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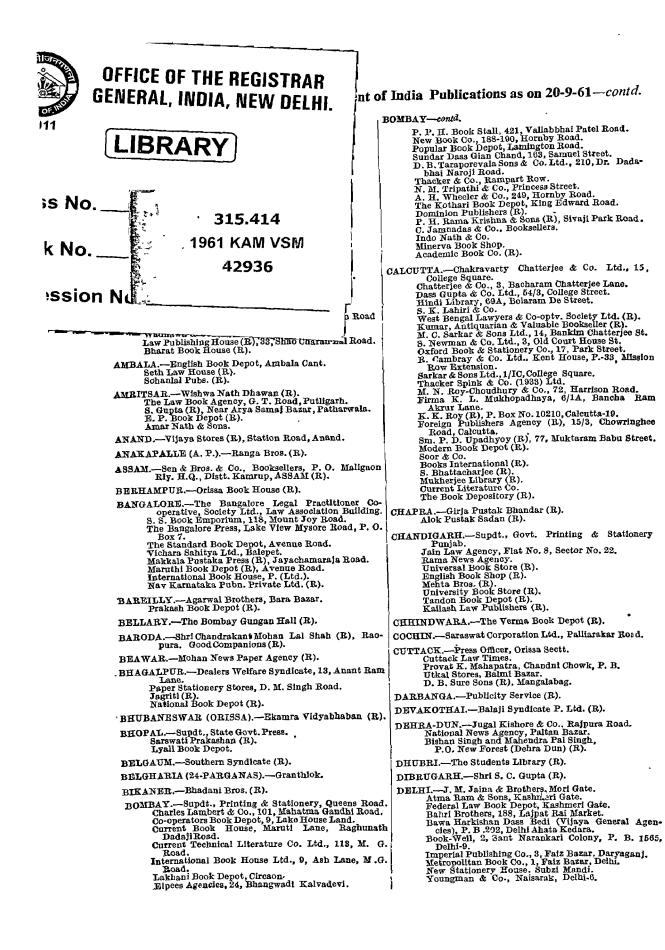
> *DISTRICT*—BURDWAN *POLICE STATION*—BURDWAN *VILLAGE*—KAMNARA

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Any statement made or conclusion drawn in this Publication is wholly the responsibility of the author alone in his personal capacity and does not necessarily represent the views of Government.

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INTRODUCTION

This is the second of the series of monographs, which are proposed to be published on the Socio-economic aspects of life in the villages of West Bengal. The monograph has been written on an analysis of the answers received to some questions which were put to every family residing in the village or mauza of Kamnara in the district of Burdwan. The questionnaire is the same as was reproduced as an appendix to the monograph on the village Kodalia in the district of Hooghly.

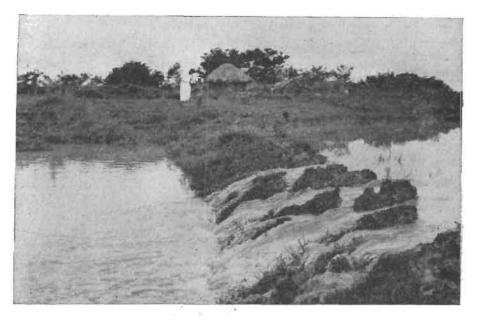
Kamnara was selected as one of the villages to be surveyed in the Burdwan district because it is situated near a town.

Shri Dipankar Sen, M.A., Investigator, carried out the field survey on the basis of the questionnaire. The survey was conducted during the period from 31-5-62 to 6-7-62. The photographs reproduced in this monograph were taken by Shri Salil Kumar Chatterjee, who worked as the Artist-cum-Photographer in this office till the 7th May, 1963.

Shri S. P. Mullick of the West Bengal Senior Forest Service, Conservator of Forests, Central Circle, West Bengal, supplied me with the scientific names of the Indian plants mentioned in the monograph on Kodalia and in this monograph.

I am indebted to Shri Amiya Ranjan Kar, for going through the proofs.

Calcutta, 6th June, 1963 J. C. SEN GUPTA, Superintendent of Census Operations, West Bengal & Sikkim and State Editor, West Bengal District Gazetteers.



THE RIVULET GOUR

(ii) Between pages viii and I

HE mauza of Kamnara bears Jurisdiction List No. 49 in the Police Station of Burdwan in the district of Burdwan. On the north it is bounded by the mauzas of Tentral (J. L. No 53) and Simdul (J. L. No. 50), on the south by the mauza Mirzapur (J. L. No. 66), on the east by the mauza Malkita (J. L. No. 54) and on the west by the mauza Deuri (J. L. No. 48) and the mauza Palitpur (J. L. No. 47). This mauza was selected for assessing the impact of a growing city like Burdwan on the neighbouring rural areas. Burdwan is the headquarters town of the district and is an important railway junction. The mauza of Kamnara is situated at a distance of approximately 3 miles from the city of Burdwan along the Burdwan-Katwa Road. This road runs along the western boundary of mauza Malkita for that portion of its length which passes through that mauza and, therefore, also forms the eastern boundary of the mauza Kamnara for this portion of its length. The Burdwan-Katwa Light Railway crosses the mauza Kamnara in its eastern portion running almost parallel to the road to Katwa at this place. There is a halt station named Kamnara Halt Station for persons who want to travel to Kamnara by Rail either from Burdwan or from Katwa or from intermediate points. A village road joins the Burdwan-Katwa Road near the Kamnara Halt Station. Public buses run along the Burdwan-Katwa Road and provide easy means of communication with Burdwan by road.

The village is situated in the plains of the Burdwan District which slope in the vicinity of this village from the south-west to the northeast. The ground of the village however, slopes generally from west to east. There are no hillocks but only small undulations. A small rivulet, locally known as the Gour runs across the southern portion of the mauza, from west to east. This rivulet joins the Khari river which flows through the police station and it separates from the main mauza, the hamlet called Mongira. The soil is a sticky kind of loam, blackishbrown in colour, which sets into a hard surface during the dry season. In the rains the ground becomes extremely muddy and sticky.

Rainfall figures are not available especially. for the mauza of Kamnara. But there is a rain registering station at Burdwan which is situated only about 3 miles away. December, January and February are usually dry months, but in 1953, 1954 and 1955 slight amounts of rainfall were recorded in the month of January. Slight amounts of rainfall were also recorded in the month of February in the years 1952, 1953 and 1954. The chief amount of rainfall takes place in the months of June, July, August and September, the maximum of rainfall taking place in the month of July. The rainfall varies from 45 to 60 inches in a year. The climate is characterised by a hot summer, high humidity nearly all the year round and well distributed rainfall during the monsoon season. Winter commences about the middle of November and continues till the end of February.

The most numerous tree is the *babla* which bears numerous thorns. In fact, in a local rhyme, reproduced below, Kamnara has been associated with three things, mud, thorns of the *babla* tree and *amra* tree which bears a kind of sour fruit which is used in preparing *chutneys*.

''কাদা কাঁটা আমড়া তিন নিয়ে কামনাডা''

So the next important tree which requires to be mentioned is the *amra* tree. This does not mean that there are no other trees in the village. The banyan, the *peepul* (the *aswatha*), the tamarind, the margosa and the mango may be mentioned among the big trees. The *krishnachura*, the *simul* and the guava trees are also met with. Palmyra and the date-palm are there but not coconut and areca-nut trees.

The fauna is represented by the jackal if birds and reptiles are not taken into account.

The village is not noted for birds, although some of the usual variety are met with. Snakes are also met with, including Cobras.

The mauza measures 1,053.35 acres in area and contains a population of 970 divided into 153 households according to the 1961 Census. The Investigator who carried out this Survey, could not however contact 3 of the households and the number of households reviewed in the Survey is 150 with a total population of 884 persons. The difference in the population, even making allowance for the 3 households, not covered by the survey, is rather large and is explained by the fact that at the time of enumeration of the Census of 1961, a number of visitors were temporarily staying in the mauza.

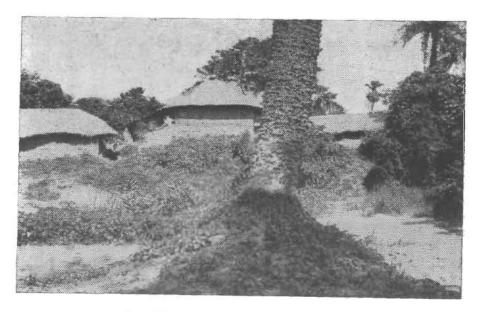
The 150 households covered by the survey are divided into 11 castes and 1 tribe. The castes are (1) Ugra Kshatriya, (2) Goala or Gope, (3) Bagdi or Kush Metey, (4) Brahman, (5) Namasudra, (6) Muchi, (7) Bauri, (8) Gandha Banik, (9) Hari. (10) Ahir and (11) Bairagi. There are members of only 1 tribe, viz., the Santal in the village. 35 households are Goala or Gope by caste, 33 belong to the Santal tribe, 20 are Ugra Kshatriyas, 15 are Bagdis who call themselves Kush Meteys, 18 are Bauris, 13 households are Namasudra by caste, 6 are Muchis, 4 are Gandha Baniks, 2 are Brahmans and 2 are Bairagis. The Hari and Ahir castes each contributes 1 household, thus making up the total of 150 households. All but 16 of the households are accounted for by the 5 castes of Goala or Gope, Ugra Kshatriya, Bauri, Bagdi or Kush Metey and Namasudra and the Santal tribe. The Bagdi, the Namasudra, the Bauri, the Muchi and the Hari are Scheduled Castes while the Santal is a Scheduled Tribe in West Bengal. The households belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes form 57.3 per cent. of the households surveyed.

As one enters the village from the east, along the road which takes off from the Burdwan-Katwa Road, one first of all comes across a cluster of houses of the Santals, situated in the strip of land lying between the Railway lines and the Burdwan-Katwa Road. After crossing the Railway lines and on proceeding further westward, some more Santal houses are met with along with a few houses of the Bauris. There is a Junior Basic School in the village which is situated immediately

beyond this cluster of houses of Bauri families. The middle of the village is occupied by the houses of Goalas or Gopes and a house of a Ugra Kshatriya and further to the west there are four houses of the Gandha Baniks followed by the houses of the Bagdis or Kush Meteys in a cluster. A little further towards north-west and almost at the boundary of the village, most of the houses of the Namasudras and Muchis are situated. In the southern portion of the mauza, situated to the south of the river Gour, is the hamlet Mongira. This is mainly inhabited by the Ugra Kshatriyas, there being also a few houses belonging to the Santals, Bagdis, a house of a Namasudra, a house of a Brahman, a house of an Ahir and a house of a Hari. The Ugra Kshatriyas are mostly cultivators. Major portion of the cultivated area of the village lies in the northern portion of the mauza.

A tendency is thus noticeable for the members of a particular caste to reside in close proximity to one another and at a distance from members of other castes.

There is no important public place in the village. Community worship of Manasa, the Snake-Goddess, is performed at two places in the village, one of which is located in the Ghoshpara, that is, that portion of the village where the Goalas or Gopes live and the other at the Bagdipara where the Bagdis or Kush Meteys live. Both these places are situated to the north of the river Gour. There is also a place for the community worship of the Goddess Kali in Ghoshpara. There is another place for the worship of Shiva, locally known as Kameswar, in front of the house of a Gandha Banik, from whose name the name of the village has been derived. There is a place for the community worship of *Dharmaraj* in the hamlet Mongira. *Manasa* or the Snake-Goddess is worshipped with pomp and ceremony in the village. The worship takes place on the first Panchami day in the month of Ashar. On that day, one of several pieces of stones which lie at the Manasatala in Ghoshpara at the foot of a date-palm tree, is picked up with due ceremony and placed on a palanquin which is covered with a red cloth all round and is then taken to the music of the Indian drum to the bank of a neighbouring tank and bathed to the accompaniment of religious incantations. At the time of bathing this piece of stone,



THE MANASATALA IN GHOSHPARA

(iii) Between pages 2 and 3



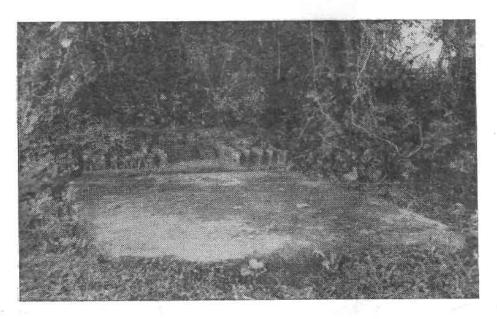
THE MANASATALA IN BAGDIPARA



THE RAKSHAKALITALA IN GHOSHPARA



 $T_{\rm HE}$ Structure in which Kameswar Shiva is housed



DHARMARAJTALA IN MONGIRA

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what is known as Ghat puja, takes place and a goat is sacrificed. The piece of stone is then brought back to the Manasatala in Ghoshpara and worshipped. Two Brahman priests officiate at the ceremony and various offerings including goats are offered on behalf of the various castes residing in the village. The Bauris and the Santals do not participate in this puja. After the worship concludes at Ghoshpara, the stone is again lifted on to the palanquin, which is then taken to the Bagdipara. The journey to Bagdipara always starts from the place where the fourth goat is sacrificed. The Manasatala in Bagdipara is situated beneath four trees which stand close to one another. These trees are the datepalm, the *peepul* or aswatha, the neem or margosa and the kelikadamba. On arrival of the palanquin at this place, the stone is taken down with due ceremony and placed at the Manasatala and again worshipped, the worship being attended with much less ceremony and pomp than at Ghoshpara. The next day is spent in festivities to which friends and relatives are invited. A mela, i.e., a religious fair, is held in the village on the occasion of the Manasa puja. Stalls are set up by shop-keepers who sell toys and fried brinjals etc. People from neighbouring villages, come to the *mela*. The attendance does not exceed 200 persons.

