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VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH
ON
RAIBAGHINI

Investigation, Tabulation & First Draft

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FOREWORD

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

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

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at

random. The selection was avowedly purposive ; the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

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

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

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

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500-700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category

of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extramural 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 foot-wear ; 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, moveable and immoveable 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 under-pinning to conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done ; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

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

the country. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in an appendix.

New Delhi
July 30, 1964.

ASOK MITRA
Registrar General, India.

In The Place Of A Preface

"The village life, and every care that reigns
O'er youthful peasants and declining swains ;
What labour yields, and what, that labour past,
Age, in its hour of langour, finds at last,
What form the real picture of the poor,
Demand a song—the Muse can give no more".

—Crabbe

If "the vision of the historian cannot pass the line which separates the dated from the undated", the effort of an enquirer into the rural life of Bengal, still wearing the classic garb, unaltered in many places, into the fabric of rural society with an antique pattern, subject to alterations by the lapse of time, into different peoples having much in common yet more uncommon in character and problems, in stages of development and mental outlook, fails to pass a dividing line between the essential and the non-essential, the named and the unnamed, the synthesis and an analysis. At least, this is the experience in uravelling the life of Raibaghini.

A village of mystic past with some people of mythical origin pursuing occupations old and new, Raibaghini is said by some to have been the site of a sanguinary battle between Queen Bhavasankari, the consort of Bir Hambir, the Raja of Bishnupur, and the Pathans in the 16th Century. Again, some contend that long, long ago an unknown lady acquired celebrity for her heroic prowess in repulsing the attack of a gang of dacoits and in giving them a pretty hot chase. Scholars, however, put forward a different story, which channelises the course of discussion in a different direction. A deity of the namesake of the village is said by them to have been instrumental in the latter's christening. The etymology of the name of the village Raibaghini, thus both historical and legendary, should not, in all fairness to historical reasoning, be brushed aside as trash, though one may plausibly ask, "After all what's in a name that which one calls a village ?".

A village in the district of Bankura, Raibaghini may date back to the 16th Century or even earlier than what historical materials, the villagers' memory offers, construe.

If the history of the village is not very ancient, the people have been so, at least some of the castes, if not all. The rural society in Bengal is apparently simple but inherently complex, being in an amazing process of change and evolution in some respects and being stubbornly static and immobile in some others. The causerie on Raibaghini by ripping open the socio-economic fabric strand by strand unfolds a crowded, multi-ethnic structure, composed of castes with traditions of origin and history embedded in remote past. The work itself, very exciting though, constitutes a challenge to the sociologist, and perhaps a trap. The Sankhabaniks or Sankhakars, the artisans on conch shells, have many legends of origin, which are quoted generously by scholars, historians, sociologists and anthropologists. Be they *Sankhavalayakarina* (maker of conch shell bangles—*Vaikhanasadharmasutra.* III. 11.9) or *Sankhika* (*Bramhmavaivarta Purana*), the Sankhabaniks believe in the legend that they are the offsprings of a Brahman father (*Sankhakarena Brambhanat Samvabhuvatuh—Brhad Dharma Purana.* III. 14.16a). Again, their claim to the genealogy of Srikanta, son of a trader Dhanapati Sadagar of Karnat, cannot be ruled out without any reason. The mythology of Agastya Muni to have been the primogenitor of the same community is equally strong. If the Sankhabaniks have a lore of the past, so do have other artisan communities.

Visvakarma ca sudrayam viryyadhanam cakara sah
Tato vabhuvah puttrasca navaite silpakarinah
Malakarakarmakarasankhakarakuvindakah
Kumbhakarah kamsakarah padete silpinam varah
Sutradharascitrakarah svarnakarastathaiva ca.

—(*Brahmavaivarta Purana*—X. 19-21)

Whatever be the legends of origin of their birth of "glorious parents", which still clothe them in undefiled radiance of the departed glory, the occupations, which assigned the

castes a particular position in the society, are now in a mighty vortex of change. Their life has been levelled down to the same plane by the great economic forces, bringing "swift change unseen, but felt in youthful slumbers, wild, sweet but uncommunicably strange". Raibaghini was a village of artisans and farmers, constituted by the villagers of all the castes more or less, though the plough was held by the Bauris and the Bagdis mostly, as because the artisan landowners found no time to turn away from their crafts of conch shell, brass and bellmetal and handloom weaving. Then, the people possessed very few machines, the manufacture was literally by hand and was carried on in small shops in the home of the manufacturer, where in the midst of a handful of workmen the producer and the owner worked together. The implements were few, but were not very much complex in design and operation ; the relation of the master, journeyman and apprentice was intimate and constant ; the differences of their condition were comparatively small. The industry was then truly domestic. This relation, based on custom and sweetened by sentiment, was not yet replaced by any cash nexus. The Bauris and the Bagdis had invested their labour in the fields of the owners, but not as disinherited landless labour. Tilling the fields on crop-share, the unlettered peasantry extracted a living from the soil—not an unhappy living. Some, again, found ready employment in the village-workshops of brass and bellmetal. Life in Raibaghini was not then very different from that of the peasants of Bengal elsewhere. The useful toil and homely joys of the people gave a purpose to their life.

True, the stratifications of castes were there and the rigid enforcement of the rules of social polity proved at times baneful to human dignity. But, the social and cultural life of the village was otherwise marked by self-contentment, though not always by affluence. The socio-religious ceremonies, the cultural and recreational activities of the people were highlighted by a spirit of joy and freedom, an esprit de corps of the village-society. Want or squalor, even if there were any, did not cast its shadow on the activities, which released the villagers from the ennui of daily life. And all this was about half a century ago.

And then, the painful episode began. The golden age of palanquins and bullock-carts was slowly passing away

without notice. The beauties of the country-road and the humours of the traveller began gradually to be buried in an era, followed by a period of mobility and restlessness. It is very difficult to diagnose the cause and assign a particular date to the change, which came slowly and steadily in rural life. It may well be the roads, the locomotion, the contact with urban culture, the innovated modern industries, the scientific discoveries and inventions, any of which or all together might have brought about the change. The people did not lose any time to read the messages of the changing age. But, to what effect? The brass and bellmetal industry passed into oblivion, the conch shell craft reached a stage of asphyxia, weaving was followed by a reluctant gentry. The peasantry of the village, who ploughed the fields of their owners as tillers, are now reduced to a class of day-labourers, who either sell or pledge human labour to earn their bread. Now, there is a mad rush for employment with fixed income. The economic change and social change, the twins of time, have worked hand in hand. If the lives of a group of people in the past were ruled from early childhood by the sound of the hammer and chisel, of the saw and shuttles, they are now constrained to a bleak and exhausting discipline of the toil of a farmer, of a day-labourer and of a service-holder. The articles of the factories, produced far beyond the bourne of the village, have led the modest village-crafts to the limbo of antiquities.

The social front has witnessed changes, no less sweeping than those in the economic sphere; but remarkably enough, forces of assimilation and opposition have marched together here in the social domain. The evening-gossips in the house of the village-elders have given way to the chat or tete-a-tete in the tea-stalls, a new feature of the village-society. The age-old *Jatras* (open-air theatres) have yielded to the more sophisticated theatres. Religion has now become the passion of the old only and youth take part in the organisational work and steal the show. Individual worships are being gradually outmoded by worships on community-basis. Village-deities are though worshipped still, the days of their pomp and pageantry are long past. Libraries have been set up, but no temple or hermitage is being installed anew. These rapid social changes are not matched by any attempt to do away with the soul-less caste-hierarchy in the village. The division of upper castes and lower castes is still driving the iron into the heart and offers a match-

less contradiction. In one festival differences of castes and creeds are sunk to the rock-bottom level, in another the class-distinction comes to the fore. Even, death with its icy hands has not been able to touch this system, but mutely it has seen the return to the dust of many earthly bodies in the crematoriums of different castes.

"One voice came forth from many a mighty spirit
Which was the echo of three thousand years,
And the tumultuous world stood mute to hear it,
....
And Faith and Custom, and long-thoughted cares,
Left the torn human heart, their food and dwelling-place."

II

Tradition of socio-economic survey in Bengal is perhaps as old as the British rule. As early as 1769, Supervisors of Revenue were appointed in the districts of Bengal, and a circular was issued, calling upon historical and statistical account of the country. Among others, information on peculiar customs or privileges and changes therein was to be collected (*Proceeding of the President and Select Committee, dated 16th August, 1769*). This was to be followed by an investigation into the landed tenures, with a list of its products, commercial capabilities, and a report on the means of developing internal resources. The Governor-General laid down topics, which such reports were to deal with, dividing the enquiry into 21 distinct branches, some of which are given below :

Animal, vegetable and mineral productions ; state of agriculture ; communications ; diseases ; state of hospitals ; population with a description of dwellings, clothing, bedding, fuel, diet, customs, rearing of children and amusements ; tables of marriages, births, diseases and deaths ; census of population ; causes of scarcity and plenty ; condition of the poor and their subsistence ; wages of labour ; physical cause of crime ; ratio of mortality ; ordinary proportion of births to marriages ; area of the district ; comparative productiveness of land ; habits of the people ; and proportion of the Hindus to Mussulmans (*Hunter, W. W. Plan for an Imperial Gazetteer of India*).

The *Report of the Committee of Secrecy* (*House of Commons, Reports of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773*) and the *First Series of Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons* (1772-1773) (*House of Commons, Reports of the Select Committee, 1773*) following the great famine of 1770 throw a flood of light on the socio-economic conditions of rural Bengal.

Dr. W. W. Hunter later on compiled his report on the famine of 1770 (*Hunter, W. W. Extracts from Records in the India Office Relating to Famines in India, 1769-1788. Calcutta, 1868*) and his celebrated *Annals of Rural Bengal* on the basis of contemporary documents. Hunter remains the master mind of a *magnum opus* in the sphere of socio-economic research. Lord Cornwallis' enquiries together with those of Lord Wellesley and following Governor-Generals, conducted through the instrumentality of district officers, amassed valuable information. Dr. Francis Buchanan's survey of Bengal Districts covered a wide range of topics. Of the districts surveyed, only part of Dinajpur is now in West Bengal.

Under orders from the Court of Directors, East India Company, dated 7th January, 1807, Dr. Buchanan's enquiry was to cover the geographical account of each district, "the condition of the inhabitants, the state of their food, clothing, the peculiar diseases to which they are liable ; together with the means that they have taken or may be proposed to remove them, the education of youth ; and the provision or resources for the indigent ; religion, customs of each sect or tribe, natural production, fisheries, forest, mines and quarries, agriculture, cultivation, implements of husbandry, manure for soil, irrigation, cattle and poultry, state of farms, arts and crafts, commerce". The survey yielded 10,000 pages of manuscript at a cost of £30,000 (*Hunter. Plan for an Imperial Gazetteer*).

The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1812 contains massive data on condition of rural Bengal. The survey of William Adam on vernacular education (1833-1836) also throws considerable light (*Adam, W. Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal*). The volumes in the form of administrative documents began to be published gradually, containing, among other things, information on socio-economic life of the country and as Dr. Hunter said, "irrespective as their value as administrative records, they

would do honour to any learned society in Euprope". Dr. Taylor's *Dacca* was one of the most standard documents published in 1830's. Another document published around 1870 entitled, *Principal Heads of the History and Statistics of the Dacca Division*, covers several aspects, *viz.*, character of the people, religion, production, manufactures, medication, wages, cattle and poultry, fairs, health, etc. These series of historical, geographical and statistical accounts on the one hand and the Reports of the Revenue Survey Operations on the other culminated in the celebrated series of W, W. Hunter's *Statistical Accounts of Bengal* in 20 Volumes. In between them Thornton's *Gazetteer* is also a contribution. The Census in some form started into an organised manner in 1850's and was given a shape around 1860-70. Publication of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* may be said to be a milestone in the effort. Needless to say, this great movement of having more information and knowledge was based on innumerable local efforts, most of which have not seen the light of the day. Centering round the Asiatic Society, enquiries were conducted in Bengal and outside from around 1840's.

The field of micro-studies by way of village-surveys remained an uncharted sea, till very recently in Bengal. In "Some Bengal Villages, An Economic Survey" (1932, published by the University of Calcutta) by Professor N. C. Bhattacharyya and Professor L. A. Natesan, Professor Bhattacharyya gives an outline of the history of Economic Studies of Rural Bengal. Pearycharan Mitter (*Alaler Ghare Dulal*), Dinabandhu Mitra (*Nil Darpan*), Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya (*Banga Desher Krishak*), Sanjib Chattopadhyaya (*Bengal Ryots*), Lalbehari Day (*Bengal Peasant Life*) are the forerunners among the socio-economic enquirers. R. C. Dutta and M. G. Ranade remain, of course, the torch-bearers. "The dawn of a new century finds India deeper in distress and discontent than any preceding period of history. A famine, wider in the extent of country affected than any previous famine, has desolated the country. In parts of India, not affected by this famine, large classes of people attest to semi-starvation by their poor physique ; numbers of them suffer from a daily insufficiency of food ; and the poorer classes are trained by life-long hunger to live on less food than is needed for proper nourishment." No picture can be more poignant and no words more appealing than the aforesaid comments of R. C. Dutta in 1901 on the suffering and servitude of the people of India, Bengal not being excluded.

Lal Behari Day's graphic account of the Bengali Ryot in 1874 appears to be followed by one of the earliest village-monographs, a product of an economic-survey of a village in Burdwan district by A. C. Sen in 1897, which was included in the Report on Agricultural Experiments and Enquiries in Burdwan District. J. C. Jack (*The Economic Life of a Bengal District*, A Study, 1916) made a further useful contribution to the arena of rural economics of Bengal. Radhakamal Mukherjee (*Foundations of Indian Economics*) and S. C. Panandikar (*Wealth and Welfare of the Bengal Delta*) are also noted for their scholarly studies. Kalimohan Ghose of Visva-Bharati studied the village of Ballavpore under the inspiration of Rabindra Nath Tagore. Arthur Geddes of Visva-Bharati (*In the Land of Tagore : the Rural Civilisation of Western Bengal and its Geographical Factors*) also deserves mention. O'malley is like a household name to all concerned with Census. W. K. Firminger is no less famous. Addams Williams, C. A. Bentley and R. B. Lala Ram have studied the problem of drainage and sanitation. R. S. Finlow (*Improvement of Indian Agriculture*) provides pabulum for many an economist. A. Mitra (*District Census Handbooks, 1951 Census*) has given a new dimension to the field of research both on micro as well as on macro levels. There are many others, whose studies have important bearing on the socio-economic research. But, it is not feasible to detail them out in a short compass as the present one. Besides, I do not have a first hand knowledge of all the books and authors.

III

This is the fourth in the series of the Village Survey Monographs to be published as a part of the Census Programme of 1961, the objectives having been explained in clear terms by the Registrar General, India, in his Foreword, which precedes this dissertation. Of the 21 villages selected for the Survey, as many as eighteen were chosen by Sri Asok Mitra, I.C.S., Registrar General, India, after a discussion in February, 1964 with Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty (*Handicrafts and Social Studies*) in the Office of the Registrar General, India and me. The three earlier Monographs

by Sri J. C. Sengupta, I.A.S. on Kodalia and Ghatampur in the Police Stations of Chinsurah and Polba of the district of Hooghly and on Kamnara in the Police Station of Burdwan in the district of Burdwan were published on short schedules concerning the household and the village. The Monographs have served the purpose well.

To study and analyse the villages in West Bengal is a difficult task indeed, not so much because they treasure many old values and relics of the past institutions, as much because each village differs from another in all aspects of life, social, religious, economic and cultural. So, for an intensive study of a village, more elaborate schedules, for both the household and the village, were required. The detailed and pointed questionnaire, the processing of which led to the fruition of the present Monograph, are included in the Appendices along with the short schedules, devised for the earlier Monographs. A set of schedules, again, is not enough to depict a village. More often than once, data and information, collected on observation of and participation in the village-life during investigation from May to August, 1964, have been collated and analysed in the present Monograph. There may still be some gaps here and there, but they are partly due to human aberrations and partly due to tricks, which memory cruelly plays at times. Even then, no means have been employed to counter the faults. I would apologetically ask of the readers their forgiveness not only for the faults, they may detect, but also for the language, which may have failed to give a meaning to what have been expressed and which may have blemished what have been written.

The opinions, here and hereafter, are exclusively mine, made in a personal capacity. They do not represent the views of the Government.

Census Office, West Bengal,
Calcutta,
June 17, 1966.

Sukumar Sinha
Officer on Special Duty

A Prelude In Gratitude

इदं कविभ्यः पुर्वेभ्यो नमोवाकः प्रशास्महे ।
विन्देम देवतां वाचममृतात्मनः कलाम् ॥
—उत्तररामचरितम्

Idam kavibhyah purvebhyo namovakah prasasmahe
Vindema devatam vacamamrtatmanah kalam.
—Uttararamacaritam

"Having made an obeisance to former poets, we pray for this that we may attain the immortal Goddess Speech, that is a phase of the Supreme Soul", says Bhavabhuti. I do not propose to pay the salutation to *Athena* or *Minerva*, the Muse of Wisdom, or to *Saraswati*, the Goddess of Learning. In the age of the Demos I invoke the good wishes of the people of Raibaghini, in whom the Monograph has its genesis, to whom it is dedicated and for whom it will exist. I pay my tribute to Raibaghini and her people, who remain anonymous, but immortal at the same time in the pages written. The labour will be amply rewarded, if the village has been portrayed true to life. Sri Niranjan Chatterjee, *Pradhan*, Mirzapur *Anchal Panchayat*, deserves my heart-felt thanks for his cooperation and help.

Sri Asok Mitra, I.C.S., Registrar General, India, and *ex-officio* Census Commissioner, is the architect of the 1961 Census. The programme was conceived and formulated by him. He inspired me by his 'mighty mind in whose deep stream' I shake like a reed. I behold him in spell-bound admiration. The more I see him and the more I hear him, the more I am drawn to him as a devoted follower, who wished so much, but executed so little.

Sri J. C. Sen Gupta, I.A.S., formerly Superintendent of Census Operations, West Bengal and Sikkim, gave me a magnificent stewardship, under which I had the rare privilege to be associated with the stupendous task of probing into the dark corners of

village-life in Bengal with a myriad of unknown and less known traits of material and social culture and with a mine of resources, human and economic. The legacy of the experience was kindly handed over to me by Sri Sen Gupta, who had written the three Monographs of the series earlier. If I am in any way richer in experience, it is because of Sri Sen Gupta, to whom I remain ever grateful.

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An article contributed by Dr. P. K. Gangopadhyay, M.Sc. (Cal), Ph. D. (Edin), Assistant Professor of

Geology, Presidency College, Calcutta, has been included in the Monograph as an Appendix. The write-up is the product of stimulated interest of a scholar, who has not been lost in the realm of rocks and minerals, but has transcended them in applying his specialised knowledge to the welfare aspects of the village-people and their resources. He saw the village and the surroundings, took samples of the soil from fields in ankle-deep mud and trekked his way with all the equipments of the Geologist from the village to our Camp for a stretch of three miles or so, and all the toil and trouble were taken with a beaming smile and scholarly humility. I am grateful to Dr. Gangopadhyay for this contribution.

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Census Office, West Bengal,
Calcutta,
June 17, 1966.

Sukumar Sinha
Officer on Special Duty

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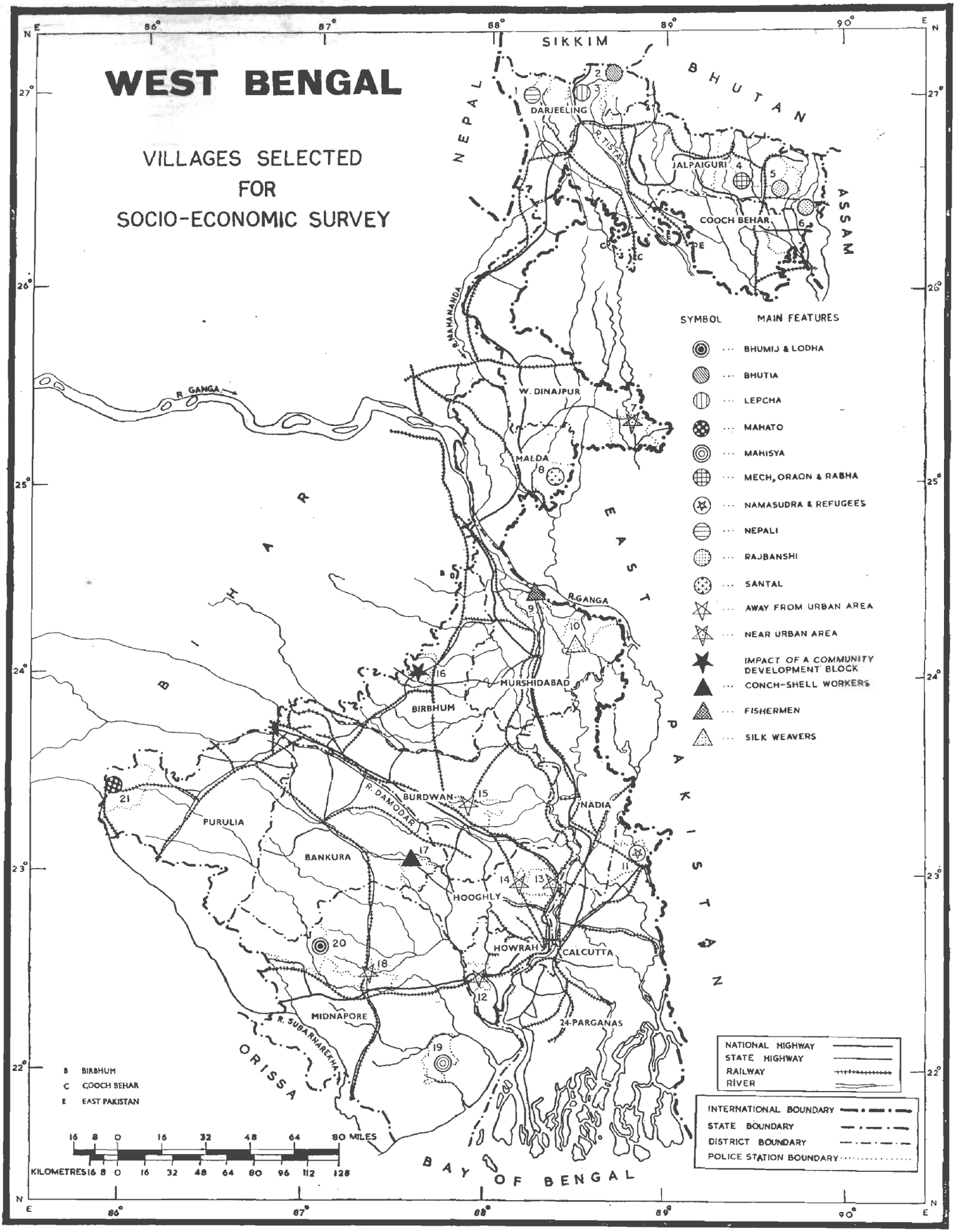
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VILLAGES OF WEST BENGAL SELECTED FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

Sl. No.	Village	Police Station	District
1	Rishihat Khasmahal (J. L. No. 12)	Darjeeling	Darjeeling
2	Upper Pedong Pedong Khasmahal (J. L. No. 6)	Kalimpong	Darjeeling
3	Sindibong Khasmahal (J. L. No. 44)	Kalimpong	Darjeeling
4	Dakshin Mendabari (J. L. No. 41)	Kalchini	Jalpaiguri
5	Tatpara (J. L. No. 119)	Alipur Duars	Jalpaiguri
6	Madhur Bhasa (J. L. No. 1192)	Tufanganj	Cooch Behar
7	Patiram (J. L. No. 187)	Balurghat	West Dinajpur
8	Kharibari (J. L. No. 32)	Habibpur	Malda
9	Bahadurpur in Paharpur (J. L. No. 9)	Lalgola	Murshidabad
10	Harharia Chak (J. L. No. 58)	Raninagar	Murshidabad
11	Chanda (J. L. No. 54)	Bongaon	24-Parganas
12	Chandrabhag (J. L. No. 90)	Bagnan	Howrah
13	Kodalia (J. L. No. 12)	Chinsurah	Hooghly
14	Ghatampur (J. L. No. 50)	Polba	Hooghly
15	Kamnara (J. L. No. 49.)	Burdwan	Burdwan
16	Mahammadbazar (J. L. No. 125)	Muhammadbazar	Birbhum
17	Raibaghini in Mirzapur (J. L. No. 54)	Kotulpur	Bankura
18	Khas Jangal (J. L. No. 167)	Midnapore	Midnapore
19	Ashutia (J. L. No. 171)	Bhagwanpur	Midnapore
20	Bhumij Dhan Sol (J. L. No. 780)	Binpur	Midnapore
21	Ghutia (J. L. No. 22)	Jhalda	Purulia


WEST BENGAL
VILLAGES SELECTED
FOR
SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY
SIKKIM
NEPAL
BHUTAN
ASSAM
DARJEELING
R. TISTA
JALPAIGURI
COOCH BEHAR
R. MAHANANDA
W. DINAJPUR
R. GANGA
MALDA
MURSHIDABAD
BIRBHUM
BURDWAN
R. DAMODAR
NADIA
PURULIA
BANKURA
HOOGHLY
HOWRAH
CALCUTTA
MIDNAPORE
24-PARGANAS
R. SUBARNAREKHA
ORISSA
BAY OF BENGAL
EAST PAKISTAN
SYMBOL
MAIN FEATURES
BHUMIJ & LODHA
BHUTIA
LEPCHA
MAHATO
MAHISYA
MECH, ORAON & RABHA
NAMASUDRA & REFUGEES
NEPALI
RAJBANSHI
SANTAL
AWAY FROM URBAN AREA
NEAR URBAN AREA
IMPACT OF A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK
CONCH-SHELL WORKERS
FISHERMEN
SILK WEAVERS
B BIRBHUM
C COOCH BEHAR
E EAST PAKISTAN
NATIONAL HIGHWAY
STATE HIGHWAY
RAILWAY
RIVER
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
STATE BOUNDARY
DISTRICT BOUNDARY
POLICE STATION BOUNDARY
16 8 0 16 32 48 64 80 MILES
KILOMETRES 16 8 0 16 32 48 64 80 96 112 128



Introduction

The village-setting

Communication

Mode of transport

Reason for the selection of this village

Location of the village with reference to the important centres of administration, business etc.

Physical aspects

Flora

Fauna

Sources of water

Distribution of settlements

Important places of worship etc. in the village

Crematorium

Drainage

Pastures

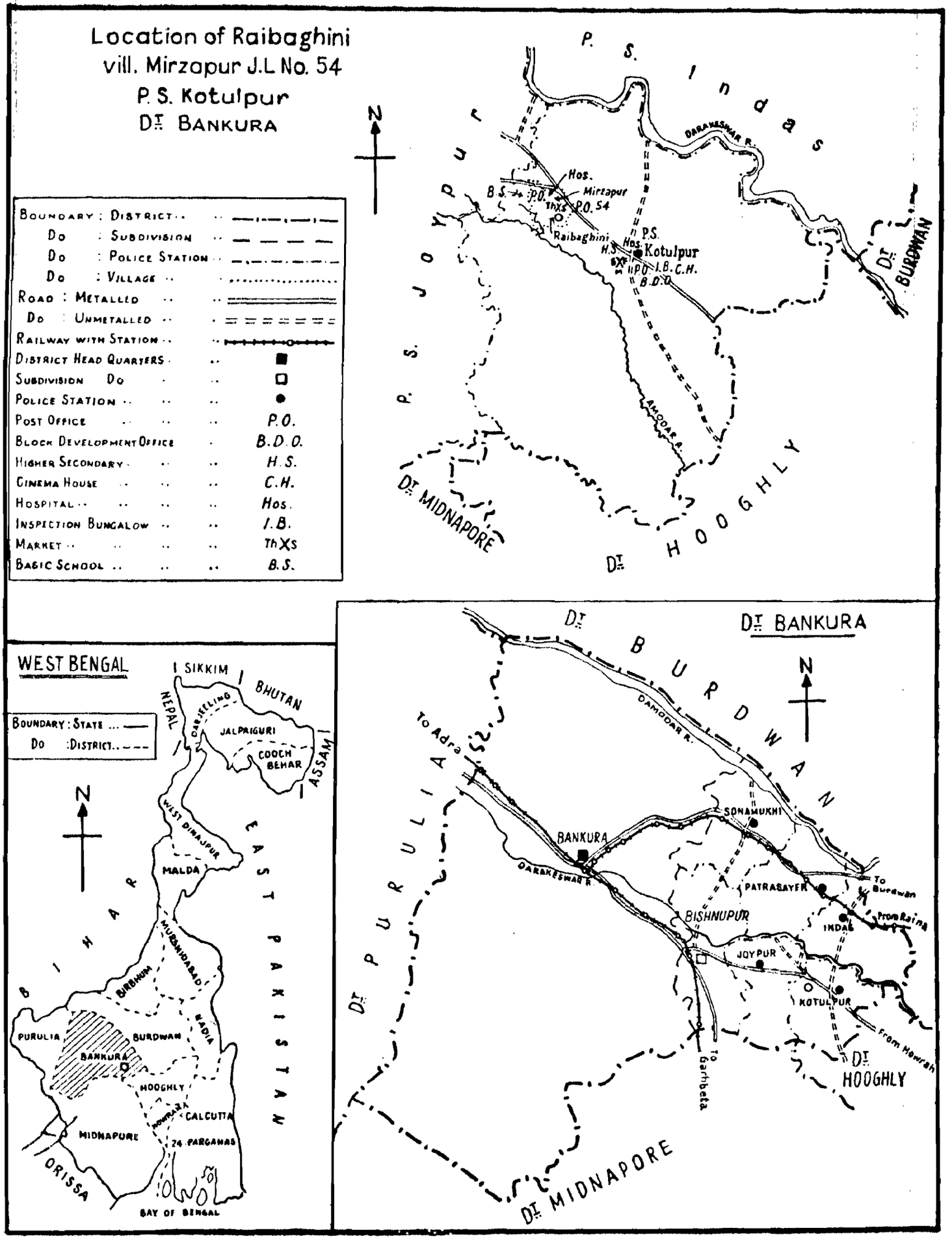
The village with its surroundings

Hamlets

- Kashiganj
- Krishnaganj
- Gopalganj

History of settlement of the households

History or legend about the village


Location of Raibaghini
vill. Mirzapur J.L No. 54
P. S. Kotulpur
Dt. Bankura
Boundary : District
Do : Subdivision
Do : Police Station
Do : Village
Road : Metalled
Do : Unmetalled
Railway with Station
District Head Quarters
Subdivision Do
Police Station
Post Office P.O.
Block Development Office B.D.O.
Higher Secondary H.S.
Cinema House C.H.
Hospital Hos.
Inspection Bungalow I.B.
Market ThXs
Basic School B.S.
N
P. S. Joypur
P. S. Indas
Damodar R.
Hos.
Mirzapur
B.S.
P.O.
ThXs
P.O. 54
Raibaghini
P.S.
Hos.
H.S.
Kotulpur
P.O.
I.B.C.H.
B.D.O.
Amodar R.
Dt. Burdwan
Dt. Midnapore
Dt. Hooghly
WEST BENGAL
Boundary : State
Do : District
Sikkim
Bhutan
Nepal
Darjeeling
Jalpaiguri
Cooch Behar
Assam
West Dinajpur
Malda
Murshidabad
Birbhum
Nadia
Purulia
Burdwan
Bankura
Hooghly
Howrah
Calcutta
Midnapure
24 Parganas
Orissa
Bay of Bengal
Bihar
East Pakistan
Dt. Bankura
Dt. Burdwan
Dt. Purulia
Dt. Midnapore
Dt. Hooghly
To Adra
Damodar R.
Bankura
Sonamukhi
Darakeswar R.
Patrasayer
To Burdwan
Bishnupur
From Raina
Indas
Joypur
Kotulpur
From Howrah
To Garhbeta

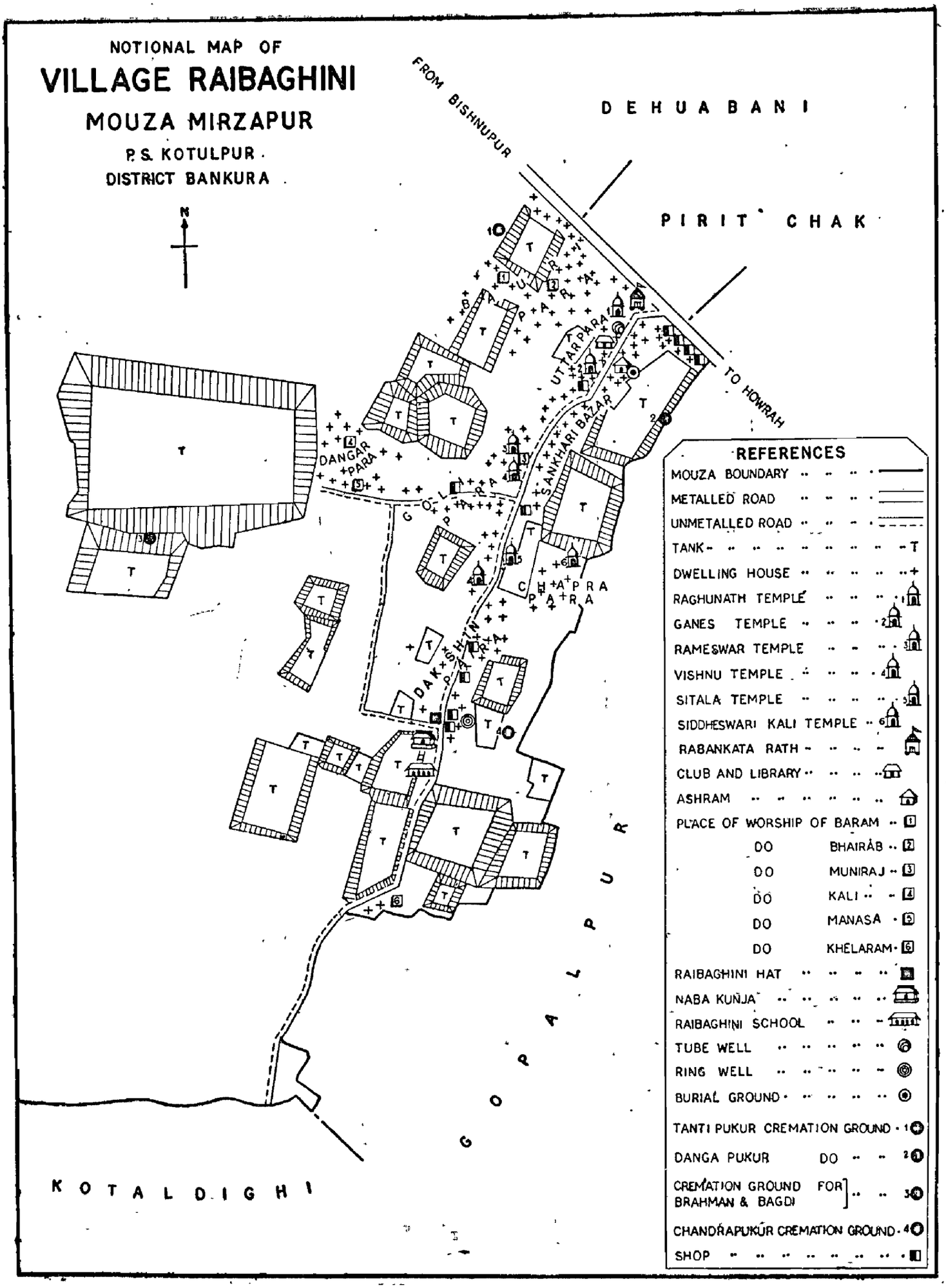
NOTIONAL MAP OF

VILLAGE RAIBAGHINI

MOUZA MIRZAPUR

P.S. KOTULPUR

DISTRICT BANKURA



CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Introduction

Raibaghini typifies such a village in West Bengal, where an old economic system was for a number of years in the past yielding place to a new one without any flutter. The change has been slow and gradual but fateful. A village, where shuttles of numerous looms moved to and fro to produce garments, a village, where hammer and chisel were working on conch shell pieces to produce minutest designs on bangles for married women, a village, where bell-metal sheets were being hammered on the anvil to produce receptacles, Raibaghini has now assumed the frigid quiet of an agricultural hamlet. 17 miles to the east of the subdivisional town of Bishnupur, a place of antiquarian interest in Bankura district, lies the village Raibaghini. It is one of the six constituent units of Mirzapur *mouza*, bearing Jurisdiction List No. 54 in the Kotulpur Police Station. Kotulpur, being the eastern-most police station of Bankura district, is adjacent to Hooghly and Burdwan districts. As the village lies within the vicinity of (10 to 15 miles) these two districts, whatever interchange of population and marriage with the peoples of other districts take place, they relate mostly to these two neighbouring districts.

The village is bounded by Pirit Chak and Dehuabani *mouzas* on the north, by Kotaldighi, a water-reservoir, which covers a very wide area of Kotaldighi *mouza*, on the south, by Gopalpur *mouza* on the east and on the west by the village Mirzapur.

The village-setting

The village is situated on plain land surrounded by paddy fields. In the dry season the landscape is rather dull and monotonous. But as soon as the monsoon sets in, the village with its surroundings wears a new look. The village with trees and bamboo groves scattered in and around the thatched houses, set in the background of the vast green paddy fields, looks like a painted landscape.

Communication

The Howrah-Bishnupur metalled road, the only connecting link with the outside world, has passed along the northern boundary. This road plays an important role in the activities of village life. Connecting the village with all the important public places such as hospitals, police stations, Block Development Offices etc., the road renders an invaluable service in more ways than one to the village-folk by ensuring social security, relieving the sufferings of the ailing people and by bringing them closer to the lowest unit of the administrative machinery.

There are regular and frequent bus services through this village between Bishnupur-Kamarpukur and Bishnupur-Kalipur. Kamarpukur, where the great saint, Sree Ramkrishna was born, is a place of pilgrimage in Hooghly district. It is only 12 miles away from this village along the Howrah-Bishnupur metalled road. Kalipur being situated on the western side of the river Darakeswar, facing the subdivisional town Arambagh in Hooghly district, travellers to Calcutta from the eastern region of Bankura district alight here to change the buses for Tarakeswar Railway Station from Arambagh. In summer and winter people cross the river Darakeswar on foot across the temporary bridge. The villagers travel to Calcutta either by train on the Howrah-Adra-Gomoh broad gauge line of the South Eastern Railway *via* Bishnupur, the nearest Railway Station, connected by bus with the village or by bus upto Tarakeswar Railway Station and then by train upto Howrah Station. One has to cover 140 miles of distance to travel upto Calcutta by the former route, while *via* latter route Calcutta is only about 80 miles away from this village. It takes a little over eight hours to reach Calcutta by the former route, whereas one can reach Calcutta within 5½ hours by the latter route. Though in the dry season the villagers generally travel to Calcutta *via* Tarakeswar to save time and money, this journey is not at all pleasant. In the rainy

season when the temporary bridges on the rivers Darakeswar and Mundeswari on the Arambagh-Tarakeswar bus route are taken off, people travel by the former route.

Mode of transport

Buses, cycle-rickshaws, cycles and slow-moving bullock carts are the means of transport used by the people to travel from one place to another. Bullock carts and lorries are the main means of transport for the carriage of goods.

Reason for the selection of this village

This village was once an important rural craft centre in this region. The industries such as (i) Cotton Weaving (ii) Bell-metal and (iii) Conch shell, which flourished in several places of Bankura district, were the main sources of livelihood of the people of this village about two decades ago. Now the Bell-metal industry has become obsolete and the Conch shell industry is decadent. The village was selected for the study of the people, who once depended on household industry but are now drawing sustenance from agriculture as one of their main vocations.

Location of the village with reference to the important centres of administration, business etc.

Bankura, the district headquarters, is about 40 miles away from the village. One can easily reach Bankura by bus or train *via* Bishnupur, the subdivisional headquarters. The nearest Telegraph Office is situated in the subdivisional town of Bishnupur. The Block Development Office, Police Station, Settlement Camp and Registration Office being situated at Kotulpur at a distance of only three miles from the village, they are within an easy reach of the villagers. The only Higher Secondary Institution attended by boys and girls from Raibaghini is situated at Kotulpur. With the location of a few Government Offices, large number of retail and wholesale shops, a bi-weekly *hat* for vegetables and food grains, a weekly *hat* for cattle, a few husking machines and finally a cinema, Kotulpur appears like a semi-urban area. The people of Raibaghini visit Kotulpur frequently for the purpose of selling the things, they produce and buying what they need, taking loans and grants from the Block Development Office and again for spending their slack hours in the cinema-house. In a word, Kotulpur with its quasi-urban characteristics has become an indispensable part of the life of the people of Raibaghini.

The villagers are fortunate enough in having two Health Centres within a radius of two miles along the Howrah-Bishnupur metalled road. One and half miles to the east of Raibaghini, there is a 50 bed Health Centre in Gogra near Kotulpur, while the other one, a four bed Health Centre at Mirzapur is only one mile to the west of this village.

About one mile to the west of Raibaghini there are one Senior Basic School and one Junior Basic School in Mirzapur. The Panchayat Office is situated a little away from the Basic Schools in Mirzapur. Just near the Panchayat Office, there is one Malaria Surveillance Inspector's Office.

Raibaghini Experimental Post Office is situated by the side of the metalled road in Gopalpur *mouza* a little away from the eastern boundary.

Physical aspects

The village is situated on a plain land with a slight depression towards the east and the south. The soil of this place is loamy. Even after heavy shower, one can walk without any difficulty along the kutcha road with shoes on. Soil in the low lying field is rich and fertile. The washed away material from the surface of the high lands enriches and makes the soil fertile in the low ones. High lands are sandy in nature and the yield of paddy is less there than in the more fertile low lands. It is found that laterite or *Kankar* is present just below the surface of the soil. *Kankars* are taken out after removing the superficial layers of soil and are used for the purpose of covering the surface of mud road. 10 miles to the west of the village, there is a reserved forest of Sal trees within the jurisdiction of Joypur police station in the district of Bankura.

A small rivulet, known as *Amodar*, passes along the western boundary of Mirzapur *mouza*. This small stream has taken its course towards the south. The rivulet originates from an artificial lake known as *Ghol Samudra* near the jungle of Joypur. It has joined the river Darakeswar in Hooghly district. In the dry season the rivulet trickles like a narrow

stream with foot-deep water. But during the rains the river shakes off its calm appearance and a strong current flows all along. Boats do not ply in any season.

Flora

Flora of this region do not reveal any special feature. Trees and plants are mostly commonplace. Palmyra trees are numerous. Small ponds, generally encircled by tall and elegant palmyra trees, are commonly found. There are bamboo groves in plenty here. Banyan, *Bel*, *Bakul*, black-berry, *Babul*, datepalm, jack-fruit, *Kul*, *Krishnachura*, mango, *Neem* or margosa, *Phanimanasa*, *Peepul*, plantain, *Radhachura*, *Sajina* and tamarind trees are commonly met with. The village has only one cocoanut tree in the Sankharibazar locality. The villagers are averse to planting cocoanut trees for the reason that the trees do not bear fruits regularly. There exists a kind of cactus, the stem of which is divided into five ridges, containing spines. This type of cactus is locally known as *Kanta Manasa*. Ponds are full of aquatic plants and submerged weeds. Lotus is the most common aquatic plant found in this village.

Fauna

Of the domesticated animals, cows, goats, pigs, dogs and cats are found generally. Among wild animals, foxes and jackals, mongoose and squirrels are frequently observed near the bamboo groves. Amongst the several species of wild cats present in the village, civet cat, locally known as *Gandha Gogul*, which imparts an acrid smell and stays in the holes of old trees, deserves mention.

Poisonous snakes such as, *Gokhura i.e.*, Cobra-de-capello, Bora *i.e.* Boa-constrictor and Chiti *i.e.* speckled snake are present in the village. Non-poisonous snakes, such as *Dhamna* and *Meteli* ; are found frequently. It is believed by the people that snakes of both the varieties usually do not come out at night due to mosquitoes.

Birds of common varieties like *Tia*, *Salik*, pigeon, *Bulbul*, kingfisher, *Finge*, crane, *Pankauri* and dove etc are present here, besides vultures, crows, hens and ducks. The only migratory bird, *Gangchil i.e.*, sea-gull, is found in the big water-reservoir, Kotaldighi during the rainy season.

Sources of water

Except one tube-well and one ring-well, there is no other source of drinking water in the village. There are altogether 21 ponds, of which 10 are big ones. Of the big ponds, one, known as *Deshmukho*, covers a very wide area, approximately 500 yards in length and 400 yards in width. Ponds are generally situated at the back of the residential houses and the water is used for cooking, bathing and washing purposes. Some of the ponds are used for irrigation also. Ponds and ring-wells here do not dry up in summer.

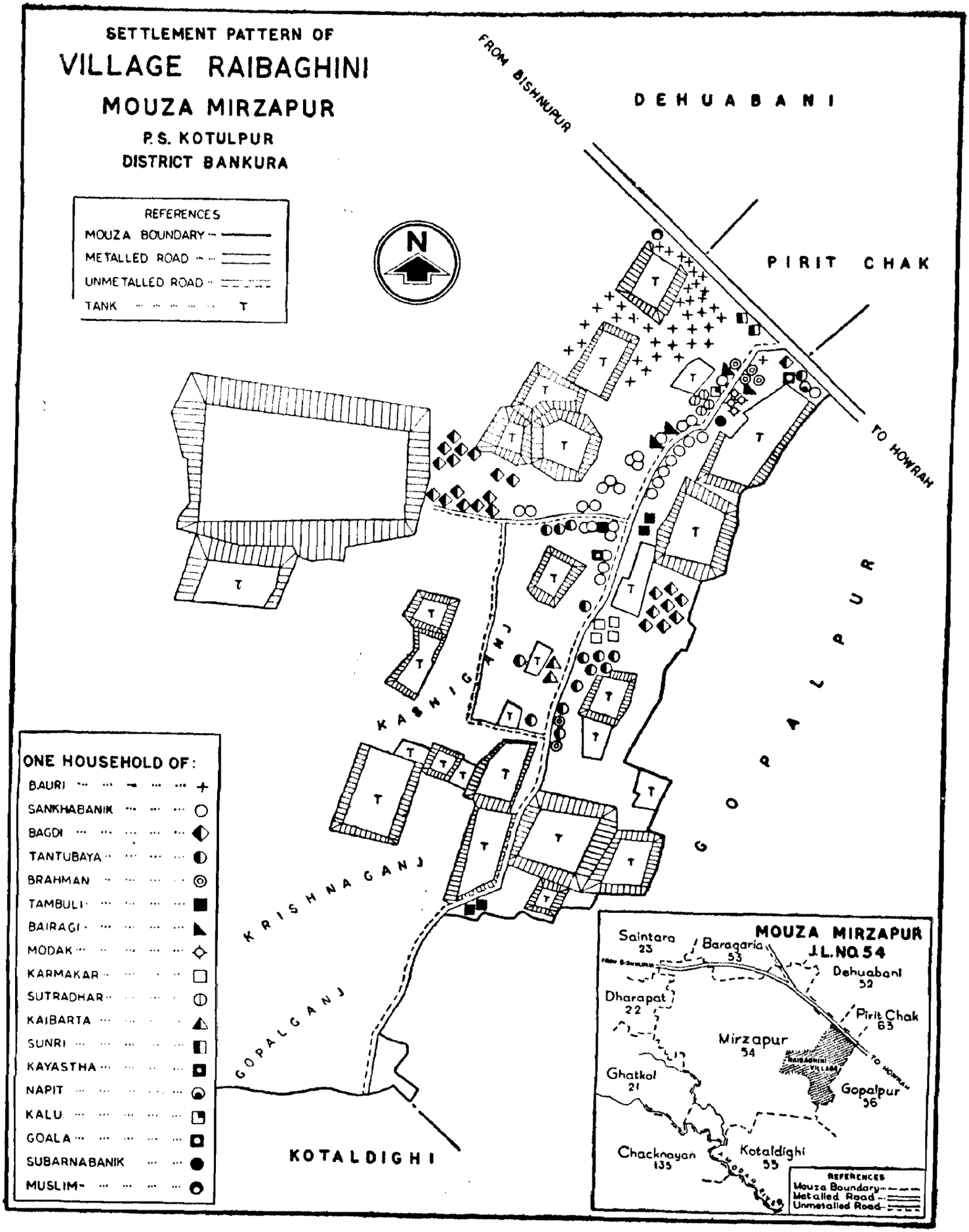
Distribution of settlements

On the east of the junction of the main road and the metalled road there are a few residential houses followed by a number of shops on either side of the metalled road. In this locality, one Goala, one Bagdi, one Sankhabanik, one Tantubaya and one Napit family reside side by side. Bagdi and Goala families are the original residents here. But the Sankhabanik family, whose house is in another part of the village, is under repair ; the Napit family, being displaced from East Pakistan, has been living here and the family belonging to the Tantubaya caste, being an outcast for keeping one Bagdi widow as mistress, is compelled to live away from the residential cluster of his own caste and is forced to live with the Bagdi and Goala families.

Bauri houses are grouped together a little away from the houses of the Caste Hindus on the western side of the main road near the northern boundary of the village. In front of the Bauri locality there are two Sunri families belonging to the members of the Scheduled Caste. The single Muslim family of this village resides in a house, adjacent to the Bauri locality.

Caste Hindus live alongside the main road of the village. As one approaches the village along the main road from its junction with the metalled road, one will come across a few Brahman houses on either side.

Next to the Brahman families, a few Modak and two Bairagi families reside. In front of the Modak houses there is a small settlement of four Sutradhar, one Kalu and one Sankhabanik families. Then comes the locality, known as *Sankharibazar*, where people belonging to the Sankhabanik caste reside. Here also live one


SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF
VILLAGE RAIBAGHINI
MOUZA MIRZAPUR
P.S. KOTULPUR
DISTRICT BANKURA
REFERENCES
MOUZA BOUNDARY
METALLED ROAD
UNMETALLED ROAD
TANK
T
N
FROM BISHNUPUR
DEHUABANI
PIRIT CHAK
TO HOWRAH
GOPALPUR
KASHIGANJ
KRISHNAGANJ
GOPALGANJ
KOTALDIGHI
ONE HOUSEHOLD OF:
BAURI
SANKHABANIK
BAGDI
TANTUBAYA
BRAHMAN
TAMBULI
BAIRAGI
MODAK
KARMAKAR
SUTRADHAR
KAIBARTA
SUNRI
KAYASTHA
NAPIT
KALU
GOALA
SUBARNABANIK
MUSLIM
MOUZA MIRZAPUR
J.L.NO.54
Saintara
23
Baragaria
53
Dehuabani
52
Dharapat
22
Pirit Chak
63
Mirzapur
54
Ghatkol
21
Gopalpur
56
Chacknayan
135
Kotaldighi
55
REFERENCES
Mouza Boundary
Metalled Road
Unmetalled Road

Subarnabanik, two Bairagi and one Tambuli families. Towards the end of the Sankharibazar a small alley, which has divided the main road into two equal parts, has proceeded in the western direction to the biggest tank. The locality along the main road on the north of this small passage is known as *Uttarpara. Uttarpara,* thus, consists of the Sankhabanik, Sutradhar, Modak and Brahman localities. Other portion of the main road, on the south of the alley, is known as *Dakshinpara.*

The locality, on either side of the small lane, is known as *Golipara,* the residents here being the Sankhabaniks, Tambulis and Tantubayas. To the west of *Golipara* there is a Bagdi locality, known as *Dangarpara,* a little away from the houses of the Caste Hindus. Tantubayas, Kaibartas, Tambulis and Brahmans are the residents of *Dakshinpara.* On the eastern side of a pond and at the end of Sankharibazar there is another Bagdi locality, known as *Chaprapara.*

The Brahmans and other Caste Hindus are surrounded by Bauris on the north, Bagdis on the east and west and by the Meteys of Gopalganj, a hamlet of Raibaghini on the south. It is a common belief of the Bauris, Bagdis and the Meteys that *bhadraloks i.e.,* the Caste Hindus, surrounded as they are by strong and sturdy people capable of using the *lathi* or bamboo stick well against any trouble maker, are well guarded against robbers and dacoits. There is only one well-to-do Tantubaya grocer in this village, who purchased a gun about seven years ago.

Important places of worship etc. in the village

The main mud road, starting from the metalled road near the northern boundary, has connected *Hat-tala* (the venue of the bi-weekly market) and the two hamlets, Krishnaganj and Gopalganj and Kotaldighi, the big water-reservoir. This road can accommodate the passage of bullock carts and jeeps. The surface of the road is covered by *kankar.*

Just near the junction of the metalled road and the main mud road, there is a chariot under a shed, known as *Raban Kata Rath.* A little away from the chariot, there is an image made of metal, known as *Raghunath* in a thatched mud house. At some distance to the south, there is a temporary building of Raibaghini Library. On the south of the library there is a hermitage of the Vaishnavas. Just in front of the hermitage there is a brick-built structure with roof of corrugated iron sheets, where the deity of *Ganes* is worshipped every year by the Modaks. To the further south along the main road near the junction of the small lane and the main road, there is one temple dedicated to Lord *Siva.* There is a pucca *Atchala,* where *Muniraj Agastya* is worshipped every year by the artisans engaged in Conch shell craft. Here the old people meet at dusk and sing devotional songs or *Harisankirtan.* Just in front of the *Atchala* there is an altar, where Goddess *Kali* is worshipped annually. Behind this altar there is another temple, dedicated to *Vishnu.* There is a pucca *Tulsi Mancha* near the *Vishnu* temple where womenfolk of the locality sprinkle water and place lamps in the evening. All these places of worship are situated side by side in one open field surrounded by residential houses. In the Bagdi locality in *Dangarpara Manasa* is worshipped at the foot of a *Bakul* tree every year. Some terra-cotta mud vessels encircled by terra-cotta snakes are kept here. On the further south of Sankharibazar along the main road there is one shed, where a brass vessel, known as *Sitala* is worshipped every year. A little away from this *Sitala Mandir,* there is another temple dedicated to Lord *Vishnu.* On the extreme south, where the main road has joined the *Hat-tala,* there is an *Atchala* temple, where images of *Radha* and *Krishna* are worshipped. This *Atchala* is known as *Naba Kunja.* On the further south of *Naba Kunja,* Raibaghini Primary School is situated near the southern boundary.

In the *Bagdipara* or *Chaprapara* there is one shed, where the image of Goddess *Kali* is worshipped daily.

In *Bauripara* there are two places of worship. The place, where the God *Baram* is worshipped every year, is at the foot of one *Neem* or margosa tree, strewn with terra-cotta horses and elephants. The other deity, known as *Bhairab,* is at a place, also strewn with terra-cotta horses and elephants at the foot of a *peepul* tree. There is one solitary room on the west of *Bauripara* by the side of a pond, *Tanti Pukur,* where explosive crackers are made during the festival of *Chaitra Sankranti.*

Crematorium

There are altogether seven places, where dead bodies of the Hindus of this village, are

cremated. Two of these seven cremation grounds are for the use of the Bagdis of *Chaprapara* and are situated on the east of the main road at Gopalpur *mouza* by the side of two ponds, known as *Buno* and *Nabobuno*, another crematorium exclusively reserved for a Tantubaya family is situated near *Raibaghini Hat* by the side of a pond, known as *Chandra Pukur*. The Bagdis of *Dangarpara* and the Brahmams residing in the hamlets use the place, situated near *Deshmukho* as their cremation ground. The Sutradhar, Modak and Sankhabanik families use the place, situated near *Bauripara* by the side of a pond, *Tanti Pukur*, for cremation of dead bodies belonging to their castes. The Sankhabanik household belonging to an *ex*-President of the Union Board and incidentally the *Mukhya* or headman of the village has a private crematorium near *Dhanga Pukur*. The place near *Mora Gera* tank at Dehuabani *mouza* on the north is used by some Brahmans, Bauris, Kalus and Sunris of this village as their crematorium. The river *Amodar* does not serve any purpose for cremation of dead bodies.

Besides the cremation grounds, there are two *Samadhi Kshetras* (burial grounds) for the Vaishnavas, one for the use of the man, who looks after the hermitage, situated in the *Ashram* itself and the other for the use of the rest of the Bairagi families, situated in the eastern side of this village by the side of a pond, *Dhanga Pukur*. There is no grave-yard for the Muslims here. The solitary Muslim household has yet to experience any bereavement and as such, the selection of a burial ground rests on him, when the question would arise. It is interesting that for a village like Raibaghini there are seven cremation grounds and two cemeteries for 143 households. Death is supposed to be a great leveller. But this village has maintained distinctions of caste even for dead bodies and has taken much care in earmarking places for different castes for use as crematoriums.

Drainage

The village does not get flooded, because rain water from the northern area flows towards the south and before water gets accumulated in the south, it flows towards the east. Rain water does not accumulate anywhere in the residential areas except in the Bagdi locality of *Dangarpara*. Water of the residential areas from metalled road to *Sankharibazar* flows towards south and then passes through *Golipara* by the small passage to *Deshmukho*. The general slope being towards the south, water flows in that direction. Excess of rain water from the agricultural field in northern portion of the village flows through a small drain which has passed through *Dangarpara* and has joined the biggest tank on the east. In the rainy season, when *Deshmukho* becomes full to the brim, *Bagdipara* or *Dangarpara* gets separated from the rest of the village and water accumulates in those residential areas. Water from *Deshmukho* is used for irrigation in the dry seasons. If some water is released through the western border in the rainy season to the nearby fields, the Bagdis of *Dangarpara* might be saved from the sufferings caused by the accumulations of water in and around their residential areas every year. But in that case, water level will come down to the detriment of irrigation of the nearby fields. That is why, the cultivators do not allow the Bagdis to release excess water, that overflows *Deshmukho* and accumulates in Bagdi locality. This has engendered some ill feeling between the Bagdis and the Teli cultivators. But the Bagdis prefer to wait and suffer mutely, as they have none to stand by them. Rain water from other parts of the residential areas flows to the nearby ponds and agricultural fields.

Pastures

There is no common pasture within the village. The cattle graze throughout the year in the grassy fields by the sides of *Kotaldighi*.

The village with its surroundings

Mirzapur *mouza* consists of two main villages *viz.* (i) Mirzapur and (ii) Raibaghini. Village Mirzapur is attached to one small hamlet, while Raibaghini has three hamlets : (i) Kashiganj (ii) Krishnaganj and (iii) Gopalganj. Mirzapur is separated from Raibaghini with its hamlets by agricultural fields. People of Raibaghini come to Mirzapur along the metalled road towards west and then trek along the mud road. Mirzapur is predominantly an agricultural village. The majority of the inhabitants of this village are Ekadas Telis, who mainly depend on land.

Hamlets

KASHIGANJ—This hamlet is situated on the south of *Golipara*. This is the biggest

of the three hamlets. It is predominantly occupied by the Tantubayas, the traditional occupation of whom is weaving. Majority of the people of this hamlet depend on cotton weaving. Out of 42 families residing here, 30 families are engaged in handloom industry. There is only one temple dedicated to *Manasa*, the Goddess of Snakes, one grocer's shop, and one ring-well. Kashiganj is adjacent to the main village Raibaghini and is separated from it by a mud road.

KRISHNAGANJ—This is the smallest of the three hamlets of Raibaghini. The locality along the main road, just beyond the southern boundary of Raibaghini, is known as Krishnaganj. Cotton weaving is the main source of livelihood of the majority of the people of this hamlet. Five out of the nine households residing in this hamlet are engaged in cotton weaving. There is neither any shop here nor any well for drinking water. There is only one temple dedicated to *Siva*. Krishnaganj is adjacent to Raibaghini and supervened by a mud road.

GOPALGANJ—The locality, to the south of Krishnaganj and to further south of Raibaghini along the main road, is known as Gopalganj, which is a little less than a furlong from Raibaghini. Majority of the inhabitants of this hamlet are Meteys by caste, most of whom are agricultural labourers. Twenty-five out of 39 families residing in this hamlet are Meteys. There are only one kutcha well and one place of worship, known as the temple of *Kalachand*.

The inter-hamlet relationship will be discussed in the relevant chapter, though the survey was not extended to the hamlets.

History of settlement of the households

TABLE 1

Caste/Community	Households by number of generations for which staying in the village								
	One generation	Two generations	Three generations	Four generations	Five generations	Six generations	Seven generations	Generations not known	Total number of families
Bauri	12	6	2	..	..	..	..	18	38
Sankhabanik	2	2	5	5	2	2	1	10	29
Bagdi	3	..	1	1	1	..	..	18	24
Tantubaya	4	1	..	1	..	..	..	9	15
Brahman	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	4	6
Tambuli	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	3	5
Bairagi	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4
Modak	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4
Karmakar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4
Sutradhar	..	1	.	..	..	..	..	3	4
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
Sunri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
Kayastha	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Napit	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Goala	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	**28**	**10**	**8**	**9**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**82**	**143**

TABLE 2

HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE/COMMUNITY LIVING IN THIS VILLAGE FOR NUMBER OF YEARS

Caste/Community	Total no. of Households	No. of households living in this village for							
		1-25 years	26-50 years	51-75 years	76-100 years	101-125 years	126-150 years	151-175 years	Years not known
Bauri	38	12	6	2	..	..	..	..	18
Sankhabanik	29	2	2	5	5	2	2	1	10
Bagdi	24	3	..	1	1	1	..	..	18
Tantubaya	15	4	1	..	1	..	..	..	9
Brahman	6	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	4
Tambuli	5	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
Bairagi	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Modak	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Karmakar	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Sutradhar	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
Kaibarta	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Sunri	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Kayastha	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Napit	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Goala	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Muslim	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	143	28	10	8	9	3	2	1	82

TABLE 3

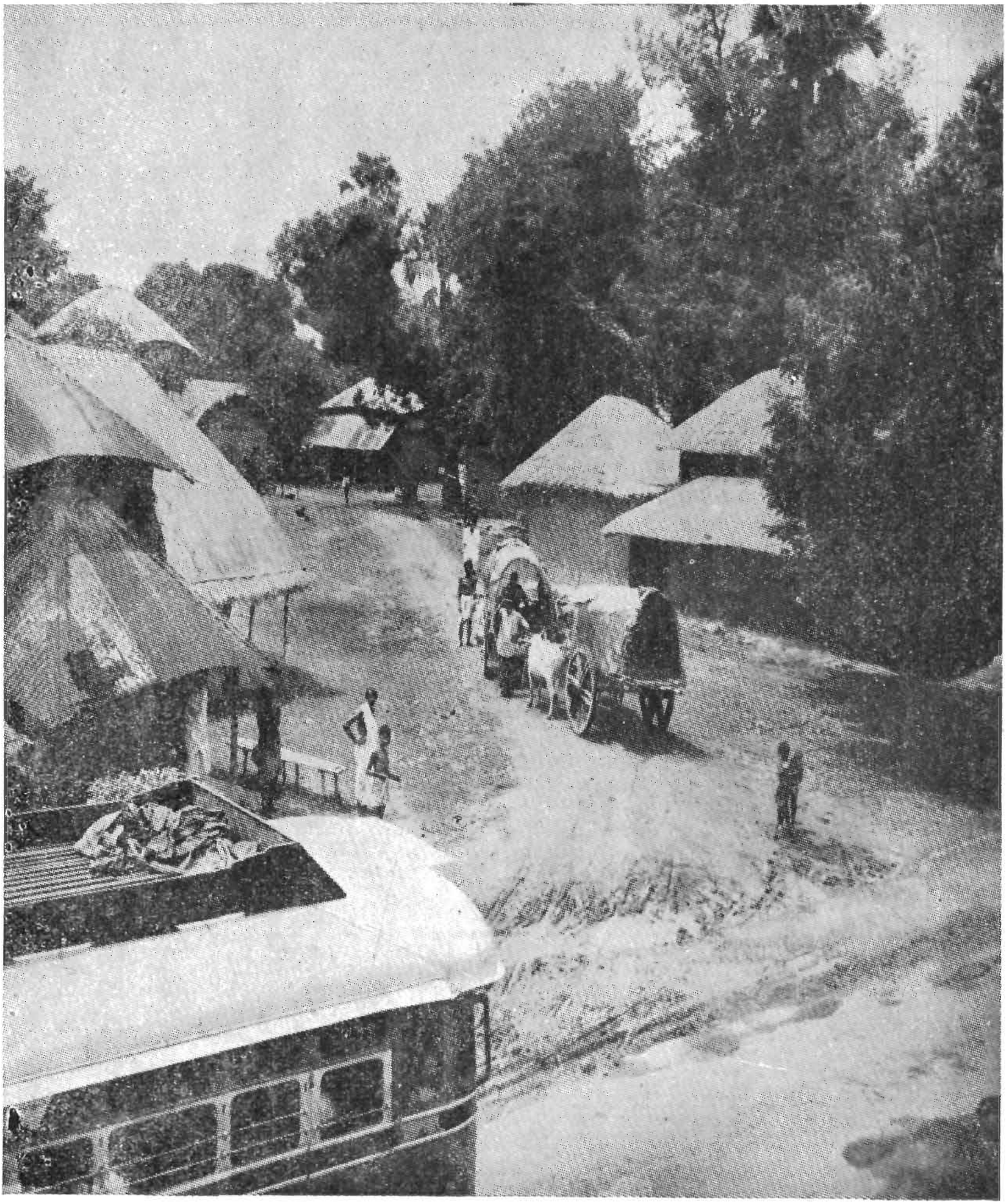
AREAS FROM WHICH THE FAMILIES MIGRATED TO THIS VILLAGE

Caste/Community	No. of households of Bankura District						No. of households from			
	Within the same police station	Patrasayer police station	Joypur police station	Onda police station	Indas police station	Police station unknown	Hoogly district	Burdwan district	Midnapore district	Outside India
Bauri	1	8	9	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
Sankhabanik	..	8	..	..	1	..	10	..	..	..
Bagdi	2	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Tantubaya	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Brahman	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Tambuli	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bairagi	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Modak	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Napit	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goala	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Total	10	17	14	1	2	1	11	1	2	2

GATEWAY TO THE VILLAGE OF RAIBAGHINI



Howrah-Bishnupur metalled road—the only connecting link with the outside world



The village-path winds its way to the village—fast-moving bus and slow-moving bullock carts are the means of transport

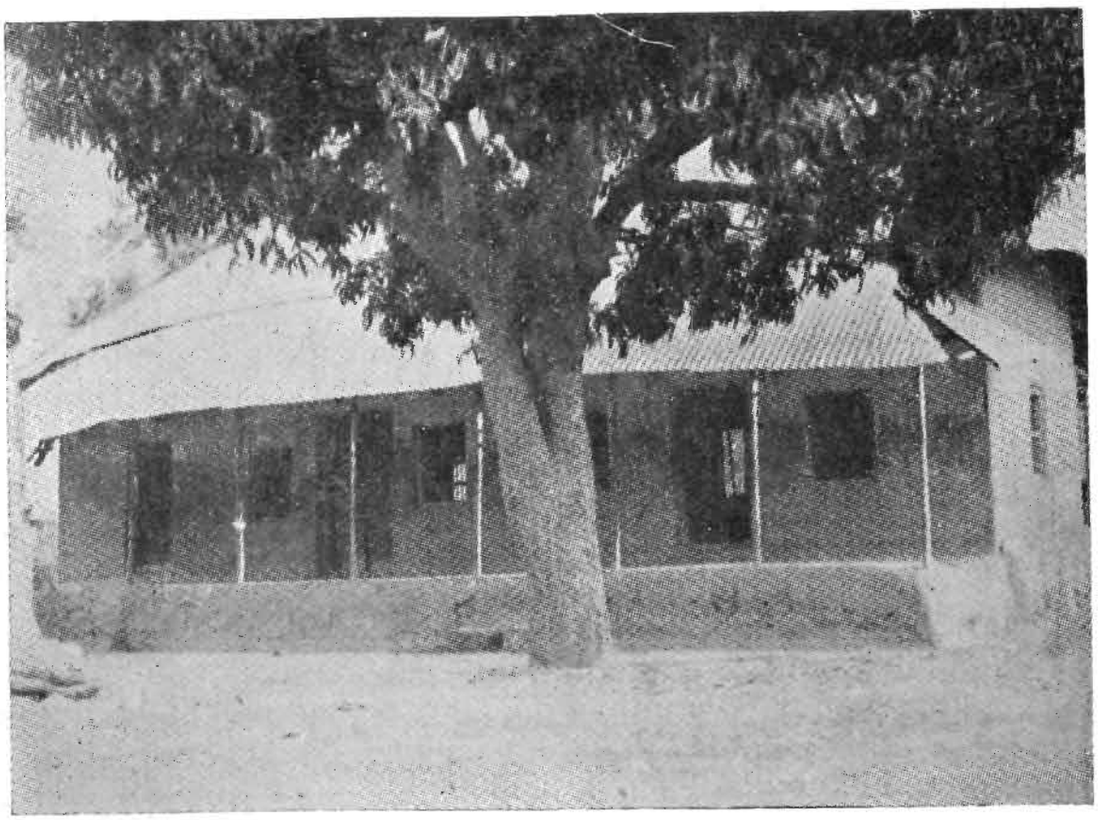
RURAL INSTITUTIONS

OF

IMPORTANCE



The Raibaghini Experimental Post Office establishes liaison with the world outside



The village Primary School—shapes the future of the 'father of man'

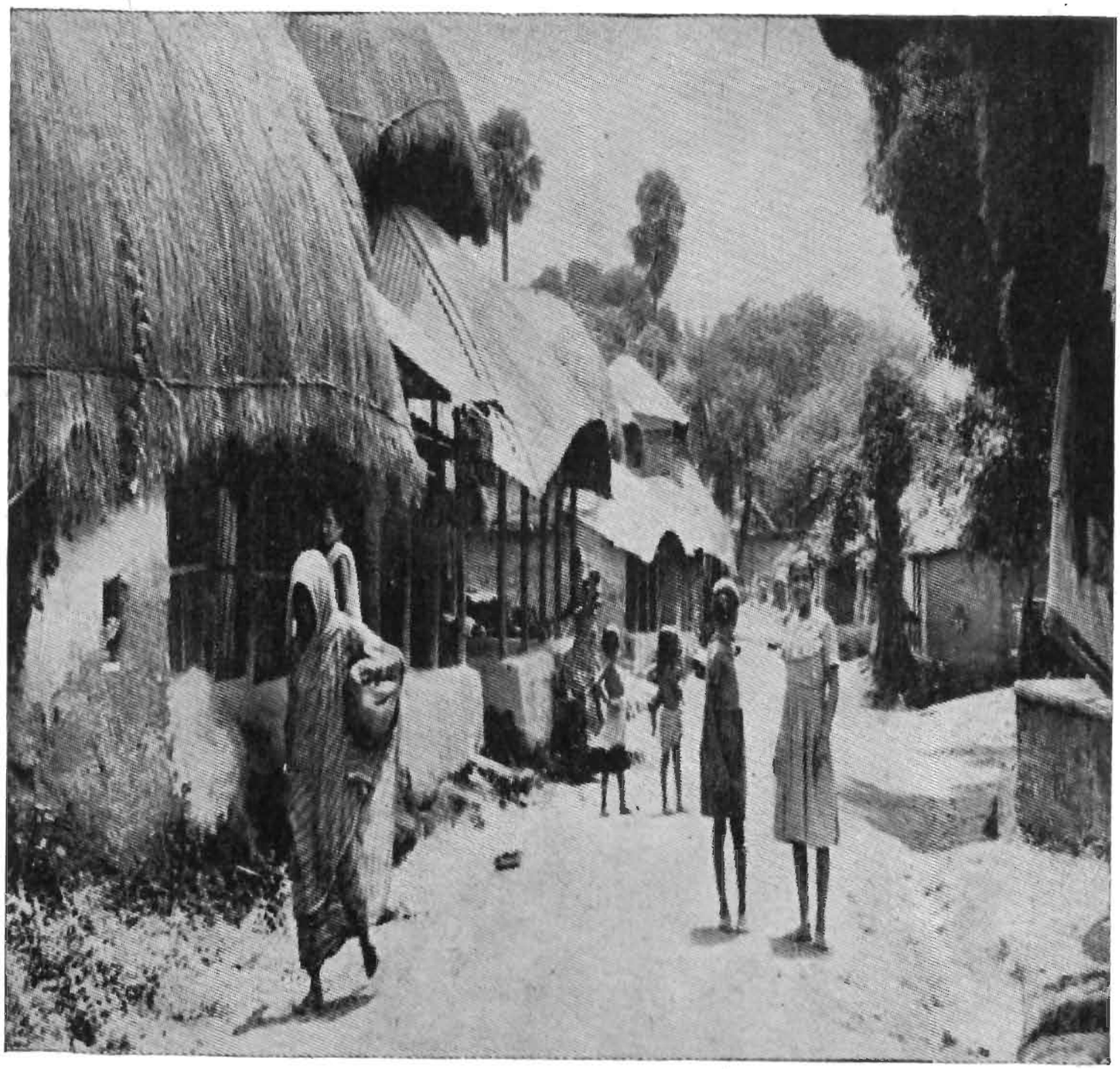


The solitary tubewell quenches thirst of the villagers

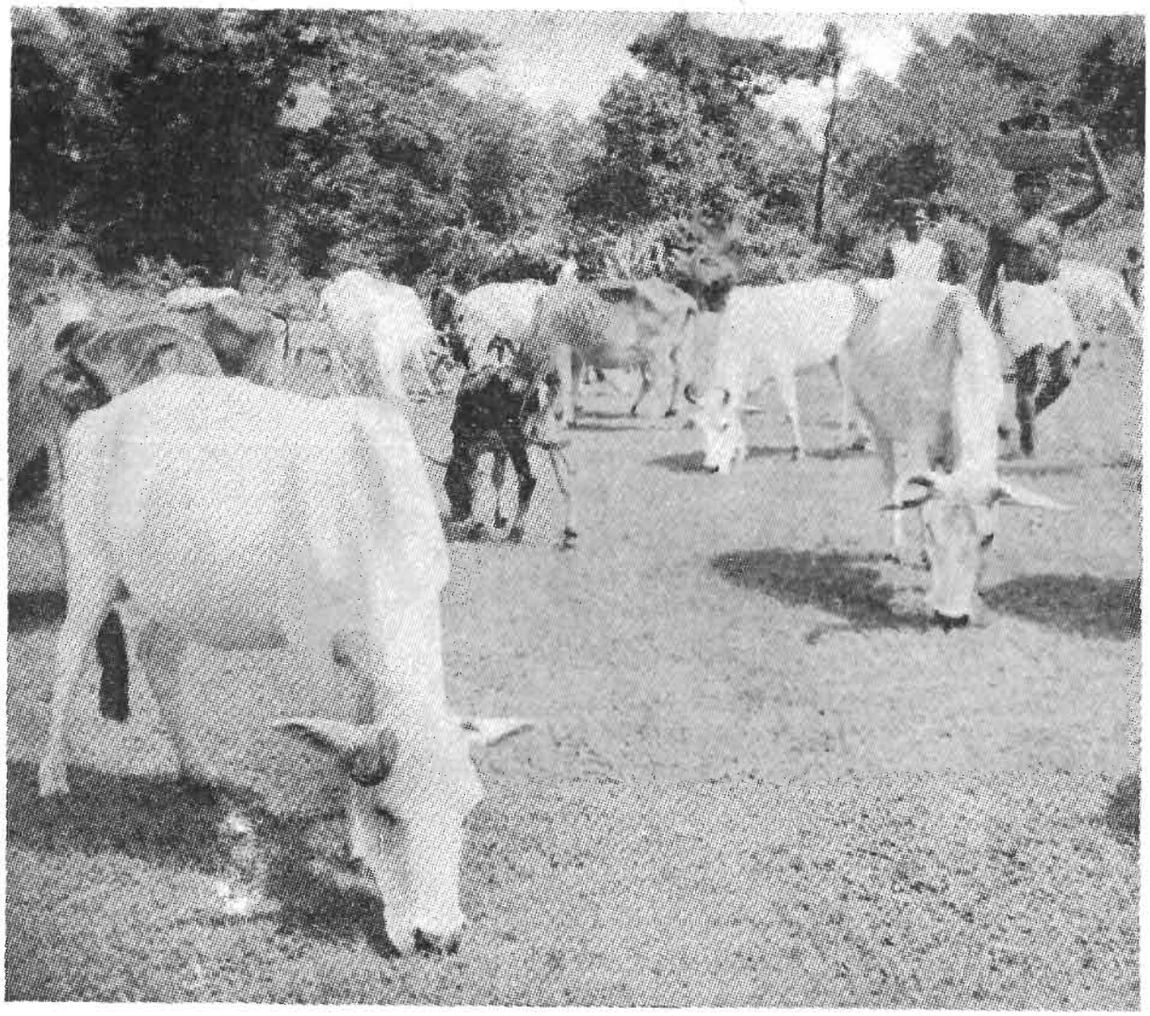


The only ringwell for Raibaghini—feminine minds stop awhile and confide here pent-up thoughts

A PEEP INTO THE VILLAGE PROPER



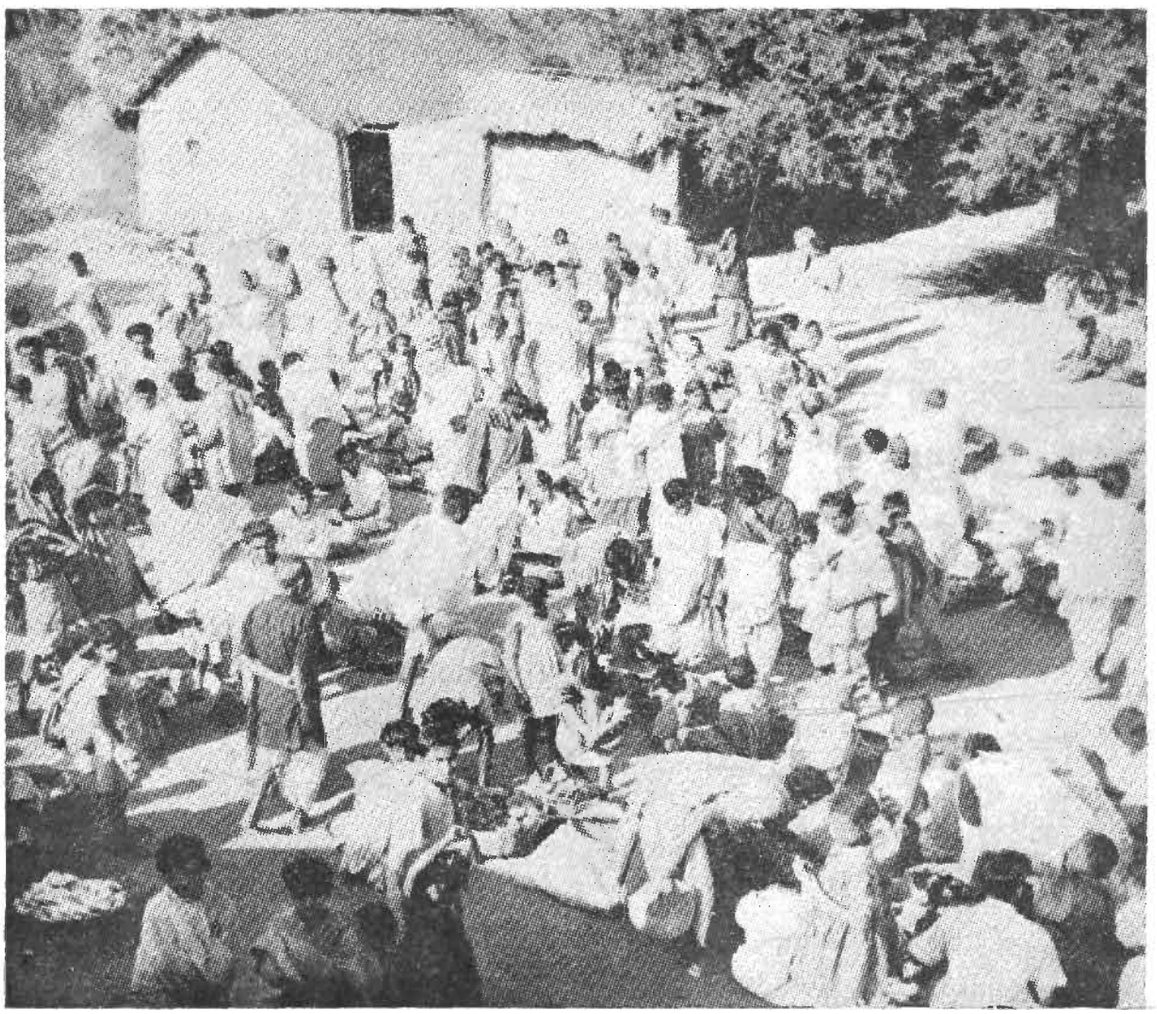
The Sankharibazar locality—an inside view of the heart of Raibaghini



VILLAGE-PASTURE

The grazing cattle make the most of the spare grass

AN OPEN-AIR SALES -EMPORIUM



Not a fair but a village-market of vegetables and food-grains, fish and other commodities of daily life : a market for the sellers and buyers of Raibaghini and its hamlets

The Table No. 1 has been prepared on the basis of the formula given below :

$$\frac{\text{No. of generations for which the family has been living in the village excluding the head of the family} + \text{Present age of the head of the family}}{25}$$

The age of the head of the household has been computed into generation on the basis of 25 years for one generation.

The table No. 2 of this chapter has been prepared after converting the generation into number of years. It is found from this table that one family migrated to this village about 175 years ago.

One may also note that three Sankhari or Sankhabanik households came to this village for settlement about 150 years ago. If one goes to trace out the settlement history of this village from the available data, one can go as far 175 years back. But it is not possible to throw any light on the origin of this village because of insufficient information.

Out of 38 Bauri families, only 20 could respond to the questions relating to settlement. Of them, 18 families came to settle in this village within the last 50 years, and two families settled here between 51 and 75 years. The cause of migration of 11 out of 20 families can be attributed to the fact that the heads of these families having been married with the girls of this village came to settle here. In most cases the father-in-laws did not want to send their daughters to the houses of their husbands. They wanted their sons-in-law to stay with them.

Of the rest, one young adventurer Bauri came away from his native place about eight miles away from this village at the age of 12 years. After begging here and there for some days, he was engaged as a cow-boy in one of the houses of the Caste Hindus of this village. Afterwards, he married and settled here. The cause of migration of another Bauri family is that one young boy, who was sent by his father from a near-by village to work as a cowboy, married and settled here, when he grew up. The seven other Bauri families came to live in this village with their relatives.

The causes of migration relating to other castes are due to the fact that the families, being helpless on account of the death of the head or of the main earning member of the family, came to live with their near relatives residing in this village. The most interesting cases will be discussed here.

Ten out of the 19 Sankhabanik families, which migrated to this village, came from Kamarpukur in Hooghly district. These families were forced to leave their parental home in Hooghly district because of the inhuman treatment of their zamindar belonging to the Subarnabanik caste with the title of Laha.

Out of six Tantubaya families, which migrated to this village, one family came here as a stranger from some interior village in the same police station for better earning from handloom industry. One Brahman family came to this village about 100 years ago in a rather interesting way. This family claims to be the descendant of the Brahmans of Kanyakubja of Uttar Pradesh. From Uttar Pradesh they came to Bengal and settled in Borodangal, a village in Hooghly district. The grand father of the family used to come here at regular intervals as a pedlar. Afterwards, he settled here and gradually learnt the Conch shell craft. Among other settlers one Sadgope, having been converted into the Vaishnava sect came to this village to look after the hermitage of the Vaishnavas here.

