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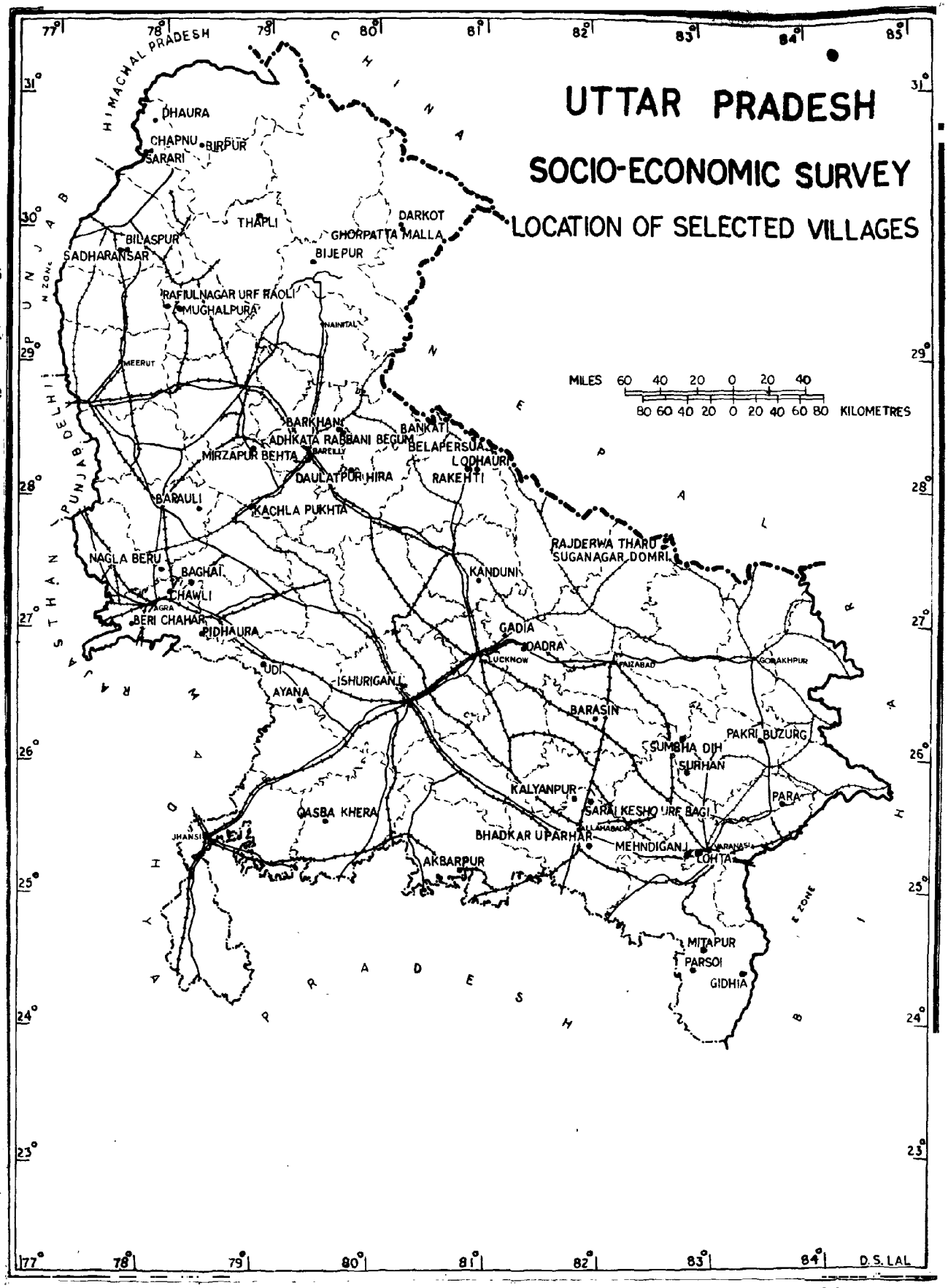
VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH No. 3

General Editor
P. P. BHATNAGAR
of the Indian Administrative Service
Superintendent of Census Operations, Uttar Pradesh

VILLAGE SUGANAGAR DOMRI
(TAHSIL BALRAMPUR, DISTRICT GONDA)

BY

R. C. SHARMA, M. A.
of the Uttar Pradesh Civil Service
Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations



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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 cultivation, 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 should represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

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

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

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September, 1959, the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village ;

house types ; diet ; dress ; ornaments and footwear ; furniture and storing vessels ; common means of transport of goods and passengers ; domestication of animals and birds ; markets attended ; worship of deities ; festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March, 1960, by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, inbedtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusions,' 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. In the latter half of 1961 again was organized within the Census Commission a section on Social Studies which assumed the task of giving shape to the general frame of study and providing technical help to Superintendents of Census Operations in the matter of conducting Surveys, their analysis and presentation. This section headed by Dr. B. K. Roy Burman has been responsible for going through each monograph and offering useful suggestions which were much welcomed by my colleagues. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December, 1961, when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together.

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 adopted for this monograph have been printed in appendix to the monograph on village Thapli of district Garhwal.

NEW DELHI :
May 24, 1962.

A. MITRA
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

In Uttar Pradesh the Census Organisation selected a number of villages for special study of the dynamics of change in the social, cultural and economic life of the rural community. An analysis of the structure and functioning of the village economy is expected to reveal the forces which promote or retard the processes of change coming into play, either in the natural course or as a result of various legislative measures, such as the establishment of Panchayats, the abolition of Zamindari, the extension of Planning and Development activities, and the enforcement of various social laws. The knowledge thus gained can be utilised for the re-orientation of policies of rural development and village uplift.

2. The selection of villages for study was made in accordance with certain principles and criteria laid down by the Registrar General. Of the selected villages, some contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, some are populated by backward aboriginal people, and others have an old and settled character with a multi-ethnic composition and diverse occupations. Minor deviations from the standards prescribed for selection were inevitable because of the non-availability of the requisite number of villages having all the prescribed variables. This purposive selection has made it possible to study the impact of various factors of change upon the culture and economy of villages situated in the interior where outside influences are slow to penetrate and slower to act as also the normal types which are exposed to a greater degree to the winds of change from various directions.

3. Suganagar Domri, a village situated in the interior of the Tarai forest in district Gonda, was selected for study because it has a predominant population of the Tharu community and also because outside influences have been slow to penetrate this submontane region.

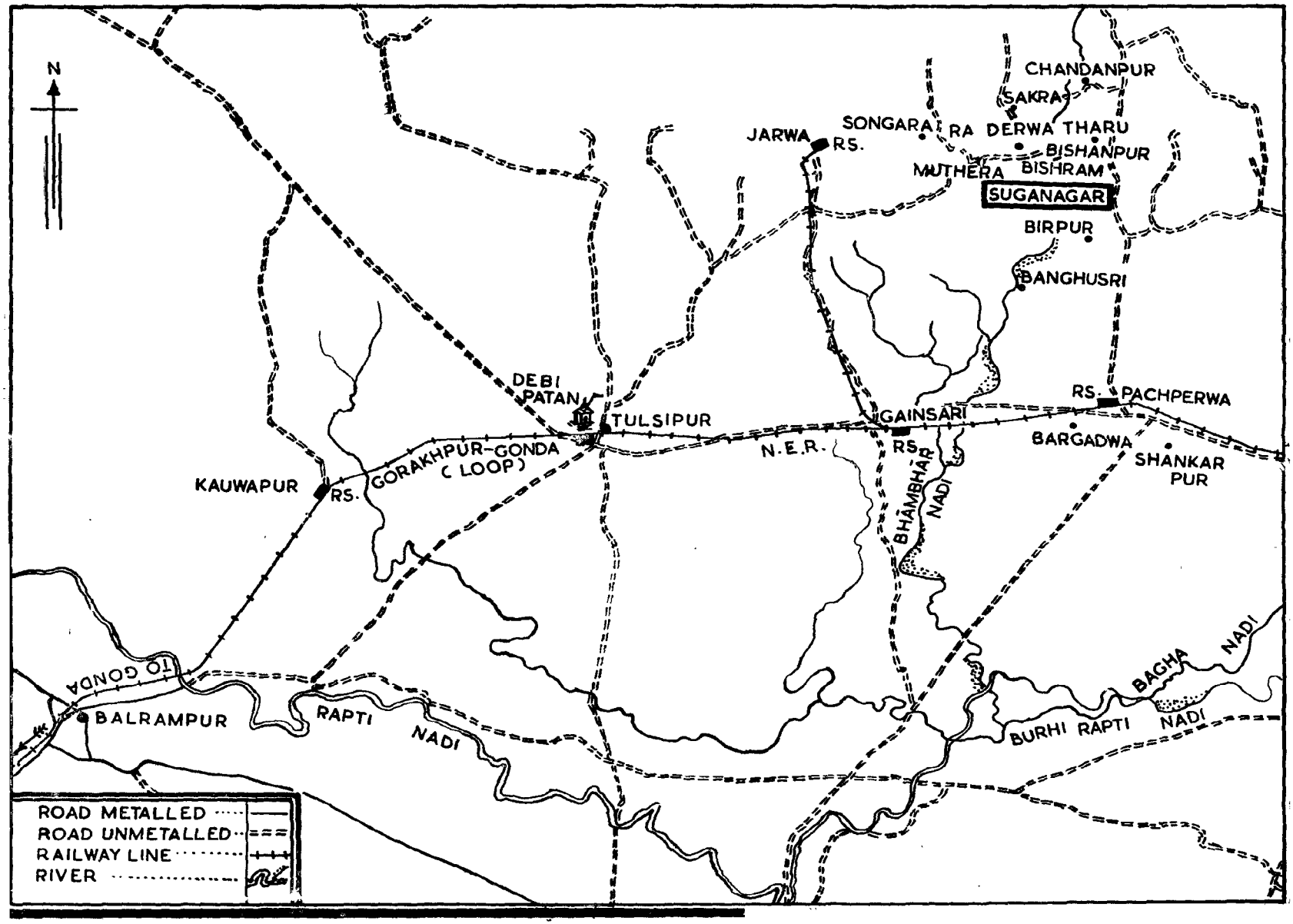
4. The research methods employed in this study have consisted of the use of schedules and questionnaires, case studies, village records, census data, interviews and group discussions. The local investigation was carried out by the field staff of this Organisation, having a well-trained pair of eyes. There was some difficulty in the initial stages because the investigator was viewed with suspicion, but after he gained the confidence of villagers and established rapport with them, the work of investigation became easy and simple. The data were collected in the month of December, 1960. The study was of course subject to time pressure.

5. Field investigation in the village was carried out by Sri J. P. Misra, Socio-Economic Inspector, who had been borrowed from the National Sample Survey Organization. Sri R. C. Sharma, Deputy Census Superintendent, of the Uttar Pradesh Civil Service, is responsible for supervising the investigation, marshalling the statistical evidence, analysing the data and drafting the report.

6. Opinions expressed and conclusions reached by the writer of this monograph are based on the results of the investigation. They are his own and do not reflect the views of the Government in any way.

P. P. BHATNAGAR,
Superintendent of Census Operations,
Uttar Pradesh.

LUCKNOW :
December 4, 1962.



Notional map showing location of village Suganagar in Tahsil Balrampur

CHAPTER I

The Village

Location

The village Suganagar Domri, with an area of 1,071.25 acres, lies in the northern part of Tulsipur sub-division which forms the northern portion of tahsil Balrampur in district Gonda. The Tarai area in which the village is situated consists of reserved forest which extends from the Nepal boundary at the foot of the hills to a considerable distance to the south. The village consists of Suganagar and its two hamlets, Domri and Maharajnagar or Madhyanagri. The hamlet Domri is at a distance of about three furlongs to the north and the hamlet Maharajnagar is about four furlongs to the east of Suganagar. The main village is separated from Domri by corn fields and from Madhyanagri by paddy fields. During the rainy season, inter-communication between the village and its two hamlets becomes quite difficult as they are separated by fields full of water.

For reaching this village one has to detrain at Pachperwa, a railway station at a distance of 32 miles from Balrampur, the tahsil headquarters and 57 miles from Gonda, the district headquarters on the loop line of North Eastern Railway connecting Gonda with Gorakhpur. All the three trains coming from Gonda to this station are passenger trains and take about three hours to cover the distance. The village is located at a distance of about eight miles to the north-west of Pachperwa. It is approachable by two roads, one a *kachcha* road and the other a canal road. One can travel on foot or on a bicycle or by a jeep up to Banghusri, a distance of six miles from Pachperwa ; another two miles have to be covered on foot. Bullock carts, *ekkas* and heavy vehicles are not allowed on the canal road. The other road is managed by the Zila Parishad and can be used for all vehicles. The distance by this road is ten miles. It goes *via* Birpur Range headquarters. At a distance of eight miles from Pachperwa is the Kohargaddi reservoir which is the source of a number of canals. This road becomes unserviceable during the rainy season when the journey has to be performed on foot. After crossing the Bhambar *nala*, one can reach village Rajderwa Tharu.

The village is bounded on the north by village Bishanpur, on the east by village Motipur, on the south by village Banghusri and on the west by village Bankatwa. The forest area lies to the north-west of the village. The Bhambar *nala* makes the western and southern boundary of the village, separating it from village Rajderwa Tharu on the western side. The village is located on the left bank of Bhambar *nala*.

Origin and Settlement History of the Village

It is not exactly known as to when this village came into existence. The name of the village appears in the revenue records of 1863, where it is mentioned that the actual date of foundation of this village is not known. Tradition, however, goes that the village has been in existence for more than two hundred years. The local elders say that in old days there was a big *semal* (Bombax malabaricum) tree to the southern side of this village. It spread over an area of about 0.10 acres and it was so high that it was visible from Pachperwa market. A large number of parrots used to perch on this tree. A parrot is called *suga* in the eastern districts and in this area. Hence the village came to be called Suganagar, the abode of parrots. In course of time, the village expanded and two of its hamlets, namely, Domri and Maharajnagar came into existence. Hence the main village, combined with its major hamlet Domri, came to be known as Suganagar Domri. The hamlet Domri is named after a Tharu who settled there first and the hamlet Maharajnagar is named after the Maharaja of Balrampur who often visited this place on hunting expeditions. Since

Maharajnagar is located between Suganagar and Domri, it is known as Madhyanagri (village lying in the middle) as well. Suganagar has two portions–Suganagar Tharu, inhabiting the Tharus and Suganagar Bajee, inhabiting the non-Tharus only.

The settlement history of this village is not exactly known. Out of the 158 households in the village, 5 households – 4 Tharu and one Muslim – migrated to this village from Nepal, while 10 households – 4 Muslims, 3 Dharkars, and one each of Brahmin, Barhai and Kurmi – came from outside the district and 15 households – 6 Muslim, 3 Ahir, 2 Tharu and one each of Arakh, Bhurji, Lohar and Murao immigrated from outside the tahsil.

The following table indicates the period of residence of the households :–

TABLE NO. 1.1

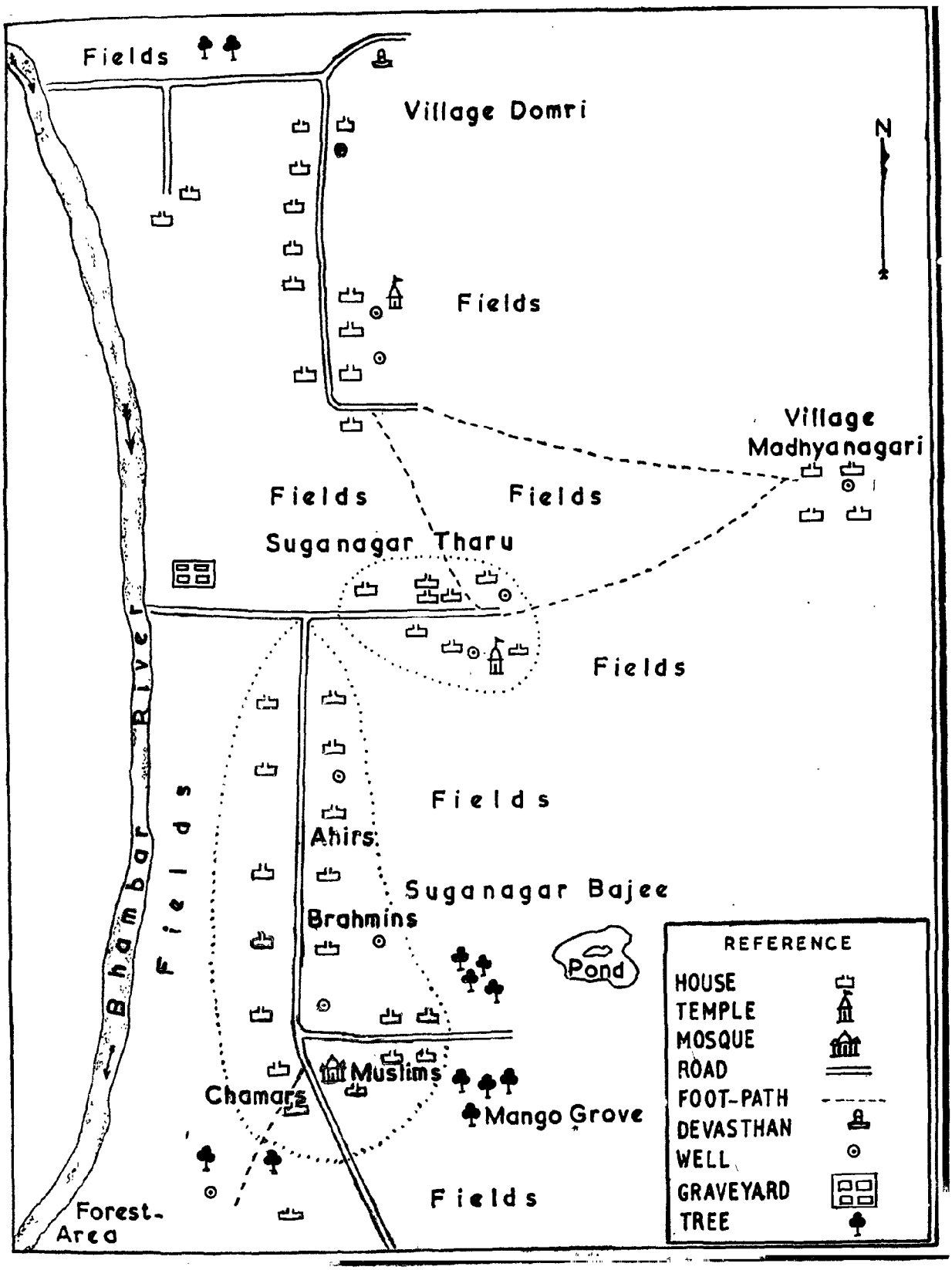
Showing Settlement History of Households

Caste or Community	Number of Households	Number of Households settled			
		Before 5 Generations	Between 4-5 Generations	Between 2-4 Generations	1 Generation ago
1. Ahir	26	..	4	15	6
2. Arakh	1	..	..	..	1
3. Brahmin	5	..	..	3	2
4. Bhurji	3	..	..	2	1
5. Barhai	1	..	..	..	1
6. Chamar	3	..	..	1	2
7. Dharkar	5	..	1	1	3
8. Gaderia	1	..	..	1	..
9. Kori	7	..	..	2	5
10. Kurmi	6	..	..	4	2
11. Kalwar	1	..	..	1	..
12. Kshattriya	1	..	1	..	..
13. Kahar	1	..	..	..	1
14. Kumhar	4	..	..	4	..
15. Lohar	2	..	..	1	1
16. Murao	10	..	..	8	2
17. Muslim	45	..	..	20	24
18. Tharu	36	3	9	12	9
Total ..	158	3	15	75	60

Five households could not tell the period for which they have been in the village. About 38 per cent households settled in the village only one generation ago, which shows that the village has expanded considerably during the last 25 years or so.

Reason for Selection

Out of 158 households inhabited by 390 males and 411 females, the Tharu population has 36 households with 131 males and 139 females living in the whole of Suganagar Tharu and parts of



Notional map showing habitation pattern of Suganagar

Domri and Madhyanagri. Other communities inhabiting the village are Ahir, Arakh, Bhurji, Chamar, Dharkar, Gaderia, Kori, Kurmi, Kalwar, Kahar, Kumhar, Murao, Lohar, Barhai, Kshattriya, Brahmin and Muslims. The village was selected for socio-economic study as it is a backward village situated in the interior and populated mostly by Tharus and other backward people, who are little affected by the multifarious changes sweeping the country. The aim of the study is to assess the direction and the effect of the winds of change on the life of the people of this village, especially during the post-Independence period.

Administrative and Welfare Institutions

During the regime of Balrampur Estate the Estate tahsil headquarters was located at Pachperwa, where a Tahsildar with some officials was stationed. After the enforcement of the U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950, the Estate was merged in tahsil Utraula of district Gonda. When Balrampur tahsil was created, the village became part of it. The Kanungo headquarters is at Pachperwa, but he actually resides at Balrampur. Similarly the Lekhpal, the next and the lowest revenue official, in whose jurisdiction the village falls actually lives at Balrampur.

The headquarters of the N. E. S. Block is at Pachperwa, but the activities of the Planning Department have not been extended to this village as yet. The police station and the hospital are also situated at Pachperwa. A compounder generally remains in charge of the hospital due to non-availability of a qualified doctor. The Co-operative Society and the Nyaya Panchayat are located in village Bishanpur Bishram, at a distance of three miles from this village.

The Post Office catering to this village lies in village Banghusri at a distance of about three miles from the village. The postman is expected to come to the village twice a week to deliver the letters, but sometimes the letters are sent by him through residents of this village whom he happens to meet. A telegram can be sent from Pachperwa railway station.

Climate and Rainfall

Being situated in the Tarai area, the village has a damp and enervating climate. The cold weather lasts longer in this village. During the rainy season, the village gets surrounded by water on all sides and it looks like an island. The water level is quite near the surface of land and the village is surrounded by forest. Hence the area is notorious for prevalence of malarial fever and an unhealthy climate. The average rainfall is slightly over 40 inches.

Drainage and Sanitation

The village and its hamlets are situated on a higher level and hence rain water does not accumulate inside the *abadi* area. No doubt some water accumulates in pits and cart wheel ruts for a couple of days, thereby rendering the village lanes muddy and unhygienic.

The houses are generally dark and dingy without a proper arrangement for ventilation, air and light. The houses of Tharu are, as a rule, neat and clean as compared with those of the non-Tharus. The village does not have any built-in latrines. One has to go to the fields or jungle or the banks of river for answering the call of nature.

Flora and Fauna

Forest and wild bushes are found in abundance in the vicinity of the village. Generally the forest trees are badly shaped and have a stunted growth. The trees mostly found in the forest are *sal* (Shorea robusta), *haldu* (Adina cordifolia), *asaina* (Terminalia tomentosa), *bakli* (Anogeissus altifolia), *shisham* (Dalbergia sissoo), *khair* (Acacia catechu), *semal* (Bombax malabaricum) and *jamun* (Eugenia jambolana). Berries, strawberries and other wild fruits are found in abundance. The fallen branches or uprooted trees are picked up and used as fuel by the residents of this village and other villages. Except during the monsoon, the bullock carts are found moving about in the night, carrying timber loads from the forest to railway station Pachperwa. The grass, locally known as *bankas*, is also found in abundance. It is used for making strings, mats and ropes.

The villagers have also planted some mango, banana, papaya, lemon, *jamun* (Eugenia jambolana) and *mahua* (Bassia latifolia) trees.

The wild animals generally found in the locality are lion, tiger, leopard, deer, sambhar, bear, *nilgai* (blue bull), hedgehog, hyena, wolf, jackal, fox, monkey, rabbit, etc. Peacock and jungle fowl are also seen often. The wild animals are sometimes a source of terror to the lonely traveller. The *nilgai,* wild boar, monkey and deer cause lot of damage to the crop.

Source of Water

The village and its hamlets have seven wells for supplying water to the village. Water of the Bhambar river is also used. The wells are generally 12 to 15 feet deep. In May and June, two wells go dry, thereby creating a shortage of potable water.

Important Public Places

The Muslims have a mosque for offering prayers. There is a temple in village Suganagar Tharu near the well. Both the mosque and the temple are ordinary structures. Shiva in the form of black pebbles is worshipped by the Hindus.

Formerly there was a Primary School on the banks of river Bhambar, but it had to be shifted to another village for lack of a proper building.

The Muslims bury the dead and the Hindus cremate them except in some cases. The burial ground of the Muslims and cremation ground of the Hindus are situated at the bank of river Bhambar, at some distance from each other. Sometimes the ashes are taken to Ayodhia or Debi Patan for being immersed in the river.

Markets

The day-to-day requirements of the villagers are met by the three shops in the village. They also visit Pachperwa and Barhaipurwa for selling paddy, the main produce, and purchasing articles required by them. In addition to the permanent bazar, the weekly market is held on every Wednesday at Pachperwa. Similarly the weekly market at village Barhaipurwa is held on every Sunday.

CHAPTER II

The People and their material equipment

Ethnic Composition

The following table shows the communitywise breakdown of the population in this village :–

Table No. 2.1

Showing Communitywise Breakdown of the Population

Religion	Caste	Sub-caste	Number of House-holds	Population		
				Persons	Males	Females
Hindu	1. Ahir	Yaduvanshi	4	25	12	13
		Gowal	18	63	35	28
		Gondwa	4	24	13	11
			26	112	60	52
	2. Arakh		1	2	1	1
	3. Brahmin		5	25	11	14
	4. Bhurji	Kalaunjia	1	2	1	1
		Bhurji	2	6	4	2
			3	8	5	3
	5. Barhai	Kokatvansh	1	2	1	1
	6. Chamar	Kureel	3	10	5	5
	7. Dharkar	—	5	11	5	6
	8. Gaderia	Nikhar	1	3	2	1
	9. Kori	Raidas	1	2	1	1
		Godha	3	10	6	4
		Tanbina	2	7	3	4
		Others	1	1	..	1
			7	20	10	10
	10. Kurmi	Kashwar	6	28	14	14
	11. Kalwar	—	1	1	1	..
	12. Kshattriya	Kaushal	1	9	2	7
	13. Kahar	Dhuria	1	2	1	1
	14. Kumhar	Bandhika	3	17	8	9
		Chak Basiya	1	4	2	2
			4	21	10	11

Religion	Caste	Sub-caste	Number of Households	Population		
				Persons	Males	Females
	15. Lohar	Maulhar	1	5	2	3
		Panch Brahmin	1	16	8	8
			2	21	10	11
	16. Murao	Hardiha	7	22	8	14
		Murao	2	4	2	2
		Koiri	1	3	1	2
			10	29	11	18
	17. Tharu	Dangwariya	36	270	131	139
		Total Hindus	113	574	280	294
Muslim	1. Fakir		2	8	3	5
	2. Sheikh		15	93	46	47
	3. Jaga		10	47	23	24
	4. Halwai		1	3	2	1
	5. Pathan		10	49	25	24
	6. Dhuniya		3	11	4	7
	7. Kalandar		1	6	3	9
	8. Manihar		1	1	..	1
	9. Darzi		1	4	3	1
	10. Barhai		1	5	1	4
		Total Muslims	45	227	110	117
		Total Population	158	801	390	411

Out of the population, 28.4 per cent are Muslims, 33.7 per cent Tharus and 37.9 per cent other Hindus. Thus, Tharus constitute the most predominant community in the village.

Tharus

The village has 36 Tharu households with 131 males and 139 females. Out of them, 27 households are engaged in cultivation, 8 households in agricultural labour and one family as a rent receiver.

The Tharus are a jungle tribe. According to some, the word Tharu is derived from Hindi *thahrey* (halted) because they are said to have halted after the alleged flight into the forest; others attribute the origin to the Hindi word *tarhua* (wet) in allusion of the swampy tracts in which they live. Some of the Tharus say that they are Rajputs who ran away after the great fight of Hastinapur and that their name means "Quaker", from Hindi word *thatharana*, to tremble. Others say that the name simply means 'residents of the Tarai'. "Another etymology," says Mr. Nesfield, "suggested is from *thar*, which in the colloquial language of the lowest classes, but not in the language of books, signifies forest, a name which correctly described the status of the tribe. On the whole, however, it is safer not to search for any Hindi etymology, but to consider the name as sprung from the language of the tribe itself, which is

now for the most part obsolete. An aboriginal name underived from Sanskrit or neo-Sanskrit source is the fit appellative of an aboriginal, casteless, un-Brahmanized tribe whose customs have been only slightly modified by contact with those of the Aryan invaders."

The tradition in East Oudh is that after the fall of Buddhist Dynasty of Kannauj, the Tharus descended from the hills and occupied Ayodhya. They dispossessed the Buddhists, who called in Raja Sri Chandra of Srinagar in the hills near about Badrinath who drove back the Tharus and marching north occupied Chandravatipur, now known as Sahet-Mahet.

