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BANKATI

A VILLAGE SURVEY

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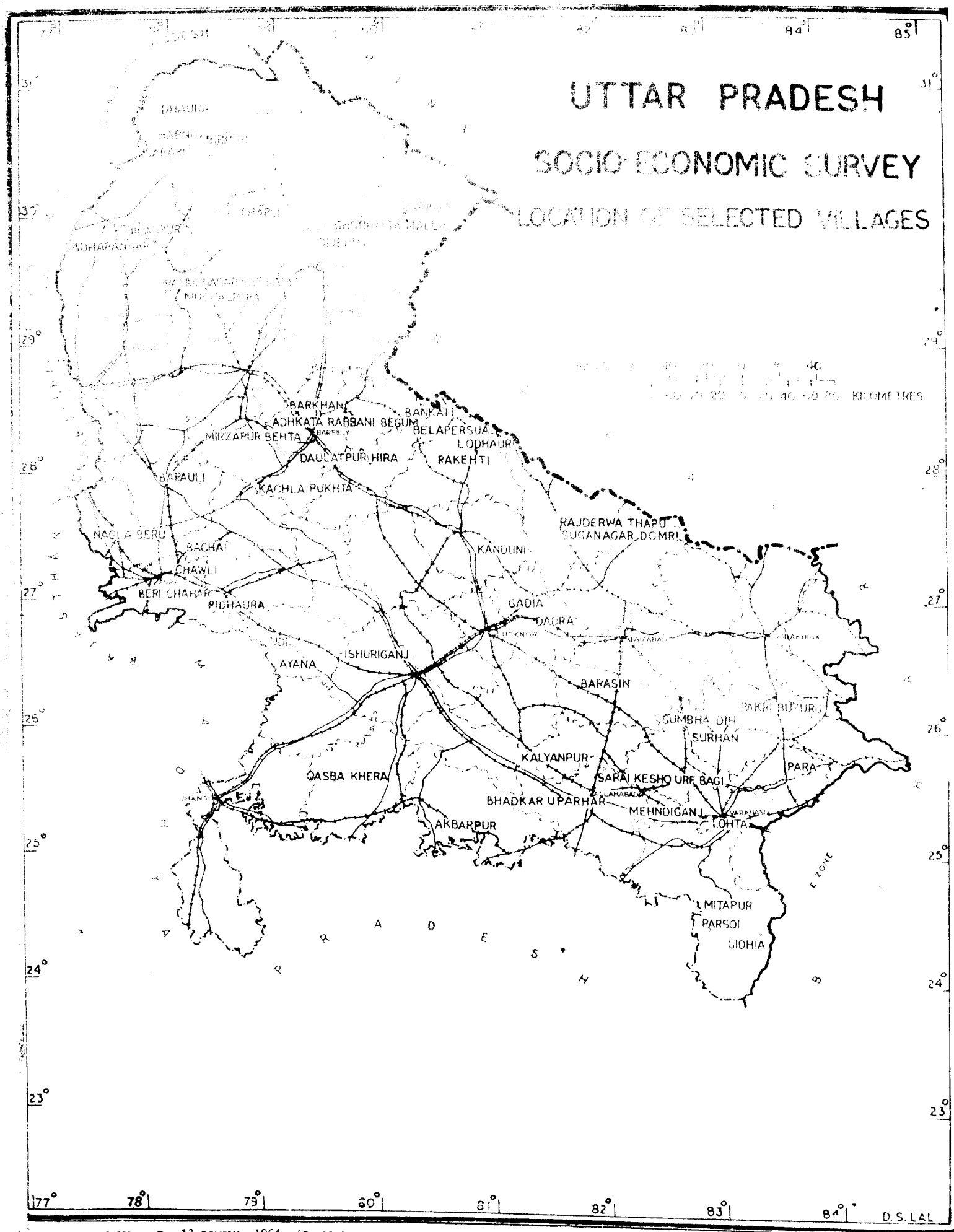
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UTTAR PRADESH

PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH No. 11

General Editor

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Superintendent of Census Operations, Uttar Pradesh

VILLAGE BANKATI

(TAHSIL NIGHASAN, DISTRICT KHERI)

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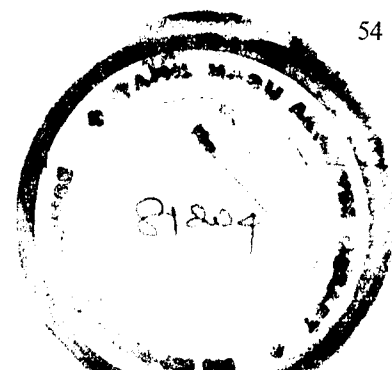
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FOREWORD

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

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

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to

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

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

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

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

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500—700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on

agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

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

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress; ornaments and 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, moveable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to 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. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commissioner rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what

NEW DELHI :
July 30, 1964.

ASOK MITRA
Registrar General, India.

may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve; to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to the most fruitful single source of information about the country. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in an appendix to the monograph on village Thapli, district Garhwal.

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 Zamin-dari, the extension of Planning and Development activities and the enforcement of various social laws. The knowledge thus gained can be utilised for the reorientation 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. Out 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 available 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 the winds of change from various directions to a great degree.

LUCKNOW :
4th January, 1963.

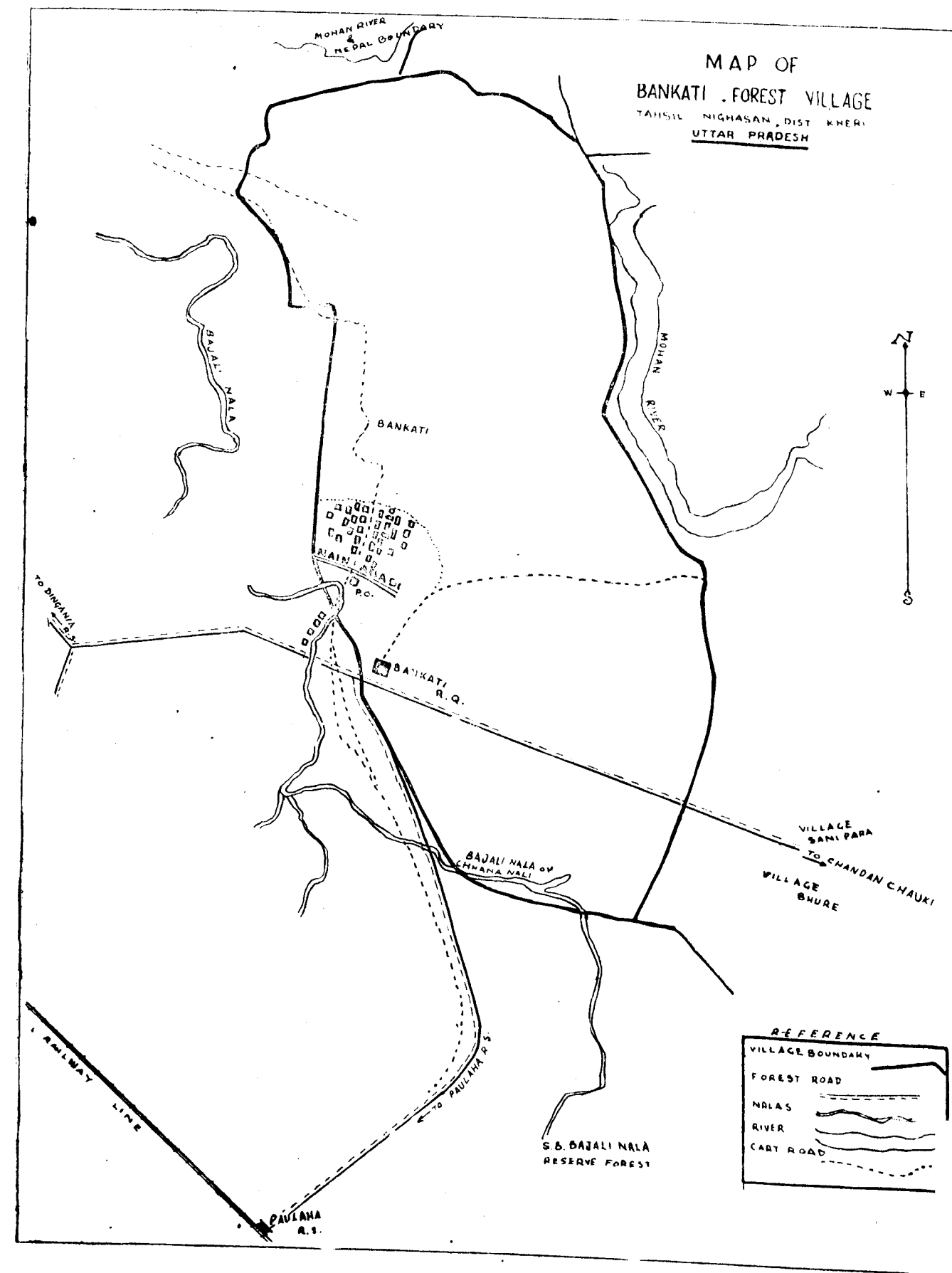
3. Bankati, a forest village situated in the Bankati Forest Range near the border of district Lakhimpur Kheri with Nepal, was selected for study because it has a predominant population of the Tharus, a backward community living in the *tarai* area of Himalayas. Outside influences have naturally been quite slow to penetrate this distant village.

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 April, 1961. 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 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
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Uttar Pradesh.*



CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Location

Bankati is a small-sized forest village, situated at an altitude of 602 ft. above sea-level in the *tarai* area of Bankati Range of the North Kheri Forest Division of district Lakhimpur Kheri. It lies in tahsil Nighasan at a distance of about 2 miles from Paulaha railway station on the Dudhwa-Gauriphanta branch of the North Eastern Railway. The railway station Dingania of the same railway line is also situated at a distance of two miles from the village. Towards the north of the village lies the Kingdom of Nepal separated by river Mohan. On all sides it is surrounded by a thick forest. The Terha nala flows to the south of the village.

The district headquarters at Lakhimpur Kheri is situated at a distance of 74 miles from Paulaha, the railway station nearest to the village. There is a direct bus service from Kheri to Nighasan and onwards to Bellarain, the nearest bus station from where the distance of this village is 14 miles. This service, however, remains suspended from June to October, because of the discontinuation of the pontoon bridge on river Sharda at Pachperi Ghat. There is yet another bus station at Palia which is 16 miles from the village. Palia is connected by an unmetalled road with Nighasan, the tahsil headquarters and Sampurananagar the headquarters of the new colonisation area.

