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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME III

ASSAM

PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

1. Titaguri (Jonagaon)

E. H. PAKYNTEIN

of the Indian Administrative Service
Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam

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Depending on the size, there may be sub-parts to some of the parts. In addition, Village Survey Monographs will be published separately for each village.

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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

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 thirtyfive, 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.

Asok Mitra

Registrar General, India.

New Delhi
July 30, 1964.

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 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, 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. Titaguri (Jonagaon) is one such village which is inhabited by people locally known as Kacharis although they address themselves as Bodo (Boro). The Tribe is widely distributed not only within the boundaries of Assam, but well outside it also, that is, in North East Bengal, Cooch Behar and Hill Tippera where the language affinities of these people show decisive evidence that they are of the same Bodo stock.

Though the village is within the ambit of one community development block and not very far from a subdivisional headquarter town, it does not appear to have derived significant benefit out of the block. The people of Titaguri (Jonagaon) are mostly cultivators who grow paddy and other crops, but the adherence to the established and outmoded techniques of farming has greatly told upon the initiative and enterprising spirit of the farmers. Again, if a man cannot go to work in the field he just sits with hands crossed as long as the idea to go in for a subsidiary occupation is not injected into his mind. But the wind of change has started blowing and some change in the sphere of social and religious life of the people has already taken place due to the impact of the Brahma religion—a reformist cult. Although ignorance continues to be a bliss in many respects, Bodos are now very keen in educating their children. This monograph depicts the village in its present form.

The field investigation was done by the late Tapan Chandra Barua and the tabulation of the data was done in my office. The frame of this monograph was also started by the late Barua, and I was also assisted by Shri F.B. Lyngdoh, ACS, Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations as well as by Shri J.C.Bhuyan, Assistant Superintendent of Census Operations and Shri K.S. Dey, M.A., Tabulation Officer, during the course of its compilation.

E. H. PAKYNTEIN

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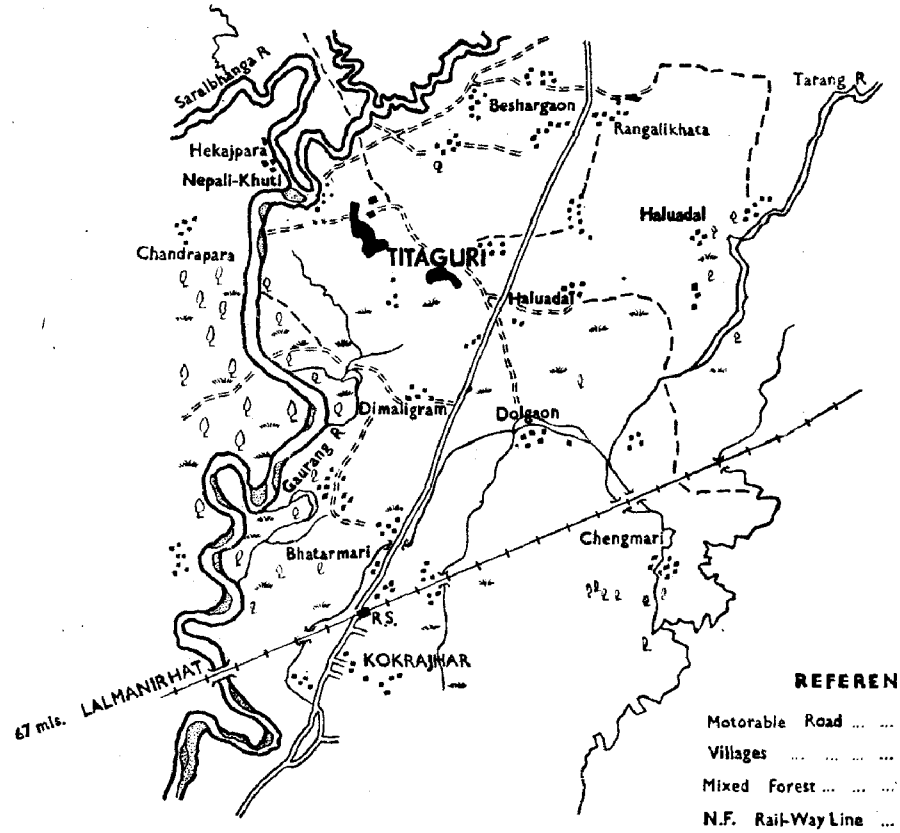
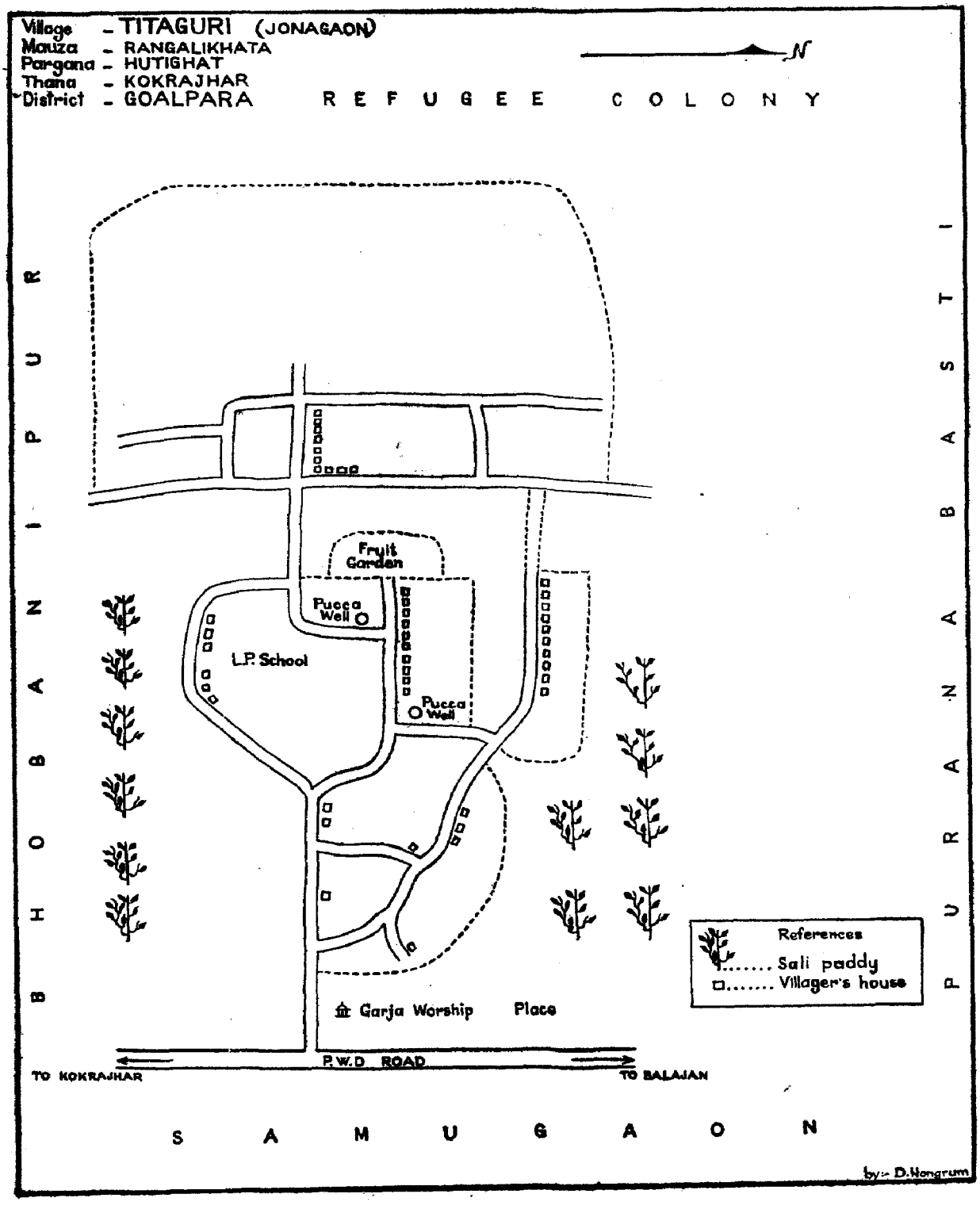
RELIEF MAP
of
TITAGURI (JONAGAON)
AND ITS SURROUNDING AREAS



T.Tlinga


Village - TITAGURI (JONAGAON)
Mauza - RANGALIKHATA
Pargana - HUTIGHAT
Thana - KOKRAJHAR
District - GOALPARA
N
REFUGEE COLONY
BHOBANIPUR
PURANABASTI
Fruit Garden
Pucca Well
L.P. School
Pucca Well
Garja Worship Place
References
..... Sali paddy
□..... Villager's house
P.W.D ROAD
TO KOKRAJHAR
TO BALAJAN
SAMUGAON
by:- D.Nongrum

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Introduction : Titaguri Jonagaon, one of the eleven hamlets of the village Titaguri Part II in the Kokrajhar Subdivision of the district Goalpara has been treated as a small village for the present survey. This village is entirely inhabited by a homogenous group of Bodo Kachari tribe. It is intended to portray the structure and functioning of the community life of the village in the background of its primarily agrarian economy characterised by old practices of farming, its social institutions and nearness to a subdivisional headquarter town.

Location and communication : The village is situated at 26°26′45″ latitude and 90°16′30″ longtitude. It lies at a distance of about 3 miles from Kokrajhar town and is bounded on the north by Puranabasti, on the east by the Kokrajhar-Balajan road, on the south by Bhabanipur village and on the west by the new refugee basti. In the vicinity of this area, all the villages are inhabited by the Bodo-Kachari tribe.

The village is connected by a small katcha jeepable road with the Kokrajhar-Balajan road. The bus service on the latter again links it with the nearest town, Kokrajhar, which is also the centre of administration being a subdivisional headquarter. Though there is a regular bus service, the majority of the people from the village usually go to and come from Kokrajhar on foot or occasionally by buffalo carts while those who belong to the well-to-do families use their own bicycles or sometimes hire rickshaws from the town.

Physical aspects : The whole land of the village is plain. The homestead lands where the dwelling structures are constructed are slightly higher than their surrounding areas covered with paddy fields. The river Gauranga flows through the western portion of the village at a distance of about half a mile. A little further to the north-west of the village, the Saraibhanga, and towards the further north, the Sanmukha rivers meet with the Gauranga river.

Climate : The climate is more or less tropical. The temperature rises fairly high during the month of March and April and falls to a minimum during December and January. The range of temperature varies from 53°F (11.6°C) to 90°F (32.2°C). Rainfall is moderate during summer. The annual rainfall within and around the area is approximately 100 inches (250 cms).

Flora and fauna : The whole of the Goalpara district is very rich in forest resources especially in valuable sal timbers. Within the area of survey, however, there are no such timbers, but in the neighbouring forests, about 3 miles and a half away, there are many valuable timbers like sal (shorea-robusta), sisoo (dalbergiasissu), champa (michelia champea), poma (cedrela toona), khakan (duabanga sonneratioides), nahor (mesuaferrea), gomari (gamilina arborea), petamani (amoora spectabilis) and uriam (bischofia javanica). The shade-bearing trees in the village are mango trees (manifora-indica), tamarind (tamarindu indicus), neem (metia azadirachta), modar (calatropis) etc. They are all arranged by nature and by man in a haphazard manner.

Leopard, fox, jackal and snake wander in this area in small number. The neighbouring forests are rather rich in wild life and

several varieties of animals are seen, the more important ones being tiger, elephant, buffalo, deer and leopard.

Size, hamlets : Titaguri is a comparatively large village covering about 957.80 acres of land with a total number of 370 households consisting of 1,319 persons according to the 1961 Census. There are in all eleven hamlets namely, Titaguri Jonagaon, Purana Titaguri, Natun Titaguri (Bodo Kachari basti), Bhatgaon, Masgaon (Rajbangshi basti), Kachibarni Titaguri and Titaguri Nath basti (Nath basti), Magarmoni Titaguri (Burman basti), Khutamaia Titaguri (Gaula basti), Bhabanipur Titaguri (a refugee basti), Majpasta Titaguri and Nadi Khulia Titaguri (a Burman basti).

The area surveyed is Titaguri Jonagaon, a purely Bodo basti of 49 households with a total population of 331 persons of whom 174 are males and 157 females. It covers an area of 340.50 acres or 137.7 hectares and the density of population is 624 per square mile.

Residential pattern and communications with the village : Generally the villages of Goalpara district are not well-defined units. They are mere clusters of huts which stand out clearly in the centre of paddy fields owned by their inhabitants. Rice, the staple food crop, is grown in the wide plains dotted over with clumps of bamboo and fruit trees in which are hidden houses of cultivators in such a way that not a single house can be seen from a distance without entering or going very near the village.

The houses are so arranged that they may be said to be distributed into two clusters with an internal path of about a furlong in length passing through the paddy field and linking them. Although the hutments are arranged in two different clusters within the village, there is nothing unusual about that, because the villagers therein live as if in a compact unit and the settlement pattern has been evolved mainly for the convenience of the people to live near the areas of their agricultural operations.

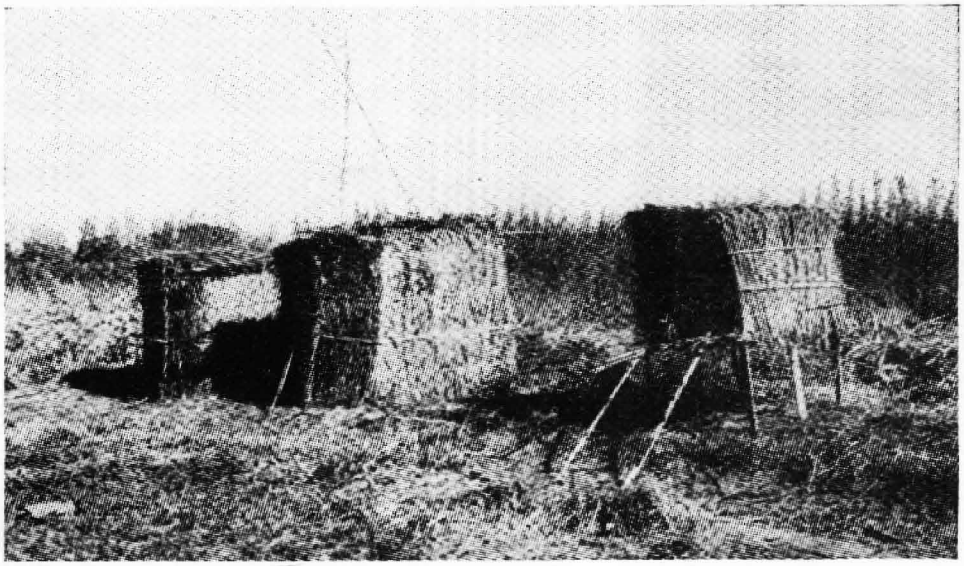
If one walks towards the village from the meeting point of the Kokrajhar-Balajan road and the village katcha road, he will see only the paddy fields on both sides of the road, and looking straight ahead, he will see an area somewhat like an island covered with groves of bamboo in the midst of green paddy fields. As long as such a visitor does not penetrate inside the village, it will be difficult for him to realise that under the groves of bamboo there are 49 households inhabited by the Boro Kacharis forming a part of the Titaguri cadastral village. This main path leading to the village bifurcates at the point from where the settlement begins. The houses are arranged systematically on the sides of the village path with sufficient marginal compounds and a gap of about 8/10 feet between them. The settlement pattern may in fact be defined as linear except in the case of two or three houses which are isolated in the midst of paddy fields.

Important public places including places of worship : Inside the village there is no notable public place. The villagers do not also have a common religious house called 'namghar' as is usually seen in most of the villages of the Assamese communities. The community religious festivals known as 'kherai' and 'garja' pujas are annually celebrated by the Bodos of that religion. In the year 1962, the 'garja' puja was performed in a corner of the village, and just at the entrance to the same, the remnants in the form of two small rectangular thatched huts constructed for this purpose were still seen when the village was visited for the survey. There is a library and a primary school inside the village.

Source of water : The village is not gifted with any natural source of water. There are three ring wells inside the village, two of which



A 'Siju' (cactus tree) formerly found in the courtyard of every household



The 'Garja' worship place in a corner of the village



A distant view of the village. A few villagers snapped while going to the 'hat' through the main village path



Two villagers are going to the local market for selling their garden fruits

were constructed by the Public Health Engineering Department and the other one by the erstwhile Local Board besides a few small ponds.

Welfare and administrative institutions : In so far as the welfare and administrative institutions are concerned, the villagers, along with the neighbouring people, derive benefit from Kokrajhar town, the subdivisional headquarters, not only for administrative facilities but also for all other social and cultural amenities like marketing, administration of justice, posts and telegraphs services, medical treatment, games and sports and also recreation like the cinema. Due to their cultural contact with the towns people, the villagers have learnt something of the art of better living. The introduction of modern materials in dress and ornaments among boys and girls has become quite noticeable of late.

Markets : Inside the village there is no shop. Neither is any hat held for affording marketing facilities to the villagers. For the purpose of selling and buying, they attend weekly hats on Wednesdays and Sundays at Kokrajhar, while on Tuesdays and Saturdays, they go to Balagaon which are only $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles respectively away from the village.

History of the village, settlement of the different sections of the population : The villagers could not give any definite idea about when the village was settled saying that they had been there since the time of their great grandfathers. There is no myth or legend connected with the name of the village. It is stated that since its establishment, the composition of the village has remained a homogenous one. Table No. XIV appearing in the Appendix relates to the settlement history of the households. As the village is an old and settled one, the villagers could not point out since when and from where their forefathers came and settled there. Out of the 49 households in the village, 40 households appear to have lived here for over 5 generations, 5 households from 3 to 5 generations, 3 households above 1 but below 3 generations and only 1 household for 1 generation. The only household which has settled there in the present generation has a head who was appointed as a school master in the village and decided to settle down in the village. It is reported that this family migrated from Halogaon about one mile away from this village.

There is a legend prevalent among the villagers that the Bodos of this area migrated from as far away as Dibrugarh and Dimapur having been frightened away by a war between the Kacharis and the Koch kings in the eighteenth century. But this statement also could not be supported with facts and figures as they are not definite about it and simply narrated what has been passed on to them as a myth or legend from fathers to sons.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

History and origin of the Bodos, regional distribution, other particulars: Assam has multi-racial and linguistic groups of people with different cultures of whom the Boro Kacharis or the Bodos form a very important section of these groups and are believed to be among the earliest settlers of Assam. At one time they built a powerful kingdom with their capital at Dimapur and then at Maibong and Khaspur. They spread over the Brahmaputra valley, North Bengal and East Bengal and constitute a very important group of Indo-Mongoloid people of East India. Those who live in scattered hamlets along the foothills of the Himalayas in North-East India as well as in scattered areas of the Brahmaputra valley, have now been mixed up with the neighbouring peoples. But they still call themselves 'Boro or Bodo' although they are otherwise known as 'Kacharis' in the Assam Valley. A section of this tribe who have gradually become Hindus speaking Assamese and considering their status to be higher than that of the Kacharis are known as the Koches. In the Brahmaputra valley, the greatest concentration of this tribe is in the districts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong. They also skirted the southern bend of the Brahmaputra and occupied the Garo Hills where the Garos still show close affinity with them. South of the Garo Hills, they spread in northern Mymensingh where the semi-Bengalised Hajong tribe shows that it is of Bodo origin. In the borders of North Cachar Hills and Dimapur, there are two distinct groups known as Dimasas and Meches who also call themselves Bodos or Kacharis. In the range of hills south of the Surma Valley there are the Tipperahs whose language is a branch of the ancient Bodo.

Attempts were made to find out the local belief about their origin, but most of the villagers practically knew nothing about it although some of them were of the opinion that they are the direct descendants of Hirimba, the wife of Bhima. Such mythological origins are however common among Hindu India.