All the Tharus in this village are Dangwariya Tharus. They are supposed to have come from a place known as Dang in Nepal which is about 40 miles north of this village. They claim to be of Rajput descent but their features betray a Mongolian origin. As observed on page 599 of A.C. Turner's Census Report, Vol. XVIII, Part I of 1931, "The Gonda Tharus are split up into many endogamous sections such as Buxa, Dangwariya, Detwar, Dhahwal, Dhaker, Jogi, Kathariya, Khun, Khusiya, Kachhila, Mushar, Pradhan Purbaiya, Rajbatar, Rautar and Umra, of which the Jogis and Kathariyas wear the sacred thread. The higher sub-castes look down upon the lower sub-castes such as Dhahwals and Kachhilas and will not even smoke with them. The Kathariyas do not keep hens though almost all other Tharus do."

The Tharus do not belong to the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes, but somehow the higher castes do not hold them in high esteem socially. In fact the Brahmin, the Rajput and the Vaish do not accept water from the hands of a Tharu. Even the lower castes do not accept food touched by a Tharu.

The Tharus are reputed to be "honest, brave, great hunters and good cultivators, their favourite crop being rice. As everywhere, the Tharus are highly superstitious and much under the influence of their priests ; their disputes are settled by the tribal council, and at their gatherings, and on every possible occasion, they consume large quantities of liquor distilled from rice"*.

Their features have a tinge of Mongolian origin, although these marks have somewhat softened. The faces of the men especially do not differ much from those of other Hindus. Still, however, a difference is observable even in the men, and in the women and children it is closely marked.

The males have a longish and rather flat face. They are lean and thin with a slightly flat nose and a dark or wheatish complexion. They have a scanty growth of beard and moustache. Most of them are short statured.

The womenfolk too have a dark or wheatish complexion and a rather flat nose but their faces are round and they are stout and healthy.

According to Dr. D. N. Majumdar, "The Tharu resemble the artisan castes in body characters, the Bhantu and the Habura in facial characters, and some of the higher castes in nasal characters . . . the Mongoloid features are definite among them, and even the skin colour is yellow-brown, and oblique eyes are numerous."†

Ahirs

The village has 26 households of Ahirs— 4 households of Yaduvanshi sub-caste, 18 households of Gowal sub-caste and 4 households of Gondwa sub-caste. They are generally cultivators or cattle grazers or agricultural labourers. Three households have migrated to this village from outside the tahsil and the remaining households from the neighbouring villages. Poorbi Bhavani is worshipped in two households and Bhairon Devta and Bali Maharaj in five households. The remaining 19 families have no family gods for being worshipped even though they believe in God. They are a back-

*Nevill, H.R. : Gonda, A Gazetteer, 1905, Page 71.

†Majumdar, D.N. : Races and Cultures of India 1961, Page 70.

ward caste. The higher castes accept water but not food from their hands.

Arakh

There is only one household of the Arakh caste. The husband and wife migrated to this village seven years ago from another village within the district. He is the third husband of this woman and she is his third wife. The wife is older than the husband. It is a family of agricultural labourers. They belong to the Scheduled Caste. Water and cooked food are not accepted by any one from their hands.

Brahmin

There are only five Brahmin families in this village. They are immigrants to this place — four families from within the district and one family from outside the district. The main occupation of all the households is cultivation, the subsidiary occupation of four households being priesthood. They are all orthodox Saryupari Brahmins. They earn in cash and kind from their *jajmans* (clientele) for the services rendered by them as priests.

Gaderia

There is only one Gaderia family in the village having two widowers and one widow only. The males are brothers and the female is the widow of the elder brother's son. They are engaged in cultivation. Water only is accepted by high caste Hindus from the hands of a Gaderia.

Kshattriya

There is only one Kshattriya household in the village. The ancestors had migrated from Nepal. This household is the wealthiest family in the village, having 55 acres of land under cultivation. The family has two males and seven females. Incidentally, none of the members of this family is literate.

Kalwar

There is only one Kalwar in the village. He used to be a cultivator but after the death of his wife he renounced the world and became a *sadhu* (religious mendicant). His father had also turned *sadhu* (religious mendicant) during his old age.

Kori

The village has seven Kori households. Out of these, five households migrated to this village during the last seven years. The working males are agricultural labourers or servants. Two females work as midwives. The Koris belong to the Scheduled Caste and even water is not accepted from their hands by the higher castes.

Murao

The village has ten Murao households consisting of 11 males and 18 females. They are a backward caste. Water, but not cooked meals, is accepted from their hands by the higher castes. Except one household, all are vegetarians. The grown-up vegetarian males wear a *kanthi* (a string containing a round shaped *tulsi* wood) round the neck to indicate their religous bent of mind. They are engaged in cultivation, horticulture or retail sale of general merchandise. Two of the households have migrated to this village very recently. The Muraos are reputed to be good agriculturists and horticulturists.

Dharkar

The village has five Dharkar households with five males and six females. They belong to the Scheduled Caste. The higher castes do not accept water or cooked food from their hands. Three households of this caste have recently migrated into this village from tahsil Domariaganj, district Basti. Their main occupation is manufacture of baskets, fans and other articles from bamboos.

Kurmi

There are six Kurmi families in the village. Half of them are cultivators and the remaining half are agricultural labourers. Sundar Kurmi and his wife settled in this village about seven years ago in strange circumstances. Originally he was a resident of village Sona Bargadi. While returning from a pilgrimage, they were deprived

of their cash and ornaments by some mischief-mongers at Pachperwa railway station. They did not return to their village because of a feeling of shame and embarrassment and settled in this village. He works as an ordinary labourer. One more family migrated to this village about seven years ago. They are reputed to be good cultivators. Food and water is accepted from them by the Tharus. The high caste Hindus, however, accept only water from them. They are a backward caste.

Kahar

The village has only one Kahar family consisting of an aged couple. They have migrated only recently from Pachperwa. The husband sells betels and the wife works as a domestic servant. Their children continue to live at Pachperwa. During the rainy season, they too go back to Pachperwa. The Tharus have no objection to taking water or cooked meals from the hands of a Kahar but the higher castes accept water only.

Bhurji

The village has three Bhurji households with five males and three females. They are engaged in grain parching. One of the households has recently migrated from Pachperwa. One household also sells sweets in addition to grain parching. Cooked food is not accepted from their hands by the higher castes.

Kumhar

The village has four Kumhar households with ten males and eleven females. Their main occupation is cultivation. One family is, however, engaged in pottery as the principal occupation and another family is engaged in pottery as a subsidiary vocation. The Kumhars are a backward caste. Cooked food is not accepted from them by Brahmins and Kshattriyas. They are vegetarians.

Lohar

The village has two Lohar households. One of the two households has recently migrated to this village from Balrampur. They work as blacksmiths, making scythe, sickle and other agricultural implements. One household lives in Domri and the other in Suganagar. Cooked meals can be taken from their hands by castes other than Brahmins.

Barhai

The village has two Barhai families—one a Hindu and the other a Muslim. They work as carpenters. The Muslim household has mirated from tahsil Utraula of this district and the Hindu from tahsil Domariaganj of district Basti. The higher caste Hindus can accept only water from the Hindu Barhai.

Chamar

The village has three Chamar families of Kureel sub-caste with five males and five females. One of the families is engaged in cultivation as well as skinning of dead animals and the remaining two households work as shoe-makers and agricultural labourers. Two of the families have come to the village only some years back. Kootey and Chhutkau have each married twice and their wives too have married twice. They belong to the Scheduled Caste. Even members of other Scheduled Castes do not accept water or food from their hands.

Darzi

There is only one Muslim Darzi (tailor) household in this village. He works as a tailor and sometimes as an agricultural labourer. His son also works as an agricultural labourer. The household has migrated from Balrampur.

Dhunia

The village has five Muslim Dhunia families with nine males and thirteen females. Two of the families are new immigrants to the village. Smt. Masooma who lives all alone receives rent for land let out by her. Smt. Jainta works as a labourer. One family is engaged in cultivation alone and the remaining two families are engaged as retailers of tobacco and other grocery goods. They are engaged in cotton ginning for three months, i.e., from October to December.

Naddaf

The village has three Naddaf families two of which have immigrated during the last six years from tahsil Balrampur and tahsil Utraula within the district. One household is engaged as a cultivator, casually working as an agricultural labourer; another household is a share-cropper, also working as a retailer of spices; the third household receives rent and is also engaged in agricultural labour. Amongst the Muslims, the Naddaf are considered quite low.

Manihar

There is only an old lady of Manihar caste in this village. She has migrated from district Basti. She earns her livelihood by selling bangles.

Sheikh

The village has three Sheikh households with ten males and an equal number of females. One household, engaged as a retailer of general merchandise, has recently migrated from Pachperwa. The remaining two families are engaged in cultivation as the principal occupation and as agricultural labourers in subsidiary capacity. The Sheikh do not occupy a high status in the social hierarchy of Muslims.

Pathan

The village has ten Pathan families with 25 males and 24 females. One household with 14 members has recently arrived in this village from Balrampur. Its head used to work as mahout in Balrampur Estate but he was thrown out of employment. Along with one of his sons he is engaged in cattle grazing. His other sons are engaged in brick-laying at Lucknow. Eight Pathan families are engaged in cultivation. The remaining one household is a rent-receiver. It has let out its land on rent due to old age. One household also keeps a shop in addition to working as cultivator. The Pathans are quite well-to-do. One of them, Shri Khaleel Ahmad, is also the Pradhan of the Gaon Sabha. The Pathans occupy a high position in the social hierarchy among the Muslims.

Dhobi

The village has two Muslim Dhobi (washerman) households with four males and five females. They have migrated to this village from neighbouring villages. They wash the clothes of the village community and receive grains in exchange of the service. They have no objection to the washing of clothes of any community.

Teli

The village has three Muslim Teli (oilman) families, one of which consists of a minor boy who has recently been rendered an orphan. One household with 16 members is engaged in cultivation as the principal occupation and as an agricultural labourer in a subsidiary capacity. Only one household is engaged in oil-crushing, one of the workers of this household being an agricultural labourer. The Teli are considered quite low in the social hierarchy of Muslims.

Nai

The village has two Muslim Nai (barber) households, following their traditional occupation. Their womenfolk are engaged in rendering personal services such as massaging, manicuring, hair-do, etc. One of the households has recently migrated from a neighbouring village.

Kunjra

There is only one Muslim Kunjra household in this village. The family has recently migrated from village Baria, tahsil Naugarh, district Basti. The head of the household is engaged as a mason. Both the husband and the wife have married twice.

Kalandar

The only Kalandar family has recently migrated from Nepal. The head of the household works as an agricultural servant.

Jaga

The village has 12 Muslim Jaga families with 26 males and 30 females. The males and the aged females go for begging from door to door. Out of these, eight families have migrated

to the village in the recent past. Two of the males are religious teachers, giving instructions in the study of *Koran* to the Muslim children of the village. They get grain from the Muslims in lieu of this service. Two of the households have given up the traditional occupation of begging and work either as agricultural servants or as cattle grazers. Four of the households are engaged in cultivation but they stick to begging as a subsidiary occupation. Four households, which are recent migrants to this village are solely dependent on begging. Awadh Ali is the *mukhia* (headman) of this community. He is an old man of about 65 years and has married four times but has no children. Pathans and Sheikhs consider the Jagas inferior in status.

Thus the village is a conglomeration of a number of castes and creeds, varying in social prestige and functions in society. Many families have migrated to the village during the recent past, thereby putting an undue pressure on its economy.

Dress

The Tharus males wear a *dhoti* or a *lungi*. The *dohti* is generally five yards long with a width of 48 inches. The *lungi* is generally two and a half yards in length. Ordinary *markeen* cloth in length of five yards or 3 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards is purchased for being used as dhoti or *lungi*. However, the Tharus do not wear the *lungi* as the Muslims do. The *dhoti* is worn occasionally. They do not wear trousers or pyjama. Underwears also made of *markeen* cloth are used as substitutes of *dhoti* or *lungi*. They also wear shirts with collars or without collars, *kurtas* and *sadri* or *slooka*. A *sadri* is a sort of cotton jacket with two or three pockets and a *slooka* is a sort of half-sleeved sport-shirt without collar but with a big side pocket which serves as a tobacco pouch as well. In place of shirt sometimes the *phatui*, having one anna pieces, four anna pieces and eight anna pieces as buttons, is also used. The *banian* (under-vest) is not used. The males use a white Gandhi cap made of *markeen* cloth which in fact becomes quite dirty as a result of regular absorption of oil used liberally on the head. Some males of the younger generation do not use a cap; they are neat and clean and are locally known as *chhaila*, a dandy. Up to the age of six or seven years the boys go above naked. Thereafter, they begin wearing underwears. Only some of the Tharu males use a shoe. Wooden sandals with straps of hemp string, locally known as *paula*, are used by men and women both, especially during the rainy season. Some use wooden sandals with a peg.

The Tharu women put on *ghaghra* or *lehanga* from the waist up to the ankles. These are just like voluminous skirts with big pleats. The cloth generally used is black cotton chintz with a border of red cotton cloth. *Kurties* of printed cloth, generally red or black, having contrasting borders are used to cover the thorax. A *kurti* is like a loose blouse extending up to the upper portion of the *lehanga*. On attainment of puberty the females also use an *orhani* (a two and a half yards long thin cloth, red, yellow or green in colour) for covering their heads. The younger generation has started using *sari* and blouse but without petticoat or bodice. Girls do not use an *orhani* until they have attained puberty. *Orhanis* embroidered with pieces of silver (generally four anna pieces) are specially liked by the womenfolk.

The *bajees* (non-Tharus) have a slightly different mode of dress. They put on *dhoti* and shirt or vest but they do not wear the *slooka* worn by the Tharu males. The Tharu always don a cap but the non-Tharus may not. Half-pants and underwears are worn by boys of Tharus and non-Tharus alike.

A larger number of non-Tharu females is used to wearing *sari* and blouse. Some of them also wear petticoats while wearing a *sari*.

The Muslim males use coloured *lungis* and loose pyjamas and a shirt or vest. When going out of the village some of them might put on coloured *sherwani* or *achkan* and a cap, sometime a Fez cap. The Muslim females wear coloured *kurta*, black or red trousers known as *garara* with an *orhani* to cover the head. Rarely, a few of them wear *sari* and blouse as well. The *sari* covers the breast and the head also. The newly married females who observe purdah, go about veiled in a *burka*.

Ornaments

The Tharu males sometimes put on *kardhani* round their waist with one rupee silver coins and corals (*moongas*) hanging from it. Sometimes the *gujaha*, a sort of bracelet of round solid silver, is also used ; a silver or gold *kanausi*, a small thin ring, is also worn by some males on the upper part of the ear ; *bichkani* is similarly worn in the middle of the ear while ring is used on the finger. Some use a *taveez* (amulet) round the neck. Ornaments are not popular among the non-Tharu males. Some Ahirs wear a gold *gulli* tied round the neck with a black thread or silver *gujahas* (wristlets) on the wrists. Some males of other communities wear a ring on the finger. Wearing of ornaments among the males is becoming out of fashion.

The Tharu females love to adorn themselves with heavy silver armlets, bracelets, anklets, nose rings and necklaces of beads and many-coloured shells. The following ornaments are generally used by them :—

Local name of Ornament	Description
1. *Teeka*	A silver ornament weighing about 2 tolas, worn on the forehead by married females only.
2. *Tikuli*	A small piece of coloured and thin glass pasted on the forehead by married females.
3. *Biria*	A silver ornament weighing about 1 tola, worn in the lobe of the ears.
4. *Jhumka*	A silver ear-ring weighing about 4 tolas, worn in the lobe of the ear.
5. *Tarki*	An ear stud made of lac, wood and small glass pieces, worn by married females only.
6. *Sehra*	A silver ornament weighing about 2 tolas, worn in the lobe of the ear.
7. *Motia*	A small nose stud made of gold about 1/4 tola in weight.
8. *Phophi*	A nose stud made of gold, slightly bigger than *motia*, about 3/8 tola in weight.
9. *Nathia*	A big nose ring made of gold from 1/4 tola to 1/2 tola in weight.
10. *Bulak*	A gold nose ring bigger than *nathia*, 1/2 to one tola in weight.
11. *Hansuli*	A round ornament of solid silver worn round the neck, about 20 tolas in weight.
12. *Kantha*	A gold ornament worn round the neck, just like a necklace.
13. *Mala or Havel*	A silver necklace in which one rupee silver coins are woven together with a *haikal* (a broad piece of silver hanging below). It hangs up to the breast.
14. *Bijayath*	A silver armlet with a wide and thin plate, 10 to 20 tolas in weight.
15. *Joshan*	A silver armlet weighing from 8 to 12 tolas.
16. *Tandia*	A round silver armlet weighing from 10 to 20 tolas.
17. *Kangan*	A silver bracelet, weighing from 8 to 10 tolas, worn on the wrist ahead of bangles.
18. *Choori*	Bangles made of shellac, which must be worn on wrist by the married females.
19. *Pachhaila*	A silver bracelet weighing from 8 to 10 tolas worn on wrist behind the bangles.
20. *Paira*	A silver ornament weighing from 8 to 10 tolas worn on the leg.
21. *Lagurahi*	A silver ring weighing about a tola, worn on the toe.
22. *Kara*	A solid silver or german silver ornament weighing from 20 to 30 tolas worn round the leg near the ankles.

Tandia, lagurahi, phophia, havel, tarki, tikuli, kantha and *kara* are worn by the Tharu females almost always. Other ornaments are used at the time of festivals or ceremonies. *Tarki* and *tikuli* are used by the married females only. The non-Tharu females too, wear some of the above ornaments according to their financial status.

Dwellings

Throughout the village and its two hamlets the houses have been constructed in two parallel

lines, on both the sides of the cart tracks running in the *abadi* area. The main doors of the houses do not, however, open on the track. So far as possible, different communities have their own clusters of houses. Most of the houses are built of grass and wattle because this material is easily available in abundance from the nearby forest. Hence they are constructed at some distance from one another for fear of fire because wood and reed catch fire easily.

The following table shows the types of houses communitywise :—

TABLE No. 2.2

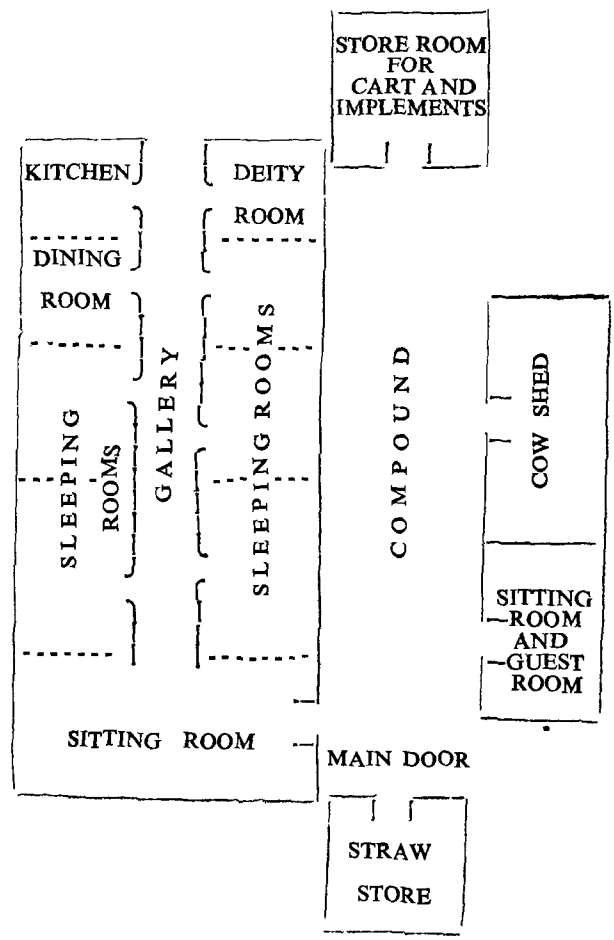
Showing Types of Houses Communitywise

Community	Number of houses	Completely pukka house	Mud wall and tile roof	Mud wall and G. I. Sheet roof	*Ghatera*, *arhar* and mud wall and thatched roof
(A) Hindus					
1. Ahir ..	26	1	7	..	18
2. Arakh ..	1	..	..	..	1
3. Brahmin..	5	1	3	..	1
4. Bhurji ..	3	..	1	..	2
5. Barhai ..	1	..	1	..	..
6. Chamar ..	3	..	..	..	3
7. Dharkar..	5	..	..	..	5
8. Gaderia ..	1	..	..	..	1
9. Kori ..	7	..	..	..	7
10. Kurmi ..	6	..	1	..	5
11. Kalwar ..	1	..	1	..	..
12. Kshattriya	1	..	1	..	..
13. Kahar ..	1	..	..	..	1
14. Kumhar	4	..	1	..	3
15. Lohar ..	2	..	1	.	1
16. Murao ..	10	..	3	1	6
17. Tharu	36	2	5	..	29
Total ..	113	4	25	1	83
(B) Muslims ..	45	1	10	..	34
Total ..	158	4	35	1	111

Thus, out of 158 houses only five houses are completely pukka, 35 houses have mud walls and tiled roofs, one house has mud walls and corrugated galvanised iron sheet roof and the remaining 117 houses have thatched roofs supported on walls made of the stems of *arhar* and *ghatera* reed, plastered with clay and dung. Only 3 per cent of the houses are pukka while 22 per cent of the houses have a tiled roof, leaving the vast majority of 74 per cent of the houses with thatched roofs and weak walls. One Ahir, one Brahmin, two Tharus and one Pathan own pukka houses.

House Type

The Tharu houses are spread in a rectangular form from north to south, the width being from east to west. Houses on a square plot are treated as inauspicious. The following plan shows a typical Tharu house :—



As is evident, the living portion is separate from the cowshed and guest room which is also used by the watchman member of the household, the store room for carts and implements and the straw store. A big compound is left for various purposes, such as sun basking, drying of grain, sleeping during the summer, etc. The

compound is not surrounded by any walls. The main door of the residential portion faces east. Inside, the row of residential rooms is separated by a broad gallery ; the rooms are without door-leaves and hence doors of two rooms do not confront each other, lest privacy of individual couples be disturbed. Rooms in the same row are not separated by walls, but only by rows of corn bins joined together by clay and mud so that one cannot see through. Adequate space remains between the top of the corn bins and the inner portion of the roofs, enabling one to go from one room to another over the roof of the corn bins if one chooses to do so. Every room has got a small hole of about six inches diameter in the back wall as a passage for air and light. Strangely enough it is provided at a height of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the floor.

In the north-eastern room of the residential portion is the deity room which is treated as the abode of the deity Poorbi Bhavani. The room is kept very neat and clean. Actually no puja is performed daily, but whenever an animal is to be slaughtered to propitiate the deity by an individual, this room is utilised.

The kitchen is situated just in front of the deity room. Adjacent to the kitchen is the dining room.

The rooms are generally so dark that even at midday one cannot read or write there without a lamp.

An average residential house is constructed in a plot 25 cubit long and 8 cubit wide. The biggest house in the village is 35 cubit long and 12 cubit wide.

The house of a non-Tharu is different from that of a Tharu. The house of Goley Maharaj is a typical example of a non-Tharu house. The cowshed is situated at a small distance from the residential portion which has two rooms, a verandah, a separate kitchen and a courtyard. The main entrance to the house faces west. The compound between the residential house and the cowshed is called *dwara* and is utilized for sitting and sometimes for tethering the cattle. Some corn bins for storing grain are also placed in the verandah, but they do not serve as partition walls as in the case of a Tharu. The non-Tharus take their meals in the kitchen rather than in a separate room. The house of a Tharu is more neat and clean as compared to the house of a non-Tharu.

Cost of Construction

Most of the material required for the construction of a house is available from the jungle free of cost and hence the average cost of construction of a house is quite low. Generally the house is constructed by members of the household assisted by other households. The total cost of construction of a house having a thatched roof and walls made of *arhar* and *ghatera* reed, plastered with clay and dung, over an area of 25 cubit length and 8 cubit breadth, comes to about Rs.60.

The Kumhars prepare the tiles locally whenever required. The cost of tiles comes to about Rs.8 per thousand. The labourers engaged in constructing the walls charge Rs.1.25 per day and the masons Rs. 2 per day as wages. The carpenter charges Rs. 2.50 per day, but sometimes they work on contract as well. Burnt bricks are available at Pachperwa at Rs.32 per thousand. Similarly, cement is also available there at a price ranging between Rs.7 and Rs.10 per bag. Timber has to be purchased from the forest, but it is available at a concessional rate.

Customs relating to Construction of Houses

When a house is to be constructed by a Tharu, he consults the village pandit for finding out an auspicious day for starting the construction by fixing the first *thunia* or *balli* in the ground. No other ceremonies are performed at this stage or when the house is occupied by the family.

Amongst Brahmins and Kshattriyas and some other Hindus, puja is performed and sweets are distributed after laying the foundation stone of a house. Also *katha* is recited on the occasion of *grah pravesh* (entering the house for the first time for residential purposes). Amongst the Muslims too a small feast is given or sweets distributed when the newly constructed house is occupied. The main entrance of a Hindu house is never on the south side. The Muslims do not have any traditional restrictions.

Dwelling Standards

The following table shows the number of rooms in possession of various households :—

TABLE No. 2.3

Showing Households by Number of Rooms

Number of Rooms	Number of households	Percentage	Number of Persons
1	24	15	66
2	58	37	211
3	35	22	182
4	20	13	134
5	4	3	56
More than 5	17	10	152
Total ..	158	100	801

The 472 rooms in the village are occupied by 158 families having 801 members, thereby indicating that on an average one family having five members has three rooms.

Household Goods

The following table gives an idea of important household goods in possession of households of various communities in the village :—

TABLE No. 2.4

Showing households by Communities

Caste/ Community	Number of Households possessing				
	Bed-stead	Char-poy	Chair, Table, Bench	Mirror	Jalchowki
1. Ahir ..	1	26	..	26	1
2. Arakh ..	..	1	..	1	..
3. Brahmin ..	5	5	1	5	1
4. Bhurji ..	3	3	..	3	..
5. Chamar ..	1	3	..	3	..
6. Dharkar ..	1	4	..	4	..
7. Barhai ..	1	1	..	..	..
8. Gaderia ..	1	1	..	1	..
9. Kori ..	1	7	..	7	..
10. Kurmi ..	4	6	..	6	..
11. Kalwar ..	1	1	..	1	..
12. Kshattriya ..	1	1	..	1	..
13. Kahar ..	..	1	..	1	..
14. Kumhar ..	..	4	..	4	2
15. Lohar ..	2	2	..	2	1
16. Murao ..	7	9	..	9	6
17. Tharu ..	23	35	..	35	..
18. Muslim ..	26	45	1	45	1

Only two households have a chair and a table. There are only 7 torches and 3 bicycles in the village. People move about on foot or on bullock carts. No household possesses a radio or a gramophone.

Utensils

The following utensils are generally used by the residents of this village :—

Local name of Utensils	Description
1. *Batlohi* ..	Bell-metal utensil used for boiling rice and pulse.
2. *Batoola* ..	Bell-metal utensil used for boiling rice.
3. *Karahi* ..	Iron frying pan for preparing meat and vegetables.
4. *Parat* ..	A big plate of brass, meant for preparing dough.
5. *Thali* ..	A big plate of brass or bell-metal used for taking food.
6. *Tawa* ..	A round and convex plate of iron used for baking *chapatis*.
7. *Karchhul Chamcha*	A ladle made of brass or iron used for serving cooked pulse or vegetables.
8. *Lota* ..	A small round utensil made of brass or bell-metal for taking water.
9. *Gagra* ..	A big utensil made of brass or bell-metal for storing and carrying water.
10. *Gagri* ..	A big clay utensil for storing water.
11. *Balti* ..	Bucket made of iron.
12. *Gilas* ..	A tumbler made of brass or bell-metal.
13. *Adhiya* ..	Wooden dish used for taking meals by the children.
14. *Katori* ..	Dish used for taking meals by the children.
15. *Kathwat* ..	A wooden vessel used for keeping curd preparations.

The Muslim households ordinarily use aluminium and clay utensils which naturally cost less. The *tontidar lota* (*lota* having a spout) made of brass is used by Muslims only. Corn bins are found in every household. They are used for storing grains; in addition, they serve the purpose of walls between two rooms in Tharu houses. They are made of clay mixed

with cow dung and straw. The average life of a corn bin is about 25 years. Its capacity varies from 12 maunds to 20 maunds according to size.

Food and Drink

Out of 158 households, only 47 households or about 30 per cent are vegetarian. The Brahmin, Bhurji, Dharkar, Gaderia, Kahar and Kumhar families do not take meat.

The frequency of diet in the village is shown in the following table :—

TABLE NO. 2.6

Showing Frequency of Diet in the Village

Community	Number of households			Households daily taking		
	Total	Vegetarian	Non-vegetarian	One Meal	Two Meals	Three Meals
Ahir ..	26	18	8	..	8	15
Arakh ..	1	..	1	..	..	1
Brahmin ..	5	5	..	..	1	4
Bhurji ..	3	3	..	..	..	3
Barhai ..	1	..	1	..	..	1
Chamar ..	5	..	5	..	..	1
Dharkar ..	5	5	..	..	2	3
Gaderia ..	1	1	..	..	1	..
Kori ..	7	1	6	1	2	4
Kurmi ..	6	..	6	..	2	4
Kalwar ..	1	1	..	..	1	..
Kshattriya ..	1	..	1	..	..	1
Kahar ..	1	1	..	..	1	..
Kumhar ..	4	4	..	..	2	2
Lohar ..	2	1	1	..	1	1
Murao ..	10	7	3	..	2	4
Tharu ..	36	..	26	..	4	32
Muslim ..	45	..	45	..	15	32
Total ..	158	47	111	1	42	115

As is evident, 74 per cent of the households take three meals a day and about 25.7 per cent take only two meals a day. There is one household which is too poor to have more than one meal. A greater percentage of Tharus take three meals a day as compared with others. The Tharus consume more rice and *mand* (liquid starch from rice).