The community worship of the Goddess Kali takes place twice in the year. It takes place at Mongira at the usual time, *i.e.*, on the new moon following the Durga puja while at Ghoshpara in the main part of the village of Kamnara, Rakshakali is worshipped in the month of Falgun for preventing the outbreak of small-pox. Brahman priests officiate at both the functions which are attended by the sacrifice of goats. People of Mongira contribute towards the cost of the community worship of the Goddess Kali in their hamlet and they do not participate in the worship of the Goddess Kali at Ghoshpara. The Goddess Kali is also worshipped at this time in a household situated in the main mauza of Kamnara. A mela is held in connection with the Kali puja at Ghoshpara. At this mela same types of shops are set up as in the mela that is held in connection with the community worship of the Goddess Manasa. The attendance at both the *melas* is almost the same.

The worship of Shiva takes place on the last day of the month of Chaitra of the Bengali year. Shiva is worshipped in the Lingam form. The Lingam is of black stone. It is said that many years ago, the ancestor of Shri Hempada Malik of the village who is a Namasudra by caste, discovered the Lingam while digging at a place in the village for building a house. Since that time the worship of the deity has been introduced, but there is no proper temple for the accommodation of the deity. On the day of worship, the devotees observe fasting and they do not break their fast until a flower from the top of the Lingam falls on the palm of the priest at the time of the puja. Villagers in general participate in this worship of Shiva. This Shiva is locally known as Kameswar and the name of the mauza is said to be derived from his name.

Dharmaraj is worshipped on the Buddha Purnima day every year in the hamlet Mongira. This is a religious festival which has especial appeal to the residents of the hamlet Mongira. The place of worship is a brick platform beneath a sheora, a date-palm and an akanda tree. There is no image of the deity, but there are a few pebbles of black stone on the platform. Clay horses and elephants are placed on the platform, as offerings to Dharmaraj, who is supposed to ensure the well-being of the people of Mongira. A Brahman priest officiates at this ceremony. Dharmaraj is supposed to be the Supreme Being, superior to all other Gods.

The Bauris celebrate the festival or worship of *Bhadu* in the month of *Bhadra* of the Bengali year. The women-folk take the leading part. They make images of *Bhadu* with clay and sing songs in glorification of *Bhadu*. *Bhadu* was the daughter of the Raja of Panchet. She died a virgin for the welfare of her people. This year (1369 B.S.) the Bagdi young men also took part in the festival.

Marang Buru is worshipped by the Santals. The place of worship is the ground beneath a tree, at the base of which an earthen platform has been raised. Lakai Majhi, a Santal resident of the village officiates at the ceremony. The worship takes place twice a year, once in the month of Sravan and again in the month of Paus. The Bandhna festival of the Santals usually comes off in the month of Paus and it is celebrated in the village by the Santals. During the Bandhna festival, fowls are sacrificed before Marang Buru. Dances by Santal men and women form an indispensable part of the Bandhna festivat.

Manasa is worshipped on the 29th day of the Bengali nonth of *Bhadra* in the house of Lakai Majh². Venomous snakes are caught from the field or jungle by a relative of Lakai Majhi. He plays with the snakes before the mound of *Manasa*.

The Jun'or Basic School was established The building was in the village in 1952. constructed by the District School Board of Burdwan on the plot of land donated by the late Mrityun oy Pramanik who usually resided at Burdwan. The school is named after the father of the donor of land as "Kamnara Hem Chandra Junior Basic School". There are 5 teachers and 99 students. 50 of the students are boys and 49 are girls. Education is imparted up to the level of Class V and The Investigator stayed in the school is free. while conducting the survey of the village. On account of difficulty of communications, the school remains closed for one month during the rains.

There is no market place in the village and the resident; have to procure their daily necessaries from Burdwan. There are two grocers' shops in the village which stock rice, pulses, oil etc.

The crematorium or burning ground is situated just outside the village, where the rivulet Gour is somewhat wide and deep. The place is known as *Sanko* possibly because there is a culvert or small bridge over the rivulet at this place, where the Burdwan-Katwa Road crosses it.

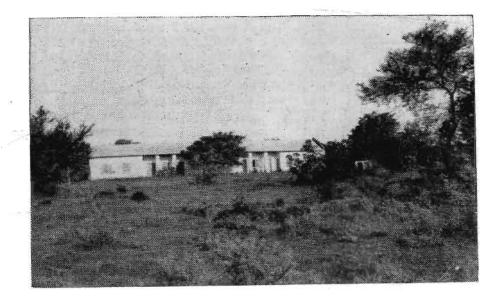
There are about half a dozen fairly big tanks in the village and a number of small ponds. Most of these ponds dry up in summer. The tanks do not dry up in summer. Drinking water is provided by five public tube-wells. In addition there are two tubewells inside the school compound and 8 tubewells in 8 houses. The supply of drinking water comes from these tube-wells, the water of the tanks being mainly used for washing clothes and bathing and for cooking pulses. There is a well in the *Santalpara*. But the Santals prefer to take water from the tubewells situated in the school compounds.

The Namasudras and the Kush Meteys or Bagdis appear to have been the earliest settlers in the village. It is reported that there were also a few families of Kayasthas among the earliest castes who settled in the hamlet Mongira, but at the present day none of their descendants reside in the village.

4 Namasudras and 1 Bagdi or Kush Metey families claim that they have been residing in the village for seven generations. Their number was augmented in the next generation by 1 family of Namasudras. In the next generation, the village received 3 Ugra Kshatriya families, 3 Goala or Gope families, 1 Bairagi family and 1 Namasudra family. In the next generation 6 Ugra Kshatriya families, 7 Goala or Gope families, 6 Bagdi or Kush Metey families and 1 family belonging to each of the castes Bauri, Gandha Banik, Namasudra and Muchi arrived in the village. In the next generation, that is, two generations ago 16 more families settled in the village 6 of these families belonged to the Goala or Gope caste, 4 to the Muchi caste, 3 to the Bagdi or Kush Metey caste and 1 to each of the castes Namasudra and Ugra Kshatriya and 1 to the Santal tribe.

Fathers of the heads of 29 families settled in the village in the next generation. Of these families, 11 belonged to the Goala or Gope caste, 6 to the Ugra Kshatriya caste, 6 were Santals, 2 were Bauris and 1 family belonged to each of the castes Gandha Banik, Namasudra, Bagdi and Ahir. In the present generation, 68 more families settled in the village. Of these 26 were Santals, 15 Bauris, 8 Goalas or Gopes, 4 Ugra Kshatriyas, 4 Namasudras, 4 Bagdis or Kush Meteys, 2 Gandha Baniks, 2 Brahmans, 1 Bairagi, 1 Muchi and 1 Hari.

For five generations the influx of families belonging to the Goala or Gope caste has been at a steady and increasing rate, except for one or two generations. The same remark can be applied also in respect of Ugra Kshatriyas. The Santals first made their appearance only two generations ago, their greatest number have only come in the present generation. The Brahmans were the last to arrive. One of them is the headmaster



THE JUNIOR BASIC SCHOOL

(vii) Between pages 4 and 5

of the local school and the other is a priest. Their coming, in a sense, marks the completion of the formation of the village settlement, the number of persons already settled becoming such as to provide employment for a Brahman in religious ceremonies.

Although the village or mauza of Kamnara is treated as a single entity for the purpose

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of revenue administration, for the purpose of Local Self Government it is not so treated. The hamlet Mongira is included in the Saraitigar Anchal Panchayat, while the rest of the mauza situated to the north of the rivulet Gour, is included in the Khetia Anchal Panchayat. Previously also the two parts formed parts of two Union Boards.

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HERE are only 4 brick built houses in the village, 2 of which belong to 2 Ugra Kshatriya gentlemen, 1 of whom does not ordinarily reside in the village, 1 is the school building and another is the boarding attached to the school. All the other families live in kutcha houses. All the 33 Santal families live in houses having mud walls and thatched roofs. All the 35 Gope or Goala families reside in houses having mud walls, but 10 such houses have got roofs constructed with C. I. sheets. The roofs of the 25 other houses are made of straw. Of the 20 Ugra Kshatriya households, excluding the 1 who usually resides at Burdwan, only 1 resides in a *pucca* house constructed with brick. 13 of the families live in mud-walled and thatched roof houses. 3 families reside in mud-walled houses having C. I. sheet roofs and 1 household lives in the mud-walled house the roof of which is constructed partly with straw and partly with asbestos, 1 family resides in a mud-walled house with asbestos roof and another family lives in a semi-pucca house having brick walls and asbestos roof. 13 of the 18 Bauri families live in mud-walled and thatched roof houses and 5 families live in houses having walls made of split bamboos, the roofs being made of straw. 14 of the 15 Bagdi families live in mud-walled and thatched roof houses. The house of 1 family has got walls made of split bamboos and the roof of straw. 12 of the 13 Namasudra families reside in mud-walled and thatched roof houses, the roof of the house of 1 household being constructed partly with C. I. sheet and partly with straw, the walls being built with mud. All the 6 Muchi families live in mud-walled and thatched roof houses. 2 Gandha Banik households live in mud-walled and thatched roof houses, 1 in mud-walled and C. I. sheet-roofed house and another in a house; the roof of which is partly constructed with straw and partly with C. I. sheets. 1 of the Brahman families resides in a pucca house (the boarding attached to the local school) and the other resides in a mud-walled and thatched roof house.

Both the Bairagi families live in mud-walled and thatched roof houses. The single Hari family and the single Ahir family live in mudwalled and thatched roof houses.

If the families are classified industrially in accordance with the classification made by the Directorate General of Employment and Training, Ministry of Labour and Employment. Government of India, on the basis of the occupations of the heads of the respective households, then it is seen that of the 68 households engaged in Cultivation, 57 live in mudwalled and thatched roof huts. 9 other families belonging to this category, live in mud-walled huts having C. I. sheet roofs and 2 families reside in mud-walled huts having composite roofs, the roof of one hut is made partly with straw and partly with C. I. sheets and the roof of another, partly with straw and partly with asbestos. Of the 25 families belonging to the category of Agricultural Labour, as many as 23 families live in mud-walled and thatched roof huts. 2 more families of this category live in huts, the walls of which are made of split bamboos, the roof being of 31 families belong to the category of straw. Other Services. 24 of these families live in huts having mud walls and thatched roofs. 4 in huts having walls made of split bamboos with roof of straw, 1 lives in a house having mud walls with asbestos roof and 2 live in *pucca* houses. 12 families belong to the category-Manufacturing. 11 of them reside in mud-walled and straw-roofed huts and 1 in brick-walled and asbestos-roofed house. - 3 families belong to the category of Retail Trade. One of them lives in mud-walled and strawroofed house, another in a mud-walled and C. I. sheet-roofed house and another in mudwalled house, having a composite roof of C. I. sheets and straws. The single family, engaged in Transport, Storage and Communications lives in mud-walled and thatched roof house. Of the 10 families, the heads of which are Non-workers, as many as 6 live in mud-walled and thatched roof houses and 4 live in houses of mud walls with C. I. sheet roofs.