Transport and Communication

Kachcha roads connect the village with the two railway stations. Bullock cart is the only means of transport from the railheads or bus stands to the village. In fact it is the most useful and popular vehicle used by the residents of this area. It is the only means of transport at the time of marriage, fairs and festivals or for agricultural purposes. Horses and ponies are also used by men for covering long distances. Doli or *palki* (palanquin), a sort of chair carried

by two persons on their shoulders, is used for carrying the invalid, the bride or women casually.

Postal Facilities

There is a branch post-office in the village itself. It is named as Post-Office Paulaha after the name of the railway station. The village school teacher also works as part-time postmaster. There is no separate postman and hence the letters are distributed by the postmaster himself.

Area and Population

The area of the village is 706 acres or 1.1 sq. miles. The 49 households have a population of 492 persons, 253 males and 239 females, out of whom 426 persons or 87 per cent are Tharus, 50 persons or 10 per cent are Hindus other than Tharus and the remaining 16 persons or 3 per cent are Mohammedans. Thus it is a village with a predominant Tharu population. The huts of the Tharus are situated in a cluster separate from the house of non-Tharus.

Occupations

The main occupation of the residents of this village is agriculture in which 73 per cent of the households are engaged, followed by service in which 25 per cent of the households are engaged.

Welfare Institutions

The village is a forest settlement and hence there is no Gaon Sabha or Nyaya Panchayat. This village is not included in any Development Block and the activities of the Planning and Development Department have not, therefore, been extended to it. There is no co-operative society in the village. In 1954, the Antarim Zila Parishad had established a Lower Primary School here. There is no separate building for this school and it is accommodated in a portion of the house of Thakur Puttu Singh, a local contractor and businessman.

The State Directorate of Information has supplied some books to a local public library and also a community listening radio-set in this village. The Hindi daily Nav Jeevan published from Lucknow and the Hindi weekly Blitz published from Bombay are also obtained in the library. The library is managed by Thakur Puttu Singh who is also the keeper of the radio-set.

There is no temple or mosque in the village. Just adjacent to the south-west corner of the *abadi* is the *than* (shrine) of goddess Nagarhayi Bhavani, sacred to the Tharus only.

Rainfall and Climate

The rainfall in the village in 1960-61 was as follows :

Month	Rainfall	
April, 1960	..	.. Not known
May, 1960	..	.. 1.96 inches
June, 1960	..	.. 8.81 "
July, 1960	..	.. 24.95 "
August, 1960	..	.. 16.53 "
September, 1960	..	.. 13.14 "
October, 1960	..	.. 11.17 "
November, 1960	..	.. Not known
December, 1960	..	.. 0.55 inches
January, 1961	..	.. 0.83 "
February, 1961	..	.. 3.07 "
March, 1961	..	.. Not known

The highest rainfall during the period from 1955 to 1961 was 33.70 inches in July, 1957. The village is situated in the *tarai* area surrounded by thick forests on all sides and hence it has a damp and malarial climate. During summer it is not too hot but during winter it is quite chilly.

Sanitation and Drainage

The village is situated on a low land. There is no arrangement for the outflow of rain water and hence during the rainy season there is

frequent water-logging in the *abadi* and its neighbourhood. Hence the village is quite insanitary. Potable water is available in one *pucca* well and five wood wells generally at a depth of about 15 feet. Water taken from these wells turns yellow in colour after being kept for a few hours; a thin oily layer also appears on the surface. Since this water is not healthy, hand-pumps are being installed. The natural source of water supply is Mohan river which is about one mile from the village.

Medical Facilities

The nearest dispensary is at Palia at a distance of 16 miles from the village. Also, there is a dispensary of the Forest Department at Dudhwa which is about 18 miles from the village.

Flora and Fauna

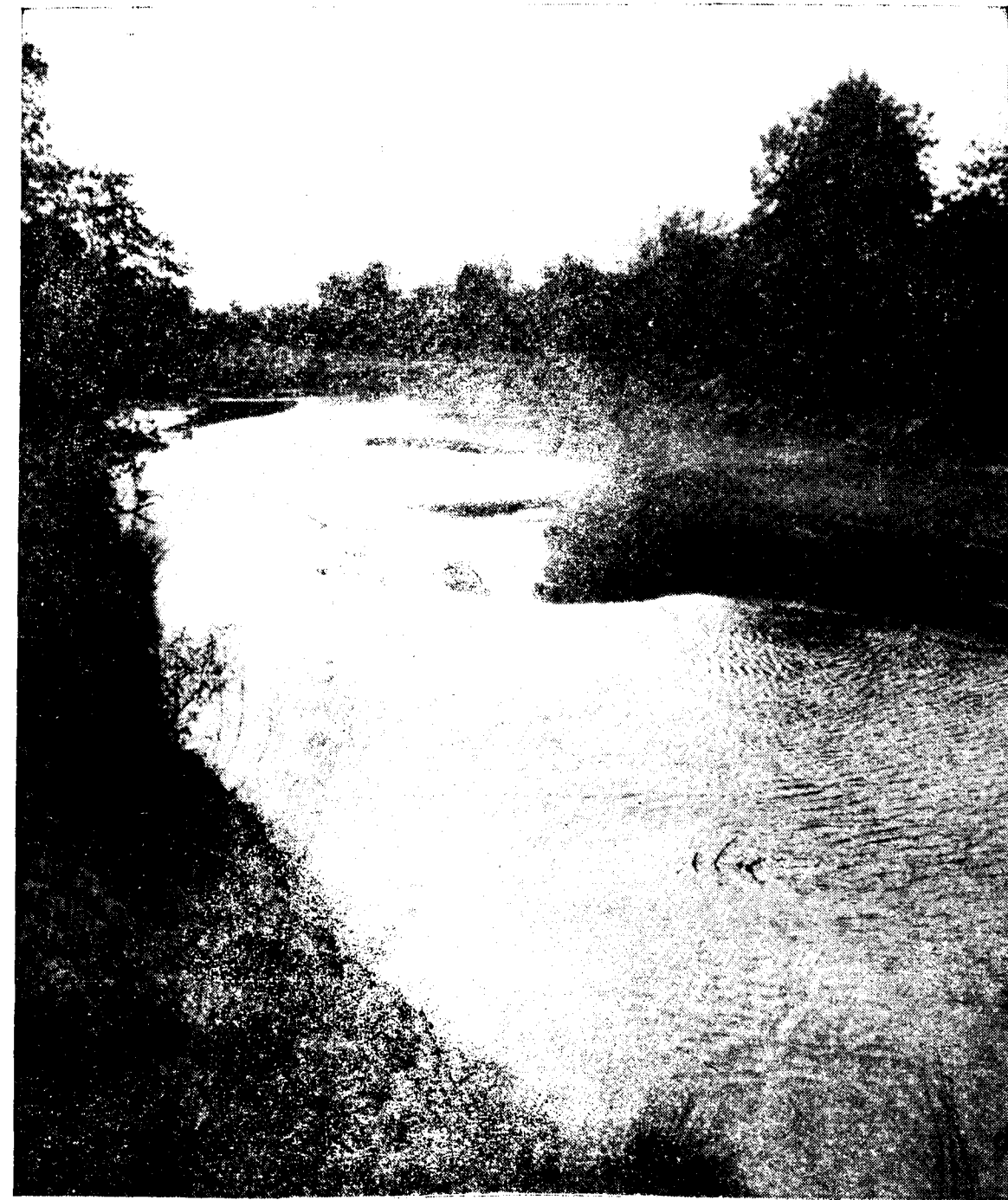
The area is very rich both in flora and fauna. Tigers and panthers abound in the neighbouring forests and haunt the village off and on. Bears and elephants are seen occasionally. Jungle fowl, partridge, duck, green pigeon, peacock, quail, heron, etc., are common birds found in the area. Bustard is available in the summer months from March to April. Other common animals and reptiles are antelope, barking deer, spotted deer, hog deer, wild dog, hyena, wild cat, porcupine, wild boar, hare, python, cobra and krait.

The common trees in the area are *sal*, *asna*, *haldu*, *phaldu*, *khair*, *shisham*, *semal*, *gutel*, *neem*, *mango*, *bahera*, *har*, *aonla*, etc.

Origin and Settlement History of the Village

The Bankati Range was created by the Forest Department in the year 1879. In 1894, 27 villages known as the Bardia Estate were taken from the taluqa of Khairagarh in return for certain outlying areas of miscellaneous forest. From 1894 to 1899 the villages were managed by the Deputy Conservator, but in the latter year 18 villages were handed over to the District Officer and the remaining nine, which were uninhabited, were reserved. The villages transferred to the Revenue Department were transferred back to the North Kheri Forest Division in 1916.

PLATE No. 1



Mohan river

PLATE No. 2



A view of Post Office

PLATE No. 3



Women taking water from well

PLATE No. 4



Potable water placed under grass roof

The ancestors of Tharus of this village were allowed to inhabit this place after clearance of some forest area in 1894 and it has been growing ever since. The village derives its name from the manner in which it came into existence. The word *Ban* means 'forest' and the word *Kati* means 'cleared off'; hence Bankati means a place which came into existence as a result of clearance of forest tract. The office of the Forest Ranger Bankati is situated in this village.

As prescribed under the Forest Rules, the Divisional Forest Officer keeps a register of all the inhabitants of the village. No outsider can settle here without his written permission. The following conditions of residence are observed:

(a) The Forest Department and its contractors have the first claims to the labour, on payment, of all adult residents who cannot accept employment from any other department, company or individual without previous sanction of the Divisional Forest Officer;

(b) They have to be generally obedient to the orders of the Divisional Forest Officer.

Each householder in the village is entitled to the following privileges:

(a) land for cultivation is assigned to him by the Divisional Forest Officer, sufficient with proper diligence for the support of himself and his family. Subject to the Conservator's sanction, such land is granted at such rates as may be determined for each village by the Divisional Officer in consultation with the Deputy Commissioner;

(b) free grazing is given to him for such reasonable number of cattle as may be determined in each case by the Divisional Forest Officer;

(c) a free supply is allowed to him of all thorns and wood required for *bona fide* agricultural purposes, also of such wood and grass for house-building and repairs as the Divisional Forest Officer may deem reasonable, also for dead wood for fuel and of

leaves and edible fruits, flowers and roots required for domestic purposes;

(d) the residents of the village have the first claim to employment in all forest work conducted under the orders or supervision of the Forest Department or its contractors and in the collection of minor products and are to be paid in cash for the work at such fair rates daily or otherwise as may be fixed by the Divisional Forest Officer with the approval of the Deputy Commissioner.

