Blunt but it is doubtful if the advance is enough to justify the exclusion. It mentioned that Mochi, Kumhar, Mallah and some other castes that proved for being scheduled have not been included as the Government of the time did not consider them so backward as the castes which have been Scheduled.<sup>26</sup> Education department to append a

note to the scheduled castes order that Chamars include datavas.<sup>27</sup>

All India Jatav Youth League, submitted a memorial dated February 28, 1938 to the Hon'ble the Premier and his Excellency the governor, United Provinces, on the subject of recognition of the Jatav Community as a distinct caste under the list of the scheduled castes?<sup>28</sup> The Jatavas are found in large numbers in the Meerut, the Agra, the Rohelkhand and the Allahabad Division of the united provinces. Besides the United provinces they are also found in the Punjab. The Delhi Province, the Central Provinces, the Central india, Rajputana and the Indian States including Gwalior, in how, Neem much and Udaipur state. The Population of the Jatavas, according to the Census of 1931 is about 40 lakhs in British India.As regards their origin and the Present status in the society it will suffice to say that the Jatavas are the descendants Yadu dynasty. Mr. J.C. Nesfield in this book, 'Brief Review of Caste- system of N.W. Provinces and Qudh has given ample evidence to support the above claim.

Before the introduction of the Mont-ford Reforms in British India in 1920, the leaders of the Jatav Community started a movement for the

Lucknow- dated 26th October 1938

**President**

Manik Chand Jatav veer  
M.L.A. (Agra)  
Senior Vice- President  
Ram Dayal Sagar  
(Ahamdabad)  
Junior Vice- President  
Munna Lal, Nim  
(m.How, C.I.)  
Cashier  
Ram Swaroop Sagar (Ahamdabad)

Ishwari Prasad Maurya(Agra)

improvement of the social, Political and economic condition of the community since that time hundreds of Jatav Sabha and Sanghs (Leagues) have been doing good work amongst the community for its amelioration.

This fact that the Jatav Community is laboring under social legal and political disabilities. One of the outstanding facts about the Jatavas is their lowest economic and educational status. They are the most poverty-stricken people. The percentage of literacy among them is very low.A large number of them is non-occupancy tenants and agricultural laborers'. It is remarkable to note that 78% of them are engaged in griculture, 11% in various tradas industries and professions and 9% are workmen and skilled labourers.<sup>29</sup> On account of practical restriction the Jatavas had been deprived of the opportunities to share in the Public Administration. Jatavas were regarded as a 'depressed' class by the government for all practical purposes. But it is Passing strange that in spite of de facto recognition of the Jatavas by the Government, they are statutorily excluded from the list of the scheduled castes without any rhyme or reasons.<sup>30</sup>

**General Secretary**

R.N. Yadvendu  
B.A. LL.B. Vakil (Agra)  
Office Secretary  
Nathi Lal Yadav  
(Agra)  
Joint Secretary  
Daulat Ram, B.A  
(Agra)  
Public Secretary  
Moti Lal Vyas, B.Sc.(Ag) Librarian



## Members of working Committee

K.S. Kane B.A. M.L.A. Parliamentary Secretary (Lucknow), Ram Prasad Kadam (Agra), Dharam Pal Udayan (Agra), Lakshman Singh Dharmvir (Delhi), Atama Ram Contractor (Gwalior), Ganda Lal Contractor (Borada), Amrit Lal (Udyapur), Kalo Ram Sami (MHow), Hazari Lal (Ajmer), Pratap Bhanu Singh (Bulundshahar), Pratap Singh, B.A. (Bulundshahar), Sundar Lal Sagar (Agra), Dalchand, Rais (Muttra).<sup>31</sup>

Mr. R.N. Yadvendu explained that in the whole of India the population of the Jatavs was the largest in the United Provinces (about 12½ lakhs) and that they were settled mostly in the western districts. In 1936 an address was presented to H.E. Sir Harry Haig and there in a request was made that Jatav should be shown as a separate caste in the list of the scheduled castes. Two years have since elapsed, but it is a matter of regret that no decision has yet been reached by Government.<sup>32</sup> The Hon'ble Premier pointed out that the aim of the congress was not to demand a mere tinkering of the government of India act but much more than that. Therefore consistently with its policy it was not possible for him to recommend any amendment of the act.<sup>33</sup> The request of the Jatavas was that their caste name be recorded as "Jatav" instead of as 'Jatav (Chamar)' the change seems to a minor one and is note like Nais claiming to be called "Brahman" or Pushpmalis, Najjar or Barhai as "Gaur Brahman" Office does not think that a bad President will be created if the desired orders are issued.<sup>34</sup>