Two families, displaced from East Pakistan, have been staying in the village for the last four years. One is a Kayastha family, while the other family is Napit by caste. In 1954 an arrangement was made by the Government of West Bengal to rehabilitate 35 refugee families by the side of the rivulet *Amodar*, about one mile away from this village. These families were provided with loan, grants and some land by the Government of West Bengal. The refugee households built their own houses and cultivated the fallow land given to them. But during the drought of 1959 when a small dam was erected on the rivulet to obstruct the flow of water for the purpose of irrigation, water overflowed the banks resulting in water-logging of the residential houses of the refugees. Crops were damaged and two young children were drowned in water. The refugees again became homeless and were scattered here and there in quest of a suitable shelter. Only two families stayed on to settle in Raibaghini. The Kayastha family is staying in a rented house and the Napit family has been living

in a rent-free house given to him by one benevolent Sankhari gentleman of this village.

The household, to settle here slightly earlier than the displaced person, is one Muslim family who had migrated about seven years ago. He came to this village as a mason in connection with construction-work. The owner of the house, under construction, provided him with a rent-free house in *Bauripara*. He settled here because there was no mason in this area and also because he was impressed by the profuse affection of his employer.

History or legend about the village

Raibaghini is one of the many villages in West Bengal, which have no record of the past. It is indeed a wonder that the village furnishes popular legend about the site of a famous battle, but does not offer any written material to the eye to become familiar with ; as a result, the narrative, incoherent and loosely connected as it is, is apt to pass on and be forgotten. The villagers themselves are not very much better acquainted with the history of the village, in which they live.

Still, the legend goes that Queen Bhavasankari, the widow of Birhambir, the King of Bishnupur, gallantly withstood the Pathan inroad into her territory and was conferred the title of *Rai Baghini*, meaning the tigress of the Roy Family, by the Mughul Emperor, Akbar for her heroic resistance. The battle, the villagers believe, having been fought here in this area, the village was called *Raibaghini*.

But, another version recounted that the village owed its name to *Roy Ginni* or the lady of the Roy Family residing in this locality. In appreciation of her brave encounter with the burglars, who broke into Roy's house, the villagers honoured her with the title of *Raibaghini*.

Again, from the account of Sri Benoy Ghosh in his book, *Paschim Banger Sanskriti* one may associate the name of the village with that of the common village deity of West Bengal, popularly known as the goddess, *Raibaghini*. Probably, the people, migrating from Hooghly district or Patrasayer police station of Bankura district into their new colony, named it after the village-deity.

Whatever the history of the village, the people of Raibaghini take little interest in their past and do not know that all the events will in time possess the interest of history. They do not know "the bygone joys and sorrows of the village in general, its memorable vicissitudes, its remarkable men, the decline of old form of industry and the rise of new,—in a word, all the weightier matters of rural history". They are much like their fellowmen elsewhere in West Bengal where, "one rural generation dreams out its existence after another, and all are forgotten".

II

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CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL CULTURE

Introduction

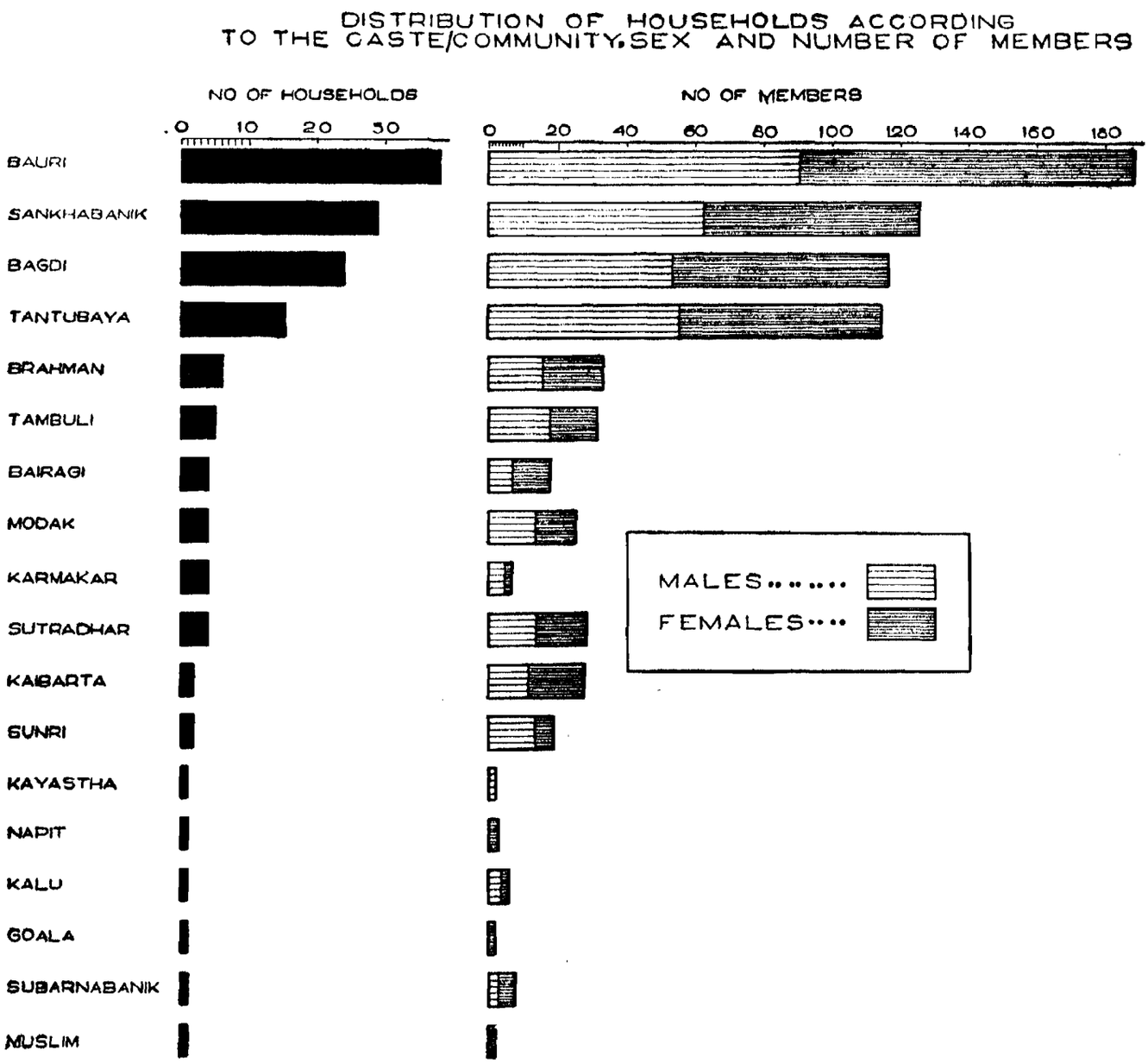
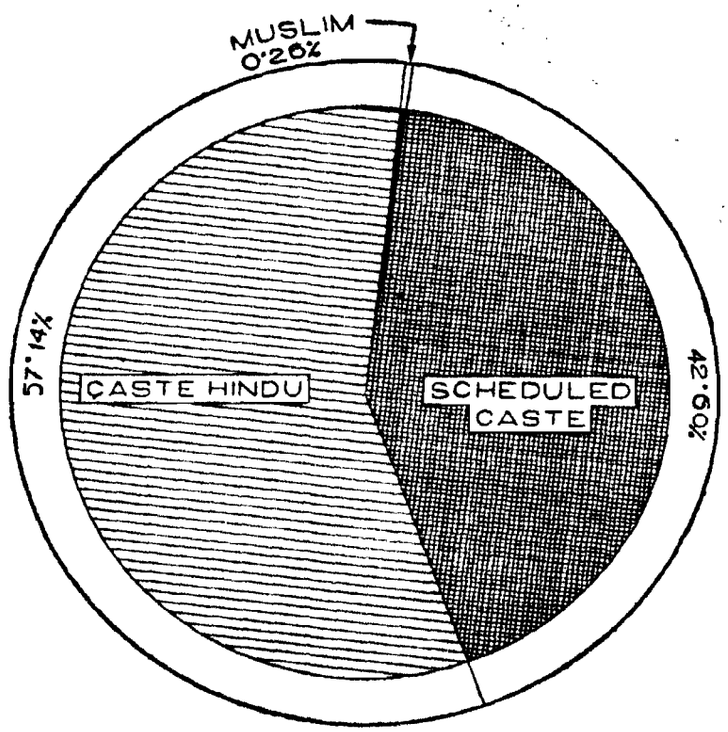


TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO THE CASTE/COMMUNITY, SEX AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Caste/ Community	No. of households	No. of members			Percentage of total population
		Males	Females	Total	
Bauri	38	91	98	189	24.77
Sankhabanik	29	63	63	126	16.51
Bagdi	24	54	63	117	15.34
Tantubaya	15	56	59	115	15.07
Brahman	6	16	18	34	4.46
Tambuli	5	18	14	32	4.19
Bairagi	4	7	11	18	2.36
Modak	4	14	12	26	8.41
Karmakar	4	5	2	7	0.92
Sutradhar	4	14	15	29	3.80
Kaibarta	2	12	16	28	3.67
Sunri	2	14	5	19	2.49
Kayastha	1	2	..	2	0.26
Napit	1	..	3	3	0.39
Kalu	1	4	2	6	0.79
Goala	1	..	2	2	0.26
Subarnabanik	1	3	5	8	1.05
Muslim	1	1	1	2	0.26
Total	**148**	374	389	763	**100.00**

143 households consisting of 374 males and 389 females are divided into 17 castes and one community. Among the 17 castes, the Bauris, the Bagdis and the Sunris are the members of the Scheduled Castes. The members of the Scheduled Castes of this village cover 42.60 per cent of the total population.



PROPORTION OF CASTE HINDUS, SCHEDULED CASTES AND MUSLIMS IN RAIBAGHINI

Ethnic account of the people

Bauris, being the single largest group, cover 24.77 per cent of the total population. If all the castes are arranged in order of numerical strength, the Bauris come first. The Sankhabaniks, the Bagdis and the Tantubayas occupy the 2nd, the 3rd and the 4th positions respectively. The table shows that all these four castes cover 71.69 per cent and the remaining 14 other communities occupy 28.31 per cent of the total population.

1. Bauri

According to Risley, 'Bauri, is a cultivating, earth-working, and palanquin-bearing caste of Western Bengal, whose features and complexion stamp them as of non-Aryan descent, although evidence is wanting to affiliate them to any particular tribe now in existence'. (Ref : H. H. Risley Tribes & Castes of Bengal).

Risley further states that, 'the Bauris are divided into the following nine sub-castes :

(1) Mallabhumia,
(2) Sikharia or Gobaria,
(3) Panchakoti,
(4) Mola or Mulo,
(5) Dhulia or Dhulo,
(6) Malua,
(7) Jhatia or Jhetia,
(8) Kathuria,
(9) Pathuria'.

In this village all the Bauris belong to the sub-caste, *Mulo*. Bauris have not adopted any *gotra*. They rank very low in the caste hierarchy. They are neither served by a Brahman priest nor by a washerman or by a barber. Almost all of them are engaged in agricultural work.

2. Sankhabanik

The Sankharis or Sankhabaniks of this village belong to the *Nabasayaka i.e.* group of nine artisan castes of Bengal. Conch shell-cutting, polishing and designing are the traditional occupation of the Sankharis. Sankharis of this village believe themselves to be the disciples of *Agastya Muni*. In their opinion when *Viswakarma* failed to design the peculiar semi-circular saw of the Sankharis, *Agastya Muni* put forward a plan of the saw by a kind of grass known as *Kush*. That is why Sankharis worship *Agastya Muni* every year on the last day of *Bhadra*.

In this village Sankharis are following their caste occupation. Their position in the society is respectable. It is interesting to note that all the communities (including the Sankhabaniks) except the Brahmans, Kayasthas, Modaks and Bairagis follow the plough.

3. Bagdi

According to Risley, 'Bagdi, is a cultivating, fishing and menial caste of Central and Western Bengal, who appear from their features and complexion to be of Dravidian descent, and closely akin to the tribes whom, for convenience of description, we may call aboriginal'. In the opinion of Risley, 'In the district of Bankura, where original structures of the caste have been singularly well preserved, we find the Bagdis divided into the following sub-castes :

(1) Tentulia,
(2) Kasaikulia,
(3) Dulia,
(4) Ujha or Ojha,
(5) Machhua or Mechhua or Mecho,
(6) Gulimanjhi,
(7) Dandamajhi,
(8) Kusmetia, Kusmatia, Kushaputra,
(9) Mallametia, Matia or Matial'.

Among all the sub-castes of the Bagdis, only Tentulia and Kasaikulia Bagdis are found in this village. Among the two sub-castes of the Bagdis, Tentulia ranks higher. Tentulia Bagdis do not take food and water in the house of the other sub-castes.

Here, almost all the Bagdis are engaged in agricultural activities. The social rank of the Bagdis is very low. They are served by the barbers and the degraded Brahman priests.

4. Tantubaya

The Tantubayas belong to the weaver caste of Bengal. All the Tantubayas of this village belong to the sub-caste of Aswini. Marriage with other sub-castes is strictly prohibited. Tantubayas are clean Sudras and belong to the *Nabasayaka* group (Mitra's 'Tribes & Castes of West Bengal', Page 34). In the village they are also regarded as belonging to the same

group. Social position of the Tantubayas is respectable. Almost all the Tantubayas of this village are following their traditional occupation.

5. Brahman

Brahmans of this village are divided into following three sub-castes :

(i) Kanyakubja
(ii) Rarhi
(iii) Varna Brahman

(i) Kanyakubja—In the opinion of Risley, Kanyakubja Brahmans are one of the five Gauras residing in the north of the Vindhya range. Risley states, "Once upon a time there were two brothers, Kanha and Kubja. They lived at Kanauj, and their descendants are called Kanyakubja Brahmans."

In earlier times Kanyakubja Brahmans of this village were engaged in retail trade. But now they are engaged in Conch shell craft.

(ii) Rarhi—Risley says, "Rarhi Brahmans derive their name from Rarh, or the high-lying alluvial tract on the west bank of the river Bhagirathi". Rarhi Brahmans of this village still perform their priestly duties.

(iii) Varna Brahman—Varna Brahmans are a class of Patit (fallen) Brahmans, who act as family priests of lower castes. Originally they were Rarhi Brahmans. Here the Varna Brahmans act as family priests of the Bagdis.

6. Tambuli

According to Risley, Tambuli is a respectable trading caste of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, whose original occupation is supposed to have been the selling of betel leaf (Sanskrit *tambula*).

In the opinion of Risley the Tambulis of Bengal are divided into five sub-castes :

(1) Saptagrami or Kusadaye,
(2) Ashtagrami or Kataki,
(3) Chauddagrami,
(4) Biyallisgrami and
(5) Bardhamani.

In this village all the Tambulis belong to the sub-caste, Bardhamani. Trade and commerce is the traditional occupation of this caste. Most of the Tambulis of this village are grocers. Their position in the society is respectable.

7. Bairagi

According to Risley, 'Bairagi is a class of Hindu religious mendicants who worship Vishnu'. The Bairagis of this village worship *Shri Chaitanya*, the great preacher of *Vaishnavsim*, as an incarnation of the Lord *Vishnu*. Bairagis of this village bury their dead bodies. Most of them are engaged in Conch shell craft. Their position in the society is respectable. They are served by the Rarhisreni Brahmans, and by barber and washerman, who serve the Caste Hindus.

8. Modak

Risley says "Moyra, Modak is the confectioner caste of Bengal proper, a heterogeneous functional group, to be distinguished from the Madhunapit, on whom popular usage sometimes confers the titles Modak or Kuri".

In the opinion of Risley, 'the caste profess to be the orthodox Hindus, belonging for the most part to the Vaishnava sect. They regard *Ganes* as their special deity and make images in his honour'.

Most of the Modaks of this village are engaged in their traditional occupation. They are regarded as members of a respectable caste. They worship *Ganes* every year in the form of an image.

9. Karmakar

To quote from Risley, 'Kamar, is the metal working caste of Bengal and Behar, distinguished from the Lohar by not confining themselves to the fabrication of iron implements, and by having no scruples about working with any kind of metal'.

Karmakars of this village were engaged in bell-metal industry. When the bell-metal industry died out, they took up agricultural work. They belong to the *Nabasayaka i.e.* group of nine castes.

10. Sutradhar

Risley describes Sutradhars as "the carpenter caste of Bengal, named *thread-holder* from the Sanskrit *Sutra*, the thread, with which the course of the saw is marked".

To quote from Risley, 'carpentry is believed to be their original and characteristic profession, but besides the occupations already enumerated, Sutradhars are employed in cutting Conch shells into bracelets, in making images of gods, and in painting religious pictures'.

Sutradhars of this village are engaged in carpentry, clay-modelling, and Conch shell craft. The social rank of the Sutradhars is low. They are served by the barbers and the Brahmans of lower grade. Washermen do not wash their clothes.

11. Kaibarta

To quote from Risley, 'Kaibartta is a large fishing and cultivating caste of Bengal proper, taking rank below the *Nava Sakha*, or group of nine castes, from whose hands a Brahman may take water'. In this village although the Kaibartas are engaged in fishing, they do not call themselves as Jalia Kaibarta, as they do not cast their net by swinging over their head. They prefer to call themselves Kaibartas.

12. Sunri

Risley describes Sunri as 'a large and widely-diffused caste, found in most districts of Bengal and Behar, whose original profession is believed to be the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors'. Sunris of this village are now engaged in cultivation. They are served by the barbers and degraded Brahmans.

13. Kayastha

Risley describes Kayastha as a writer caste of Bengal proper. The Kayastha family of this village was in the past engaged in trade and commerce. Now they have taken up service. Their position in the society is respectable.

14. Napit

Napit is the barber caste of Bengal. In this village the Napit family is not following their caste occupation, as because there is no male member in their family. Napits rank high in the caste-hierarchy.

15. Kalu

Oil-pressing is the traditional occupation of the Kalus. The Kalu family of this village had left its traditional occupation due to non-availability of sufficient oil-seeds. At present, the head of the family is engaged in wheat-grinding ; his wife is invalid due to defect in legs. The social rank of the Kalus, here in this village, is just below the Kaibartas and the Goalas.

16. Goala

To quote from Risley, 'Goala is the great pastoral caste of India'. In this village the Goalas rank just below the *Nabasayaka* group. They are served by the barber, washerman and Brahmans of lower grade. The Goala family left their traditional occupation of selling milk and milk products, as because there was no male member in their family.

17. Subarnabanik

In the opinion of Risley, Subarnabanik is a mercantile caste of Bengal proper, who claim to be the modern representatives of the ancient Vaisyas. The Subarnabanik family, which previously was serving in a jewellery shop in Calcutta, has now taken up cycle-repairing work in the village. They rank below the Kaibartas and the Goalas. They are served by washerman, barber and priest of Vaidik Brahman class.

18. Muslim

The Muslim family is Sunni by sect. This family is working as a mason and masonry is their traditional occupation.

Residential pattern

There is a marked variation between the residential pattern of the Caste Hindus and that of the Scheduled Castes.

Bagdis and Bauris prefer to live together with members of their own caste. They do not like to quit their own locality, where there is a concentration of their own people, who will stand by their side in times of need. They also like to share the joys and sorrows of their fellowmen.

Housing pattern in Bauri locality

Houses in the Bauri locality are so closely clustered that there is hardly any space between the walls of two houses. Grouping of houses in this locality has not taken any definite pattern. Four or five houses have clustered round a common compound. Houses, which are not so grouped, are separated by a small passage from the clusters of other houses round a central courtyard.

Grouping of houses in Bagdi locality

Grouping of houses in the Bagdi locality is not as close as that in the Bauri locality. The average distance between two adjacent houses is about 10 yards. Houses are haphazardly scattered here and there.

Unlike the Bauris and the Bagdis, the Caste Hindus live alongside the main mud roads of the village.

Housing pattern of Caste Hindus

The grouping of houses of the Caste Hindus has taken a definite shape. The main mud road has divided the two parallel rows of houses. The clustering in this locality is of linear type and the houses are set apart from each other at a regular distance.

Housetype

A table relating to the materials of the wall, roof and floor is given below :

TABLE 5

HOUSEHOLDS BY THE MATERIALS OF THE WALL, ROOF AND FLOOR OF THEIR HOUSES

Caste/ Community	Total No. of families	Number of families living in houses with wall: Mud	Partly mud and partly brick	Brick	Number of families living in houses with roof of: Straw	Corrugated iron sheet	Partly straw partly corrugated iron sheet	Pucca roof	Number of families living in houses with floor: Mud	Cemented floor	Partly mud partly cemented floor
Bauri	38	38	..	..	38	..	..	..	38	..	..
Sankhabanik	29	29	..	..	24	2	3	..	28	1	..
Bagdi	24	24	..	..	23	1	..	..	24	..	..
Tantubaya	15	13	1	1	11	2	1	1	13	1	1
Brahman	6	6	..	..	4	1	1	..	6	..	..
Tambuli	5	5	..	..	2	3	..	..	4	..	1
Bairagi	4	3	1	..	3	1	..	..	3	..	1
Modak	4	1	..	3	..	1	..	3	1	3	..
Karmakar	4	4	..	..	2	2	..	..	4	..	..
Sutradhar	4	4	..	..	4	..	..	..	4	..	..
Kaibarta	2	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	2	..	..
Sunri	2	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	..
Kayastha	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Napit	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Kalu	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Goala	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Muslim	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Total	**148**	**137**	**2**	**4**	**118**	**14**	**7**	**4**	**135**	**5**	**3**

General description of the Bauri houses

Bauris live in the houses with convex roofs or roofs with two slopes. Verandahs are absent in the houses with roofs of two slopes. These houses are very low in height, so much so that the wall is only 6′ high from the floor of the room. The open space, 5′ long and 3′ wide, serves the purpose of a door as well as of a ventilator. Houses with convex roofs, having attached verandahs, are a little better than the two sloped ones. The verandah is either covered under the same roof, which covers the whole house or is covered by a separate roof, constructed just below that of the main house. Almost all the houses of this type have ceilings made of mud and split bamboo, about 7′ above the floor. Doors are made either of wood or wattled bamboo or combined cut pieces of kerosene tin. A table below gives a clear picture of the doors found in the Bauri houses.

	Number of families having		
No door	Doors made of wood	Doors made of kerosene tin	Doors made of wattled bamboo
15	16	5	2

Doors are generally 5′ in height. In both types of houses one has to enter a room, almost stooping low. Windows are conspicuous by their absence in all the Bauri houses. Due to the absence of windows and other openings, except one door or an open space, the rooms appear to be unusually dark.

Plinths of most of the houses are on an average 1½′ high above the ground. Because of such low plinths, the houses become damp in rainy seasons.

In the houses with convex slope food is cooked and taken in the verandah in all the seasons of the year. One small oven in the extreme corner of the verandah marks out the kitchen, three sides of which are covered by mud walls to protect the oven against rain and storm. Smoke does not enter in the bedroom, because there is sufficient open space for the smoke to go out.

Kitchens in the houses with roofs of two slopes are inside the bedrooms. The ovens are made near the open space of the wall. Although smoke passes out through the open space, some of it pervades the bedroom. The walls inside the room become partially black and black soots cover the ceilings. Because of the kitchens inside, the rooms look dingy.

Bauris rear pigs. The families, which possess pigs, have piggeries, either attached to the outside wall of the bedroom or a little away from it. Piggery is of a small rectangular type of mud-walled and straw-roofed structure with one open space, through which pigs can go in and come out easily. The open space of the piggeries is closed by bamboo strips tied together to prevent the pigs from coming out at night and also during daytime in the harvesting season of paddy.

Among the Bauri families possessing hens, hens share the bedroom with their owners in 13 families.

Bedrooms in the houses of convex type of roofs are about 9′ long and 7′ wide, while the bedrooms in the two sloped houses are a little longer and shorter in breadth.

The common compound is very useful to the families living around it. From morning till night the compound is used for various domestic purposes. Bauri women dry up the date-palm leaves used for the preparation of of *talai*, a kind of coarse mat. They also prepare the *talai* in the compound. They bask in the sun in the coumpound and search the lice from each other's hair. Children and adults have their hair-cuts in the compound by their own people. Fowls and suckling pigs loiter here and there in the open space. At the end of the day Bauri women sit in the compound, busy in cleaning the snails for their humble dish. Bauri males intoxicated by the country-liquor may be seen sitting together, some singing and some beating drums. Families having common compound generally dry up their clothes on a long bamboo pole placed over the roofs of two houses.

Houses of the Bagdis

Bagdis live in slightly improved types of houses with roofs of convex slope. Average height of the plinth is about 3′ above the ground. All the houses, except one, have wooden doors of about 5′ in height. Small square holes in the walls have taken the places of windows. In spite of the presence of holes and doors the rooms do not appear to be bright and sunny.

In almost all the houses food is cooked and taken in the verandahs of the bedrooms. Every family possesses a separate courtyard in front of the house. *Manasa* plant is a must in a Bagdi house. Raised bamboo platforms with creeping plants of gourd and snake-gourd are commonly met with in the compound of the Bagdis.

The bedrooms are generally 12′ long and 7′ broad. Clothes are dried up over the strings tied with the bamboo pillars in the verandah. Some Bauri and Bagdi families have no separate cowshed. In these families cows are kept in the verandahs of the bedrooms. The table below will show how many families have no separate cowsheds.

Caste/Community	No. of families possessing cows	No. of families having no separate cowshed
Bauri	10	5
Bagdi	16	2

General description of the houses of the Caste Hindus

Houses of the Caste Hindus are more or less alike. All the houses are surrounded by compound walls. There are generally two entrances in their houses. One has to enter the house either through the outer verandah or through the front gate of the compound wall. The other entrance at the back of the house, which generally leads to a pond, is used by the womenfolk for washing the utensils and bringing water for cooking. Bedroom, kitchen and granary are scattered in the family compound and housed in separate huts. But cowsheds are situated outside the compound walls.

Houses are either single-storeyd or two-storeyed. There is only one three-storeyed mud built house in the village. Out of 143 households surveyed in the village, 40 families live in two-storeyed houses and one family in a three-storeyed house. Out of 40 families living in two-storeyed houses, three families belong to the Bagdi caste. Plinths of most of the houses are 3′ to 4′ above the ground-level. There are generally four rooms in the two-storeyed houses. Verandahs are attached to both the floors. The staircase is made of either mud or of wooden plank connecting the two floors through the space between the two rooms of the ground-floor or leading upstairs from any one of the two extreme ends of the ground-floor verandah. Rooms in both the ground-floor and first floor have ceilings, about 7′ above the floor. Each room has at least two windows and one door ; windows are small in size, of the size of about 2.5′×2′. Doors, which were made previously, are generally 5′ in height. But in these days there is a tendency among the Caste Hindus to construct the doors of 6′ in height. Rooms are not sufficiently ventilated. Light inside the rooms is also scanty, partly because of the slanting roofs of the verandah and partly due to the smallness of the doors and windows. Rooms and verandahs in both the single and two-storeyed houses are covered either by a single roof or by two roofs, one of which is constructed to cover the whole house and the other for the verandah only. Walls in the two-storeyed houses covered by single roofs are generally 20′ in height, while the walls in the double-roofed houses are about 15′ in height. The main roof does not protect the outer walls from rain. That is why, a supplementary roof is constructed in the middle of the walls. Half of the upper portion of the walls of a house is protected against rain by the main roof, while the supplementary roof protects the lower half of the walls.

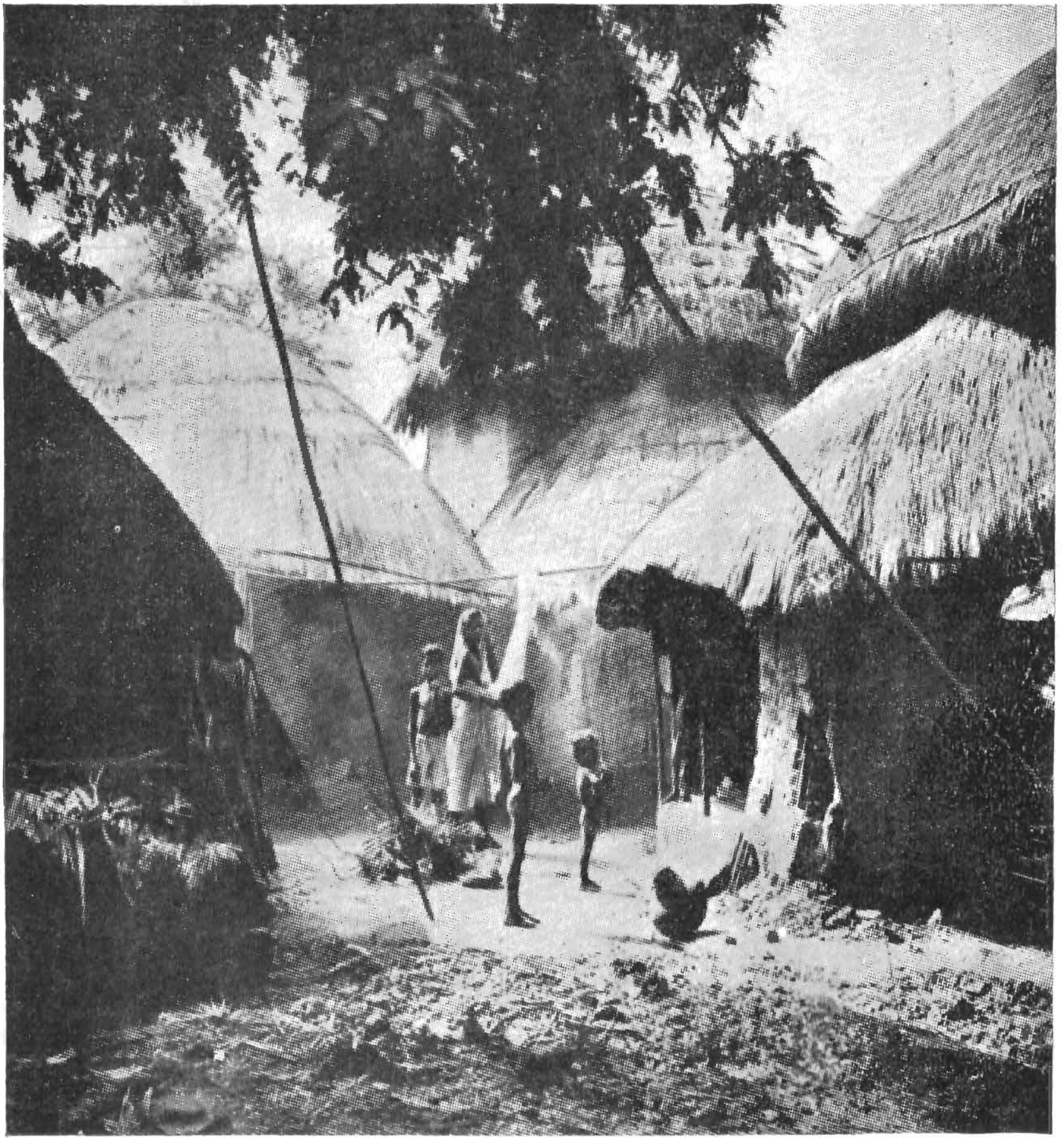
Bedrooms are of three varying sizes : (i) 18′×9′ (ii) 12′×8′ and (iii) 17′×8′. Bedrooms of the size of 12′×8′ are quite common.

Construction

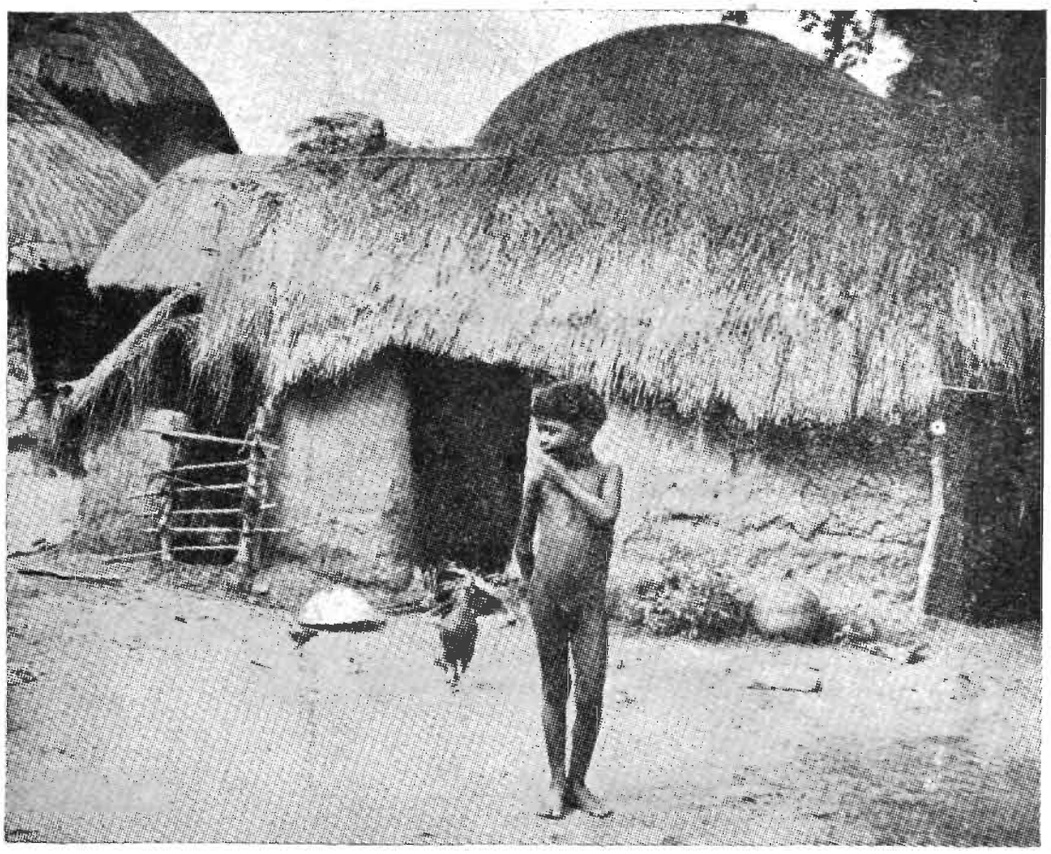
All the houses have rectangular ground plans. Walls are generally constructed from 3′ below the ground. A place near the construction-site is selected for the preparation of mud for the walls. At first mud is kneaded by foot and then sized into lumps by spade. Walls are constructed by placing lumps of mud one after another. For straw-roofed houses bamboo structures are constructed. Wooden structures are built for the houses with tin roofs.

Verandahs on the first floors are made of wooden planks. Ceilings are made of split bamboos plastered with mud. After the construction of a new straw-roofed house no addition or alteration by way of repairs is required for at least six years. A coating of fine clay is generally applied to the inside

A CLUSTER OF HOUSES OF THE BAURIS



The blear-eyed houses of the Bauris, huddled together round a courtyard, bathe in light and air, the free gifts of Nature outside



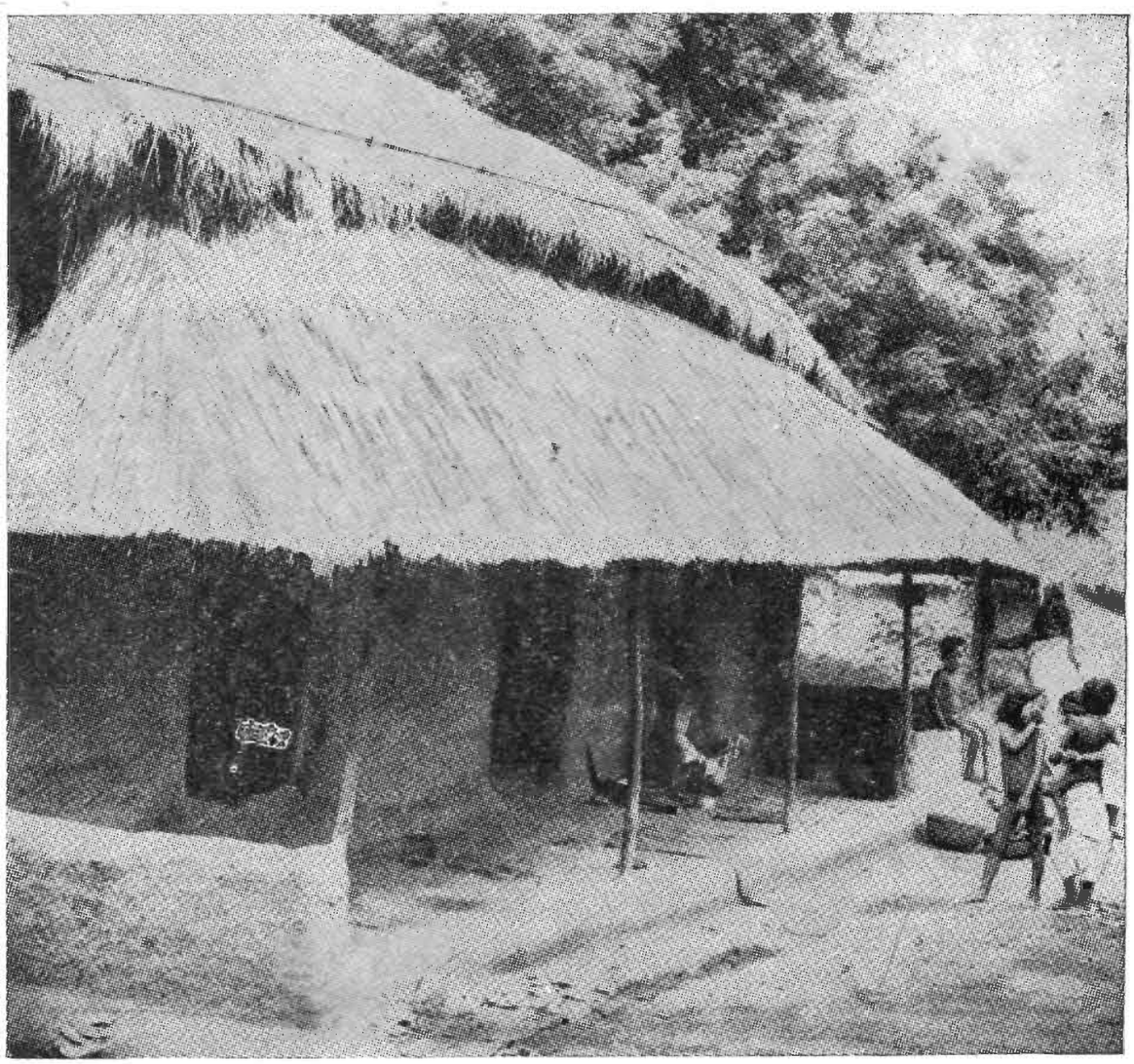
The dwelling of a Bauri with two-sloped roof of hay and walls of mud, but without a door—pigs live with the dwellers under the same thatch in the piggery to the left with fence-like door



The house of a Bauri with convex roof of hay and walls of mud



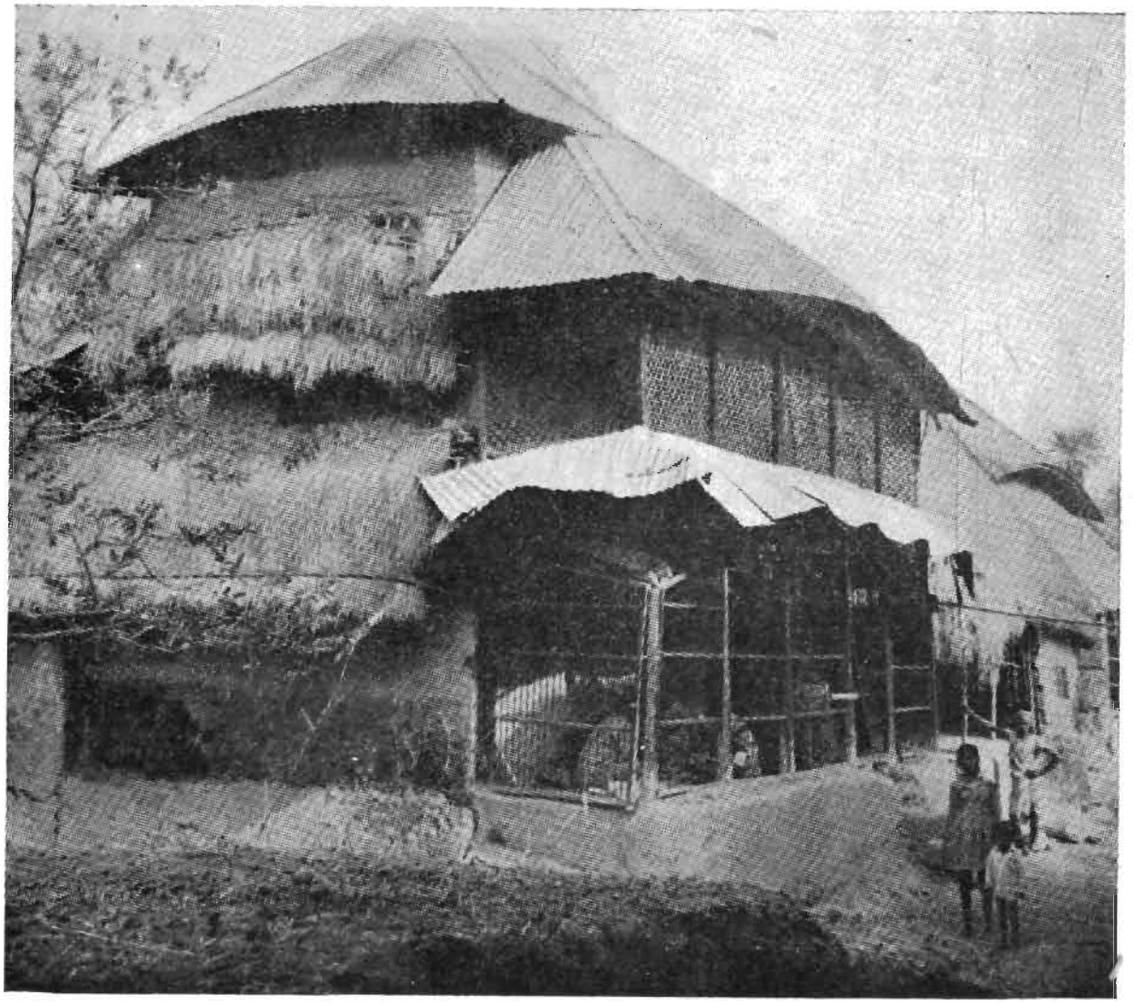
The house of a Bauri with convex roof of straw is not so bright and sunny inside



The house of a Bauri with attached kitchen on the verandah



The two-storeyed house of a Sutradhar with walls of mud and thatched roofs of convex slope, verandah on the ground floor and balcony on the first floor



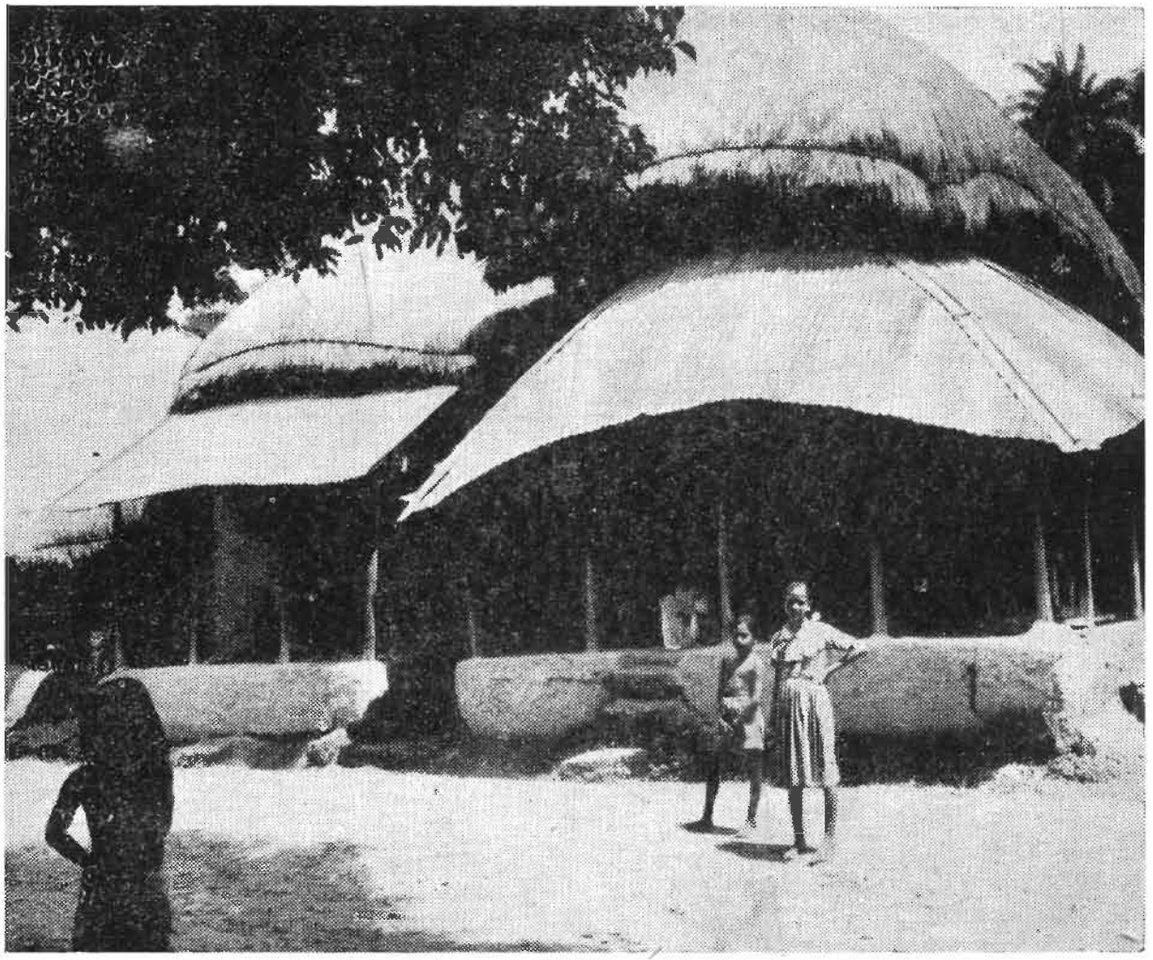
The three-storeyed house of a Sankhabanik with attached verandahs on both the storeys—walls are of mud and roofs are made of corrugated iron sheets and straw



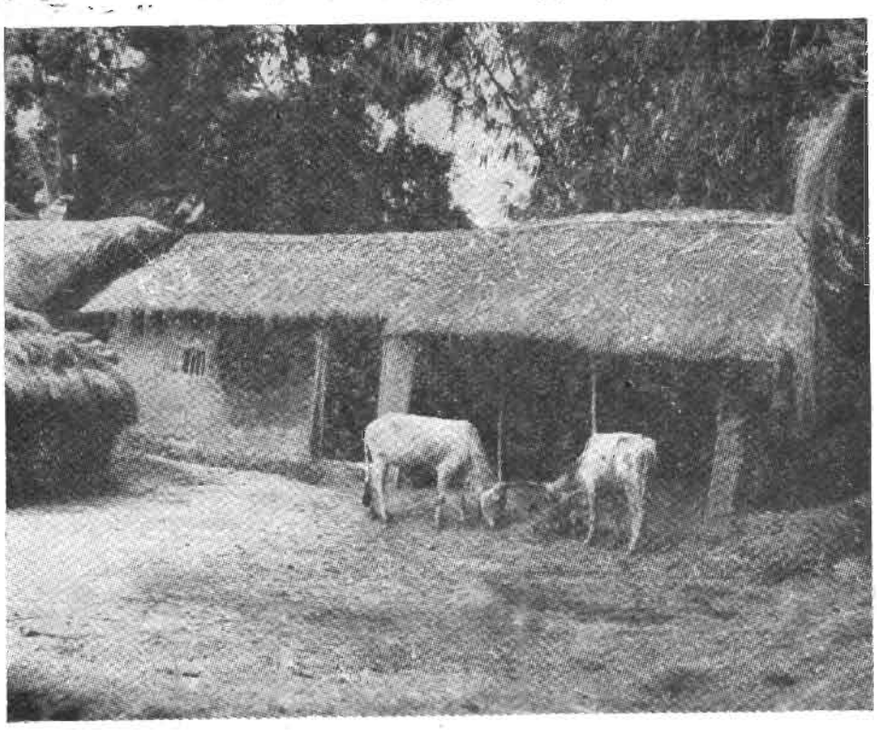
A modern pucca house of a wealthy Tantubaya beside a hut on the village-road



Pucca houses and kutcha huts coexist with the granary on the right, perhaps the index of prosperity of the Tantubaya owner



The houses of some Sankhabaniks are also workshop-*cum*-dwellings



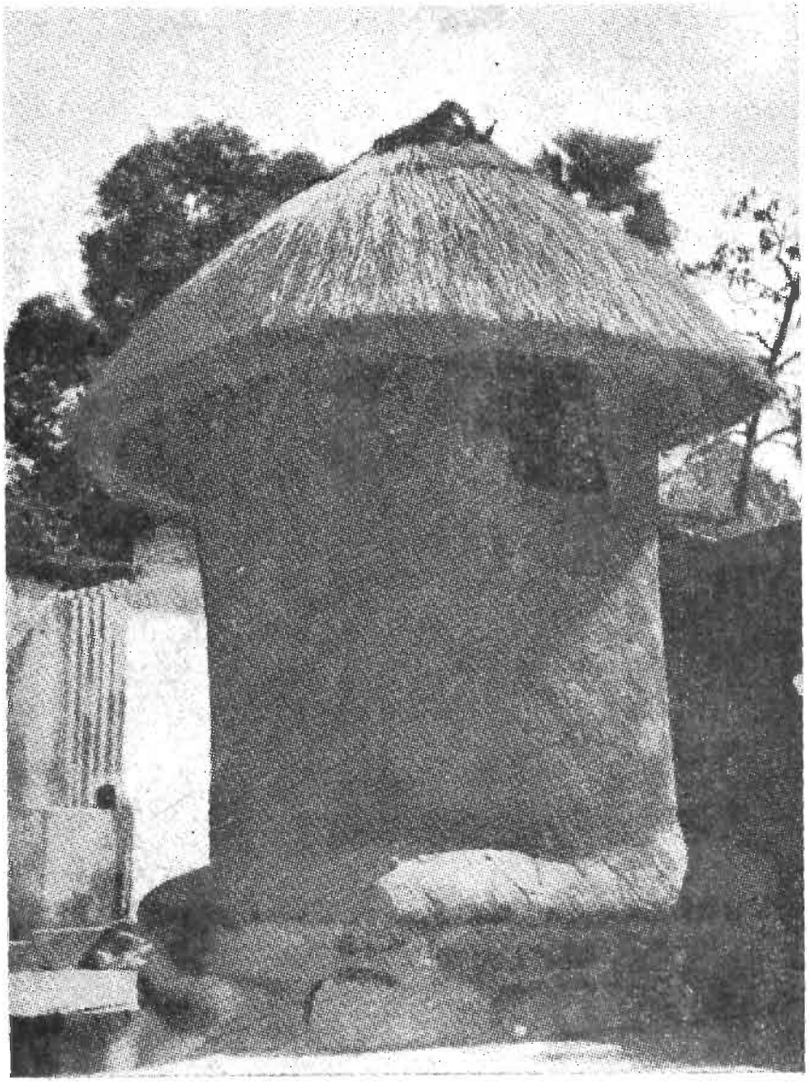
SHELTER FOR THE BOVINE SPECIES

Cattleshed with mangers within—the two cows engrossed with the left-over straw

HOUSE-CONSTRUCTION



A place near the building—site for preparation of mud required for the walls of the hut



Hamar



Marai

walls of the house to smooth the surface of the walls.

In all the houses, whether belonging to the Caste Hindus or to the members of the Scheduled Castes, a mixture of cowdung and mud is applied to the walls every morning by the housewives.

Building materials

Bamboos are available in plenty in the village. Bricks are generally burnt in the fallow land of the village. Wooden planks and beams are available in Kotulpur. But corrugated iron sheets and cement are available only in the subdivisional town of Bishnupur. Wooden planks and beams are brought from Kotulpur in bullock carts. Cement and corrugated iron sheets are transported to the village by lorries from Bishnupur.

Mason and carpenter

There are three carpenters and one mason in the village. The mason gets Rs. 3/- per day, while the carpenter earns only Rs. 2/- per day. As *pucca* buildings are rarely constructed in the village, the mason has to go to the distant villages to earn his bread. Thatching in both new and old houses is done only by the Bauris and the Bagdis from the end of winter to the onset of the rainy seacon. They earn about Rs.1.50 per day per person.

Work of construction and repair is taken up generally in the months of March and April, when the labourers are available, days become longer and the weather remains more or less dry.

Before the construction of the walls of a house, the household approaches the family priest who consults the almanac and fixes an auspicious day on which *Boned Puja* or the worship of the plinth or *Bunyad* is performed on the construction-site. After the worship, construction of the walls is taken up. Before the family enters the new house, a ceremony, known as *Greeha Prabesh*, is performed on an auspicious day fixed by the family priest. At the end of the ceremony sweets are distributed among the neighbours and relations.

Hygienic condition of the houses

TABLE 6

TABLE ON THE LOCATION OF KITCHENS

Caste/Community	Total number of families	Number of families using: Verandah of bedroom as kitchen	Bedroom as kitchen	Separate kitchen	Remarks
Bauri	38	24	14	..	
Sankhabanik	29	6	2	21	
Bagdi	24	21	..	2	One family used the cowshed as kitchen
Tantubaya	15	2	..	13	
Brahman	6	2	..	4	
Tambuli	5	1	..	4	
Bairagi	4	..	1	3	
Modak	4	..	..	4	
Karmakar	4	4	..	..	
Sutradhar	4	2	..	2	
Kaibarta	2	..	..	2	
Sunri	2	..	..	2	
Kayastha	1	1	..	..	
Napit	1	..	1	..	
Kalu	1	1	..	..	
Goala	1	..	..	1	
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	1	
Muslim	1	1	..	..	
Total	**143**	**65**	**18**	**59**	

Kitchens should normally be housed in separate rooms, if the condition of living is to be treated as hygienic and sanitary. But about 58.7 per cent of the households live in insanitary conditions. The dust and smoke of the kitchen pervade the bedrooms.

Workshop of artisan families

A table showing the condition of workshops of the families engaged in Conch shell craft and weaving is given below :

TABLE 7

Households engaged in	Total number of families engaged	Families using: Inside or outside verandah of bedroom as workshop	Families using: Separate workshop	Remmaks
Conch shell craft	32	29	3	Only 9.4 per cent of the artisans have separate workshops
Weaving (in own loom)	11	1	10	90.9 per cent of the artisans have separate workshops

Almost all the families engaged in the Conch shell craft use either the inside portion or the outside space of the verandah attached to the bedroom as workshop. Conch shell artisans require sufficient light to carry out the minute processes of Conch shell craft for long hours. On account of Conch shell dust, the place, where the artisans work, looks filthy. The weavers, however, have separate workshops.

Rented house

Only two families have been living in rented houses. After being separated from his parents, the head of the Sankhabanik family was not allowed by his father to live in his ancestral house. That is why, he is living in a rented house on payment of Rs. 2/- per month. The owner of this house, who is also a Sankhabanik and a resident of Patrasayer, inherited the house from his maternal uncle. The other one, a Kayastha family, is a displaced person from East Pakistan. He has been living in one portion of a Sankhabanik's house on payment of Rs. 2/- per month.

Rent free house

Out of the eight families living in rent free houses, five families have taken shelter in the houses of their near relatives. Among the remaining three households, the Napit family, being displaced from East Pakistan, has taken shelter in the house of a Sankhabanik gentleman, who, out of sheer benevolence, allowed this family to stay in his house. The other one, a Muslim family, was given a house, free of rent, by a Tantubaya gentleman of the village, who had employed the Muslim to work as a mason for the construction of his house. Lastly, the Bairagi family, consisting of only one male member, has been living in the Vaishnava *Ashram* as a care-taker.

A table relating to the number of families living in own, rented and rent free house, is given below :

TABLE 8

Caste/Community	Total No. of families	Number of families living		
		Own house	Rented house	Rent free house
Bauri	38	38	..	..
Sankhabanik	29	26	1	2
Bagdi	24	23	..	1
Tantubaya	15	15	..	..
Brahman	6	6	..	..
Tambuli	5	4	..	1
Bairagi	4	3	..	1
Modak	4	4	..	..
Karmakar	4	3	..	1
Sutradhar	4	4	..	..
Kaibarta	2	2	..	..
Sunri	2	2	..	..
Kayastha	1	..	1	..
Napit	1	..	..	1
Kalu	1	1	..	..
Goala	1	1	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	1	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	1
Total	143	133	2	8

Use of rooms

A table below shows the number of families possessing drawing-room, room for deity, granary and store-room :

TABLE 9

Caste/Community	Total no. of families	Number of families possessing			
		Drawing room	Room for deity	Granary	Store room
Bauri	38	..	..	..	..
Sankhabanik	29	3	1	10	1
Bagdi	24	..	..	2	..
Tantubaya	15	4	1	7	2
Brahman	6	2	3	3	..
Tambuli	5	1	2	2	1
Bairagi	4	1	1	1	..
Modak	4	3	2	3	..
Karmakar	4	4	..	..	..
Sutradhar	4	4	..	..	..
Kaibarta	2	..	..	2	..
Sunri	2	..	..	2	..
Kayastha	1	..	..	..	..
Napit	1	..	..	..	..
Kalu	1	..	..	..	..
Goala	1	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..
Total	143	22	10	32	4

Granary

Granaries here are of two types, locally known as *Marai* and *Hamar*. A *marai* which is commonly used by the people for the purpose of paddy storage, is made of rope of straw placed one after another and covered by straw-shed. The more the quantity of paddy is taken out, the more the *marai* becomes shorter in size. But the size of the *hamar* remains unchanged, whether any quantity of paddy is taken out or not. A *hamar* is a permanent cylindrical structure, made of wattled bamboo, plastered with mud and covered by thatched shed.

Among 32 families possessing granary, each of the 29 families received at least 20 maunds of paddy from cultivation. Other families generally store up paddy in gunny bags.

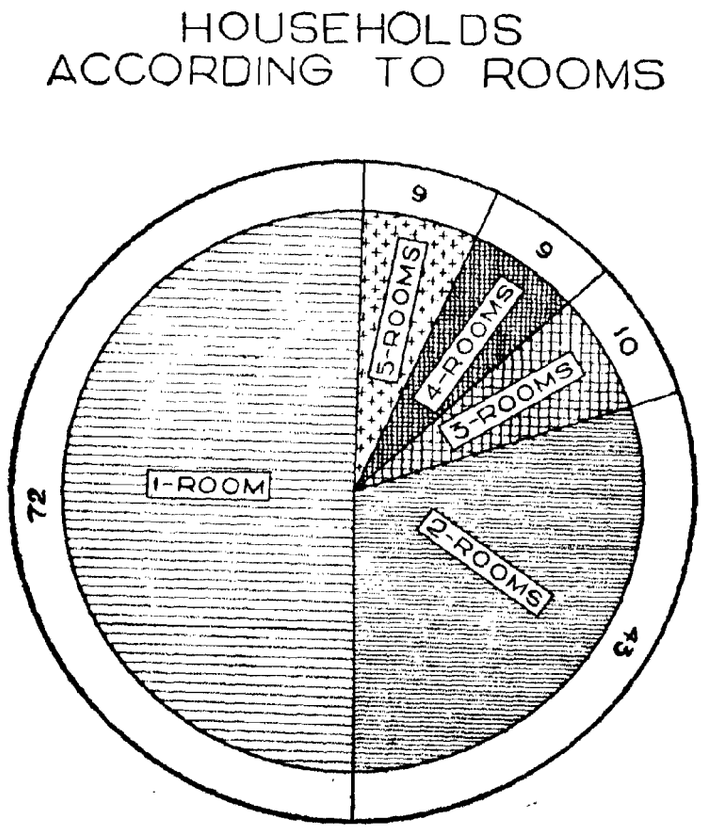
Households and number of rooms

A table relating to the households, by number of rooms and by number of persons, is given below :

TABLE 10

Total number of households	Total number of rooms	Total number of family members	Households with no regular room		Households with one room	
			No. of households	Total number of family members	No. of households	Total number of family members
143	282	763	..	..	72	302

Households with two rooms		Households with three rooms		Households with four rooms		Households with five rooms and above	
No. of households	Total number of family members	No. of households	Total umber of family members	No. of households	Total number of family members	No. of households	Total number of family members
43	203	10	64	9	81	9	113



It appears from the table that an average of 2.7 persons occupy a room. But the average persons per room in the families, occupying single room, come to about 4.2.

Dress

There is a wide variation of dresses worn by the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes.

Bauri—Not a strip of cloth will be found on the body of most of the Bauri children of both the sexes upto 10 years of age, except a thread with a piece of iron tied round the waist as a talisman against evil spirit. Bauri girls of 10 years and above remain content with half portion of a full length *sari*, till they attain the age of puberty.

An adult Bauri woman generally covers her body with a single piece of 5 yard long mill made white *sari* with coloured borders. Young women have fascination for coloured *saris*. But, the coloured varieties being costlier than the white ones, they cannot afford to wear coloured ones. They wear neither any blouse nor any petticoat on any occasion.

Bauri males above 10 years put on a loin cloth, till they become a worker. Adult males, both young and old, wear mill-made coarse *dhotis* of about 4 yards of length. Some of the young men wear vests. But vest or shirt is not used by the aged males.

Bagdi—Male children of the Bagdi caste wear a kind of shorts, known as *ijer* made of inferior type of cloth. Girls wear either frocks or coloured *saris* of about 2 yards length, till they get married. A grown-up woman ordinarily covers her body with a single piece of coarse white or coloured *sari*, 5 yards long. But they preserve very carefully in a cheap steel trunk a better quality *sari*, cheap blouse and one petticoat for occasional use during festivals, social ceremonies and visit to the relative's house. Adult male members ordinarily use vests, but on festive occasions and during marriage ceremony they wear cheap half-sleeved shirts.

Caste Hindus—Male members upto 15 years wear shorts and shirts. Students of higher classes wear either *dhoti* of medium quality or *pyjamas*. The only college-student of this village wears *pyjama* and full shirt in the college as well.

Adult male members ordinarily use coarse *dhoti* and vest. Very few wear *lungi*. Almost all use shirts with half sleeves or full sleeves, when they visit market, tea shop and any nearby place. On festive occasions and social ceremonies they prefer to wear fine *dhoti* and better quality shirts or *punjabi*. Infants and school-going girls wear frocks and *ijer*. Young women always wear coloured handloom *saris*, blouses and petticoats. Middle-aged married women ordinarily wear white *saris* with coloured borders. But on the occasion of marriage and during the visit to the distant places, they use blouses and petticoats. Young widows with the exception of Brahmans wear white *saris* with narrow coloured borders. Aged widows drape themselves with a piece of white cloth having no border.

Winter dress

Winter is viewed with awe by the poorer section of the community. From a glance at the photograph of the winter dress of the poor one can readily form an idea of their poverty. Combined cut pieces of gunny bags available in the local grocers' shops at Re. 1/- per bag is the only item of winter dress observed among the Bauris. Early in the morning and just after sun-set Bauris sit together round the fire to warm their body, before they set out to work in the field and fall asleep at night. Bagdis use a kind of thin quilt known as *kantha*, made of torn *saris* and *dhotis*.

Caste Hindus use cotton *chaddars*, produced by the village weavers specially for winter use. Woolen dresses, purchased long ago, are used by very few people. Children use short handloom *chaddars* or cotton wrappers.

Footwear

Bauris and Bagdis never use any footwear. Most of the students walk bare-footed to the school. Adult male members wear cheap *Hawai chappals* and sandals, when they go out. A few school-going girls of the Sankhabanik caste use foot-wears regularly. A young wife, of the Sankhabanik caste, uses footwear regularly, because she is a town-bred girl and also because she is working in the village Post Office. Young married women of the Sankhabanik caste wear *chappals*, when they visit some distant places.

Protection against rain

Bauris and Bagdis use an indigenous umbrella, locally known as *peka*, made of palm leaves, as a protection against rain. Cost of each such article is 50 paise. A Sketch of *Peka* is given in Chapter III. Caste Hindus do, however, use umbrellas.

Hair-doing

A Bauri woman arranges her hair by a small comb in front of a tiny mirror, ties the bunch at the bottom either by the jute fibres or by the torn pieces of the border of a *sari* and finally makes a simple knot. The colour of hair of an aged Bauri male is brown due to non-application of any kind of oil for long many years and it looks disarranged and unkempt due to want of combing. A Bagdi woman ties her hair with a kind of black thread, known as *kar* and finally fixes them with cheap iron hair-pins available in the local stationery shops.

Small girls and young married or unmarried women of the Caste Hindus generally do their hair in the afternoon with the help of elderly ladies. Mothers arrange the hair of their small daughters and form a plait. An adult woman ties her hair with tape and makes a simple knot. After fixing the hair with silver or iron hair-pins, the knot is covered by a net, either made by themselves or purchased from the stationery shops. They use cocoanut oil for hair before bath. The villagers are served by two barbers ; one, a resident of the hamlet Gopalganj, is a displaced person from East Pakistan and the other one is a resident of Kotaldighi and an old settler. Both are Napits by caste. They charge 19 paise for hair-cutting an adult and 12 paise for a child. The charge for shaving is 6 paise.

Toilet

Bauri and Bagdi women use a kind of cheap variety of vermilion, known as *mete sindur* available in the bi-weekly *hat* at 6 paise per packet. Young married or unmarried Caste-Hindu woman powders her face regularly after bath. They also use lac-dye frequently to colour their feet. Young unmarried girls occasionally polish their nails with dyes, available in the local stationery shop at 12 paise per packet. Only on festive occasions adolescent girls and young wives put cream on their face and use essence in their dress. A kind of collyrium, made of lamp shoot is applied to the eyes of all the infants, whether they are Bagdis, Bauris or Caste Hindus. It is believed that the collyrium protects the infant eyes from diseases.

Ornaments

The table shows that 22 families do not use any ornament. Almost all the families without any ornament consist of either only male members or aged widows.

Noa, an iron bangle, which is regarded as a symbol of marital tie, is compulsory for both the hands of a married Bauri woman. Almost all the women, whether married or unmarried, wear bangles, made of zinc and synthetic chemicals. Some of the young women wear necklaces and ear-rings, made of brass. All these ornaments are available in the bi-weekly market of this village. Gold nose-stud is used only by the three Bauri families, which are fortunate to have some insignificant amount of gold.

Conch shell bangle, a symbol of marital tie, which was a must in both the wrists of a married Bagdi woman about a decade ago, is being replaced gradually by a cheaper variety of synthetic chemical bangle, which looks more or less like Conch shell bangles. Out of 20 families, consisting of married couples, 12 families are using an imitation of Conch shell bangle. Married or unmarried women of Bagdi caste use plastic and glass bangles and brass ear-rings. Out of six families using gold ornaments, each of the five families has one gold nose-screw. Caste Hindu women use the following gold ornaments :

	Bengali Name	Name in English
(i)	*Har*	Necklace
(ii)	*Churi, Bala*	Bangle
(iii)	*Ananta*	Bangle used in the upper arm
(iv)	*Amlet*	Armlet
(v)	*Nakchhabi*	Nose-stud
(vi)	*Dul, Pasha, Makri*	Ear-ring
(vii)	*Tayara*	It is a kind of ornament which is fixed along the parting of hair.

Young girls wear a kind of necklace, made of shining beads, available in the bi-weekly *hat* of the village.

The villagers have their ornaments made by three gold-smiths, who belong to the Karmakar caste, the traditional occupation of which is blacksmithy. All these three goldsmiths reside in the hamlets of this village.

TABLE 11

ORNAMENTS

Caste/Community	Total no. of households	Households with: No ornament	Only conch shell bangle	Ornaments of inferior material such as brass or plastic etc.	Major ornaments of inferior material with minor ornaments of gold	Gold ornaments
Bauri	38	5	..	30	3	..
Sankhabanik	29	5	3	3	6	12
Bagdi	24	3	3	11	6	1
Tantubaya	15	2	1	1	1	10
Brahman	6	1	1	1	1	2
Tambuli	5	..	..	..	2	3
Bairagi	4	1	..	2	..	1
Modak	4	..	1	1	..	2
Karmakar	4	3	..	..	1	..
Sutradhar	4	1	..	3	..	..
Kaibarta	2	..	..	..	1	1
Sunri	2	..	..	..	1	1
Kayastha	1	1	..	..	..	..
Napit	1	..	..	1	..	..
Kalu	1	..	..	1	..	..
Goala	1	..	..	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	1	..	1	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	1	..	..
Total	143	22	10	55	22	34

Food and drink

The table below, shows how many times the families take meals in a day :

TABLE 12

Caste/Community	2 times	3 times	Total
Bauri	33	5	38
Sankhabanik	3	26	29
Bagdi	2	22	24
Tanubaya	1	14	15
Brahman	1	5	6
Tambuli	..	5	5
Bairagi	1	3	4
Modak	..	4	4
Karmakar	..	4	4
Sutradhar	..	4	4
Kaibarta	..	2	2
Sunri	..	2	2
Kayastha	1	..	1
Napit	1	..	1
Kalu	..	1	1
Goala	..	1	1
Subarnabanik	..	1	1
Muslim	..	1	1
Total	43	100	143

Thirty per cent of the families in this village live on two meals a day, because they cannot afford to take meals more than two times. Most of the Bauri families take two meals a day. They generally take cold and stale rice (soaked in water and kept overnight) with onion and chilli in the morning. Again, in the afternoon they take hot rice with only one curry prepared of *gugli* (a small variety of water snail), *saak* and *posto* (poppy-seed) or a cheap variety of green vegetables. Whatever quantity of rice remains in excess after use in the afternoon is kept for meal in the following morning. Morning-meal generally does not form a full meal. Adult male members take mid-day meal in the fields during the sowing and harvesting seasons of paddy.

Food habit of the Bagdis is different from that of the Bauris. Bagdis generally take three meals a day. They take meals in the morning, mid-day and evening. In the morning they take either *Ruti* (wheat bread) or parched rice as breakfast. Mid-day meal generally consists of rice, *gugli*, *posto* and green vegetables. Potatoes and pulses being costly, they cannot afford these two items. Night-meals also consist of rice and curry. Adult male members, who

work in other's house as day-labourers, do not join other members in the mid-day meal. They generally take food at the place of their work. Evening-meal is taken by all the members of the family together in a group.

Caste Hindus take breakfast in the morning and two square meals in a day. Breakfast consists of parched rice, *telebhaja* and tea. They are very fond of *telebhaja* available in the local shops. Mid-day meal is taken any time between 1 P.M. and 2 P.M. They have their night-meals after 9 P.M. Mid-day and night-meals of a well-to-do family consists of fish, *dal*, potato, green vegetables and milk. Sometimes fish is supplemented by egg or meat. The families, who are not well-off, take pulses and curry with green vegetables and *posto* daily. When the price of potato and *dal* (pulses) rises, these families, cannot afford these two items daily. Rice forms the staple item in all the households, rich or poor.

A table, showing how many times in a month meat or fish or egg is taken by the families, is given below :

TABLE 13

Caste/Community	Meat taken in a month		Fish taken in a month				Egg taken in a month		
	1—5 times	6—10 times	1—10 times	11—20 times	21—30 times	above 30 times	1—10 times	11—20 times	21—30 times
Bauri	..	..	25	11	2	..	..	..	..
Sankhabanik	10	1	6	5	3	15	3	3	..
Bagdi	3	..	11	8	5	..	1	..	2
Tantubaya	3	1	4	3	3	5	2	1	..
Brahman	2	..	1	..	1	3	2	1	..
Tambuli	1	..	..	2	1	2	1	..	..
Bairagi	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..
Modak	2	..	..	..	..	4	1	..	1
Karmakar	1	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	2	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..
Sunri	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	1
Kayastha	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Napit	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
Goala	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
Total	28	2	54	35	18	34	11	10	3

Meat is not regularly available in the village. Two families, who take meat more than five times a month, purchase meat from Kotulpur. Bauris and Bagdis cannot afford to spend on fish or meat or egg or milk. Womenfolk of the Bauris and Bagdis catch fish from the ponds and paddy fields. Their adult male members do not get time for fishing. Bagdi and Bauri families, who take fish more than 20 times in a month, possess a kind of net, known as *Ghatganti* for catching small fish. This type of net is also used extensively by the Caste Hindus. Fish is also available in the bi-weekly *hat* of this village. Two Kaibarta families, who are engaged in fishing, bring fish everyday for sale in this village from the catch, they have in their tanks, owned jointly.

The number of families taking fish comes to 141, because fish is prohibited in two families. If the households taking fish 21 to 30 times and above, between 11 to 20 times and 1 to 10 times a month be considered taking fish almost regularly, frequently and rarely, then 36.9 per cent take fish regularly, 24.8 per cent take it frequently and 38.3 per cent take it rarely. Out of 24 families taking egg at least once in a month, 11 families possess ducks or hens.

Table, relating to the number of families taking milk daily, is given overleaf :

TABLE 14

Caste/Community	Milk taken by all the members daily	Milk taken only by the children daily
Bauri	..	..
Sankhabanik	11	7
Bagdi	1	..
Tantubaya	5	7
Brahman	3	2
Tambuli	3	1
Bairagi	2	1
Modak	2	1
Karmakar	..	..
Sutradhar	..	1
Kaibarta	..	2
Sunri	..	1
Kayastha	1	..
Napit	..	..
Kalu	..	..
Goala	..	..
Subarnabanik	..	1
Muslim	..	..
Total	28	24

Out of 52 families taking milk daily, 22 families possess milch cattle. The 30 households, which do not own any milch cattle, purchase milk at the rate of 50 paise per seer from milkmen of the neighbouring villages.

Staple diet

A table, relating to the number of families taking wheat, is given below :

TABLE 15

Caste/Community	Wheat taken at principal meal	Wheat taken at breakfast
Sankhabanik	1	1
Bagdi	..	6
Tantubaya	2	..
Brahman	1	2
Karmakar	..	2
Sutradhar	1	..
Kalu	1	..
Napit	1	..
Total	7	11

Rice is the staple food of the majority. But seven families take wheat at least once a day as a principal meal. In 11 families parched rice is sometimes supplemented by wheat at breakfast. The families, which take wheat either at principal meal or at breakfast, receive wheat from Government, free of cost as gratuitous relief. So, the change in the food habit may be treated as made involuntarily.

Staple diet of infants

A table, relating to the staple diet provided for the infants, is given below :

TABLE 16

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS PROVIDING FOR THEIR INFANTS

Caste/Community	Rice	Barley	Milk	Tinned baby food
Bauri	10	..	..	..
Sankhabanik	..	..	2	..
Bagdi	2	1	1	..
Tantubaya	..	..	9	..
Brahman	..	..	2	..
Tambuli	..	..	1	..
Bairagi	..	..	2	..
Modak	..	..	2	1
Sutradhar	1	..	..	..
Kaibarta	..	..	1	..
Sunri	..	..	1	..
Total	13	1	21	1

Staple diet of infants or for children under one year of age, after they have been weaned, is rice in 13 families. These families cannot afford milk for their children. Rice, mixed with its broth, forms the diet of the infants in these households.

Prohibited food and drinks

TABLE 17

HOUSEHOLDS BY PROHIBITED FOOD AND DRINK

Caste/Community	No. of households reporting as prohibited								
	Fish	Onion	Egg (Duck)	Egg (Hen)	Fowl	Meat	Pork	Beef	Wine
Bauri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	38	..
Sankhabanik	..	..	12	16	16	12	29	29	29
Bagdi	..	..	3	8	8	3	24	24	24
Tantubaya	..	..	11	11	12	11	15	15	15
Brahman	1	1	3	4	5	3	6	6	6
Tambuli	..	..	1	2	4	1	5	5	5
Bairagi	1	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Modak	..	1	2	3	3	2	4	4	4
Karmakar	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	4
Sutradhar	..	..	..	..	1	..	4	4	4
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	2
Sunri	..	..	..	2	2	..	2	2	2
Kayastha	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Napit	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1
Goala	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Total	**2**	**3**	**39**	**58**	**58**	**39**	**105**	**142**	**104**

Only the Bauris take pork. They slaughter the pigs reared at home. Drinking of wine inside the house is prohibited in the families of all the castes, except in one Muslim and all the Bauri families. There are only two vegetarian families in this village. Of these two families, one family consists of a Brahman widow and the other one consists of a Bairagi, who looks after the hermitage.

Tea

A table, showing the number of families taking tea, is given below :

TABLE 18

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS BY TEA HABITS

Caste/ Community	No. of households in which tea taken by all the members	No. of households in which tea taken by the adult members	No. of households which do not take tea
Bauri	..	2	36
Sankhabanik	18	4	7
Bagdi	..	1	23
Tantubaya	8	4	3
Brahman	5	..	1
Tambuli	5	..	..
Bairagi	3	..	1
Modak	4	..	..
Karmakar	2	..	2
Sutradhar	2	..	2
Kaibarta	1	1	..
Sunri	1	..	1
Kayastha	1	..	..
Napit	1	..	..
Kalu	..	..	1
Goala	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	1	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..
Total	**53**	**12**	**78**

In 53 families tea is taken by all the members, whereas in 12 families only adult members take tea. Morning and evening tea is more or less a compulsory drink in all these families. The adult male members visit the nearby tea shops, whenever they have thirst for tea. There are eight tea-shops in and around the village. Out of the eight tea-shops seven shops remain open from 5 A.M. to 9 P.M. and run a brisk trade. One shop remains open only for two days in a week, when the bi-weekly *hat* of this village is held. Guests and relatives are entertained to tea even in the families, which do not take tea. Bauris and Bagdis generally do not have any tea habit. Leaving aside the Bauris and the Bagdis, about 80 per cent families of other castes and communities take tea. Of the two Bauri families taking tea regularly, one family consisting of one adult male and his widowed mother is considered by the elderly people including his mother to have adopted the habit of *Vadralogs* or Caste Hindus. Although the habit of tea is not viewed in a good light by the elderly Bauri people, they do not grudge the habit of taking alcohol.

Country liquor

All the Bauris, whether young or old, male or female, drink country liquor, locally known as *pachai*. The females and the younger members get drunk only on festive occasions. But to the adult members drinking is an every-day affair. If they manage to get some money from any source, they will run hurriedly to the *pachai* shop. Even if the male member spends all that he earns in a day on drinks, the housewife does not object to the habit. Often the children spend the night without a grain of rice, while the males return home in a drunken state. The females look upon the habit with some indulgence. 'The male members should drink to keep their body fit for hard work,' the females casually remark. *Pachai* shop is situated in Saintara, about two miles away from this village. *Pachai* sells at 50 paise per kilogram.

Fuel

A table, relating to the types of fuel used by the families, is shown below :

TABLE 19

HOUSEHOLDS BY THE USE OF FUEL

Caste/Community	Families using: Wood	Coal	Coal and wood	Remarks
Bauri	38	..	..	
Sankhabanik	5	17	7	
Bagdi	18	1	5	One family used wood and cow-dung cake as fuel
Tantubaya	1	11	3	
Brahman	..	2	4	
Tambuli	..	4	1	
Bairagi	1	2	1	
Modak	..	4	..	
Karmakar	..	1	3	
Sutradhar	..	3	1	
Kaibarta	..	1	1	
Sunri	..	..	2	
Kayastha	..	1	..	
Napit	1	..	..	
Kalu	..	..	1	
Goala	..	..	1	
Subarnabanik	..	1	..	
Muslim	..	1	..	
Total	**64**	**49**	**30**	

Fifty five per cent families of this village use coal wholly or partially. If the Bauri and Bagdi families are not taken into account, 90 per cent of the families of other castes and communities depend on coal. All the Bauris and most of the Bagdi families depend on wood. Womenfolk of these two castes collect dried leaves and twigs of trees from the nearby fields. Coal is available in the village. Nobody purchases wood. The families, who use wood as fuel, collect it either from other's land or from their own land. Except one Bagdi family, nobody uses cow-dung cake as fuel, for cow-dung is exclusively kept for use as manure.