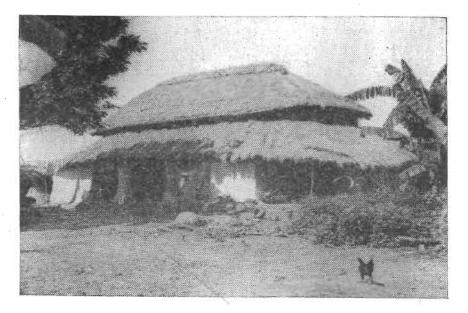


THE HOUSE OF A MAN OF THE BAURI CASTE



A MUD-WALLED HOUSE WITH ROOF OF C. I. SHEETS

(ix) Between pages 6 and 7

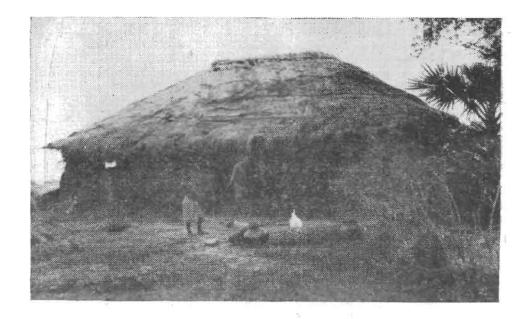


The House of a Man belonging to the Santal Tribe

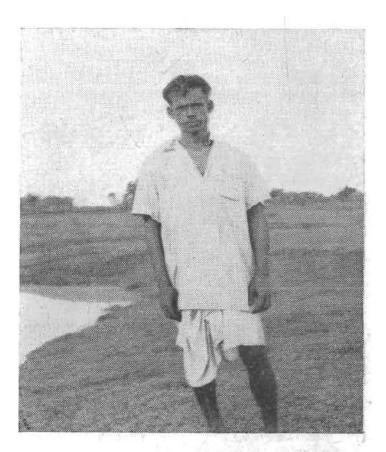


A Two-storeyed Mud-walled House with Roof of C. I. Sheets

(x) Between pages 6 and 7



THE HOUSE OF A MAN OF THE MUCHI CASTE



A YOUNG MAN OF THE GOALA CASTE



AN AGRICULTURAL LABOURER



A MAN OF THE BAGDI CASTE

(xii) Between pages 6 and 7

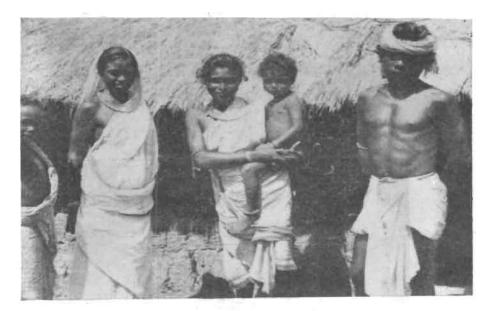


A WOMAN OF THE BAURI CASTE WITH CHILD



THREE MEN BELONGING TO THE UGRA KSHATRIYA CASTE

(xiii) Between pages 6 and 7



A GROUP OF SANTALS

(xiv) Between pages 6 and 7

7

The Table below shows the area of homestead land by family:

	Area of Homestead				No.of Families
1.	Up to 5 cottahs	•	•	•	55
2.	Between 6-10 cottahs .	•		•	29
3.	Between 11-15 cottahs .	•			3
4.	Between 16 cottahs-1 bigha	L	•	•	2
5.	More than 1 bigha		•	•	1
6.	Ejmali estate (Joint Owners)	up)	•		9
7.	Lives on others land .	٠			51
		Τα	otal		150

51 families do not own any homestead land and live on others land and have not to pay. any rent. The area of land comprised in the homestead of such a family is very small, in each case less than 5 cottahs. Some of them work as *Krishans* or share-croppers for proprietors of agricultural land and some families are occupying the homestead land in return for some kind of service rendered or to be rendered in case of need to the owners.

Some idea of the types of dresses worn by the various sections of people of the village may be had from the photographs given in the opposite pages. Menfolk who are elderly usually wear a *dhoti* the lower end of which is kept almost at the level of the knee and they usually carry a gamchha (Indian towel) on their shoulders. These people put on shirts on the occasions on which they have to go to places outside the village. The younger menfolk generally wear loongis and vests (genjis) in the village and while going to places outside the village they wear *dhotis* in proper style and shirts. Some even put on trousers. The women-folk usually wear a single piece of sari. Young boys usually wear shorts or its Bengali version, the short drawers, prepared from ordinary cloth and the girls wear frocks.

The ornaments worn by the women-folk of the village did not exhibit any local peculiarities and it would not be worthwhile therefore to describe them in great deal. But this subject of wearing of ornaments by the womenfolk may be viewed from another angle.

Of the 35 Goala or Gope households no ornaments of any kind are worn by the women-RGI/63 folk in 7 households. In 21 families the women-folk wear either glass or brass bangles. In 7 such families gold ear rings are also worn. In 4 household silver girdle is worn at the waist along with glass bangles at the wrists. In 6 households there is also use of gold bangles or armlets. Gold ornaments are used round the neck and also at the ears in only 1 of these 6 families.

Of the 33 Santal households there are no women-folk in 2. Of the remaining 31, no ornaments of any kind are worn in 4 households. In 1 household the women-folk wear celluloid bangles. In the remaining 26 families, silver ornaments are worn. The ornaments of the Santal women are slightly different from the ornaments worn by the women-folk of other castes.

In 1 Ugra Kshatriya family, there are no women and in 4 families, no ornaments of any kind are worn. In 7 families only ornaments of glass or brass are in use. In only 1 family all the ornaments in use are of gold while in the remaining 7 families gold ornaments are used with glass or brass ornaments.

In 7 Bauri households the women-folk do not wear any ornaments. In the remaining 11 households, the women-folk wear ornaments of glass and brass only.

In 6 Bagdi families the women-folk do not wear any ornaments. In the remaining 9 families, the women-folk wear ornaments of brass or glass only.

In 5 Namasudra families the women-folk do not wear ornaments of any kind. In 5 other families the women-folk wear ornaments of glass or brass only. In the remaining 3 families, gold ornaments are used with glass or brass bangles. The gold ornaments are usually used for the ears or nose only.

In 1 Muchi family, the women-folk do not wear any ornaments and in another, silver ornaments are worn. In 4 other families ornaments of glass or brass are used.

In 1 Gandha Banik family, the womenfolk do not wear any ornaments and in another, ornaments of glass and brass are in use and in the remaining 2 households gold ornaments are used along with glass and brass bangles, In both the Brahman families, the womenfolk are used to wearing gold ornaments. In the single Ahir household, silver ornaments are worn, while in the single Hari household no ornaments are worn. In 1 Bairagi household there is no women-folk. In the remaining Bairagi household there is no ornament.

To sum up, there are no women-folk in 4 families, no ornaments of any kind are worn by the women-folk in 37 households and

ornaments of only glass or brass are used in 51 households and in 1 household celluloid ornaments are used. In 24 households, gold ornaments are used along with ornaments of glass or brass. Silver ornaments are worn in 29 families and gold ornaments are worn in 4 families. The possession of various types of ornaments may also be shown by the following Table in which the households have been classified industrially in accordance with the occupations of the heads:

No. of Households in	which the	women-folk wear
----------------------	-----------	-----------------

Industrial Category									
		No orna- ments	Glass or brass or inferior metal orna- ments	Glass of brass or inferior metal orna- ments and silver orna- ments	Silver ornaments	Gold ornaments	Gold orna- ments in combination with other in- ferior metals		
Cultivation		13	22		13	2	18		
Agricultural Labour .		6	10		8				
Manufacturing		3	4		4		1		
Retail Trade			1	1			1		
Transport, Storage	and								
Communications .	•	••	1	••	••		••		
Other Services		9	12		3	2	2		
Non-workers		6	2	••			2		
Total		37	52	1	28	4	24		

The household utensils in common use, are the cooking pot (handi) and karai which is used mainly for frying and for cooking vegetable and other dishes. In some houses pans of aluminium, locally known as dekchis are also used for the purpose of cooking. The cooked food excluding rice are kept and served in the vessels known as bati. Food is eaten on a thala which is a flat plate like vessel but much bigger than a plate. This thala is either made of kansa, that is, bell metal or aluminium or iron covered with enamel. The glass for drinking water is usually either made of kansa or bharan (bell metal) or brass or aluminium. Drinking water is stored either in earthenware pitchers or in brass ghara which is a kind of pitcher or in iron buckets. For stirring rice while it is being cooked, a thing called hata is used. This is a kind of ladle. This also serves the purpose of a big spoon for serving the food. For hand-

ling things being fried or cooked in the karai, a thing called khunti is used.

Earthenware cooking pots (handi) are used in 84 families, aluminium cooking pots are used in 66 families and in only 6 of the 84 houses in which the earthen cooking pots are used, are the *thala* (plate), the bati and the tumbler are made of bell metal. Similarly, in 44 of 66 houses where the cooking pots are of aluminium, the *thala*, the *bati* and the tumbler are of bell metal. In most of the Santal houses wooden ladles are used. No thala is used in Santal households. Its place is taken by a big bati of bell metal. Bell metal articles have re-sale value and they can also be pawned for raising money in emergencies while articles of aluminium have very little re-sale value. Earthenware cooking pots have to be used by those families, who use wood as the fuel for cooking.

In 81 families there are no bed-steads or *taktaposhes* or *khatias*. The members of these families have to sleep on the ground on mats of rushes or split bamboos (*chatai*) or pieces of hessians, etc. There are bed-steads in 8 houses and in 1 house there is a *khatia* in addition to a bed-stead and in another there is a *taktaposh*

in addition to a *khatia*. In 30 households there are *khatias*. There are *taktaposhes* in 29 households.

After classification according to castes, the data given in the preceding paragraph can be shown as follows :

	•					No. of Households having					
-	Caste/Tribe					Taktaposh	Bed-stead	Khatia	Bed-stead and Khatia	Taktaposh and Khatia	
Gandha Banik	•	•	•	•		4	••	••		••	
Namasudra .		•	•	•	•	1	1	••		••	
Goala or Gope	•		•	•	•	12	6	1	1	1 ,	
Ugra Kshatriya	•	•	•	•	•	10	1	••	••		
Brahman .		•	•	•		2	••	••		••	
Santal	•		•		•	••	••	27		••	
Bairagi	•				•		••	1		••	
Ahir	•		•		•			1		••	
			Т	otal	•	29	8	30	1	1	

Again, according to the industrial categories, the households can be shown as follows:

No. of Households having Industrial Category Bed-stead and Taktaposh Bed-stead Khatia Taktaposh Khatia and Khatia Cultivation 17 6 11 1 1 7 Other Services 1 4 Transport, Storage and Communications 1 Manufacturing 4 3 . . Retail Trade . 1 . . Non-workers . 3 1 1 . . $\mathbf{7}$ Agricultural Labour 29 8 30 1 Total 1

Wall brackets or clothes-horses are not in use in any household. Clothes are usually hung on a piece of rope the two ends of which are tied to two nails thrust into the wall. Sometimes a piece of bamboo is suspended from the rafters by two pieces of rope and the clothes are hung on it. Mirrors are possessed by all the families except 9. All the three articles, a table, a chair and a stool or a *jal-chowki* are possessed by only 4 houses. In only 2 such households bed-steads are possessed in addition to these articles of furniture. 1 of these households is headed by a man of Goala or Gope caste and belongs

to the category of Cultivation. The head of other household is an Ugra Kshatriya by caste and belongs to the category of Other Services. The 4 households which possess all the 3 articles of furniture, *viz.*, a table, a chair and a stool or a *jalchowki* can be classified according to caste and industrial categories to which the household belongs as follows:

INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY AND CASTE

Caste		Industrial Category				
Caste		Cultivation	Other Services			
Goala or Gope .	•	1	• •			
Ugra Kshatriya .	•	2	1			
Total		3	1			

In 3 other houses there are only chairs. In fact common articles of furniture are not in use in the village and a visitor or a guest is usually requested to take his seat on a piece of hessian cloth.

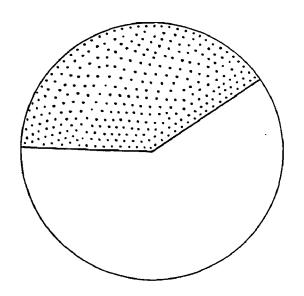
There is no electricity in the village. In 59 houses the uncovered kerosene lamp or diba ($[\textcircled{B} \lhd 1]$) is used at night to dispel the darkness. Members of 28 of these 59 households belong to the Santal tribe, 15 to the Bauri caste, 9 to the Bagdi or Kush Metey caste, 4 to the Goala or Gope caste, 2 to the Muchi caste and 1 to the Bairagi caste. Arranged industrially on the basis of the occupations of the heads of the households, 19 of these 59 households belong to the category of Other Services, 13 to Cultivation, 7 to Manufacturing, 18 to Agricultural Labour and 2 are Nonworkers. Hurricane lanterns are used in the remaining 91 houses.

There are bicycles in 20 families. Families possessing bicycles are 13.3 per cent. of the total number of families in the village. There are radio sets in 2 families and a gramophone in another family. Of the 2 families possessing radio sets, 1 belongs to the Ugra Kshatriya caste and to the industrial category of Other Services, while the other family belongs to the Gandha Banik caste and to the industrial category of Cultivation. The gramophone is owned by a Brahman family belonging to category of Other Services. The radio sets are of the Transistor model and therefore, can be run on dry battery. Of the 20 families possessing bicycles, 6 belong to the Ugra Kshatriya caste, 9 to the Goala or Gope caste, 3 to the Namasudra caste and 2 to the Gandha Banik caste. Classified industrially on the basis of the occupations of the heads of the households, 15 of these families belong to the category of Cultivation, 2 to Manufacturing, 1 to Retail Trade and 2 to Other Services.

In 70 families only 2 meals a day are taken. 24 of these families belong to the Santal tribe, 12 to the Bauri caste, 8 to the Namasudra caste, 6 to the Muchi caste, 13 to the Bagdi or Kush Metey caste, 2 to the Bairagi caste, 3 to the Gandha Banik caste, 1 to the Hari and 1 to the Goala or Gope caste. Arranged by industrial categories, 22 such families belong to the category Cultivation, 19 to the category Other Services, 20 to the category Agricultural Labour, 5 to the category Manufacturing and the heads of 4 families are Nonworkers. 3 meals are taken in 42 families belonging to the category Cultivation, 10 to the category Other Services, 5 to the category Agricultural Labour, 6 to the category of Nonworkers, 6 to the category of Manufacturing and 4 to the category of Transport, Storage and Communications. 4 meals are taken in 6 families, 4 of which belong to the category Cultivation, 1 family belongs to the category Other Services and 1 family belongs to the category Manufacturing. 1 family belonging to the category of Other Services is very poor and takes only one metal a day. The third or fourth meal usually consists of mudi, that is uncooked rice fried over hot sand.

