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# CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

## VOLUME III

## ASSAM

### PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

13. MODYMMAI

**E. H. PAKYNTEIN**

of the Indian Administrative Service
Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam

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# Census Of India 1961

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS, ASSAM

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# Census of India 1961
# Volume III Part--VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS—ASSAM

| Sl. No. | Names of Village | Police Station | District | Type of Village | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 1. | Titaguri (Jonagaon) | Kokrajhar | Goalpara | Tribal | Bodo-Kachari |
| 2. | South Salmara | South Salmara | ,, | Predominantly | Muslims (Sunnis) |
| 3. | Khara | Dudhnai | ,, | Predominantly Tribal | Kachari, Rabha & Koch |
| 4. | Katanipara | Kamalpur | Kamrup | Single Community | Kumar |
| 5. | Nasatra | Barpeta | ,, | | Multi-Ethnic |
| 6. | Batasipur | Dhekiajuli | Darrang | | Multi-Ethnic |
| 7. | Dhepakgaon | Majuli | Sibsagar | Tribal | Miri |
| 8. | Kumargaon | Jorhat | ,, | | Multi-Ethnic |
| 9. | Japisajia | Sibsagar | ,, | Single Community | Ahom |
| 10. | Fulertal | Lakhipur | Cachar | Tribal | Hmar |
| 11. | Resubakrapara | Tura | Garo Hills | Tribal | Garo |
| 12. | Mawnai | Shillong | United Khasi & Jaintia Hills | Tribal | Khasi |
| *13. | Modymmai | Jowai | ,, | Tribal | Pnar |
| 14. | Laisong | Haflong | United Mikir & North Cachar Hills | Tribal | Zemi Naga |
| 15. | Gunjong | Haflong | ,, | Tribal | Dimasa (Kachari) |
| 16. | Phongjangre | Baithalangso | ,, | Tribal | Mikir |
| 17. | Durtlang | Aijal | Mizo Hills | Tribal | Mizo |
| 18. | Lawngtlai | Lungleh | ,, | Tribal | Mizo |

* Present publication

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# FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this subcontinent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life-sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions.' In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many by-paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion.'

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and decentralization on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive : the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows :

(a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e.g. fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(c) The third group of villages should

each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500-700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September, 1959, the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in SITU* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village ; house types ; diet ; dress, ornaments and footwear ; furniture and storing vessels ; common means of transport of goods and passengers ; domestication of animals and birds ; markets attended ; worship of deities ; festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March, 1960, by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September, 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum ( May 1961 ), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done ; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November, 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other

laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December, 1961, when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve : to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the Country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in an appendix.

New Delhi,
July 30, 1964

Asok Mitra
Registrar General,
India.

# PREFACE

To most people, the census is only the counting of heads which, like the legendary Phoenix, reappears from its own ashes at regular intervals of ten years. Actually, many things are collected in every census regarding human beings, who they are, how they live, what they do and what things are done for them by Government and private agencies. Thus, many studies and Governmental activities owe their origin to the census. For example, anthropology or ethnography in India begins from the census records. Similarly, linguistic studies, arts and crafts and a study of fairs and festivals are derived from the census. During the 1961 census, apart from much more data and numerous publications, a pictorial and descriptive representation of the people is also sought to be given in Village Survey Monographs.

A few villages were selected in every part of Assam, both hills and plains, for this survey so that we may get a picture of how the people live and work, what are their customs and usages and what is the impact of the first two Five Year Plans on the economy and the way of life of the people. Modymmai is one such village which is inhabited by people known as Jaintias or Pnars. Situated as it is on the border of Shillong and Jowai Subdivision, and being within the ambit of one community development block not far away from the Shillong-Jowai road, Modymmai is a medium-sized village and a convenient place for the study of the intermingling of the cultures of the Khasi and Jaintia people and a study of the impact of changes on the habits and the cultural heritage of the hillfolk.

The people of Modymmai are mostly cultivators who grow paddy and other crops both by the terrace method as well as by a modified form of jhuming. They also keep cattle, goats, pigs and fowls as subsidiary occupations, and they have mostly accepted Christianity as their new faith. Under the impact of the developmental plans of Government, they have now learnt to grow eri and silk worm and they have also taken advantage of all the developmental schemes undertaken by the Government in the rural areas. They have learnt to grow modern vegetables such as cabbages, tomatoes, peas, beans, etc. and with the improvement of communications, they have learnt the art of lumbering and trading in timber. In accepting Christianity, they have not done away with whatever is good in their customs and manners, and they have accepted new customs and usages which enable them to keep pace with the changing circumstances. In other words, they have been able to adapt themselves to the forces of change without much stress and strain because of their intrinsic character and also because of the regulated flow of new ideas and new people into their habitat. As a matter of fact, it may be stated that they have rediscovered their selfhood in a new form. This monograph depicts the village in its present form.

The field investigation was done by Shri A. B. Pugh, and the tabulation of the data was done in my census office. The frame of this monograph was also started by Shri A. B. Pugh, and I was also assisted by Shri F. B. Lyngdoh, A. C. S., Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, as well as by Sarvashri J. C. Bhuyan and K. S. Dey during the course of its compilation.

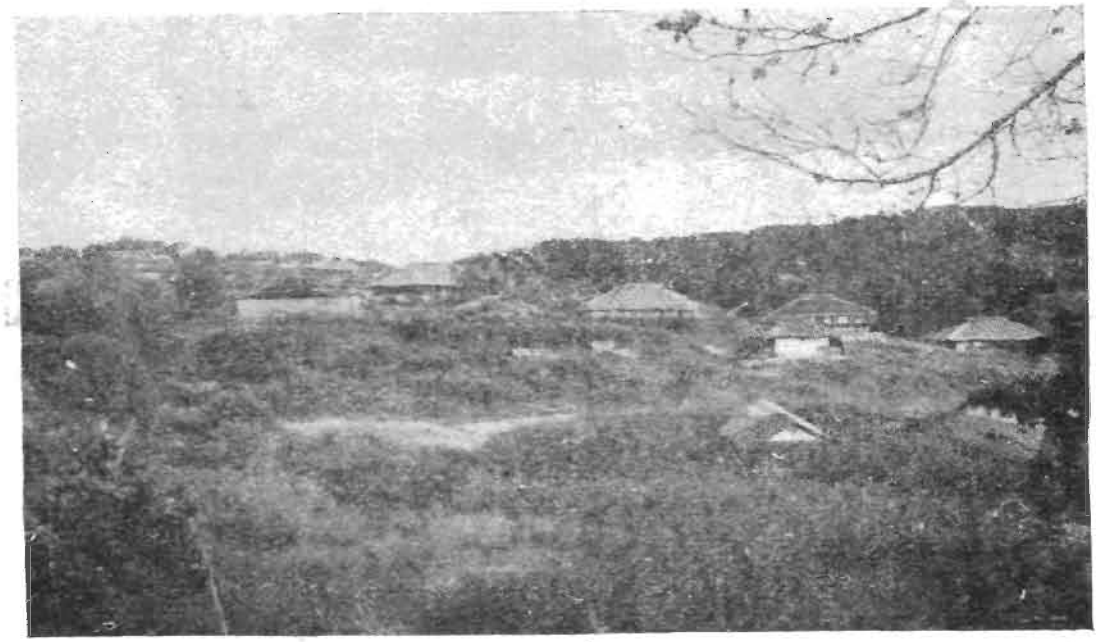
**E. H. PAKYNTEIN**



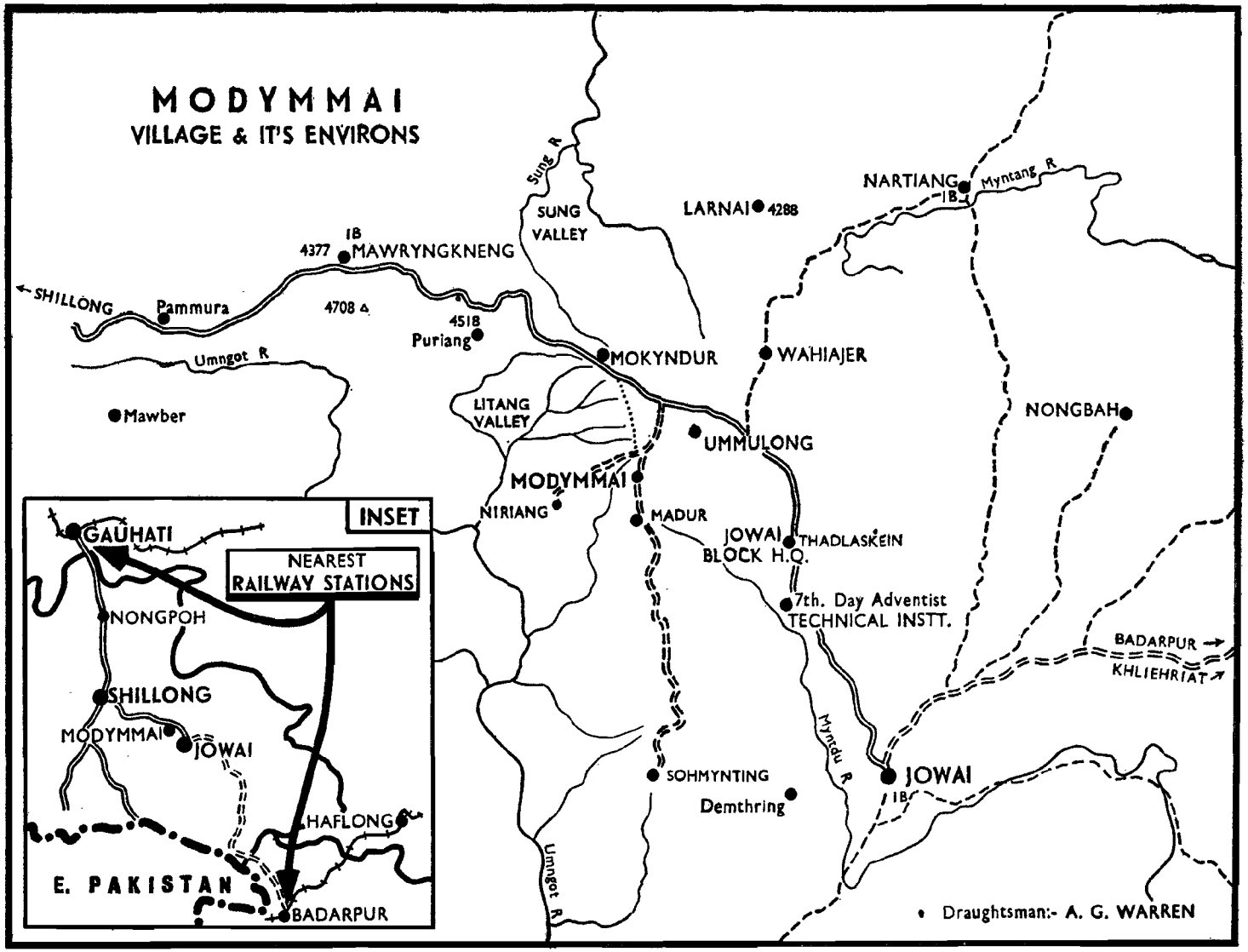
Part view of the village

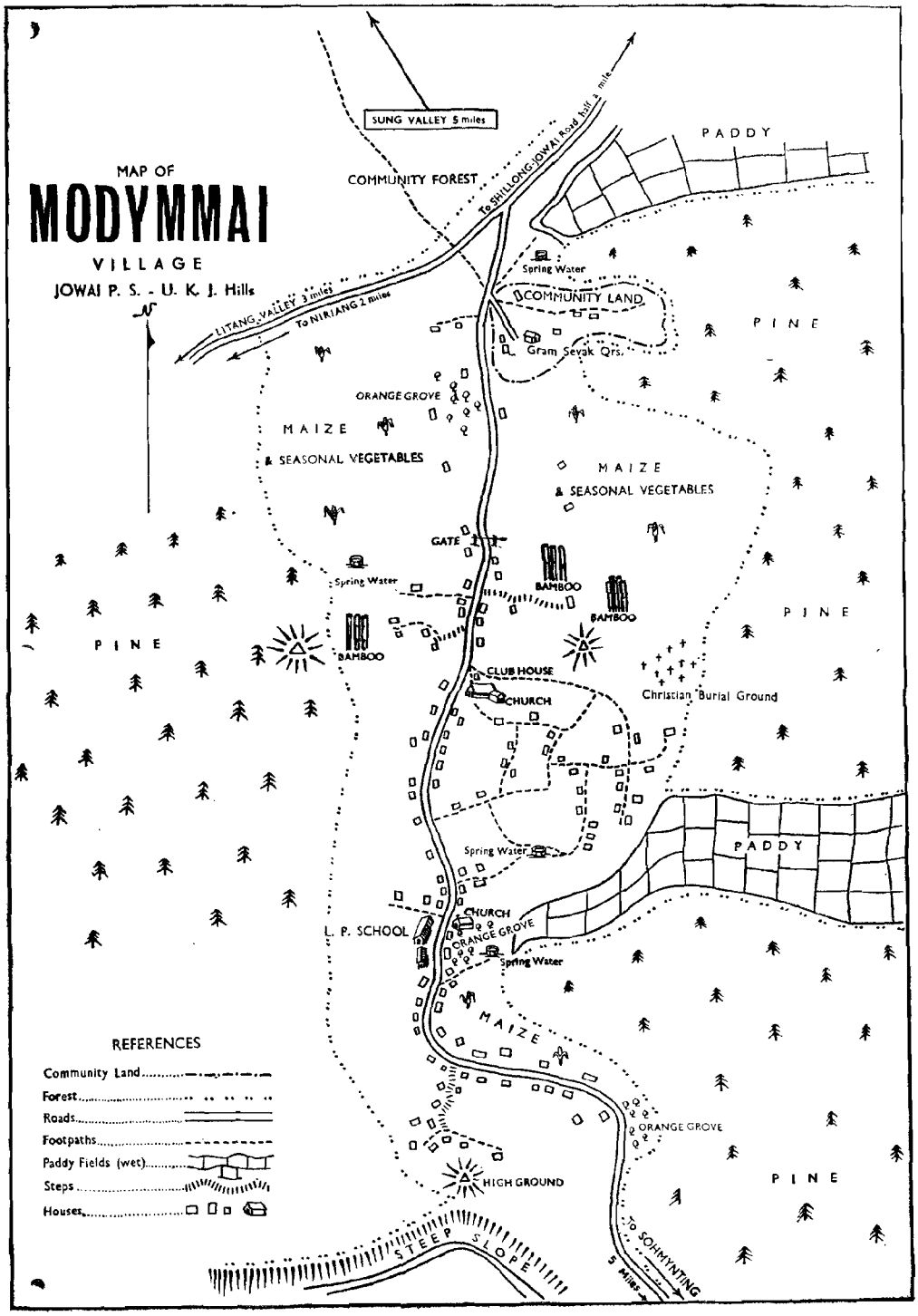


A new section of the village



Part view of the old section of the village


MODYMMAI
VILLAGE & IT'S ENVIRONS
Sung R
SUNG VALLEY
LARNAI 4288
NARTIANG IB
Myntang R
IB 4377 MAWRYNGKNENG
SHILLONG
Pammura
4708 △
4518
Puriang
MOKYNDUR
WAHIAJER
Umngot R
Mawber
LITANG VALLEY
NONGBAH
UMMULONG
MODYMMAI
NIRIANG
MADUR
JOWAI BLOCK H.Q.
THADLASKEIN
7th. Day Adventist TECHNICAL INSTT.
BADARPUR
KHLIEHRIAT
Myrdu R
SOHMYNTING
Demthring
JOWAI IB
Umngot R
INSET
GAUHATI
NEAREST RAILWAY STATIONS
NONGPOH
SHILLONG
MODYMMAI
JOWAI
HAFLONG
E. PAKISTAN
BADARPUR
Draughtsman:- A. G. WARREN


MAP OF
MODYMMAI
VILLAGE
JOWAI P. S. - U. K. J. Hills
SUNG VALLEY 5 miles
COMMUNITY FOREST
To SHILLONG/JOWAI Road 3rd. 2 mile
PADDY
Spring Water
COMMUNITY LAND
LITANG VALLEY 3 miles
To NIRJANG 2 miles
Gram Sevak Qrs.
PINE
ORANGE GROVE
MAIZE
& SEASONAL VEGETABLES
MAIZE
& SEASONAL VEGETABLES
GATE
Spring Water
BAMBOO
BAMBOO
BAMBOO
PINE
PINE
CLUB HOUSE
CHURCH
Christian Burial Ground
Spring Water
PADDY
CHURCH
L. P. SCHOOL
ORANGE GROVE
Spring Water
MAIZE
ORANGE GROVE
HIGH GROUND
PINE
STEEP SLOPE
To SOHMYNTING
5 Miles
REFERENCES
Community Land
Forest
Roads
Footpaths
Paddy Fields (wet)
Steps
Houses

# CHAPTER I

# THE VILLAGE

## Introducing the Village

South of the Brahmaputra valley stand the ranges which constitute a part of the State of Assam. The ranges run parallel to the majestic snow-capped Himalayas separated from them by the valley of the mighty Brahmaputra. These ranges are continuous and form the four autonomous districts of Garo Hills, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, Mikir Hills and North Cachar Hills. The village we are about to discuss is situated in the Jowai Subdivision of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District. The topography of the district in general is mountainous and rugged, with a high plateau covering the greater part of the district. The hills are steeper in the southern part, the middle part is a plateau, and then the land slopes gently towards the north. The plateau also is not an even one, it is frequently interrupted by some peaks and river gorges. Bearing the characteristics of the old hard rock type of plateau, it has been subjected to constant and alarming weathering by the various agents of denudation. The effect, particularly on rain-fed rivers is quite remarkable, since the area is noted for the high amount of annual rainfall. It is amidst these complexities of nature that the village under survey, that is Modymmai, is found.

## Grounds for Selection

The village is inhabited by the Pnars, a section of the Khasi-Jaintia tribe who occupy the eastern part of the district. They call themselves Pnars to differentiate themselves from the other sections of the tribe known as the Khasis, the Lyngngams, the Bhois and the Wars, who generally occupy the middle, the western, the northern and the southern parts of the district respectively. The area in which the Pnars live is separated and is distinctly marked from the rest of the district by the British who called it the Jaintia Hills, a name borrowed from the conquered territory of the Jaintia Kings. At present the area is known as the Jowai Subdivision. In many respects the Pnars are identical with the other sections of the Khasi tribe. Modymmai is a typical Pnar Village, but the conversion of the inhabitants into Christianity has changed their belief, religious rites and some customs.

Like other villages in the hills of Assam, the majority of Pnar villages are also inhabited by agriculturists. Modymmai is no exception to the rule. In fact it is one of the leading agricultural centres in the subdivision. For untold generations the people have earned their living mostly by cultivation. But unlike some of the tribals in the State, the inhabitants of Modymmai as well as most of the people in the Pnar villages do not resort to the jhumming method of cultivation. Instead, they have been using the wet method of cultivation, building their settlement on hill slopes or higher grounds to avoid malarial fever. Throughout the whole subdivision the Pnars have changed the faces of the

available river valleys, the adjacent plains and low lands into irrigated terraced paddy fields. Thus even in this uneven, rugged mountain terrain, thousands and thousands acres of land have been brought under the plough and wet method of cultivation. Modymmai is a village of such agriculturists. Both men and women of the village would trek every sunrise to Sung and Litang valleys, about five and three miles respectively from the village, to labour till sunset. Treking, therefore, is the normal pattern of life in the village, a pattern that is vigorously followed by all the Pnars. Modymmai has the pride to be the representative village in respect of agricultural production, since Sung valley where the villagers have their fields, can boast of having a rich and fertile soil, and has qualified itself for the title "the granary of the subdivision."

The year 1947 was the year in which the country witnessed the end of the longest struggle for freedom from the foreign yoke. But the new democratic set up has other problems, and therefore needs a distinct method of approach to solve them—the struggle towards the attainment of peace and plenty. For even a free country cannot be considered as totally free if a section of its people barely manage to get the daily necessaries of life. Freedom from foreign rule was merely a means to an end. New India's mission is to raise the nation to the same level of economic prosperity, social and cultural richness as are enjoyed by other free nations of the world. To achieve this aim, means to raise the standard of living of each and every member of this great nation, particularly those living in the rural areas, have been devised. Till as late as the end of the first half of the twentieth century, village life had not changed much. With the attainment of political freedom, the new winds of change are sweeping over the whole country. With the Five Year Plans as the milestones along the path, the whole nation is striving to move forward. The welfare government has set up various schemes for the urban as well as the rural sections. Both in agricultural and industrial spheres, the present government has set the wheel moving. In the rural areas, Community Development, National Extension Service and Tribal Development Blocks have been set up all over the country.

Some such blocks have been started in the district and one of such blocks is the Jowai Community Development Block with the headquarters at Thadlaskein, a place only 3 miles from Modymmai. Since Modymmai is one of the villages covered by the Block, the study of this village will give the necessary clue to the rural history and to the factors of development one comes across all over the villages inside the subdivision which falls under the blocks. Even more important is the account of the people's response and attitude towards these new schemes.

Apart from advancement in the field of agriculture, the Pnars of the Pre-British era are also many steps ahead of their neighbouring tribals in another economic sphere, that is, the marketing of their produce. Many small markets are found in all parts of their land, but that is not all, mention is made in the history of Assam about the trade relations between these people and their neighbours in the plains, both in the Surma and the Brahmaputra valleys since the days of the Kacharis, the Kochs, the Ahoms and the Mohammedan kings. The common picture of a self-sufficient isolated tribe found among the majority of the tribals has long passed away from the face of the subdivision. As the result of this contact with other more developed communities, the culture of the people underwent some changes. While the impact is greater in those sections of the tribe living in the borders of the subdivision it is less so among those living in the interior. In the historical period which is rather recent, the people of Modymmai have been exposed to the influence of three waves of cultures—the Hindu, the Muslim and the Western cultures. The study of Modymmai therefore reveals an interesting



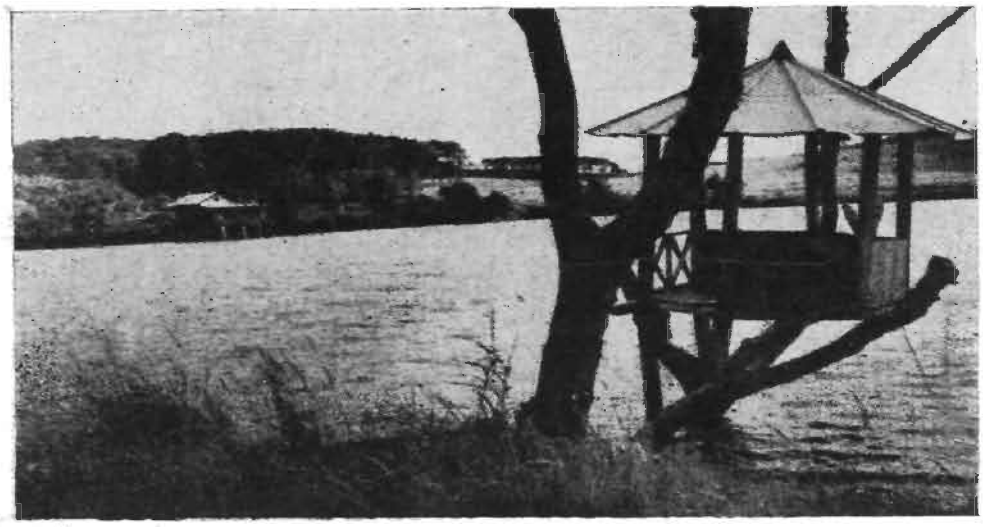
A distant view of the Sung valley



A distant view of the Litang valley



Monoliths found near the Shillong-Jowai Road



Thadlaskein Tank

picture of how the primitive culture of the Pnars managed to survive through these cross-currents with only very few and minor changes.

**Location with reference to important centres**

The point where longitude 42°22′ E and latitude 25°45′ N cross each other is the exact position of the village. The United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district is divided into two subdivisions, the western part which is known as the Shillong Subdivision and the eastern part which is known as the Jowai Subdivision. This administrative arrangement was made by the British when they first came to these hills. When the British left, the arrangement remained as it was with slight modification of boundaries here and there. When the British found that Cherrapunjee, the first headquarters of the district, is not a suitable place for this purpose, they shifted the headquarters to Shillong in 1864. Then 10 years afterwards it became the headquarters of the province also. Since 1860-62 the town of Jowai, the military headquarters in the area, has been gradually growing in popularity and became the headquarters of the subdivision. Here also the arrangement of the pre-independence period remains the same. Shillong continues to be the headquarters of the district and the State and Jowai remains the headquarters of the subdivision. Modymmai is in the western part of the subdivision while Jowai is more or less in the heart of it. Thus Modymmai is nearer to Shillong than Jowai, or in other words, the village is in between the two headquarters.

Just after the declaration of independence, the two headquarters, till then linked only by a bridle path, are connected by 40 miles of motorable road. Twisting and winding, the road leaves the busy and crowded town of Shillong, ascending slowly along the eastern side of the plateau on which Shillong peak, the highest point of the district stands, providing a panoramic view of the town of Shillong. Then this eastward-bound road passes through pine groves and rolling grasslands, through paddy fields and potato, maize and vegetable gardens all of which add pleasant variety to the view. Against this background, villages appear one after another at certain intervals to present a complete picture of village life on these hills. By the side of the road, here and there, monoliths are seen. These erected big slabs of stones with no inscriptions, have their own silent testimony to offer to the present world. They are generally marks of remote past, but the near past also has such marks along the way though on a smaller scale. Then there are cliffs of hard rocks, gorges between the hills and swift running streams in the gorges which accounted for the great endeavours which the surveyors, the contractors and the labourers had to face while preparing an easy or comfortable journey for the travellers of the coming generations in these hills.

The journey to Modymmai from Shillong continues along this road for nearly thirty two miles. Then with eight miles more to cover before entering Jowai town, an incomplete motorable road, one of its kind found here and there along the main road, branches towards the south through the majestic columns of pine trees. This is the road to the village which is about one mile from the junction. The road continues beyond the village to serve other villages also of which Sohmynting, 6 miles from the junction, is the last.

Back to the junction with the main road, and one mile towards Jowai, the road passes through the Ummulong market place, the nearest market for the people of Modymmai. Though Ummulong is merely a village, yet it is the centre encircled by a number of villages such as Wahiajer, Nongbah, Madur, Larnai, Mokyndur, Sohmynting and others. So it is provided with a sub-post office and the sub-office of the Assam State Transport. Here there is also a Government Sericulture Farm and the cocoon-rearing centre. To add up to the importance of the place, a dispensary

has been opened up here by the Block. All these facilities are shared by Modymmai along with its neighbours. Perhaps one of the most important assets that nature can bestow to any spot on earth, is the natural beauty of the place. While none can deny that every place has its own charm yet it is equally true that some are above the average, and these places usually attract holiday-makers and sight-seeing parties. The road is about to enter one of such rare natural beauty spots. This is an undulated open space carpeted in green with magnificent pine groves in the background. Few clear rivulets, flanked on both sides by small bushes run through the place. It is in this open space, four miles from Modymmai, that the headquarters of the Jowai Block is built. The picture of this spot will remain incomplete if one of the most impressive workmanship of the Pnars remain untouched. This the Thadlaskein tank built about 25 generations ago by U Sajar Nangli and his people during the reign of U Syiem Markohain, a Jaintia king or Raja. At that time there were only seven dolois in the whole of Jaintia. This king, it is said, on attaining maturity wanted to marry, but no other woman was found suitable in his kingdom in beauty and status, to be his princess, except the only daughter of U Sajar Nangli, the Lyngskor (governor). This Lyngskor was a very rich and powerful dignitary. He lived in the Raliang region with his two children one son and one daughter. One day the seven dolois went to Raliang to find out whether the Lyngskor would be willing to give his daughter in marriage to Markohain. Realising that he was not willing, they conspired to get her by force. Simultaneously, Syiem Markohain ordered that one tank should be built at Nartiang. Accordingly the seven dolois summoned all their subjects to the task, including U Sajar Nangli and his people for help. On getting the message by means of bamboo rings, Sajar collected his people and went to build the tank at Nartiang only within a few days. This tank exists even today and is known as Um Tisong. On its completion, the Syiem threw a big feast ordering those in charge of distribution to give good things for Sajar's men although his people actually gave them only left-overs. Even then the Lyngskor's men did not grumble and after the feast, went back to their respective villages.

The Syiem's men however persuaded the Lyngskor to stay for the night. But finding that he was not willing to do so, they said that he should see the king before leaving. Sajar did not agree to that also saying, "Having planted only one fruittree and one flower, how can others take them"? I shall never give away my daughter away, and he straightway went home. On reaching home, he received information from some people that the Syiem's men would come and take away his daughter by force. So he got ready for a flight from his land. He summoned a big durbar in which he said, "I have to flee from my land, so all those who love me follow me, and all those who do not like me, stay here." The audience with one accord said "We will follow you." Then Sajar Nangli and his children along with all the people fled towards the east. He and his people proceeded to the hills beyond the river Kupli. On the way, while they trodded on, at a selected place, every man dug only once with the end of his bow, and every woman collected only as much earth as the corner of her apron could contain. After the last person, it was found that the place became a big tank. This tank exists even today and is called 'Ka Biar Sajar or Thadlaskein' and proclaims to the world the magnitude of the people that followed the Lyngskor, Sajar Nangli, on his flight towards the Kupli. The tank is on a side of the road facing the headquarters of the Block. Covering another milestone from the tank, is the Technical Institute established by the American Missionaries of the Seventh Day Adventist Church in which some children from Modymmai village are educated and trained in various trades. Leaving this scene behind with the road twisting and turning down to the valley of the

Myntdu river and up again to the headquarters of the subdivision, Jowai is a beautiful town, standing on a plateau which is almost surrounded by the gorges of the Myntdu. It is a typical Pnar town of the age, but to suit its rank as the subdivisional headquarters, it is marked by the presence of the Subdivisional Officer's office, the Police Station, the Public Works Department's office and a number of small offices. The town is also provided with a State Transport Bus Station, the Post and Telegraph Office and the High School. The Government High School has recently been converted into a Higher Secondary School. There are also two hospitals in the town, the Jowai Presbyterian Mission Hospital and the Civil Hospital. Though eight miles away, Jowai is a very important place for the people of Modymmai because apart from being the headquarters of the subdivision in which the village is situated, it is also the nearest town in which most of the important facilities are to be found.

### Physical Aspects

The United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District occupies the central part of the watershed between the Brahmaputra and Surma valleys, flanked by Garo Hills on the west and Mikir & North Cachar Hills on the east. The watershed so formed is a single mountain terrain with a length of 250 miles and a width of 80 miles on the average. Approaching from the south, that is from the plains of East Pakistan, just beyond the boundary is a strip of lowland, the continuation of the above plain. This strip is only the remnant of the once rich orange and betel gardens of the 'Wars', the greatest part of which, after the partition, falls beyond the boundary of the country. After crossing this strip of land, the southern part of the district, specially in the centre and in the west, springs immediately to a height of about 4000 feet above mean sea level. In the eastern part, the climb is not so sharp. From the top of this steep, starts the plateau which occupies the remaining part of the southern half of the district. The plateau then ascends gently towards the north till it reaches the middle and the heighest point of the district at 6000 feet above mean sea level. Thus the Shillong plateau is between 4000 feet and 6000 feet. Between the northern edge of this plateau and the plains of the Brahmaputra, there are a few more narrow plateaus descending like steps one at a lower level than the other. The plateaus are in no sense regular, they are very much broken up and the work of the swift running streams on them are well marked. A vision of hills after hills forming the ranges on the plateau with deep valleys separating them is a common sight in the district. In dealing with Modymmai village, 'the middle range', if it can be so termed, is the most important because the Shillong-Jowai road runs along it from West to East and the village of Modymmai is by the side of this road. As the Shillong-Jowai road approaches Jowai subdivision and leaves the main part of Shillong plateau behind, it runs along the ridge of a saddle at the lowest point of which the subdivision boundary is crossed. On either side of the saddle are the two important valleys, the Sung valley on the left and the valley of the Umngot river on the right. These are the western boundaries of the plateau on which Modymmai village is found along with a number of Pnar villages. The road continues for nearly eight miles from the north-west to the south-east along this plateau. The tableland on which Modymmai stands shaped more or less like a circle, is fringed on almost all sides by river gorges. On the west are the valleys already mentioned above and on the east are the valleys of Myntdu and Myntang. The general appearance of this tableland is that of an undulating down. Blunt-topped and low hillocks which very gently slope down to the wide, flat-bottomed valleys are the main characteristics of the area. Some of the crystal-clear rivulets run through the valleys. The plateau is sometimes referred to as the Thadlaskein plateau, the name derived from the name of the tank already mentioned.