Generally the Tharus take *mand* mixed with salt and chilli at breakfast or *kalewa*. At lunch or *mingi*, boiled rice and pulse are taken while boiled rice, pulse and sometimes meat are consumed in the evening. A greater percentage of Tharus are engaged in rearing poultry which supply them eggs. They also consume country liquor frequently. *Daru* or country liquor is sometimes prepared by distillation in the village. It costs about four annas for a bottle of 24 ounce. They say that Tharu and *daru* are inseparable. Most of the non-Tharus too take liquor, though not so openly as the Tharus do. It is a common belief that liquor works as an active safeguard against the evil effects of the damp climate of this area. Rice is the staple diet of the residents of this village because it is produced in plenty. *Chapaties* of wheat, barley or *bejhar* are also taken. Whatever vegetables are grown in the village are consumed by the residents of this village. Those having milch cattle sometimes take milk and ghee as well. Some guavas, bananas and mangoes are also available in the village.

Birth Customs

Missing a monthly menstruation and morning sickness are the usual indications of pregnancy. If menstruation is missed in the next month also, the fact of conception is confirmed. The expectant woman is given light work to do, lifting of load being strictly prohibited especially in cases of advanced pregnancy. The Tharu women and others belonging to lower castes or poor families continue working actively up to the last month. Those who can afford take nutritious diet during the period of pregnancy.

No special ceremonies are performed after conception or before the birth of the child. A pregnant woman is not allowed to see the moon or the sun in eclipse, for if she does so there

is an apprehension of congenital deformities in the child. They would not use a sickle or a knife, nor would they sit or lie during the period of the eclipse. Cow dung is smeared round the waist line of every expectant woman on this occasion as an additional safeguard.

The delivery takes place at the house of the husband. *Powal* (paddy straw) is spread on the floor on which the expectant mother is made to lie on a scanty bedding. Two women of the Kori community act as midwives. The umbilical cord is buried underground so that dogs or jackals might not consume it.

Among the Tharus the ritual impurity of the household continues for six days but among the non-Tharus it continues for twelve days, when the *barahi* ceremony is performed. Soon after its birth, the baby is washed in tepid water. Among the Tharus the mother is not allowed to take food and cold water for at least two days. *Sonthaura,* a preparation of *gur,* ghee and *sontha* (dried ginger), is served to her. Liquor is also given to her during the period of confinement. It is also rubbed on her body for giving her strength. Liquor is not administered to mothers among Muslims and caste Hindus.

In Tharu households, the child and mother are bathed on the sixth day as part of the purification ceremony. The child is laid in a *soop* (winnowing fan) over a small quantity of rice, as is done on the first day. This rice is given to the midwife or any other woman who conducted the delivery. While bathing the baby, water is poured on its body through a gold nose ring worn by a female. This ceremony is meant for purifying the child.

Among the non-Tharus, the *chhati* ceremony is performed on the sixth day of child birth. The room is cleaned and the males, too, can see the child. A small feast is given to friends and relatives. The mother touches the feet of the elders on coming out of the room of confinement. The midwife is replaced by the barber's wife who looks after the mother. The final ritual purification takes place on the twelfth day, when some puja is performed and a feast is given to the clansmen. The earthen vessels are discarded.

During the period of confinement, a small iron weapon such as knife or sickle is kept by the side of the child for protecting it from the ghost or the evil eye. Fire is kept burning outside the room of confinement so that evil spirits might not come that way. Heads of snakes and scorpions are also burnt in Tharu households so that the child might remain protected from the enemies throughout his life. The skull of a monkey is also placed near the infant in the room of confinement. Every precaution is taken to ensure that a cat does not enter the room.

The *namkaran sanskar* or christening ceremony is performed either on the sixth day among the Tharus or the twelfth day among the non-Tharus or afterwards whenever it suits the convenience of the family. Among the Tharus, the *gand dhuria* (head of the household) blesses the child and gives him a suitable name. Among other Hindus, a Brahmin priest presides over the *namkaran sanskar* when a name is given from out of a list of names suggested by him. Some charity is given to the priest and the clansmen are invited to a feast.

The birth of a child in *mool nakshatra* (inauspicious constellation of stars) is considered to be an ill omen for the father of the child. Special offerings have to be made to ward off the evil effects of such a birth. The father is not allowed to see the child till the 27th day, when the *sataisa* (twenty-seventh day) ceremony is performed. Water from seven wells, wood from seven trees and an unbaked clay pitcher with twenty-seven holes are collected. Puja and *havan* are performed by the priest. The father of the child gets his 27 days old beard shaved, dons new garments and sees the reflection of the face of the child in mustard oil for the first time. A feast is given to friends and relatives. An amount of Rs.1.25 nP. and some provisions are given to the priest in lieu of the services rendered by him.

Mundan sanskar (head shaving ceremony) is performed almost among all the Hindus in the first, third or fifth year of the child. The head

of the child is shaved on an auspicious occasion. A feast is given to friends and relatives. The hair so shaved are preserved in a lump of dough by the father's sister who gets it deposited in a sacred river. She gets some perquisites for it. *Yagopavit sanskar* (sacred thread ceremony) of males is performed in Brahmin and Kshattriya households only.

Among the Muslims, the *khatna* (circumcision) ceremony of males is performed any time up to the age of five years. A feast is given to friends and relatives.

The local population is not aware of the necessity of family planning. A child is the gift of God in the natural course and hence according to them there should be no interference with what is ordained by nature. As a rule, contraceptives are not used. Abortion is not ordinarily practised but in a case of illegitimate conception it is sometimes resorted to in an indigenous manner. When barrenness is not cured by medicines, recourse is taken to supernatural or magical devices. If no success is achieved even then, the belief in destiny comes into play. Some people think that sins of the past life are responsible for this penalty of not having a child. Sometimes charity is given, fasting is done and priests and *sanyasis* are feasted to overcome the curse.

Rites attending on Puberty

A girl is considered to have attained puberty from the day of the first menstruation. Among non-Tharus, no rites are performed on the attainment of puberty. Among the Tharus, however, the *orhani* ceremony is performed on the first day of the Dasehra festival that falls after the first menstruation. An elderly woman of the household, generally an elder sister or a *bhabhi* (brother's wife), puts a new coloured *orhani* on the head of the girl by surprise. Sometimes the girl runs about here and there, resisting the attempt to put the *orhani* on her head but ultimately she has to yield. Once the *orhani* is placed on her head she would never remove it.

Marriage Customs among Tharus

The Dangwariya Tharus living in this village from one endogamous group. The bride and the bridegroom can be of the same village but cannot be of the same *pad*, e.g., a Hadaula can marry in any *pad* other than Hardaula. Marriage within the village is preferred. If a suitable groom is not locally available, one is searched out in the neighbouring Tharu villages. Marital connection in far off localities is avoided so far as possible because in such a case closer relations between the two families cannot be maintained.

Although *mangni* or betrothal ceremony is performed at an early age, yet actual marriage is performed when the boy and girl are rather grown up. Actually speaking, marriages are performed according to the convenience of the parties irrespective of age consideration. No inter-caste marriage has taken place ; similarly, runaway marriages are rare. Extra-marital ties are severely dealt with. If both the parties are Tharu, penalty of *kachchi* or *pakki* feast is imposed by the caste *panchayat*, but if the male belongs to another community, a severe beating is given.

More often than not, the marriage contract is negotiated. It is the family of the boy which seeks the bride. The proposal always comes from the groom's side rather than the bride's. The betrothal is negotiated generally by the *phoopha* (father's sister's husband) or *mama* (mother's brother) of the groom. As mediator in marriage he is locally called *bhatoo* or *ganjwa*. If the families agree, a date for the *mangni* ceremony is fixed by the parties. A Tharu marriage has the following stages :—

1. *Mangni*
2. *Ghar Dikhwai*
3. *Bar Dikhwai*
4. *Vivah*
5. *Gauna*

1. *Mangni Ceremony*

The father of the groom goes to the bride's father and proposes the marriage of his son with his daughter. If the latter agrees, the groom's father gives a rupee and some sweets to the bride's father in token of the initial success of the marriage negotiations and a day is fixed for *ghar dikhwai* ceremony.

Mangni, ghar dikhwai and *bar dikhwai* ceremonies can be performed in any month but the actual marriage ceremony invariably takes place in the *shukla paksh* of *Phagun* after Shivratri.

2. *Ghar Dikhwai Ceremony*

Six or seven persons of the bride's family go to the house of the groom to see the house, the condition of the family and its social and economic status and the land which the groom's father is holding. This is called *ghar dikhwai* (seeing the house) ceremony. The prospective groom touches the feet of the members of the bride's party as a token of respect. This constitutes an introduction of the groom to his would-be father-in-law. Country liquor is served in abundance by the groom's father to the members of the bride's family. Before taking the liquor some one from amongst those assembled asks : "Brethren ! why are we going to take this liquor to-day ?" One of them explains that so and so has come to give his daughter in marriage to the son of so and so. Then another question is put as to whether so and so is accepting her as his son's bride. The father of the groom stands up and expresses acceptance of the bride in the presence of all.

It is also decided that a breach of this promise by either party will be penalized by giving away two grooms or brides or a fine of 100 *patris* (meals of 100 persons) by the offender, as the case may be. The promise is rarely repudiated. The bride's party returns the same day after fixing a date for *bar dikhwai* ceremony when they come to see the bridegroom again with friends and relatives.

3. *Bar Dikhwai Ceremony*

For this ceremony the bride's party consisting of near relatives goes to see the bridegroom at his house. The near relatives of the groom are also invited on the occasion. Sometimes, even 100 or more persons assemble. Meat and drink are lavishly provided by the groom's father. Some of them get overdrunk. They drink and dance merrily.

A male pig or goat which is especially reared and preserved for this occasion from before is slaughtered. This is one of the costliest ceremonies among the Tharus.

4. *Vivah (Marriage)*

The following five types of marriages are performed in the community :—

(i) Marriage by exchange
(ii) Marriage by cash payment
(iii) Widow remarriage
(iv) *Jarimarna* marriage
(v) *Gharbaitha* marriage

(i) *Marriage by Exchange*

Exchange marriages are common in this village. In such marriages, there is an exchange of sisters. The groom's father gives one maund of rice and 5 seers of pulse to the other party. Exchange with a widow is not allowed. In this village, 22 marriages took place by exchange in the Tharu community.

(ii) *Marriage by Cash Payment*

When there is no sister to be exchanged with the bride, some payment has to be made to the bride's father. The payment includes Rs.50 in cash, 12 maunds of paddy, 2 maunds of rice, 10 maunds of *aksa* pulse, rape seed or rape oil, spices, *daru, jaund,* etc. This payment is made by the groom's father before the marriage party reaches the bride's residence.

(iii) *Remarriages of Widows*

Widows with one or two children or without encumbrances are remarried, if they so desire, in the *sagai* form. The selection of the husband takes place at the initiative of the widow. She herself selects one within the family. The deceased husband's younger brother is preferred. No ceremony takes place in the case of widow remarriage. Only a feast, locally known as *bhujwat,* is given by the groom to the community. After the feast, the widow puts on shellac bangles again at the instance of her new husband.

(iv) *Jarimar Marriage*

Marriage by a wife during the life of her husband is known as *Jarimar* marriage. She

seeks separation from her husband by refusing to go to him from her father's house. She selects a man of her own choice and announces her intention to marry. A day is fixed for the ceremony when a small banana tree is fixed on the ground at a distance from the village. The woman and her fiancee go there in bridal dress in the company of some friends and relatives. The woman holds a sickle in her hand. Then some one from the assembly enquires as to what she is going to do with the sickle, to which the bride replies that she is going to cut at the throat of her husband. Then with one stroke she cuts off the banana tree into two, indicating that she has cut the throat of her husband and has also broken the marital ties with him. Her fiancee then catches hold of her by the arm, accepts her as his wife and then brings her to his house in the presence of all. In such a marriage the *parchhan* ceremony of the bride and the groom does not take place at his house. In this village two marriages of this type have been performed.

(v) *Gharbaitha Marriage*

This type of marriage takes place when the bride or the widow does not leave her place and asks the groom to come and settle down with her. In case of virgins, all the formalities of marriage are gone through but in case of widows, the formalities ordinarily performed in the case of widow remarriage only are performed. The husband begins residing with his wife just after marriage. In this village Ram Lotan who was a widower married a widow Smt. Asha Dei and began residing at her house.

Ceremonies before Marriage

After the *bar dikhwai* ceremony is over, the groom's father sends 2 maunds of rice, one maund of pulse, 4 seers of *gur,* some *jaund* and curds as a token of the final settlement of the marriage. If the bride's father is of means, he takes only 5 *muththis* (handful) of rice and 2 *muththis* of pulse out of it and returns the balance to the groom's father but if he is rather poor he takes all of it and returns very little out of it. This carrying of grains from the residence of the groom to that of the bride is locally called *chawur karai* ceremony. On this occasion *daru* is served to some members of the *biradari.* The groom's representatives then return to their village, beating their *daphla* (a sort of drum) on their way back.

One day after the rice-taking ceremony, the *Deolalahi* ceremony is observed at both the places. On this occasion all the near and dear ones are invited to attend. On this day grinding of *urd* pulse is done by two maidens. Before grinding, the pulse is carried to the bank of river Ghogrol, for being washed. While returning, the females sing and dance, the mother of the bride or the groom being the chief dancer. She dances all along the way. Next morning the *baras* (small fried cakes) are prepared from the *urd* pulse. Those are distributed among friends and relatives who have assembled there.

Bridal Dress

The bridal dress is prepared by local Muslim tailors. The bridal dress for males is *a jama* (a long bridal gown from neck to the knee), a turban and a *pharhanda* (a long cloth tied round the waist). All these garments are made of white *nainsukh* cloth. The dress for females consists of a *kurta* (like a blouse), a *pharia* (an *orhani* used for covering the head), a *chadar* and a *lehanga* of *galta* cloth. These clothes are red in colour. The tailor is paid about Rs.35 for preparing all the garments of the bridegroom/bride and the family.

This bridal dress has a great significance in a Tharu marriage. It is invariably prepared for every bride and groom separately. It cannot be a borrowed one. After the marriage ceremony, it is carefully preserved, to be used after death at the time of cremation. The dead body, clad in bridal attire, is taken seven times round the funeral pyre. Thus it is after death that the marriage ceremony is completed.

The bride comes in the bridal dress got prepared by her father and returns in the dress got prepared by her father-in-law.

Marriage Ceremony

On the day of marriage the bridegroom, attired in his bridal dress and accompanied by his

friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride. The bridegroom's middleman, locally called *bhatoo* or *ganjwa,* carries earthen pots containing *daru, jaund* and fish to the bride's residence. This carrying of these articles is called *sikobarhi bokna.* He precedes the bridal party. The groom is generally carried on a *doli* (palanquin) by honorary bearers, locally known as *sunha.* The marriage party stays at a place known as *janwasa.* In the evening the bridegroom and his party go to the house of the bride where her friends and relations receive them. The females of the bride's family assemble at the door and by way of reception sprinkle *urd, moong,* rice and pea on the groom and sing loudly. This ceremony is called the *duar* puja (reception at the door). The bride's father puts a rice and turmeric mark on the forehead of the groom. While returning to the *janwasa* after this ceremony the *ganjwa* is made to dance and sing throughout on the way.

On return to the *janwasa,* the *gor dhowai* (washing of the feet) ceremony is held. In the midst of songs, the females of the bride's family come to wash the feet of the *doolha* (bridegroom) and the *sahbala* (the groom's younger brother). After washing the feet, the dirty water is thrown to the backside of the groom. The females demand *bhaint* (gift) and some cash payment is made to them.

The groom is again called to the bride's place, taken to the deity room and then conducted to a decorated room, locally called *kohbar,* and made to sit on a cot. Dressed in her bridal attire, the bride comes and touches his feet. The sisters or *bhabhi* or friends of the bride crack all sorts of jokes with the groom who is also the victim of many impish pranks. The groom touches the feet of the mother-in-law, the maternal uncle's wife, the wife of his elder brother-in-law and wife's elder sister who give one rupee each to him in return. The couple then goes to the deity room with the females singing around, to pay their respect to the deity.

In the meantime an amount of Rs.5 in cash, 5 *dhotis,* a *lehanga* and a *kurta* are given by the groom's father to the bride's father as *manjai* gift. The clothes so given are known as *chhauna kurta.*

Then all the members of the bridal party are called to dinner, locally called *beri khilana.* Boiled rice, pulse, vegetables and meat are served to the party. The groom's father-in-law, locally called *raut,* ties a rupee to the turban of the groom at the time of dinner.

When the groom tries to come out of the bride's house, her younger sisters obstruct him. The ceremony is called *duar chhikana.* The groom makes some payment to them and they let him go. In his own turn, he catches hold of the *anchal* (hem) of the *orhani* of his wife's elder sister or *bhabhi.* They make some payments to him. Then the groom comes out and is taken back to the *janwasa.*

Next morning the *barat* leaves the place along with the bride. Before leaving, the groom's father goes to the bride's residence with the party and pays the following token charges to the bride's father :—

Item	Details	Amount
		Rs.
1. *Bhuin Dhamkai*	Charges for the use of land	10.00
2. *Bhat Banwai*	Charges for preparing rice for the bridal party	10.00
3. *Patta Lagwai*	Charges for preparing leaf plates	5.00
4. *Pani Bharwai*	Charges for fetching water	5.00
5. *Chirkawahi*	Charges for making the surroundings dirty	10.00
	Total	40.00

The bride is carried in a *doli* (palanquin) borne by her father and/or brothers or near relations. She is also accompanied by a *lokandari* — an elderly female other than the bride's mother or aunt. She looks after the bride and 'protects' her from the overtures of her husband in the night.

When the marriage party reaches the groom's residence, the bride and the groom are received by the females of the family. The ceremony

is called *doolha parchhana.* The mother or any other married female, if the mother is a widow, holds a *soop* (winnowing fan) in her left hand with a small clay lamp burning in it and a *pahaiuwa* (a big pestle) in the right hand. She sways the pestle round the heads of the couple and then touches it with the *soop.* The operation is repeated five or seven times. Then the couple is conducted inside the house. They go and pay their respect to the deity. Then they are made to sit together on a cot. The bride rubs a little *bukwa* (paste of crushed rape) on the left leg of her husband. This is the binding part of the marriage ceremony. Rest of the body is rubbed with *bukwa* by his elder brother's wife. In the night both sleep separately. The *lokandari* sleeps in the room of the bride. Next morning the bride leaves for her father's house in the *doli,* now carried by her father-in-law or his men. The *lokandari* also returns.

Gauna

The second marriage or the *gauna* ceremony is performed sometimes afterwards according to the convenience of the parties — age of majority of the spouses being one of the major considerations. During the period between the marriage and the *gauna* ceremony the bride is not expected to do any household work at her parent's house. She is busy preparing *mauni* (small baskets made of *moonj* grass) and *machia* (a sort of small and low backless chair). For inviting the relatives to participate in the *gauna* ceremony, the bridegroom sends a *machia* and a *gunri* to all the relatives who send one rupee each to him in return. For the *gauna* ceremony the groom goes to the bride's house with a party of friends and relatives on the stipulated date. They eat and drink in the night and return with the bride the next morning. She carries with her all the baskets and *machias* prepared by her. The bride is carried to her husband's house in a *doli* borne by her father and other relatives. Again there is a *dulhan parchhan* ceremony at the residence of the groom by the females. This time the marriage is consummated and the bride stays there for a long time.

Some Marriage Customs among Tharus

Marriage with maternal uncle's daughter or mother's sister's daughter is allowed. Marriage with other blood relations is not permissible.

Divorce and widow remarriage are allowed. Divorcees can remarry just as widows can. The social status of such a wife is, however, considered somewhat inferior to that of the regularly wedded wife. But for purposes of inheritance both rank equally. Polygamy is allowed but polyandry is prohibited.

The younger brother can marry the elder brother's widow but the elder brother cannot marry his younger brother's widow.

Vermilion can be daubed in the parting of the hair only by the married females.

In every marriage a gift of five utensils, namely, *batoli, thali, lota, gagra* and *karchhul,* locally known *panchbar bartan,* is given by the bride's father to the groom's father. The gift is given in the case of a marriage by exchange as well.

No priest or Brahmin presides over the marriage functions.

Marriage Customs among other Hindus

In most of the cases marriages are settled by the parents of the bridegroom and the bride. It is the bride's party that approaches the bridegroom's party for the settlement of marriage. Runaway marriages and inter-caste marriages are looked down upon. There are no consanguineous marriages in any community.

When the bridegroom has been finally settled, the *tilak* ceremony is performed at his residence. An elder brother of the bride takes some money, rice, cloth, etc. to the house of the groom. The ceremony is generally performed in the evening in the presence of the friends and relatives of the parties. The groom is made to sit on a wooden *peerha* (low stool) with his face towards the east. The priest sits on his right side and the girl's brother in front of him. The priest recites some verses in Sanskrit from the scriptures; a rice and turmeric mark is put on the forehead of the groom and some money,

sweets, cloth, etc. are offered to him. After this ceremony the groom stands reserved for the girl. This contract is seldom repudiated.

Within one month of the *tilak* ceremony the date of marriage is fixed and the actual marriage is performed in the *kanyadan* form. Amongst Brahmins and Kshattriyas, the sacred thread ceremony of the boy is performed a couple of days before the actual marriage, if it has not been performed earlier. Both the bride and the groom are massaged with a paste of crushed oil seeds mixed with turmeric for days together so that their looks might improve. Betel nuts coloured with turmeric are sent to the relatives through a barber who informs them of the programme of marriage.

The groom dressed in yellow *dhoti* and *jama* (a sort of bridal gown without buttons) and wearing a *mour* (a sort of crown made of papers and flowers) on his head goes to the bride's house with *barat* (marriage party). In the evening, *duar* puja (reception at the door) takes place at the bride's residence. The actual marriage ceremony is performed in the night under a canopy at the bride's residence. The boy and the girl are made to sit side by side in the presence of the holy fire. The pandit who presides over the function sits on the right side of the groom. They are tied by a marital knot and perform the *shaptapadi* (the circumambulation of holy fire seven times) to the recitation of *mantras* or holy verses by the pandit. They recite the marriage vows also. The *kanyadan* or the giving away of the daughter to the groom is performed by the father of the bride. The marriage is completed as soon as the *shaptapadi* ceremony is over. During the course of this ceremony, womenfolk go on singing songs suitable for the occasion. The bride accompanies the bridegroom when he returns to his house the next day.

The *gauna* or second marriage ceremony takes place at a later date according to the age and the convenience of the parties. It is after *gauna* ceremony that the marriage becomes effective. Dowry is given by the bride's party according to means.

The Brahmin priest does not preside at marriage functions at the houses of Chamars and other Scheduled Castes. They have their own functionaries for this occasion.

Marriage Customs among Muslims

Among the Muslims, marriage is a contract and not a sacrament as amongst the Hindus. On the day fixed for marriage, the groom's party reaches the residence of the bride where they are received. The groom puts on a coloured *sherwani*, a cap of the same cloth and a white *pyjama*. The bride puts on a *shalwar* or *garara*, a *kurta* or jumper and a *dopatta*. A *kazi* or Mohammedan priest presides over the *nikah* or marriage ceremony. The *mehar* or alimony is agreed upon. Thereafter, the bride and the groom indicate their acceptance of each other as partners in matrimony. The acceptance is recorded on a sheet of paper with signatures of witnesses. Three copies of this contract are prepared. One copy remains with the bride's father, the other with the groom's father and the third with the *kazi* who conducted the *nikah*. Dry dates and *batashas* (sweets) are distributed. After the ceremony is over, the groom's party is given a feast by the bride's father. The bride accompanies the groom the next day.

Death Customs

The death customs among the Hindus of this village do not materially differ from those of Hindus in the plains. The dead are cremated on the bank of Bhambar river. Those dying young (up to the age of 10 years or so) or of infectious diseases are buried. The dead body is taken to the cremation ground on a bier on the shoulders of four persons. Other people also accompany the party. The pyre is lit by the eldest son of the deceased. The ashes are collected on the third day and immersed in the river. Sometimes the ashes are taken to Devi Patan or Ayodhya for being immersed. The head shaving ceremony of the males in the family takes place on the 10th day. On the occasion of the death of the father, all the sons get their moustache too shaved. The ritual impurity continues for 13 days when the *terhavin*

(13th day) ceremony is held. Friends and relatives assemble and eat at the house of the deceased. Brahmins are also fed and puja is performed. The period of mourning is then over.

Death Customs among Tharus

Among the Tharus, the death customs are slightly different. The dead body is bathed and attired in the bridal dress, wrapped in a sheet of *nainsukh* cloth and then tied to a bier. In case of females, a red sheet is used. Sometimes, a shawl is also placed on the dead body. The bier is carried to the bank of river Bhambar on the shoulders of four persons. At the time of cremation, the dead body of a male is placed on the pyre in prostrate position and that of the female in a supine position. Before placing the body on the funeral pyre, it is taken round the pyre seven times in an anti-clock direction, as a substitute of the circumambulation of the holy fire in a *kanyadan* marriage. Thus it is after death that the marriage ceremony is actually completed. The pyre is generally lit by the eldest son of the deceased. The ashes are immersed in the river soon after the funeral. In some cases these are taken to holy places like Devi Patan or Ayodhya for being immersed in the river. No relics are raised in memory of the deceased.

While returning after the funeral they would dig small pits on the ground with a spade so that the departed soul might fall into them if it wants to return to the house. It is a common belief that the soul cannot cross over a pit.

Chhoti roti or a small feast is given on the third day of death.

The *shuddhi* or purification ceremony starts on the tenth day in case of males and on the ninth day in case of females. Every male member of the family has to get his head and beard shaved. The moustache of a son is shaved in case of father's death and *choti* (tuft of hair) in the case of mother's death, if the father is alive. A feast is given to a few friends and relatives. A goat or a pig or chicken are sacrificed in honour of the deceased.

The final purification ceremony is held on the thirteenth day when *bari roti* or big feast is given to friends and relatives who arrive from distant parts even. Meat, fish and drinks are freely served. This ceremony is also known as *ghara* ceremony. If due to one's financial circumstances one cannot give this feast on the thirteenth day, it can be postponed but must be given before the next *Kartik* month.

Shradh ceremony is performed by the Tharus just like other Hindus during the *pitra paksh*, the fortnight sacred to the deceased ancestors.

Death Customs among Muslims

The death customs in this community are the same as in the plains. The dead body is wrapped in a shroud of about 25 yards and laid in the grave. The *charum* ceremony is observed on the fourth day and *chaliswan* ceremony on the 40th day of death. The poor are fed on these occasions and prayers are recited for ensuring peace to the departed soul.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Occupations

The following table gives a detailed split-up of occupations, showing the number of persons in each occupation :—

TABLE NO. 3.1

Showing the Number of Persons engaged in Different Occupations

Occupation	Number of Persons			Percentage of Total Workers
	Persons	Males	Females	
I. *Agriculture*				
1. Cultivation	357	209	148	82.8
2. Agricultural labourer	14	8	6	3.2
	371	217	154	86.0
II. *Business*				
1. Betel seller	1	1	..	
2. Bangle seller	1	..	1	
3. Tobacco seller	1	1	..	
4. Retailer of general merchandise	4	4	..	
	7	6	1	1.6
III. *Industry*				
1. Carpenter	1	1	..	
2. Blacksmith	6	6	..	
3. Oil crushing	2	1	1	
4. Potter	2	2	..	
5. Grain parching	5	2	3	
6. Tailoring	1	1	..	
7. Shoe making	2	2	..	
8. Basket making	8	5	3	
9 Brick laying	3	3	..	
	30	23	7	7.0
IV. *Services*				
1. Dhobi	5	2	3	
2. Wood cutter	2	2	..	
3. Midwife	2	..	2	
4. Sirwar	1	1	..	
5. Barber	4	2	2	
6. Cattle grazer	4	3	1	
7. Priest	3	3	..	
8. Domestic services	1	..	1	
	22	13	9	5.2
V. *Transport*	1	1	..	0.2
Total workers	431	260	171	100.00
Non-workers	370	130	240	
Total population ..	801	390	411	

The population has about 58 per cent workers ; out of the working force, about 60.3 per cent are males. Agriculture is the most important occupation in which 86 per cent of the working population is engaged. Out of the 371 persons engaged in agriculture, 58.5 per cent are males and 41.5 per cent are females ; these include the agricultural labourers ; 7 per cent are engaged in household industry, 5.2 per cent in services of various types within the village, 1.6 per cent in business and 0.2 per cent in transport.