In 14 households meat, eggs and fish are prohibited. In only 10 households, meat or fish or eggs and milk are taken with rice, vegetables and pulses at the two principal meals. In 2 more families fish, meat or eggs are taken with the principal meals although no milk is taken. In 8 more families, 7 of which belong to the Bauri caste and 1 to the Muchi caste, googlis (a kind of snail found in water) form the protein constituent of the diet. In the remaining 130 families eggs. fish, meat or googlis are not taken. Out of these 130 families, in 48 families, milk forms an usual item of diet in addition to rice, pulses and vegetables. In 82 families the diet consists of rice, pulses and. vegetables or simply rice and vegetables. Rice is the staple item of diet in all the households.

PROPORTION OF UNDER NOURISHED/ PROPERLY NOURISHED FAMILIES





(xv) Between pages 10 and 11

In only 3 households wheat is also taken with rice. If we assume that in order that a diet may be considered to be nutritious, it should consist of rice, pulses, vegetables and tish or meat or eggs or of rice, pulses, vegetables and milk or milk-products, then the number of pro-

perly nourished families in the village is found to be 60. This is equal to 40 per cent. of the total number of families in the village. These 60 families can be shown distributed among the different castes and industrial categories by the following Table :

DETAILS OF PROPERLY NOURISHED FAMILIES

							Industrial Category									
Name of Caste or Tribe					~	Cultiva- tion	Agricul- tural Labour	Manufac- turing	Retail Trade	Transport, Storage and Commu- nications	Other Services	Non- workers				
Goala or Gopo	з.	•		•	•	•	26	•••					4			
Santal .	•	•		•	•	•	1	••		••		• ••				
Ugra Kshatriy	ya	•	•	•		•	6		3	••	••	3	2			
Bauri .							••	1			••		•••			
Nama sudra	•			•		•	7	••	••		••					
Muchi .		•	•	•	•	•	1	••	••	••	••	••	•••			
Gandha Banil	£	•	•	•	•	•	1	••	••	1	••		1			
Brahman		•	•	•	•			••	••	••	••	2	••			
Ahir .	•	•	•	•			••	••	1	••	••		••			
				Т	otal		42	1	4	. 1		5	7			

The above table shows that 61.8 per cent. of the families belonging to the category Cultivation take diets which provide the proper amount of nourishment. The corresponding percentages for the families belonging to the categories of Agricultural Labour, Manufacturing, Retail Trade, Other Services and Nonworkers are respectively 4, 33.3, 33.3, 16.1 and When the subject of nutrition is viewed 70. against the caste divisions, then it is seen that the Bagdis, the Haris and the Bairagis are the most ill nourished, no family belonging any of those castes taking a diet which can be considered to provide adequate nourishment. The single Ahir family and the 2 Brahman families take properly nourishing diets.g5.7 per cent. of the Goala or Gope families, 75 per cent. of the Gandha Banik families, 70 per cent. of the Ugra Kshatriya families, 53.8 per cent. of the Namasudra families, 16.7 per cent. of the

Muchi families, 5.55 per cent. of the Bauri families and 3 per cent. of the Santal families take diets which provide adequate nourishment.

Wine is not drunk in 79 households. The households in which wine drinking is not prohibited belong to the following castes :

- 1. Santal
- 2. Bauri
- 3. Bagdi or Kush Metey
- 4. Namasudra
- 5. Muchi
- 6. Ahir

Beef and pork are not taken by most of the villagers. Some Santals have no prejudice against the taking of beef and pork and some Bauris have no prejudice against taking pork.

CHAPTER III

T HE Table below gives the classification of the households surveyed in the village by caste and industrial category. For the purpose of classification according to the industrial categories, the occupation of the head of each household has been taken into consideration and the classification has been made in accordance with the scheme prescribed by the Director General of Employment and Training, Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India. The only modification that has been made, is to divide the category of Trade and Commerce into Wholesale Trade and Retail Trade.

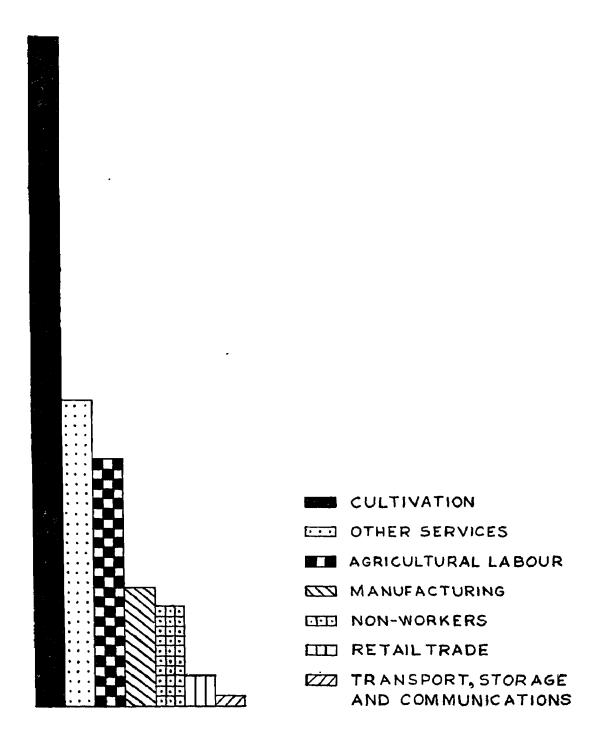
Na	me of	Cast	e or '	fribe			Cultiva- tion	Agricul- tural Labour	Manufac- turing	Retail Trade	Transport, Storage Commu- nications	Other Services	Non- workers
Goala or Gopo		•		•			29	••		1	••	••	5
Santal .							12	8	5	••		8	
Ugra Kshatriy	a			•	•		9	1	3	1	1	3	2
Bauri .	•			•			2	3	2	••	••	11	••
Kush Metey of	r Bag	di			•	•	••	9	1	••	••	3	2
Namasudra			•	•	•		11	2	••	••	••	••	••
Muchi .	•			•	•	•	4	2		••		••	
Gandha Banik		•		•		•	1	••		1		1	1
Brahman		•		•	•	•		••		••	••	2	••
Bairagi .				•	•		••		••	••	••	2	••
Ahir .		•	•	•	•		••	••	1	••	••	••	••
Hari .	•	•		•		•	••		••	••	••	1	
				To	tal	•	68	25	12	3	1	31	10

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED BY CASTE AND INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY OF THE HEAD

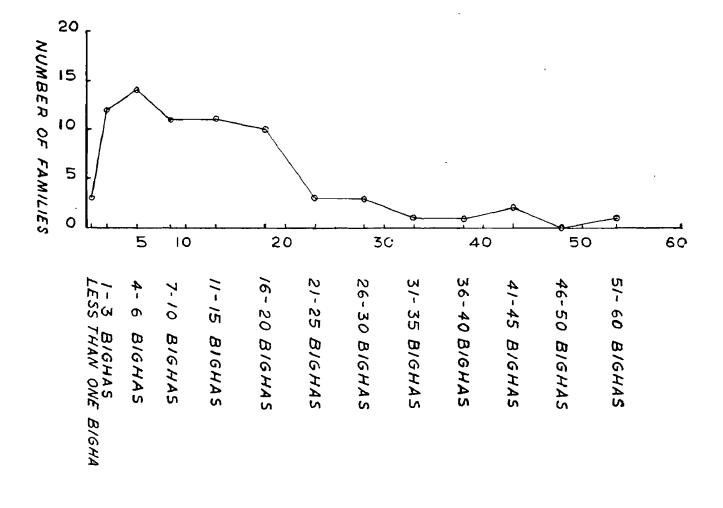
The heads of the families engaged in Cultivation either cultivate their own land personally or keep their lands for cultivation under their supervision through agricultural labourers or are share-croppers who cultivate the land of others on a fixed share of the produce. If a family has been found to have made over the entire area of the agricultural land to one or more share-croppers, then that family has not been classified as engaged in Cultivation. The category Agricultural Labour is comprised of those families, the heads of which work for wages on other people's lands. Of the 12 families in the category Manufacturing, the heads of 8 families work in a rice mill in a nearby village, the heads of 2 work as Fitters in the Loco-shed at Burdwan. The head of 1 family prepares and sells sweetmeats outside the village and the head of the single Ahir

family prepares blankets from the wool of sheep. Of the 3 families in the category of Retail Trade, the head of 1 family runs a grocery shop outside the village. The head of another family works in another grocery shop and the head of another family purchases milk from Goalas and sells it. The head of the single family in the category of Transport, Storage and Communications works as an Electrician in running trains. Of the 31 families in the category of Other Services, the heads of 22 families work as day labourers. No one belonging to this category goes to work to the near by city of Burdwan. Of the Non-workers, some subsist on the share of the agricultural produce which they get from the share-croppers and heads of some Non-worker families are supported by the younger members of the households who are employed in some economic pursuits.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE FAMILIES BY THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE HEADS







(xviii) Between pages 12 and 13

From the replies given by the heads of the various families of the village, it appears that they own approximately 929 bighas or 307 acres of agricultural land. It may be mentioned that the agricultural lands of 3 families, who do not reside in the village, but own land in the village, were not taken into account. Each of these 3 families owns a substantial

area of agricultural land in the mauza of Kamnara.

72 out of the 150 households interviewed, between them own 307 acres of agricultural land.

The two Tables below show the number of families by caste and area of agricultural land and by industrial category and area of agricultural land respectively:

				Name of Caste or Tribe										
Area of La	Area of Land			Goala or Gope	Ugra Kshatriya	Nama- sudra	Gandha Banik	Muchi	Santal	Bairagi	Bagdi or Kush Metey			
Less than 1 Bigha		•			2	••		1	••	••				
1- 3 Bighas				2	5	4	••	••		••	t			
4— 6 Bighas				8	2	2	••	••	1	I				
7—10 Bighas	•	•		6	2		1	2	••	••				
11—15 Bighas	•			7	3	1	••		••					
16—20 Bighas	•		•	7	2	••	1	••		••	••			
21-25 Bighas				2	1	••		••		••	••			
26	•	•	· .	••	••	2	1	••	••	••	••			
31—35 Bighas				••	••		1				••			
36—40 Bighas		•		••	••	1				••	••			
41-45 Bighas				1	1	••	••	••			••			
46—50 Bighas	•		•	••	••	••	••	••		••	••			
51—60 Bighas	•	•	•	I	••	••	••	••	••	••	••			
Total No. of	Fam	ilies	•	34	18	10	4	3	1	1	1			

NO. OF FAMILIES BY CASTE	AND AREA OF	AGRICULTURAL LAND
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NO. OF FAMILIES BY INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY AND AREA OF AGRICULTURAL LAND

Area of Land				Cultivation	Agricultural Labour	Manufac- turing	Retail Trade	Transport, Storage and Commu- nications	Other Services	Non-workers
Less than 1 Bigh	18.			3						••
1- 3 Bighas				6	••	2		1	1	2
4-6 Bighas				9			1		1	3
7-10 Bighas				10	••		••	••	1	••
11—15 Bighas				8	• •	1		••		2
16-20 Bighas		•		8		••	•••		1	1
21—25 Bighas				3						
26-30 Bighas		•		2			1			
31-35 Bighas						• *	••		• •	I
36-40 Bighas				1				••	••	
41-45 Bighas				1		••		••	1	••
46-50 Bighas			•		••	••	••	••		••
51-60 Bighas				1	••	••		•••	••	
Total No. of	Fam	ilies		52	••	3	2	1	5	9

It is seen that 72.2 per cent. of the resident land-owning families belong to the category of Cultivation. Of the 68 families dependent on Cultivation as many as 16 or 23.5 per cent. are share-croppers and cultivate the land of others. Of the 93 families in the agricultural sector, as many as 44.08 per cent. do not own any agricultural land.

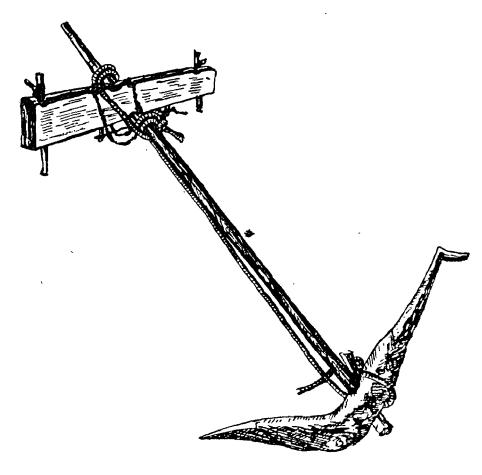
34 out of the 35 Goala or Gope families, 18 out of the 20 Ugra Kshatriya families, 10 out of 13 Namasudra families, all the 4 Gandha Banik families. 3 out of the 6 Muchi families, only 1 out of the 33 Santal families, 1 out of the 2 Bairagi families and only 1 out of the 15 Bagdi or Kush Metey families own agricultural land. The 2 Brahman families, the single Hari family, the single Ahir family and the 18 Bauri families do not possess any agricultural land.