A headman or Pradhan is selected by each village, subject to the approval of the Divisional Forest Officer. He collects all rents, cesses and other sums due from the villagers, receiving a commission of one anna in a rupee on his collection on making over the same to the Divisional Forest Officer. He also enforces all such sanitary regulations as the Divisional Forest Officer may prescribe.

The Divisional Forest Officer is empowered to make, from the forest funds placed at his disposal for the purpose, such reasonable advances of cash or grain to any householder of the village as may be necessary to enable him to prepare or sow his land or purchase plough and bullocks; all such advances are recoverable with interest at $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per annum.

Out of 49 households, 30 households of Tharus settled in the village between 2-4 generations and 19 households, 4 Tharu and 15 non-Tharu, migrated to the village within the present generation. The village is only 68 years old.

Bankati is basically a forest village of Tharu community but some non-Tharus too have settled there. The village was selected for studying the cultural, social and economic aspects of the life of Tharus and assessing the impact of the association of non-Tharus, the various legislative measures enforced by the Government and natural factors of change on their way of life. As a matter of fact, in such an isolated village the velocity of the winds of change is hardly felt.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

Ethnic Composition

The following table shows the population and households of various religions and castes in the village :

TABLE No 2.1

Population by Religion and Castes

Religion	Castes	House-holds	Male	Fe-male	Total
HINDU	1. Tharus	34	212	214	426
	2. Brahmin	2	5	2	7
	3. Kshatriya	3	14	10	24
	4. Kayastha	1	1	1	2
	5. Lohar	1	2	1	3
	6. Pasi	1	4	2	6
	7. Mehtar	1	3	3	6
	8. Ahir	1	1	..	1
	9. Mali	1	1	..	1
MUSLIM	10. Saiyad	1	1	..	1
	11. Pathan	1	2	1	3
	12. Sheikh	2	7	5	12

Thus 87 per cent of population is of Tharus. The location of the office of the Forest Ranger in this village is mainly responsible for the existence of several households of different communities. The permanent residents are the Tharus.

Origin of Tharus

The Tharus are a jungle tribe whose origin is uncertain. Some authorities claim that they originally came from Nepal and others say that they are wanderers from Central India. According to some, the word Tharu is derived from Hindi *thahray* (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 say that they are so called because they live in the *tarai* but in Gonda it is asserted that the name is derived from *thar* which in the Tharu colloquial language means 'below the hills'.

The Tharus of this village call themselves Rana Tharus. It is claimed that after the defeat of Maharana Pratap in the battle of Haldighati, wives of many Rajput warriors fled with their servants and came to live in the *tarai* area. They did not return to their homeland and in course of time became the *de facto* wives of their servants. Although there is no historical support for such a claim, some of the social customs among them lend support to this contention. For example, it is considered derogatory for a Tharu woman to scour the utensils used by her husband. Also the males are not allowed to enter the kitchen where women alone do the cooking, etc. The women assert their superiority over men, who have the general reputation of being hen-pecked husbands.

The Tharus are gay-looking and indolent by nature, having no ambition to acquire education or wealth. They are fond of drinking locally fermented liquor and it is just possible that liquor assists them in their partial immunity from malaria. They are reputed to be honest, brave, good hunters and cultivators. They are highly superstitious and much under the influence of their priests. Their disputes are generally settled by their tribal *panchayats*.

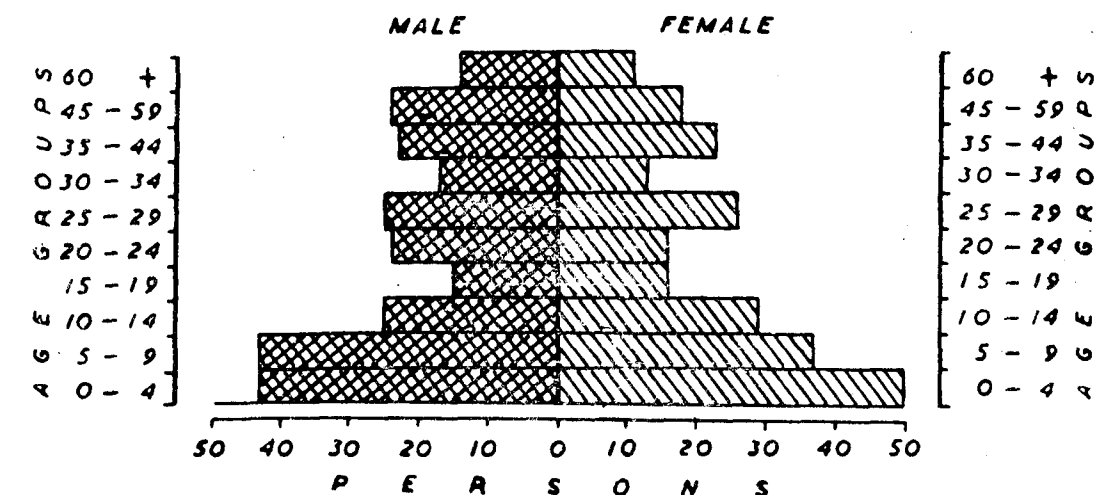
Physical Features of Tharus

Their features have a tinge of Mongolian origin, although these marks have softened in course of time. 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."*

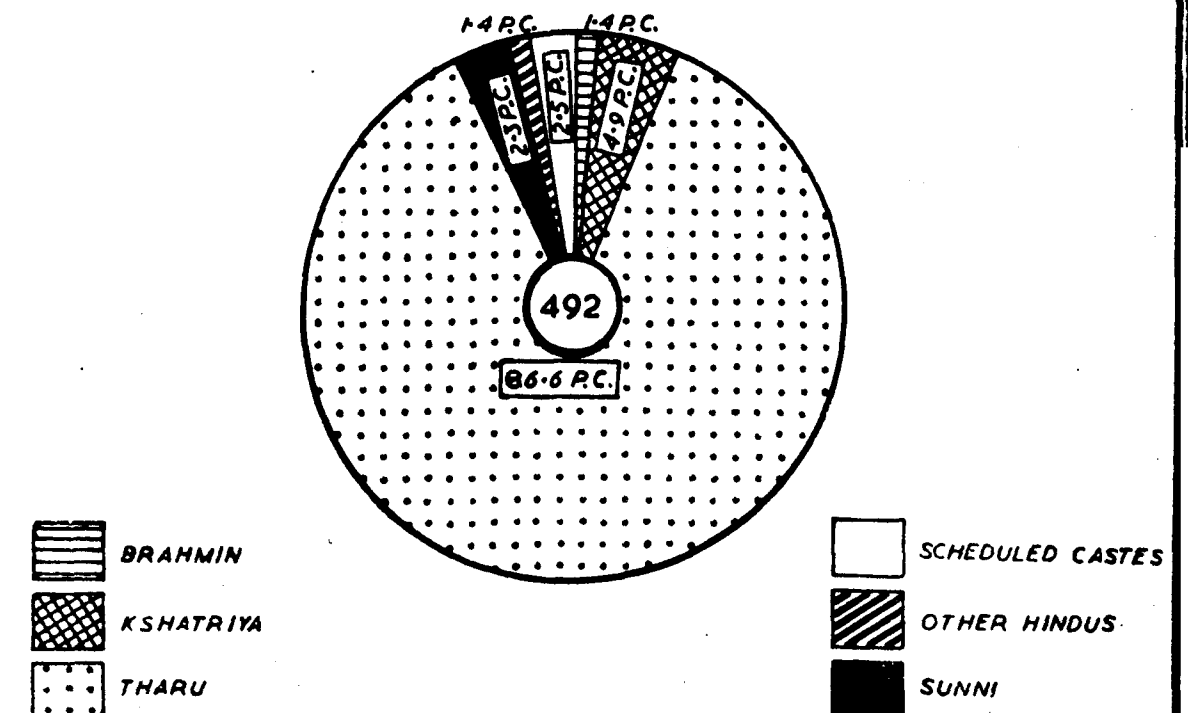
The Tharus have a longish, rather flat nose. Males are lean and thin as compared to females who are comparatively stout and healthy.

*Majumdar, D. N. : *Races and Cultures of India*, 1961.

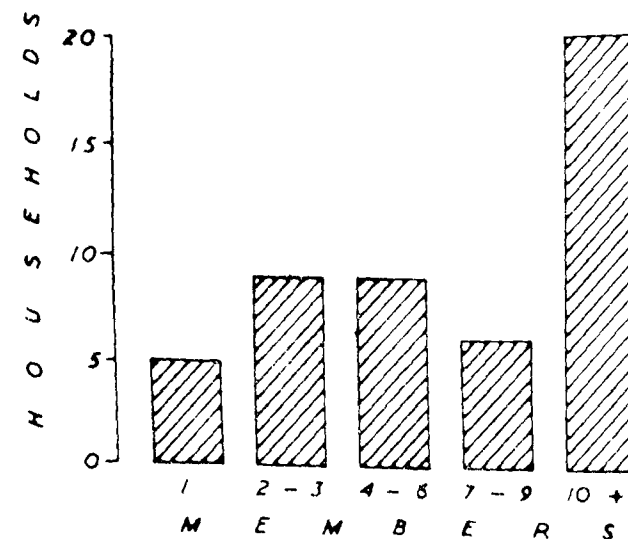
POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS



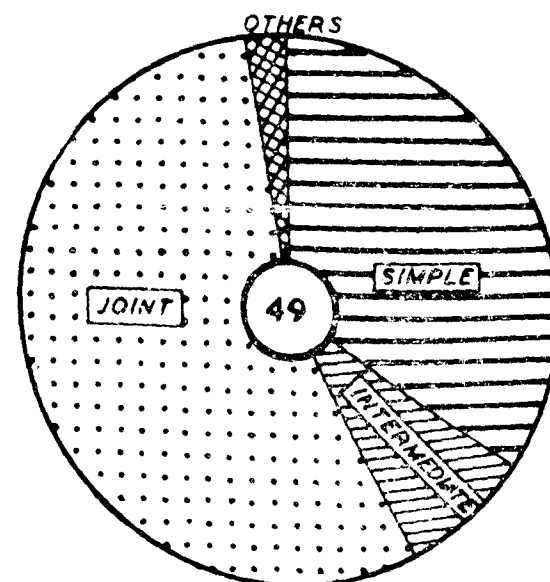
POPULATION BY CASTE



SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS



NATURE OF FAMILIES



Both have a dark or wheatish complexion. The males have a scanty growth of beard and moustache.