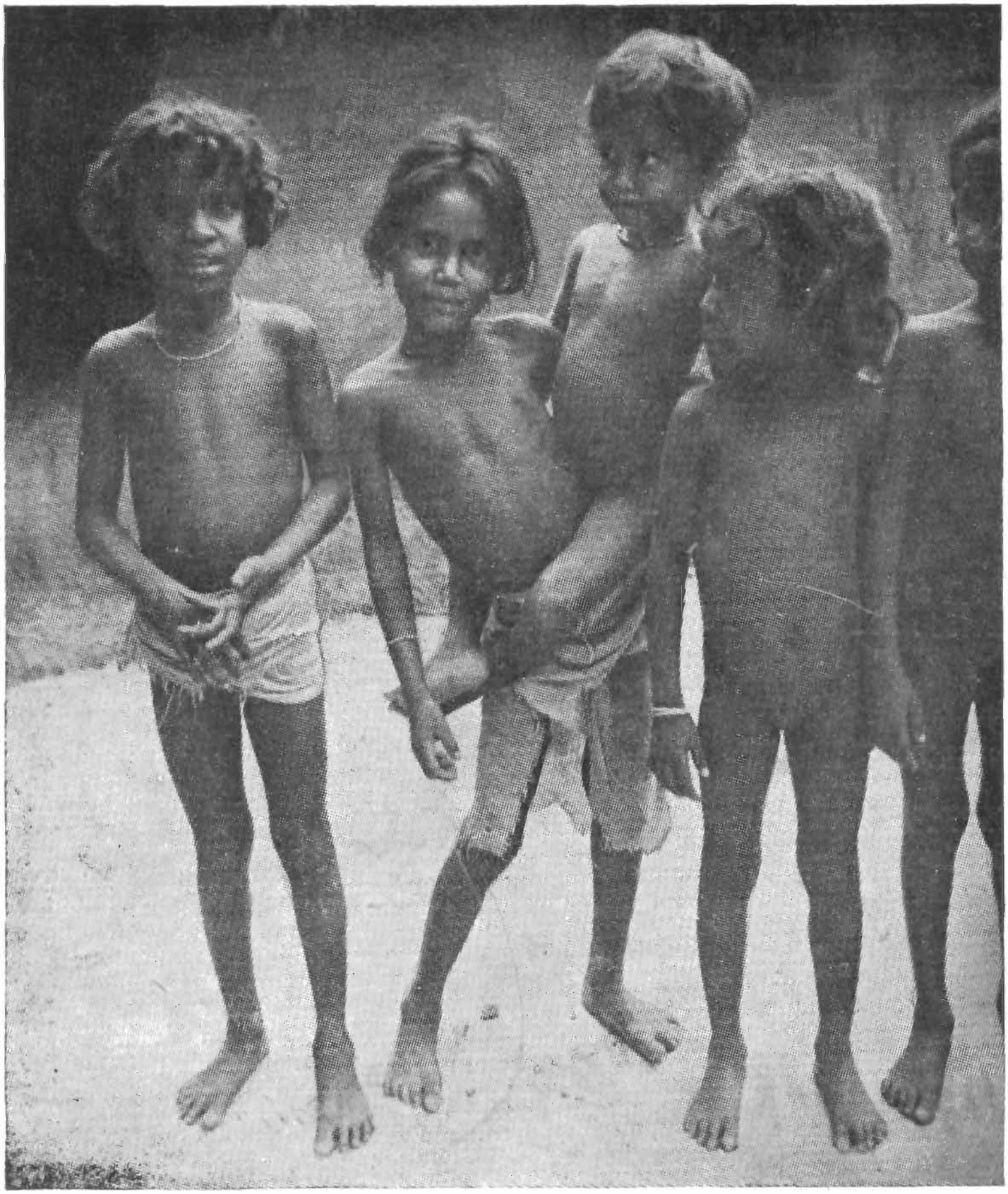
Utensil

A table, relating to the materials of the utensils used by different families, is shown below :

TABLE 20

HOUSEHOLDS BY USE OF COOKING UTENSILS

Caste/Community	Number of households using							Remarks
	Handi, made of		*Kalsi*, made of		Other utensils, made of			
	Mud or earth	Alumi-nium	Mud or earth	Brass	Inferior metal like iron and aluminium	Inferior metal and brass or bell-metal	Brass or bell-metal	
Bauri	37	8	34	3	15	18	5	One family does not possess any *kalsi*
Sankhabanik	20	1	7	22	1	3	25	One family uses brass *handi*
Bagdi	22	2	18	6	11	6	7	
Tantubaya	6	9	2	13	2	8	10	
Brahman	4	2	1	5	..	..	6	
Tambuli	..	5	..	5	..	1	4	
Bairagi	2	2	..	4	..	..	4	
Modak	..	4	..	4	..	1	3	
Karmakar	4	..	4	..	2	1	1	
Sutradhar	4	..	..	4	..	1	3	
Kaibarta	2	..	..	2	..	1	1	
Sunri	..	2	—	2	..	..	2	
Kayastha	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	
Napit	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	
Kalu	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	
Goala	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	
Subarnabanik	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	
Muslim	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	
Total	105	87	70	72	84	86	78	

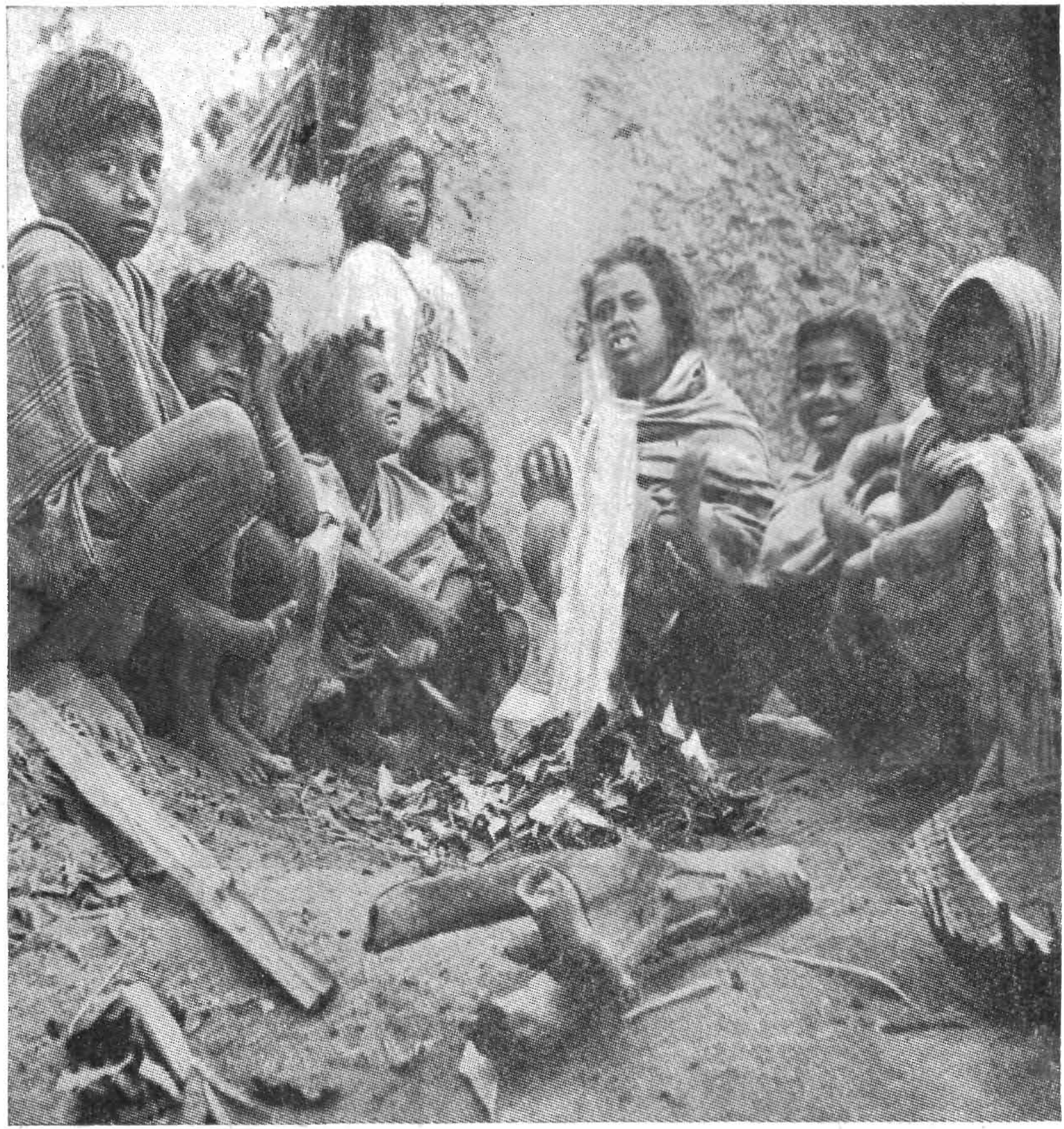


A misnomer for dress—some of the children are in tatters and some are nature-clad—all are Bauris



A Bagdi woman in her best dress, a mill-made *sari* of coloured variety

NOT A BONFIRE



Warmth of the fire keeps the wintry chill far, when cotton wrappers fail to stop the shiver in biting cold—a group of Bauri children warming up before the burning wood



A Brahman woman takes care of her young daughter in her hair-dressing



Hair-doing in the house of a Bauri woman, where the mother is the hair-dresser



A professional ? Surely not—an amateur though, still sure of his catch of small fry, to add an extra item in the menu—net of the *Ghatganti* type is the fishing implement in two hands



Utensils in a Bauri house



Utensils in the house of a well-off Sankhabanik

Rice is cooked in a *handi*, either made of earth or aluminium. Iron *karai* is used for cooking curry and pulses. An iron paddle, known as *khunti* is used to stir the curry or pulses during cooking. Cooked food is served by a big spoon, known as *hata*, either made of iron or of brass. Food is taken in a metallic flat dish, made of brass or bell-metal or aluminium. Pulses or curry is served in the brass or bell-metal or aluminium bowls, known as *bati*. Brass or bell-metal or aluminium tumbler is used for drinking water. Drinking water is stored in the pitcher, either made of brass or earth. 25.87 per cent of the families use aluminium *handi* for cooking rice. Brass *handi* is used by one family for cooking rice. 51 per cent of the families use brass pitchers to store water. Utensils of the Bagdi and of the Bauri families generally consist of two mud *handis* (one for rice and the other for pulses and vegetables), one or two brass dishes, one or two aluminium dishes, aluminium bowls and tumblers and mud pitchers. Bauris purchase the empty mud pitchers, disposed of by the grocers after the sale of molasses. They purchase these pitchers at a very cheap rate. Caste Hindus use iron *karai* and brass and bell-metal utensils. Caste Hindu families, who are very poor, generally use mud pitchers and utensils made of inferior metal like iron or aluminium.

Furniture

A table, showing the number of families possessing different types of furniture, is given below :

TABLE 21

HOUSEHOLDS BY USE OF FURNITURE

Caste/Community	Number of families possessing										
	Bed-stead	Takta-pos	Khatia	Chair	Table	Mirror	Bench	Stool	Jalchowki	Wall shelf	No furniture
Bauri	..	..	..	1	..	25	..	..	..	..	18
Sankhabanik	..	10	..	4	4	26	4	2	4	6	8
Bagdi	..	..	..	..	..	22	..	..	..	..	2
Tantubaya	..	2	..	5	3	15	5	4	7	5	..
Brahman	..	2	..	3	..	5	1	2	3	2	1
Tambuli	..	2	..	1	..	5	1	1	3	1	..
Bairagi	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	1	1	..
Modak	..	1	..	..	..	4	1	1	2	3	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	1	..	1
Sutradhar	..	..	..	1	..	3	1	..	1	..	1
Kaibarta	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..
Sunri	..	2	..	1	..	2	2	1	2	1	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
Napit	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Goala	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	21	..	17	7	121	15	11	25	20	21

It may be seen from the previous table that out of 143 households, 122 families sleep on the ground. Habit of sleeping on the ground does not always depend on the economic condition of a family. For, in this village there are households, which have the means to purchase bedsteads but which still sleep on the ground. Lack of sufficient space in the rooms is one of the reasons for foregoing this item of furniture. But, at the same time it is equally true that some of the households, especially those among the Bauris and Bagdis are too poor to have bedsteads. Curiously however, one Bauri family possesses one chair. This armless chair was acquired by this family about two decades ago, when the father of the present head of the family was a headman of this locality. 21 families do not possess a single item of furniture and 77 families possess only mirrors. Hence, out of 122 families possessing any item of furniture, 63 per cent families possess only mirrors. One Tantubaya and one Brahman families acquired furniture during the last five years. The Tantubaya family acquired a bench, a stool, a *taktapos* and a table, in order to furnish the medicine shop-*cum*-dispensary in this village but the Brahman family acquired a chair and a bench for personal use.

Consumer goods

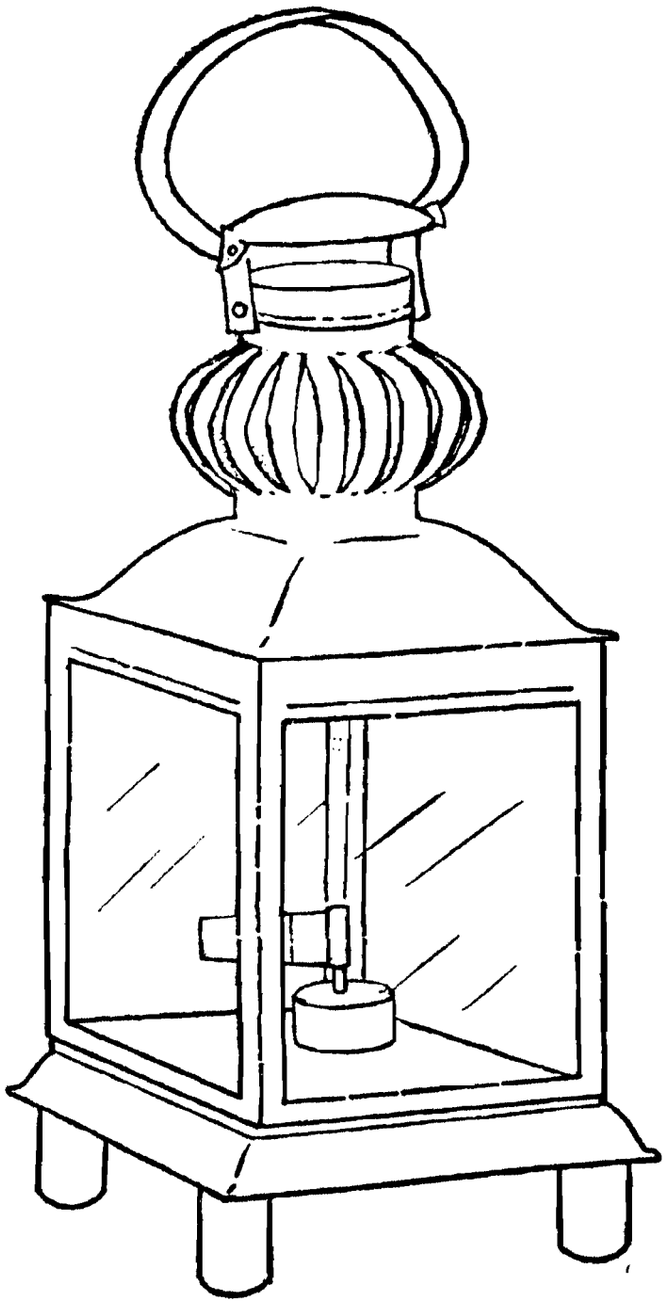
A table, showing the number of families possessing consumer goods, is given below :

TABLE 22

HOUSEHOLDS BY USE OF CONSUMER GOODS

Caste/Community	Number of families possessing								
	Lantern	Lamp	Hurricane lantern	Petromax or Hasag light	Torch-light	Kerosene Stove	By-cycle	Gramophone	Radio
Bauri	15	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sankhabanik	7	2	20	3	8	1	8	4	..
Bagdi	18	1	5	..	2	..	..	..	..
Tantubaya	4	..	11	4	7	6	6	..	2
Brahman	4	..	2	2	3	..	2	1	1
Tambuli	..	..	5	3	2	2	2	..	..
Bairagi	2	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
Modak	..	..	4	3	..	..	2	..	1
Karmakar	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Sunri	..	..	2	1	1	1	..	1	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Napit	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goala	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	61	26	56	16	24	9	22	5	4

People in this village use a kind of lantern, known as *Bishnupuri Lanthan.* This is used by the poorer section of the people, because consumption of oil in this type of lantern is so



BISHNUPURI LANTHAN

low, that even the poor villagers keep it burning throughout the night. Poor people generally economise the use of match-sticks by lighting the oven or *bidi* from this *lanthan.* Kerosene oil worth of 6 paise is sufficient for this lantern for three days' use. It gives out scanty light, in which only cooking can be done or meals can be taken but in which light reading or writing is not possible. It can be used outside, even in storm and rain. These lanterns are manufactured in the subdivisional town of Bishnupur and are supplied to the local shops, where the villagers purchase it at Rs. 1.25 per piece. 26 families are so poor that they cannot even afford to use *Bishnupuri lanthan* Other 56 families possess hurricane lanterns in addition to *Bishnupuri lanthans* in the kitchen. Out of 16 families possessing hasag lights, nine families use it daily to illuminate the shops and seven families use it occasionally during social and religious ceremonies. Gramophones were purchased by one Brahman and four Sankhabanik families at the time, when Conch shell industry was in a flourishing state and when gramophone was popular. But gramophone has become obsolete even to the village people. Now, nobody plays a gramophone.

A table, relating to the number of families acquiring consumer goods during the last five years, is given below :

TABLE 23

HOUSEHOLDS BY ACQUISITION OF CONSUMER GOODS IN FIVE YEARS

Caste/Community	No. of families acquiring in the last five years			
	Radio	Cycle	Hasag light	Stove
Tantubaya	2	2	1	1
Brahman	1	1	1	..
Tambuli	..	..	1	1
Modak	1	..	..	1
Sunri	..	..	1	..
Total	4	3	4	3

Radio is becoming popular in the village day by day. About five years ago the villagers could not even think that it would be possible for them to hear radio-programme, as in these days. All the four radios are of the transistor type and were purchased in course of the last five years.

Mosquito-net

A table, showing the number of families possessing mosquito-nets, is given below :

TABLE 24

HOUSEHOLDS BY THE USE OF MOSQUITO-NETS

Caste/Community	Total no. of families	No. of families possessing mosquito-net
Bauri	38	1
Sankhabanik	29	23
Bagdi	24	6
Tantubaya	15	13
Brahman	6	4
Tambuli	5	5
Bairagi	4	2
Modak	4	4
Karmakar	4	1
Sutradhar	4	2
Kaibarta	2	2
Sunri	2	2
Kayastha	1	..
Napit	1	1
Kalu	1	1
Goala	1	1
Subarnabanik	1	1
Muslim	1	1
Total	143	70

Fiftyone per cent families of this village, where it is a popular belief that snakes dare not come out of their abodes at night due to mosquitoes, sleep without mosquito-nets. These families are so poor that they cannot afford it.

Beliefs and practices about Birth, Death and Marriage

Villagers believe that birth, death and marriage are the three main facets of human life and are ordained by divine power.

Birth

When the monthly period of a woman ceases, she becomes aware of pregnancy. Pregnancy is confirmed, if the menstrual period ceases for two months at a stretch.

Ceremonies during pregnancy

In the fifth month of pregnancy a simple ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house, where the mother happens to stay and five gods are worshipped by the family priest. The holy water, known as *Panchamrita*, is offered to the deities by the prospective mother. She is also offered a new *sari*. In the seventh month of pregnancy the pregnant mother is offered fried flattened rice, sweetened parched paddy and assorted fried grains by her parents. In the ninth month *Saad Bhakshan* ceremony is performed. In this ceremony the pregnant woman is offered her favourite dishes. Parents present one new *sari* to their pregnant daughter for use on that day and some new utensils, in which she will take the choicest food. As long as the wife will remain pregnant, the husband will not join any funeral procession.

First birth generally takes place in the house of the wife's parents. Some well-to-do families have extra rooms, specially constructed for use during delivery and kept as a place of confinement for the mother and the new-born baby during the period of ceremonial pollution after delivery. But, in other houses birth generally takes place in one portion of the covered verandah of the bedroom. At present, most of the births among the Caste Hindus are taking place in the Primary Health Centres. But, if the birth takes place at home, an untrained Bauri *Dai* attends the prospective mother during delivery. The five Bauri *Dais*, who stay in the village, serve all the castes excepting the Muslim. There has been no case of pregnancy in the Muslim house and so the question of calling in a *Dai* has not arisen so far. The *Dai* generally gets five seers of rice, five seers of parched rice and 21 seers of paddy. Now-a-days, the *Dai* gets money in cash instead of paddy. The *Dai* helps the prospective mother during labour. After delivery she cuts the umbilical cord by a thin strip of bamboo. New safety-razor blades are

growing popular among the village midwives. The umbilical cord and the excreted placenta are put in an earthen pot and buried in the bedroom. This is not thrown outside, lest it should be taken by jackals. Birth of a son is rejoiced at by blowing a Conch shell horn. The Bauri *Dai* keeps close watch on the mother and the new-born baby for at least five nights. She keeps the place (where the mother and new born baby are confined) neat and clean and washes the clothes. She also bathes the mother and the baby.

The mother is kept confined for 21 days. During the period of confinement, nobody touches her. For the first two or three days she is given fried flattened rice and *ghee* as her diet. After two or three days, if she feels well, she takes rice and the usual dishes once in daytime and fried flattened rice with *ghee* at night. After one week, she takes her usual food both in daytime and at night. Period of pollution for the parents of the baby is 21 days and five days for other members of the household. On the fifth day the barber, a resident of a neighbouring village, cuts the nails of the father and of other members of the family. On the seventh day a ceremony, known as *Setra Puja*, is performed by the family-priest. An image of *Yamaraja*, (God of death) made of cow-dung, is worshipped. In case of birth of a son, a bow and arrow, a bundle of dried palm leaves (used by a tyro to practise writing), a mud ink-pot, a pen made of slender bamboo, and a pitcher, full of water, are kept near the image of *Yamaraja*. In case of the birth of a female, the bow and arrow is omitted. The image with other things are kept in the place of worship for 21 days. On the 21st day of birth the final purificatory ceremony is performed. On this day the barber cuts the nails of the father and of the mother. The image is immersed in the near-by pond. The clothes, used by the mother during the period of pollution, are also thrown away. Customs and ceremonies concerning birth is same for all the Caste Hindus living in this village with no variation.

It is a paradox that the people with humble means do not get the prospective mothers admitted in the Health Centre, although they receive free treatment there. If any mother wants to take admission in a health centre, she requires at least two *saris* for use in presence of doctors, nurses and other patients. Sometimes the nurses insist the patients on bringing blouses also. But two *saris* in good condition and two blouses are too much to be expected of most of the Bauri and Bagdi families of this village. Only in case of difficult and protracted delivery they run to Health Centres. They anyhow manage to purchase at least one *sari* for such an emergency.

The Bauris and Bagdis follow more or less the same customs and ceremonies concerning the birth of a child as other Castes Hindus do. On the 7th month of pregnancy *Saad Bhakshan* ceremony is performed. In this ceremony fried flattened rice, parched rice and five types of fried grains are offered by the parents to the prospective mother. No other ceremony is performed during the period of pregnancy. Birth generally takes place in the bedrooms, as most of the families are occupying single room each. Deprived of the services of the Brahman priest and barber, the purificatory ceremonies are performed by the Bauris themselves.

But they get the services of the *Dai*, who belongs to their own caste. The charge of one rupee per delivery is regarded by the Bauris as very nominal for obvious considerations.

Puberty ceremony

When any Caste Hindu girl attains puberty, she is kept confined for three days in a room. During this period she is not allowed to touch anything. She also does not apply oil on her body. On the fourth day the barber cuts the nails. If she is married, she meets her husband on this day. She puts on a new *sari*. Five different types of fruits are kept tied in one portion of her *sari*. She takes a baby on her lap, while taking food.

The Bagdis follow all these customs except the solitary confinement. The Bauris do not observe any puberty ceremony.

Marriage

About a decade back parents used to select bride for their sons. But, now-a-days selection of the parents is not final, until and unless the son with his friends sees the bride. The system of paying bride-price was in vogue about two

decades ago among all the castes except among the Brahmans. Now dowry system has replaced the former custom among the Caste Hindus. All the Caste Hindus of this village, except the Brahmans, perform marriage ceremonies in the same way. Marriage within the same *gotra* or with maternal uncle's *gotra* is not permissible in any other Hindu Caste, except among the Sankhabaniks.

1. Betrothal ceremony

After the negotiation about the amount of dowry is finalised, the betrothal ceremony is performed in both the bride's and the bridegroom's houses. Parents of the bride visit the bridegroom's house and bless the bridegroom by offering him at least Rs. 5/- in coins. The bridegroom's parents also bless the bride in the same way by offering her Rs. 3/- in the minimum.

2. Customs followed at the time of invitation

Both the bride's and the bridegroom's parents, on consultation with their respective family-priests, select an auspicious day for marriage. They start inviting the relatives, neighbours and friends. At the time of inviting their relatives they first offer *kari*, or shells used in the ancient time as coins, betel nuts, turmeric and sweets to the head of each family and then invite them in a modest way. In the past the invitees, who accompanied the bridegroom party, were offered rice, fish, vegetables, oil and spices for their morning meals on the day of the marriage celebration. Now, this custom is being followed only in case of Brahman invitees.

3. Aiburah-bhat

On the day before the marriage both the bride and the bridegroom are served some special dishes, consisting of curry of a big fish, *payas i.e.* sweetened boiled rice and milk etc. in their houses.

4. Jal-saoa

In the *Jal-saoa* ceremony, held on the day before marriage, all the married women go in a procession with musical bands to collect water from seven houses or from seven ponds.

5. Gatraharidra

Next morning, turmeric paste is put on the forehead of the bridegroom by the married women. After the ceremony is over, some amount of used turmeric paste is carried along with *saris*, blouses, sweets, *ludo*, a packet of playing cards, scented hair oil, soap, comb, mirror, toys and mat to the bride's house by the barber. After the barber arrives there at the bride's house, the ceremoney of *Gatraharidra* is performed by putting the turmeric paste, used in the bridegroom's house, on the forehead of the bride. Now-a-days, the bridegroom's parents, in some cases, pay the bride an agreed amount, instead of sending all the articles to her.

6. Dress of the bridegroom

On the day of marriage the bridegroom wears *dhoti* and *punjabi*. He puts on new shoes, lac-dye is used to colour his feet and sandal-wood paste is applied on his forehead in an artistic way. He carries one nut-cracker with him.

7. Baranugaman

Just before the bridegroom-party starts for the bride's house, the bridegroom at first offers oblation to the family-deities and then to the parents and next to the elderly persons. At the time of stepping out of the house, the mother asks him, "Where are you going, my son ?" The son replies, "I am going to bring a maid for you". The significance of this remark is that the future daughter-in-law is expected to remain as loyal and submissive to the mother-in-law, as a maid remains to her master. A few years ago, the bridegroom used to go to the bride's house in a palanquin. Now, the bridegrooms usually go to the nearby villages by cycle-rickshaws and to distant places by bus. If the bridegroom goes by a cycle-rickshaw, other members of the party make the journey in bullock carts. But, the villagers prefer cycle-rickshaws and buses to palanquins from the points of economy and comfort. Palanquin-charge varies from Rs. 10/- to Rs. 15/- according to the distance, whereas the rickshaw-puller is

glad enough to get Rs. 5/- and a meal in the marriage-feast.

Conch shells are blown by the bride's people to greet the bridegroom-party on its arrival. Before the bridegroom gets down from the palanquin or rickshaw, the bride is taken there. The bride and the bridegroom exchange glances in a ceremonial way. Then, someone from the bride's family washes the feet of the Brahman priest, accompanying the bridegroom-party. The people of the bridegroom-party are served tea and snacks. Later, with the permission of both the parties, marriage-ceremony commences.

8. Bride's dress

The traditional dress of the bride is *Sikhandi*, a piece of yellow-coloured *sari* loosely woven, which looks like a bandage-cloth. Now-a-days, the bride wears an ordinary *sari*, coloured yellow by turmeric. She keeps with her a *Kajal-lata*, a spoon-like thing, in which collyrium is made and preserved.

9. Malabadal and Subhadristi

The bridegroom stands in the compound on a *pirah*, a piece of decorated flat wooden plank. The bride with her face, covered with a betel leaf, is carried by the barber to the courtyard. The barber takes her round the bridegroom three times. Then the bride and the bridegroom exchange glances with each other, followed by the exchange of garlands. At this time the barber recites doggerel verses to extol the match.

10. Sindurdan

Afterwards, the bride sits on the left side of the bridegroom. The bridegroom smears vermilion on the parting of her hair by a silver coin or by a casket used in the worship of the Goddess *Lakshmi*. The bridegroom then pulls the *sari* to cover her head.

Then the bride and the bridegroom sit near the Holy Fire. The bridegroom recites sanskrit *Mantras*, with the help of Brahman priest and both of them offer parched paddy mixed with *ghee* to the Holy Fire. The priest ties the *mangal sutra i.e.* sacred thread on their arms.

Afterwards they are taken to *Basarghar* where the womenfolk cut jokes and make merry with the couple. The couple are left there alone for the rest of the night.

In the mean time the bridegroom party joins in the feast, arranged to celebrate the marriage.

11. Baunachano

Next morning, most of the members of the bridegroom's party return home but the bride and the bridegroom come later. On reaching the village, they offer oblation to all the deities of the village. They are greeted by blowing of Conch shells. The mother gives her son and daughter-in-law a ceremonial reception by touching a flat metallic dish containing paddy, green grass, *til* (sesame) and mud from the river Ganges on their foreheads. Then the elderly persons take the couple in their lap and go about dancing to the beating of drums.

12. Dhan-mapa

The bridegroom, while measuring paddy with a *pai*, (a kind of basket made of cane) scatters the grains here and there. The bride. carefully collects all the grains in a place. Then, the bride walks with a basketful of paddy on her head and the bridegroom scatters the grains from her basket with the help of a nut-cracker. The bride collects all the paddy very carefully. This ceremony signifies that the husband may not be careful and methodical about household duties or affairs but the wife should keep the household articles in the right place and stop wastage to run the family smoothly. Afterwards, a feast is given on the occasion of *Bau-bhat*.

13. Thala-harano

Next day, the bridegroom takes one metallic dish and dips it secretly in a pond near the bathing *ghat*. The bride is asked to find out the dish from the pond. When she finds the dish, the womenfolk make merry with the bride.

14. Suto-poano

After the bride and the bridegroom reject the *mangal sutra* from their arms, the bridegroom announces the names of the elderly

persons of the family and the bride makes a mark on the floor by *Kajal-lata* on each announcement. The significance of the ceremony is that the wife is forbidden to utter the names of the persons, she hears from her husband. Soon after, they get rid of the nut-cracker and *Kajal-lata*.

15. Baulukano and Barh-dingano

In the afternoon some elderly women hide the bride in one of the neighbouring houses. The bridegroom is asked to find her out and bring her back home. The bridegroom takes some sweets with him and goes on searching his wife in the neighbouring houses. The elderly ladies of those houses come out and make fun of him. Finally, when he finds out his wife, he distributes the sweets there. Then he brings her back home. Before entering the house, they cross one rope, made of straw, placed near the entrance.

16. Asta-mangala

The bridegroom takes the bride to her house on the 8th day of marriage. On reaching there, they offer oblation first to the deities of that place and next to the elderly persons. In the compound four mud pitchers, full of paddy and other grains, and covered by lids are placed so as to form a square. The bridegroom goes ahead and opens the lids one by one. The bride puts the lids on the pitchers. When the bridegroom bends down to open the lids, the sisters-in-law make fun of him, by beating him gently. He goes round the pitchers three times.

17. Jor-vanga

Jor-vanga means breaking up of the couple for the first time after marriage. Leaving the bride in her house, the bridegroom comes back home. He receives *dhoti*, umbrella and a pair of shoes as gifts from his father-in-law.

Marriage among the Bagdis

Bagdis follow the same rites and rituals concerning marriage as the Caste Hindus of this village. Marriage within the same *gotra* is not permissible among the Bagdis. If marriage occurs within the same *gotra*, the bridegroom's party pays a small amount to the priest as penalty. Rate of bride-price is high among the Bagdis. The bride-price varies from Rs. 200/- to Rs. 400/- according to the economic condition of the bridegroom.

Bridegroom generally makes the forward and return journeys by bullock cart, while the other members walk the distance.

Marriage among the Bauris

It is believed that in the past some drunken Bauris of the village killed a Brahman priest under a *Mahua* tree, because he was late to report himself in one of their ceremonies. Since then, the *Mahua* branches serve the function of the priest.

1. Marriage proposal

Pachai shop is the common meeting-place of the Bauris. The bridegroom's father brings the proposal of marriage to the bride's father in the *Pachai* shop. When both the parties visit each other's house to select the bride and the bridegroom, country liquor is served.

2. Bride-price

The system of paying Rs. 28/- as bride-price is prevalent among the Bauris.

3. Betrothal ceremony

The betrothal ceremony is performed by both the parties by paying one rupee coin. In this ceremony guests are entertained with pork and country liquor. Then all of them sing songs of the *Ramayana* accompanied by beating of drums.

4. Selection of auspicious day

When the ceremony is over, they visit the house of the Brahman priest for the selection of an auspicious day, on which marriage will be performed.

Like the Caste Hindus they perform *Gatra-haridra* ceremony.

The bridegroom wears a half shirt and *dhoti*. He walks barefooted to the bride's house. As soon as the bridegroom's party arrives there, the bride's people try to dumbfound them by asking mythological questions in songs, mostly based on the themes of the *Ramayana*. The bridegroom's party answers the questions in songs.

Afterwards, the bridegroom stands in the compound, where four bamboo branches are laid so as to form a square. *Mahua* branch is tied with each bamboo stick. After the bride is taken round the bridegroom three times, they exchange garlands with each other. Then both of them stand side by side. The bridegroom smears vermilion on the parting of the bride's hair with a nut-cracker. Then the bridegroom's party joins the marriage-feast, when country liquor and parched rice are served.

Next morning, the people from both sides sit together with *Madal* to sing the songs of the *Ramayana*. Afterwards, they are served pork and country liquor. The bridegroom party including the bride comes back home on foot. At home they invite the neighbours and relatives to a feast of pork and liquor. Relatives are invited after offering a betel nut. On the eighth day the bridegroom takes the bride to her house. The bride stays there for at least one year. During this period the bridegroom does not visit the bride's house, unless he is invited.

Sanga

Marriage in the form of *Sanga* is in vogue among the Bauris. Marriage of a separated or widowed female with an unmarried or separated or widowed male is known as *Sanga*. In case of ordinary marriage, the bride must be unmarried, whatever may be the marital status of the male, whereas in *Sanga* form of marriage the woman is either separated or widowed, whatever the marital status of the male is.

In *Sanga* form of marriage the bride-price is Rs. 40/-, but in case of usual marriage the bride-price is only Rs. 28/-. In the *Sanga* form the bridegroom has the advantage of getting an adult bride. That is why, the dowry in such marriage is higher than that of ordinary marriages.

All other ceremonies, except the betrothal and *Gatraharidra*, are performed in the *Sanga* form of marriage.

Noa-dekhano

If any wife deserts her husband and lives elsewhere, the husband is permitted to remarry or make a *Sanga* form of marriage, when he should be either able to produce the iron bangle, or *Noa*, the symbol of marriage, or give the villagers authentic information about the refusal, in case his wife refuses to hand over her bangle to him. He may or may not get back the bangle from his wife. But, he has to go and meet his wife with a few persons of his locality, who will stand as witness in this matter. The persons, who accompany him, inform the aged persons, whether he asked for the bangles from her or not. When he produces the bangles to the aged persons and brings for them country liquor worth of Rs. 1.25 p, he is permitted to remarry. In case he does not get back the bangle, he has to spend more for country liquor to obtain sanction for his marriage.

Death

In case of normal death the Caste Hindus of this village do not attribute the cause of death to any supernatural power. But, if a man dies of an accident or commits suicide, he is considered to be a sinner.

The person dying or approaching death is taken from the bed-stead to the floor before death. A few drops of water is put in the mouth of the dying man by his son or grand-son or nephew. Everything including amulet and ornament is taken away from the body of the deceased person. Then the dead body is carried to the cremation ground upon a *Khatia*, made of bamboo, by four persons. As soon as the dead body is put on the *Khatia*, an iron nail is pegged on the floor, where the person breathes his last. A small funeral procession starts shouting incantations in the name of *Hari*, the Creator. Cow-dung and water paste is sprinkled on the way. In case of death of an aged person, a group of people with musical instruments, *Srikhol* and *Kartal* accompanies the procession, singing holy songs in the name of *Hari*. If any baby dies within the period of pollution, the dead body is buried. If any pregnant woman dies, the baby

is taken out of her womb. The dead body of the woman is burnt, but the baby is buried. In the cremation ground the dead body is given a bath and clothes are thrown away. *Ghee* is anointed on the whole body and finally the body is covered by one or two pieces of new napkin. If any married woman dies, lac-dye is put on her feet and vermilion on the parting of her hair.

The dead body is cremated by all Hindus excepting the Bairagis. The Bairagis bury the dead bodies in a place, known as *Samadhi Kshetra*. The place in the cremation ground, where the dead body will be burnt is purchased from the Supreme Owner on payment of seven *karis i.e.*, shells used in ancient times as coins. The dead body with its face towards the north is placed on the funeral pyre which is arranged with logs of wood. Finally, fire is put to the pyre either by the son or grandson or by nephew. The person, who lights the fire into the mouth of the dead body, takes a bundle of long dry grasses (with one end burning) in the left hand, moves round the dead body three times and puts the pyre on fire. As soon as the dead body is reduced to ashes, the man, who lights the pyre, takes some portion of the ashes and makes a human figure beside the pyre. Afterwards a pitcherful water is turned upside down over the chest of that human figure of ash. Everybody turns back and starts home. After the burning of the dead body of a married man is over, the wife breaks the Conch shell bangles, the symbol of marital status and washes the vermilion off her hair in the bathing *ghat*. The man, who lights fire, takes bath and throws away his old clothes. He puts on *utturiya* consisting of a handloom *dhoti*, a *chaddar* and a bunch of thread with a key tied to it. Before entering the house all the people, who join the funeral procession, embrace a *Peepul* tree. In the mean time all the earthen cooking pots are thrown away by the family of the deceased person and their near relatives.

The members of all the castes except the Brahmans and the Bairagis observe one month as period of mourning in case of normal death. The Brahmans and the Bairagis observe 10 days as period of mourning. In case of accidental or suicidal death the period of mourning is only three days for all the castes. During the period the family of the deceased person and other kinsmen take non-vegetarian food, *saak* being treated as a prohibited item during this period. The families of the deceased person and the kinsmen within three generations neither apply oil on hair nor cut nails or hair. The man, who lights the fire, and his brothers do not take milk and parched rice, if the mother dies. If the father dies, his sons will not touch curds during the period of mourning. He has to sleep alone in the bed of woolen rags and on pillow, made of straw. He will also take only one meal in day-time.

Ceremonies or rituals

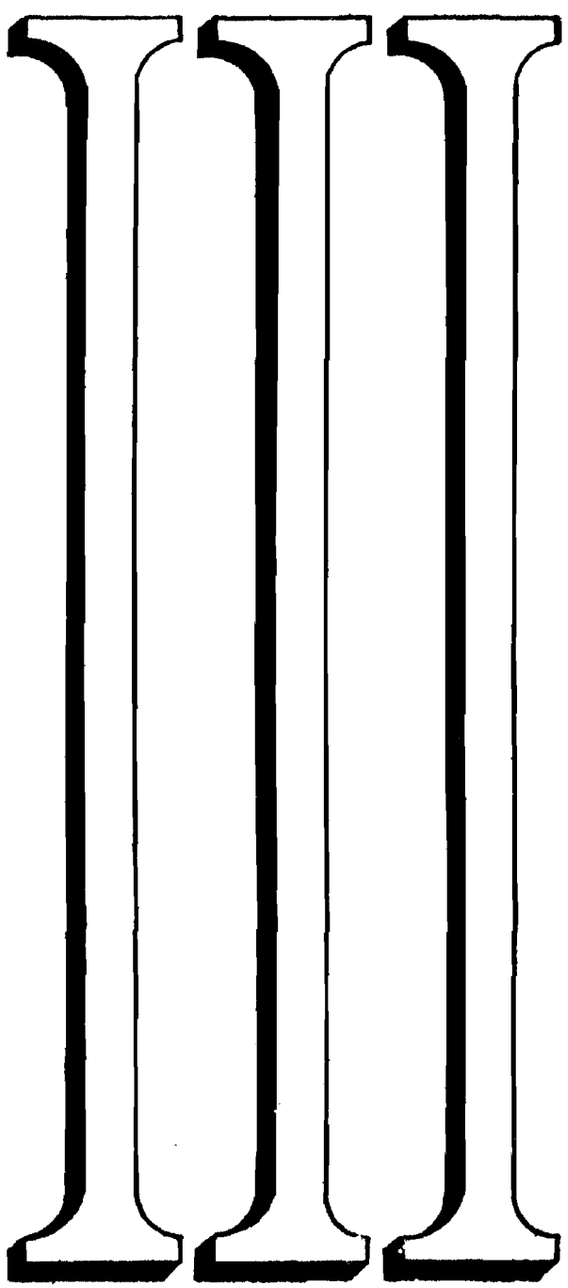
On the third day after death a bunch of long grass, locally known as *Bena*, is planted on the ground by the side of any nearby pond near the surface of water. On all the days from the third to 30th days water is poured over the bunch by all the members of the mourning family. On those days some raw rice and different types of grains mixed with molasses are put near the bunch of grass as an offering to the departed soul. On the 3rd, 10th and 30th days *Pinda i.e.*, boiled *atap* rice and green banana, are offered to the departed soul. On the 30th day the barber shaves the beard and cuts the nails of all the persons, who observe mourning. This marks the end of the period of mourning. *Utturiya* is thrown away the same day. *Sradh* ceremony is performed the next day, when all the members of the bereaved family put oil first on the feet of the Brahman priest, before using it on their body. The family-priests recruited from the *Agradani*, *Acharya* and *Nagavat* Brahmans take part in the *Sradh* ceremony. Each Brahman performs different types of duties. Main *Sradh* ceremony is performed by the family priest. The *Acharya* Brahman assists the family-priest by supplying necessary articles, required during the performance of the ceremony. The *Agradani* Brahman is the priest, who accepts the first offer. The duty of this Brahman is to swallow some portion of the *Pinda* to set the dead soul at liberty. The *Nagavat* Brahman plays an interesting role in this ceremony. Nobody invites this Brahman during the *Sradh* ceremony. But, he rushes to that place uninvited. He generally takes one bell-metal utensil in one hand and an iron rod in another. On reaching the place he announces his arrival by hitting hard the utensil with the rod. After announcing his arrival, he will claim money from the head of the family by constantly shouting at the top of his voice. If he is not paid properly, he will create so much trouble that the head of the family will be compelled to pay him the money, he demands. He will hit himself hard by his hand, if he is not

paid to his satisfaction. If he does not get the money by these means, he will climb upon the roof and then jump upon the ground. He will repeat the same feat, till he gets the money. As soon as he is paid off, he will proclaim his departure again by hitting the bell-metal utensil with the iron rod. The *Nagavat* Brahmans reside in the neighbouring *mouza* and it is this profession, that they live on.

Bauris observe 12 days as period of mourning. They carry and burn the dead body in the same way as others. But they observe the rites and rituals in a very rigid and restrained manner during the period of mourning. During the mourning period the family of the deceased person and other kinsmen take vegetarian dishes. The family of the deceased person takes vegetarian dishes cooked without any oil. The man, who lights fire, takes *Habisyanna i.e.* boiled rice and green vegetables, on the third day of death and then on any four days between the fourth and 11th day. He has to cook himself in a new earthen pot. Whatever quantity of rice is put once in the pot has to be taken. During the period of mourning he will take meals once at night after seeing the stars. If anybody calls him at the time of his taking meals, he has to stop eating then and there. During these days he will not touch anybody, not even his son. He will sleep in a separate bed of straw. The man, who lights fire, and other persons, who carry the dead body, get drunk in the house of the deceased person on the day of cremation. The man, who lights the fire, does not touch alcohol on the days, on which he takes *Habisyanna*. On the 11th day, somebody from their own caste cuts the nails and shaves all the members of the family. On the 12th day, on which the final purificatory ceremony is performed, they offer *Pinda* in the bathing *ghat*. They are not served by any Brahman priest. An old Bauri of the village is selected to act as priest. They smear the feet of the old man with oil and present him a napkin. They then apply oil on their body, take bath and put on new clothes. In the evening, neighbours and relatives are invited to a feast, in which pork and wine are freely served.

Bauris believe that if anybody commits sin, his soul returns after death to create trouble to his family. If any death occurs on Thursday or if the dead body is kept overnight, the spirit comes back in the form of a demon. The members of the family will be aware of the demon within a few days after death. Without disclosing anything about this demon to anybody, somebody of the family will rush to the house of the *Kobrej* or an exorcist, who knows how to drive away the evil spirit once for all. The *Kobrej* creates an artificial barrier round the house by chanting *mantras*, so that the demon is confined within the walls. Then the *Kobrej* starts fighting the demon with his imaginary bow and arrow. He defeats the demon after a prolonged fight and orders the demon to quit that place permanently. The demon leaves the place by cracking a mud pitcher or breaking a branch of a tree on the eve of his departure.

The *Kobrej* resides in the neighbouring village and takes only Re. 1/- as fee for his performance. He belongs to the Muslim community.



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CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Introduction

A table, showing the castewise classification of the families by Industrial Categories according to the activities of the heads or of the main earning member in different economic pursuits, is given below :

TABLE 25

Caste/Community	Total no. of households	No. of households with heads engaged in: Cultivation	Agricultural labourer	Fishing	Industry	Trade and commerce	Transport, storage and communication	Other service	Construction	Non-workers
Bauri	38	..	33	..	1	..	1	1	1	1
Sankhabanik	29	..	1	..	24	..	..	2	..	2
Bagdi	24	2	19	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
Tantubaya	15	1	..	..	10	3	..	1	..	..
Brahman	6	..	..	..	1	..	1	3	..	1
Tambuli	5	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	1
Bairagi	4	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1
Modak	4	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	4	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	4	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunri	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Napit	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Kalu	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Goala	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Total	**143**	**7**	**56**	**2**	**52**	**8**	**2**	**8**	**2**	**6**

The table has been prepared according to the main activities of the head or of the principal earning member of the family. Out of 143, six families are not engaged in any economic activity. Leaving aside the six non-worker families, 137 families are engaged in different activities, as shown above. If the agricultural labourer and cultivator families are taken together, the total number of families engaged in agricultural activities will be 63. Among the families engaged in different economic pursuits, 46.9 per cent families are engaged in agricultural

activities, 37.9 per cent families are connected with different industries and the remaining 16.1 per cent families are engaged in the activities other than agriculture and industry.

It may be said that agriculture is one of the main economic activities, in which 46 per cent families are engaged. At present, cultivable land is considered by the villagers to be more valuable than gold or any other asset. Agricultural land plays an important role in the village-economy. Material prosperity of a family may easily be gauged from the area of cultivable land owned by a family.

Land

Total area of land, owned by the people of this village, is 626 *bighas* 9 *cottahs*. The extent of utilisation of total land in the possession of the villagers is shown in the table :

TABLE 26

LAND UTILISATION

Total land in *bighas* and *cottahs*		Homestead land		Land under cultivation		Cultivable land lying fallow		Non-cultivable land	
Bigha	*Cottah*	*Bigha*	*Cottah*	*Bigha*	*Cottah*	*Bigha*	*Cottah*	*Bigha*	*Cottah*
626	9	32	6	568	17	9	..	16	6

Cultivable land lying fallow

Out of nine *bighas* of cultivable land, six *bighas*, being situated on a slightly higher level, remained fallow in 1962 and 1963. Want of proper facilities of irrigation is also another reason for the land remaining unploughed. Three *bighas* of land could not be cultivated in 1963 due to the shortage of paddy seedlings. The holding is owned by one Tambuli family in one plot. 16 *bighas* and 6 *cottahs* of non-cultivable land are situated on the higher level. This type of land is locally known as *Danga Jami*, where trees and bamboos grow.

Total area of land under cultivation is 568 *bighas* and 17 *cottahs*, of which 30 *bighas* and 16 *cottahs* are inside the *mouza* and 538 *bighas* and 1 *cottah* are situated outside, within the contiguous *mouzas* mostly within a radius of one mile.

TABLE 27

DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL LAND

Caste/Community	Total no. of house-holds	No. of households with: No land	1—3 *bighas*	4—6 *bighas*	7—10 *bighas*	11—15 *bighas*	16—20 *bighas*	21—25 *bighas*	26—30 *bighas*	31—35 *bighas*	36—40 *bighas*
Bauri	38	38	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sankhabanik	29	10	6	3	8	..	1	1	..	..	..
Bagdi	24	17	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tantubaya	15	3	4	2	2	..	2	..	1	..	1
Brahman	6	3	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Tambuli	5	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..
Bairagi	4	2	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Modak	4	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	4	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sunri	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
Kayastha	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Napit	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goala	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	**143**	**84**	**22**	**8**	**10**	**5**	**6**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**2**

Out of 143 families, 84 households (58.74 per cent of the total families), residing in this village, do not possess agricultural land. 37.29 per cent of the landowners, who form the biggest single group, hold one to three *bighas* of land. 67.80 per cent of the landholders own land between one and 10 *bighas*. The table shows that only three families or five per cent of the landholders own 31 to 40 *bighas* of land. In this village, where there is dearth of agricultural land, 10 *bighas* of land are considered enough for a family. Average size of the holding per family is 9.62 *bighas*.

If the table is viewed castewise, it will be seen that not a single Bauri family possesses any agricultural land, although the Bauris are the single largest community in this village. The Tantubayas and the Sankhabaniks of this village hold largest portion of land. 12 Tantubaya families possess 140 *bighas* of land, explaining for 2.46 per cent of the total land and 19 Sankhabanik households hold 139 *bighas* or 24.5 per cent of the total land in the possession of the villagers. So, about 49 per cent of total land are owned by these two castes and the rest of 51 per cent of land is owned by other castes. That land is considered to be a more valuable asset than any other property will be viewed from the fact that seven Tantubaya households and nine Sankhabanik families purchased agricultural land. They thought it prudent to purchase agricultural land rather than expand their existing crafts. The industrial workers are thus getting polarized towards agriculture, partly because the latter is more dependable and economic than the crafts and the returns are commensurate with the toil and capital invested.

70.60 per cent of land are in the possession of only 19 families. One Kaibarta, one Bairagi, two Brahman, two Sunri, two Sankhabanik, three Tambuli, four Modak and four Tantubaya families constitute these 19 landholders, which hold an average of 21.1 *bighas* of land each. The remaining 29.40 per cent of land are owned by 40 families. Average size of holding of these 40 families is only 4.17 *bighas*.

A table, relating to the manner of acquisition of land, is given below :

TABLE 28

Caste/Community	Total no. of land-owners	No. of families which purchased land measuring								No. of households which acquired land by purchase
		1–3 *bighas*	4–6 *bighas*	7–10 *bighas*	11–15 *bighas*	16–20 *bighas*	21–25 *bighas*	26–30 *bighas*	31–35 *bighas*	
Sankhabanik	19	5	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	9
Bagdi	7	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Tantubaya	12	2	3	..	..	1	..	1	..	7
Brahman	3	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	3
Tambuli	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Bairagi	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Modak	4	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	4
Karmakar	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sutradhar	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kaibarta	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Sunri	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	59	17	8	2	2	1	1	1	1	33

Of the 59 landowners, 26 enjoy the ownership of their ancestral land. The Tambuli family, which purchased above 30 *bighas* of land, was a leading businessman in this village about a decade ago. The Tantubaya family, which acquired more than 25 *bighas* of land, was engaged in wholesale trade in handloom products. The Sankhabanik landholder, who is still known in

the village as a *Mahajan* because of his leading part in the Conch shell industry in those days, purchased more than 20 *bighas* of land. The other Tantubaya landowner, who is still a leading businessman of this village, acquired more than 15 *bighas* of land in the recent years. More than 10 *bighas* of land were acquired by each of the Brahman and the Bairagi households, engaged in Conch shell industry, when it was passing through palmy days. It is significant to note that the families, which acquired more than 10 *bighas* of land, are connected with either trade and commerce or Conch shell industry. Of the remaining 27 landholders, who purchased land below 10 *bighas*, the manner of acquisition of land by a Karmakar family deserves mention. This Karmakar landowner sold his house and homestead land with a purpose to require one *bigha* of agricultural land. The head of the family, an unmarried man of 55 years, lives with his brother in the latter's house. The house, he had sold, was not thought more remunerative than a *bigha* of agricultural land. The house was very old and was in ruins. The price, it fetched, did not enable the Karmakar to purchase more than one *bigha* of land ; none the less it gave him the satisfaction of being a landowner. Moreover, an agricultural labourer, as he formerly was, he now cultivates his own land to supplement his income.

Cultivation of own land

Out of 568 *bighas* of agricultural land, 387 *bighas* were cultivated by the owners in 1962-63. Thus about 68 per cent land were cultivated by the owners and the remaining 32 per cent were cultivated by the share-croppers. As the price of agricultural produce is rising day by day, the owners are becoming interested in the cultivation of their land themselves. The villagers think that it is more profitable to cultivate the land themselves. They do not take into account the implications of Land Reforms Act in passing such remark. This was not so about a decade ago. Then, the Bauris and the Bagdis used to receive land from the artisan families for cultivation as share-croppers.

A table, relating to the area of land cultivated by the owners belonging to different castes, is shown below :

TABLE 29

Caste/Community	No. of households by area of land cultivated by owners with members of families or by hired labour								Total no. of households
	1—3 *bighas*	4—6 *bighas*	7—10 *bighas*	11—15 *bighas*	16—20 *bighas*	21—25 *bighas*	31—35 *bighas*	36—40 *bighas*	
Sankhabanik	5	1	3	..	1	..	..	..	10
Bagdi	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Tantubaya	3	2	1	..	1	1	..	1	9
Brahman	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	3
Tambuli	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	3
Bairagi	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Modak	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	3
Karmakar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kaibarta	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2
Sunri	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
Total	16	4	4	4	9	1	1	1	40

Of the 59 landed proprietors, as many as 40 owner households (67.80 per cent landowners) cultivate their land with the help of either their family members or by hired labourers or by

both. 50 per cent of the owner-cultivators cultivate land, size of which varies between one and six *bighas*.

A comparative study of the area of land owned and the area of land cultivated by the owners may be made from the following table :

TABLE 30

Land in *bighas* owned	Total no. of land-holders	No. of owner-cultivator households cultivating land between								
		1—3 *bighas*	4—6 *bighas*	7—10 *bighas*	11—15 *bighas*	16—20 *bighas*	21—25 *bighas*	26—30 *bighas*	31—35 *bighas*	36—40 *bighas*
1—3	22	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4—6	8	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7—10	10	3	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
11—15	5	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
16—20	6	..	1	..	..	5	..	..	..	..
21—25	4	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
26—30	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
31—35	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
36—40	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	59	16	4	4	4	9	1	..	1	1

The table shows that of all the land-holders, having land between 7 and 40 *bighas*, three landowning families do not cultivate their own land. Of these three landholders, one Sankhabanik owner of 21-25 *bighas* does not cultivate his own land, because he is almost invalid due to old age and also because there is no other person in his family, who can supervise the cultivation. Similar is the case with another Modak landowner, holding 11 to 15 *bighas* of land. The other household, a Sankhabanik landowner, holding 7 to 10 *bighas*, could not cultivate his land, because the land is situated in Sashpur, about eight miles away from this village. Out of 59 landholders, 19 families have not taken up cultivation of their own land. 84.21 per cent of the non-cultivating families own one to six *bighas* of land. It is also very apparent from the above table that the number of the landowning families, which do not cultivate their own land, gradually increases with the decrease in the size of the holdings. One of the main reasons, which may be attributed to the above fact, is that the families, willing to take up personal cultivation, must possess all the agricultural implements, whatever the size of the holdings. That is why, the holders of small fragmented land do not think it prudent to invest on agricultural implements, seeds etc. for negligible returns. The holders of small holdings also do not depend on land for their livelihood. They do not think that to invest on agriculture for small returns in preference to their main pursuit is profitable. Secondly, the holders of such land, being poor, are not in a position to spend Rs. 30/- to Rs. 35/- per *bigha* on expenses of plough, labour etc.

Share-cropping

19 families have let out their entire land to the share-croppers. A table, relating to the castewise break-up of these 19 families, is given below :

TABLE 31

Caste/Community	No. of households which have let their land to share-croppers					Total No. of households
	1—3 *bighas*	4—6 *bighas*	7—10 *bighas*	11—15 *bighas*	21—25 *bighas*	
Sankhabanik	5	2	1	..	1	9
Bagdi	1	..	..	..	..	1
Tantubaya	1	2	..	..	..	3
Bairagi	1	..	..	..	..	1
Modak	..	..	..	1	..	1
Sutradhar	3	..	..	..	..	3
Subarnabanik	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	11	5	1	1	1	19

Of these 19 owners, who do not cultivate their own land, there is only one Bagdi agricultural labourer family. The other eighteen families, belonging to different castes, are engaged in activities other than agriculture.

A table on the number of families, which received land for cultvation on the basis of share-cropping, is given below :

TABLE 32

Caste/Community	No. of share-cropping families receiving land measuring 1—3 *bighas*	4—6 *bighas*	7—10 *bighas*	11—15 *bighas*	Total no. of share-cropping households
Bauri	5	1	..	..	6
Sankhabanik	1	..	..	..	1
Bagdi	13	..	..	1	14
Tantubaya	1	..	1	..	2
Kaibarta	..	1	..	..	1
Kalu	..	1	..	..	1
Total	20	3	1	1	25

All the families, which cultivate more than three *bighas* of land on share-cropping, possess bullocks. Out of the 25 share-cropping households, five Bauri and 11 Bagdi share-croppers, who cultivate 1-3 *bighas* of land, do not possess any plough and bullock, but get them from the owners of the share-cropped land. The Tantubaya family, engaged in trade and commerce, cultivates 7-10 *bighas* of land as share-cropper, because its own land is not enough to keep the pair of bullocks engaged throughout the agricultural season. Similar is the case with the Sankhabanik family cultivating 1-3 *bighas* of land on share-cropping. The other Tantubaya family cultivates 1-3 *bighas* of land jointly owned by three Tantubaya families.

The table shows that 80 per cent of the share-croppers are Bauris and Bagdis. According to the local custom prevalent in the area, the owner-cultivators would let out some portion of their land (for cultivation on the basis of share-cropping) to the agricultural labourers, who work in their field throughout the agricultural season. But now-a-days, all the owner-cultivators generally do not follow this custom. There are 41 agricultural labourer families working for their landowners throughout the agricultural season. Out of 41 such families, 16 are fortunate enough to have received a very small area of land for cultivation on the basis of share-cropping. The owner-cultivators, who let out a portion of their land to their labourers working in their field throughout the agricultural season, generally provide the share-croppers with bullocks and other agricultural implements. The share-croppers of this category can use the bullocks and ploughs of their employers, only when they give two days' free labour for one day's ploughing. Of the 18 share-croppers belonging to the Bagdi and Bauri castes, who cultivate 1-3 *bighas* of land as share-croppers, 16 households received land from their employers.

Although not a single share-cropper cultivator could get himself recorded in the last Settlement Operations as share-cropper, the owners did not allow the share-croppers to cultivate a particular plot of land for more than three consecutive years. There are, however, two exceptional cases. One Tantubaya share-cropper has been cultivating eight *bighas* of land of his near relative for more than 10 years. The other one, who is a Bagdi share-cropper, has been cultivating the land of an Ekadas Teli, living in the nearby village, for a long time.

It is the owner, who decides what type of paddy or other crops will be grown on which land. The owner only pays the revenue of his land. Seeds, implements etc. are supplied by the share-cropper. If these are supplied by the owner, the share-croppers pay for the seeds and other implements either by free labour or in kind. The owner gets half of the total paddy produced. The owner gets all the straw, if he

bears the cost of manure. If the owner bears half the cost, he gets half the straw produced. But, if the owner does not spend anything on manure, he will receive only two *pans* i. e., 160 bundles of straw per *bigha*.

Legislative and executive measures effecting changes in the land-tenure

The villagers are not aware of any of the legislative and executive measures effecting changes in the land-tenure system, except the abolition of Zamindary and ceiling on ownership of land. Only seven, out of the 59 landholders, are aware of the measure about ceiling on land. Abolition of Zamindary has caused benefit only to five landowners, who used to pay revenue in kind. 12 landowners are not at all happy with the abolition of Zamindary. Of these families, two are now paying revenue for *Niskar* (rent-free) land, two families have not yet received compensation for the abolition of their intermediary rights, three families have reported that they cannot at present pay revenue in instalments, as they were paying to the Zamindar in those days, and five families expressed dissatisfaction about the increase in revenue in some cases. Other families declined to comment.

Livestock

To the villagers livestock is another important asset, in as much as it provides the motive power for ploughing and supplies important food-stuff, such as, milk, meat and egg for nourishment. Draught bullock is owned by almost all the families cultivating 4 to 40 *bighas* of land. Only one pair of draught buffalo is used for ploughing by one Tantubaya family.

A table, showing the number of draught cattle possessed by the families classified according to caste, is given below :

TABLE 33

Caste/Community	No. of families possessing: One draught bullock	Two draught bullocks	Three draught bullocks	Four draught bullocks	Eight draught bullocks	No. of households owning draught bullock
Bauri	..	1	1	..	..	2
Sankhabanik	..	5	..	..	..	5
Bagdi	3	2	..	..	..	5
Tantubaya	..	2	1	1	1	5
Brahman	..	1	1	..	..	2
Tambuli	..	1	1	..	..	2
Bairagi	..	..	..	1	..	1
Modak	..	2	..	1	..	3
Karmakar	1	..	..	..	..	1
Sunri	..	1	1	..	..	2
Kaibarta	..	1	..	1	..	2
Kalu	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	**4**	**17**	**5**	**4**	**1**	**31**

It is quite obvious that each of the Karmakar and all the three Bagdi non-cultivating families, possessing single bullock each, cannot utilise their bullock for ploughing. They have reared it for sale. Other 27 families possess at least two bullocks each. The Tantubaya family, which possesses eight bullocks, cultivates 40 *bighas* of land.

A table, showing the correlation of area of cultivable land and possession of pair of bullocks by the households classified by castes, is presented below :

TABLE 34

Caste/ Community	No. of pair of bullocks owned by land less household	Households by area of cultivable land in *bighas* 1—3	No. of pair of bullocks	Households by area of cultivable land in *bighas* 4—6	No. of pair of bullocks	Households by area of cultivable land in *bighas* 7—10	No. of pair of bullocks	Households by area of cultivable land in *bighas* 11—15	No. of pair of bullocks	Households by area of cultivable land in *bighas* 16—20
Bauri	1	5	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sankhabanik	..	5	..	1	1	2	2	1	1	1
Bagdi	..	14	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	..
Tantubaya	..	3	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	2
Brahman	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Tambuli	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1
Bairagi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Modak	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	1
Karmakar	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
Sunri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Kalu	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	29	..	4	3	5	5	6	6	10

Caste/Community	No. of pair of bullocks	Households by area of cultivable land in *bighas* 21—25	No. of pair of bullocks	Households by area of cultivable land in *bighas* 26—30	No. of pair of bullocks	Households by area of cultivable land in *bighas* 31—35	No. of pair of bullocks	Households by area of cultivable land in *bighas* 36—40	No. of pair of bullocks
Bauri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sankhabanik	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bagdi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tantubaya	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	4
Brahman	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tambuli	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bairagi	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Modak	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..
Sunri	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	12	1	1	..	..	1	2	1	4

The table shows that not a single cultivator family, having less than four *bighas* of land, possesses a pair of bullocks. Of these households, the share-croppers mostly get the bullocks from their land-owners. But, the cultivating households get their land cultivated by those, who possess the bullocks. Except one Tantubaya and one Tambuli family, all other households cultivating more than three *bighas* of land possess at least a pair of bullocks. If the table is viewed in the reverse way, it may be seen that all the families, except one Bauri agricultural household possessing a pair of bullocks, have more than three *bighas* of land under cultivation.

A pair of bullocks can plough 16 to 20 *bighas* of land, meant for raising paddy in an agricultural season. The table shows that the Bauri family with its pair of bullocks ploughs only 4-6 *bighas* of land cultivated by it. So, he ploughs land of other villagers, who do not possess any bullock, at the rate of Rs. 2.50 per day. But the Sankhabanik family, cultivating 4-6 *bighas* of land, keeps its pair of bullocks idle for most of the time in an agricultural season. The Kalu family, which utilises its pair of bullocks most of the time in a year for grinding of wheat, cultivates very small area of land. The Bauri agricultural labourer, who has bullocks but has no land for cultivation, ploughs others' land at the daily rate of Rs. 2.50.

Milch cattle

A table, showing the number of milch cattle possessed by the families classified by castes, is given below :

TABLE 35

Caste/Community	No. of families possessing		Total no. of milch cattle-owning households
	One milch cow	Two milch cows	
Sankhabanik	4	..	4
Bagdi	1	..	1
Tantubaya	6	1	7
Brahman	1	1	2
Tambuli	2	1	3
Bairagi	1	..	1
Modak	2	..	2
Sutradhar	1	..	1
Sunri	1	..	1
Total	**19**	**3**	**22**

The table shows that only 22 households, out of 143 families residing in this village, possess 25 cows giving milk at the time of survey. None of the households sells milk.

A table, relating to the number of calves including cows which do not give milk possessed by number of families, is shown below :

TABLE 36

Caste/Community	No. of families having calves including cows which do not give milk						Total no. of families, owning cows or calves
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	
Sankhabanik	5	4	2	2	..	..	13
Bagdi	2	..	2	..	..	..	4
Tantubaya	3	2	3	..	..	..	8
Brahman	1	2	1	..	..	..	4
Tambuli	2	..	..	..	1	1	4
Bairagi	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
Modak	1	2	1	..	..	..	4
Sutradhar	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
Sunri	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
Goala	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	**16**	**14**	**10**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**44**

44 families possess 93 calves including cows, which do not give milk.

Pigs and goats

13 families possess 37 goats. Out of 37 goats, 12 goats are owned by one Bagdi family.

TABLE 37

Caste/Community	Households possessing: One goat	Two goats	Three goats	Four goats	Twelve goats
Bauri	1	2	..	..	..
Bagdi	2	1	2	..	1
Tantubaya	..	1	..	..	..
Sunri	..	2	..	..	..
Tambuli	..	..	..	1	..
Total	**3**	**6**	**2**	**1**	**1**

Goats are generally reared for sale. The he-goats are slaughtered by the Bauris and Bagdis in the village for sale of meat, which sells at Rs. 3/- per seer. The skin is sold to a Muchi resident of the neighbouring village.

TABLE 38

Caste/Community	Households possessing: One pig	Two pigs	Four pigs	Twelve pigs
Bauri	3	2	2	1

Pigs are reared by the Bauris of this village. Here, the Bauris take pork. They bring piggies from Joypur, about 10 miles away from this village. Cost of one piggy is about Rs. 6/-. But the cost of grown-up pigs is within Rs. 20/- to Rs. 30/-. Santals are the only buyers, who visit this village for the purchase of pigs during their festivals. Pigs are also required by the Bauris during their own festivals and social ceremonies. Neither straw nor grass is required for bringing up the pigs, which thrive on roots and tubers. What is required is constant watch over these untouchable animals, so that they do not get into the localities of the Caste Hindus and stray in the fields, when paddy is grown. Eight Bauri families possess 27 pigs.

Ducks and fowls

A table, showing the number of ducks and fowls possessed by the families, is given below :

TABLE 39

DUCKS

Caste/Community	No. of families possessing: One duck	Two ducks	Three ducks	Four ducks	Nine ducks	No. of households possessing ducks
Sankhabanik	..	..	..	1	..	1
Bagdi	5	1	2	1	..	9
Tantubaya	..	..	1	..	..	1
Sutradhar	1	..	..	..	..	1
Kaibarta	..	..	..	1	..	1
Sunri	..	1	..	..	1	2
Goala	1	..	..	..	..	1
Tambuli	..	2	..	..	..	2
Total	**7**	**4**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**18**

TABLE 40

FOWLS

Caste/Community	No. of families possessing: One fowl	Two fowls	Three fowls	Four fowls	Five fowls	Eight fowls	No of families having fowls
Bauri	4	5	1	1	1	1	13
Muslim	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Total	**4**	**6**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**14**

The table shows that 18 families possess 45 ducks. Except the Bagdis, all other castes rear ducks for their domestic consumption. One Muslim household and the 13 Bauri families rear fowls. They have 36 fowls in all. Rearing of fowl is prohibited in the families of other castes. The Bauris and the Bagdis sell ducks, fowls and eggs in the village.

Rearing of cattle in share

Here, there is a system of rearing cattle in share. Proportion of share depends on the type of cattle reared. If anybody rears milch cow from the young stage, he will receive all the milk of the cow after its first issue and also the calf. In case of goats giving birth to more than one kid, half the number of kids will be taken by the man, who rears it. He will return the cow or goat to the owner, only after it becomes ready to give the second birth. If bullocks are reared, the person, who rears them, will realise his share in the way, shown below :

Price of the grown-up bullock—the price of the calf

Price is determined according to the current market rate.

A table, showing the number of families rearing cattle in share, is given below :

TABLE 41

Caste/Community	Draught cattle: No. of households rearing in share		Milch cow: No. of families rearing in share	Cows including calves which do not give milk: No. of households rearing in share		
	One bullock	Two bullocks	One milch cow	One cow	Two cows	Three cows
Bauri	4	2	..	2	1	..
Bagdi	4	1	2	5	2	1
Sankhabanik	..	..	..	1	..	..
Tantubaya	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kaibarta	1	..	..	..	..	..
Napit	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	..	..	..	1	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total	10	3	2	9	3	2

Caste/Community	Goat: No. of families rearing in share				Duck: No. of families rearing in share	Fowl: No. of families rearing in share		Pig: No. of families rearing in share			
	One goat	Two goats	Four goats	Six goats	Two ducks	One fowl	Four fowls	Two pigs	Six pigs	Eight pigs	Nine pigs
Bauri	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bagdi	3	1	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sankhabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tantubaya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Napit	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	4	3	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1

Cattle-market

There is one weekly cattle-*hat* at Kotulpur. The *hat* is held every Friday. Most of the cattle-sellers are Muslims. The villagers generally buy cattle from this market. Price of a pair of bullock generally varies from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 500/- according to the age and strength of the bullock. Price of a milch cow is generally determined by the quantity of milk, the cow gives. While fixing the price of a milch cow, the number of *pows* (¼th of a seer) of milk, given by the cow, is multiplied by Rs. 25/-, after giving, of course, due consideration to her age.

Cattle-breeding

Nobody keeps oxen for the purpose of breeding the cows on payment. Breeding is done by nature's own process, while the cows graze in the field.

Pasture and cattle-grazing

The villagers are fortunate enough to have wide grassy pasture near the sides of the water-reservoir, *Kotaldighi*. The Caste Hindus,possessing cattle, engage a cow-boy, locally known as *Bagal*. *Bagals* come from the young boys within 15 years of age, belonging to the Bagdi and Bauri castes. Two square meals and a breakfast are the remuneration of a *Bagal*. A middle-aged woman, belonging to the Metey caste, living in one of the hamlets, is also appointed on a monthly wage of 50 paise per cow and 25 paise per calf for grazing the cattle. The duty of the woman, who grazes the cattle, is over, after she brings the cattle back to the owner after day's grazing. But, the *Bagal* has to stay in the owner's house to keep watch over the cattle throughout the day and also during night. He has,in addition, the charge of feeding the cattle.

Agriculture

1. Irrigation

Out of 568 *bighas* of land under cultivation, 120 *bighas* of land enjoy irrigational facilities. 21 per cent of the total land in the possession of the villagers are thus irrigated. Cultivation of the remaining 79 per cent of land depends on uncertain rainfall. Ponds and tanks are the only sources of irrigation. The lands, situated near the sides of ponds or tanks, are only irrigated. For the purpose of irrigation a canoe-shaped implement, locally called *Dungi*, is used. The pointed end of the *Dungi* is lowered down and dipped into the water. When the pointed end is raised upward, water flows through the other end along the canal leading to the field. Two unskilled labourers are required to operate a *Dungi*.

Besides the big water-reservior, *Kotaldighi*, there are 11 tanks, from which the cultivators get the necessary water for irrigation. Three of these 11 privately owned tanks, were improved by the Government of West Bengal under the Tank Improvement Scheme. For using the water of these three tanks, the villagers pay rupee one per *bigha* of land to the Government annually. Only one landholder, who has eight *bighas* of land in Sashpur, about eight miles away from this village, enjoys the facility of irrigation from the canal of the Damodar Valley Corporation, on payment of Rs. 3/- per *bigha* annually as canal-tax to the Government. The eight other tanks, though used for irrigation, are not of improved type. The tanks are in private ownership, but the cultivators enjoy freely the water from the tanks for their fields.

2. Crop-pattern

Crop-pattern depends much on irrigation. Land, which can be irrigated, is locally called *Doe* or double-cropped land. It is quite patent that 21 per cent land is double-cropped, because it is irrigated and the remaining 79 per cent land is single-cropped, where only winter paddy or *Aman* is grown. Double-cropped land is utilised for growing not only autumn paddy or *Aush*, but also for growing potatoes, onions, wheat, sugar-cane, pulses and vegetables.

3. Price of agricultural land

Price of land depends on the nature of soil and cropping pattern. One *bigha* of sandy land or *Bali Jami* will cost Rs. 300/- to Rs. 400/-, while the price of one *bigha* of alluvial land or *Metel Jami* will be about Rs. 600/-. Price of double-cropped land is higher than that of single-cropped land, whatever may be the nature of the soil. This type of land generally sells at Rs. 800/- per *bigha*.

4. Agricultural operations

(*a*) *Aman paddy*

Soil is prepared for transplantation by ploughing the land at least three times. With the onset of summer-shower, ploughing is done. Each ploughing is followed by harrowing to break up the clods. After the second ploughing, cowdung is mixed with the soil. Four cart-loads of cowdung are scattered in one *bigha* of land.

Seedlings are grown in one corner of the field. For transplanting one *bigha* of land seedlings are required to be grown in one *cottah*. Five seers of selected paddy-seeds are broadcast in the seed-bed in the month of May or June. Seed-bed is generally ploughed five times. Every plot is surrounded by ridges in such a way that water does not flow to the other plot. In case of accumulation of excess water one portion of the ridge is opened to pass the water in excess to the other plot. As soon as water accumulates in the field, final ploughing and harrowing are done. Then, the seedlings are raised from the seed-bed and transplanted in the muddy land in the months of July and August. After a month, when the seedlings take roots, weeding is done by turning the soil upside down by spade. During this operation oil-cake and inorganic fertiliser like Ammonium Sulphate are generally mixed with the soil. After a month of first weeding, second weeding is done. There should be some stored water, till the paddy grains ripen. Harvesting is done during the months of December and January. Paddy plants, cut by the sickle, are kept in the field in a row for three to four days to enable the stalks to dry up. Afterwards, bundles are made by tying several straws together and are carried either in bullock carts or by a man to the place, where thrashing is to be done. The grains are separated from the stalks by beating the bundles against a wooden plank. After thrashing, dust and unwanted things are blown away by winnowing fans. Paddy grains are stored in the granary and hays are stacked in some open place. About 16 varieties of *Aman* paddy are found to be produced here.

Lacal names of the coarse varieties	Local names of the fine varieties
1. *Nana*	1. *Sitasal*
2. *Jhingasal*	2. *Badshabhog*
3. *Jhatakalma*	3. *Nilkanthi*

Local names of the coarse varieties

4. *Dudhkalma*
5. *Nabannasal*
6. *Ajamsal*
7. *Raghusal*
8. *Bolder*
9. *Jhulut*
10. *Kanakchur*
11. *Dhule*
12. *Rupsal*
13. *Dudhenana*

The average yield of paddy per *bigha* is six to seven *maunds* here.

(*b*) *Aush*

Aush is cultivated in a similar way like *Aman*. *Aush* paddy begins to ripen after three months of transplantation. Harvesting is done in the months of September and October. *Aush* straws are only used as fodder. Several varieties of *Aush* paddy, cultivated here, are named below :

Local names of the varieties

1. *Gourikajal*
2. *Gangajal*
3. *Kelesh*
4. *Sitasal*
5. *Rannipagal*
6. *Champakala*

The fifth variety has been so named, as it gives out such a sweet smell on boiling, that the person, who cooks, becomes enchanted. The average yield of *Aush* per *bigha* is slightly higher than that of *Aman*. The average yield of *Aush* per *bigha* is eight *maunds*.

(*c*) *Wheat*

Small quantity of wheat is also produced in this area. Just after harvest of *Aush* paddy, soil is prepared by ploughing the land four times. Harrowing is done after each ploughing. After ploughing for the third time, cowdung is mixed with the soil. About six seers of selected wheat-grains are broadcast in one *bigha*. One month later, when the seedlings have grown, weeding is done by a kind of small

spade, known as *Pasuni*. After first weeding, the field is irrigated. Sometimes second weeding is also done. Harvesting is done in the months of March and April. Thrashing is done by hammering the wheat-straws by a club. Unwanted things are blown away by winnowing fans. Average yield of wheat per *bigha* is two *maunds*.

(*d*) *Potato*

Soil is prepared in the month of *Kartik* (October-November) by ploughing the field for six to eight times. After the third or fourth ploughing one cart-load of cowdung is scattered in one *cottah* of land. After each ploughing, harrowing is done to break up the clods. Ploughing and harrowing continue, till the land becomes free of clods. Potato-seeds are planted in a row. *Thikre, Katowa Bombai* and *Nainital* are the common varieties of potato grown here. Four seers of potato-seeds are required for cultivating one *cottah* of land. *Nainital* and *Katowa Bombai* varieties are cut into pieces, according to the number of roots. Water is sprinkled everyday over the rows. Several plants grow out of one *Thikre* variety of potato. Plants, which are considered to be strong, are kept. Ammonium Sulphate and oil-cake in the proportion of 500 grams and 10 kilogram per *cottah* are applied to the plants. After some days, when the plants have attained certain amount of growth, the soil in between the two rows is piled up in the roots of the plants to make a passage for irrigation-water. The field is irrigated once in a week. Harvesting is done, when all the plants wither away in the months of February and March. Potatoes are dug out by spades. Average yield of potato per *bigha* is 30 to 40 *maunds*.

(*e*) *Gourd and other vegetables*

In between the rows of potato-plants gourd-seeds are planted. Gourd-plants grow all over the field, after potatoes are harvested. In the potato-field the cultivators grow not only gourd but also other vegetables.

5. *Manure*

Cowdung is extensively used as manure. All the families, which possess cows and bullocks, store up cowdung and ashes in pits near the cattle-shed. Non-agricultural families possessing cattle store up cowdung for sale in the sowing season. Six basketful cowdung sells at Re. 1/- Oil-cake is used by 23 owner cultivators. 32 families (80 per cent of the cultivators) use chemical fertiliser. Of all the fertilisers, Ammonium Sulphate is most commonly used. Cost of one bagful of Ammonium Sulphate, weighing two *maunds*, is Rs. 38/-. A few cultivators use Super Phosphate and bone-dust. Of the two other cultivators using mud from the bottom of pond, one is a Modak household having 17 *bighas* of land and the other one is a Tantubaya household, which is the biggest landholder of this village.

Chemical fertilisers and oilcakes are available in one of the groceries of this village. The villagers obtain fertilisers either from the village-shop or from Kotulpur.

Villagers have been using chemical fertilisers for the last 10 years. Most of the cultivators hold the opinion that, if only chemical manure is used, soil becomes hard and unfit for cultivation next year. In their opinion sufficient quantity of cowdung should be used with chemical fertiliser to increase the yield and to keep the soil in a better state of productivity.

6. *Tools and implements*

Following are the tools and implements used in different agricultural operations in this region.

1. Plough and yoke
2. Harrow
3. Spade
4. Sickle
5. *Pasuni* (small type of spade)
6. *Dungi* (canoe-shaped iron-vessel)
7. *Chonga* (hollow cylindrical tube)
8. *Pata* (wooden plank with stand)

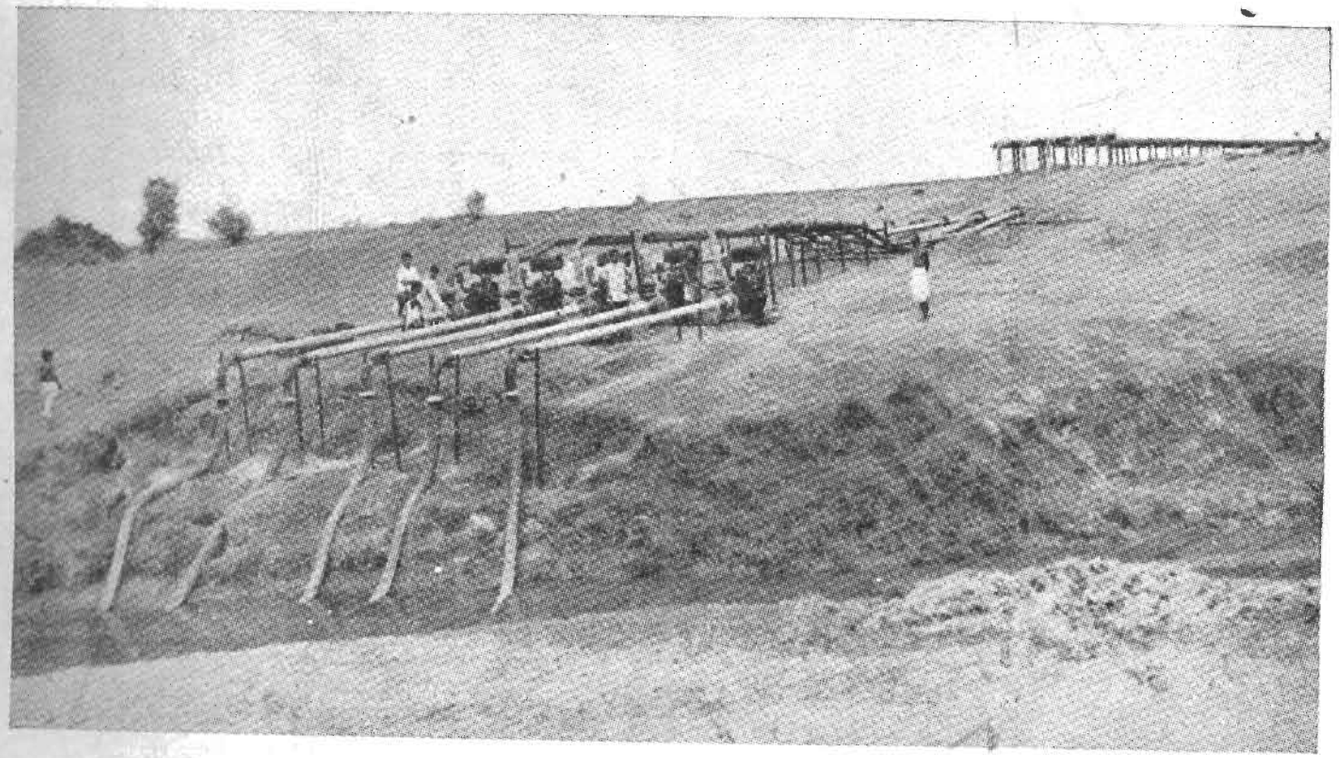
(*a*) *Plough and yoke*

Of the two types of ploughs used here, one type is used in the muddy fields, while the other is used in the dry dusty fields. In the former type of plough the blade is not as broad as in the latter type. Cost of the first type of plough including yoke is about Rs. 15/-, while the other type will cost about Rs. 18/-.