On the 26th October 1938 at Lucknow emphasized their demand that the Government should issue a circular to all the Head of Government Departments, the commissioners of the Divisions and the district Magistrates of all the districts to the effect that the caste of the member of the Jatava Community as JATAV and for this reason they should not be debarred from enjoying the privileges and special rig which are open to the members of the scheduled castes.<sup>35</sup> All India Jatav youth league argued that all purposes Jatavas should be regarded as a caste of the scheduled castes. Any Jatav

candidate mentioning his caste as Jatav should be eligible to apply for any public service on behalf of the scheduled castes.<sup>36</sup> Deputy Secretary General said that "The position of the Jadava or Jatava Community in the United Provinces was ambiguous. They appear to belong either to the Ahir or the Chamar caste. If they are considered to be Chamar, they are already included amongst the scheduled castes. If, on the other hand, they are regarded as Ahirs, they cannot possibly be regarded as depressed, the Ahir being a relatively well-to-do caste and his heredity. Occupation being the keeping of cattle, whilst many of this caste have now become cultivators. They are probably descended from the pastoral tribe, the Abhiras, which was located in the Punjab about the end of the first century A.D. They have of course no claim to be regarded as Kshatriyas, who are an Arya Class.<sup>37</sup> Caste of all the members of the Jatav community who were known as Jatav or Jatava recorded as "Jalav"<sup>38</sup> among other Prayers were stabbed that the Jatav caste should be included in the scheduled castes, and H.P.<sup>39</sup>

The scheduled castes order was also considered to be one of the orders effecting electoral rolls. This department inter alia suggested that the Govt. of India's attention may be drawn to our recommendation in regard to the inclusion of the "Jatav Caste" in the scheduled castes order.<sup>40</sup> The census has never recognized Jatavs as a separate caste and as far as I know they have always been returned under the caste Chamar. In his well know book "The Tribes and Castes of the North- Western Provinces and Qudh" Published in 1896, Crooke Classified Jatwas, Jatuas or Jaduwas as a sub-caste of the Chamars.<sup>41</sup> A memorial dated December 26, 1938 from the All India Jatav Youth League, Agra, addressed to the secretary of state for India, Praying for the amendment of the government of India (scheduled castes) order, 1936 to the effect that the caste 'Jatav' may be declared as a scheduled caste.<sup>42</sup> Letter no. 138-R, dated September 23, 1933 with regard to 'Jatav' and 'Jatav castes still exists, they consider that since the Jatavas are in fact a caste which by all the usual criteria would be scheduled caste, the 'Jatav' caste, should be scheduled. In

actual Practice the inclusion of this caste among the scheduled castes will not cause any hardship because those persons who call themselves 'Jatav' and not 'Jatava' will be entitled to the special Protection and Privileges provided in the Govt. of India act.<sup>43</sup> On behalf of the all India Jatav Youth League beget submit that a Memorandum along with the singnatures of 5131 representative of the Jatav caste from all over the moist Honourable the secretary of state for India through your Government on the 26th December 1938.A memorial dated December 26, 1938 from the All India Jatav Youth League, Agra, addressed to the Secretary of State for India, Praying for the amendment of the Government of India (Scheduled Castes) order, 1936 to the effect that the caste 'Jatav' may be declared as a scheduled castes.The provincial Government have re-examined this question and have come to the conclusion that though the ambiguity expressed in this Government's Letter No.. 138-R, dated September 23, 1933, with regard to "Jatav" and "Jatava" castes still exists the Jatavas are in fact a caste which by all the usual criteria would be a scheduled castes.<sup>44</sup> During the interview with the delegation on the 26th October 1938 at Lucknow was pleased to suggest the Delegation that the Jatav League should forward the memorial to the Secretary of state for India and the Local Government will recommend it to the secretary of state for India.<sup>45</sup> On behalf of the All India Jatav Youth League waited on the Hon. the Premier of United Provinces on the 26th October 1939 regarding the recongnisation of Jatav caste by the Government and the deputation- its urged on the Hon. the Premier to issue circular to all the departments of the Government to record the members of the Jatav caste as Jatav only.<sup>46</sup> According to office memorandum No. 78(3) III -38 dated May 30, 1941, that the U.P. government recently issued an order to the effect that in connection with a memorial submitted by the All India Jatav Youth League, the Secretary of state for India has decided to take the first opportunity of proposing an amendment of the Government of India scheduled caste order 1936 so as to include the Jatav caste in part (IV) (1) of the schedule of that