Occupation by Caste

Out of 209 males and 148 females in cultivation, 103 males and 76 females are Tharu, 41 males and 8 females are Muslim, 34 males and 33 females are Ahir, 10 males and 10 females are

Kurmi, 9 males and 16 females are Murao, 4 males and 2 females are Kumhar, 3 males and one female are Brahmin, 2 males and 2 females are Chamar and 3 males are Kshattriya. Out of 8 males and 6 females working as agricultural labourers, 2 males and 2 females are Tharu, 2 males and 2 females are Kori, one male and one female each are Arakh and Kurmi, and one male each is Muslim and Ahir. Other minor occupations are followed by persons of various castes in the village. Agriculture, the main occupation of the village, is followed by the Tharus, the Ahirs and the Muslims.

Change in Occupation

Out of 158 heads of households, 38 were not found following the occupations followed by the father in case of males and the husband in case of females. Various reverses have been responsible for the change in occupation. The father of Hari Ram Tharu was a contractor but the son has become an agricultural servant because there was a loss in contracts. The fathers of Moti Ram and Kashi Ram Tharus, Rampal Kurmi, Gaya Prasad Lohar, Yusuf Jaga, Malang Kalandar and Habibullah Sheikh were cultivators but the sons have become agricultural servants because they had to part with land due to poverty and other circumstances. The father of Mohammed Shafi was a cultivator but the son has become a Maulvi in the local mosque; Razzaq was a mahout but after the abolition of Zamindari he shifted to this village and became a cattle grazer; the father of Salamat was a goldsmith but he did not learn this art and has to remain content with begging; the father of Rahmatullah Jaga was a cultivator, but the land under cultivation slipped off and the son has become a beggar; Rajai Kahar was a servant in Balrampur Estate but after the abolition of Zamindari his services were dispensed with and he has shifted to this village as a betel seller; Sahib Deen Ahir was also a servant in the Estate but after the abolition of Zamindari he has become an agricultural labourer; Sundar Kurmi and his wife settled in this village as general labourers after some miscreants had deprived them of their cash and ornaments at Pachperwa railway station; Udit Kori's father used to be a share cropper but now no land is available for share-cropping and hence he has become an agricultural labourer; Goverdhan Barhai and Dashrath Kumhar had some land under their cultivation but they lost it in due course and are at present working as carpenter and potter; Abdul Rehman's father was a cultivator but the son has degenerated into a land rent receiver; the father of Dhanpat Kurmi was a cultivator but after his death the mother shifted to this village where Dhanpat became a share-cropper; the fathers of Ajodhiya, Gur Charan and Raja Ram were cattle grazers but the sons got some land and have become cultivators; the father of Ram Lochan Bhurji was a cultivator but the son earns his livelihood by grain-parching; the father of Sukkha and Munshi used to graze cattle but the sons became share-croppers because they got some land; Bishambhar's father was a cultivator but due to poverty, the son has become a general labourer; Bhagailo's father was a cultivator but he came as a *ghar-bhaita* husband in this village and has become an agricultural servant; Badri is lame and hence a general labourer; Kodai is a minor whose father was a cultivator but on becoming an orphan, Kodai has become a rent-receiver.

As regards the womenfolk, the husband of Smt. Masooma was a cultivator but after his death the widow became a rent-receiver; the husband of Smt. Jainta was an agricultural servant but after his death the widow has become an agricultural labourer; the husband of Smt. Jainab was a cultivator but after his death she has taken to bangle-selling; the husband of Smt. Maihan Murao was a cultivator but after his death, she has taken to horticulture; the husbands of Smt. Bipta and Smt. Maharani were cultivators but after their deaths the widows became rent-receivers; the husbands of Smt. Jogi and Smt. Budhana were cultivators but after their death one has become a general labourer and the other a cattle grazer; the husband of Smt. Sumitra Ahir was a cattle grazer but after his death she has become an agricultural labourer.

As a rule there is no migration, temporary or permanent, from this village to other places but cases of immigration into the village are not rare.

Subsidiary Occupations

The subsidiary occupations generally followed are transport of timber from the forest to Pachperwa railway station or working as a lumberman in the forest or working as agricultural labourers.

Agriculture

As already pointed out, agriculture, constituting cultivation and agricultural labour, is the main occupation in the village in which 86 per cent of the workers are engaged. The following table indicates the age group of workers in cultivation :—

TABLE No. 3.2

Showing Workers in Cultivation classified by Sex and Age Groups

Age Group (Years)	Cultivation		
	Number of Workers		
	Persons	Males	Females
All Ages	357	209	148
0—14	35	28	7
15-34	164	92	72
35—59	131	72	59
60 and over	27	17	10

The females work side by side with the males. Except for ploughing they do every odd job in connection with agriculture. They are especially good at transplantation.

Nature of Soil

The soil of this village is very suitable for paddy cultivation. It is classified as follows :—

TABLE No. 3.3

Showing Soil Classification and Rent

	Class of Soil		Circle Rate
1.	Goind	..	Rs. 3 per bigha
2.	Domat I	..	Rs. 2/4 per bigha
3.	Domat II	..	Rs. 2 per bigha
4.	Domat III	..	Rs. 1/5 per bigha
5.	Matiyar I	..	Rs. 2/1 per bigha
6.	Matiyar II	..	Rs. 1/7 per bigha

Domat I and Domat II are the best soils in the village.

Irrigation

There is absolutely no source of irrigation in the village. The cultivators have to depend upon the vagaries of the weather.

System of Land Tenure

Before the abolition of Zamindari the village was in the then Balrampur Estate. The Tahsildar of the Estate used to live at Pachperwa and the village was under the Taluqdari system. The Estate Ziledar and the Tahsildar were responsible for collection of the revenue during those days. Tenure of tenancy was quite uncertain. Any cultivator could be dispossessed at the will of the Estate. Permanent improvements could not be effected on the land. The villagers had to render forced labour to the Estate. In fact the tenants were more or less serfs.

The Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act was enforced on July 1, 1952. With the dawn of political freedom, the State Government decided to do away with the much-maligned Zamindari system which was established by the foreigners for reasons of expediency and administrative convenience. It was strongly felt that without a radical change in the system of land tenure, no co-ordinated plan of rural reconstruction could be undertaken to ensure agricultural efficiency and increased food production, to raise the standard of living of the peasantry and to give opportunities for the full development of the peasants personality. It was expected that the new system would restore to the cultivator, the rights and the freedom which were his and to the village community the supremacy which is exercised over all the elements of village life. It was, therefore, considered necessary to substitute the bewildering variety of land tenures by a simple and uniform scheme of two main forms of land tenure. The intermediaries in respect of their *sir, khudkasht* and groves were classed as *bhumidhars*. So did also the tenants who paid an amount equal to ten times their rent. The

remaining tenants were called *sirdars* with permanent and heritable rights in land, the right to use their land for any purpose connected with agriculture, horticulture or animal husbandry and to make any improvements.

A minor form of land tenure called *asami* was applied to non-occupancy tenants of land in which stable rights could not be given such as tracts of shifting or unstable cultivation, and persons to whom land might be let in future by *bhumidhars* and *sirdars* who are incapable of cultivating the land themselves. To prevent the re-emergence of the landlord–tenant system, the right of letting was restricted only to disabled persons, such as minors, widows and persons suffering from physical or mental infirmity.

All land of common utility, such as *abadi* sites, pathways, wastelands, forests, fisheries, public wells, tanks and water channels vested in the village community. The Gaon Panchayat acting on behalf of the village community was entrusted with wide powers of land management.

Thus after the abolition of Zamindari, the system of land tenure was simplified. At the time of survey, the area of land under various land tenures was as follows :–

TABLE NO. 3.4

Showing Area of Land under various Land Tenures

Tenure		Area (acres)	Percentage
1. Bhumidhari	..	408.32	38.1
2. Sirdari	..	450.67	42.0
3. Gaon Samaj land	..	138.98	12.9
4. Government forest	..	73.28	7.0
Total	..	1,071.25	100.00

The tenants have to pay less rent now since the intermediary has been eliminated. They are no longer subject to tyranny of the zamindar. They are free to bring about any improvement. No doubt after the abolition of Zamindari some restrictions have been imposed on hunting, free use of timber and grass which they enjoyed during the Estate regime.

Size of Holdings

An important aspect of land utilization is the average size of holdings in the village. The holdings are continually subdivided on every succession in accordance with the existing law of inheritance. As a result of this continued process, some of the holdings become too small to support the holders and their families. Hence the cultivator has either to acquire fresh land or to reduce his standard of living. If he does neither, he will have to run into debt and ultimately join the rank of landless labourers.

The following table shows the size of holdings in the village :–

TABLE NO. 3.5

Showing the Size of Cultivated Holdings

Area of Holding		Number of Households	Number of Plots
1. Below 1 acre		39	96
2. 1 acre to 4.9 acres		35	641
3. 5 acres to 9.9 acres		33	1,302
4. 10 acres to 14.9 acres		10	419
5. 15 acres to 19.9 acres		5	276
6. 20 acres to 24.9 acres		4	246
7. 25 acres and above		7	727
Total	..	133	3,707

The largest number of households have holdings below 1 acre, from 1 acre to 4.9 acres and 5 acres to 9.9 acres. The village has 3,707 plots in possession of 133 households, which shows that on an average one household has 27 plots of land under its cultivation. The biggest single plot of land in the village has an area of 8.84 acres and the smallest plot has an area of 0.01 acre.

Harvest

Only *Kharif* and *Rabi* crops are grown in the village. The crops sown with the commencement of rainy season are harvested in the month of October. Paddy which is transplanted in the month of August is harvested in the month of November–December and is called *Aghani* paddy. The paddy sown in June–July is harvested in the month of September–October and is called *Kunwari* paddy. Paddy is the main crop of the village. The variety known as *Kalanamak,* which is known for its good smell, is generally sown. It is also used in the preparation of *jaund,* country liquor, distilled by the Tharus themselves.

The following table shows the land under cultivation in *Kharif* and *Rabi*:–

TABLE NO. 3.6

Showing the Kharif and Rabi Crops

Name of Crop	Area of the Crop in the Village in Acres
(A) *Kharif* Crops	
1. Paddy (*Kunwari*) ..	87.89
2. Paddy (*Aghani*) ..	511.15
3. Maize ..	19.92
4. *Kodon* and *Kodon Arhar* ..	79.47
5. *Arhar* ..	2.87
6. *Urd* ..	41.63
7. Sugarcane ..	2.84
8. *Til* ..	1.66
9. Chilli ..	4.37
10. Paddy seedling ..	44.12
Total ..	795.92
(B) *Rabi* Crops	
1. Wheat ..	17.72
2. Wheat and Gram ..	10.04
3. Wheat and Barley ..	13.72
4. Barley ..	48.19
5. *Baijhar* ..	54.23
6. Gram ..	3.56
7. Pea ..	3.88
8. *Masur* ..	18.00
9. *Aksa* ..	102.83
10. Potato ..	7.57
11. Rape ..	38.92
12. *Alsi* ..	0.80
13. Tobacco ..	0.13
14. Spices ..	2.00
Total ..	321.59

The area under *Kharif* crops is more than double the area under *Rabi* crops.

Paddy Cultivation

Paddy is the most important crop of the village. Out of 795.92 acres of land cultivated in *Kharif* season, paddy alone occupies 599.04 acres or 75 per cent of the area. It is grown mostly in Matiyar and Domat soils. *Kalanamak* and *Shyamjeera* are the main varieties of paddy grown in the village.

Plots in which the *Kunwari* paddy is grown are ploughed up five to six times before the seed is sown. In case of *Aghani* paddy, the plot in which seedlings are prepared is ploughed seven to eight times and the locally prepared compost manure is given at the rate of 6 bullock-carts per *bigha,* i.e., about 360 maunds per acre. Paddy is sown with the onset of rains. In case of *Kunwari* paddy seed is sown at the rate of about one maund per acre but in the case of *Aghani* paddy seed is sown at the rate of about one maund and 20 seers per acre by broadcasting method. When the seedlings grow to a height of six inches, weeding is done. For protecting themselves from sun, the cultivators use a special umbrella made of leaves and grass. It is locally called *chhata.* It is supported on three bamboo sticks. Weeding is done in case of *Kunwari* paddy only; extra growth is weeded out about three to four times.

Transplantation is done only in case of *Aghani* paddy, when seedlings have grown to a height of 10 to 12 inches. In weeding and transplantation both men and women work. During the operation they are found sitting or bending in mud and water in the field, singing songs and cutting jokes in a jovial mood. The labourers engaged for transplantation are paid at the rate of 4 seers of paddy or one rupee and four annas per day.

When transplantation is over in the whole village, a date is fixed with the consent of all for observing the *Hareri* festival.

Kunwari paddy is harvested in the months of September–October. The plant is cut by the sickle at the lowest part of the stem. When all

the plants are cut, they are collected together and brought to the *khaliyan* by the cultivators. If there is water in the plots and the stems are sufficiently wet, the harvested paddy plants are first laid to dry on the ground and then stored up in *khaliyan* where grain is separated from the stem. The yield is about 10 maunds per acre.

Aghani paddy is harvested in the month of November. It is also cut at the lowest part of the stem with the sickle. The labourers engaged for harvesting are paid at the rate of 4 seers of paddy or one rupee and four annas per day. The harvest is stacked in the *khaliyan* where grain is separated from the stem with the help of bullocks. The Tharus never weigh the yield but it is estimated at 15 maunds per acre.

In the harvesting season a large number of beggars camp in this village for begging. Among the Tharus it is customary to give 1/40 of the total yield of paddy to beggars in charity.

After the *Aghani* paddy, the plots are generally left fallow to be used for this very crop again.

Average Yield

The seed sown in respect of various crops and the yield per acre are given below :—

Name of Crop	Seed in Seers sown per Acre	Yield in Maunds per Acre
1. Wheat	50	10
2. Barley	55	8
3. Peas	40	8
4. *Masoor*	20	8
5. *Urd*	5	5
6. *Kakun*	5	6
7. *Kodon*	20	8
8. *Sawan*	5	4
9. Sugarcane	1,200	200

Manure

For the preparation of compost manure, cow dung, filth, leaves and other rubbish collected from the households are made to rot in manure pits dug by the road side for this purpose to the north, the south, and the west of the *abadi*. Every pit is about three and half feet deep, four feet long and about three feet wide. Chemical fertilizers are not used in the village. *Sanai* is sometimes used as green manure especially in the plots where paddy seedlings are prepared. It is used more as a fibre rather than a manure. Some of the cultivators also burn the shrubs and grass in the fields ; the ashes are ploughed in the soil as manure. The manure is carried to the fields by bullock carts.

Rotation of Crop

The rotation of crop over three plots cultivated by Ram Tirath Tharu, ex-Pradhan of the Gaon Sabha, was studied. The local names of the plots are Piprahwa, Dihwa and Banjhiwa. Winter paddy only is sown in the first plot ; paddy seedling for winter paddy is sown in Dihwa ; thereafter the wheat crop is raised. No other crop is sown. In the third plot *arhar* is shown in *Kharif* and *Goojhar* in *Rabi*.

Pests and Crop Diseases

The crops are not free from diseases and pests. The following diseases and pests are generally found in the various crops :—

Harvest	Crop	Pests	Diseases
Kharif	1. Paddy	Karuka, Dahiya and Kapti	1. Blast disease and leaf-spot
	2. Maize	Grass-hopper and Stem-borer	Seed-borer and smut
Rabi	1. Wheat	Goojhia Gundhi	Smut
	2. Barley	Goojhia Gundhi	Smut
	3. Rape	Aphid	Rust

Nothing is done by the cultivators for fighting these diseases and pests. They are simply at the mercy of nature in the matter.

Agricultural Produce and its Disposal

The following table shows the agricultural produce of the village :—

Name of Produce	Annual Quantity produced	Annual Quantity consumed	Quantity available for Sale
1. Paddy	23,103 mds.	18,175	4,928
2. Wheat	1,140 mds.	680	460
3. Pulses	1,589 mds.	1,000	589
4. Maize	338 mds.	300	38
5. Barley	741 mds.	600	141
6. Sugarcane	Rs. 1,474	900	574
7. Vegetable	Rs. 1,480	700	780
8. Chillies	Rs. 820	820	—
9. Tobacco	Rs. 120	120	—
10. Oilseeds	Rs. 1,400	1,200	200
11. Other Agricultural crops	Rs. 1,400	1,000	400
12. Fodder	Rs. 2,600	2,600	—

The surplus produce is sold in the market to meet other domestic needs. Sugarcane is crushed at the cane crusher in hamlet Domri and *gur* is prepared.

Jaura of paddy is given to the following officials and servants :—

Official/Servant	Quantity of Paddy
1. Lekhpal	12 seers per plough per year
2. Forest Guard	6 „ „
3. Barber	18 „ „
4. Washerman	18 „ „
5. Carpenter	4 „ quarterly
6. Blacksmith	6 „ „

The payment to the Lekhpal and the Forest Guard is customary and to others the payment is for services rendered by them.

Marketing of Produce

After the paddy crop has been harvested some dealers come to the village for purchasing paddy and taking it to the market. Besides selling the produce in the village, the cultivators take the surplus produce from time to time to the markets at Pachperwa and Barhaipurwa on market days. There is no co-operative marketing society in the village. The cultivators have to sell at a cheap rate because they cannot wait long.

Source of Finance

There is no co-operative credit society in the village but 22 cultivators of this village are members of the co-operative credit society in village Bishanpur Bishram. An amount of Rs.2,585 was borrowed by these members of the society at an interest of $8\frac{3}{4}$ per cent per year. Money is also advanced by private moneylenders in the village. They charge 50 per cent as rate of interest per annum. Loan is advanced either in cash or in kind but it is generally realised in kind.

Agricultural Implements

The agricultural implements in use are prepared locally by the carpenter and the blacksmith. Bullock-carts are also prepared in the village.

The following agricultural implements are generally used in the village :—

Local name	English synonym	Made of	Used
1. *Hal*	Plough	Wood and iron	for tilling the soil
2. *Hainga*	Leveller	Wood	
3. *Jwatha*	Yoke	Wood	for breaking the clods for putting a pair of bullocks together for pulling the plough or leveller
4. *Phar*	Plough's shear	Iron	in plough for tilling the soil
5. *Kudal*	A long hoe	Iron wth a bamboo handle	for digging the earth to an ordinary depth
6. *Kudari*	A small hoe	„	„
7. *Phaora*	Spade	„	for digging the earth to a greater depth
8. *Hansia*	Sickle	„	for harvesting and grass-cutting
9. *Khurpa*	Scythe	„	for grass-cutting
10. *Khurpi*	„	„	for weeding out grass from paddy plots

Meston plough is used by 20 households. These have been purchased from Pachperwa.

Rites and Legends pertaining to Agriculture

The agricultural year begins from July and ends on June 30. Before the beginning of the agricultural season on the Tij of *Baisakh* (May) the *Harawat* ceremony is observed. On this day every Hindu cultivator goes to one of his fields, digs the earth by striking the spade five times against the ground and does five rounds of ploughing the field. This marks the beginning of agricultural operations for the coming agricultural year. In the evening, delicious food is prepared.

On the first day of paddy sowing in the month of June, a handful of paddy is thrown on the way to the field in the name of deities by every cultivator. The act of sowing paddy by the broadcast method is locally known as *mooth lena* or taking a handful of paddy (for the purpose of sowing).

When the arduous job of transplantation is over, a day of rejoicing is fixed in August by common consent. This festival is known as *Hareri*. It is observed by Tharus by sacrificing animals at the altar of goddess Poorbi Bhavani. Both men and women among Tharus drink to the full and sing and dance merrily.

When the crops are ready in the months of *Bhadon* and *Magh* the *Nava* (new) ceremony is observed. On this occasion the married daughters and sisters return to the *maika* (parent's house). The head of the household goes to his fields on an auspicious evening and brings a few ears of the paddy crop; special food is prepared in the evening. Before dinner, the new grains of paddy mixed with *gur* are taken by every one. The next morning, the paddy crop begins to be harvested. This ceremony is generally observed by all the households on the same day. A similar ceremony is observed throughout the village in respect of barley crop in the month of *Magh* (January/February).

Newly harvested paddy or maize or barley is consumed in the households only after this ceremony. It is also necessary to give some of the produce in charity to a Brahmin or a beggar. If none of them is available, the charity is given to the sister's son. The new crop cannot be carried home till charity has been given.

It is also customary among Tharus to offer some ears *(bali)* of paddy at the *marai* of goddess Poorbi Bhavani just after harvesting but before launching upon the operation for separating the grain from chaff. This festival is called *Aoli*. This dedication to the deity is supposed to earn her blessings.

Livestock

The draught animals play an important part in the agricultural economy of the village. They are in fact treated as important members of the household. Among the Hindus great sentiment is attached to the cow and her progeny. The Tharus do not milk the cows and leave the milk for the calf. The village life would be at standstill without the bullocks because they draw the plough, trample the grain on the thrashing floor, pull the cart and work the cane crushers, besides supplying fuel and manure.

The cattle in this village are of local breed as there is no cattle-breeding centre. No action has been taken for improving the breed of cattle. These are grazed in the forest either by the oldmen or the children. Some grazing dues have to be paid to the Forest Department by the non-Tharus only.

Table No. XI on page 57, shows the distribution of livestock among the various castes in this village. The Arakh, the Barhai and the Kalwar households are not in possession of any livestock. The village has 63 milch cattle owned by 9 Ahir, 8 Tharu, 6 Muslim, 4 Brahmin, one Kshattriya, one Kumhar, one Kurmi and one Murao households; 352 cows owned by 26 Muslim, 24 Tharu, 21 Ahir, 5 Kurmi, 5 Murao, 4 Brahmin, 4 Kori, 3 Kumhar, 2 Dharkar, 2 Lohar, one Bhurji, one Chamar, one Gaderia, one Kshattriya and one Kahar households; 108 calves owned by 25 Tharu, 17 Ahir and 19 other households; 338

draught bulls owned by 28 Muslim, 27 Tharu, 20 Ahir, 8 Murao, 4 Brahmin, 4 Kurmi, 3 Kumhar, 2 Chamar, one Kshattriya, one Kori and one Gaderia households; 146 goats and sheep owned by 23 Muslim, 13 Tharu, 3 Ahir, 3 Kurmi, one Chamar, one Kori, one Kahar and one Kumhar households; 31 pigs owned by 19 Tharu households; 205 fowls owned by 24 Tharu and 14 Muslim households; and 12 horses owned by 5 Muslim, one Brahmin and one Bhurji household. Pigs are reared only by the Tharus. Similarly fowls are reared by the Tharus and Muslims only. In fact, rearing of fowls and pigs is one of the usual characteristics of a Tharu household. The biggest owners of livestock are the Tharus the Muslims and the Ahirs. All the draught bullocks are sterilized in an indigenous manner. Only six bulls were found unsterilized – to be utilised for procreation. About 50 per cent of the cows and buffaloes were found dry. There is no grazing difficulty and hence livestock of improved variety can be introduced without any difficulty.

Fish for domestic consumption are trapped by the villagers at Kohargaddi reservoir which is at a distance of about one mile to the east of the village.

Agricultural Workers

There are two types of agricultural workers other than cultivators, viz., agricultural labourers and agricultural servants. Agricultural servants too are of two types – first, those who work on *adha bhata* and secondly, those who work on *pura bhata*. Under the *adha bhata* system the worker gets annually 7 maunds of paddy, locally called *masaura*, and 1/10 of the total yield of the crop from the employer. In addition, every year he gets a gift of Rs.20 in cash or in the form of cloth. They are wholetime workers but at the same time they are allowed to have their own cultivation side by side. Under the *pura bhata* system, the worker gets 1/5th of the total yield and Rs.30 annually as gift. He is a wholetime worker for the whole year. He cannot work on his field or on any one else's.

Agricultural labourers are seasonal workers, employed mostly in transplantation and harvesting of paddy. They are not so much in demand for any other agricultural operation. They get 4 seers of paddy or Rs.1.25 nP. per day in lieu of their services, without any perquisites. They work from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., with a break in the noon for two hours and a half. There is no difference in the working hours of males and females.

Village Industries

For successful running of the village economy, the villagers need the help of artisans and other workers such as the carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the tailor, the shoe-maker, the oil man, the basket maker, the brick layer, etc. The artisans render services to their clients who make payment in terms of grain in *Kharif* and *Rabi*. These occupations are followed by them traditionally. The technical skill required is passed on from father to son. The raw material is supplied to most of the artisans by the villagers. The artisans also prepare some articles of their own accord and sell these in the market. The tools and implements that are used are also traditional.

There is only one carpenter in the village. Two Tharus are engaged in carpentry as a subsidiary occupation. Two households are engaged in the occupation of a blacksmith. Ram Baran who has 16 members in his household lives in Suganagar Bajee. Four members of his household work as blacksmiths. Gauri Shanker, with a family of five members, lives in Domri. Both the households have clients of their own hamlets and of other villages too.

There are two potters in the village, namely, Dashrath and Baichan. Dashrath has got no land and hence his only occupation is pottery but Baichan has 3.02 acres of land to cultivate. Thus cultivation is his subsidiary occupation. They supply earthenwares, clay lamps, mangers, etc. to the villagers. Clay is obtained by them from a *talab* near the village. Whatever is produced by them is sold in the village itself. Customers from other villages too sometimes make purchases. During the monsoon period the pottery industry becomes a bit slack. The females and children help the male workers.

Shri Ram and Kootey work as shoe-makers in the village. They work as general labourers, too.

They prepare indigenous variety of shoes and sell these either in the village or in the weekly markets at Pachperwa and Barhaipurwa. The price of a pair of shoes varies from Rs.4 to Rs.6 because costlier shoes cannot find a market. Chhutkau Chamar works as a cultivator as well as a skinner of dead animals. The hide is sold by him either to Shri Ram or Kootey or to someone at Pachperwa.

One Muslim household is engaged in tailoring. In addition, three tailors, one each from villages Siswa, Haidergarh and Bargadahi work in this village during the day. They return to their villages in the evening. The tailors charge six annas for tailoring the shirt of an adult, twelve annas for a *lehanga* and two annas for a *slooka* or a shirt for woman.

Oil Crushing

One Muslim household is engaged in oil crushing, with the help of a bullock working on a *kolhu*. Tharus have six hand-driven *kolhus* and the manual labour involved in oil crushing is put in by the Tharu females. Ordinarily, the oil is taken by the person who gave the seed and the oil cakes are retained by the oilman as his wages.

Grain Parching

Three Bhurji households are engaged in grain parching. Dry leaves collected from the forest are used as fuel. Bhagwati is engaged in grain parching only and is assisted by his wife but Ram Lochan, father of Bhagwati, is also a retailer of sweets. Both of them work in Suganagar Bajee. Ram Lal is engaged in this occupation in Domri. Maize, barley, gram, rice, etc., are parched by these households. The parched grain is ordinarily consumed in the evening. *Sattu* and *lava* are also prepared for being served as breakfast or on other occasions. About one-fourth of the grain to be parched is taken as servicing charges.

Five Dharkar households are engaged in basket making from bamboo. Both the males and females work in this industry. Baskets, fans, *soops* (winnowing fan), etc. are prepared by them. The products are sold in the village or in the two markets. One of the workers is Ram Piarey who is deaf and dumb. His wife Shyam Dulari is blind. But both of them are engaged in basket making.

Only one Pathan household with 14 members is engaged in brick laying. Three members work in this industry. Sometimes they go to Lucknow and work there.

Commerce

There is no *bania* in the village. Seven households are engaged in petty trade. Five of them are Muslims, one a Murao and another a Kahar. Four households are solely dependent upon this occupation. The shops of Abdul Gani opened in 1951 and of Niamatullah opened in 1954 meet most of the requirements of the villagers. Smt. Jainab, an old lady sells bangles to the womenfolk. She does not go to other villages. Rangai Kahar, the village betel seller, has migrated from Pachperwa. Lal Mohammed who opened his shop in 1957 deals only in tobacco. The remaining two shopkeepers sell general provisions only.

Transaction is mainly by barter system, paddy and rice being the most common media of exchange. The shopkeeper has a greater margin of profit in barter system. Purchase on credit is also in vogue. The shopkeepers too obtain the articles to be sold in the village on credit from Pachperwa.

Other Occupations

As regards other occupations, 5 persons work as washermen, 4 as barbers, 2 as wood-cutters, 2 as midwives, 4 as cattle grazers, 3 as priests, one as a domestic servant and one in transport.

Non-workers

The following table shows the non-workers by sex, broad age-groups and nature of activity :—

TABLE NO. 3.7

Showing Non-workers by Sex, broad Age Groups and Nature of Activity

Age Group	Total Non-workers			Student		Household Duty		Dependent		Rent receiver		Beggar	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All Ages	370	130	240	11	..	18	85	99	144	1	8	1	3
0-14	253	108	145	8	..	..	1	99	144	1	..	..	..
15-34	58	12	46	3	..	8	43	..	..	..	3	1	..
35-49	27	..	27	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	5	..	3
60 and over	32	10	22	..	..	10	22	..	..	..	..	..	..

Thus 66 per cent of the non-workers consist of dependents, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled; 28 per cent are engaged in household duties only; 3 per cent consist of wholetime students or children attending school; 2 per cent consist of rent-receivers or other persons of dependent means; 1 per cent of the non-workers consist of beggars and others of unspecified source of livelihood.