The main crops cultivated are the aman paddy, potato and sugarcane. Jute is not cultivated nor are rabi crops like mustard, onion, etc. Pulses are not grown. Vegetables are also not grown to any appreciable extent. Aman paddy is cultivated in low lands. The cultivation starts with the first shower in summer when the fields are ploughed lengthwise and across. The ploughing is done with a kind of plough shown in the photograph and line-drawing on the pages opposite. The plough is made of babla wood and the plough-share is made of iron. Two bullocks are yoked to one plough.

Generally the land is ploughed twice before the on-set of monsoon if there be thunder showers. The seed-bed is prepared with the on-set of monsoon in the month of June. The seed used is produced locally. Simultaneously with the sowing of the seed in the seed-bed, the land in which the seedling will be transplanted is ploughed once again and the ridges (আল) are prepared properly so as to be able to hold the rain water. After this ploughing, the surface of the land is smoothed and the clods are broken by using the harrow (মই). The harrow which is shaped like a ladder is laid flat on the ground, the cultivator stands on it and it is dragged over the surface of the land by a pair of bullocks. This process of ploughing and levelling is repeated once again before the seedling are actually transplanted. The transplantation of paddy seedling is done in the month of July and if the rains be late, then the transplantation is done in early part of August. By this time sufficient water accumulates in the fields. Some days after the seedlings have taken root, weeds are rooted out mainly by hand. The help of the sickle is sometimes taken to root out some particular weed completely. Oil-cake and ammonium sulphate, in suitable proportion, are then mixed with the soil. Weeding is done once again, a few days later. During years of insufficient rainfall, water from the neighbouring canal is used to irrigate the fields. The water stored in the field is drained off in the early part of November. Small fishes which grow in the water in the paddy field are caught in basket-traps placed across the openings made in the ridges (णान). The paddy becomes ripe for harvesting in December-January. The yield per bigha (one-third of an acre) varies from 8 to 10 maunds of paddy. The Japanese method of paddy cultivation is not practised by any cultivator. It appears that the demonstration of the Japanese method of paddy cultivation given in the village some years ago, was not a success.

Manure prepared from cowdung, mud from the bottom of tanks and ash are used as manures by most of the cultivators. Oilcake is also used as manure by 21 families out of the 72 land-owning families. Modern chemical manure like ammonium sulphate is used as manure by only 18 families. Bonemeal is used as manure by 8 families. Ammonium sulphate is used in combination with organic manures like oil-cakes or cowdung manure or bone-meal by 18 families.

The paddy after harvesting, is allowed to lie on the field for one or two days, in order to dry up the stalks, provided there is no possibility of its being stolen on account of the distance of the field from the house. Harvested paddy from the distant field is brought directly to the *khamar* or farm-house and stored. The grain is separated from the stalks by beating against a piece of wood placed at an angle to the horizontal plane. This threshing, that is, separating the grain from the stalks is done by the menfolk and the paddy (grain) is stored in the *gola* or *marai*. The seed for the next year's sowing is selected and stored separately. Those

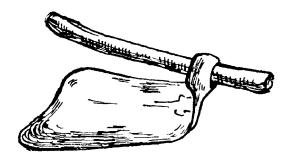


A LINE-DRAWING OF A PLOUGH

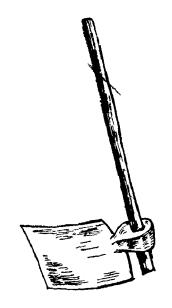


A LINE-DRAWING OF A HARROW (মই)

(xix) Between pages 14 and 15



A LINE DRAWING OF A DIGGING-IMPLEMENT

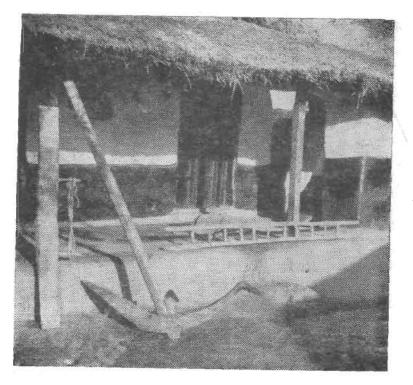


A LINE DRAWING OF ANOTHER TYPE OF DIGGING IMPLEMENT

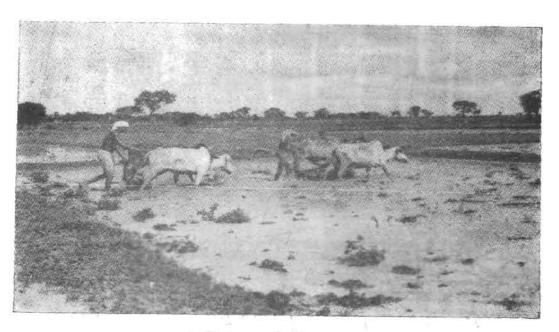


A LINE-DRAWING OF A SICKLE (কার্স্তে)

(xx) Between pages 14 and 15

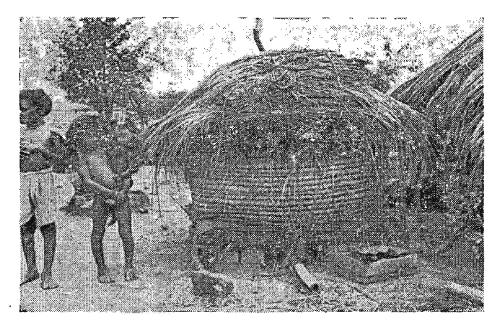


A PLOUGH

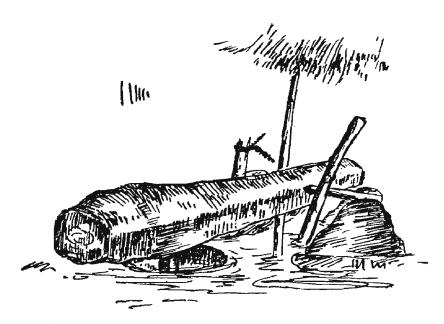


A FIELD BEING PLOUGHED

(xxi) Between pages 14 and 15



A GOLA OR MARAI



A LINE-DRAWING OF THE DHENKI OR PADDY-HUSKING MACHINE WORKED BY THE FOOT

paddy grains which lie near the threshing board are selected as seed for the next year's sowing.

As and when required, a small quantity of paddy is brought out of the *gola*. It is put in an earthen vessel, a little water is poured into it but not sufficient to cover the entire quantity of paddy. The water remains at the bottom of the vessel and when heat is applied, it escapes through the paddy as steam. This process is known as steaming the paddy. The steamed paddy is then kept soaked in water for a day and then it is boiled in water. After boiling, it is dried in the sun. The dried paddy is now ready for husking and is husked either with the help of a *dhenki* or a power-driven husking machine.

A. line-drawing of the *dhenki* is given in the opposite page. The husking machine is operated by a diesel or petrol engine and the person owning it takes a fee for every maund of paddy husked in that machine.

Potato is cultivated on a comparatively high ground situated near tanks so as to allow of easy irrigation. The ground is ploughed 3/4 times in the month of *Kartik* (October-November). Cowdung manure and wood ash are then applied to the soil and the field ploughed again twice for mixing the is manure with the soil. Oil-cake is then strewn over the field which is then levelled with the help of the ladder. The seed potatoes are planted in rows, the distance between two rows being $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. The distance between two potato seeds is usually a fist. The seed potato is obtained from Burdwan where it is brought from Memari (a place about 20 miles from Burdwan). Initially, water is applied to the roots, every day, until the seeds germinate. The field is then irrigated every alternate day, but the water is not applied directly at the seeds but it goes along narrow channels cut between the rows of seeds. After the plants have attained a certain amount of growth, the field is irrigated only once in a fortnight. Earth is piled up at the foot of the plants as they grow in order to ensure that all the potatoes remain under ground. The branches and leaves of the potato plants wither away when the potatoes become fully grown and the potatoes are then harvested. The harvesting of potatoes is done by digging 1 RGI/63

them up with a spade (কোদাল). This takes place in the month of *Falgun* (February-March). The ordinary yield per bigha is 40 maunds. If the quantity of manure is increased and high quality seeds are used, then the yield may be increased to as high as 60 maunds per bigha.

The varieties of potatoes commonly grown are the *Thikre*, the *China Bombai* and the *Alti*.

The cultivation of sugarcane begins in the month Chaitra (March-April). The of ground is first thoroughly irrigated and then ploughed five times. Manure prepared from cowdung is mixed with the soil with the aid of the harrow (মই), Shallow trenches are The tops of the sugarcane prethen dug. served from the previous years' crops are then planted in rows at a distance of 1 cubit from one another in the trenches. The field is irrigated every day in the beginning and when the sugarcane grows to sufficient height, then the frequency of irrigation is reduced. But the growth of sugarcane depends to a great extent on the irrigation. While the sugarcane is growing, the ground at the base is cleared of weeds twice or thrice. A number of sugarcane are tied together to form a bunch in order that they might be able to withstand strong breeze and storms. Ammonium Sulphate or oil-cake is mixed with the soil after this "bunching" has been done. The sugarcane becomes ready for cutting in another Chaitra that is, after 12 months from the time of sowing. The yield per bigha is 20 to 40 maunds.

The type of sugarcane grown in this village is light yellow in colour. The cane is hard and jackals can not damage it. The cuttings are obtained every third year from the Government Agricultural Farm at Burdwan. It is a special drought resisting variety.

For irrigating the fields for the cultivation of potato and sugarcane, irrigation pumps run by diesel oil or petrol engines are hired by a group of cultivators who use the machine by turns for irrigating their fields with the water of neighbouring tanks. Irrigation pumps are available on hire at Dewandighi, a village nearby.

Potato and sugarcane are produced not for sale but only for domestic consumption. A sugarcane and it is consumed in the home. The juice is extracted out of the sugarcane by crushing the sugarcane in crushers which are brought to the village on hire. The juice is boiled in a shallow iron pan until it thickens and is converted into jaggery.

A system locally known as ganta (গাঁতা) prevails among the cultivators. Under this system the cultivators help one another by lending agricultural implements and by manual labour at the time of cultivation. Out of the 68 families, the heads of which are engaged in Cultivation in as many as 31 this system of ganta (গাঁতা) is practised. Of these 31 families, 9 belong to the Ugra Kshatriya caste, 8 are Santals, 5 are Goalas or Gopes, 4 are Namasudras, 3 are Muchis and 2 are Bauris.

The share-croppers get half the share of the produce, but they have to provide half the Canal Tax for the use of water for the purpose of irrigation from the irrigation canal and the half of the manure required for raising the particular crop. The bullocks and the plough are also provided by the sharecropper. The owner pays the rent for the land.

The agricultural labourers are divided the krishan and the into two classes, krishan is an agricultural munish. Α labourer who undertakes to work for a particular land owner during the whole of the agricultural season and for no other person.

A krishan is paid Rs. 200 per year as wages. This is paid in instalments. He is also supplied with food for himself, mustard oil for anointing his body before bathing, 4 dhotis, 3 gamchhas or Indian towel and a He must report at his master's chaddar. house daily even if there be no work for him to do. If he absents himself, then a deduction is made from his wages. He is allowed 12 days leave in the year with pay.

A munish on the other hand is a casually hired labourer and is paid wages on daily basis. His service is dispensed with as soon as the specific job for which he was engaged is over. A munish gets from Rs. 1.50 nP. to Rs. 2 per day with food as wages.

Out of the 72 families which own agricultural land, the heads of only 11 families stated that they had derived some benefit due to the implementation of the Estate Acquisition Act. 3 of these 11 families said that with the abolition of the Zamindary System forced labour had come to an end while the 8 other families said that the abolition of the Zamindary System had put a stop to the oppression of the Zamindar. 61 families were either of the opinion that they had not derived any benefit due to the abolition of the Zamindary System or that their conditions had not changed in any way consequent on the abolition of intermediary rights in land. Only 2 families said specifically that they had lost some area of land on account of the enforcement of the Estate Acquisition Act. The general complaint against the abolition of Zamindary System was that there was now difficulty in paying rent as also in obtaining receipts. It appears that the local Tahsildar visits the village only once a year and many people find themselves unable to pay the tax on that particular day. The Zamindar, however, used to keep his man in his local Kutchery for about a month for the collection of rent so that the tenants could pay on any day during that month.