Most of the villages found on the plateau are on the north-western and south-western edge of it—a phenomenon which will be fully explained in later chapters. Modymmai, Maskut and Sohmynting are on the southern edge while Mokyndur, Larnai and Wahiajer are on the northern edge. The only village found in the middle of the plateau is Ummulong near which are the Block headquarters.

Modymmai presents a picture of a natural fortress—a typical village fortress found in many parts of Khasi land. It lies between three hillocks which serve as natural watch towers. The position of these hills are on the east, south and west. It is on the saddles joining the southern with the western and the western with the eastern hills that most of the houses are found. These are the most thickly populated parts of the village which face towards a strip of paddy field which they encircle and beyond this field is a low uninhabited hill. Since the village is on the rim of the plateau, the land beyond the south-western part of it drops suddenly. But beyond the saddle towards the north, the land slopes down gently. The greater part of this slope is recently converted into a new section of the village. The fact that the old site of the village is a fort, explains the unusual smallness of the compounds. Thus as the population of the village is growing more and more, accommodation within the fort is no longer possible, so the village is extended towards the north. In this new section of the village, the compounds are bigger. Thus an area bigger than the old site is occupied by only few residents.

### Flora and Fauna

Pine forests and meadows are common features which encircle the village. In other words, the surrounding areas of the village, with the exception of a few plots cleared for cultivation, are occupied by pine forests and meadows. The field survey reveals that most of these pines are artificially sown and maintained. Some of the plots of land occupied by them are community-owned lands locally known as 'Ki Ri Raid' and some are private-owned 'Ki Ri Kynti.' Apart from the above pine forests, there are also some bushes of dwarf deciduous trees. While pine trees occupy the more regular grounds, these bushes are found in small odd corners, such as the steep banks of the streams and on the edges of the rocky steeps. Such jungles are underlaid with creepers, thorns and ferns. Sometimes on the trunks and branches of the trees in these forests, orchids of varied kinds and colours are found. Bringing these two types of forests side by side, it appears as if the former create more interest among, and draw more attention from, the villagers than the latter. While the former are grown and attended by the people, the latter are left totally to the influence of natural forces untouched by human hand. As pine forests are more valuable than the deciduous bushes, most of the latter were cleared to give way for the former.

The roughness of the surface of the meadows, suggests that they were old potato fields. It is a usual practice among the Khasis to leave the field fallow for three or four years after cultivating it for one season to allow the weed and small trees to grow for the purpose of being burnt into 'buns' a local term for the potato beds. This system of cultivation may thus be considered as a varient of shifting cultivation. Sometimes the soil is too poor to support the big weed or small trees, and instead of these plants, grass occupies the place. In such places, it is impossible to make a second crop of good potato cultivation. Thus they may be allowed to remain as grasslands and they serve as feeding ground for cattle. The grass found in these meadows is the rough type which resembles the giant grass used as thatching material, but here the height is only ten to twelve inches. Another type of bush found in the neighbourhood of the village is the Lantana. These bushes will disappear and reappear because most of

them will be converted into 'buns' for potato cultivation after which they will be left fallow again.

The absence of deep jungles or dense forests in the neighbourhood of the village is the principal cause for the scarcity of wild animals and birds, though the activities of the game hunters from the village also cannot be overlooked. But to say that wild animals are totally absent in these areas is not correct : small animals such as rabbits, squirrels, foxes and small birds like wild fowls, quails and blackbirds are found in the forests. The fact is that those games which are too big to escape the eye of the local hunters are absent or rare, while smaller ones, by virtue of their size, can escape their enemy and roam freely in the forests.

**The size of the Village**

Like other tribal villages in the autonomous districts of Assam, Modymmai has no definite boundaries. Thus it is impossible to describe its size in terms of area. In connection with the question of territorial boundaries of villages in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, two important things are to be remembered, firstly the traditional land holding customs of the Khasis of which details will be furnished in the chapter dealing with land, and secondly, the position of the village as an institution in the life-cycle of the Khasis. First of all, it is noted that among the cultivators, each family uses at least two or three kinds of land. These are the homestead land, the dry cultivation land and the wet cultivation land. Of these, if the family practises wet paddy cultivation, the wet fields are the most important. These are usually private properties and highly valued. In the dry cultivation land, the main crops are maize and potato. When the people practise both wet paddy and potato or maize cultivation, the latter is less important. In most cases the work in the dry fields is taken up only to fill in the leisure of slack periods. Most of these lands are community-owned. As far as the homestead lands in the rural area of the district are concerned, it appears that most of them were originally community owned, but afterwards they became private properties. Most of these homestead lands or compounds consist of a house and enough space for the family vegetable gardens, pigs and fowls and sometimes a cattle shed. They are not big farms, but generally make homestead plots. This shows that the village is a mere residential place where the working area is generally not attached to it. Sometimes the working places are very far from the village so that when the village is surveyed, a special or additional survey for some such areas becomes unavoidable. As Modymmai village has no definite boundary, an idea about the inhabited area of the village is roughly calculated at about 45 acres by adding together all the homestead lands. This excludes all the working areas including even those few exceptional cases in which they are situated side by side with the inhabited area. This is possible since the homestead lands or compounds within the village are private properties and the compounds are well fenced or marked. Now, of the working lands, the paddy fields are also well marked and nearly all of them are private properties. So even though most of them are far away and scattered all over the neighbouring areas of the village, they are calculated to be about 270 acres directly owned by the villagers or hired from outsiders. This will give a rough idea of the villagers' holding and their utilisation of such land. Another thing is that out of 270 acres of wet fields used by the villagers, 220 acres are cultivated by the owners themselves and 50 acres are hired. Normally the pine growing areas are community owned land, but when certain persons cultivate or grow pines in certain plots of land, they become the 'kept lands' of those persons. These lands stand between private and community or common land. As pines continue to grow on these lands, the temporary ownership falls in the hands of the grower, but if they are left uncultivated, they automatically become community land again.

These temporary holdings of the villagers amount to about 150 acres and are spread all over the neighbourhood of the village. Apart from the above types of land, there are also other working lands, such as potato and maize cultivation lands. These are full-fledged community lands, occasionally used by the people, and while the work is in progress, they are treated as private lands. In these cases the duration of ownership is very short, generally one year to two. No account of the total area falling in this category is available but at any rate they supplement the permanently owned land and their products add up to the income of the villagers.

Another way of determining the size of the village is by comparing its population and number of households with other neighbouring villages. The population figures of some of the neighbouring villages of Modymmai are given below : according to the 1961 Census :

**Table—I**

Number of households and population of Modymmai and the neighbouring villages

| Name of the village : | Distance from Modymmai as the crow flies : | Direction from Modymmai | Number of house-holds | Popula-tion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wahiajer | 3 miles | North-East | 305 | 1,710 |
| Sohmynting | 5 miles | South | 400 | 1,265 |
| Ummulong | 1¼ miles | North-East | 179 | 767 |
| Modymmai | — | —— | 129 | 734 |
| Madur | 1 mile | South | 106 | 511 |
| Larnai | 5 miles | North-North-East | 53 | 221 |
| Mokyndur | 2 miles | North-North-West | 35 | 163 |

Comparing the number of households and population of the village with those of other villages in the subdivision placed on an equal or nearly equal footing, the village is neither too big nor too small. But it should be remembered that besides its nearness to the Sung valley the village is only eight miles away from the headquarters of the subdivision and only one mile from the motorable road which connects the district and the subdivisional headquarters. With these advantages it is but natural that the village will be bigger than most of the Pnar villages in the remote parts of the subdivision with very poor communication facilities.

### Residential Pattern

Approaching the village from the north, some houses appear in an open land and to each of these houses big compounds are attached. This is the extended part of the village. The compounds are well fenced. This is done to preserve the vegetables from damages by stray cattle. In some of the gardens, few orange or other fruit trees are grown, but the most common plants are maize, pumpkin, cucumber, cabbages and other vegetables. In these gardens or in a portion in each of them, vegetables are seen throughout the year. But in winter the size of the plots under cultivation is determined by the available family labour since watering is very essential. As the road continues towards the old section of the village, more houses are seen. Here the compounds are smaller and the village looks more congested. While houses are seen on both sides of the road which also continues on its north to south direction, on both sides of it



Stately pines in the neighbouring forests



The village footpath



Approach road to the village

footpaths branch towards the east and the west. These footpaths link the compounds which are at some distance from the main road. Of these footpaths, the one which leads towards the east from the middle part of the village is the most important since most of the houses which have no direct connection with the main road are situated in this part. This is also the footpath which leads to the graveyard of the village. In serving as the connecting link in that part of the village, this footpath sends forth many such footpaths towards its left and right. Here also whereever enough space is available a compound includes the same items as in the compounds of the former section.

The arrangement of the compounds vary from one another. The site of the house is always chosen first, so that the building always takes the highest, hence the driest ground in the compound. In this district, where rainfall is very heavy, a high and dry spot on which the house is to be built is an essential pre-requisite for a good compound. Even in the selection of a site for the village, this condition is essential. The absence of villages in the lower or flat ground is explained by the fact that during the rainy season these lands are always muddy and very inconvenient. So most of the Khasi villages are on the hill slopes where rain water can find its outlet very easily. Now, a small courtyard and a playing ground for small children is always in front of the house and it is in some cases decorated with flower beds. The remaining space in the compound is always converted into vegetable garden and sometimes a few fruit trees are also grown. Animal sheds are always in a hidden part of the compound, that is on the back or the sides of the house, but never in front of it.

Sometimes the gardens appear in front of the house, but generally they are at the back or the sides of it. As pointed out above, there is no hard and fast rule for the location of the gardens or the houses, but the essential condition is to see that the house is built on the driest part. Thus if such a spot is in the far corner of the compound, with the flat and lower ground in front of it, the house is found to appear behind the garden. All the compounds are fenced. In the front part, the fences are neat and tidy. The fences are of stone or mud walls and rows of small trees or split bamboo. At the back, the fencing is somewhat more indifferently arranged. Apart from the above materials found in the fencing, sometimes big trees and bamboos are also grown to serve as a fence.

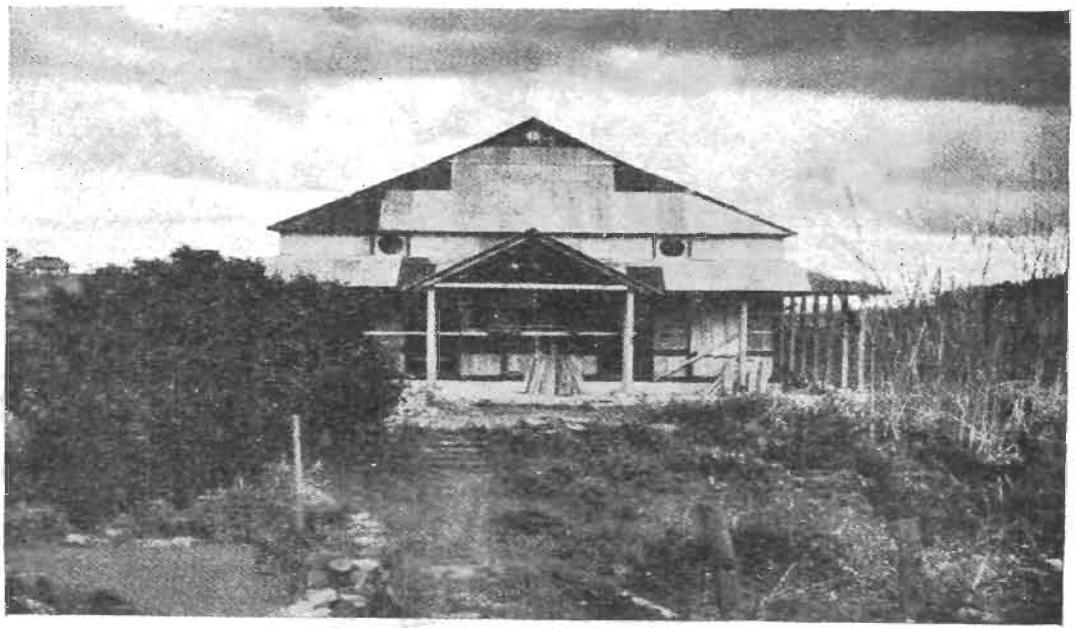
**Communication**

The main road, that is the branch of the Shillong-Jowai road which has become the subject of discussions in the previous paragraphs, is now once again the base of discussion. The direction of the road is by now well-known, and at the same time it is also clear that the road passes through the village. Before it is converted into a motorable road, there is a footpath which passes through the village more or less in the very place of the present road with only slight diversions here and there. In such cases the tracts of the old footpath remained and now serve as short-cuts for the foot travellers. The conversion of the old footpath into a motorable road with an average width of eight feet took place under the supervision of the Block and the problem was solved by the self-help effort of the villagers along with the help of the Block. The Block together with the villagers shared the expenditure, the contribution of the villagers being mostly in terms of labour. The part which the villagers were to play is now completed. But no one can say that the road is complete. The road has not yet been gravelled, leave alone the question of metalling or black-topping. When vehicles ply during the dry season, a large amount of dust is thrown on both sides where most of the dwelling houses are built. During summer, when the dust becomes mud, the road is very slippery. It is said that the construction of the road is still in progress, so it is hoped that sooner or later this vital road will become tolerable both during winter and summer.

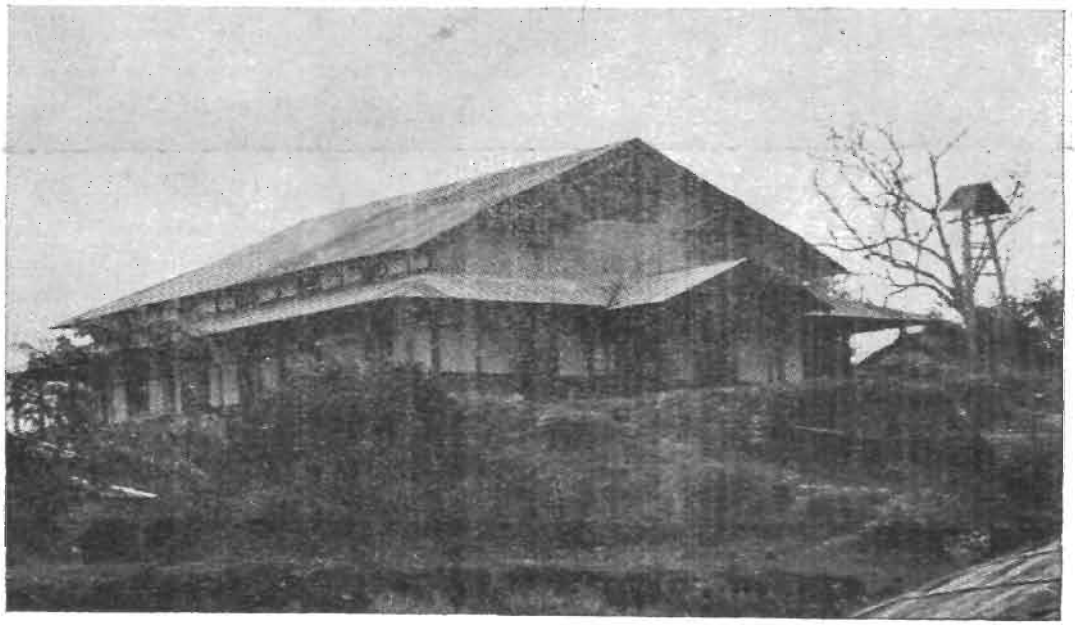
In the chapter dealing with the residential pattern of the village, it has been shown that not all the houses line up on both sides of the road, that there are also smaller sections of the village the compounds of which are not directly connected with the road, and that joining these sections are the footpaths with an average width of three feet to five feet. From the width, it is evident that these footpaths are not motorable. They represent a true picture of the typical footpaths in these areas. Most of them are bare earth-topped, but some are covered with slabs of stones. Again, while serving the level or gentle sloping parts of the village they are flat, but when they approach the high grounds, steps are used. The maintenance of these networks of communications in the village is done by the villagers themselves under the supervision of the village durbar. The latter makes all arrangements and call upon all the villagers to clean and repair them twice a year. In spite of the great pains taken by the villagers and its elders to keep them in good condition, they present a very poor sight, specially during rainy season because of the quick growth of jungle. Apart from the above communications which serve the village proper, there are also footpaths of the same type leading to the burial ground and the playground and also to the bridle paths leading to Sung and Litang valleys and to other working areas. The conditions of these bridle paths also are so poor as those of the footpaths within the village and the task of improving them is yet to be performed.

**Important Public Places**

The most important public places in the village are the two churches standing more or less in the most thickly populated part of the village about 200 yards apart from each other. One of the churches is fairly big and can accommodate a congregation which attends one or the other of the three or four services held every Sunday. A puzzling question to the new visitor to this village is therefore why there should be two churches for a total population of 734 only and whether the two churches belong to the same denomination or not. On enquiry, it was found that both the churches belong to the same denomination—the Presbyterian Church of Assam. Further questionings bring out further information on this subject. One of the churches was rebuilt four or five years after the Great Earthquake of 1897 and that the same church was again rebuilt about four or five years ago on a much bigger scale to keep pace with the growing population. The other smaller church is said to have been built about thirty years ago on the plea that two churches were necessary for the whole population. Thirty years ago the population of the village might be less than 400. It cannot therefore be true that two churches were necessary to accommodate such a small population. Further questioning therefore elicits the reply that the other church was built because of differences of opinion among the elders and followers of the only one church about thirty years ago. This is not an odd incident as far as the Presbyterian Church is concerned. In many places, new churches arose because of such differences of opinion within the same denomination. The question is therefore whether there is anything inherently defective in the establishment and constitution of the Presbyterian Church in Assam. The Presbyterian Church was founded by the Welsh Mission in this district in 1841. Up to about 1920, there was no written constitution and the management of the various churches was done according to certain practices and usages prevalent in this district. Different local churches have something different in the details of worship and management. There is therefore not enough uniformity even in the form of worship and there is also no such thing as established order of services. Even when a constitution was made sometime in the twenties, various local churches were left with sufficient discretion to manage their own affairs. Another feature of this church is that there is no hirearchy in the church and the management rests



The old Presbyterian Church in the village



A view of the new Church



The village primary school

almost entirely on the elders who are elected by the people and on certain leading male communicants. In other words, the Presbyterian Church is ultra-democratic in its set up with no well-defined orders of services and no clerical hirearchy. The result is that many laymen take keen interest in church affairs, and in so doing, bickerings and strifes always arise even on very petty matters. Personal ambitions of laymen also have full play resulting in jealousies, envies and clamourings for high places in the church. No wonder therefore that new churches or splinter churches used to arise every now and then in many places. Worship also does not play a very important part in these Presbyterian congregations which are mostly places of public preachings and ambitious layman who aspires, can become a preacher irrespective of whether he is well-conversant with the Word of God or with the doctrines and principles of the church.

However, ringings of the church bells on Sundays break the silence of the rural atmosphere pronouncing the announcement of various meetings. People stream towards the two churches at the end of the second bell and the sight is, to all outward appearances, very solemn. There is also no doubt that the Khasi-Jaintia people are very religious and nothing is nearer and dearer to them than these places of worship.

On the western side of the road, just opposite to the old church building, is the Lower Primary School founded by the Welsh Presbyterian Mission. It was taken over by Government and then passed on to management of the District Council, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, along with some other Lower Primary Schools in the district.

The bigger church stands on the slope of a small hillock. Its foundation is a levelled ground on the upper part of the compound. Just beneath the foundation of the church is another levelled ground smaller in size. This also belongs to the church, or in other words, it is within the church compound. In 1956 a small club house was built here by the villagers. The house is only a temporary building, with a bare earth floor, walls of split bamboo plastered with mud and a thatched roof. The dimension of the room is 25 feet by 20 feet and it is very poorly furnished. Still it is enough for the youth of the village to start with, and the villagers expectt hat within a few years, the building will be improved. Now it is not an unusual sight to see the church and the youth recreation centre side by side provided the latter is the project of the former. But in this case, the club is not a part of the activities of the church. The coincidence of the club being built in the church compound certainly has some interesting things and so some comments on it will be given in detail in the subsequent chapter dealing with the cultural activities of the villagers.

Another important public place in connection with the cultural activities of the young people in the village is the playground. It is situated about 500 yards away from the last household on the northern part of the village. It is a small flat space surrounded nearly on all sides by the higher grounds on which pine trees are grown. This level ground has been used for this purpose for a long time, but an endeavour to improve it is taken up by the villagers only when the Block steps in to give its helping hand. Though not so big, the field presents a picture of raw stadium, with all the efforts in the form of free labour to make it as good as possible under the social service activities of the villagers. It is therefore hoped that in the near future the field will add up to the pride of the village.

In the last decade, the growing number of people in the village coupled with the rapid clearing of jungles in the neighbourhood has brought the water scarcity problem to the forefront. The water supply from various local water holes which spread all over the village is being augmented by

three improved types, two of which are constructed with the help of the Block and one with the help of the District Council. Though water holes at present spread all over the village and are supplemented by these three improved sources, yet the supply position is still acute, water supplied by them being inadequate.

So far, discussions have been made about the important public places in connection with the religious and social activities of the villagers. Fortunately for Modymmai, there is another institution with bright prospects for the future. This is the Gram Sevaks' quarter. The building is built tin the community land of the village which is on the extreme northern part of it. The building is a four-roomed permanent building with the roof covered with corrugated iron sheets. Half of the building is divided into three rooms utilised by the gram sevak as his office and for his private use. The remaining half is the Block store where agricultural tools, manure, seeds, pesticides, medicine for cattle, articles used in some industries and D. D. T. sprayers. Though the work of the gram sevak is meant for a circle consisting of a number of villages, the village is chosen to be the operational centre and the villagers gladly give their consent allowing the Block to construct this building in this place. The presence of this operating centre in the village itself is a very valuable asset to its inhabitants.

Another public place in the village is the place of the dead—the burial ground. The cremation ground of the village is at the top of the eastern hill facing northward. It is approachable from the village by a footpath branching from the road, the junction being in the middle part of the village. From this point the path ascends the southern slope of the hill. It passes through a section of the village on that part. Leaving the last house of the village at a distance of about two furlongs, a space of about 1000 square feet is cleared for the purpose. The ground slopes gradually from the top of the hill towards it northern edge. On some of the graves, stone monuments are erected but the rest remain only with the cross and two stones on them.

**The village in the History of the Pnars**

The history of the village or the area in which the village is situated is divided into three periods:—(a) the period in which the then existing syiemships or kingdoms of Sutnga, Shillong and Malngiang were involved in constant struggle to gain control of the rich valleys in this area ; (b) the period after the collapse of the Malngiang syiemship when there weer occasional disputes between the Sutnga chiefs and the Shillong chiefs ; and (c) the British period.

In the first period, it appears that the good quality of the land at the Sung valley for wet cultivation is the cause for all the troubles. It is said that the Malngiang chiefs came from the north-western direction, that is, from the Bhoi area. They were the first to control Sung valley. They built their fortress 'ka kut' on the top of the hill at Sung. This place is known as Maskut. Though Maskut is a good place from the point of view of defence, yet it is not a very good residential place. Thus another place was chosen one mile south of Modymmai village to be the second headquarters. This place was known as Madur. Again, the market, the place from which the Khasi chief used to operate his administrative, commercial and other functions was selected in the place known as Iawdaija (iaw-market ; dai-sell ; ja-rice) about one mile north of Modymmai. While Modymmai is midway between Iawdaija and Madur, both of which belonged to Malngiang syiemship, no mention was made as to whether the village belonged to this syiemship or not.

Unfortunately, very little is known about Malngiang syiemship. In fact most of the informations about it concern with its last and final struggle for existence. It was said that both the syiems (chiefs) of Shillong and Sutnga tried to crush Malngiang.

Tracing the movements of these two syiems also we find that about this time, the headquarters of the Shillong chiefs was shifted from Nongkseh (nong=shnong=village ; kseh=pine or wood of pine tree) to Nongkrem, that is eight miles from west to east. Simultaneously the headquarters of the Sutnga chiefs was shifted from Sutnga to Nartiang, that is about twenty miles from east to west. Moreover, it was found that two generations before the fall of the Malngiang syiemship, Jaintia Pargana in the Surma valley had already been annexed by the Sutnga chief. These events show that the period was marked by various territorial expansions of the Khasi chiefs. Of the three neighbouring chiefs, while Shillong and Sutnga were growing in power, the Malngiang chieftainship began to decline. It was the last clash with the Sutnga chiefs that finally and irrevocably toppled the Malngiang royal house. In this event, it was told that the last Malngiang chief was killed by the Pnars while returning to Maskut from Madur, at the junction of the subway to Modymmai. It was after this event that the boundary between Sutnga and Shillong syiemships began to take shape and ultimately formed the subdivisional boundary of the district.

The second period was a long period of time, and it was remarkable for the fact that two remaining syiemships of Sutnga and Shillong indulged in relatively few clashes, most of which were of minor character. It would appear that the two syiemships feared and respected each other's power. With Sung valley divided and shared by both powers, it seemed that the former temptations and conflicts were gone, and Sung was no longer a pretext for wars. The growing interest of the Pnars were now on their newly conquered territories in the plains. With these rich lands in their possession, the problem became one of keeping them against the envious eyes of other powers from outside the district. Thus while the Sutnga syiemship's front with the Khynriams remained more or less steady, there were many events with the Kacharis, the Ahoms, the Kochs and the Muslims. These clashes with the non-Khasi neighbours also brought some exchanges of outlook as a result of which the Pnars' traditional customs were placed in some stress and strain. The opening up of another headquarters at Jaintiapur ultimately led to the conversion of the syiem of the ruling family into Hinduism and the sequences of this were the conversion of some of his followers into the new religion. There has also been certain political, social, cultural and religious impacts in the old set-up. Though among the masses, the Pnars' traditional culture continued as it used to be, with some of them it was observed that they stopped taking beef after adoption of the new faith. Beef forthwith ceased to be a delicacy, and was only taken in some of their religious ceremonies. Another interesting thing among the changes is in their religious, social and cultural life. Here, both Hindu and Muslim elements mingled together with the traditional Pnar elements. For example, in the Behdein Khlam festivals which are annually held at Jowai, Tuber and Ialong, the usual ceremonies are supplemented by the processions carrying certain kinds of tall structures which are lavishly decorated with thin coloured papers, clipped in such a way that when the papers of different colours are arranged, they produce various colourful patterns. They are about four or five feet square with the height ranging from twenty feet to sixty feet. They call them 'rod' after the fashion of the 'rath' used by the Vaishnavite sect of the Hindus, but the structure and form are identical with the tajia of the Muslims. Enquiry reveals that these 'rods' have nothing to do with the religious ceremonies of the festival ; they are used in this occasion only to make it more colourful. Side by side with the above events which took place between the Pnars and their neighbours, it may be pointed out that their trade and commerce also extended beyond their land. Thus we found that they had their trading centres at Jaintiapur and Gobha, and Pnar merchants

also visited other markets in the plains such as Sonapur, Khaspur and Chaparmukh etc.

At last the British came. They conquered the neighbouring plain kingdoms, but the Sutnga syiemship, with its plain portion, that is the Jaintia Parganas, still attached to it, remained free for a long time. The Pnars joined hands with the British against the Burmese. This shows that they were in good terms with them. But an unfortunate incident took place when the Jaintia chief ordered his subordinate chief at Gobha to give him some people for his annual human sacrifice to the goddess Kali in the Kopili river. Four men were captured and all belonged to the East India Company. Three of the captured were sacrificed but one escaped and carried the news to the Company. The Company demanded of the Sutnga chief to release its men, but the chief remained silent. At last the Company sent its troops to Jaintiapur and took away the whole Jaintia Pargana from him. The loss of this precious part of the kingdom was too much for the chief and so in 1835, he gave up his rights to the throne and left all his territories in the hands of the foreigners. The land of the Pnars remained in the hands of the British up to 1860 without any proper administration ; then during the same year, the Pnars' revolution to free themselves from foreign yoke led by U Kiang Nongbah, broke out and it took two years for the British to calm down the situation. Since then, the British took up the entire administration of the region with Jowai as the headquarters. Within the era of this new set-up, the local conflicts were totally under control. Now the new administrators brought with them many new things in this hill tract, the most important being the coming of new missions. These agencies were very active ; side by side with the introduction of Christian religion, they brought the western form of education as a consequence of which various improvements were made in the fields of literacy, health and sanitation etc. In short, the foreign contact which the Pnars came across in this period has totally changed their outlook. But one change in particular which deserves a special comment is the acceptance of Christianity. It is really interesting to see that the people who had been in very close contact with the neighbouring and growing religions for about thirty three decades without being absorbed should so suddenly accept a new and foreign religion.

Since the days of the Malngiang chiefs, security is the essential factor of the villages in these areas. That is why the village of Modymmai was built in a rather hidden place, a natural fort. Without enough space for cultivation or grazing field, this sort of life continued all along the first and the second period. But when the British came, the internal or local conflicts in the area were no longer in existence ; so the necessity of a secured place, no longer forced them to confine themselves in a fortress. Thus the growing village started to spread beyond the boundary of the fort. Now the majority of the people of Modymmai work in the Sung valley. The valley is five miles away from the village but still the people prefer to attend to their work from the village. The reason given by these people is that Sung valley is an unhealthy place. Turning back to the pages of history, it is found that even the Malngiang chiefs who were so eager to hold the Sung valley in their grip, built their fort there at the place known as Maskut but they also had their second residence at Madur. Again, tracing the events in the villages around the area, it is found that old villages like Madur and Modymmai are still inhabited while the population of Maskut is growing thinner and thinner. At present, the once proud village of the lost syiemship is having only seven households with seven male persons living in them.

## CHAPTER II

## THE PEOPLE

### Ethnic Composition and Language

While dealing with the topography of the village, mentions have been made about the hill tracts between the Brahmaputra and Surma valleys. These hill tracts are divided into four Autonomous Districts, the Garo Hills where the majority of the Garos live, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills where the Khasis live, the Mikir Hills where the Mikirs live and the North Cachar Hills where the Dimasa Kacharis constitute a major section of the inhabitants. Of these, the Garos, the Mikirs and the Dimasa Kacharis belong to the Bodo family, both by race and language. But there is something about the Khasis which requires special treatment. By race, they are Indo-Mongoloids but unlike their tribal neighbours, they speak the Austric language-rare in the sense that no other tribe use this language in the State. The uncommon combination of the two, that is Indo-Mongoloid by race and Austric by language, has created one of the greatest problems in determining the origin of the tribe. The common theory is that it is easy for a tribe to change and adopt a new language, but when one enters deep into the subject and tries to get a clue to support this theory, the more he will find that the theory is unsound. If it is taken that the Khasis are originally Mongoloids, but that they have adopted the Mon-Khmer language from other people who speak the language or who were the original Mon-Khmer speaking race with whom they, i. e. the Khasis, came in contact with, and adopted the language, the nearest people who speak such a language are the Mons of Lower Burma, and the Khmers of Cambodia and Thailand. Here, there are two possible ways of contact : either the Mon-Khmer speaking people passed through the Khasi land or the Khasis on their way to these hills passed through the land of the Mons and the Khmers. The general belief is that the Khasis came from the east, long long ago. Now the question is how long the contact between the Khasis and the Mon-Khmers remained. It must have been a very longp eriod otherwise it would not have been possible for the Khasis to pick up the language. The fact that it is very difficult for these people to change their ways of life is proved by the instances revealed in the history of their settlement on these hills. For about thirty three generations these people have had close contact with the Hindu civilization of the plains, yet they remain firm in their traditional ways. The alternative theory is that a handful of originally Austro-Asiatic speaking people came to these hills. Then, by and by, inter-marriage with their neighbours took place, and whenever any non-Khasis marry within the tribe, the offsprings become Khasis, that is they follow Khasi customs and speak the Khasi language. These things are going on for many centuries, so that while Indo-Mongoloid blood is running in the veins of the

people, the original customs and language remain with only slight changes here and there, most of which are of minor importance. This alternative explanation is supported by historical facts or the records of the behaviour of the tribe in the near past. The fact that among the Khasis the matrilineal system is followed, and that the bridegroom must leave his parents to live with his wife, suggests that whenever a non-Khasi male married a Khasi woman and had to stay with her, their children became Khasis. On the other hand, whenever a non-Khasi woman married a Khasi young man, she was bound by her customs to leave her parents' place and also to take her husband's title. But according to Khasi customs, the children cannot take their father's title (clan title). From time-honoured practice, this problem is solved by the opening up of a new clan in the Khasi society. According to this process, the children or grandchildren remain without the title for some time. Then the society itself, in order to distinguish this new family, gives them a nickname by which the family is then known. Slowly and gradually, as the family is growing, the nickname becomes a clan name. Most of these clans bear the word 'dkhar' or in a shorter form 'khar' as the prefix - the term by which the plains people are known by the Khasis. These facts suggest that even if the Khasis are not Indo-Mongoloids by origin, they are so by now after many centuries.