DREAM OF THE FARMERS
COME TRUE

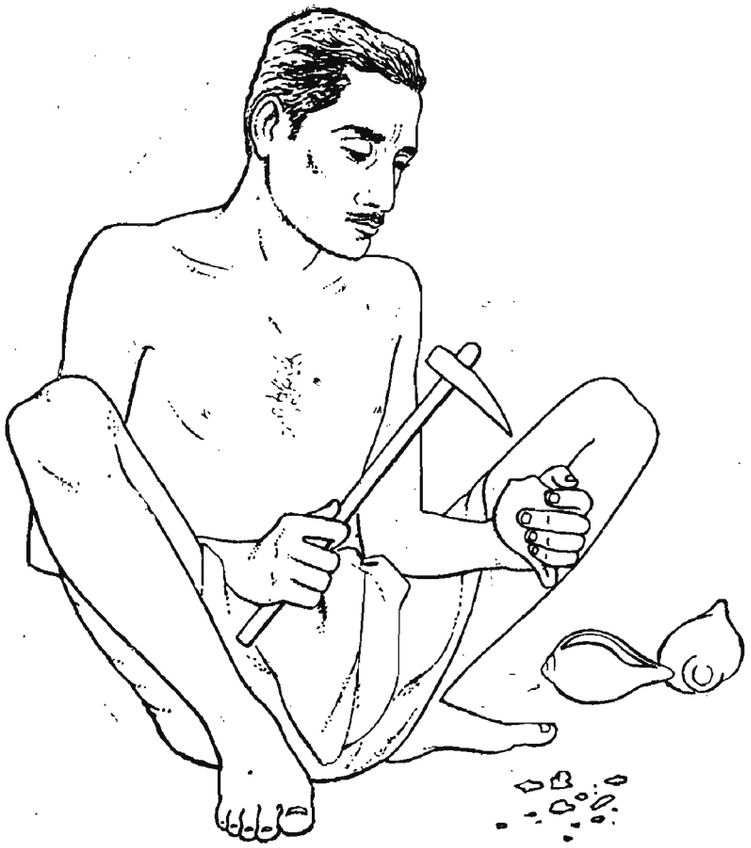


Kotaldighi given a face-lift by renovation



Water from the *Amodar* to be pumped and stored into the water-reservoir, *Kotaldighi*, for irrigation by pipe-lines

BIRTH OF A CONCH SHELL BANGLE OF THE WHITE VARIETY (*SANKHA*)



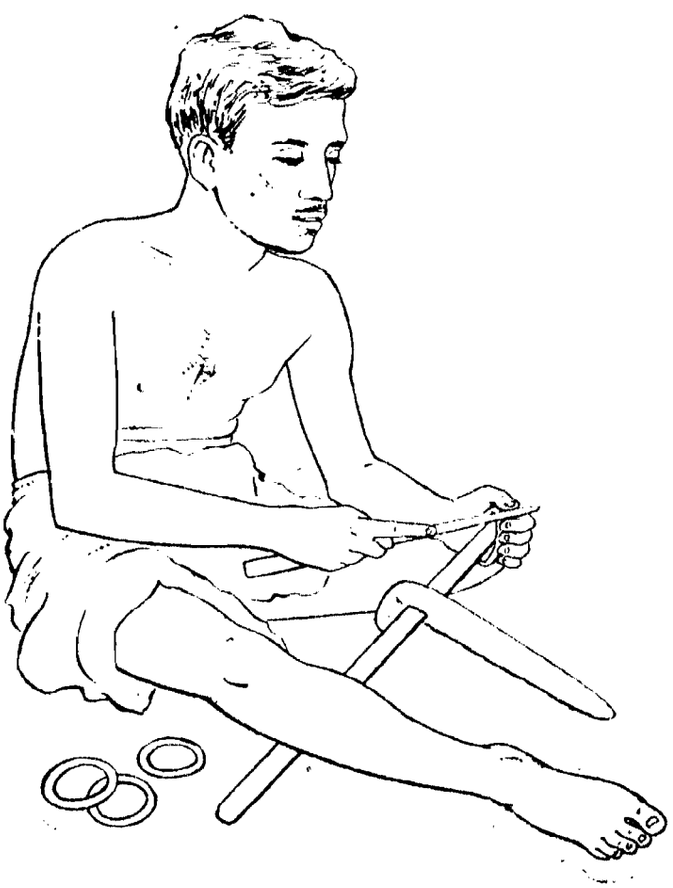
Hammering an intact Conch shell to break the apex and to extract the columella



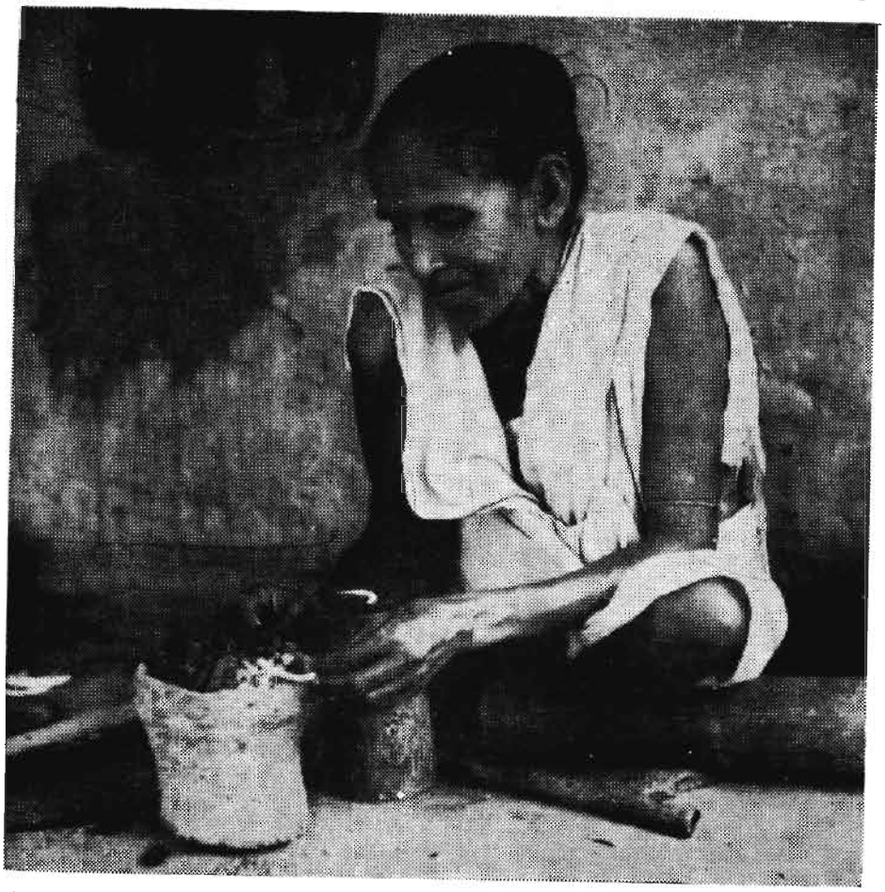
Cutting the upper part of the Conch shell into slices with a semi-circular saw



Polishing the inside of the bangles on a mandrel



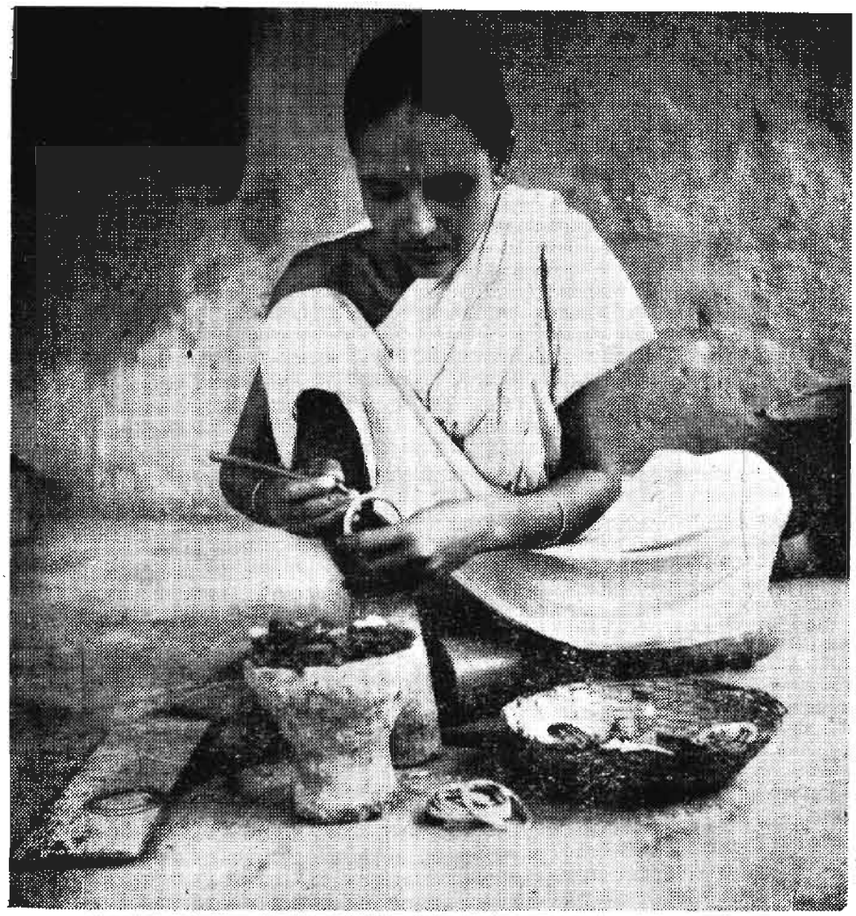
Designs being engraved on the bangle, resting on the tripod-stand with the help of the file



Joining fragments of white bangles, salvaged after cutting operations, with lac and gum-mixture—three broken pieces generally make a bangle



Incisive line-marks being engraved on the joined bangle with a small saw

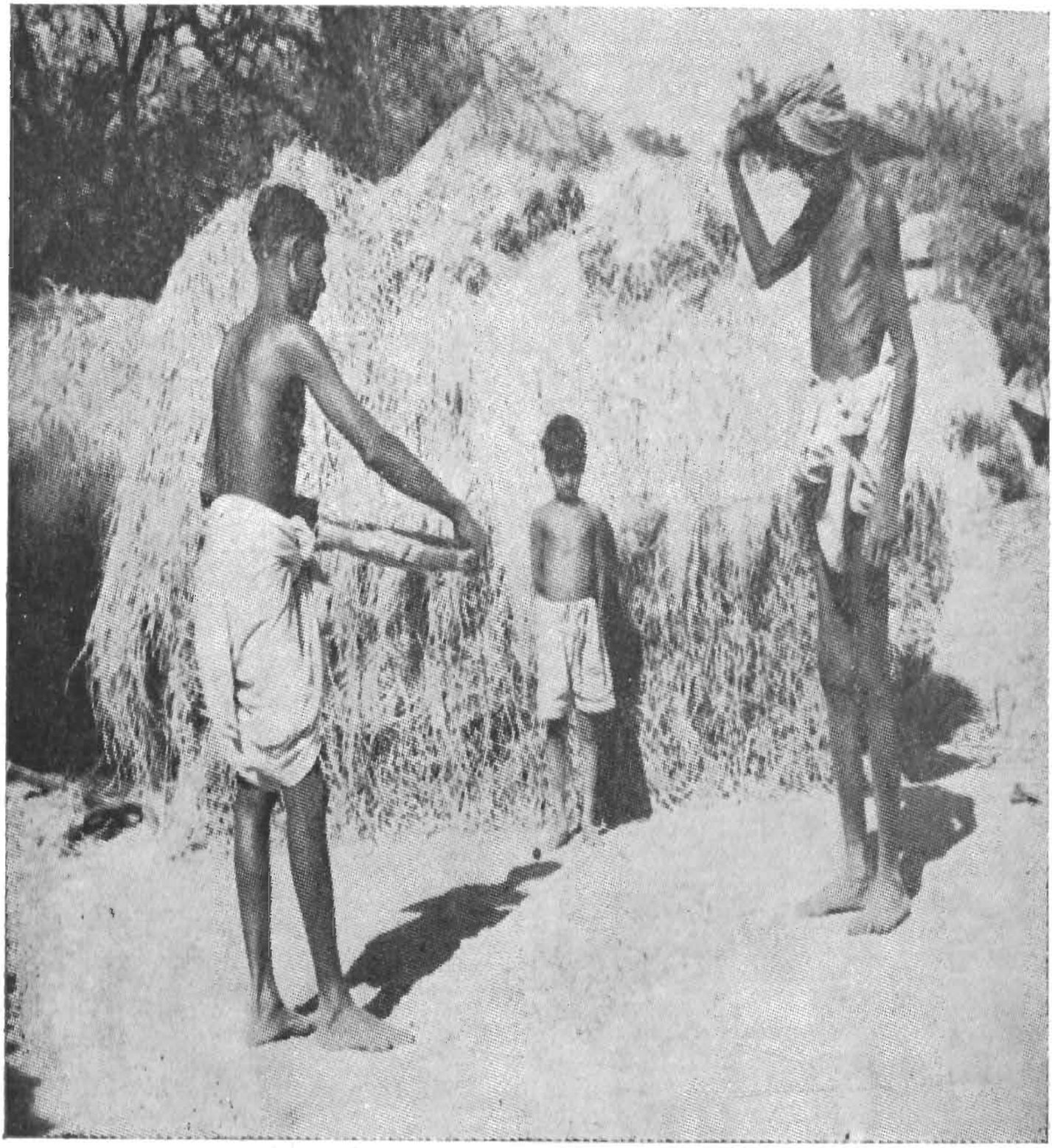


Lacquering a bangle with the help of a *Kalam* (pen-shaped stick)

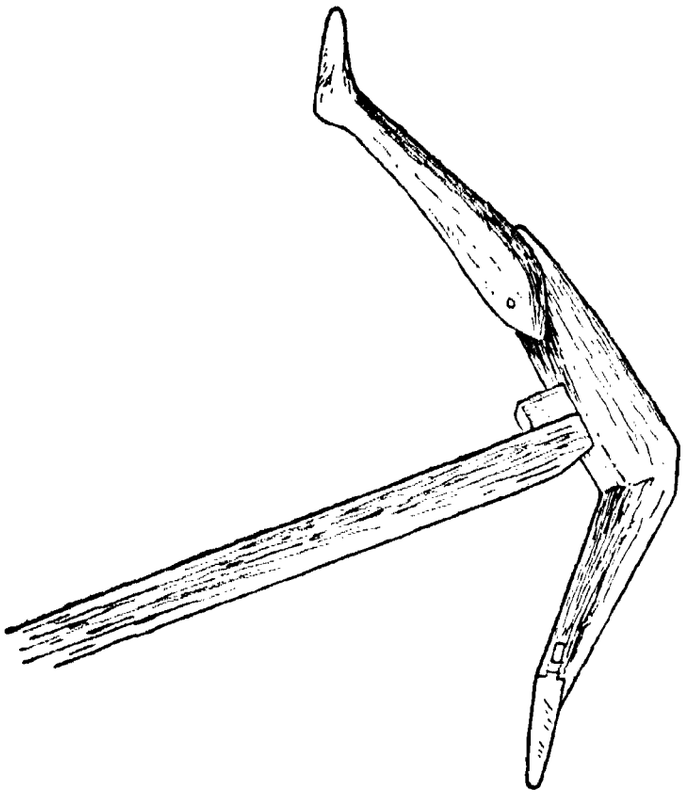


Ten pieces of coloured bangles are tied together into two lots to make a pair

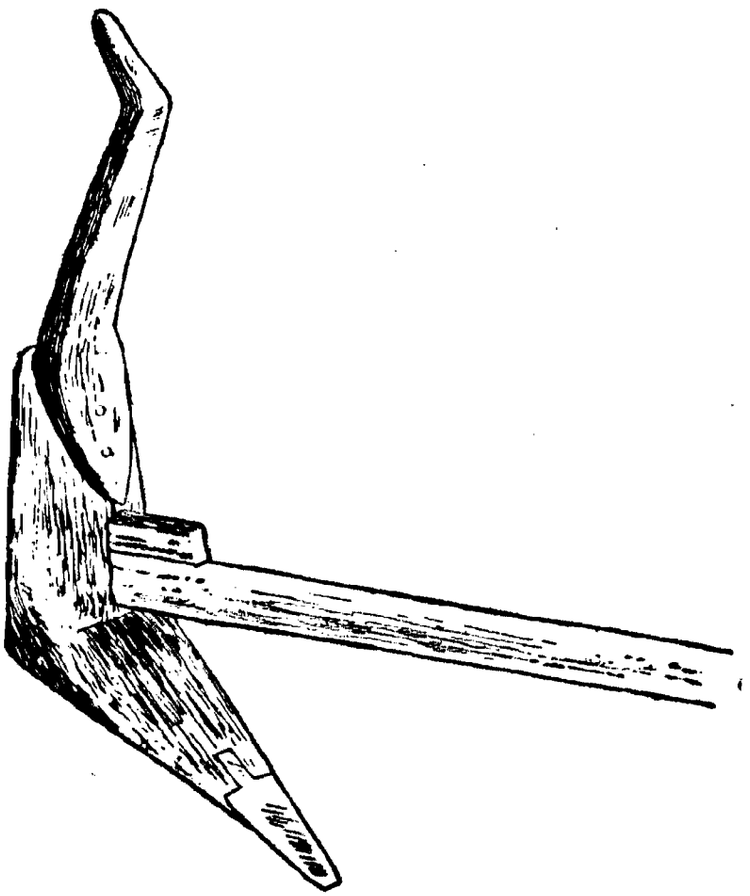
HARVESTED PADDY BEING PROCESSED



Separating the unwanted articles from the thrashed paddy by blowing the winnowing fan



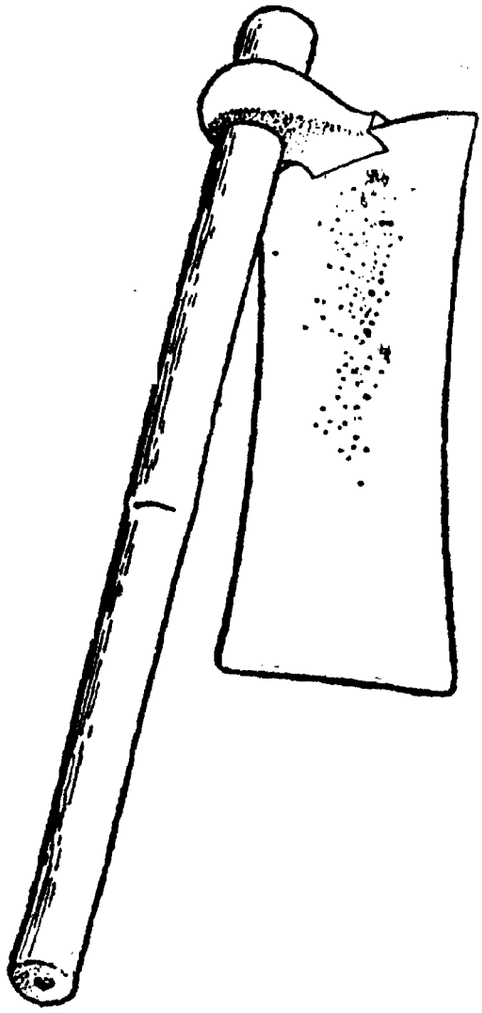
Plough used for tilling the muddy field—the blade is not broad enough, rather it is narrow and tapering ; the plough is light in weight and easy to handle and drive



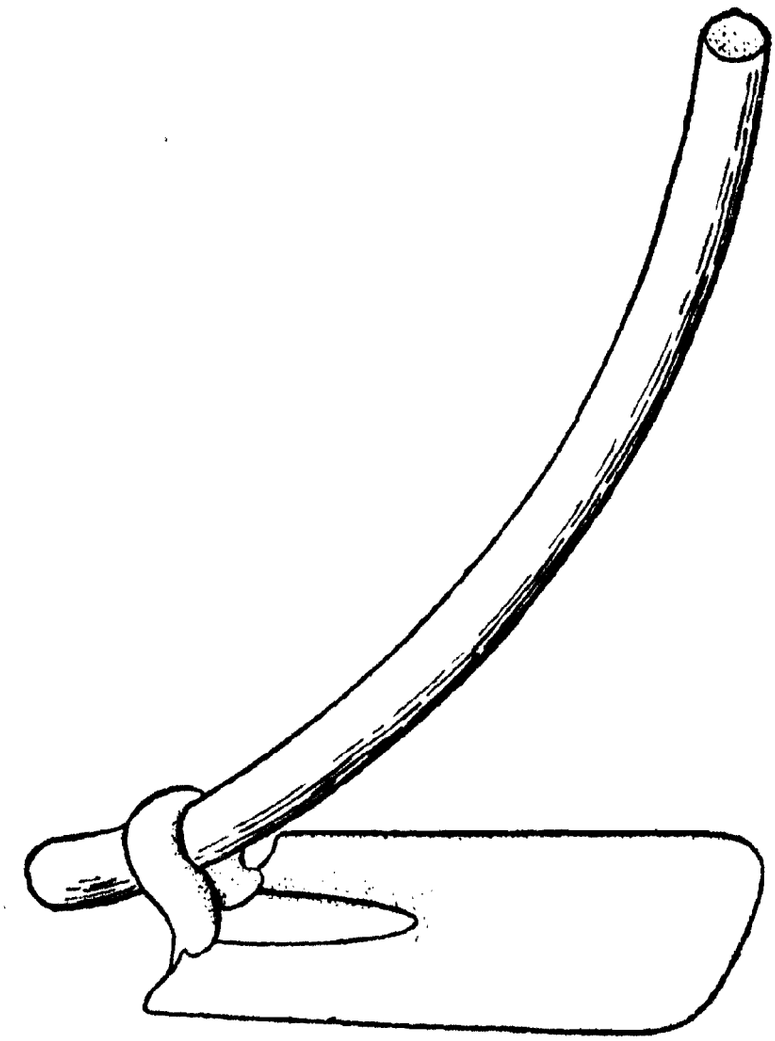
Plough for dry fields—the flat iron blade in the plough is heavy to enable the tiller to cultivate easily the dusty, dry fields



Yoke



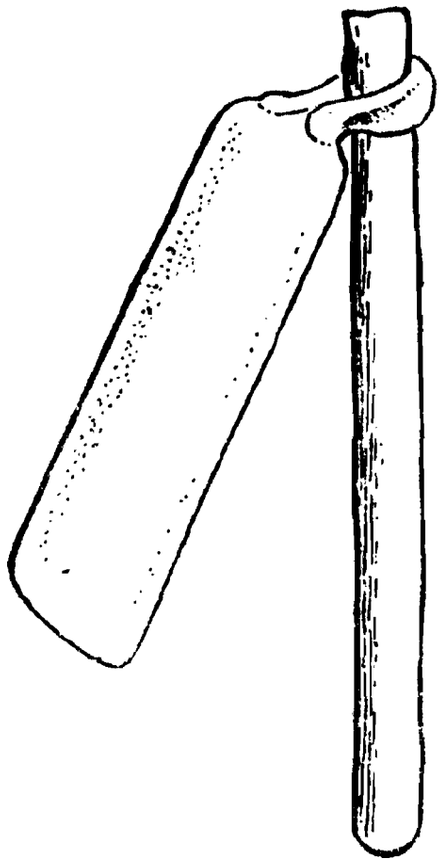
Spade with inclined blade used for weeding



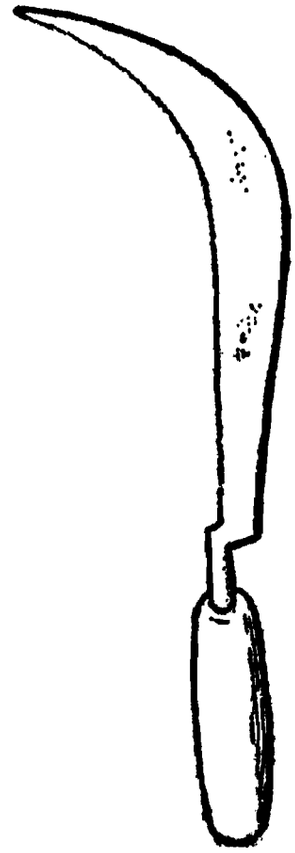
Spade for digging earth



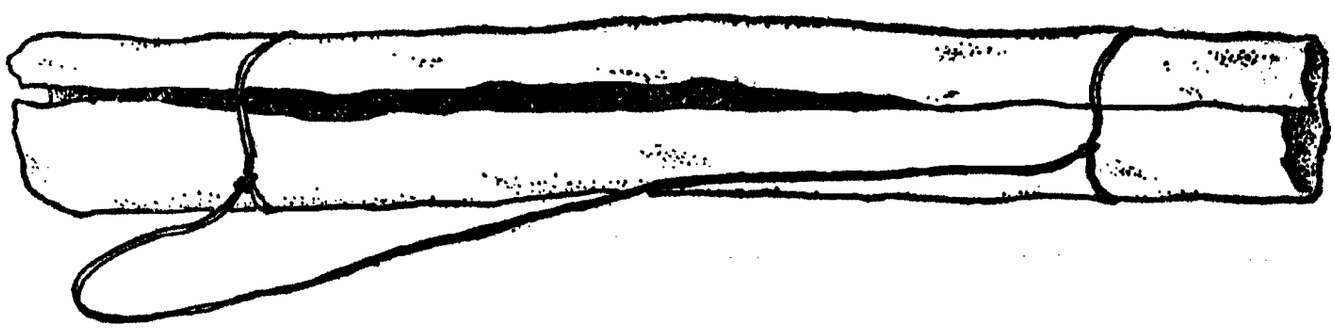
Peka—an indigenous umbrella for the farmer of Raibaghini in the rains



Pasuni—a spade for weeding fields, growing wheat



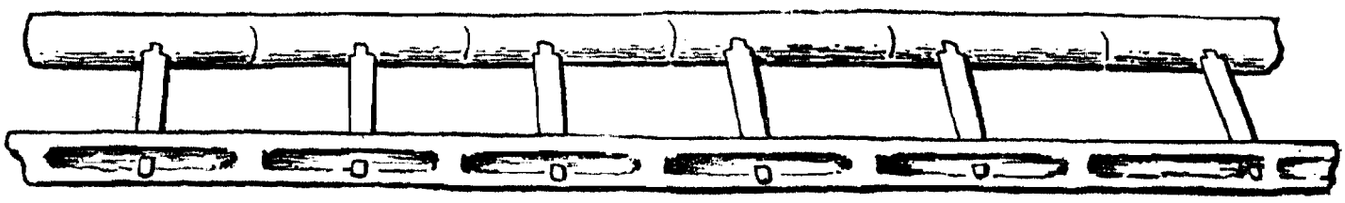
Sickle—most useful in harvesting paddy and wheat



Chonga—a hollow cylindrical metallic container for lighted straw-rope

(*b*) *Harrow*

Harrow is made in the houses of the cultivators. One or two pieces of long bamboos are enough for making one harrow.



HARROW

(*c*) *Spade*

Two types of spades are generally used. Blade in one type of spade is more inclined than in the other type. Spade with inclined blade is used for weeding, while the other type of spade is used in digging earth. Cost of a spade of either type is about Rs. 6/- to Rs. 8/-.

(*d*) *Sickle*

It is used for harvesting paddy and wheat. A sickle generally costs one rupee.

(*e*) *Pasuni*

It is a small type of spade, used for weeding fields, where wheat is grown. Cost of one *Pasuni* is about Rs. 3/-.

(*f*) *Dungi*

Dungi is a canoe-shaped iron-vessel with pointed end. This is used for the purpose of irrigation. Cost of one *Dungi* is about Rs. 45/- to Rs. 60/-. It is available at Gele, about six miles away from this village.



DUNGI

(*g*) *Pata*

It is made of wooden planks. One *Pata* is available at Rs. 5/-.

(*h*) *Chonga*

Chonga is a hollow cylindrical tube, made of kerosene tin. It is used to protect lighted straw-rope during rain to enable the labourers to light *bidi*.

(*i*) *Bullock cart*

This is the costliest of all the agricultural accessories. Cost of one cart is about Rs. 200/-. Carts are available in a nearby village, Gogra, about two miles away from this village. Hindusthani Karmakars or the members of the Karmakar caste, who speak Hindi and who are the inhabitants of Bihar, manufacture the carts. They call themselves Hindusthani Karmakar. The families, which possess bullock carts, cultivate more than six *bighas* of land. 20 families possess bullock carts. It is perhaps worth mentioning that no bullock cart is used for cultivation by any household, which does not own it. The system of giving bullock carts on hire is not current here for the reason that the owners are either over too busy with the carts for their own work or do not like the idea of putting them for use on hire.

Except the *Dungi* and bullock cart, other tools and implements are available at Gopalganj, a hamlet of this village, where a few Karmakar families prepare all these implements.

Improved methods of cultivation and developmental activities connected with agriculture.

Only two cultivators followed the Japanese method of cultivation in 1962 and 1963. One landowner, belonging to the Tantubaya caste, cultivated 2½ *bighas* of land, while the other, a Sankhabanik landowner, cultivated 22 *cottahs* in the Japanese method of cultivation. But, in 1964 nobody followed this method. It is reported that although the average yield per *bigha* is slightly higher in the Japanese method, the expenses involved in this method are more than those of the ordinary method.

From the following table showing the yield of paddy per *bigha* of land and the cost involved in getting the land cultivated by a cultivator possessing the bullocks and ploughs, one may have an idea about why the Japanese method is not preferred to the indigenous way. In preparing the table the cost of seeds was not taken into account, for it did not vary in the two methods of cultivation. The manure required in the Japanese method of cultivation was supplied by the Government ; so, its cost was not taken into account. The case-study was made after interviewing Sri Bholanath Dutta, who tried the Japanese method in his plot of 22 *cottahs* of land.

TABLE 42

COST OF CULTIVATION FOR ONE *BIGHA* OF LAND

Operation	Indigenous method			Japanese method		
	No. of mandays	From Rs.	To	No. of mandays	From Rs.	To
Ploughing	4	7.00	8.00	4	7.00	8.00
Transport of manure	1	1.75	2.00	1	1.75	2.00
Transplantation	3	5.25	6.00	6	10.50	12.00
Weeding	2	3.50	4.00	4	7.00	8.00
Harvesting	2	3.50	4.00	2	3.50	4.00
Threshing	2	3.50	4.00	2	3.50	4.00
Winnowing and carrying etc.	2	3.50	4.00	2	3.50	4.00
Irrigation	..	..	..	2	3.50	4.00
Total	16	28.00	32.00	23	40.25	46.00
Yield of paddy per *bigha*	8 *maunds*			10 *maunds*		

It may be observed that the cost of labour is about Rs. 10/- to Rs. 15/- more in the Japanese method of cultivation, whereas the yield in this method is only two *maunds* more than that obtained by the indigenous method. The low yield is mainly due to the want of proper irrigational facilities. That is why, people are not interested in the Japanese method of cultivation, which requires some additional manure and abundant supply of water.

Only two families have got cemented pits for preparing compost manure. Half of the cost of constructing such a pit is borne by the Government. Better varieties of manure can be prepared in the cemented pit, because organic substances are completely decomposed on account of the presence of water at the bottom of this pit. The *Gram Sevak* tried to initiate the people in the use of cemented pits in the village, but the villagers were reluctant to bear even half the cost.

Two Tantubaya landowners received improved type of iron plough from the Block Development Office. None of these two

families used this plough. In muddy field this plough is said to be useless and in dry field the bullocks cannot draw this plough. Not a single cultivator of this village came forward to follow the Japanese method of cultivation or to use cemented pit for compost manure on their own initiative. Of the two landowners, who followed the Japanese method of cultivation, one was a close friend of the *Gram Sevak* and the other was the President of the Union Board at that time. Of the two cultivators, who built cemented pits for compost manure with assistance from the Block Development Office, one had followed the Japanese method of cultivation and the other one, a Tantubaya landowner, agreed to use cemented pit only after the *Gram Sevak* had recommended his case for agricultural loan to Block Development Office. The villagers are interested in taking loans from the Government, but they do not evince the same interest in following the methods of cultivation, as demonstrated by the *Gram Sevak*. It is really painful that the efforts of the *Gram Sevak* in demonstrating the better methods of cultivation fell flat on the cultivators, steeped as they are in their traditional methods. No less disappointing is the fact that scientific method did not impress even one as much as friendly persuasion.

Only three tanks were improved by the State Government under the Tank Improvement Scheme and a big Irrigation Scheme has been taken up by the State Government in October, 1964. Under this Scheme the biggest water-reservoir, *Kotaldighi*, will be improved to provide irrigation-water to an area of 600 *bighas* of land, surrounding the water-reservoir. Water from the rivulet, Amodar, which flows at a distance of about 200 yards, will be stored in the reservoir by a pumping machine. The stored-up water will be released to the nearby fields, as and when required. The cultivators, who depend on uncertain rainfall, are eagerly looking forward to the completion of the Scheme.

Produce

1. Paddy

A table, relating to the number of families classified by caste receiving paddy in *maunds*, is presented below :

TABLE 43

Caste/ Community	No. of households which received from their fields paddy weighing										Total no. of house-holds
	1—10 *maunds*	11—20 *maunds*	21—30 *maunds*	31—40 *maunds*	41—50 *maunds*	51—75 *maunds*	76—100 *maunds*	101—150 *maunds*	151—200 *maunds*	201—250 *maunds*	
Bauri	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Sankhabanik	5	5	3	1	2	2	1	..	..	..	19
Bagdi	15	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	17
Tantubaya	3	3	..	1	1	..	1	2	..	1	12
Brahman	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	3
Tambuli	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	3
Modak	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	4
Bairagi	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2
Karmakar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sutradhar	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Kaibarta	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2
Sunri	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
Kalu	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	**34**	**12**	**5**	**2**	**4**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**76**

The table shows that 76 households or 53 per cent families of this village produced paddy. Out of the 76 households, 40 families are owner-cultivators, 19 families have let out their entire land to the share-croppers and the remaining 17 families are landless share-croppers. Of all the paddy-producing families, 44.74 per cent received 1 to 10 *maunds* of paddy, 30.26 per cent received 11 to 50 *maunds* and the remaining 25 per cent received 51 to 250 *maunds*. The families, receiving more than 50 *maunds* of paddy, are the owners of land, above 10 *bighas*.

2. Potato

A table, showing the number of families, which grew potatoes, is given below :

TABLE 44

Caste/ Community	No. of households which grew potato weighing: Less than one *maund*	1—5 *maunds*	6—10 *maunds*	11—15 *maunds*	Total no. of house-holds
Sankhabanik	4	5	1	1	11
Bagdi	..	1	..	..	1
Tantubaya	..	3	..	..	3
Brahman	..	1	1	..	2
Tambuli	..	..	..	1	1
Modak	..	2	..	..	2
Bairagi	..	..	1	..	1
Kaibarta	..	..	..	1	1
Sunri	..	1	1	..	2
Total	4	13	4	3	24

133 *maunds* of potato were produced by 24 families. Potato is grown only by the well-off cultivators. The producers store up potatoes in one of the rooms in the first floor taking care that the potatoes are not exposed to damp. Most of the cultivators reported that some quantity of potato underwent decay by putrefaction every year. There is no cold-storage facility in this region.

3. Wheat and sugarcane

Eaeh of the six wheat-producer families produced less than one *maund* of wheat. Only three families produced sugarcane in a very small area.

Sale of agricultural produce

Wheat, potato and sugarcane etc. are produced for domestic consumption.

Paddy is the only agricultural produce sold by the villagers. They carry paddy to Kotulpur in bullock-carts, whenever they like to sell it. There are a few *Aratdars* or wholesalers at Kotulpur, who purchase paddy at the rate of Rs. 14/- to Rs. 16/- per *maund.*

Two tables, relating to the sale of surplus quantity of paddy and to the quantity of paddy, required for household-consumption, are presented below :

Sale from the quantity of paddy required for household-consumption is given first.

TABLE 45

Caste/ Community	No. of households selling in *maunds*: 1—10	11—20	21—30	Total no. of house-holds
Bauri	4	..	..	4
Sankhabanik	3	1	1	5
Dagdi	5	..	..	5
Tantubaya	4	..	..	4
Modak	..	1	..	1
Karmakar	1	..	..	1
Kaibarta	1	..	..	1
Total	18	2	1	21

TABLE 46

SALE OF SURPLUS QUANTITY OF PADDY

Caste/ Community	No. of households selling surplus quantity of paddy in *maunds*: 1-10	11-20	21-30	41-50	71-80	Total
Sankhabanik	2	1	..	..	..	3
Tantubaya	..	..	..	1	..	1
Brahman	..	1	..	..	..	1
Tambuli	..	..	..	1	..	1
Bairagi	..	..	..	..	1	1
Modak	..	2	..	..	..	2
Sunri	..	..	2	..	..	2
Total	2	4	2	2	1	11

Out of 76 families receiving any quantity of paddy from cultivation, 32 families sold a portion of the produce. Of the 32 families, which had sold some paddy, 11 families sold the surplus quantity and the remaining 21

families were compelled to sell a portion of the paddy, kept for household-consumption.

Of the families, which were compelled to sell some quantity of paddy meant for their household-consumption, 10 families had to do so to pay off their debts, three families sold paddy to meet their domestic expenses and the remaining three families had to do so to pay the revenue of their land.

Agricultural labourers

Labourers engaged in agricultural activities may be classified into three different categories according to their working conditions.

(i) *Nagare*
(ii) *Nagda*
(iii) *Mander*

1. Nagare

The labourer, who takes loan from the landowner on condition that he will work for the creditor on the basis of daily wage-rate fixed by the landowner, whenever he is asked to work, is known as *Nagare*. As long as he does not clear off his debt, he has to work on fixed rate of daily wage. If the landowner does not like to engage this class of labourer during the off season of cultivation, he is free to do otherwise. The labourer does not pay interest for his loan, but he has to work for the creditor, whenever he is asked to work. He will not get the usual rate of daily wage for his labour in the fields, but will get a smaller amount of wage. Besides daily wages, he will have his breakfast and midday meal in the employer's house. The employer also supplies *bidi* to the labourer.

A few case-studies of *Nagare* labourers are given below :

1. Bijoy Kumar Singha, a Bagdi aged 30 years, has been working as a *Nagare* in one Tantubaya family of this village for one year. He earns 81 paise per day, in addition to the breakfast and midday meal, served free. He works for about 9 to 10 hours a day during the sowing and harvesting seasons. He is not provided with any work by his employer in the lean seasons of agriculture, when he is free to work anywhere. He took a loan of Rs. 20/- from his employer about a year ago.

2. Panchanan Roy, also a Bagdi, is aged 43 years and has been working for two years as a *Nagare* in the house of the Ekadas Teli cultivator, residing in Gopalpur *mouza*, about one mile away from this village. He works for 9 to 10 hours a day during the agricultural operations. He earns the wage of 75 paise per day. He gets breakfast, *bidi* and midday meal from his employer. His employer does not provide him with any work in the off season of agriculture.

He took a very small amount of loan (not specified) in the first year of his service and repaid the amount at the end of that year. Again he took a loan of Rs. 60/- from his employer. He could not repay his loan.

3. Anukul Bauri is a Bauri, aged 50 years. He has been working as a *Nagare* for four years in the house of one Modak family of this village. He works for only 9 to 10 hours per day in agricultural seasons. He earns 75 paise per day, in addition to the other facilities, as stated before. He is not provided with work throughout the year. During four years of his service as *Nagare* he took a loan of Rs. 100/- from his employer, but he could not be free from debt.

4. Panchkari Karmakar, aged 24 years, is a Karmakar. He has been working as a *Nagare* for one year in one Tantubaya household, residing in this village. He gets 75 paise per day in addition to the other facilities. He is provided with work for the whole year. During the off season of agriculture he works on handloom. He receives the same daily wage, even when he works on handloom. Working-hours do not vary. He was indebted for Rs. 40/- to his employer.

2. Nagda

This class of labourer is free to work anywhere. They generally work for those, who pay them more. Daily rate of wage of a *Nagda* labourer is higher than the rate, at which a *Nagare* type of labourer works. In addition to the usual daily wage, breakfast and midday meal in the landowner's house are provided free.

The daily rate of wage of an agricultural labourer of *Nagda* type is Rs. 1. 25, in addition to the breakfast, midday meal and *bidi*, provided to him free of cost by his employer. The

daily wage-rate of a casual *Nagda* labourer, engaged in construction-work varies from Rs. 1.75 to Rs. 2.00. He does not get any breakfast or midday meal. He is provided with *bidi* by his employer.

The comparative wages of the labourers of *Nagda* type engaged in agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits and of *Nagare* type may be had from the following table.

TABLE 47

Wage of *Nagda* labourer		Wage of *Nagare* labourer	
Agricultural work	Non-agricultural work	Agricultural work	Non-agricultural work
Rs. 1.25p (Daily wage)	Rs. 1.75p (Daily wage)	·50p to Re. 1.00 (Daily wage)	.75p (Daily wage)
+ Re. 1.00 (Breakfast, midday meal and *bidi*) = Rs. 2.25p	+ .06p (*Bidi*) = Rs.1.81p	+ Re.1.00 (Breakfast, midday meal and *bidi*) = Rs. 1.50p to Rs.2.00	+ Re.1.00 (Breakfast, midday meal and *bidi*) = Rs.1.75p

The wage of the *Nagda* labourer engaged in the agricultural work is the highest from both the labourer's and the employer's points. But, the *Nagare* labourer is the worst hit, for he gets a lower rate of wage and at the same time remains indebted to his employer for the amount of loan taken.

3. Mander

The class of labourer, who generally stays in the employer's house and works throughout the year on the basis of annual payment of wage, is known as *Mander*. They have their breakfast, midday and evening meals in the house of their employers. They receive four *dhotis*, four napkins, one *chaddar* and one shirt evey year. They are also provided with oil for anointing their body. They cannot leave the employer, unless they complete one year's service. 12 days' leave in a year is admissible to these labourers. The employer will deduct the wages, if the labourer absents himself on any occasion after the exhaustion of his leave. If the labourer is ill and goes home, his wage is deducted. But, if he stays in the employer's house during his illness, no deduction is made from his wages.

Comparative study of the three different classes of agricultural labourers.

It may be seen from the working conditions of the three different classes of labourers that the *Nagares* and the *Manders* are but bonded labours. The question as to how can a *Nagare* labour clear off his debt, when he finds it difficult to run his family with his meagre income remains an unsolved quiz. So, they work for years together on fixed rate of daily wage, whatever the prevalent wage-rate in the area. But, the *Mander* has to work for at least one year on yearly salary, fixed by the landowner. A glimpse into the table below will reveal that the number of *Nagda* labours is less than that of the *Nagare* labours. The reason is that the *Nagda* labour has but to take loans in times of need. No landowner will be willing to pay him any loan, unless he agrees to work for him. Thus, *Nagda* labours are gradually turning to *Nagare* type of bonded labours.

Nagare and *Nagda* types of labours generally work from morning to evening with recess for one hour for breakfast and one hour and a half for midday meal. They work for 9 to 10 hours a day. But, the *Manders*, in addition to the usual work in the daytime, generally perform miscellaneous duties at night, such as preparation of hemp-rope and keeping watch over the cattle etc.

There is no female or child labour working here. There are altogether 71 labours, who are engaged most of the time in the year in agricultural work.

The castewise break-up of 71 agricultural labours is shown below :

Bauri	41
Bagdi	26
Karmakar	3
Sankhabanik	1
Total	71

Majority of the labour-force for agricultural work comes from the Scheduled Castes *i. e.*, the Bauris and Bagdis. Only three workers

from the Karmakar families, formerly engaged in bell-metal industry, have now taken up agricultural work, after the closure of the bell-metal industry in the village. There is only one worker from the Sankhabanik caste, who has been working in the field as hired labour from the time, when Conch shell industry manifested symptoms of decay.

A table, relating to the break-up of the labourers according to their working conditions, is presented below :

TABLE 48

Caste/Community	*Nagare*	*Nagda*	*Mander*
Bauri	30	5	6
Bagdi	15	4	7
Karmakar	1	2	--
Sankhabanik	..	--	1
Total	46	11	14

64.7 per cent of the 71 labourers engaged in agricultural work are of *Nagare* type. 15.6 per cent are of *Nagda* type and the remaining 19.7 per cent of labours work on the basis of yearly payment of wage.

Range of daily wage-rate for different categories of labours is given below :

Total no. of labours of *Nagare* type	No. of *Nagare* labourer with daily wage-rate of					
	50 paise	62 paise	75 paise	81 paise	87 paise	Re. 1.00
46	1	5	19	3	4	14

The table shows that the daily wage ranging from 50 paise to Re.1.00 is earned by *Nagare* type of labour. The rate of wage is fixed by the landowners arbitrarily.

The wage-rate of *Nagda* labour at the time of survey prevailed at Rs. 1.25 per day.

The labours, who work on the basis of yearly payment, generally earn Rs. 50/- to Rs. 250/- in a year. Of the 14 labourers of this type, three earn about Rs. 50/-, four earn upto Rs. 100/-, another four earn upto Rs. 150/-, one earns Rs. 175/- and another earns Rs. 240/- per year.

Industry

About two decades ago this village was an important centre of weaving, bell-metal industry and Conch shell craft. Majority of the villagers used to earn their livelihood from one or the other industry. But, at present bell-metal industry has become a thing of the past. The other important industry, the Conch shell craft, is in a decadent condition.

Besides the two major industries, there are several other minor industries. A list of the major and minor industries, located in the, village, is given below :

Major Industry	*Minor Industry*
1. Conch shell craft	1. Weaving coarse mat *i. e., Talai*
2. Weaving	2. Preparation of lime from water-snails
	3. Wood-craft and clay-modelling
	4. Preparation of sweet-meat
	5. Tailoring
	6. Cycle-reparing
	7. Blacksmithy
	8. Grinding of wheat
	9. Husking of rice

There are altogether 151 persons, consisting of 59 males and 92 females, engaged in different industries. Break-up figures of the total number of workers according to their association with different types of industries are given below :

TABLE 49

	Name of the Industry	No. of persons engaged		
		Male	Female	Total
1.	Conch shell	26	35	61
2.	Weaving	15	15	30
3.	Weaving date-palm mat (*Talai*)	..	27	27
4.	Husking	..	15	15
5.	Preparation of sweet-meat	6	..	6
6.	Wood-craft and clay-modelling	5	..	5
7.	Tailoring	3	..	3
8.	Wheat-grinding	1	..	1
9.	Blacksmithy	1	..	1
*10.	Motor repairing & servicing	1	..	1
11.	Cycle-repairing	1	..	1
	Total	59	92	151

*The asterisk denotes the location of the Industry outside the village.

Lime industry has not been included in the table, because lime is not prepared regularly. That is why, nobody is engaged in this industry as a full-time worker.

If one likes to determine the position of the industries with reference to the number of workers, Conch shell industry tops the list. The next in importance is weaving industry.

A. Conch shell industry

Although Conch shell craft is the traditional occupation of the Sankhabanik caste, some of the other castes also have been practising it. This craft is followed by 32 families.

Castewise break-up of 32 families engaged in Conch shell industry.

Sankhabanik	26
Bairagi	3
Brahman	2
Sutradhar	1
Total	**32**

1. Product

Two types of Conch shell bangles are produced by the artisans of this village. One variety is the white bangle, known as *Sada Sankha*, while the other type is coloured bangle, locally known as *Sonamukhi*. White bangle, usually regarded as the symbol of marital tie, is used by the married Hindu women. But, coloured bangles are only used by the *Adibasis* of Bihar.

2. Raw material

Deep down the sea Conch shells grow. The shells are picked úp by the divers from the bed of the sea. About 20 years ago, the artisans of this village used to depend on Conch shells from Ceylon. But, with the ban on the import of Conch shells from Ceylon, the shells from Madras coast have taken the place of the Ceylonese, ones. From Madras shells are brought to Calcutta through the agents, who distribute the shells to the wholesalers. The artisans get the supply of their raw material from the wholesalers. They either come personally to Calcutta to take the raw material or request the wholesalers to send the required raw material through the motor-transport companies to their village. Artisans generally purchase bagful of Conch shells of varying sizes, on payment in cash and sometimes on credit. A bag generally contains 100 pieces of Conch shells. Cost of one bagful of Conch shells varies from Rs. 270/- to Rs. 300/-.

Raw material for coloured bangle is provided by the cut pieces of those Conch shells, which cannot be utilised further for white bangles. The artisans, who prepare coloured bangles, get the cut pieces either from the artisans of Bishnupur or from those in the village. The price, fixed per *pan* or 80 pieces, is generally charged Rs. 2/-.

3. Stages of production

(a) White bangle

There are different stages of production for white bangles.

(i) **Hammering**—(*Mukh Bhanga* and *Bindh*)—First, hammering is done on the top of the shell by a hammer with its pointed end to open the mouth of the shell. Dust and unwanted things from inside the shell are taken out through the opening.

(ii) **Sizing**—(*Kata* and *Majar*)—The shell is then cut into two portions by the semi-circular saw. The upper portion is known as *Malui* and the lower portion is called *Gnera*. White bangles are prepared from the upper portion.

A fev years ago, the upper portion of the shells were cut into circular pieces by the artisans of this village with the help of semi-circular saw. But, at present with the introduction of cutting machine in Bishnupur, almost all artisans get the upper portion of the shells cut into pieces by the electrically operated machine in Bishnupur. The artisans now pay three paise per cut piece for the work, but they used to pay previously six paise for the same, if done manually.

(iii) **Polishing**—(*Palis*)—Polishing of the outer surface of the cut pieces is done by rubbing the piece over a flat sand-stone. The inner surface of the piece is polished with the help of a sand-covered mandrel. Polishing is done to get the required smoothness of the inner and outer surfaces of the piece.

(iv) **Designing**—(*Naksa*)—Different types of designs are engraved on the outer surface of the cut piece with the help of files.

(v) **Finishing**—Finally the bangle is dipped into diluted nitric acid to get the required brightness.

(*b*) *Sonamukhi (coloured bangle)*

One coloured bangle is made out of three cut pieces.

(i) **Combining**—(*Jog*) Three cut pieces are generally combined together to form a bangle by a gum-like substance, made of resin and *jau* (a kind of inferior lac).

(ii) **Polishing**—The process of polishing the coloured bangles is similar to that of the white bangle.

(iii) **Drilling**—(*Bindh*) A small hole is made on the bangle by a small drilling machine, known as *Vramar*.

(iv) Five bangles are tied together by inserting a thread through the holes. 10 pieces of bangles make a pair.

4. Source of finance

All the 32 families engaged in the craft possess the necessary tools and implements. Nine families, which run the industry to produce white bangles independently, purchase raw materials from Calcutta, mostly against cash. Four other families, which run the industry of manufacture of coloured bangles, also purchase the raw materials against cash. The remaining 18 families, which are contract wage-earners, get the supply of raw material from the families, which have independent establishments.

5. Marketing of product

About a decade ago, traders of white bangles used to visit this village regularly from outside. In those days it was not necessary for the artisans of this village to go out to sell the articles, produced by them. Now, the artisans go round the neighbouring villages to sell the bangles from door to door. The artisans, who would not normally come out of their workshop to sell their wares in those days, will now be seen walking with a small tin box through the rough mud roads of the distant villages throughout the year. There are eight such hawkers in this village, who not only hawk about their products in the neighbouring villages, but also attend all the fairs and festivals, held within the radius of 15 miles. Four, out of the eight hawkers, sell the articles, produced by themselves. The other four hawkers, although they work as wage-earners, sell the articles produced by others. There is only one artisan, who sells the bangles in bulk to the traders of Arambagh, Kamarpukur etc. on credit.

As the coloured bangles are only used by the *Adibasis* of Bihar, three *Paikars* or wholesale traders of coloured bangles visit this village at regular intervals from Bihar.

6. Piece-work rate

In case of white bangles the wage-rate is fixed per pair of bangles. The rate of wage is fixed per pair of *Sonamukhi*, actually consisting of ten pieces of coloured bangles.

The opening and sizing operations are done by one artisan, who gets Rs. 3/- for opening 100 shells and Rs. 3/- for sizing them. The rate of wage for a pair of white bangles from the polishing to the final stage of operation is 12 paise per pair. An artisan, engaged in producing white bangles, earns Re. 1.00 to Rs. 1.25 after toiling for the whole day. An artisan, engaged in coloured bangle industry, can produce 10 pieces of bangles after a day's labour. The rate of wage for 10 pieces (one pair) varies from 50 paise to 75 paise, depending, of course, upon the skill of the artisan.

7. Worker

The caste and sexwise break-up of the workers engaged in Conch shell industry is shown below :

Caste/Community	Male	Female	Total
Sankhabanik	20	29	49
Bairagi	3	4	7
Sutradhar	1	1	2
Brahman	2	1	3
Total	26	35	61

Out of 61 workers, 57 per cent are females. The participation of females in greater numbers than their male counterparts is explained by the fact, that they can sit in a place for hours together and carry out patiently the details of

minute processes. They work in the industry in addition to their customary household work. Except the opening and sizing operations, the female workers can perform all other processes of production. Most of the workers belong to the Sankhabanik caste, because the craft is their traditional occupation.

8. Present position of the industry

The industry, which was once the source of livelihood for not only the Sankhabaniks but also for some other castes of this village, is about to die out for various reasons, which landed the industry in its present plight. The present crisis in Conch shell industry is mainly due to the irregular supply of insufficient raw materials. Many workers are thrown out of employment periodically and have to sit idle, till raw materials are available. The aged artisans, who cannot take up any other work at this stage of their life, wait patiently in the verandahs for days together, looking for the bagful of Conch shells to arrive.

The supply of raw material is not sufficient in most cases to provide uninterrupted work for the artisans for 15 days at a stretch.

At the time of buying the raw material the artisans are not allowed to inspect all the shells inside the bag. Sometimes, the number of rejected Conch shells in a bag mounts up and causes serious loss to the artisans.

Moreover, if the artisans ask for a particular variety of raw material, suitable for preparing white bangles of some particular designs, they get the other variety, which is not at all suitable for engraving artistic designs on the bangles.

The demand for bangles among the poorer section of the people has also declined to a great extent. The bangles, which would cost one rupee per pair about a decade ago, are now selling at Rs. 2/- per pair. Because of the high price, the poor families cannot afford to use the bangle, though it is regarded by the married Hindu woman as a symbol of married life. It has been pointed out earlier in Chapter II that Conch shell bangle is being gradually replaced among the poor families by synthetic chemical bangles, which look more or less like Conch shell bangle. Because of the fall in demand, the dealers from distant places do not visit this village now. That is why, as many as eight artisans have turned into hawkers.

As the industry began to deteriorate, the artisans, who could begin their life afresh, left the industry. The castewise break-up of the workers, who were forced to leave the industry in the course of the last 10 years, is shown below :

Caste/Community	No. of workers
Sankhabanik	8
Brahman	1
Sutradhar	2
Total	**11**

Eleven unemployed workers consist of eight males and three females. Of the three female workers, two Sutradhar women have now taken up the work of paddy-husking and the other one, a Sankhabanik by caste, is working as a cook in Burdwan city. Of the eight male workers, the Brahman is serving in a Punjabi Hotel at Kotulpur, three Sankhabanik workers have taken up service in the sweetmeat shops, situated in distant places, such as, Kalipur, Burdwan etc. One Sankhabanik artisan has gone as far as Purulia to work as a motor-mechanic, leaving his mother and young wife in the village. Two of the Sankhabanik workers joined the open-air theatrical party as *Tabla*-players. They had to take up the job, or were rather forced to, though in their view the job was neither dependable nor respectable. In the heyday of Conch shell industry these two artisans used to relax by playing on the musical instrument during their leisure-hours after the day's hard and monotonous work on the shells. But, the recreation has now become their profession. Finally, one Sankhabanik artisan was forced to take up the work of agricultural labour, which work is still regarded by the Sankhabaniks as beneath their dignity to accept. That is why, he goes all the way to Sashpur to work in the field, about eight miles away from his own village, to earn his bread.

B. Weaving

Weaving is another major village-industry, in which 12 families are engaged fully or partly. Weaving is the traditional occupation of the Tantubaya caste. There are altogether 15 Tantubaya families in this village, of whom three families are not connected with weaving now. One family left practising weaving, when the head of the family died a few years ago, having left behind a 14 years old son with defective eye-sight. Another family prefers cultivation to weaving, as because it holds 27

bighas of land. The third one left the industry to take up the business of handloom products.

Out of 12 families practising weaving, nine are fully engaged and the remaining three partly. Of the three families partly engaged, two are employed in trade and commerce and the head of the other family is a quack of this village. He works on his loom during his spare time. Only 11 families possess looms. The death of the father caused one boy (aged 15 years) of the family without a loom to work on other's loom as hired labour. He serves in one of the Tantubaya families residing in the hamlet. There are altogether 21 looms in the possession of these 11 families.

	No. of looms possessed by the Tantubaya families			
	One loom	Two looms	Three looms	Four looms
Households	4	5	1	1

The head of one houshold has two looms, of which one is run by him. But, as his son has opened a tailoring shop in the village, the other loom has remained idle for sometime. 20 looms, out of 21, are, therefore, in operation.

1. Product

Gamchha (indigenous napkin) is produced in four looms. Coarse quality *dhoti*, *sari* and *chaddar* are the products of the other looms. *Chaddars* are used as winter-garments mainly, but as bedsheets also occasionally. *Saris* with length of four to five yards, having small borders, with or without designs, are produced here. *Chaddars* are produced only for two months of the winter season to cope with the demand.

2. Raw material

The weavers get the supply of major portion of the raw material from the dealers of yarn, residing at Madanmohanpur, about a couple of miles away from this village. The dealers get the supply of raw material from the Marwari wholesalers of Bankura, who supply the yarn after dyeing and bleaching. Some of the weavers bring yarn from the dealers at Kotulpur.

3. Finance

Five families purchase raw material from the dealers of Madanmohanpur or Kotulpur mostly against cash. Six families, which work on contract wage, depend on the *Mahajans* (the whole saler) of handloom products for the supply of raw material.

4. Working system

There are two systems of working conditions for the weavers here. In the local term one is known as *Nagda* system, while the other is called *Bani* system.

(a) *Nagda*—According to this system the weavers purchase raw material in cash and have the independence of producing articles according to their choice. They are free to sell their product anywhere they like.

(b) *Bani*—Under this system the weavers work only as wage-earners. They receive raw material from the *Mahajans* by weight. They produce the articles according to the direction and specification of the *Mahajan*. The weavers submit all the finished product to the *Mahajans*, who accept the articles, only when the weight of the finished product tallies with that of the raw material. They receive wages on the basis of the articles produced by them.

5. Stages of production

Here, all the looms are of fly-shuttle pit type.

(a) **Sizing**—(*Mar* and *Noli Gotano*)—First, starching of the yarn is done. Boiled rice is the only element of starch used here. Afterwards, winding of thread for both the weft and the wrap is made on the bobbins.

(b) **Wrapping**—(*Tana Hanta*)—Threads from the bobbin are arranged lengthwise.

(c) **Denting**—(*Sana Gantha*) Each of the lengthwise threads is introduced through the holes and through the open spaces of the *Sar* reeds with the help of an iron needle.

(d) **Beaming**—(*Naroj*) Lengthwise thread is wound in wrap-beam.

(e) **Drafting**—*(Batola)* Each lengthwise thread is introduced in the healds.

The actual weaving operation is very simple. The weaver presses the treadle with his foot to get the shedding. Simultaneously with shedding,

the shuttle moves crosswise. The finished product is rolled up in the cloth-beam.

6. Marketing of the product

Altogether five families work independently. Two families sell their products in their own retail shops in the village. The other three families sell their products, either in the village-shops or in the cloth-shops of Kotulpur. The *Mahajans*, who get their article produced by the weavers, sell the handloom products to all the important cloth-shops within a radius of 10 miles, on credit.

7. Piece-work rate

Weavers, working as wage-earners, produce the articles on piece-work, system. The rate of wage for weaving four pieces of *gamchha* is rupee one. A weaver, working 8 to 10 hours a day, can produce six pieces of napkin. So, the weaver, producing napkins, generally earns Rs. 1.50 per day. The rate of wage per pair of *chaddar* is Rs. 1.50. One can produce three to four pieces of *chaddar*, working 10 hours a day. So, the weavers producing *chaddars* generally earn Rs. 2.50 per day. A weaver can produce two pieces of *sari* with small plain borders. The rate of wage per piece of *sari* is rupee one. But, the rate of wage for producing the *saris*, with artistic designs on the borders, is Rs. 1.50 per piece. A weaver generally produces $1\frac{1}{2}$ pieces of such *sari* in a day. Weavers, who produce napkins, earn less than the producers of other articles. Beginners and unskilled weavers, therefore, weave napkins during the period of apprenticeship.

8. Worker

Weaving is the traditional occupation of the Tantubayas. All the weavers in the village, except one casual weaver of the Karmakar caste, belong to the Tantubaya caste. A table, showing the number of casual and regular workers by caste and sex, is given below :

	Regular worker		Casual worker	
Caste/Community	Male	Female	Male	Female
Tantubaya	15	15	5	4
Karmakar	..	..	1	..
Total	15	15	6	4

Out of five casual Tantubaya weavers, four suspend their work on weaving during the sowing and the harvesting seasons to work in their household-cultivation and the other one, a village quack, works on the loom during the spare time of his quasi-medical profession. The casual weaver of the Karmakar caste is a bonded agricultural labour, working under a landed Tantubaya employer, who utilises him in the loom during the off season of cultivation. He earns 75 paise per day throughout the year, whether he works on looms or in the fields.

There are 19 female workers, who, in addition to their customary household duties, carry out the processes of sizing of thread.

9. Position of handloom industry in the village

Of all the village industries, weaving seems to be in a better position, because this industry ensures somewhat steady and regular income to the workers. Weavers generally earn more than the artisans of Conch shell industry. There is also demand for handloom product in this village as well as in the neighbouring villages. Weavers here do not waste any time in selling their product. The turn-over is, therefore, steady throughout the year.

C. Other industries

Of all the nine minor industries, weaving of date-palm mat deserves mention.

1. Weaving of date-palm mat

The coarse date-palm mats are produced by the womenfolk of the Bauris during their spare time. These mats are spread below the bedding. They are also used on the mud-floor for sitting.

(a) Raw material

Raw material is provided by the leaves of date-palm trees, available near the rivulet Amodar. No money is required to be invested on the purchase of the raw material. One has to go near the rivulet and collect the leaves from the trees. The supply is free and abundant.

(b) Process

Leaflets are dried in the sun for at least three days. Then, the dried leaflets are softened by soaking in water. First, strips of mat measuring about 4" wide and 6' long are woven. Then 12 to 14 strips are joined together to produce a 6' long and 4' wide mat.

(c) Market

The Bauris sell most of their products in the weekly *hat* of Kotulpur. They also sell some of their products in the village. The price of one mat is rupee one. One worker generally produces four to five mats in a month.

(d) Worker

Twenty seven female workers from 27 families are engaged in this industry.

2. Preparation of lime

This is also another monopoly industry of the Bauris. A few years ago, the Bauris used to prepare lime regularly. Now, mineral-lime has replaced the country lime, prepared from Conch shell pieces and shells of water-snails. Lime, prepared out of Conch shell, is mostly used for taking with betel-leaf, while the lime prepared from water-snails is used for lime-washing walls. The Bauris now prepare lime, only when they get orders from any one.

They get the raw material from the Conch shell artisans of this village on cash payment, at the rate of 31 paise per seer and shells of water-snails from their own locality and also from the Bagdi localities of the surrounding places in exchange of some lime.

Lime is prepared in a cylindrical mud kiln, known as *Vati*. The height of the *Vati* is about 3' from the ground. There is one hole at the bottom, through which air is blown during the ignition of the shells. Some pieces of ignited charcoal are put at the bottom of the kiln. Some coke is placed over the layer of charcoals. Then, the shells are placed over the layer of the coke and another layer of coke is spread over the shells. Some layers of shells are thus placed inside the kiln, in between several layers of coke. Air is blown continuously through the hole by a leather-bellow, till the shells are completely burnt. It generally takes four to five hours to complete the process. The burnt shells are picked out from the ashes and then washed. Nine Bauri families prepare lime at present against orders. In one kiln 20 to 30 seers of lime can be prepared at a time. The sale-price is Rs. 10/- per *maund*.

3. Wood-craft and clay-modelling

Five workers from two Sutradhar families are engaged in wood-craft and clay-modelling. Of these workers, two are undergoing training under their elders. The workers make wooden furniture and build wooden structures for the tin-roofed houses. They work on daily-wage basis. All the images of the deities of the village and of the surrounding villages also are prepared by them. They charge according to the size of the images. The rate varies from Rs. 10/- to Rs. 30/- per image.

4. Preparation of sweetmeat

Six workers from six families are engaged in the preparation of sweetmeats. The six workers include three persons belonging to the Sankhabanik caste and three persons belonging to the Modak community. All the three Modaks have independent establishments in the village. But, the Sankhabaniks are serving in others' shops at Kalipur and Burdwan city.

5. Tailoring

There are three tailors in this village. Of them, one is a Tantubaya, one a Sutradhar and the other is a Tambuli. Two of them are fullfledged tailors, while the third one is undergoing training. The two tailors have independent establishments in the village. Their charges for making different garments are given in the schedule.

Description of the articles	Rate per piece
Full-sleeved shirt	Rs. 1.25 paise
Half-sleeved shirt	0.75 paise
Shorts	Re. 1.00
Frock	Re. 1.00

6. Cycle-repairing

Repairing of cycles is done in the village by one Subarnabanik worker, who was thrown out of employment as a result of the promulgation of the Gold Control Order, when he was serving

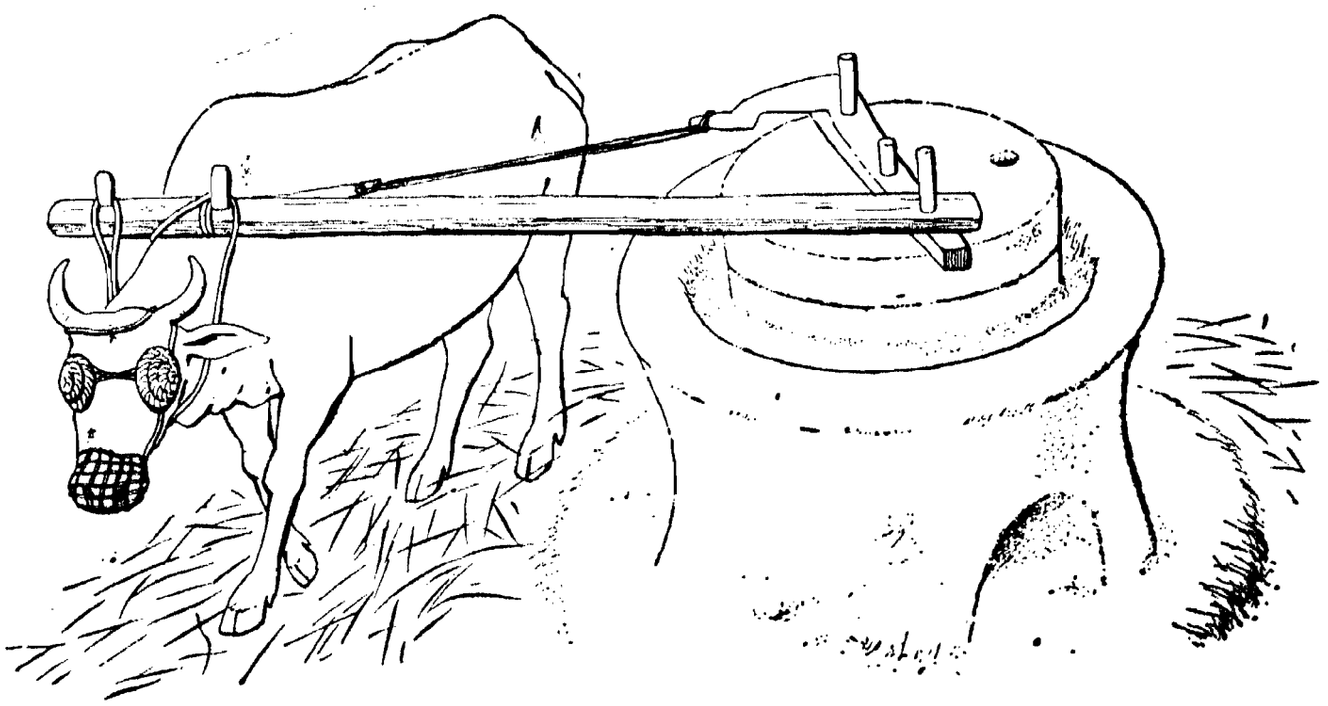
in a jewellery shop in Calcutta. Petty and minor repairing work is done by him in his cycle-repairing shop.

7. Blacksmithy

Only one worker from a Karmakar family of this village sharpens the tools and files required for the Conch shell industry.

8. Grinding of wheat

One Kalu family is engaged in this industry. Due to nonavailability of sufficient oil-seeds he has closed down his oil-pressing industry and has opened an establishment of wheat-grinding. Though wheat is not the staple food of the villagers *atta* is taken by many households in the tiffins and by the widows during observance of certain ceremonies. Customers also come from the neighbouring villages. Grinding of wheat is done by rotating a grinding stone with the help of a pair of bullocks. For grinding one seer of wheat he gets half pow *i.e.*, $\frac{1}{8}$th of a seer of wheat and 12 paise in cash.



9. Paddy-husking

Husking of paddy is done by the female workers. Each of the 10 families, connected with this industry, possesses *dhenkhi* or indigenous paddy-husking lever. There are altogether 15 workers, engaged in the husking of paddy. Some of them prepare flattened rice also. The charge of husking is five seers of paddy for every *maund* of paddy.

Trade and commerce

Following is the list of shops, that serve the villagers :

Grocery-*cum*-stationery	5
Cloth-*cum*-stationery	3
Tea-*cum*-sweetmeat	9
Medicine shop-*cum*-dispensary	1
Total	**18**

All the 18 shops are not owned by the people of this village. A table showing the number of shops, owned by the people of this village, is presented below :

Caste/ Community	Grocer's shop	Cloth shop	Sweetmeat-*cum*-tea shop	Medicine shop
Tantubaya	1	3	..	1
Tambuli	3	..	1	..
Modak	..	..	3	..
Brahman	..	..	1	..
Total	**4**	**3**	**5**	**1**

The table shows that 13 shops out of 18, or about 68 per cent shops are owned by the villagers.

1. Grocer's shop

In all the groceries foodgrains, spices, oils, stationery articles for school-going children and articles of household use are available. In one of the shops chemical fertilisers and oil-cakes are also sold. Villagers purchase their daily necessities from the village-shops. People of the neighbouring villages also visit this village to get their daily provisions, because there is no shop worth the name in the surrounding villages. The grocers get their supplies from the wholesalers of Bishnupur and Kalipur. Grocery articles are transported to this village by lorries.

2. Cloth-shop

Besides the articles produced by the weavers of this village, shirtings, ready-to-wear garments, *dhotis* and *saris* are available in the cloth shops. One wholesale cloth-dealer of Nabadwip, an important centre of power-loom industry in Nadia district, supplies *dhotis* and *saris* better quality to the village shops. Stationery articles, such as toilet products, torch-batteries and hair pins etc., are also available in the cloth-shops.

3. Sweetmeat-cum-*tea-shop*

Out of the nine shops, one run by a Brahman cultivator remains open only for two days in a week, when the biweekly *hat* of this village is held. Sweets of two varieties *viz rasagollas* and *jilabis* are available in four shops. But tea and *telebhaja* are sold in eight other shops. People of surrounding villages assemble in the tea-shops daily in the morning and evening to quench their thirst. Passers-by on their way to Kotulpur stop here for a while to refresh themselves with tea and sweets.

4. Drug shop-cum-*dispensary*

Cheap and ordinary medicines are available in this shop, the owner of which is a Tantubaya by caste and a quack by profession.

The shop-keepers sell their articles mostly in cash and rarely on credit. Raibaghini with a few groceries, cloth-shops and tea-shops has become the shopping centre of the surrounding villages. As regards the shopping facilities, this village is self-contained. The villagers need not go out ordinarily for shopping, unless they are required to purchase costly medicines or other requirements for social ceremonies and costly consumer's goods such as cycle, radio, etc., for the purchase of which the house holds visit either Bishnupur or Calcutta.

A table on the total number of persons fully and partly engaged in trade and commerce is given below :

TABLE 50

Caste/Community	No. of persons engaged in trade and commerce fully		No. of persons engaged in trade and commerce partly
	Male	Female	(Male)
Tantubaya	4	..	1
Tambuli	6	..	..
Bauri	3	..	..
Modak	..	..	3
Brahman	..	..	1
Napit	..	1	..
Total	13	1	5

Of the 13 male workers fully engaged in trade and commerce, nine persons are working in their own concerns and the remaining four are serving in others' business. Of the latter, three are Bauri tea-boys, serving in tea-shops at Kotulpur on two square meals and one breakfast and the other one is a Tambuli, serving in the village grocer's shop on a daily wage of Rs. 1.75p. The female worker, a displaced person from East Pakistan, sells biscuits and breads, prepared in a bakery at Kotulpur, on the basis of commission, to all the nearby shops and markets.

Of the five partly engaged workers, one is a quack having a pharmacy. Three Modaks, who have sweetmeat-shops in this village, spend most of their time in preparing sweetmeats and finally the Brahman shop-keeper, who works most of the time in a year in his household cultivation, opens his small tea-stall for only two days a week.

Fishing and livestock

Two Kaibarta families of this village are engaged in fishing. They not only catch fish

from the ponds, but also rear fish on the basis of share in others' ponds. They generally get one fourth of the catch from others' ponds and half of the quantity grown by them in a pond for rearing fish on share. Fish is reared in 14 ponds by one family, while the other family rears fish in 12 ponds. Fish for breeding is either brought from Bishnupur or from Amta, a fish-breeding centre in the district of Howrah, from July to September. The fishermen families, after negotiating with the tank-owners, enter into an unwritten agreement, renewable at the end of the stipulated period varying from one year to two years or more, about rearing fish in the tanks. The sides of the tanks are cleared of the weeds and some varieties of fish like *Boal, Sal, Chitol* etc., are taken out. The fish, referred to, cause harm to the fishes proposed to be reared in the tanks. Usually, fishes of the variety of *Rohit, Mrigal* etc., are reared. The term of contract lays down that at the time of each catch half of it will be handed over to the owner, though the owner, in practice, gets the value of half the catch in cash.

Two types of nets are used for fishing. One is a circular type of net, known as *Ksheya*, while the other one is a rectangular type, known as *Tana*. Circular type of net is cast manually, while the other one is pulled by several people from one end of a pond to the other. The first type of net is used for fishing small quantity of fish, while bulk quantity is fished by the other one. In fishing operations only the members of the families participate. During the leisure hours the nets are woven by the male members. The Kaibarta fishermen not only sell fish in the village, but also attend the bi-weekly *hat* of Kotulpur.

Livestock

Two Bagdi and two Bauri boys, within 15 years of age, work as *Bagal* or cow-boys, on two square meals and one breakfast a day. No household is reported to have been engaged in rearing cattle for the sale of milk or milk-products.

Construction

Two households, one Muslim and one Bauri, are engaged full time in construction-work. The worker, belonging to the Muslim community, works as a mason. He visits distant villages, where pucca houses are constructed and earns a daily wage of Rs. 3/-. The Bauri worker, too old to work in the field, is engaged for most part of the year in construction-work. Petty repair and thatching of the roofs of mud-built houses are done by him on a wage of Rs. 1.75p. per day.

Transport, storage and communications

Five families are connected with transport, storage and communications. A table, showing the number of persons engaged in transport, storage and communications is shown below :

TABLE 51

	Post and Telegraph		Railway	Rickshaw-puller
Caste/Community	Male	Female	Male	Male
Bauri	..	..	..	1
Sankhabanik	..	1	..	..
Brahman	1	..	..	..
Modak	..	..	1	..
Sunri	1	..	..	..
Total	2	1	1	1

The table shows that there is only one cycle-rickshaw-puller in this village. The owner of the cycle-rickshaw, a Modak by caste and a resident of this village, purchased a second-hand rickshaw from Bishnupur for Rs. 110/- a few years ago. As per terms of agreement, the puller must pay one rupee to the owner daily, whatever his earning for the day may be. One female and two males have taken up service in the Post and Telegraph Department. Of the two male persons working in the Post and Telegraph Department, one is a peon in the village Post Office, and the other one is working in a Post Office in Midnapore district, also in the same capacity. The female is working as a Post Mistress in the village Post Office as a nominee of her husband, who is working as a school-teacher in a village, about three miles away. She opens the Post Office punctually, sells post-cards and stamps in the counter smartly and maintains the registers and accounts very efficiently, in addition to her customary household duties. She has read upto the

Matriculation standard. One man, belonging to the Modak caste, has taken up service in the Railway Engineering Department, after passing the Licentiate Course in Civil Engineering from Bishnupur.

Other services

A table, showing the number of workers according to their nature of service, is shown below :

TABLE 52

	Persons by nature of service								
	Medical profession	Teacher	Priest	Cook		Govt. servant	Maid servant	*Tabla* player	Copyist
Caste/Community	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Male
Bauri	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Sankhabanik	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	1
Brahman	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Modak	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Tantubaya	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	1

The person, belonging to the Tantubaya caste and engaged in the medical profession, is a village charlatan without any medical qualification. He has opened an allopathic dispensary in the village, where he is the doctor and the pharmacist combined. He attends to the villagers in case of minor diseases and at times to the patients in the neighbouring villages. Previously, he was attached to a qualified medical practitioner in Bishnupur, where he gained experience as a dispenser and a pharmacist. The knowledge, so acquired, made him confident enough to start an independent business of his own in the village. The expansion of the Health Centres by the Government has, however, affected his profession adversely, he lamentably pointed out.

Of the three teachers, the Brahman is a non-Matric but trained in Guru Training School and is now serving as a teacher in the village Primary School. The rest are Matriculates, the Sankhabanik being a teacher in a Primary school near Kotulpur and the Modak, a Primary school-teacher in the village Gogra near Kotulpur.

As the Brahman with the title of Mukherjee serves the Bagdis as a priest in their socio-religious functions, he is regarded as a degraded Brahman by the other communities. His position in the caste-hierarchy will be discussed later.

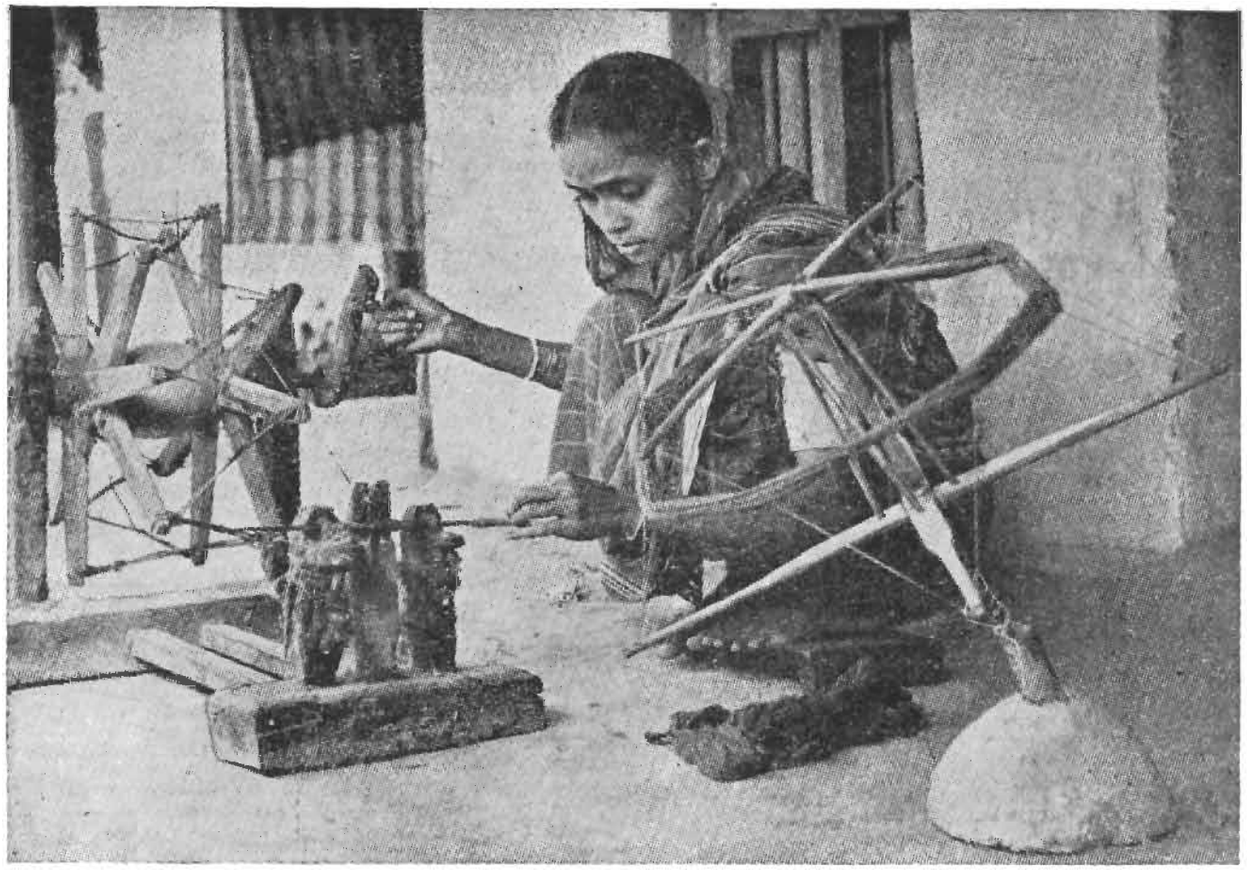
Of the two cooks, the Sankhabanik female, a separated woman, went to the city of Burdwan at the call of her aunt to serve as a cook in a Brahman household. The Brahman cook works in a hotel in Kotulpur.

The Bauri woman, being a widow and having no other member to look after her nor having any source of livelihood to depend on, has been employed by a wealthy Tantubaya family to attend to the household duties.

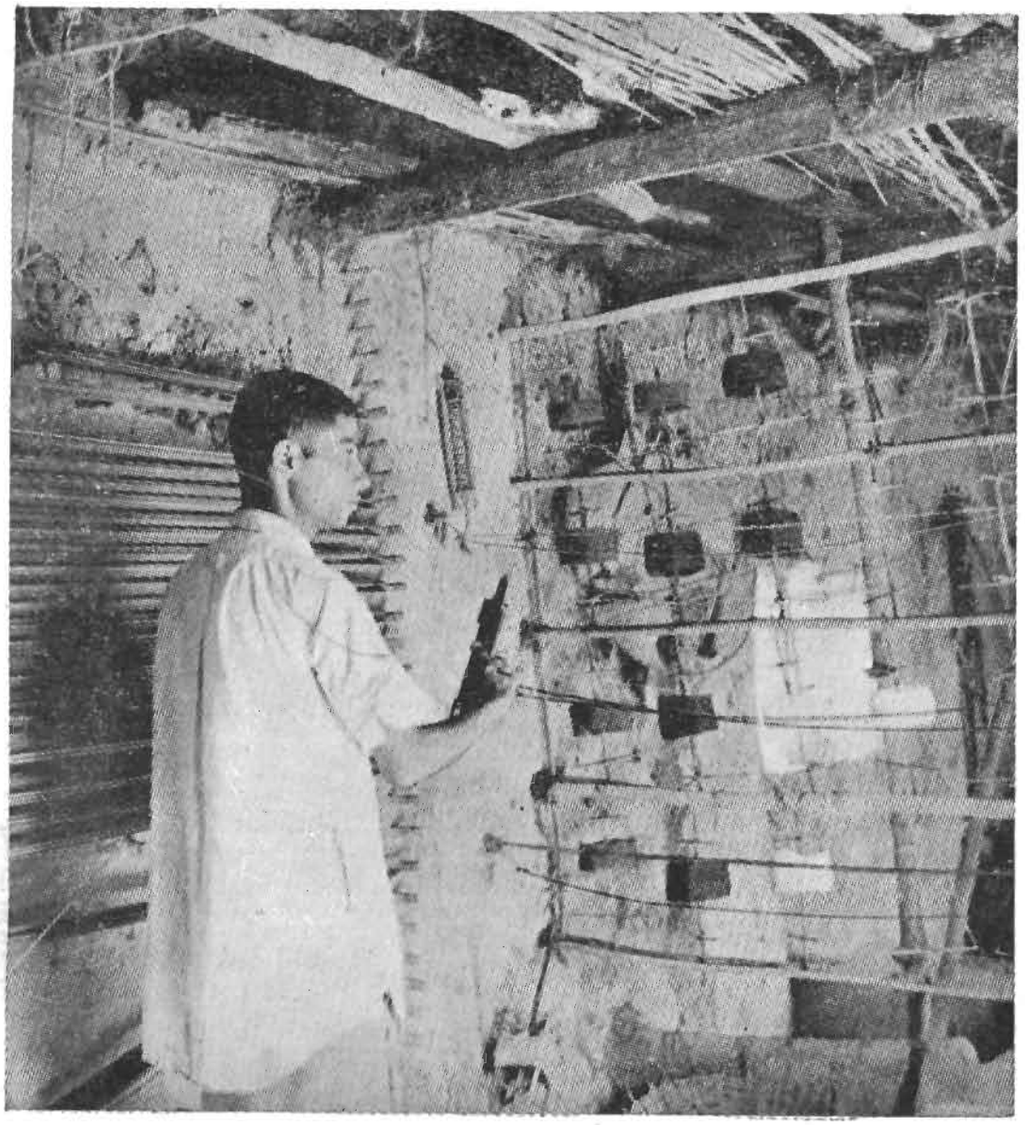
About the *tabla*-players it has been discussed previously how the means of recreation of the two Sankhabanik youths provided them with the means of earning a livelihood in the village.