The main points of difference between the Dangwariya Tharus found in villages Rajderwa Tharu and Suganagar Domri of district Gonda and Rana Tharus of this village are as follows :

(1) The Rana Tharus marry within Rana Tharus and Dangwariya Tharus among Dangwariya Tharus; they do not inter-marry.

(2) Marriages are performed only in the month of *Phagun* (February/March) among the Dangwariya Tharus and in the month of *Magh* (December/January) among the Rana Tharus.

(3) The Dangwariya Tharus rear pigs and eat mice but the Rana Tharus abstain from doing so.

(4) The Dangwariya Tharus take *jaund*, a liquor prepared locally by fermentation of rice, but the Rana Tharus do not take this liquor. In fact they do not prepare any liquor themselves but purchase it from the country liquor shop at village Donda at a distance of 4 miles.

(5) The females of Rana Tharus wear *lahenga* extending only up to knees, prepared by themselves but the females of Dangwariya Tharus wear stitched *lahenga* extending up to the ankles.

(6) The females of Rana Tharus wear *choti* which is tied on the back by a cotton string and covers only the breast keeping the stomach and the back exposed but the females of Dangwariya Tharus wear *kurti* which keeps the entire thorax covered.

(7) The Rana males still put on *phatui*, the wearing of which has become out-of-fashion among the Dangwariyas.

(8) The Rana females tie the knot of hair right on the top of the head but Dangwariya females allow it to go down to the back of the neck.

(9) The Rana females do not get themselves tattooed but the Dangwariya females are fond of it.

(10) *Orhani* ceremony is performed when a Dangwariya girl attains puberty but no such ceremony is performed among the Ranas.

(11) *Bhanwar* (circumambulation of holy fire jointly by the bridegroom and the bride at the time of marriage) ceremony is performed invariably in every marriage among the Ranas but no such ceremony is performed among the Dangwariyas, who have the unusual custom of taking the dead body, clad in bridal attire, seven times round the funeral pyre — a substitute of the *bhanwar* ceremony.

(12) Among the Dangwariyas the bridal dress is preserved till death but among the Ranas it is used up in due course.

(13) Among the Dangwariyas the ritual impurity of the family at the time of birth continues for 6 days only but among the Ranas it extends to 8 days.

(14) Among the Dangwariyas the general practice is to cremate a dead body, unless one has died an unnatural death or was rather too young, but among the Ranas the usual practice is to bury the dead. It is only when the dying person has expressed the desire to be cremated after death that his body is cremated.

(15) Among the Dangwariyas the household is purified on the 13th day after death but among the Ranas the purification takes place the next day by giving *Chhoti Roti* or a sort of small feast. The *Bari Roti* or the big feast is given by Dangwariyas ordinarily on the 13th day but it is invariably given in the month of *Kartik* by the Ranas.

The physical features of the non-Tharus who have migrated there from the plains do not deserve any special mention.

Dress

The normal dress of an average Tharu male during summer is *langot* and *saluka*. The *langot* is a small piece of cloth for covering the shame. It is tied to the *hardhani* (a thick black cotton thread worn round the waist) on the back as well as on the front. A part of the *langot* cloth remains hanging in front. The *saluka* is a sort of tight-fitting half-sleeved waist-coat. During the winter the males wear a *phatui* which is just like the *saluka* with the difference that it is black in colour and has one anna, four anna and eight anna pieces as buttons. It is of cotton

cloth. Coat of black *zeen* cloth is also worn. The *dhoti* of *markeen* cloth, $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards long and 36 inches wide, is generally worn. It is, however, not wrapped like a *lungi*. Ordinarily trousers or *pyjamas* are not worn. At the time of marriage the bridegroom wears a *dhoti* or *pyjamas*, a *pagri* (turban) on the head and a *jama* or a *jhagula*, a sort of long coat. The marital dress is always of white cloth. The children wear shirt and underwear. Sometimes they go about naked. The males wear a black thread with *moongas* round the neck.

The *phatui* and the *janghia* (underwear) are prepared by the women of the households but other clothes are tailored by Domaria, a resident of Nepal who comes to this village for about four months during the winter season. He is a non-Tharu Hindu. He is paid in terms of paddy. Cloth is purchased either from Palia or Lakhimpur Kheri or locally from the shop of Thakur Puttu Singh.

The Tharu females put on *ghagra* and *cholia* or *angia*. The *ghagra* is similar to the *lehanga* worn by the females in the plains with the little difference that it is unstitched and goes down to the knees only and not the ankles. It is tied round the waist with a cotton string. It is just like a voluminous skirt made of red or black chintz. It has a border of white cloth. It is sewn by the females and not the tailor. The *angia* or *cholia* is just like a bodice with a covering for the breasts and tied on the back by a string. It is generally made of black cloth. The stomach and the back remain exposed. Some embroidery work is also done on this garment. The head is covered by a two yards long black cloth known as *orhani* (scarf). During the winter, the elderly women wear *chawbandi* and not *angia*. This garment is just like a full-sleeved shirt without buttons but with cotton strings for tying it in front. It is generally made of black *zeen* cloth. Some women also wear the *phatui* just like the one worn by the males. All the female garments are prepared by the Tharu females.

The dress of the non-Tharus is almost the same as is worn by others in plains.

Ornaments

The Tharu males wear silver and *kansa* rings on their fingers, one anna, four anna and eight anna pieces as buttons in their *phatui* and these very coins round the waist as well. They do not wear any ornament in the ear. A string of *moongas* is ordinarily worn round the neck.

The Tharu females love to adorn themselves with heavy silver armlets, bracelets, anklets, nose rings, and necklaces. The following ornaments are generally used by them :

Local name of ornament	Description
1. <i>Garaila</i> ..	A big silver ornament weighing about 20 tolas, worn round the head coming down to the ear lobes and down below. The portion worn on the head is a sort of chain locally called <i>nanandi</i> ; the portion worn on the ear lobes is called <i>bir</i> , the portions hanging down the lobes are <i>jhunki</i> and <i>machhli</i> (fish). The <i>jhunki</i> consists of four anna and eight anna pieces.
2. <i>Katsari</i> or <i>Kathula</i> ..	A sort of silver necklace about 10 tolas in weight.
3. <i>Pooi</i> ..	A string of red <i>moongas</i> worn round the neck.
4. <i>Mathair</i> ..	A silver chain worn in the parting of the hair. Only the married women wear it.
5. <i>Nakhaisar</i> ..	A small nose pin made of gold or brass.
6. <i>Pahunchi</i> ..	A string of silver coins worn on both the armlets.
7. <i>Bara</i> or <i>Tandia</i> ..	Silver or <i>kansa</i> ornament worn on the ankle.
8. <i>Sam</i> ..	A silver ornament worn on the wrist.
9. <i>Khaduwa</i> ..	An iron wristlet.
10. <i>Panira</i> ..	A silver or <i>kansa</i> ornament worn on the legs.
11. <i>Payal</i> ..	A silver chain anklet.
12. <i>Bichhia</i> ..	Silver ring worn on the foot fingers. This ornament is worn by married females.
13. <i>Chhapwali munri</i> ..	A silver or <i>kansa</i> ring worn on the middle finger with an eight anna piece or one rupee coin fixed over it.

All the ornaments are prepared by the Nepali silversmiths who come to this village during winter, stay on for about four months and generally charge at the rate of four annas per tola as cost of preparing silver ornaments. Shellac bangles of red colour are worn by married females. They do not wear glass