Sri M. M. Brahma, research scholar of the Tribal Culture and Folklore Research Department of the Gauhati University in his collection of the 'Folk-songs of the Bodos' remarked that "In so far as the Bodo language is concerned, there is little doubt that the language is very rich in vacabulary and is specially noted for its phonological peculiarity". Though the language is widely current not only in Assam but also in some parts of West Bengal, there is no Bodo alphabet as such. In an article 'Boro Lipi' (Boro alphabet) by Shri Gahin Basumatari published in the issue of Asom Bani dated November, 22, 1963, it is stated that in the Brahmaputra Valley, the Boro Kacharis use both the Assamese as well as the Roman alphabets in Bodo literature. Since times immemorial, the Bodos living in the districts of Goalpara, Darrang and Kamrup have composed Bodo songs, poems and dramas in the Assamese alphabet and the first Bodo journal, the 'Bibar', was also published in the Assamese alphabet in 1923. Due to the interaction of cultures, it is found that words of both Assamese and Boro languages are found in either language. The Kachari Rajas, during their reign, took immense interest in the growth and development of Assamese literature. Dr. S. K. Bhuyan in his 'Kachari Buranji' thoroughly discussed this point and, according to

him, one king of Cachar was the patron of Madhab Kandali who translated the Ramayana into Assamese.

The majority of the people of this community especially the villagers of Titaguri are bilingual in the sense that they use their own Bodo dialect in speaking among themselves while Assamese is used as the medium of expression with the neighbouring Assamese people.

Race and physical appearance: Considering the linguistic affinities of the Kacharis with the Garos as well as the tribes known under different names as Dhimal, Chutiya, Koch, Rabha, Mech etc. many authors opine the possibility of existence of some ethnological relationship between these tribes, but without thorough anthropometric data it is difficult to say to what extent such racial affinities exist among them. Some scholars like Prof. S. K. Chatterjee include the Bodos under the Indo-Mongoloid stock, while Haddon finds the Dolichocephalic Platyrrhine (Pre-dravidian) racial elements in the tribe. In physique, the men and women are as a rule medium-statured and well built, strong and healthy.

Religion, caste and community : The villagers generally call themselves Hindus, although one section is under the influence of the Brahma Samaj—a reformist cult. The Brahma Samajis have adopted a new mode of worshipping the deities and all the religious parts connected with their social occasions are performed according to the Hindu rites. The main annual festival amongst this Brahma group is the 'mahalaya'. They perform the religious ceremonies through the observance of the 'homa ceremony', and frequent offerings are made to fire through the enchanting of 'slokas' from the religious scripts. The other non-Brahmas who also call themselves Hindus still owe allegiance to their traditional tribal deities and still annually perform the 'Kherai and garja' community worships. They believe in the existence and active interference in the affairs of men of certain invisible spiritual beings, considered as evil spirits which cause one's sickness and other natural calamities and are for the most part influenced by malevolent motives, the ill effects of which towards mankind is overcome by frequent offerings of rice, plantain, pigs, goats, poultry, etc. to the household deity, Bathau Boro or Mainao, and also by the performance of the Kherai puja or the garja puja. There is of course a tendency among them to identify the tribal deities with the Hindu gods and goddesses through a process of syncretism and hence Bathau is being frequently identified with Siva and Mainao with Lakshmi—a typical symptom of the influence of Brahminism.

From the mode of worshipping of deities, the following classification is made:

Table 1

Religion	Caste/tribe/community	Total No. of households	Persons	Males	Females
Bodo	Bodo Kachari	39	274	147	127
Brahma Samaj	—do—	10	57	27	30

Language : The language of the people is Bodo or Boro and the speakers of this language consist of Boros, Bodos, Garos, Hajongs, Kacharis, Koches, Lalungs, Meches, Rabhas, Chutiyas and Tipperahs. In the Census Report of 1961, this language is grouped under the Tibeto-Burman family which is a branch of the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Chinese family according to the Linguistic Survey of India.

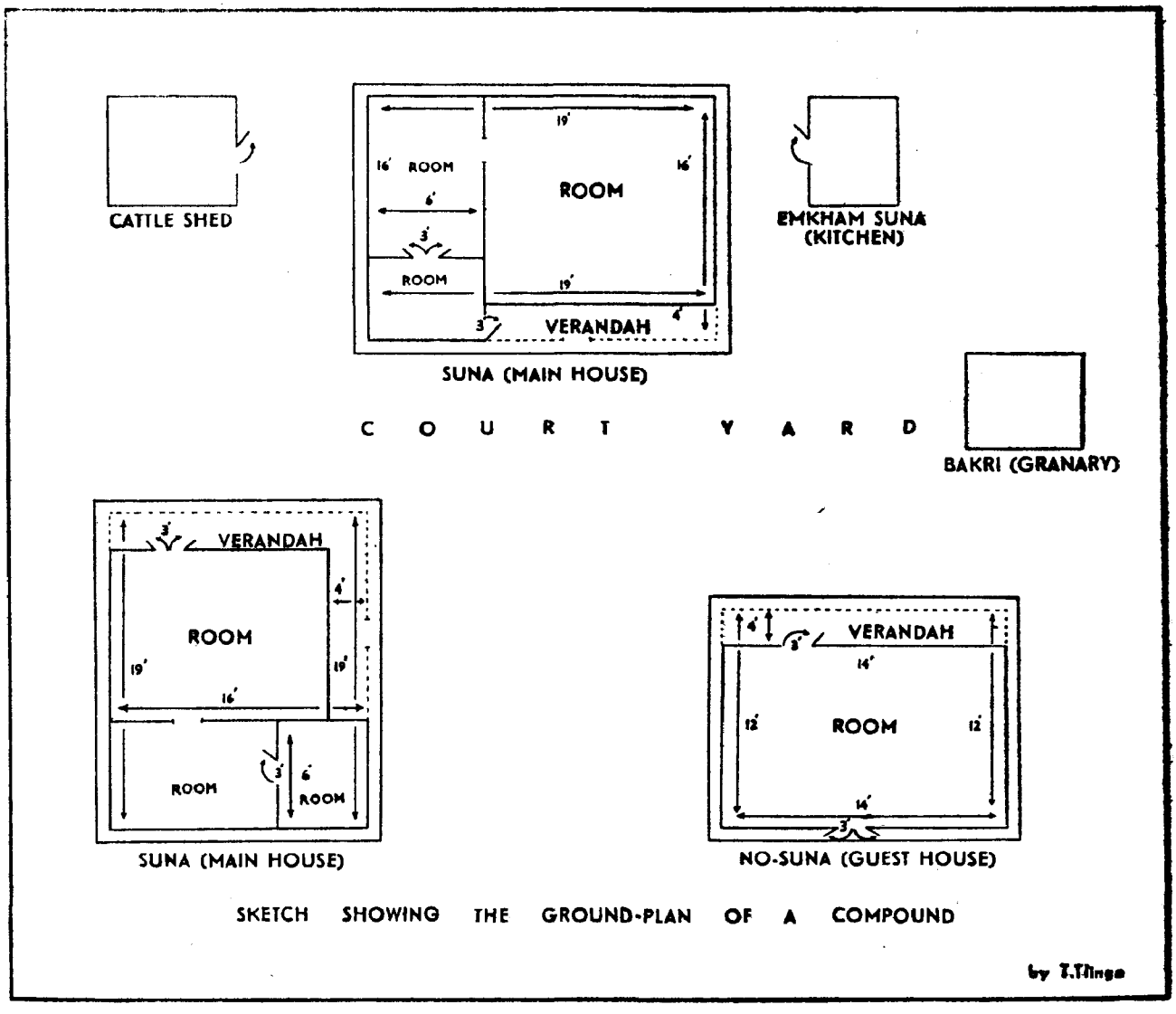
As the plains tribals live along with the Assamese people and nowhere are they in big concentrations, they of necessity have to learn Assamese and they do speak Assamese while conversing with their neighbours. But among themselves they speak their own language. With Independence and a new realisation of

their self-hood, the Bodo people are now definitely trying to re-discover their personality as well as their old traditional customs, manners and beliefs. The 1961 Census has revealed that the number of speakers of Boro is 280,343 apart from the Dimasa, Kachari, Lalung and Rabha speakers who number 32,077 ; 64,421 ; 10,576 and 38,308 respectively. Compared with the figures of the 1951 Census and earlier Censuses, these figures do not fail to show that the plains tribals are now all out to re-discover themselves. The most marked increase is that of the number of Boro speakers. The Boros are now having primary schools in their own mother tongue and they are also clamouring for higher secondary schools and high schools with Boro as the medium of instruction in areas where they are in concentrations such as in the Kokrajhar subdivision where Jonagaon is situated.

Houses and house types : The number of dwelling structures inside a compound has a significant relation with the number of members, economic condition etc. of the family. In general, two or three dwelling structures are found standing around the courtyard of the houses which are distributed among the different categories of the family members. These dwelling houses of the Bodos usually consist of two rooms viz. 'khofra' and 'akhong', the outer or sitting room and the inner or sleeping room respectively. As a married couple do not usually like to sleep in a dwelling house where other inmates live, and as even the single grown-up boys or girls sometimes have separate houses to sleep in, there stand inside the same compound several dwelling houses (ungugra no). There is no separate house in the village for use by the unmarried young Bodos.

Just at the entrance or in a corner of the compound, a 'no-suna' (guest house) stands which is meant for the guests. In the case of the poorer section who cannot afford to construct a dwelling structure more than what is highly essential for them or in the case of a family with two or three members and without grown-up children, the houses are simple and with only one dwelling construction, commonly used by all of them. But the 'emkham suna' or the kitchen is mostly separate near which stands the 'bakri' (granary). In most of the houses the cattle sheds are seen just at the entrance to the compounds, standing separately a few feet from the main house. The cowshed first draws one's attention and gives a poor impression on the knowledge of design and outlay of the houses in the compound. On a closer look, however, it is found that the cowshed is generally almost isolated and maintained with some hygienic sense. Of course in a few cases the throwing of rubbish and heaps of cowdung just outside or near the entrance to the compounds is an exception. The sheds are very simple in design and generally of a more or less rectagular construction almost open on all sides, and the cattle are tied to bamboo pillars. The fodder supplied to the cattle is simply thrown on the earthen floor, and due to the trampling of the animals over the cowdung, urine and rejected fodder, it easily gets dirty. Some women, however, take pains to remove the rubbish from inside. A manager would have improved matters, but old customs die hard.

In respect of bathrooms and latrines, it may be safely remarked that the Bodos are ignorant about their use—the introduction of bathrooms and latrines being still far from their dreams. Irrespective of age, the ladies either take bath inside their compound by the brink of their domestic pond or simply wet the body when going to draw drinking water from the pucca wells of common use. The males also practise the same thing and clean both cloths and bodies sitting by the side of the wells. There being no latrines, they go either to the fields or the back side of the garden for answering the calls of nature.



SKETCH SHOWING THE GROUND-PLAN OF A COMPOUND

by T.Thinga

The homestead of the poor peasant is generally separated from the village path by a ditch or bank on which there is often a fence of split bamboo or branches of a 'modar' tree. The well-to-do families have developed the art of hedging the boundaries of their compounds. The houses in this village are constructed on one side of the village path while on the other side are gardens where various fruits, pulses and vegetables are grown. In the majority of houses, the spaces inside the fencing are kept very neat. Round the courtyard stand two or three small houses which are often little more than huts. In the backside of the house, there is a grove of bamboo, arecanut and coconut trees and arum.

In general, the houses are constructed on mud foundation having walls made of reed or split bamboo plastered with mud. The roof is thatched and the pillars and beams are generally of bamboo; but in a few houses it was noticed that bamboo has been replaced with wood and the roof is of corrugated iron sheets instead of thatch. The plan and architecture of the houses are very simple—only one square or rectangular room inside and a verandah in front. In the frontside there is only one door and two or three windows throughout the whole house. Houses are generally dark, ill-ventilated and low roofed. In poor families, both married and unmarried sleep in the same house, but generally separate houses are there for the use of both married and unmarried persons. In the majority of houses, the kitchen is separated from the main house.

Every household has a separate granary the roof of which is thatched and the sides are closed with walls made of reed plastered with a mixture of mud and cowdung. At the top of the frontside wall there is a window through which a man can get inside. A ladder made of bamboo is used for reaching the height of the window.

There is no hard and fast rule among the Bodos regarding the selection of house sites, but some superstitions may influence the selection. If a particular tree, cut for the purpose of timber for constructing the house, falls in a direction different from that aimed at by the cutters, or if while erecting the first post of the house, a snake appears at the site, the phenomena are regarded as bad omens and as such, the site already selected for constructing a dwelling house may be abandoned.

The houses are constructed by the local carpenters and all the co-villagers offer their physical help during the construction. The rich families employ labourers on a wage basis. The drainage system is absent except that katcha drains may exist to ooze out water. As already stated, the materials used in the construction of a hut are bamboo, thatch and wood collected from the neighbouring jungles. The other accessories are generally purchased from the local market in Kokrajhar town.

A typical house by its very nature, consists of one storey only with a roof of thatch fastened by cane, and generally with two main slopes to drain off rain water, except in the case of some houses having a verandah which add one more slope to the roof of the house. Each slope is between 6′ and 8′ in length. The doors are made of either wooden plank or split bamboo the size of which is approximately 5′ × 3′. The system of windows and ventilation is very poor, the latter being almost absent while one or two windows either of wood or split bamboo hung over rings of canes are used but without any specific size or measurement. The mode of construction and design of the houses surrounding the courtyard maintains the privacy of the houses. The front building is generally a guest house behind which are built the main dwelling houses and one cannot see the latter unless one enters the compound. In front of the main door of the house stands the 'aaral-bera' a bamboo fencing plastered with mud,

which obstructs the direct visibility of the inside portion of the dwelling house, although entrances are provided on both sides of the fencing. Poor ventilation, low roofing, absence of sanitation and drainage, dampness due to inadequate ingress of sunrays within the house compound caused by haphazard plantation of trees and shrubs are some of the factors which stand in the way of proper hygienic facilities.

Ceremonies connected with house construction : The Bodos do not formally observe any rituals or ceremonies except the entertaining of villagers who render physical assistance during the construction of houses. Formerly, 'zu' played a very important role in all their social and religious occasions, and the drink used to be served to all the villagers who rendered physical help during the construction of a house in the village. But the Brahmas in the village neither prepare 'zu' nor encourage the people to drink it. The 'Boro Samaj' (a voluntary organisation) has also succeeded to some extent in its efforts to prohibit the people from drinking 'zu'. As a result, the majority of the people in the village now-a-days substitute tea for 'zu' for entertaining the villagers on all social occasions.

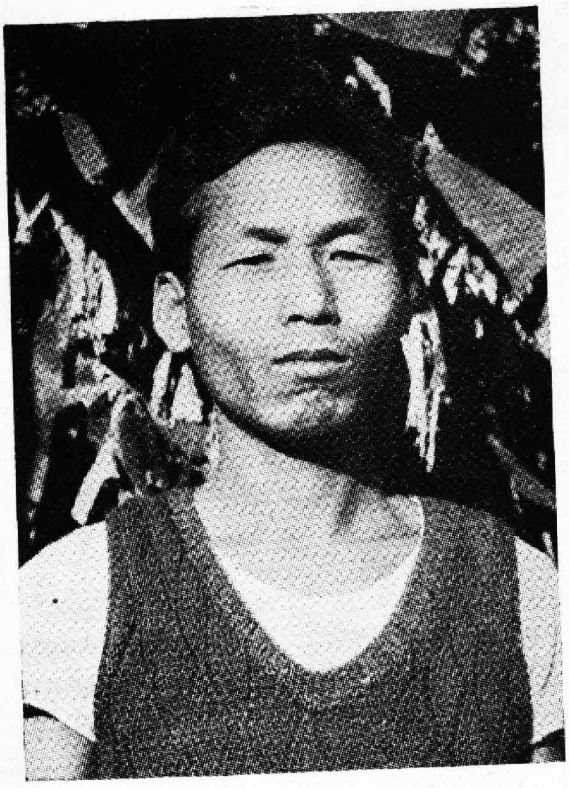
Personal appearance : Regarding personal appearances, the women keep long hair, tie it in a knot on the back of the head and regularly comb and dress it while the males do not keep long hair and generally shave it two or three inches around the forehead. A few old male members were seen using 'pagri' of white cotton. Bamboo combs formerly made and used in the village, are now almost extinct having been replaced by manufactured ones. Formerly, no oil or cosmetics were used but now the womenfolk in particular were seen using oil and perfumes purchased from the Kokrajhar market. Bodos have very scanty beards and moustaches. Moustaches are generally worn, but never the beards. Nails of both the hands and feet are regularly trimmed but staining is never done.

Dress and Ornaments : From field surveys, no cases of artificial physical deformation were seen among the Bodos of either sex except the piercing of ears by women. Women have their ears pierced in both lobes and in the helix. This piercing is carried out during one's infancy at the age of a month or so. Unlike such tribal people as the Mikirs and the Garos, the males of the Bodo community do not pierce their earlobes for wearing any ornament. Another speciality seen among the women here is that the earrings worn are very light and small in size. The old ladies generally wear in the earlobes the ornaments of their own typical design, but the young folk are seen using rings of brass metal purchased from the local market. One or two girls were seen using bracelets made of old silver coins. The women are also particular in wearing 'nakful' of silver or gold, but not at all fond of ornaments in the neck. The typical village ornaments are slowly becoming extinct, and now-a-days the village young girls are seen, as already mentioned, wearing ornaments made of brass, rubber, plastic, pearls and glass which they purchase from local markets.

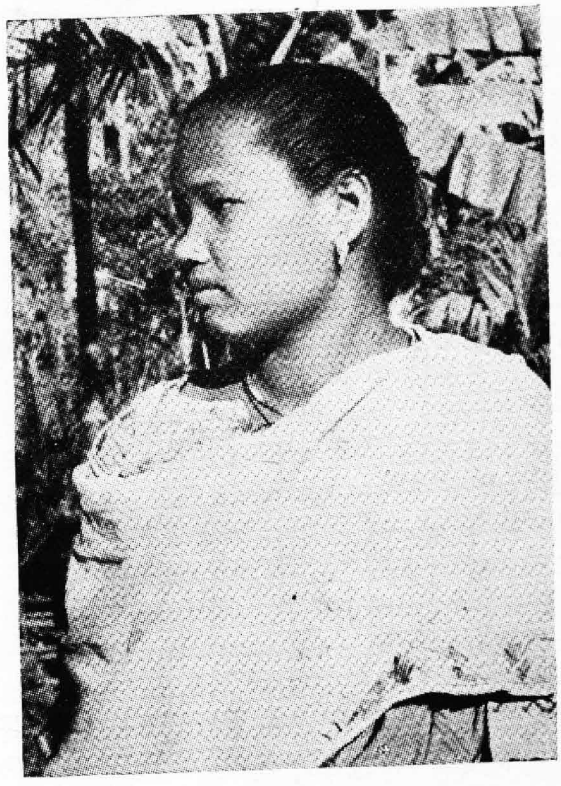
The following are the names of a few typical ornaments still used by the Bodo women in the village:—

Local term	English equivalent	Material
1. Khera	A kind of earring	Gold
2. Nalap	A kind of ring used in the helix	Silver
3. Sarita	A kind of bracelet	Silver
4. Mala	A kind of necklace	Silver

In so far as the dress of the people is concerned the male members wear short dhoties, generally above the knees, or waist cloths with or without shirt. While working in the fields, some young boys were seen wearing a half pant or a short 'lungi' and a vest. The change



A Bodo male



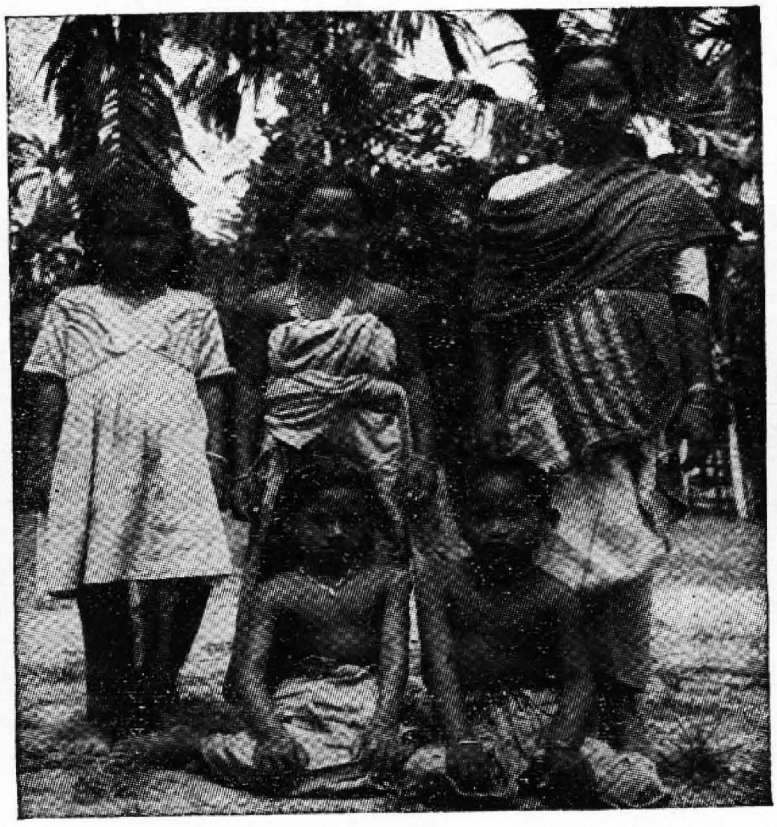
A Bodo Female



Bodo women in their typical dress



Bodo women in their typical dress and ornaments



Village girls in their home dress and ornaments

in the male dress is noticed only among the school-going and other grown-up boys who are using trousers and half pants almost discarding the dhoti or lungi even at home and outside as lower garments and a various kinds of shirts as upper garments. Some small children are completely naked at home. The married males are not particular about their footwear, but in a few cases well-to-do and respectable persons were found using simple designed sandals. The students are of course fond of footwear and use common type of sandals and shoes.