But the Khasis have their own theory to offer about their own origin - it is in the legendary form. It is said that in the beginning there were sixteen huts (khadhyanriew trep) or families, living with 'God the Creator' (U Blei U Nongbuh Nongthaw) in his heavenly domain. These people used to come and go to the earth through a certain path serving as the communicating link between heaven and earth. Even the creator himself sometimes came to this world. These people were as good and pure as the angels themselves. But one day, while seven huts out of the sixteen remained on the surface of the earth, an evil spirit tempted one of them to take over the controlling power from God by destroying the only link between heaven and earth and make himself the ruler of this earth. Thus the link was destroyed, and the seven huts remained forever in this world while the remaining nine huts stayed on with God in heaven. To support this theory, a hill about thirteen miles from Shillong by the side of the Shillong-Gauhati road called 'U Lum Sohpet-bneng' (u lum - hill ; sohpet-bneng - navel of heaven) is believed to be the earth-edge of the communicating link. Thus the Khasis claim themselves to be of divine origin. They also believe that once they were a race of giants who could construct gigantic monoliths, but due to sin they have become degenerated and smaller stature.

To bridge the gap between the scientific and the legendary versions of their origin, it seems as if their first settlements on these hills were in the Bhoi area or in the north-eastern part of the district. The Sohpet-bneng hill is on this side and those who offer the theory that the Khasis came to these hills in the pre-historic period also point out that they entered from the north-east. Anyway, in course of time they spread throughout the district. Then started the zonal identifications ; those who live in the western part of the district are known as Khasis or Khynriams, those occupying the eastern part are known as the Pnars ; the Wars are on the southern parts, while the Bhois occupy the northern part. The Khasis living in the extreme south-western corner are known as the Lyngngams after the name of the zone. The names of the zones and their respective inhabitants should have remained like this for the sake of convenience were it not for the perfunctory observations on the part of some writers who in their writings had misused most of the above terms and misled the readers. For example, the name Khasi originally was given only to all those who regard themselves as the descendants of 'Ki Hynniew Trep' - 'the Seven Huts'. But

now when the word 'Khasi' is used, it is sometimes referred only to that section living in the Shillong subdivision. Again, Jaintia Hills, as the name of the Pnar-inhabited area, and Jaintia as the substitute for the term Pnar, are peculiarly retained, if not wrongly used. The word Jaintia is the name referred to these hill people or their chiefs by their plains neighbours after they had conquered the Jaintia Parganas, and when the headquarters were opened up at Jaintiapur. There is nothing irregular to call the area by the name of its headquarters ; in fact this has been the general practice in Khasi land. For example, Shillong syiemship is the name of the territory of the chiefs whose headquarters is at Shillong. Nongkhlaw syiemship is the name for the territory of the chieftain whose headquarters is at Nongkhlaw, and so on and so forth. These are the common experiences one comes across in the territories of the district. But Jaintiapur is only the second headquarters, while the first headquarters is at Sutnga and afterwards Nartiang. Again the whole territory of the Jaintia Parganas is only a conquered area inhabited by people quite different from the Pnars who were their rulers. As long as these conquered territories were in the hands of the Pnars and Jaintiapur was the headquarters, the term Jaintia was quite alright for them, though some unusual thing was left because the conquerors were known by the name of the conquered. But as soon as the British came, the Jaintia Pargana was detached from the original home of the conquerors, yet the name remained. The Jaintia Pargana is now beyond the boundary of the country but still the Pnars are sometimes known by the term. Only one thing can explain this matter - the possibiltiy that while the Pnars held the territory by mere force, the inhabitants of the Jaintia Parganas, took a leading part in the administration, especially the Brahmins. The Pnars of Modymmai who come under the scope of the survey are all pure Pnars. Since the village is in the heart of the subdivision, the risk of having a mixed community with the other non-Khasis is less. The people are struggling for the improvement of their lot, but in accepting the new changes, they are all along aware of the fact that their traditions which identify them as Khasi-Pnars should remain undisturbed. This is the present position of the people of Modymmai. They are marching ahead, in fact a little ahead of the other rural dwellers of the subdivision, but wherever they proceed, they are identified as Pnars.

### Physical Appearance

A physical description of the people, their character, their dress and ornaments are the main criteria by which a tribe can be identified. In this case, the factors not only serve the purpose of identification of the tribe but they also act and react on each other to make a Pnar what he is.

In general, the Pnars are short in stature, brown in colour and having extremely muscular and developed limbs. The average height of males is from 5'3" to 6'and that of females from 4'10" to 5(, but in some cases, the man may stand up to the height of 6'4"). It is also not unusual to see a Pnar woman with a height of 5'6". In respect of height, there is not much difference worth mentioning between the Pnars and the other sections of the Khasis. *"Tarak Chand Roy Choudhury has described Khasis as a short-statured people with meso-cephalic head and medium nose. The hairs are straight and black and their growth on face is scarce and eyebrow is scanty. The eyeslit is horizontal although oblique eyes with higher external canthi and Mongolic fold are met with, the colour of the iris varies from brown to light brown. The nasion depression is shallow and the nasal bridge is moderately concave and the septum horizontal. The cheek nones are moderately prominent. The lips are of medium thickness and progriathism is absent." But as

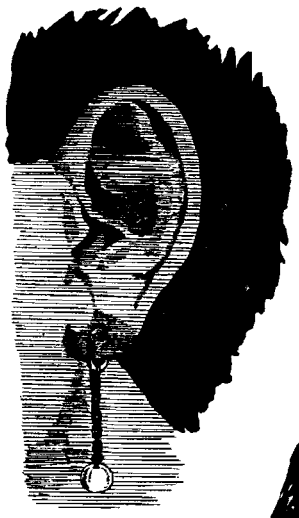
*Ref : Article 'The Khasis' : Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University 1935 (pages 1-24).

far as colour is concerned, there is a great variation from one place to another. In the high plateau, the middle part of the district, the people are found to have lighter skin colour than those who live in the surrounding areas at a lower altitude. It is thus evident that the difference of skin colour is partly influenced by the climate of different altitudes. Even among those who live in areas lower than 4000 feet, there are slight differences in colour. Thus while in general the Pnars who live in the centre of the subdivision are darker than the Khasis who live in the higher plateau, they are not as dark as the Bhois, the Wars and the Lyngngams who live in the unhealthy lower parts of the district on the north, south and west respectively. Modymmai is a healthy place on the lower plateau, the skin colour of its people is therefore brown. But as will be pointed out later, most of the inhabitants of Modymmai are immigrants from different parts of the subdivision who settled in the village some generations ago. Thus the skin colour of the villagers vary from person to person, since traces of colour impression of the place from where they came is still there.

The people of Modymmai as well as other dwellers of the subdivision are hard-working people. The nature of their occupations is such that it demands more manual strength. To suit the nature of the work, the limbs of the people or their whole physical structure is well developed. They are very strong and their bodies are full of muscles. It is really an interesting sight to watch a man or a woman moves the muscles while balancing the huge Khasi hoe 'u mohkhiew' in the field or gauging the strength of their leg while, step by step, with a basket 'ka khoh' full of goods at their back, they climb up a steep hill. Their hands and their feet are very muscular and highly developed. Their shoulders and chests are broad. But the beauty of their body is reduced by the rather unproportionate broadness of the waist. To suit their muscular body, their faces are round and broad. They have thick regular hair on their almost round head. Among the males, the old hair style is totally forgotten and all of them cut their hair short and comb it in the modern fashion. But among the females of the village, the old fashion of wearing it is still followed. The beautiful black long hair is left to hang down sometimes up to their knees. They comb it every day with the help of a modern comb, the successor of a typical bamboo comb. In leisure hours, while women are sitting together and gossiping, small girls bring the comb and ask their mothers to arrange their hair. In this circle, while stories are regaled, the mother's hands are busy combing and arranging the hair of their small daughters. They divide the hair into three equal parts and by twining the parts in a certain pattern, a long plait is made to hang from the back of a well-combed head. The plait is then fastened at the edge with a small piece of cloth, usually black in colour. Another pattern is to make two such plaits instead of one. This is the general fashion of arranging the hair among the small girls as well as the grown-up, but among the grown-up girls, the hair is arranged by themselves. When the girl enters womanhood, she changes the fashion of arranging the hair. The hair is neatly combed and fastened at the back of the head to make a knot out of it. The hair knot is also fastened with a piece of cloth. Sometimes before tying it in a knot, they arrange it in a plait as pointed out above. With the advance of time, modern hair styles have been making rapid headway just as they have been doing in every part of India.

A Khasi is rarely found to wear a beard, but the moustache is one of the essential characteristics of manhood. It is said that a man having no moustache was looked down in his society in the olden days, and such a man was deprived of the right to enter or to take part in the traditional durbars.

# Ornaments

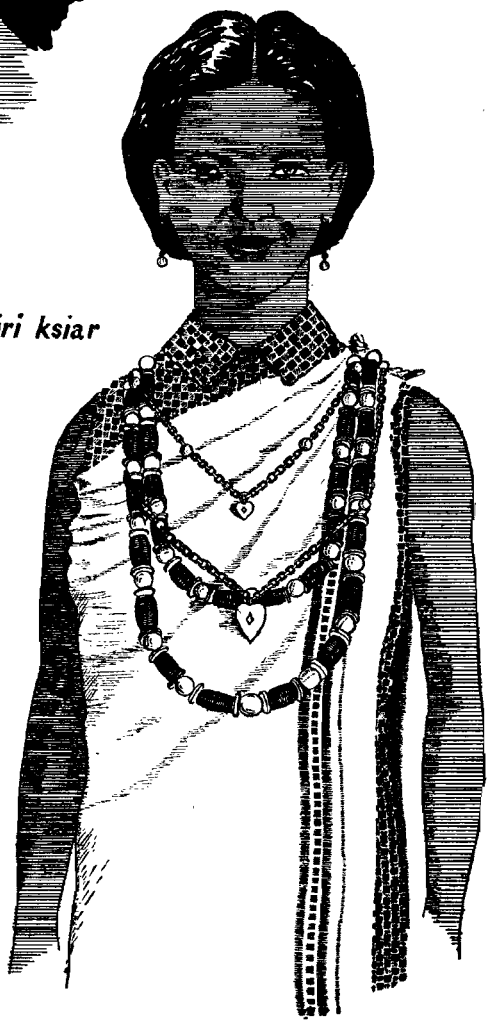


Ksah



Khudu

Kpieiñ kynjri ksiar





Ksah
Kti



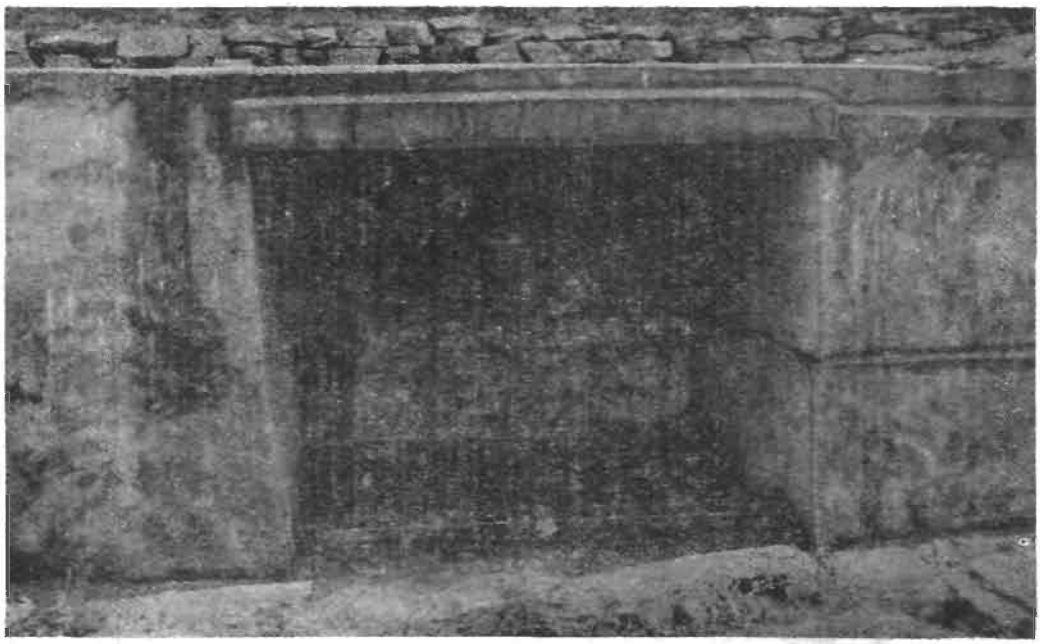




A female Pnar in her traditional dress



A girl drawing water from the old water source



A new and improved type of water source

### Dress and Ornaments

Formerly, male dress was very simple. The sleeveless coat known as 'ka jymphong' which looks more or less like a loose waist-coat covers the upper part of the body. It is a combination of two pieces of colourful clothes with threads hanging at both ends of the cloth. The two pieces are joined together to make a single back piece and then a portion is left out to allow the head to pass through. The front part is again joined or fastened with a row of tassels or colourful threads across. The loose edge of each piece on both sides are again joined together, but at the middle part of the clothes, the edges are again left unjoined to provide space for the hands to pass through. Another small cloth is worn between the legs fastened by a cord or a small piece of cloth tied round the waist like a belt. The ends of the first cloth hang down at the back and in front.

The above dress is no longer in use now, except as a fancy dress. At present the western style of dress is universally used by the Khasi males. Tailor-made shirts, coats, long pants, vests and underwear are generally used. In the olden days, footwears were totally unknown, but nowadays, many Khasis especially townsfolk can be seldom seen without boots or shoes.

Among the women the changes in dress are slow and gradual. Their traditional dress was the 'shah kpoh', the inner piece of cloth fastened on the shoulders and wrapped tightly round the upper part of their bodies. Another piece of cloth was wrapped round the lower part of the body fastened in the waist with a piece of cloth which served as a belt and hung down to the ankles. This piece is known as the 'iu pien'. Over these they used another piece of cloth, 'ka kyrshah'. The two corners of one end were tied together at the left shoulder and the middle part of the end passed through the right side under the right arm around the body. The other end of the cloth hung loosely down the body to the ankles of the legs. But this traditional dress has now undergone changes or modifications.

A chemise or under-vest is used next to the skin and the 'shah kpoh' is replaced by the blouse or jacket. But the peculiarly Khasi dress consisting of ka jainsem, ka tapmohkhlieh and ka jainkup still remain intact.

The western culture gives them the inner garments such as the chemise, the frock and the blouse. But over these garments, Pnar women put on their jainsems, tapmohkhlieh and jainkups.

In the fields, a man puts on a shirt and a short pant. Both men and women use a piece of cloth wound round their legs to protect them from thorns in the jungles, or the leeches. Some elder males use a turban 'ka iuspong' a piece of long, thin cloth tied round the head and also wrapped the upper part of their body with a big piece of thick cloth, 'ka ryndia' as the finishing touch of their dress. The presence of these clothes over the western dress totally change the picture of a man.

The villagers, particularly the women are very fond of ornaments. Gold, silver and coral beads 'ki paila' are the most important materials of which their ornaments are made. Formerly, earrings and finger-rings made of gold or silver were part of the male ornaments. In Modymmai nowadays, earrings are rarely used by males, but the finger-rings are still very common. Apart from earrings and finger-rings which the women of the village share with their menfolk, some of the womenfolk also use two types of necklaces and bracelets, these necklaces are locally known as 'u kpieng' - the necklace, and 'u kynjri' - the tassel or the chain. The first type is the alternate arrangement of a number of round red coral beads and the round gold-plated balls of lac. The second type is made entirely of gold.

By nature, the people are light-hearted and cheerful. Though many of them are unlettered, yet their manners are well bred. Whenever they speak to a stranger, their speeches are cultured. Their cultures and manners are neither prim nor stiff, rather they are endowed with a natural dignity which is inborn in them. These characteristics give most of the foreigners an impression of a mystery that is worth fathoming. They are brave and industrious, honest and trustworthy. Though outwardly jovial, they are at the same time thoughtful and considerate. They are entertaining and kind, but in no sense exuberant.

### Types of Houses in the Village

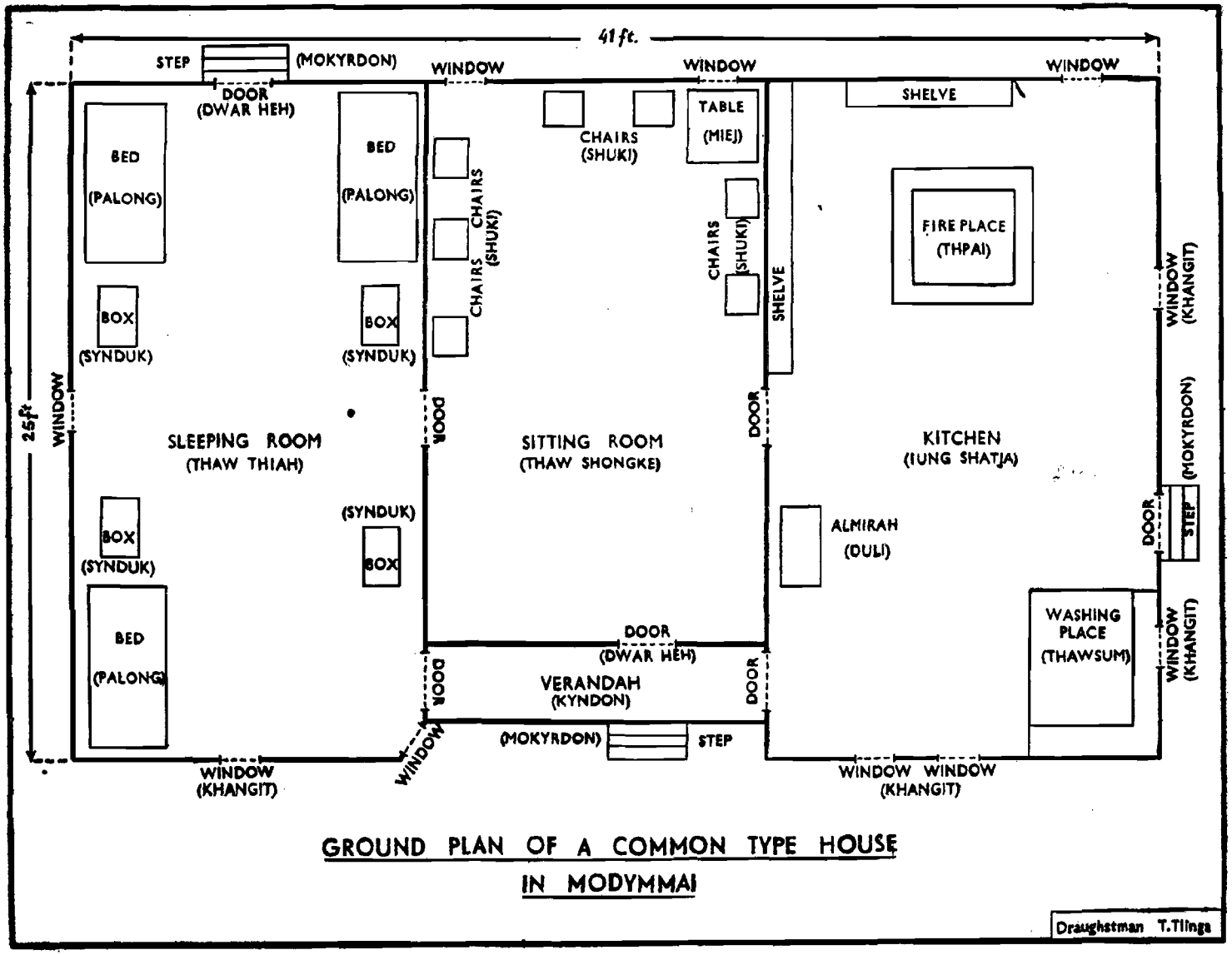
In Modymmai, all the houses are no longer of the pure Khasi type, most of them are of an improved type and some are modern types. The improved Khasi types are those still constructed with traditional materials or the same materials used for the construction of the old Khasi type, but they are in many ways more hygienic than the traditional ones. It is the general practice among the Khasis to raise the floor of the house above the ground. It is their experience that if the floor is too low or in the same level with the ground, the floor will become wet and uncomfortable during the wet season. Thus all the floors are raised at least two or three feet above the ground. The floors are almost always made of wooden plank supported by timbers which in turn are supported by stone wall foundations or by upright single stones. The roofs which are supported by wooden rafters are covered with thatch, kerosene oil tins or corrugated iron sheets. Only a few houses have thatched roofs. In constructing the walls, either split bamboo or ekra plastered with mud or plastered with sand mixed with lime or wooden planks are used. In comparison with the old Khasi types, these improved houses are taller ; they have better ventilations on the wide walls ; and while in the old house-type there was generally only one or two rooms, the improved ones always have more than two rooms. The modern types, on the other hand, are constructed according to what is now generally known as the Assam type of houses. These have glass windows, many rooms with proper ventilation and are very comfortable to live in.

Though conforming to the Assam pattern, the shapes of the houses vary from one to another. In this village, two-storeyed buildings are also found. As in the case of shapes, so also in the case of rooms. There are all sizes of rooms which may also be widely varied in number.

### Household Goods and Arrangements

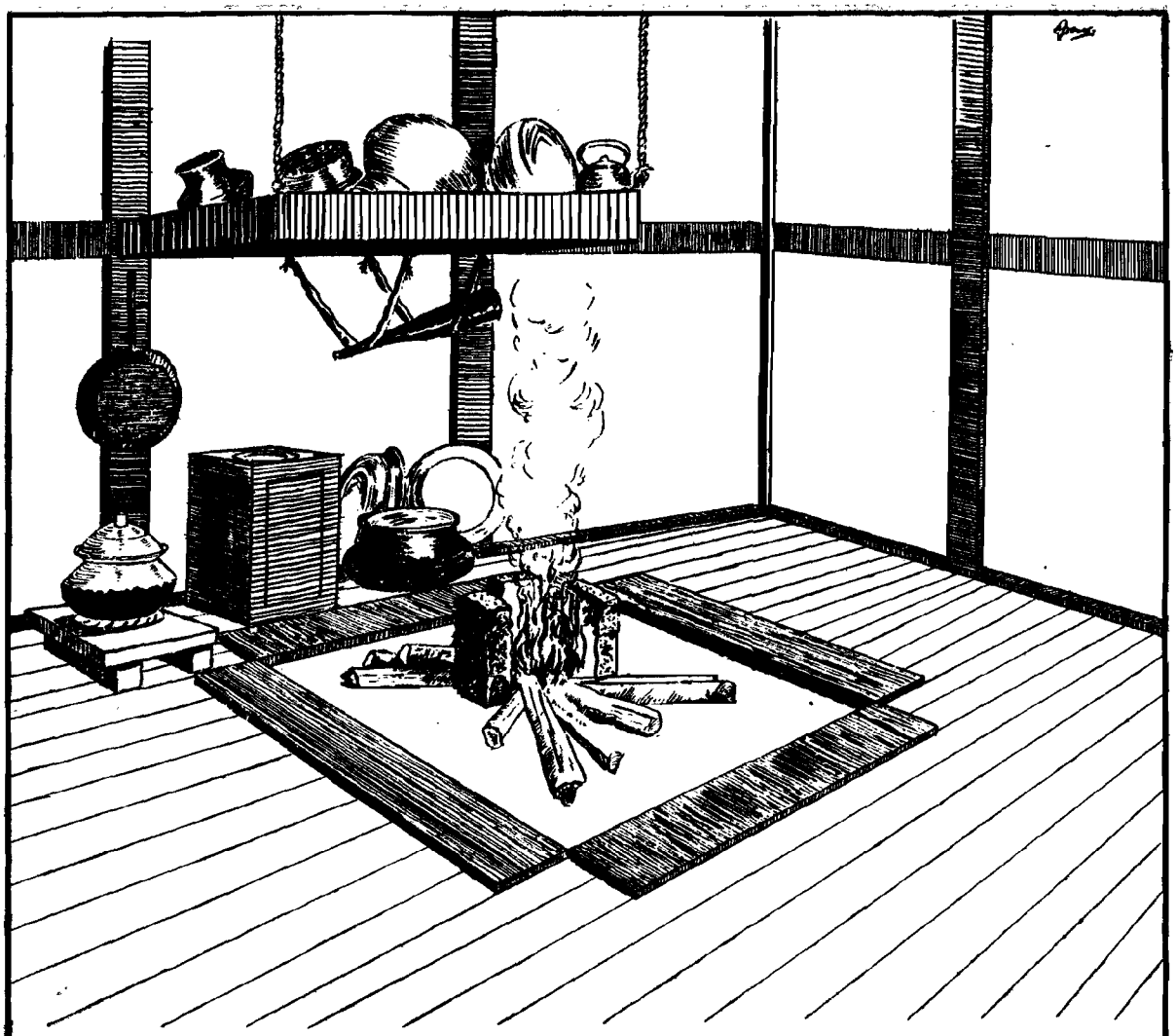
It is a general feeling among the Khasi women to be proud of the neatness, cleanliness and tidiness of their houses.

This feeling is properly upheld among the womenfolk of Modymmai village. Right from the footpath leading to the house across the compound and also within the house, everything is kept neat and clean. In the front courtyard of many houses, flower beds are found. Inside the house, especially in the front room where friends or outsiders are entertained, the sitting arrangements, either by benches, chairs or stools and sometime tables, are systematically arranged. Pictures, photos and portraits are placed on the walls as part of the decoration. In some houses friends are entertained in a verandah where sitting arrangements are always provided. Bed rooms are furnished with bedsteads made of wood over which a neatly knitted mat of bamboo is placed before other bedclothes are spread. It is in these rooms that clothes are kept in wooden or iron boxes. Sometimes the big basket in which paddy is stored is found in these rooms. But the most important room in a Khasi house is the kitchen. It is provided with a hearth and the washing place. In the washing place which is made of big slabs of stones or cemented, water containers made of brass




## GROUND PLAN OF A COMMON TYPE HOUSE IN MODYMMAI

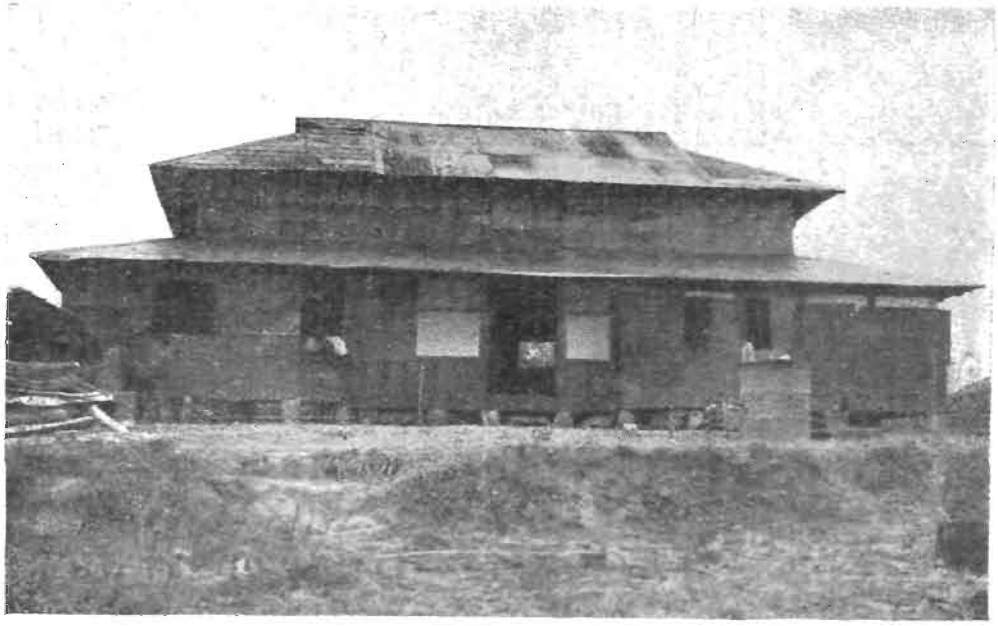
Draughtsman T.Tlinga



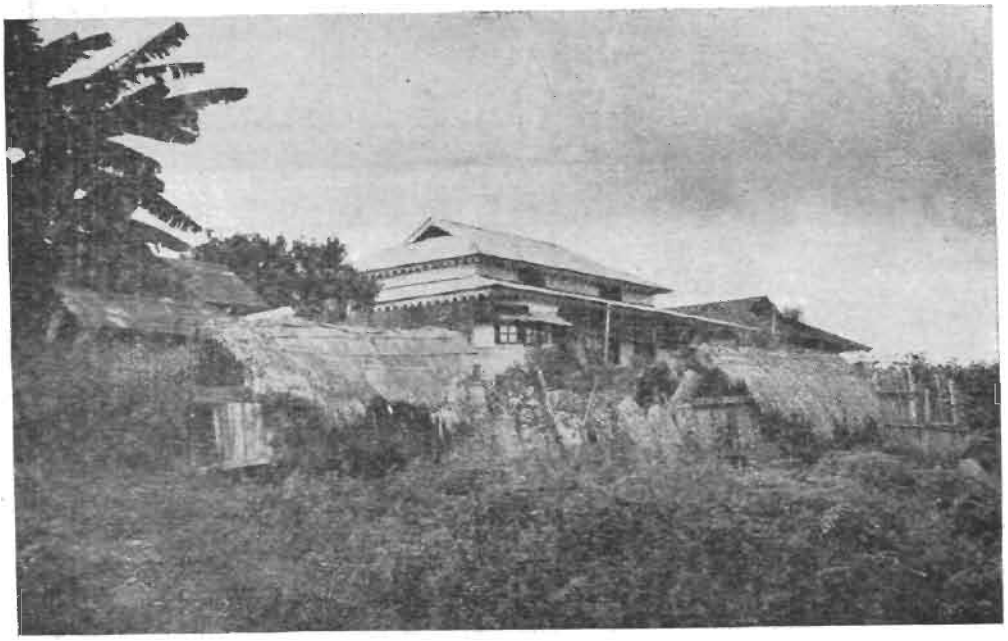
*Hearth*



An old type of Pnar house



An improved type of Pnar house



A modern Pnar house

and carefully polished stand in rows. There are other kinds of containers such as kerosene tins, bamboo pipes and porcelain vessels.

The fireplace in all the houses of the village show that though the form and shape of houses are no longer of the traditional Khasi type, yet they cannot altogether throw away their past. Here is something typical in the floor of the kitchen where a space is left out about four feet square without plank covering. This portion is made of earth and stones, raised right up from the ground level up to the level of the room. Three stones are fixed in such a way that some space is left between each one of them. Of these three stones, the bigger one forms the back and the other two the front part of the fireplace. In this way, wood which is the common fuel used for cooking can be placed into the fireplace from three sides, i.e. front and sidewise. The function of the stones is to support the vessel over the fire. The peculiarities of these fireplaces are that they have no chimney or outlet for the smoke and they are always near the centre of the kitchen. Over the fireplace there is a hanging platform where small knitted bamboo splits, and sometimes meat, salt and other things are kept for drying. There is no ceiling, and the inside part of the roof is pitch dark in colour due to the effect of smoke. Instead of a ceiling, straight bamboos or poles are kept in a horizontal position across the room over which maize and other things are dried. The kitchen walls are provided with shelves where vessels and plates are arranged or other household articles are kept. Potato, rice and other things for consumption are kept in this room either inside knitted bamboo baskets or in wooden boxes. In some houses, tools also are kept in this room.