Indebtedness

The following table shows the indebtedness by income groups :—

TABLE No. 3.8

Showing Indebtedness by Income Groups

Income Group ..	Total Number of Households	Number of Households in Debt	Percentage of col. 3 to 2	Average Indebtedness per Household in Debt
				Rs.
Rs. 25 and below	3	..	..	..
Rs. 26—50	34	12	35	81.33
Rs. 51—75	65	34	52	91.15
Rs. 76—100	18	11	61	147.08
Rs. 101 and above	38	18	47	386.67
Total	158	75	47.4	168.70

Out of 158 households, 47.4 per cent are in debt The highest number of households in debt is in the income group Rs.76—100. Households with an income of Rs.25 and less have incurred no debt, perhaps because no one was willing to advance any loan to them in the absence of adequate security. The extent of indebtedness in individual cases varies from Rs.6 in case of Sundar Kurmi to Rs.1,500 in case of Kateshwar Tharu. Both of them borrowed the money for meeting ordinary wants. As is seen, average indebtedness increases with the increase in income.

The following table shows indebtedness by cause of debt :—

TABLE No. 3.9

Showing Indebtedness by Cause of Debt

Cause	Amount of Debt (Rs.)	No. of Families in Debt	Percentage of Debt
1. Marriages ..	792	7	6.24
2. Funerals ..	120	3	0.95
3. Sickness ..	75	1	0.61
4. Ordinary wants ..	5,936	45	47.00
5. Cultivation ..	5,585	16	44.00
6. Business ..	100	2	0.80
7. Education ..	45	1	0.40

As is evident, debt has been incurred mostly for meeting ordinary wants or in connection with cultivation. Ram Bharosey and Padarath Tharu have taken the maximum loans of Rs.600 for purchase of bullocks. The amount of loan incurred in connection with marriage is comparatively very small.

Income and Expenditure

The following table shows the number of households in various income groups :—

TABLE No. 3.10

Showing the Number of Households by Income Groups

Income Group	No. of Households	Percentage
1. Rs. 25 and below	3	1.9
2. Rs. 26—50	34	21.5
3. Rs. 51—75	65	41.1
4. Rs. 76—100	18	11.4
5. Rs. 101 and above	38	24.1
Total	158	100

The maximum number of households falls within the income group Rs.51–75. The lowest income is of Ramzan, a minor orphan of 8 years, who is a rent-receiver with an income of less than Rs.25 per month. Mewa Singh has a monthly income of Rs.330 p.m., the highest income in the village. There are only six households with a monthly income of more than Rs.200; 3 households have incomes ranging between Rs.100 and Rs.200.

Expenditure

The average monthly expenditure per household by income groups and occupations was studied. It was observed that the expenditure on non-food items was higher than the expenditure on food items within the higher income groups. With the decrease in the amount of income, the proportion on expenditure on food increases as compared with the expenditure on other items. In the lower income group, most of the expenditure is incurred for meeting the bare necessities of life.

In almost every Tharu household some amount is spent on the consumption of liquor. This expenditure increases on occasions of festivals or ceremonies.

Rice is the main diet of the village; wheat is consumed only sparingly, ghee is used in only 2 per cent of the families. No money is spent on education in about 98 per cent of the cultivator household. In the remaining 2 per cent households, the expenditure on education is hardly 1 per cent. *Arhar* pulse is used daily almost in every household. *Urd* and gram pulse are used only on ceremonial occasions. Vegetables like gourd, pumpkin, raddish and potato are generally home grown and consumed within the household. A very small number of households purchases vegetables for consumption.

No one in the village takes tea. There is no expenditure on fuel because it is available free of cost from the jungle. Tobacco is consumed by almost every adult in the village in one form or the other.

The expenditure on cloth is also limited. Children up to the age of six years or so go about half-naked. The adults too are scantily clothed.

A few family budgets would give a more pinpointed picture of the expenditure pattern.

Lotan Tharu aged 20 years has an income of Rs.75 per month from cultivation. His household consists of his wife aged 20 years who works with her husband in cultivation, his widowed mother aged 42 years who also works in cultivation, his two daughters aged 4 and 2 years and his son aged less than one year. He has about 3 acres of land under his cultivation. His monthly expenditure was reported as follows:—

Item	Expenditure Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	26.00
2. Mustard oil	1.25
3. Other food items	11.75
4. Country liquor	6.00
5. Kerosene oil	1.50
6. Tobacco	3.25
7. Clothing and footwear	10.00
8. Other items	2.25
Total ..	62.00

The expenditure on food items is about 75 per cent, the expenditure on *daru* alone being 9.5 per cent. There is no expenditure on ghee or milk. Fuel is available free of cost. The budget is a surplus one.

Jhinkoo Tharu has an income of about Rs.300 per month. His family consists of 13 persons, 8 of whom are adults. He has 20 acres of land in his cultivation. No other occupation is followed by the household. The expenditure pattern of this household is as follows:—

Item	Expenditure Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	130.00
2. Vegetables and spices	20.00
3. Mustard oil	10.00
4. Country liquor	20.00
5. Kerosene oil	4.00
6. Tobacco	6.00
7. Clothing	50.00
8. Other items	30.00
Total ..	270.00

The expenditure on food items is about 69 per cent, the expenditure on country liquor alone being about 8 per cent. Milk is available from the buffalo in the household and fuel from the jungle.

Even though the family has some children of school-going age, no one is sent to the school.

Dukharan Dharkar aged 20 years has only his wife in the household. Both of them are engaged in basket making, thereby having an income of Rs.46 per month. The expenditure pattern of this family is as follows :—

Item		Expenditure Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	.. ..	24.00
2. Vegetables and spices	.. ..	4.50
3. Mustard oil	.. ..	1.50
4. *Gur*	.. ..	1.00
5. Tobacco	.. ..	2.00
6. Clothing	.. ..	5.00
7. Other items	.. ..	2.00
	Total ..	40.00

The expenditure on food items is about 78 per cent. There is no expenditure on milk or ghee. Fuel is available free of cost from the jungle. The budget is a surplus one.

CHAPTER IV

Social and Cultural Life

Brief Review of Population

At the time of Survey in January 1961, the population of Suganagar Domri was 801 persons consisting of 390 males and 411 females. The population of the village from the Census of 1911 onwards is given in the following table :—

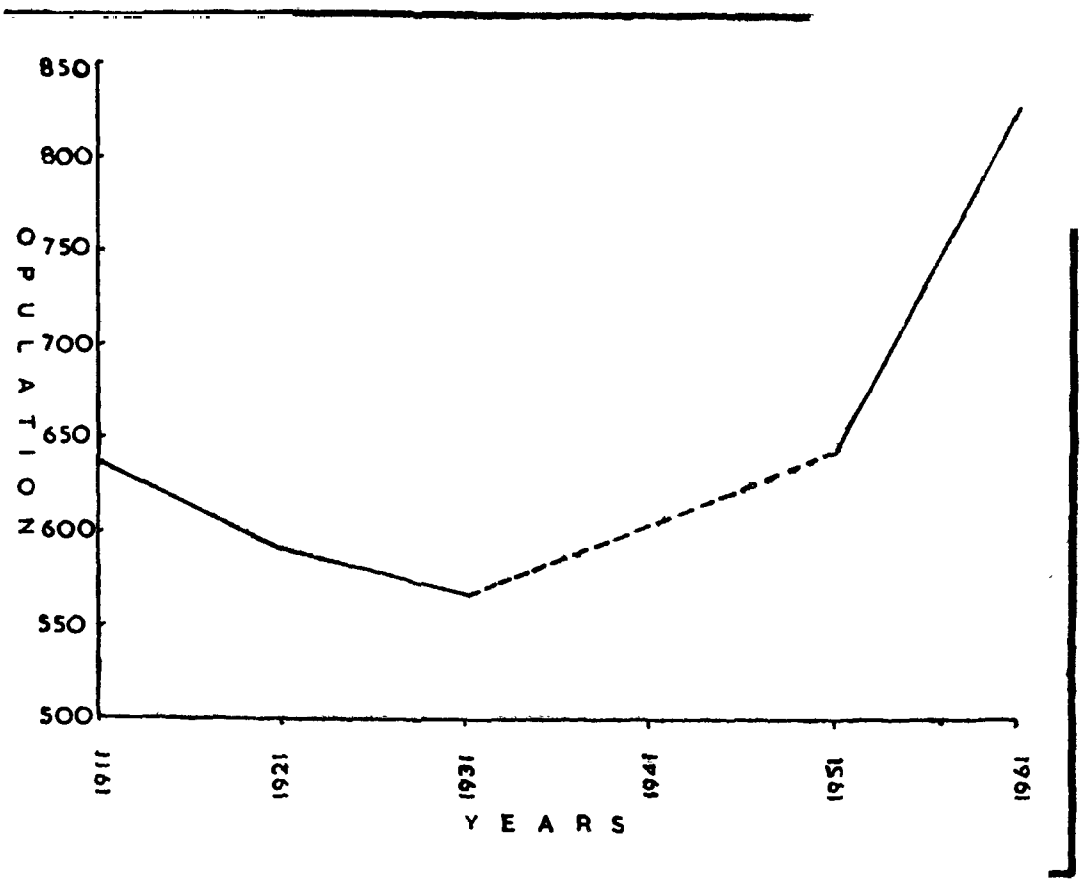
Table No. 4.1

Showing Population Trend

Year	Population		
	Total	Males	Females
1911	638	332	306
1921	591	255	336
1931	566	Not available	
1941		Not available	
1951	643	332	311
1961	829	413	416
January 1961 (survey period)	801	390	411

The population of the village at the time of Census 1961 exceeded the population at the time of Survey by 28 persons. At the time of Census, paddy harvesting was over and a large number of beggars had temporarily migrated to this village for begging paddy. This influx of beggars is responsible for the difference.

The population in 1921 had decreased by 47 persons. Influenza epidemic of 1919 was probably responsible for this fall. Thereafter, the rise in population has been quite steady. During a period of 50 years the population of the village has increased by 30 per cent only. The increase between 1951 and 1961 was phenomenal. In fact the population in 1951 was almost the same as in 1911. The following graph indicates the population trends :—



Density

The area of the revenue village including its hamlets is 1,071.25 acres or 433.53 hectares and the population is 801 persons. Thus the density of population is 480 persons per square mile, as compared to 732 persons per square mile, which is the density of population for the district according to 1961 Census Final Population Totals. The village is apparently sparsely populated.

Sex Ratio

The population of the village consists of 390 males and 411 females, thereby giving a sex ratio of 1,053 as compared with 932 which is the sex ratio for the district. The following figures indicate the variations in sex ratio in various age groups :—

TABLE No. 4.2

Showing Sex Ratio by Age Groups

Age Group (Years)	Males	Females	Sex ratio
0—4	60	69	1,150
5—9	42	47	1,119
10—14	39	39	1,000
15—19	33	28	848
20—24	29	35	1,250
25—29	34	34	1,000
30—34	28	33	1,178
35—39	35	31	943
40—44	20	22	1,100
45—49	18	14	777
50—54	9	11	1,222
55—59	11	11	1,000
60 and above ..	32	37	1,156

The variance between the two sexes is not too marked to warrant an explanation. The number of females born is greater than the number of males born. Secondly, polygamy is prevalent in the village. For example, Ram Harakh Tharu has three wives and Smt. Maharaji and her sister were both married to Ram Piarey Tharu. Also the number of widows exceeds that of the widowers by 5.

Births and Deaths

The record of births and deaths is maintained by the Gaon Sabha in accordance with the provisions of the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act. According to the entries in the register maintained by the Pradhan of the Gaon Sabha, the following births and deaths took place during the last six calendar years :—

TABLE No. 4.3

Showing Births and Deaths in the Village

Year	Births	Deaths	Net Increase
1956	9	10	—1
1957	6	18	—12
1958	12	1	+11
1959	27	3	+24
1960	14	4	+10
1961	10	7	+3

The number of deaths in 1956 and 1957 was unusually high because of small-pox in the village. It was reported that children who died had not been vaccinated.

Population by Age Groups

The following table gives distribution of the population by age groups :—

TABLE No. 4.4

Showing Population by Age Groups

Age Group (Years)	Persons	Males	Females
0—14 ..	296	141	155
15—49 ..	394	197	197
50 and above ..	111	52	59
Total ..	801	390	411

The proportion of population belonging to the age group 0—14 years (36.9 per cent) is more than twice that in the age group 50 years and over (13.9 per cent) and hence the population is markedly progressive, just like the entire population of the State.

Medical Aid

The nearest hospital is situated at Pachperwa at a distance of 8 miles. It is only rarely that a patient is taken there. There is no other physician in the vicinity. Hence for minor ailments, the villagers do not use any medicines. In other cases they depend upon medicines or drugs commonly used in the village. It is only in serious cases that recourse to hospital is taken. The Tharus consult Baboo Ram and Sita Ram, the two *guruwas* in the village who cure the patients by magic and supernatural art.

Maternity cases are conducted by two Kori women of the village. They have no training for the job. Whatever they know has been picked up by experience.

Marital Status

The following table shows the marital status of the population in various age groups :—

TABLE NO. 4.5

Showing Marital Status by Age Group

Age Group	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All Ages ..	801	390	411	141	149	205	213	44	49
0—4 ..	129	60	69	60	69	..	..	..	..
5—9 ..	89	42	47	42	47	..	..	..	..
10—14 .	78	39	39	23	26	16	13	..	..
15—19 ..	61	33	28	9	4	24	24	..	..
20—24 ..	64	29	35	3	..	26	35	..	..
25—29 ..	68	34	34	2	2	31	32	1	..
30—34 ..	61	28	33	1	..	25	32	2	1
35—39 ..	66	35	31	..	..	30	28	5	3
40—44 ..	42	20	22	..	..	16	17	4	5
45—49 ..	32	18	14	1	..	12	7	5	7
50—54 ..	20	9	11	..	..	8	10	1	1
55—59 ..	22	11	11	..	..	3	4	8	7
60 and above ..	69	32	37	..	1	14	11	18	25

As is evident, out of 801 persons, 290 persons i.e. 36 per cent were never-married, 418 persons i.e. 52 per cent were married and the remaining 93 persons, i.e., 12 per cent were widowed. The never-married group consists mainly of persons within the age group 0-14 years. In the age group 10—14 years, 16 males out of 39 males and 13 females out of 39 females were found married, thereby indicating the existence of early marriage. After the age of 29 years no woman was found unmarried except one Kumari Kalpa who is aged more than 60 years.

There are 44 widowers and 49 widows in the village, 40 of the widows being more than 44 years of age.

Age at Marriage

The following table shows the age at marriage in respect of the still-married and widowed population of the village :—

TABLE NO. 4.6

Showing Age at Marriage

Age (Years)	Persons	Males	Females
5	3	1	2
6	2	2	..
7	9	5	4
8	16	6	10
9	21	9	12
10	35	13	22
11	44	19	25
12	47	23	24
13	35	11	24
14	97	43	54
15	34	15	19
16	68	31	37
17	23	17	6
18	29	16	13
19	7	3	4
20	19	15	4
21	7	6	1
22	4	4	..
23	2	1	1
25	5	5	..
28	2	2	..
30	2	2	..
Total ..	511	249	262

Out of 249 ever-married males, 195 males or 78.3 per cent were married before attaining the age of 18 years and out of 262 ever-married females, 123 females or 47 per cent were married before attaining the age of 14 years. This indicates the prevalence of early marriages in the village. The system is prevalent in almost all the communities.

The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 lays down the minimum age at marriage as 18 years for the bridegroom and 15 years for the bride. In this village, 55 males and 48 females were married after 1955. Out of them 45 males or 83 per cent were married before attaining the age of 18 years and 33 females or 68 per cent were married before attaining the age of 15 years. The provisions of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 are hardly known to any one in the village. Marriages are performed according to the convenience of the parents irrespective of age consideration.

Among the Tharus 67 males and 70 females were found ever-married. In 9 cases, the age of the wife was more than the age of the husband.

Frequency of Marriage

Among the Muslims 11 males and 8 females have married twice, one male has married thrice and two males have married four times. Among the Tharus 6 males and 8 females have married twice and one male has married four times. Among the other Hindus 10 males and 15 females have married twice and four males and two females have married thrice.

Polygamy is not prohibited. Ram Harakh Tharu has three surviving wives while Palti Ahir, Piarey Tharu and Chamroo Jaga have two surviving wives each.

Some Case Studies

There are five cases where a man and a woman have been living as husband and wife without a regular marriage. In such cases, the husband is invariably at least the second husband of the woman. The five cases pertain to various communities, viz., Murao, Ahir, Chamar and Pathan.

In two cases, the husbands have been living at the house of their wives. Lotan Tharu has been living at the house of his wife Asadei and Habibullah has been living at the house of his wife Najibul Nisa for the last 8 years. The husband, in such a case, is known as *gharbaitha.*

Ram Piarey Arakh aged 35 years is deaf and dumb. He has married Smt. Shyam Dulari aged 32 years who is blind. Ram Piarey is her second husband. It is an unusual example of co-operation.

Kalpa aged 65 years, a Brahmin woman, has remained unmarried.

Srimati Atna, an Ahir widow aged 45 years, remarried about six months ago a person who used to work as an agricultural servant in her

house. The matrimonial alliance lasted for fifteen days only, after which he was dismissed from service as well.

It was reported that one Mohammed Yusuf, a Pathan, brought two women in his house one by one but both of them deserted him. They took away with them some ornaments and cash as well.

One Haosil Jaga admitted to have purchased his present wife from another person on payment of Rs.200 only.

Two Tharus, viz., Ram Harak and Padarath have contacted *jarimar* marriages. The wives deserted their husbands during their lifetime and married afresh.

It was also reported that the young wife of an old Brahmin fell in love with his nephew who was more or less of her age. When she became a widow she married her fiancee.

Sailman Murao aged about 18 years has been married to Smt. Shyam Kali aged 24 years who is the widow of his cousin.

Size and Composition of Households

The following table indicates the size and composition of the households in the village :–

TABLE No. 4.7

Showing the Household Size

Size of Household	Number of households	Population		
		Males	Females	Total
Single member	14	6	8	14
2—3 members	44	58	48	106
4—6 members	62	140	162	302
7—9 members	21	80	82	162
10 members and over	17	106	111	217
Total ..	158	390	411	801

The maximum number of households (39.3 per cent) have 4–6 members. On an average, one household has five members, which indicates a family of normal size. The heads of households having ten members are Mohammed Yusuf a barber, Sudama an Ahir, Goley Maharaj a Brahmin, and Lachchai, Kalishwar, Satnarain and Sautey Tharus. Kushal Tharu has eleven members in his household; Shahzad Sheikh, Ram Beni and Chotey Lal Tharus have twelve members each in their households; Jhinkoo Tharu has thirteen members; Razaq Pathan has fourteen members; Ram Baran Lohar and Chaney Teli have 16 members each, Ram Bali Tharu has 20 members and Ram Prasad Tharu has 21 members in the family. The Tharus have an unshakable faith in the virtues of a joint family system.

The names of the eight females who constitute single member households are Smt. Jagrani a Kori widow aged 35 years, who works as a midwife and had migrated to this village after the death of her husband 16 years back; Smt. Kalpa a Dharkar widow aged 50 years; Smt. Hasani a Tharu widow aged 70 years; Smt. Bipta a Tharu widow aged 65 years; Smt. Malihan a Murao widow aged 40 years; Smt. Jainab a Muslim widow aged 60 years; Smt. Masooma a Muslim widow aged 45 years and Kumari Kalpa a Brahmin spinister aged 65 years. Among the males, the single member families are headed by Raj Kumar, a Dharkar widower aged 35 years, Sagardas a Kalwar widower aged 35 years who has become a *sadhu*, Saheb Deen an Ahir widower aged 55 years, Tayyab a Pathan widower aged 55 years, Budhram an Ahir widower aged 33 years and Ramzan a young Muslim lad aged 8 years.

Literacy and Education

The following table indicates the position of literacy and education in the village :–

TABLE No. 4.8

Showing Literacy and Education

Age Group (Years)	Population			Literate without Educational Standard		Primary or Basic		Total		Illiterates	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
5—14	167	81	86	9	3	..	..	9	3	72	83
15—34	254	124	130	19	3	8	..	27	3	97	127
35—59	182	93	89	11	1	2	..	13	1	80	88
60 and over	69	32	37	1	..	2	..	3		29	37
Total	672	330	342	40	7	12	..	52	7	278	335

Out of the entire population, only 59 persons, i.e., 7.4 per cent are literate. Among the males the proportion of literates is 13 per cent but among the females the proportion is as low as 1.7 per cent. Not a single person has passed the High School Examination. The standard of literacy is thus very low.

Literacy by Caste

The following table shows the literacy by caste :—

TABLE NO. 4.9

Showing Literacy by Caste

Caste	Literate without Educational Standard			Primary or Basic			Total Literates		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1. Brahmin ..	3	2	1	3	3	..	6	5	1
2. Bhurji ..	3	3	..	..	..	..	3	3	..
3. Murao ..	1	..	1	1	1	..	2	1	1
4. Lohar ..	2	2	..	2	2	..	4	4	..
5. Kalwar ..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
6. Kori ..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
7. Kurmi ..	2	2	..	..	..	..	2	2	..
8. Kumhar ..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
9. Tharu ..	20	20	..	6	6	..	26	26	..
10. Jaga ..	3	2	1	..	..	..	3	2	1
11. Kalandar ..	1	1	..	..	..	.	1	1	..
12. Sheikh ..	2	1	1	..	..	..	2	1	1
13. Pathan ..	4	2	2	..	..	..	4	2	2
14. Dhuniya ..	3	2	1	..	..	..	3	2	1
Total ..	47	40	7	12	12	..	59	52	7

The highest number of literates is from the Tharu community.

Educational Institutions

There is no school in the village. Formerly there was a primary school in this village but two years back it was shifted to a neighbouring village Siswa because of the non-co-operation of the residents of this village. The school is under the management of the Zila Parishad. It is located in a pukka building made available by Gaon Sabha of village Siswa but it continues to be named after Suganagar Domri.

There is one *moulvi* who teaches Koran to Muslim children at his house. He is paid at the rate of four seers of paddy per plough by every Muslim cultivator.

Only 10 children of this village attend the school at Siswa; two students study at Pachperwa.

Family Structure

Family plays a significant part in the socio-economic life of the Indian village. It is a dominant force of social control, economic progress and ritual performance. By tradition, a joint family system has been prevalent in the Indian society.

Among the Tharus the oldest male, who is the head of the household by virtue of his old age, is called *gand dhuria* of the family. He manages

the household affairs till his death, even though his sons and grandsons have grown up and attained maturity of judgment. They cling to the joint family as far as possible. The tendency for married sons to break up is curbed. Hence a Tharu family is usually large. The household of Ram Prasad Tharu, for example, consists of the following 21 members :—

Name	Sex	Age	Relation to Head	Economic Activity
1. Ram Prasad	Male	60	*Gand dhuria*	Cultivation
2. Smt. Ram Prasad	Female	56	Wife	,,
3. Ram Padarath	Male	24	Son	,,
4. Smt. Ram Padarath	Female	22	Son's wife	,,
5. Ram Sumaran	Male	2	Son's son	Dependent
6. Reshami	Female	5	Son's daughter	,,
7. Ramadhar	Male	21	Son	Cultivation
8. Smt. Ramadhar	Female	20	Son's wife	,,
9. Ram Khelawan	Male	19	Son	,,
10. Smt. Ram Khelawan	Female	19	Son's wife	,,
11. Ram Gulam	Male	17	Son	,,
12. Smt. Ram Gulam	Female	16	Son's wife	,,
13. Ram Saran	Male	12	Son	Dependent
14. Bhola	Male	51	Brother	Cultivation
15. Smt. Bhola	Female	50	Brother's wife	,,
16. Ram Milan	Male	17	Brother's son	,,
17. Smt. Ram Milan	Female	18	Brother's son's wife	,,
18. Sia Ram	Male	15	Brother's son	,,
19. Sukh Ram	Male	11	Brother's son	,,
20. Chinchi	Male	70	Father's brother	,,
21. Ram Lakhani	Female	10	Daughter	,,

Meals are cooked for the whole family of 21 persons in the same kitchen. Relations within the family are cordial. The daughters-in-law have to show greater respect to the wife of Ram Prasad, the *gand dhuria*. Individualism is not allowed to creep in, lest the family might disintegrate. There is no purdah system among the Tharus. Whenever required, the daughter-in-law speaks with the father-in-law or the elder brother of her husband. A wife does not, by custom, touch the elder brother of her husband. Strangely enough, even a grandfather can crack jokes with his young granddaughter.

Instances of joint family system in the households of other communities, too, are not rare. The household of Goley Mahraj, a Brahmin, consists of the following persons :—

Name	Sex	Age	Relation	Economic Activity
1. Goley	Male	60	Head	Cultivation
2. Smt. Goley	Female	26	Wife	Domestic work
3. Uma Nath	Male	5	Son	Dependent
4. Phool Kunwar	Female	0	Daughter	,,
5. Ram Udit	Male	55	Brother	Cultivation
6. Smt. Ram Udit	Female	40	Brother's wife	Domestic work
7. Kallu	Male	25	Sister's son	Cultivation
8. Smt. Kallu	Female	22	Sister's son's wife	Domestic work
9. Smt. Bhari	Female	55	Brother's widow	,,
10. Smt. Ramachar	Female	80	Brother's wife's mother	Dependent

The above household consists of a number of families. Such a get-together is unusual.

In the village, out of 158 households, 46 households (29 per cent) were simple, consisting of a husband, wife and unmarried children, 8 households (5 per cent) were intermediate, consisting of a married couple, unmarried brothers and sisters and one of the parents and 77 families (49 per cent) were joint, consisting of a married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters. The remaining 27 households (17 per cent) were without one of the two spouses. This analysis of the type of the families shows that the joint family system is followed more in this village.

The inter-family relations within the village are usually cordial. Various households of the

same caste and sometimes of other castes too jointly participate in social and religious functions. Whenever needed, mutual help is forthcoming. Presents are sometimes exchanged during fairs and festivals; on the occasion of the marriage of the son or daughter, a large number of persons of the village are invited and actually participate. *Bhaji* is distributed amongst the clansmen and friends. Such participation is quite usual within the village. There might be occasions of dissensions and tiffs sometimes between various families but in times of need they unite. Thus there is great co-operation and unity among the villagers.

Inheritance of Property

Inheritance among the Muslims is governed by the provisions of the Muslim Law and amongst the Hindus by the Hindu Succession Act, 1956. In actual practice, the provisions of the Hindu Succession Act are not usually followed by the Hindus. In fact, these provisions are enforced when a case is decided by a court of law. No Hindu is in favour of any share of property going to the daughter because according to them this would shatter their traditional economy, create a lasting bitterness between the daughter and her brothers and parents and also lead to further sub-divisions of holdings. Up to this time not a single daughter has been given a share in the property nor has any one claimed.

Adoption

A childless couple can adopt another's son but generally a brother's son is preferred. Among the Tharus, members of the community gather at the house of the adopter on an auspicious day fixed for adoption in consultation with the village priest. After taking a bath, the boy to be adopted sits in the lap of the adopter, who puts a turmeric and rice mark on his forehead and then crowns him with his own cap. The fact of adoption is then proclaimed. In the evening a feast is given to the clansmen. Meat, boiled rice, pulse and *daru* generally constitute the menu of the feast.

Leisure and Recreation

There is no radio, no library and no reading room in this village. No one subscribes to a daily newspaper. They live in the interior of the forest, remaining aloof from the rest of the country and hence they do not evince any interest in the affairs of the world outside them.

During the slack season they would visit their relations, go out for pilgrimage, construct or repair their houses, settle and perform marriages and buy and sell cattle. At leisure, they get together in small groups and discuss the village affairs and casual scandals. The Tharus are quite suspicious of the non-Tharus or the *Bajees* and hence whenever there is any move or action by the *Bajees* or the Gaon Sabha, the Tharus get alarmed and discuss the pros and cons of such actions. At such get-togethers, country liquor is served and everyone smokes the common hookah. Some of the village youngmen spend their leisure in playing cards. The younger generation enjoys at a game of *kabaddi* or *gulli danda* or hide-and-seek. The young children are found playing in dust or exchanging abusive language. The little girls play with their dolls.

Ram Udit Mahraj has a harmonium, a *dholak* and *majeera* and he is fond of singing. *Bhajan* sessions are held at his house. In the month of *Shravan* and *Bhadon, Alha* is also recited for hours together. Sometimes a *sadhu* or a *mahatma* comes to the village and stays with Sagardass. *Bhajan* and religious songs are recited at such gatherings.

Other means of recreation and amusement are the local festivals spread throughout the year. Those interested in hunting go out in search of a prey. Some of the Tharus prepare *moonj* strings or bamboo baskets as well.