The females wear a piece of cloth known as 'dokhona' which hangs from the waist down to the ankle. They cover the upper portion of their body with another piece of cloth (chaddar) for covering the breasts. The old women are not so particular about covering their breasts and generally do not use any extra piece of cloth in the upper portion of their bodies. The unmarried girls also dress in the same manner, but the only peculiarity in their case is that their garments are yellowish. Some small girls are seen using frocks. The 'dokhona' which is used by all ladies is made in their own domestic handlooms. The beauty of their colourful cloths is enhanced by the fine embroidery works.

Household goods : Little need be said regarding the decorations and the equipments of the Bodo house which is almost identical with that of the Hindu neighbouring villages. Excepting in the case of a few well-to-do families, the houses of the poor villagers are not well furnished, most of the houses being without any furniture such as khatias, chairs, tables etc. and the inmates of such houses generally sleep at night in the damp floor or on a bamboo 'chang' which serves the purposes of a bed. The ladies clean a portion of the verandah of the house or courtyard and keep there a small stool or a mat (made of bamboo cane) for sitting. But in a few households the most essential furnitures though of very old designs were seen.

The following table shows the number of households having different kinds of furniture:—

Table No. 2

Tribe	Number of Households	Number of households owning: Chairs	Tables	Stools	Benches	Bedsteads	Khatias	Toktaposses	Mirrors	Almas	Hurricane lanterns	Gramophones	Torch-lights	Bicycles
Bodo	49	17	19	18	27	14	8	19	9	5	27	1	6	6

Besides furniture, the other notable household goods are the implements of agriculture which include the plough (nangal), yoke (juali), sickle (kachi), spade (kodali), dao, etc., and the fishing implements like net (jal), triangular basket-like trap (jakoi), other traps (chepa) etc.

Over and above these household goods, they possess utensils made of brass, aluminium or earth, which they purchase from the market. In almost every house is seen at least one handloom which is also a valuable property to the poor villagers.

Food and drink : The Bodo diet is very simple and does not consist of many dishes. The preparation is also very simple. Their staple food comprises boiled rice and some green cereals. They eat all kinds of ordinary meat except beef but rarely kill one unless there is any occasion. Both in the morning and evening, the Bodos take boiled rice. Rice is boiled in water in a cast iron utensil purchased from the local market, and into this, sometimes vegetables like potato or some edible leaves or other cereals are put and boiled together. The boiled vegetables are later on mixed with a little quantity of salt and mustard oil or very often with liquid calcium carbonate and made into a separate item. The cal-

cium carbonate is prepared locally by percolating water over a quantity of burnt plantains or cinders of the hearth. Along with these, curry made of dried fish is also taken when fresh fish is not available. Generally, during winter fishes are caught in large numbers, dried and preserved for future use at the time of scarcity. The method of preparation is very simple and of two kinds. In the first case, the small fishes of all kinds are properly cleaned and then kept in a sieve made of bamboo which is placed over the hearth. The fishes are thus dried up by the heat of the fire and can be preserved for a long time without decomposition. In the second method, the fishes are practically dried up and ground and then kept inside a bamboo pipe. In preparing fish curry, they use a liberal quantity of chillies and spices which they purchase from the local market.

The Bodos take tea both in the morning and in the evening or at the time of entertaining guests. Along with tea they occasionally take a kind of cake (pitha) prepared from powdered rice boiled in vapour. A kind of 'pitha' known as 'chunga pitha' is very much liked by them, the method of preparing which is very simple and interesting. Powdered rice is mixed with water to which is added a little quantity of salt. The semi-liquid substance is then poured into the hollow of a bamboo pipe the opening of which is closed with a layer of hay. The piece of bamboo pipe is then kept inside a fire for sometimes till the substance inside is solidified. The solid substance is then removed and cut into pieces for serving. 'Anthap', 'laru', and 'sanrai' are a few varieties of pithas commonly prepared by the Bodo ladies the ingredients of which are mainly barni rice, til and molsses.

For daily consumption the women prepare the meals in the kitchen or in some corner of the house. During any organised feast, or if anybody throws a feast for any occasion, the male members also take part in cooking, generally outside the courtyard. In the feast, the Bodos use plantain leaves as substitutes for plates. Some of the well-to-do Bodos possess modern crockery but they seldom use them and keep the same in reserve for visitors.

Preparation of 'zu'—a local beverage : 'Zu' plays a very important role in the social life of the Bodos. Alhough among a section of the Bodos of the Goalpara district who have become followers of a reformist cult known as 'Brahma', the importance of 'zu' is losing ground, many people are still in the habit of regular or occasional drinking. 'ZU' is a local term of the Bodo beverage for rice beer which is always brewed and never distilled. The preparation of this alluring and refreshing drink is regarded as the duty of the females though male members also never hesitate to extend their helping hands whenever called for. A brief description about the preparation is given below.

About three to four seers of rice is boiled in a utensil with a little quantity of water until it becomes soft after which it is poured and spread over a bamboo mat. After a while, when the boiled rice is cooled down, a fermenting substance which is a white shiny compound prepared from a number of local herbs and fruits such as yeast, rice powder and sugarcane is added to it in a 'kalah' or earthen pot which is then closed by means of banana leaves tied with a bamboo cane around its neck. The pot is then placed in cool place in a central room of the house and the contents thereof are allowed to ferment for at least a week. When a whitish substance (obviously some kind of fungus) covers the surface of the 'kalah', while being stored in the above manner, the brew is almost ready for use.

The plantain leaf covering the mouth of the pot is removed and then sufficient quantity of water is poured on the brewing rice in the 'kalah'. The water thus poured should just

cover the level of the brewing rice. The liquid poured is then allowed to set for about half an hour after which the brew is fit for drinking.

Marriage : Among the Bodos marriage by negotiation is now regularly practised. Due to the prevalence of this type of marriage at present, the older types of acquiring a wife such as marriage by capture, elopment, etc. are fast dying out. However, marriage by adoption is still in vogue in the Bodo society, four cases were recorded during the survey, while there may be cases of exception of the other types.

Monogamy is the general rule, polygamy is very rare, while polyandry is never practised. The number of cases for monogamy and polygamy recorded in the village are 48 and 1 respectively. So it may be said that monogamy is the prevalent form of marriage. There is little or nothing specially distinctive about their laws of consanguinity or affinity. A widower may marry his deceased wife's younger sister, which is known as 'sorrorate', but not the elder sister whom he is taught to regard as a mother. The same principle also holds good in the case of marriage of widows which is freely permitted, the one limitation being that a widow may marry her deceased husband's younger brother, but not the elder. Marriage between a widow and a widower is permissible.

Ceremonies performed in connection with Marriage : The custom relating to the negotiation of marriage in Bodo society is very interesting as it is performed through the observance of some ceremonies. The father of the boy one day pays a formal visit to the girl's family, and even though he does not directly make the proposal of the marriage, the most significant feature of the visit will be picked up by the girl's father. Then follows the 'aashan thapnai' ceremony in which one day the mother of the boy, accompanied by a batch of village women and girls, goes to the girl's house. The party takes with them a bundle containing an 'aashan' (silver bangle), betel nuts and leaves, coins and a small quantity of rice all wrapped in a piece of plantain leaf. As soon as they arrive at the house of the bride, the bundle is kept on the roof of the latter's house which act signifies thereby the proposal for the marriage. The party, after some formal conversations with the head of the family, return to their respective houses. If within seven days, the 'aashan' is not returned, the groom's party gets the indication that the proposal of the marriage is accepted by the other party. But if it is returned within seven days, the proposal for the marriage is taken to have been rejected. This custom of returning the 'aashan' is locally known as 'aashan phinai'.

On any day, after seven days of the 'aashan thapnai' ceremony, the boy's father acccompanied by a group of village elderly persons goes to the house of the girl. They take with them two bottles of 'zu', betelnuts and leaves which they give to the girl's parents. The assembled guests, along with both the fathers of the boy and the girl, will discuss about the marriage proposal. After securing the consent of the girl's father, the father of the boy will fix up a date for the 'hingjousangnai' ceremony. After the negotiation is finalised, the girl's parents go to see the house of their would be son-in-law and the boy's family receives them and entertains them with rice, pork, and other eatables. This day is known as 'nonai-nai' in the Bodo dialect. The boy's party, if it is not a well-to-do family, takes a considerable time, sometimes months together, to prepare for the marriage ceremony. But within the period, the groom's party is to go to the girl's house with 'zu', the significance of which is the renewal of the marriage proposal. If within such a period, the girl elopes with somebody else, or negotiation is broken due to the wishes of the girl, the girl's party is liable to pay the entire expenditure incurred by the groom's party up to that day. No such case however was reported during the survey. Thereafter, the Bodos here do not celebrate

any other kind of ceremony, and when the marriage date is fixed up after negotiation, they directly celebrate the marriage or 'hownai'. On this day, a party of about thirty to forty male friends of the groom, his father and other relatives and about ten women including girls set out for the bride's house reaching there at about 4 p.m. Young men from the party beat drums (dhol) and play flutes (sifung) while proceeding towards the bride's house. As soon as the party reaches there, it is welcomed by the father of the girl and served with betel nuts. Then the assembled members of both the parties are entertained to a feast. A third man, usually the girl's maternal uncle or any village elder, introduces the father of the boy to the father and other relatives of the girl whom the boy's father makes obeisance according to the local custom known as 'mandhara'. The bride is then taken out from the house, accompanied by her relatives, by the groom's party to the house of the bridegroom before dawn on the following day. As soon as the party arrives before the gate of the house, the bride takes her stand on the 'pira' and the groom's younger sister washes her feet with water, pours oil on her head and applies vermillion on her forehead. It is followed by the hoisting of an egg three times around her face, uttering the names of 'Brahma', 'Vishnu' and 'Maheswar' (the Hindu gods) and then the egg is thrown away. There are also in attendance two 'bairakhis' (unmarried girls), one of whom carries a 'sandri chayan' (winnowing fan) on which is fixed a piece of 'laizanlai' (plantain leaf) on the top of which some betel nuts, coins and a small quantity of rice and lit candles are kept. The other girl with the help of one gisip (fan) welcomes both the bride and the groom inside the house.

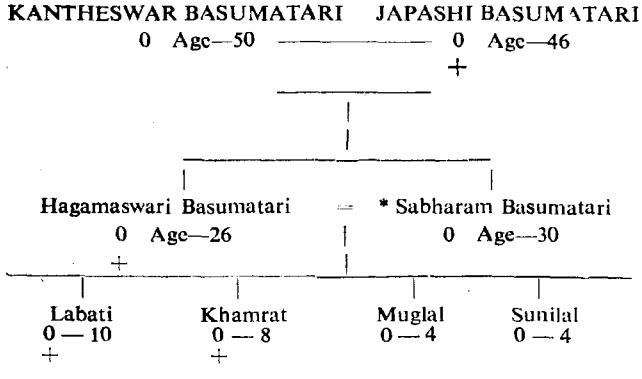
The father of the boy then pays the girl's father rupees fiftyone as the 'janthaka' (bride price). At night on the second day a wedding feast is given to all the guests assembled in which the bridegroom and the bride are both given rice but through some observance carrying special significance and meaning. All the villagers are invited by the groom's side to the feast. when the preparation of the feast is over, the bride beautifully arranges in a 'hata' (big wooden spoon) all the items and offers them to 'Bathau' (the Bodo god) and lights one candle. Before the guests are duly served, the bride and the groom make obeisance to the assembled gathering while the 'oja' (a Bodo priest) prays to God for approval to their entering into matrimonial alliance. Then a village elder acting as a 'deuri' speaks a few words regarding the obligation of wedlock which is followed by blessings and wishings of a happy married life to the young couple. The bride then serves a little from the offering to 'Bathau' first to her husband and then to all the assembled guests which precedes the actual serving of the feast. This part of the marriage ceremony is known as 'Hatasoni' in the Bodo dialect.

The marriage system of the Bodos who are the followers of the Brahma religion is as follows. The 'acharya' or 'puruhit', any Bodo person belonging to the Brahma group, acts as a priest and performs the religious part of the ceremonies. He also imparts 'dikha' or 'sarana' (religious instructions) of the Brahma religion whenever somebody desires to be a convert to the Brahma religion. Such priests do not form a separate class but are selected from the persons who know all the rules or rituals and thus are limited to the male members only. On arrival of the marriage party, the groom is welcomed inside by either of the parents by chanting Vedic mantras with the help of the acharya and offering of a garland. The acharya performs all the religious aspects of the marriage. The marriage is performed before the sacred fire where only mango wood considered sacred for rituals is used as fuel and pure ghee, tulsi leaves, flowers etc. are offered by the groom himself from time to time as directed by the acharya while reciting Vedic mantras. At a stage when rituals and performances are in full swing the acharya directs the father of the girl

to make a knot out of the two ends of the chaddars used by the groom and the bride which will signify their eternal union.

Another prevalent type of marriage among the Bodos of this village is that by adoption which is locally known as 'gharjiya'. There are in all four cases out of the 49 households of this type recorded in the village. It was observed that in all such cases, the head of the household has either only one or more daughters and no son. Not a single case could be recorded for this type of marriage in a family where the head of the household has issues of both sexes. So from the above findings it may be stated that this type of marriage is generally practised among those families having daughters but no son. The reason may be that the parents need a 'gharjiya' for their daughter with a view to gaining an additional hand in cultivation as well as in other household affairs and to get support in their old age. The following diagramatic representation shows a family due to marriage by adoption.

FAMILY NO. 33



Sabharam Basumatari is the 'gharjia' for Hagamaswari, daughter of Kantheswar Basumatari. He had the same surname 'Basumatari' even before this marriage).

0 – Male
0 – Female
\+

Remarriage of widows or widowers is also prevalent in this village. In these cases, it is seen that the children of the widow from her first husband come and stay in her second husband's house. Similarly a widower's children by his first wife also live together with his children by the second wife forming a complex family.

Birth and pregnancy : *Conception*: On being asked about their conception of birth and pregnancy, the informants with a smiling face referred to God saying 'Children are the gifts of God'. But they admit of course that without sexual intercourse pregnancy is impossible. *Pregnancy*: The stoppage of regular menstruation is considered to be a sign of pregnancy. As soon as a woman gets the signs of pregnancy, she tells her husband. Upto the seventh or eighth month of pregnancy, woman can do her usual work. But after the eight month she gives up doing hard work.. During the period of pregnancy a woman is allowed to go anywhere and everywhere, but not allowed to touch a dead body. Usual food is taken by a pregnant woman up to the day of parturition. She is also allowed to sleep with her husband until the date of parturition. No prayer or religious performance is done during this period, and in case of any illness, medicine is given to her as prescribed by the local doctors.

Detailed description of a concrete case history of child birth

Informant: Hambat Basumatari 0 Age 30
\+
Name of the Child: Bhagabati 0 Age 1 month
\+
Child's father: Hari Charan Basumatari 0 Age 35
0=Female 0=Male
\+

This is Hambat's fourth issue, a female. About nine months before the delivery of the child, she came to know that her menstruation had stopped. She immediately told her husband about it. During pregnancy, she took every-

thing as usual and did everything as she did in normal times. She went to the field and carried out her household duties upto 8 months of her pregnancy. But she was not allowed to touch any dead person and even to enter a room where the dead body was placed.

One evening she was suddenly attacked with labour pain which went on increasing gradually, but still she did not tell it to anybody. She had no mother-in-law or any female person in her house. She cooked meals and served all at home, but she could not take anything herself as she had a severe bearing down pain. Before going to bed, she disclosed it to her husband who immediately rushed to the neighbouring house and informed the houselady there and also called a few old ladies of the village. Immediately, about seven women including two experienced old ladies came to his house. After half an hour Hambat Basumatari gave birth to a female child.

The umbilical cord coiling round the entire length of the body of the child was cut with one bamboo knife ('kathimal' prepared by the father Hari Charan Basumatari) by one of the two ladies, just after delivery. The naval cord and the bamboo knife were placed in one leaf. In the meantime, the placenta came out. A piece of white cloth was used by the same lady for soaking the blood. After that, she washed the body of the mother of the child with warm water. After washing the mother, she washed the baby with warm water and laid it down in a winnowing fan (sandri chayan). The old lady then placed the placenta on the other piece of plantain leaf, and both the leaves containing the navel cord and the placenta were given to Hari Charan who buried them in the corner of the backside of the courtyard. In the morning, Hambat was given chicken roast followed by a selected diet for seven days. The cloth which was put over the mat at the time of the delivery was placed in one corner of the hut to be washed later on. There was no professional midwife.

Early in the morning many women of the village came to her house when they heard the news. Male relatives and neighbours also came but none was allowed to enter inside the house. Hambat was not allowed to come out of the house and do anything up to seven days. She was also not allowed to go to the kitchen or touch the well of the village.

'Undrinai' (*purification ceremony*): After seven days, the Undrinai ceremony was performed in which the village ladies who were present at the time of the delivery came with a pot (lota) containing 'tulsi pnai' (water mixed with tulsi leaves), and after bringing the baby outside, sprinkled the tulsi water on her singing—'Naai' (oh!) aagai (before) nong (you) maajatami (belonging to what caste)', 'manchi mana Garona Rabha (whether you belong to the Garo or Rabha community etc.) nathai dinnini priya (from today you belong to so and so)'—and thus purified the baby and brought her inside the house. The mother of the baby then went near the village well, offered a pair of betel nuts to it, touched its water and took bath. On the same day in the evening, the women who were present at the time of the delivery were entertained to a feast.

No particular ceremony was observed at the time of giving the name except that the old male members of the village gave a name to the baby on the day when the navel cord was detached from her.