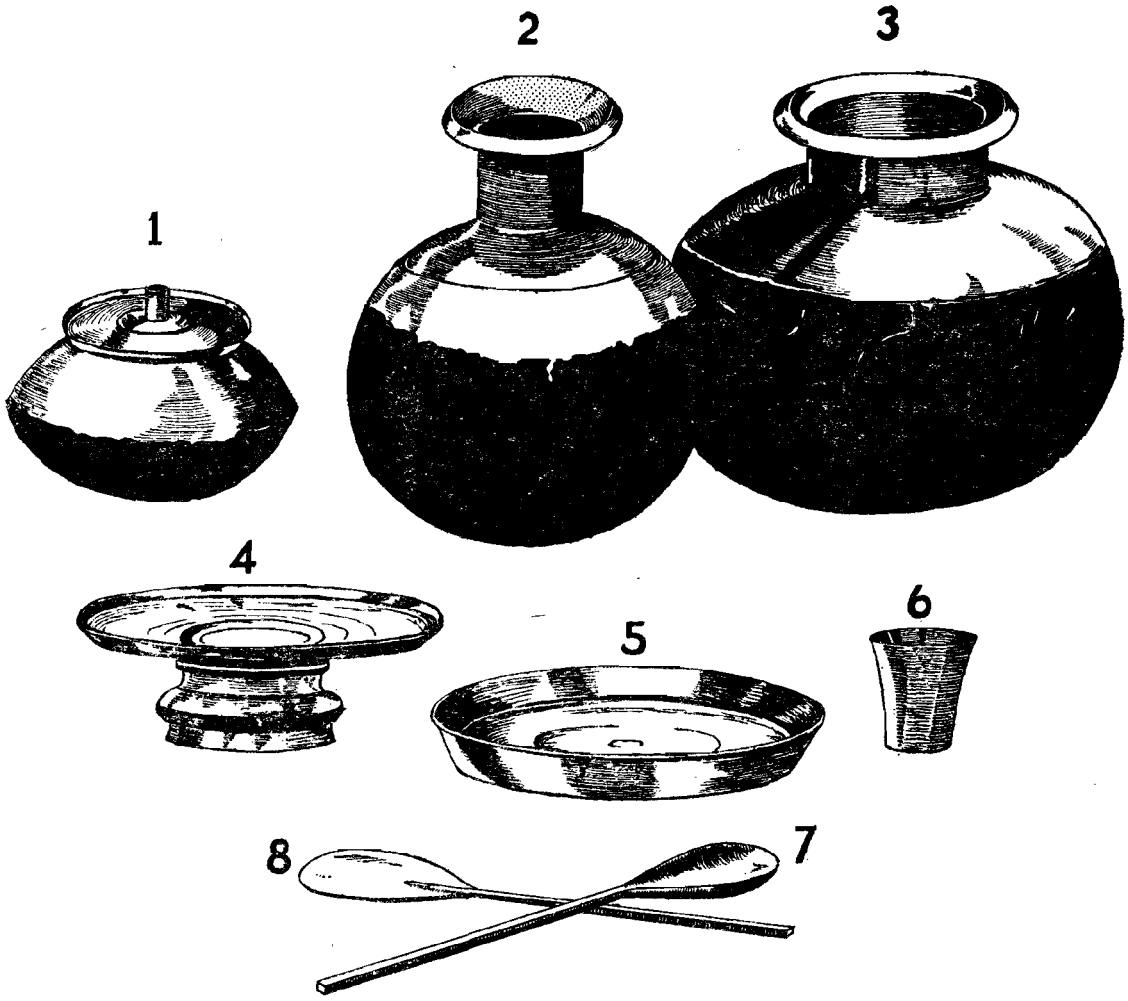
This is the general description of an average Khasi house in Modymmai, though it must be said that there is no dead uniformity. In bigger houses where there are many rooms, the above arrangement or even a better one is followed, but in small houses with one or two rooms, the above arrangement is adjusted according to the size of the house. Whatever the differences between these houses are, two important things are always common, that is, the Khasi hearth and the neatness and cleanliness in which the houses are kept.

### Food and Drink

The main food of the people is rice. They take it three times a day, that is early in the morning, at midday and late in the evening. But sometimes the midday meal is substituted by light foods or drinks. As regards the number of times the major food is taken, is adjusted according to their nature of work. The society as a whole consists mainly of agriculturists. So the nature of their work itself suggests that they must have a good amount of manual strength. They take their first meal before going to their fields. Since their fields are far away from the village, they have to start early, but only after they have taken their morning meal. After working for about four or five hours in their fields, they become hungry and their stomach craves for food. So at midday, heavy food is also necessary. Usually cooked rice prepared in the morning is packed in a vessel or wrapped inside a leaf and taken to the field. This packed food serves as their midday meal. Sometimes, however, rice is prepared in the field. After working another four or five hours in their field they all start for home. By the time they reach home they are ready for another meal. This is their last meal of the day after a long hard labour in the fields. Here is their normal working day and the nature of their diet. But there are non-working days too, since it is a Christian community, Sunday being observed as a day for rest and worship. There are also some Christian festivals or holidays, and sometimes the people also take rest from their labour at will. On such days, the midday meal, normally heavy, is not necessary and some families make up the loss by drinking tea and other

light foods. A high altitude rice which more nutritious and digestible than that obtained in the plains is taken with curry prepared from meat—generally pork, beef and chicken, fishes either fresh or dried, vegetables and eggs. Tea is taken with food prepared from either fried rice or powdered rice. Some of the utensils used are Larnai products, made of Larnai clay. These are the oldest kinds of utensils used by the people of these areas. It should be borne in mind that Larnai is the neighbouring village of Modymmai, and that it is the only remaining pottery village in the district. The earthen materials made in this village are cooking pots, dishes and articles for brewing and distillation. Side by side with these earthen utensils, the people also use other kinds made of brass or bell metal. The most important articles in this group are the vessels for storing and fetching water of which there are two common shapes known as the male-shaped vessels and the female-shaped vessels, then the vessels for cooking rice, the dishes and two types of big spoons - the ordinary shaped for curry and the spoon for rice shaped like a spade. With the special taste which this people possess for decorating their houses, the arrangement of these golden-coloured vessels on the kitchen shelves presents a very beautiful sight. But the village is not beyond the reach of the cheap machine-made articles of the age. Thus while the above two types still stand to tell the tale of their period in the past, the once proud position dominated by them is now shared by aluminium, enamel and ceramic goods.

# UTENSILS




1....Kshu Ja. 2....Kum. 3....Tew. 4....Pliang rangjuin.

5....Liang nar. 6....Klat. 7....Siang yu tye. 8....Siang ja.

# CHAPTER III

# ECONOMY

## Background of Economic Activities— Different Stages

Generally speaking, the present economic stage of the people of Modymmai village may be termed as an agricultural stage. But 'agricultural stage' is too wide and too vague a term to give any clear idea about the economic condition of the village. Under the wide scope of the meaning which the word conveys, the conclusion that "India is an agricultural country" also is justified. But taking each city, town, or village in particular, it will be found that the above generalisation involves many exceptional cases whose accounts are lumped together with general principles without taking into consideration the particular characteristics that mark them apart from the general economic trend. Within the scope of an agricultural society also there are many successive stages. To get a reasonably clear idea about the condition of the village, the treatment of of all stages becomes unavoidable. Another problem is the circle or unit of activities. The question here is whether or not a village is sufficient to be taken as a unit. Here also because of the fact that it would be beyond expectation to find the village an isolated type of self-sufficient form of society, the inevitable method of survey is to extend the discussion beyond the boundaries of the village. Without taking into consideration the possibility of the territorial division of labour or the localisation of trades, it would be inappropriate to jump to any conclusion regarding the economic condition of any village.

For the period relating to the economic history of the Jaintia Parganas prior to its conquest by the Sutnga chiefs, informations are based only on the traditions of the people. Piecing together the fragments found in these traditions, however, it appears that the economic activities of the Pnars during the period were concentrated only within the boundary of their inhabited area. The main occupation of the people during the period was cultivation, and paddy was the chief product. Unlike most of the neighbouring tribals within the State, some of whom are still practising jhum cultivation, the Pnars of those days had already learnt the technique of wet cultivation. Their working areas were fixed in a certain place where the natural environment was found suitable for the purpose. Another reflection was the presence of markets in the headquarters of the Syiem as well as in other parts of the land. This shows that exchange had also quite developed. And the existence of exchange suggests that there was territorial specialisation or localisation of trades or different occupations. Agriculture or cultivation itself may be subdivided again according to the nature of products marketed. This, to some extent, is originally determined by the natural factors. For instance, in the southern part of the land, the slopes are too steep to per-

mit paddy cultivation. But the presence of limestone in the rock and soil of the area and the abundance of water have made it one of the best places for growing oranges, betalnuts and pan. In the central plateau, there are some rocky peaks or highlands from which spring water runs down through out the year. There are also many gently sloping and flat lands with a deep, loose top soil. The soil in such areas is fairly good and suitable for paddy cultivation. Thus most of the paddy fields are located in this area. Judging from the fertility of the soil and the nature of the surface of the land, the northern slopes provide better paddy cultivable lands than the plateau. But as these areas were very unhealthy and the population was sparse and therefore not much paddy was grown there. People prefer to work in the second grade lands than face the sufferings and diseases in the first grade lands, unless they are forced by circumstances to do so. Nowadays, the pressure of population has forced people to go to the Bhoi area also.

Another factor which stimulates exchange is the localisation of raw or base materials of various industries. In the steep jungles of the south, various types of cane and bamboo are found. These products support the cane and bamboo work of the people living in these areas. The main products of this trade are mats, conical baskets which these people carry on their backs, a rope with a flat knitted centre 'u star' by which the conical basket is carried, the flat bottomed baskets carried by women, strapped to the inside or outside of the conical basket a small waterproof mat which serves various purposes, the cane stools and many other articles. Since limestone is available, manufacture of lime is also another trade of the area. On the plateau also, some industries are practised based on the available raw materials. In the south-east corner of Sung valley, two types of clay are found, the bluish-coloured clay locally known as 'ka dawiong' and the heavy grayish-coloured clay - 'ka daw ing'. These clays are raw materials for the pottery to the extreme but the course of events industry. Larnai, the nearest village to the clay-producing area, is the centre of this industry. The products, specially the earthen pots of the village, are known throughout the Khasi Hills by the name of the village itself - ki khiew 'rnei'. Another centre of industry is Nartiang. Here iron ore is found. Thus iron smelting and forging of iron articles are practised by the villagers. It has been pointed out above that most of the flat fertile lands on the plateau are converted into paddy fields. But the deciding factor is the availability of water. Thus there are plenty of flat lands and slopes where the construction of paddy fields is impossible. Such areas are occupied by short grass which is the best food for the cattle. Thus cattle rearing becomes one of the most important subsidiary occupations of the people. As an outcome of this occupation, meat is produced and minor raw hide works are also practised. The main raw hide products are shields, drums and a back support used by the people when they carry wood, timber or stones. Now in spite of the unhealthy condition in the north, it is found that this is the only area where cotton and eri plants can be grown. So in order to carry on the trade some of the Pnars went to settle there. Most, of the famous weaving centres are therefore found at the northern edge of the plateau. Of these centres, Khyrwang and Nongtung are notable for silk or muga products. Spinning, dyeing and weaving are done locally. So also Sutnga and Mynso are notable for cotton spinning, dyeing and weaving.

This is the pattern of economic life in the Pnar society before contact with their neighbours is established. Localisation of different types of activities is there even though territorial specialisation of labour, in the strict sense of the term, cannot be expected. The growth of population tends to drive this crude form of territorial division of labour or specialisation of trade

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opens up other diverse activities. The fact that the rich paddy-producing area of Sung played a rather tough bone of contention between the Malngiang and the Sutnga chiefs, and the further fact that it has been found necessary to invade the Jaintia Parganas towards the close of this period, prove beyond doubt that there had been certain imbalances in the economic set-up. The particular commodity upsetting the balance happened to be rice, the most essential commodity of the area. This caused the Sutnga syiemship to attack Malngiang, possessor of the best granary. Had the Malngiangs been easily subdued, the paddy-producing zone would have been confined to the plateau as usual. But it took time to snatch the granary from its owners. So the Pnars turned to Jaintia Parganas and annexed it to their dominion. Afterwards the Sung valley also fell into their hands. But by that time, the economic activities had taken a new course—the barriers of territory having been crossed two decades ago. This perhaps was the first vital turning point in the history of the tribe ; but before discussing the next period, the position of Modymmai in the above circle of activities will have to be located.

Modymmai is situated on the plateau. Thus it is one of the villages whose inhabitants' main occupation is paddy cultivation while cattle rearing forms an important subsidiary occupation. But now it is easy to understand that Modymmai is an agriculturist settlement, in a circle of economic activities where localisation of different trades and exchanges are proceeding apace. The survey reveals that there are rather few paddy fields near the village itself, and the main working area of the villagers is the Sung valley. If the village was there since the time of the Malngiang chiefs and if from those days the working area of the villagers was the Sung valley, the argument that the village along with Iawdaija and Madur belonged to the Malngiang syiemship would carry more force, for Sung valley was then in the hands of the Malngiang chiefs.

For three centuries and a half, these activities were going on smoothly under the guidance and patronage of the chiefs. There has also been some conflicts between these people and their neighbours. The conflicts were minor ones, the flow of activities continued only with slight disturbances. But while the activities at home were gathering strength in its cradle, the atmosphere in the surrounding areas was full of conflicts. Unfortunately, this corner of India happened to be the meeting place of the two foreign powers, the British, who by now had gained control over a large territory in India by the annexation of the fragments of the Mughal empire from the west and the Burmese from the east. The chiefs of Sutnga joined the western powers in their final efforts to drive the Burmese away. This shows that there was a friendly relation between them. But even this act of friendship could not stand against the ambitions of the British whose policy was colonial expansion. Nothing could stop them. When they were out to bring a territory under their control, they could find all sorts of excuses as a pretext for intervention. Such an excuse they made in the year 1835 to snatch the two plains areas of the Jaintia Parganas and Gobha from the then chiefs of Sutnga. This action on the part of the more powerful neighbour was enough to show the farsighted ruler that in future he would be nothing more than a mere shadow. Thus instead of continuing his services in the Pnar inhabited territory, he gave up this part also. In this way the land passed into the hands of the British. The policy of the new rulers in these hills was to avoid interference as far as practicable. No revenue was collected from the hill people and the administration was carried on by the Dolois. Now that the land of the Pnars had become a part of an extensive empire, it was expected that activities in all economic fields would flourish. By restoring peace and order, this strong ruling power had indirectly promoted trade and commerce, and other activities also had to move forward. But this alien government

had its own policies, the implementation of which had done much harm to the people. According to this policy, the British Government was interested in the colonies only as raw material-producing areas for their industries at home and the ready markets for their industrial products. As a result of this policy, many cheap manufactured goods which were better in quality competed with the local products in the market. With no steps taken to improve the local industries, their products were driven out from the markets. Raw materials were again grown or mined in the area at such a scale as to attract British speculators. Thus, in this part of the policy also, the Pnars were the losers. Once again the people were forced to turn back into the old ways of life followed by their grandfathers, more than three centuries ago. Anyway, this great loss was to some extent compensated by the setting up of the Government headquarters and other institutions at Shillong which brought into the picture another section of people - the salaried earners - (into the society). With the appearance of this new section, the market at Shillong grew bigger and bigger and begun to attract most of the local products from all parts of the district. Another compensation is the introduction of potato cultivation which is rapidly growing and within a few years, the production reached a commercial scale. Even in the absence of communications and transport facilities, this agricultural product has gained popularity among the cultivators. Another factor which has encouraged the people to produce this commodity is that the lands required for its cultivation is different from those required for paddy. It is grown in the dry hill slopes most of which are found side by side with the paddy fields. During this period, motorable roads from Shillong to Gauhati and from Shillong to Cherrapunji and Sylhet were constructed. These communication facilities have been of great help to the economic activities of the area. But unfortunately no steps towards the development of communications was taken in the area occupied by the Pnars which is known at present as the Jowai subdivision. This has, however, recently been remedied by the gradual implementation of an elaborate network of roadways in the subdivision after Independence.

With equality in society as a goal envisaged, the most under-developed and minor sections in the community attract greater attention. Special provisions are made in the Constitution for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for they constitute the weaker and more backward sections. The special provisions are to safeguard their interests and to help them come up to the level of others. When the aims and objects of the nation were laid down in the Constitution, the ways and means for implementing them had to wait for the Plans. Here also the nation did not have to wait very long because the final version of India's First Five Year Plan was submitted to Parliament in December 1952. Again the Community Development Programme, which aims at the individual and collective welfare of India's rural population, was also launched on October 2, 1952. Another special provision made in the Constitution is with regards to the administration of the Tribal Areas in Assam. The Constitution provides for the constitution of Autonomous Districts and Regions in these areas. The United Khasi-Jaintia Hills is one of the Autonomous Districts formed with a District Council of 24 members which was inaugurated on the 27th June, 1952. The Councils are empowered to make their own rules under certain heads for the administration of their respective areas. These are the main spearheads for the tribals to move forward along with the rest of the nation.

The urgency of the link between the District headquarters and the Subdivisional headquarters was necessary, for there was no outlet from the subdivision during that time. The necessity was further aggravated by the blockage of the markets in the southern part of the subdivision as a conse-

quence of the partition of the country. The opening up of the road is only the first of a series of relief measures. At the time of the field survey, a network of communications in the subdivision has been taking shape. The above mentioned road is extended towards the south-eastern parts and continues up to the Cachar district. A branch of it proceeds towards the east and crosses the border in the North Cachar Hills. One road is constructed from Jowai to Dawki, a border village, through which the former Shillong-Sylhet road passes. Another road which is now under construction is to link Jowai with Nowgong through West Mikir Hills. Apart from these, other roads are also constructed to link the remote parts of the subdivision with the headquarters or other important centres. Some of the works are taken up by the Public Works Department of the State, while some are done by the people themselves under the supervision of the Block. At present, the work is still in progress and it is expected that within a few years, the completion of these roads will step up the economic activities in the subdivision. The road which joins Modymmai village with the Shillong-Jowai road is constructed by the local people themselves with the guidance and the financial aid of the Block. It is one of the best roads which can be expected from the self-help scheme of these simple people. Though far from completion, it stands as a mark of the people's realisation of the value of communication, or even more, their active efforts to raise themselves.

The Block was established on the 1st April 1956 and it was known as the Jowai National Extension Service Block. After the Block had been functioning for five years under this title, on the 1st April 1961, it was changed into another title, "The Jowai Community Development Block." The Block covers 80 villages in the western part of the subdivision. With the aim of developing self-reliance in the individual and initiative in the village community as the objective, this institution is a programme of aided self-help to be planned and implemented by the local people themselves, while the Government will provide only technical guidance and financial assistance. It has been shown above how the people utilise the scheme by constructing the road which passes through the village. The utilisation of the scheme in other fields also will be discussed later in appropriate places.

The aims and objects behind the formation of the District Councils are to provide the tribes with an opportunity to march forward along with the nation, without tampering with their old laws and customs. The tribals are allowed to determine for themselves what path to choose in the fields of administration and development which will best suit their genius. It has been pointed out in the previous chapters that even the policy of the British in these areas was to avoid interference as far as practicable with their way of life. While the British policy may be described laissez-faire, the present policy is one of supplementing, assisting and utilising what the tribes already possessed. By the non-interference policy of the British, most of the tribal laws and customs remain as they were in the pre-British period. Some of these are of excellent qualities. At least most of them are well adjusted to the environments of the respective tribes on the one hand, and on the other, they are not in contradiction with the spirit of the Constitution. The establishment of the District Councils therefore is to allow these good old practices to continue in the respective areas while introducing new ones which will have to be adjusted to or be in harmony with the old ones. This is the picture of the aims and activities of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District Council which uptill now has served the district for about ten years tolerably well. Most of the Acts, Regulations and Rules passed and laid down by the District Council of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills are mere regularisations of the time-honoured laws and customs of the Khasis. If any diversion

from, or any addition to, the old laws and customs are made, that is only to stimulate benevolent in the society to enable it to move forward along with the rest of the country. In short, in all spheres of activities in the tribal areas, the activities are moving on as usual with only slight modifications here and there. In the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, the pattern of activities followed in the present set-up is not much different from that obtaining in the time of petty independent chiefs. Before discussing about the economic activity of the village as it is, a vivid account of the form of administration of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills in the present set-up will be of immense help. Firstly, the district together with the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills District shares the responsibility of sending an elected representative to Parliament. The seat is reserved for the Scheduled Tribes. Secondly, in the State Legislature, four out of five seats are reserved for Tribals ; and out of fifteen seats from all the Autonomous Districts, thirteen are reserved while two are general. Thus in both the Central and State levels, these people have their own representatives and most of these representatives' constituencies are safeguarded by special provisions - that is, the seats are reserved. As far as the normal discharging of Central and State functions is concerned, the uniform pattern followed throughout the country is also observed here. But in addition, the District Councils also perform special functions hand in hand with both the State and Central Governments in accordance with the special facilities provided by the Constitution for the purpose. At the district level, the Deputy Commissioner somehow carries on his routine work and discharges his normal duties for maintaining law and order, but in addition, the District Council acts like an additional administrative body with patterns similar to but with less powers. This body functions side by side with the Deputy Commissioner. Now within the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district, there are many local chiefs, known as the syiems, the dolois, the sardars, the wahadadars etc., whose jurisdictions are over smaller territories known as 'ki hima' - 'the states, doloiships, etc.' They have their own Durbars to which people are represented by the myntris. Here the representation is clan-wise. These territories are divided into Raids, comprising a few villages and clans (kurs). At this level also there is a Durbar as in the case of the Durbar Hima. Again such village has its own Durbar, known as 'ka durbar shnong' (the village council) where all the adult males can take part. All these traditional institutions are at present recognised by the function under the District Council. Each of these traditional institutions has its own part to play and from their own forms and functions, it is seen that they are no less democratic than most of the present institutions in the country.

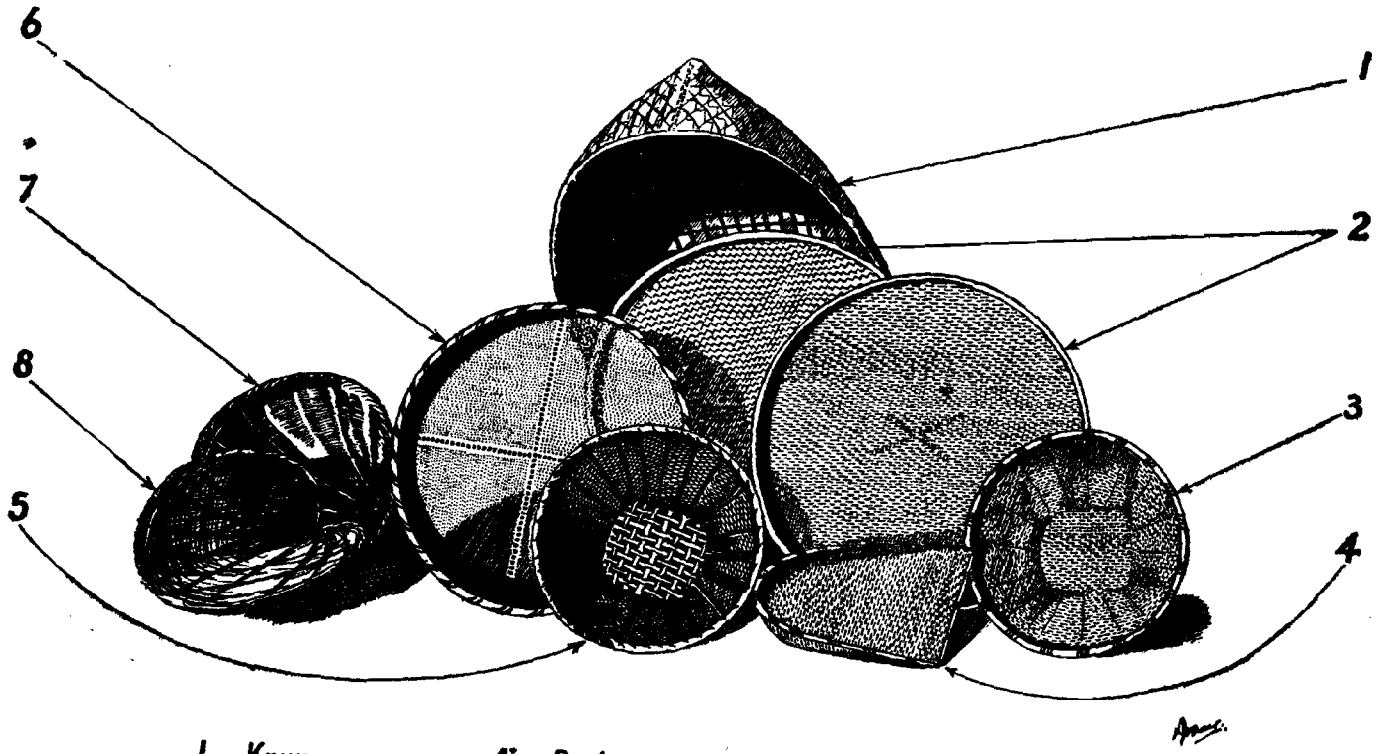
**Occupational Pattern**

In accordance with the concepts and definitions adopted in the 1961 Census for the collection of data on the economic characteristics of an individual, the population of the village has been classified into two broad categories viz., workers and non-workers. The distribution of workers and non-workers into different age-groups has been given in a tabular form in the appendix (Table 10). There are 382 workers out of a population of 734 in the village. These workers have further been classified according to four different occupations as shown below :—

Table 2

| Total workers | | | Cultivation | | | Labourers | | | Service | | | Business | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| P | M | F | P | M | F | P | M | F | P | M | F | P | M | F |
| 382 | 235 | 147 | 324 | 199 | 125 | 31 | 28 | 3 | 20 | 5 | 15 | 7 | 3 | 4 |

# CANE & BAMBOO
## IMPLEMENTS




1.....Knup.
2....Shalani peh kho.
3....Shang.
4.....Prah.
5.....Shang Saphlang.
6.....Shalani wa ñiar.
7..... Khoh.
8..... Shaladiang.

There is no household industry in the village. Cultivation may be said to be the predominant occupation as 84.8% of the total workers are engaged in cultivation.

**Land Availability and Land Utilisation**

Some of the different types of land are mentioned earlier in connection with the size of the village. Here a full picture of different types of land, land ownership, utilisation and other allied subjects will be discussed more fully.

Generally speaking, land may be divided in accordance with the types of ownership. According to this division, there are two general types of land, the private lands (ki ri kynti) and the community lands (ki ri raid).

Now the community-owned lands are the properties of the community. It may be pointed out here that though the Syiem or the Doloi (chief) is the head of the syiemship or doloiship, he is not the owners of the land. The ownership remains with the people who appoint their rulers only to supervise their activities. The syiem or doloi personally has no power. Whenever he makes any decision or gives any order, he is always guided by the myntris (elders) who represent the kurs or the raids. Most of the community lands found in the village are the 'ri raid' or the land of the raid. The raid has its own territorial jurisdiction which comprises a few villages. The raid again has its own durbar, represented by the elders of the kurs from the villages. One of the main functions of these durbars is that it is the land-holding agency. But even at this stage, the durbar, without the people of the raid, has no right to the land. The ri raid therefore is an open land to which all persons of the raid have a right to utilise. The practice is if any person requires a piece of land for cultivation, he chooses a certain uncultivated land in the ri raid and works there. As long as the plot is used by him, he has a right to it, as if it has become his own property. But if the place is left uncultivated or unutilised, the ownership returns to the community. Generally, he is given three years to reopen his work there. If after the lapse of three years, no action is taken by him to reopen the work, other persons from the raid can utilise it, in which case the former owner has no more claim to it. So far nothing is charged for utilising such lands either by the traditional raid durbars or by the District Council. The position of this type of land in the agriculturist community of Modymmai is given below :—

Table 3

**Utilisation of Community Land for Cultivation Year 1962**

| Total No. of Households in the Village | No. of Households Cultivating Community land | Total Annual Production of Principal crops (In Maunds) | Total Value of quantity Produced (In Rupees) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 129 | 98 | 1,157 | 9,256·00 |

The main products of such lands are potato and maize which are grown both in the community lands as well as in the gardens of the compounds. The products are directly consumed by the growers themselves and the balance is sold for cash.

Another way of utilising community lands by the people of Modymmai is for growing pine trees the pattern of ownership of which is already explained. The extent of land used in this way together with the position of the holders is given below.

Table 4

**Utilisation of Community Land for Pine Forests Year—1962**

| Total No. of Households in the Village | Total No. of Households having Pine Forests | Total Area (In acres) | Pattern of Holding (i) Average (In acres) | (ii) Biggest (In acres) | (iii) Lowest (In acres) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 129 | 39 | 143½ | 3·67 | 5·733 | 1·197 |

It may be pointed out that though this type of occupation requires a very small amount of labour and it is the longest type of occupation, yet it is one of the most profitable. In fact, it is one of the best indigenous processes of capital accumulation. From the discussion made with the villagers, it is found that the proceeds received from the disposal of these products are utilised in repairing and improving old houses or in building new houses or in constructing or buying new paddy fields, or in a few cases, as capital for business. In one case, a father said that he supported his son in a science college and finally in the Engineering College only by selling the timber from the pines that he planted when the boy was only an infant.

From the two ways in which the type of lands are utilised as pointed out above, the Khasis have every right to be proud of their forefathers' wisdom. But the best proof of hard work and economic independence of the Khasi-Jaintias is the fact that beggary is totally unknown.

Another type of community land is once again the pine forests which are directly owned by the village durbar or the community at the village level. It is from these forests that the villagers get their supply of firewood and also timber and plants for the construction of their houses free of charge.

Last but not least, the grass lands in the neighbourhood of the village are also community lands. These are utilised freely by the villagers to feed their cattle. The value of these lands to the villagers can be estimated by the head of cattle shown in the table in the appendix (Table No 17.)

**Ki Ri Kynti (Private Lands)**

Private lands also may be classified into two classes, the homestead lands and the lands for cultivation. Comparing them with the community lands and tracing back their origin, it is found that most of them are originally community lands but they get into the category of private lands by being improved. Firstly in the case of homestead lands, it appears that at the beginning when plenty of unused land is available in the village, any man can come and build his house on such land provided he has the consent of the village durbar. The land is free as long as unoccupied land is free. But when the population of the village increases and land becomes scarce, it is evaluated and sold and thus it becomes private property. In most parts of the district, the right to such holdings is recognised by the village durbar. But in the Jowai subdivision as well as in some other territories which were directly under the British rule, the right of ownership is supported by a house tax the payment of which is regularly entered in the relevant records and documents.

At present under the District Council, Modymmai as well as other villages in the Jowai subdivision are again exempted from paying house tax.

Another type of private land is the paddy fields (ki hali). In this case also history shows that most of them are originally ri raid or community owned. At the original stage, they are merely flat or gently sloping lands. The availability of water nearby tempted the people to convert them into paddy fields by flattening, terracing and irrigating them. Thus the community lands became private lands by sheer hard work and labour of enterprising people. The one who takes the trouble of converting them into paddy fields gains for himself the right of ownership. Thus the ownership is the recognition of the man's efforts to improve his lot by others, or in other words, his labour is always honoured by others. The British imposed some land revenue on some types of wet paddy fields, and at present, the District Council collects the taxes. However, in the last few months, the District Council called upon the owners

to register their claim in order to avoid complications that may arise in future. While doing so, the owners have to pay a sum of 50 paise to the District Council as registration fee.

It is thus seen that the economy of the people of Modymmai is agriculturally diversified because the people have to depend on wet paddy fields, dry paddy fields on highlands, potato and maize cultivation, poultry, goat and cattle rearing as well as on plantation of pine trees. This is quite natural in a hilly region where flat land for wet paddy cultivation is rather scarce and so people have to live partly or even entirely on cash crops and the keeping of domestic animals and birds to maintain themselves. It is also noted that most of the wet paddy fields of these people are concentrated only in two fertile valleys, namely the Sung Valley and the Litang Valley. The opening up of the Shillong-Jowai road and the scarcity of fuel and timbers in the expanding Greater Shillong area has created a great demand for the pine trees of this village. The result is that many of these people can maintain themselves only by the timber and fuel trade. The only danger is that while deforestation can be done easily, re-afforestation takes a very long time because it takes as many as fifteen to twentyfive years for pine trees to become mature timbers. In the days of the British, potatoes and other cash crops had to be transported on human backs all the way to Shillong some 25 miles away by short cuts. Nowadays, trucks carry the goods at a fraction of the cost of the human transportation. The result is that there is now great scope for cultivation of potato, maize, vegetables and other cash crops because there is always a ready market for these commodities in Shillong or in the plains of Assam.

The soil in many parts of the hill areas is rather poor, but with the invention of bone meals and other fertilisers, the yield can be greatly augmented by proper manuring. The people are taking advantage of these modern systems of manuring, especially bone meals.