It has already been stated that potato and sugarcane are produced almost exclusively for domestic consumption. So far as paddy is concerned, as many as 37 out of the 72 families who own agricultural lands do not have any surplus paddy for sale. The Table below shows the quantities of paddy sold per year by the remaining 35 families :

Quantity of Paddy sold per year					No. of Families
Upto 5 mds.					
Between 6 and 15 mds.					2
Between 16 and 25 mds.		-			5
Between 26 and 35 mds.			•		3
Between 36 and 45 mds.	•	•	•	•	$\tilde{2}$
Between 46 and 55 mds.	•	•	•	•	$\tilde{\tilde{5}}$
Between 56 and 65 mds.	•	•	•	•	4
Between 66 and 75 mds.	•	•	•	•	$\frac{\pi}{2}$
Between 76 and 85 mds.	•	•	•	•	ĩ
Between 86 and 100 mds.	·	•	•	•	1
	·	•	•	•	Z
Between 101 and 120 mds.	•	•	•	٠	
Between 121 and 140 mds.	•	•	•	•	••
Between 141 and 160 mds.	•	•	•	•	2
Between 161 and 180 mds.		•			
Between 181 and 200 mds.					3
Not known	•	•	•		4
		1	otal		35

Of the families in respect of which information about the quantity of paddy sold could not be obtained, 1 has got 20 bighas of agricultural land, another 12 bighas, another 3 bighas and another 6 bighas.

There are 186 milch cattle, mostly cows, in the village, which are owned by only 63 of the 150 families interviewed. We have seen earlier that in 58 families milk forms an article of diet. In 5 families therefore, the entire quantity of milk is sold although they possess milch cattle. 45 of the 63 families which possess milch cattle depend on Cultivation, the heads of 7 are Non-workers, the heads of 4 belong to the category of Other Services, the heads of 4 belong to the category of Manufacturing, 2 are Agricultural Labourers and 1 belongs to the category of Retail Trade. The distribution of the milch cattle among the various families is shown in the Table below:

	No. of Families possessing mildle cattle belonging to the category of											
No. of milch cattle	Cultivation	Agricultural Labour	Manufac- turing	Retail Trade	Transport, Storage and Commu- nications	Other Services	Non-workers					
1	11	2	3		••	2	3					
2	8	••	1		••		3					
3	6	••		1			••					
4	9	••	••	••	••	$\overline{2}$	••					
5	5	••		••	••	••						
6	4				••							
7	1	••		••		•••						
8					••	•••	•••					
9		••	••		••							
10	1			••		••	1					
Total	45	2	4	1	••	4	7					

No. of Families possessing milch cattle belonging to the category of

The above Table shows that 21 families possess 1 milch cattle each and 23 families possess between 4 and 10 milch cattle each.

The Table below gives the details of the draught cattle, bullocks as well as buffaloes in the village :

No. of draught cattle	Cultivation	Agricultural Labour	Manufac- turing	Retail Trade	Transport, Storage and Communications	Other Services	Non-workers
1	1	1	••	••		••	
2	-50	5	1	1	••	2	3
3	3	••		••	••		••
4	8	••	••	••	••	1	1
5	1			••			<i>,</i> .
6	1	••	••	• •		••	
Tota	1 64	6	1	1		3	4

No. of Families possessing draught cattle belonging to the category of

	No. of Families po	ng to the category of			
No. of calves/ cows	Cultivation	Agricultural Labour	Manufacturing	Other Services	Non-workers
1	11	2	3	2	1
2	17	2		3	••
3	2	••		••	1
4	5	••		• •	
5	••	•••		••	
6	1	••	* *	••	
Total	36	4	3	5	2

The Table below gives the details of the

calves including cows which do not give milk :

There are 79 goats in the village owned by 46 families. 31 of these families depend on Cultivation, 6 on Agricultural Labour, 4 on Manufacturing, 4 on Other Services and the head of 1 is a Non-worker. Only 5 of these 46 families possess 4 goats each. It is obvious that goats are not kept for supplying meat for the nearby town of Burdwan.

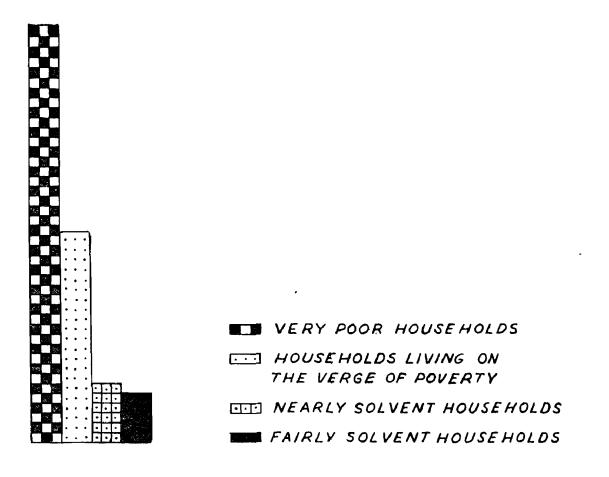
There are 81 sheep in the village, 60 of which are owned by the single Ahir family which prepares blankets from the wool of sheep and sells them. The remaining 21 sheep are owned by 5 families dependent on Cultivation. There are 73 ducks and geese in the village owned by 30 families. 21 of these families depend on Cultivation, 4 on Other Services, the heads of 2 are Non-workers, 1 family depends on Agricultural Labour, another on Manufacturing and another on Transport, Storage and Communications. Only 3 families own 5 ducks or geese each. There are 65 fowls in the village kept by 24 10 of these families depend on families. Cultivation, 6 on Agricultural Labour, 7 on Other Services and 1 on Manufacturing. pig is kept by one Cultivator family belonging to the Santal tribe.

There is only 1 family which raises vegetables for sale in the city of Burdwan. Other families do not supplement their income by growing and selling vegetables. Quite a number even purchase their daily requirements of vegetables from the market.

So far, individual items of property, both movable and immovable, has been taken as a criterion for ascertaining the financial condition of the families residing in the village. An attempt will now be made to classify these families according to financial status by applying simultaneously more than one such criteria. In making such an attempt, it would obviously not be profitable to draw any conclusion from the presence or the absence of furniture as it seems that the people living in this village have not yet become conscious of the need of having conventional articles of furniture like bed-steads, tables, chairs, etc. The possession of ornaments is also not a very safe guide in this matter, because the wearing of ornaments is governed not so much by the economic condition as by personal tastes and social convention. The criteria to be applied must be universally applicable and free of any bias.

As this is mainly an agricultural village, the area of agricultural land in the possession of the household may appear to be one of such criteria but as only 72 families out of a total of 150 possess agricultural land, this criterion cannot obviously be universally applicable. On the other hand every family lives in a house and the more affluent a family is, the better is the house likely to be. We may therefore adopt as one of the signs of affluence, the residence in a house which is either wholly of brick or the walls of which are of brick and the roof is of straw or C.I. sheets

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY MATERIAL CONDITION



(xxiii) Between pages 18 and 19

or asbestos sheets or the walls of which are of mud but the roof is constructed of C.I. sheets or asbestos sheets. Another criterion which may be applied universally is the possession of 2 or more milch cattle. In rural areas, people in comparatively affluent circumstances usually keep milch cattle to pro-

vide milk for their families. A third criterion may be the possession of a bicycle. The Table below shows the details of the families which possess both a bicycle and at least 2 milch cattle and also live in a comparatively better house.

NO. OF FAMILIES LIVING IN GOOD HOUSES AND POSSESSING A BICYCLE AND AT LEAST TWO MILCH CATTLE

Caste	Cultiva- tion	Agricul- tural Labour	Manufac- turing	Retail Trade	Transport, Storage and Commu- nications	Other Services	Non- workers
Goala	. 5	•••		••	•••	••	••
Ugra Kshatriya	. 1	••	••	••		2	••
Gandha Banik .	. 1	••		1		••	
Total	. 7	••		1	••	2	

The number of families in affluent circumstances, judged by rural standards, may thus be put at 10. There may be families who are not so affluent as these 10, but who may at the same time be living in moderate

comfort. For ascertaining their number the possession of any 2 of the 3 properties mentioned above may be insisted upon. Their number is found to be 12. Their distribution is given by the following Table :

No. of Families possessing any two of the following properties :

(1) A pucca or mud-walled and C. I sheet or asbestos roof or brick walls with hay roof house, (2) At least 2 milch cattle and (3) 1 bicycle and belonging to the category of

		(Caste						Cultivation	Manufacturing	Non-workers				
Goala	•	•	•			•	•	•	5	••					
Ugra Kshatriya	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	2	l	••				
Namasudra .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	3	••	••				
Gandha Banik	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	••	•.	1				
-						Т	otal	•	10	1	1				

It has already been pointed out that 90 out of the 150 families are under nourished. It has also been pointed out that in 81 houses people have to sleep on the ground. Approximately 85 families therefore are living at the subsistence level. There are 43 other families which are living above the subsistence level, but who are not in affluent circumstances. This means that only 6.7 per cent. of the families are in affluent circumstances, 8 per cent. are nearly affluent, 28.7 per cent. are above the subsistence level and 56.6 per cent. of the families are very poor.

There is one Co-operative Society in the hamlet Mongira, styled the Agricultural Development Co-operative Society. There are 20 members of this society which has been functioning for the last 2 years. The activity of the society is limited at present only to the giving of loans to the members. Needless to say, the Co-operative Society cannot provide credit to all those who are in need of it. The Table below shows the number of indebted families giving the ranges of indebt-

edness and the industrial category to which the heads of the households belong.

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										Range of Indebtedness in Rupees					
. In	dust	rial	Categ	ory			1_50	51100	101-150	151-200	201300	301—35 0	Above 350		
Cultivation	•						5	14	3	8	2	••	4		
Agricultural Labo	ur						6	3		••		••	••		
Manufacturing				•	•		1	2	1	••	. •	••			
Retail Trade			•		•	•		••		2	ł	• •	••		
Transport, Storag	ge an	d Co	ommu	nicatio	ons			. •		••	••		••		
Other Services	•			•		•	8	5	••	3	1				
Non-workers			•	•	•		3	1		•••	••	••			
				Т	otal	•	23	25	4	13	4	••	4		

Indebtedness is not wide spread and the amounts of debts are also not large.

CHAPTER IV

T HE 150 households containing 884 persons are distributed among 12 castes. The Table below gives the number of families in each caste together with the number of males and females and the sex ratio :

	C	laste/!	Fribe			N	o. of Families	Males	Females	\mathbf{T} otal	Sex Ratio
Goala or Gope							35	123	134	257	1089
Santal						•	33	76	57	133	750
Ugra Kshatriya							20	75	72	147	960
Bauri							18	40	47	87	1175
Kush Metey or B	agdi					•	15	32	31	63	96 9
Namasudra .					•		13	55	46	101	836
Muchi							6	25	18	43	720
Gandha Banik							4	14	19	33	1357
Brahman .					•	•	2	7	4	11	571
Bairagi							2	2	1	3	500
Ahir							1	3	2	5	667
Hari							1		1	1	
				Т	otal	•	150	452	432	884	

These families may be classified as "Simple", "Intermediate", "Joint" and "Others" depending on whether a family consists of the husband, wife and un-married children only (Simple) or of husband, wife, un-married children, un-married brother or sister of the husband and one of the parents of the husband

(Intermediate), or of husband, wife, the husband's parents, his brother, married or unmarried sons and daughters (Joint). Families who do not fall into any one of the 3 classes of Simple, Intermediate or Joint, have been classified as "Others". The result of this classification is shown in the Table below:

	C	aste/	Tribə			ľ	to. of Families	Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
Goala or Gope						•	35	12	6	16	1
Santal	•	•					33	26	2	5	••
Ugra Kshatriya			•		•		20	8	2	9	1
Bauri							18	13	3	2	••
Kush Metey or Bag	gdi	•					15	6	3	6	
Namasudra .				•			13	4	3	6	••
Muchi	•						6	1	2	3	
Gandha Banik	•						4		$\frac{2}{2}$	2	
Brahman .	•					•	2	2		••	
Bairagi .	•						2	••	••	••	2
Ahir	•					•	1		••	1	••
Hari	•	•		•			1	1	••	••	••
				Ţ¢	otal	•	150	73 °	23	50	4

TYPE OF FAMILIES

It is seen that the Simple type of family predominates among the Santals and the Bauris, 78.8 per cent. and 72.2 per cent. of the Santal and Bauri families respectively, belonging to this category. This preponderance of the Simple type of family among the Santals and the Bauris has resulted in the preponderance of such category of families in the village as a whole. 48.7 per cent. of the 150 families interviewed are of the Simple type. The "Joint" families account for 33.3 per cent. of the total number of households and the "Intermediate" families 15.3 per cent. The Joint type of family seems to be disappearing, not only amongst the Santal and the Bauri families, but also amongst other families. It is not possible to state the reasons for this change in the family pattern. It might have come about in various ways. Comparatively early demise of parents, absence of brothers or sisters or departure of brothers from the ancestral home in quest of livelihood, economic hardship and modern ideas on family life; all or any one of these causes might have given rise to this shift towards the "Simple" type of family.