Disposal of the dead : As soon as a death occurs ,the dead body is washed, clothed with the best garments and the hair combed. A curry is prepared from the flesh of either a pigeon or a fowl and placed near the head of the deceased. This is regarded as an act of feeding the dead with a little of the food. Then follows the funeral procession where the male relatives and village men accompany the dead. The dead body is either buried or cremated. The cremation of the dead body is looked

upon as more respectable, but from the economic standpoint, burial is mainly practised by the tribe. In case of burial, the body is carried to the last resting place, and on arrival at the burial ground, some coins are thrown on the spot by way of purchasing the ground from the deity (modai) to whom it is supposed to belong. The Basumataris of the village are however not required to throw such coins. The grave is then dug and the relatives and friends move around it five times in case of men and seven in case of women and then the body is slowly placed in the grave. Then a hollow reed is placed over the nose of the deceased to a point above the level of the ground. The grave is then slowly filled with earth, taking special care to see that the reed is not displaced so that the spirit of the deceased may be able to breathe, should it so desire.

Cremation is not very different from burial. In the case of men, five layers of wood and for women seven layers are prepared. Then the body is placed over the funeral pyre and the relatives and friends move around it five times in the case of a male and seven times in the case of a female. The funeral pyre is then set on fire on all sides. The ashes are not carried away but the space of the cremation is enclosed with four posts on the top of which a cloth is spread supposing it to be the shelter for the deceased from sun and rain.

Internal organisation : The gotra or clan of the Bodos is patrilineal in descent, that is, the clan name passes from the father to the children. The Bodo Kacharis are divided into a number of clans, namely Basumataris, Borgayaris, Narzinaris, Mushaharis etc. Exogamy is absent as was revealed by the field study. The Bodo clans are however neither exogamous nor endogamous. They can marry within the clan but outside the same lineage. They can also marry outside the clan. Rev. S. Endle, author of 'The Kacharies', described 'that the internal tribal organization of the Kachari (Bodo) race rested in early days, very largely at least, on a totemistic basis, although it is only here and there that any real regard for totems can still be said to survive'. Col. Gurdon however entertained grave doubts about the correctness of the author's remark that the totemistic clans were originally endogamous. He further emphasised his view by citing examples from among the Meches and the Garos, the first and the second cousins of the Kacharies, among whom marriage is exogamous, and found evidence to support his view and nullified Rev. S. Endle's theory of endogamy of the Kacharies from the finding of Mr. Griel, the then Subdivisional Officer of Mangaldai, who recorded from an old Kachari what the latter stated quite positively that before the Devangari War, the Kacharies were not allowed to marry within their own sub-tribe. Again Col. Gurdon further dug out some evidence in support of Rev. S. Endle's theory by quoting Mr. Griel's findings from his informants of Darrang district, saying that the three men whom he found in Sekhar Mouza of Mangaldai stated that in former days a penance had to be performed if one married outside one's own kin. However this theory that the Kachari totemistic clans are endogamous remain a matter of controversy among the authors and puts forward a suggestion for further investigation.

Out of the 49 families in the village, 30 belong to the Basumatari, 11 to the Borgayari, 2 to the Narzinari, 5 to the Mushahari and 1 to the Brahma groups respectively. Nothing could be collected regarding the beliefs of the villagers about the totemistic origin of the clan as described by Rev. S. Endle in 'The Kacharies'. That the sub-tribes of the Kacharies are however totemistic in origin as described by the same author is quoted below:—

1. *Basumati-aroi (Basumati-earth)*—The earth folk. This clan has a certain privilege not possessed by any other, i.e. its members can

bury their dead without in anyway purchasing ground for the grave or for the erection of the funeral pyre.

2. *Mosa-aroi* (*Mosa-tiger*) — otherwise known in Darrang as Baghlaroi (Bagh-l-aroi, the l is probably inserted for reasons of euphony)—the tiger folk. The members of this sub-tribe claim kindred with the tiger, and all the inhabitants of a village go into mourning on hearing that a tiger has died in the neighbourhood.

3. *Khangkhlo-aroi*—The Khangkhlo folk —Khangkhlo is apparently the name of a certain jungle grass, used freely both at religious ceremonies and at festive gatherings and merry-makings, of which the Kacharis are very fond.

4. *Narze-aroi* (*Narze-jute*)—The jute folk. This sub-tribe held jute in special honour and on occasions of great religious ceremonies, its members were bound to chew a certain quantity of jute.

5. *Doima-aroi* (*Doima—a large river*)—The usual designation of the people of the North Cachar Hills—the river folk. These in olden times were the fishermen class, though its surviving members are now merged among the mass or ordinary cultivators.

6. *Brahma-aroi*—Brahma folk. Said to be a quasi-priestly class found chiefly in Upper Assam. The name, like the preceding, is obviously of Hindu origin.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Land : The total area of the village is approximately 340.50 acres or 137.70 hectres of which 275.25 acres are owned by the villagers themselves and the rest by outsiders. The land owned by them are all assessed to land revenue. Out of the total area of 340.50 acres, approximately 58.25 acres comprise homestead and domestic gardens, 243.25 acres are under cultivation while the remaining area of 39 acres are under forests, pastures, miscellaneous tree crops and fruit trees. The average extent of land owned by a family in the village is 5.62 acres. The land owned by the villagers is kheraj miadi land (revenue-paying land held under periodic or permanent pattas).

The following table shows the distribution of land-owning families according to the extent of their holdings: —

Table No. 3

Number of land-owning families — 44

Particulars	Below 1 acre	Between (in acres)						
		1 & 2½	2½ & 5	5 & 7½	7½ & 10	10 & 15	15 & 20	20 & 25
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number of families	1	3	15	7	9	6	2	1
Percentage to total land owner	2.27	6.82	34.09	15.91	20.46	13.64	4.54	2.27

Domestication of animals is practised by the Bodos for food, draught, ploughing and religious purposes.

Livestock

1. *Cattle*: They keep cows for milk just sufficient for their own consumption but not in large number for selling milk or milk products. They use the ox as power animal for drawing the plough and the cart but never as an item for fool. Table No. XVII in the Appendix shows the number of draught cattle owned by land owners in the village.

2. *Pigs*: This is the most common animal raised by the majority of the tribal people including the Bodos. It is mainly used for food as also for magico-religious sacrifices.

3. *Fowl*: Fowl is now-a-days used as food by the Bodos. Eggs are also taken by them.

4. *Dog*: It is kept mainly as a pet animal and does its natural duties as a watcher.

The following table shows the number of domestic animals found in the village.

Table No. 4

Milch cattle		Draught bullocks		Goats/ sheep		Pigs		Fowls	
No. of house-holds owning	Total Number	No. of house-holds owning	Total Number	No. of house-holds owning	Total Number	No. of house-holds owning	Total Number	No. of house-holds owning	Total Number
32	81	45	120	10	16	15	39	17	89

Out of the 49 families in the village, four families do not own any livestock property and about seven families borrow bullocks or buffaloes at the time of cultivation.

Industrialisation : Though the vicinity of the village provides natural forest resources for setting up various industries like saw mills, carpentry etc., due to lack of enterprise and financial drawback the area has no industries. However, private industrialists from outside the district as well as the State Government are found setting up saw mills, carpentry and bamboo and cane industries in an around Kokrajhar town. These industries do not directly influence the Bodos as they are not interested in deviating from their traditional occupation, but they earn cash by supplying raw materials like bamboo, etc. from their own forests.

Improvement of communications : The village area is linked up with Kokrajhar town, the subdivisional headquarters of the Kokrajhar subdivision, and also with Balajan, a market place, by the Kokrajhar-Balajan road, facilitating the people with various means of transport like bus, rickshaw, bullock cart, bicycle etc. But considering the nearness of the distance from the village to the town, they mostly use their own transport like bullock carts and bicycles, or sometimes prefer to walk when they carry a tolerable weight laden with commodities to the market for sale. But to Balajan they go during hot days generally by bus as the distance is great and not easily coverable on foot or slow-moving vehicles like bullock carts.

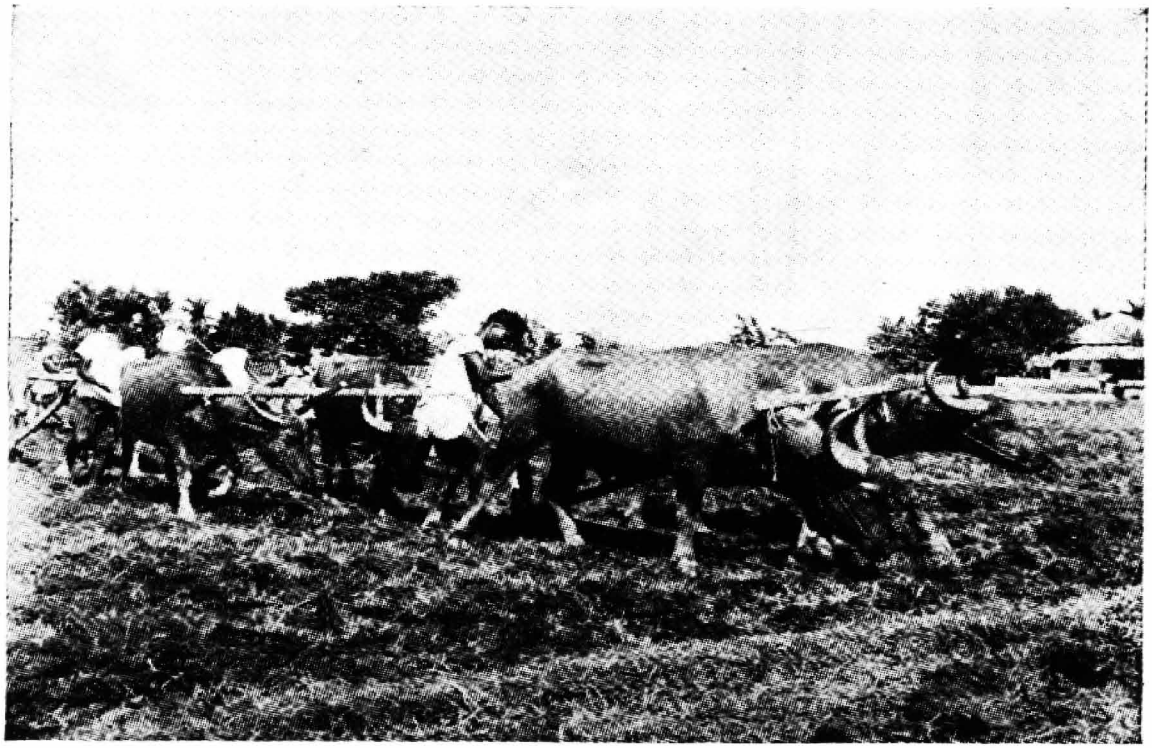
It has been noticed that while the larger section of the poor people take considerable pains to save their meagre income, a few of the richer section have become easy-going by hiring rickshaws and other forms of transport whenever they need to carry commodities to the village, thereby incurring a good amount of contingency expenditure. However, good communication has provided facilities for quicker movement, apart from the marketing facilities—and has helped the economic condition of the people there.

Infiltration of urban influences : Urban influences have slightly affected the mode of dress and ornaments of the Bodos, especially amongst the young folks. The art of better living, decorations of the houses, gardening and hedging the compound are also ideas borrowed from the town. The use of bicycle, torchlight, gramophone, and other musical instruments are definitely due to the contact with the town people.

In so far as dietary habit, religious and social aspects are concerned, the people of this area and the vicinity still remain stagnant in their traditional customs and manners and the slight variation that has been discussed along with the 'Brahma cult' is obviously due to the influence of the latter and not of urban influence.

After the establishment of the administrative centre at Kokrajhar, the price of land has gone up and some Bodos are reported to have sold out their land and receded to more outlying areas. The establishment of the Bodo cultural association at Kokrajhar also seems to have influenced to some extent the social and cultural life of the people in the village under survey especially in matters relating to preservation and promotion of Bodo culture, literature and the like.

Economic activities and nature of changes : The classification of the workers into different occupational groups is shown in Table No. 1 in the Appendix. The following table shows the distribution of the households into different occupational groups in respect of 34 households surveyed during the revisit in 1962.



Ploughing with buffaloes

Table No. 5

Combination of Occupations

Main occupation	Total No. of households	Number of households	
		Subsidiary occupational groups	
		Cultivation	Labourers on road works and cutting bamboo
1	2	3	4
1. Cultivation	31		1
2. Labour	2	1	
3. Service	1	1	
Total	34	2	1

The households have been classified into three different occupational groups, namely, (i) cultivation, (ii) service and (iii) labour. It is observed that 31 households are engaged in cultivation as the primary occupation of which only one household is engaged as labourer on road construction and cutting of roadside bamboos under a Public Works Department contractor as subsidiary occupation. Only one household is engaged in service, the head of the household being a school teacher. Two households have labour as their primary occupation because of their owning very small land holdings. One of these two households has cultivation as its subsidiary occupation.

The following table shows the total number of households engaged in cultivation, industry or business belonging to the households: —

Table No. 6

Total No. of households	Households engaged in cultivation only	Households engaged in industry only	Households engaged in business only	Households engaged in cultivation, industry or business	Households engaged in cultivation and industry	Households engaged in industry and business
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49	3	Nil	Nil	3	43	Nil

Almost in each household in the village there is a handloom where the women weave clothes like 'dokhona', 'chaddar', 'babro', etc. but not for commercial purposes although the households producing them have been included in the column of cultivation and industry. The Bodo endi was very famous at one time and the people sold the self-made endi in the market. But now-a-days the people of this area do not weave endi for commercial purposes as they say that the demand is low due to its high price.

Occupational mobility and nature of changes: It is already clear from the above table that the majority of the households are still sticking to their traditional occupation, agriculture. It will not be out of place to mention that the Bodos of this village are not very enthusiastic regarding business and not at all industrially minded. Other outside settlers have started business on cane products, timber products, hotels, tea stalls etc. in their own Kokrajhar town. It is not known why the local Bodo people lack behind in such occupations. Though the people of Titaguri are in a position to enjoy almost all the amenities of town life, yet they have not been able to develop ideas of starting any business and industry and hence the economy of the people is stagnant. At present the village is out of the way of immediate urbanisation, though it is linked up by an improved communication with Kokrajhar town and the market. However, present trends are that towns have a tendency to expand and so if the Kokrajhar town extends, and if any industry is set up, the area may be gradually urbanised.

Livelihood: Though the villagers mainly depend on agriculture for their subsistence,

there has not been any improvement even in this technique and the people continue with outmoded forms of cultivation. With small holdings and no irrigation facilities, the economy is bound to be poor. One family in the village possesses less than one acre of cultivable land, while there are five families having no land holdings at all. The landless people cultivate by the 'adhiya system' or work as agricultural labourers in the village under the land-owning families. The annual income from the adhiya system of cultivation or of an agricultural labourer is not at all sufficient to sustain one for a year as a result of which the poor section of the people have to lead a very difficult life. Although meagre is this income, they have to sell out some quantity of the agricultural crops like paddy, potato, oil seeds and other vegetables for meeting the demands of other necessities of livelihood as a result of which they always face a deficit budget. In the sowing season, the poor cultivators sell or mortgage their properties including landed properties in order to meet the expenditure on seeds and agricultural implements and support their families. In this way the poor becomes poorer.

The villagers generally buy and sell commodities in the nearest market at Kokrajhar town which is at a distance of about three miles from the village. In the village they sell paddy, mustard, jute, betelnut, pan leaves, fruits etc.

The following table shows workers and non-workers by sex and broad age-groups:—

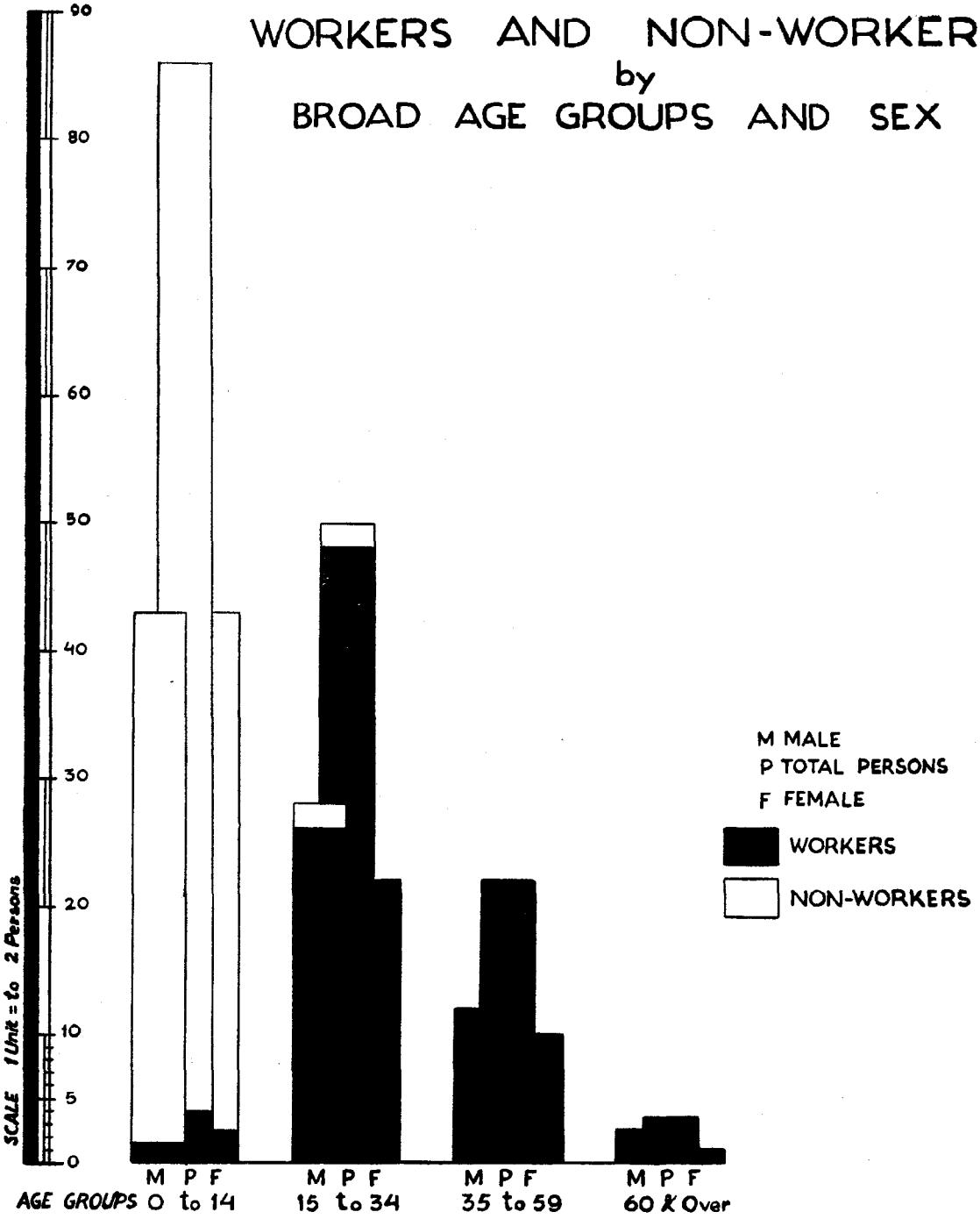
Table No. 7

Age-group	Total population			Workers			Non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
0 - 14	180	89	91	8	3	5	172	86	86
15 - 34	100	56	44	96	52	44	4	4	..
35 - 59	44	24	20	44	24	20	..	..	..
60 & above	7	5	2	7	5	2	..	..	..

Out of the total population of 331 in the village, there are 84 male workers, and 71 female workers, the total workers in the village being 155. This shows that both males and females work almost equally in cultivation. The total non-workers in the village is 176 persons out of whom 90 are males and 86 females, and most of them are below 14 years. The highest number of workers with 96 belongs to the age group 15-34 followed by the age group 35-59 with 44 workers. The age group 0-14 claims the highest number of non-workers with 172, the majority of whom are babies and students.