Religious Institutions

There are two small temples in the village. One has been got constructed one year back by Lallan Maharaj by the side of a well in front of his house. This well is said to have been 'married' to a grove and hence within the temple a wood replica of a man with a clay lamp in one hand has been installed. The well is held in veneration. A Hindu bridegroom, clad in his bridal dress, takes five rounds of this well before going to the bride's house. The other temple is sacred to Shanker Ji. It was constructed about

five years ago by the Tharus who maintain it. The Chamar, the Dharkar, the Arakh and the Muslim are not allowed to enter these temples. To the west of the village is a *marai* sacred to Poorbi Bhavani, the goddess worshipped by the Tharus.

There is one mosque in Suganagar Bajee. It has the appearance of a residential house, with mud walls and tile roofs. About 50 to 60 persons can offer prayers in it at a time. A *moulvi* conducts the affairs of the mosque. The expenses are borne by the Mohammedan population of the village.

Community Festivals

The following Hindu festivals are mainly observed in the village :—

Name of Festival	Month
1. Nag Panchmi or Gooria	Shravan (July/August)
2. Hareri	Bhadrapada (August/September)
3. Janam Asthami	Bhadrapada (August/Sepetmber)
4. Barka Itwar	Bhadrapada (August/September)
5. Dashera	Kuar (September/October)
6. Diwali	Kartik (October/November)
7. Khichri	Magh (January/February)
8. Holi	Phagun (February/March)

Nag Panchmi

This festival is observed on the fifth day in the month of *Shravan* in honour of the snake-king by Tharus and other Hindus alike. There is a popular belief that those who observe this festival are not bitten by a snake. Ordinarily the wife of the head of the household keeps a fast. Milk is offered at the *bimawat* or habitat of snakes. Prayers are offered to the snake-king for saving the family from snake bite. The entire house is cleaned and the floor is coated with cow-dung and the walls with clay paste.

This festival is also known as *Gooria*. The unmarried girls prepare a number of cloth dolls. In the evening, all the unmarried boys and girls and younger people assemble at one place in a circle in the village. The girls come singing and rejoicing ; the boys too reach there with newly-cut long and thin bamboo canes in their hands. The girls continue singing for some time and then throw the dolls on the ground. The boys beat these dolls with their sticks and then 'bury' them in the maize fields. According to common belief, the fertility of fields increases in this manner.

Hareri

It is a festival connected with agriculture. After the transplantation of winter paddy is over, the cultivators assemble together and fix the date on which this festival is to be observed. The Tharus assemble at the *marai* of Poorbi Bhavani and drink and dance to mark the end of the paddy transplantation. Next morning animal sacrifices are made in honour of the deity. The flesh of the slaughtered animals is taken by the *gand dhurias* only. After the sacrifice, the *gand dhurias* go to paddy fields and pour a little cow milk in the fields. They believe that the average yield of paddy would increase thereby.

The Muslims and other Hindus celebrate this festival by merry-making in their fields.

Janam Asthami

This festival is observed on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of Bhadrapada, to celebrate the birth anniversary of Lord Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu, who is believed to have been born at midnight. All the Hindus observe this festival. Some of the males and females keep a fast till midnight. *Panjiri* (a sweet preparation of wheat flour, ghee and sugar), *charanamrit* (a preparation of curd mixed with cow milk, ghee, *gur* and pieces of dry fruit) and some fruits are taken by all members of the family at midnight after Lord Krishna is supposed to have been born. These edibles are not prepared in some of the Hindu houses which are either too poor to afford these or who do not observe the festival very strictly. On this festival, every Hindu family abstains from taking meat and *daru*.

Barka Itwar

This festival is celebrated on the second Sunday of the *shukla paksh* (moonlit fortnight) of the month of *Bhadrapada*. Fast for the day

is observed by most of the Hindu men and women. Ghee, barley, twigs of *dhoop* tree, etc. are burnt in a *chauka* for purifying the atmosphere. On this occasion the males wear a *dhoti* only and no other clothes. This is another festival on which every Hindu household abstains from taking meat and *daru*.

Dashera

It is observed on the ninth day following the moonless *Amawas* day in *Kuar* (September/October) by the Tharus and the tenth day by other Hindus. The Tharus celebrate it to mark the conquest of their family gods over the evil spirits but among other Hindus the occasion marks the conquest of Lord Rama over Ravana.

Ram Lila is celebrated in the village. For this purpose a dramatic party is obtained from outside on payment. An effigy of Ravana is burnt on the tenth day. It is a day of rejoicing for everyone. Both the *Bajees* and the Tharus contribute to the expenses incurred on Ram Lila celebrations.

Among the Tharus, the *Jaura-dharai* ceremony is performed in the evening of the ninth day. Men, women and children, clad in their best, go to the *marai* of goddess Poorbi Bhavani, singing and dancing all the day. The *gand dhurias* offer maize and barley shoots to the deity. They also drink on this occasion and put a turmeric and rice mark on the forehead of the oldest Tharu in the village and receive his blessings. Next morning sacrifice of goats, pigs and fowl is made at the *marai* of Poorbi Bhavani. Every *gand dharia* brings a goat, a pig or a hen for being sacrificed, so that the goddess might protect him and his household from evil spirits. The flesh of animals thus sacrificed is taken home as a gift from the deity. On this day also *daru* is taken by men and women alike. Singing, dancing and merry-making continues for the whole day.

Diwali

The festival of lights is observed by the Tharus and the *Bajees* in the same manner. It falls on the *Amawas* day in *Kartik*. The houses are cleaned and washed. There is no animal sacrifice on this occasion by anyone, but liquor is taken by the Tharus. Earthen lamps are lit in every household, including the Muslim households, on this occasion. Puja is performed in the night. Gambling is indulged in by some people. The common belief is that if one wins, one will have a profitable and progressive year but if one loses, loss is in store for him throughout the year.

Khichri

This festival is observed on the Makar Sankranti day, which generally falls on 14th January. On this day, rice mixed with *urd* pulse, salt and ginger is boiled for preparing *khichri* which is consumed at lunch time. Before taking meals, everyone takes bath and gives uncooked *khichri* to Brahmins by way of charity. On this day too meat is no ttaken, but in the evening they drink, dance and sing.

Holi

This festival is observed by Tharus and other Hindus alike. It falls on the 15th day of *Sudi Phagun*. It is popular among all, but has a particular appeal for the younger age group. Ten days before, a castor-seed plant is fixed on the ground where the Holi bonfire is to be burnt. A pile of fuel is collected from the forest and placed round the plant, which represents Bhakt Prahlad. When the pyre is burnt sometime at midnight, the castor-seed plant representing Prahlad is taken out of the heap of fuel. Tradition goes that Prahlad was a staunch devotee of Lord Rama; his villainish father Hirnakashyap did his best to make Prahlad desist from worshipping Lord Rama. He was made to sit on a burning pyre in the lap of his father's sister Holika who was wrapped in a fire-proof sheet. The conspiracy to burn Prahlad failed as he came out alive and she was burnt to ashes in spite of the fire-proof sheet. It is to celebrate this victory of a devotee over a non-believer that Holi is observed.

The next day is known as *phag*. They indulge in all sorts of merry-making including singing of obscene songs. They throw coloured water, mud and filth at each other; *gulal* or coloured

powder is smeared on the faces. There is shrieking and laughter alround. All the Hindus participate actively in the celebrations. They hug each other warmly out of affection. The Muslims too participate, though not actively, in these celebrations. Special dishes are prepared during the day in all the Hindu households.

Festivals of Muslims

The main festivals of Muslims are Moharram, Id-ul-Fitar and Id-uz-Zuha. The Moharram festival is celebrated on the tenth day of the Ramzan month in memory of Hazrat Imam Husain, who gave his life fighting for the cause of Islam. Id-ul-Fitar falls on the first day after the expiry of the 30 days of fasting during the Ramzan period. Vermicelli and rice are the main items of food prepared on this day.

Id-uz-Zuha, is celebrated in memory of Hazrat Ibrahim Khalil Ullah, who had offered to sacrifice his son for pleasing God. He-goats and rams are sacrificed on this day. As on Id-ul-Fitar, on this day also prayers are offered collectively by the Muslims.

Fairs

No fair, except the Dashera fair, is held in this village. The residents of this village go to attend the fairs at Chhitorgarh and Debi Patan. Village Chhitorgarh is at a distance of about two miles to the west of this village on the confluence of rivers Bhambhar and Ghogrol. The fair takes place on the *Kartik Poornamasi* in November and lasts for one day and night only. About 1,000 persons assemble there on this occasion. Most of the transactions in the *mela* takes place on barter system, paddy being given in exchange for articles purchased from the shopkeepers.

Village Chhitorgarh, which existed about seventy or eighty years ago, was destroyed totally by floods. It is said that Raja Digvijay Singh of Balrampur, during his hunting expeditions to this forest, used to take his bath at the confluence of rivers at Chhitorgarh. He got a temple constructed at this place for worshipping the deity after taking his bath. The temple is visited by the people once a year.

The most important fair attended by the residents of this village is that of Debi Patan, which is near Tulsipur railway station on the Gonda-Gorakhpur loop-line. There is a temple which stands on a large heap of bricks and rubbish. Close by are a tank and a well. Some broken images and fragments of sculptures, dilapidated houses of devotees, two walled gardens and some small shrines are also there. The fair is held from the first to the ninth of the lighted half of *Chait* (March/April) and attracts about one lakh pilgrims and traders. Hill ponies, brought down from Nepal in large numbers, cloth, utensils, spices and other articles are also sold there. The religious observances consist of sacrifices of buffaloes, goats and pigs.

Beliefs and Superstitions

Beliefs and superstitions are mingled in the life of the villagers in one form or the other. It is common belief that something inauspicious will happen if one undertakes a journey after someone has sneezed or someone has enquired about his destination or a person with empty vessels is met or a cat has crossed the way or a one-eyed person comes across. Similarly, it is considered inauspicious if just after getting up from one's bed, the first person whom one sees happens to be one-eyed or squint, or if a lizard falls on anyone. To ward off the evil effects of a lizard, a bath has to be taken and some *seedha* given in charity to a Brahmin. A cot is not woven after sunset, the common belief being that one who does so will beget a one-eyed daughter.

Inter-hamlet Relationship

There is a cordial relationship among the residents of Suganagar Tharu, Suganagar Bajee, Domri and Madhyanagri. People mix freely on various occasions in day-to-day life. During the Panchayat elections, the village and its hamlets were divided into two parties, one supporting Khaleel Ahmad and the other supporting Ram

Tirath Tharu for the offices of Pradhan. Goley Maharaj actively supported Khaleel Ahmad and the latter was elected to the post. The division was, however, short-lived and seems to have disappeared. At present there are no dissensions or rivalries among the residents of the various hamlets. As already pointed out, the Tharus are a bit suspicious of the non-Tharus.

Gaon Panchayat

A Gaon Panchayat was established in the village in 1949, after the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 came into force. The last election was held in 1961, when Khaleel Ahmad of Suganagar Bajee was elected as Pradhan. The other members of Gaon Panchayat are Goley, Budhman, Lallan and Kallu Brahmins, Ram Prasad, Dukkhi and Tirbeni Tharus, Chinkoo, Palti, Budhai, Shanker and Shanker son of Dubar Ahirs, Mewa Singh Kshattriya, Pratap Murao, Ram Baran Lohar, Ram Lochan Bhurji, and Imamuddin, Ainullah, and Ramzan Mohammedans. There was a tough contest between Khaleel Ahmad and Ram Tirath Tharu who was Pradhan of Gaon Sabha from 1955 to 1960.

During the financial year ending March 31, 1962, the income of Gaon Panchayat was Rs.540.10 nP., the income from Panchayat tax being Rs.525.69 nP. and that from Gaon Samaj being Rs.14.41 nP. The expenditure was Rs.530.41, an amount of Rs.430 being given on loan to Gaon Sabha Siswa. The only work done by the Gaon Panchayat during its tenure of 13 years is some earth-work got done on the *kachcha* road running through Domri.

Nyaya Panchayat

The Nyaya Panchayat having jurisdiction over this village has its headquarters at village Bishanpur Bishram. Lalloo Prasad Tharu of village Bishanpur Bishram is the Sarpanch. Goley Maharaj and Dukkhi Tharu are the two *panches* from this village. The Nyaya Panchayat serves as a local tribunal for settling the disputes of the villagers through an agency fully conversant with the local conditions, without going through the elaborate and complicated procedure in the city courts.

Caste Panchayat

Caste panchayats exist in case of Tharu, Ahir and Jaga communities only. The Tharu caste panchayat covers 17 villages, *viz.*, Suganagar Domri, Bishanpur Bishram, Bhagwanpur, Bushahr, Phangaili, Kohar Gaddi, Motipur, Birpur, Jogihwa, Imlihwa, Semrahwa, Maodni Godni, Sadni, Hatheva, Bishanpur and Rehra. The *chaudhry* of the caste panchayat is Nokhai, a resident of village Bishanpur. The post is hereditary and his office is held so long as he enjoys the confidence of the community. Minor disputes arising among the Tharus of the village are referred to Ram Tirath Tharu for decision. Only major disputes of the community are referred to the bigger panchayat.

Recently two cases were decided by the panchayat. One Seetey Tharu thrashed his bullock so ciolently that it died. The caste panchayat excommunicated him for six months and ordered him to live on begging for the same period. A fine of Rs.55 was imposed on him and he was also asked to give a feast to the clansmen.

Similarly the violence of Lotan Tharu was responsible for the death of a calf. He was excommunicated for a period of three months to be accepted back in the community after giving a feast to the *biradari.*

The caste panchayat of Ahirs covers six villages. Jagannath Ahir resident of village Siswa is the *chaudhry* of the panchayat.

The caste panchayat of Jagas covers ten villages. Chamroo Jaga of village Suganagar is the *chaudhry* of the community.

Voluntary Organizations

The village has no voluntary organizations such as youth club, library, panchayatghar, etc.

Reform Measures

The effect of reform measures is not evident in this village. The Gaon Panchayat has not been able to make any mark on the socio-economic life of the village. The residents of the village are peace-loving and hence no cases

had to be referred to the Nyaya Panchayat, the police or the courts. The village falls within the jurisdiction of Shadow Block Pachperwa. Activities of the Planning Department have not been extended to this village up to this time.

There is no family planning centre in the village or its neighbourhood nor do the people in general realise the necessity of planning their families. The addition of a child to the family is most welcome.

The system of giving dowry has not been effected by the recent legislation regulating dowry. In fact, people in general are not aware of the new prohibitory law. Dowry and gifts are given to the daughters according to one's economic condition.

As already pointed out, the provisions of the Hindu Marriage Act and the Hindu Succession Act are not generally known to the people nor do they care to know the same so long as a case is not referred to the court. Marriages generally take place before the attainment of the prescribed age of the bride and the groom. Polygamy is also prevalent. No one is familiar with the provisions of the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956.

Widow remarriage takes place except among the Brahmins. Among the Tharus, *jarimar* marriages take place even when the husband is alive. The customs continue without any tangible change.

Untouchability is practised in the village in spite of the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955. The Chamar, the Dharkar and the Arakh who are all Scheduled Castes are not allowed to sit on a cot in the presence of a Brahmin. Also no one takes water or cooked food from the hands of Tharus even though the latter do not belong to the Scheduled Castes. Such disabilities are suffered by other backward castes too. Unfortunately, untouchability is practised even between the various Scheduled Castes. For example, the Arakh and Dharkar do not accept water or cooked food touched by a Chamar. The provisions of the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 are known only to 30 per cent of the heads of households.

The womenfolk continue to enjoy a status inferior to that of man whose decision within the house and outside is final.

The U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act was enforced on July 1, 1952. The opinion of the villagers is that they have received benefit by this Act. Forced labour has been abolished and the cultivators have superior rights in the land under their cultivation. The intermediary whose men sometimes acted quite mercilessly has been eliminated.

On the whole, the standard of social awareness in the village is very low, because the village is cut off from the outside world.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

The foregoing study of the various aspects of the social, cultural and economic life of the village leads to the obvious conclusion that Suganagar Domri is a backward and undeveloped village, situated within the forest area in the Tarai belt of Himalayan region. It is not easily accessible and has almost nothing to attract the outsiders to it. Hence, outside influences are slow to penetrate and slower to act. The various agencies which bring about a social or economic change in a distant village like this have not reached there. Consequently, the socio-economic conditions have remained more or less static and the population continues to cling dogmatically to the old concepts and standards in the various spheres of life.

The residents of this village are more or less stay-at-home. They have not migrated, temporarily or permanently, to places outside the village. The Supervisor Kanungo, the village Lekhpal, the Forest Guard and the Forest Ranger are the only officials who casually visit the village. Some people sometimes happen to come here for hunting wild animals or for making purchases of paddy or for giving a dramatic performance in the village on the occasion of Ram Lila celebrations. The casual contact with these persons is hardly strong enough to bring about a change in the way of life in this village. Another occasion for contact of the village people with the outside world is provided by their visits to Pachperwa or Barhaipurwa markets or the fairs at Debi Patan and Chhitorgarh, where they casually watch the way of life of others and try to pick up whatever suits their convenience or catches their fancy. It is by this contact that some persons belonging to the younger generation have been gradually adopting dresses other than those worn traditionally in the village. The contact with Pachperwa has led to the adoption of the Meston plough by 22 households. There is, however, no other change visible in the field of agriculture and economy. Chemical fertilizers or improved varieties of seeds are not being used. The village lies in a paddy producing area, but the Japanese method of paddy cultivation has not been introduced. There are no arrangements for bringing about an improvement in the breed of livestock. For marketing the produce, there is no agricultural marketing society in the village. The U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act has been enforced in the village and its benefits to the cultivators are obvious. Consolidation of holdings has not, however, been taken up in this village.

The changes that have taken place in the village are quite insignificant. There is no school in the village. The standard of education and social awareness is very low. No one gets a newspaper; also there is no radio-set in the village to keep the residents informed of the various developments in the modern world. The population is generally unaware of the social reforms and legislative measures enforced by the Government such as the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, or the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956. The residents of this village have not been in any way effected by the enforcement of these Acts. They continue to act according to their convenience, even if any provision of these Acts is breached. The Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 had been enforced long ago, but there has been no diminution in the practice of untouchability in the village. No one from this village has been prosecuted for tre offence of practising untouchability.

They live in a world of their own, neither bothering nor being bothered by the Nyaya Panchayat, the police, the courts and the general administration. None of the planning and development activities have been extended to them in the field of agriculture or any other sphere of economic activity. No efforts worth

the name have been made to emancipate their lot either by government or by social bodies. They continue to observe the same religious ceremonies and social functions almost without any change. They appear to be indifferent to any changes outside the village, because they are not materially effected.

The village is on the whole self-contained. Everyone seems happy in the unchanged village environments. No one feels the pinch of segregation from the main currents of the winds of change, blowing from various directions. There are no factions in the village and hence there is no litigation. Life and property are secure and the people have a strong feeling of belonging to each other. They are peace-loving and docile. They do not care to protest against what has not been done for them. In fact they are too ignorant of their rights and privileges to raise a voice of protest. They do not think of venturing into a brave new world.

TABLES

TABLE NO. I

Area, Houses and Population

Area in		Density	Number of Houses	Number of Households	Population		
Acres	Hectares				Persons	Males	Females
1,071.25	433.53	480 persons per sq. mile	170	158	801	390	411

TABLE NO. II

Population by Age Groups

Total of all Ages			0—4		5—9		10—14		15—19		20—24		25—29		30—34		35—44		45—59		60 & over	
Persons	Males	Females	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
801	390	411	60	69	42	47	39	39	33	28	29	35	34	34	28	33	55	53	38	36	32	

TABLE NO. III

Size and Composition of Households

Total Number of Households	Size of Household																	
	Single Member			2-3 Members			4—6 Members			7—9 Members			10 Members and over					
	House-holds	Males	Fe-males	House-holds	Males	Fe-males	House-holds	Males	Fe-males	House-holds	Males	Fe-males	House-holds	Males	Fe-males			
158	14	6	8	44	58	48	62	140	162	21	80	82	17	106	111			

TABLE NO. IV

Caste and Nature of Families

	Caste	Total Number of Households	Types of Families living in the Households			
			Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
1.	Ahir	26	5	..	16	5
2.	Arakh	1	1	..	..	..
3.	Brahmin	5	1	1	2	1
4.	Bhurji	3	2	..	..	1
5.	Barhai	1	1	..	..	..
6.	Chamar	3	1	..	1	1
7.	Dharkar	5	2	..	1	2
8.	Gaderia	1	..	..	..	1
9.	Kori	7	3	..	2	2
10.	Kurmi	6	5	..	1	..
11.	Kalwar	1	..	..	..	1
12.	Kshattriya	1	..	..	1	..
13.	Kahar	1	1	..	..	..
14.	Kumhar	4	..	..	4	..
15.	Lohar	2	..	..	2	..
16.	Murao	10	3	1	3	3
17.	Muslim	45	13	2	23	7
18.	Tharu	36	8	4	21	3
	Total ..	158	46	8	77	27

N. B.—Simple family consists of husband, wife and unmarried children.
Intermediate family consists of married couple and unmarried brother, sisters and one of the parents.
Joint family consists of married couple with married sons, daughters, or with married brothers and sisters.
'Others' refers to single members or unmarried brothers and sisters, or one parent living with unmarried sons or daughters.

TABLE NO. V

Classification of Population by Castes and Sub-Castes

Religion	Caste	Sub-caste	Number of Households	Population		
				Persons	Males	Females
Hindu	1. Ahir	Yaduvanshi	4	25	12	13
		Gowal	18	63	35	28
		Gondwa	4	24	13	11
			26	112	60	52
	2. Arakh	—	1	2	1	1
	3. Brahmin	—	5	25	11	14
	4. Bhurji	Kalaunjia	1	2	1	1
		Bhurji	2	6	4	2
			3	8	5	3
	5. Barhai	Kokat Vansh	1	2	1	1
	6. Chamar	Kureel	3	10	5	5
	7. Dharkar	—	5	11	5	6
	8. Gaderia	Nikhar	1	3	2	1
	9. Kori	Raidas	1	2	1	1
		Godha	3	10	6	4
		Tanbina	2	7	3	4
		Others	1	1	..	1
			7	20	10	10
	10. Kurmi	Khashwar	6	28	14	14
	11. Kalwar	—	1	1	1	..
	12. Kshattriya	Kaushal	1	9	2	7
	13. Kahar	Dhuria	1	2	1	1
	14. Kumhar	Bandhika	3	17	8	9
		Chak Basiya	1	4	2	2
			4	21	10	11
	15. Lohar	Maulhar	1	5	2	3
		Panch Brahmin	1	16	8	8
			2	21	10	11
	16. Murao	Hardiha	7	22	8	14
		Murao	2	4	2	2
		Koiri	1	3	1	2
			10	29	11	18
	17. Tharu	Dangwaria	36	270	131	139
		TOTAL HINDUS	113	574	280	294
Muslim	Muslim	Faqir	2	8	3	5
		Sheikh	15	93	46	47
		Jaga	10	47	23	24
		Halwai	1	3	2	1
		Pathan	10	49	25	24
		Dhuniya	3	11	4	7
		Kalandar	1	6	3	3
		Manihar	1	1	..	1
		Darzi	1	4	3	1
		Barhai	1	5	1	4
		TOTAL MUSLIMS	45	227	110	117
		TOTAL POPULATION	158	801	390	411

TABLE NO. VI

Marital Status of Population by Age Groups and Sex

Age Group	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All Ages	801	390	411	141	149	205	213	44	49
0—4	129	60	69	60	69	..	..	..	..
5—9	89	42	47	42	47	..	..	..	..
10—14	78	39	39	23	26	16	13	..	..
15—19	61	33	28	9	4	24	24	..	..
20—24	64	29	35	3	..	26	35	..	..
25—29	68	34	34	2	2	31	32	1	..
30—34	61	28	33	1	..	25	32	2	1
35—39	66	35	31	..	..	30	28	5	3
40—44	42	20	22	..	..	16	17	4	5
45—49	32	18	14	1	..	12	7	5	7
50—54	20	9	11	..	..	8	10	1	1
55—59	22	11	11	..	..	3	4	8	7
60 and over	69	32	37	..	1	14	11	18	25

TABLE NO. VII

Education

Age Group	Total Population			Illiterate		Literate without Educational Standard		Primary or Basic		Any other Examination	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All Ages	801	390	411	338	404	40	7	12	..	..	..
0—4	129	60	69	59	69	..	..	..	..	..	..
5—9	89	42	47	40	46	2	1	..	..	..	..
10—14	78	39	39	32	37	7	2	..	..	..	..
15—19	61	33	28	23	28	8	..	2	..	..	..
20—24	64	29	35	23	35	2	..	4	..	..	..
25—29	68	34	34	29	33	4	1	1	..	..	..
30—34	61	28	33	22	31	5	2	1	..	..	..
35—39	66	35	31	29	31	5	..	1	..	..	..
40—44	42	20	22	18	21	2	1	..	..	..	..
45—49	32	18	14	16	14	1	..	1	..	..	..
50—54	20	9	11	7	11	2	..	..	..	..	..
55—59	22	11	11	10	11	1	..	..	..	..	..
60 and over ..	69	32	37	29	37	1	..	2	..	..	..

TABLE NO. VIII

Workers and Non-workers by Sex and broad Age Groups

Age Group	Total Population			Workers			Non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All Ages	801	390	411	431	260	171	370	130	240
0-14	296	141	155	43	33	10	253	108	145
15-34	254	124	130	196	112	84	58	12	46
35-59	182	93	89	155	93	62	27	..	27
60 and over	69	32	37	37	22	15	32	10	22

TABLE NO. IX

Workers classified by Sex, broad Age Groups and Occupations

Age Group	Cultivation			Agricultural Labourer			Betel Seller			Bangle Seller			Tobacco Seller			Retailer of General Merchandise		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	357	209	148	14	8	6	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	4	4	..
0—14	35	28	7	3	2	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..
15—34	164	92	72	6	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	2	..
35—59	131	72	59	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
60 and over	27	17	10	2	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

	Carpenter			Blacksmith			Oil Crushing			Potter			Grain Parching			Tailoring			Shoe Making		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	1	1	..	6	6	..	2	1	1	2	2	..	5	2	3	1	1	..	2	2	..
0—14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—34	1	1	..	5	5	..	2	1	1	1	1	..	3	1	2	1	1	..	1	1	..
35—59	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..

	Basket making			Brick laying			Dhobi			Wood-cutter			Midwife			Sirwar (Village Servant)		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	8	5	3	3	3	..	5	2	3	2	2	..	2	..	2	1	1	..
0—14	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—34	5	3	2	3	3	..	2	1	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	..
35—59	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
60 and over	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Age Group	Barber			Cattle grazer			Priest			Domestic Services			Transport		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	4	2	2	4	3	1	3	3	..	1	..	1	1	1	..
0—14	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—34	2	1	1	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
35—59	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 and over	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..