There is only one person in Government service and he is working as a peon in a

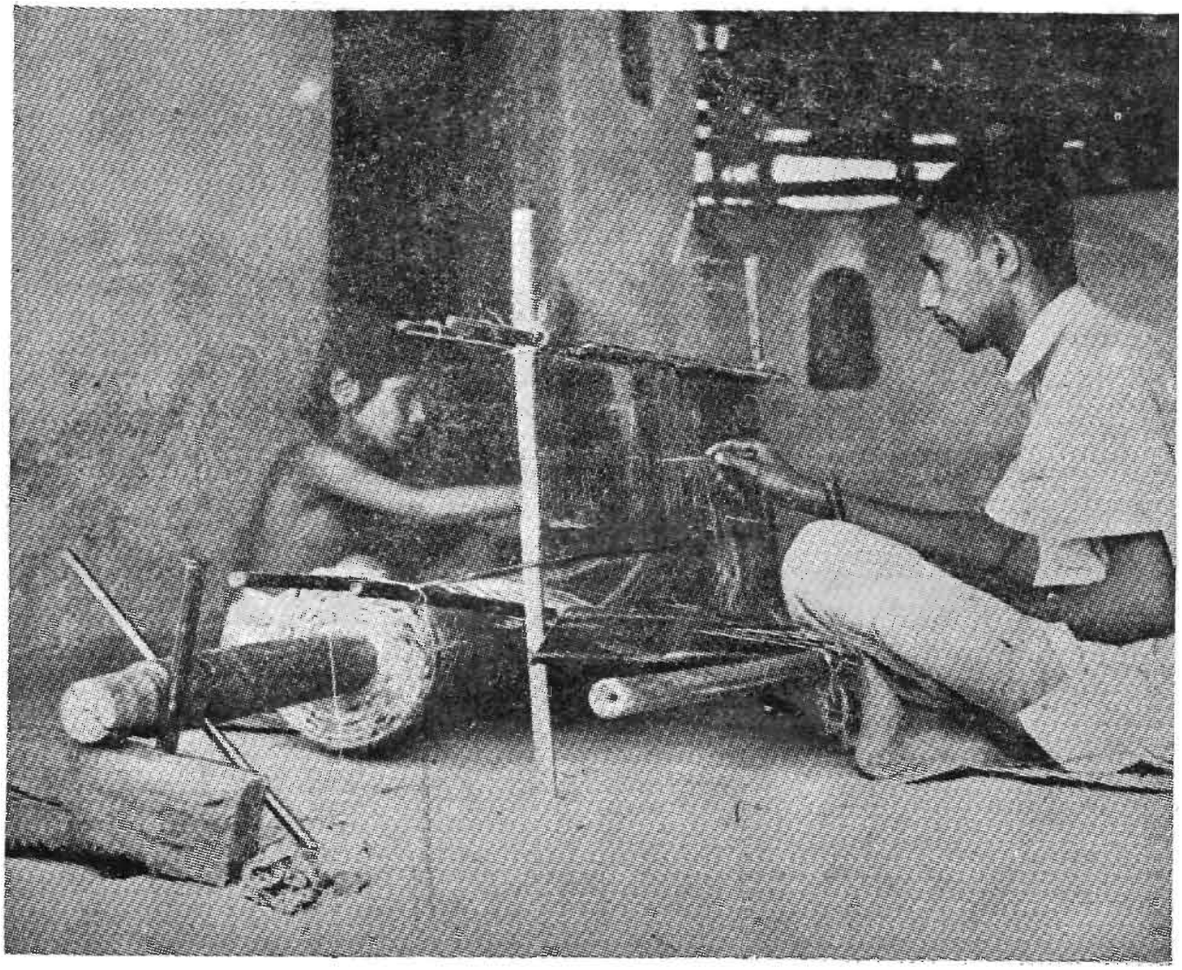
WEAVING, A VILLAGE-INDUSTRY OF IMPORTANCE



Noligotano or sizing of the threads by winding the starched yarn round the bobbins is a feminine job in a weaver's household



Tana-hanta or wrapping is the process by which threads are arranged length-wise—— though done outside, the present case concerns the processing, done in a room



WEAVING, STILL A THRIVING VILLAGE-INDUSTRY.

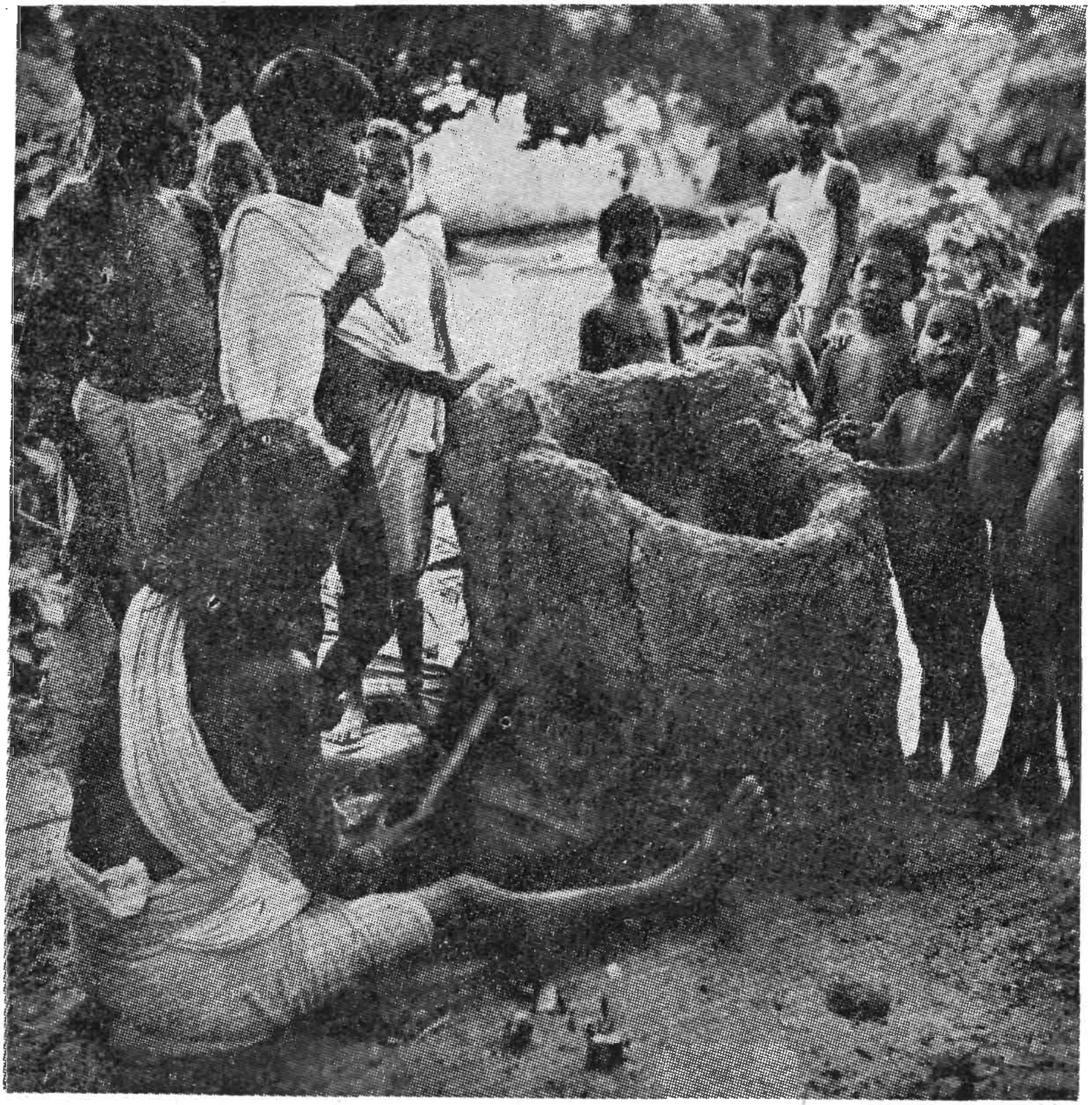
Ba-tola or drafting the threads, by which operation the length-wise thread is inserted in the healds—the small girl helps her weaver brother

MAT-WEAVERS IN ACTION

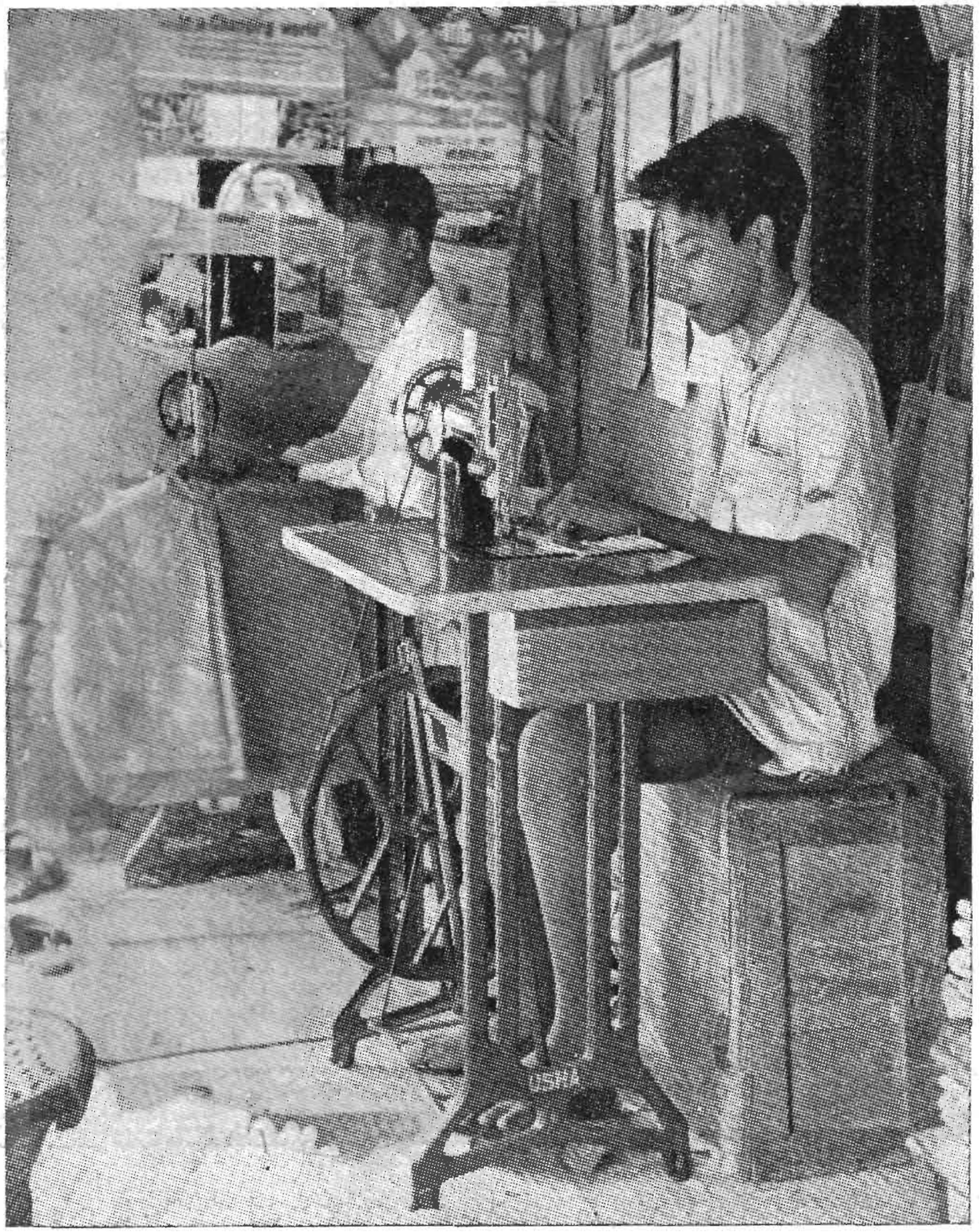


Date-palm leaves are not a waste—the Bauris earn an extra income for the household by preparing *Talai* or mats of dried date-palm leaves, a spare-time work, of course

COUNTRY-LIME IN THE PREPARATORY STAGE



A Bauri woman is bellowing air into the *Vati* or mud kiln to ignite the layers of cokes from the burning charcoals—the shells of snails or Conch shells are in the kiln in between the layers of coke—children around are not apprentice artisans but curious on-lookers

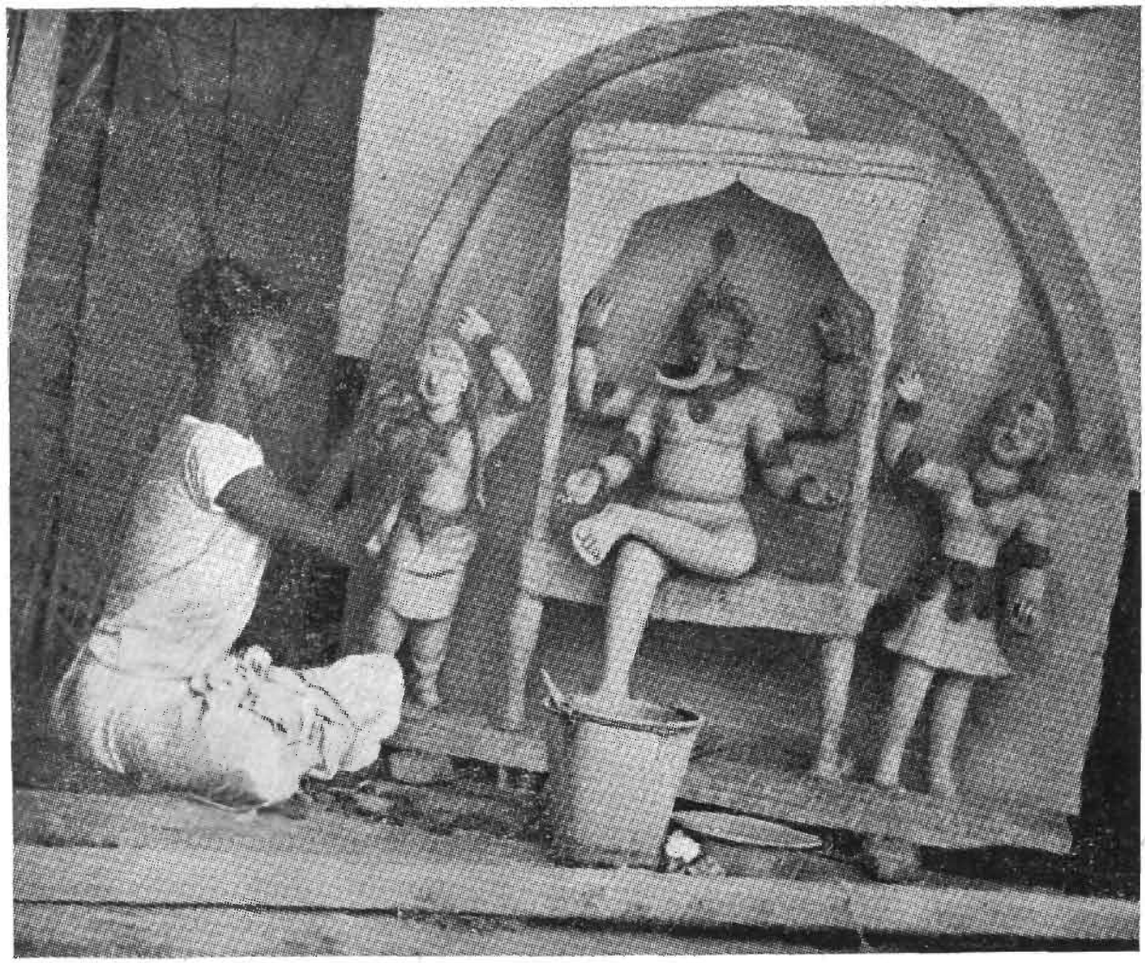


Tailors make a gentleman—the village-tailors of Raibaghini at the paddle

VILLAGE-SMITHY AN INDISPEN-SABLE PLACE FOR ARTISANS



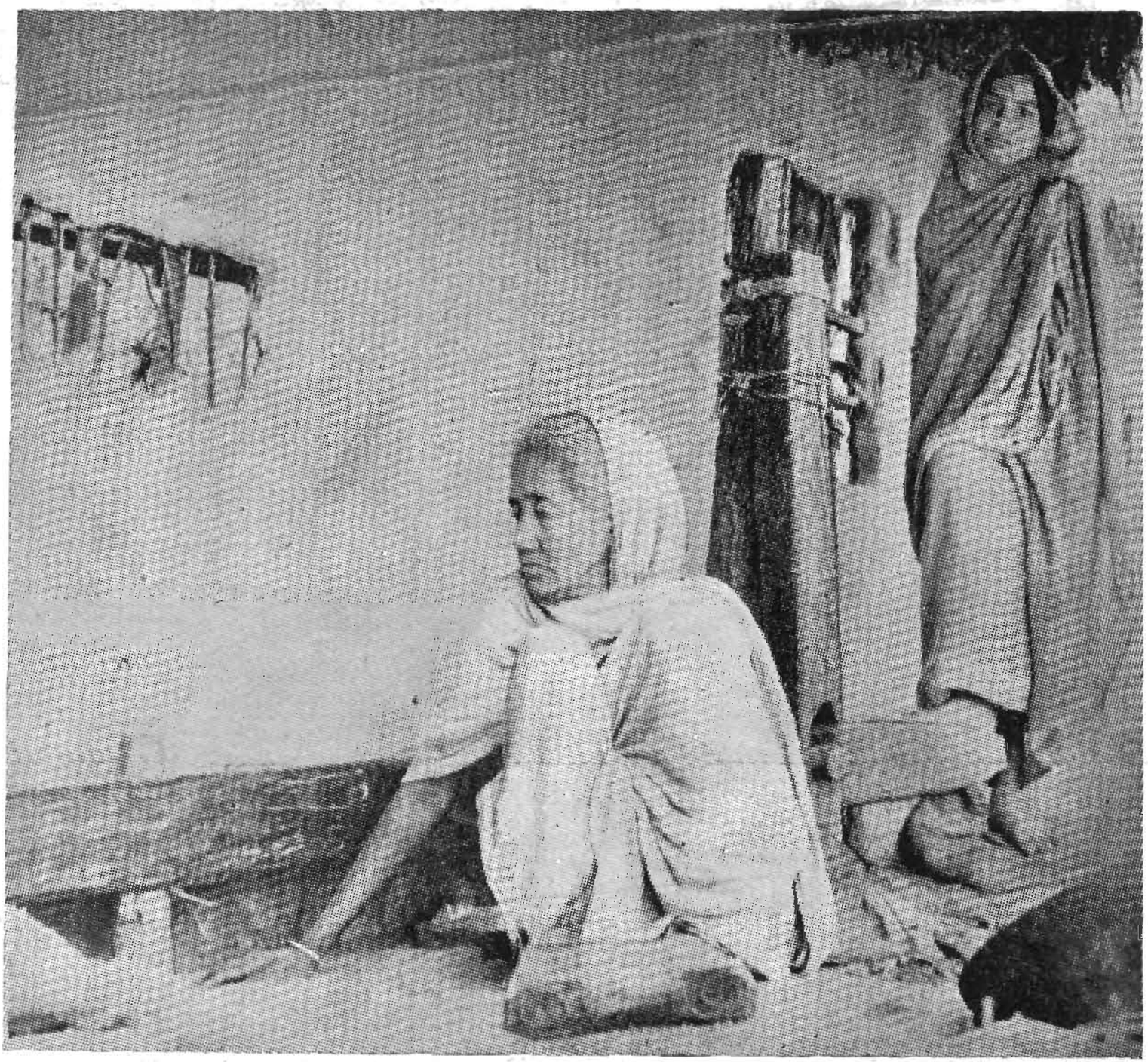
The Karmakar blacksmith busy in his smithy



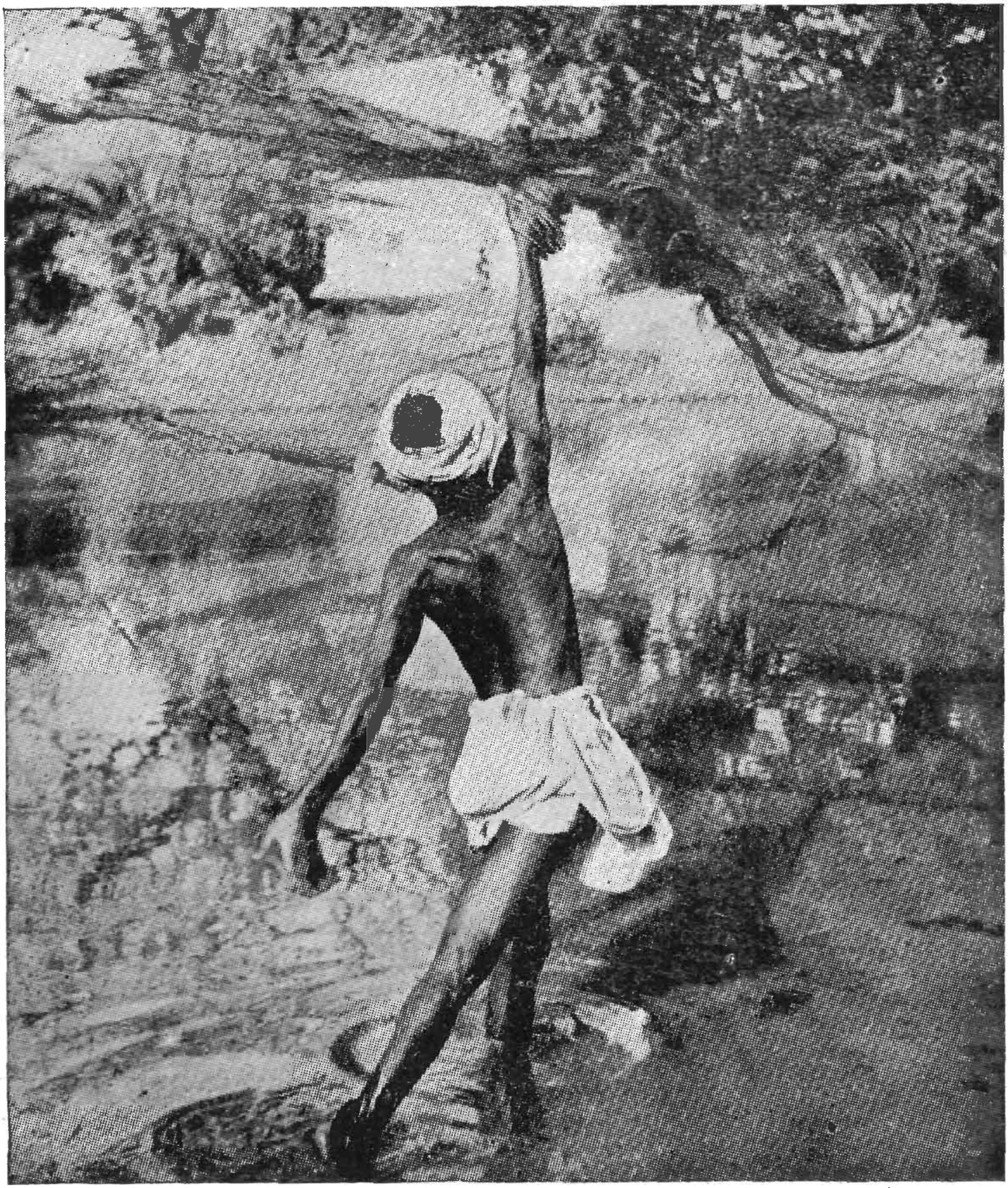
MAKING THE IMAGE OF *GANES*, THE GOD OF SUCCESS

Clay-image of *Ganes*, being modelled by the carpenter of the Sutradhar caste with his deft fingers

DHENKI OR HUSKING LEVER IN OPERATION

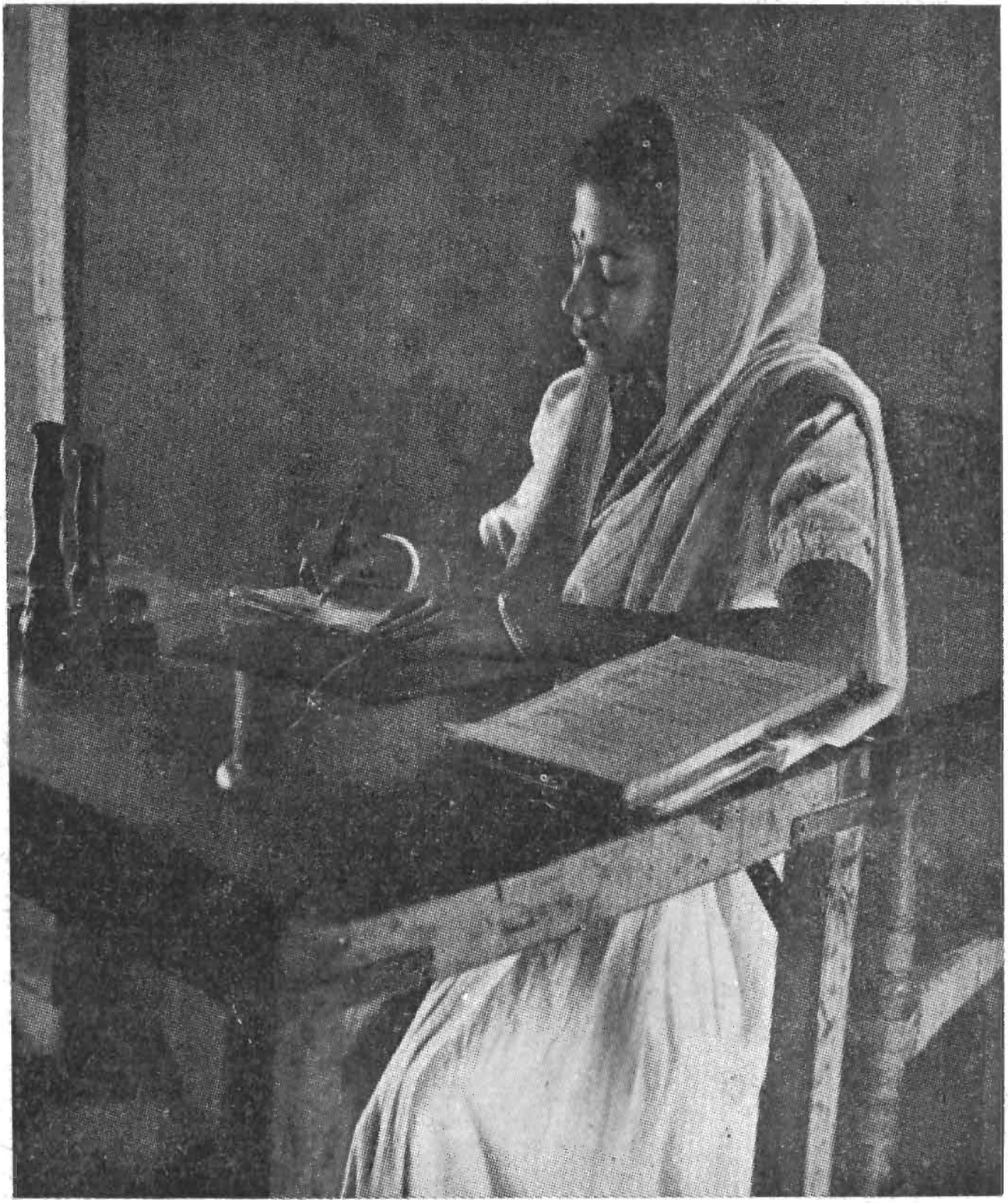


Old and new join hands in operating the *Dhenki*, an age-old country-made husking lever of Bengal—the two Sutradhar women are engaged in the preparation of *Chinra* or flattened rice from paddy—the young woman presses down the lever with her foot and releases it—the old woman takes out the flattened rice from the depressed hollow and fills the pit with some paddy, while the end of the lever goes up



The *Ksheya* type of net being swung round and thrown by a fisherman of the Kaibarta caste—a bad day for the village-fish but not so for the fisherman

EFFICIENCY, NOT A MASCULINE MONOPOLY



Village-women at Raibaghini are not lagging behind their male counterparts in the sphere of work—the quiet Post Office at Raibaghini communicates messages with prompt despatch—the Post-Mistress at desk is a Sankhabanik by caste and a housewife

Government Office in Burdwan district. One Sankhabanik, working as copyist in the Registration Office in Kotulpur, daily makes the copies of the documents brought to him by the public on payment of some prescribed fee.

Livelihood classes and occupational structure

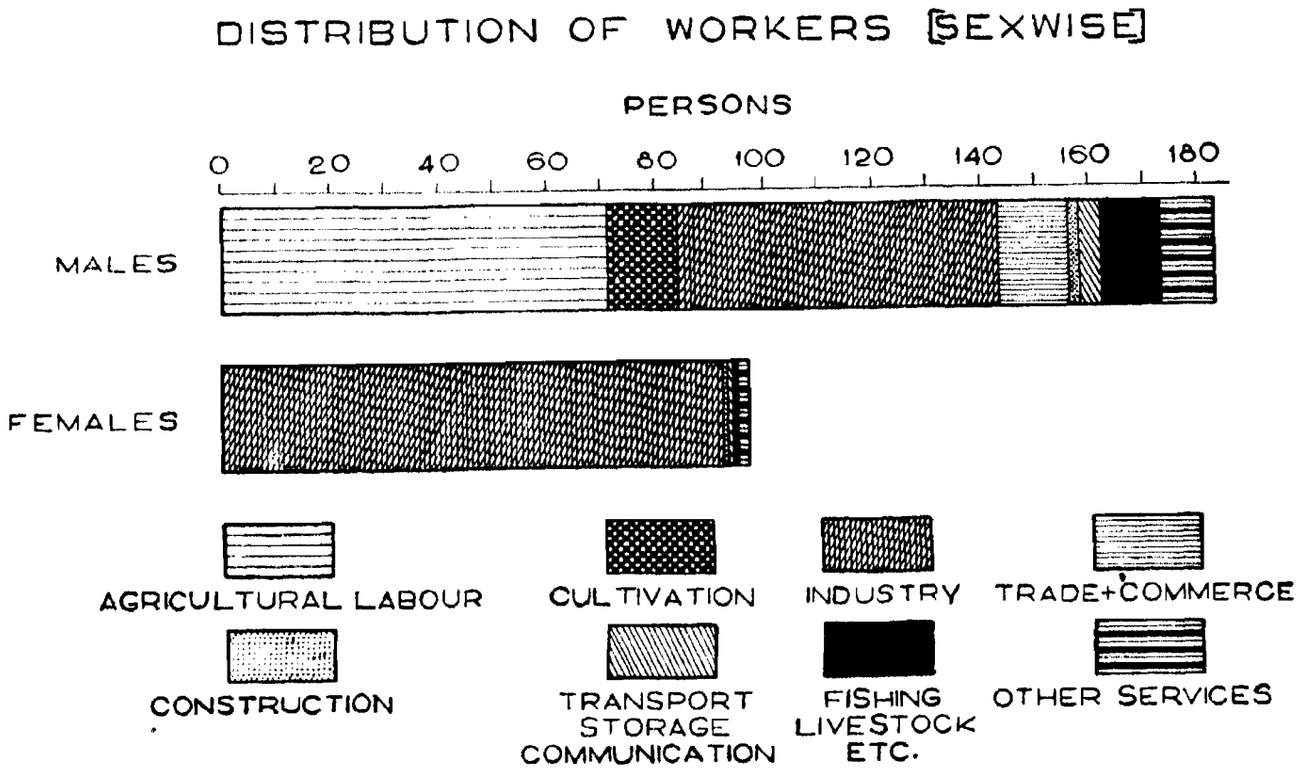
Distribution of workers by sexes according to different livelihood classes may be seen in the table given below :

TABLE 53

Caste/Community	Household cultivation		Agricultural labour		Fishing and livestock etc.		Industry		Trade and commerce	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bauri	..	..	41	..	2	..	..	27	3	..
Sankhabanik	..	..	1	..	..	..	24	29	..	..
Bagdi	2	..	26	..	2	..	..	6	..	..
Tantubaya	5	..	..	..	..	..	16	17	4	..
Brahman	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..
Tambuli	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	6	..
Bairagi	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4	..	..
Modak	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Sutradhar	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	6	..	..
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	7	1	..	..	..	..
Sunri	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Napit	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Goala	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	18	..	71	..	11	1	59	92	13	1

Caste/Community	Construction		Transport, storage and communications		Other services		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bauri	1	..	1	..	..	1	48	28
Sankhabanik	..	..	..	1	4	1	29	31
Bagdi	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	6
Tantubaya	..	..	..	..	1	..	26	17
Brahman	..	..	1	..	3	..	7	1
Tambuli	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..
Bairagi	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4
Modak	..	..	1	..	1	..	7	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..
Sutradhar	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	6
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	1
Sunri	..	..	1	..	..	..	4	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
Napit	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Goala	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Muslim	1	.	..	..	..	..	1	..
Total	2	..	4	1	10	2	183	97

The table shows that there are altogether 183 male and 97 female workers, engaged in different classes of livelihood. Of the male workers, 71 are agricultural labours and 13 are engaged in household cultivation. If the agricultural labours and the persons engaged in the household cultivation are taken together, it will be found that 84 persons constituting 45.90 per cent of the male workers are connected with agricultural activities. 32.24 per cent of the male



workers are engaged in different industries and the remaining 21.86 per cent workers are engaged in activities, other than agriculture and industry. Out of 97 female workers, 94.84 per cent are engaged in various industries and the remaining 5.16 per cent are engaged in the non-industrial activities. Leaving aside the female artisans of the Conch shell industry, who earn no less amount than the male artisans, other female workers either supplement their family income by weaving coarse mats and by husking paddy or they work in their household industry of cotton-weaving as helping hands of the male workers. The female workers may or may not earn anything in cash, but the time spent by them in each industry is comparable to that of the male workers. If both the male and the female workers are taken together, one observes that 53.93 per cent of the total workers are engaged in different industries, while only 30 per cent are engaged in agricultural activities.

Workers engaged in different industries outnumber the workers engaged in agricultural activities, because no females work as agricultural labour and because both male and female members work in their family industries. The pressure of land from the point of employment has been quite significant for some time past, specially from the time, when the village industries of Conch shell and bell-metal were passing through a sea of troubles. Previously, when the Bauris and the Bagdis were given full-time employment in the fields, the employers did not find any time to turn away from their respective industries. But, gradually the land caught their attention and the landowners are themselves taking interest in agriculture. The employment position has, therefore, become bleak for the Bauri and the Bagdi male labourers. The question of females participating in the field operations does not arise, because there is no dearth of male labourers.

TABLE 54

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO AGE, SEX AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Male					Female				
	0-14 years	15-34 years	35-59 years	60 years and above	Total	0-14 years	15-34 years	35-59 years	60 years and above	Total
Household cultivation	..	4	9	..	13	..	..	..	..	..
Agricultural labour	..	43	28	..	71	..	..	..	..	..
Fishing and livestock	5	3	3	..	11	..	1	..	..	1
Industry	..	26	27	6	59	..	41	42	9	92
Trade and commerce	2	4	5	2	13	..	..	1	..	1
Construction	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	.
Transport, storage and communications	..	3	1	..	4	..	1	..	..	1
Other services	..	7	3	..	10	..	2	..	..	2
Total	7	91	76	9	183	..	45	43	9	97

The table shows that there are altogether seven workers in the age-group (0-14), who are engaged in trade and commerce and in live-stock and fishing. Almost all the child workers are working as cow-boys and as waiters in tea-stalls. There are altogether nine male and nine female workers in the age-group of 60 years and above. Majority of them are engaged in their household industries.

TABLE 55

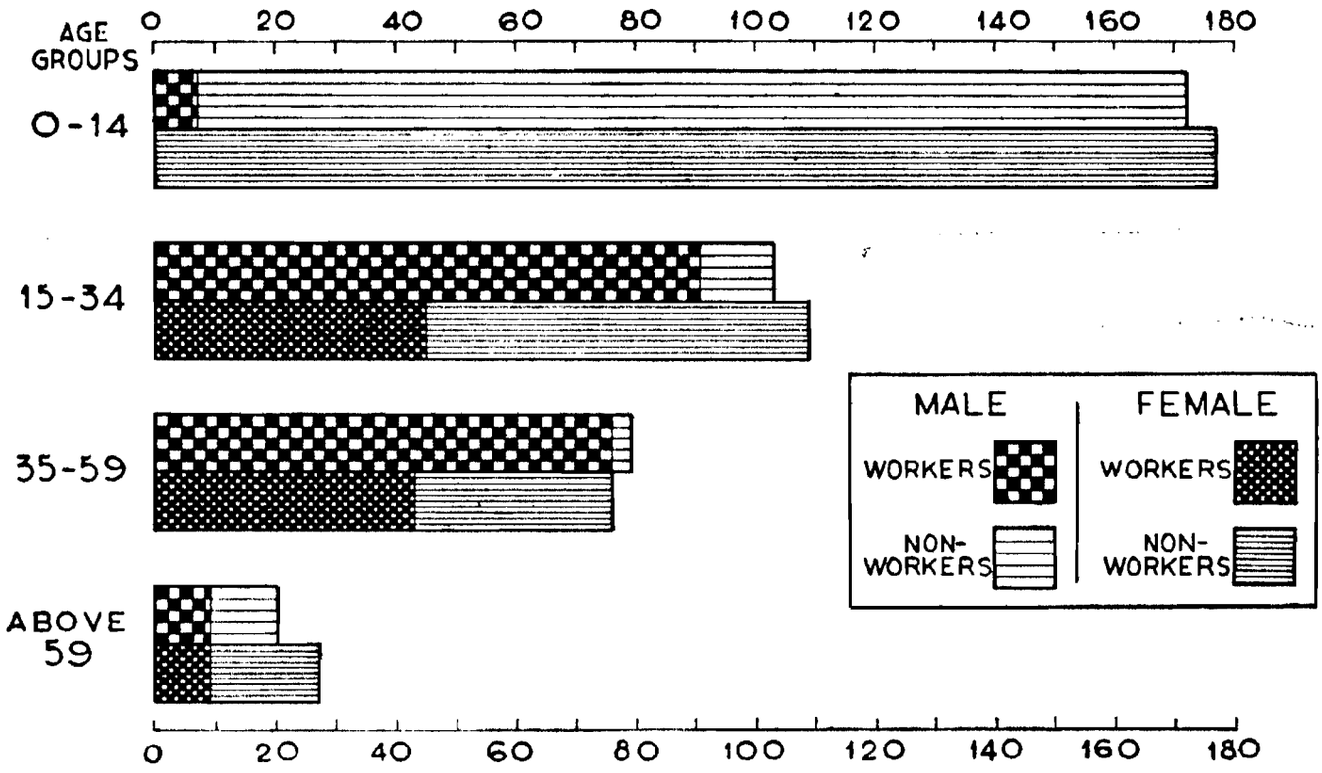
WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX AND BROAD AGE-GROUPS

Age-group	No. of workers				No. of non-workers			
	Male	Female	Total	Percentage	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
0-14	7	..	7	2.5	165	177	342	70.8
15-34	91	45	136	48.6	12	64	76	15.7
35-59	76	43	119	42.5	3	33	36	7.5
60 and above	9	9	18	6.4	11	18	29	6.0
Total	183	97	280	100	191	292	483	100

It may be seen that 48.93 per cent of the total male population are workers, whereas the female workers form 24.93 per cent of the total female population. The table also shows that 2.5 per cent of the total working force are composed of children within 0-14 years

of age and 6.4 per cent of the workers fall within the age-group of 60 years and above. 91.1 per cent of the total workers are in the age-group of 15-59 years.

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS IN RAIBAGHINI



So far as the non-workers are concerned, 70.8 per cent of the total non-workers fall in the age-group of 0-14 years, six per cent non-workers are within the age-goup of 60 years and above and 23.2 per cent non-workers are within the age-group 15-59 years. Out of 112 non-workers within the age-group of 15-59 years, 15 heads (13.4 per cent) are males.

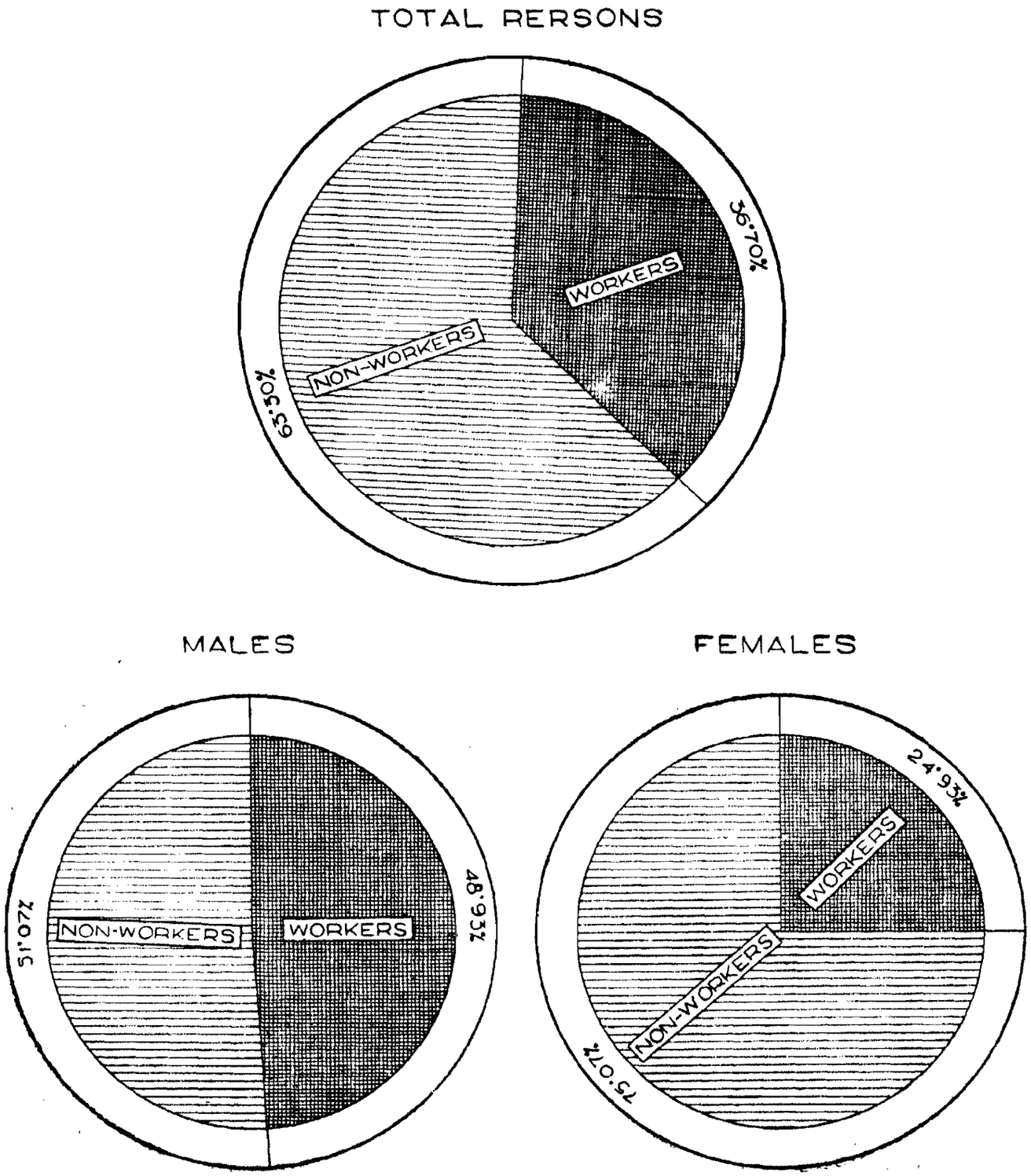
Distribution of non-workers according to sex, age and nature of activity is given below :

TABLE 56

Nature of activity	Non-workers									
	Male					Female				
	0-14 years	15-34 years	35-59 years	60 years and above	Total	0-14 years	15-34 years	35-59 years	60 years and above	Total	Grand total
Student	56	9	..	..	65	36	..	..	..	36	101
Infants and children not attending school	104	..	..	..	104	131	..	..	..	131	235
Beggars	5	..	..	1	6	3	..	2	2	7	13
Persons seeking employment	..	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	3
Retired persons depending on landed property	..	..	1	4	5	..	..	..	..	..	5
Disabled persons	..	..	2	6	8	..	..	1	10	11	19
Housewives	..	..	..	..	..	7	63	81	6	107	107
Total	165	12	3	11	191	177	63	84	18	292	483

The table shows that of the 165 male non-workers in the age-group of 0-14 years, 33.93 per cent are students and the rest are infants and children, not attending schools. It is very interesting to note that there are only 15 non-workers in the age-group of 15-59 years, ot

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS



whom nine are full-time students. Three are retired and disabled persons and the remaining three persons are seeking employment. Of the three unemployed persons one Tantubaya non-worker, who was serving as Malaria Surveillance worker about two years ago, is now out of employment, because of his defective leg. Another Karmakar non-worker, who is neither engaged in his caste-occupation of blacksmithy nor in any other economic activity, is at present seeking the post of a peon in a Government Office in Kotulpur. The other non-worker, who is a Brahman by caste and who got plucked twice in the School Final Examination, has been trying for an employment anywhere outside the village. It is significant that in the 143 households only three males in the age-group of 15 to 34 are non-workers. Due to the availability of various employment-opportunities the villagers do not face any unemployment problem here.

None of the three unemployed youths has gained any proficiency in any particular trade or vocation. The significant feature arresting attention is that the heads of the families of the Karmakar, Brahman and the Tantubaya non-workers are still carrying on industrial occupations. But, none of the youths is drawn to their fathers' occupations, because of uncertain income. They insist on taking up jobs preferably under the Government not only because of the fixed salaries but also for the prestige, that a service under the Government carries in the village. The Karmakar and the Tantubaya non-workers had attended High Schools for some years and discontinued their studies in the recent past. None of these three persons is, however, registered with the local Employment Exchange.

One may be interested in the 13 persons, consisting of seven females and six males, who subsist on begging. Seven persons, constituted by two females (one of whom is a widow) and four males come from two Bauri households. The head of one household is the widow with four dependant children, all below 14 years of age. The head of another is a disabled male with wife and five children. Of the six other beggars, two widows belong to the Sankhabanik caste and are practically destitutes. A Tantubaya family has four children, the elderly two of whom, have to beg to supplement the income of the widowed mother, who husks paddy. Finally, the Bairagi, who looks after the hermitage of the village, is free from all worldly incumbents and lives on what the good Samaritans of the village offer him, after he gives a vocal demonstration of the devotional songs.

All the beggars move about in the village mostly and ask for alms from house to house. Excepting the Bairagi mendicant, none is found to have adopted any special method nor specialised in any demonstrative feats, characteristic of the urban professionals.

Occupational mobility

Occupational mobility has been determined with reference to father's occupation.

TABLE 57

Caste/Community	No. of persons who changed their fathers' occupations	
	Voluntarily	Forced
Bauri	1	4
Sankhabanik	2	7
Bagdi	..	12
Tantubaya	7	3
Brahman	2	1
Tambuli	1	1
Modak	3	1
Karmakar	..	4
Sutradhar	..	1
Sunri	..	4
Kayastha	..	1
Subarnabanik	..	1
Total	16	40

The table shows that 30.6 per cent of the total male workers have left their fathers' occupations. Out of 56 persons, who left their fathers' occupations, 16 persons, wanted to have a change for a better occupation or profession and the remaining 40 persons were forced by circumstances to change their fathers' occupations.

TABLE 58

Father's occupation	No. of families which left their father's occupation	No. of families which left father's occupation and accepted an occupation in					
		Cultivation	Agricultural labour	Livestock	Construction	Transport and communication	Trade and commerce
Cultivation	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agricultural labour	5	..	..	..	1	1	3
Trade and commerce	12	7	..	..	..	1	..
Other services	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
Industries							
(a) Conch shell	11	..	1	..	..	..	..
(b) Weaving	4	..	..	..	..	..	2
(c) Bell-metal	17	..	14	1	..	..	1
(d) Sweetmeat	4	2	..	..	..	1	..
(e) Jewellery	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	56	9	15	1	1	4	6

Father's occupation	Other services	Industries					
		Sweetmeat	Tailoring	Cycle-repairing	Motor-repairing	Weaving	Blacksmithy
Cultivation	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agricultural labour	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Trade and commerce	1	..	1	..	..	2	..
Other services	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Industries							
(a) Conch shell	5	3	1	..	1	..	..
(b) Weaving	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
(c) Bell metal	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
(d) Sweetmeat	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
(e) Jewellery	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Total	9	3	3	1	1	2	1

The table shows that 37 persons, whose fathers were connected with different industries, did not follow the occupations of their fathers, whereas 11 persons have connected themselves with various industries in the present generation. The change has taken place from the traditional village-industries to other non-traditional industries, such as tailoring, cycle-repairing and motor-repairing etc. An examination of the industries, in which freshers registered entrance, will reveal the influence of certain new ideas and traits. It also explains the prospects of business within the village, hitherto untapped, with which these industries are pregnant. In the village no tailoring shop or cycle-repairing establishment existed a few years back, thus compelling the people to go to Kotulpur. Now, the dependence on Kotulpur is less, at least on these accounts. The declining trend in the village-industries can further be explained by the fact that the Bagdis and the Karmakars used to depend previously on bell-metal industry. When bell-metal industry died out, they had nothing to do but to switch on to agriculture. Eleven persons left Conch shell industry, but not a single person is a new entrant in this industry. The change-over from one industry to other is explained mainly by the decadent condition of the industry, from which the change-over took place.

Fifteen persons became agricultural labours and nine persons engaged themselves in household cultivation in their life-time, whereas only six workers (five agricultural labours and one cultivator), whose fathers used to depend on land, did not follow the footsteps of their fathers. So, there is an influx of workers in the

guise of cultivators and agricultural labours in the sphere of agricultural activity.

Trading activities have also declined to a certain extent. But, an important change has taken place in the activities concerning other services. There is a considerable increase in the number of persons in other services in the present generation, mainly because of the youth's desire to earn a fixed income.

It may be concluded that the trend in change of occupation is towards agriculture and other services. The influx of 24 persons in cultivation and agricultural labour has not been offset by the six persons, who left cultivation and agricultural labour. Similarly, nine persons entered into other services, against one, who had left other services.

Income

It is very difficult to assess the income of the families, which depend on agriculture, because they cannot correctly state the quantity of agricultural produce. The produce are not measured or weighed, but are stored straight in the granaries generally. It is also a very difficult task to make any assessment of the income of the families, which depend on industries, which do not ensure steady and regular income.

An attempt has, however, been made to find out the approximate income of the families engaged in different economic pursuits. A table, relating to the monthly income of different families classified by caste or community, is shown below :

TABLE 59

Caste/Community	No. of households with monthly income of									
	Rs. 1-25	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 151-200	Rs. 201-300	Rs. 301-400	Rs. 401-500	Total no. of families
Bauri	8	22	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	38
Sankhabanik	3	5	5	6	5	1	2	..	..	27
Bagdi	4	19	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	24
Tantubaya	1	2	4	2	1	2	1	..	2	15
Brahman	..	2	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	5
Tambuli	..	..	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	5
Bairagi	1	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	4
Modak	..	..	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	4
Karmakar	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Sutradhar	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	4
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	2
Sunri	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	2
Kayastha	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Napit	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kalu	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Goala	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Muslim	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	**21**	**58**	**24**	**10**	**8**	**6**	**9**	**1**	**3**	**140**

Another table showing monthly income by different classes of livelihood is given below :

TABLE 60

Industrial Categories	No. of households with monthly income of								
	Rs. 1-25	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 151-200	Rs. 201-300	Rs. 301-500	Total no. of families
Cultivation	..	1	..	1	1	3	1	..	7
Agricultural labour	9	40	6	1	..	..	..	..	56
Fishing and livestock	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	2
Industry	8	13	11	8	6	1	4	1	52
Trade and commerce	1	..	2	..	..	..	3	2	8
Construction	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Transport, storage and communications	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Other services	1	1	3	..	..	2	1	..	8
Non-worker	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
Total	**21**	**58**	**24**	**10**	**8**	**6**	**9**	**4**	**140**

Out of 143 families residing in this village, income of 140 families has been shown in the above tables, because three families depend entirely on begging.

The table shows that 21 households or 15 per cent of the families fall within the income-group of Rs. (1-25) per month. These 21 families consist mainly of agricultural labours with daily earning of less than one rupee and of widows, who have no other male earning member in their families and who earn their livelihood by husking paddy.

41.4 per cent of the families earn between Rs. 26/- to Rs. 50/- per month. About 69 per cent families within this income-group are agricultural labours. Most of the Bauri and Bagdi agricultural labour families, having in most cases one male earning member in each family, fall within this income-group. Thirteen families within this income-group depend on industries, such as paddy-husking and Conch shell. Of these households, the families, consisting of one widowed female artisan, are engaged in Conch shell industry.

17.1 per cent families fall within the income-group of Rs. 51/- to Rs. 75/- per month. There are altogether six agricultural labour families within this income-group. All these six agricultural labour families consist of more than one male earning member. In this income-group the landless artisan families have outnumbered the agricultural labour families.

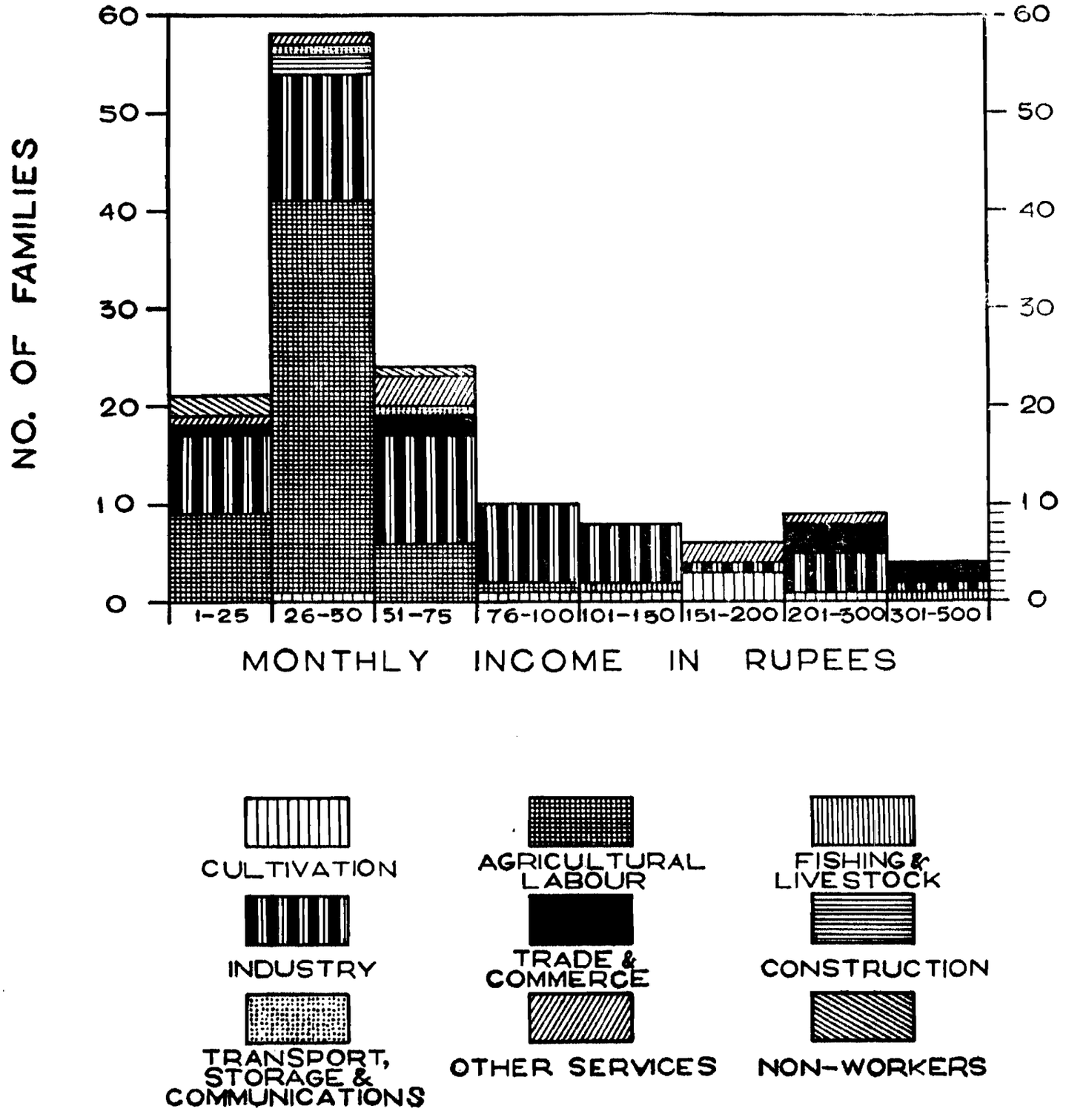
Seven per cent of the families are in the monthly income-group of Rs. 76/- to Rs. 100/-. In this group there is only one agricultural labour family, having three male earning members. Other families within this income-group are mainly connected with industries. Almost all the artisan families within this group possess one to six *bighas* of land.

Families within the income-group of Rs. 101/- to Rs. 150/- per month are connected with industry, cultivation and fishing. All the families within this income-group possess land. Five of the eight families within this income-group possess at least 10 *bighas* of land.

There are six families within the income-group of Rs. 151/- to Rs. 200/- per month. These families are connected with cultivation, industry and other services such as teaching and medical profession. Land is one of the important sources of income of these families. Almost all these families cultivate eight to twenty seven *bighas* of land.

About nine per cent of the families are in the income-group of Rs.201/- to Rs.500/- per month. Except the Sutradhar household, all other families within this income-group possess in most cases more than 10 *bighas* of land. The Sutradhar family having three male earning members has a monthly income of more than Rs.200/-. Out of 13 families within this income-group, four families earn Rs. 301/- to Rs. 500/- per month. Of them, the Brahman family having 16 *bighas* of land is engaged in Conch shell industry, two Tantubaya families having 19 *bighas* and 40 *bighas* of land respectively are engaged in trade and commerce and the other one, a Kaibarta family having 32 *bighas* of land is engaged in fishing. Any discussion on income is not fool-proof, for

MONTHLY INCOME BY LIVELIHOOD CLASSES



the reason that the income of the households cannot always be computed in terms of money and is not steady althrough, specially so for the households depending on cultivation and industry. Still, some tables relating to income have been shown earlier. The picture will, perhaps, not be complete, unless an idea is conveyed to the readers about the size of the households with reference to the income. So, a table about the per capita income of the households will show the relative economic positions of the households belonging to different castes and income-groups.

TABLE 61

Caste/Community	No. of households by per capita monthly income of Rs. 1-5	Rs. 6-10	Rs. 11-15	Rs. 16-20	Rs. 21-30	Rs. 31-40	Rs. 41-50	Rs. 51-60	Rs. 71-80
Bauri	10	22	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sankhabanik	..	3	7	6	7	1	3	..	..
Bagdi	3	17	3	..	1	..	..	..	..
Tantubaya	1	1	4	4	3	..	..	1	1
Brahman	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..
Tambuli	..	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	1
Bairagi	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
Modak	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
Sunri	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Napit	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goala	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Total	**16**	**51**	**28**	**11**	**23**	**4**	**4**	**1**	**2**

From the table a very sad picture of most of the households emerges. One may wonder as to how they maintain their existence with the critically low purchasing power in their hands. 67 households, of which again the Bauris alone account for 22 families, depend on a per capita income, which does not exceed Rs.10/- per month. It is, perhaps, more than a riddle when one is faced with the question of pulling on with a daily income, not exceeding 33 paise per member in the face of rising prices in almost every sphere of life. The households, when asked as to how they could maintain themselves, left the answer to be inferred. In one case, the Investigator had to face a household in frayed temper and he did not dare to probe further into the economic miseries. On a resume, it is observed that 47.8 per cent of the earning households are very poor, for their per capita income does not exceed 33 paise per day. The case of another 39 households or 27.8 per cent of the earning families can be treated as poor, if not very poor, for their per capita income lies between 34 paise and 66 paise a day. Poverty does not stare in the face of 27 families *i.e.*, 13.9 per cent of the earning families, which have the fortune of a per capita daily income of 67 paise to Rs.1.33 paise. The rest of the households may be treated as wealthy, for they have a per capita daily income varying between Rs.1.34 paise to Rs. 2.26 paise. The wealthy households are drawn from the Sankhabanik, Tantubaya, Brahman and Tambuli castes. The Bauris and the Bagdis are the poorest members of the community in the village. Throughout the previous discussions it has been tried to point out the relatively backward economic position of the Bauris and the Bagdis in the village. Obviously, from the point of income, they lag far behind in the race. The reasons for the poor economic condition of the Bauris and the Bagdis may be explained by the fact that majority of them constitute the landless labour-force in the agricultural sector, income from which is normally lower than that from other economic pursuits.

Indebtedness

A table showing the households by range of indebtedness among different castes is given below :

TABLE 62

Caste/Community	No. of households by range of indebtedness							
	Not indebted	Rs. 1-50	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 101-200	Rs. 201-500	Rs. 501-1000	Above Rs. 1000	Total
Bauri	6	20	9	2	1	..	..	38
Sankhabanik	6	3	2	3	6	5	4	29
Bagdi	..	7	11	3	3	..	..	24
Tantubaya	..	3	4	2	1	1	4	15
Brahman	1	2	..	..	2	1	..	6
Tambuli	1	..	..	1	1	..	2	5
Bairagi	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	4
Modak	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	4
Karmakar	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	4
Sutradhar	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	4
Kaibarta	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2
Sunri	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
Kayastha	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Napit	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Kalu	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Goala	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Muslim	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	**16**	**43**	**28**	**15**	**20**	**10**	**11**	**143**

Another table, relating to the households by range of indebtedness among different families according to the industrial categories, is shown below :

TABLE 63

Industrial Category	No. of households by range of indebtedness							
	No debt	Rs. 1-50	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 101-200	Rs. 201-500	Rs. 501-1000	Above Rs. 1000	Total
Cultivation	..	1	1	1	2	1	1	7
Agricultural labour	4	27	17	4	4	..	..	56
Fishing	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2
Industry	5	10	8	6	11	7	5	52
Trade and commerce	..	..	1	1	1	..	5	8
Construction	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Transport and communications	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Other services	1	1	1	2	2	1	..	8
Non-worker	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Total	**16**	**43**	**28**	**15**	**20**	**10**	**11**	**143**

Indebtedness is widespread among all the castes, engaged in different economic pursuits. Out of 143 households, 127 familes have taken loans of varied amounts. 55.9 per cent of the families in debt have taken loans within the range of Re. 1/- to Rs. 100/-, 27.5 per cent have taken loans within the limit of Rs. 101/- to Rs. 500/- and 7.9 per cent have taken loans between Rs. 501/- to Rs. 1,000/-. Range of indebtedness of 8.7 per cent families exceeds Rs. 1,000/-. Most of the families with income of less than Rs. 100/- per month utilised the loans to meet their daily needs. But, the families earning more than Rs.100/- per month spent the amount of loan on industry and business and on construction of house etc.

The table below shows the range of indebtedness among the different income-groups.

TABLE 64

Range of Income per month in Rupees	No. of households by indebtedness							
	No debt	Rs. 1 to 50	Rs. 51 to 100	Rs. 101 to 200	Rs. 201 to 500	Rs. 501 to 1000	Above Rs. 1000	Total
1— 25	4	6	10	1	..	..	..	21
26— 50	5	30	12	4	7	..	..	58
51— 75	3	5	3	7	4	1	1	24
76—100	1	2	2	..	3	2	..	10
101—150	..	..	..	2	2	2	2	8
151—200	..	..	1	..	2	3	..	6
201—300	..	..	..	1	2	..	6	9
301—400	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
401—500	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3
Total	13	43	28	15	20	10	11	140

It appears from the above table that range of indebtedness is high in the higher income-group. Out of 113 families within the monthly income-group of Re. 1/- to Rs. 100/-, range of indebtedness among 18 families exceeds Rs. 200/-. Out of 27 families earning more than Rs. 100/- per month, 23 families obtained loan within the range of Rs.201/- to Rs. 1,000/- and above. Cause of increase in the range of indebtedness with the increase in income may be attributed to the fact that the families with increased income have economic potentiality and credit-worthiness. Their income also serves as security against loans of higher amounts.

1. Source of loan

There is neither any professional money-lender nor any Credit Co-operative Society in the village. Government and private persons, such as neighbours and relatives, are the only sources, from which the villagers take loans in times of need.

A table on the number of families, which secured loan from different sources, is shown below :

TABLE 65

No. of families which have taken loan from		
Government	Private persons	Both from Government and private persons
17	87	23

It may be seen from the table that, out of 127 families 40 have taken loans from Government source.

TABLE 66

Caste/ Community	Purpose of loans from Government			
	Industrial	Land improvement	House-building	Agricultural
Sankhabanik	14	..	..	..
Bagdi	..	..	..	9
Tantubaya	3	1	..	..
Brahman	1	..	1	..
Tambuli	..	1	..	..
Bairagi	1	..	..	..
Modak	..	..	1	..
Sutradhar	1	..	..	..
Karmakar	3	..	..	..
Sunri	..	2	..	..
Bauri	..	..	..	1
Total	23	4	2	10

Thirty nine cases of Government loan have been shown in the above table. One Tambuli family could not state the nature of loan taken from the Government.

2. Utilisation of Government-loan

Families, engaged in Conch shell craft and weaving, took loans from the Government for the improvement of their industries. But, most of the families utilised the loans on household needs.

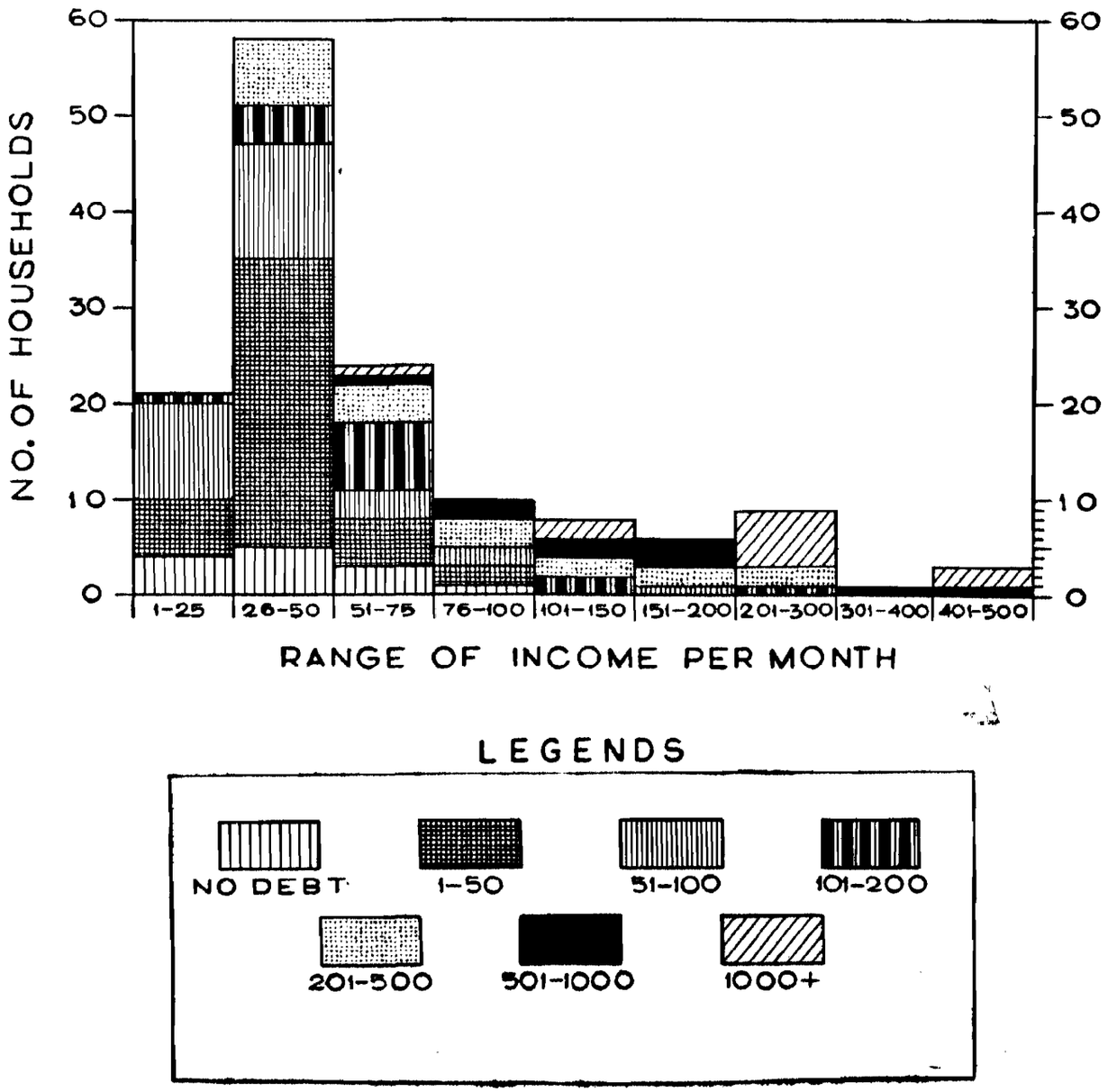
One Tantubaya, one Tambuli and two Sunri families took loan from the Government for the purpose of reclamation of their land. But, none of the families spent the amount for the purpose, for which they had taken the loan. The Modak and the Brahman families, however, made proper use of the house-building loan.

The agricultural loans taken from the Government were utilised in most cases in meeting the immediate daily needs by the Bauri and the Bagdi families.

3. Loan from private sources

One hundred and ten families took loan from private sources. Some of the villagers took loan against the security of landed property or ornaments. Relatives and friends generally do not claim any interest on loan. But, in majority of the cases interest is charged.

INDEBTEDNESS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS BY INCOME



4. Mortgage

A table, showing mortgage of different types of assets by the families classified by caste, is given below :

TABLE 67

Caste/Community	No. of households which mortgaged							
	Land	Ornament	Utensil	Land and ornament	Land and utensil	House	Sewing machine	Wooden door
Bauri	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sankhabanik	4	2	2	3	..	..	..	..
Bagdi	1	1	2	..	2	..	..	1
Tantubaya	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Brahman	..	..	..	1	..	..	.	..
Tambuli	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..
Bairagi	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Modak	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..
Sunri	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total	12	10	6	5	2	1	1	1

Thirty eight families mortgaged their assets either to the Government or to private persons against loan. Out of 17 families, which took loans against their landed property, six families mortgaged their landed property to the Government. Out of 11 cases of land-mortgage, five transactions occurred in the village. Remaining six cases of mortgage occurred outside the village. Out of five cases of land-mortgage were transacted inside the village, particulars of four cases are available. The terms of mortgage did not stipulate any interest, but the produce of the land was taken by the mortgagee in such cases.

It is not possible to furnish any information about the particulars of mortgage of ornaments and utensils, because particulars are not available from the debtor housewives, who take loan from the womenfolk of well-to-do families against the mortgage of ear-rings or brass-pitchers etc. They generally take small amount of loans from different sources and invariably without the knowledge of the male members. It is interesting that the transactions carried on between the debtors and the creditors, both of the fair sex, show better acumen than the male professionals. But, the relation between the two is never vitiated by any ill feeiing or rancour. The hush, allowed to prevail at the start of the transaction, is not broken even after it is over. Remarkably enough, husbands in both the creditor and the debtor households often remain absolutely ignorant of the transactions.

One Tambuli, serving in a grocer's shop in the village, mortgaged his house to the owner of the shop. The owner, a Tantubaya by caste, is one of the well-to-do families of this village. The Sutradhar tailor mortgaged his sewing machine to the same shop-keeper. Finally, one Bagdi agricultural labourer, having no other asset but a wooden door, unfastened the door from his bedroom and mortgaged it to his family-priest residing in one of the hamlets against Rs. 8/- only. It is remarkably pathetic indeed.

The Bauri and Bagdi agricultural labour families, with nothing but their physical strength and vigour for hard work, generally pledge their labour against a few rupees of loan from the landowners. The labourer, who takes loan, do not pay any interest to the creditors. But, he has to work throughout the agricultural season on daily wage-rates, fixed by the creditors, till he becomes free from the debt. Though the rate of wage depends on the caprices of the land owners, in some cases it depends on the amount of loan also.

A table, correlating the range of indebtedness with the rate of daily wage of the agricultural labours, is presented below :

Rate of daily wage	No. of labourers by range of indebtedness in rupees					
	1-25	26-50	51-100	101-200	Above 200	Total
50 paise	..	1	..	..	..	1
62 paise	2	1	1	1	..	5
75 paise	1	12	4	1	1	19
81 paise	1	1	1	..	..	3
87 paise	..	4	..	..	..	4
Re. 1.00	8	5	1	..	..	14
Total	12	24	7	2	1	46

The working conditions of the different classes of agricultural labours have clearly shown that there are altogether 46 labourers who took loans from their landowners.

It is revealing that the range of indebtedness in case of the labourers earning Re.1/- per day has decreased, whereas the range in case of the labourers earning less than one rupee has increased to a certain extent. The more the labours take loan from the landowners, the less they earn and the less they earn (thus playing in the hands of their employers), the more they are indebted. The vicious circle of indebtedness, which has fettered the landless souls in never-breaking bonds of labour, is a significant feature in this village.

Rate of interest

Rate of interest on loan from the private individuals is in most cases 3 per cent per month, which comes to about 36 per cent per year, whereas the rate of interest on Government loan is 6¼ per cent per annum. Although the rate of interest on private loans is about five or six times higher than that on the Government-loan, the villagers do not think or stop to think in taking the loans from the private persons. Reasons are obvious. First, Government-loan is not readily available. Secondly, the Government do not advance loans for all purposes.

Sale and purchase of assets in the year 1963

A table, showing the sale of assets by the households, is presented below :

TABLE 68

Caste/Community	Total amount in Rs.	Utensils sold by no. of house-holds	Amount in Rs.	Ornaments sold by no. of house-holds	Amount in Rs.	Land sold by no. of house-holds	Area	Amount in Rs.	Livestock sold by no. of house-holds	Amount in Rs.	Other assets sold by no. of house-holds	Amount in Rs.
Bauri	185	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	185	..	..
Sankhabanik	4,881	7	291	7	1,610	6	6 *bighas* 1 *cottah*	2,130	1	150	2	200
Bagdi	460	6	206	2	200	..	..	..	1	54	..	..
Tantubaya	2,277	1	25	2	140	1	2 *bighas*	900	2	252	3	960
Brahman	35	1	35	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tambuli	2,100	2	100	..	..	1	2 *bighas* 10 *cottahs*	1,450	1	150	1	400
Bairagi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Modak	1,050	..	..	..	..	2	1 *bigha* 15 *cottahs*	950	1	100	..	..
Karmakar	163	2	38	..	..	1	5 *cottahs*	125	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	272	1	12	1	110	1	5 *cottahs*	150	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	99	2	69	1	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunri	306	..	..	..	..	1	12 *cottahs*	306	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Napit	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	20	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goala	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	900	..	..	1	400	1	1 *bigha* 5 *cottahs*	500	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	**12,248**	**23**	**796**	**14**	**2,490**	**14**	**14 bighas 11 cottahs**	**6,511**	**8**	**891**	**6**	**1,560**

In the year 1963 various assets, valued at Rs. 12, 248/-, were sold by the villagers to meet their needs from time to time. The Sankhabaniks appear to have been most hard-hit and the sale of assets reflects on their economic situation. Some of the households, left with no other way to meet the emergent needs of the family, had to sell their utensils to a hawker, who visited the village regularly to sell and purchase new and second-hand utensils of bell-metal and brass. The households, which had sold bell-metal utensils, could not replace them by articles of the same constituent material and were obliged to use the cheap aluminium articles.

The average sale price of land appears to be about Rs. 450/- per *bigha*. The land sold was purchased by the Teli cultivators of Mirzapur, Gopalpur etc. Ornaments were purchased by the Karmakar goldsmiths of the hamlets of Raibaghini and the livestocks by the Muslims of the neighbouring villages.

The table, relating to the purchase of assets by the different households, is given below :

TABLE 69

PURCHASE OF ASSETS

Caste/Community	Total amount in Rs.	Land purchased by no. of house-holds	Area	Amount in Rs.	Livestock purchased by no. of households	Amount in Rs.	Other assets purchased by no. of households	Amount in Rs.	Ornaments purchased by no. of house-holds	Amount in Rs.
Sankhabanik	1,188	3	19 *cottahs*	900	1	188	1 pond	100	..	..
Bagdi	500	2	13 *cottahs*	500	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tantubaya	2,075	2	1 *bigha* 3 *cottahs*	440	3	1,015	1 cycles 1 house 1 house	620	..	..
Brahman	3,345	1	1 *bigha*	300	2	515	1 house 1 pond	1,330	1	1,200
Tambuli	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bairagi	217	..	..	..	1	80	1 house	137	..	..
Modak	1,202	1	1 *bigha*	500	1	500	1 house 1 bullock cart	202	..	..
Total	8,527	9	**4 bighas 5 cottahs**	2,640	8	2,298	9 items	2,389	1	1,200

One should take note of the fact that the households, normally involved in the sale of assets, far outnumber those, which have purchased assets of varying values. This conjures up a deteriorating economic picture of the households, which had to sell their assets mostly against their desires. It is interesting that about 57 per cent of the total amount of Rs. 8527/-, invested on various assets, were meant for the purchase of land and livestock. 43 per cent of the investment went for the purchase of ornaments and other immovable property, such as pond, house etc. Gold ornaments have gone down the scale of values and are purchased only for purposes of marriage.

Prosperity or decadence

If one takes into account the sale and purchase of assets together, one will find that very little amount is invested on expansion of the existing crafts in the village. This is perhaps a pointer to the gradual decadence of the old village-crafts. The Sankhabaniks, the Tantubayas and the Modaks have purchased land toboost up their household cultivation, but they did not canalize the amounts in expanding their establishments, which are a losing proposition to many of them. The total value of assets sold by the Sankhabaniks comes to Rs. 4,381/- against Rs. 1,188/-, being the value of the assets purchased.

The wealth of the village has been drained out of the households of Raibaghini more than it has filled the coffer of the humble men, who toil hard, earn less and can save very little. As a result, the village-economy has been stagnant, if not decadent, for many hard days, since when the village-crafts have been passing through critical stages to a predestined goal of extinction and eventual forgetfulness. The transition is, perhaps, well reflected by the village-economy.

IV

Demographic aspects
- Average size of the households
- Sex-ratio
- Type of family
- Distribution of population by age and sex
- Age and marital status
- Unmarried males beyond the age of 30 years
- Separated or divorced

Literacy and education
- Standard of male education
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- Education and employment
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- Roll-strength
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- Other educational institutions

Inheritance of property
- Awareness of change introduced in the Hindu Succession Act
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Health and sanitation

Type of treatment
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Sanitary conditions
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Family-planning
Leisure and recreation
Radio
Cinema
Newspaper
Religion
Rabankata Rath
Nabakunja
Sitala-puja
Bhadu-puja
Muni-puja
Kulo-puja
Viswakarma-puja
Ganes-puja
Festivals of the Bauris
Bhat-barano
Chhatu-barano
Manasa-puja
Kali-puja
Siddheswari Kali
Durga-puja
Saraswati-puja
Lakshmi-puja
Other deities for daily worship
Raghunathji
Worship of Vishnu
Worship of Rameswar
Hermitage of the Vaishnavas
Miscellaneous festivals
Inter-hamlet relationship
Panchayat
Privileges of the village headman
Community Development Block
Voluntary organisations and institutions
Sabuj Sangha Club
Subhas Library
Raibaghini Students' Dramatic Party
Harinam Sankirtan Party
Social structure and inter-caste relationship

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Demographic aspects

143 households of this village consisting of 763 persons are distributed among 17 castes and one community. A table, showing the distribution of the households by caste/community, sex, average size and sex-ratio, is presented below :

TABLE 70

Caste/Community	No. of households	Males	Females	Total	Average size of households	Sex-ratio
Bauri	38	91	98	189	4.9	1,077
Sankhabanik	29	63	63	126	4.3	1,000
Bagdi	24	54	63	117	4.9	1,167
Tantubaya	15	56	59	115	7.7	1,054
Brahman	6	16	18	34	5.7	1,125
Tambuli	5	18	14	32	6.8	778
Modak	4	14	12	26	6.5	857
Bairagi	4	7	11	18	4.5	1,571
Karmakar	4	5	2	7	1.7	400
Sutradhar	4	14	15	29	7.2	1,071
Kaibarta	2	12	16	28	14.0	1,333
Sunri	2	14	5	19	9.5	357
Kayastha	1	2	..	2	2.0	..
Napit	1	..	3	3	3.0	..
Kalu	1	4	2	6	6.0	500
Goala	1	..	2	2	2.0	..
Subarnabanik	1	3	5	8	8.0	1,667
Muslim	1	1	1	2	2.0	1,000
Total	**143**	**374**	**389**	**763**	**5.3**	**1,040**

Average size of the households

The average size of a household for the village as a whole works out to 5·3 persons per family. Average size of the households among the Tantubaya, Sutradhar, Kaibarta, Sunri and Subarnabanik castes is well above the average size of a family for the village as a whole. Among the 15 Tantubaya families, one, being the biggest of all the families of this village, consists of 25 members and three others are composed of more than 10 members. Out of four Sutradhar families, one is composed of 15 members. Of the two Sunri families, one consists of 13 members. The Kaibartas of this village have largest families, because among the two Kaibarta families, one, which is the second biggest family of this village, consists of 24 members. The single Subarnabanik family of this village, consisting of eight members, is also above the mean average size of the family.

The average size of the Kayastha, Napit, Goala and Muslim families is far below the mean average for the village as a whole, because each of these castes and community has a single household with two to three members. The Karmakars of this village have the lowest average size of family, because, of the four Karmakar families, two are single-membered and the other two consist of two to three members.

Sex-ratio

According to the Census figure of 1961, the sex-ratio of the rural population for the State of West Bengal works out to 943 females per 1,000 males, whereas the sex-ratio for the Kotulpur police station, in which the village is situated, is 1,001 females for 1,000 males, higher than the sex-ratio for the rural population of West Bengal. But, sex-ratio in this particular village is still higher than that of the police station and of the rural areas of the State as a whole. In Raibaghini it stands at 1,040 females per 1,000 males.

TABLE 71

Caste/Community	Size of households					
	Single member			2-3 members		
	No. of households	Males	Females	No. of households	Males	Females
Bauri	1	..	1	9	11	13
Sankhabanik	8	1	7	3	5	3
Bagdi	1	..	1	3	3	5
Tantubaya	..	..	..	4	4	7
Brahman	1	..	1	..	..	..
Tambuli	1	..	1	1	2	1
Bairagi	1	1	..	..	..	..
Modak	..	..	..	1	1	2
Karmakar	2	2	..	2	3	2
Sutradhar	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunri	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	1	2	..
Napit	..	..	..	1	..	3
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goala	..	..	..	1	..	2
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	1	1	1
Total	15	4	11	27	32	39

Caste/Community	Size of households								
	4-6 members			7-9 members			10 members and above		
	No. of households	Males	Females	No of households	Males	Females	No. of households	Males	Females
Bauri	20	48	55	7	28	23	1	4	6
Sankhabanik	14	39	37	3	10	13	1	8	3
Bagdi	15	32	40	5	19	17	..	..	..
Tantubaya	5	13	12	2	7	7	4	32	33
Brahman	2	4	4	2	7	8	1	5	5
Tambuli	..	..	..	2	9	6	1	7	6
Bairagi	2	4	4	1	2	7	..	..	..
Modak	1	2	4	2	11	6	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	3	6	8	..	..	..	1	8	7
Kaibarta	1	2	2	..	..	..	1	10	14
Sunri	1	4	2	..	..	..	1	10	3
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Napit	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	1	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goala	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	1	3	5	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	65	158	170	25	96	92	11	84	77

The table shows that most of the families have four to six members. Families, having four to six members, constitute 45·4 per cent of the total families. Single-membered families form 10·5 per cent. Families with two to three members form 18·9 per cent, families, having members between seven and nine, form 17·5 per cent and the families, consisting of 10 members and above, are only 7·7 per cent of the total families of this village. 43·0 per cent of the population is covered by 4-6 membered families, 24·6 per cent are covered by 7-9 membered families and 21·1 per cent are covered by the families, having 10 members and above. The remaining 11·3 per cent of the population are covered by the single membered and 2-3 membered families.

The table also shows that out of 11 families, having 10 members and above, four families belong to the Tantubaya caste and other seven families belong to seven different castes. These four Tantubaya families consist of 65 members.

Out of 15 single-membered families, 53 per cent of the families, having single-member in each, belong to the Sankhabanik caste. Most of the single-membered families consist of single widowed females.

Type of family

For the purpose of the study families may be classified in the following types :

(i) *Simple*, (iii) *Joint* and
(ii) *Intermediate*, (iv) *Others*.

Simple family : Families, consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children, may be treated as *Simple*.

Intermediate family : Families, composed of a married couple, their unmarried children, unmarried brothers, sisters of the husband and one of the parents or relations, may be viewed as *Intermediate*.

Joint family : Families, consisting of two or more married couples with or without children, may be classified as *Joint*.

Others : Families, which do not fall in any one of three types of *Simple*, *Intermediate* and *Joint* types, may be termed as *Others*.