Agriculture : The staple food crop of the villagers is rice. Other important crops are potato, oil seeds, pulses, etc. Jute is grown for sale as cash crop. Tobacco is also cultivated for domestic consumption. The general system of cultivation and the way in which the staple crops are raised is described in the following paragraphas.

Rice : Transplanted paddy (roa dhan) is first sown in small seedling beds near the homestead. The land is ploughed till it is suitable for seedling during the months of April and May. The soil is then carefully manured with cowdung. The seeds (bidhan) which have been selected from the largest ears of the previous year's crop are sown by broadcasting over the beds in May and June and water is sprinkled while this operation is going on. In the meantime the male members of the household get busy ploughing as soon as the soil is softened by the spring rains and the process is repeated

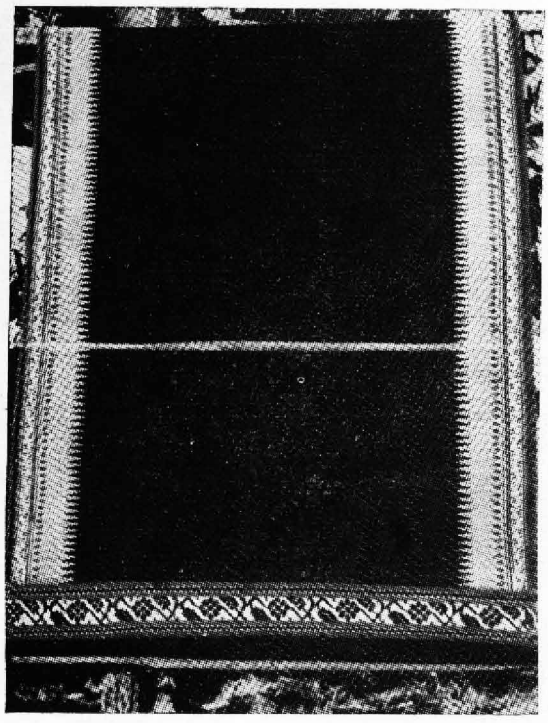

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS
by
BROAD AGE GROUPS AND SEX
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
5
0
SCALE 1 Unit = to 2 Persons
M P F
AGE GROUPS 0 to 14
M P F
15 to 34
M P F
35 to 59
M P F
60 & Over
M MALE
P TOTAL PERSONS
F FEMALE
WORKERS
NON-WORKERS



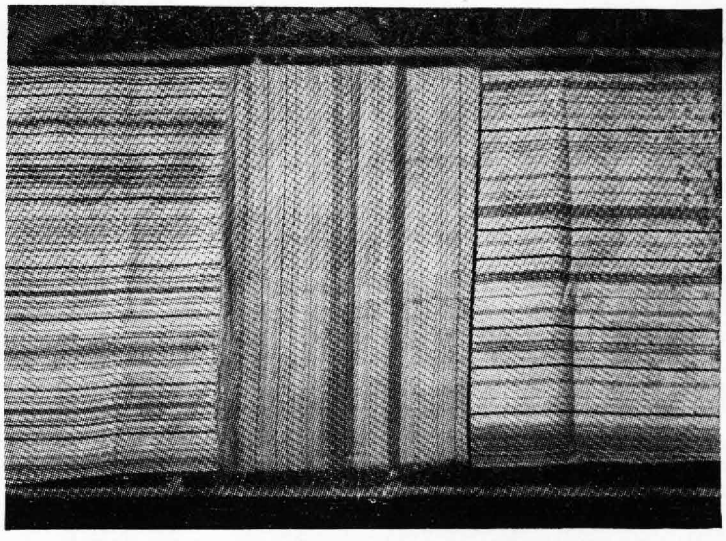
A Bodo woman is an expert weaver and boasts of her self-made handloom products



Weaving implements and its operations



Bodo Chaddar—Upper garment of Bodo females



Three pieces of Dokhona—a typical garment of Bodo females



A fly shuttle loom recently introduced in the village

till the soil is ready for seedlings. After the third or fourth ploughing, the field is harrowed and little embankments are made dividing the whole field into several compartments for keeping water. After about seven or eight weeks, the seedlings are taken from the nursery beds and carried in sizeable bundles to the field. Here they are planted out by bundles (gushi) each of which contains four or five plants. Transplanting goes on from the beginning of July to the middle of September each year. From the middle of November to the middle of January, it becomes ready for harvesting. The women grasp a handful of ears and cut them off near the ear. The handfuls (muthis) are tied up and left exposed to the sun in the field to dry. When it dries up it is carried home by the male persons. The straw is stored and used as fodder. When the paddy is brought from the field, it is at once threshed out by the cattle. It is then passed through a sieve and placed in a flat bamboo tray (kula) and jerked in the air and allowed to drop slowly to the ground gradually till the chaff is carried off. Paddy is stored in separate granaries. The Bodos also cultivate ahu rice. When ahu is sown on marshy lands, the usual procedure is as follows:

Ploughing is done during February. When the soil is ready for the reception of seeds, the latter are sown and the land is again ploughed and harrowed so that the grain is thoroughly mixed with the soil. When the plants grow up to about six inches they are harrowed again and weeded. The harvesting of ahu rice takes place by about the middle of July.

For mustard, plain land is selected and it is often grown in conjunction with ahu. The soil is ploughed and crushed and the seed is sown about the end of the month of October. The plant is ready to be harvested by about the middle of January. For harvesting, the same procedure as that of paddy is adopted.

Jute: The area is not very good for jute. Even then the people cultivate jute for the ready cash that it brings. The cultivation of jute requires a considerable amount of time and trouble and the soil is sometimes ploughed as many as ten times. The soil requires extensive manuring. The plants are ready to be cut during August and September. The leaves are stripped, tied in bundles and kept in water for about twenty days. After that, a handful of stems are taken up and beaten to and fro in water, so that the fibres come out. The fibres thus separated and dried are ready to be sent to the market. Only 3 households were recorded to be cultivating jute in a total area of less than 1 bigha producing about 4 maunds of fibre. No information is available as to when jute cultivation was introduced in the area and by whom.

Agricultural implements: Very simple, primitive type of implements are traditionally used. The plough is locally made from mango or sal tree or any other hard wood, and consists of the handle and the body which is usually a single piece. The other components of the plough are the pole which joins the plough at the junction of the handle and body with the yoke which is merely a piece of wood fastened by ropes at right angles to the yoke with pegs affixed to it so that it does not slide from the neck of the bullock. The plough share is the only material which they have to purchase. They yoke the plough with the help of a pair of bullocks or buffaloes.

The harrow (moi) is generally like a bamboo ladder about eight to ten feet in length on which two men stand as it is drawn across the field. It is used to crush clods turned up by the plough before sowing.

The hoes (kodalis) are also used for dressing the surface soil and making embankments in the field. A hoe consists of two parts, an iron blade and a handle or shaft. The blade is purchased from the market.

Harvesting is done with a sickle. It consists of two parts, one half-moon shaped piece of iron with serrated edge and a handle.

Table No. 8

Agricultural Produce and Disposal

Total No. of households.....49
Total No. of households resurveyed.....34

Year 1962

Name of agricultural produce	Quantity/ amount produced	Quantity/ amount consumed by the producing households	Quantity sold	Sale amount realised in rupees.
1. Paddy	1,030 mds.	1,000 mds.	30 mds.	Rs. 300/-
2. Jute	48 mds.	39 mds.	9 mds.	Rs. 90/-
3. Potato	5 mds.	5 mds.	..	..
4. Betelnut	Rs. 2,313/-	Rs. 1,198/-	..	Rs. 1,115/-
5. Betel leaf	Rs. 440/-	Rs. 280/-	..	Rs. 160/-
6. Bamboo	Rs. 400/-	Rs. 100/-	..	Rs. 300/-
7. Fruits	Rs. 45/-	Rs. 20/-	..	Rs. 25/-
8. Til	1 mds.	..	1 mds.	Rs. 20/-

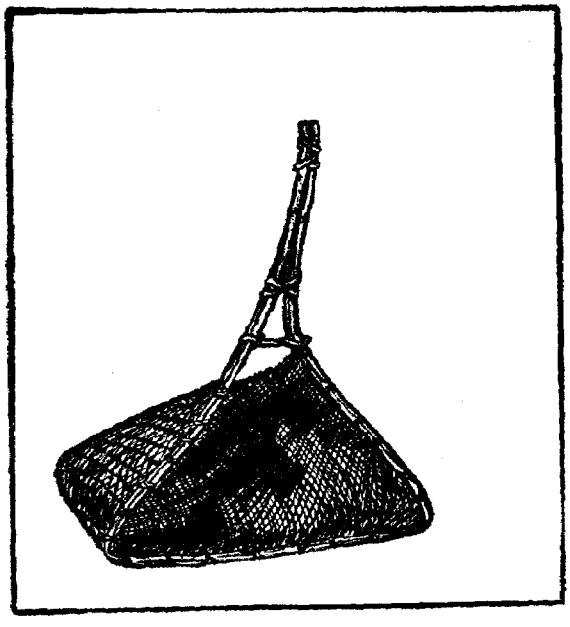
The above table shows the figures of the agricultural output during 1961-62 recorded in 34 households during the resurvey of the village. The figures also show that 34 households produced 1,030 mds. of paddy, the total quantity consumed by them being 1,000 mds. and that available for sale was 30 mds. the approximate valuation of which is not below Rs. 300/- in rural areas of the district. During the year 1959-60, the 49 households produced 1,650 maunds of paddy—the average production being 33.7 maunds as against 30.3 maunds being the average production during 1961-62. They cultivate jute and potato, but not in a commercial scale and the output being low, it is not at all self-sufficient. Among the commercial crops, betelnut and pan leaves by 34 households is Rs. 1,275/-, and during 1960 it was Rs. 2,210/- by 49 households.

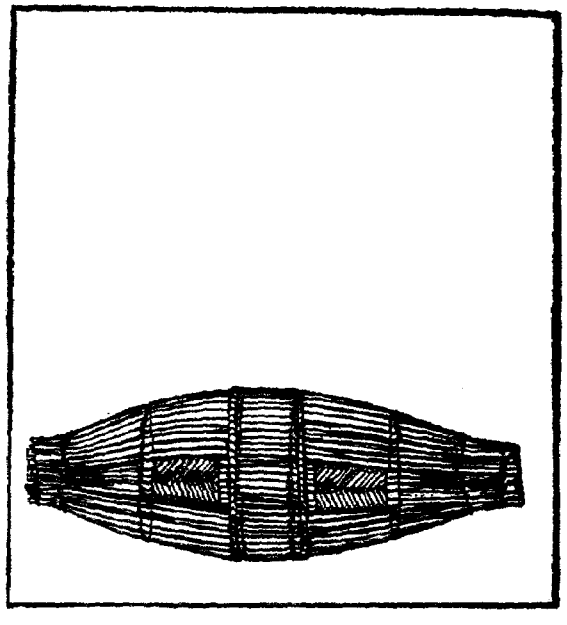
Organisation of manpower : The ploughing, harrowing and seedling (kathia), the activities in the early stage of paddy cultivation which involve labour, rest on the male members, and the females help them by supplying midday meals or tiffins. When the time for transplanting comes, the male members carry the seedlings (kathias) to the field, while the women do the transplantation. Harvesting is done by both the male and female members, but the work of threshing rests exclusively on the male members.

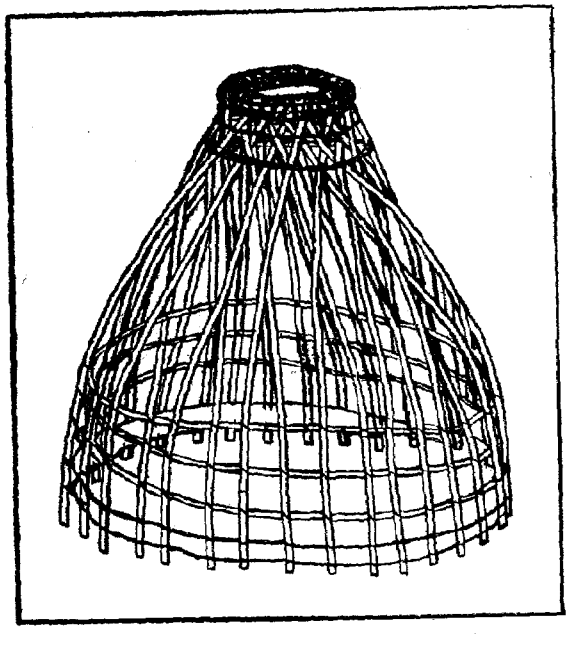
Fishing : Although rearing of fishes in the village is absent, the Bodos of Titaguri and the neighbouring areas catch fishes in the neighbouring streams, beels and ponds for introducing a change in their monotonous diet.

A brief description of the common methods of practice employed in the collection of fish : Traps (chepa) are usual contrivances for catching fish from the stream or rivers of the neighbouring areas of the village. Chepa or the woven fishing basket is a commonly employed implement found in almost all the households for collecting fishes. It is prepared out of a single piece of bamboo split and then woven with bamboo splits to form a tabular structure with an elongated closed stem. Near the open end of the tabular basket there is a small slit through which a long bamboo pole may be inserted. This is generally used by men.

'Jakai' (triangular basket)—is also another method of fishing which is operated by the women. The implement is made of split bamboo which is woven into a triangular shape with a handle for gripping. The operation with this trap is very simple and is done in shallow water of a stream or river. It is simply plunged into the water against the current and then raised quickly with a jerk so that small fishes are caught in it. Sometimes a few twigs or a leafy plant is put in it and then plunged into the bed of a river or a streamlet against the current. The persons who use the basket then go a little distance upstream and begin to dis-







FISHING IMPLEMENTS

turb the water in a sportive way so as to frighten and drive out the fries and small fishes into the 'jakai' so placed. The Bodo women generally catch fishes during their leisure time, coming out from the village in a body.

Village industries : Weaving of cotton cloths is carried on by the rich and the poor alike and one or two looms are seen in the courtyard of every family. The loom consists of four stout posts which are driven into the ground so as to make a rectangle about 5'10" × 2'6" or 177.8 cm × 76.2 cm and are joined together at the top by cross bamboo beams. In the loom, an arrangement is made with the help of two solid wooden bars fixed horizontally on both sides of it to keep the warp. There is also an arrangement whereby a whole group of warps can be lifted so that the weft can be made to pass through the open spaces between the lifted warps and the dormant ones. As soon as the lifted warps are released, the space closes up as they fall back and the weft falls automatically into the weaving process.

The device that performs this function is known as the 'heddle'. There are two heddles in the loom. One heddle is passed under every alternate warp. The remaining warps are tied to the second heddle. By alternately lifting each heddle, the warps are lifted while weaving. The weft is passed through the gap by means of a wooden bobbin. It is securely lined against the woven material with the help of a comb. The design in the cloth is given by laying in differently coloured wefts and warps.

Women were seen manufacturing twine with the help of the most primitive type of spindle. The spindle consists of a long narrow stick with a pottery collar near one end to keep the thread from running. A rough string of fibre wound several times about the spindle and held taut with the left hand is slightly twisted and simultaneously wound round the spindle which is spun with the right hand. Several spinnings are needed to produce an even thread. One fly shuttle loom has recently been introduced in the village.

Income : For the study of the income of the villagers, they are suitably divided into 4 groups, namely, those whose yearly income is: —

(i) Rs. 301 to Rs. 600
(ii) Rs. 601 to Rs. 900
(iii) Rs. 901 to Rs. 1200
(iv) Rs. 1200 and above.

On this classification, the village has 4 households in the first group, 22 households in the third group and 2 households in the last group. The above estimate comes from the enquiry in 34 households during the resurvey and the accuracy of the figures depends on the authenticity of the information furnished by the informants, which to some extent may be doubtful as the latter are reluctant to give correct answers. In the above groups where agriculture is the main occupation, the workers seek employment as labourers during the off-season by working under the Public Works Department, and as casual employees in the various mills and factories, mainly saw mills, at Kokrajhar town.

In the second income group 2 households are found whose occupation is time labour. The reason for the change in occupation is mainly due to their having small or no land holdings and poor income due to cultivating in the adhiya system. The duration of the work in the field is so allotted that the work as a labourer is not affected.

In the highest income group there are two households, one earns quite a handsome amount of approximately Rs. 1,500 per annum from timber contract besides cultivation as primary occupation, while in the other household income from service as school teacher gets the place of primary occupation along with agriculture.

Expenditure : Table VI in the Appendix shows the average annual expenditure per household of different occupational groups and income groups. The expenditure on foodstuffs and on items other than foodstuff has been separately shown under the headings of regular and irregular items of expenditure. The expenditure on food stuffs are calculated from the figures of consumption by the family and thereby putting the approximate valuation of the present market price. Though all attempts for accuracy have been made, it may, however, be subjected to slight adjustments. In the households having very poor agricultural output and failing to be self-sufficient, the inmates borrow grain from the co-villagers which has also been adjusted in the heading of expenditures on foodstuffs.

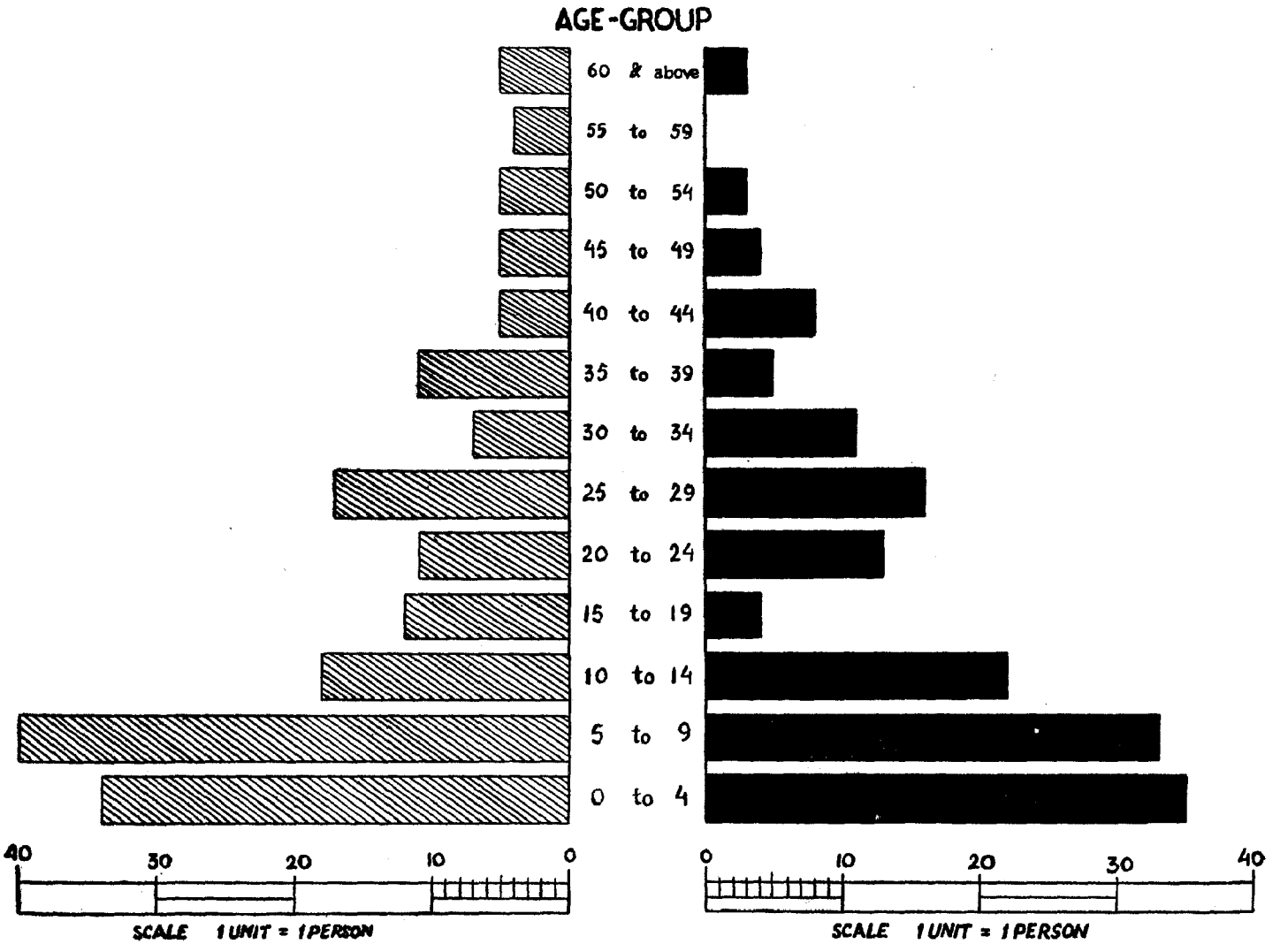
It appears that among the higher income groups the expenditure accumulating from the irregular items is much higher than that on foodstuffs. In the highest income group of Rs. 1200 and above as agricultural occupation, the average expenditure on foodstuffs is Rs. 917.80 p. and the overall average expenditure for all income groups is Rs. 416.22 p. The regular expenditure on items other than foodstuffs is for payment of land revenue, the average of which is Rs. 14.77 p. for all income groups.