TABLE NO. X

Households by Number of Rooms and by Number of Persons occupying

Number of Households	Number of Rooms	Number of Family Members	Households with one Room		Households with two Rooms		Households with three Rooms		Households with four Rooms		Households with five Rooms		Households with more than five Rooms	
			Households	Family members	Households	Family members	Households	Family members	Households	Family members	Households	Family members	Households	Family members
158	472	801	24	66	58	211	35	182	20	134	4	56	17	152

TABLE NO. XI

Livestock

Caste	Milch Cattle		Draught Bulls		Goats and Sheep		Pigs		Fowls		Cows		Young ones		Horses	
	Number of Households owning	Total No.	Number of Households owning	Total No.	Number of Households owning	Total No.	Number of Households owning	Total No.	Number of Households owning	Total No.	Number of Households owning	Total No.	Number of Households owning	Total No.	Number of Households owning	Total No.
1. Ahir	9	9	20	48	3	4	..	...	...	...	21	86	17	34	...	...
2. Arakh	..	..	..	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3. Brahmin	4	10	4	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	28	4	12	1	1
4. Bhurji	..	..	...	..	..	...	..	...	..	...	1	3	1	2	1	2
5. Barhai	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6. Chamar	..	..	2	4	1	2	..	..	..	...	1	3	...	...	...	...
7. Dharkar	..	..	..	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	2	4	...	...
8. Gaderia	..	..	1	2	..	..	...	...	..	..	1	4	1	6	...	...
9. Kori	..	..	1	1	1	5	...	...	..	...	4	5	4	6	...	...
10. Kurmi	1	1	4	10	3	19	...	...	..	...	5	12	4	5	...	...
11. Kalwar	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	...	...	...	...	...
12. Kshattriya	1	7	1	16	..	..	..	...	..	..	1	1	...	...	...	...
13. Kahar	..	..	..	...	1	3	...	...	..	..	1	1	..	...	...	...
14. Kumhar	1	1	3	7	1	2	...	...	..	..	3	8	2	3	...	..
15. Lohar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	6	1	3	...	...
16. Murao	1	1	8	17	...	...	...	...	..	...	5	12	2	3	...	...
17. Muslim	6	10	28	71	23	65	..	...	14	62	26	79	2	3	5	9
18. Tharu	8	23	27	132	13	46	19	31	24	143	24	102	25	27	..	..
Total	31	62	99	338	46	146	19	31	38	205	101	352	65	108	7	12

TABLE NO. XII

Agricultural Produce of Cultivation run by the Households and its Disposal

	Value in Maunds						Value in Rupees					
	Paddy	Wheat	Pulses	Maize	Sugar-cane	Barley	Vege-tables	Chillies	Tobacco	Oilseeds	Other Agricul-tural Crops	Fodder
1. Annual Quantity produced	23,103	1,140	1,589	338	1,474	741	1,480	820	120	1,400	1,400	2,600
2. Total Annual Quantity consumed by the producing Households	18,175	680	1,000	300	900	600	700	820	120	1,200	1,000	2,600
3. Total Annual Quantity available for Sale	4,928	460	589	38	574	141	780	—	—	200	400	—

TABLE NO. XIII

Indebtedness by Income Groups

Income Group (Rs.)	Number of Households	Number of Households in Debt	Percentage of col. 3 to col. 2	Average Indebtedness per Household in Debt
25 and below	3	..	—	—
26—50	34	12	35	81.33
51—75	65	34	52	91.15
76—100	18	11	61	147.09
101 and above	38	18	47	386.67

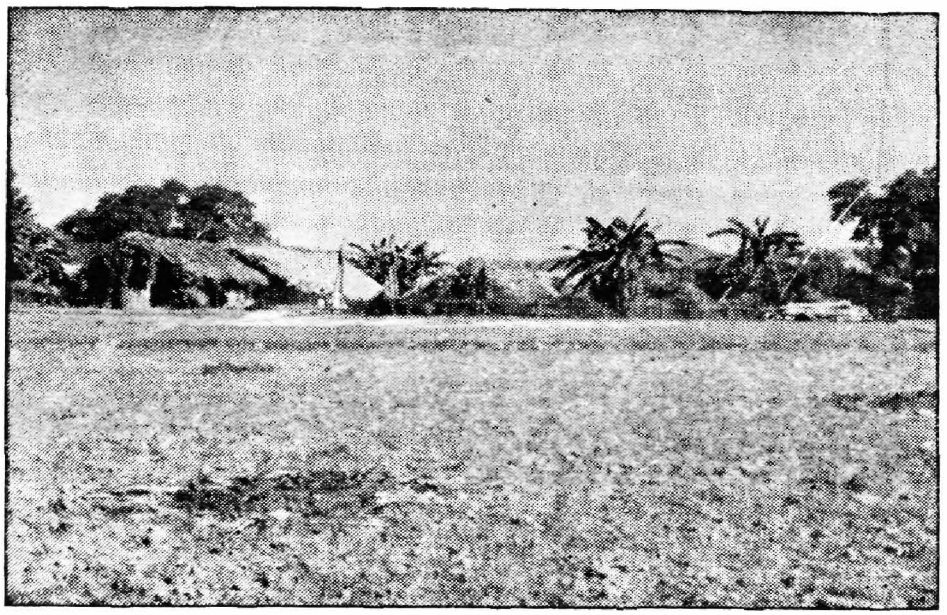
TABLE NO. XIV

Indebtedness by Cause of Debt

Cause	Amount of Debt	Number of Families in Debt	Percentage of Debt due to Cause to the Total Amount of Debt
1. Funerals	120	3	0.95
2. Marriages	792	7	6.24
3. Sickness	75	1	0.61
4. Ordinary wants	5,936	45	47.00
5. Household cultivation	5,585	16	44.00
6. Business run by the household	100	2	0.80
7. Education	45	1	0.40
Total	12,653	75	100.00

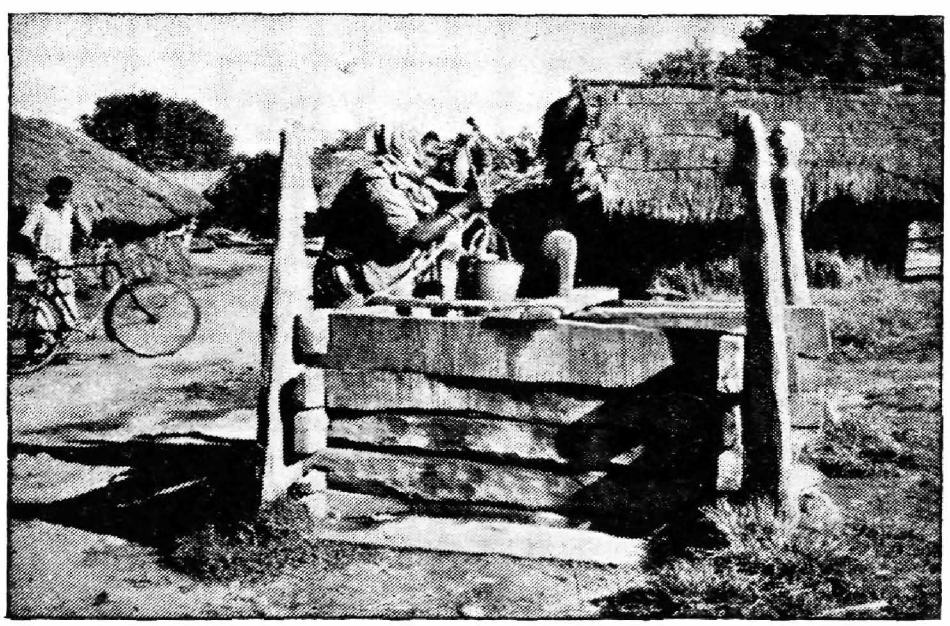
Some Glimpses
of
Suganagar Domri

PLATE I



A distant view of the village

PLATE II



A wooden well

PLATE III



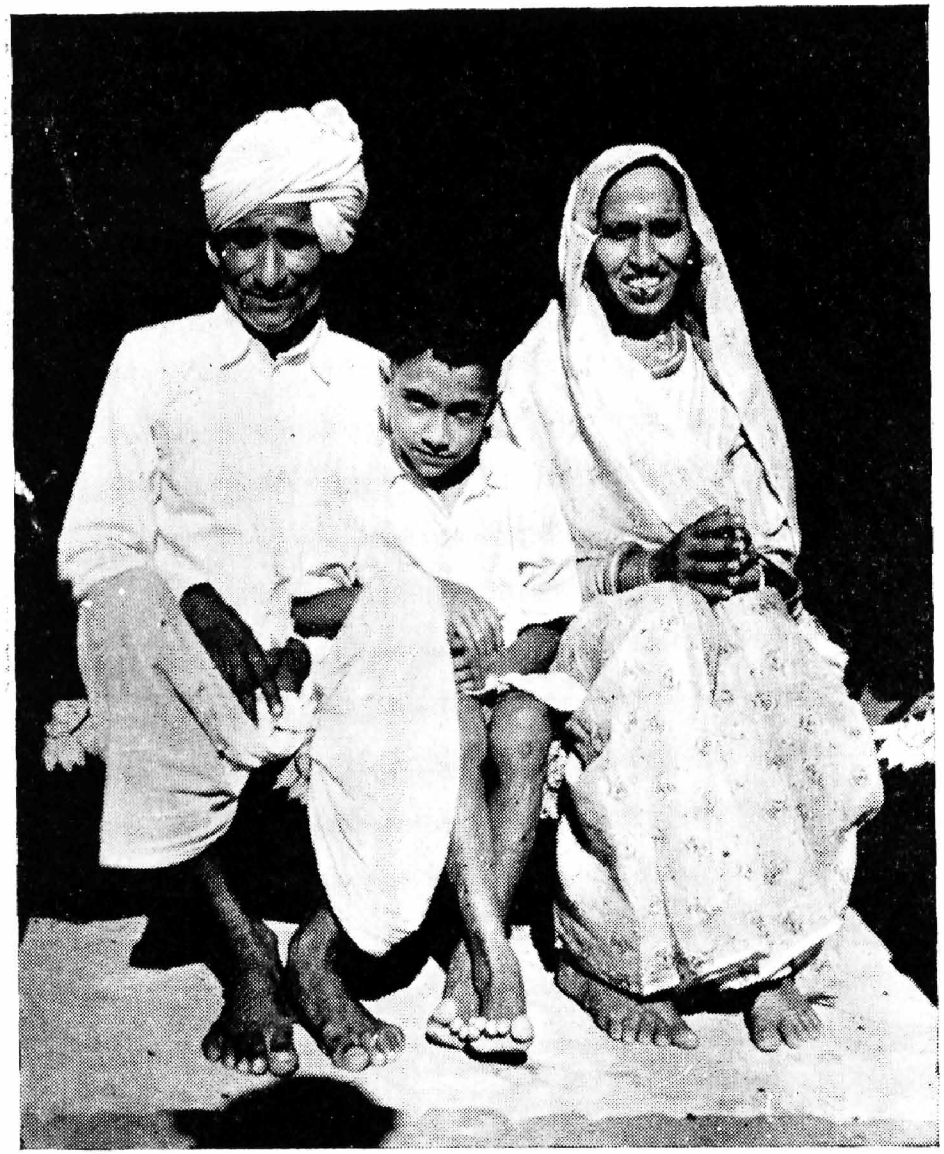
Ram Prasad Tharu and his elder son Ram Padarath are standing side by side with lathis in their hands. The father is wearing wooden sandals with pegs while the son is wearing wooden sandals with straps of hemp string, locally known as paula.

PLATE IV



A group of Tharu women and children

PLATE V



Pandit Ram Udit, the village priest, his wife and his nephew seated on a cot

PLATE VI



Shri Khaleel Ahmed (right) Gaon Pradhan and his father. Mark the great difference in the dress and beard etc. of the two.

PLATE VII



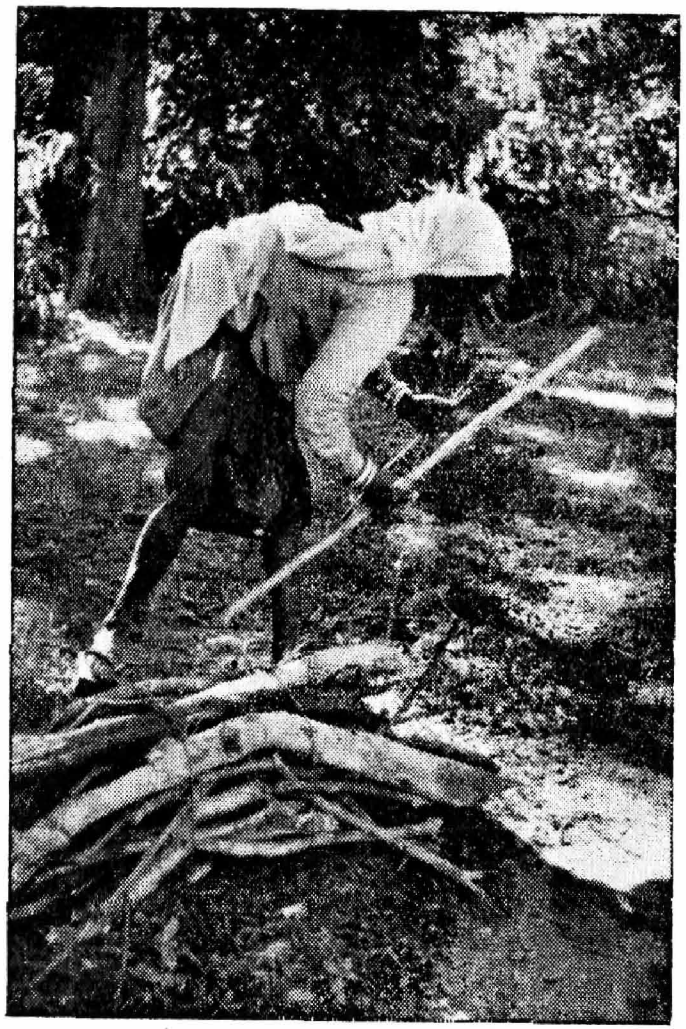
Members of a Lohar family of village Suganagar Domri, sitting at the entrance to their kitchen garden.

PLATE VIII



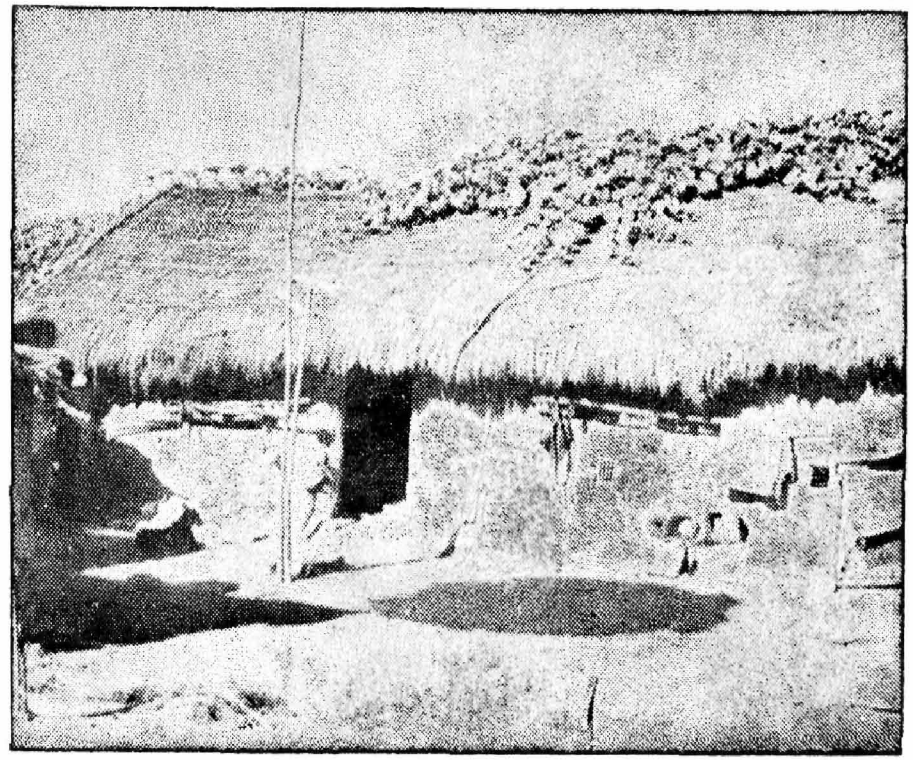
A group of women and children of various communities

PLATE IX



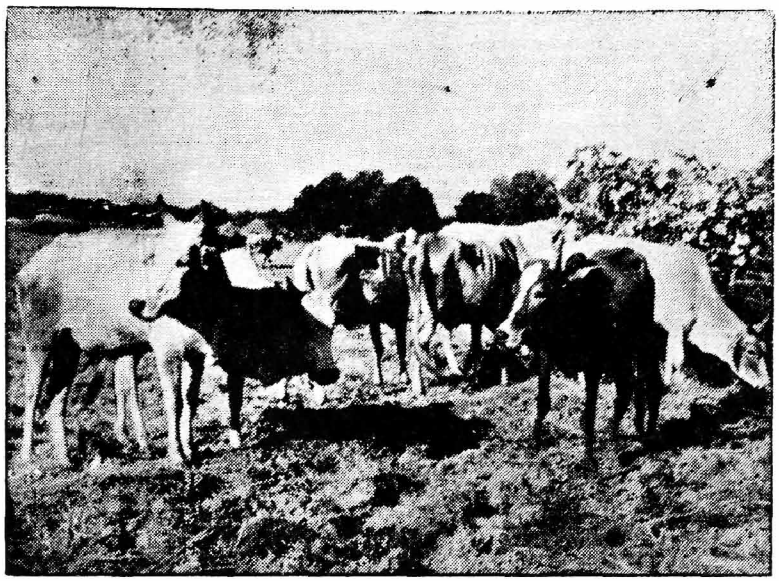
A Kurmi woman collecting firewood from the forest

PLATE X



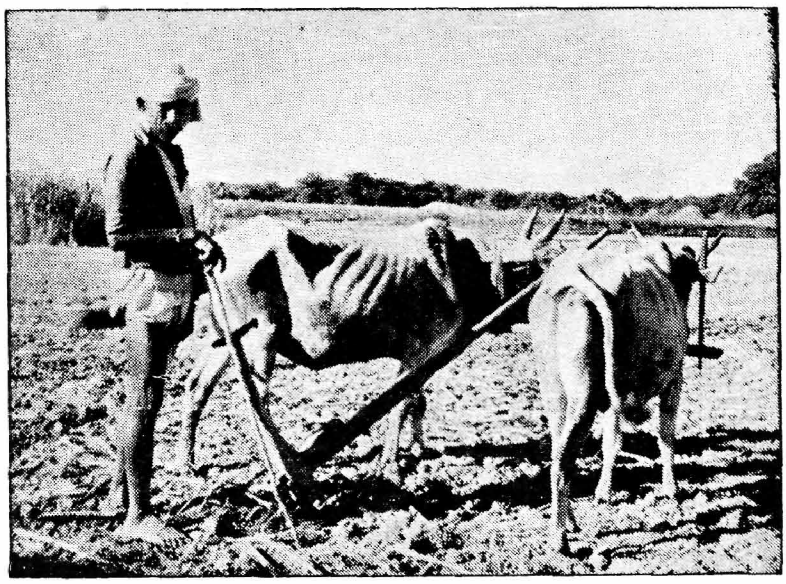
The house of a Tharu

PLATE XI



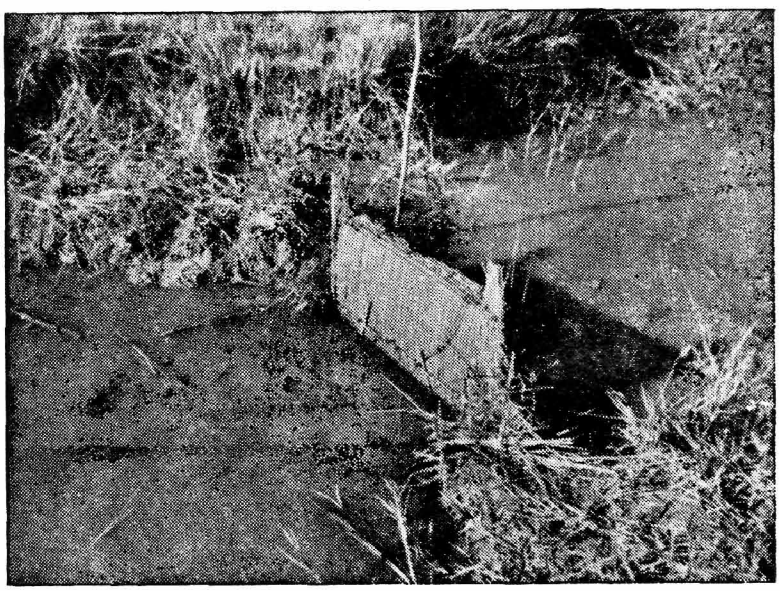
A herd of cattle grazing in the open

PLATE XII



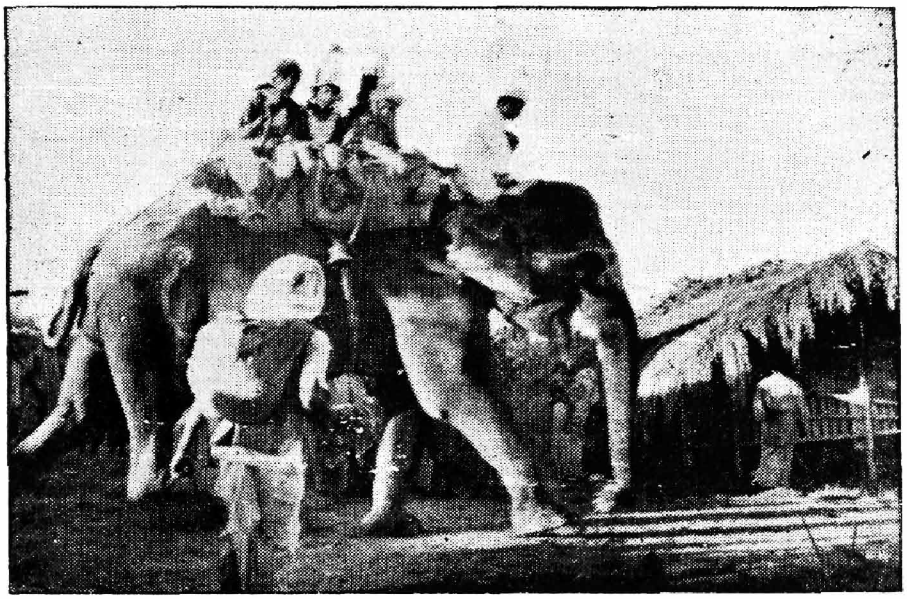
An Ahir cultivator ploughing the field

PLATE XIII



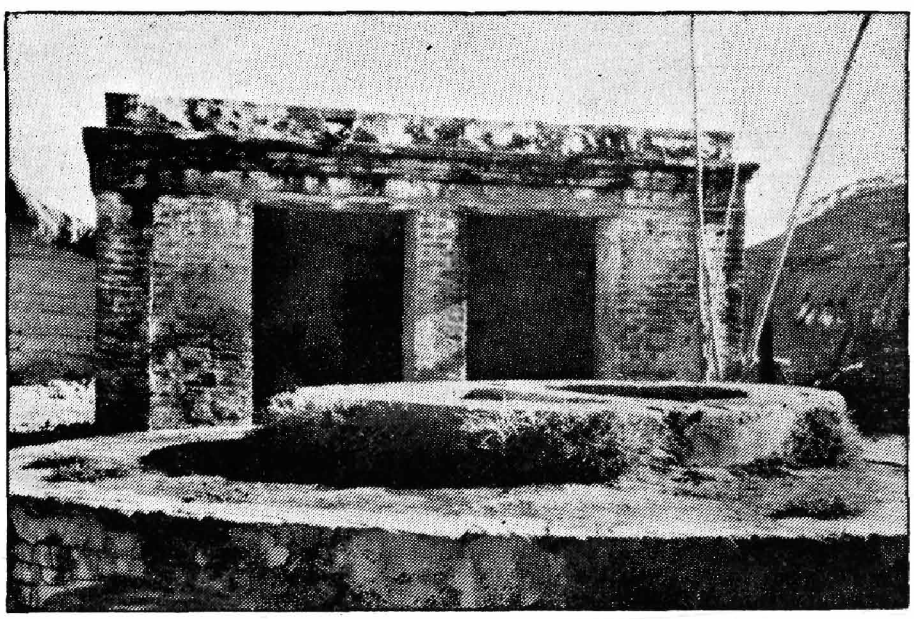
Fish catching device during rainy season

PLATE XIV



Ram, Lakshman and Sita on an elephant during Ram Lila celebrations.

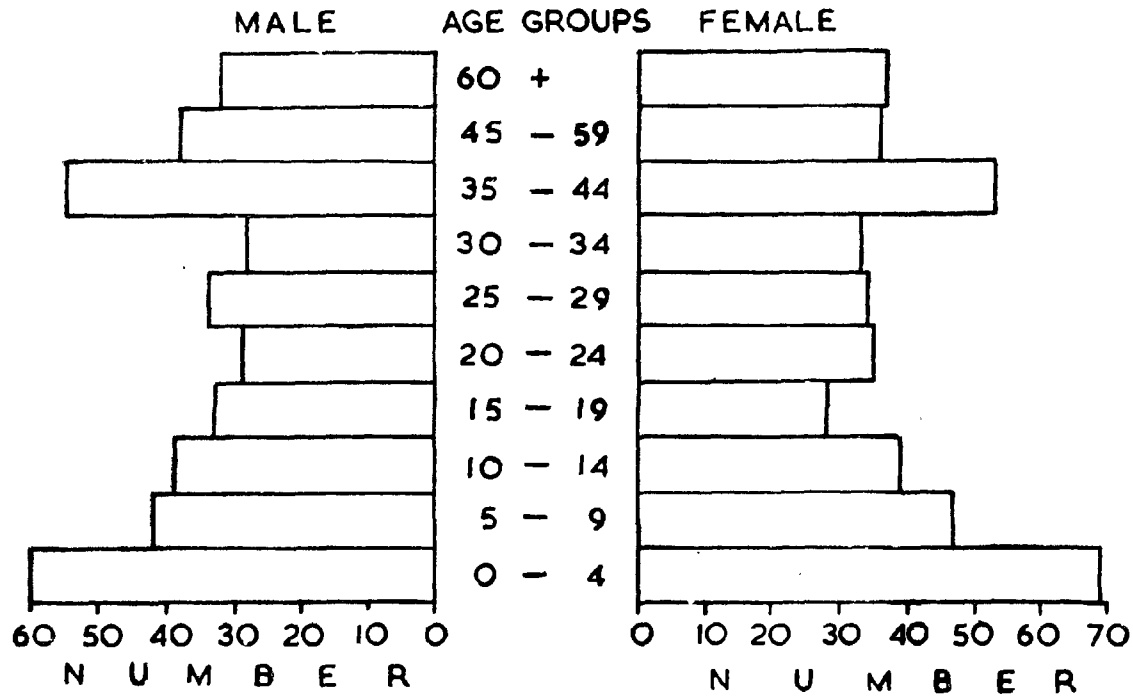
PLATE XV



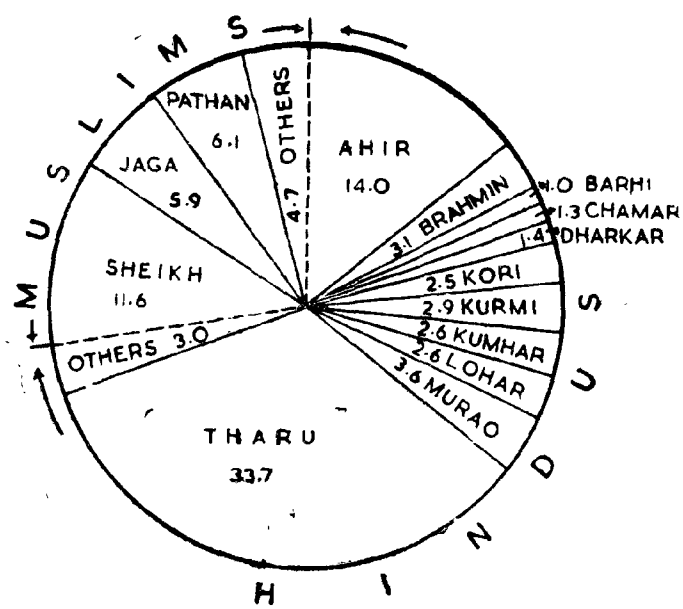
Temple of Shankarji

Suganagar Domri
in
Diagrams

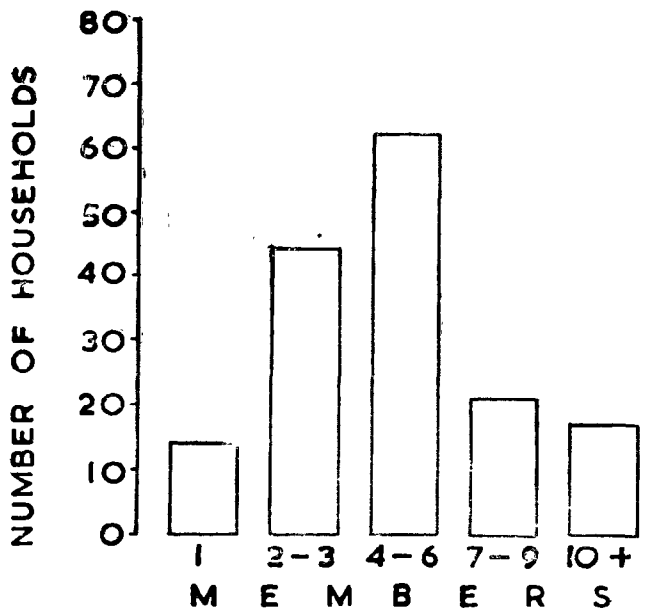
POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS



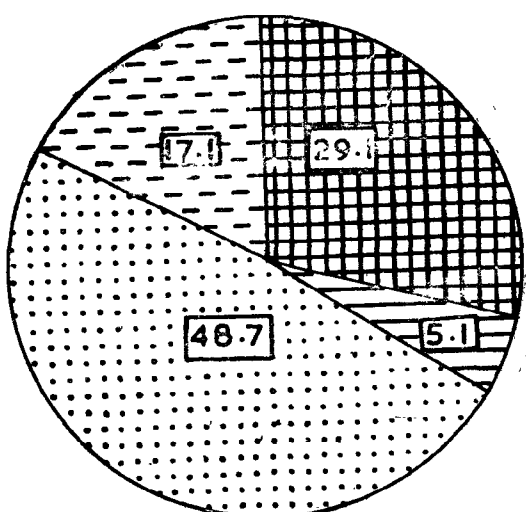
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY CASTE