TABLE 72

Caste/ Community	Total no. of families	No. of families by types			
		Simple	Inter-mediate	Joint	Others
Bauri	38	27	6	3	2
Sankhabanik	29	11	6	4	8
Bagdi	24	13	7	3	1
Tantubaya	15	3	5	4	3
Brahman	6	1	2	2	1
Tambuli	5	2	..	2	1
Bairagi	4	1	2	..	1
Modak	4	1	1	2	..
Karmakar	4	1	..	..	3
Sutradhar	4	3	..	1	..
Kaibarta	2	1	..	1	..
Sunri	2	1	..	1	..
Kayastha	1	1	..	..	..
Napit	1	..	..	..	1
Kalu	1	..	1	..	..
Goala	1	..	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	1	..	1	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	1
Total	**143**	**66**	**31**	**23**	**23**

The table shows that 46·1 per cent of the total families of this village are of *Simple* types. *Intermediate* families form 21·7 per cent of the total families. *Joint* and *Other* types of families constitute 16·1 per cent each of the total families. *Simple* families are predominant among the Bauris and the Bagdis. 71 per cent of the Bauri families and 54 per cent of the Bagdi families are of *Simple* types.

Among the 23 families of *Other* types 15 are single-membered, consisting of either widowed females or unmarried males. Two are double membered families, consisting of single male member and single female member of unspecified marital status and other six families consist mainly of widows or widowers with their unmarried or separated or widowed sons and daughters.

Distribution of population by age and sex

For the convenience of analysis the total population of Raibaghini is divided into three following groups :

(i) Infants and children
(ii) Adult
(iii) Old

Persons below 15 years of age may be taken as children. Persons within the age-group of 15-54 years may be considered as adults. Persons of 55 years of age and above may be viewed as old.

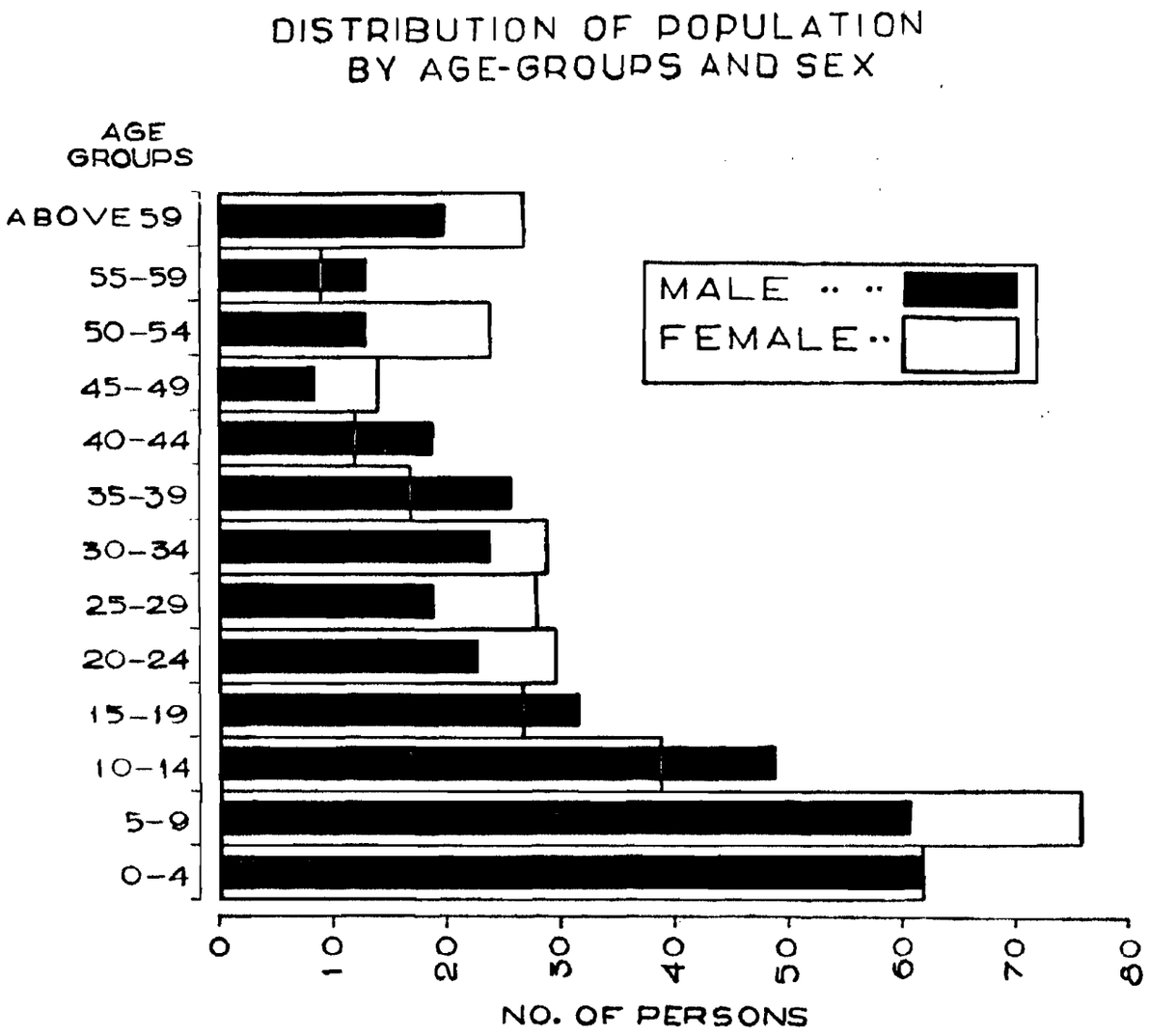


TABLE 73

Age-group	Males	Females	Total
0—4	62	62	124
5—9	61	76	137
10—14	49	39	88
Sub-total of children and infants	172	177	349
15—19	32	27	59
20—24	23	30	53
25—29	19	28	47
30—34	29	24	53
35—39	26	17	43
40—44	19	12	31
45—49	8	14	22
50—54	13	24	37
Sub-total of adults	169	176	345
55—59	13	9	22
60 & above	20	27	47
Sub-total of old persons	33	36	69
Grand Total	**374**	**389**	**763**

The village is inhabited by 763 persons, consisting of 374 males and 389 females. Out of the total population of 763 persons, 45·8 per cent are infants and children and 45·2 per cent are adults. Old persons constitute nine per cent of the total population.

Age and marital status

The table shows not a single male within the age-group of 0-14 as married. But, out of 179 females within the age-group of 0-14, 12 girls or 6·8 per cent of the female children are married.

It is significant to note that there is only one female, within the age-group of 15-54, who is still unmarried. This teen-aged girl

of Sankhabanik caste, who crossed her marriageable age, is neither attending a school nor practising the traditional Conch shell craft in her household industry. She is expectantly awaiting her marriage, till her parents find a suitable match for her.

TABLE 74

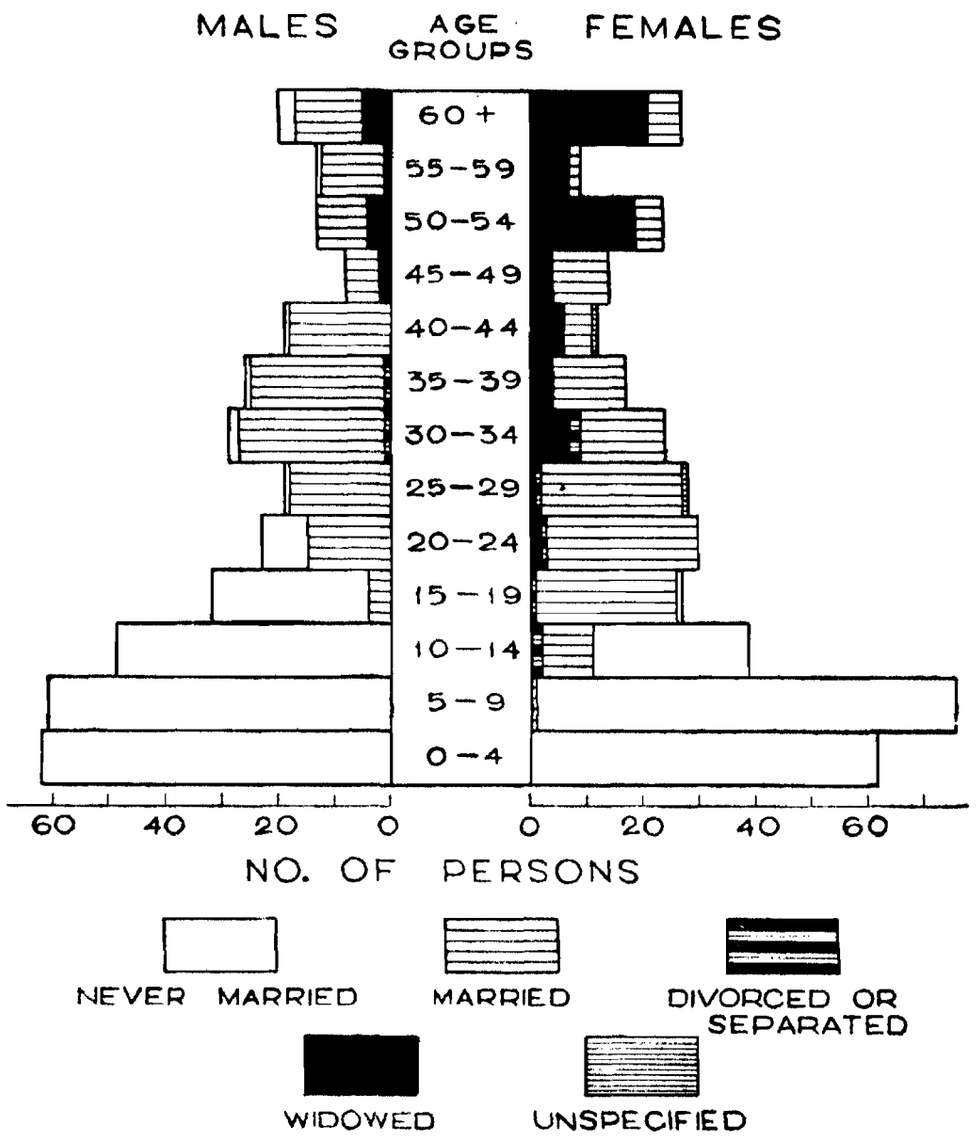
Age-group	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated		Unspecified marital status		Total	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
0— 4	62	62	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	62	62
5— 9	61	75	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	61	76
10—14	49	28	..	9	..	..	..	2	..	..	49	39
Sub-total	172	165	..	10	..	..	..	2	..	..	172	177
15—19	28	1	4	25	..	..	..	1	..	..	32	27
20—24	8	..	15	27	..	2	..	1	..	..	23	30
25—29	1	..	18	25	..	1	..	1	..	1	19	28
30—34	2	..	26	15	..	7	1	2	..	..	29	24
35—39	1	..	24	13	..	4	1	..	..	..	26	17
40—44	1	..	18	5	..	6	..	..	..	1	19	12
45—49	..	..	6	10	2	4	..	..	..	..	8	14
50—54	..	..	9	5	4	19	..	..	..	..	13	24
Sub-total	41	1	120	125	6	43	2	5	..	2	169	176
55—59	1	..	11	2	1	7	..	..	..	..	13	9
60 & above	3	..	12	6	5	21	..	..	..	..	20	27
Sub-total	4	..	23	8	6	28	..	..	..	..	33	36
Grand Total	217	166	143	143	12	71	2	7	..	2	374	389

Out of 169 males within the age-group of 15-54, 41 persons or 24·3 per cent are not married, 71 per cent are married and the remaining 4·7 per cent are widowers and separated persons. It may be observed that, out of 41 unmarried males in the adult age-group, 36 persons or 87·8 per cent are within the age-group of 15-24. Only five persons or 12 per cent of the unmarried males in the adult age-group remained unmarried beyond the age of 24 years. The normal marriageable age for the males of this village is between 20 to 24 years, whereas the females do not remain unmarried beyond 14 years of age. 71 per cent of the females in the adult age-group are married, 24·4 per cent are widows and the remaining 4·6 per cent constitute females of unmarried, separated and unspecified marital status.

In the adult age-group there are only six widowers, whereas the number of widows in the same age-group is 43. The widows outnumber the widowers in all the age-groups. The widows of the Caste Hindus are not permitted to remarry. But, the widowers upto certain age have no bar to remarry. The difference of age at marriage between the males and the females is at least 10 years. There is not a single widower within the age-group of 15 to 44 years. But, there are 20 widows in the same age-group.

Of the 33 males within the old age-group of 55 years and above, four persons or 12·1 per cent are leading a life of celibacy, 69·7 per cent are married and the remaining 18.2 per cent are

widowers. Of the 36 females within the old age-group, 22·2 per cent are married and the remaining 77·8 per cent are widows. Widows are predominant in number in all age-groups.



If the table is viewed as a whole, it will be observed that there are altogether 286 married persons, consisting of 143 males and 143 females. There is not a single case of polygyny in this village. Married persons form 37·4 per cent of the total population. 50·3 per cent of the total population are constituted by unmarried persons and the remaining 12·3 per cent consist of persons of unspecified marital status, widows and of widowers.

If one probes into the causes for remaining unmarried in case of the males beyond the age of 30 years and for the separation of married males and females, some significant features of the village-society will be revealed.

Unmarried males beyond the age of 30 years

There are altogether eight unmarried males in the village within the age-group of 30 years and above.

Castewise break-up of these eight persons by different age-groups is given overleaf.

TABLE 75

Caste/Community	No. of persons in the age-group				
	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-59	60 years & above
Sankhabanik	2	..	..	..	..
Bagdi	..	..	1	..	..
Karmakar	..	1	..	1	1
Tantubaya	..	..	..	..	1
Bairagi	..	..	..	..	1
Total	2	1	1	1	3

Two males, belonging to the Sankhabanik caste within the age-group of 30-34, remained unmarried. Of these two Sankhabanik males, one had spent a few years in Calcutta and the other one was born and brought up in the subdivisional town of Bishnupur. When these two persons are asked about their marriage, they casually remark that they want to lead the free unencumbered life of bachelors. The brides' fathers from distant places come to contact these two gentlemen for the marriage of their daughters. But, everytime they leave the village disappointed. The Bagdi male is unmarried, as he is physically handicapped by deformity and is incapable of doing any work. Two persons, belonging to the Tantubaya and Karmakar castes and within the age-group of 60 years and above, had to remain unmarried, because they were not able to pay the high bride-price of Rs. 500/-, used to have been customarily charged from them in their times. The same Karmakar had to sell all his landed property for paying the bride-price of Rs. 500/- for the marriage of his elder brother. As a result, he remained unmarried. The other Karmakar male is a stammerer. He collected the whole amount of bride-price with some difficulty and even paid a part of the price in advance to the bride's father. But, on enquiry, the bride's father came to learn from the villagers that his would-be son-in-law had a defective tongue and so, he broke off the marriage and returned the amount then and there to the unfortunate Karmakar. Since that unhappy episode, the person did not try any more for nuptial locks. Another Karmakar could not marry, because he had built a separate house at the time of negotiation for his marriage, in order to have a house of his own. This was reported to his would-be father-in-law by some of his neighbours. The bride's father refused to marry his daughter to a man, who had caused the break-up of a joint family. The Bairagi mendicant, who remained unmarried, was orginally a Sadgope by caste. His ancestral home is situated in the village Piritchak, about one mile away from this village. His father had some landed property, enough to support a family modestly. But, he could not find a suitable match for his son ; his short stature was regarded a disqualification. The son decided not to negotiate a married life. After conversion to Vaishnavism, he left his native village, roamed about here and there for some years and finally came here to look after the hermitage of the Vaishnavas.

On recapitulation of the reasons for celibacy of the males, one finds no single preponderant cause behind the cases. Each case has a characteristic reason of its own and is therefore, more individualistic than general. In two cases the socio-economic factor is responsible for the celibacy of two males and in both, failure to pay the bride-price operated as the only single factor.

Separated or divorced

Castewise break-up of divorced and separated persons in different age-groups is given below :

TABLE 76

Caste/Community	Age-groups											
	10-14		15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Bauri	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Sankhabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Bagdi	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tambuli	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Napit	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Total	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	2	1	..

Of the two males, living separately from their wives, the one, aged 35 years, belongs to the Bauri caste and the other one, a young man of 30 years, belongs to the Muslim community. The wife of the Bauri male does not want to live with her husband, who cannot maintain his wife. He spends most of his time in the village tea-shops and does not work. The person is not even in a position to maintain his widowed mother and himself. The wife, annoyed with her husband's apathy for the household affairs, left him and went back to her parental home in a distant village. The Muslim mason, who had come to this village about seven years ago from Midnapore district, leaving behind his young wife and old father in his ancestral village, in connection with the construction work of a school-building here, did not stage a return to his native place. He has been living in this village with a Muslim girl, with whom he had picked up acquaintance during masonry in the construction-site. The relation between them is unspecified, but the interviewee is stated to have been living with her as her husband.

Of the seven females, who have been living separated from their husbands, three women belong to the Bauri caste, one to the Bagdi, one to the Sankhabanik, one to the Tambuli and one to the Napit castes. Of them, two Bauri and one Bagdi women, born and brought up in this village, were married in distant villages in the same district. The parents of the separated females are unwilling to send their daughters to their husbands, who could not provide their wives even with a piece of *sari*. All of them are trying to remarry their daughters. Another Bauri female, aged 32 years, has been living separately with a number of dependants. Her husband had deserted her a few years ago. It should be borne in mind that remarriage of separated Bauri women is a prevalent custom here. Payment of bride-price in case of such marriage *(sanga* marriage) is higher than that of ordinary marriage. So, the parents do not have any difficulty in maintaining their daughters, for they are sure about their remarriage and of a bride-price.

The Sankhabanik woman, aged 33 years and married to a man of a well-to-do family of this village, is now living separately with her mother. Her widowed mother was very poor and she had to run a family of four members with her meagre income. The separated woman used to bring foodgrains frequently from her husband's house without the knowledge of her husband. This came to the notice of her husband, who rebuked her and forbade her to take anything out of his house without his knowledge. She stopped supplying food-grains to her mother, but could not remain unmoved at her plight. She used to spend some of her time daily in her mother's house to assist her in her household craft. Her husband had at that time an independent establishment of Conch shell industry. Artisans and traders of bangles used to stay in his house. He found it difficult to entertain his guests on accout of the frequent absence of his wife. This resulted in a quarrel and ultimately led to the separation. The Sankhabanik married another girl from a very distant village in Burdwan district.

Another female of this village, belonging to the Tambuli caste, was legally separated from her husband, who had a sweet-meat shop in a distant village, in which a Bagdi woman used to work as a maid servant. When her husband got entangled with the Bagdi maid servant, she left her husband and came to live with her parents in the village. After some years, when her husband refused to accept her as his wife, her parents filed a suit against her husband claiming maintenance for their daughter, as provided under the law. They won the case. But, her husband, being very poor, could not pay them any amount. They did not go to the court again for the second time and remained silent. Now, the girl is living with her parents.

There is a single case of an inter-caste marriage between a Napit girl and a Teli, but the marriage took place in the adjacent village, situated about one mile away. The girl, after being separated from her husband, came to this village to live with her widowed mother. The girl belonged to a displaced family from East Pakistan and had settled in the Refugee Camp near the village. The man, an original resident of the village Mirzapur, had lost his parents in his early life and the girl had lost her father in her younger days. The man used to visit the Refugee Colony daily to attend a religious musical performance (*Harisankirtan*). He was subsequently acquainted with the girl and fell in love with her. The marriage took place in spite of the vehement protest from the neighbours and the relatives. The newly married couple, abandoned by their friends and relatives, found themselves in a difficult and unhappy position. The marital tie between them did not last long. The girl was finally separated from her husband and came with her only child to live with her widowed

mother here. Her mother has since supported them by selling bread and biscuit in the neighbouring villages on the basis of commissions.

Literacy and education

TABLE 77

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO AGE, SEX AND LITERACY

Age-group	Total number of persons		Total number of literate persons		Literate without any educational standard		Primary	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0—4	62	62	..	..	..	..	..	..
5—9	61	76	31	26	31	26	..	..
10—14	49	39	30	15	11	6	6	4
Sub-total	172	177	61	41	42	32	6	4
15—19	32	27	16	10	2	5	6	5
20—24	23	30	18	6	..	3	6	2
25—29	19	28	10	2	..	1	3	1
30—34	29	24	16	5	4	3	8	2
35—39	26	17	18	2	4	2	3	..
40—44	12	12	10	..	2	..	2	..
45—49	8	14	5	..	3	..	2	..
50—54	13	21	10	1	2	1	1	..
Sub-total	169	176	98	26	17	15	31	10
55—59	13	9	7	..	1	..	3	..
60 & above	20	27	15	..	12	..	2	..
Sub-total	33	36	22	..	13	..	5	..
Grand Total	**374**	**389**	**181**	**67**	**72**	**47**	**42**	**14**

Age-group	Middle		Matric or School Final Standard		Passed Matric or School Final	Higher Secondary	Intermediate	Diploma-holder	Remarks
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Males	Males	Males	
0—4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
5—9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
10—14	13	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Sub-total	13	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	
15—19	5	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	
20—24	6	..	3	1	..	1	1	*1	*Licentiate in Civil Engineering
25—29	3	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	
30—34	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	
35—39	3	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	
40—44	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
45—49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
50—54	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	
Sub-total	30	..	12	1	5	1	1	1	
55—59	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
60 & above	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Sub-total	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Grand Total	**47**	**5**	**12**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**1**	

A person, who can read and write, has been treated as literate. The above table shows 248 persons of this village to be literates. The percentage of literates works out to 32·5, which is but the crude percentage of literates, because it includes all the infants within the age-group of 0-4.

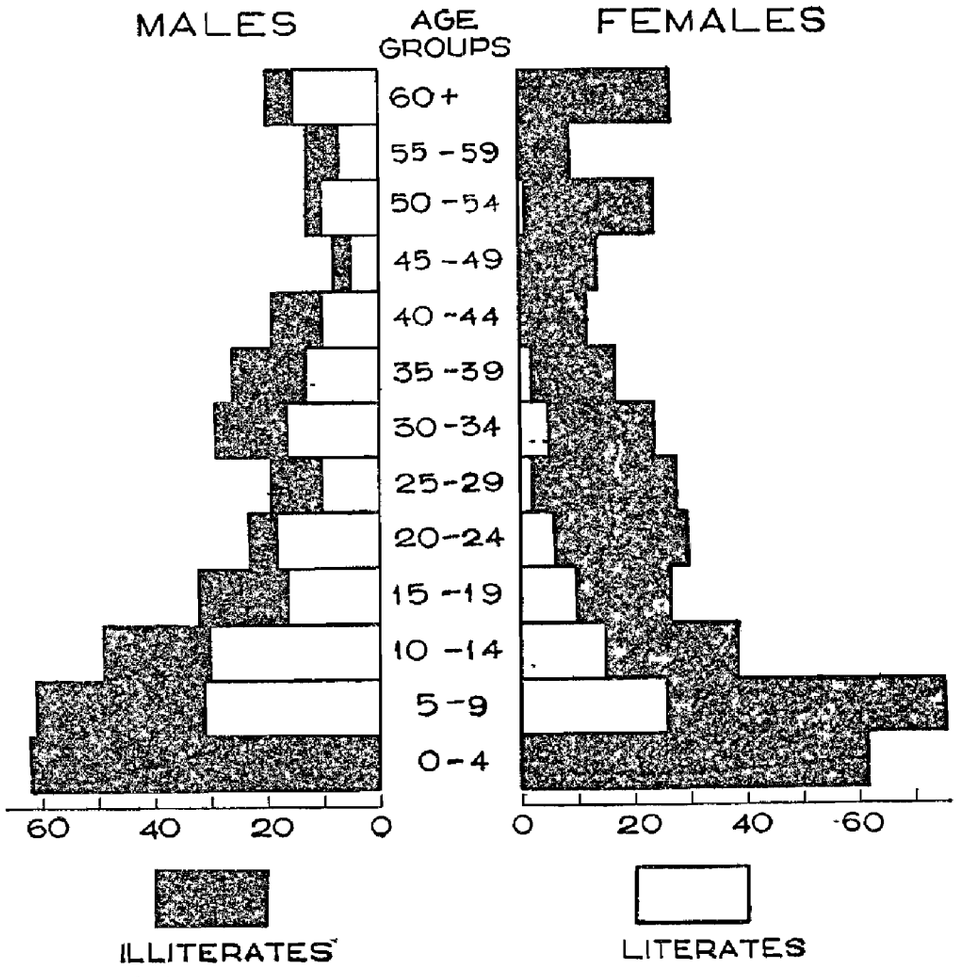
Excluding the infants, the percentage of literates stands at 38.8 among the people of Raibaghini. If the males and the females are taken separately (excluding the infants), the percentage of literates among the males and females is 58 and 20.5 respectively. Females stand far behind the males in the field of education.

If the number of literate males and females in different age-groups is taken into account, the table will reveal some interesting features. It is observed that 55.4 per cent and 35.6 per c nt of the males and the females within the age-group of 5-14 are literate, while in the age-group of 15 to 54, 58 per cent of the males and 14.8 per cent of the females are literates. The percentage of literates among the males in the age-group of 15-54 has gone up. Decline in the percentage of literates among the males in the age-group of 5-14 is mainly due to the large number of children among the Bauris and the Bagdis, who do not attend school. But among the females, the percentage of literates has shown an upward tendency in the age-group of 5-14 in spite of a considerable number of female children among the Bauris and the Bagdis, who do not attend school.

The Caste Hindus, who were averse to female education some few years back, are now gradually allowing their children to go to school for primary education, till they get married.

It is also observed that the figure of literacy among the females gradually diminished and becomes almost nil from the age-group of 40 to 44.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO AGE, SEX AND LITERACY



Standard of male education

Among 181 male persons, 39.8 percent are literates without any educational standard, 23.2 per cent of whom have received Primary education and 25.9 per cent have read upto the Middle Standard. Only 12 persons or 6.6 per cent of the literate males have read upto the Matriculation Standard. There are five Matri-

culates in this village and only three persons read above the Matriculation level. This village has no Degree-holder. Two young persons, studying in the Degree course, may bring the laurel for the village, if they pass their Degree Examination.

Standard of female education

There is not a single Matriculate among the females. The only female, who has read upto the Matriculation Standard, was born and brought up in the district-town, Bankura and was married in this village. 70.1 per cent of the women are literates without any educational standard, 20.9 per cent have Primary education and 7.5 per cent, who are still continuing their studies, have read upto the Middle Standard. It is interesting that all the five females with education of the Middle Standard are in the age-group of 10 to 14. This points to the recent spread of education beyond the Primary level among the females.

Education and employment

The five Matriculates are constituted by two Tantubayas, two Sankhabaniks and one Modak. None of the two Tantubaya Matriculates is in service at present. One of them was, however, serving as a clerk in the Union Board Office in the village. But, with the introduction of Statutory *Panchayat*, the newly elected *Pradhan* of the *Anchal Panchayat* decided to substitute the old staff by new recruits and as a result, the Tantubaya was thrown out of employment. At present, though he is engaged in the household-cultivation, he is still looking for a suitable job in any other *Panchayat* Office. The other Matriculate, belonging to the Tantubaya caste, is running a business of handloom cloth and ready-made garments in the village. The Modak, who passed the Matriculation Examination, is serving as a teacher in the Primary School. Although the Sankhabanik Matriculate is engaged full time in the Conch shell industry, he is not satisfied with his present position. He is looking for the post of a teacher in any Primary School in the neighbourhood. The other Sankhabanik Matriculate is a teacher in a Primary School. The person, who obtained Diploma in Licentiate Civil Engineering, has been suitably employed in the Railway Department.

The female, who read upto the Matriculation Standard, is a Post Mistress in the village Post Office as nominee of her husband, who incidentally is a school-teacher.

Education of children

For the purpose of analysis, the lower age limit for the start of education is fixed at six years, below which age no student will be admitted in the village Primary School as per rules.

School-going children of the Bauri and Bagdi castes have been shown separately in the following table. Only 5.3 per cent of the Bauri and the Bagdi children of the school-going age attend schools, although 42 per cent of the total children of school-going age in the village are accounted for by the Bauris and the Bagdis.

TABLE 78

Caste/Community	Total number of children in the school-going age *i.e.*, 6-16 years		Number of children attending school	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Other castes	63	65	54	32
Bauris and Bagdis	47	47	2	3
Total	**110**	**112**	**56**	**35**

85.7 per cent of the males and 49 per cent of the females, belonging to all the castes other than the Bauris and the Bagdis in the school-going age, are attending school. But, the percentages of school-going male and female children among the Bauris and the Bagdis of this village come down to 4.2 per cent and 6.4 per cent respectively. The Bauris and the Bagdis are too poor to meet even the expenses of Primary education.

Average annual expenditure on education

Items of expenditure on Primary education comprise cost of books and stationery articles, such as slate, pencil and paper etc. The average annual expenditure works out to Rs. 12/- per primary student. The average expenditure for a student of a Secondary School comes to about

Rs. 130/- per year. The average expenditure for a Secondary student includes tuition fees, books and stationery articles.

Reasons for not attending School for children within 6 to 16 years of age may be deciphered from the table.

TABLE 79

Caste	Number of children not going to school for: They can't afford		They are already engaged in work		Their parents are not in favour of sending their children		They are already married		They are engaged in domestic work		They are not willing to attend school	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Other castes	5	6	4	..	..	11	..	9	..	5	..	2
Bauris and Bagdis	29	33	15	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	1	..
Total	34	39	19	..	..	11	..	20	..	5	1	2

Nine boys, belonging to the castes other than the Bauris and the Bagdis within the school-going age, do not now attend any school. Five of these nine boys have read upto the Primary Standard, one upto the Middle Standard, two are literates without any Standard and one is illiterate. Again, four children already engaged in work are, therefore, not concerned ; the discontinuation of education has not affected them in their employment. The parents of the five other children belong to an income-bracket of less than Rs. 75/- per month and can hardly spend any amount, however small, on education.

Parents of both well-to-do and poor families, belonging to all castes, excepting the Bauris and the Bagdis, are not in favour of sending their girls to the Secondary School, situated outside the village. That is why, most of the girls of this village, on completion of their studies in the local Primary School, help their mothers in domestic work, till they get married. The villagers opine that a girl should learn how to write a simple letter to her husband and need not know more. It may also be seen that of the 33 girls of school-going age, 11 are already married. The villagers do not favour the idea of married women going to school. The Bauris and the Bagdis cannot really afford to send their sons and daughters to the village Primary School, although primary education is free. As mentioned earlier, Primary education, though free, involves some incidental expenses, which the Bauris and the Bagdis cannot meet from their poor means. So, the Bauri and the Bagdi boys of school-going age are seldom admitted to school.

Moreover, the children require some clothes, if they are sent to school. It has been mentioned earlier that almost all the Bauri children upto 10 years of age do not have anything to wear.

Among 38 Bauri families, only one boy of seven years is attending Primary School. The parents of this boy purchased cheap shorts and a vest with some difficulty, and also spent Re. 1/- on books and stationery articles. Out of 24 Bagdis families, only one household is sending a boy to the Primary School. The family has a monthly income of Rs.100/-. This boy has the requisite dresses, books and stationery articles.

When education of the Bauri and the Bagdi boys is suffering such deplorable negligence, it serves little purpose in putting questions to the parents of these two castes about the reason for not sending their daughters to the school. First, they cannot afford to spend anything on education. Secondly, from the early part of the life the girls get informal education on various types of domestic duties, such as, collection of water-snails and fuel, rearing of cattle and looking after the young brother and sister. The exception has been made by three Bagdi girls from households with monthly income well below Rs. 50/-. The parents in these cases were forced to take interest not in the girls' education but in sending them to the local Primary School. The girls insisted on admission to the school, because their playmates also

attended it. Juvenile exhortation gained over adult apathy for schools.

Educational centre

There is a Primary School in the village, established in 1904 and known as Raibaghini Primary School.

Roll-strength

There are altogether 113 students on the roll, consisting of 71 males and 42 females. In addition to 113 students, there are 15 unregistered students below six years of age, who attend the School regularly. 36 boys and 30 girls, all in the age-group of 6-16, are residents of this village. The students, excluding the 66 village boys and girls, come from the neighbouring villages within a radius of one mile.

Teaching staff

The School imparts education to the students upto Class IV. There are altogether three teachers, two of whom are non-Matriculates but trained in Guru Training School. The only Matriculate teacher is the Headmaster of this Institution. The number of classes being more than the number of teachers, one teacher sometimes superintends two classes at a time in the same room.

Problems of the school

The School has neither any attached playground nor a separate room for each class. It is facing an acute problem of accommodation. It is housed in two structures, one of which is the main building with mud walls and roof of corrugated iron sheet and the other part is a mud-walled thatched structure with no regular doors and windows, except one open space in front, for entrance and exit. The main structure consists of three rooms (each measuring 13′ x 7′), one of which is used as a store-room for keeping books, official papers and maps etc. The hall and the two rooms of the main building are used as class-rooms for 128 students. Two rooms of the main building accommodate not only 84 students, but also the teacher, with a chair and a table in front. Class-rooms are so congested that the students anyhow huddle together with their books. "Inspectors, who visit the school, cannot get into the class-room but inspect the students from outside", the Headmaster casually remarked. At the time of examination the School faces difficulty all the more. Some of the students sit on the floor of the *Atchala* of *Nabakunja*, situated near the School. The complaint about accommodation has been very old, but the problem was not looked into properly so far. The matter has been referred to the authorities by the Secretary, a wealthy Tantubaya of this village.

Other educational institutions

There is a school in Mirzapur, known as Mirzapur Basic School with Junior Sections upto Class V and Senior Basic Standard upto Class VIII. The education in the Junior Section is tuition-free. Only eight boys from this village are studying there. Parents prefer to send their children direct to the Higher Secondary School in Kotulpur, after completion of their studies upto the Primary level in the village. The Kotulpur Higher Secondary School has two streams, Humanities and Science. Boys and girls read together in this School, because there is no separate High School for girls in this area. 13 boys, including one above 16 years and a girl, below 16 years, who read in Kotulpur Higher Secondary School, are residents of this village. There is another school, known as Lego Higher Secondary School at Lego, a place about three miles away from this village. A boy, above 16 years of age, attends the School from this village. Three girls, below 16 years, attend the Gogra Girls' Junior High School (upto Class VIII), at a distance of a little more than a mile from the village. Most of the boys and the girls attending schools outside the village, walk the distance. The nearest College for the region is at Kamarpukur, eight miles away. The College has educational facilities for the Degree course in Arts only and one Sankhabanik youth is the only student from this village. The boy's father being too poor to afford the educational expenses, the boy has arranged to stay in a village, three miles from Kamarpukur, as a paying guest in a household, where he coaches the children free. The youth's aspiration for higher education has not a jot been abated by his training in the school of adversity and the hard realities of life. The other young man from a Modak household intends to obtain his Degree in Arts as a private candidate.

Inheritance of property

1. Awareness of change introduced in the Hindu Succession Act

TABLE 80

Caste/Community	No. of families interviewed	No. of families aware that there have been changes in Hindu Succession Act	No. of families that could describe the changes in Hindu Succession Act
Bauri	38	..	..
Sankhabanik	29	13	13
Bagdi	24	6	6
Tantubaya	15	8	8
Brahman	6	4	4
Tambuli	5	3	3
Bairagi	4	1	1
Modak	4	4	4
Karmakar	4	..	..
Sutradhar	4	..	..
Kaibarta	2	1	1
Sunri	2	2	2
Kayastha	1	..	..
Napit	1	..	..
Goala	1	..	..
Kalu	1	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	..	..
Total	142	42	42

Out of 142 Hindu families, only 42 households (29.5 per cent) are aware of the changes introduced in the Hindu Succession Act. The only change, they could describe, is the equal right to property of daughters as well as of sons. None of the households is aware of the Hindu Adoption Act, not to speak of changes therein.

2. Nature of inheritance

When the heads of 142 Hindu families are asked the question, "Which members inherit property on the death of a married male person belonging to the same caste as your household ?", their answer was in favour of the son. If there are more than one son in a family, the property is equally shared by them. In case of absence of any son, the head's wife enjoys her husband's property. After the death of the wife, the daughters generally inherit paternal property. The head of the single Muslim household states that according to their custom the paternal property would be shared by the sons, daughters and wife in a definite proportion, which, however, is unknown to the head of the household.

3. Inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons

Among the Hindus, one Sunri, one Tantubaya and one Bagdi households are in favour of inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons. Of the three households, mentioned above, the Tantubaya family has no daughter and the Bagdi household has no other child but a daughter. The Sunri household has both sons and daughters. But, it is doubtful if the household's view that daughters should have equal share of the property is backed up by its genuine conviction.

Health and sanitation

The villagers have the good fortune to enjoy the medical facilities rendered by two Health Centres, known as Mirzapur Primary Health Centre and Kotulpur Primary Health Centre, situated within two miles from the village.

Maternity cases are attended to by both the Health Centres. The Medical Officers of these two Health Centres examine the out-door patients daily and also distribute medicine, available there. Of the two Health Centres, the one at Kotulpur is of 50 beds and the other one is of four beds. The villagers avail themselves of the medical facilities from either of the two Health Centres. Besides the services of the doctor, there are Public Health Nurses and Health Assistants attached to the Health Centres. It is the duty of the Public Health Nurses and the Health Assistants to visit the village at a regular interval for medical check-up. They also make arrangements for vaccination and inoculation of the villagers.

Besides the two Health Centres, there is one dispensary-*cum*-medicine shop in the village,

run by a quack. There is also an unqualified Homeopath in the village, who treats cases of minor ailments. There is one qualified medical practitioner, being a Licentiate from the Medical Faculty. He resides in Madanmohanpur at a distance of two miles from the village and has a good clientele drawn from the surrounding villages. The villagers have great confidence in him and do not grudge to pay Rs. 2/- as fee per visit. Well-to-do families, who can afford, consult the medical practitioner of Madanmohanpur, instead of attending the outdoor of the Health Centres. The villagers are provided with adequate medical facilities.

A table, showing the number of maternity cases at home and at Health Centres and the types of treatment availed of by the villagers, is given below :

TABLE 81

Caste/Community	No. of maternity cases which occurred in the village during last two years	No. of cases confined at home	No. of cases confined in Health Centres	Type of treatment availed of by number of households		
				Allopathic	Homeopathic	Others
Bauri	18	14	4	38	..	..
Sankhabanik	4	1	3	29	..	..
Bagdi	11	9	2	14	1	9
Tantubaya	11	3	8	14	1	..
Brahman	3	..	3	6	..	..
Tambuli	1	..	1	4	..	1
Bairagi	3	2	1	4	..	..
Modak	3	2	1	4	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	4	..	..
Sutradhar	3	2	1	4	..	..
Kaibarta	1	..	1	2	..	..
Sunri	2	..	2	2	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	1	..	..
Napit	..	..	..	1	..	..
Kalu	..	..	..	1	..	..
Goala	..	..	..	1	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	..	1	1	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	1	..	..
Total	**61**	**33**	**28**	**131**	**2**	**10**

61 maternity cases occurred in the village during the last two years, 33 cases were confined at home and the remaining 28 cases were referred to the Health Centres.

The Bauris and the Bagdis send the prospective mothers to the Health Centres only in case of difficult and protracted delivery. Out of 29 cases of confinement among the Bauris and the Bagdis, only six were confined in the Health Centres. Why the Bagdis and the Bauris do not avail themselves of the medical facilities offered by the Health Centres has been explained in Chapter II, where ceremonies and rituals concerning birth have been dealt with. The maternity cases at home are attended to by the untrained *Dais* or midwives, discussed already in Chapter II.

1. Type of treatment

131 families take allopathic medicine in case

of ordinary illness. Two families consult a Homeopath practitioner in case of minor ailments. One Tambuli and nine Bagdi families depend on holy water washed from the idol of the Goddess *Kali* in the village temple to cure the ordinary diseases.

2. Vaccination and inoculation

112 families are vaccinated regularly at the end of every winter. Of the rest, 11 families get vaccinated in case of an outbreak of smallpox in their localities, while 20 other families, composed of widows in the main, resist the preventive measure. Sufferance is preferred to avoidance of the deadly disease by a simple preventive measure by these conservative women.

Only 32 families get themselves inoculated every year, 48 families do the same only when cholera breaks out in their locality. Other families are not willing to bear the pain caused by the inoculation.

3. Sanitary conditions

The village does not show a high level of social awareness in matters of public health or even of individual health. The arrangement for drinking water in this village is not adequately served by one public well and one tube well. The villagers bathe their cattle in the ponds, used for washing the utensils and clothes. They also take bath in those ponds.

As there is no arrangement for sanitary privy, the villagers ease themselves either in the open field or near the edge of the ponds. During the rainy season the ponds are polluted by the washed refuse.

12 cases of smallpox and six cases of typhoid occurred in the village in 1963-64. Dysentery and stomach trouble are the most common diseases, from which the villagers suffer. Presumably, infected water causes these water-borne diseases.

4. Use of soap

A table, relating to the use of soap by the families belonging to different castes, is given below :

TABLE 82

Caste/ Community	Toilet soap used by no. of households		Washing soap used by no. of house-holds	Soda used by no. of house-holds
	Regularly	Occasionally		
Bauri	..	..	..	38
Sankhabanik	6	5	19	10
Bagdi	..	..	1	23
Tantubaya	6	3	11	4
Brahman	2	2	4	2
Tambuli	1	1	4	1
Bairagi	1	..	2	2
Modak	2	2	4	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	4
Sutradhar	..	1	1	3
Kaibarta	..	2	2	..
Sunri	1	1	2	..
Kayastha	..	..	1	..
Napit	..	..	..	1
Kalu	..	..	..	1
Goala	..	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	..	1	1	..
Muslim	..	..	..	1
Total	19	18	52	91

25.9 per cent of the families residing in this village use toilet soap either regularly or occasionally. The Bauris and the Bagdis are too poor to use any toilet soap. 36.4 per cent of the families wash their clothes with washing soap. 63.6 per cent families use no washing soda in cleaning their clothes. There is one Bagdi family in this village, which uses washing soap regularly.

A roving washerman, a Dhoba by caste, comes from Kotulpur and collects the clothes from the households of this village. His services are regularly utilised by two Sankhabanik and two Tantubaya households and occasionally also by two Brahman, two Bairagi, two Modak and one Sankhabanik families.

Family-planning

A table, showing the attitude of the people towards Family-planning, is given below :

TABLE 83

Caste/Community	No. of households	No. of households aware of the Family-Planning Centre	No. of households aware of the family-planning by contraception	No. of households			No. of households in which question of family-planning does not arise
				Wanting no more children	Wanting more children	Offering no comments	
Bauri	38	..	..	10	21	..	7
Sankhabanik	29	6	8	5	10	4	10
Bagdi	24	1	2	3	16	1	4
Tantubaya	15	4	7	6	4	..	5
Brahman	6	2	3	2	1	..	3
Tambuli	5	2	1	3	1	..	1
Bairagi	4	1	1	1	2	..	1
Modak	4	2	2	..	2	1	1
Karmakar	4	..	..	..	1	..	3
Sutradhar	4	2	2	2	..	1	1
Kaibarta	2	..	..	1	..	1	..
Sunri	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Kayastha	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Napit	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kalu	1	..	1	1	..	..	..
Goala	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	1	1	1	1	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	143	21	28	35	58	8	42

The question of family-planning in 42 families does not arise. Heads of these households are mainly widows or widowers or unmarried persons. Of the 101 families, in which the questions of limitation on the size of the family may arise, 21 families are aware of the Family Planning Centre in their area and 28 families are aware that birth can be controlled by means of contraceptions. Although the heads of 35 households want to limit the size of their families, none of them has taken any measure to check the growth of the size of their families.

There is a small Family Planning Centre attached to Gogra Health Centre, at a distance of two miles from the village. The Public Health Nurse attends the people, who come to the Health Centre to seek advice on family-planning. Contraceptives and medicines are distributed free by the Health Centre among the villagers. But, not a single person of this village has ever visited the Health Centre for taking contraceptives and medicines for family-planning. They are reluctant to take any family-planning measure even though they want no more child in their families. The families are Shy to visit the Health Centres for the purpose and feel embarrassed to consult the doctor and nurses about their problems.

The heads of the households, which wanted

more children, when asked about family-planning, remarked in most of the cases that a man should not destroy the creative power, which God has bestowed on him.

Leisure and recreation

Persons, belonging to different age-groups, spend their leisure-hours in different ways. Again, the males and the females have their own ways of pastime and recreations.

Children playing a game of *Ekka Dokka* is a common sight in all the localities of this village. School-going children play this game only in the afternoon. But, the children of the Bauri and the Bagdi localities are engrossed with this game throughout the day. Some of the male children of the Caste Hindus play marbles on the road.

Students of higher classes play football in summer in a small play-ground, situated in Gopalpur *mouza*. In winter some of them play ring-balls also. All these- out-door games are organised by *Sabuj Sangha*, about which club of this village a discussion is made later.

The adult male members of this village spend most of their leisure-hours in the village tea-shops, the rendezvous of the people. The dusk ushers in some short leisure for the toiling Bagdi and Bauri labourers, who stop a while in the village tea-stall, while plodding their weary way homeward. They make their room in one humble corner of the tea-shop and listen to the village gossips with rapt attention, sometimes over a glass of tea and sometimes over naught. The Conch shell artisans and the weavers visit the tea-shops both in the morning and in the evening almost as a routine matter. People of the surrounding villages also assemble here.

The discussions reach feverish pitch, when everyone joins full-throated and covers almost all the interesting topics on earth, mostly relating to the village. The latest scandal, or individual lapses add sauce to the gossips. Affairs about the *Panchayats* or the general economic trends also figure in these evening chats, when everyone tries to show his best in reasoning and exposition and sometimes, even 'though vanquished, he could argue still'.

Some of the young men from the Caste Hindus, a distinctly separate class from the old generation, make it a favourite pastime to discuss the latest picture released in the Cinema House at Kotulpur. But, the older folk abhor the idea of pictures, not to speak of the discussion about the matinee-idols. Pictures are as much a taboo to them as any prohibited food. Their discussions differ both in ways and in contents. They gather together and spend their leisure hour in the *Atchala* in the Sankharibazar locality to ruminate on the good old days of their life.

The younger section of the people spend their time in the tea-shops upto 9 O'Clock at night, till the shutters are closed. But, some of the aged persons return home in the evening, take musical instruments and sing devotional songs in the *Atchala* and in the hermitage of the *Vaishnavas*. At this time some of the drunken Bauris will be seen beating the drums in fury and singing the songs from the *Ramayana*, till eventual exhaustion and sleep.

The housewives have little time to spend on leisure. The short fleeting hours of the afternoon, when the youngsters are out in the fields or alleys to play and the elders take leave to congregate in the tea-shop, are made the most of by the housewives, who cast furtive glances in scanning the actions, good or bad, of others in subdued tones. The gong in the distant temple marks the end of their get-together. Now, it is time for them to pray or to ply their evening care.

1. Radio

Raibaghini is well served by the road, which connects it with the outside world by means of fast transport like buses. It has other means, by far the best means to be in communion with the bigger world at large, the radios. But, it sounds fantastic that the four radio-sets bring the people seldom in touch with the events, happening in the national and international scene, for they are rarely switched on at the time of news-broadcasts. The villagers are not interested in listening to radio-news, the rural-programme nor to any other broadcast.

Only during the performance of the *Tarja* (a characteristic folk song of Bengal) some elderly people assemble near the radio-set to listen to their favourite programme. The students of the higher classes, who play foot-balls, listen to the running commentary broad-cast by the All India Radio on the football matches being played at Calcutta. Interestingly enough, the running commentaries on the First

Division Football matches and Cricket matches in Calcutta are often a diversion to the village youths.

But, two artisans, one engaged in Conch shell craft and another in weaving, work in a happy mood, when the radio-sets send forth musical notes in the verandahs of their work-shops. The musical programmes kill much of the monotony of work.

2. Cinema

The Cinema House in Kotulpur is another diversion to some people of this village. The younger section of the village-population among the Caste Hindus are fond of pictures. The aged persons visit the Cinema House occasionally only to see the films, based on religious and mythological themes.

The Cinema House is only two miles away from this village and is connected by bus-route. Two shows are held daily at 6 P.M. and 9 P.M. Young men generally visit the Cinema House by cycle or by bus. But, the womenfolk walk the distance in a group. Some families visit the Cinema House by bullock carts.

Every Friday, on the premiere of a picture, the Manager of the Cinema House sends an employee to travel along the metalled road in a cycle-rickshaw, fitted with microphone, to announce the dramatis personae and to give the gist of the films to the people. In addition, leaflets are liberally distributed and posters abundantly pasted on the walls of almost every shop on the wayside.

The Cinema House, a spacious pucca auditorium with two storeys, has capacity for about 700 seats with provisions for the ladies in the first floor. The audience purchasing 1st Class tickets are provided with electric fans, but the other sections of the audience put up comfortably with lack of this amenity.

The Investigator took notice of a funny situation, which arises occasionally in the auditorium. Though smoking inside an auditorium is statutorily banned, the provisions of the law are more violated than observed. The presence of some official only checks the people temporarily in one or two shows.

The rates of tickets for the Cinema House are given below :

Bench without back-rest	19 Paise
Bench with back-rest	45 „
Wooden chair	64 „
Chair with cushion (2nd class)	Rs. 1·05 „
Chair with cushion and fan over head (1st Class)	Rs. 1·40 „

3. Newspaper

Daily newspaper is available in the village in the evening. Sri Gopal Karmakar, a member of the Karmakar caste and a resident of the hamlet Gopalganj, is the agent of the Bengali and English dailies. He distributes the papers to the surrounding villages by cycle. In this village there are two regular subscribers of the Bengali Daily, *Dainik Basumati*. Of the two subscribers, one is a wealthy Tantubaya businessman, who keeps the paper in his grocery, where some interested persons assemble daily in the evening to go through the paper. The other paper is taken by the Library. Some of the members visit the Library daily in the evening to read the newspaper. Seventeen persons of the 13 families go through the daily newspaper regularly in the evening, either in the Library-room or in the grocer's shop. Castewise break-up of these 17 persons is shown below :

Sankhabanik	5
Tantubaya	3
Brahman	4
Modak	2
Sutradhar	1
Sunri	1
Subarnabanik	1
Total	**17**

Out of 181 literate male persons only 9·39 per cent read newspaper daily.

The following table will reveal the range of information of the villagers :

TABLE 84

Caste/Community	Total no. of households	Number of heads of households which know the name of: Union Board	Anchal Panchayat	Thana	District	Principal rivers of the district
Bauri	38	34	34	34	34	10
Sankhabanik	29	24	24	24	24	21
Bagdi	24	21	21	21	21	1
Tantubaya	15	13	13	13	13	12
Brahman	6	6	6	6	6	6
Tambuli	5	5	5	5	5	4
Bairagi	4	4	4	4	4	3
Modak	4	4	4	4	4	4
Karmakar	4	4	4	4	4	2
Sutradhar	4	4	4	4	4	3
Kaibarta	2	2	2	2	2	2
Sunri	2	2	2	2	2	2
Kayastha	1	1	1	1	1	..
Napit	1	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	1	1	1	1	1	..
Goala	1	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	1	1	1	1	1
Muslim	1	1	1	1	1	..
Total	143	127	127	127	127	71

Religion

Of the 143 families of this village, 142 are Hindus and one family belongs to the Muslim community.

TABLE 85

Caste/Community	Total no. of households	No. of households heads of which belong to: *Sakta*	*Vaishnava*	Sunni	No. of households which do not know their sect
Bauri	38	..	..	..	38
Sankhabanik	29	..	28	..	1
Bagdi	24	3	5	..	16
Tantubaya	15	..	15	..	..
Brahman	6	3	3	..	..
Tambuli	5	1	3	..	1
Bairagi	4	..	4	..	..
Modak	4	..	4	..	..
Karmakar	4	..	3	..	1
Sutradhar	4	..	4	..	..
Kaibarta	2	..	2	..	..
Sunri	2	..	2	..	..
Kayastha	1	..	1	..	..
Napit	1	..	..	..	1
Kalu	1	..	1	..	..
Goala	1	..	1	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	..	1
Muslim	1	..	..	1	..
Total	143	7	76	1	59

Among the Hindus, 76 families are *Vaishnavas*, seven are *Saktas* by sect and the remaining 59 families do not know their sects.

All the aged persons above 60 years of age, whatever their sects are, individually wear *kanthis* (garland of rosewood-beads) round their neck like the *Vaishnavas*. Almost all the main festivals are characterised by devotional songs or *Harisankirtan*, which are usually sung by the villagers of the *Vaishnava* sect.

The people of Raibaghini are god-fearing religious-minded simple villagers. Rites and rituals of religion are punctiliously observed by all persons, young and old together. At times, religious dogmas get the better of scientific reasoning and the people reveal some superstitious beliefs even in the face of patent facts. As already discussed, 10 families (one Tambuli and nine Bagdi) have fanatical faith in the healing power of the water, offered in the worship of the Goddess *Kali* and submit themselves to the mystic powers of the Hindu pantheon for recovery from illness.

All the houses, except of the Bauris, have sacred *Tulsi* plant on an altar, where the women place the lighted earthen lamps at dusk and bow down to the Almighty, praying for the well-being of the households. Conchshell trumpets are also blown by some women.

This daily oblation to the deities is made with methodical punctuality and thoroughness by every household. Seven families worship daily the *Chitrapot* i. e., pictures of *Netai* and *Gour*, the great preceptors of *Vaishnavism*. *Narayan Shila* is worshipped daily by two Brahman families. One Brahman household daily worships the deity of *Narasingha* ; in addition, the cane casket symbolizing Goddess *Lakshmi* is worshipped on every Thursday by two Sunri families. One Tambuli family worships daily the deity of *Khelaram* in the form of terracotta horses and elephants, kept in a brick-built small room with open front. The benevolent deity belongs to the household and is believed to wield enormous supernatural powers. The god does not like to have any barrier in front. Any such construction is supposed to give occasion to his ultimate wrath.

69 households observe certain restrictions on the usual items of food on the new-moon, full-moon and on the 11th day of the bright and dark fortnights (*Ekadasi*). Some of the members in these households take wheat and vegetarian dishes on these days. Of the 69 families, some of the members in seven households observe complete fast on one of these days.

TABLE 86

Caste/ Community	No. of households	No. of households that observe restriction on certain items of food during new-moon or full-moon or on the 11th day of the lunar fortnight	Remarks
Bauri	38	1	The Kayasthas, the Goalas, the Kalus and the Muslims of this village do not observe any restriction.
Sankhabanik	29	18	
Bagdi	24	13	
Tantubaya	15	13	
Brahman	6	5	
Tambuli	5	3	
Bairagi	4	2	
Modak	4	4	
Karmakar	4	2	
Sutradhar	4	2	
Kaibarta	2	2	
Sunri	2	2	
Napit	1	1	
Subarnabanik	1	1	
Total	**139**	**69**	

1. Rabankata Rath

Apart from observing the daily worship of the household deities, the villagers participate in several other worships and festivals with much eclat. There are a number of places dedicated to individual deities. The discussion on each will be made separately, covering all the aspects of the religious life of the people.

A unique Chariot Festival held in this village on the tenth day of the lunar fortnight in the Bengali month of *Aswin* or *Kartik*, when the immersion ceremony of the Goddess *Durga* takes place.

The legend goes that *Sri Ramchandra* had to perform an untimely worship of the Goddess *Durga* in order to gain strength to kill the Demon King *Ravana*. That is why, the festival of the execution of *Ravana* commences just after the immersion ceremony of the Goddess *Durga*.

The villagers cannot throw any light as to when this chariot was built here and why. About 40 years back, the chariot had a wooden frame with four wooden wheels. The villagers have given permanence to the chariot, replacing the wooden structure by an iron frame and the wooden wheels by iron wheels. The spike of the chariot, 20 ft. high from the ground level, has been covered with bell-metal sheet to make it glitter majestically. It is kept confined in a garage throughout the year.

On the eve of the immersion ceremony of the Goddess *Durga*, the image of *Raghunath*, which is daily worshipped in a place, close to the site of the chariot by the people of this village, is placed on it. From the 10th to the 13th day of the lunar fortnight the chariot with the deity of *Raghunath* within is pulled from the shed to the metalled road for the stretch of 100 yards or so, and again brought back to the shed by the villagers daily in the afternoon. People belonging to the different castes, high or low, participate in this ceremony. Not less than 50 persons have to put their joint efforts in pulling the chariot, though the actual number of participants is much more than this minimum.

On the 13th day the image of *Raghunath* is taken out by the Brahman priests in a small palanquin, covered by coloured cloth, locally known as *Duli*, and paraded within the main village and the hamlets at noon. Villagers

here and from outside add colour to the procession by their participation. Spectators also throng in the rear, followed by musical parties playing on drums, *Srikhols* and *Kartals*. The musical parties sing devotional songs to the beating of *Khol* and *Kartal*. After passing through the main village and the hamlets, the procession comes back to the place near the chariot. The priest places the deity again in the chariot.

The same day, an effigy of *Ravana*, with the head made of mud and the body made of straw, is kept in front of the chariot in such a way that the Demon King appears to be engaged in a tough fight with *Raghunath* i.e., *Ramchandra*. The priest stands on the chariot with a sharpened sword in his hand. Now, a mimic fighter, wearing a mask of *Hanuman*, appears in a deus ex machina way with a branch of a *Kalika* tree in his hand. He moves about frisking, dancing and beating *Ravana* with the branch of the tree. Several drums are beaten together on the side of *Ravana* to create a martial environ, but on the other side *Srikhols* and *Kartals* are played and devotional songs are sung to signify peace and tranquility.

In the crimson hue of the dying sun at the day's end, the effigy of *Ravana* is beheaded by the fighter, in the guise of *Hanuman*, with a sword supplied to him by the priest. The supposedly sanguinary mock-duel ends in victory for *Ramchandra*. The rolling head of the Demon King is preserved by Sri Gopal Dey, a Tantubaya resident of the hamlet, for use next year. The body is immersed in the nearby tank, *Tantipukur*.

The priest, named Sri Basanta Chatterjee, is a resident of this village and officiates in this function. His post is hereditary.

The fighter, known as *Ghatak*, i.e., executioner, is a Bagdi by caste and a resident of this village. He has been allowed to act as *Ghatak* every year and his role is also hereditary. The chariot and the deity of *Raghunath* are in the joint possession of the people of Raibaghini and of its three hamlets.

On the day of execution of *Ravana* a felicitation ceremony is held to show respect to the village headman and other honourable persons of this village and of the surrounding ones. In the ceremony the guests of honour are garlanded as a mark of respect. Sri Bholanath Dutta, a Sankhabanik by caste, is garlanded first. for being the headman of the main village. Next in order of precedence, the following headmen of the hamlets are garlanded.

(i) Shri Sambhu Nath Dey—Headman (Caste—Tantubaya) of the hamlet, Kashiganj.

(ii) Sri Radheshyam Dalal—Headman (Caste—Tantubaya) of the hamlet, Krishnaganj.

(iii) Sri Sudhir Karmakar—Headman (Caste—Karmakar) of the hamlet, Gopalganj.

Afterwards, the following persons of the main village are garlanded :

	Name	Caste
1.	Sri Satish Dutta	Tambuli
2.	,, Ramjyoti Goswami	Brahman
3.	,, Kinkar Chandra	Tantubaya
4.	,, Gobinda Dey	,,
5.	,, Ramratan Dey	,,
6.	,, Bholanath Dutta	Sankhabanik
7.	,, Jaladhar Mohanta	Brahman
8.	,, Haripada Dutta	Sankhabanik
9.	,, Kshudiram Dutta	,,
10.	,, Jagabandhu Nandi	,,
11.	,, Dukhiram Das	Bairagi
12.	,, Habu Saha	Sunri
13.	,, Saktipada Sutradhar	Sutradhar
14.	,, Kinkar Mallik	Bagdi
15.	,, Habu Mallik	,,
16.	,, Kalipada Bauri	Bauri
17.	,, Motilal Bauri	,,
18.	,, Ratan Kaibarta	Kaibarta

It may be observed that the persons, who are shown respect, belong to almost all the major castes of this village and that the garland is offered by the Brahman priest to the persons irrespective of their castes.

The respectable persons of the hamlets are then garlanded. Lastly, all the persons of influence in other villages are shown respect in like fashion.

The families, to which these respectable persons belong, have been given the reception of honour from days of yore. The unrecorded legend about this ceremony has been lost with the passage of time. It is an enigma as to how differences of castes and creed are forgotten even for a day. That the village cuts across all petty barriers in honouring people and is imbued with broad humanism even for a day is a noteworthy feature of this village, bound by traditions of the wise men of the past.

The garlands, made of cork, are supplied by a Malakar resident of the hamlet. The priest keeps some of the garlands with him and shows respect by garlanding the newly married bridegroom on the day after his marriage against 25 paise and one *seer* of rice.

From the 11th to the 13th days of the lunar fortnight of *Aswin-Kartik* of the Bengali Calendar a fair is held in the village, where 100 stalls are set up. Sweetmeat shops and Telebhaja shops cover 60 per cent of the total stalls. Besides the sweetmeat shops, pottery, stationery and blacksmithy shops are installed on both sides of the metalled road. The artisans and the shop-owners come from surrounding places within a radius of 10 miles or so, to sell their wares.

The members of the Dom caste visit the fair with their traditional articles, such as, cane baskets, winnowing fans etc., from Mirzapur and the neighbouring villages. Toy-makers also visit the fair with different types of wooden and clay toys, mainly from nearby villages.

Some amount of levy, varying from 25 paise to Re. 1.00 per day, is imposed on the shops by the villagers, according to the size of the establishments. The total amount, thus collected, is equally divided into seven parts and distributed equally among the following.

(i)	*Purohit*	— The priest
(ii)	*Malakar*	— The supplier of garlands
(iii)	*Ghatak*	— The executioner
(vi)	*Dhaki*	— A band of people, who play the large drums
(v)	*Kirtan Dal*	— The musical parties, who sing devotional songs
(vi)	*Parichalana* (*Management*)	— The amount is utilised for the management of the fair
*(vii)	*Satya Pir*	— The amount is kept for the annual worship of *Satya Pir* of the neighbouring village, Pathar Chati.

The men, who preserve the head of the image of *Ravana*, get one *seer* of sweets each. No subscription is raised from individual villagers. The toll on the traders suffices to meet the expenses, but the exact amount collected could not be ascertained from the management, composed of the four village-elders of the main village and its hamlets.

The villagers spend these three days in a festive mood. Some of them refrain from their daily work and even if anybody happens to go out for any work, he returns home before the pulling of the chariot. Friends and relatives, far and near, are united. On the 1st and 2nd day the fair is attended by 1,000 persons. But, on the last day, *i.e.*, the day of execution of *Ravana*, a larger number of persons, about 3,000 from distant and neighbouring villages, attend the fair.

The ceremony is symbolic and signifies the struggle between the good and the evil. The ultimate victory of *Raghunath* over the Demon *Ravana* harbingers the welcome victory of the pious, sacred and righteous spirit. This message of the epic story of the *Ramayana* is transmitted to the village-people every year by observance of this ceremony.

2. *Nabakunja*

Another important festival is the *Hari Sankirtan* or Holy Music in the name of *Hari*, which is held in the village on the eve of *Dol Purnima*. People from all walks and castes participate in this festive Carol Song.

Near the site of Raibaghini bi-weekly *hat* there is one *Atchala* (a class of temple with roof-like structures having eight slopes, specially found in Bengal) with roof of corrugated iron sheet, supported by wooden pillars, and with cemented floor. In the centre of the floor there is a brick-built altar, on which images of *Radha* and *Krishna* are worshipped.

Known as *Nabakunja*, the present temple came into existence about nine years ago. Previously, the temple was but a thatched structure, constructed in this place about 80 years ago. The villagers then collected paddy and raised subscriptions from the surrounding areas for the construction of the present temple. That is why, this temple is regarded as the property of the villages, which made contributions to its construction. The temple is the joint property of Raibaghini, its three hamlets and three other neighbouring villages, (i) *Kotaldighi*, (ii) *Chapra Para* (iii) *Piritchak*. It is looked after by the headmen of the contributory villages.

*The contribution is made to the worship of the deity of another village, because *Satya Pir* is supposed to ensure general welfare of the people of the surrounding villages also.

The temple is so named because of the nine altars within it. The main altar is a permanent pucca structure, on which the images of *Radha* and *Krishna* are kept. The main altar is known as *Mulvedi*. The remaining eight earthen altars round the *Mulvedi* at the centre are raised during the main festival and dedicated to the eight confidants of *Radha* e.g., *Shrimati, Lalita, Visakha, Suchitra, Champaklata, Rangadevi, Sudebi* and *Tungavidya*.

The importance of the main altar is that the devotees, having the share, will have the privilege to sing round it in a circle at the time of devotional song. It may be mentioned incidentally that after the completion of the temple nine years back, there was a quarrel between the people of the main village, Raibaghini, and its three hamlets over the possession of the *Mulvedi*. Finding no other satisfactory solution, the headmen of the main village and the hamlets offered the *Mulvedi* to the people of the neighbouring village, Piritchak and since then, the villagers from Piritchak sing the devotional songs encircling the main altar.

Again, Raibaghini, being the biggest of all the villages, enjoys the privilege of possessing three altars out of the nine during the festival. Nine altars have been allotted to the villages in the following way.

Name of Village-Hamlet	No. of altars allotted
Raibaghini	3
Hamlets of Raibaghini	
(i) *Kashiganj*	1
(ii) *Krishnaganj*	1
(iii) *Gopalganj*	1
Piritchak	1 (*Mulvedi*)
Chapra Para	1
Kotaldighi	1

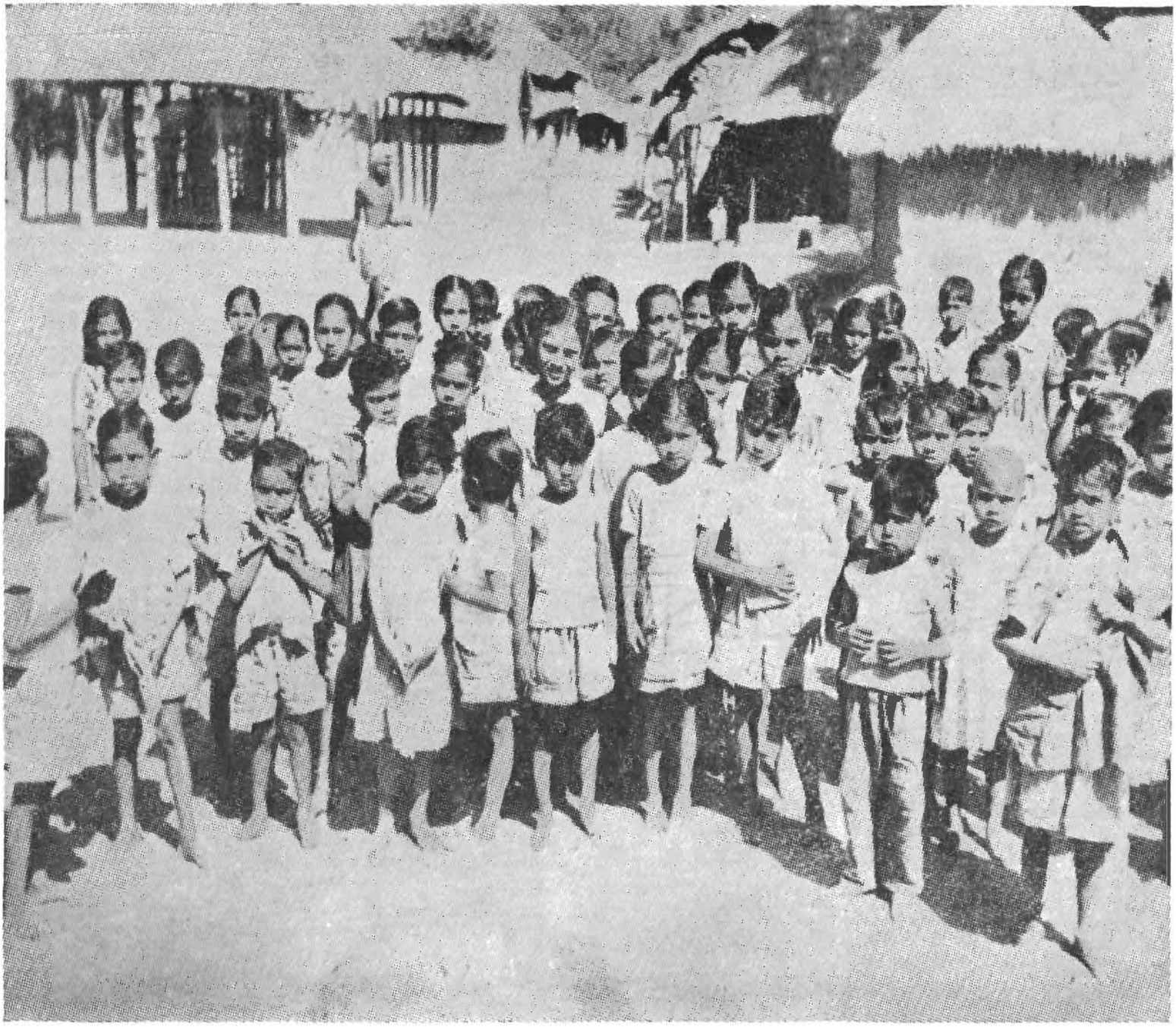
The festival commences on the eve of *Dol Purnima* and lasts for six days. On the opening day the representatives from the constituent villages assemble near the temple with musical instruments, such as, *Khol* and *Kartal*. They form a combined musical party and move round the main altar, singing devotional songs to the beating of the musical instruments. The musical performance continues day and night for four days. On the fifth day, eight temporary earthen altars are erected and decorated with coloured papers. Pictures of *Radha* and *Krishna*, *Gour* and *Netai* are placed on each altar. People of the constituent villages form groups of musical parties according to the number of altars in their possession. The musical parties dance round the altars (earmarked for them) singing holy songs. All the villagers, rich or poor, young or old, join the musical parties. Visitors from different places also take part in this festival of music and dance.

The fifth day, the main and the most important day, marks the crescendo of the festival. On this day people from distant places, such as, Arambagh, Kalipur and Bishnupur visit the place. Visitors halt here for the night to take part in the musical performance. There is an assemblage of 5,000 visitors or more on this day. For the first four days, beggars, children and the people, who take part in the musical performance are provided with food, *e.g.*, rice, *dal* and curry from the gruel-kitchen. Two *maunds* of rice are cooked to feed the children, beggars of the surrounding areas and also the musical parties. But, on the fifth day every visitor is offered rice, *dal* and curry. All the people, irrespective of caste, sit side by side in a row and take food. This part of the festival is called *Annavyaya* (*Anna* means rice and *vyaya* means spending). About five *maunds* of rice are cooked this day.

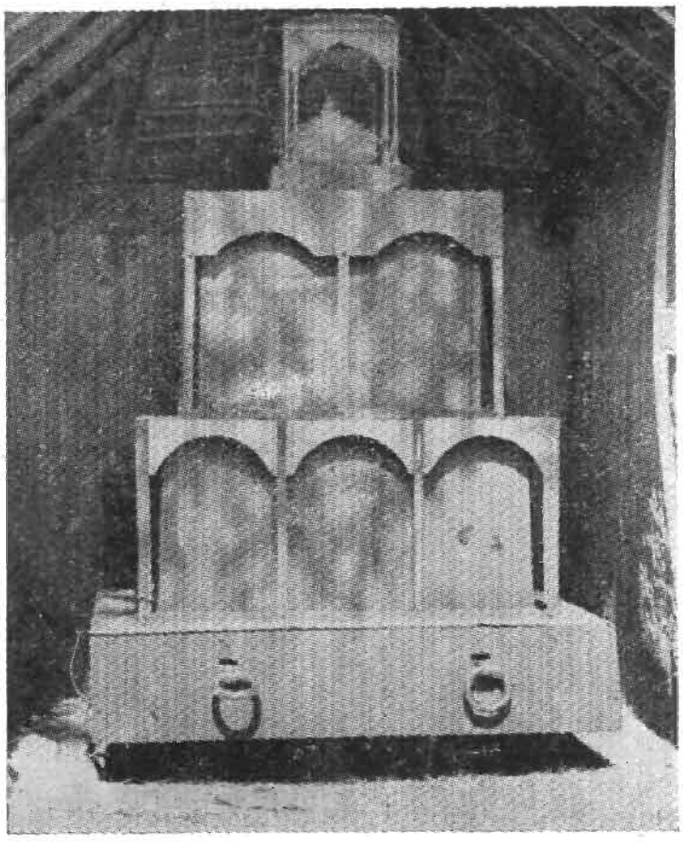
It is interesting that no household of the village makes any cooking arrangement at home on the fifth day in order to take *Mahaprabhur Prasad* in the community feast.

On the sixth day *i.e.*, the last day of the festival, the eight temporary altars are demolished. Afterwards, all the musical parties combine and go out in a procession to visit all the villages around. During their visit to the different villages they halt now and then on the way and sprinkle water to make the road muddy. Then, they roll over the road to cover their body with the mud and dust. The last day of the festival is known as *Nagar Sankirtan*, and the festival, in which the people smear their body with mud, is known as *Dhulot*. It deserves mention that even people keeping indoors are dragged out by the processionists and they are obliged to roll on earth. After the round in the villages is over, the procession comes back to the temple and disperses.