PLATE No. 5



A TYPICAL THARU MALE

PLATE No. 6



A THARU YOUTH WEARING PHATUI AND DHOTI

PLATE No. 7



A Tharu male

PLATE No. 8



Males weaving Phatui and Dhoti

PLATE No. 9



A Tharu girl

PLATE No. 10



Females wearing Ghagra and Cholia

PLATE No. 11



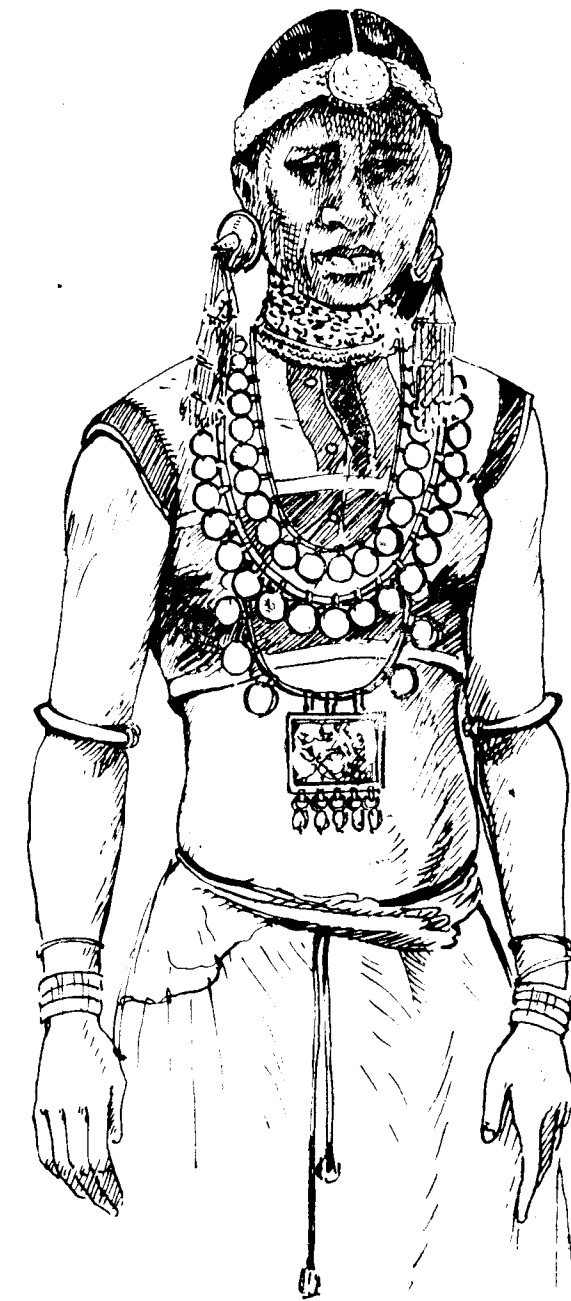
A TYPICAL THARU FEMALE

PLATE No. 12

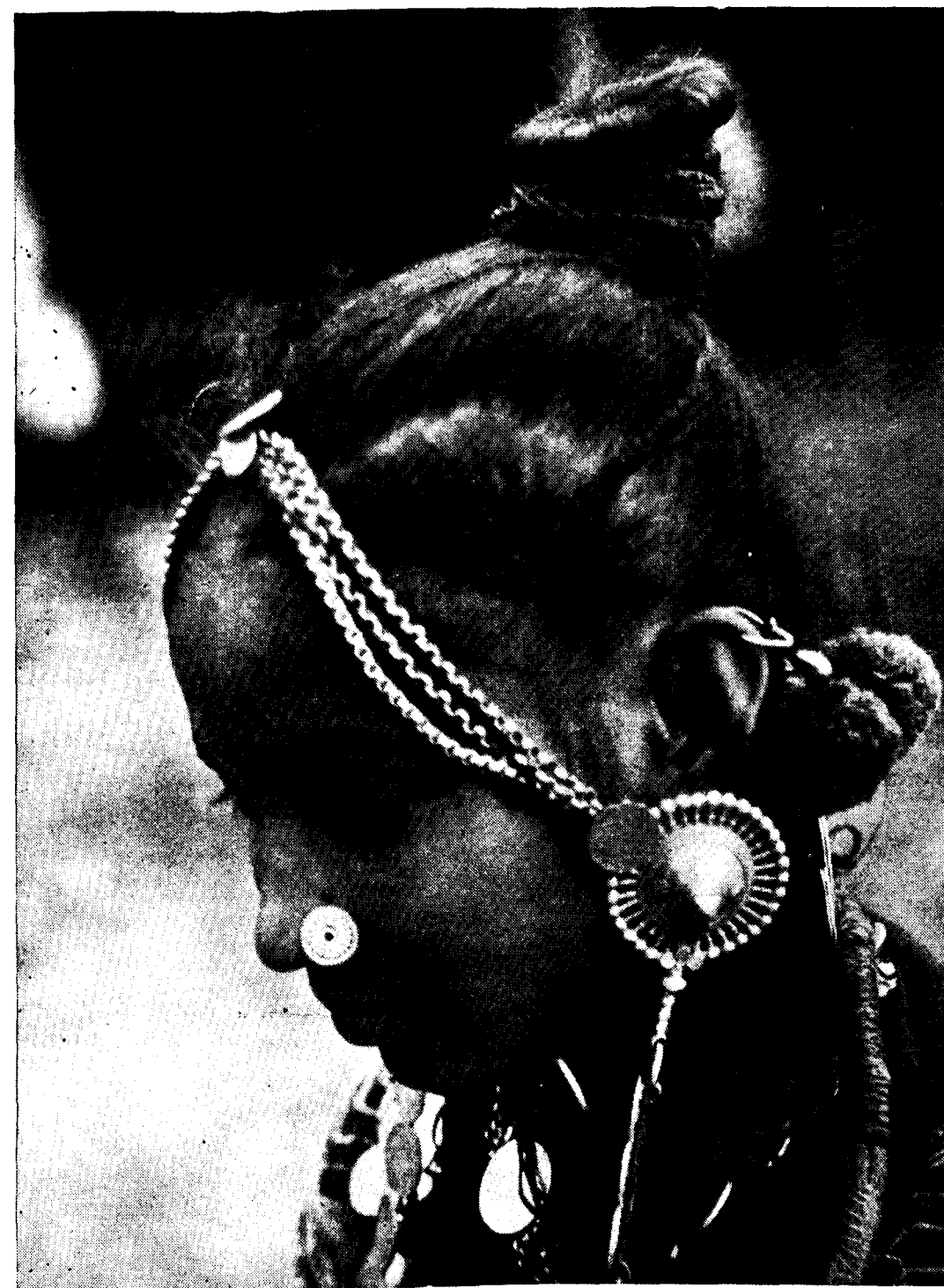


An unmarried young girl wearing omnibus ornaments

PLATE No. 13



A typical Tharu female loaded with ornaments



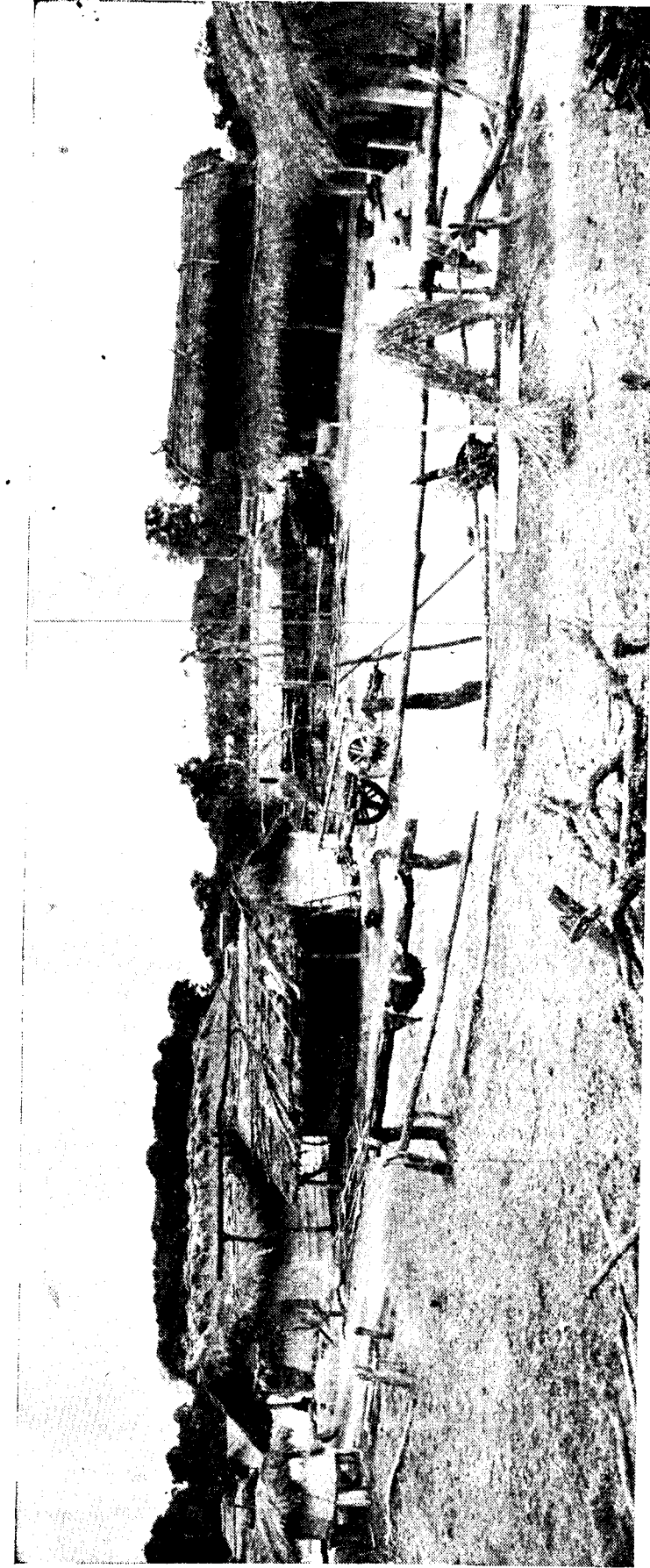
A woman wearing ornaments

PLATE No. 15



Hair style

PLATE No. 16



A general view of houses

bangles ; also they do not use vermilion on the forehead.

The non-Tharu females wear silver or gold ornaments according to their financial status as they do in the plains.

Dwellings

All the houses occupied by the employees of the Forest Department are *pucca* constructions. The houses of all other residents are *kachcha* structures. Under the rules of Forest Settlement which apply to this village, no one can construct *pucca* houses within the village. A new *kachcha* house can be constructed only with the written permission of the Divisional Forest Officer. No permission is, however, required for carrying out the repairs.

The Tharus build their houses at some distance from one another for fear of fire because wood and reed, of which these houses are made, catch fire easily. The walls are made of *khagar* grass with wooden sticks tied with the *moonj* grass and plastered with mud and dung. The roof is made of *barahi* grass. Wood sticks are placed above and beneath it, duly tied with *moonj* grass. The roofs have a slope on two sides. Ordinarily the walls last for about 20 years but the roof has to be changed every year. *Untia*, a sort of pro-

jection for protection against rain water, is made just above the doors.

A typical Tharu house has three portions, viz., the *ghar* or the residential portions, the *pand* or the sitting room and the *sar* or the cattleshed. The main door of the *ghar* invariably faces east. In the Tharu language a room is called *pai* and a sleeping room a *kono*, and the deity enclosure, a *kola*. The width and the height of a room are invariably 12 cubits and 16 cubits, irrespective of the length. The verandah of the house is called the *manjhiari* and is generally used for sitting purposes and also for dining by the males. In the northern portion of the *manjhiari* Parvati Devi is located. Similarly the northernmost room is the kitchen.

The *pand* is from 12 to 14 cubits high and from 8 to 16 cubits long. It can also be used as a sleeping room if needs be. A sort of loft is prepared under its roof for storing various articles and corn bins, containing grain. A wooden ladder made of a single log with grooves at suitable distances, locally called *khurkhuri*, is used for reaching the *phalia*, or the loft.

The *sar* or the cattle-shed is a long hall and does not have separate rooms.