Some rich people own more paddy fields than they can personally cultivate. They used to give such paddy fields to landless people to cultivate on the crop sharing system. This system gives the landless people also a chance to cultivate, retaining the major part of the produce for themselves and paying a part of the produce to the owners as hire for the land. The share of landowners depends upon mutual settlement between them and the cultivators. But people in these areas cannot be termed to be absolutely landless because they can always have dry cultivation in the community lands all around their villages. The paddy field owners are not very oppressive and the condition of the share-croppers is not bad. It is really difficult to distinguish between landowners and share-croppers.

One peculiar feature of the Shillong Plateau is that spring water generally is available even in high altitudes. The problem of wet paddy field cultivators is how to tap these springs and make small irrigation ducts for these paddy fields. Wherever there is a small streamlet, paddy fields are terraced even in sloping lands. Some of these terraced paddy fields are very beautiful to look at, especially when the paddy is just about to ripen. The fight for irrigation streamlets is very acute and often the people would involve themselves in costly litigation only to get the water head to irrigate their paddy fields. These small irrigation channels have been made by the local people from time immemorial. It is however costly to make and maintain these irrigation channels where the rainfall is very heavy. During heavy rains, most of the irrigation channels can be damaged by flood water. Sometimes the flood water carries with it sand and red earth which spoil some part of the paddy fields. The maintenance of irrigation channels is therefore a costly affair. The sandy nature of many parts of the hill areas also sometimes makes the water flow beside the normal

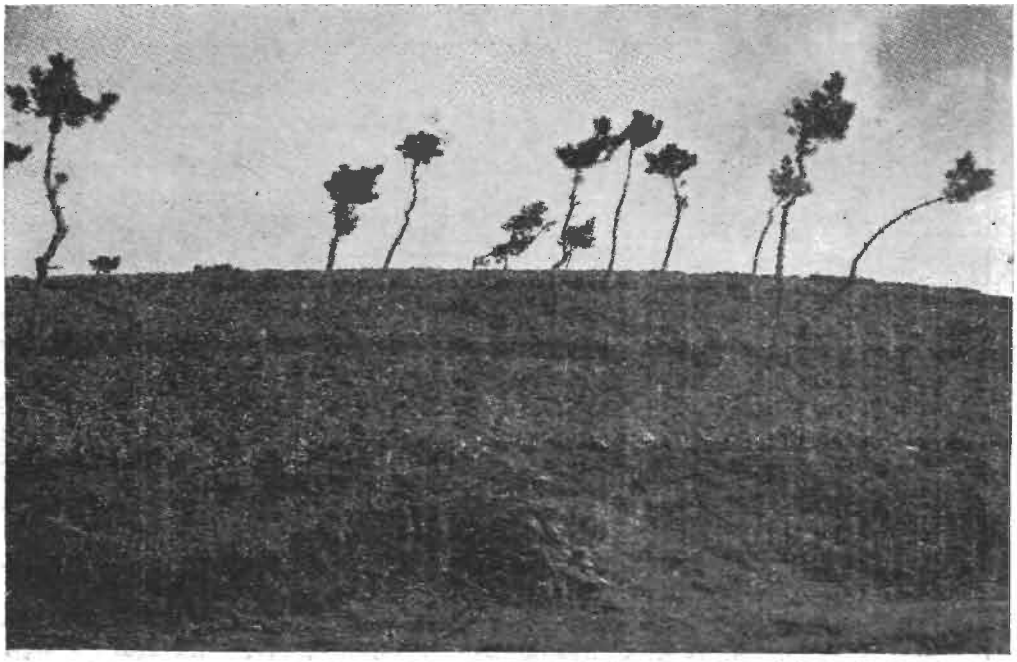
channel and leakages occur. Technical help and a good deal of financial assistance is therefore necessary to help the economy of the people. It is here that Government can greatly help people by giving technical advice and financial assistance and thus make the country self-sufficient in food production also.

### Pattern of Activities Among the Agriculturists

The two occupations, timber forests and paddy cultivation, are practised in a comparatively large scale to provide employment not only for the owners but also to attract a large part of the available labour force. In paddy cultivation, the nature of activities is such that there are slack as well as busy seasons. The ploughing or digging, the weeding and the harvesting seasons are busy seasons, while the intervals between the busy seasons are slack periods. But a greater part of the population is also engaged in other forms of cultivation and only a few households remain without paddy or other fields of their own and are completely depending for their livelihood on wages. So the problem of labour supply is also solved in the village in a peculiar way. Firstly, it may be remembered that nearly all the paddy fields are artificially constructed, and water is brought to them by small canal systems. Even then not all the paddy fields receive water at the same time. Some of them, mostly at lower levels, receive water earlier while others at higher lands, receive late. Since the work in the paddy fields cannot be started without water, the working periods in different fields thus start at different dates. It is in this phenomenon that a peculier form of co-operation in the village is based. The owner of those fields in the lower area starts the work earlier, while friends whose fields are at a higher level are still sitting idle. To complete the work earlier, the first group employ the members of the second group to work in their fields as daily labourers. The latter are paid daily wages but the amount of wages is kept separately. The work in the first group of fields is completed early and within the scheduled time too in the sense that sowing season is at hand. By the time the work in the first group is completed, the season is just ready for starting the work in the second group of fields as water would have been available by then. Now it is the turn of the second group of paddy field owners to employ the workers who belong to the first group of paddy field owners and the work in whose fields is now completed. They pay them out of the savings of the wages they earned when they were serving as daily labourers under the owners of the first group by working as daily labourers at the present time. Again the members of the first group, by working as daily labourers in the latter group, can make up the amount of wages they have paid to the labourers who work in their fields earlier. At the end of the work in the second group of paddy fields, the weeding season in the first starts. It may be pointed out that the groups of such lands are many, but for the sake of explanation only two stages are taken. Thus the Pnars employer-employee cycle solves the problem of labour force. The process is an evolution or taught by the coincidence of peculiar charcteristics of nature. The lessons which the people get from here enable them to have a better understanding about the value of irrigated lands. Since water supply to such fields can be controlled at will, it is therefore adjusted to the availability of labour supply. In this way the greater part of the cultivators become at the same time labourers. But there is also a small section whose income from labour constitutes a greater part of their total income derived from all sources. So some have daily labour as their main occupation. There are thirteen households in the village whose main income is derived from daily wages. Now when these workers serve in the paddy fields, both males and females are engaged, and they work along with the previous labourers described above. In their case, wages are utilised for the daily requirements of life, not for the future expenditure on the required labour



Hoeing paddy in the Khasi traditional style



Potato gardens



Picking mulberry leaves in the Farm



Orange trees found in some Villagers' compound

in the fields as in the former case. No doubt this group also practises some cultivation but the amount of labour required and also the amount of income derived from this occupation is too small to provide work for and to support the households. Hence to support themselves, apart from being employed in the paddy fields, they have to find some other jobs in the slack seasons. During the slack season in summer other employment facilities also are poor. But in their spare time they are engaged in their potato or maize gardens. In winter when nature is too dry for cultivation, other kinds of work are open for them. Here the labour force is divided into two sections according to the nature of the two main employment facilities. The women section of the labour force are mostly employed in the village itself. The village, by the end of summer, has a large quantity of paddy. This paddy will have to be pounded into rice before it is taken to the market. Pounding therefore attracts the women labour section during this season. While womenfolk are engaged in the village, the employment facilities are open for the male section in the neighbouring pine forests. They are employed there as woodcutters.

Taking the group as a whole, it may be said that though employment facilities are there throughout the year, yet the facilities are not regularly available. So sometimes, many of these people have to remain unemployed for many days within a year.

### Minor Occupations

Another group of workers is the trader. It is very interesting to state that in the Khasi society both selling and buying is generally done by women. The market place is generally the place for women. This perhaps follows from the fact that in the Khasi community the duty of the woman is to manage and supervise all household affairs. They are entrusted with the work of preparing food for the members of the family ; so it is essential for them to go to the markets to do the shopping themselves. Another explanation is based on the simple theory of the division of labour. Selling or buying in the market does not require a great amount of manual strength. Thus for a man to confine himself in a stall for the whole day is just a waste of time and energy. For hard-working people like the Khasis, such work is so easy that it is generally entrusted to and actually done by the weaker sex. Therefore the work being a woman's work, women dominate the field of buying and selling and stall-keeping.

There is no shop or stall in the village of Modymmai, but many things are produced in the village which are to be sold. Though in the case of minor agricultural products most of which are perishable goods and taken to the markets by the producers themselves, the sale of goods having longer durability and in greater quantities like paddy, maize and potato are carried on by professional traders. These traders collect such articles from the producers and take them to the various market places where there is a demand for them. But as the operation involves many market centres, there is continual movement of commodities from place to place. Such commodities are bought from those markets where their supply is high or the price is low and taken to those markets where the demand is high and the price is high. Their income is the difference between the two prices obtained by substracting the expenditure spent in shifting the commodities and the stall fees. This is the nature of the activities of the traders found in the village. But it may be remembered that neither the extent of their business, judged from the outlay, nor their profit are big, since the area of operation is very limited. The table below will give the picture of these people's operations :—

Table 5

| No. of households with business as one of their occupations | No. of households with business as main occupation | | | No. of households with business as subsidiary occupation | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of households | Total No. of people in the households | Average income from business | No. of households | Total No. of people in the households | Average income from business |
| 7 | 2 | 8 | Rs. 1,080 | 5 | 26 | Rs. 608 |

It has been pointed out above that generally only females take part in this occupation. It is however observed that even in those households, not even all females are engaged in the business. Thus while one or more than one female member of the household may be taking up this business the rest of the members are tied up to other kinds of work.

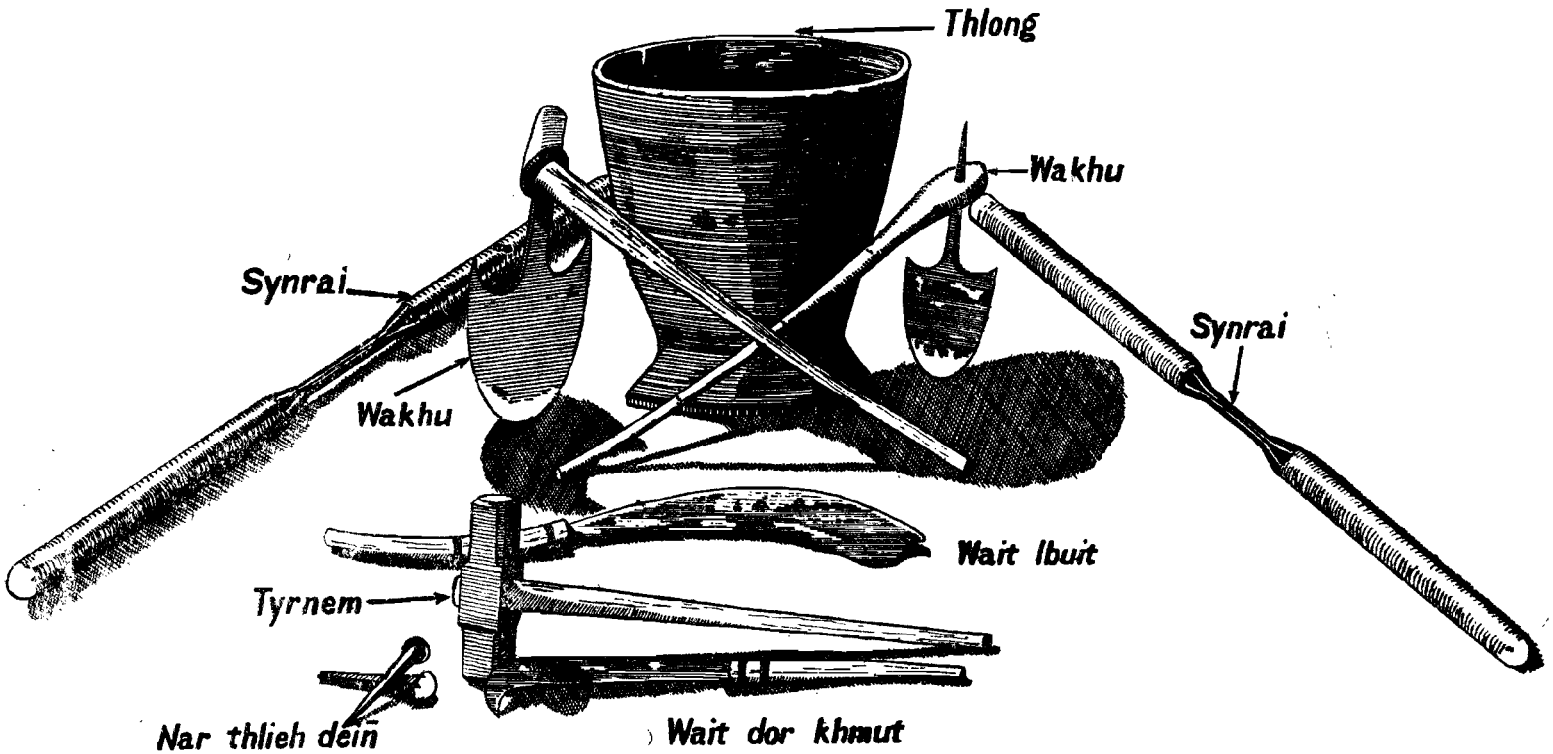
There is very little scope for salaried employment in the village, but even salary-earners also have their own cultivations and in some cases, the salary is only some sort of supplementary income.

### Adjustment of Subsidiary Occupation to the Main

Discussions have been made about the occupations which may be the main occupation for some of the villagers but subsidiary for others, and vice versa. Here we will discuss farther about the subsidiary occupations which are generally practised by the villagers as subsidiary occupations irrespective of the main occupations. The general type of the second category is cattle and poultry rearing and gardening. It is clear that both these occupations are normally common to an agricultural economy. Of the cattle kept, the more common are bullocks which farmers use to plough their fields. The rest of the breed, that is goats, pigs and fowls are either reared to meet the family requirements or sometimes sold when the family's cash income drops. In the case of bullocks and cows, the younger members of the family tend them or a boy is specially engaged for the purpose. In the first instance, no expenditure is incurred in the second case, Rs. 20/- is paid annually for each cattle tended. The cattle are taken to the community grassland every day where they are fed on fresh grass. During winter, hay which is brought from the paddy fields is given as supplementary food. In the case of other livestock, the cost of maintenance may be said to be nil.

Some of the fowls and eggs are consumed by the owners themselves but the rest of the livestock are sold whenever the family finds itself in need of cash. Generally they are disposed of once in a year. It is surprising to find that there are many cows in the village, yet till recently the villagers are not very keen on taking or selling milk. When milk is taken, it is done so only with tea. Another subsidiary occupation practised by almost all the households in the village is gardening. The fact that there is no shop or market place in the village serves as one of the explanations for the kitchen gardens in every compound. These gardens provide the daily vegetable requirements of the household. Therefore many kinds of vegetables are grown in these gardens. But sometimes the amount of products exceeds the requirement of the family and the surplus is taken to the market where it is sold. Another explanation for the existence of these gardens is perhaps the reason given by a majority of the informants. According to them, the garden is used to kill the available spare time, and to put it exactly in their own words—'when there is spare time, why should we sit idle?'—because idleness is one thing which these people hate most. Thus the tidiness of their gardens as well as their houses is the manifestation of this virile people's attitude towards life and human labour.

# farming Implements





A distant view of the Sericulture Farm at Ummulong



Stalls in the Ummulong market place



Women haggling for prices in the market place

In this case also the money expenditure to maintain their gardens is negligible. All their implements such as dao (ka wait), hoe (u mohkhiew) are the only tools required in this job. Whatever fertiliser is required for the purpose is also available from their own cattle. Bonemeal is however used by some in the paddy fields.

In the Pnar society or in the society of the Khasis as a whole, there is no classification of people by occupation and trades. The man or woman is free to choose any work which is suitable for him or her. Again in the society there is no distinction between those who earn their living by the pen or by the plough. Thus in the village no clear-cut division of workers is possible. In many cases a man or a woman does all kinds of work—a man or woman individually—not to speak of the members of the household or the family. Thus pressed by circumstances the people of the village try to practise many kinds of work in order to support the family. The paddy field owner works in his field when there is work for him there. In his spare time he turns to his potato or maize and even his kitchen garden if the work demands for him to do so. Again, the same person goes to the forest during the slack winter days to work as a woodcutter. Even to an educated Government employee, to handle the plough in the paddy field or the axe in the forest is no less a pleasure than to handle the pen in his office room. Where there is a social call in the village to build a house for a a friend or to make a coffin for their unfortunate friend, this same person handles plane, the chisel, the saw or the hammer so skilfully as if throughout his life he earns his living by this trade. The womenfolk are likewise busy. They have a hand in the paddy fields, they also attend to the maize and potato gardens. The kitchen garden is the place where they are found most of the time. They take their surplus produce to the market, they attend to their livestock. Rice pounding is their duty. Apart from these, all household works are attended to by them. In some cases, where the work at home is attended by other members, the woman member would go from market place to market place as trader.

When a question is put to the people about their occupation, it is not uncommon to see that it takes time for them to give the answer. When finally, the answer comes out from their mouth, there is a list of many occupations instead of one. In a sense, these hard-working people will take up any job or jobs only to utilise their spare time, but for reasons we are going to discuss in the next chapter, they are in no better condition than the other tillers of the country. Their bustling activity however deserves the most commendable appreciation of all.

### Nature of Income and the Population

There is no definite pattern of activities in the village ; while in some cases a certain trade is the main occupation, in others it becomes the subsidiary occupation and *vice versa.* Again in some cases, the difference of income from the main occupation and the subsidiary occupation is well-marked while in other cases, the margin is very narrow. In the first case, the income from the subsidiary occupation is not so important, but in the second case, such sources of income play a vital role in the total income of the people.

The picture of the economic condition of the people will remain in the dark if the expenditure side remains untouched. A table showing the average annual expenditure per household of different income groups by main occupations and by items of expenditure is presented in the Appendix (Table No. 15). Only a small section of the population, or a few households have the capacity to save. But for the greater section, the income is just enough to meet their expenditure. Their various occupations would thus seem to be only a desperate attempt to make their ends meet. Again, it is found that only a small number of people are able to get education ; but

even then, more than a third of the students are only in the Lower Primary standard. Many children have no opportunity for education because of poverty. In the list of expenditures, only such items which are very essential are included. Thus even expenditure on education of children is excluded. Thus unless the people can considerably improve their incomes, their progress is bound to be very slow.

**Income and Expenditure**

The 129 households in the village may be divided into four groups according to the main occupation of each household. The grouping is based on the main occupation. However, it has been found that in some cases the total income from the main occupation is quite low in comparison with the income or incomes from the other occupations considered by them as subsidiary occupations. The main occupation of 113 households is cultivation while that of 13 households is labour. Two households claim that their main occupation is business and one household as service (Table 11 of the Appendix). From the above statement it is evident that cultivation is still the main occupation of the village, and the 13 households or 10·08 p.c. of the households in the village claiming that their main occupation is labour are mostly engaged by other cultivators and may thus be classified as agricultural labourers. Again, of the two households engaged in business as the main occupation, one takes up cultivation as one of its subsidiary occupations and the only household claiming that service is its main occupation is also having cultivation as the subsidiary occupation. In 7 households of this group, service is one of the subsidiary occupations, 4 households have business as one of the subsidiary occupations, while another 4 households have carpentry as one of the subsidiary occupations. Of the 50 households having labour as one of the subsidiary occupations, the members of 40 households are agricultural labourers, the members of 8 households are wood cutters and the members of 2 households are both agricultural labourers and wood cutters. The percentage of the main occupation and each of the above subsidiary sources to the total income of the whole group from all sources are as follows :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Income from cultivation | 79·52% |
| 2. | Income from wages of agricultural labourers | 7·40% |
| 3. | Income from livestock | 5·50% |
| 4. | Income from service | 2·49% |
| 5. | Profit from business | 2·23% |
| 6. | Income of the timber carpenters | 1·25% |
| 7. | Income of the carpenters | 1·61% |

The members of the 13 households having labour as the main occupation are agricultural labourers. All the households in this group have cultivation as the subsidiary occupation while two households also get some income from their livestock. The percentages of the main occupation and each of the above subsidiary sources to the total income of the whole group from all sources are as follows :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Wages of the labourers | 60·30% |
| 2. | Income from cultivation | 39·42% |
| 3. | Income from livestock | 0·28% |

Of the two households having business as the main occupation, one is having cultivation, service and animal husbandry as subsidiary occupation while the other has service as the only subsidiary occupation. The percentages of each of the sources to the total income of the group from all sources are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Income from business | 18·35% |
| 2. | Income from cultivation | 59·63% |
| 3. | Income from animal husbandry | 5·35% |
| 4. | Income from service | 16·67% |

In the household having service as the main occupation, cultivation is the only subsidiary occupation. The percentages of each of the above sources to the total income from both are as follows :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Income from service | 32·03% |
| 2. | Income from cultivation | 67·03% |

## CHAPTER IV

## SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

### Population by Age-group and Sex

Before further discussion is made about the social and cultural activities of the people, a table showing the distribution of population according to sex and age-group will be found very helpful.

Table 6

Population by age-group and sex

| Sex | Total of all ages | 0—14 | 15—34 | 35—59 | 60 and above |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Males | 371 | 138 | 132 | 91 | 10 |
| Females | 363 | 212 | 90 | 52 | 9 |
| Total | 734 | 350 | 222 | 143 | 19 |

The population of the village during the time of survey was 734 and the number of households was 129. The houses in which the people live are no longer typical Pnar or Khasi. Though small and modest, they no longer represent the people's traditional style. It is interesting to note that while in Jowai, a growing town, some of the traditional types of houses are still in vogue, yet in Modymmai which is a mere village, not a single one is found. The reasons for the disappearance of these house types are varied. First, it is the influence of Christianity as some people would like to put it. The blame is not unfounded ; but it is more correct to say that western culture and not religion is the main cause. One important defect in the old Khasi type is that houses have no adequate ventilation facilities. While the fireplace is in the same building with other rooms, there is generally no proper outlet for smoke. So the houses are very unhygienic. When the British, particularly the missionaries, came to these hills, it did not take them a long time to become aware of the hazards posed by ill ventilation and overcrowding in the old Khasi house type. The dangers were pointed out and changes subsequently took place. Some of the houses were improved, but most of them were constructed according to suggestions made on hygienic grounds which made the houses quite different from the traditional style. Another point of difference between the two types of houses is that whereas the Khasi type is a single room building in which the sleeping room, the kitchen etc. are separated from one another only by a screen of planks ; in the new type found in the village, the building is divided into a number of rooms separated by strong walls. In this respect also the houses at Modymmai are much better than the old Khasi houses.

Another interesting thing about this village is the fact that all its inhabitants are comparatively new to it because all of them have migrated from other parts of the subdivision. The table below gives an idea about the immigration of these people to the village :—

Table 7

Settlement History of Households

| Total No. of households | Number of households settled for generations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 5 and above | 3 and below 5 | Above 1 and below 3 | One and below |
| 129 | 70 | 27 | 17 | 15 |

It will be seen from the above table that the greater part of the population migrated to the village during the last five generations or so. It can therefore be concluded that while the village is as old as the Malngiang syiemship itself, the present inhabitants are comparatively new comers. It seems that the Pnars during their wars against the Malngiang drove away all the inhabitants of the village, but they (the Pnars) did not occupy it because it was located on the border of the Shillong syiemship, and so it was not a safe place for settlement. When the British came and gained control of these hills, the question of local conflicts no longer arose. This factor along with the temptation for the Pnars to live near the Sung and Litang Valleys, made them migrate to the village as soon as it was free from all dangers. They came batch by batch. First they built their houses within the fort, but as the population increased and the security was assured, the village spread beyond the fort.

Unlike the old Khasi villages which are started by a family or a clan, or by a number of families or clan, which always form the major clan(s) in the villages, in Modymmai there is no major or dominating clan. Coming from different places and belonging to different clans, there are only a few families having the same clan name in the village.

According to the traditional custom, the mother's properties may be gifted to her daughters but the rest of the properties or all of them if not otherwise gifted go to the youngest daughter. After marriage, the elder daughter has to leave her mother's place and starts a new life of her own, but the youngest daughter stays with her parents at home, even after her marriage, and looks after her parents in their old age. The shifting of the elder daughter or daughters from their mother's house, the details of which are given in the paragraph dealing with marriage, does not generally take place immediately after their marriage. Usually a household consists of the father, the mother and their unmarried children or the father, the mother and their youngest daughter with her husband and children. In some cases the newly married daughters are found in their parents' house with their husbands along with their unmarried brothers and sisters even though they are not the youngest daughters. These are the common cases found in the village during the survey. But there are also some more complicated cases, such as the presence of a maternal uncle or a sister staying with a married woman who lives together with her husband and children. The classification of the family pattern in the village is given in the table below :—

Table 8

Caste/Tribe/Community and Nature of Family

| Caste/ Tribe/ Community | Total No. of households | Types of families living in the households | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Simple | Intermediate | Joint | Others |
| Khasi (Pnar) | 129 | 102 | 25 | 2 | — |

**Religion**

Something has been said about the impact on the mode of life of the people through their contact with their neighbours and with foreigners. In the field of religion the people remain firm in their

old faith till the British came to these hills and with them, their western thoughts and ideas. In Modymmai, Christianity was first introduced in the later half of the nineteenth century. Before the end of that century a number of people embraced the new faith and a church house was erected in the middle part of the village. The church house was an imposing building. It was built of stone and the roof was of corrugated iron sheets - a rare house type in the area in those days. Unfortunately, the old church house shared the fate of most other stone buildings during the great earthquake which rocked North-east India on June 12, 1897, when the shock toppled a considerable number of houses in this part of the country. Since then the church was twice rebuilt. At present, the position of the Christian in the village is as follows : out of the inmates of 129 dwelling houses in the village, the members of 128 are Christians. Only two members, mother and son, of one household are non-Christians. As for this exceptional case, it is difficult to say to which religion they belong. In an attempt to get informations from them, they declared that they know everything about their traditional religion, and they also declared that neither they nor their ancestors had been converted into another religion. The fact, however, is that both are non-violent lunatics. In spite of this difference which distinguishes them from the rest of the villagers, they are all along treated with kindness and sympathy.

Perhaps a little picture of the philosophy of Khasi religion will throw some light on the changes which took place in this field during the past hundred years. To start with, the legends of their origin as narrated by the Khasis themselves will have to be brought again to the forefront. The Khasis believe that they were originally celes tial inhabitants of divine origin. In this divine domain, they lived together with God, the Creator. For an unknown reason, the number of persons is not given, but it is said that there were sixteen huts in the celestial domain. The character of these people was unquestionable. They were as good and pure as saints and to suit their character even earth, their place of cultivation, was as beautiful and green as the Garden of Eden. The Creator could find nothing contaminating in the fresh, green planet, and so he could come down to earth, mix freely and converse with the inhabitants. Nowhere in Khasi tradition was ever any attempt made to describe a picture of their Creator, but from what they said of Him, it can safely be assumed that He has certain attributes common to human beings ; while on the other hand, He gives man some of his own attributes. But side by side with this pleasing picture of their origin, there was also an evil spirit who on seeing that the Creator loves man so much, tried to destroy Him. So he tempted man to break the only connecting link between God and man or heaven and earth. Thus one day, when the inmates of seven huts were on the surface of the earth, one of them was tempted to free himself from the divine control of the Creator on the bait that he would be made master of the earth. Falling into this temptation, the man destroyed the golden bridge linking earth with heaven, and the seven huts were from that moment left on earth without any direct contact with their lost domain. As time passed, man found that life away from the Creator was very dull and always surrounded by sufferings and miseries caused by that same evil spirit, who once professed a bright and prosperous kingdom on earth. A heavy burden of these miseries turned the people back to their Creator, praying and begging Him to forgive them and help them to be free from this evil one. The immense love of Him who has created man and given him so honourable an attribute cannot turn his back completely. According to traditions, he did come in person to this earth, not to rebuild the same golden bridge already destroyed, but to make man pass certain tests to regain for himself the right to enter God's kingdom. He gave them his commandments. Again, now that no direct communication between

God and man was possible, man had to approach him by prayer and would be answered back in signs. Time passed, and slowly but surely the commandments were handed down from generation to generation through the centuries. But in the absence of literature among the Khasis, the commandments underwent certain modifications and misinterpretations in different stages. Moreover, the efforts of the evil spirit went on, always with a view to divert man as far as possible away from God. Year after year and generation after generation the mist that hanged like a curtain between the golden age of purity and truth and the age where the evil one was most free became thicker and thicker. But even in these gloomy days, the Creator was not forgotten. With their inward eye they perceived Him as an omnipotent being, whom they cannot see but whose eyes they cannot avoid, whom they cannot touch but from whose hands they cannot escape. They also never offer any kind of sacrifices to him. When their hearts are full of joy and gratitude they praise him in their prayers. So also when they are amidst sadness and sorrows they approach him with prayer. It follows from the above that whenever they are in a difficult position to decide anything, they would turn to the Creator to show them the right way, and hope that he will answer them by way of signs. This is generally done by a certain method of reading the signs inside the intestines of a cock or a hen, or by the position of the fragments of shells of a broken egg. Thus they gain the title of cock or egg diviners, though in some occasions, other animals or methods are also used. In course of time, other developments also took place in this field ; three of these are worth discussing about because they throw some light into the actual picture of the stage in which the Khasi religion had reached when Christianity was about to gain a foothold. Firstly, the introduction of three ancestral terms in their religious function has created many confusions among those who try to dig up informations about this tribe. The three ancestral terms are 'Ka Iawbei' (the primeval ancestress), 'U Suidnia' (the primeval maternal uncle) 'U Thawlang' (the primeval father of the clan). These three terms are always used in course of certain discussions or religious functions in connection with the clan and in certain ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead ; they even made two effigies 'Ka Paron' for 'Ka Iawbei' and 'U Tyngshop' for 'U Suidnia'. These are the most respectable ancestors of the clan. But they never regard nor worship them as their gods. From the history of their religion, they believe that their primeval ancestors were pious people ; hence their place after death is in the garden of God. So, being with Him they can help the living members of the clan by pleading for them before Him. Since it was they who received the commandments and instructions from the Creator, they are in a better position to know exactly what the wishes of man are. In the darkness in which the latter Khasis live, they feel like orphans without their parent's guidance. Thus in trying to follow the path of righteousness the many omissions and commissions are hoped to be redressed by the pleading of their ancestors.

Secondly, in approaching God by prayer or by asking the signs from him in various activities, they address him by different names or terms. This also has led to various strange opinions about their religion. Lastly, as it has already been pointed out above, the effort of that evil one has in some cases been able to divert few people to worship some evil spirits. But in such cases, it cannot be said that the people are still following the real Khasi religion. As a rule, such people are always looked down by the society.

These latter developments suggest that though many Khasis love and respect their religion and still consider it as a reasonable way of life, yet they are aware that the original form of rites and ceremonies are no longer in the pure form. Some

of them still remain in their old faith. But in the discussion of religious topics they will add phrases as 'ba la iasah khyannah' which is equivalent to 'being at a stage where guidance of the elders and wise men is no longer available', 'la sah ha ka lyngngoh, la bun sa ka lait ka let' a term equivalent to 'remaining in the darkness where omissions and commissions are increasing.' But the others, finding that they are no longer able to live according to the old religion, accept another one ; but even in doing so, that which involves least difference attracts them most.

Now the majority of the people in Modymmai village fall under the second category. That is, they no longer belong to the old faith. They have accepted Christianity as their faith.