The villagers reassemble near the temple in the afternoon, when an offering of flattened rice mixed with sweets and soaked in milk or curd is prepared in an earthen pot, known as *Malsa*. The offering is known as *Malsa Bhog*. 108 earthen pots are used for the *Bhog*, which is offered to the deities of *Radha* and *Krishna* by the Brahman priest, who officiates



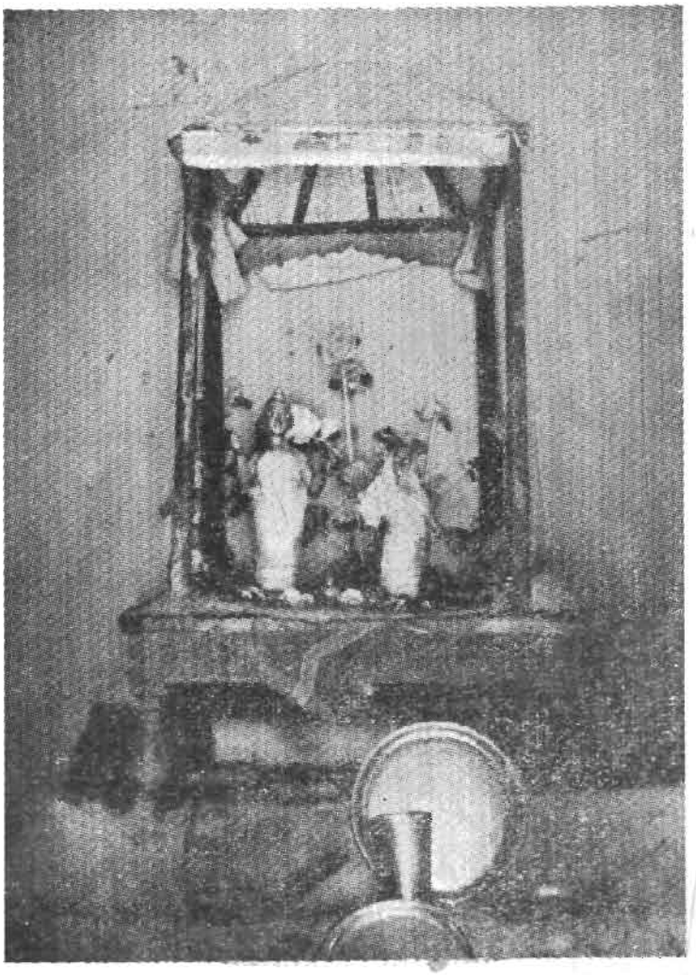
School-going children looking askance during the recess,
when they are out, but not far from the School



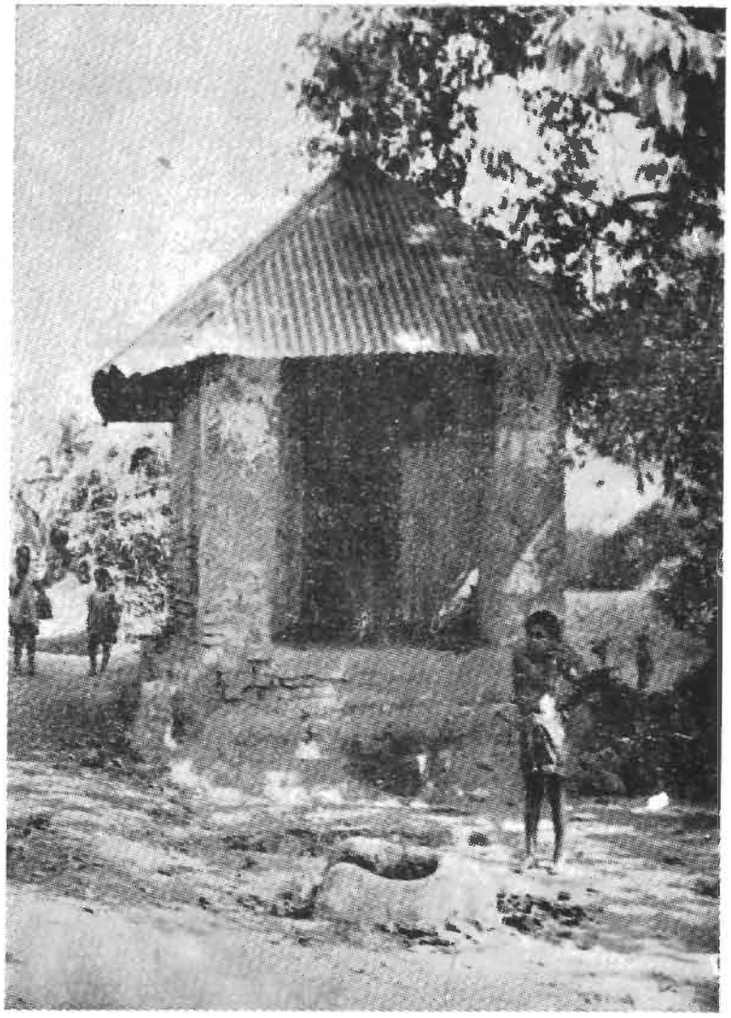
CHARIOT FESTIVAL
OF
RAIBAGHINI

Rabankata Rath or the chariot to kill *Ravana*, parked in a quiet garage of Raibaghini, is brought out on the *Vijaya Dasami* day of the Bengali Calendar on the occasion of the Chariot Festival

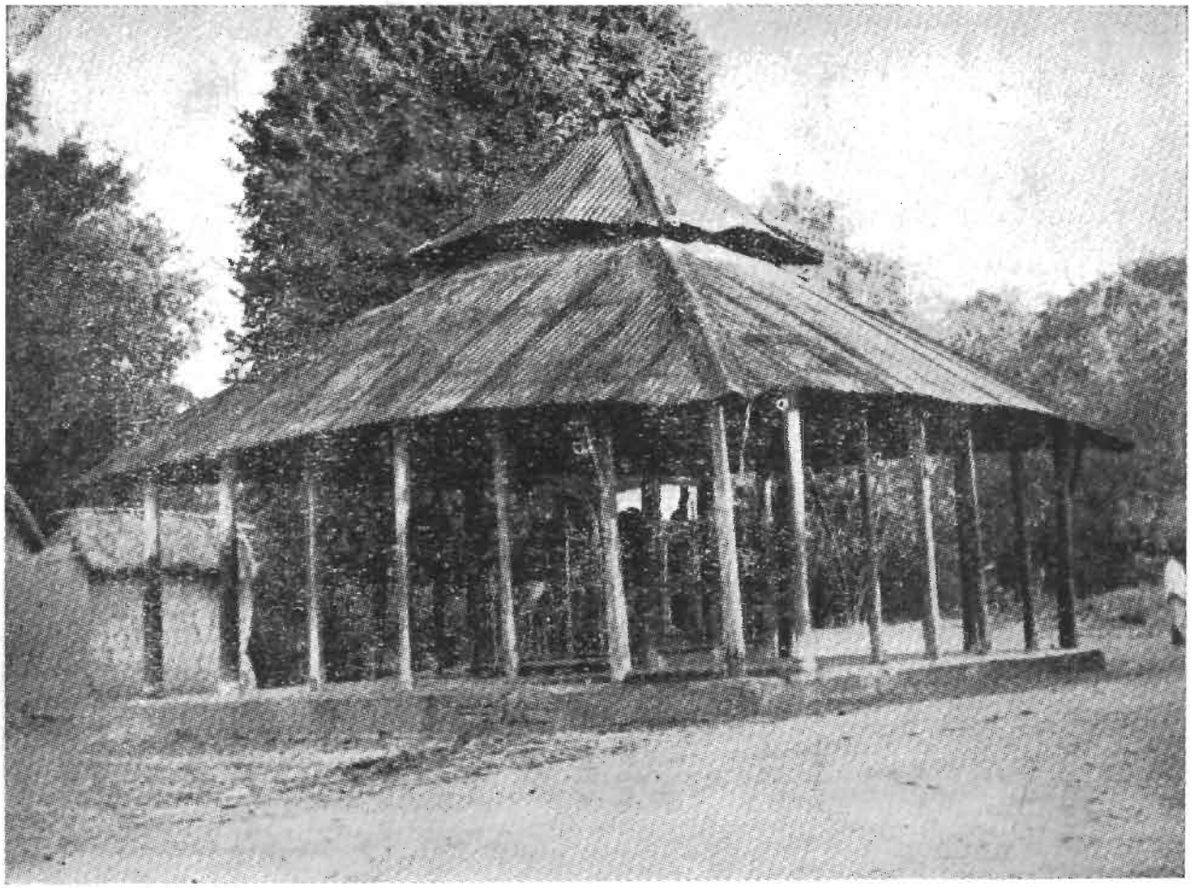
HERO OF THE EPIC



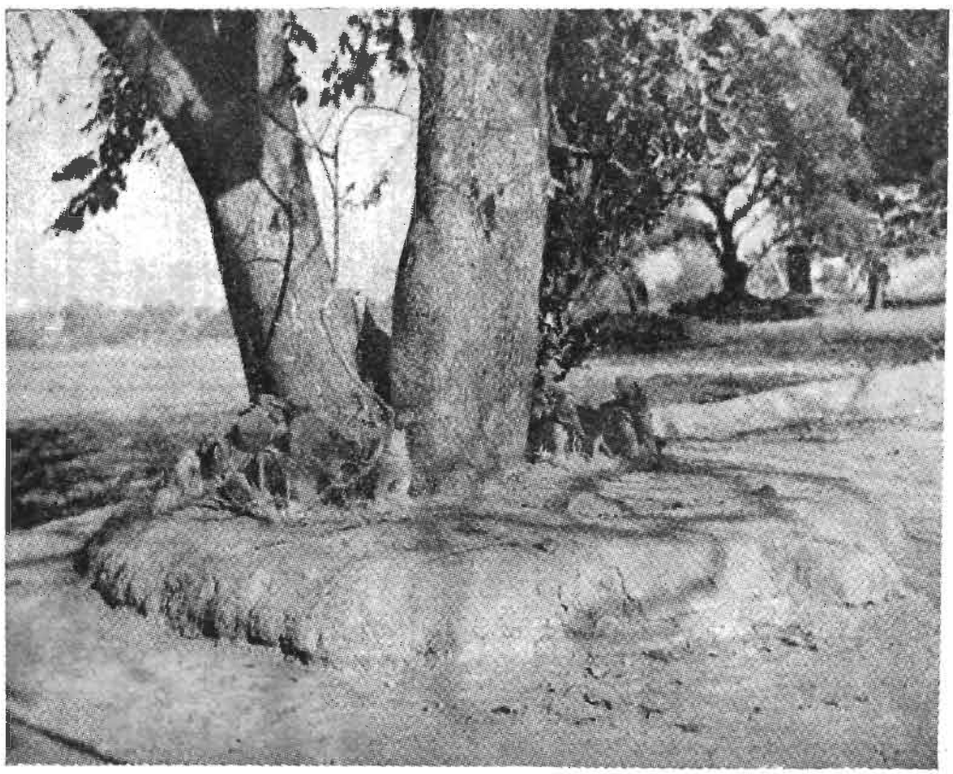
The images of *Raghunath* representing *Ramchandra*, the hero of the epic, *Ramayana*, and of his consort *Sita*, kept in a *kutcha* hut, which is one of the many village-temples of Raibaghini— the images are made of *Astadhatu* or eight metals



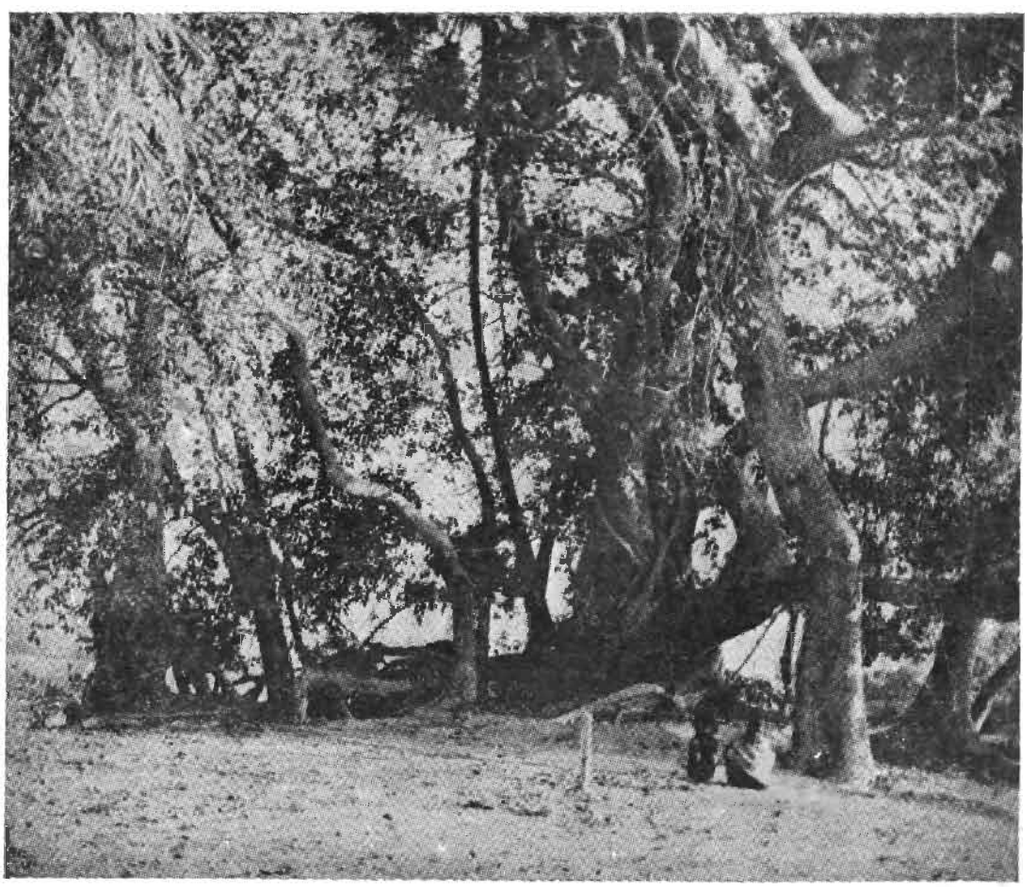
Sanctuary of *Sitala*, the Goddess of Epidemic – the *kutcha* temple enshrines the deity, represented by a bell-metal pitcher with a green cocoanut on the top



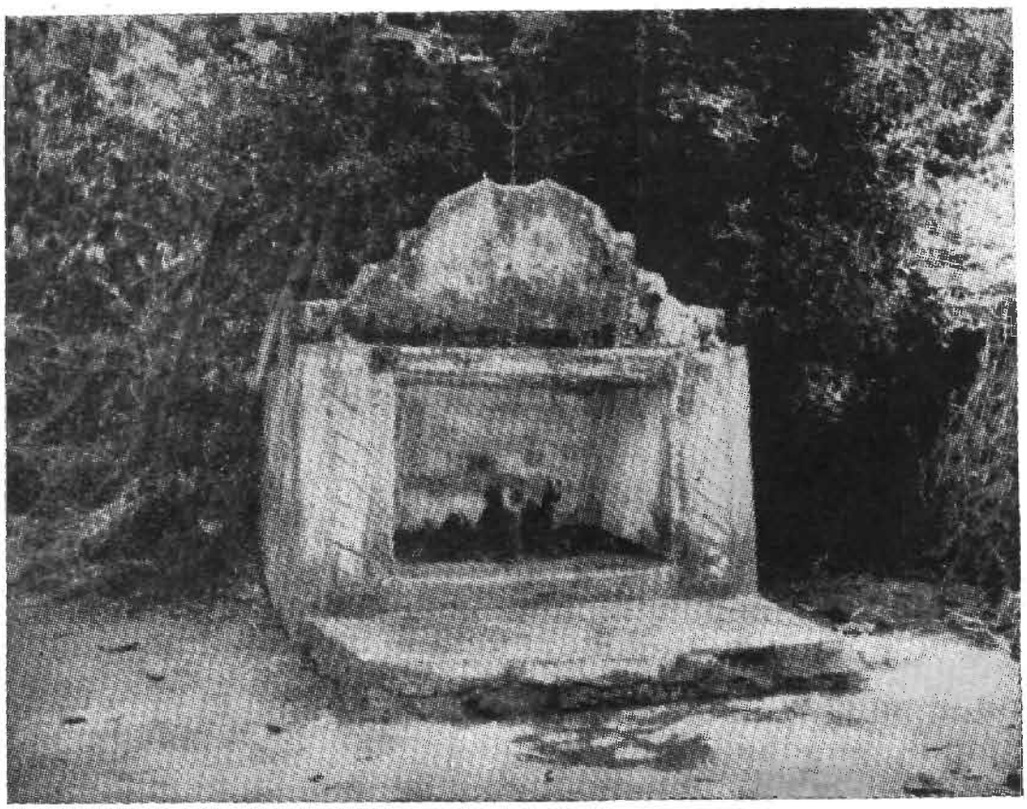
Naba-kunja or nine arbours, a temple with nine earthen altars with images of *Radha* and *Krishna*, the Divine Lovers of Mytho-logy within



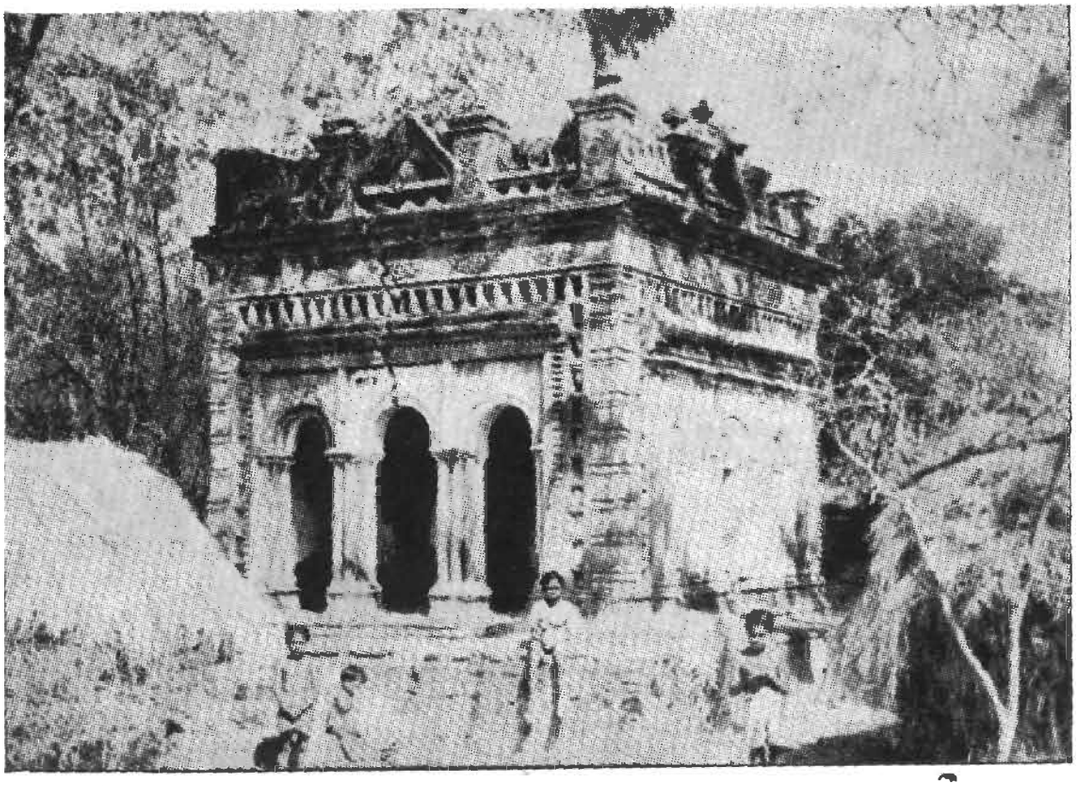
Retreat of the deity of *Baram*, (or *Balaram*) the benevolent God of the Bauris, represented by terracotta horses and elephants at the foot of a *Neem* (Margosa) tree



Under the shady greenwood *Peepul* tree lies the abode of Bhairav, a deity of the Bauris represented by terracotta horses and elephants



Shrine of *Khelaram*, a deity individually worshipped by a Tambuli household—the deity brooks no obstruction in front



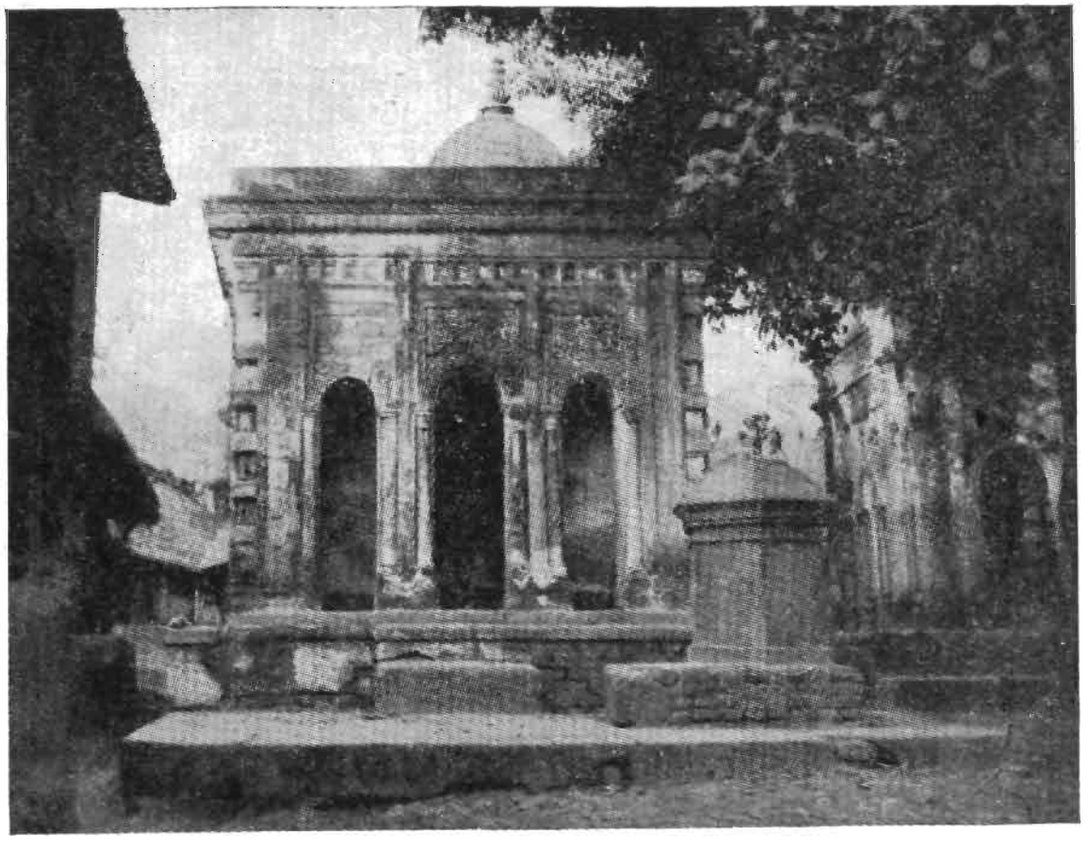
Temple of *Sitanath* in *Dakshinpara*—the deity, represented by a piece of black stone, is worshipped by the Tantubaya owner in the belief of Lord *Vishnu*



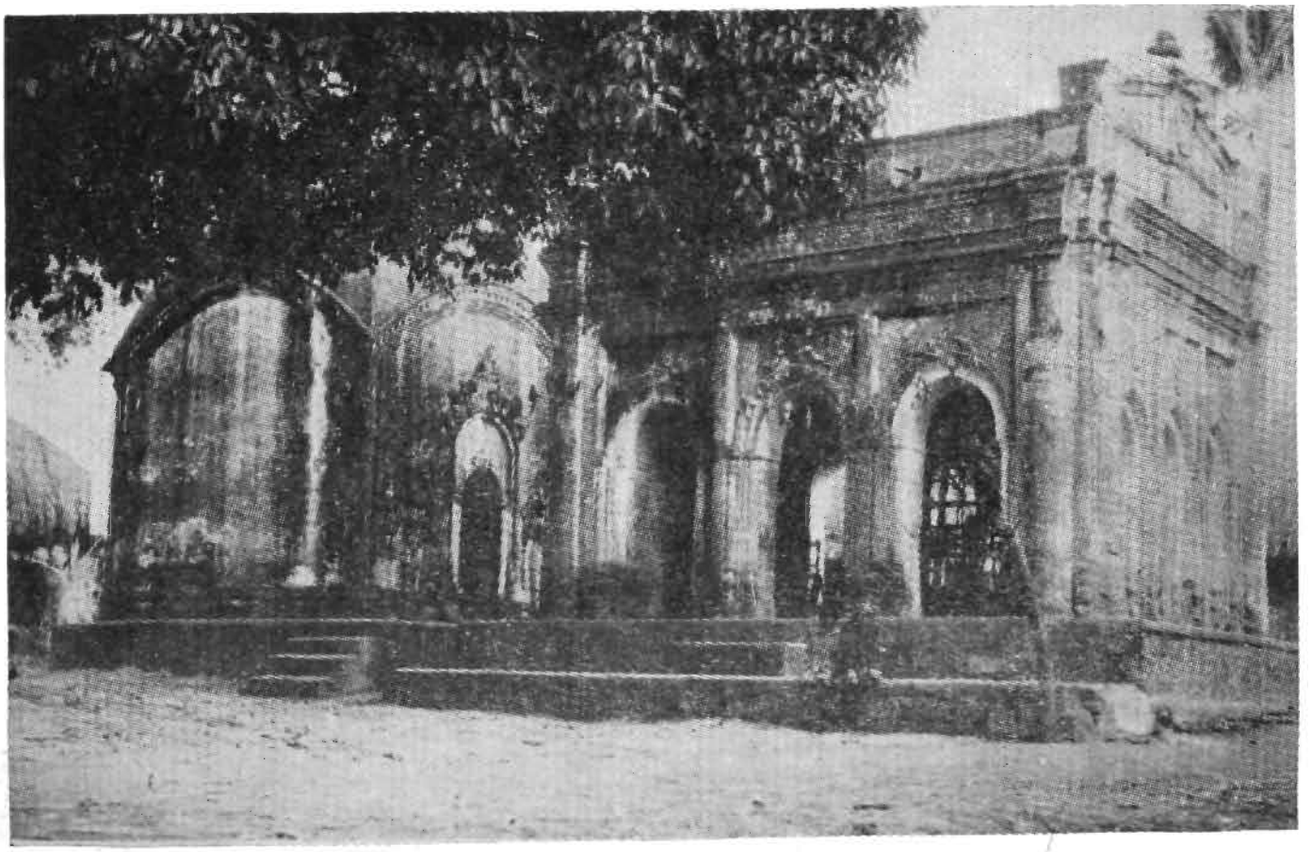
The Bagdi priest during worship of the Goddess *Siddheswari Kali* in the temple at *Chaprapara*



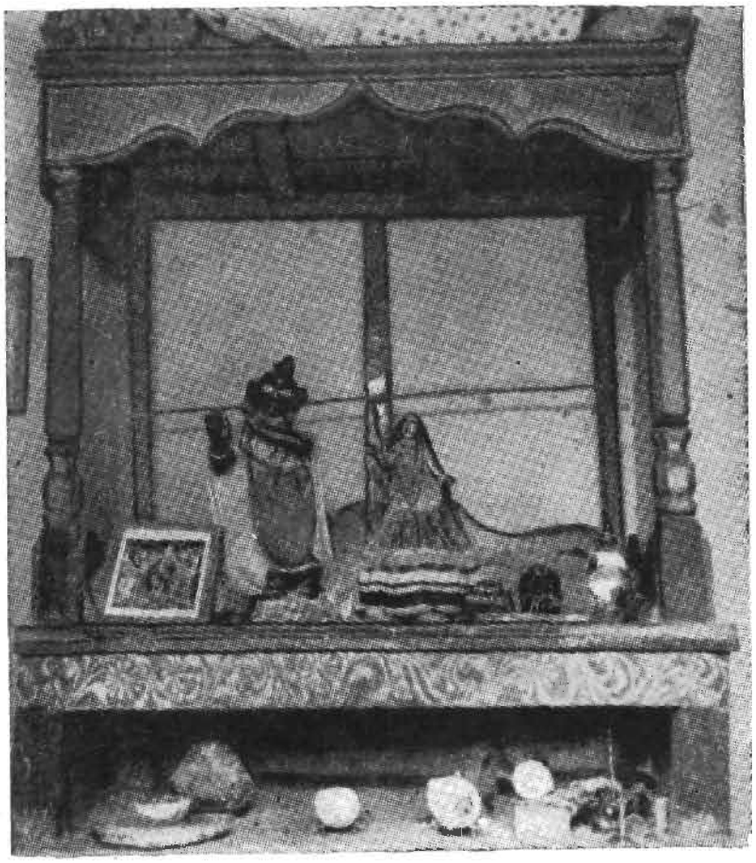
Manasa, the Goddess of Snakes, represented by earthen pitcher with terracotta snakes at the foot of a cactus in *Dangarpara*



Temple of *Vishnu* in *Sankharibazar* locality—the deity is represented not by an image but by a piece of black stone



Twin temples—one to the left is the abode of *Rameswar*, represented by a phallic stone, and the other to the right shelters the image of *Agastya Muni*, the Primogenitor of the *Sankhabaniks*



Images of *Radha* and *Krishna* in the hermitage of the Vaishnavas



Ashram or hermitage of the Vaishnavas is the precinct for the assemblage of some villagers at vespers to sing devotional songs



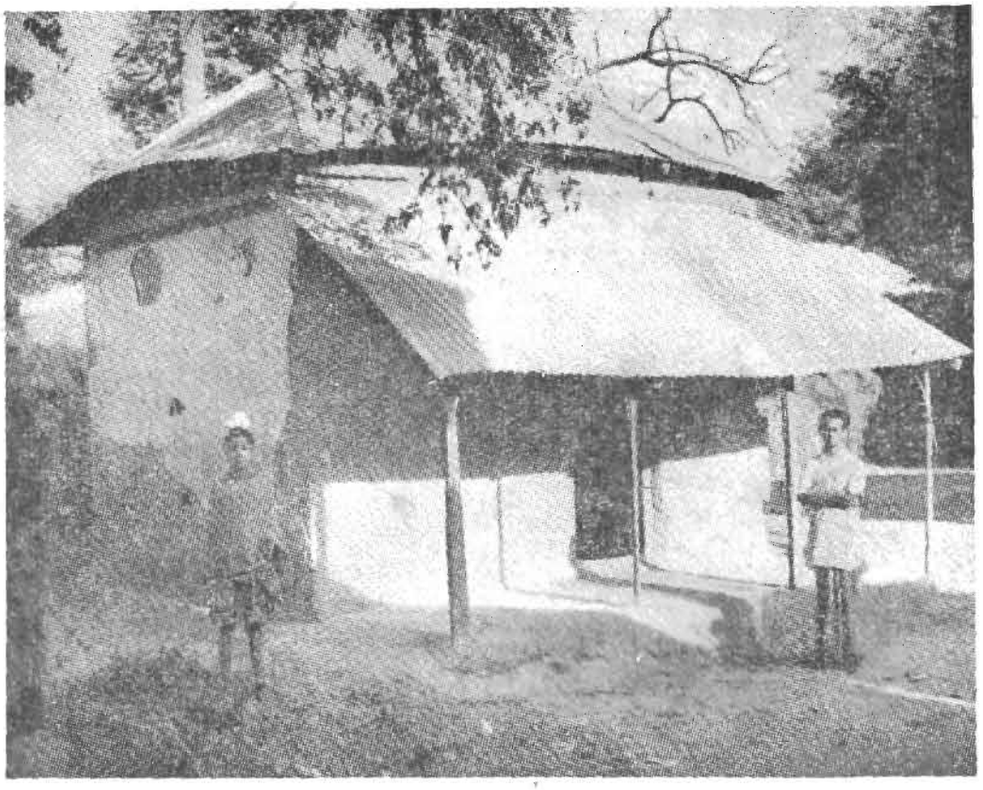
NASCENT DEMOCRACY
OF THE
VILLAGE

Gram-Panchayat or the Village-Parliament shapes itself out in the Office at *Sankharibazar* during working hours

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE



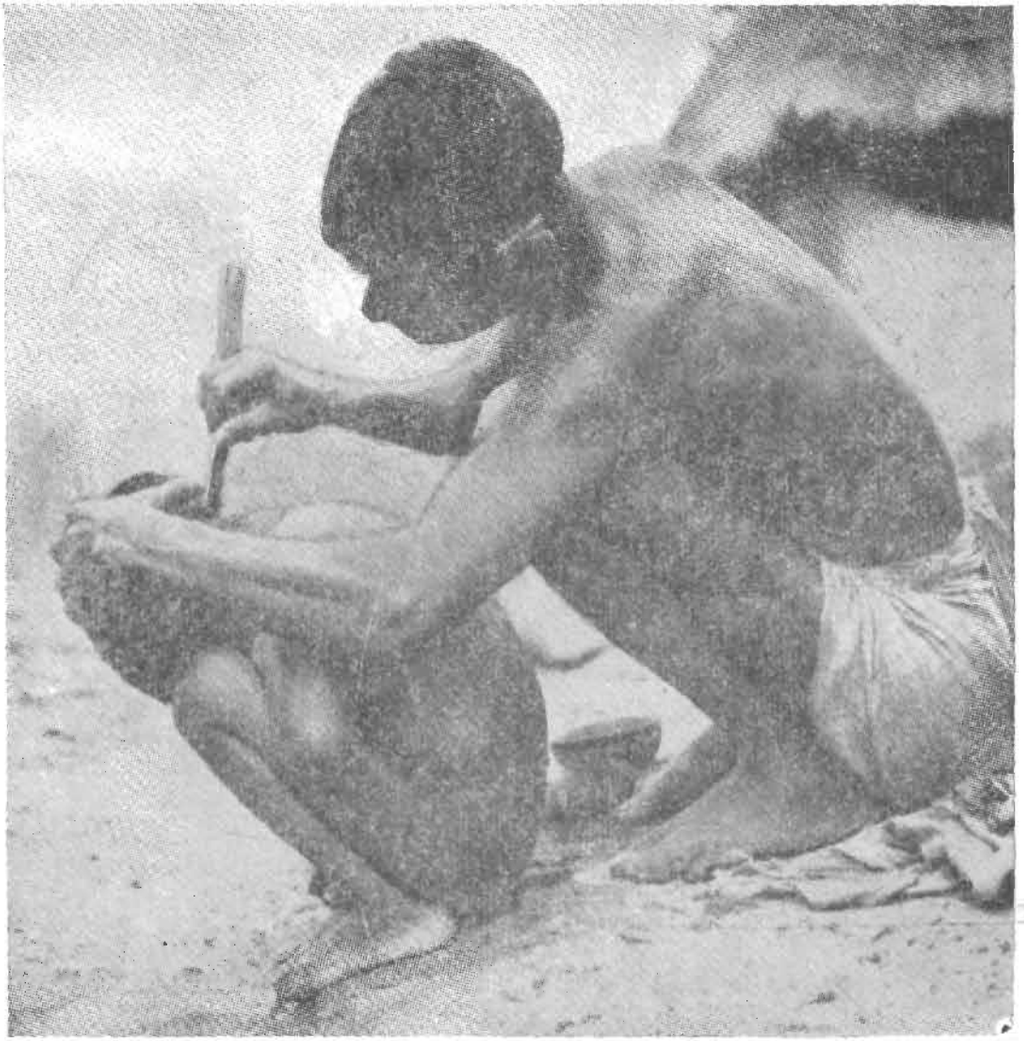
Creeds may differ but the relation is sweet—the young village-priest of the Brahman caste with the superannuated Bairagi, the caretaker of the hermitage of the Vaishnavas



A LIBRARY
OF
THE VILLAGE

Unimposing structure of *Subhas Library*, treasuring some mighty minds of old

UNTOUCHABILITY ?



If barbers refuse, what of that ? The Bauri father is not nervous of the razor

in the Chariot festival (*Rabankata Rath*). Offering over, the pots are distributed among different people. The seven village headmen belonging to this village, its hamlets and the neighbouring villages, receive two pots each, as a mark of respect. Other respectable persons, selected by the headmen on the basis of donations, are given one pot each. The villagers are given a portion of the offering from the remaining pots.

About a month before the festival, the headman of Raibaghini contacts other village-elders and after an informal discussion, visit the constituent villages and hamlets, which have the right to the altars. The young men of this village help the headmen in the collection of subscription in cash and kind to meet the expenses, incidental to the festival. The amount, collected in cash in 1963 could not be specified by the village-elders, but the rice collected from the households weighed 13 *maunds*. The subscription is absolutely voluntary and everyone contributes his mite to this festival.

The annual festival on *Dol Purnima* apart, no other festival or worship takes place in *Nabakunja*. The temple is, of course, utilised by a group of devoted villagers of Raibaghini, who sing devotional songs during the vespers everyday. The temple is otherwise left to the care of nature under the open blue sky.

3. Sitala-puja

Sitala, the Goddess of Smallpox, is worshipped every year on any Tuesday or Saturday of the month of *Chaitra* in the Bengali Calendar. The deity is claimed to be as old as the main village itself. Although the deity is located in Raibaghini, other villagers also join in the worship of this Goddess, who is believed to possess divine power to prevent epidemics in the main village as well as in the surrounding villages. The Goddess has Her sway over a definite area.

Sitala, represented by a bell-metal pitcher with a green cocoanut on the top, is kept in a brick-built tin-shedded structure, which was constructed by the villager a decade ago beside the main road, a little ahead of the Sankharibazar locality.

On the day of annual worship, womenfolk of the area take bath early in the morning, wear a clean *sari* and visit the *Sitala* temple with some offerings of rice and *Batasa* (a kind of sweets) kept in a metal dish, known as *Rekabi*. The village-priest is the Brahman resident of Raibaghini with the title of Chatterjee, who officiates in the worship. The offerings are placed before the deity by the women and the priest formally offers the articles to the deity, reciting incantations in Sanskrit. Goat is sacrificed, if anyone offers it to the deity, in fulfilment of a vow made earlier on the occasion of any member suffering from smallpox. Five large drums or *Dhak* and five small drums or *Karanakara* are beaten during the worship by the drummers of the Muchi and Dom castes. In the evening the Goddess is placed in a small palanquin, covered by coloured cloth, and taken by two Brahman priests, one with the title of Chatterjee and another with the title of Goswami (both reside in Raibaghini). The deity is taken by them first to the Sankharibazar locality. The palanquin is kept in the *Siva* temple of this locality for sometime. The Goddess *Sitala* is followed by a procession. Drums are beaten ; devotional songs are sung to the beating of *Shrikhol* and *Kartal* on the way. The Bagdis, the Bauris and the Meteys display a demonstration-fight with bamboo-sticks and give a show of mock-duel, wherever the procession halts. Fireworks and crackers are burnt. The colourful procession covers the main village and its hamlets and also the neighbouring village, Gopalpur. It comes back to the temple at midnight. After the priest reinstals the deity in the temple, the crowd would disperse.

Different localities of the main village and the hamlets contribute a fixed amount to the fund, raised for the worship of *Sitala*. Contributions as made by different localities are shown below :

Meteys of Gopalganj (Hamlet)	Rs.	5·00
Bagdis of Gopalpur (Neighbouring village)	Re.	1·00
Uttarpara (Raibaghini)	Rs.	10·00
Dakshinpara (,,)	Rs.	10·00
Majpara (,,) (Sankharibazar mainly)	Rs.	10·00
Total	**Rs.**	**36.00**

From the statement of contributions one should not presume that the worship is limited to the Meteys and the Bagdis of Gopalganj and Gopalpur only. Though residents of all castes from these two places participate in the festival and even make individual offerings, the specified contribution is raised only from the two castes of Gopalganj and Gopalpur. Other castes of

the localities also contribute. An interesting anecdote about Gopalganj for this arrangement is current, but the effort to salvage any other account concerning others has failed. Once in the past, nobody knows how many years back, the Meteys had separately offered the aricles of worship, like rice, goat etc., voluntarily contributed by them in the face of an outbreak of smallpox in their locality. But, the organisers of the festival had requested them to contribute Rs. 10/-, instead of the articles, to the fund. For reasons, best known to the deceased organisers, the arrangement has persisted since then.

Now to come to the festival, the Bauris and the Bagdis return home early at noon from their work. Most of them get drunk. Afterwards, they take their bamboo-sticks and choose partners for the mock fight. They display the duel with bamboo-sticks upto midnight.

The supervision of the festival is as usual entrusted with the village-elder, who is to make arrangements for the festival.

4. Bhadu-puja

The villagers celebrate the worship of *Bhadu* on the last day of *Bhadra* of the Bengali Calendar. People from all the castes of the village take part in this festival, which hinges on the worship of a personality. *Bhadu* was the daughter of the King of Panchakot in the district of Manbhum (now Purulia) with headquarters at Kashipur. She was betrothed to a prince. On the day of her marriage, the prince was killed on way to the bride's house by some unknown enemies. *Bhadu* or *Bhadreswari* accepted voluntary widowhood and died on a burning pyre by self-immolation. The subjects of the kingdom decided to honour the immortal princess by instituting her worship. But, it is not known how Raibaghini came to know of the legend, though without some details, and why it became interested in the worship. The Hindus, including the Bauris and the Bagdis, participate in this festival. The villagers make images of *Bhadu* and compose songs to glorify her.

The worship of *Bhadu* continues for two days. The first day of the festival is called *Ghat-tola*, when the villagers assemble near the market-place at Raibaghini in the afternoon. Different groups are formed by the villagers on the basis of their residential localities. Each group takes out a procession, led by a man carrying an earthen pitcher with an arum-stem on his head. Other people of the group sing songs of *Bhadu* to the tune of harmonium and *Dhol* (a kind of drum). All the groups go round the main village and the hamlets.

On the second day, *i.e.*, on the first day of *Aswin* of the Bengali year, images of *Bhadu* are taken out in a procession through the village. Some people sing songs in memoriam. After covering the village and the hamlets, the images are immersed in the village-tank, *Tuntipukur*.

The songs composed by different localities are varied. They include halleluiahs to *Bhadu* as also some commentaries on the changed social perspective of the village-society. Some compositions are even based on the objects found in the modern age. A translated version of the song about an aeroplane and a village-belle may convey some idea to the readers about the subject-matter of the songs.

A song about an aeroplane

I shall not visit my father's place in a palanquin or in a motor car during the Puja festival.

I shall fly to my father's house in an aeroplane this time. What a funny vehicle is this aeroplane. Let my husband come home from the field. I shall insist him on getting an aeroplane for me. It can fly up above the sky like a kite. I shall fly in a plane and the kites will feel ashamed to fly in the sky.

A young wife expresses her resentment towards her husband, who had promised her a nose-ring, but failed. The song is translated below :

You promised me a nose-ring thousand times. If you cannot even supply me a pair of Conch shell bangles, I shall not look at your face again. If I don't get any bangles specially on the day of the Bhadu festival, I shall sprinkle cowdung solution on your face and take leave of you. Does a young woman look decent without a petticoat ? How can I wear a fine sari without it in the face of my neighbour's remarks.

All the villagers take part in the festivals above. But, some other festivals are observed in the village by a section of the people, who either follow a particular profession or belong to a particular caste.

5. Muni-puja

The people, who follow the Conch shell craft celebrate the worship of *Agastya Muni* on the penultimate day of *Bhadra* of the Bengali Calendar. The Conch shell craftsmen look upon *Agastya Muni*, the great mythological saint as their primogenitor, who not only initiated the craftsmen into their present profession, but also designed the peculiar semi-circular saw, an implement vitally required to cut the Conch shells into round pieces. This was done, the artisans, specially the Sankhabaniks believe, after *Viswakarma*, the Celestial Architect, had failed to provide them with the design. People of the Sankhabanik caste, who are traditionally connected with the Conch shell craft, take a leading part in this festival, celebrated to pay their homage to the great saint.

The image of *Agastya Muni*, built by the village-carpenter for Rs. 20/-, is worshipped in the brick-built *Atchala* in the Sankharibazar locality. *Agastya Muni* with his cleft-lock sits on a throne with his hands projected forward, as if to bless any person, who comes near him. The *Muni puja*, as the worship of the saint is locally known, commences on the last but one day of the month of *Bhadra* and continues up to the first day of *Aswin* of the Bengali year.

The Sankhabaniks of this village form a *Puja Committee* with members from among them on the 17th day of *Bhadra* every year. On this day the artisans refrain from their routine customary work and make arrangements for the celebration of this festival. This day is regarded by the Conch shell artisans as *Chotto Kamai* (*Chotto* means small and *Kamai* means suspension of work). Funds are collected from all the practising and non-practising families belonging to the Sankhabanik caste and only from the practising artisan families of other castes. The rate of subscription for the practising households is Rs. 2/- and for the non-practising ones is Re. 1/-. During the days of worship the artisans refrain from their work and submit the tools and implements to *Muniraj Agastya*. On the first day of worship fruits and rice are offered to *Muniraj*. On the second day an offering of rice and sweets is made. But, on the last day, the offering consists of flattened rice, soaked in milk or curd. Drums are beaten and flutes are played during all the days of worship. The Brahman priest, named Ram Jyoti Goswami, a resident of this village, officiates in this festival. On the last day the image is immersed in the pond, *Tanti-pukur*.

When the Conch shell industry was in a flourishing state, the artisans used to celebrate this festival with great pomp. Well-known open-air theatrical parties from distant places used to visit this village in those days. The festival has, at present, languished with the craft. The artisans maintain the tradition by observance of the worship in austerity.

6. Kulo-puja

The Tantubayas, whose traditional occupation is weaving, celebrate *Kulo-puja* on the 11th day of the lunar fortnight, just after the immersion ceremony of the Goddess *Durga* in the month of *Aswin* or *Kartik*.

The Tantubayas believe that they were born of the sweat of Lord *Siva*. Risley supports the legend by remarking, "A common tradition represents them as descended from *Sivadas* or *Ghamdas*, who was born from the sweat (*gham*) that fell from *Siva* while he was dancing, and his wife, *Kusbati*, who was created by *Siva* from a blade of *Kusa grass*". The Tantubayas treat this ceremony of *Kulo-puja* or worship of the father of the dynasty (*Kulo-pita*) as a befitting tribute to Lord *Siva*. The weavers of Raibaghini as also of the hamlets organise the worship jointly.

The amount of contribution is fixed according to the number of looms possessed by a family and the rate is Re. 1/- per loom. Contributions are raised from the weavers only.

There is no fixed place of worship. The images of *Kulo Devata* or *Siva* and *Durga*, are worshipped in a place, selected by the *Puja Committee*. The images of *Siva* and *Durga* are modelled by the Sutradhar for Rs. 20/-. The Brahman priest, Sri Ram Jyoti Goswami, officiates in the festival and the worship is observed in the traditional Hindu method with recitations of Sanskrit *mantras* or incantations and with offerings of articles like rice, sweets etc. The priest gets a remuneration of Rs. 5/-. The weavers immerse the image in *Kotaldighi* the next day. The weavers do not work on the day of worship.

It should be mentioned that the community-worship apart, the Tantubayas also worship the

looms in their households with the aid of the Brahman priests the same day.

7. *Viswakarma-puja*

The four Karmakar households of this village worship a very small image of *Viswakarma*, the traditional deity of the artisan-castes generally, on the last day of *Bhadra* of the Bengali year. The image, built by the village carpenter for Rs. 5/- or so, is worshipped in a very humble way because of their poor means and limited resources, raised from among themselves only. In the past, when bell-metal industry flourished, the Karmakars observed the festival with grandeur. But, with the death of the industry, the worship has declined. The artisans failed to buy any image in 1963 for paucity of funds and worshipped a pitcher symbolising the deity.

8. *Ganes-puja*

The Modak households of this village worship the image of *Ganes* every year, in their locality on the day of *Maghi Purnima*. The worship of their traditional deity is featured by the feasting of the Brahmans and of the poor residents of the village. The image costing Rs. 16/- is, as usual, modelled by the village-carpenter and worshipped by the Brahman priest Sri Goswami in the same manner as in other festivals. Drummers are brought from neighbouring villages. It may be mentioned incidentally that the worship is confined to the Modak households of the village and for that matter the festival is sectarian in nature.

9. *Festivals of the Bauris*

The Bauris observe certain festivals among themselves. Worship of *Baram* is their main festival, which they celebrate on the last day of the month of *Paus* of the Bengali Calendar. They refrain from their work for two days during this festival. The adult male members take loan from their employers to purchase new clothes for all the members of their families and also to contribute to the fund for the festival. The contribution varies with the number of adult male members in the family, the rate being Rs. 3/- per adult male member.

They are not served by any Brahman priest. Two elderly persons from their own caste in the village officiate in the worship of *Baram* as their priests, the posts of which are hereditary.

The place of worship is situated at the foot of a margosa tree, strewn with terracotta horses and elephants, which are looked upon as *Baram*.

Baram is believed by the Bauris to be a very powerful God, who looks after the welfare of their people. On the last day of *Paus*, the two Bauri priests apply mustard oil to the terracotta horses and elephants to make them shining. Afterwards, the main function starts. One of the priests places some flowers on the top of one of the clay elephants, keeps his eyes closed and places both the hands on the ground, just below the clay elephant. Large drums are beaten throughout the worship by the Muchi drummers of the neighbouring village. The priest sits there self-composed, till all the flowers drop in his hand. Then, the offering-ceremony starts. First, a bunch of sugarcane is cut into two portions by means of a *Da* (a cutter having sharp edge) by one of the Bauris and offered to the God. Then, a pig is sacrificed to their God. The man, who slaughters the pig, is a member of their own caste and his post is hereditary.

The pork is not cooked jointly. It is distributed equally among all the families of the locality, belonging to the same caste. But, country-liquor is stored in a large mud pitcher and taken jointly. All the members of the community, whether young or old, male or female, get drunk on this occasion.

The priest and the man, who slaughters the pig, are offered liquor and pork first. They do not get any remuneration in cash. The priest observes certain restrictions on the previous night. He takes sun-dried rice with green plantains the day before and sleeps on a bed of straw. He does not touch country-liquor that night. As the Muchi drummers do not take food, cooked by the Bauris, they are supplied some rice and vegetables. A drummer is paid Rs. 3/- for his performance on these two days.

After the ceremony of offering, the adult male members sit together near the site of worship to take pork and wine. Then, they beat the drums and sing songs, mostly based on the themes of the *Ramayana*. They drink, whenever they like, and beat *Madals* throughout the day and night, till they are exhausted.

Next morning, all the Bauris assemble in a state of intoxication under a *peepul* tree in their locality, to celebrate the worship of the

God, *Bhairab*, in the form of terracotta horses and elephants. They worship *Bhairab* in the same way as *Baram*. Except the sacrifice of a fowl, the offering-ceremony has the same features as in *Baram-puja*. The Bauris spend the day and night in like manner.

One may have noted that images do not feature in the worships. The Bauris mention that *Baram* represents the God, *Balaram*, but they fail to associate any legend with it. They also fail to convey any idea about the God, *Bhairab*. The festivity appears to be the main feature of this festival, marked by an unbridled expression of joy. Notice should also be taken of the devotional songs, that are sung during the festival.

10. Bhat-barano

The Bauris observe another ceremony, known as *Bhat-barano* on the day of the worship of the Goddess *Kali* in the month of *Kartik* of the Bengali year. They throw away all the old earthen utensils and purchase new ones. They clean their house and purify their homestead with cowdung-paste. They cook the best possible dishes in the morning. A portion of the cooked food is offered to all the deceased souls of their families in a water-lily leaf. The food is kept inside a room and the door or any open space of the room is closed. Nobody enters into the room for sometime. Afterwards, the head of the family takes out the offered food and offers the same to any village-dog. The ceremony then comes to an end.

11. Chhatu-barano

On the last day of *Chaitra*, the Bauris observe the *Chhatu-barano* ceremony, during which they offer powdered parched rice, molasses and mango in the leaf of *Palash* tree, to the departed souls of their forefathers. They place all these offerings near the edge of a pond and retire from the place. With this, the ceremony closes.

12. Manasa-puja

Manasa is the Goddess of Snake. She is worshipped by every household, except the Bauris. The Caste Hindus worship her individually in the month of *Sravana* on any Tuesday or on any Saturday. The Bagdis worship the Goddess in the month of *Jyaistha* on the tenth day of the lunar fortnight. In the household-worship the priest of the household worships the deity, represented by a cactus. Flattened rice, curd and parched paddy are taken by the members of the households on the day of worship.

The community-worship of the Goddess is organised exclusively by the Bagdis of *Dangarpara*. *Manasa*, situated under the foot of a cactus, is symbolised by earthen pots encircled by terracotta snakes. The Goddess is worshipped on the last day of *Sravana* of the Bengali year. A procession moves round the hamlets and the main village and a person of the same caste carries the pitcher, representing the Goddess, all around. He dances on the road to the beating of drums. The procession comes back to the place of worship and the person, carrying the deity, places the pitcher in its proper place. Next day, the Brahman priest for the Bagdis brings the deity of Lord *Narayana* with him and worships the Goddess of Snake along with *Narayana*. A goat is sacrified to the Goddess. The Bagdis perform this worship by raising contributions from members of their caste in the village at the rate of Rs.2/- per adult male working member in every household.

13. Kali-puja

The people of Raibaghini worship the Goddess *Kali* on the eve of the *Dewali* festival. In the Sankharibazar locality there is a brick-built cemented altar near the *Atchala*, dedicated to the Goddess *Kali*, the image of whom is worshipped there every year. The altar is known to the villagers as *Kali Mayer Than*. The festival is celebrated on a community basis, with subscriptions raised from all the castes. Though the Sankhabaniks organise the festival, every household contributes to the fund and participates in the festival. Offerings of rice, sweets and fruits are made to the image (built by the village-carpenter for Rs.15/-) and the Brahman priest of the village, Sri Ram Jyoti Goswami, officiates in the worship. The image is immersed in the village-pond, *Tantipukur*.

The Bagdis of *Dangarpara* separately organise a community-worship of *Kali* with donations raised from the members of their caste. The image is worshipped on an earthen altar in the same manner as in Sankharibazar.

14. Siddheswari Kali

In the Bagdi locality of *Chaprapara* there is an earthen image of *Siddheswari Kali* situated in a mud-walled structure with roof of straw. The image there is worshipped daily by a Bagdi priest. About seven years back, the villagers used to worship the Goddess once in the month of *Chaitra* in the form of a pitcher and once in the month of *Kartik* in the form of an image. The village-priest Sri Ram Jyoti Goswami used to officiate in the worship. Now, the Brahman priest worships the image only during the two seasonal festivals. But, the daily worship is done by a Bagdi priest. A legend, associated with the priesthood of the Bagdi, says that seven years ago the villagers used to immerse the image after the annual worship. But, the present priest, who belongs to the Bagdi caste, was ordained by the Goddess *Kali* in a dream to preserve her image. The villagers agreed thereto and allowed the Bagdi devotee to worship the image daily. The Bagdi priest has built the present temple with assistance from the villagers.

During the daily worship boiled rice and sweets are offered twice by the Bagdi priest, who does not chant any *mantra* but utters the word *Ma* (mother) during the worship.

Some of the households of this village do not seek the help of any medicine in case of minor ailments. They just drink the holy water of the temple for their diseases. The people, who come to take holy water, offer money and rice to the priest. The daily offerings provide the priest with a source of regular income, which enables him to defray the expenses of daily worship. The community-festival, which takes place twice in a year, is also organised by the Bagdi priest with donations from all the villagers. The worship is observed with festivity and the Brahman priest, Sri Goswami, officiates in the worship. A goat is sacrificed during the festival in the month of *Kartik*.

Siddheswari Kali is believed to be a very powerful Goddess, who can cure very complicated and chronic diseases. People from distant places come to take water, sanctified by touching the pot of water on the feet of the Goddess by the Bagdi priest, to cure the diseases, for which the qualified doctor, it is said, fail to prescribe proper medicine.

15. Durga-puja

The image of the Goddess *Durga* is worshipped every year in the *Golipara* by three Sankhabanik families jointly and the worship is very ancient. This is, in fact, a household-worship and confined to three families only. It is remarkable that the village does not celebrate the community-worship of the Goddess *Durga*. The people visit *Golipara* to see the image. It should be mentioned here that though *Durga-Puja* is one of the major festivals in West Bengal, this village remains practically unaffected by this annual festival of the Bengalis.

16. Saraswati-puja

The image of *Saraswati*, the Goddess of Learning, is worshipped every year in the village Primary School and in the Library by the students and the members on the fifth day of the lunar fortnight in *Magh*.

17. Lakshmi-puja

Lakshmi, the Goddess of Wealth, is worshipped in the form of an image individually in five different families (two belonging to the Brahman and the remaining three to the Sankhabanik castes) on the *Kojagari Purnima*.

Other deities for daily worship

Besides the worship of the images in different forms and in different times of the year, there are some other objects of daily worship in the temples and shrines of the village.

1. Raghunathji

Two images made of an alloy of eight metals (gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, iron, zinc and mercury) representing *Ramchandra* and his consort *Sita* are known as *Raghunathji* and worshipped in a *kutcha* hut, near the garage of the *Ravankata Rath* by a Brahman priest with the title of Chatterjee. A resident of the village, the priest worships the deities twice daily, with offerings of rice and sweets in the morning and with sweetened parched paddy and sweets in the evening. Well-to-do households offer $\frac{1}{4}$th *seer* of rice every month for the worship of the deities. The Brahman, whose priesthood is hereditary, is in possession of four *bighas* of land for his services. The land was endowed in the name of the deities and given to the ancestors of the priest many years ago. It is

not known when the land was endowed and by whom. Besides the daily worship, no other ritual is observed.

2. *Worship of Vishnu*

The *Vishnu* temple is a *pucca* structure, situated in the Sankharibazar locality. Lord *Vishnu*, represented by a piece of black stone, is worshipped daily by the village-priest, a Brahman with the title of Chatterjee. The temple was established about 120 years ago by the people of this village. The village headman, a Sankhabanik, is entrusted with the management of the temple. He raises contributions in kind and cash from the Sankhabaniks, who donate ¼th *seer* of rice per household every month. The Brahman priest gets no remuneration in cash for his services. He gets the offerings of rice and sweets, made to the deity in the morning and evening and also some chance offerings in cash, made by the devotees. The temple, though maintained on the joint contributions of the Sankhabaniks, is open to all, except the Bagdis, Bauris, Goalas, Kaibartas, Kalus, Subarnabaniks, Sutradhars and the Sunris. The convention is followed by the debarred castes without any protest.

There is another *pucca* temple dedicated to Lord *Vishnu*, represented by a stone, in *Dakshinpara* near the *Sitala* temple. The temple, known as the temple of *Sitanath*, is in the possession of a private individual of the Tantubaya caste. The temple was established about 60 years ago by the grand-father of the present *Sevait*. 2½ *bighas* of land was donated to the temple by the founder to meet the expenses of the daily worships, conducted by the priest Sri Ram Jyoti Goswami, who gets his remuneration from the income of the donated land. Besides the daily worship, no other festival is observed. This temple is also closed to the castes, as are not allowed entry in the temple of the Sankhabaniks.

3. *Worship of Rameswar*

The *Rameswar* temple was established in 1252 B.S. by the Teli Zamindar of Mirzapur. *Rameswar*, in the form of a *Siva Lingam*, is worshipped twice daily by the priest Sri Ram Jyoti Goswami, who enjoys the ownership of three *bighas* of land given to him during the construction of the temple. The temple is *pucca*.

Open to all castes, the temple is looked after by the village-headman. The rice, collected by the headman from all the households of the village, is given to the priest to enable him to defray the daily expenses.

Some 15 years back the festival of *Gajan* was celebrated in the temple premises on the last day of *Chaitra*, with the help of all the villagers. Lord *Siva* was worshipped by the devotees, who had vowed to celebrate the festival. But, with the decline of the village-crafts, the festival or the worship is not now observed on the last day of *Chaitra*.

Hermitage of the Vaishnavas

There is a hermitage of the *Vaishnavas* in the village, located in two mud-built thatched rooms. One room is used by the caretaker of the *Ashram* and the other room is used to keep the deities *Radha* (an image made of alloy) and *Krishna* (an image of black stone). The *Ashram* was established by a Tantubaya of this village about 80 years ago.

There is no member in the *Ashram* other than the *Vaishnava* caretaker, who collects alms by begging and offers *Bhog* to the deities. He also looks after any *Vaishnava* passer-by, who takes shelter in the hermitage to spend some hours of the day or night for rest. Such wayfaring visitors are also entertained with *Bhog* by the same man. The expenses, incurred for either the daily worship or the entertainment of the visitors, are defrayed from the income of 3¼ *bighas* of endowed land, being the property of the hermitage.

Besides the daily worship of the deities, some 8 or 10 devoted villagers in the locality assemble here to sing devotional songs in the evening.

Miscellaneous festivals

Besides the worship of the image in the different temples and shrines located in different parts of the village, the households observe some other festivals individually. Short description of each is given monthwise.

BAISAKH

1. **Thanda Bhog** :—A daily offering of fruits is made in the village throughout this month to all the deities, worshipped daily.

2. **Halkhata** :—On the first day of this month the shopkeepers open new account and collect arrears, due from their customers. Individual households also observe the day specially by preparing delicious dishes at home.

JYAISHTHA

1. **Dasahara** :—Womenfolk take curd and parched paddy during this festival.

2. **Mangal Sasthi** :—The womenfolk observe *Mangal Sasthi* for the welfare of their children. On this occasion the womenfolk tie sacred yellow threads round the arms of the children and take flattened rice and curd.

ASARA

1. **Vipadtarini** :—Womenfolk observe *Vipadtarini Vrata* in this month in order to secure their families free from any danger. On this occasion the Brahman priest brings the image of *Vishnu* to different localities for worship. The households, which observe this ceremony, contribute a definite quantity of *atta* and *suji*. The Brahman priest prepares the *Bhog* and distributes it equally among the participant households. Except the Bauris, all other castes observe *Vipadtarini Vrata*.

2. **Ambubachi** :—On the eighth day of this month the widows of all castes except the Bauris observe *Ambubachi* by taking mangoes and jackfruits. Cooked food is avoided for three days.

SRAVANA

Arandhan :—Except the Bauris, all other castes observe *Arandhan* on the last day of the month, but the Tambulis observe it on any day. On the day before *Arandhan*, food is prepared and kept for the next day. On the day of *Arandhan* the householder places a *Manasa* plant on the oven and the Brahman priest worships it. Food is not cooked on this day.

KARTIK

1. **Gopuja** :—On the second day of the lunar fortnight after the observance of the *Shyama Puja* the people of Raibaghini worship the cows. Cows are bathed early in the morning. Lac-dye is smeared on the skin with the bowl of a *hooka*. Then turmeric paste is smeared on the forehead, on the horns and hooves. Conch shell horn is blown. Housewives feed the cows with sweets.

2. **Jamai Sasthi** :—On the sixth day of the bright fortnight sons-in-law are invited by their fathers-in-law. The sons-in-law are served choicest dishes and *dhotis* are given to them as present.

3. **Kul-kuloti** :—Unmarried girls dig out a miniature pond in the courtyard and post a branch of a *Bel* tree. They worship the plant every day in the evening throughout the month by pouring water over the branch. It is believed that by this observance unmarried girls get married in good families.

AGRAHAYAN

Itupuja :—Women worship the God *Itu* throughout this month. Every Sunday they offer boiled sunned rice and vegetarian dishes. The women also take vegetarian dishes on all the Sundays. This is observed to please the Sun-god in expectation of better yield of *Rabi* crops.

PAUS

Paus is the harvesting month. It is the golden time for the farmer, when yields from the field are stacked in the farm. The villagers welcome this month by playing Conch shell horns every morning.

Makar Sankranti :—On the last day of *Paus* the villagers sing holy songs and the womenfolk make different types of cakes to observe the festival.

MAGH

Lakshmi :—On the first day of *Magh* the Goddess *Lakshmi* is worshipped in her symbolic representation of a cane casket by some households. Some white variety of paddy is strewn in the compound and a cane casket is placed over the paddy. The priest for the household worships the deity.

FALGUN-CHAITRA

Dol :—On the eve of the *Dol Purnima* the villagers assemble and make fire. The Brahman priest carries the image of *Raghunath* and moves round the fire thrice. The villagers also sprinkle

coloured water and coloured powder on the body of their friends and relatives.

Inter-hamlet relationship

Three hamlets *viz.*, (i) Kashiganj, (ii) Krishnaganj and (iii) Gopalganj are attached to the main village Raibaghini, as the latter's hamlets. Of the three hamlets, Kashiganj is the biggest and Krishnaganj is the smallest. The hamlets are demarcated from the main village by mud roads.

The people of the hamlets are fully dependent on the main village for various needs of their life. There is only a small grocer's shop at Kashiganj, which cannot supply the daily necessities of all the people living there. For shopping and marketing purposes, all the three hamlets depend on Raibaghini. To get vegetables and fish etc., the people of the hamlets attend the bi-weekly *hat* of Raibaghini. Children of the hamlets attend the Raibaghini Primary School.

While there is one masonry well in Kashiganj, there is only one *kutcha* well for use of the people of the other two hamlets. The well dries up in summer and the people of Gopalganj and Krishnaganj depend on the main village for the supply of drinking water. The people of the hamlets celebrate some of the festivals jointly with the people of the main village. *Raghunath* is the presiding deity of the village and also of its three hamlets. That is why, the inhabitants of the hamlets contribute rice according to their ability for the worship of *Raghunath*. Again, the inhabitants of the hamlets join the festival of *Rabankata Rath*. During the garlanding ceremony the headman and the respectable persons of the main village are garlanded first as a mark of respect for the main village. The people of the hamlets do not claim as much respect as the people of the main village. Again, the festival of *Nabakunja* is also celebrated by the people of the hamlets jointly with those of the main village. Here also, the people of the main village have in their possession three altars out of the nine in the *Nabakunja*. But, each of the hamlets possesses one altar. In all the festivals the people of Raibaghini take the leadership, in which the hamlets acquiesce.

The people of the main village depend on the hamlets for the services of the goldsmith and the blacksmith only.

According to a very old village-custom the bridegroom-parties visiting, the hamlets for any marriage, are required to pay Rs. 12.25 p. to the village-fund, the collection being made by the village headman. The collected amount is spent according to a specific arrangement, discussed later. The hamlets have accepted this time-honoured tutelage and levy without any protest. In exchange, the hamlets get the benefits of all institutions, secular and religious, situated in the main village.

The relation between the hamlets and the main village has been one of concord and co-operation. The physical configuration of the hamlets is such that it does not instill in the minds of the simple villagers any idea of separate entity or parochial groupism. The village and the hamlets have stood the passage of time in all its facets, good and bad. Good days profferred happiness and prosperity on all the people, who felt the throbs of healthy economy manifested in the flourishing crafts and other village industries alike. The bad days cast their evil shadows on the people enveloping them in gloom and poverty. That the crafts have emaciated is equally felt and regretted by the village and the hamlets.

The past relation has been tarnished only once by a singular wrangling over the ownership of the main altar in the *Nabakunja*. The dispute resulted in no good to anybody and as in the proverbial story of the monkeys and the cake, the main altar was transferred to the possession of a neighbouring village Piritchak. Since the unhappy incident, everyone has grown wiser and there has been no more quarrel between the village and its hamlets.

Panchayat

Raibaghini with its hamlets is within the jurisdiction of the Mirzapur *Anchal Panchayat*, which was formed in July, 1964 with elected members.

Mirzapur *Anchal Panchayat* is constituted by eight *Gram Sabhas*. Raibaghini with its hamlets has formed the Mirzapur East *Gram Sabha* constituency. The executive body of this *Gram Sabha*, the Mirzapur East *Gram Panchayat*, consists of 13 elected members, of whom one is the *Adhyaksha* and another is the *Upadhyaksha*. The *Gram Panchayat*, having within its jurisdiction the main village and its hamlets, was elected in 1964. The *Gram Panchayat* has its Office in Raibaghini in the

Sankharibazar. The Office functions in the vacant room of a Sankhabanik, free of rent. Details about the places of residence and castes of the members of the Mirzapur East *Gram Panchayat* are given below :

Name of the Members	Caste	Residence
Sri Atul Majhi	Bagdi	Raibaghini
Sri Kalipada Bauri	Bauri	Raibaghini
Sri Mathura Modak	Modak	Raibaghini
Sri Bholanath Dutta	Sankhabanik	Raibaghini
Sri Chandi Charan Mukherjee	Brahman	Raibaghini
Sri Gandheswar Hans	Tantubaya	Raibaghini
Sri Subal Ch. Dey	Tantubaya	Kashiganj
Sri Ghanashyam Mukherjee	Brahman	Kashiganj
Sri Gour Dalal	Tantubaya	Krishnaganj
Sri Kasuna Khara	Metey	Gopalganj
Sri Sudhir Karmakar	Karmakar	Gopalganj
Adhyaksha		
Sri Kshudiram Dutta	Sankhabanik	Raibaghini
Upadhyaksha		
Sri Umasankar Dey	Tantubaya	Raibaghini

The members of the *Gram Panchayat* elect representatives to the *Anchal Panchayat* from their constituency. Mirzapur East *Gram Panchayat* elected the following two representatives from their constituency to Mirzapur *Anchal Panchayat* :

Name	Caste	Residence
Sri Bijay Mahanto	Brahman	Raibaghini
Sri Ghanashyam Mukherjee	Brahman	Kashiganj

The *Gram Panchayat* and the *Anchal Panchayat* were just formed at the time of the present survey. The new organisations, which came to stay in the village-life as a substitute of the Union Board and as a nascent democratic organisation of the village, did raise much hope among the younger people and the Caste Hindus. But, the Bagdis and the Bauris did not show any response to the new-born organisations.

The income and expenditure or the activities of the *Panchayat*, though much illuminating, cannot be discussed, as it had not taken up any work.

The two vital posts of the office-bearers are residents of other villages, as shown in next column.

Pradhan	Caste	Residence
Sri Niranjan Chatterjee	Brahman	Mirzapur
Upapradhan		
Sri Chandi Charan Paul	Tantubaya	Murokata

The Mirzapur Union Board had its Office in Raibaghini for 21 years. A relic of the British experiment with village organisation and local self-government for rural areas, the Union Board outlived its necessity and had to yield place to the new. Sri Bholanath Dutta, a Sankhabanik by caste and a resident of this village, was the President of the Union Board for the last 14 years. The following members of the Union Board were elected from this village.

(i) Sri Ram Jyoti Goswami
(ii) ,, Kshudiram Dutta

But, the educated younger section of the village population stood against the superannuated ex-President and his organisation.

The village did not receive proper attention from the Union Board and much remained to be done in the sphere of improvement. It explains why none, associated with the Union Board, was returned to the *Panchayat*. Only one of the old members of the Union Board was elected as the *Adhyaksha* of the present *Gram Panchayat*, as because he had supported leadership of the the younger section.

The Mirzapur *Anchal Panchayat* was formed under the leadership of a young man, named Sri Niranjan Chatterjee, who was subsequently elected a *Pradhan* of the *Anchal Panchayat*. Sri Chatterjee, though a resident of Mirzapur and for that matter an outsider, has the support of the people behind him and is a cynosure of the youths of the region. The villagers look for many things to be done by him in the interest of the village.

In spirit this struggle for power is the expression of the tussle between the old and the new. The younger section finds in youth a promise but in old age a regret.

As soon as the new *Anchal Pradhan* took over the charge from the President of the Union Board, he shifted the Office from Raibaghini to his own village Mirzapur and also replaced the old clerk of the Union Board by a new recruit. The older section of the population of this village did not like the transfer of Office from their area to the other place.

Privileges of the village headman

The post of the village-head is secular and hereditary. The present incumbent, Sri Bholanath Dutta, a Sankhabanik of 50 years, is a resident of Raibaghini. It is worth mentioning that the post of the village headman is respectable because of its traditional nature. In addition to the duties of the headman in the different religious functions, already described, the headman has some other privileges.

Bridegroom-parties, before going out of the village for marriage ceremony, take permission of the headman. If the marriage takes place in the village, the permission of the headman has to be taken. The headman collects an amount of Rs. 12.25 p. from the bridegroom parties, which visit this village on the occasion of a marriage. He distributes the amount among the different village-funds. During the *Sradh* ceremony, the head of any household, performing the ceremony, has to obtain sanction of the headman before the commencement of the final purificatory rites. In the *Sradh* ceremony of the Caste Hindus a group of selected people, representing more or less all the major castes including the Bauris and the Bagdis, has to be invited to the feast, given on the occasion. In case, the head of the household cannot afford to invite the persons selected by the village-elder, he has to pay some amount in cash, fixed by the village-headman, to the funds of the religious institutions. The headman is given a reception of honour during the festivals of *Nabakunja* and *Rabankata Rath.*

It may be mentioned that though the importance of the headman has been lessened by the statutory *Panchayats*, people still seek his advice in minor disputes and individual problems.

Community Development Block

This village is included in the Kotulpur National Extension Service Block, established in 1957 with its Office in Kotulpur. Though it has existed in the area for more than seven years, only 127 households are aware of its existence. Designed primarily for rural uplift in all the sectors, agriculture, industry, livestock co-operation, education etc., the Block Office is, in fact, identified as an agency for distributing loans and reliefs.

The Bauri, Bagdi and other poor households know little about the Block Office. What they know does not reveal their awareness of the extension methods, a two-way stream of extending the problems to the specialists in the Block Office on the one hand and communicating to the village-people the panacea for the cancerous ills eating into the vitals of the village-life on the other.

When all the households of this village were asked whether they had benefited from the Block Office, 22 households replied that they had received wheat regularly as a general measure of relief to them. 15 families stated that they had received loan from the Block Office, and eight families stated about the improvement of the main road. Not a single household of this village disclosed anything about any development in the sphere of agriculture or industry.

The *Gram Sevak* is the village-level worker of the Block Development Office. But, out of 143 households interviewed, only 27 were aware of the visit of the *Gram Sevak* to their locality. Only 37 households could state vaguely some functions of the *Gram Sevak*. In their opinion the functions of the *Gram Sevak* only relate to the activities of agriculture. Demonstration of the Japanese method of cultivation to the two cultivator households and construction of two cemented pits for preparing better type of manure are the only fruitful product of the activities of the *Gram Sevak* in the sphere of agriculture since the inception of the Block Office.

It is perhaps a very sad commentary given by the villagers on the Development Organisation and one is disappointed to find any enthusiasm lacking in the life of the village to change the socio-economic picture of the people as a whole.

Voluntary organisations and institutions

1. Sabuj Sangha Club

Engaged in different vocations, the different sections of the population spend their leisure hours in the voluntary institutions like clubs, libraries according to their tastes and temperaments. The aged people anticipate the approach of death and find a means of atonement for their sins in devotional songs or religious discussions. A discussion has already been made on the activities of these people.

The youths have their ways of spending the afternoon and a club is the organisation for many of them, specially the students, to gather and enjoy the evening.

Sabuj Sangha, the only youth club of this village, was established in 1964, with the avowed purpose of sports and games. But, finance limited the games to only foot-ball and ring-ball for the members.

At present, there are 40 members in the club, 30 of which are residents of Raibaghini, the remaining 10 members residing in the hamlets and in the neighbouring villages. Open to all, the club has members, representing all the castes, except the Bauris and Bagdis of the village.

With no regular room for itself, the club has managed to keep an almirah, its only property, with all the sports goods stacked in it, in the premises of the village-library, thanks to the kind co-operation of the Library Committee. The almirah was practically earned by the hard toil of the members, who participated in the Test Relief construction of the village-road by carrying and setting stone slabs in 1964. An amount of Rs. 85/-, the earned amount, was contributed to the club for the purchase of the almirah.

Monthly subscription is 12 paise per member. Due to paucity of fund and want of a room, the club is not able to arrange for any indoor game. The fund has touched the lowest point and the boys are worried about the financial problem.

The club is not run by any regular Executive Committee. Sri Narayan Chandra Nandi, a Sankhabanik by caste and the only college student of this village, was elected by the members of the club as their Secretary. He is still continuing as the Secretary of this organisation. It may be mentioned incidentally that Sri Nandi is the founder member of the club.

The games are organised in a field at Gopalpur, which is allowed for use by a cultivator-owner of the same place. 14 members can participate in the games (foot-ball during summer and ring-ball in winter) ; but due to the small area of the field other members wait for their turn.

The club, therefore, is limited both in resources and in activities, but it has been able to find an outlet for the energy and interest of the members.

2. *Subhas Library*

Actuated by instincts of competition and local rivalry, some five or six young men, representing the literate section of the village, decided to follow suit of Mirzapur, a neighbouring village, in establishing a library. Blessed not by any bibliophil but by a group of young people, a village library sprang up in 1954. Without a name, a building, a book-rack and even without the essential popular books, the Library started functioning. In 1955 it was given the name, Subhash Library of Raibaghini. At present, the Library is housed in a temporary rent-free shed situated in the village proper.

The Library possesses one almirah, a chair, a table and 500 books, most of which are popular Bengali novels, written by eminent writers. Besides, the Library subscribes to a Bengali Daily. The Librarian, Sri Mathura Modak, who renders voluntary service to this organisation, opens the Library daily for two hours in the evening, when some of the members assemble there to read the daily newspaper.

At present, there are altogether 75 members in this organisation, the rate of monthly subscription being 12 paise. Admission fee for a new member is 62 paise, but no security money is required to be furnished. Membership is open to all.

An Executive Committee of this Library looks after the developmental activities and proper functioning of this organisation. The tenure of office for the Committee is three year, after which it is elected afresh by the members.

The present Committee consists of the following office-bearers :

President—	Sri Jagannath Kolay, Honourable Minister of West Bengal.
Secretary—	Sri Niranjan Chatterjee, *Anchal Pradhan*, Mirzapur *Anchal Panchayat*.
Joint Secretary—	Sri Bijoy Mohanto, Member of Mirzapur *Anchal Panchayat*.
Librarian—	Sri Mathura Modak, Raibaghini.
Members—	Sri Ram Jyoti Goswami, Raibaghini.

Members— Sri Ghanashyam Mukherjee, Kashiganj (Hamlet) in Raibaghini.
Sri Bholanath Dutta, Raibaghini.
Sri Umasankar Dey, Raibaghini.
Sri Saktipada Dutta, Raibaghini.
Sri Kshudiram Dutta, Raibaghini.
Sri Gour Dalal, Krishnaganj (Hamlet).

The present Committee has taken a programme for the establishment of a full-fledged library within a few years.

The Library now faces an acute financial crisis due to depleted funds. The *pucca* building has been left half constructed for want of funds for about two years. The construction first started on the land in Gopalpur, donated by a resident of this village. The villagers, earning wages from Test Relief Work, contributed to the Library Fund, which also was augmented by voluntary donations. But, the fund collected was not sufficient for the construction of the building and before long, the fund reached its lowest water-mark.

3. Raibaghini Students' Dramatic Party

The Raibaghini Students' Dramatic Party was formed about seven years ago. The village Dramatic Party stages theatrical shows either during *Saraswati Puja* or *Rabankata Rath* or *Nabakunja* festival. Sometimes, it holds theatrical performances even two or three times in a year during the main festivals of the village. There is no fixed place for the performance of the dramas. It generally constructs the stage in the places of worship or festivals. The dramatic themes are mostly mythological and as such, draw applause from the appreciative village audience.

An amateur organisation with 37 members, this Club takes a leading part in organising dramatic performances. Although the members are drawn from the students in the main, there are as many as 15 non-student members. 30 members are residents of Raibaghini and the remaining seven are the residents of the hamlets and the neighbouring villages.

About 15 years back, there was an established Opera Party, named Rameswar Opera Party, in this village. Rameswar Opera Party not only used to stage the open-air dramas in this village during the main festivals but also went out at the call of the distant villages. It had its own dress, musical instruments and other equipments. But, now, the Opera Party of Raibaghini has become a thing of the past due to the economic hardship caused by the deteriorating condition of the village industries. The Students' Dramatic Party inherited all the belongings of the Opera Party, established by their elders, and are now carrying on the legacy.

The members of the present Dramatic Party had to toil much to acquire the equipments for the stage. They participated in the reclamation of the village ponds by clearing the water hyacinths and donated the earned wages to the fund of the dramatic club about five years ago. The amount was spent to purchase the necessary equipments.

Now there are two Directors of Drama in the club :

(i) Sri Rajabandhu Nandi—Raibaghini
(ii) Sri Shyama Pada Nandi—Raibaghini

Both the Directors were well-known actors in Rameswar Opera Party. Now, they have taken up the task of training the youngsters in the histrionic art. Sri Radhanath Dutta and Sri Mathur Dutta, both residents of this village, who are now serving as *Tabla*-players in a *Jatra* Party outside, are the Directors of Music here. During any dramatic performance, they hire an orchestra party from the village Darapur on payment Rs. 10/- for every performance.

Sri Anil Sutradhar, a resident of this village, renders voluntary service at the time of every dramatic performance as the technical hand in charge of make-up.

The members of the Dramatic Party collect subscriptions from the villagers for each performance at the rate of Re.1/- to Rs.2/- per member. They received a grant of Rs. 40/- during the year 1964 from the Block Development Office at Kotulpur.

4. Harinam Sankirtan Party

Aged persons of this village are very fond of devotional songs. There are altogether five

Harinam Sankirtan Parties in the village. Each party possesses musical instruments (such as *Khol* and *Kartal*) of its own. Of all the parties, four hold the musical performance daily in the evening at the following places within the village:

(i) Hermitage of the *Vaishnavas*
(ii) *Rameswar* Temple
(iii) *Vishnu* Temple
(iv) *Nabakunja*

The other party roams about in the village daily in the evening, singing devotional songs. It also visits some of the households of this village, which pay the party one rupee per month as charity.

Social structure and inter-caste relationship

Raibaghini with its 143 households, drawn from 17 castes and one community presents a unique picture for its multi-ethnic composition and strands of varying values. Even today, Raibaghini offers stubborn resistance to extraneous forces tending to level down caste-distinctions. The caste-system has struck very deep roots in the social fabric and shapes the material, cultural and social conditions of life, assigning every caste a fixed place in the village society. Some of the castes have certain privileges of their own and some again have certain restrictions and prohibitions. The degree of restrictions and prohibitions, to which some of them are subjected, may be discerned from the following Table.

TABLE 87

NATURE OF SOCIAL DISABILITIES SUFFERED BY DIFFERENT CASTES IN THE MOUZA

	Access to			Disability regarding service of				Avoided by Caste Hindus in regard to			
Name of Caste	Shop, hotel, restaurant	Temple or place of worship	Any other place of public resort	Brahman priest	Barber	Washerman	Any other village servant	Touch	Serving cooked food	Serving water	Remarks
Bauri	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	..	Only woman	Yes	Yes	..
Bagdi	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	..	do	Yes	Yes	..
Sunri	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	..	do	Yes	Yes	..
Sutradhar	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	..	do	Yes	Yes	..
Subarnabanik	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	..	do	Yes	Yes	Only Bauris take food
Kaibarta	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	..	do	Yes	No	..

Note: The Bauris and the Bagdis have access to the temples except two (from before).

From the statement above, the disabilities suffered by some of the castes are patent. It is remarkable that each caste normally desires to live in its set groove and in matters of social relation it maintains some degree of detachment and isolation from others. Each caste will maintain normal marital relation with its own and marriage in contravention of caste rules is not permissible. No marriage in contravention of the caste-laws has taken place in the village. It is interesting that none of the people is ready to contract marriages for persons of the same household with persons of the same social and economic status but belonging to a different community. Interestingly enough, none except four households is aware of the present changes in the Hindu Marriage Act. That there is no restriction on marriage between different castes and that marriageable age is determined by law are known to these households.

The 17 castes of the village form different social groups among themselves in matters of taking food and water in the houses of others. The castes are mentioned below according to the groups, which have been arranged on the basis of their willingness to take food and water from each other.

A. Brahman
B. Kayastha
C. Bairagi
D. 1. Modak
2. Tambuli
3. Napit
4. Tantubaya
5. Sankhabanik
6. Karmakar

E.	1. Kaibarta	2. Goala
F.	1. Subarnabanik	3. Kalu
	2. Sutradhar	4. Sunri
G.	Bagdi	
H.	Bauri	

Mention should be made of the castes in groups D, E and F, which have social intercourses in matters of taking food and drink among themselves in the same group. But, castes in one of these groups will not have any food and drink in houses of others, except the Brahmans, the Kayasthas and the Bairagis. The Kayasthas and the castes in group D are served by the Brahmans of the *Rarhi Sreni* sub-group, but members of the castes belonging to groups E to G are served by *Patit* Brahmans, that is, degraded Brahmans. It is a revelation indeed that the Kayasthas and the *Rarhi Sreni* Brahmans do not take food and water in the house of a *Patit* Brahman, who officiates in the social and religious ceremonies of the castes mentioned above. It may be pointed out that two of the six Brahman households residing in the village belong to the *Rarhi Sreni* sub-group. They also officiate in all the worships and festivals of the village-temples arranged by the castes, who are served by the *Rarhi Sreni* Brahmans. Of the four other Brahman households, three belonging to the *Kanyakubja* sub-group, do not participate in any socio-religious functions of other castes as priests. No social intercourse between the Brahmans of these two sub-groups is either allowed. There is another Brahman household, which once belonged to the *Rarhi Sreni* sub-group with the title of 'Mukherjee', but has now been degraded because of its functioning as priests to the supposedly lower classes. This household, practically ostracized by the *Rarhi Sreni* Brahman, now has social relation only with the *Kanyakubja* Brahmans.

The Bairagis, who are served by the *Rarhi Sreni* Brahmans, occupy a very respectable position in the village, in as much as all the castes in Group D take food, cooked by them. But, the Bairagis do not reciprocate the practice.

The barbers serve all the castes, except the Bauris. The Dhobas wash the clothes of all, except of the Sutradhars, Kalus, Sunris, Bauris and the Bagdis. The Kaibartas and the Goalas are accepted by the castes of Group D, which take water from them, but the members of the same group do not drink water from the hands of the people in Group F.

The Bagdis and the Bauris are treated by the villagers as untouchables. The Bagdis are served by the Brahmans of very low status, known in the village as *Bagdir Bamun* or a priest of the Bagdi. Barbers also serve them. But, their clothes are not washed by the Dhobas. The Bauris occupy the lowest rung in the social ladder. They take food in every house of the village, but none takes food from their hands. They are deprived of the services of the Brahmans, Dhobas and the Barbers. The village-Barber, when interviewed, replied with some arrogance that he would serve the Bauris, only when the Brahmans would accept their priesthood.

The Bagdis do not take food cooked by castes of Group E and F. According to the local custom, agricultural labourers take food cooked in the houses of their landlords. But, the Bagdi labourers working under the landlords in Groups E and F, take an agreed quantity of rice instead of taking cooked food. The social picture becomes all the more complicated when the Bauris and the Bagdis are found neglected and humiliated as untouchables, but garlanded by the Brahman priests as a mark of respect during the *Rabankata Rath* festival. In the festival of *Nabakunja* the Bauris and the Bagdis take food in a row with the Caste Hindus. The villagers extenuate the caste-restrictions on this occasion and say that the food distributed during this festival, being the *Prosad* of *Mahaprabhu*, there is no harm in sharing it with these untouchables.

There is a system of collecting an amount from the bridegroom parties of different castes, which visit this village in connection with marriage ceremony. The amount, thus collected, is known as *Gram Vau* or *Gram Lag*, and is allocated to different village funds and persons. Amount of collection depends more or less on the social status of the castes concerned. All the Brahmans, by virtue of their highest position in the village society, are exempted from paying *Gram Vau*. Except the Bauris and the Bagdis, all other castes of this village pay an amount of Rs. 12.25p. in every marriage ceremony. The Bagdis pay an amount of Rs. 2.25p. at the time of their marriage. The Bauris obtain sanction from the village headman for the performance of marriage ceremony by paying him an amount of 25 paise only. The amount is distributed according to a fixed principle. Whether the marriage takes place in the main village or in the hamlets, Rs. 2/- is to be paid to the

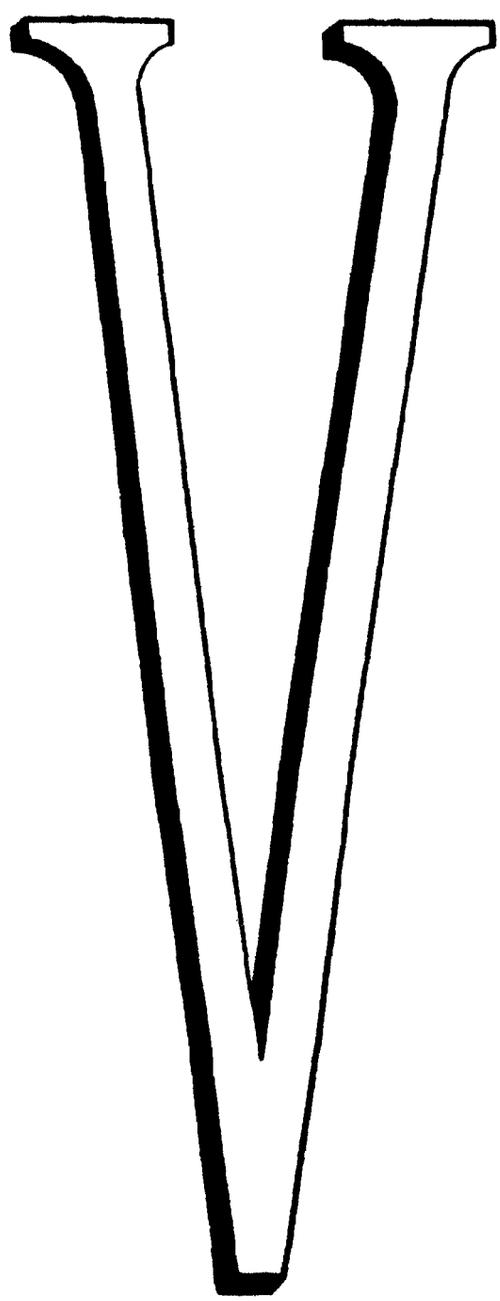
Subhash Library Fund and Rs. 2/- to the fund of the Primary School of the main village. The Brahmans of the *Rarhi Sreni* sub-group get an amount of Rs. 1.25p. as Brahman *Vritti*. The headmen of the main village and the hamlets each gets an amount of Rs. 1.75p. as a mark of respect. The remaining amount of Rs. 5.25p. is kept for the worship of the deity of *Rameswar*.

Of the 143 families interviewed, only 29 families are aware that untouchability in any form is prohibited by law. Unfortunately for the Bauris and the Bagdis, they do not know the provision of the law.

Legislations granting the equality of status and rank among the castes, have not produced any effect on the people here. If the women-folk of the Caste Hindus, by chance, touch the Bagdis and Bauris, they will change their clothes then and there. In the village they also wash the site of the well or the tubewell, if a Bagdi or a Bauri takes drinking water from the place. Utensils, cleaned by the Bauri or Bagdi maid servants, are not used by the Caste Hindus without washing them again. In the village tea-stalls the Bauris and the Bagdis have to wash the glasses themselves after use. They have no access to the two *Vishnu* temples of the village.

According to the local custom, elderly Bauri women-folk accompany the Caste Hindu women on the latters' visit to the houses of their relatives in distant places. The Bauri women carry sweets and other eatables for their mistress. But the mistress, when hungry, does not hesitate to eat the food carried by their untouchable maid servants. Such is the contradiction in Raibaghini.

The polymorphic caste relations in Raibaghini present a polyopia, where a multitude of people coexist in peace but in contraplex social situations. Here is a village, where some tabernacles of village deities, thrown open to all the castes, hold aloft the dignity of man and sap the root of social distinction. But, here again, there are some precincts of the village-gods, which debar some communities from entry within. The disqualified mute people serve the gods, because they stand outside and wait in sombre silence and patient deference. The Bagdis and the Bauris, the trampled outcastes of the village society, in chains in economic sphere, cannot join all the festive social gatherings. But, they bide time like a "sunken wreck with sumless treasuries". Temples and institutions apart, even crematoriums are patterned out in the image of casteism. Death may bring salvation to the mortals, but, it does not end caste distinctions of Raibaghini. A dead man is brought to the crematorium of its own caste. Casteism has gone deep into the living souls. Here, death fails to level all.



Conclusion

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Thus ends the discussion about a very old village, established more than a hundred years ago, if not earlier, by the immigration of some artisan castes from other places, followed by other communities as functional groups. The naming of the village has a legend and a history. One may visualise how the immigrant artisans toiled and thrived some fifty years back, when all the village-crafts, including the now obsolete bell-metal industry, were passing through palmy days, full of feverish activities. The joys and aspirations of the people were then intimately connected with their occupations, which reached high water-mark during the period, when people from outside trod the village-paths to gather finished products, when social functions were replete with pomp and splendour, when land was cultivated by a merry group of Bagdis and Bauris as share-croppers. But, the wheel of fortune have come a full circle, bringing in misery and poverty in its trail. As if by the magic touch of an offended witch, all the socio-economic activities of the village have been metamorphosed. With wrinkled faces the older artisans are looking forward to the end of their days, when the younger ones will throw away the tools and implements, busy for so many years in their workshops. The artisans, who are middle-aged, are now turning attention to lands and disengaging their labourers from the charge of cultivation. The younger section have set out for distant places in quest of a new livelihood with fixed income and some social prestige. As a result, occupations, characteristically traditional of some castes, have been replaced by more modern means of livelihood. Palanquins have disappeared, cycle-rickshaws have come in their place and country limes have been replaced by mineral limes. Construction of temples has been substituted by inauguration of libraries and youth-clubs. The youth, representing the neo-literate section of the village, do not turn to religious functions for cultural expression, but look for other means. Theatrical shows and movie-pictures are more in popular demand than the *Kirtans* and *Jatras*.

While changes have been marked in some aspects of the socio-economic life of Raibaghini, the village has presented itself as impervious to some other messages of change and progress. That is why, the agriculturists still toil in the fields with their age-old implements and methods, instead of taking to the modern scientific ways. Legislations and social enactments bringing messages of equality and fraternity of people have fallen flat on the villagers. It is a wonder that in spite of a busy high-way, along which fast-moving vehicles ply up and down at frequent intervals, the villagers are ignorant of the fast changes sweeping over the socio-economic sphere of the country outside. Here, the people still allow some to live as untouchables.