The following sketch indicates roughly the site plan of a Tharu house :

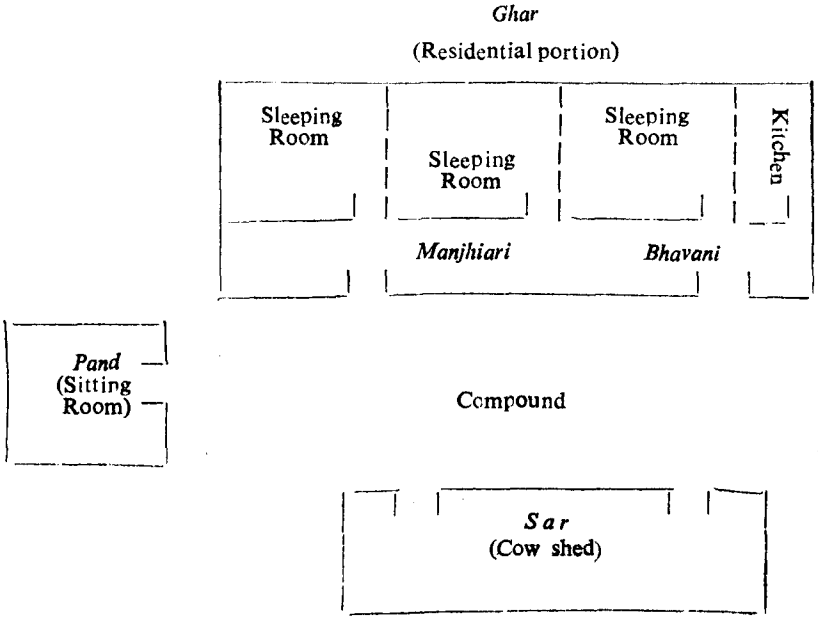
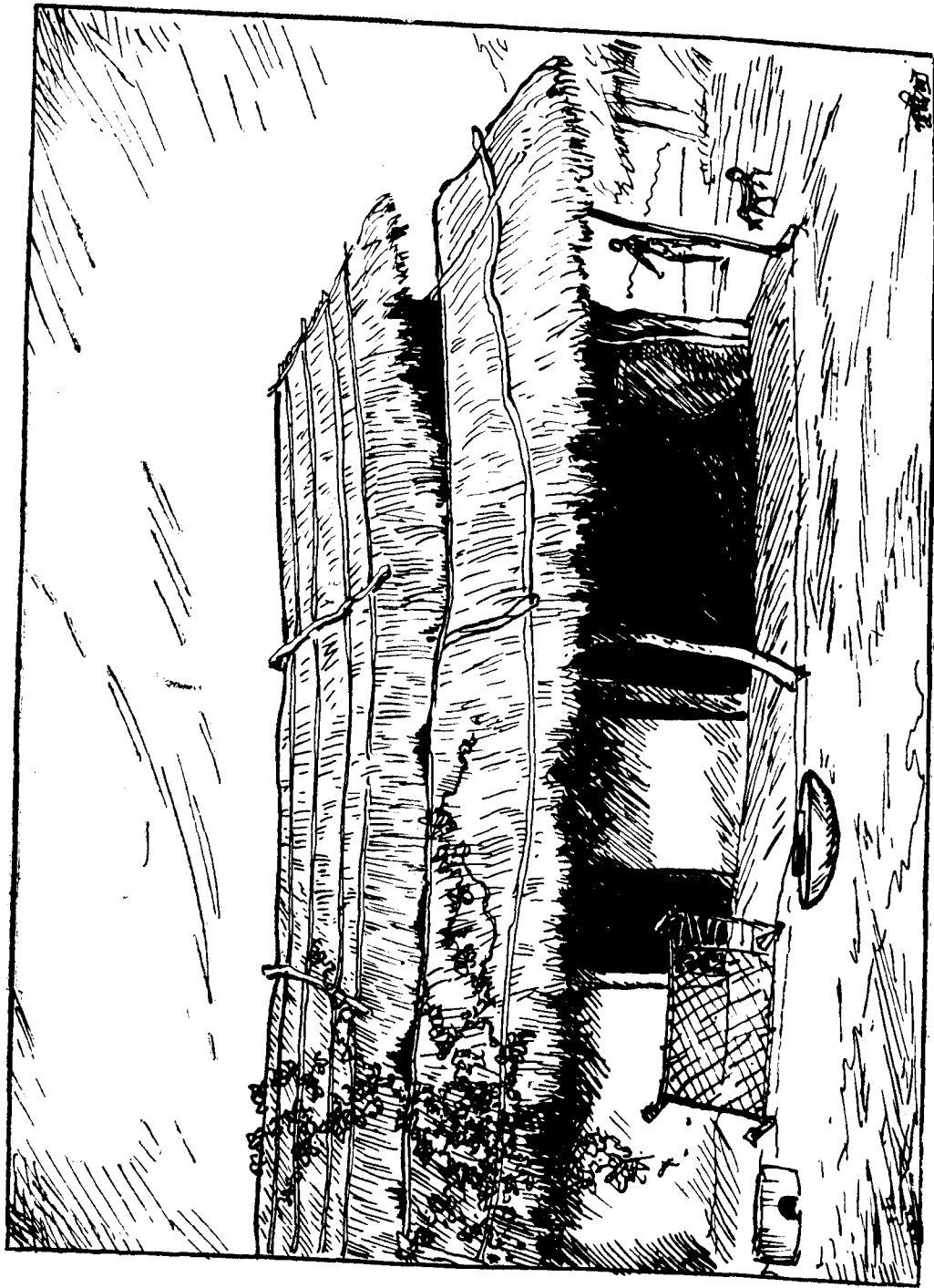


PLATE No. 17



A typical Tharu hut

In village Rajderwa Tharu lines of corn bins serve as partition walls between various rooms within the same Tharu house. This system is not, however, prevalent in this village. In village Rajderwa Tharu a house has only one entrance but in this village it may have two.

The living rooms are quite dark as there is no provision for fresh air and light. The rooms are separated from each other by thin walls. During winter, paddy straw is generally used for bedding but in summer, cots are used.

Houses are generally constructed from the months of *Phagun* (February/March) up to the month of *Jaith* (April/May) because this is not a busy period from the cultivation point of view. Members of the Tharu community help each other in the construction. They are served with meals and *daru* only so long as they continue working. The foundation of the building is laid either on Sunday or on Monday or on Thursday. The date and time are fixed in consultation with the *bharra*, a Tharu working as a priest and quack using witch-craft and supernatural powers for treating his patients.

Dwelling Standards

The following table shows the types of houses occupied by various communities :

TABLE No. 2.2

Types of Houses Communitywise

Communities	Types of Houses	
	Pucca Houses	Reed and grass House
1. Tharu	—	34
2. Kshatriya	—	3
3. Ahir	—	1
4. Brahmin	—	2
5. Kayastha	—	1
6. Lohar	—	1
7. Mali	—	1
8. Pasi	—	1
9. Mehtar	—	1
10. Sheikh	—	2
11. Saiyad	—	1
12. Pathan	—	1
Total	10	39

Thus about 80 per cent of the houses are made of reed and grass. The completely *pucca* houses are the Government quarters in which the employees of the Forest Department live.

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

TABLE No. 2.3

Households by Number of Rooms

Number of Rooms	Number of Households	Percentage	Number of Persons
1	17	34.7	59
2	10	20.1	68
3	7	14.4	66
4	7	14.4	107
5	4	8.2	92
6 and more	4	8.2	100
Total	49	100	492

Out of 49 households, 4 households or 8.2 per cent have houses with 6 rooms or more. As many as 17 households (34.7 per cent) have houses with one room only. Most of them are employees of the Forest Department living in Government quarters of one room each. The Tharus have adequate accommodation in their houses.

TABLE No. 2.4

Size and Composition of Households

Number of Members per Household	Number of Households	Percentage of Households	Total Members of Households	Percentage of total Population
1	5	10.2	5	1.0
2-3	9	8.4	25	5.2
4-6	9	8.4	47	9.5
7-9	6	12.2	49	9.9
10 and over	20	40.8	366	74.4
Total	49	100.0	492	100.0

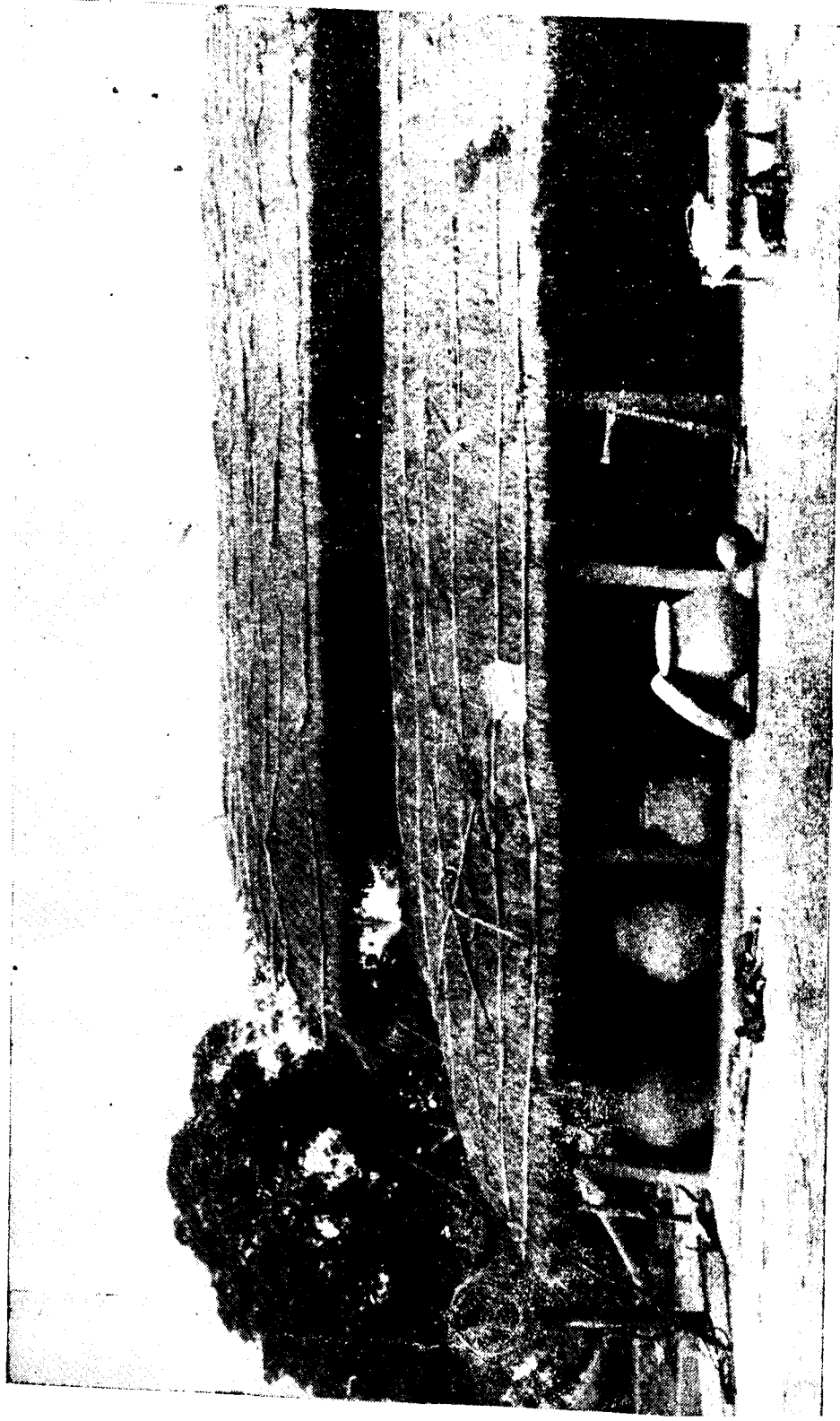
Thus 40.8 per cent of the households with 74.4 per cent of the population have 10 or more family members.