### Marriage

At the very outset it should be pointed out that though the people no longer profess the old Khasi religion they still remain Khasis by community. They no longer practise the ceremonies involved in the Khasi religion, yet they never cease to be Khasis. To support this statement, it is found that certain thoughts, practices and modes of life having no connection with religion still exist among them. Those are enough to identify them as the Khasis, even in the absence or change of religion. The most prominent parts of their old ways of life which have been accommodated in the new religion are the special usages and the customary laws. Among the said customs, the clan system is the most important. According to the old Khasi custom, the linage is traced through the female. It follows from here that inheritance also is along this line. Another outcome of the set-up is that among the Khasi, specially those living in the western part of the district, a married man leaves his mother's house and starts his new life just after marriage with his wife and afterwards with their children. In other words, the male Khasi leaves his mother's house when he gets married and joins his mother-in-law's house. But the Jaintia traditional custom is different. The Jaintia man, according to the traditional custom, only visits his wife, but lives with 'kurs' (relatives, generally mother or sisters), eats with his 'kurs' and earns with his 'kurs'. He gives to his wife only a pittance. Under this kind of marriage, his relatives inherit his self-acquired property also because the mode of living influences the law of inheritance. The uncles and brothers of his wife, on the other hand, live in the house and so it works out all the same in the long run. This custom is, however, quickly passing away even among the non-Christians and some of the non-Christians at present prefer to follow the custom of the other Khasis which has already been explained above. Among the Khasis, the clan system is a very important institution in the social sphere especially during the time of marriage. The first and foremost law in this connection is that marriage within the clan is a taboo. Even outside the clan, in an inter-clan relationship, there are certain restrictions for the marriage suit. Thus in testing the validity of the marriage contract between different persons, the relationship within the clan, and the clan relationship by previous marriage contracts must be carefully examined. Any violation involved by the careless observation of these customary laws will lead to a 'sang' (taboo). Even among the Christians, these customary laws are strictly followed and respected. The boy and the girl of the marriageable age are allowed to choose their life-time partner. At this stage it may be pointed out that Khasi marriage contracts are purely'love marriage'. But before the contract reaches the final stage, the lovers must seek the advice of their families. The important persons who are to look after this matter are their maternal uncles, their fathers and their clan relatives, whose duty now is to see that the match will involve no 'sang' or taboo. Among the Christians, there is a general trend to ask the Church elders also to take part in this task. The next stage is engage-

ment, where the elders from both the parties meet together in the bride's parents' house. Here also the Church elders are invited to officiate in the solemn function and to pray that the contract will be a a successful one. Two or three times the bann is announced in Church by the Church elder in two or three consecutive Sunday or Wednesday meetings. This is done to avoid any complications or objections against the contract which may arise from causes unknown to the Church elders or the elders of the two families. Judging the importance of the part played by the elders of the clans concerned, it may be concluded that though marriage is originally initiated by the couple themselves, the part of the clan elders cannot be overlooked ; in fact the final stage can be reached only after their approval. The wedding day is the day in which the two persons are declared husband and wife. The bridegroom and the bride, in this momentous day of their life, generally meet in the Church where the parties concerned pledge before the priest and the congregation to have and to hold, for better and for worse, in sickness and in health, till death them do part. When this part of the ceremony is over, the bridegroom is asked to place the ring on the bride's finger. The pastor then proclaims that the two are henceforth bound together as husband and wife. The procession of friends and relatives led by the couple now proceeds from the church to the bride's place where refreshments are served. But the most important point here is that from that day onwards the bridegroom departs from his mother's house to remain in his wife's residence. The fact that refreshments are served in both the houses of the bridegroom and the bride, though in a much smaller scale in the house of the groom, shows that his departure from the house amidst the joy and merry-making is not disturbed by any unpleasant feeling on the side of his clan members which may arise from the knowledge that henceforth he will have to remain away from them.

At present the common practice in the village is that a married male leaves his mother's house and joins his wife in his mother-in-law's house just after the marriage. In case his wife is youngest daughter, she is, according to the traditional custom, supposed to remain in her parents' place along with her husband for ever because she is the main inheritor of her parents' property. If the wife is not the youngest daughter, the married couple used to stay for sometimes in the house of the wife's parents. The period is not fixed, it varies from case to case. During the period, the couple usually plan for their separate establishment. In some cases the couple themselves manage to raise funds for their establishment. Generally a plot of land for the house, some furniture, utensils and clothes are given as gifts by the wife's parents. In some cases even land for cultivation is given by them. There is no hard and fast rule as to what they should give, but it is the pride of the parents to see that their daughter and her husband have no difficulty to start their separate establishment. The gifts depend on the economic conditions of both the parties. In some cases, even the parents of the husband lend their helping hands on these occasions.

### Birth

Here also the traditional practices have passed away and have been replaced by Christian usages. According to the old custom, the child is given a name as soon as it is born and relatives and friends are treated to a feast made of powdered rice with some kind of rice beer or liquor after a simple religious ceremony invoking their gods to bless the child and its mother. The powdered rice is prepared by making the red rice soft by soaking in water and then ground to powder in a flail. Some meat or dry fish may be given along with these ground rice. But the practice now observed by Christians, and all villagers in this village are Christians, is that no name is given to the child although close relatives

and friends are informed of the birth of the child and invited to come for well-wishing. The child is given a bath as soon as it is born and the placenta is put in an earthen pot and left in the garden. The naming ceremony of the child takes place only when it is taken to the church for christening or baptism. The child is given a name and the pastor pronounces a formula 'I baptise....in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost'. Prayers are made to god and homilies are given to the parents and relatives to bring up the child in good Christian ways as described in the Bible. After that, relatives and friends are treated to some kind of simple tea-party or some feast with rice and pork if the parents can afford to have it. The basic fact is that a wife gives birth to a child either in her own house if she has an establishment or in her mother's house if she had not been able to have her own establishment. During confinement also, it is parents and relatives of the wife who look after labour if delivery is done at home. In normal cases, the village 'dai' or midwife is generally called to make the delivery, but in painful cases, either a doctor or a nurse is called to the house or the wife is taken to the hospital.

Normally, the baby is fed only on its mother's milk for some days after which a special kind of banana known as 'kaitkhun' is given to the child after being well-ground. This special kind of banana is very nourishing and at the same time digestible even to the tender stomach of babies. When the child is about five or six weeks old, it is given water from almost boiled rice along with some salt or sugar and when it is about seven or eight months old, some soft rice is given. Well-to-do persons give milk either fresh or in powdered form in the shape of babyfood.

In Khasi-Jaintia society, a child is a precious gift of God and unqualified testimony to the sanctity of marriage. Abortion is most repugnant to these villagers. To these people where the population is still very scarce compared to the plains a good number of children is a blessing and many believe that the child is God's gift and it is predestined to come to this world and no man has a right to alter it. The educated people are however conscious of the disadvantages of a big family and try to regulate the size of their families.

**Death**

The original belief of this village as well as of the whole district is that after death, a man goes either to heaven where he will be able to enjoy eating betelnuts in God's House if he has lived a good life or he may go to hell where dogs live if he has lived a bad life. Among the Christians, the basic concept of life after death is essentially the same, with only this difference that heaven is a paradise where God lives and no light is needed because His face emanates light and all happiness is there in the life eternal ; and hell is a place where there is eternal consuming fire and there would be wailing and gnashing of teeth for the wicked. Before a man's soul can enter into eternal happiness or eternal punishment it will first stand judgement in the Second Coming of Christ who will judge the quick and the dead. Before the judgement day the soul live in a sort of intermediary place, but even here the good have a good place to live while the wicked have a bad place.

To the people of this village therefore death is the end of the earthly life, but the beginning of another life, a kind of spiritual life. As soon as a person dies, the dead body is properly placed on a bed with good clothes on and a temporary screen with the best available cloths is raised around the death bed. Relatives and friends who wish to see the dead body, can see it by raising the screen. As soon as a death occurs, or early next morning, the knell is tolled by Church bell to inform the villagers that death has taken place. Friends and relatives in the village are informed

and kith and kin from distant places are also informed of the event. The dead body is kept for not more than three days to enable the friends and relatives to come and pay their homage to the dead before the burial takes place. The dead body is given a bath and after that the best clothes are put on the body. While some villagers go to the cemetery to dig a grave some who know carpentry are engaged in making a wooden coffin. All this is free labour in Khasi-Jaintia society. The coffin is lined with white cloth and cotton inside ; and outside it is lined with black or white cloth of better quality according to the financial ability of the family. Relatives and friends use to throng in the house where a death has occurred by way of fellow-feeling and to console the mourning relatives of the dead. All the people who go there use to give some gifts either in cash or kind. Among the Khasis, some kind of a feast is also given to these relatives and friends, but among the orthodox Jaintias nothing is given from the house of the dead by way of national custom. But that practice among the Jaintias is also changing and generally tea and betelnuts use to be served to the people who come to pay their homage. Orthodox people, however, will not eat anything. While the dead body is inside the house, relatives and friends use to sleep there and the door is always kept open so that the spirit of the dead may find easy entry should it desire to come and look at the house. This belief is, however, confined only to the more ignorant among them. Christianity has nothing to do with that belief which is a hang-over of the old animism. Before the burial, the lid of the coffin is decorated with wool and brass nails and friends and relatives bring floral wreaths. When the time for the burial comes generally in the afternoon or evening, a pastor or an elder of the Church performs a memorial service in the courtyard where the coffin is taken and all mourners, friends and relatives stand around it. The service consists of a hymn, a reading from the Bible, a few words of condolence and prayer. When this brief ceremony is over, the coffin is taken to the graveyard, feet first, in a procession with the Cross bearer leading the procession. Floral wreaths are placed on top of the coffin. At the cemetery, the coffin is either placed by the side of the grave or is lowered into the grave and after a brief religious ceremony which is more or less the same as that performed earlier in the house, the coffin is lowered, or where it is already lowered, it is covered with earth. The priest throws three sods of earth into the grave with a muttering prayer that dust should go into dust, that the spirit which comes from God should go into God. Others also may likewise follow the priest in throwing three sods of earth into the grave. After that the grave is filled up making a little mound on top of the grave and a cross which accompanies the dead body is then fixed at the head of the grave. The burial ceremony then ends. After the burial, flower wreaths are put on top of the mound as well as on the grave. Some people put two stones on top of the mound, one at the head and one at the foot by way of marking the exact spot where the dead is buried. People who can afford it, build a tomb in the graveyard after about a year when the earth has settled down properly.

### Literacy

It has been pointed out earlier that there is only one Lower Primary school in the village. The school was established more than half a century ago. The people of the village were educated in this school with the result that most of them at least know reading and writing in their mother tongue. In this connection, attention may again be drawn to the fact that the Khasis have no written literature of their own. But when the Christian missionaries from the west came to these hills, they tried to bring the language spoken by the people into a written form by introducing the Roman alphabets. Thus written and printed literature came into being. In connection

with religion, many books are printed and the most important among them all are the Holy Bible and the Hymn Book. In fact, the intention of the missionaries to educate the people is to enable them to read these religious books. However, since then many valuable literary works in the language are produced. Most of the people in the village can read their religious books, while some of them have also learnt to read and write after attending school.

At present, the students of both sexes are taught in a roomy building by two teachers. Judging from the date of establishment of the school, the institution is very old and has produced many students some of whom are now reading in various middle English, high schools, colleges and various technical institutions, and others, have completed their studies. Though most of the well educated people of the village were absorbed in various towns, many of those between the standard of primary and middle English or even high school are still found in the village. In the circumstances, it would be an encouragement to the younger generation in this field if the school is raised at least up to the middle English standard. By doing so the incentive of the young people to get better education will rise above the present level. Firstly, those who have completed primary standard, but were handicapped by limited means will have a chance to proceed further. Secondly, seeing that there are facilities in the village to get higher education beyond the primary standard, the rolls of the primary classes also will rise. At present, seeing that employment facilities for those educated in the general line is limited, the villagers take pains to study the advantages of basic education. Finding that the latter is more adjustable to their way of life, they are carrying on a campaign for conversion of thier lower primary school from the general or indigenous type of education into basic line of education.

There are 43 male and 64 female students in the village. Of these, 35 males and 54 females are reading in the Primary standard and 8 males and 10 females are reading in the Middle English (M.E.) standard. 78 students, of which 27 males and 51 females are reading in the Lower Primary School within the village. Others are reading in the Primary and M. E. Schools at Ummulong and Thadlaskein. Taking 4 to 20 years as the school-going age, it is found that there are 95 male and 103 female non-students.

**Traditional Social Institution**

Among the Pnars as well as other sections of the Khasis, the durbars or the councils play a vital role in the people's lives. Many types of these councils are found at different stages of the society. The smallest unit in the society is the kur or clan ; here there is a clan durbar generally known as 'ka sein kur'. At a higher stage, a village has another type of council known as 'ka sein shnong' or the village durbar. At a still higher level of the society is the raid or doloiship with 'ka sein raid' or the raid council. Lastly, at the top of all these, is the syemship with 'ka durbar hima' or the state council.

In the clan durbar or 'ka sein kur' all the members of the clan or kur are represented in the 'sein' by the eldest maternal uncle called 'ki kni.' The council is usually presided over by the eldest member among them. One peculiar thing is that most of these members of the 'sein' are married men, hence according to their present practice they no longer reside in their mother's or clan's house. It is a custom among the Khasis that the maternal uncle is responsible for the welfare of the 'kur' members. Again on certain occasions (like the one given in the next paragraph) female members are also permitted to take part in the sein. At present most of the clans are scattered all over the district, so it is impossible for the kurs to form only one clan council. These smaller councils are held in the villages and are represented only by few maternal uncles who reside in the village or in nearby areas.

The importance of this institution is decreasing though it still exists and functions.

In Modymmai, one case is found in which the mother left three children after her death. The eldest among them is a twelve-year-old daughter. The girl is still minor and unable to take charge of all the properties of her mother. Again the father after the death of his wife, is at liberty to go back to his mother's place. In this particular case, the father went back to his mother's place and remarried. According to customs, the authority of the father over his children and his deceased wife's properties ceased to exist. The 'sein kur' then stepped in. The eldest maternal uncle called the clan council in which arrangements were made to protect the rights of these children to their mother's properties. Their mother's sister was called upon to run all the business of her deceased sister and to take care of the children. All the expenditures for the children are to be met from the income of the business now run by her. The work of the clan council or the 'sein kur' now is to see that the children are taken good care of and their business is run properly by their aunt. In performing this duty, the eldest maternal uncle, as a mark of respect to their father, asked him to take part in the council. In this connection it may be pointed out that the sister of the children's mother was asked to be presented in person in the 'sein kur' as she had to play the main part. Another occasion in which the clan council usually functions is during the time of engagement for marriage, in which case the duty of the maternal uncle, with the help of other members of the council, is to see that the marriage contract between the two young people does not involve any violation of the time-honoured customs. At the village level, the male members of the village are entitled to be represented in the durbar or the 'sein shnong'. Usually one of the eldest members is chosen to act as the president of the village. He is known as 'U heh shnong', the head of the village. The durbar gives him very wide powers in discharging his duties of enforcing law and order in the village. But he is always guided by the principles laid down from time to time by the durbar. He is also the representative of the village to the organisations at higher level. As time passes, the powers of 'U heh shnong' are reduced and gradually the durbar takes the shape of the modern organisation. The post of 'U heh shnong' remains as it is and it is equivalent to the post of a president of the durbar. But now he is no longer implementing the resolutions of the durbar alone. The post of the secretary is created from among the members to help the 'heh shnong' to keep the records and to deal with correspondence. So also the posts of assistant secretary, the post of a treasurer and the members of the executive committee. All of them are elected by the members of the durbar. The meetings and the councils are held in the elder's house, in the school building or in the club house. The organisation performs all sorts of function for the village. In the village, the maintenance of footpaths, drinking water holes and springs fall under its supervision. It is also the duty of the elders to organise the working parties for social services. Again, the duty of settling minor disputes between the villagers is also their duty. They lay down the policy for the activities of the village and make the rules which the villagers have to observe and follow. Some of its functions are excellently performed, such as those of its efforts to maintain the local footpaths, the paths leading to the working areas, the market place and the Block and the maintenance of community grazing land, forest and other lands and places falling in this category are worth mentioning. The present powers of the durbar under the District Council has greatly been reduced in comparison with its powers under the chiefs.

Another higher organisation which generally functions in a particular area is the 'Raid Council' of the 'Raid'. The 'sein raid' or the raid council is constituted in the raid which includes a number of

villages. In the past this institution was the most important one. In the history of the origin of many Khasi chiefs, it is the raid councils which take the initiative to select a clan or a family to which the title 'syiem' is given. The institution of the raid is therefore much older than the institution of the syiem. Originally the villages in the land of the Khasis were established by a clan or a few clans. Thus the representatives from the villages to the 'raid durbar' or raid council is based upon the clan. This council is therefore the real land owning body. But as the villages grew bigger and bigger, and other clans also came to the village, the customary representations to the raid durbars are no longer adequate. Now the question of the right to represent in the durbar arises. If the right of ownership to the land falls on the kur, because they are the founders of the village in the raid, the immigrant clans of the raid remain landless. Thus within the raid there should be two classes of people, the land owners and the landless class. But that is impossible since there is no class system whatsoever among the Khasis. There must be some misunderstanding about the relation of the kurs from the villages and the raid durbar as the landholding institution. In fact, the kurs send their representatives to the durbar not because the kurs own the land but because they are the only kurs or the kur which forms the major section of the population of the village which falls within the raid. In this case the right of representation in the durbar falls on the village, in other words, those who live in the village have the right to send their representative to the durbar ; the representative may be a member of a clan if the village is inhabited by many clans. The false belief that the durbar raid is the association of a few selected clans has greatly reduced the popularity of the institution. In the Jowai subdivision, the popularity of these institutions has been reduced all the more by the intervention of the British Government in settling the disputes arising between the villages of the raid which formerly was the duty of the durbar raid. At present many communities or 'riraid' round Modymmai village are shared by the people of the village and its neighbours. But the part of the durbar raid is played by the District Council. A few years ago, in order to help the economic problems of the people of this growing village, the District Council recognised the ownership of the village to a plot of pine forest between Modymmai and Mokyndur. Thus the forest now is the community forest of Modymmai from which fuel, wood, timber and planks are granted to the villagers by the village durbar free of cost.

In the days of the chiefs or the syiems, the 'durbar hima' or the State Council was at the head of all these institutions. But the durbar ceased to exist after the abolition of the chieftainship by the British in 1835.

### Modern Social Institutions

Something has been said earlier about the club house. In this chapter, further discussion will be made on the organisation and its various activities. It has been pointed out that the various aspects of the social activities are taken up at the village level by the village durbar, run by the village elders. There is however a parallel organisation established for and run by the young men of the village. This body is known as 'ka sein khynro'. Though the two are separate organisations, each with its own sphere of influence, in the social and cultural aspect of village life, the aims and objects of the two bodies are, however, nearly identical and in most cases the two organisations function jointly.

The club known as 'ka sein Khynro Modymmai' was established in 1956. Translated it means 'the Youth Organisation of Modymmai'. All the young men of the village are members of the club. The word 'young' here is used in a special sense. For the constitution of the club says nothing about the age of the club members ; rather,

the person himself is allowed to decide if he wishes to be considered a young man or otherwise. As a result, many grown-ups can be seen inside the club house hobnobbing and fraternising with the younger set, often with their own sons. The affairs of the club are looked after by an Executive Committee consisting of a President, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer and five other members of the Executive Committee. The club house is well provided with various amenities among which mention may be made of certain indoor games, musical instruments, books and even a radio-set which is regularly played every evening. Arrangements are being made for organising outdoor games also, such as football which, incidentally, is the most popular game among the villagers. Apart from the recreational facilities which the club provides for its members, it also performs other equally important functions, the most important of which is the organising of youngmen into an enlightened social body which assists in and supplements the work of the village organisation of the elders. The sein khynro is the pride of every young man of the village : by virtue of his membership in the club, the hitherto awkward and neglected farm lad acquires the coveted privilege of having his say in the conduct of social and cultural affairs within the community. Before the establishment of the club, social work in the village was mostly carried out by individual workers; the priceless value of co-operation was little appreciated and even less understood. With the establishment of the club, people are beginning to realise the importance of a combined centrally organised force as well as to feel the impact of co-operation on the social and cultural development in modern communities. In short, the value jofnt oi effort is being appreciated by all people in the community.

Another newly started organisation in the village is 'Ka Sein Kynthei' meaning 'the Women Organisation.' This organisation was also established in 1958. The membership is confined exclusively to members of the fair sex. It may be pointed out that prior to the establishment of the 'sein kynthei' no separate organisation for women was ever contemplated, excepting of course some select bodies specially organised for them under the initiative of the local Church. Unlike the 'sein khynro', the 'sein kynthei' has not got a club house of its own. The members of the sein have, however, drawn up and adopted a constitution where the aims and objects, the form and activities of the organisation are distinctly stated. The members elect their own President, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer and an Executive Committee consisting of the above office bearers together with seven other members who look after the entire affair of the club.

The establishment of these two organisations in the village has opened up a new vista of cultural and social advancement, both among the male and female sections of the community. Based on the modern form of organisation, the two institutions have enabled the young people of the village to liberate their minds and have a new outlook upon life. It has helped them to steer clear of the old, unenlightened way of life, and to devote their energy toward building a new, dynamic community that will march forward with the rest of the rural communities throughout this vast land.

The height of the sein khynro's activities is the work of the parties organised by the sein to help the poor in building and constructing houses. When a household finds itself short of labour and when paucity of funds does not permit the family to hire outside labour, the sein khynro never fails to go to the rescue of the unfortunate household, giving what assistance it can and organising workers' parties to help build the house at nominal wages, thus relieving the poor family of undue financial worries. In this respect, the organisation acts as a labour bank and thus paves the way for a yet unborn Labour Co-operative Society.

So also the main activity of the sein kynthei is to distribute employment to the unemployed. Apart from providing facilities in available jobs, it also provides training facilities to the available labour in knitting, sewing and cocoon rearing.

It is evident from the activities mentioned above that the two organisations are bent on leading the younger generations toward a better way of life. With generous assistance from the Block in variegated spheres of activity, it is expected that the village will move forward at a pace which, it is hoped, will not be easily outdone by similar communities in rural India.

## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSION

Socially, psychologically and to some extent economically, the present Modymmai village is just not the same as it was in pre-British days. The influences on the various aspects of its life have to a considerable extent altered the picture of the village. A little more than a century ago, to a villager the village was only a spot in an isolated island. To him the world was limited—only a little distance beyond the boundaries of the district. When the British administrators and the foreign missionaries came, they helped the people to convert their unwritten language into a written one. They also opened primary schools in the villages and taught the children the art of reading and writing. Modymmai in the midst of the Khasi land also shared these facilities. Within a very short period the outlook of the people was totally changed. They now swim in a new ken, in a wider world which literature now reveals to them to be a thousand fold bigger than their old isolated world.

The education they have received through the primary school in their own village has given them the first taste of the treasure which lies ahead. The urge to go deeper and consume more of the pleasure of that treasure is there in most of the students of the school. But the facilities are too limited that most of them have to remain content with their lot. The few who have been able to proceed further in the field find that their village is no longer suitable for them, as there is no employment facilities. Thus the education they have received is only a passport for them to leave the village for a town life. The village folks are however proud of them, they become the subjects of many discussions and stand as examples for the younger generations. The village however being drained of such brains has had to remain ever backward.

Turning to the economy of the village the picture is darker still. In spite of development and changes in other fields of activities, cultivation is still the only means of livelihood of the villagers. Though the condition in Modymmai is much better than that in other villages of the subdivision, it is far below a reasonable level. The absence of good cultivable land is becoming more and more a problem as the population of the area increases. The lack of knowledge or technical skill to bring more land under the plough coupled with the limited means to take up such projects lead the people gradually down to poverty. The present condition is such that the everlasting struggle for existence calls not only the adults but even the aged and the minor to take up their parts in the field. The present condition in the village calls more and more for the assistance and guidance from outside. From the events of the last few years, the people have shown how ready they are to welcome new development and assistance rendered by the C. D. Block. Perhaps more can be done in course of time when the Block

personnel have enough time to understand the various problems of the villagers. Unless something is done in this field, it is feared that the standard of living in the village will gradually go down year by year. Improved method of cultivation, irrigation and mixed farming are the first essential development required by the villagers. The introduction of cottage industry will no doubt bring a successful result, if taken up as a second front.

The people are healthy, smart and above all co-operative. The dignity of manual labour is there in every villager. In fact even among the educated the call of the green fields is to them stronger than the call of other professions. It is the trade of their fore-fathers which they can improve provided they know how to start.

Considering the fact that the village lacks considerably in the basic emenities of health, sanitation, education, transport and communications; several development activities are required. The Block has opened a joint front with all its means to provide and attack on the backwardness as well as on the poverty of this community. But it is too early to get any result. However the attempts and the response of the villagers to these attempts have shown that there is hope for the future.

# Appendices

## APPENDIX I

### Local terms used in the Monograph

Prefixes : Singular number :
(a) Masculine gender—'U'
(b) Feminine gender—'Ka'
Plural number :
Both genders— 'Ki'

Blei U Nongbuh Nongthaw (U)—God the Creator
Daloi (U)—Chief
Daw iong (Ka)— The bluish coloured clay
Daw khluit (Ka)— The heavy greyish coloured clay
Dkhar (Ki)—The term by which plain people are known to the Khasis
Durbar hima (Ka)—State Council
Durbar shnong (Ka)—Village Council
Hali (Ki)—Paddy fields
Heh Shnong (U)—Head of the village
Hima (Ki)—The states, doloiships, etc.
Hynniew trep (Ki)—The seven huts
Iawbei (Ka)—The primeval ancestress
Iu pien (Ka)—A piece of cloth which is wrapped around the lower part of the body by women.
Iu spong (Ka)—Turban
Jain kup (Ka)—An outer garment used by females to cover the whole body from the neck down to the ankles
Jain sem (Ka)—Same as 'iu pien'
Jymphong (Ka)—Sleeveless coat
Kait khun (Ka)—A special kind of banana on which babies are generally fed.
Khadhynriew trep (Ki)—Sixteen huts or families.
Khiew (Ki)—Pots
Khoh (Ka)—Basket
Kni (U)—Maternal uncle
Kpieng (U)—Necklace
Kseh (U or Ka)—Pine or wood of pine tree
Kur (Ki)—Clans
Kynjri (U)—A tassel or chain
Kyrshah (Ka)—A piece of cloth used by women over the 'shah kpoh' and the 'iu pien'
Mohkhiew (U)—Hoe
Myntri (Ki)—Elders
Paila (Ki)—Coral beads
Paron (Ka)—Effigy for ka 'Iawbei'
Ri kynti (Ki)—Private owned lands
Ri raid (Ki)—Community owned lands
Ryndia (Ka)—A big piece of cloth with which men wrap their bodies.
Sang (Ka)—Taboo
Sein kur (Ka)—Clan durbar
Sein raid (Ka)—Raid of Doloiship Council
Sein shnong (Ka)—Village Council
Shah kpoh (Ka)—Inner piece of cloth used by women
Shnong (Ka)—Village
Star (U)—A rope with a flat knitted centre by which the conical basket is carried.
Suidnia (U)—The primeval maternal uncle
Syiem (U)—Chief
Tapmoh khlieh (Ka)—A piece of cloth used by women to cover their heads.
Thawlang (U)—The primeval father of the clan
Tyngshop (U)—Effigy for 'U Suidnia'
Wait (Ka)—Dao
Wakhu (U)—Same as 'U mohkhiew.'

# APPENDIX II

## TABLES

### TABLE 1

HOUSES AND POPULATION

| Total No. of Households | Total No. of Houses | POPULATION | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Persons | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 129 | 129 | 734 | 371 | 363 |

**TABLE—2**

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

| Total No. of Households | SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Single Member | | | 2-3 Members | | | 4-6 Members | | | 7-9 Members | | | 10 Members and Above | | |
| | No. of Households | Males | Females | No. of Households | Males | Females | No. of Households | Males | Females | No. of Households | Males | Females | No. of Households | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 129 | 1 | 1 | — | 14 | 18 | 19 | 71 | 171 | 179 | 37 | 37 | 147 | 6 | 34 | 28 |

TABLE—3

HOUSEHOLDS AND POPULATION BY RELIGION, SECT/SUB-SECT AND CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

| Religion | Caste/Tribe/ Community | Sect | Sub-Sect | Not belonging to any Sect or Sub-Sect. | Total No. of House-holds | Population | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Persons | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1. Christian | Khasi (Pnar) | Presbyterian | .. | .. | 128 | 732 | 370 | 362 |
| 2. Non Christian | —do— | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| TOTAL | | .. | .. | .. | 129 | 734 | 371 | 363 |

TABLE —4

SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

| Scheduled Castes | | | | Scheduled Tribes | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Households | Persons | Males | Females | Households | Persons | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | 129 | 734 | 371 | 363 |

**TABLE—5**

POPULATION BY AGE, SEX AND MARITAL STATUS

| AGE GROUP | TOTAL POPULATION/ | | | NEVER MARRIED | | | MARRIED | | | WIDOWED | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Famales | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
| All-ages | 734 | 371 | 363 | 448 | 227 | 221 | 264 | 132 | 132 | 22 | 12 | 10 |
| 0-14 | 350 | 138 | 212 | 350 | 138 | 212 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 15-34 | 222 | 132 | 90 | 96 | 87 | 9 | 123 | 45 | 78 | 3 | — | 3 |
| 35-59 | 143 | 91 | 52 | 2 | 2 | — | 130 | 80 | 50 | 11 | 9 | 2 |
| 60 & above | 19 | 10 | 9 | — | — | — | 11 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 3 | 5 |

**TABLE—6**

POPULATION BY AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION

| Age Group | Total | | | Illiterates | | | Literates | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | Primary of Junior Basic | | | M. E. Standard | | | Matric Standard | | |
| | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| All-ages | 734 | 371 | 363 | 534 | 279 | 255 | 169 | 75 | 94 | 27 | 13 | 14 | 4 | 4 | — |
| 0—14 | 350 | 138 | 212 | 240 | 93 | 147 | 110 | 45 | 65 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 15—34 | 222 | 132 | 90 | 165 | 106 | 59 | 41 | 19 | 22 | 15 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 1 | — |
| 35—59 | 143 | 91 | 52 | 111 | 71 | 40 | 18 | 11 | 7 | 11 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 3 | — |
| 60 & above | 19 | 10 | 9 | 18 | 9 | 9 | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — |

TABLE—7

WORKERS CLASSIFIED BY SEX, BROAD AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

| Age Group | Cultivation | | | Labour | | | Service | | | Business | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
| All ages | 324 | 199 | 125 | 31 | 28 | 3 | 20 | 5 | 15 | 7 | 3 | 4 |
| 0—14 | 7 | 4 | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 15—34 | 179 | 104 | 75 | 24 | 21 | 3 | 15 | 5 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| 35—59 | 126 | 83 | 43 | 7 | 7 | — | 5 | — | 5 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| 60 & above | 12 | 8 | 4 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

TABLE—8

NON-WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE GROUPS AND NATURE OF ACTIVITY

| Age Group | Total No. of Non-workers | | | Persons engaged in household duties only | | | Full time students or children attending school | | | Dependents | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
| All ages | 352 | 136 | 216 | 7 | — | 7 | 107 | 43 | 64 | 238 | 93 | 145 |
| 0—14 | 343 | 134 | 209 | 3 | — | 3 | 107 | 43 | 64 | 233 | 91 | 142 |
| 15—34 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 35—59 | 2 | — | 2 | 2 | — | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 60 & above | 7 | 2 | 5 | 2 | — | 2 | — | — | — | 5 | 2 | 3 |

TABLE—9

WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE GROUPS, INDUSTRY, BUSINESS AND CULTIVATION BELONGING TO THE HOUSEHOLD

| Age-Group | Total Workers | | | Working in Industry Belonging to the Households | | | Working in Business Belonging to the Households | | | Working in Cultivation Belonging to the Households | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
| All-ages | 283 | 181 | 102 | — | — | — | 7 | 3 | 4 | 276 | 178 | 98 |
| 0-14 | 7 | 4 | 3 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 7 | 4 | 3 |
| 15-34 | 147 | 88 | 59 | — | — | — | 4 | 2 | 2 | 143 | 86 | 57 |
| 35-59 | 117 | 81 | 36 | — | — | — | 3 | 1 | 2 | 114 | 80 | 34 |
| 60 & above | 12 | 8 | 4 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 12 | 8 | 4 |

TABLE—10

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX AND BROAD AGE GROUPS

| Age-Group | Total Population | | | Workers | | | Non-workers | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| All ages | 734 | 371 | 363 | 382 | 235 | 147 | 352 | 136 | 216 |
| 0-14 | 350 | 138 | 212 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 343 | 134 | 209 |
| 15-34 | 222 | 132 | 90 | 222 | 132 | 90 | — | — | — |
| 35-59 | 143 | 91 | 52 | 141 | 91 | 50 | 2 | — | 2 |
| 60 & above | 19 | 10 | 9 | 12 | 8 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 5 |

TABLE—11

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY MAIN OCCUPATION AND CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

| Caste/Tribe/Community | Number of Households Engaged in | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (i) Cultivation | (ii) Labour | (iii) Service | (iv) Business |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Khasi (Pnar) | 113 | 13 | 1 | 2 |

TABLE—12

HOUSEHOLDS ENGAGED IN CULTIVATION, INDUSTRY OR BUSINESS BELONGING TO THE HOUSEHOLD

| Total No. of Households | Households Engaged in Cultivation only | Households Engaged in Industry only | Households Engaged in Business only | Households Engaged in Cultivation, Industry and Business | Households Engaged in Cultivation and Industry | Households Engaged in Cultivation and Business | Households Engaged in Industry and Business | Households Not Running Cultivation, Business or Industry |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 129 | 107 | — | 2 | — | — | 6 | — | 14 |

TABLE—13

TYPES OF BUSINESS RUN BY HOUSEHOLDS

| Name of Business | Number of Households |
|---|---|
| 1 | 2 |
| Agricultural Produce, e.g. Rice, Maize, potato etc. | 2 |

## TABLE—14

LIVELIHOOD CLASSES

| Location Code No. and Name of the Village | Occupied Houses | | Total No. of Persons Enumerated (including inmates of institution and Houseless Persons) | | | Inmates of Institution and Houseless Persons | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of Houses | No. of Households | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 201 Modymmai | 129 | 129 | 734 | 371 | 363 | Nil | Nil | Nil |

## TABLE—14 (Contd,)

| Literates | | AGRICULTURAL CLASSES | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | A | | B | | C | | D | |
| | | Cultivators of land Wholly or Mainly owned and their Dependents | | Cultivators of land Wholly or Mainly unowned and their Dependents | | Cultivating Labourers and their Dependents | | Non Cultivating owners of land, rent receivers and Dependents | |
| Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 92 | 108 | 209 | 240 | 104 | 72 | 41 | 20 | — | — |

## TABLE 14 (Concld.)

| NON-AGRICULTURAL CLASSES | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Persons (Including Dependents) who derive their Principal Means of livelihood from | | | | | | | |
| E | | F | | G | | H | |
| Production other than Cultivation | | Commerce | | Transport | | Other services and Miscellaneous sources | |
| Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
| — | — | 5 | 6 | — | — | 12 | 25 |

TABLE—15

AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD OF INCOME GROUP AND MAIN OCCUPATION BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

| Caste/Tribe/Community | Main Occupation | No. of Households in the main Occupation | ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE | All Households | | | Households with the Annual income group of | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | Rs. 300 and less | | Rs. 301—600 | | Rs. 601—900 | | Rs. 901—1,200 | | Rs. 1,201 and above | |
| | | | | No. of households | Expenditure per Household | Percentage to Total Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 |
| Khasi | Cultivation | 113 | Regular Expenditure | | Rs. | | | | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. |
| (Pnar) | | | (1) Foodstuffs | 113 | 1,023.75 | 16.25 | — | — | 2 | 508.00 | 11 | 520.72 | 22 | 690.36 | 78 | 1,201.94 |
| | | | (2) Paid to the hired Labourers | 56 | 272.36 | 4.32 | — | — | 1 | 555.00 | 3 | 138.33 | 8 | 207.87 | 44 | 286.80 |
| | | | (3) Maintenance of Domestic animals | 32 | 98.28 | 1.56 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 70.00 | 30 | 100.16 |
| | | | (4) Interest for Debt. | 29 | 11.34 | 0.18 | — | — | 2 | 11.00 | 4 | 3.25 | 5 | 10.60 | 18 | 13.39 |
| | | | (5) Expenditure on Industry | 2 | 69.00 | 1.11 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 69.00 |
| | | | Irregular Expenditure | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | (6)House Construction | 105 | 1,138.93 | 18.08 | — | — | 2 | 1,400.00 | 10 | 1,175.00 | 20 | 1,015.00 | 73 | 1,160.79 |
| | | | (7) House Repair | 47 | 234.94 | 3.73 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 240.00 | 8 | 198.75 | 38 | 242.44 |
| | | | (8) Expenditure on Paddy Field | 4 | 3,450.00 | 54.77 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4 | 3,450.00 |

TABLE—15 (Contd.)

AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD OF INCOME GROUP AND MAIN OCCUPATION BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

| Caste/Tribe/Community | Main Occupation | No. of Households in the Main Occupation | ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE | All Households | | | Households with the Annual income group of | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | Rs. 300 and less | | Rs. 301—600 | | Rs. 601—900 | | Rs. 901—1,200 | | Rs. 1,201 and above | |
| | | | | No. of Households | Expenditure per Household | Percentage to Total Expenditure | No. of House-holds | Average Ex-penditure | No. of House-holds | Average Ex-penditure | No. of House-holds | Average Ex-penditure | No. of House-holds | Average Ex-penditure | No. of House-holds | Average Ex-penditure |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 |
| | | | Regular Expenditure | | Rs. | | | | | | | | | | | Rs. |
| | | | (1) Foodstuffs | 2 | 732.00 | 29.03 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 732.00 |
| | | | (2) Paid to the hired Labourers | 1 | 329.00 | 13.04 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 329.00 |
| | | | (3) Maintanance of Domestic Animals | 1 | 120.00 | 4.77 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 120.00 |
| Khasi (Pnar) | Busi-ness | 2 | (4) Interest for Debt. | 1 | 40.00 | 1.59 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 40.00 |
| | | | (5) Expenditure on Industry | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | — |
| | | | Irregular Expenditure | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | (6) House construction | 2 | 1,050.00 | 41.65 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 1,050.00 |
| | | | (7) House Repair | 1 | 250.00 | 9.91 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 250.00 |

TABLE—15 (Contd.)

AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD OF INCOME GROUP AND MAIN OCCUPATION BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

| Caste/Tribe/Community | Main Occupation | No. of Households in the Main Occupation | ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE | All Households | | | Households within the Annual income group of | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | Rs. 300 & Less | | Rs. 301-600 | | Rs. 601-900 | | Rs. 901-1,200 | | Rs. 1,201 & above | |
| | | | | No. of Households | Expenditure per Household | Percentage to Total Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 |
| | | | Regular Expenditure | | Rs. | | | | | | | Rs. | | Rs. | | Rs. |
| Khasi (Pnar) | Labour | 13 | (1) Foodstuffs | 13 | 543.07 | 43.91 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 248.00 | 2 | 392.00 | 10 | 603.60 |
| | | | (2) Paid to the hired Labourers | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | | | (3) Maintenance of Domestic animals | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | | | (4) Interest for Debt. | 2 | 6.00 | 0.48 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 6.00 |
| | | | (5) Expenditure on Industry | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | | | Irregular Expenditure | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | (6) House Construction | 12 | 387.50 | 31.33 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 750.00 | 2 | 650.00 | 9 | 288.88 |
| | | | (7) House Repair | 1 | 300.00 | 24.26 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 300.00 |

TABLE—15 (Concld.)

AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD OF INCOME GROUP AND MAIN OCCUPATION BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

| Caste/Tribe/Community | Main Occupation | No. of Households in the Main Occupation | ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE | All Households | | | Households within the Annual income group of | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | Rs. 300 & Less | | Rs. 301-600 | | Rs. 601-900 | | Rs. 901-1,200 | | Rs. 1,201 & above | |
| | | | | No. of Households | Expenditure per Household | Percentage to Total Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure | No. of Households | Average Expenditure |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 |
| | | | Regular Expenditure | | Rs. | | | | | | | | | | | Rs. |
| | | | (1) Foodstuffs | 1 | 1,248.00 | 59.77 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1,248.00 |
| | | | (2) Paid to the hired Labourers | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | | | (3) Maintenance of Domestic Animals | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | | | (4) Interest for Debt. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Khasi (Pnar) | Service | 1 | (5) Expenditure on Industry | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | | | Irregular Expenditure | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | (6) House Construction | 1 | 600.00 | 28.73 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 600.00 |
| | | | (7) House Repair | 1 | 240.00 | 11.53 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 240.00 |
| | | | (8) Expenditure on Paddy Field | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

TABLE—16

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE AND DISPOSAL

| Name of Agricultural Produce | YEAR — 1962 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity Produced | Quantity consumed by the producing Households | Quantity sold | Value of quantity sold |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Paddy | 7,202 Md. | 6,082 Md. | 1,120 Md. | Rs. 22,400·00 |
| Maize | 603 Md. | 56 Md. | 547 Md. | Rs. 4,376·00 |
| Potato | 554 Md. | 82 Md. | 472 Md. | Rs. 3,776·00 |

TABLE—17

LIVESTOCK STATISTICS BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

| Caste/Tribe/ Community | Milch Cattle | | Draught Cattle | | Pigs | | Fowls | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of Households | Total No. | No. of Households | Total No. | No. of Households | Total No. | No. of Households | Total No. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| Khasi (Pnar) | 14 | 51 | 82 | 357 | 66 | 135 | 68 | 269 |

TABLE—18

MATERIAL CULTURE—POSSESSION OF FURNITURE BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

| Caste/Tribe/ Community | Bed-Stead | Table | Chair | Bench | Stool | Low-Stool | Mirror |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| Khasi (Pnar) | 119 | 23 | 30 | 62 | 94 | 120 | 129 |

TABLE—19

INDEBTEDNESS BY ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND HOUSEHOLDS

| Annual income groups | Total No. of Households | No. of Households in debt and Total debt (in Rupees) | | Percentages of Col. No. 3 to Col. No. 2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | No. of Households | Total Debt | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Rs. 300 & Less | | | | |
| Rs. 301— 600 | 2 | 1 | 150.00 | 50.00 |
| Rs. 601— 900 | 12 | 11 | 4,290.00 | 91.66 |
| Rs. 901—1,200 | 24 | 9 | 4,010.00 | 37.50 |
| Rs. 1,201 & above | 91 | 19 | 12,500.00 | 20.87 |
| Total | 129 | 40 | 20,950.00 | |

TABLE—20

INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSES, AMOUNT AND HOUSEHOLDS

| Causes | Indebtedness by Causes of Debt | |
|---|---|---|
| | Amount of Debt (in Rs.) | No. of Households in Debt |
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
| (1) For House Construction | 2,300.00 | 6 |
| (2) For Business | 6,650.00 | 3 |
| (3) For Buying Cattle | 1,250.00 | 6 |
| (4) For Buying Paddy Field | 8,800.00 | 9 |
| (5) For Medical Treatment | 1,060.00 | 7 |
| (6) For Repairing Paddy Field | 250.00 | 1 |
| (7) For Buying Maize Field | 100.00 | 1 |
| (8) For Buying Gold/Cloth/Food | 100.00 | 1 |
| (9) Due to Failure of Crops | 40.00 | 1 |
| (10) For Children's Education | 200.00 | 1 |
| (11) For Disputing with Husband | 200.00 | 1 |
| Total | 20,950.00 | 37 |

TABLE—21

DIET

| Caste/Tribe/ Community | Total No. of Households in each Community | No. of Households taking meals | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | One time | Two times | Three times | More than three times |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Khasi (Pnar) | 129 | — | — | 129 | — |

TABLE —22

STAPLE DIET AND FOOD HABITS BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

| Caste/Tribe/ Community | Total No. of Households | Households taking | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Rice | Wheat | Grains Other than Rice or Wheat | Roots | Vegetarian | Non-Vegetarian |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| Khasi (Pnar) | 129 | 129 | — | — | — | — | 129 |

TABLE—23

AREA UNDER WET CULTIVATION BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

| Extent in Acres | Number of Households in |
|---|---|
| | Caste/Tribe/Community |
| | (i) Khasi (Pnar) |
| 1 | 2 |
| Below 3 | 76 |
| Above 3— 5 | 41 |
| ,, 5— 8 | 7 |
| ,, 8—11 | 3 |
| ,, 11—14 | — |
| ,, 14—17 | 2 |
| ,, 17—20 | |
| ,, 20—30 | |
| ,, 30—40 | |
| ,, 40 | |
| Total | 129 |

## TABLE—24

### AREA UNDER CULTIVATION

| Main Occupation | Total No. of Households in the main occupation | Cultivable Land (in Acres) | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Owned Land | | Leased Land | | Leased off Land to others | | Total | |
| | | Dry | Wet | Dry | Wet | Dry | Wet | Dry | Wet |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 1. Cultivation | 113 | — | 243.75 | — | 77.50 | — | 29 | — | 350.25 |
| 2. Labour | 13 | — | 1 | — | 10.50 | — | — | — | 11.50 |
| 3. Business | 2 | — | 3 | — | 1.50 | — | — | — | 4.50 |
| 4. Service | 1 | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | 2 |
| Total | 129 | — | 247.75 | — | 91.50 | — | 29 | — | 368.25 |

CONFIDENTIAL

# APPENDIX III

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS

## CENSUS 1961

VILLAGE SURVEY

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

PART I

Name of District

Name of P.S./Mauza

Name of Village

Census Code No.

1. Household No.

Sl. No. of Household

Name of Investigator

Name of Interpreter

Period taken for completion of investigation

From.....To.....

2.

| Name | Age | Sex | Caste or Tribe | Occupation | Literacy | Remarks (is he simply head or also informant) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Head of Household | | | | | | |
| Informant | | | | | | |

**3A-Composition of the Household including the Head (including dependents and casual members living)**

| Economic Status | Sl. No. | Name | Sex M/F | Age in completed years | Relation to the head of the household | Place of birth | | Religion | Community/ Caste/ Tribe | Gotra/ clan | Language | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Name | Distance from the village | | | | Mother tongue | Other languages spoken |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7(a) | 7(b) | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11(a) | 11(b) |

| Education | Occupation | | Place of Occupation | | Income | Marriage | | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Main* | *Subsidiary* | Name | *Distance from* the village | | *Marital* status | *Age at* marriage | |
| 12 | 13(a) | 13(b) | 13(c) | 13(d) | 14 | 15(a) | 15(b) | 16 |

**3B—Members of the Family (i.e. either earners/contributing to the family income or dependents) living away from it**

| Economic Status | Sl. No. | Name | Sex M/F | Age in completed years | Relation to the head of the household | Place of birth | | Religion | Community/ Caste/- Tribe | Gotra/ clan | Language | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Name | Distance from the village | | | | Mother tongue | Other languages spoken |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7(a) | 7(b) | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11(a) | 11(b) |

| Education | Occupation | | Amount contributed to/by household annually as the case may be | Marital status | Marriage | | | Present address | Since when living away from the family | How many times visited the family during the last year | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Main | Subsidiary | | | Age at marriage | Marriage payment if any | | | | | |
| | | | | | | Made by the family | Received by the family | | | | |
| 12 | 13(a) | 13(b) | 14 | 15(a) | 15(b) | 15(c) | 15(d) | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |

4. (a) (i) For how many generations, counting from the head of the household backwards, has the household been residing in this village ?

(ii) For how many years has the household been residing in the village ?

(b) If there is any history or tradition of migration of the household :

(i) Area from where migrated and distance.

(ii) Cause of migration.

(iii) Occupation before migration.

(iv) Any other significant information in respect of the migration.

(c) (i) Whether a displaced household after partition.

(ii) If so, how and why this village was selected.

(iii) Has the household received any loan or grant for rehabilitation. (state amount and date).

(iv) Any comment (including whether the household considers itself to be adequately rehabilitated).

5. (a) Religion ..

(b) Sect ..

(c) Tribe or Caste ..

(d) Sub-tribe or Sub-caste

6 (a) Is there a deity or object of worship or a sacred plant in the house ? (Answer Yes/No)

(b) If 'yes' where is the deity or object of worship located in the house ?

(c) What is the name of the deity or object of worship or sacred plant and what is the form and frequencies of worship ?

7 (a) (i) What are the different types of marriages in your community ?

(ii) Who are the permissible partners for marriage among kinsfolk and who are not ?

(iii) Is polyandry/polygamy customarily followed in the household ?

(iv) Is widow marriage customary in the household. If 'yes' name social attitude approving/dis-approving.

7. (b) Expenditure on marriage :

(i) On functions before marriage.

(ii) On marriage ceremony.

(iii) On functions following marriage.

(iv) Any amount paid last year.

7. (c) Usual range of bride-price :

(i) Who receives the bride-price ?

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (ii) Bride price : | Virgin | From | to | Rs. |
| | Widow | From | to | Rs. |
| (iii) Bridegroom price | | From | to | Rs. |

(iv) Describe briefly the role of the priest and mention particulars regarding community/caste/tribe.

(v) Is there any special dress and ornaments prescribed for the bride and the bridegroom ? (Give a brief description).

(vi) Did any marriage in contravention of community/caste/tribal law take place in this household ? If 'yes' give details and social attitude.

(vii) Was dowry given on the occasion of the marriage of the daughters ? If 'yes', mention the amount.

(viii) Are you aware of the legislation regarding prohibition of dowry ? If 'yes' what is your attitude towards it ?

(ix) Do you know that there have been changes in the recent years in the Hindu Marriage Act ? 'If 'yes' what do you think of the salient features of the Hindu Marriage Act ?

7. (d) Divorce :

(i) Is divorce/separation an accepted institution in your community/caste/tribe ?

(ii) Agency settling the dispute and its composition.

(iii) Amount of compensation paid to the aggrieved party.

8. Inheritance :

(a) Which relatives, including the widow and daughters (married and unmarried) inherit property on the death of a married person belonging to the same caste as the household ?

(b) What is the share of each such member ?

(c) Can a person make a will of gift of his/her property ?

(d) Is it in accordance with the traditional custom ?

(e) Is the informant aware of the changes in the Hindu Succession Act ? If 'yes' is his description of the Act correct ?

(f) Is the informant aware of the changes in the Hindu Adoption Act ? If 'yes', is his description of the Act correct ?

9. If the household possesses land, give :—

(a) **Owned** **Leased in** **Remarks**

Total area in acre—

(b) Area comprising household—
(c) Total uncultivable fallow—
(d) Total cultivable land—
(e) Total land cultivated, with particulars as under :—

| Situated | Owned Land cultivated | | | Lease land cultivated | | | Total | | | Owned land leased out to others | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of plots | Area | | No. of plots | Area | | No. of plots | Area | | No. of plots | Area | |
| | | Dry | Wet | | Dry | Wet | | Dry | Wet | | Dry | Wet |
| **Inside the village** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Outside the village .....Miles** | | | | | | | | | | | | |

(f) (i) In case of owned land, how and when the family came to own land ?
(ii) What is the land revenue for the land owned—has there been any recent change ?
(iii) What are the tax collecting Agencies ?

(g) In case the household has leased land—
(i) Who is the landlord ?
(ii) Where does he stay (if outside the village, the distance should be given ) ?
(iii) What is his occupation ?
(iv) Since when has the land been leased ?
(v) On what terms the land has been leased—has there been any recent change ?

(h) If the land has been leased out—
(i) To how many tenants ?
(ii) Since when ?
(iii) On what terms ? Has there been any recent changes ?

(i) If there is any cultivable land, which is lying fallow—
(i) Since when, it is lying fallow ?
(ii) Why is it lying fallow ?

(j) Is the household cultivating any land by hired labour ? If so—
(i) Quantity of land cultivated through hired labour.
(ii) Agricultural operations in which labourers were engaged.
(iii) Number of man days, for which hired labourers were engaged.

(iv) Average wage per day paid to hired labourers.

Male————Per day.

Female————Per day.

(k) (i) Agricultural operation

| Name of crops | Main implements | Main operations and season for each (ploughing, sowing, weeding, transplanting, harvesting, thrashing etc.) | Land under cultivation | | Quantity obtained last year | Quantity sold and rate | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Irrigated | Unirrigated | | | |

10. Does the household own any cattle or poultry ? Give numbers.

| | Present No. | Cost of maintenance last year. |
|---|---|---|
| (i) Milch cattle | .. | |
| (ii) Draught cattle | .. | |
| (iii) Cows | .. | |
| (iv) Goat | .. | |
| (v) Sheep | .. | |
| (vi) Pigs | .. | |
| (vii) Ducks | .. | |
| (viii) Geese | .. | |
| (ix) Fowl | .. | |

11. Fishery

(a) Does the household own any tank ?

(b) If fish is reared, was any quantity sold last year ? Answer Yes/No (If 'yes', mention quantity and amount obtained last year).

**Industry**

12. Does the household conduct any industry ? If 'yes'-

(a) What are the products ?

(b) How it is financed ? Expenditure incurred last year.

(c) Are some of the products sold ?

(d) What is the amount collected last year ?

(e) Has the making of any of the products been taken up for the first time in the course of the last 5 years ?

(f) Has any new technique been adopted or any new implement brought into use during the last 5 years ? If so, give details.

13. Mention in detail the means of livelihood of the household other than agriculture and industry, e.g. service or trade or business or labour.

13. (a) In case of trade or business, mention the commodities dealt in, annual profit, how financed etc.

(b) In case of service (labour), mention the status, name of establishment and approximate monthly income (daily wages).

**Indebtedness**

14. If the head of the household is in debt—

(a) Amount of debt outstanding.

(b) Purpose of the debt.

(c) Source of credit.

(d) Rate of interest.

(e) Terms and securities against the debt.

15. Reasons if traditional occupation is not followed by any.

**Education**

16. (a) Does any member of the household regularly read a newspaper or listen to news broadcasts through the community radio sets ?

(b) Does the head of the household know the name of the Anchalik Panchayat/Thana/Subdivision/District in which the village is situated ?

(c) Does the head of the household know the name of the principal rivers flowing through the district ?

**Diet**

17. (a) & (b) How many times in a day do the members of your household take their food ?

| Food routine (Ordinary) | | Food routine (Festivals) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Time of day | Items in the meal if taken | Name of Festival | Time/s of principal meal | Item |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

(c) What are the foods or drinks prohibited ? Why are they prohibited ?

(d) Does the household take sugar with coffee and tea ?

18. What utensils are used for—

| | Local term | English term | Materials | Number |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (i) Cooking | | | | |
| (ii) Eating | | | | |
| (iii) Drinking | | | | |
| (iv) Fetching & storing water | | | | |
| (v) Storing food-grain, condiments, oil etc. | | | | |

19. Fuel—

(a) What fuel is ordinarily used for cooking ?
(b) Whether obtained free or on payment ?
(c) Place and distance from where obtained or purchased ?
(d) Amount spent last year ?

20. Furniture—

(a) Does the household possess bed-stead/khatia/taktaposh/chair/table/bench/stool/mirror/alna/bracket ? (cross out those not found)

(b) Is the household using any new kind of furniture for the first time in the last five years ?

(c) Is mosquito net used ?

21. Dresses and ornaments—

| Items | | Working | | | Ordinary | | | Festival & Dancing | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Local term | English term | Material | Local term | English term | Material | Local term | English term | Material |
| Dress | Male | | | | | | | | | |
| | Female | | | | | | | | | |
| Ornaments | Male | | | | | | | | | |
| | Female | | | | | | | | | |

22. Consumer Goods—

(a) Does the household possess hurricane lantern/petromax/battery torch light/ kerosene stove/bicycle/gramophone/radio-set ?

(b) Has any of the items been acquired for the first time in the last five years ? If so, mention them.

(c) Does the household use toilet soap/washing soap ?

(d) Are clothes sent to the washerman for being cleaned ?

23. Family planning—

(a) Do the father/s (indicate by his S. No. in 3A or 3B) in the household know anything about family planning through the family planning centre or social workers ?

(b) Is there any family planning centre/social worker in that area ? Give the address or the department concerned.

(c) Does the head of the household wish that more or no more children were born to him ?

(d) Condition of the family :—

| Father's name | Occupation of both parents & children, if any | Income of parents & children, if any | Father's Age | | Mother's name | Her age | | Children | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | In completed years | At first marriage | | In completed years | At first marriage | Sons | Daughters |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

24. House :

(a) What is your house type called ? Term/Description.

(b) Is this your own house ?

(c) When was your house built and at what cost ?

(d) Do you attach any importance to the selection of the house site ? (if 'yes' give details)

(e) Give details of construction.

Plan

Plinth

Wall

Roof

Ventilation

Number of rooms

How they are used

General

(f) Was your house constructed with the assistance of family labour/caste/tribe/community labour/hired labour.

(g) Are there any auspicious days and months for commencing house construction ?

(h) What are the ceremonies observed concerning house construction and house warming ?

(i) When was your house repaired last and at what cost ?

25. Belief in luck and superstition :

(a) Do you believe in luck and superstition ?

(b) If yes, do you believe in omens, taboos, common inhibition ?

(c) If yes, what things are lucky and unlucky to hear or to see ?

(d) What objects are lucky or unlucky in themselves, gems or metals or bits of clothing ?

(e) What sorts of acts are supposed to be lucky or unlucky, such as breaking things or falling or tripping or in eating or drinking or yawning or sneezing passing through or under any object ?

(f) How do people protect themselves from possessions of the evil eye ?

(g) In what months is it lucky or unlucky to be born or married ?

(h) What days of the week are considered lucky to cut one's hair or nails ?

26. Leisure and recreation :

(a) What are the months in a year when either you or any member of your family are not gainfully employed ?

(b) How do you spend the leisure ?
(give a brief account).

(c) What are the leisure hours in a day ?
How do you spend them ?
(give a brief account).

(d) What are the games played by

(i) Boys ..

(ii) Girls ..

(iii) Adult Males ..

(iv) Women ..

(e) Are there any games connected specially with some festivals :

(i) Girls ..

(ii) Boys ..

(iii) Adult Males ..

(iv) Women ..

(f) Are any folk dances conducted in the village ? What are their names ? Draw plans or take photographs showing the positions and movements of the dancers ? Are any of the dances conected with particular times of the year or festivals ? (Answer in the F.N.B.)

27. (a) The attitude of the family members (belonging to a particular community/caste/tribe) to sharing with their co-villagers, people from neighbouring places and strangers of different community/caste/tribe in the following activities :—

Household—

Community Caste Tribe

Are these things unobjectionable ? Yes/No.

| Name of other Communities, Castes or Tribes | Drinking water from the same well | Using the same bucket | Taking food in the same room | Going to the same temple |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| A. Co-villagers | | | | |
| B. Neighbours | | | | |
| C. Strangers | | | | |

(b) If all the answers are negative, is this attitude traditional, or a recent one (in this case obtain when and how the change of attitude has taken place).

APPENDIX IV

# SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY 1960—61

## CENSUS—1961

Name of District_____

**PART II**

**VILLAGE SCHEDULE**

Name of Police Station/Mauza/_____

Name of Village_____ Number of Village_____

Area of the Village_____ Number of Households_____

Name of Predominant Caste/Tribe_____

What is the religion which the majority of the villagers profess ?..

1. Topography of the Village :—

   (a) Is the village situated on a plain/on an undulating surface/a plateau/on a hillock/or at the bottom of a depression ?

   (b) The system of grouping of houses—average distance between two clusters of houses—reasons for such grouping, e.g. ; whether on account of the nature of the surface of land or on account of social custom.

   (c) Internal roads-tanks-any stream or other extensive source of water-proximity or otherwise of any jungle—Approximate number of shadebearing trees and how they are arranged.

2. What is the local legend about the village ?

3. Detailed description of average house of the members of each caste/tribe, religious group, occupational group in the village.

4. Name and distance of Hat or Hats to which surplus produce of the village is taken for sale.

   4 (a) Page - 83
   4 (b) Page - 83
   4 (c) Page - 83

5. Name and distance of the nearest Railway station and Bus route.

6. Distance by road from Thana and Subdivision Headquarters.

7. (a) Distance of the Post office from the village.

(b) Distance of the Telegraph office from the village.

(c) Can money be sent through that Post office ?

8. Religious practice followed by members of each caste, tribe and religious group in the village. The description of the religious practice in each case should begin with the name or names under which the Supreme Being is known and then proceed from ceremonies that might be observed in respect of a person from sometime before he is born and end with the funeral rites after his death.

9. Give details of places of common religious worship, if any.

10. Describe community festivals if held in the village.

11. Dress and ornaments commonly worn by the villagers with special reference to peculiarities on account of caste, tribe or religious sanction or economic status.

12. Number and types of schools in the village.

12. (a) Page 83

13. Describe historical monuments, temples, etc. if any.

14. State of co-operative movement in the village. (Number and names of co-operatives)

14. (a) Page 84

14. (b) Page 84

15. Name and distance of the nearest hospital or dispensary.

16. Name the diseases from which the villagers usually suffer.

17. Name the diseases from which cattle commonly suffer.

18. Name and distance of the nearest veterinary hospital.

19. (a) Is this village within any C. D., N. E. S. or M. P. C. D. Block ? (Yes/No)

(b) If 'yes', what benefit it derives from the Block ?

20. (a) Mention the names of the clubs, libraries, drama parties or other cultural organisations in the village (if any).

20. (a) (i) Page 84

20. (b) Mention in brief other recreational facilities enjoyed by the village. (Sports and Games, Cinema, Fairs, Festivals, etc.)

21. Page 85

22. ,, 85

23. ,, 85

24. ,, 86

4(a) Name and particulars of the markets most commonly visited.

| Name of the Market | Distance from the village | Transport | Weekly Hat day | Commodities exported to the market | | | Commodities imported from the market | | | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Item | Approximate quantity | Approximate value | Item | Approximate quantity | Approximate value | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |

4(b) Particulars about the fairs and festivals commonly visited by the villagers.

| Name of the Fair | Distance | When held | Main attraction | How old | Size of gathering | Commodities transacted | Recreational activities | Religious activities | Cultural & Social activities | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |

4(c) If there are shops in the village, furnish the following particulars.

| Name of the shopkeeper | If he is an outsider, his home address | When the shop was established | Extent of business | | Nature of transaction (cash, advance, barter, etc.) | Side business, if any (money lending, contract etc.) | General notes on the business including profiteering, if any, trends of change in the quantity and method of transaction, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Names of main commodities | Approximate annual transaction | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |

12 (a) Particulars of the Educational Institutions

| Type | Name of the Institution | Where situated | | Since when in existence | How many students from the village are enrolled/ST/SC others | School hours | General notes including history of the Institution, its problems etc. Number of Schools of each type. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Name of the place | Distance from the village | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |

**14(a) General particulars about the Co-operative Societies that serve the village.**

| Type of Society | Name | Area of Operation | Registered H. O. | | When Registered | Members | | Qualification for membership | Nature of operation | Aid from Government | Extent of business to last audit report | Loss or profit according to last audit report | Dividend, if any, given | General note on its role including whether all sections of the population are attached, what are its problems, etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Name of the place | Distance from the village | | Total | No. from the village | | | | | | | |

**14(b) Organisational and operative details.**

| Name of the Society | Composition of Board of Management | | Date of registration | General meeting held after registration | | Meeting of the board of Management last year | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Officials | Non-officials S.T./S.C./Others | | Date | No. of members attending | | |



**20(a) (i) Cultural life of the village.**

| I | II | III | | | | | IV | | | | | V | VI | VII |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Name of clubs, libraries, drama parties or other cultural organisations in the village** | When established | Members | | | | | Office bearers | | | | | Brief note on basis of membership (Subscription, signing of pledge etc.) | Brief note on objective of the organisation | Brief note on activities of the organisation |
| | | Name | Castes/ Tribes | Occupation | Age | Education | Name | Castes/ Tribes | Occupation | Age | Education | | | |

21. (a) Are there dormitories in the village for unmarried boys and girls ? If so, give rough sketches of horizontal cross-section and vertical cross-section of the huts indicating different elements (place of sleeping, dancing, etc.)

(b) Describe the musical and other instruments.

(c) Discuss the recreational, economic, educational and other activities of the dormitory.