The classification of the population by caste, sex and age-group is given in the Table below:

										Age Gro	ups						
Caste/Tribe						0—14 yea	ars	R	15-40 years			41-55 years			56 years and above		
Cast	e/ 110e	1			P	M	F	P	M	F	Р	M	F	 P	M	F.	
Goala or Gope	•	٠		•	123	58	65	96	46	50	24	13	11	14	6	8	
Santal			•		62	41	21	55	24	31	11	7	4	5	4	1	
Ugra Kshatriya	•	•	٠		76	36	40	51	26	25	12	10	2	8	3	5	
Bauri		•	•	•	38	18	20	36	16	20	9	4	5	4	2	2	
Bagdi or Kush	Metey	•	•	•	19	13	6	3 5	15	20	5	2	3	4	2	2	
Namasudra .	•	•	•	•	44	27	17	41	19	22	11	8	3	5	1	4	
Muchi	•		•	•	19	13	6	18	10	8	3	••	3	3	2	1	
Gandha Banik		•	•	•	19	9	10	10	õ	5	3	••	3	1		1	
Brahman .	•	•	•	•	6	4	2	4	2	2	••	••	••	1	1	••	
Bairagi .	•	•	•	•	••	••		1	••	1	1	1	•••	1	1	••	
Ahir	•	•	•	•	1	1	•••	2	1	1	1	•••	1	1	1	••	
Hari	•	•	•	·	••	••	••	••		••	••	••	••	1	••	1	
		T	otal	•	407	220	187	349	164	185	80	45	35	48	23	25	

NOTE-P stands for Persons, M for Males and F for Females.

The average size of a Gandha Banik family is the largest, being 8.3 and the smallest average size of the family is 1 belonging to the Hari caste. The average size of the Goala or Gope and the Ugra Kshatriya families is 7.3 while that of the Namasudra is 7.8. The average size of a Muchi family is 7.2, that of a Brahman 5.5, that of a Bauri 4.8, that of a Santal family 4, that of a Bagdi or Kush Metey family 4.2 and that of a Bairagi family 1.5.

											- r Au	VILL 1						
Caste/7	Eribe			No. of Fam - l.es	$\widetilde{\mathbf{M}}_{\mathrm{Men}}^{\mathrm{Sin}}$	ngle aber F	No. of Fami- Les		2—3 mbers —F	No. of Fami- lies		6 abors 	No. of Fam l.es		9 abers	No. of Fami- lies		l0 nbers above ~ F
Goala or Gop	e	•	•	5	••	5	3	6	3	10	18	29	8	34	27	9	65	70
Santal .	•	•	•	2	1	1	1 1	12	16	17	47	34	3	16	6		••	
Ugra Kshatri	ya		•	••	••		2	4	1	8	24	19 ,	5	20	22	5	27	30
Bauri .	•	•	•	••	••	••	6	9	6	9	20	24	2	4	10	1	7	7
Kush Metey (or Ba	ıgdi	•	1	••	1	5	6	8	7	18	16	2	8	6	••	••	••
Namasudra .	•	•	•	••	••	••	3	6	3	2	3	6	5	19	18	3	27	19
Muchi .	•	•	•	••	••	••	1	1	2	3	10	6	1	4	3	1	10	7
Gandha Banil	ĸ	•	•	••	••	••	••	••	••	3	8	8	••	••	•.	1	6	11
Brahman .	•	•	•	••	••	8-8	••	••	••	2	7	4	••	••	••	••		
Bairagi .	•	•	•	1	1	••	1	1	1	••	••	••	••	••		••		
Ahir		•	•	••	••	••	••	••	••	1	3	2	••	••	••	••		
Hari		•	•	1	••	1	••	••	••	••	••	••	••	••	••	••		••
	Tot	al	•	10			32			62			26			20		

The detailed distribution of families by size and caste is given in the Table below: SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF FAMILY

NOTE-M stands for Males and F for Females.

It will be seen that most of the families have between 4 to 6 members. Such families form 41.3 per cent. of the 150 families interviewed. Families having between 2 to 3 members form 21.3 per cent., those having 7 to 9 members form 17.3 per cent. and those having 10 or more members form 13.3 per cent. Families having more than 4 members form 72 per cent. of the total number of families interviewed.

Children in the age-group 0-14 years form 46 per cent. of the population in the 150 families interviewed and persons of 56 years of age or above form 5.4 per cent. of the population. The average number of children per family is 2.7. The largest number of children is found in Gandha Banik families where, on an average, there are 4.75 children. Next comes an average Ugra Kshatriya family with 3.8 children. The numbers of children in an average Goala and Namasudra families are respectively 3.5 and 3.4. There are 3.2 children in an average Muchi family and 3 children in an average Brahman family. The numbers of children in an average Bauri, Santal, Bagdi and Ahir families are 2.1, 1.9, 1.3 and 1 respectively. There are no children in the families belonging to the Bairagi and Hari castes. 1 RGI/63

Generally speaking, it may be said that the number of children is independent of the financial status of the family. The heads of 58 families know that conception can be avoided by artificial means. 20 of them are Goalas or Gopes by caste, 18 are Ugra Kshatriyas by caste, 11 are Namasudras, 3 are Bauris by caste, 2 are Gandha Baniks, 2 are Brahmans, 1 is a Santal and 1 is a Bairagi.

62 families do not desire to have more children. 14 of these families belong to the Goala caste, 14 to the Ugra Kshatriya caste, 10 to the Santal caste, 8 to the Bauri caste, 6 to the Namasudra caste, 4 to the Bagdi or Kush Metey caste, 2 to the Muchi caste, 2 to the Gandha Banik caste and 2 to the Brahman caste.

The Table below shows the distribution of population by sex and age-group:

Age-Groups		Persons	Males	Females
0-14 years		407	220	187
15—25 years	•	162	74	88
26-40 years		187	90	97
41-55 years	•	80	45	35
56 years and above .	•	4 8	23	25
Total	•	884	4 52	432
				5

434 persons never married. They form 49.1 per cent. of the population covered by the survey. 358 persons or 40.5 per cent. of the population are married. 90 persons or 10.2 per cent. of the population are widows or widowers and only 2 are living separated from their husband or wife as the case may be. Among males, 256 or 56.6 per cent. never married, 179 or 39.6 per cent. are married, 16 or 3.5 per cent. are widowers and only 1 is living separated from his wife. The majority of unmarried males are in the age-group 0-14 years, numbering 220 and forming 48.7 per cent. of the total number of males. There are also 31 males who never married in the agegroup 15-25 years. 1 man is unmarried in each of the age-groups 26-40 years and 56 and above, while the number of unmarried males in the age-group 41-55 years is 3. None of the married males belongs to the age-group 0-14 years. 43 belong to the age-group 15-25 years, 87 belong to the age-group 26-40 years, 35 belong to the age-group 41-55 years and there are 14 married males who are 56 or more years old. The maximum number of married males is found in the age-group 26-40 years and also in the age-group 15-40 years.

178 or 41.2 per cent. of the females are unmarried. Of them as many as 176 or 40.7 per cent. belong to the age-group 0-14 years. There is 1 young woman in the age-group 15-25 years and another in the age-group 26-40 years who are still unmarried. 179 or 41.4 per cent. of the total number of females are married. 11 of them belong to the age-group 0-14 years, 85 belong to the age-group 15-25 years, 72 belong to the age-group 26-40 years, 10 belong to the age-group 41-55 years and there is 1 woman in the age-group 56 and above years. Most of the women thus marry between the ages 15-25 years.

16 males are widowers. 1 of them belongs to the age-group 26-40 years, 7 belong to the age-group 41-55 years and 8 are 56 or more years old. The number of widows is 74. 1 of them belongs to the age-group 15-25 years, 24 to the age-group 26-40 years, 25 belong to the age-group 41-55 years and 24 belong to the age-group 56 years or more. Re-marriage of widows is permissible only amongst the Santals and the Bauris, but even in these castes the bridegroom has to be a widower. In the other castes widow marriage is strictly prohibited and this accounts for such a large number of widows.

There is 1 man in the age-group 26-40 years, who is living separated from his wife and there is 1 woman in the age-group 15-25 years, who is living separated from her husband.

The position in regard to age at marriage about a generation ago will become apparent from the Table given below which has been prepared on the basis of the ages at marriage of all married persons encountered in the village, as also all widows, widowers and those who are living separated from their partners.

								Age-Groups						
		a .						0-	-14 years	15-	25 years	26-10 years		
		Cast	e/Trib	96				Males	Femiles	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Goala .	•		•		٠	•	•	4	69	47	6	3	••	
Santal .	•	•	•	•		•	•	••	28	31	6	1	1	
Ugra Kshatriya	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	••	22	24	10	4	••	
Bauri	•	•	• •	•		•	•	1	23	18	4	1	••	
Bagdi or Kush M	etey		• -	•			•	••	22	15	3	1	••	
Namasudra .	•		•	•	•			1	31	24	••	••	••	
Muchi .			•			•		••	15	12	••		••	
Gandha Banik		-	•	•	•			••	9	5			••	
Brahman .		•			•	•		••	2	2		••	••	
Bairagi .			•	•	•		•	••	••			••	••	
Ahir		•		•					1	1	1	1		
Hari		•		•	•		•		1	••		••		
					T	otal	•	6	223	179	30	11 .	1	

AGE AT MARRIAGE

A generation ago, the majority of women used to marry by the time they attained the age of 14 years.

Marriages are settled by negotiation between the parents of the bride and bridegroom amongst all the castes residing in the village. There is a solitary instance of a mill worker belonging to the Santal tribe having married the girl of his choice also belonging to the Santal tribe. From the replies received it appears that the giving of a dowry is obligatory on the occasion of a daughter's marriage among the Muchis, Gandha Baniks and Ahirs. No case is known in which a girl's marriage took place without giving any dowry. The position in respect of the Goalas or Gopes, Ugra Kshatriyas and Bagdis is somewhat different as it appears that although the giving of dowries on the occasion of the marriages of daughters has not been abolished, instances have come to light when girls have been married without their parents being forced to give dowries. The beauty of the bride appears to be the deciding factor in such cases. No dowry of course has to be given on the occasion of the marriage of a son among these castes.

Among the Santals and Bauris it is the bride's parents who receive dowry from the parents of the bridegroom. Among Santals this dowry usually consists of a sum of Rs. 12 in cash and a male calf. Among Namasudras the usual custom is for the bride's parents to give dowry but a case came to notice in which the dowry was paid to the parents of the bride by the parents of the bridegroom.

In the only case of a Brahman girl which came to notice, her parents did not pay any dowry. The question of giving dowries did not arise in the case in Bairagi and Hari castes as there are no children in those families.

There is only one instance of inter-caste marriage in the village. An Ugra Kshatriya young man was married to a Brahman girl and the couple is residing in the village. This couple is however not living in the hamlet of Mongira where all the Ugra Kshatriya families reside and where his ancestral home was situated, but in another portion of the mauza Kamnara. This marriage is said to have been sponsored by the parents of the young man and the widowed mother of the young woman 1 RGI/63

about 10 years ago. Inter-caste marriage is however not in favour among the residents of the village. Out of 150 families interviewed as many as 147 are against inter-caste marriage of any type. The heads of 2 Ugra Kshatriya families were willing to contract marriages of their sons and daughters with girls and young men belonging to Brahman and Baidya families. The head of a Namasudra family was of the opinion that a Namasudra could marry into the Napit and Karmakar castes. Caste is therefore very much alive in this village. The Ugra Kshatriyas aspire after higher social status and some of them have adopted surnames which are appropriate only to the members of a particular upper caste.

The heads of 55 households know that inter-caste marriage is permissible under the law.

All the residents of the village are Hindus. 99 families are Saktas, 9 are Vaisnabas, 2 are Shaibas, and 1 is the worshipper of Bajrangabali or Hanuman and 39 families claimed to be just Hindus. The 99 Sakta families are composed of 28 Goalas or Gopes, 20 Ugra Kshatriyas, 16 Bauris, 14 Bagdis or Kush Meteys, 12 Namasudras, 3 Muchis, 3 Santals, 2 Brahmans and 1 Hari family. The 9 Vaisnaba families are composed of 2 Goalas or Gopes, 4 Gandha Baniks, 2 Bairagi families and 1 Namasudra family. Both the Shaiba families are Muchis by caste and the solitary worshipper of Bajrangabali or Hanuman belongs to the Ahir caste. Of the 39 families who claimed to be simply Hindus, 30 are Santals, 5 are Goalas or Gopes, 2 are Bauris and 1 is a Bagdi and 1 is a Muchi by caste.

There are *tulshi* plants in 75 families. Every evening, lamps are lighted at the foot of the plants by the women-folk of those families. In 2 families the Goddess *Kali* is worshipped symbolically every day and in 2 others *Dharmaraj* is similarly worshipped. The Goddess *Lakshnii* is worshipped every day in the evening in 2 families. In 1 family *Radha* is worshipped daily. In another *Radha* and *Krishna* and in another *Rama, Lakshmana* and *Sita* and in another *Bajrangabali* or *Hanuman* are worshipped.

So the Goada or Gope caste, 20 to the Ugra

Kshatriya caste, 11 to the Namasudra caste, 3 to each of the castes Bauri and Gandha Banik, 2 to each of the castes Brahman and Bairagi and 1 to each of the castes Ahir, Muchi and the Santal tribe are acquainted with the provision of the Hindu Succession Act according to which daughters have become eligible to share the parental property equally with the sons. But the heads of all the 35 Goala or Gope families, 28 Santal families, 20 Ugra Kshatriya families, 16 Bauri families, 13 Bagdi or Kush Metey families, 13 Namasudra families, 6 Muchi families, 4 Gandha Banik families, 2 Brahman families, 2 Bairagi families and 1 Hari family expressed the view that the ancestral property should be divided equally among the sons only. The head of the single Ahir family was of the view that the daughters may inherit ancestral property with the sons but they should get a little less than what a son would get. The heads of 3 Santal families were of the view that the daughters may inherit the ancestral property if there be no sons. The heads of 2 Santal, 2 Bauri and 2 Bagdi families did not express any opinion about the devolution of ancestral property.