PLATE No. 18



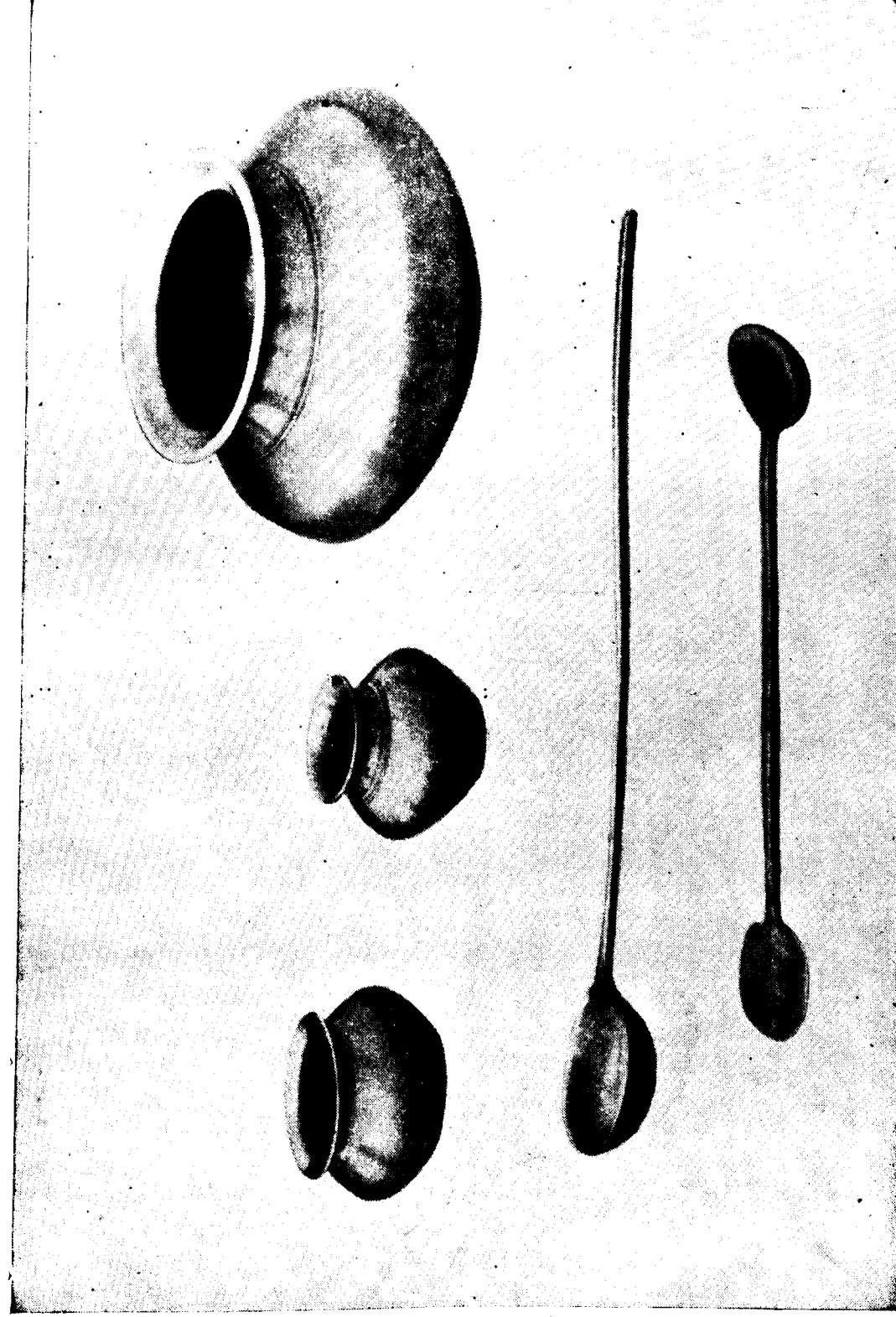
Making a roof

PLATE No. 19



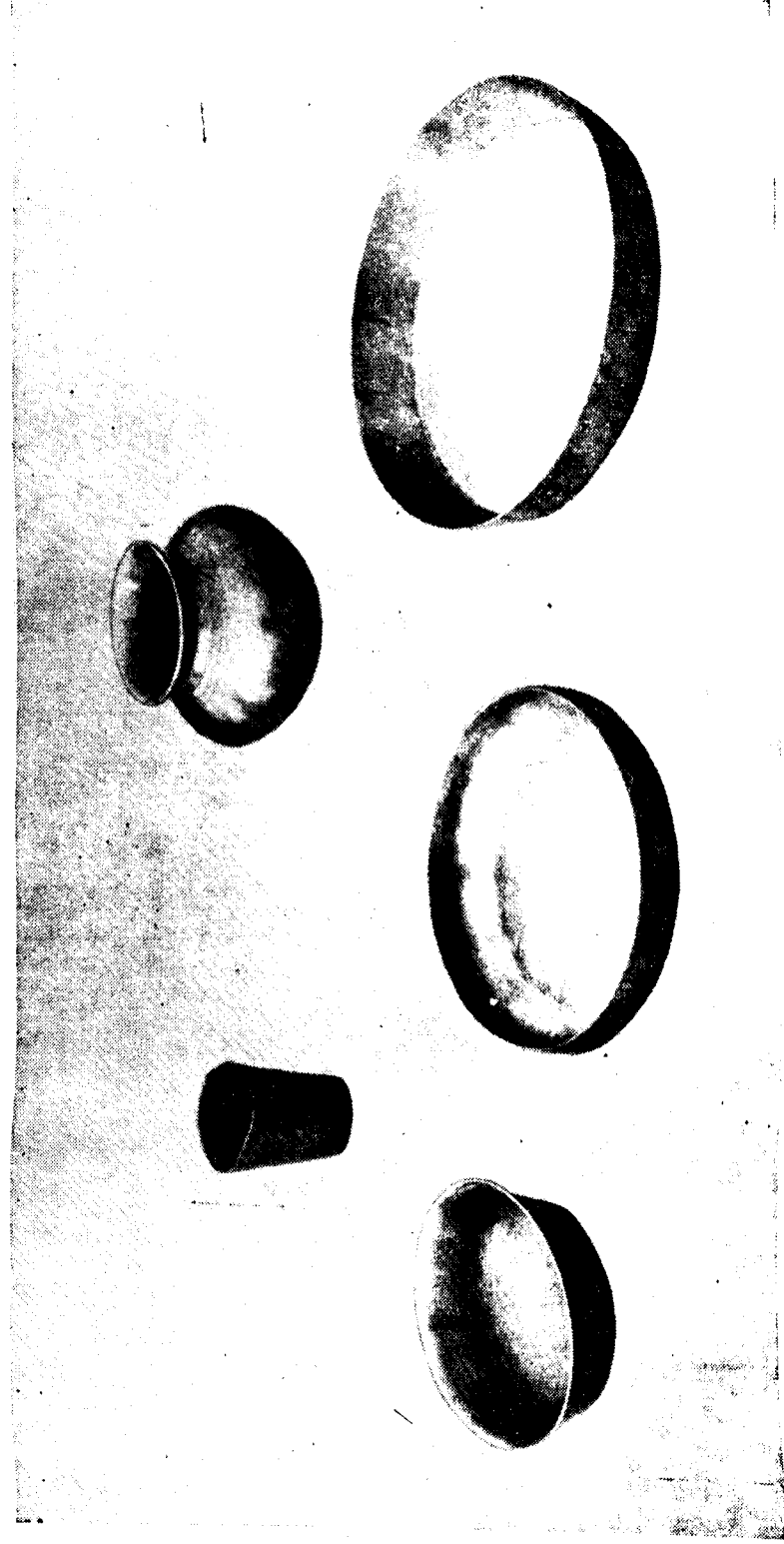
Grain Preservers

PLATE No. 20



Utensils

PLATE No. 21



Utensils

PLATE No. 22



Utensils

The following table gives an idea of the household goods in the village :

TABLE NO. 2.5

Household Goods Communitywise

Name of article	Tharu	Ksha- triya	Bra- hmin	Ahir	Kayas- tha	Lohar	Mali	Mehtar	Pasi	Pathan	Sheikh	Saiyad
Bed	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Cot	34	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Chair	--	1	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--
Table	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--
Mirror	34	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Bench	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Stool	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Jal chowki	--	1	2	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--
Wall shelf	--	1	2	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--
Lantern	30	2	2	--	1	--	1	1	1	1	2	1
Petromax	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Torch	24	2	2	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	1	1
Kerosene stove	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Bicycle	4	2	2	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	2	1
Gramophone	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