SIZE & COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS



NATURE OF FAMILY



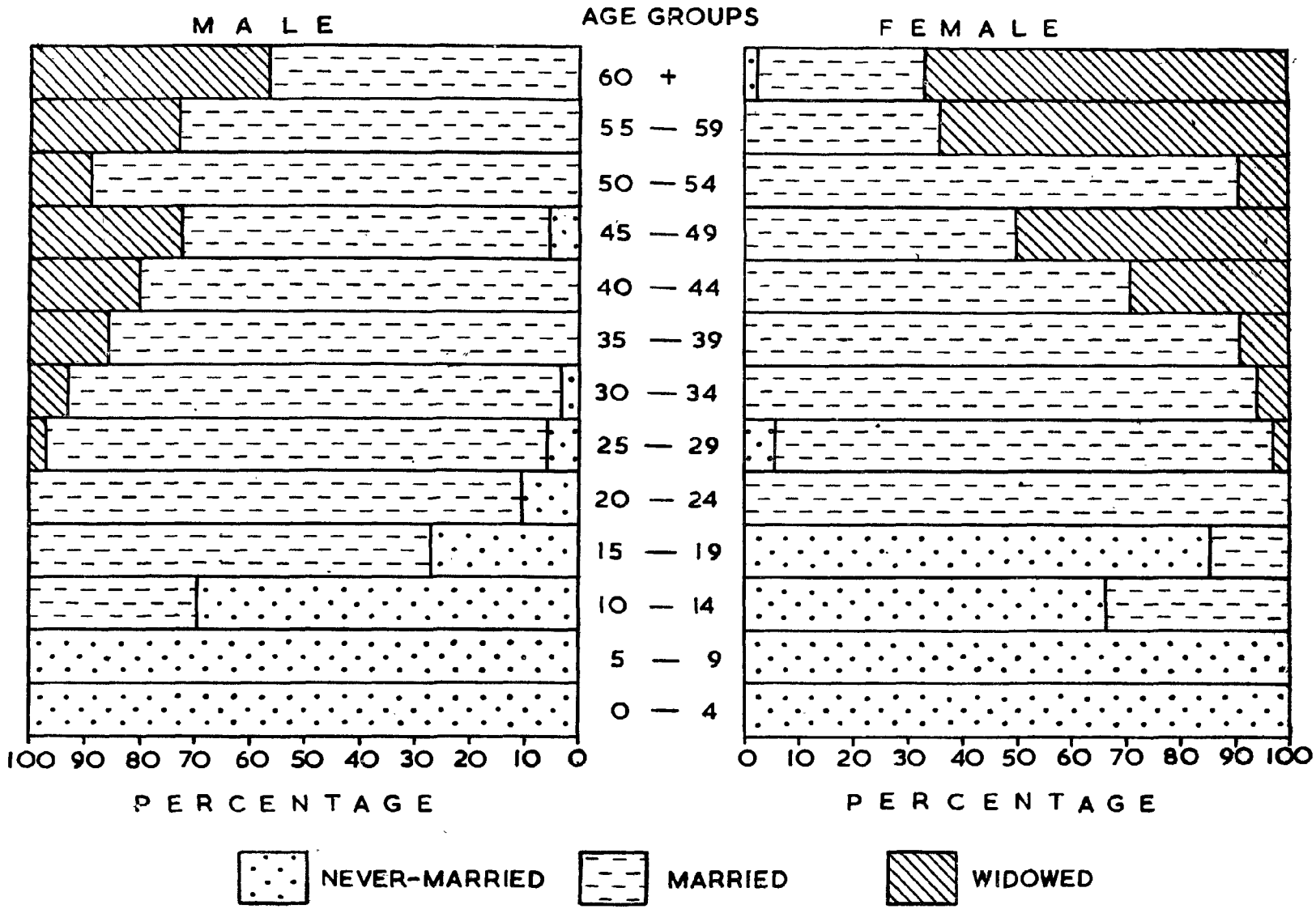
SIMPLE

INTERMEDIATE

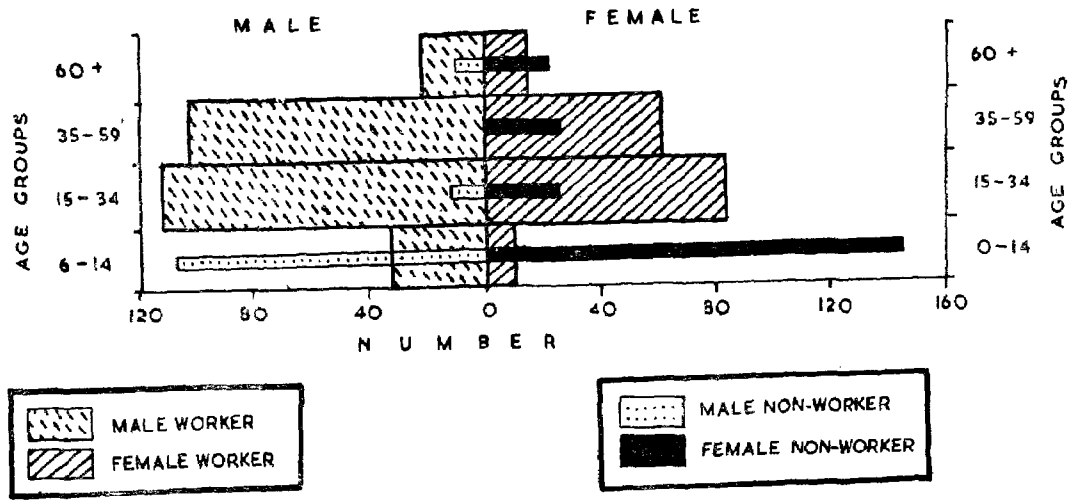
JOINT

OTHERS

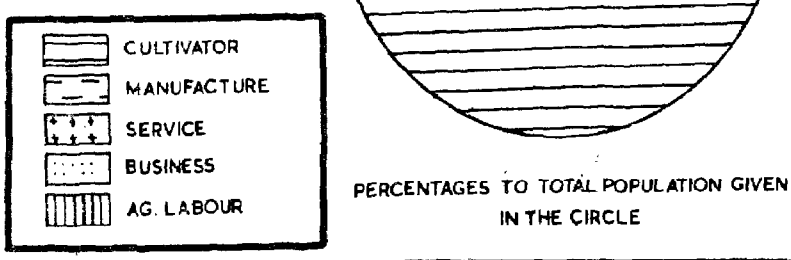
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS



WORKERS & NON-WORKERS
by
AGE GROUPS

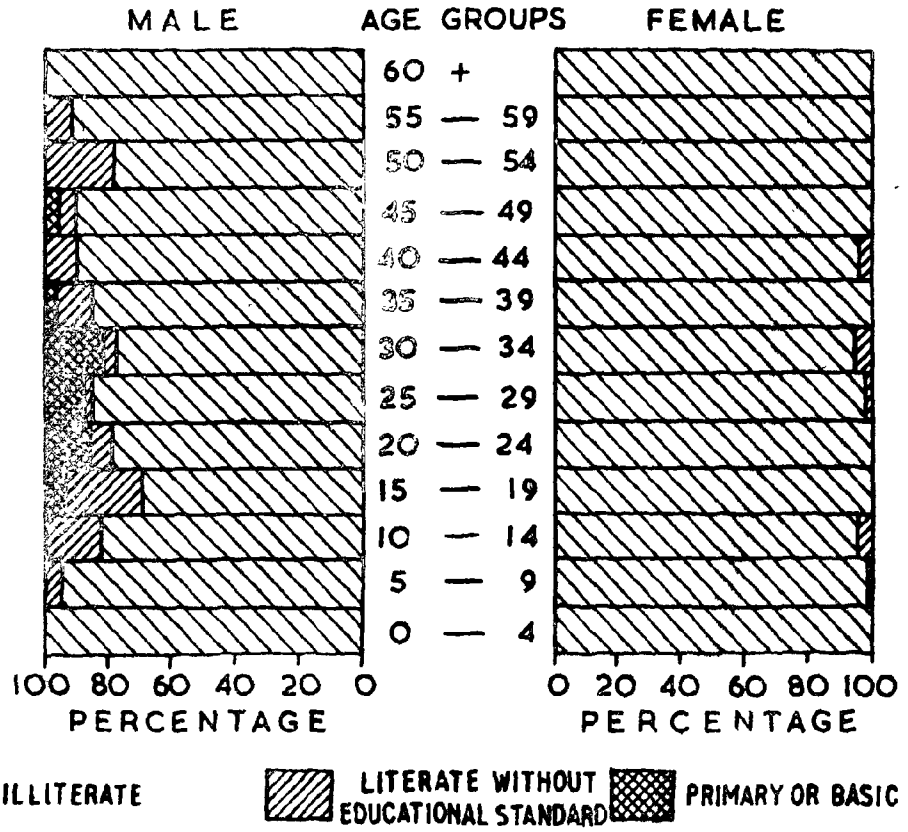


OCCUPATIONS

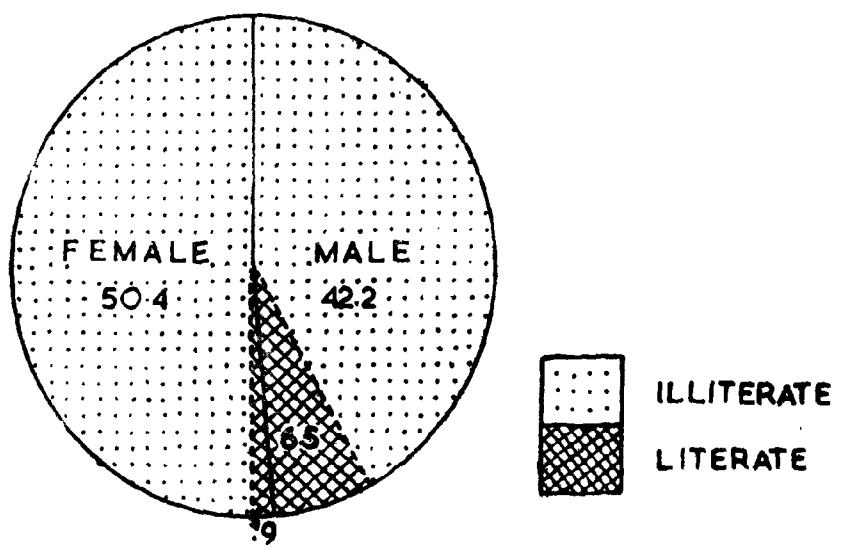


PERCENTAGES TO TOTAL POPULATION GIVEN IN THE CIRCLE

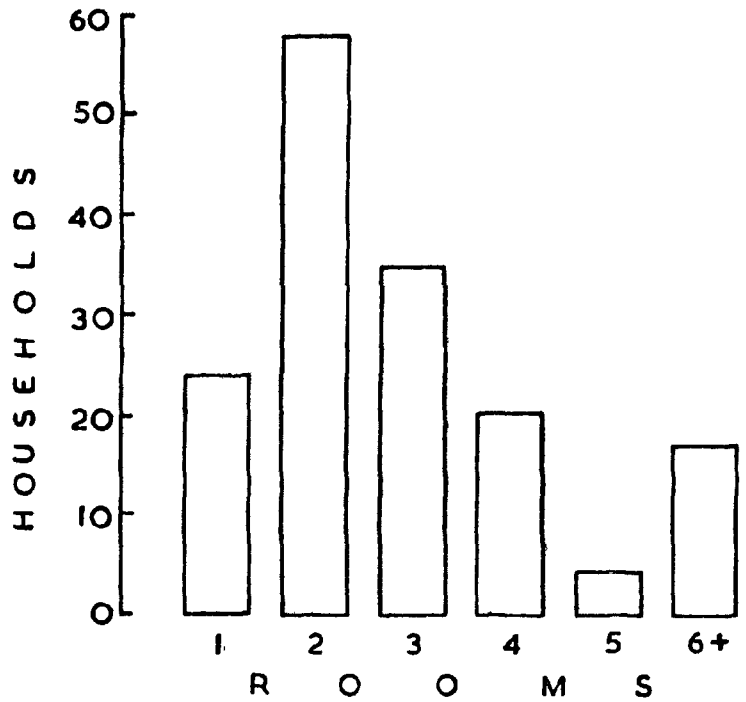
EDUCATION BY AGE GROUPS



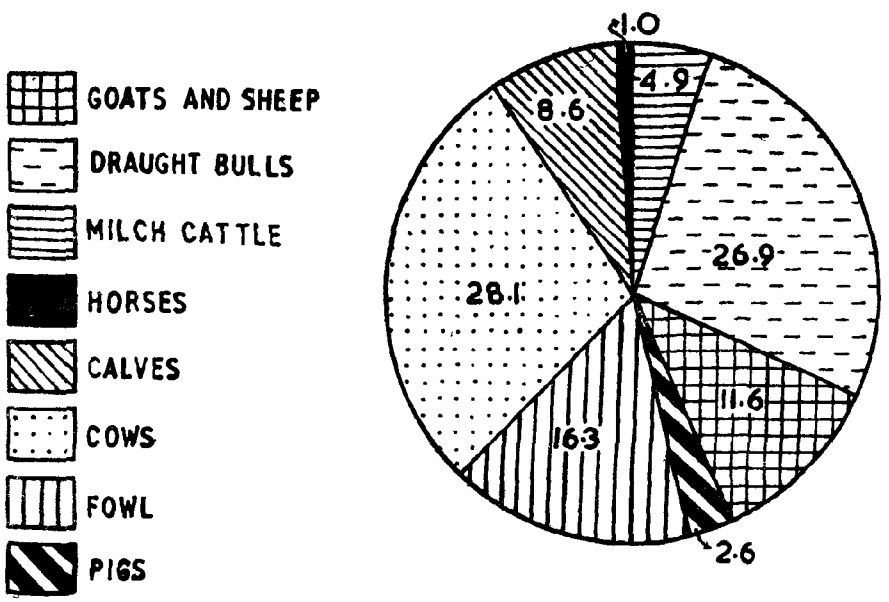
LITERACY



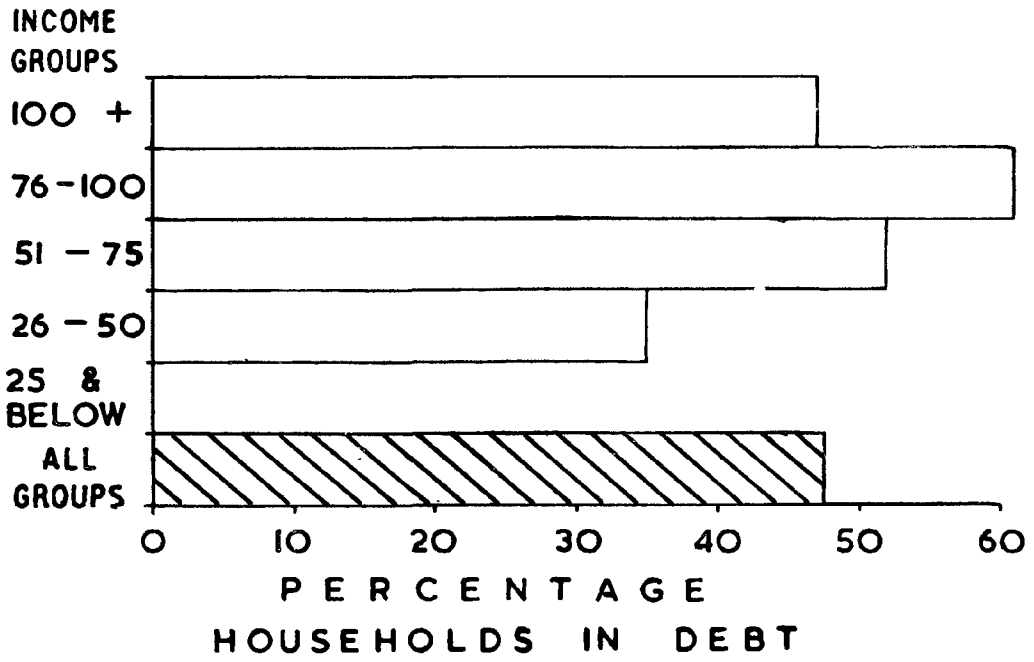
HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS



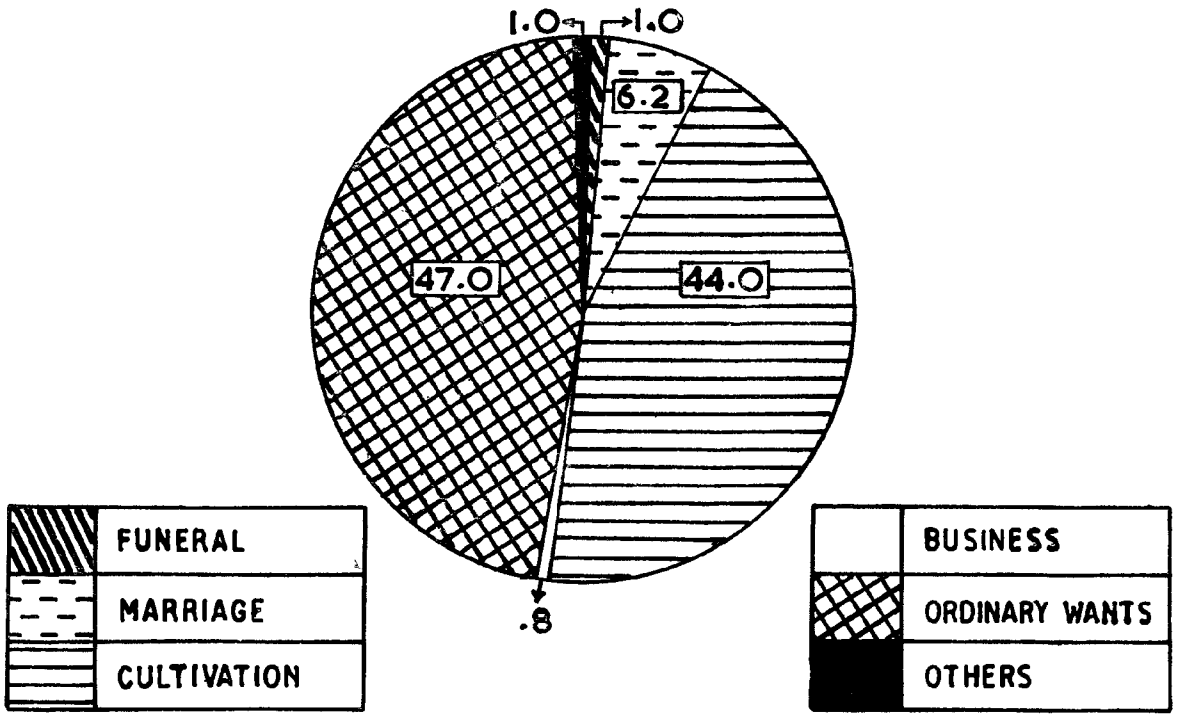
LIVESTOCK



INDEBTEDNESS BY INCOME GROUPS



INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSES



GLOSSARY

Local term		*English synonym*
1. Abadi	..	Population
2. Adha Bhata	..	System of agricultural labour where the workers gets 1/10th of the total yield etc. by way of wages
3. Aksa	..	A kind of coarse pulse grown in *rabi* season
4. Anchal	..	A hem of sari or scarf
5. Arhar	..	A kind of pulse
6. Baijhar	..	A mixture of wheat, barley and gram crop
7. Baithak	..	A sitting room
8. Bajia or Bajee	..	Non-Tharu
9. Balli	..	Beams used in construction of house
10. Bania	..	Trader belonging to Vaish community
11. Barat	..	Bridegroom's marriage party
12. Bara	..	Small fried cake made of *urd* pulse
13. Bar Dikhwai	..	A function among the Tharus for seeing the bridegroom at his residence
14. Bari Roti	..	The funeral feast given on the thirteenth day after death
15. Begaria	..	A Tharu male earmarked for doing forced labour
16. Benda	..	A sort of round mat prepared out of paddy straw
17. Beri	..	Dinner
18. Bhabhi	..	Brother's wife
19. Bhaint	..	Gift
20. Bhatwas	..	A variety of inferior pulse
21. Bhatoo	..	The mediator in marriage among the Tharus ; same as Ganjwa
22. Bhoot	..	Evil spirit
23. Bhujwat	..	A feast given on the occasion of taking a widow as wife
24. Bichkani	..	A small ring worn in the middle part of the ear
25. Bimwat	..	Habitat of snakes
26. Biradari	..	Clansmen
27. Bukwa	..	Paste of crushed rape
28. Chadar	..	A cotton shroud
29. Chaincha	..	A weed found in wheat and barley fields
30. Chauka	..	(1) A small place coated with clay and cowdung paste for performing a sacred ceremony (2) A kitchen room
31. Chaur Karai	..	Ceremonial taking of rice, pulse, *gur* etc. from groom's residence to that of bride
32. Chhaila	..	Dandy
33. Chhata	..	Umbrella
34. Chhoti Roti	..	A small feast given on a ceremonial occasion
35. Choti	..	Cue of hair, generally worn by the Hindus
36. Chowki	..	Outpost
37. Dai	..	An indigenous untrained nurse

	Local term	*English synonym*
38.	Daphla	.. A sort of tambourine
39.	Daru	.. Country liquor
40.	Deepak	.. Clay lamp
41.	Dehri	.. Corn bin
42.	Deolalahi	.. A ceremony before marriage in which all relatives are invited
43.	Doli	.. Small palanquin
44.	Domat	.. A kind of soil
45.	Donda	.. Stem of maize plant generally used as fuel
46.	Dondwa	.. A manger kept on a raised platform for feeding the bullocks
47.	Doolha	.. Bridegroom
48.	Duar Puja	.. Reception of bridegroom at the door of the bride
49.	Galta	.. A kind of cloth
50.	Gand dhuria	.. Head of Tharu household
51.	Ganjwa	.. The mediator in marriage among Tharus ; same as, Bhatoo
52.	Gauna	.. Ceremony leading to consummation of marriage
53.	Ghagra or lehanga	.. Voluminous skirt extending up to ankles
54.	Ghar Dikhwai	.. Ceremony of seeing the house of the prospective groom in connection with marriage
55.	Ghara Ceremony	.. Feast given on the thirteenth day after death
56.	Ghatera	.. A kind of reed used for making thatched roof
57.	Gondri or gunri	.. A mat made of grass and string
58.	Goojha	.. A sort of bracelet of round solid silver
59.	Gor Dhowai	.. Ceremony of washing of the groom's feet by the bride
60.	Hainga	.. A leveller made of wood
61.	Havan	.. Sacrifice in holy fire to the recitation of *mantras* or verses from scriptures
62.	Hookah	.. Hubble-bubble
63.	Hookah	.. A smoking pipe
64.	Jama	.. Long bridal gown
65.	Jajman	.. Clientele
66.	Janwasa	.. Place where the marriage party stays
67.	Jarimar marriage	.. Remarriage by a wife during the lifetime of her husband
68.	Jaund	.. A kind of liquor prepared by fermentation
69.	Jaura	.. Payment made in kind for services rendered
70.	Kachchi feast	.. A feast consisting of rice, pulse, bread, and vegetable or meat
71.	Kalanamak	.. A fine variety of paddy
72.	Kalewa	.. Breakfast
73.	Kanausi	.. A small thin silver ring worn in the upper part of the ear
74.	Kanyadan	.. Giving of daughter to the groom in marriage
75.	Karengi	.. A variety of paddy
76.	Khaliyan	.. Place for storing, thrashing and winnowing of grains
77.	Kodon	.. Inferior variety of paddy
78.	Kohbar	.. A room where the groom is made to sit and meet the females of the household after marriage
79.	Kudal	.. A spade-like agricultural implement
80.	Kurta (for females)	.. A shirt-like blouse
81.	Lahi	.. Rape (a variety of mustard)

	Local term		*English synonym*
82.	Lokandari	..	An elderly female who accompanies the bride just after marriage to "protect" her from the overtures of her husband in the night
83.	Machan or Anti	..	A watch-post fixed in corn fields for protecting it against birds, beasts and men
84.	Machia	..	A sort of small and low backless chair
85.	Maika	..	Parental house of the bride
86.	Mama	..	Mother's brother
87.	Mand	..	Liquid starch taken out after boiling rice
88.	Mandap	..	Canopy
89.	Mangni	..	Betrothal ceremony
90.	Mantras	..	Holy verses
91.	Marai	..	A small hut
92.	Markeen	..	A kind of thin cloth
93.	Masaura	..	A kind of perquisite
94.	Matera	..	A kind of soil
95.	Mauni	..	A small basket made of *moonj* grass
96.	Mingi	..	Lunch
97.	Moonj	..	A type of grass
98.	Mooth lena	..	Taking a handful of paddy for the purpose of sowing on the first day of paddy sowing
99.	Mundan Sanskar	..	Head shaving ceremoney
100.	Muththi	..	Handful
101.	Nadi	..	River
102.	Nainsukh	..	A kind of cloth
103.	Nala	..	A rivulet
104.	Nava	..	New
105.	Neg	..	Perquisite
106.	Niwasa rights	..	The daughter's son getting share in the property of his mother's father
107.	Ojha or Sookha	..	One who cures the disease or effects of evil spirits by magical art
108.	Pad	..	Sub-sect
109.	Paharuwa	..	A big pestle
110.	Pahi Kasht	..	Cultivation done in village other than that of one's actual residence
111.	Pakki feast	..	A feast consisting of *puries*, fried in ghee with meat, vegetable, curd, etc.
112.	Pandal	..	An open camp
113.	Parchhan	..	Reception of the couple by the females at the door of the husband
114.	Patri	..	Plate of dhak leaves
115.	Paula	..	Wooden sandals
116.	Phatui	..	A male garment
117.	Pharia	..	An *orhani* used by a female for covering the head
118.	Phoopha	..	Father's sister's husband
119.	Pitra Paksh	..	The fortnight sacred to the deceased ancestors
120.	Pura Bhata	..	System of agricultural labour where the workers gets 1/5th of the total yield etc. by way of wages
121.	Raut	..	Bride's father

Local terms		*English Synonym*
122. Reh	..	Alkaline efflorescence used for washing clothes by the village washerman
123. Sadri	..	Waistcoat
124. Sagai	..	Taking a woman as wife without performing the actual marriage ceremony
125. Sahbala	..	Groom's younger brother
126. Sanai	..	Hemp
127. Satha	..	A kind of autumn paddy
128. Seedha	..	Provisions for preparing meals
129. Shaptpadi or Bhanwar or Phera		The circumambulation of bridal fire seven times by the couple
130. Shikar	..	Hunting
131. Shradh	..	Annual ceremonial feasts performed in honour of the deceased ancestors
132. Shuddhi	..	Purification
133. Shukla Paksh of Phagun	..	The moonlit fortnight of Phagun (February/March)
134. Sikobarhi Bokna	..	Carrying *daru, jaund,* and fish in earthen pot in marriages from groom's house to bride's place
135. Sirwar	..	A village servant who works as messenger-*cum*-chaukidar for the village community, in lieu of payment made to him in kind
136. Sonthaura	..	A preparation of dried ginger mixed with *gur* and ghee
137. Soop	..	Winnowing fan
138. Surha	..	Honorary bearers of bride's/groom's *doli* during marriage
139. Taveez	..	Amulet with charm
140. Teli	..	Oilman
141. Urd	..	A variety of fine pulse—phaseolus radiatus

LIST OF VILLAGES SELECTED FOR STUDY IN UTTAR PRADESH

	Name of District	Name of Tahsil	Name of Village	Revenue Number
1.	Uttarkashi	Dunda	Birpur	44
2.	Pithoragarh	Munsiari	Ghorpatta Malla	45
			Darkot	25
3.	Garhwal	Pauri	Thapli	55
4.	Almora	Ranikhet	Bijepur	51
5.	Bijnor	Bijnor	Rafiulnagar *urf* Raoli	161
			Mughalpura	175
6.	Budaun	Bisauli	Mirzapur Behta	110
		Budaun	Kachla Pukhta	21
7.	Bareilly	Nawabganj	Adhkata Rabbani Begum	8
			Barkhan	198
8.	Pilibhit	Bisalpur	Daulatpur Hira	174
9.	Dehra Dun	Chakrata	Dhaura	118
			Chapnu	332
			Sarari	224
10.	Saharanpur	Deoband	Sadharansar	98
			Bilaspur	22
11.	Aligarh	Atrauli	Barauli	71
12.	Mathura	Sadabad	Nagla Beru	122
13.	Agra	Kheragarh	Beri Chahar	104
		Etmadpur	Chawli	47
		Bah	Pidhaura	109
14.	Etah	Jalesar	Baghai	91
15.	Etawah	Etawah	Udi	34
		Auraiya	Ayana	14
16.	Kanpur	Kanpur	Ishuriganj	17
17.	Allahabad	Soraon	Sarai Kesho *urf* Bagi	216
			Kalyanpur	24
		Phulpur	Bhadkar Uparhar	151
18.	Hamirpur	Rath	Qasba Khera	4
19.	Banda	Naraini	Akbarpur	2

	Name of District	Name of Tahsil	Name of Village	Revenue Number
20.	Kheri	Nighasan	Belapersua	122
			Bankati	..
			Lodhauri	492
			Rakehti	301
21.	Sitapur	Biswan	Kanduni	354
22.	Gonda	Balrampur	Suganagar Domri	383
			Rajderwa Tharu	312
23.	Bara Banki	Nawabganj	Gadia	124
			Dadra	20
24.	Sultanpur	Sultanpur	Barasin	42
25.	Azamgarh	Phulpur	Sumbha Dih	364
			Surhan	87
		Ghosi	Pakri Buzurg	444
26.	Ghazipur	Ghazipur	Para	64
27.	Varanasi	Varanasi	Lohta	123
			Mehndiganj	248
28.	Mirzapur	Robertsganj	Mitapur	104
			Gidhia	36
			Parsoi	70

PSUP—A. P. 4 Census—1964. 850. (M).