The irregular expenditure for different occupational and income groups are shown separately in the table VI in the Appendix.

The majority of the households appear to be living in dire want and poverty and have got practically nothing to spare beyond what is absolutely necessary for food and clothing.

Indebtedness : The involvement of the households in considerable amount of debt either in terms of cash or kind is one of the economic problems faced by the villagers. As many as 7 households out of 34 covered during the resurvey or 20.5 per cent of the total population are in debt. The number of debtors cannot be perfectly correlated to the total income level as it depends mainly on the factor of the shortage of food crops as a result of which some of them have to borrow the same from the co-villagers. The term of the loan is to pay exactly half of the total quantity indebted per annum as interest. But this may vary according to personal relationship from family to family. The repayment of the loan is made in kind when the debt is in kind. The purpose of taking loan is mainly to meet the deficit of foodstuffs. The loan is given on good faith of inter-family relationship without maintaining any document for the purpose of security. Truthfulness thus still prevails in the village.

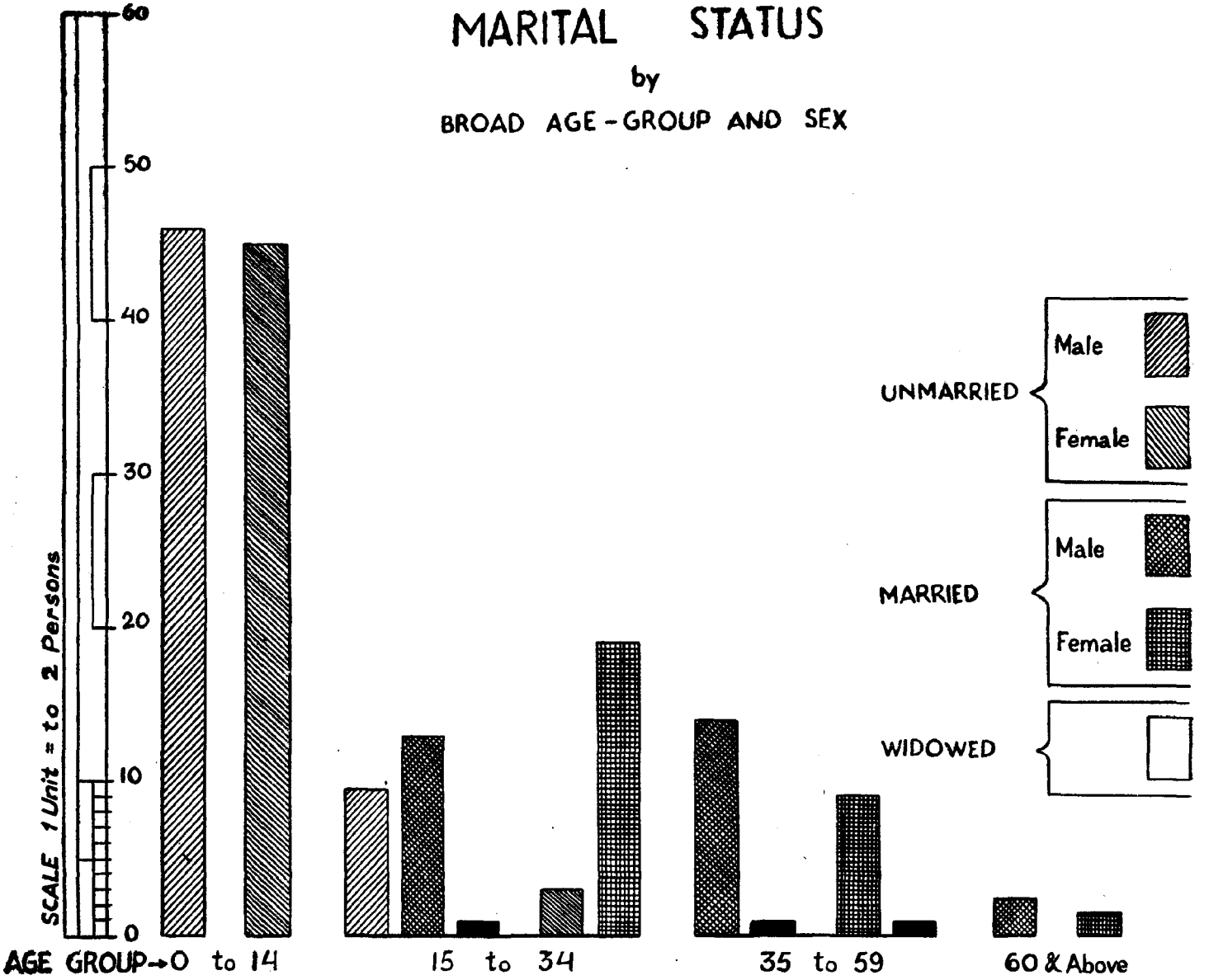
POPULATION BY AGE - GROUP AND SEX



MARITAL STATUS

by

BROAD AGE-GROUP AND SEX



CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

The statement given below shows the composition of the village population according to age and sex.

Table No. 9

Sex	Total of all ages	0-14	15-24	25-59	60 and above	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Males	174	92	23	54	5	Original survey of 49 households.
Females	157	90	17	47	3	
Persons	331	182	40	101	8	

The village population according to the present survey is 331,174 males and 157 females. The sex ratio is 902 females per 1,000 males. The concentration of population is highest in the age group 0—14 followed by age-group 25—59, the percentage being 55.00 and 30.52 respectively. Males outnumber females in all the groups. In the first group of 0—14, the distribution of sex is nearly even.

Table No. 10

Population by Age and Marital Status

Age-group	Total population			Never Married		Married		Widowed		Remarks
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
All ages	331	174	157	111	96	59	59	4	2	
0 - 14	182	92	90	92	90	..	..	..	..	Original survey
15 - 34	91	47	44	19	6	26	38	2	..	of 49 households
35 - 59	50	30	20	..	..	28	18	2	2	
60 & above	8	5	3	..	..	5	3	..	..	

The above table shows that as many as 207 persons or 62.54 per cent of the population in the village consists of unmarried persons. Marriage for either sex below 14 years of age is not encouraged. The married males and females in the age group 15—34 is 26 and 38 respectively while the never married males are 19 and females 6. Never-married persons above the age of 35 are nil. The total number of widows and widowers are 4 and 2 respectively.

Table No. 11

Population by Age, Sex, and Education

Total number of households 49
Total number of households surveyed 34

Age-group	Total			Illiterate			Literates without any educational level		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
All ages	208	108	100	103	48	55	43	18	25
0 - 14	113	57	56	50	28	22	40	18	22
15 - 24	27	16	11	6	1	5	1	..	1
25 - 59	67	35	32	46	19	27	2	..	2
60 & above	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..

Age-group	Primary			Matriculates			Degree course		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
All ages	58	38	20	3	3	..	1	1	..
0 - 14	23	11	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
15 - 24	17	12	5	2	2	..	1	1	..
25 - 59	18	15	3	1	1	..	..	..	..
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Literacy has been defined as the ability to read and write a simple letter. According to this criterion the 34 households re-surveyed have got 43 literates without any educational standard with 18 males and 25 females. The educated persons up to the primary level are only 58 out of which 38 are males and 20 females. 73 pupils seemed to be reading at the time of survey in the Primary school of the village. The total number of those in the matriculation standard is 3, 2 of whom are reading in the Government High School at Kokrajhar while one has discontinued having taken up the job of a teacher. One student from the village is undergoing higher education in a degree course in the Kokrajhar College.

Family : *Composition*: The Bodo families consist of a group of closely related persons based on marriage ties. These groupings are of various types with reference to the composition of the household. The table below shows the size and composition of households in the village.

Table No. 12

Size and composition of households

Total No. of households	Single member			2-3 members			4-6 members			7-9 members			10 & above		
	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
49	..	..	..	4	5	5	21	52	50	17	60	61	7	47	41

It is observed that the number of single member households is nil while households having 2—3, 4—6 and 7—9 and from 10 members and above are 4, 21, 17 and 7, their percentages being 8.2, 42.8, 34.6 and 14.4 respectively. The basic form is the simple biological family where the married couple and unmarried children live together in the same establishment. After marriage, the sons may or may not have separate establishments of their own. Joint of extended families have no separate households but only the married members live in separate rooms.

Characteristics of the families : *Patrilineal*: The tribe is patrilineal in descent, that is, the family line is always carried on through the male line.

Patrilocal: It is found that the majority of cases are patrlocal in residence, but in the case of the 4 households where adoption is recorded, the bridegroom is also found living in his wife's house. So the tribe cannot be said to be purely patrilocal in residence.

Patriarchal: The male head or the father is the head of the household. He is the main provider of food.

The following table shows the nature of a Bodo family.

Table No. 13

Total Number of households	Types of families living in the households			
	Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
49	37	3	9	Nil

It is clear from the above table that 37 out of 49 households are of the simple type of family comprising the husband, the wife and the unmarried children, 3 intermediate comprising married couple and unmarried brother, sister, or one of the parents, and 9 households of joint families which are formed by the married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters. It is further clear that the Bodos prefer to form a simple type of family which results from the splitting up of joint families in due course when the family extends, with a separate establishment for each of the resultant families.

Inheritance of property : No definite conclusion can be drawn regarding the Bodo laws and customs relating to the inheritance of property due to lack of sufficient information on the subject. Generally speaking, the right of ownership of property passes on the death of the father to the eldest son, the latter taking care of his widowed mother, brothers and sisters, both married and unmarried. Under the guidance and rule of the eldest son, the family may be kept for some years, but eventually it breaks up as the other sons marry, and when the family thus extends the father's property is broken up into equal shares and evenly distributed. The widow also receives a share of her husband's property and her eldest son with whom she generally stays will enjoy that property for looking after his mother.

In case a man dies without sons, the property usually passes to his eldest surviving brother, who looks after and makes provision for the deceased's widow and daughters.

Leisure and recreation : The Bodo children have very little games and what they play now-a-days are some of the modern games borrowed from outside generally learnt through their schoolmates, and consequently introduced amongst themselves in the village. The little girls are fond of dolls, which they make themselves. The dolls are made of pieces of cloths, dressed like men and women and marriage is arranged between any two of them, with two parties as of the bridegroom and of the bride.

Boys do not play with dolls but prefer to launch adventures during leisure periods and go for either shooting in the jungle or fishing. The teen-aged boys play 'hào' a favourite game among them which is played between two parties. The players from each party take their stand in a row facing the other party against a line. The game starts when a player from one party leaves his row and rushes towards the opponent with a broken sound holding his breath. If he can return to his home party by touching an opponent while still holding his breath, that member of the opponent party will be out. If however he is caught by the opponent and takes breath before reaching the starting position, he will be out and excluded from the party.

Another game played by them is 'hatagoti' which is played with the help of two sticks, one shorter, about 4 inches in length and the other about 12 inches. The shorter one is placed horizontally in a small hole, exposing one end outside the hole, which is hammered with the other stick. This raises it in the air. When so raised it is sent to a distant place by beating it with the same stick.

Football is a favourite game among the boys, both small and grown-up. They form many teams among themselves and participate in football games outside the village also. Indoor games like carrom and badminton are also not unknown to them. The cowherds are fond of playing cards while resting in the field or at home.

Annual cycle of festivals : *"Mikham godam zanai* or the eating of the new rice": There is no fixed date but this feast is held about the 10th of December every year to celebrate the commencement of the cutting of the main rice crop of the year (sali dhan). It is on this occasion that the proceeds of the newly-harvested rice are first partaken of as an actual article of food. There is perhaps nothing of a religious character about it, its main feature being a very free consumption of rice beer.

"Mahu hanai" or *"the driving away of mosquitos"*. This is a form of merry-making got up mainly by the young people of a village about the latter part of November or early in December to celebrate the departure of the mosquito plague during the cold season.

There would seem to be no distinctive tribal festivals characteristic of the Bodo race, unless the January and April Bihus can be regarded as such. The origin of these two festivals is still somewhat obscure and uncertain. Certainly they are not exclusively Bodo festivals, for they are observed by the Hindus in the neighbourhood as well as by the Bodos. The Bodos, like the Assamese people, observe the Bihu with much pomp and grandeur. The Bohag Bihu during April lasts for about a week, which they enjoy by eating and drinking amongst friends and relatives, followed by folk songs and dances. The Magh Bihu is largely observed by them during the last part of the month of Magha when the work in the field is over and the new crops is ready for eating. This is mainly observed by feasting and eating of various preparations out of the new rice.

Among the religious festivals, *'kherai puja'*, a community worship, is still running traditionally. It is observed during the December every year.

The Bodos who are hinduised in their annual cycle of festivals, worship many Hindu gods and goddesses like Siva, Sakti, Lakhi, Bishnu etc. The Brahma group annually observes *'mahalaya'*, a Hindu festival held during September or October. School-going children participate the *'Saraswati puja'* in honour of the goddess of learning.

Marriage songs : Before coming to the Bodo marriage songs, a brief introduction of

the Bodo folk-songs is deemed highly essential to present to the reader a picture about the cultural heritage of the people.

The Bodo folk songs are very old in origin, running traditionally among them. Although there is no trace of books in the Bodo language, the Bodos are very rich in folk songs and tales. Through the folk songs they dislplay a many-sided picture of themselves as well as their social and religious structure. Their traditional folk songs depict profound thought and imagination, and are beautifully rhymed. On hearing Bodo songs a visitor is given an impression that the Bodo girl possesses an inborn capacity to compose songs and verses. While working in the emerald field, the river, the lawns and the meadows, the melodious voice of Bodo girls is echoed by nature. They express their deep feelings of love and imagination in their music. Folk songs are the medium of instruction of the mothers to their children. From the research work of Sri M. M. Brahma, the author of the "Folk-songs of the Bodos", it is evident that the Bodos' folk songs are composed on the various aspects like Patriotism, Valour, Songs of the Soil, Nursery Rhymes, The Course of Love, Hymeneal Avenue, Gift of Humour, Bihu Songs, Ritual, Prayer and Philosophy. But it is indeed a matter of great regret that with the passing of the decades, the most traditional songs of the bygone days are forgotten now. Many songs died along with the passing away of the old men and women of the village. So it may rightly be apprehended that what is still remaining on the lips of the Bodo women will die away within a few succeeding generations and hence a concern among themselves. Adoption of measures for their preservation should be a matter of immediate consideration.

In regard to the marriage songs of the Bodos, it may rightly be commented as Dr. P. D. Goswami has described that, like an Assamese marriage, the Bodo marriage is also musical one. At every stage of the celebration—from early negotiation to the end—women sing appropriate songs.

The following are a few marriage songs sung by the Bodo ladies during different occasions and stages of the celebration of marriage:

Oum oum bunnani akhay khobzob nani,
Athenao nonni khulumni oum bunnani he.
O U mo cotta rozo tomo,
Nonno brohma nonno bicnu nonno
mohecorhe.
Nonno khali noon cabitri nonno
caracathihe
Nonno gonga nonno zomuna nonno
durgahe
Akhay khobzob nani nonkhan khuhumni
on bunnanihe.
Nonno or nonno bar nonno doeni daharhe,
Nonno Zuni ziu he.

Meaning:—

Oh Supreme Lord,
By uttering the blissful 'OM'
And with folded hands,
We pray to Thee.
Thou art Brahma, Visnu and Maheswara,
Thou art also Kali, Savitri, Ganga,
Jamuna and Durga.

Women sing this while drawing water for marriage on the preceding day:

Come out, oh sisters, pitcher in hand
To fetch water from the river Jandi
At its Kharaghat landing
The track is beset with prickly thicket and
sand
One of you should carry Radha (bride) on
your shoulder
Lest the brambles prick her feet;
Then her feet will bleed.
And Krishna (bridegroom) will grow
angry.
Take her hence on your shoulder
Or else you won't get your share

Of betelnut; that's sure.
On this fine Magha morning,
Who sings on the flute?
And why does Radha pine for it?
Thither lays her way.
Radha is moving in that direction.
Unless you act now and prevent,
She will reach there and go away.

Like Assamese 'Khiya-git' or 'Jora-nam' --(teasing song), the Bodo ladies are also very good in composing teasing songs. These songs are sung to create a humorous situation.

When the bride arrives the bridegroom's place, women cut jokes at the bridegroom.

Unless you more frequently give us
Betelnut and leaf
We shall take back
The new woman
Away from you.
Oh, Chatiram
You are a young bull

* * *

Again while the marriage is being performed, there is an atmosphere of ebullition and unity. The women under the influence of liquor hurl many a joke at the bridegroom.

Give us oil, give us oil
Give us mustard oil.
For the night descends,
And your bridegroom is dirty
Bring a broken spade
To remove his dirt.
Pour down water on him
That the dirt may go
And he may shine.

The bride's departure for her husband's place is a moment of crucial significance. It is a moment of great grief when she has to leave severing her connection with the family, kinsmen and companions.

Elderly women try to console her—
Don't you worry, dear,
Don't you grow sad
You have not been given away in marriage
To a non-Bodo or a Bhutiya.
We have married you
To a good Bodo youth.

(*Quoted from the "Folk Songs of the Bodos" by Sri M. M. Brahma*)

Religion : A gentle breeze of change in religion has swept over the Bodos of Goalpara due to the impact of the Brahma cult which has a considerable sway in the district. It is not incorrect to say, however that the general concept of their religion is still firmly based on their belief in the existence and active interference in the affairs of men of certain invisible spiritual beings. The latter are considered as the evil spirits causing one's sickness, famine, and other natural calamities and who are for the most part influenced by malevolent motives, the ill effects of which towards mankind is overcome by frequent offerings of rice, banana, pigs, goats, poulty etc. to the household deities "Bathau" or "Mainao".

Of all the gods and goddesses, the chief god is known as "Bathau-Boro" and he is regarded as the guardian of the family interest and honour. He is not represented in idol form, but is well in evidence through his living symbol, the siju tree (cactus family). By a process of syncretism 'Bathau' is being frequently identified with 'Siva' and 'Mainao' with 'Lakshmi', which shows a tendency among the Bodos to identify the tribal gods and goddesses with those of the Hindus. They give special reverence to 'siju' tree because it has five edges by the structure of its trunk and branches, which resembles the five principles of the Bodos. 'Jamain' (a typical Bodo candle) is lighted before the god and offerings with the heads of he-goats, fowls, pigs, betelnuts and pan leaves, and 'gazi' (a mixture of pulses and rice) placed over

a plantain leaf are humbly laid down for Bathau's acceptance. They believe that in this way, disease, famine and misfortune of any kind may be kept away through the benign influence of their powerful guardian of the family interest and well being.