Thus concludes the tale of those darkened multitudes of a village in rural Bengal, who dwell "in the blear-eyed houses, in dim burrows of poverty, in the unmapped haunts of the semi-human", who toil without hope and die with the hunger of the human, who perish with all the sweetness of their sex, their laugh and song under labour and misery, who feel their blood and ineffectually revolt against their lot, that would tame careless defiance, who silently bear

> —Unimpassioned grief,
> which finds no natural outlet or relief
> In word, or sigh or tear"

Appendix I

APPENDIX I

SOME GEOLOGICAL FEATURES AT AND AROUND RAIBAGHINI VILLAGE, BANKURA DISTRICT, WEST BENGAL

by

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Introduction

Raibaghini village (approx. Longitude 87° 34′, Latitude 23°1′) in Bankura District, West Bengal, is situated on the 17th mile from Bishnupur on the Bishnupur-Arambagh Road. The geological note is on an area of about 2 sq. miles at and around Raibaghini—bounded on the north by Piritchak, on the south by the Amodar Nadi, on the east by Gopalpur, on the west by Mirzapur (cf. :—Toposheet No. 73M/12, 1929-30, Survey of India). The aim o fthis note is to state some geological observations, made by the author during a brief visit to the area.

Topography and drainage

Raibaghini area is a part of the nearly flat alluvial country of Bankura and adjoining districts. The Amodar Nadi, which demarcates the southern boundary of the area, flows from the N. N. W. to the E. S. E. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east of Raibaghini, the Dwarakeswar (or Dhalkisor) river flows in a course, nearly parallel to that of the Amodar Nadi. The area is, therefore, essentially an 'alluvial flat' between these two rivers. When considered in detail, the country can be described as very gently rolling with shallow depressions and rises of topographic relief. The 'depressions' resemble, as if, flat-bottomed seucers and the 'rises' the same in inverted position. These features of topography are particularly noticeable in the south and south-west of Kotaldighi. In this area of cultivation these surface features may be important. Unless otherwise controlled, surface water usually moves towards and finally accumulates in the 'depressions' from surrounding 'rises'. Further, surface run-off tends to transport fine clay materials of soil towards the 'depressions'.

General geology

The main geological formation, which is seen in surface outcrop, is alluvium. It constitutes a part of the alluvium formation of Bankura and Midnapore districts as mentioned in Memoir I (Director's Report, 1859) of the Geological Survey of India. Locally, along the narrow embankments of *Kotaldighi* red concretionary nodules of lateritic materials occur above the alluvium. The lateritic layers vary in thickness from fraction of an inch to a few feet.

Within the limits of the area the alluvium is mainly composed of two textural varieties. The northern part of Raibaghini area consists dominantly of sandy clay and the southern part (especially south of Kotaldighi) mainly of fine-grained silty clay and clay. On the surface the transition from one variety to another is gradual.

Notes on Some Special Features

(*a*) *Surface soil*

Two samples of alluvium soil, R.B.1 and R.B.4 have been mechanically and chemically analysed. The results are stated in Tables 1 and 2 below. Sample R. B. 1 has been collected from cultivated paddy field just north of Bishnupur-Arambagh Road in the northern part of Raibaghini area and sample R.B.4 from cultivated paddy field south-west of Kotaldighi in the southern part of the area. In topographic terms explained in a previous section, sample R.B.1 is from a region of 'rise' and R.B.4 is from a region of 'depression'.

TABLE I

MECHANICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SOIL SAMPLES

Sample No.	Clay p.c.	Silt p.c.	Sand p.c.	Textural Class
R. B.1	9.1	15.2	75.7	Sandy loam
R. B. 4	33.1	25.2	41.7	Clay loam

APPENDIX I

TABLE II

CHEMICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WHOLE SOIL SAMPLES ON OVEN-DRIED BASIS

Sample No.	PH	Total soluble salt	Total Carbon	Total Nitrogen	Available †K_2O	Available P_2O_5	HCl Extract*					
							Fe_2O_3	Al_2O_3	P_2O_5	CaO	MgO	K_2O
		Millimohs/cm	p.c.	p.c.	Lbs/acre	Lbs/acre	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.
R.B.1	5.5	0.13	0.305	0.046	560	28	1.96	1.52	0.018	1.01	0.0	0.6
R.B.4	5.1	0.20	0.392	0.061	1,620	16	3.64	8.61	0.035	1.34	0.2	0.85

†With N Ammonium Acetate
*Digested with 35% HCl

[Analyst—Sri B. Dutta]

As seen from Table 1, sample R.B.1 is poor in clay, whereas sample R.B.4 is rich in clay. It is known that clay stores plant nutrients and also helps in promoting the physical properties of soil. In this respect the soil represented by R.B.4 is better in quality than that represented by R.B.1.

Chemical analyses (Table 2) of the soils suggest that both R.B.1 and R.B.4 are acidic. The total soluble salt contents are normal and non-injurious to the growth of field crops. The contents of carbon and nitrogen in R.B.4 are higher than those in R.B.1. The higher contents of carbon and nitrogen in the former are in keeping with the dominance of clay fractions in it. Available P_2O_5 in sample R.B.4 is low and that in sample R.B.1 is medium. Available K_2O is fairly high in R.B.4 and that in R.B.1 is medium. Analysis of HCl extract indicates that R.B.4 contains greater proportions of sesquioxides than R.B.1. The contents of CaO, Mgo and K_2O are also higher in R.B.4. The results of chemical analyses thus confirm the conclusion drawn from results of mechanical analyses that the type of soil represented by sample R. B. 4 is of better quality than that represented by sample R.B.1.

(*b*) *Water resources*

The main sources of water supply for Raibaghini village are tubewell and dug well. The wells are located on alluvial formation. In a dug well at Raibaghini the water level was observed at 16 feet below ground level on the 6th September, 1964. The water-table for ground water, however, fluctuates throughout the year. As no information on subsurface geology of Raibaghini area was available during the preparation of this note, no attempt has been made here to comment on the positions of permanent water-table and possible aquifer (water-bearing strata) occurring below the surface.

Kotaldighi, which is a large tank about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long and $\frac{1}{8}$ mile wide with high embankments of lateritic soil, is situated about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north of the Amodar Nadi. This large tank, which is now partially dry, may be transformed into a permanent reservoir by making arrangements to replenish it. For this purpose the possibility of connecting *Kotaldighi* with the Amodar Nadi by canal or pipes may be considered.

(c) Road metal

The concretionary lateritic gravel, which occurs near *Kotaldighi*, is used locally as road metal. The iron concretions are uniform in size, hard and are suitable for this use.

Acknowledgement

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Sri Bimalendu Dutta, Research Scholar, Physical Chemistry Laboratory, University College of Science and Technology, Calcutta, kindly performed the mechanical and chemical analyses of the two soil samples.

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Appendix II

APPENDIX II

SOIL ANALYSIS REPORTS OF THE POLICE STATION KOTULPUR

Laboratory number		Particulars and sl. no. of samples	P.H.	Soluble salt millim per cm.	Organic carbon percentage	Available phospho-rous lbs. per acre	Available potash lbs. per acre
30039	282	Bhabanath Nandi 23 (Saltora) 335	5.5 (A)	0.10 (N)	0.57 (M)	55 (H)	180 (M)
29657	283	Bhabanath Nandi 23 (Saltora) 335	5.5 (A)	0.20 (N)	0.60 (M)	21 (M)	120 (L)
29671	284	Bholanath Dutta 52 (Dehrabari) 679	5.5 (A)	0.18 (N)	0.36 (L)	28 (M)	60 (L)
29630	285	Bholanath Dutta 52 (Dehrabari) 679	5.5 (A)	0.15 (N)	0.57 (M)	22 (M)	280 (M)
29941	286	Nandalal Hazra 72 (Bhagalpur) 469	5.6 (A)	0.12 (N)	0.66 (M)	21 (M)	200 (M)
29613	287	Nandalal Hazra 66 (Paschim Balarampur) 179	5.8 (A)	0.18 (N)	0.78 (H)	54 (A)	88 (L)
29674	288	Banshidhar Patra 67/91	5.8 (A)	0.30 (N)	0.69 (M)	26 (M)	260 (M)
29949	289	Prafulla Kr. Ghosh 98/612	5.9 (A)	0.32 (N)	0.40 (L)	45 (M)	180 (M)
30052	290	Badal Ch. Mandal 98 (Bara) 598	5.9 (A)	0.30 (N)	0.60 (M)	40 (M)	220 (M)
29962	291	Nihar Ranjan Chakraborty 91/5224	5.5 (A)	0.12 (N)	0.25 (L)	50 (M)	140 (M)
29912	292	Badal Ch. Mandal 98/673	5.9 (A)	0.15 (N)	0.34 (L)	22 (M)	160 (M)
29617	293	Khas Land 115 (Seromonipur) 994	5.8 (A)	0.18 (N)	0.60 (M)	98 (M)	116 (L)
29948	294	Kanailal Banerjee 60 (Rampur)	5.5 (A)	0.15 (N)	0.25 (L)	28 (M)	80 (L)
29989	295	Kanailal Banerjee 60 (Rampur) 87	5.5 (A)	0.12 (N)	0.44 (L)	22 (M)	56 (L)
29609	296	Kanailal Banerjee 61/Kanpa/281	5.5 (A)	0.10 (M)	0.33 (L)	24 (M)	76 (L)
29983	297	Kanailal Banerjee 61 (Kanpa) 281	5.5 (A)	0.12 (N)	0.61 (M)	20 (M)	60 (L)
29648	298	Aswini Banerjee 140/3546	5.5 (A)	0.10 (L)	0.21 (L)	15 (L)	72 (L)
29980	299	Ratan Ch. Dey 19/3762	5.5 (A)	0.23 (N)	0.48 (L)	36 (M)	176 (M)
29927	300	Ratan Ch. Dey 19/3762	5.5 (A)	0.11 (N)	0.34 (L)	46 (M)	100 (L)
30016	301	Birendra Nath Mukherjee 140/3283	5.5 (A)	0.13 (N)	0.33 (L)	23 (M)	48 (L)
29621	302	Birendra Nath Mukherjee 140/3283	5.5 (A)	0.15 (N)	0.34 (L)	20 (M)	63 (L)
30002	303	Nalinakhya Paladihi 151/217	5.6 (A)	0.20 (N)	0.72 (M)	33 (M)	52 (L)
29953	304	Nihir Chandra Paul 151/27	5.5 (A)	0.25 (N)	0.38 (L)	41 (M)	76 (L)
29629	305	Durgapada Sarkar 151/2727	6.1 (N)	0.10 (M)	0.59 (L)	18 (M)	212 (M)
29930	306	Shyamapada Mondal 145/126	6.2 (N)	0.25 (N)	0.65 (M)	40 (M)	100 (L)
29615	307	Salam Ali 118/702	5.5 (A)	0.20 (N)	0.60 (M)	22 (M)	48 (L)

APPENDIX II

SOIL ANALYSIS REPORTS OF THE POLICE STATION KOTULPUR—*contd.*

Laboratory number	Particulars and sl. no. of samples	P.H.	Soluble salt millim per cm.	Organic carbon percentage	Available phospho-rous lbs. per acre	Available potash lbs. per acre
29952	308 Joyram Paul 120 (Koalpara) 513	5.5 (A)	0.60 (N)	0.41 (L)	50 (M)	200 (M)
30004	309 Joyram Paul 120 (Koalpara) 513	5.9 (A)	0.12 (N)	0.52 (M)	32 (M)	100 (L)
30024	310 Deben Koley 117 (Panchu) 437	5.6 (A)	0.12 (N)	0.50 (M)	43 (M)	80 (L)
29625	311 Deben Koley 117 (Panchu) 437	5.5 (A)	0.35 (N)	0.52 (M)	21 (M)	60 (L)
30023	312 Said Umadali Khandilkair 182/242	5.5 (A)	0.12 (N)	0.39 (L)	18 (L)	140 (M)
19587	313 Gari Khan 182/790	5.5 (A)	0.30 (N)	0.72 (M)	20 (M)	80 (L)
29923	314 Sowkat Ali 182/583	5.5 (A)	0.11 (N)	0.30 (L)	24 (M)	80 (L)
29677	315 Abdul Rahaman Khan 182/486	5.5 (A)	0.10 (N)	0.70 (M)	30 (M)	80 (L)
29632	316 Nasir Khan 182/490	5.5 (A)	0.25 (N)	0.56 (M)	16 (L)	48 (L)
29933	317 Subal Ch. Patra 90/3215	5.3 (A)	0.13 (N)	0.26 (L)	50 (M)	188 (M)
29929	318 Subal Ch. Patra 90/3215	5.6 (A)	0.11 (N)	0.42 (L)	49 (M)	100 (L)
29673	319 Subal Ch. Patra 90/3205	5.5 (A)	0.25 (N)	0.45 (L)	33 (M)	72 (L)
29641	320 Subal Ch. Patra 90/3205	5.5 (A)	0.12 (N)	0.39 (L)	21 (M)	72 (L)
29656	321 Sakti Pada Gorai 145/6132	5.5 (A)	0.15 (N)	0.54 (M)	22 (M)	80 (L)
29981	322 Sakti Pada Gorai 145/6132	5.5 (A)	0.12 (M)	0.76 (M)	38 (M)	72 (L)
29424	323 Sakti Pada Gorai 145/3436	5.5 (A)	0.16 (N)	0.37 (L)	44 (M)	160 (M)
29067	324 Sakti Pada Gorai 145/3426	5.5 (A)	0.20 (N)	0.40 (L)	50 (M)	200 (M)
29658	325 Sayet Abdus Salam 117/1429	5.5 (A)	0.15 (N)	0.72 (M)	24 (M)	88 (L)
29958	326 Sayet Abdus Salam 117/1429	5.5 (A)	0.25 (N)	0.45 (L)	50 (M)	120 (L)
29946	327 Sayet Abdus Salam 117/1428	5.5 (A)	0.12 (N)	0.47 (L)	24 (M)	80 (L)
29633	328 Sayet Abdus Salam 117/1428	5.5 (A)	0.12 (N)	0.69 (M)	38 (M)	80 (L)
29050	329 Khudiram Pan 193/24	5.9 (A)	0.33 (N)	0.36 (L)	22 (N)	120 (L)
29618	330 Khudiram Pan 193/24	5.5 (A)	0.15 (N)	1.00 (H)	52 (H)	180 (M)
29631	331 Khudiram Pan 193/954	5.5 (A)	0.20 (N)	0.52 (M)	18 (L)	256 (H)
29950	332 Khudiram Pan 193/954	6.0 (N)	0.35 (N)	0.63 (M)	45 (M)	250 (M)

A = Acid, N = Normal, L = Low, M = Medium, H = High.

Note—Sri Sunil Kumar Sengupta, B.A., B.Sc., (Ag.), District Agronomist and Ex-officio Addl. District Agricultural Officer, Bankura, provided me the analysis-reports of the soil conducted in the Research Wing at Tollygunge. I am grateful to him for the generous help. —Sukumar Sinha

Appendix III

APPENDIX III

TABLE I

BIRTH-PLACE OF THE PERSONS

Community	In the village	Outside the village but in the same police station	Outside the police station but in the same district	Outside the district but in the same state	Outside the state	Total
Bauri	146	16	26	1	..	189
Sankhabanik	109	2	12	3	..	126
Bagdi	87	21	8	1	..	117
Tantubaya	91	5	16	3	..	115
Brahman	26	4	2	2	..	34
Tambuli	24	2	4	2	..	32
Bairagi	14	1	3	..	..	18
Modak	21	1	3	1	..	26
Karmakar	6	..	1	..	..	7
Sutradhar	21	3	2	3	..	29
Kaibarta	21	5	2	..	..	28
Sunri	17	..	2	..	..	19
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	2	2
Napit	1	..	..	..	2	3
Kalu	5	..	..	1	..	6
Goala	1	..	..	1	..	2
Subarnabanik	3	..	5	..	..	8
Muslim	..	1	..	1	..	2
Total	593	61	86	19	4	768

TABLE II

MEMBERS OF HOUSEHOLDS LIVING OUTSIDE OF RAIBAGHINI

Number of persons living outside the village	Distance from the village under survey						
	1—5 miles	6—10 miles	11—20 miles	21—30 miles	31—45 miles	46—60 miles	61—75 miles
13	4	1	4	1	1	1	1

Number of persons living outside the village	Since when living away from the household			Reasons	Number of times visited during last year			
	upto 5 years	6—10 years	10 years and above	work	Upto 6 times	7—12 times	13—25 times	26—37 times
18	10	2	1	13	7	4	1	1

APPENDIX III

TABLE III

HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED BY RELIGIONS, CASTES AND SUBCASTES

Religion	Caste	Subcaste	Number of households		
			Persons	Males	Females
Hinduism	Bauri	Malo	189	91	98
	Bagdi	Tentule	113	53	60
		Kasaikulia	4	1	3
	Tantubaya	Aswani	115	56	59
	Brahman	Kanyakubja	13	5	8
		Barna Brahman	7	3	4
		Rarhi	14	8	6
	Tambuli	Bardhamane	32	18	14
	Total		487	235	252

TABLE IV

N.E.S. BLOCKS—NATURE OF BENEFIT

(AWARENESS OF THE FUNCTIONS OF GRAM SEVAK)

Caste	Number of households	Number of households aware of the function of Gram Sevak	Number of households that could describe the function of Gram Sevak			
			Fully satisfactorily	Satisfactorily	Unsatisfactorily	Incorrectly
Bauri	38	..	..	..	..	..
Sankhabanik	29	10	..	4	6	..
Bagdi	24	3	..	1	2	..
Tantubaya	15	6	..	6	..	..
Brahman	6	4	..	2	2	..
Tambuli	5	2	..	2	..	..
Bairagi	4	1	..	1	..	..
Modak	4	3	..	2	..	1
Karmakar	4	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	4	..	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	2	1	..	1	..	..
Sunri	2	2	..	1	1	..
Kayastha	1	..	..	..	..	..
Napit	1	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	1	..	..	..	..	..
Goala	1	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total	143	32	..	20	11	1

TABLE V

ATTITUDE ABOUT INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY BY DAUGHTERS EQUALLY WITH SONS OF HOUSEHOLDS (ON THE BASIS OF THOSE WHO REPLIED)

Caste	No. of persons interviewed	No. of persons who agree that daughters should inherit equally with sons				
		Aged above 50	Aged 41—50	Aged 31—40	Aged 21—30	Aged 20 and below
Tantubaya	1	..	..	1	..	..
Bagdi	1	..	1	..	..	..
Sunri	1	1	..	..	..	..
Total	3	1	1	1	..	..

APPENDIX III

TABLE VI

INFORMATION AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO NUMBER OF SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Community	No. aware of Family Planning Centre	Number of households wanting more children: Have more than 3 sons in households	Have 1—3 sons in households	Have no son	Have no daughter	Have no child
Sunri	Nil	2	13	3	2	3
Sankhabanik	6	1	6	1	1	2
Bagdi	1	..	7	7	2	2
Tantubaya	4	..	1	1	..	2
Brahman	2	..	..	1	..	..
Tambuli	2	..	1	..	1	..
Bairagi	1	..	1	1	..	..
Modak	2	..	1	1	..	..
Karmakar	Nil	..	..	..	..	1
Sutradhar	2	..	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	Nil	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	Nil	..	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total	21	3	30	15	6	10

Community	Number of households wanting no more children: Have more than 3 sons in households	Have 1—3 sons in households	Have no son	Have no daughter	Have no child
Sunri	1	8	1	1	..
Sankhabanik	2	3	..	2	..
Bagdi	..	3	..	..	..
Tantubaya	1	5	..	..	..
Brahman	..	2	..	1	..
Tambuli	1	2	..	..	..
Bairagi	..	1	..	..	..
Modak	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	..	1	1	..	..
Kaibarta	..	1	..	..	..
Kalu	..	1	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	..	1	..	..	..
Total	5	28	2	4	..

TABLE VII

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO AGE OF THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD

Community	No. of households wanting more children, the age of the head of household (male) being: Above 50 years	41-50 years	31-40 years	21-30 years	20 years or less	No. of households wanting no more children, the age of the head of household (female) being: Above 50 years	41-50 years	31-40 years	21-30 years	20 years or less
Bauri	1	2	9	7	2	3	2	4	1	..
Sankhabanik	3	1	4	2	..	2	..	2	1	..
Bagdi	1	4	6	5	..	..	..	3	..	..
Tantubaya	..	1	1	2	..	4	1	1	..	..
Brahman	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
Tambuli	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	..	..	..
Bairagi	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Modak	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Total	6	8	24	18	2	12	6	13	4	..

APPENDIX III

TABLE VIII

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO AGE OF THE CHILD-BEARING WOMAN IN HOUSEHOLDS

Community	Number of households wanting more children, the age of the child-bearing woman being							Number of households wanting no more children, the age of the child-bearing woman being						
	Above 40 years	36-40 years	31-35 years	26-30 years	21-25 years	16-20 years	Less than 16 years	Above 40 years	36-40 years	31-35 years	26-30 years	21-25 years	16-20 years	Less than 16 years
Bauri	2	1	3	6	4	3	2	5	..	1	3	1	..	..
Sankhabanik	1	1	..	4	1	1	2	1	1	..	2	1	..	..
Bagdi	1	1	2	3	3	4	2	..	1	..	1	1	..	..
Tantubaya	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	3	2	1	..	..	..	..
Brahman	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
Tambuli	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..
Bairagi	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Modak	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Total	5	4	5	14	11	11	8	12	4	4	8	5	2	..

TABLE IX

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO DURATION OF MARRIAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS

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
Bauri	6	3	7	3	2	6	3	1	..	..
Sankhabanik	3	2	3	..	2	3	..	2	..	..
Bagdi	5	3	3	4	1	2	..	1	..	..
Tantubaya	1	..	..	1	2	5	1	..	..	..
Brahman	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Tambuli	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	..	..	..
Bairagi	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Modak	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Total	17	8	15	9	9	22	5	6	1	1

APPENDIX III

TABLE X

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO MONTHLY INCOME OF HOUSEHOLDS

Community	Number of households wanting more children, having monthly income of						Number of households wanting no more children, having monthly income of					
	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 25 or less	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 76 100	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 25 or less
Bauri	..	..	1	2	16	2	..	..	..	4	5	1
Sankhabanik	1	1	3	2	2	1	1	4	..	..	..	..
Bagdi	..	..	1	..	14	1	..	..	..	..	3	..
Tantubaya	2	..	..	2	..	..	3	1	1	1	..	..
Brahman	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Tambuli	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..
Bairagi	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Modak	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Total	5	1	5	9	33	5	8	5	1	7	13	1

TABLE XI

MATERIAL CULTURE—HABITS

Community	No. of households that send clothes to washerman, having monthly income of				No. of households that do not send clothes to washerman, having monthly income of			
	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 50 or less	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 50 or less
Bauri	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	30
Sankhabanik	1	..	1	1	2	5	10	7
Bagdi	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	23
Tantubaya	2	..	..	..	3	1	6	3
Brahman	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Tambuli	..	..	..	..	2	..	3	..
Bairagi	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	1
Modak	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Sutradhar	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	3
Kaibarta	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
Sunri	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Napit	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Goala	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	8	..	1	1	11	8	33	78

APPENDIX III

TABLE XII

MATERIAL CULTURE—HABITS

Community	No. of households that use washing soap, having monthly income of				No. of households that do not use washing soap, having monthly income of			
	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 50 or less	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 50 or less
Bauri	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	30
Sankhabanik	3	5	7	4	..	..	4	4
Bagdi	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	22
Tantubaya	5	1	5	..	..	..	1	3
Brahman	2	..	..	2	..	..	1	..
Tambuli	2	..	2	..	..	..	1	..
Bairagi	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	1
Modak	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Sutradhar	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
Kaibarta	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunri	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Napit	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Goala	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	18	8	17	9	1	..	17	70

TABLE XIII

MATERIAL CULTURE—HABITS

Community	No. of households that use mosquito curtain, having monthly income of				No. of households that do not use mosquito curtain, having monthly income of			
	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 50 or less	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 50 or less
Bauri	..	..	..	1	..	..	8	29
Sankhabanik	3	5	9	6	..	..	2	2
Bagdi	..	..	1	5	..	..	..	18
Tantubaya	5	1	6	1	..	..	..	2
Brahman	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	1
Tambuli	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
Bairagi	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	..
Modak	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
Sutradhar	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	1
Kalbarta	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunri	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Napit	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Kalu	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Goala	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Total	18	8	21	23	1	..	13	56

Note : 3 beggars, 2 of them belonging to Sankhabanik and one belonging to Brahman castes have no mosquito nets.

—Sukumar Sinha.

APPENDIX III

TABLE XIV

MATERIAL CULTURE—HABITS

Community	No. of households that use toilet soap, having monthly income of				No. of households that do not use toilet soap, having monthly income of			
	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 50 or less	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 50 or less
Bauri	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	30
Sankhabanik	2	4	4	1	1	1	7	7
Bagdi	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	23
Tantubaya	4	1	4	..	1	..	2	3
Brahman	2	..	..	2	..	..	1	..
Tambuli	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
Bairagi	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	1
Modak	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Sutradhar	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
Kaibarta	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunri	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Napit	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Goala	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Subarnabanik	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	16	7	9	5	3	1	25	74

Note : 3 beggars, 2 of them belonging to Sankhabanik and one belonging to Brahman castes have no mosquito nets.

—Sukumar Sinha

TABLE XV

HABIT OF TAKING TEA AS CORRELATED TO INCOME

Community	Number of households that take tea with monthly income of							Number of households that do not take tea with monthly income of						
	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 25 or less	No income	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 25 or less	No income
Bauri	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	7	21	7	..
Sankhabanik	3	5	5	5	3	1	..	..	..	1	..	2	2	2
Bagdi	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	18	4	..
Tantubaya	4	1	2	4	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..
Brahman	2	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Tambuli	2	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bairagi	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Modak	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	..	.	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Sutradhar	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Kaibarta	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunri	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Napit	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kalu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Goala	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Subarnabanik	..	..	.	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	17	8	7	16	11	5	1	2	..	3	8	47	16	2

APPENDIX III

TABLE XVI

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCES OBTAINED BY THE HOUSEHOLDS AND THEIR DISPOSAL

	Paddy		Potato		Wheat		Pulses		Jaggery		Gourd		Onion	
	Maunds	seers	Maunds	seers	Maunds	seers	Maunds	seers	Maunds	seers	Maunds	seers	Maunds	seers
Annual quantity produced	3,030	..	104	32	5	11	1	25	10	20	38	6	26	38
Total annual quantity consumed by the producing households	2,509	20	104	32	5	11	1	25	10	20	38	6	26	38
Total annual quantity available for sale	520	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE XVII

LIVESTOCK INCLUDING FISHERY

Communities	Milch cattle		Draught bullocks		Goats		Pigs		Ducks/Geese		Fowls		Fisheries	
	No. of households owning	Total no.	No. of households owning	Total no.	No. of households owning	Total no.	No. of households owning	Total no.	No. of households owning	Total no.	No. of households owning	Total no.	No. of households owning	Total no.
Bauri	..	..	2	5	3	5	8	27	..	..	13	34	..	..
Sankhabanik	4	4	5	10	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..
Bagdi	1	1	5	7	6	22	..	..	9	17	..	..	..	..
Tantubaya	7	8	5	19	1	2	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..
Brahman	2	3	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tambuli	3	4	2	5	1	4	..	..	2	4	..	..	..	..
Bairagi	1	1	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Modak	2	2	3	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Karmakar	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sutradhar	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Kaibarta	..	..	2	6	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..
Sunri	1	1	2	5	2	4	..	..	2	11	..	..	..	..
Kalu	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goala	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..
Total	22	25	31	77	13	37	8	27	18	45	14	36	..	..

TABLE XVIII

CHANGE IN OWNERSHIP OF LAND DURING ONE GENERATION

Community	Number of households	Number of households that suffered loss of land after the death of the father of the head of the household	Number of households that have gained land after the death of the father of the head of the household
Bauri	10	1	9
Sankhabanik	19	5	14
Bagdi	13	5	8
Tantubaya	13	5	8
Brahman	5	2	3
Tambuli	5	2	3
Bairagi	3	..	3
Modak	4	2	2
Karmakar	1	1	..
Sutradhar	4	..	4
Kaibarta	2	1	1
Sunri	2	2	..
Sankhabanik	1	1	..
Kalu	1	..	1
Total	83	27	56

APPENDIX III

TABLE XIX

HOUSEHOLDS ENGAGED IN CULTIVATION, INDUSTRY OR BUISNESS

Total no. of households	Households engaged in cultivation only	Households engaged in industry only	Households engaged in business only	Households engaged in cultivation, industry & business	Households engaged in cultivation & industry	Households engaged in cultivation & business only	Households engaged in industry & business only
58	4	26	3	1	17	4	3

TABLE XX

OCCUPATIONS (PRIMARY AND SECONDARY)

Primary occupation		Persons in the primary occupation		Secondary occupation							
				I		II		III		IV	
				Cultivator		Agricultural labourer		Fishing		Household industry	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
I	Cultivator	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
II	Agricultural labourer	71	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..
III	Fishing	11	1	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
IV	Household industry	59	92	5	..	2	..	..	..	3	..
V	Manufacturing other than household industry	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VI	Construction	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VII	Trade and commerce	13	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VIII	Transport, storage and communications	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
IX	Other services	10	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
	Total	183	97	19	..	2	..	..	..	13	..

Primary occupation		Secondary occupation											
		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX			
		Manufaturing other than household industry		Construction		Trade and commerce		Transport, storage and communications		Other services		Total	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
I	Cultivator	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..
II	Agricultural labourer	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	..
III	Fishing	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..
IV	Household industry	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..
V	Manufacturing other than household industry	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
VI	Construction	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
VII	Trade and commerce	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	7	..
VIII	Transport, storage and communications	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
IX	Other services	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	..
	Total	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	51	..

APPENDIX III

TABLE XXI

PLACE OF OCCUPATION OF THE PERSONS

In the village		No. of persons working									
		Outside the village but within the police station		Outside the police station but within the district		Outside the district but within the state		Outside the state		Total workers	
Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
146	97	28	..	2	..	5	..	2	..	183	97

TABLE XXII

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND CAUSES OF CHANGE

Community	No. of persons who have changed their earlier occupation			No. of persons who are not contented with present occupation	Remarks
	Voluntarily	Forced by circumstances	Due to other reasons		
Bauri	1	..	..	36	
Sankhabanik	..	..	..	21	
Bagdi	..	..	..	21	
Tantubaya	2	..	1	11	
Brahman	1	..	..	3	
Tambuli	1	..	..	5	
Bairagi	..	..	..	2	
Modak	..	1	..	3	
Karmakar	1	1	..	3	
Sutradhar	..	..	..	3	
Kaibarta	..	..	..	2	
Sunri	..	..	..	2	
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	
Napit	..	..	..	1	
Kalu	..	..	..	1	
Goala	1	..	..	..	
Subarnabanik	1	..	..	1	
Muslim	..	..	..	..	
Total	8	2	1	115	

TABLE XXIII

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND NATURE OF ASPIRATION

Occupation	No. of persons in the occupation (heads of households)	No. of persons who want their sons to be				Remarks	
		In the same occupation as in col. 1 (*i.e.* his own)	Agricultural labourer	In trade and commerce	In other services	Can't say	Does't arise
Cultivation	7	..	.	1	2	3	1
Agricultural labourer	56	22	..	..	..	15	19
Fishing	2	1	..	..	..	1	..
Industry	52	8	1	..	13	17	13
Trade & commerce	8	2	..	..	2	2	2
Transport, storage & communications	2	..	..	..	1	1	..
Construction	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Other services	8	4	..	..	..	2	2
Non-worker	6	..	1	..	..	..	5
Total	143	37	2	1	18	41	44

APPENDIX III

TABLE XXIV

TYPE OF INDUSTRY RUN BY HOUSEHOLDS

	Nature of industry	No. of households
1.	Conch shell	32
2.	Weaving	12
3.	Weaving of coarse mat *i.e.*, Talai	27
4.	Lime-making	9
5.	Wood-craft and clay-modelling	2
6.	Sweetmeat preparation	3
7.	Tailoring	2
8.	Cycle-repairing	1
9.	Black-smithy	1
10.	Grinding of wheat	1
11.	Husking of rice	10
	Total	**100**

TABLE XXV

INDUSTRIES AND TOOLS ADOPTED DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS

Industries	Particulars of households that adopted the industries for the first time in course of the last five years		Particulars of households that adopted the tools for the first time in course of the last five years		Remarks
	Caste	No. of households	Caste	No. of households	
Weaving	Tantubaya	3	..	..	No new tools
Lime	Bauri	1	..	..	adopted by any
Sweetmeat	Modak	1	..	..	
Total		5	..	..	

TABLE XXVI

ATTAINMENT OF PROFICIENCY IN INDUSTRY

Industry	No. of persons that have earned proficiency through				No. of workers who require further training
	Home apprenticeship	Apprenticeship in the place of relations or neighbours	Formal training in some institute	Others	
Conch shell	27	..	Nil	..	..
Weaving	12	..	..	..	..
Coarse mat	27	..	..	..	..
Lime	8	1	Nil	..	..
Sweetmeat	3	..	..	..	1
Total	77	1	..	..	1

APPENDIX III

TABLE XXVII

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES AND DISPOSAL OF PRODUCTS

Name of products	Caste	No. of household	Particulars of households that sell in market		Particulars of households that sell to *Mahajans*, *Paikars*, in fairs to hawkers or people of this village and its neighbouring areas	
			Caste	No. of households	Caste	No. of households
Conch shell bangle	..	..	..	..	Sankhabanik	22
					Bairagi	2
					Sutradhar	1
					Brahman	2
						27
Weaving						
Napkin (*Gamcha*)	..	..	..	..	Tantubaya	2
Sari, Chadar	..	..	..	..	,,	4
Sari, Gamcha	..	..	..	..	,,	1
Sari, Gamcha, Mosquito-net		..	..	..	,,	1
Sari, Dhuti, Chadar	..	..	..	..	,,	3
Gamcha, Sari, Dhuti, Chadar	..	..	..	..	,,	1
						12
Coarse mat	..	..	..	..	Bauri	27
Lime	..	..	..	..	,,	9
Sweetmeat	..	..	..	..	Modak	3

TABLE XXVIII

TRADE OR BUSINESS

Community	Grocer's shop				Cloth-shop			
	No. of households	Caste	Source of finance	Average profit per year	No. of households	Caste	Source of finance	Average profit per year
Tantubaya	1	Tantubaya	*Mahajan*	Rs. 1,500/-	3	Tantubaya	*Mahajan*	(1) Rs. 3,300/- (2) Can't say
Tambuli	3	Tambuli	2. *Mahajan* 1. Can't say	(1) 1,772/- (1) 270/-	..	..	..	..
Modak	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Brahman	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Community	Medicine shop				Sweetmeat-*cum*-tea-shop			
	No. of households	Caste	Source of finance	Average profit per year	No. of households	Caste	Source of finance	Average profit per year
Tantubaya	1	Tantubaya	Self	Rs. 450/-	..	..	..	..
Tambuli	..	..	..	..	1	Tambuli	Loan	Can't say
Modak	..	..	..	..	3	Modak	Can't say	Can't say
Brahman	..	..	..	..	1	Brahman	Self	Can't say

APPENDIX III

TABLE XXIX

INDEBTEDNESS BY MONTHLY INCOME-GROUPS

Monthly income-group	Total no. of households	No. of households in debt	Percentage of households in debt
Rs. 20 and below	8	4	50
Rs. 21-30	27	25	92.6
Rs. 31-40	27	25	92.6
Rs. 41-60	26	25	96.2
Rs. 61-80	16	13	81.3
Rs. 81-100	9	8	88.9
Rs. 101 and above	27	27	100
Total	**140**	**127**	**90.7**

Note :—Three households are non-worker beggars.—Sukumar Sinha.

TABLE XXX

MONTHLY INCOME OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation of the head	Source of income	No. of earning members with					
		Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 101 & over	Total
Cultivation	Cultivation	..	2	1	..	4	7
	Industry	..	1	..	..	..	1
	Transport, storage and communications	..	1	1	..	..	2
	Other services	..	1	..	..	..	1
Agricultural labourer	Agricultural labourer	12	40	4	..	..	56
	Cultivation	12	4	..	..	..	16
	Industry	32	.	..	..	..	32
Fishing	Fishing	..	..	..	..	2	2
	Cultivation	1	..	..	..	1	2
Industry	Industry	11	18	12	6	5	52
	Cultivation	18	6	1	3	2	30
	Other services	..	2	..	..	..	2
Construction	Construction	1	1	..	..	..	2
	Industry	1	..	..	..	..	1
	Other services	1	..	..	..	..	1
Trade and commerce	Trade and commerce	..	2	3	..	3	8
	Cultivation	..	1	1	1	2	5
	Industry	..	..	1	1	..	2
Transport, storage and communications	Transport, storage and communications	..	1	1	..	..	2
	Cultivation	1	..	..	..	..	1
Other services	Other services	2	1	2	2	1	8
	Cultivation	..	2	..	..	1	3
	Industry	3	..	..	..	..	3
	Transport, storage and communications	..	1	..	..	..	1
Non-worker	Cultivation	1	..	1	..	..	2
	Industry	1	..	..	..	..	1

APPENDIX III

TABLE XXXI

SOURCE OF FINANCE FOR CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

Item of expenditure	No. of households	No. of households that secure money from			
		Sale of assets	*Mahajan*	Government loan	Sale of assets and *mahajan*
Households' expenses on construction and on improvement of building and other structure	7	2	3	1	1
Households' expenses on land development and on construction of building	1	..	..	1	..
Total	8	2	3	2	1

TABLE XXXII

UNDER-EMPLOYMENT

Occupation	No. of households										
	With daily hours of work			With daily wages						Working hours more in	
	No fixed time	6-9 hours	10-12 hours	No fixed wages	Upto Re. 1/-	Re. 1/- to Rs. 2/-	Rs.2/- to Rs. 3/-	Re. 1 + 2 meals	Rs.1.50p. + 2 meals	Winter (harvesting)	Winter and the rains (harvesting and transplantation)
Cultivation	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Agricultural labourer	..	16	6	..	15	2	..	4	1	7	7
Fishing	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Industry	8	6	11	10	3	8	3	..	1	..	..
Construction	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Trade and commerce	2	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Transport, storage and communications	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other services	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Total	12	28	18	15	19	11	6	5	2	7	7

Occupation	No. of households										
	Nature of work		Willing to leave home for better employment		If unwilling to leave home, reasons for the same						
	Same	Different	Yes	No	No reason	Family	Cannot leave native village	Too old	Indebtedness	Head is a woman	Properties
Cultivation	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Agricultural labourer	14	..	6	16	3	2	7	..	4	..	..
Fishing	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
Industry	..	..	9	16	2	3	3	4	..	3	1
Construction	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Trade and commerce	..	..	..	3	..	1	..	1	..	1	..
Transport, storage and communications	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other services	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	14	..	19	39	7	7	11	5	4	4	1

Appendix IV

APPENDIX IV

CENSUS 1961

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY—WEST BENGAL

PART I A

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

Name of the Head

Sl. No. of Household

Q. 2 (*a*) (*i*) Traditional Occupation

(*ii*) Do you or does any member in your household practise it ?

Head *Any Member*

(*iii*) If not (a) why not ?

(b) since when given up :

Q. 3 (*a*) (A continuation of the table in Q. 3)

	Place of Birth			Language			
Economic Status	Name of the Village with Police Station and District	Distance from the Village under survey	If it is other than the Village under survey, the reason	Mother-tongue	Other language(s) spoken	Religion	Education
8	9(a)	9(b)	9(c)	10(a)	10(b)	10(c)	11

Occupation		Place of Occupation					To be filled in respect of members living away from the household in addition to other Qs.				
Main	Subsidiary	Name with Police Station and District	Distance from the Village under survey	Means of transport	Caste	Gotra/ Clan	Place of residence	Distance from the Village under survey	Since when living away from the household and why	How many times visited during last year	Remarks
12(a)	12(b)	13(a)	13(b)	13(c)	14	15	16(a)	16(b)	16(c)	16(d)	17

Q. 3 (*c*) (*i*) Is there any history or tradition of migration of the household ?

(*ii*) Name of the Village and Police Station with District, or the area from where migrated.

(*iii*) Cause of migration

(*iv*) Occupation before migration

(*v*) Any other information about migration, especially about selection of this Village.

Q. 4 (*d*) (*i*) Whether a displaced person after partition. If so, how and why this village was selected ?

(*ii*) Any assistance for rehabilitation received by the household, if displaced after Partition ? If so, details :

(*iii*) Any comment

Q. 6 (*d*) Do you observe any religious function during the year other than the daily worship of the deities mentioned before ? If so, the details :

Q. 15 (*a*) (*i*) How much land do you own ?

	Inside the Village	*Outside the Village*
Q. 15 (*b*) (*i*) Area of homestead land :		
(*ii*) Area of cultivable land lying fallow.		
(*iii*) Since when lying fallow ?		
(*iv*) Why lying fallow ?		
(*v*) Area of uncultivable land lying fallow.		
(*vi*) (*a*) How much of your own land is cultivated by yourself or hired ?	No. of plots	Area
(*vii*) (*b*) How much of it is within the mouza ?	No. of plots	Area
(*viii*) How much of your land has been given to share-cropper ?		
(*ix*) How much of it is within the mouza ?		
(*x*) If the land has been given to share-croppers, give details as follows :		

Caste of the share-cropper(s)	Residence	If outside the village, distance from the village	Since when the land has been given

APPENDIX IV

Q. 15 (*b*) (*xi*) How much of your land has been received as share-cropper ?

(*xii*) How much of it is within the mouza ?

(*xiii*) If any land has been received as share-cropper, give the following details :

Caste of the owner(s)	Occupation of the owner(s)	Residence of the owner(s)	Distance from this mouza	Other particulars about landlord which would attract exemption under Land Act	Since when received as share-cropper

(*xiv*) If the household does not own any homestead, where does he live ? How ?

(*xv*) How did you acquire the land owned ?

Ancestral *Purchased* *In any other way*

Q. 15 (*d*) (*i*) [A continuation of the table Q. 15 (*d*)]

Land under Cultivation			
Irrigated	Unirrigated	If the quantity sold is surplus ?	If not surplus, why sold ?

	Since when adopted	Source from which obtained	Whether satisfactory result obtained	Comments
Q. 15 (*e*) (*i*)				
Q. 15 (*f*) (*i*)				
Q. 15 (*g*) (*i*)				
Q. 15 (*m*)(*i*)				
Q. 15 (*n*) (*i*)				

Q. 15 (*p*) If the land under cultivation is irrigated, give the following details :

Source of water	Nature of irrigational facility	Since when the facility is availed of	Terms	Any change in extent		
				Cultivational nature of crop	Yield	Others

Q. 17 (*a*) (*iv*) Do you rear any cattle in share ?
If so, give details.

(*v*) Have you given any cattle in share ?
If so, give details.

Q. 19 (*e*) (*i*) Do you engage any hired labour ?
If so, give details.

(*ii*) Does any member of your household participate in the industry ?
If so, give details.

(*f*) (*i*) Source of raw materials :

(*ii*) On what terms are they obtained ?

(*g*) Does the household receive any help from any source for running the industry ?
If so, give details.

Q. 26 (*b*) Particulars about indebtedness :—

Purpose	Source			Amount		Terms		Is anything mortgaged against the loan ?
	Name	Caste of the individual	Place of residence and distance from the mouza	Cash	Kind	Terms of loan	Terms of repayment	
(*a*) Purchase of livestock								
(*b*) Purchase of land								
(*c*) Purchase of seeds, implements, fertilisers, etc.								
(*d*) Socio religious functions								
(*e*) Domestic expenses								
(*f*) Construction and repair of houses								
(*g*) Litigation								
(*h*) Business								
(*i*) Industry								
(*j*) Medical								
(*k*) Education								
(*l*) Others								

Q. 28 (*a*) (*i*)

Nature of education	Number	Items of expenditure				Any assistance received from any source
		Tuition fees, if any	Books and stationary	Private coaching, if any	Others	
(a) Primary education : Male						
Female						
(b) Secondary : Male						
Female						
(c) College : Male						
Female						
(d) Others : Male						
Female						

APPENDIX IV

Q. 28 (*b*) (*ii*) How many children in the school going age are not attending school and for what reasons ?

Number	Sex	Age	Reasons
	Boys		
	Girls		

Q. 30 (*d*) If the household is aware of the legislative and executive measures effecting any changes in the land tenure system with particular reference to the following : **Yes/No**

If yes, what are the salient features.

1. Abolition of Zamindary and intermediary rights.
2. Ceiling in ownership of land.
3. Transfer of ownership right to the tillers of the soil.
4. Redistribution of the land vested with the Government.
5. Consolidation of holding.
6. Resumption of land by owner.
7. Protection against alienation of land.
8. Special protection to the Scheduled Tribes.
9. Revision of rent.
10. Sanction against keeping the land fallow.
11. Protection of the share-cropper.
12. Protection of the interest of service-tenants.
13. Management of waste land.
14. Collection of revenue.
15. Others.

Q. 30 (*e*) Has the household been affected in any way by any of the above measures ? **Yes/No**

If yes, how ?

Q. 30(*f*) 1. Is the household aware of any legislative or executive measures either extending or restricting the right of utilisation of forest produce ? **Yes/No**

2. If yes, the salient features.
3. How and to what extent has the household been affected by the above ?

Q. 30(*g*) 1. Is the household aware of any legislative and executive measures either extending or restricting the fishing rights in any water logged area, river, stream, lake, seacoast etc. ? **Yes/No**

2. If yes, the salient features.

Q.30(*g*)	3. How and to what extent the household has been affected by the above.			
Q.30(*h*)	1. Is the household aware of any legislative or executive measures either extending or restricting grazing rights over any area ?			Yes/No
	2. If yes, the salient features.			
	3. How and to what extent has the household been affected by the above ?			
Q.30(*i*)	1. Is the household aware of any legislative or executive measures extending or restricting rights of shifting cultivation of any people over any area ?			Yes/No
	2. If yes, the salient features.			
	3. How and to what extent has the household been affected by the above ?			
Q.30(*j*)	1. Does the household know any person working as a forced labour or bonded labour ?			Yes/No
	2. If yes, the name, address of the person concerned be given. Since when serving, terms of service, name and address of the employer, and other remarks about the person concerned.			
	3. (*i*) Is the household aware of any legislative or executive measures abolishing forced labour and bonded labour ?			
	(*ii*) If yes, the salient features.			
	(*iii*) To what extent has it been effective ?			
Q.44(*a*) (*i*)	Is the house	Owned	Rented	Free
	(*ii*) If rented, amount of rent per month ?			
	(*iii*) What is the caste of the owner ?			
	(*iv*) Where does the owner stay ?			
	(*v*) If the house is rent-free, why so ?			
	(*vi*) If owned, any change in the house during the last 10 years ?	New construction	Repair	Alteration, if any

APPENDIX IV

Q. 44 (*b*) Description of the house :

Bed rooms	Drawing room	Store	Kitchen	Room for the worship of deity	Granary	Cowshed	Latrine	Any other particulars

(*c*) If there is no kitchen, where is food cooked ?

(*d*) Is there a well and/or tubewell in the house ?

(*e*) Does the household own any other house ?

Within the mouza		Outside	
No.	How used	Place	How used

Q. 47 Unemployment.

The following particulars should be collected in respect of adult dependants :

Name	Other proficiency	Nature of previous employment if any	Date of cessation of previous employment	Why was previous employment terminated

Whether looking for					
Same kind of work	Better pay but same kind of work	Different kind of work but not very particular about better pay	Reasons for cessation	Any subsidiary work at present	Whether Registered with the Employment Exchange

Q. 48 Underemployment

(*a*) How many hours in the day do you have to work ?

(*b*) How much do you get as wages or remuneration ?

(*c*) Do you have to work many more hours for some time in the year, in particular seasons ?

(*d*) If so, what is the season in which you have to work much longer hours ?

(*e*) Is it the same kind of work in which you have to work longer hours or a different kind of work ?

(*f*) What is that work ?

(*g*) Can you leave your home for better employment and live elsewhere ?

(*h*) If not what is the reason due to which you cannot leave ?

Q. 49 Sale and purchase of valuable assets during last year.

A. Sale

Time of sale	Buyer's residence	Occupation of buyer	Area/No.	Sale price	Type of asset	Purchase price	Area/No.	Seller's occupation	Seller's residence	Date of purchase
					1. Land					
					2. Live-stock					
					3. Machinery, tools and equipment					
					4. Buildings etc.					
					5. Jewellery					
					6. Investments					
					7. Other assets					
					Total					

Q. 50 Source of finance for capital expenditure (this will have a relevance to Q. No. 26 in the main schedule).

Item	Personal Saving	Borrowing: Government and other financial institutions	Borrowing: Other	Borrowing: Total	Sale of assets	Other sources	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
(a) Expenditure on construction and improvement of building and other structure							
(b) Expenditure on land development							
(c) Expenditure on new capital goods							
(d) Expenditure on purchase of land and other used assets							
(e) Miscellaneous							
Total							

APPENDIX IV

Q. 51 Major Heads of Income and Expenditure during the last year.

For head of household

Gross Income :

Gross Expenditure :

For each earning member

Major Head	Amount	Source (in or outside the village)
(a) Cultivation		
(b) Livestock and products		
(c) Wages		
(d) Arts and Crafts		
(e) Fishery		
(f) Forestry		
(g) Trade		
(h) Transport		
(i) Professions		
(j) Service		
(k) Rent		
(l) Investments		
(m) Remittances		
(n) Interest		
(o) Others		
Total		
(p) Borrowing		
(q) Principal received back		
(r) Sale of assets		
(Total of table 50A)		
GrandTotal		

Major Head	Amount	Incurred in or outside the village
(a) Food		
(b) Fuel and lighting		
(c) House rent and repairs		
(d) Clothing		
(e) Travelling		
(f) Recreation		
(g) Education		
(h) Other miscellaneous service		
(i) Interest		
(j) Rent		
(k) Remittances		
(l) Hired labour		
(m) Purchase for production (*e. g.*, seed, manures etc)		
(n) Others		
Total		
(o) Purchase of assets (total of 50B)		
(p) Construction and improvement of buildings and other structures		
(q) Land Development		
Grand Total		

Q. 52 (*a*) How many Maternity cases occurred in the household during the last year ?

(*b*) How the cases were confined— Hospital/Health Centre/Home

(*c*) If at home, whether attended by— Doctor/Midwife/Untrained Dai/Elderly Women in the family

(*d*) On what type of medical treatment, the household usually depends— Allopathic/Ayurvedic/Homoeopath/Others

(*e*) Are the members of the household vaccinated ? Yes/No

If yes, Regularly/Irregularly

(*f*) Are the members of the household inoculated ? Yes/No

If yes, Regularly/Irregularly

(*h*) Has any member of the household been suffering from any infectious/chronic disease ?

If yes, details.

(*i*) Is any member of the house invalid/ disabled ?—Details.

APPENDIX IV

Q. 53 (*a*) Wages of the Agricultural Labour (Cropwise and Agricultural Operationwise)

	Cash			Kind			Otherwise		
	Male	Female	Child	Male	Female	Child	Male	Female	Child

2. Wages of an unskilled worker in industry.

3. Wages of an unskilled general worker

4. Wages of a skilled worker in industry.

Q. 53 (*b*) Labour input for various operations in respect of each crop.

	MANDAYS						MANDAYS					
	Each pattern						Each pattern					
Crop	Family member	Hired labour	Reciprocal aid	Farm servant	Others	Crop	Family member	Hired labour	Reciprocal aid	Farm servant	Others

	MANDAYS						MANDAYS					
	Each pattern						Each pattern					
Crop	Family member	Hired labour	Reciprocal aid	Farm servant	Others	Crop	Family member	Hired labour	Reciprocal aid	Farm servant	Others

53 (*c*) Social relation with labour force engaged in cropwise, agricultural operations of the village with reference to family.

	Each Operation							
	Family members only		Partly family		Partly hired labour		Fully hired labour	
Crop	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female

(*d*) Age and Sex distribution of labour force in respect of various agricultural operations in the village.

	Agricultural operation	
Sex	Below 14	Above 14

APPENDIX IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

PART IIA

MOUZA SCHEDULE

Q. (1d) A rough sketch map of the village with indication of the north line, direction of the main roads, rail road and other important channels of communication including rivers and distances from the village to each of these main channels of communication. Post offices, etc., should also be indicated by distance and direction.

(1e) On the survey map of the village (if available) or on the rough sketch map the following particulars should be indicated :—

1. The lay out of village allocating the habitation area (a small triangle or any other suitable symbol for one family, even if that family occupies a group of structures).
2. Schools, hospitals, shops, Government offices, temples, mosques and other important places should be used for each with legends for symbols).
3. Water sources including irrigation wells, drinking wells, tubewells, ponds, streams etc., drainage ; agricultural fields, pastures, village jungles, if any ; grave-yards, burning-ghats should be indicated.
4. Main roads leading to and out of the village to be indicated.
5. Distribution of the main communities in the village either by entering numbers or symbols in the map should be indicated.

   Note :—A separate sketch may be drawn for item Q (1e) (5) to avoid clumsiness.

6. A photograph of the village from a distant high point to be taken. A sketch of the village from a distance and an artist's impression of the village should also be given (this is for the photographer).

Q. 4 (a) Names and particulars of the hats and markets most commonly visited by the villagers should be given with reference to the following :

Name of the market	Distance from the village under survey	Transport	Weekly Hat days	Commodities exported from the market			Commodities imported to the market			General note on the market including its importance in the region, operation of middle men, weights and measures, tools, recreational activity, if any
				Item	Approximate quantity	Approximate value	Item	Approximate quantity	Approximate value	

Q. 4 (b) Particulars about the Fairs and Festivals commonly visited by the villagers.

Name of the Fair	Distance	When held (date & month in English and Bengali calendar months)	Main attraction	How old	Size of gathering	Commodities transacted	Recreational activities	Religious activities	Cultural and Social activities	General note including trend of changes in size of gathering, main attraction, nature of commodities and different activities.

APPENDIX IV

Q. (12A) Names and particulars of the educational institutions where children residing in the mouza read (in addition to those situated in the mouzas)

Type	Name of the Institution	Where situated: Name of the place	Where situated: Distance from the village and names of the Institution and means of transport	Since when in existence	How many students from the village enrolled (ST/SC/Others)	General notes including history of the institution, its problems etc.
1. Lower Primary						
2. Upper Primary						
3. Secondary (including Higher Secondary)						
4. College						
5. Adult Education Centre						
6. Other Educational Institutions						

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

Type of Society	Name	Area of operations	Registered H. Q.: Name of the place	Registered H. Q.: Distance from village	When registered	Members: Total	Members: No. from the village	Qualification for membership	Nature of operation	Aid from Govt.	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
1. Credit Co-operative														
2. Co-operative Grain Gola														
3. Consumer's Co-operative														
4. Multipurpose Co-operative														
5. Co-operative Farming Society														
6. Other Co-operative														

Q. 14(b) Organisational and operative details :

Name of the Society	Composition of Board of management: Officials	Composition of Board of management: Non-officials: ST	Non-officials: SC	Non-officials: Others	Date of registration	General meeting held after registration: Date	General meeting held after registration: No. of members attending	Meeting of the Board of Management held during last year: Date	Meeting of the Board of Management held during last year: No. of members attending	Remarks

Q. 15(a) Are there dormitories in the village for unmarried boys and girls ? If so, give rough sketches of horizontal cross sections and vertical cross sections of the huts showing different elements (places of sleeping, dancing etc.).

Q. 15(b) Musical and other instruments.

Q. 15(c) Recreational, economic, educational and other activities of the dormitory.

Q. 16 Particulars about the shops in the village :

Name of Shop-keeper	If an outsider, his home address	Date of establishment of the shop	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 volume and method of transaction etc.
			Names of main commodities	Approx. annual transaction			

Q. 17 Particulars about emigration from the village :

Name of Caste/Tribe	No. of families emigrated				Area to which migrated	Purpose of migration	General note including whether the families have economic interest in the village and whether they occasionally visit the village. If so, why ?
	Before 30 yrs	During 20-30 yrs	During 10-20 yrs	During last 10 yrs			

Q. 18 Particulars about those families which are sojourners in the village and go back to their original place from time to time.

Q. 19 Dress and Ornaments—Food and Drink.

Q. 20 Birth, disease and death—Public Health & Sanitation.

Q. 21 Irrigation.

Q. 22 (1) Barber
(2) Priest
(3) Goldsmith
(4) Blacksmith
(5) Cobbler
(6) Washerman
(7) Midwife (Trained/Untrained)

Q. 23 Burning Ghat, Cremation Ground or Burial Place.

Appendix V

APPENDIX V

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY—WEST BENGAL

CENSUS 1961 Name of District :

PART I

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

Name of Police Station

Name of Mauza J. L. No

Number of Mauza on the List

1. Serial number of Household
2. (*a*) Name of Head of Household

   (*b*) Sex

   (*c*) Age

   (*d*) Caste or Tribe
3. Composition of Household, including Head :

Serial No.	Name	Sex	Relationship to Head	Age	Marital Status	Age at marriage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

A. DURATION OF RESIDENCE

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

   (*b*) If head of household has migrated to this mauza, together with the household, where was his ancestral home ?

B. RELIGION

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 of worship ?

7. Do you know that untouchability in any form has been prohibited under law ? (Answer Yes/No)

C. MARRIAGE

8. (*a*) Has any marriage in contravention of caste or tribal law taken place in this household ? (Answer Yes/No)

   (*b*) If such a marriage has taken place give details about the marriage

   (*c*) With what caste or tribes other than the caste or tribes of the household is marriage permissible ?

   (*d*) With which of such castes or tribes would marriage be desirable ?

   (*e*) Was dowry given on the occasion of the marriage of the son ? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', mention amount)

   (*f*) Was dowry given on the occasion of the marriage of the daughter ? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', mention amount)

9. Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Marriage Act ? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', what do you think of the salient features of the Hindu Marriage Act ?)

10. Have you any objection to contract marriages for persons of your household with persons of same social and economic status as yours but belonging to the following communities ? (Mark with (√) the names of the communities against which you have no objection).

(1) Baidya
(2) Mahisya
(3) Dom
(4) Brahman
(5) Dhoba
(6) Bauri
(7) Bhutia
(8) Napit
(9) Santal
(10) Muslim
(11) Chamar
(12) European
(13) Karmakar
(14) Kayastha
(15) Pod
(16) Rajbanshi
(17) Namasudra
(18) Bagdi
(19) Chinese

D. INHERITANCE

11. (*a*) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Adoption Act ? (Answer Yes/No)

   (*b*) If yes, what do you think are the salient features on recent changes ?

12. (*a*) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Succession Act. (Answer Yes/No)

(*b*) If yes, what do you think are the salient features of such changes ?

13. (*a*) Which relatives, including male members and widows and daughters, married and unmarried, inherit property on the death of a married male person belonging to the same caste as your household ?

(*b*) What is the share of each such members ?

14. Are you in favour of inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons ?

E. PROPERTY

Land

15. If the household possesses land give

(a) Total area in acres

(*b*) Total area under cultivation

(*c*) Area comprising homestead

(*d*)

Name of Crop	Quantity obtained last year	Quantity sold
1	2	3
(i) Paddy		
(ii) Wheat		
(iii) Maize, Jowar or Bajra		
(iv) Pulses, including gram		
(v) Sugarcane		
(vi) Barley		
(vii) Vegetables		
(viii) Jute		
(ix) Chillies		
(x) Tobacco		
(xi) Oil seeds		
(xii) Cotton		
(xiii) Ginger		
(xiv) Fodder or bamboo or cane		
(xv) Fruits		
(xvi) Other agricultural crops		

(*e*) What is the organic manure used ?

(*f*) Do you use chemical fertilisers ?

(*g*) Do you use any new agricultural implement which has been taught to you for the first time in the last five years ?

(*h*) Do you borrow agricultural implements from others at the time of cutivation ?

(*i*) Do you take help of neighbours at the time of sowing or harvesting ?

(*j*) Do you assist your neighbours and receive help at the time of cultivation in the shape of manual labour ?

(*k*) Adoption of land improvement measures like reclamation, soil conservation, consolidation etc.

(*l*) Increase in irrigated area

(*m*) Use of improved seeds—cropwise

(*n*) Use of pesticides

(*o*) Use of improved method of cultivaton, like Japanese method of paddy cultivation

16. How much did your father own at the time of his death :

(*a*) Land in acres

(*b*) Houses and other property

17. (*a*) Do you own any cattle or poultry ? Give numbers.

(i) Mitch Cattle

(ii) Draught Bullock

(iii) Cows, goats, sheep, pigs, duck/geese and fowl

(*b*) How much milk or milk products do you sell ?

18. 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)

F. INDUSTRY

19. Do you conduct any industry ?

(*a*) What are the products ?

(*b*) Which of them do you sell to neighbours or in the market ?

(*c*) Have you taken up this industry for the first time in the course of last five years ?

(*d*) Have you adopted any new tools or instruments for running this industry ? If so, name the details of the tools and instruments

20. Name the art or craft in which you have earned proficiency.

21. When and how did you learn the art or craft concerned ?

(*a*) Do you consider further training necessary ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If yes, describe the type of training you desire

22. (*a*) What was your father's occupation ?

(*b*) If you have changed your father's occupation, why have you done so ?

(*c*) Where you forced for lack of choice into this occupation ? (Answer Yes/No)

(*d*) If you were not forced for lack of choice, why did you choose this occupation ?

23. (*a*) Have you yourself changed your occupation from another kind to this one ? (Answer Yes/No)

(*b*) If yes, explain why you have changed your own occupation.

24. What kind of work would you like your son to do ?

25. (*a*) If you are engaged in trade or business, mention the commodities dealt in

(*b*) How do you get your finance ?

(c) What is your approximate profit ?

G. INDEBTEDNESS

26. If head of household is in debt,

(*a*) Mention amount of debt outstanding

(*b*) Soure of Credit

27. (*a*) Are you content with the present occupation ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If no, what other work you are doing ?

H. EDUCATION

28 (*a*) How much did you spend last year on the education of your children ?

(*b*) How many of your children are reading at school or college ?

School : Male/Female

College : Male/Female

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

I. COMMUNITY

29. (*a*) Does the head of the household know name of the Union Board/Anchal Panchayat/Thana/District in which his mauza is situated ?

(*b*) Does the head of the household know names of the principal rivers flowing through the district

30. (*a*) Do you think that abolition of Zamindari and intermediary rights has resulted in any good to you ? (Answer Yes/No)

(*b*) If yes, indicate how you have benefitted ?

(c) If no, why have you not been benefitted ?

31. If you are a share-cropper,

(*a*) Could you get yourself recorded as a share-cropper in the revisionary settlement (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) Have you been evicted from your land as a result of recent land legislation ? (Answer Yes/No). If yes, give particulars

32. (*a*) Have you benefitted from any scheme of land reclamation or land development ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If yes, explain how you have benefitted

33. (*a*) Is there a cooperative society in your mauza ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If Yes, are you a member ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*c*) If no, why are you not a member ?

34. (*a*) Is there an NES Block in your area ?

(*b*) Do you know what are the functions of Gram Sevak ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*c*) If yes, describe his functions

(*d*) Has the Gram Sevak ever come and talked to you ?

(*e*) Has he demonstrated any of the improved agricultural practices mentioned above ? If so, did you follow his advice ?

35. (*a*) Have you benefitted from the NES Block ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If yes, how have you benefitted ?

36. (*a*) Is there a Panchayat in your mauza ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If yes, how long has the Panchayat been your mauza ?

(*c*) What are the main functions of the Panchayat ?

(*d*) What are the main parties in your Panchayat and which caste is leading the Panchayat ?

(*e*) Has there been any improvement in your mauza since the Panchayat was established ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*f*) If yes, what have been the improvements ?

(*g*) What activities or works of Community benefit (school buildings, wells, Panchayat Ghars, youth club, etc.) have been taken up in your mauza since the establishment of the Panchayat ?

(*h*) Did you participate in these (by contributing land, labour, cash or material, etc.) ? If not, why not ?

(*i*) Have you benefitted from the work/activity ?

37. (*a*) Have any caste or tribe of your mauza got a separate Panchayat of its own ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) If yes, what are the main functions of this caste or tribal Panchayat ?

(*c*) Since the statutory Panchayat are functioning, why do you think these caste or tribal Panchayats should still continue ?

38. (*a*) Is there a family planning centre in your area ? (Answer Yes/No).

(*b*) Do you know that man and wife can prevent conception of a child by deliberate means, if they wish to do so ?

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

J. DIET

39. (*a*) How many times a day do the members of the household take their meals ?

(*b*) What are the usual items of diet at each meal ?

(*c*) What are the foods or drinks prohibited ?

(*d*) Does the household take sugar/tea ?

K. UTENSILS

40. (*a*) What utensils are used for preparing food and for storage of drinking water ?

(*b*) Of what materials are important utensils made ?

L. FUEL

41. What fuel is ordinarily used for cooking ?

M. FURNITURE & ORNAMENTS

42. (*a*) Does the household possess a Bed-stead/Khatia/Chair/Table/Mirror/Bench/Stool/Jalchowki/Wall shelf ? (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*) Does the household use mosquito net ?

43. List all the ornaments used by (*a*) men and (*b*) women. Give the local names and mention whether gold or silver or brass or any other material is mainly used. Give drawings.

N. HOUSES

44. Give a plan of the house and compound showing the main places, the material of the roof, walls and doors and the measurements of the bed-room

NOTE—Give sketches and photographs wherever possible.

O. CONSUMER GOODS

45. (*a*) Does the household possess Hurricane lantern/Petromax or Hazak/Battery torchlight/Kerosene Stove/Bicycle/Gramophone/Radio set ? (Cross out those which do not apply).

(*b*) Has any of the items been acquired for the first time in the last five years ? If yes, which are these articles ?

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

(*d*) Are clothes sent to washerman to be cleaned ?

Date.....

Signature of Investigator.....

APPENDIX V

15 (d) Details of Produce : Agriculture

	Name of Crop	Quantity Obtained Last year	Last year Quantity sold
*(vii)	Vegetable		
*(xiv)	Bamboo & Cane		
(xv)	Fruits		
*(xvii)	Betel Nut		
*(xviii)	Betel Leaf		
(xix)	Hay		

* Item marked with asterisk only the money value is to be given.

17 (c) Is any portion of the milk and milk products consumed at home ?

19 (c) Is capital loaned by the Mahajan who takes the products in repayment of loan ?

19 (f) Are some of the products consumed at home ? If so, proportion ?

39 (e) How many times in a month is consumed ?

Meat	Fish	Egg	Milk

39 (f) What is the staple diet of infants, after, they have been weaned (Infant means children under 1 year of age) if any in the household

40 (a) Clothes horse or bracket

P. Occupation

46 (a) Occupation of the head of the household

(b) Occupation of other male/female members of the household, if their occupations are at varience with the occupation of the head of the household

(i) Name	Relation to the head	Occupation
(ii) Name	Relation to the head	Occupation
(iii) Name	Relation to the head	Occupation
(iv) Name	Relation to the head	Occupation

(c) Reasons for such variations in case of each (strike out those not relevent)

(i) better income/aptitude/social prestige/lack of choice

(ii) better income/aptitude/social prestige/lack of choice

(iii) better income/aptitude/social prestige/lack of choice

(iv) better income/aptitude/social prestige/lack of choice

Q. Such other information about the household as has not been entered in the scheduled.

APPENDIX V

PART II

MAUZA SCHEDULE

CENSUS 1961 | Name of District

Name of Police Station

Name of Mauza | Number of J. L.

Area of the Mauza | Number of Households

What is the religion which majority of the villagers profess

1. Topography of the Mauza :

   (a) Is the Mauza 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—Mauza common—any stream of other extensive source of water—proximity or otherwise of any jungle—approximate number of shade bearing trees and how they are arranged.

2. What is the local legend about the Mauza ?

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

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

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 Mauza.

   (b) Distance of the Telegraph Office from the Mauza.

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

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

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

10. Describe community festivals if held in the Mauza.

11. Dress 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 Mauza.

13. Describe social recreation centres, if any.

14. State of cooperative movement in the Mauza. (Number and names of cooperatives)

APPENDIX V

NATURE OF SOCIAL DISABILITIES SUFFERED BY DIFFERENT CASTES IN THE MAUZA

	Access to			Disability regarding Services				Avoided by caste Hindu in regard to			
Name of Caste	Shop, Hotel, Restaurant	Temple or place of worship	Any other place of Public resort	Brahmin priest	Barber	Washerman	Any other village servant	Touch	Serving cooked food	Serving water	REMARKS
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

MAUZA DISPUTES REFERRED TO DIFFERENT AUTHORITIES LAST YEAR

Nature of adjudicating authority	Leading members of each disputant party			Nature of dispute	Decision of the adjudicating authority	Nature of sanction	REMARKS (Whether the decision was endorsed, whether there is preference for adjudication by particular type of authority in particular type of case, place of trial etc.)
	Caste Panchayat	Name	Caste tribe				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Caste Panchayat							
Informal Panchayat							
Statutory Mauza Panchayat							
Court							
Others (Specify)							

MAUZA LEADERS, MEMBERS OF PANCHAYAT, PRIEST AND OTHER OFFICE BEARERS

	MEMBERS								
Name of Organisation	Name	Caste	Occupation	Age	Since when holding the office	How gained position	Remuneration if any	Other offices held inside or outside the Mauza	REMARKS
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Statutory Panchayat									
Caste Panchayat (Name of Caste)									
Other Leaders									
Members of Board of Directors of Cooperative Society									

APPENDIX V

CULTURAL LIFE OF THE INHABITANTS OF MAUZA

Names of clubs, libraries, drama parties or other cultural organisations in the Mauza	When established	Rough proportion of members belonging to			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
		Different castes	Different occupation groups	Age	Name	Caste	Occupation	Age	Education			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

RECREATIONAL AND ARTISTIC ACTIVITIES ENJOYED BY THE INHABITANTS OF MAUZA

Type of activity	*Brief description	Where room placed (if outside the mauza name & distance of the place)	Frequency and duration (specify whether daily, monthly, seasonal etc.)	Extent of active participation people of the main castes & communities in performance (many, few, some)	Extent of participation of people of main castes or communities as audience (many, few, some)	If activity is in mauza do visitors from other mauza participate?		What agency sponsors, promotes or finances	Who trains players etc. (his name, address, caste, occupation)
						Approximate number	Role (player, audience, otherwise)		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	3	10
1. Sports & Games									
2. Drama, music, dancing etc.									
3. Cinema									
4. Filmstrip, Puppetshow etc.									
5. Fairs									
6. Festivals									
7. Other entertainments									

*Indicate nature and reason of celebration.

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

(as on 17th February 1964)

AGARTALA—

1 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—

1 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—

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

ALLAHABAD—

1 Superintendent, Printing & Stationery, U.P.
2 Kitabistan, 17-A, Kamla 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., 28, 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—

1 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 Mukkala Pustaka Press, Balamandira, Gandhinagar (Reg.)
7 Maruthi Book Depot, Avenue Road (Rest)
8 International Book House P. Ltd., 4F, Mahatma Gandhi Road (Reg.)
9 Navakarnataka Pubns. Private Ltd., Majestic Circle (Rest)

BAREILLY—

1 Agarwal Brothers, Bara Bazar (Reg.)

BARODA—

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

BEAWAR—

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

BELGHARIA—

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

BHAGALPUR—

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

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

BHOPAL—

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

BHUBANESWAR—

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

BIJAPUR—

1 Shri D. V. Deshpanda, Recognised Law Booksellers, Prop. Vinod Book Depot, Near Shiralshetti Chowk (Rest)

BIKANER—

1 Bhandani Bros. (Rest)

BILASPUR—

1 Sharma Book Stall, Sadar Bazar (Rest)

BOMBAY—

1 Supdt. 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 Bldg. 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 Lakkami Book Depot, Girgaum (Reg.)
8 Elpees Agencies, 24, Bhangwadi, Kalbadevi (Reg.)
9 P. P. H. Book Stall, 190-B, Khotwadi Main Road (Reg.)
10 New Book Co , 188-190, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road (Reg.)
11 Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road (Reg.)
12 Sunder Das Gain 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 & 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 St. (Reg.)
19 Indo Nath and Co., A-6, Daulat Nagar Borivli (Reg.)
20 Minerva Book Shop, Shop No. 1/80, N. Subhas Road (Reg.)
21 Academic Book Co., Association Building, Girgaum Road (Rest)
22 Dominion Publishers. 23, Bell Bldg. Shri 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 Dass Gupta and Co. Ltd., 54/3, College Street (Reg.)
3 Hindu Library, 69A, Bolaram De Street (Reg.)
4 S. K. Lahiri and Co , P. Ltd., College Street (Reg.)
5 M. C. Sarkar and Sons P. Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee St. (Reg.)
6 W. Newman and Co. Ltd., 3, Old Court House Street (Reg)
7 Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 17, Park Street (Reg.)
8 R. Chambray and Co. Ltd., Kent House, P. 33, Mission Road Extension (Reg.)
9 S. C. Sarkar and Sons P. Ltd., 1C, College Square (Reg.)
10 Thacker Spink and Co. (1933) P. Ltd., 3, Esplanade East (Reg.)
11 Firma K. L. Mukhopadhaya, 6/1A, Banchha Ram Akrar Lane (Reg.)
12 K. K. Roy, P. Box No. 10210, Calcutta—19 (Rest)
13 Sm. P. D. Upadhyay, 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 Dipository, 4/1, Madan Street (1st floor) (Rest)
21 Scientific Book Agency, Netaji Subhash 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—

1 Touring Book Stall (Rest)

CHANDIGARH—

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

CHHINDWARA—

1 The Verma Book Depot (Rest)

COCHIN—

1 Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Palliarakav Road (Reg.)

CUTTACK—

1 Press Officer Orissa Sectt.
2 Cuttack Law Times (Reg.)

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

CUTTACK—

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. Jaina & Brothers, Mori Gate (Reg.)
2 Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmere Gate (Reg.)
3 Federal Law Book Depot, Kashmere Gate (Reg.)
4 Bahri Bros., 188, Lajpat Rai Market (Reg.)
5 Bawa Harkishan Dass Bedi (Vijaya General Agencies) P. B. 2027, Ahata Kedara, Chamalian Road (Reg.)
6 Book-Well, 4, Sant Narankari Colony, P. B. 1565 (Reg.)
7 Imperial Publishing Co., 3, Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj (Reg.)
8 Metropolitan Book Co., 1, Faiz Bazar (Reg.)
9 Publication Centre, Subzimandi (Reg.)
10 Youngman & Co., Nai Sarak (Reg.)
11 Indian Army Book Depot, 3, Daryaganj (Reg.)
12 All India Educational Supply Co., Shri Ram Bldgs., 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 Bros., P.O. Birla Lines (Rest)
17 Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16, Netaji Subhas Marg (Reg.)
18 B. Nath & Bros., 3808, Charakhawalan (Chowri Bazar) (Rest)
19 Rajkamal Prakashan P. Ltd., 8, Faiz Bazar (Reg.)
20 Premier Book Co., Printers, Publishers & Book-sellers, 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 Book-sellers & 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—

1 English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road (Reg.)

GAUHATI—

1 Mokshada Pustakalaya (Reg.)

GAYA—

1 Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Budha Marg (Reg)

GHAZIABAD—

1 Jayana Book Agency (Rest)

GORAKHPUR—

1 Vishwa Vidyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road (Reg.)

GUDUR—

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

GUNTUR—

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

GWALIOR—

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

HUBLI—

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

HYDERABAD—

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

IMPHAL—

1 Tikendra & Sons Bookseller (Rest)

INDORE—

1 Wadhawa & Co., 56, M. G. Road (Reg.)
2 Swarup Brother's Khajuri Bazar (Rest)

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

INDORE—

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 (R.)

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 (Rest)

JAMNAGAR—

1 Swedeshi Vastu Bhandar (Reg.)

JAMSHEDPUR—

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

JAWALAPUR—

1 Sahyog Book Depot (Rest)

JHUNJHUNU—

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

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—

1 Shri V. Nagaraja Rao, 26, Srinivasapuram (Rest)

KODARMA—

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

KOLHAPUR—

1 Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road (Rest.)

KOTA—

1 Kota Book Depot (Rest)

KUMTA—

1 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 St. (Rest)

MADRAS—

1 Supdt., Govt. Press, Mount Road
2 Account Test Institute, P.O. 760 Egmore (Reg.)
3 C. Subbiah Chetty & Co., Triplicane (Reg.)
4 K. Krishnamurty, P. B. 984 (Reg.)
5 Presidency Book Supplies, 8, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane (Reg.)
6 P. Vardhachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street (Reg.)
7 Palani Parchuram, 3, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane (Reg.)
8 NCBH Private Ltd., 190, Mount Road (Rest)
9 V. Sadanand, The Personal Bookshop, 10, Congress Bldg. 111, Mount Road (Rest)

MADURAI—

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

MANDYA SUGAR TOWN—

1 K. N. Narimhe Gowda & Sons (Rest)

MANGALORE—

1 U. R. Shenoye Sons, Car Street, P. Box 128 (Reg.)

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

MANJESHWAR—

1 Mukenda Krishna Nayak (Rest)

MATHURA—

1 Rath & Co., Tilohi Bldg. Bengali Ghat (Rest)

MEERUT—

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

MONGHYR—

1 Anusandhan, Minerva Press Building (Rest)

MUSSOORIE—

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

MUZAFFARNAGAR—

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

MUZAFFARPUR—

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

MYSORE—

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

NADIAD—

1 R. S. Desay, Station Road (Rest)

NAGPUR—

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

NAINITAL—

1 Coural Book Depot, Bara Bazar (Rest)

NANDED—

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

NEW DELHI—

1 Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus (Reg.)
2 Bhawani & Sons, 8F, Connaught Place (Reg.)
3 Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
4 Empire Book Depot, 278, Aliganj (Reg.)
5 English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus, P. O. B. 328 (Reg.)
6 Faqir Chand & Sons., 15-A, Khan Market (Reg.)
7 Jain Book Agency, C-9, Prem House, Connaught Place (Reg.)
8 Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House (Reg.)
9 Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore) 16/B, Connaught Place (Reg.)
10 Sikh Publishing House, 7-C, Connaught Place (Reg.)
11 Suneja Book Centre, 24/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
12 United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
13 Jayana Book Depot, Chhaparwala Kuan, Karol Bagh (Reg.)
14 Navayug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, Dev Nagar (Reg.)
15 Sarawati Book Depot, 15, Lady Harding Road (Reg.)
16 The Secretary, Indian Met. Society, Lodi Road (Reg.)
17 New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals, Sty. & Novelles, P. B. 96, Connaught Place (Reg.)
18 Mehra Brothers, 50-G, Kalkaji (Reg.)
19 Luxmi Book Stores, 42 Janpath (Rest)
20 Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath (Rest)
21 People Publishing House (P) Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road (Reg.)
22 R. K. Publishers, 23, Beadon Pura, Karol Bagh (Rest)
23 Sharma Bros. 17, New Market, Moti Nagar (Reg.)
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 Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Rogarpura (Rest)
30 Sant Ram Booksellers, 16, New Municipal Market, Lody Colony (Rest)

PANJIM—

1 Singhals Book House, P. O. B. 70 Near the Church (Rest)
2 Sagoon Gaydev Dhoud, Booksellers, 5-7, Rua, 31 de Jameria (Rest)

PATHANKOT—

1 The Krishna Book depot, Main Bazar (Rest)

PATIALA—

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

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

PATNA—

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

PITHORAGARH—

1 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. Rd. (R.)
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—

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

RAJKOT—

1 Mohan Lal Dossabhai Shah, Booksellers and Sub-agents (Reg.)

RANCHI—

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

REWA—

1 Supdt., Govt. State Emporium V. P.

ROURKELA—

1 The Rourkela Review (Rest)

SAHARANPUR—

1 Chandra Bharata Pustak Bhandar, Court Road (Rest)

SECUNDERABAD—

1 Hindustan Diary Publishers, Market Street (Reg.)

SILCHAR—

1 Shri Nishitto Sen, Nazirpatti (Rest)

SIMLA—

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

SINNAR—

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

SHILLONG—

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

SONEPAT—

1 United Book Agency (Reg.)

SRINAGAR—

1 The Kashmir Bookshop, Residency Road (Reg.)

SURAT—

Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road (Reg.)

TIRUCHIRAPALLI—

1 Kalpana Publishers, Woraiur (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 Surajpole (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. Boak Depot (Rest)

VELLORE—

1 A. Venkatasubhan, Law Booksellers (Reg.)

VIJAYAWADA—

1 The Book & Review Centre, Eluru Road, Governpet (Rest)

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

VISAKHAPATNAM–

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

VIZIANAGARAM—

1 Sarda & Co. (Rest)

WARDHA—

1 Swarajeya Bhandar, Bhorji Market (Reg.)

For Local Sale

1 Govt. of India Kitab Mahal, Janpath, Opp. India Coffee House, New Delhi
2 Govt. of India Book Depot, 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta
3 High Commissioner for India in London, India House, London, WC. 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 Bolagat, C. E. Fritzes Kungl, Hovobokhandel, Fredsgation-2 Box 1656, Stockholm-16 (Sweden)
3 Reise-und Verkehrsverlag Stuttgart, Post 730, Gutenbergstra 21, Stuttgart No. 11245, Stuttgart den (Germany West)
4 Shri Iswar Subramanyam 452, Reversite Driv Apt. 6, New York, 27 NWY
5 The Proprietor, Book Centre, Lakshmi Mansons, 49, The Mall, Lahore (Pakistan)

On S. and R. Basis

1 The Head Clerk, Govt. Book Depot, Ahmedabad
2 The Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Kapileswar Road, Belgaum
3 The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Dhar
4 The Asstt. Director, Footwear Extension Centre, Polo Ground No. 1, Jodhpur
5 The O. I/C., Extension Centre, Club Road, Muzaffarpur
6 The Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, Govt. of India, Ministry of Mines & Fuel, Nagpur,
7 The Asstt. Director, Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad (Gujarat)
8 The Head Clerk, Photozincographic Press, 5, Finance Road, Poona.

On S. and R. Basis

9 Govt. Printing & Stationery, Rajkot
10 The O.I/C Extension Centre, Industrial Estate, Kokar, Ranchi
11 The Director, S.I S.I. Industrial Extension Centre Udhna, Surat
12 The Registrar of Companies, Narayani Building, 27, Brabourne Road, Calcutta-1
13 The Registrar of Companies, Kerala, 50, Feet Road, Ernakulam
14 The Registrar of Companies, H. No. 3-5-83, Hyderguda, Hyderabad
15 Registrar of Companies, Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Shillong
16 Registrar of Companies, Sunlight Insurance Bldg. 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 Bldg. 6, Linghi Chotty St P.B. 1530, Madras
21 The Registrar of Companies, Mahatma Gandhi Road, West Cott. Bldg. P.B. 334, Kanpur
22 The Registrar of Companies, Everest 100, Marine Drive, Bombay
23 The Registrar of Companies, 162, Brigade Road, Bangalore
24 The Registrar of Companies, Gwalior
25 Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Bhuli Road, Dhanbad
26 Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Cuttack Chandi, Cuttack
27 The Registrar of Companies, Gujarat State, Gujarat Samachar Bldg., 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 The O.I/C., S.I.S.I. Extension Centre, Habra, Tabalaria, 24-Parganas
33 O.I/C., S.I.S.I. Model Carpentry Workshop, Piyali Nagar, P.O. Burnipur
34 O.I/C., S.I.S.I., Chrontanning Extension Centre, Tangra 33, North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46
35 O.I/C., S I S.I. Extension Centre (Footwear), Calcutta
36 Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Hyderabad
37 Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Krishna Distt (A.P.)
38 Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Jhabua
39 Dy. Director Incharge, S.I.S.I., C/o. Chief Civil Admn. Goa, Panjim
40 The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur
41 The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Gopal Bhavan, Mornia
42 The O.I/C , State Information Centre, Hyderabad
43 The Registrar of Companies, Pondicherry
44 The Asstt. Director of Publicity and Information, Vidhana Saubha (P.B. 271) Bangalore.