22. Furnish the following particulars regarding emigration from the village :

| Name of S.C./S.T. | No. of families emigrated | | | | Area to where migrated | Purpose of migration | General note including whether the families concerned still have economic interest in the village and whether they occasionally visit the village. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Before 30 years | During 20-30 years | During 10-20 years | During last 10 years | | | |

23. Furnish the following particulars about immigration into the village :

| Name of S.C./S.T. | No. of families immigrated | | | | Area from where migrated | Purpose of migration | General note including how many families are only sojourners in the village and go back to their original place from time to time. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Before 30 years. | During 20-30 years. | During 10-20 years. | During last 10 years. | | | |

24. Village leaders, Members of Panchayat, priests, and other office bearers.

| I | | II | | | | | | | | III |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Member | | | | | | | | |
| Name of organisation | Name of office held | Name | Caste/ Tribe | Occupation | Age | Since when holding the office | How position gained | Remuneration, if any | Other offices held inside or outside the village | Remarks (activities) |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |

# List of Agents for the sale of Government of India Publications

(as on 17 February 1964)

AGARTALA—Laxmi Bhandar Books & Scientific Sales .. (Rest)

AGRA—

1. National Book House, Jeoni Mandi .. (Reg)
2. Wadhawa & Co., 45, Civil Lines .. (Reg)
3. Banwari Lal Jain, Publishers, Moti Katra .. (Rest)
4. English Book Depot, Sadar Bazar, Agra Cantt. .. (Rest)

AHMADNAGAR—V.T. Jorakar, Prop., Rama General Stores, Navi Path .. (Rest)

AHMEDABAD—

1. Balgovind Kuber Dass & Co., Gandhi Road .. (Reg)
2. Chandra Kant Chiman Lal Vora, Gandhi Road .. (Reg)
3. New Order Book Co., Ellis Bridge .. (Reg)
4. Mahajan Bros., Opp. Khadia Police Gate .. (Rest)
5. Sastu Kitab Ghar, Near Relief Talkies, Patthar Kuva, Relief Road .. (Reg)

AJMER—

1. Book-Land, 663, Madar Gate .. (Reg)
2. Rajputana Book House, Station Road .. (Reg)
3. Law Book House, 271, Hathi Bhata .. (Reg)
4. Vijay Bros., Kutchery Road .. (Rest)
5. Krishna Bros., Kutchery Road .. (Rest)

ALIGARH—Friends' Book House, Muslim University Market .. (Reg)

ALLAHABAD—

1. Superintendent, Printing & Stationery, U.P.
2. Kitabistan, 17-A, Kamala Nehru Road .. (Reg)
3. Law Book Co., Sardar Patel Marg., P. Box 4 .. (Reg)
4. Ram Narain Lal Beni Modho, 2-A, Katra Road .. (Reg)
5. Universal Book Co., 20, M. G. Road .. (Reg)
6. Wadhwa & Co., 23., M. G. Marg .. (Rest)
7. The University Book Agency (of Lahore), Elgin Road .. (Reg)
8. Bharat Law House, 15, Mahatma Gandhi Marg .. (Rest)
9. Ram Narain Lal Beni Prashad, 2-A, Katra Road .. (Rest)

AMBALA—

1. English Book Depot, Ambala Cantt. .. (Reg)
2. Seth Law House, 8719, Railway Road, Ambala Cantt. .. (Rest)

AMRITSAR—

1. The Law Book Agency, G. T. Road, Putligarh .. (Reg)
2. S. Gupta, Agent, Govt. Publications, Near P.O. Majith Mandi .. (Reg)
3. Amar Nath & Sons, Near P.O. Majith Mandi .. (Reg)

ANAND—

1. Vijaya Stores, Station Road .. (Rest)
2. Charto Book Stall, Tulsi Sadan, Stn. Road .. (Rest)

ASANSOL—D.N. Roy & R.K. Roy, Booksellers, Atwal Building .. (Rest)

BANGALORE—

1. The Bangalore Legal Practitioner Co-op. Society Ltd., Bar Association Building .. (Reg)
2. S. S. Book Emporium, 118, Mount Joy Road .. (Reg)
3. The Bangalore Press, Lake View, Mysore Road, P.O. Box 507 .. (Reg)
4. The Standard Book Depot, Avenue Road .. (Reg)
5. Vichara Sahitya Private Ltd., Balepet .. (Reg)
6. Makkala Pustaka Press, Balamandira, Gandhinagar .. (Reg)
7. Maruthi Book Depot, Avenue Road .. (Rest)
8. International Book House P. Ltd., 4-F,Mahatma Gandhi Road .. (Reg)
9. Navakarnataka Pubns. Private Ltd., Majestic Circle .. (Rest)

BAREILLY—Agarwal Brothers,Bara Bazar .. (Reg)

BARODA—

1. Shri Chandrakant Mohan Lal Shah, Raopura .. (Rest)
2. Good Companions Booksellers, Publishers & Sub-Agent .. (Rest)
3. New Medical Book House, 540, Madan Zampa Road .. (Rest)

BEAWAR—The Secretary, S.D.College, Co-operative Stores Ltd. .. (Rest)

BELGHARIA—Granthlok,Antiquarian Booksellers & Publishers (24 Parganas), 5/1, Amlica Mukherjee Road .. (Reg)

BHAGALPUR—Paper Stationery Stores, D.N. Singh Road .. (Reg)

BHOPAL—

1. Superintendent, State Government Press
2. Lyall Book Depot, Mohd. Din Bldg., Sultania Road .. (Reg)
3. Delite Books, Opp. Bhopal Talkies .. (Rest)

BHUBANESWAR—Ekamra Vidyabhaban, Eastern Tower, Room No. 3 .. (Rest)

BIJAPUR—Shri D. V. Deshpande, Recognised Law Booksellers, Prop. Vinod Book Depot, Near Shiralshetti Chowk .. (Rest

BIKANER Bhandani Bros. .. (Rest)

BILASPUR—Sharma Book Stall, Sadar Bazar .. (Rest)

BOMBAY—

1. Supdt. Printing and Stationery, Queens Road
2. Charles Lambert & Co., 101, Mahatma Gandhi Road .. (Reg)
3. Co-operator's Book Depot, 5/32 Ahmed Sailor Bldg., Dadar .. (Reg)
4. Current Book House, Maruti Lane, Raghunath Dadaji St. .. (Reg)
5. Current Technical Literature Co. P. Ltd., India House, 1st Floor .. (Reg)
6. International Book House Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, M. G. Road .. (Reg)
7. Lakkani Book Depot, Girgaum .. (Reg)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | Elpees Agencies, 24, Bhangwadi, Kalbadevi | | (Reg) |
| 9. | P. P. H. Book Stall, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road | .. | (Reg) |
| 10. | New Book Co ., 188-190, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road | .. | (Reg) |
| 11. | Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road | .. | (Reg) |
| 12. | Sunder Das Gian Chand, 601, Girgaum Road, Near Princess Street | .. | (Reg) |
| 13. | D. B. Taraporewala Sons and Co. (P) Ltd ., 210, | .. | (Reg) |
| | Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road | .. | (Reg) |
| 14. | Thacker and Co ., Rampart Row | .. | (Reg) |
| 15. | N. M. Tripathi Private Ltd ., Princess Street | .. | (Reg) |
| 16. | The Kothari Book Depot, King Edward Road | .. | (Reg) |
| 17. | P. H. Rama Krishna and Sons, 147, Rajaram Bhuvan, Shivaji Park Road, No. 5 | .. | (Rest) |
| 18. | C. Jamnadas & Co ., Booksellers, 146-C, Princess St. | .. | (Reg) |
| 19. | Indo Nath & Co ., A-6, Daulat Nagar, Borivli | .. | (Reg) |
| 20. | Minerva Book Shop, Shop No. 1/80, N. Subhas Road | .. | (Reg) |
| 21. | Academic Book Co ., Association Building, Girgaum Road | .. | (Rest) |
| 22. | Dominion Publishers, 23, Bell Building, Sir P. M. Road | .. | (Rest) |
| 23. | Bombay National History Society, 91 Walkeshwar Road | .. | (Rest) |
| 24. | Dowamadeo and Co. 16, Naziria Building, Ballard Estate | .. | (Rest) |
| 25. | Asian Trading Co. 310, the Miraball, P. B. 1505 | .. | (Rest) |

CALCUTTA—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Chatterjee & Co ., 3/1, Bacharam Chatterjee Lane | .. | (Reg) |
| 2. | Dass Gupta & Co. Ltd ., 54/3, College Street | .. | (Reg) |
| 3. | Hindu Library, 69 A, Bolaram De Street | .. | (Reg) |
| 4. | S. K. Lahiri and Co. Private Ltd ., College Street | .. | (Reg) |
| 5. | M. C. Sarkar and Sons P. Ltd ., 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street | .. | (Reg) |
| 6. | W. Newman & Co. Ltd ., 3, Old Court House Street | .. | (Reg) |
| 7. | Oxford Book & Stationery Co ., 7, Park Street | .. | (Reg) |
| 8. | R. Chambray & Co ., Ltd ., Kent House, P. 33, Mission Road Extension | .. | (Reg) |
| 9. | S. C. Sarkar & Sons Private Ltd ., I.C. College Square | .. | (Reg) |
| 10. | Thacker Spink & Co. (1933) P. Ltd ., 3, Esplanade East | .. | (Reg) |
| 11. | Firma K. L. Mukhopadhaya, 6/1A, Banchha Ram Akrar Lane | .. | (Reg) |
| 12. | K. K. Roy, P. Box No. 10210, Calcutta-19 | .. | (Rest) |
| 13. | Sm. P. D. Upadhaya, 77, Muktaram Babu Street | .. | (Rest) |
| 14. | Universal Book Dist ., 8/2 Hastings Street | .. | (Rest) |
| 15. | Modern Book Depot, 9, Chowringhee Centre | .. | (Rest) |
| 16. | Soor and Co ., 125, Canning Street | .. | (Reg) |
| 17. | S. Bhattacharjee, 49, Dharamtala Street | .. | (Rest) |
| 18. | Mukherjee Library, 10, Sarba Khan Road | .. | (Reg) |
| 19. | Current Literature Co ., 208, Mahatma Gandhi Road | .. | (Reg) |
| 20. | The Book Depository, 4/1, Madan Street (Ist Floor) | .. | (Rest) |
| 21. | Scientific Book Agency, Netaji Subhas Road | .. | (Rest) |
| 22. | Reliance Trading Co ., 17/1 Banku Bihari Ghose Lane, District Howrah | .. | (Rest) |
| 23. | Indian Book Dist. Co ., 6512, Mahatma Gandhi Road | .. | (Rest) |

CALICUT—Touring Book Stall .. (Rest)

CHANDIGARH—

1. Supdt. Govt. Printing and Stationery, Punjab
2. Jain Law Agency, Flat No. 8, Sector No. 22 .. (Reg)
3. Rama News Agency, Bookseller, Sector No. 22 .. (Reg)
4. Universal Book Store, Booth 25,, Sector 22 D .. (Reg)
5. English Book Shop, 34, Sector 22 D .. (Rest)
6. Mehta Bros., 15-Z, Sector 22 B .. (Rest)
7. Tandan Book Depot, Shopping Centre, Sector 16 .. (Rest)
8. Kailash Law Publishers, Sector 22 B .. (Rest)

CHHINDWARA—The Verma Book Depot .. (Rest)

COCHIN—Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Palliarakav Road .. (Reg)

CUTTACK—

1. Press Officer, Orissa Sectt.
2. Cuttack Law Times .. (Reg)
3. Prabhat K. Mahapatra, Mangalabag, P.B.35 .. (Reg)
4. D.P. Sur & Sons, Mangalabag .. (Rest)
5. Utkal Stores, Balu Bazar .. (Rest)

DEHRA DUN—

1. Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpur Road .. (Reg)
2. National News Agency, Paltan Bazar .. (Reg)
3. Bishan Singh and Mahendra Pal Singh, 318, Chukhuwala .. (Reg)
4. Utam Pustak Bhandar, Paltan Bazar .. (Rest)

DELHI—

1. J.M. Jain & Brothers, Mori Gate .. (Reg)
2. Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmere Gate .. (Reg)
3. Federal Law Book Depot, Kashmere Gate .. (Reg)
4. Bahri Bros., 188, Lajpat Rai Market .. (Reg)
5. Bawa Harkishan Dass Bedi (Vijaya General Agencies) P. B. 2027,Ahata Kedara, Chamalian Road .. (Reg)
6. Book Well, 4, Sant Narankari Colony, P. B. 1565 .. (Reg)
7. Imperial Publishing Co., 3, Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj .. (Reg)
8. Metropolitan Book Co.,1, Faiz Bazar .. (Reg)
9. Publication Centre, Subzimandi .. (Reg)
10. Youngman & Co., Nai Sarak .. (Reg)
11. Indian Army Book Depot, 3, Daryaganj .. (Reg)
12. All India Educational Supply Co., Shri Ram Buildings, Jawahar Nagar .. (Rest)
13. Dhanwant Medical & Law Book House, 1522, Lajpat Rai Market .. (Rest)
14. University Book House, 15, U. B. Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar .. (Rest)
15. Law Literature House, 2646, Balimaran .. (Rest)
16. Summer Brothers, P. O. Birla Lines .. (Rest)
17. Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16, Netaji Subhash Marg .. (Reg)
18. B. Nath & Bros., 3808, Charkhawalan (Chowari Bazar) .. (Rest)
19. Rajkamal Prakashan P. Ltd., 8, Faiz Bazar .. (Reg)
20. Premier Book Co., Printers, Publishers & Booksellers, Nai Sarak .. (Rest)
21. Universal Book Traders, 80, Gokhale Market .. (Reg)
22. Tech. & Commercial Book Coy., 75, Gokhale Market .. (Rest)
23. Saini Law Publishing Co., 1416, Chabiganj, Kashmere Gate .. (Rest)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 24. | G. M. Ahuja, Booksellers & Stationers, 309, Nehru Bazar | .. | (Rest) |
| 25. | Sat Narain & Sons, 3141 Mohd. Ali Bazar, Mori Gate | .. | (Reg) |
| 26. | Kitab Mahal (Wholesale Div.) P. Ltd ., 28, Faiz Bazar | .. | (Reg) |
| 27. | Hindu Sahitya Sansar, Nai Sarak | .. | (Rest) |
| 28. | Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Oriental Booksellers & Publishers P. B. 1165, Nai Sarak | .. | (Rest) |
| 29. | K. L. Seth, Suppliers of Law, Commercial & Tech. Books, Shanti Nagar, Ganeshpura | .. | (Rest) |
| 30. | Adarsh Publishing Service, 5 A/10 Ansari Road | .. | (Rest) |

DHANBAD—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ismag Co-operative Stores Ltd ., P. O. Indian School of Mines | .. | (Reg) |
| 2. | New Sketch Press, Post Box 26 | .. | (Rest) |

DHARWAR—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | The Agricultural College Consumers Co-op. Society | .. | (Rest) |
| 2. | Rameshraya Book Depot, Subhas Road | .. | (Rest) |
| 3. | Karanatakaya Sahitya Mandira of Publishers and Booksellers | | |

ERNAKULAM—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Pai & Co ., Cloth Bazar Road | .. | (Rest) |
| 2. | South India Traders C/o. Constitutional Journal | .. | (Reg) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| FEROZEPUR—English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road | | .. | (Reg) |
| GAUHATI—Mokshada Pustakalaya | | .. | (Reg) |
| GAYA—Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Buddha Marg | | .. | (Reg) |
| GHAZIABAD—Jayana Book Agency | | .. | (Rest) |
| GORAKHPUR— Vishwa Vidyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road | | .. | (Reg) |
| GUDUR—The General Manager, The N. D. C. Publishing & Ptg. Society Ltd. | | .. | (Rest) |
| GUNTUR—Book Lovers Private Ltd ., Kadriguda, Chowrasta | | .. | (Reg) |

GWALIOR—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Supdt. Printing & Stationery, M. B. | | |
| 2. | Loyal Book Depot, Patankar Bazar, Laskhar | .. | (Reg) |
| 3. | M. C. Daftari, Prop. M. B. Jain & Bros., Booksellers, Sarafa, Laskhar | .. | (Rest) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| HUBLI—Pervaje's Book House, Koppikar Road | | .. | (Reg) |

HYDERABAD—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Director, Govt. Press | | |
| 2. | The Swaraj Book Depot, Lakdikapul | .. | (Reg) |
| 3. | Book Lovers Private Ltd. | .. | (Rest) |
| 4. | Labour Law Publications 873, Sultan Bazar | .. | (Rest) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| IMPHAL—Tikendra & Sons, Booksellers | | .. | (Rest) |

INDORE—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Wadhawa & Co ., 56, M. G. Road | .. | (Reg) |
| 2. | Swarup Brother's Khajuri Bazar | .. | (Rest) |
| 3. | Madhya Pradesh Book Centre, 41, Ahilya Pura | .. | (Rest) |
| 4. | Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace | .. | (Rest) |
| 5. | Navyug Sahitya Sadan, Publishers & Booksellers, 10, Khajuri Bazar | .. | (Rest) |

JABALPUR

1. Modern Book House, 286, Jawaharganj .. (Reg)
2. National Book House, 135, Jai Prakash Narain Marg .. (Reg)

JAIPUR—

1. Government Printing & Stationery Deptt., Rajasthan
2. Bharat Law House, Booksellers & Publishers, Opp. Prem Prakash Cinema .. (Reg)
3. Garg Book Co., Tripolia Bazar .. (Reg)
4. Vani Mandir, Sawai Mansingh Highway .. (Reg)
5. Kalyan Mal & Sons, Tripolia Bazar .. (Rest)
6. Popular Book Depot, Chaura Rasta .. (Reg)
7. B. Krishan Book Depot, Chaura Rasta .. (Rest)
8. Dominion Law Depot, Shah Building, P .B. No. 23 .. (Rest)

JAMNAGAR— Swedeshi Vastu Bhandar .. (Reg)

JAMSHEDPUR—

1. Amar Kitab Ghar, Diagonal Road, P. B. 78 .. (Reg)
2. Gupta Stores, Dhatkidih .. (Reg)
3. Sanyal Bros., Booksellers & News Agents, Bistapur Market .. (Rest)

JAWALAPUR— Sahyog Book Depot .. (Rest)

JHUNJHUNU—

1. Shashi Kumar Sarat Chand .. (Rest)
2. Kapram Prakashan Prasaran, 1/90 Namdha Niwas Azad Marg .. (Reg)

JODHPUR—

1. Dwarka Das Rathi, Wholesale Books and News Agents .. (Reg)
2. Kitab-Ghar, Sojati Gate .. (Reg)
3. Choppra Brothers, Tripolia Bazar .. (Reg)

JULLUNDUR—

1. Hazooria Bros., Mai Hiran Gate .. (Rest)
2. Jain General House, Bazar Bansanwala .. (Reg)
3. University Publishers, Railway Road .. (Rest)

KANPUR—

1. Advani & Co., P. Box 100, The Mall .. (Reg)
2. Sahitya Niketan, Shradhanand Park .. (Reg)
3. The Universal Book Stall, The Mall .. (Reg)
4. Raj Corporation, Raj House, P. B. 200, Chowk .. (Rest)

KARUR— Shri V. Nagaraj Rao, 26, Srinivasapuram .. (Rest)

KODARMA—The Bhagwati Press, P. O. Jhumri Tilaiya, Dt. Hazaribagh .. (Reg)

KOLHAPUR— Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road .. (Rest)

KOTA— Kota Book Depot .. (Rest)

KUMTA— S. V. Kamat, Booksellers & Stationers (N. Kanara) .. (Reg)

LUCKNOW—

1. Soochna Sahitya Depot (State Book Depot)
2. Balkrishna Book Co. Ltd. Hazratganj .. (Reg)
3. British Book Depot, 84, Hazratganj .. (Reg)

4. Ram Advani, Hazratganj, P. B. 154 .. (Reg)
5. Universal Publishers (P) Ltd., Hazratganj .. (Reg)
6. Eastern Book Co., Lalbagh Road .. (Reg)
7. Civil & Military Educational Stores, 106/B Sadar Bazar .. (Rest)
8. Acquarium Supply Co., 213, Faizabad Road (Rest)
9. Law Book Mart, Amin-Ud-Daula Park .. (Rest)

LUDHIANA—

1. Lyall Book Depot,Chaura Bazar .. (Reg)
2. Mohindra Brothers, Katcheri Road .. (Rest)
3. Nanda Stationery Bhandar, Pustak Bazar .. (Rest)
4. The Pharmacy News, *Pindi Street* .. (Rest)

MADRAS—

1. Supdt. Govt. Press, Mount Road
2. Account Test Institute, P. O. 760, Egmore .. (Reg)
3. C.Subbiah Chetty & Co., Triplicane .. (Reg)
4. K. Krishnamurthy, Post Box 384 .. (Reg)
5. Presidency Book Supplies, 8, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane .. (Reg)
6. P. Vardhachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street .. (Reg)
7. Palani Prachuram, 3, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane .. (Reg)
8. NCBH Private Ltd., 199, Mount Road .. (Rest)
9. V. Sadanand, The Personal Bookshop, 10, Congress Building,111, Mount Road .. (Rest)

MADURAI—

1. Oriental Book House, 258, West Masi Street .. (Reg)
2. Vivekananda Press, 48, West Masi Street .. (Reg)

MANDYA SUGAR TOWN— K. N. Narimhe Gowda & Sons .. (Rest)
MANGALORE— U.R. Shenoye Sons, Car Street, P. Box 128 .. (Reg)
MANJESHWAR— Mukenda Krishna Nayak .. (Rest)
MATHURA— Rath & Co., Tilohi Building, Bengali Ghat .. (Rest)

MEERUT—

1. Prakash Educational Store, Subhas Bazar .. (Reg)
2. Hind Chitra Press, West Kutchery Road .. (Reg)
3. Loyal Book Depot, Chhippi Tank (Reg)
4. Bharat Educational Stores, Chhippi Tank .. (Rest)
5. Universal Book Depot, Booksellers & News Agents .. (Rest)

MONGHYR—Anusandhan, Minerva Press Building .. (Rest)

MUSSOORIE—

1. Cambridge Book Depot, The Mall .. (Rest)
2. Hind Traders .. (Rest)

MUZAFFARNAGAR—

1. Mittal & Co., 85- C, New Mandi .. (Rest)
2. B. S. Jain & Co., 71, Abupura .. (Rest)

MUZAFFARPUR—

1. Scientific & Educational Supply Syndicate .. (Reg)
2. Legal Corner, Tikmanio House, Amgola Road .. (Rest)
3. Tirhut Book Depot .. (Rest)

MYSORE—

1. H. Venkataramiah & Sons, New Statue Circle .. (Reg)
2. Peoples Book House, Opp. Jagan Mohan Palace .. (Reg)
3. Geeta Book House, Booksellers & Publishers, Krishnamurthipuram .. (Rest)
4. News Paper House, Lansdowne Building .. (Rest)
5. Indian Mercantile Corporation, Toy Palace Ramvilas .. (Rest)

NADIAD— R. S. Desay, Station Road .. (Rest)

NAGPUR—

1. Supdt., Govt, Press & Book Depot
2. Western Book Depot., Residency Road .. (Reg)
3. The Asstt. Secretary, Mineral Industry Association, Mineral House .. (Rest)

NAINITAL—Coural Book Depot, Bara Bazar .. (Rest)

NANDED—

1. Book Centre, College Law General Books, Station Road .. (Rest)
2. Hindustan General Stores, Paper & Stationery Merchants, P.B. No. 51 .. (Rest)
3. Sanjoy Book Agency, Vazirabad .. (Rest)

NEW DELHI—

1. Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus .. (Reg)
2. Bhawani & Sons, 8 F, Connaught Place .. (Reg)
3. Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus .. (Reg)
4. Empire Book Depot, 278, Aliganj .. (Reg)
5. English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus P. O. B. 328 .. (Reg)
6. Faqir Chand & Sons, 15-A, Khan Market .. (Reg)
7. Jain Book Agency, C-9, Prem House, Connaught Place .. (Reg)
8. Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House .. (Reg)
9. Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore) 16/B, Connaught Place .. (Reg)
10. Sikh Publishing House, 7-C, Connaught Place .. (Reg)
11. Suneja Book Centre, 24/90, Connaught Circus .. (Reg)
12. United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus .. (Reg)
13. Jayana Book Depot, Chhaparwala Kuan, Karol Bagh .. (Reg)
14. Navayug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, Dev Nagar .. (Reg)
15. Saraswati Book Depot, 15, Lady Harding Road .. (Reg)
16. The Secretary, Indian Met. Society, Lodi Road .. (Reg)
17. New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals, Sty. & Novelles, P. B. 96, Connaught Place .. .. (Reg)
18. Mehra Brothers, 50-G, Kalkaji .. (Reg)
19. Luxmi Book Stores, 42, Janpath .. (Rest)
20. Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath .. (Rest)
21. People Publishing House (P) Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road .. (Reg)
22. Sharma Bros., 17, New Market, Moti Nagar .. (Reg)
23. R. K. Publishers, 23, Beadon Pura, Karol Bagh .. (Rest)
24. Aapki Dukan, 5/5777, Dev Nagar .. (Reg)

25. Sarvodaya Service, 66A-1, Rohtak Road, P. B. 2521 .. (Rest)
26. H. Chandson, P. B. No. 3034 .. (Rest)
27. The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India, 23-B/2, Rohtak Road .. (Rest)
28. Standard Booksellers & Stationers, Palam Enclave .. (Rest)
29. Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Regarpura .. (Rest)
30. Sant Ram Booksellers, 16, New Municipal Market, Lody Colony .. (Rest)

PANJIM—

1. Singhals Book House, P. O. B. 70, Near the Church .. (Rest)
2. Sagoon Gaydev Dhoud, Booksellers, 5-7 Rua, 3, Ide Jameria .. (Rest)

PATHANKOT—The Krishna Book Depot, Main Bazar .. (Rest)

PATIALA—

1. Supdt. Bhupendra State Press
2. Jain & Co., 17, Shah Nashin Bazar .. (Reg)

PATNA—

1. Supdt. Govt. Printing (Bihar)
2. J. N. P. Agarwal & Co., Padri-Ki-Haveli Raghunath Bhawan .. (Reg)
3. Luxmi Trading Co., Padri-Ki-Haveli .. (Reg)
4. Moti Lal Banarsi Dass, Bankipore .. (Reg)
5. Bengal Law House, Chowhatta .. (Rest)

PITHORAGARH— Maniram Punetha & Sons .. (Rest)

PONDICHERRY— M/s. Honesty Book House, 9, Rue Duplixe .. (Reg)

POONA—

1. Deccan Book Stall, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg)
2. Imperial Book Depot, 266, M. G. Road .. (Reg)
3. International Book Service, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg)
4. Raka Book Agency, Opp. Natu's Chawl, Near Appa Balwant Chowk .. (Reg)
5. Utility Book Depot, 1339, Shivaji Nagar .. (Rest)

PUDUKOTTAI— Shri P. N. Swaminathan Sivam & Co., East Main Road .. (Rest)

RAJKOT— Mohan Lal Dossabhai Shah, Booksellers and Sub-Agents .. (Reg)

RANCHI—

1. Crown Book Depot, Upper Bazar .. (Reg)
2. Pustak Mahal, Upper Bazar .. (Rest)

REWA— Supdt. Govt. State Emporium V. P.

ROURKELA— The Rourkela Review .. (Rest)

SAHARANPUR— Chandra Bharata Pustak Bhandar, Court Road .. (Rest)

SECUNDERABAD— Hindustan Diary Publishers, Market Street .. (Reg)

SILCHAR— Shri Nishit Sen, Nazirpatti .. (Rest)

SIMLA—

1. Supdt. Himachal Pradesh Govt.
2. Minerva Book Shop, The Mall .. (Reg)
3. The New Book Depot, 79, The Mall .. (Reg)

SINNAR— Shri N. N. Jakhadi, Agent, Times of India, Sinnar (Nasik) .. (Rest)

SHILLONG—

1. The Officer-in-Charge, Assam Govt. B. D.
2. Chapala Bookstall, P. B. No. 1 .. (Rest)

SONEPAT—United Book Agency .. (Reg)
SRINAGAR—The Kashmir Bookshop, Residency Road .. (Reg)
SURAT—Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road .. (Reg)

TIRUCHIRAPALLI—

1. Kalpana Publishers, Wosiur .. (Reg)
2. S. Krishnaswami & Co ., 35, Subhash Chander Bose Road .. (Reg)
3. Palamiappa Bros. .. (Rest)

TRIVANDRUM—

1. International Book Depot, Main Road .. (Reg)
2. Reddear Press & Book Depot, P. B. No. 4 .. (Rest)

TUTICORIN—Sri K. Thiagarajan, 10-C. French Chapal Road .. (Rest)

UDAIPUR—

1. Jagdish & Co, Inside Surajapole .. (Rest)
2. Book Centre, Maharana, Bhopal Consumers' Co-op. Society Ltd. .. (Rest)

UJJAIN—Manak Chand Book Depot, Sati Gate .. (Rest)

VARANASI—

1. Students, Friends & Co ., Lanka .. (Rest)
2. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Gopal Mandir Road, P. B. 8 .. (Reg)
3. Glob Book Centre .. (Rest)
4. Kohinoor Stores, University Road, Lanka .. (Reg)
5. B. H. U. Book Depot .. (Rest)

VELLORE—A. Venkatasubhan, Law Booksellers .. (Reg)
VIJAYAWADA—The Book & Review Centre, Eluru Road, Governpet .. (Rest)

VISAKHAPATNAM—

1. Gupta Brothers, Vizia Building .. (Reg)
2. Book Centre, 11/97, Main Road .. (Reg)
3. The Secy., Andhra University, General Co-op. Stores Ltd. .. (Rest)

VIZIANAGARAM—Sarda & Co. .. (Rest)
WARDHA—Swarajeya Bhandar, Bhorji Market .. (Reg)

FOR LOCAL SALE

1. Govt. of India Kitab Mahal, Janpath, Opp. India Coffee House, New Delhi.
2. Govt. of India Book Depot, 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
3. High Commissioner for India in London, India House, London W. C. 2.

RAILWAY BOOKSTALL HOLDERS

1. S/S. A. H. Wheeler & Co., 15, Elgin Road, Allahabad.
2. Gahlot Bros., K. E. M. Road, Bikaner.
3. Higginbothams & Co. Ltd. Mount Road, Madras
4. M. Gulab Singh & Sons Private Ltd ., Mathura Road, New Delhi.

FOREIGN

1. S/S. Education Enterprise Private Ltd. Kathmandu (Nepal)
2. S/S.Aaktie Bologat, C.E. Fritzes Kungl, Hovobokhandel, Fredsgation-2, Eox 1656 Stockholm-16 (Sweden)
3. Reise-und Verkehrsverlag Stuttgart, Post 730, Gutenbergstra 21, Stuttgart No. 11245, Stuttgart den (Germany West)
4. Shri Iswar Subramanyam 452, Reversite Driv Apt. 6, New York, 27 NWY.
5. The Proprietor, Book Centre, Lakshmi Mansions, 49, The Mall, Lahore (Pakistan)

ON S. AND R.BASIS

1. The Head Clerk, Govt. Book Depot, Ahmedabad
2. The Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Kapileswar Road, Belgaum.
3. The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Dhar
4. The Asstt. Director, Footwear Extension Centre, Polo Ground No. 1, Jodhpur
5. The O. I/C, Extension Centre, Club Road, Muzaffarpur
6. The Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, Govt. of India, Ministry of Mines & Fuel, Nagpur
7. The Asstt. Director, Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad (Gujarat)
8. The Head Clerk, Photozincographic Press, 5, Finance Road, Poona
9. Govt. Printing & Stationery, Rajkot
10. The O.I/C, Extension Centre, Industrial Estate, Kokar, Ranchi
11. The Director, S. I. S. I. Industrial Extension Centre, Udhna, Surat
12. The Registrar of Companies, Narayani Building, 27, Brabourne Road, Calcutta-1
13. The Registrar of Companies, Kerala, 50, Feet Road, Ernakulam
14. The Registrar of Companies, H. No. 3-5-83, Hyderguda, Hyderabad
15. The Registrar of Companies, Assam, Manipur & Tripura, Shillong
16. Registrar of Companies, Sunlight Insurance Building, Ajmeri Gate Extension, New Delhi
17. Registrar of Companies, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, Link Road, Jullundur City
18. Registrar of Companies, Bihar, Jamal Road, Patna—1
19. Registrar of Companies, Raj & Ajmer, Shri Kamta Prasad House, 1st Floor 'C' Scheme, Ashok Marg, Jaipur
20. The Registrar of Companies, Andhra Bank Building, 6, Linghi Chetty Street, P. B. 1530 Madras
21. The Registrar of Companies, Mahatma Gandhi Road, West Cott. Bldg. P. B. 334, Kanpur
22. The Registrar of Companies, Everest 100, Marine Drive, Bombay
23. The Registrar of Companies, 162, Brigade Road, Bangalore
24. The Registrar of Companies, Gwalior
25. Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Bhuli Road, Dhanbad
26. Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Cuttack Chandi, Cuttack
27. The Registrar of Companies, Gujarat State, Gujarat Samachar Building, Ahmedabad
28. Publication Division, Sale Depot, North Block, New Delhi
29. The Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, New Delhi
30. The O. I/C., University Employment Bureau, Luckow
31. O. I/C., S.I.S.I. Extension Centre, Malda
32. O. I/C., S.I.S.I. Extension Centre, Habra, Tabaluria, 24 Parganas
33. O. I/C., S.I.S.I. Model Carpentry Workshop, Piyali Nagar, P.O. Burnipur
34. O. I/C., S.I.S.I. Chrontanning Extension Centre, Tangra 33, North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46
35. O. I/C., S.I.S.I. Extension Centre (Footwear), Calcutta
36. Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Hyderabad
37. Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Krishna Distt. (A.P.)
38. Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Jhabua
39. Dy. Director Incharge, S.I.S.I. ; C/o Chief Civil Admn. Goa, Panjim
40. The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur
41. The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Gopal Bhavan Mornia
42. The O. I/C, State Information Centre, Hyderabad
43. The Registrar of Companies, Pondicherry
44. The Asstt. Director of Publicity and Information, Vidhana Saubha (P.B. 271) Bangalore