Ancestor worship would not seem to be largely in vogue. The worship of natural forces also would seem to not very common though some traces of it may perhaps be noted here and there as, for instance, in connection with the popular festival known as the April (Vaisakh) Bihu, there takes place what is called the 'parwa show' or 'bhothali', a festival apparently common to Hindus.

The Bodo pantheon is a very extensive one, though a comparatively small number are strictly of tribal origin, obviously borrowed from neighbouring Hindus. Two types of deities are found: (1) household gods (na-ni modai) and (2) village gods (gami-ni modai). The former are worshipped inside the house or inside the homestead, while the latter collectively by the villagers in a corner of the village boundary.

The annual festival of the Bodos is known as 'kherai' worship. This festival is performed in the eastern corner of the village where Bathau is placed. Offerings in the form of goats, pigeons, fowls, sugarcane, gazi, betelnuts and pan leaves are placed over the concave surface of a layer of plantain tree as propitiation before the god. Then a 'deodhani', a somewhat weird-looking creature wearing a long petticoat, having long hair and vermillion-stained forehead dances round Bathau praying to the god to save the villagers from natural calamities. A few young men beat drums and play 'siphong' (Bodo flute) when the 'deodhani' goes on dancing round the god Bathau. The ceremony is a prolonged one and deodhani dancing lasts for several hours till the dancer gets excited. Finally, the deodhani, by one stroke of the long Bodo sacrificial sword (unfi), slaughters a he-goat. The blood is held to be sacrificed to the god and some drops of it are sprinkled on the persons of the assembled worshippers. At this stage, the puja reaches the climax and the 'deodhani' is supposed to get the answers to the queries made to the deity.

Priests or Go-between : There is no authorised priest or go-between among the tribe nor is any Brahmin employed for the purpose of conducting religious ceremonies as the ceremonies are generally of a social and festive rather than religious character. All the religious ceremonies are performed by the 'deoris' who have a recognised social status in the community. Another class of persons employed for this purpose is known as 'ojhas', whose function is more or less the same as that of the 'deoris'. The office is not hereditary and any one versed in the usual forms of exorcism can discharge it.

There is also a reformist cult among the Bodos e.g. the 'Brahma' cult which has a considerable sway in the Goalpara district. The followers of this cult are the disciples of Kali Charan Brahma—a preacher of this religion.

In the village, 10 households out of the total of 49 households are professing Hinduism and worship the Hindu gods and goddesses like 'Bishnu', 'Lakshmi', etc. They have priests among themselves and these priestly groups selected by their Gosain (religious instructor) wear the holy thread like the Hindus.

The main annual festival amongst the Brahma group is the 'mahalaya' performed during September or October just before the Durga Puja. They perform the religious ceremonies through the observance of the 'homa ceremony', and the offerings are made to the fire through the chanting of 'slokas' from the religious scripts. All the religious parts con-

nected with their social occasions are performed according to the Hindu rites and due to the impact of this new form of religion a great sociological change in the people is attained discarding almost all the beliefs and practices based on superstition. Marriage is performed through negotiation, and offering of the daughter is made by the father of the girl in the presence of the sacred fire of 'homa'. They burn the dead bodies which the Bodos prefered to bury during the old days. They also observe the period of polution and perform the 'sradha ceremony'.

Some remarkable changes have been brought on the Kachari religious group, as mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, though they still follow their traditional beliefs and practices. These changes may be due to the indirect influence of Hinduism, and that is probably why there is a tendency among them to identify the tribal gods and goddesses by a process of syncretism. For instance, 'Bathau' the high god of the Bodos is now identified with the Hindu god 'Siva'. The Siju tree is no longer a *sine qua non* of every household.

The high rigidity in their traditional customs and behaviours is gradually getting looser and looser and it is apprehended that in the near future there will be a mass scale conversion to the Brahma cult bringing a great sociological change in their modes of life.

Deodhani Nritya : Assam is very rich in traditional folk songs and dances, especially in Biyanam (marriage song), Inam (songs sung during an attack of pox) and Bihu songs (songs accompanying the Bihu dances). Apart from these folk songs, she is also proud of her traditional folk dances like Bihu dances, 'Ojapali' and 'deodhani' . . . etc. Deodhani Nritya is one of the folk dances which is traditionally in vogue in Assam and is still found in the rural areas of 'Pati Darrang' and Kamrup where it is mostly confined amongst the Assamese folk. Since time immemorial this Deodhani Nritya has also been prevalent amongst the tribal folks like the Garos, Boros, Mikirs and Deoris, amongst whom it is practised on special religious occasions with special significance of religious beliefs and practices. It is however unfortunate that this dance was not held during the survey in the village.

Different scholars are of different opinions regarding the origin of the Deodhani Nritya in Assam. Some are of the opinion that this Deodhani Nritya originated from the non-Aryan people while some others think that it got into the Assamese culture through imitation from the Bodo-Kacharis. Many again remarked that Deodhani Nritya is the dance connected with the religious part of the tantric puja. According to this group of scholars, 'deo' means 'devatas' and 'dhani' means 'woman or young girl' which means that the girls or women who sacrifice or devote themselves in the religious worship in the name of 'devatas' are known as 'deodhani' and the meaning of 'deodhani' indicates therefore a particular type of dance displayed by a section of women known as Deodhani.

A Deodhani dance is generally performed to the accompaniment of songs sung by an ojha during the dance, but amongst the Bodos and other tribal people, the deodhani poses with the rhythm of the beatings of drums and flutes. According to Sri K. R. Medhi, the poses are undoubtedly borrowed from the Natya Sastra of Bharata, although through lack of appreciation of the intricacies of their technique, this standard has now much deteriorated and become vulgarised. Thus a deodhani while dancing displays at best some of the thirteen poses of the head as described by Saga-Bharat. But nobody will now easily admit that she has kept up the convention of the superb and requisite poses described in the immortal work of Bharat (K. R. Medhi).



Deodhani dance and music in progress

The Deodhani Nritya of the Bodos is really known as 'dao-thoi-long-nai or deodhani' and from the standpoint of the dresses, ornaments and poses of the Bodo deodhani dancers, we may opine that the Assamese deodhani dance is imitated from the Bodo deodhani. Not only with the Bodos, but the practice of this dance amongst the Mikirs and Deoris is wide where it also resembles those of the non-tribal. In the Mikir language, the deodhani dance is known as 'ding-dhini' and they perform it during the 'daosal festival'.

Beliefs in luck and omens : The villagers believe in the auspiciousness or otherwise of a particular time or period before undertaking any work or journey, finalising a negotiation or laying the foundation of a house. The omens received befire undertaking these kinds of work are carefully observed and the work may be postponed till the period is considered auspicious. Hearing of the crooning of an owl during daytime, seeing a snake, and seeing a girl carrying an empty pitcher are considered to be inauspicious. The breaking of bangles on a woman's arms is considered to be a sign of bad luck. Breaking of bell metal utensils is also a sign of bad luck.

Falgun (February-March) and Chait (March-April) are the two months the Bodos generally avoid for any auspicious occasions like marriage etc. A child born during these months is considered unlucky.

Cultural life of the people : *Voluntary Organisations*: Alambar library is the only library and the only cultural centre sponsored by the villagers. This was established in the year 1956 through a sponsorring body formed by the leading members of the village. Their object in setting up the library is obviously to enlighten themselves with more knowledge, and specially to facilitate the younger generation with the scope of reading. The building was constructed by the villagers themselves through cooperative effort and contributions. At present, though not so satisfactorily, the library is equipped with various books and magazines purchased by themselves. The library is exclusively used by the villagers of Titaguri Jonagaon, though they do not discourage outside members from participation. It is now financed from the subscriptions collected from the members during enrolments and an annual subscription which is one rupee per head. Apart from the students who are very enthusiastic, as many as 8 villagers have enrolled their names as members, whose oppupations are mainly cultivation, except one who is a teacher. Among the office bearers, the Secretary of the Institution is Sri Dhajen Basumatari, the President Sri Deben Borgaiary and the Treasurer, Sri Balendra Basumatari. The members and the office bearers have drawn up a plan to utilise their leisure efforts for social service and other activities of the village life.

Village organization : Cases regarding disputes among the villagers and violations of any social laws or customs are tried in the village by a body which is locally known as 'mael'. The Gaonbura, Shri Romesh Basumatari, appointed by the Deputy Commissioner, is the head of this village organisation who on receipt of any complaint fixes up a date for the 'mael' and through the 'halmaji' who acts as his messenger informs all the villagers, especially the male heads of the households who form the personnel of the mael, about the case, the time and the venue of 'mael'. Generally the sitting of the 'mael' is held in the local 'namghor' or the school. On the day of the trial, the Gaonbura and the elderly male members of the village, irrespective of any clan, will be present in the 'mael'. The ladies and children do not generally participate in the 'mael' but can be silent listeners.

The Gaonbura first of all explains the main purpose of that particular sitting of the 'mael'. He then takes the statement of the

accused, examines the witnesses of both the parties and then in consultation with the participants of the 'mael', if the accused is found guilty, makes him liable to pay a penalty of some cash amount which cannot exceed Rs. 25/-. If the 'mael' fails to make any settlement between the parties or in difficult cases when the Gaonbura is not competent to give any judgement, a reference is made to the 'Boro Samaj'. The later is constituted with about 10 to 12 Boro villages of the area, having a President and a Secretary as the heads who are selected by the villagers. From each constituent village, a member is selected to represent it in the Boro Samaj. On receiving a case the Secretary of the 'samaj' issues summons to the accused and invites all the members to be present in the 'mael'. The Boro Samaj has its own constitution. The punishments to the guilty persons are awarded by the President of the organisation according to the constitution of the Boro Samaj.

Gaon Panchayat: The Titaguri Gaon Sabha is at Kalagaon, about 3 miles from the village Titaguri Jonagaon. There are in all 13 members in the Gaon Sabha and Joanagaon is represented by one member whose name is Pannalal Basumatari. As the village is predominated by the Bodo community, all the members are Bodos. It was learnt that as the educated persons in the village have been engaged in different services, none of them are coming forward to join the Gaon Sabha.

Under the Anchalik Panchayat there are twelve villages. Village development measures have been taken up by the Anchalik Panchayat, and recently a grant of Rupees 900/- was given for the construction of one 'sarak' or road. A Committee named 'rat committee' consisting of a representative of each village was formed. These members extended their co-operation during the construction of the road.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Titaguri Jonagaon is covered by the Kokrajhar Community Development Block, but uptil now it does not appear to have derived any significant benefit out of the Block. Attempt to bring out any remarkable change in the outlook of the people by any government agency is hardly noticeable here. But the only tangible sociological change that has been brought about is obviously due to the impact of the Brahma religion—a reformist cult. It is apprehended that as the Bodos of this area are directly or indirectly under the influence of this new religion, a period may come when the entire population may profess this new religion which may bring a significant change in their way of life. Though ignorance still continues to be a bliss in many respects, Bodo adults are keen in educating their children. Indebtedness is caused mainly when shortage of food-stuffs occur, but the people are yet quite indifferent to finding out the means for the augmentation of their earnings. If a man cannot go to work in the field, he just sits with hands crossed and as long as the idea to go in for a subsidiary occupation is not injected in his mind, he will continue to remain idle like that. But a Bodo woman is an active household lady and an expert weaver too. She always boasts of making her house self-sufficient in this respect. There is no reason why a cottage industry in this line with a commercial bias will not flourish if the village women are guided and assisted in their efforts.

Cultivators do not seem to realise where their economic betterment lies. As the soil of the area is rich, they largely cultivate paddy only, but do not find much interest in cash crops. Though they have got a sound knowledge of traditional agriculture, they need to be guided on the right lines regarding modern methods of cultivation.

In the sphere of their community life, the villagers form what looks like one large joint family where people commonly share their pleasures and pains, joys and sorrows. Mutual co-operation and help, both in individual and common cases, are exchanged whenever occasion demands, either in social or economic life. They are deeply attached to their social and religious customs and usages. When the young folk sing and dance, in which respect the Bodos are very rich, they forget all the worries of life. The followers of the Brahma religion also still maintain the tie of relationship with those who are yet to come under the same canopy of their religious principle and interchange of marriages is still prevalent between the two groups.

The people of this village are peace-loving and easy going. Any dispute among themselves is still settled by the local 'mael', and they need hardly refer any case to the Bodo/Boro Samaj—a bigger organisation which controls the entire judiciary of the Bodo tribal population with its own jurisprudence. But the wind of change has started blowing, and sooner or later the naive people of this beautiful village will be cast into the maelstrom of social, political and economic upheaval. May its people withstand the stress and strain of the change-over and may they preserve for ever what is good and distinctive in their tradition.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TABLES

TABLE No.I.

WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Total No. of Households Surveyed—34

Age-groups	Occupation 1 Cultivation			Occupation 2 Service			Occupation 3 Labour			Total Workers		
	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	65	37	28	6	4	2	4	2	2	75	43	32
0-14	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	2	1	1
15-34	38	19	19	3	2	1	4	2	2	45	23	22
35-59	27	18	9	1	1	..	..	..	..	28	19	9
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE No.II

PLACE OF OCCUPATION

No. of Households Surveyed—34

Place of Occupation	Distance from the Village	Occupation 1 Cultivation		Occupation 2 Labour		Occupation 3 Service	
		No. of Workers		No. of Workers		No. of Workers	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Titaguri	Nil	37	28	..	1	..	2
Kokrajhar	3 miles	..	..	2	1	2	..
Gauhati	103 miles	..	..	..	..	2	..

TABLE No.III

MAIN OCCUPATION, PER CAPITA ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND FAMILY TYPE

Total No. of Households Surveyed—34

Main Occupation	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS																				
	Per Capita Household Annual Income Ranges (in Rs.)																				
	Re.1 to 50/-			Rs.51 to 100/-			Rs. 101-200/-			Rs. 201-300/-			Rs. 301-500/-			Rs. 501 & above			Total		
	S	I	J	S	I	J	S	I	J	S	I	J	S	I	J	S	I	J	S	I	J
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Cultivation	..	..	..	6	..	..	15	4	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24	4	3
Labourer	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Service	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..

S=Simple family
I=Intermediate family
J=Joint family

TABLE No. IV

MATERIAL CULTURE—CONSUMPTION HABITS BY ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND HOUSEHOLD BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

Total No. of Households Surveyed—34

Caste/Tribe/Community	Number of households that use mosquito curtain having annual income of					Number of households that do not use mosquito curtain having annual income of				
	Rs. 1201 & above	Rs. 901-1200/-	Rs. 601-900/-	Rs. 301-600/-	Rs. 300- & less	Rs.1201 & above	Rs. 901-1200/-	Rs. 601-900/-	Rs. 301-600/-	Rs. 300 & less
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BODO (Tribe)	2	5	13	6	..	..	..	5	3	..

Number of households that use toilet soap/washing soap having annual income of					Number of households that does not use toilet or washing soap having income of				
Rs. 1201 & above	Rs. 901-1200/-	Rs. 601-900/-	Rs. 301-600/-	Rs. 300- and less	Rs. 1201 & above	Rs. 901-1200/-	Rs. 601-900/	Rs. 301-600/-	Rs. 300 and less
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
2	5	18	9	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE No. V

ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY MAIN OCCUPATION AND SOURCE OF INCOME

Total No. of Households Surveyed—34

Main Occupation	No. of house-holds	Source of Income	No. of house-holds	Amount Rs. P. All house-holds	Households with annual income of (in Rs.)									
					Rs. 300/- & less		Rs. 301-600/-		Rs. 601-900/-		Rs. 901-1200/-		Rs. 1201 & above	
					Amount	No. of house-holds	Amount	No. of house-holds	Amount	No. of house-holds	Amount	No. of house-holds	Amount	No. of house-holds
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Cultivation	31	1. Agriculture and labour	19	Rs.14,222/-			Rs.2,072/-	4	Rs. 7,840/-	11	Rs.4,310/-	4		
		2. Agriculture	5	Rs. 4,080/-			Rs.1,200/-	2	Rs. 800/-	1	Rs.2,080/-	2		
		3. Agriculture and business	6	Rs. 5,010/-					Rs. 5,010/-	6				
		4. Agriculture and timber contract	1	Rs. 1,500/-									Rs.1,500/-	1
Labour	2	1. Labour and agriculture	2	Rs. 1,270/-			Rs. 570/-	1	Rs. 700/-	1				
Service	1	1. Service and agriculture	1	Rs. 1,460/-									Rs.1,460/-	1
TOTAL			34	Rs.27,542/-			Rs.3,842	7	Rs. 14,350/-	19	Rs.6,390/-	6	Rs.2,960/-	2

TABLE No. VI

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

Total No. of Households Surveyed—34

Caste/ Tribe/ Community	Main Occupation	No. of households in main occupational group in Col.No.2	All Households			Households with annual income (in Rs.) within the annual income goups									
			Items of expenditure	No. of households	Expenditure per household	Rs.300/-and less		Rs.301-600/-		Rs.601-900/-		Rs.901-1200/-		Rs.1201 & above	
						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
BODO	Cultivation	31	Regular expenditure												
			1. Foodstuffs	31	Rs.370/-			6	Rs.248/-	18	Rs.354/-	6	Rs.437/-	1	Rs. 820/-
			2. Land revenue	31	Rs. 15/-			6	Rs. 11/-	18	Rs. 15/-	6	Rs. 18/-	1	Rs. 20/-
			3. Fuel	1	Rs. 10/-					1	Rs. 10/-				
			4. Betel nut & leaf	31	Rs. 46/-			6	Rs. 47/-	18	Rs. 42/-	6	Rs.47/-	1	Rs. 98/-
			Irregular expenditure												
			5. Marriage	31	Rs.413/-			6	Rs.292/-	18	Rs.375/-	6	Rs.550/-	1	Rs.1000/-
			6. Bride price	31	Rs. 56			6	Rs. 51/-	18	Rs. 54/-	6	Rs. 54/-	1	Rs. 51/-
			7. House construction	31	Rs.308/-			6	Rs.225/-	18	Rs.281/-	6	Rs.423/-	1	Rs. 600/-
			8. House repair	28	Rs. 62/-			6	Rs. 61/-	16	Rs. 62/-	5	Rs. 73/-	1	Rs. 15/-
			9. Dowry	2	Rs.200/-					2	Rs.200/-				

TABLE No. VI—Contd.

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

Total No. of Households Surveyed—34

Caste/ Tribe/ Community	Main Occupation.	No. of households in main occupational group in Col.No.2	All Households			Households with annual income (in Rs.) within the annual income goups									
						Rs.300/-and less		Rs.301-600/-		Rs.601-900/-		Rs.901-1200/-		Rs.1201 & above	
			Items of expenditure	No. of households	Expenditure per household	No. of households	Average expenditure	No. of households	Average expenditure	No. of households	Average expenditure	No. of households	Average expenditure	No. of households	Averagie expenditure
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
BODO	Labour	2	Regular expenditure												
			1. Foodstuffs	2	Rs.130/-					2	Rs.260/-				
			2. Land revenue	1	Rs. 2/-			1	Rs. 2/-						
			3. Betel nut & leaf	1	Rs. 20/-					1	Rs. 20/-				
			Irregular expenditure												
			4. Marriage	2	Rs.225/-			1	Rs.200/-	1	Rs.250/-				
			5. Bride price	2	Rs. 51/-			1	Rs. 51/-	1	Rs. 51/-				
			6. House construction	2	Rs.290/-			1	Rs.300/-	1	Rs.280/-				
			7. House repair	1	Rs. 40/-					1	Rs. 40/-				

TABLE No. VI—Concld.