HE heads of 11 out of 150 families interviewed said that newspapers were read in the family. It seems that most of the people are rather unconcerned about what goes on in the wide world, outside their village. Most of them know the name of the district in which their village is situated, the number of families which do not know the name of the district in which the village is situated being only 18. The heads of 110 families know the names of the principal rivers flowing through the district and the heads of 126 families know the name of the Police Station in which the village is situated. The position in regard to National Extension Service Block is not so happy as the heads of only 62 families were found to know the name of the National Extension Service Block. The position in regard to the Statutory Panchayat was somewhat better in that the heads of 87 families could give the names of the Panchayats in which the mauza is situated. This is only to be expected as elections to the two Gram Panchayats to which the two parts of mauza belong were held about 2 years ago. 7 persons residing in the mauza of Kamnara were elected to the two Gram Panchayats. One of the Gram Panchayats is the Malkita-Kamnara Gram Panchayat and the other is the Palitpur-Mongira Gram Panchayat. Of the 7 persons elected from the mauza to the two Gram Panchayats, 2 are Goalas or Gopes, 2 are Ugra Kshatrivas. 1 is a Namasudra, 1 is a Gandha Banik and another is a Santal. It is rather strange that the existence of the 2 Gram Panchayats are not known to the heads of all the 150 families interviewed. The heads of 25 families stated that improvements in the material condition of the village had been brought about by the Gram Panchayats. As examples of such improvements they stated the sinking of tubewells, the improvement of roads and the easy settlement of disputes.

The heads of only 40 families could tell the name of the particular Anchal Panchayat to which his part of the mauza belonged.

The children of 53 families only are getting the benefit of school education. No boy or girl is studying in college. There are 116 children in these 53 families of whom 69 are boys and 47 are girls. The average expenditure per child per year is approximately Rs. 21. This appears to be rather low, but this comparative smallness of the expenditure is easily explained when it is remembered that a large number of these children are students of Primary Schools where no tuition fee is required to be paid. Moreover, no tuition fees are to be paid for girls upto Class VIII. These 53 families which can afford to send their children to school are distributed among all the industrial categories of Cultivation, Agricultural Labour, Manufacturing, Retail Trade, Transport, Storage and Communications, Other Services and Non-workers. As many as 36 of these families belong to the industrial category of Cultivation, 8 to Other Services, 4 to Nonworkers, 2 to Retail Trade and 1 to each of the categories Agricultural Labour, Manufacturing and Transport, Storage and Communications.

Classified socially, 20 of these families are found to belong to the Goala or Gope caste, 13 to the Ugra Kshatriya caste, 8 to the Namasudra caste, 4 to the Gandha Banik caste, 3 to the Bauri caste, 2 to the Brahman caste, 2 to the Santal tribe and 1 to the Muchi caste. The total number of families having children in the age-group 5-16 years is 104 of which 22 are Goala or Gope by caste, 21 are Santals, 17 are Ugra Kshatriyas, 14 are Bauris, 10 are Namasudras, 9 are Bagdis or Kush Meteys, 4 are Muchis, 4 Gandha Baniks, 2 Brahmans and 1 is the Ahir family.

83.3 per cent. of the families belonging to the Goala or Gope caste, having children in the age-group 5-16 years have put their children to school. The corresponding percentages for similar Ugra Kshatriya, Namasudra, Gandha Banik, Bauri, Brahman, Santal and Muchi families are respectively 76.5, 80, 100, 21.4, 100, 9.5 and 25. The Bagdi and the Ahir families appear to be too poor to bear the educational expenses of their children.

Arranged industrially, the number of families having children in the age-group 5-16 years is 53 in Cultivation, 23 in the industrial category of Other Services, 13 in Agricultural Labour, 7 in Manufacturing, 2 in Retail Trade, 1 in Transport, Storage and Communications and the heads of 5 families are Nonworkers. The number of children of school going age, *i.e.*, in the age-group 5-16 years is 258, 148 of whom are boys and 110 are girls. Only 44.96 per cent. of the children are receiving education in schools.

This shows that 51 families are unable to afford even approximately Rs. 21 per year per child on education. This means that 49 per cent. of those families having children in the age-group 5-16 years are unable to get their children educated on account of poverty.

There is one active Jatra party and one Drametic Society which respectively organise Jatras and theatrical performances in the village. The Jatra is performed on the occasion of Manasa puja and the leading part is taken by the Namasudras. The Drama Society known locally as Dharmaraj Theatre Party stages a dramatic performance in the mauza on the occasion of the worship of Dharmaraj. There is in addition a club called Bidyut Sporting Club in the village. The membership is about 20, drawn from boys and young men of the village. It was established in 1960. The members of the club play football. The Goalas or Gopes, the Namasudras and the Bauris only are represented in this club.

Only 38 families are aware that untouch-

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ability in any shape or form has been abolished under law. The caste Hindus are generally of the opinion that water may not be taken from the hands of a Bauri, Namasudra, Bagdi or Kush Metey, a Santal, a Hari, an Ahir or a Muchi. This taboo in regard to the taking of water also applies to the taking of food from the members of these castes. The Namasudras and the Santals are also deprived of the services of the common barber. The Santals and the Bauris have their own priests for officiating at religious ceremonies.

The village is still mostly rural and has not imbibed urban characteristics. Only 53 families use coal or coke as domestic fuel either by itself or in conjunction with wood and in only 86 families tea is regularly drunk.

In only 65 families washing soap is used for washing clothes. 27 of these families are Goalas or Gopes by caste, 18 are Ugra Kshatriyas, 10 are Namasudras, 3 are Bauris, 2 are Brahmans, 2 are Gandha Baniks, 1 is a Santal, 1 is a Muchi and 1 is an Ahir. In 26 families toilet soap is also used in addition to washing soap. 13 of these 26 families are Goalas or Gopes by caste, 7 are Ugra Kshatriyas, 2 are Gandha Baniks, 2 are Namasudras, 1 is an Ahir and 1 is a Brahman.

Only 17 families get their clothes washed by the washerman.

Mosquito nets are in use in 67 families, 26 of which are Goalas or Gopes by caste, 19 are Ugra Kshatriyas, 8 are Namasudras, 4 are Gandha Baniks, 3 are Muchis, 2 are Brahmans, 2 are Santals, 1 a Bagdi or Kush Metey, 1 a Bairagi and 1 an Ahir. Mosquito nets are used not only as a protection against mosquitoes but also against snakes. T has been shown in Chapter III that there are 10 families, each of which lives in a good house and possesses a bicycle and at least 2 milch cattle. There are 12 other families who are in enjoyment of any two of these properties. The general population cannot therefore, be said to be financially well off. But the remarkable thing is that although this village is situated at a distance of only 3 miles from a growing city like Burdwan, the people have not attempted to augment their incomes by raising vegetables and poultry and eggs which could be sold at a profit in the city of Burdwan. Had they clearly realised the complementary nature of urban and rural areas, then they would have concentrated on supplying the maximum quantity of foodstuff and farm produce to the city in return for which they would have been able to avail themselves fully of the goods and services to be had in that city. Pisciculture is another thing which is seriously neglected and might if properly developed help in the economic improvement of the village. Their sole activity in this direction consists of the supply of milk to Burdwan. They have even failed to take advantage of the employment opportunities in the city as only 2 or 3 persons go to that city for work. The occupational mobility is not very high and the change is either from Cultivation to Agricultural Labour and general labour or from Agricultural labour to Cultivation. A few Santal families alternate between the fields of Agricultural Labour and Manufacturing (service in rice mill). On the whole Kamnara appears to be economically stagnant. The residents, do not, in general feel the necessity of improving their economic condition. As many as 97 out of the 150 families interviewed are satisfied with their present conditions and unless there is a change in their outlook, it would be futile to expect that they would exert themselves to bring about an improvement in their standard of living.

GLOSSARY

Akanda	•			•		Calatropis gigantia.
Amra	•	•	•	•	•	Spondias mangifera.
Ashar	•	•	•	•	•	The third month of the Bengali year.
Babla	•	•	•	•	•	Acacia arabica.
Bajrangaba	ıli or	Hanı	unan		•	Son of the God controlling the wind—aided Rama in rescuing Sita, in his capacity of the minister of the monkey king Sugriva.
Bhadra	•	•	•	•	•	The fifth month of the Bengali year.
Buddha Pi	urnim	a day	' .	•	•	The full moon day in the month of Baisakh, on which the Buddha was born.
Chaddar	•	•	•		•	A piece of cloth which is wrapped round the upper part of the body.
Chaitra	•	•	•	•	•	The last month or the twelfth month of the Bengali year.
Chutney	•	•	•	•	•	An Indian condiment of mangoes, chillies etc.
Dharmaraj			•	•	•	A deity worshipped in parts of West Bengal. The worship of this deity is supposed to have origi- nated from a decayed form of Buddhism.
Durga	•	•	•	•	•	The consort of Shivar.
Falgun	•	•	•	•	•	The eleventh month of the Bengali year.
Ghat puja	•	·	•		•	The worship performed at the ghat or steps lead- ing into a tank.
Ġola or M	arai	÷	•	•	•	Structure for storing paddy.
Jalchowki	•	•	•	•	•	A kind of low stool.
Jatra .	•	•	,	•	•	A kind of theatrical performance staged in the rural areas of West Bengal, without a stage.
Kali .	•	•	•	•	•	An incarnation of Durga.
Kalitala	•	•	•	•	•	The place of Kali.
Karai .	•	•	•	٠	•	A cauldron.
Kelikadam	ba		•	•		Anthocephalus cadamba.
Khatia					-	An article of furniture, having four legs, fitted to a frame, which is used as a bed. The space within the frame-work is covered with rope-net- ting, woven on the frame.

Krishnachura	•	•	•		Caesalpinia pulcherrima.
Kutcha .	•		•	•	Means raw—applied to buildings, it means that the building is built of mud.
Kutchery .	•	•			Office.
Lakshmana	•	•		•	One of Rama's younger brothers. He accompanied Rama into exile.
Lakshmi .	•	•	•	•	The Goddess of prosperity and the consort of Narayan or Vishnu, who is one of the Hindu Trinity.
Lingam .	•	•	•		A symbolic form of Shiva.
Loongi .	•	•	•	•	A kind of cloth usually worn by Muslim males in West Bengal.
Manasa .	•	•			The Snake-Goddess.
Manasatala	•	•		•	The place or mound of Manasa.
Marang Buru	•	•		•	A God of the Santals.
Mela.	•		•		A fair where people congregate.
Panchami day		•	•		Fifth lunar day.
Paus.	•	•	•	•	The ninth month of the Bengali year.
Рисса	•	•	•	•	Means durable and applied in respect of a building, indicates that the building is constructed of brick and mortar.
Puja	•	•	•		Worship.
Rabi crop .			•	•	Winter crops such as mustard.
Radha .	•	•			The sweetheart of Krishna.
Rakshakali					The Kali who protects.
Rama	•	•	•	•	The hero of the epic Ramayana and the eldest son of King Dasaratha.
Sári	•	•		•	A long piece of cloth worn by women in India.
Sheora .			•		Phyllochlamys spp.
Shiva.					One of the three in the Hindu Trinity.
Simul.		•	•		Bombax malabaricum or salmalia malabarica.
Sita			•	•	The wife of Rama.
Sravan .		•	•	•	The fourth month of the Bengali year.
Tahsildar .	•	•	•	•	A revenue official who collects land rent.
Taktaposh .	•	•	•	•	A crude bed-stead, in which the space within the frame is filled up with flat wooden boards.
<i>Tulsi</i> MGIPC—S8—1 RC	31 (PB)/63—8	3-10 - 63	1,0	Ocimum sanctum.

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NCBH Private Ltd. (R). MALINGAON .--- Sen & Bros. & Co. (R). MANIPUR.-Shri N. Chaoba Singh (R). MANGALORE.—U. R. Shenoye Sons, Car Street, P. Box. 128. MANJESHWAR.—Mukenda Krishna Nayak (R). MASULIPATNAM .--- M. Sesachalam Co. (B). MEEBUT.—Chanda & Co. (B). Prakash Educational Stores. Hind Chitra Press. Loyal Book Depot, Chipitauk. Universal Book Depot, Bombay Bazar. Bharat Educational Stores (B). MORADABAD.-Rama Book Depot (R). MIRZAPUR.-Goel Storess (R). MUSSOURI.—Cambridge Book Depot (R). Hind Traders (R).

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Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, Govt. of India, Ministry of Steel, Mines & Fuel (S. & R.). Western Book Depot.	SAHARANPURChandra Bharata Pustak Bhandar (B).
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PUDUKKATTAIP. N. Swaminatha Siyam & Co., East Main Street.	Govt. of India Book Depot. 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
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