order.<sup>47</sup> According to, Reference General Administration Department's Office Memorandum no. 78(3)-III- 1938 dated December 12, 1938.

There is no objection to the recording of the caste of the Jatav community a 'Jatav' in the records pertaining to the Judicial Civil Department<sup>48</sup> dated January 11, 1938, Education Department accepted the request of the Jatav Community for recording themselves as 'Jatav' in place of the words "Jatav (Chamar)" and further directed that in order to give them the benefit of the special facilities sanctioned for the children of the depressed classes, a note saying that Chamars include Jatavas will be appended to the list of the scheduled castes approved by the Government of India.<sup>49</sup> Dated December 12, 1938, regarding the request of the All India Jatav Youth League that the Caste of their community recorded in Government records as "Jatav" instead of as "Chamar" or "Jatav Chamar".<sup>50</sup> So far as industries Department was concerned that there is no objection if the caste of the members of Chamar or Jatav Chamar Community is recorded as "Jatav" in Government records.<sup>51</sup> Dated December 12, 1938. So far as the finance (A) Department also concerned that ther eis no objection to ascending to the request of the All India Jatav Youth League to designate the caste of their community as "Jatav" instead of a "Chamar" or "Jatav Chamar".<sup>52</sup> On December 22, 1938 requested that the words more unless Government issue an executive order declaring that Jatavas are equivalent to the scheduled castes should be added in line 3 of para 3, between the words "Castes" and there in other words Jatav was included in the list of scheduled caste or unless Government issue an executive order declaring that Jatav are equivalent to the scheduled castes, their children would be deprived of the facilities sanctioned for the scheduled castes, as Government have decided that all the benefits sanctioned for the depressed classes should be confined to the children of the scheduled castes as mentioned in the list of Government of India (order) 1936.<sup>53</sup>



## CONCLUSION

Chamar and Jatav Mahasabha reformers, drinking, gambling and popular religious practices constituted evil or bad habits, which had to be overcome, not simply to prevent indebtedness, but also to qualify for higher status and as fit and proper members of Indian society. The relationship of the untouchable poor with the upper caste nationalists and religious reformers remained uneasy in the UP towns, and neither provided an adequate focus for the politics of the untouchable poor. Instead, Chamar and Jatav Mahasabha formed the dominant and sustained form on their political expression and identity, despite the sporadic and uneven nature of agitation politics under the Chamar and Jatav Mahasabha.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Chandrika,R, Chancharik Kanhailal, *Adhunik Bharat ka Andalan*, University, New Delhi (2003) pp-234-35, and Chamar Sabha like Jatav Sabha, Jaiswar Sabha, Jatiya Sabha and many such were formed at the village level.
2. Rawat,Ramnarayan S, Reconsidering Untouchability,Chamars and Dalit History in North India,Permanent Black,Ranikhet,2012,p.121-23
3. Ibid W Briggs,The Chamars,p.20
4. Ibid Rawat, Ramnarayan S, 2012, p.131.
5. Ibid, p.132.
6. PAI, (weekly Police Abstracts of Intelligence), March,24,31, Oct,06, 1923;February,23,May,3, May 17, May 24,Jun,14,Sep,6,1924.
7. PAI, March, 18, April, 8,22,1922.
8. Rawat,Ramnarayan S, 2012,p132-33.
9. Premchand,Munshi, Karambhoomi,p,1 68-71.
10. Rawat,Ramnarayan S, 2012,p.133.
11. PAI November, 4, 1922.
12. PAI, Dec, 241927, January7, 1928.
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