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

Total No. of Households Surveyed—34

Caste/ Tribe/ Community	Main Occupation.	No. of households in main occupational group in Col.No.2	All Households			Households with annual income (in Rs.) within the annual income goups									
			Items of expenditure	No. of households	Expenditure per house holds	Rs.300/-and less		Rs.301-600/-		Rs.601-900/-		Rs.901-1200/-		Rs.1201 & above	
						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
33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
BODO	Service	1	Regular expenditure												
			1. Foodstuffs	1	Rs.210/-									1	Rs.210/-
			2. Land revenue	1	Rs. 6/-									1	Rs. 6/-
			4. Betel nut & leaf	1	Rs. 40/-									1	Rs. 40/-
			Irregular expenditure												
			4. Marriage	1	Rs.350/-									1	Rs.350/-
			5. Bride price	1	Rs. 51/-									1	Rs. 51/-
			6. House construction	1	Rs.500/-									1	Rs.500/-
			7. House repair	1	Rs. 90/-									1	Rs. 90/-

TABLE No. VII

INDEBTEDNESS BY ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND HOUSEHOLDS

Total No. of households surveyed—34

Annual Household income	Total No. of House-holds	Number of Households in debt and total debt (in rupees)		
		Number of households	Total debt	Average indebtedness for house-holds in debt
1	2	3	4	5
Total	34	7	Rs.929.50P.	Rs.132.78P.
Less than 300/-				
Rs.301 - 600/-	7	1	Rs.100.00P.	Rs.100.00P.
Rs. 601 - 900/-	19	4	Rs.739.50P.	Rs.184.87P.
Rs. 901 - 1200/-	6	2	Rs. 90.00P.	Rs. 45.00P.
Rs.1201 & above	2			

TABLE No. VIII

MOTHER TONGUE AND OTHER LANGUAGES SPOKEN

Total No. of households surveyed—34

Languages	No. of persons		
	Total	Males	Females
1	2	3	4
(A) Mother Tongue			
(1) Bodo/Boro	208	108	100
(B) Other Languages spoken			
(1) Assamese	68	34	34
(2) English]	4	4	...
(3) Hindi	5	5	...

TABLE No. IX

DIETARY HABITS BY HOUSEHOLD AND CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

Total No. of households surveyed—49

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total No. of households with two meals	Breakfast/mid-day meal and supper, tea with light dishes between mid-day meal and supper and tea or coffee at any other time.	Breakfast, mid-day meal and supper, with coffee or tea with light dishes between noon-meal and supper	Breakfast and mid-day meal and supper	Two meals with coffee or tea at one time	Other types
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bodo	49	..	43	4	2	--

TABLE No. X

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO DURATION OF MARRIAGE BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

Total No. of households surveyed—34

Caste/Tribe/Community	Number of households wanting more children, duration of marriage being					Number of households wanting no more children, duration of marriage being				
	Over 20 years	16-20 years	11-15- years	6-10 years	5 years or less	Over 20 years	16-20 years	11-15 years	6-10 years	5 years or less
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Bodo	1	5	8	7	2	9	..	..	1	1

TABLE No. XI

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO ANNUAL INCOME BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

Total No. of households surveyed—34

Caste/Tribe/Community	Number of households wanting more children having Annual Income of					Number of households wanting no more children having Annual Income of				
	Above Rs.1200/-	Rs.901-1200/-	Rs.601-900/-	Rs.301-600/-	Rs.300 & less	Above Rs.1200/-	Rs.901-1200/-	Rs.601-900/-	Rs.301-600/-	Rs.300& less
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Bodo	2	3	14	4	..	..	3	5	3	..

TABLE No. XII

PERIOD OF EXISTENCE OF HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

Total No. of households surveyed—34

Caste/Tribe/Community	Father to son continue. No. of households	Number of households in each group of period of existence				
		3 years and below	4-10 years	11-20 years	21-50 years	51 years and above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bodo	34	..	..	..	..	34

TABLE NO. XIII

SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF HOUSEHOLDS

Total No. of households surveyed—49

Total No. of households	Number of households settled for generations				
	5 and above	3 and below 5	Above 1 and below 3	1 generation and below	Unspecified
1	2	3	4	5	6
49	40	5	3	1	

TABLE NO. XIV

HOUSEHOLDS AND CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY BY NUMBER OF ROOMS AND NUMBER OF PERSONS OCCUPYING

Total No. of households surveyed—34

Caste/ Tribe/ Community	Total No. of house holds	Total No. of rooms	Total No. of house-hold members	Households with no regular rooms		Households with 2 rooms		Households with 3 rooms		Households with 4 or more rooms	
				No. of house-holds	Total No. of house-hold members	No. of house-holds	Total No. of house-hold members	No. of house-holds	Total No. of house-hold members	No. of house-holds	Total No. of house-hold members
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Bodo	34	123	208	1	5	2	11	9	52	22	140

TABLE NO. XV

HOUSE TYPE—ROOF MATERIALS BY CASTE/TRIBE/COMMUNITY

Total No. of households surveyed—43

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Name of House types		Number of House-holds with mud roof		Number of Households with tin roof			Number of Households with thatch/straw/grass roof		
	Name	Number	With slope	Without slope	Two slopes	Four slopes	More than 4 slopes	Two slopes	Four slopes	More than 4 slopes
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Bodo	I typed	104	..	..	2	..	..	32	..	..

TABLE NO. XVI

CULTURAL LIFE OF THE VILLAGE

Total No. of households surveyed—34

Caste/Tribe/ Community	No. of house-holds	No. of persons	No. of participants in						
			Youth club	Recreation centre Titaguri Football team	Bharat Sevak Sangha	Mahila Samiti	Reading newspaper and books	Folk dance and song	Any other cultural activity
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bodo	34	208	..	19	..	..	10	94	..

TABEE NO. XVII

NO. OF DRAUGHT CATTLE OWNED BY LAND HOLDERS

Extent of cultivable land in acres	Total no. of families each holding land as at Col. 1	No. of householdss having draught cattle	Total no. of draught cattle	No. of Households having						
				1 Draught cattle	2 Draught cattle	3 Draught cattle	4 Draught cattle	5 Draught cattle	6 Draught cattle	7 Draught cattle
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.64	1	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
1.75	2	2	4	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
2.05	1	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
2.25	1	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
3.11	1	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
3.25	3	3	7	..	2	1	..	..	..	..
3.26	1	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
3.28	2	2	4	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
4.00	1	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
4.24	1	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
4.92	1	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
5.00	1	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
5.24	1	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
5.25	1	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
6.00	1	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
6.35	1	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
7.00	2	2	8	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
7.22	1	1	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
8.20	3	3	16	..	..	..	1	..	2	..
8.50	1	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
8.53	1	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
9.00	4	4	18	..	1	..	1	1	..	1
20.66	1	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
TOTAL	33	33	113	..	12	5	10	3	2	1

Based on 34 households resurveyed.

APPENDIX-B

APPENDIX B

CONFIDENTIAL

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, ASSAM

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 Househol

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 dependants 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 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)

3B—*Concld.*

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 ?

7A. (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/disapproving.

7B. Expenditure on marriage :
(i) On functions before marriage.
(ii) On marriage ceremony.
(iii) On functions following marriage.
(iv) Any amount paid last year.

7C. 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 ?

7D. 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 of 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 :

	Owned	Leased in	Remarks
(a) 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 changes ?

(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, is it 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 wages 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. Mentioned in detail the means of livelihood of the household other than agriculture and industry, e.g. service or trade or business or labour.

(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 names 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/s	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 grains, condiments, oils 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 :

	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 torchlight/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 Sl. 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 and 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

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 of 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) Males ..
(iv) Adult 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 connected 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 place and strangers of different community/caste/tribe in the following activities :—

Household—

Community Caste Tribe

Are these things un-objectionable ? 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).

Household Schedule-Appendix (Birth, Marriage and Death)

Questions to be answered by Mother or Father of each family. (State the Number as in 3A) Record all events 5 or 10 years back.

No. of Mother/Father (as in 3A) F———————

M———————

A. **Birth.**

1. **For Prospective Mother**
1.1.1. Special Diet for the Prospective Mother
1.1.2. Special work for the Prospective Mother
1.1.3. Special matters concerning the Prospective Mother
1.2. Is there any special ceremony/ceremonies performed after conception or before birth
1.3.1. Is there any restrictions for the father before the birth of the child ?
1.3.2. Is there any restrictions for other members in the family?
2. **Delivery**
2.1. Where does the birth normally take place ?
2.2. Assistance during labour
2.2.1. If by relative, state her relation to the mother
2.2.2.1. If by an expert, local term of the expert
2.2.2.2. Training received from
2.2.2.3. To which caste she belongs ?
2.2.2.4. Is her service confined only to a particular caste, or community ? If so, give details.
2.2.2.5. Her average charges per case in cash or kind
2.2.3. What are the means adopted in difficult cases ?

3. **Post-natal Period**
3.1. To recoup health
3.1.1. What are the special diet for Mother ?
3.1.2. What are the special practices ?
3.2. Period of pollution
3.2.1. For the Mother
3.2.2. For the Father
3.2.3. For other members of the Family
3.3. Is there any ceremony in connection with the child being taken out of the house for the first time ?

4. **Suckling Weaning Etc.**
4.1.1. What is the normal duration of suckling ?
4.1.2. What is the process of weaning ?
4.1.3. What are the restrictions for the mother during lactation period regarding :—
4.1.3.1. Diet
4.1.3.2. Occupation
4.1.3.3. Use of any object
4.2. Food given to infants

Age	Solid food	Liquid food

4.3. Age at which attempts are made for regulating infants
4.3.1. Feeding habits
4.3.2. Micturition habits
4.3.3. Defecation habits
4.3.4. General cleanliness
4.3.5. How the children are carried about :

5. **Contraceptives :—**

5.1. Where both father and mother wish that no more children be born to them :—
5.1.1. Whose advice they seek ?
5.1.2. What is his/her advice ?
5.1.3. Do you agree with his/her advice ?
5.1.4. If not, what according to you is the best method ?
5.1.5. What is the attitude of the society about these methods ?

6. **Abortion :—**

6.1. Where a woman in the family happens to conceive an unwanted child :-
6.1.1. What is the family's feeling as regards the child ?
6.1.2. If they want to get rid of it, what method will they adopt ?
6.1.3. What is the attitude of the community for such an action ?
6.1.4. Is there any such cases in the family ?

7. **Barrenness :—**

7.1. What according to your belief is the cause of barrenness ?
7.2. What according to your belief is the method to overcome barrenness ?
7.3. Is there any such case in the family ?
7.4. Is the method successful in that particular case ?

8. **Still birth and infant death :—**

8.1. Is there any case of still birth in your family in the last 5/10 years ?
8.2. If 'yes' what, in your opinion, is the reason for each of such cases ?
8.3. Is there any case of infant death in your family in the last 5 years ?
8.4. If 'yes' what, in your opinion, is the reason for each of such cases ?

9. **Preference for son or daughter :—**

9.1. What is the preference of the family regarding son or daughter ?
9.2. State the special practice in connection with the birth of a male or a female child.

B. Marriages :

1. **Laws Regulating Marriage:—**

1.1. Does preferential mating prevailed in your Society

2. **Types of marital union :—**

2.1. What type of marital union exists in your family (monogamy, polyandry, polygamy) ?
2.2 (i) Is there any restriction in your community for inter-caste, inter-tribe marriage—and why ?
(ii) If 'No' is there any such case in your household ?

3. **Means of acquiring a mate :—**

3.1. What means of acquiring a mate is practised in your family ?

4. **Adultery and extra-marital sexual relation :—**

4.1. Does your society approve that a man will keep more than one wife at a time ?
4.2. If not, what is your attitude towards a man, having a wife living, engaging a wedlock with another woman ?
4.3. Does your society approve that a woman will have more than one husband at a time ?

4.4. If not, what is your attitude towards a woman, having a husband living, engaging a wedlock with other man ?

C. **Death :**

1. What in your opinion is the cause of death (apart from natural causes) ?

2. Is there any ceremony concerning the preparation of the patient before his death ?

3.1. How is the corpse treated in normal death ?
3.2. How is the corpse treated in abnormal death (accident) ?
3.3. How is the body taken to the place of disposal ?
3.4. What are the ceremonies followed immediately after the disposal of the dead body ?

4.1. How long does the mourning period usually last for different relatives ?

4.2. How long does the pollution period usually last for different relatives ?

5.1. What treatments, are usually given for the general patients in your household (Allopathic, Ayurvedic, Homeopathic) ?

6.1. What is the attitude of the Informants towards the Survey. (Hostile, Indifferent, Co-operative etc.,) ?

APPENDIX-C

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY 1960-61

CENSUS 1961 Name of District———————

PART II

VILLAGE SCHEDULE

Name of Police Station/Mauza/Chieftainship———————
Name of Village———————Number of Village———————
Are 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/ on 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.
   (a) Page - 64
   (b) Page - 64
   (c) Page - 64

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 uneral 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 - 64

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 - 65

14. (b) Page - 65

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 - 65

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

21. Page - 66

22. „ - 66

23. „ - 66

24. „ - 66

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 shop-keeper	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 transation, 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 according 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 attracted, 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
	Official	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 Caste	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 Caste	No. of immigrant households				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	Occupation	Age	Since when holding the Office	How position was 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

APPENDIX D

GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS

Anthap	A kind of cake
Bathau	A Bodo deity
Bakri	*Granary*
Babra	A kind of ladies' garment
Chang	A bed made of bamboo
Chira	Parched, flattened rice
Chaddar	A ladies' garment
Dokhona	Lower garment of Bodo women
Daosal	A religious festival of the Mikirs
Emkham-Suna	Kitchen
Garja	A religious festival of the Bodos
Hownai	Marriage ceremony
Hata	A big wooden spoon
Homa	Sacred fire before which the rituals during marriage are performed
Kherai	Community religious festival of the Bodos
Laru	A kind of sweet
Na-Suna	Guest house
Nakful	An ornament of the nose
Namghar	Religious institution
Ojha	A Bodo priest
Pitha	A kind of local cake
Siju	A kind of cactus
Sradha	Religious ceremony after one's death by one's children and relatives

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—Friend's Book House, Muslim University Market. (Reg.)

ALLAHABAD—

1. Superintendent, Printing & Stationary, 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. The University Book Agency (of Lahore), Elgin Road. (Reg.)
7. Wadhwa & Co., 23, M.G. Marg. (Rest.)
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, Government 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., 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 Stationary 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. Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, Queens Road.
2. Charles Lambert and Co., 101, Mahatma Gandhi Road. (Reg.)
3. Co-operator's Book Depot, 5/32, Ahmed Sailor Building, Dadar. (Reg.)
4. Current Book House, Maruti Lane, Raghunath Dadaji Street. (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, 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 and Co., Booksellers, 146-C, Princess Street. (Reg.)
19. Indo Nath & Co., A-6 Daula 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 and Co., 3/1, Bacharam Chatterjee Lane, (Reg.)
2. Das Gupta and 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 St. (Reg.)
5. M.C. Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street. (Reg.)
6. W. Newman and Co. Ltd., 3,Old Court House St. (Reg.)
7. Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 17, Park Street. (Reg.)
8. R. Chambray and Co., Ltd., Kent House, P. 33, Mission Row Extension (Reg.)
9. S.C. Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd., I.C. College Square (Reg.)
10. Thacker Spink and Co. (1933) P. Ltd., 3, Esplanade East. (Reg.)
11. Firma K.L. Mukhopadhya, 6/1A, Banchha Ram Akrar Lane. (Reg.)
12. K.K. Roy, P. Box, No. 10,210, Calcutta-19. (Rest.)
13. Sm. P.D. Uppadhyay, 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 (1st 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. Superintedent, Government 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 22D (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. Metropolition Book Co., 1, Faiz Bazar, (Reg.)
9. Publication Centre, Subzimandi (Reg.)
10. Youngman & Co., Nai Satak. (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 Subhas 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, 5A/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. Karnatakaya 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 Budha Marg. (Reg.)

GHAZIABAD—

Jayana Book Agency (Rest.)

GORAKHPUR—

Vishwa Vidyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road. (Reg.)

GUDUR—

The General Manager, The N.D.C. Publishing & Printing Society Ltd. (Rest.)

GUNTUR—

Book Lovers Private Ltd., Kadriguda, Chowrasta (Reg.)

GWALIOR—

1. Superintendent, Printing & Stationery, M.B.
2. Loyal Book Depot, Patankar Bazar, Laskhar. (Reg.)
3. M.C. Deftari, Prop. M.B. Jain Bros., & Book sellers, Sarafa, Laskhar (Rest.)

HUBLI—

Pervaje's Book House, Koppikar Road (Reg.)

HYDERABAD—

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

IMPHAL—

Tikendia & Sons, Bookseller (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 and Stationery Department, 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. Krishna Book Depot, Chaura Rasta. (Rest.)
8. Dominion Law Depot, Shah Building, P.B. No. 23.

JAMNAGAR—

Swadeshi 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. Superintendent, Government Press, Mount Road.
2. Account Test Institute, P.O. 760, Egmore. (Reg.)
3. C. Subbian 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, Chhipi Tank. (Reg.)
4. Bharat Educational Stores, Chhipi Tank. (Rest.)
5. Universal Book Depot, Booksellers & News Agents. (Rest.)

MONGHYR—

Anusandhan, Minerva Press Building. (Rest.)

MUSSOORIE—

1. Cambridge Book Depot, The Mal. (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. Superintendent, Government Press & Book Depot. (Reg.)
2. Western Book Depot, Residency Road. (Reg.)
3. The Assistant 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 & Stationary 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 & Stationary 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 Book, 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. R.K. Publishers, 23, Beadon Pura, Karol Bagh. (Rest.)
23. Sharma Brothers., 17, New Market, Moti Nagar. (Rge.)
24. Aapki Dukan, 5/5777, Dev Nagar. (Rest.)
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. Laxmi Book Depot, 57, Regarpura. (Rest.)
30. Sant Ram Booksellers, 16 New Municipal Market, Lody Colony.

PANJIM—

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

PATHANKOT—

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

PATIALA—

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

PATNA—

1. Superintendent, Government Printing (Bihar)
2. J.N.P. Agarwal & Co., Padri—Ki—Haveli Ragunath Bhavan (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 Duplix. (R)

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—

Superintendent, Government 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. Superintendent, Himachal Pradesh Government.
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 Government B.D.
2. Chapala Bookstall, P.B. No. 1. (Rest.)

SONEPAT—

1. United Book Agency (Reg.)

SRINAGAR—

1. The Kashmir Bookshop, Residency Road. (Reg.)

SURAT—

1. Shri Gajanen Pustakalaya, Tower Road. (Rest.)

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—

1. Shri 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.

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 Secretary, Andhra University, General Co-op. Stores Ltd. (Rest.)

VIZIANAGARAM—

Sarda & Co. (Rest.)

WARDHA—

Swarajeya Bhandar, Bhorji Market. (Reg.)

For Local Sale

1. Government of India Kitab Mahal, Janpath, Opp. India Coffee House, New Delhi.
2. Government 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., Kathumandu, (Nepal).
2. S/S. Aktie Bologat, C. E. Fritzes Kungl, Hovobokhandel, Fredsgation-2, Box 1656, Stockholm-16 (Sweden).
3. Reise-und Verkehrsverlag Stuttgart, Post 730, Guten-Bergstra 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 Asst. 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, Minstry of Mines & Fuel, Nagpur.
7. The Asstt. Director, Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad (Gujarat).
8. The Head Clerk, Photozincographic Press, 5, Finance Road, Poona.
9. Government Printing and 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 and 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. Building, 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. Asst. Director, Extension Centre, Bhuli Road, Dhanbad.
26. Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Cuttack Chandi, Cuttack.
27. The Registrar of Companies, Gujarat State, Gujarat Samachar Buiding, 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, Lucknow.
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. Asst. 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 Assistant Director of Publicity and Information Vidhana Saubha (P.B. 271) Bangalore.