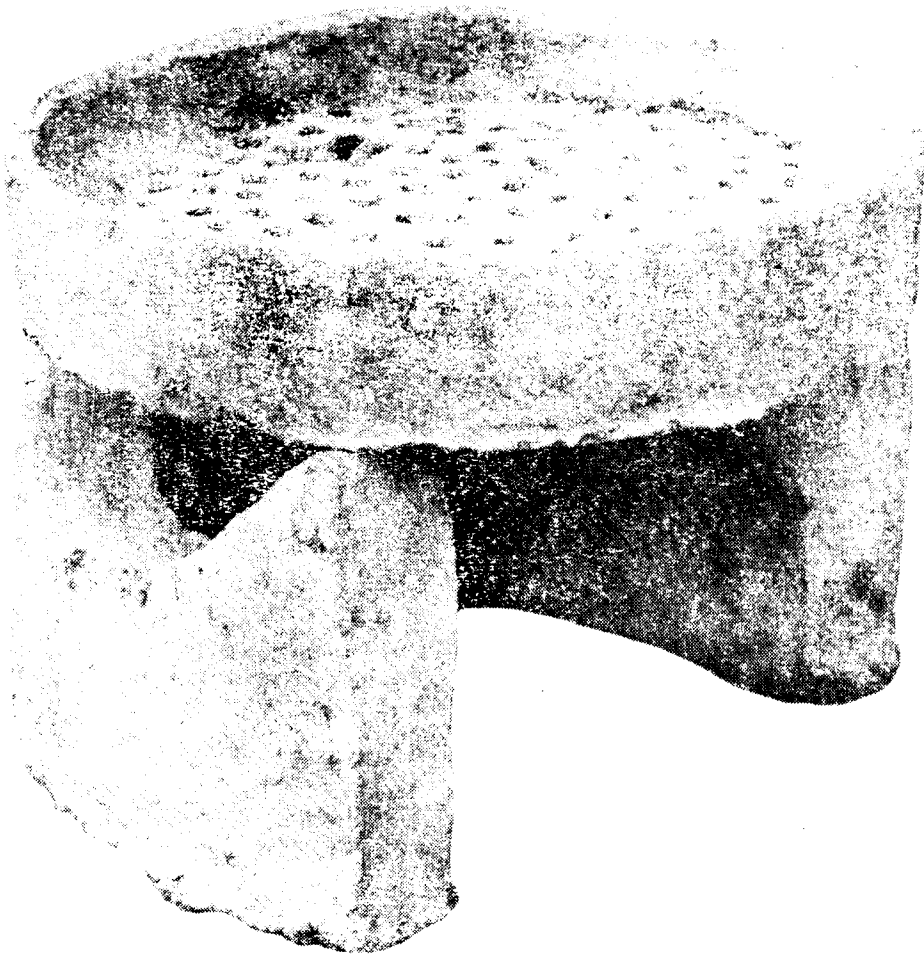
There is only one radio-set in the village. It has been supplied for the benefit of the village by the Directorate of Information. Torches and hurricane lanterns are necessary in the village. The village has 13 cycles, 4 of which are owned by the Tharus. All the cultivators have one or more bullock carts. People generally move about on foot or on bullock carts.

Utensils

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

Local name of Utensils	Description
1. Botooli	A round-shaped kansa vessel used for boiling rice.
2. Kausa	A big round shaped vessel used for boiling rice on ceremonial occasions. It weighs about 40 seers and costs about Rs.160 to Rs.180.
3. Tameeri or Pateeli	A round shaped brass vessel used for cooking pulse.
4. Karahi	Iron frying pan for frying or cooking meat and vegetables.
5. Tawa	A round and convex piece of iron used for baking chapaties.
6. Thali	A big plate of brass or bell-metal used for taking food.
7. Lota	A small round utensil made of brass or bell-metal for taking water.
8. Kondo	A big plate of brass meant for preparing dough.
9. Ghalla	A pitcher made of iron or clay for carrying and storing potable water.
10. Kathawwa	A wooden vessel used for keeping curd preparations and also for preparing dough.
11. Balti	Bucket made of iron.
12. Karchli or chamcha	A big spoon made of brass or iron or wood used for serving cooked pulse or vegetables.
13. Patia	Wooden plates used for taking food.

PLATE No. 23



Sigri

The earthen pots are sold in this village by potters from Palia during winter. The metal utensils are purchased from Palia or Kheri.

No crockery is used by the Tharus, but some of the non-Tharus use it according to their means. Fuel is available from the forest free of cost to everybody residing in this village. Dung cakes are not prepared because of the plenty of firewood in the forest.

Corn bins, locally known as *dehri*, are found invariably in every house but unlike the practice in village Rajderwa Tharu, they are placed in the loft of the *pand* (sitting room). The average life of a corn bin is about 20 to 25 years. They are made of clay mixed with wheat straw and cow dung. Its capacity varies from 12 maunds to 20 maunds according to size.

Jal (fish net), *chatui* (mat made of straw), *gundri* (mat prepared from cane), *kandia* (basket made of cane), *tokri* (hollow basket of round shape made of *rangai* cane), *gondi* (mats made of *gondi* grass), *chhatri* (umbrella made of *maurayan* leaves), *dalia* (baskets of daily use made of *seenk* grass), *machia* (an armless small cot-like chair), *pankha* (fan made of *bendu* or *marurphali* grass) and *soop* (winnowing fan) are the other petty goods which are found invariably in every household. Except the *soops* which are purchased, all these articles are produced by the Tharus themselves. The *dhekli* which is used for husking paddy is also found in every cultivator household.

Food and Drink

Out of the entire population, only two households, one Brahmin and one Kshatriya, are vegetarian. Among the non-vegetarians the diet of the Tharus is slightly different from that of the non-Tharus. The staple diet of the Tharus, as of the non-Tharus, is boiled rice. Ordinarily Tharus take three meals a day. Their breakfast consists of boiled rice and its *mand* (the liquid starch taken out of boiled rice) flavoured with salt and chillies. At mid-day they take cooked rice, pulse and a vegetable. The evening meal consists of cooked rice, pulse, meat or fish and country liquor. Usually lentil (*masur*)

pulse is used. They also take chicken, egg and meat. Sometimes they hunt an animal from the neighbouring forest and take its meat. Their supply of liquor is obtained from village Dudhwa at a distance of 16 miles or village Donda at a distance of two miles. Licenced contractors sell it at the rate of 50 Paise for a bottle of 24 ounces.

Tharus do not milch a cow. The milk is left for the calf. Buffaloes are milked but *ghee* is generally sold, only *maththa* (whey) being consumed by them. They are very fond of chillies and spices. They grow their own vegetables in their kitchen gardens.

The non-Tharus take boiled rice, cooked pulse, wheat *chapaties*, vegetable and meat. They are not known to be addicts to liquor as Tharus are.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

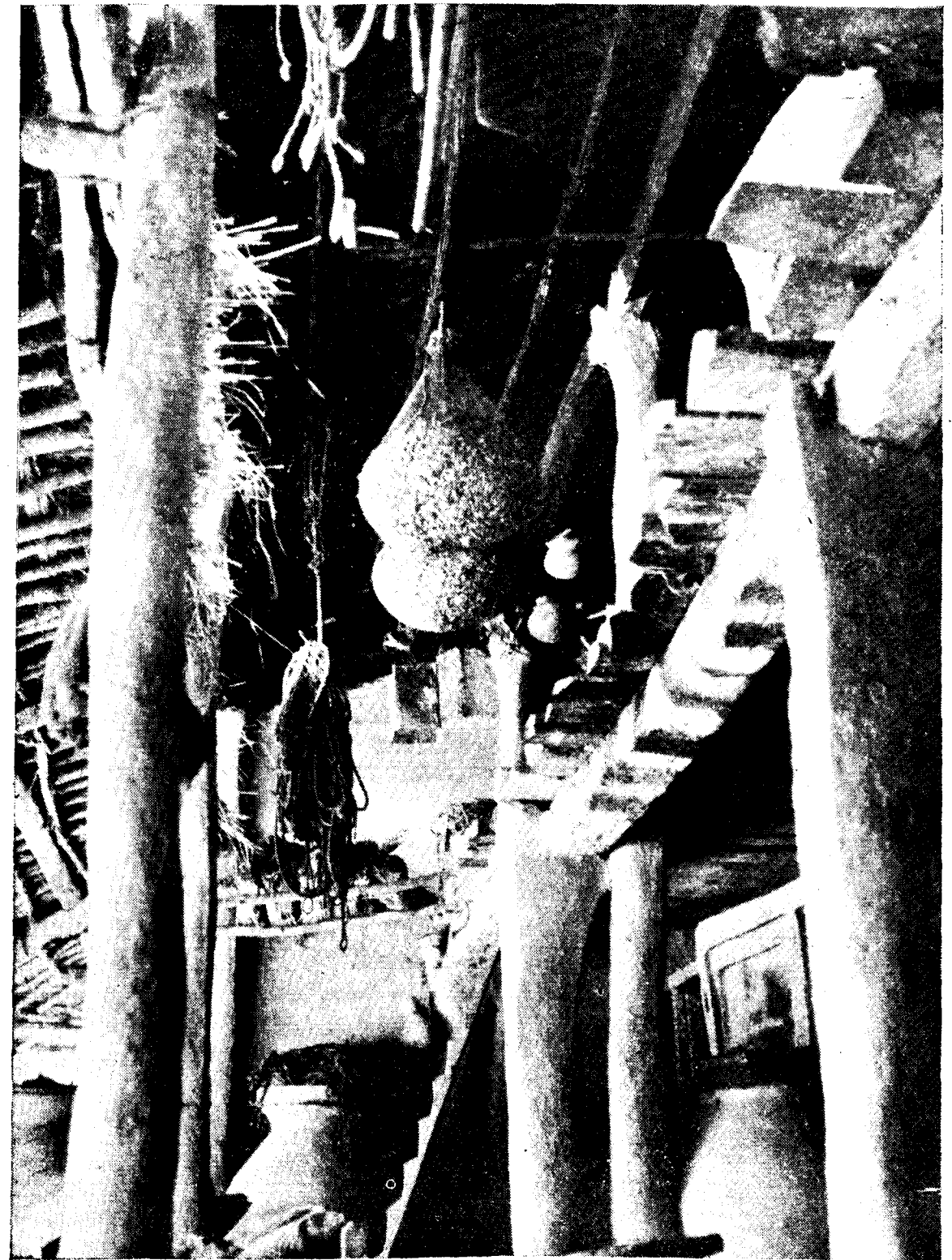
Birth Customs

Ordinarily the fact of pregnancy is indicated by the stoppage of menstruation. It stands confirmed when no menstruation takes place after the second month also. During pregnancy lifting of heavy weights or performance of strenuous jobs is not allowed. The pregnant women, however, continue working in the field and inside the house right up to the time of delivery. No ceremony is performed for celebrating the event of conception. No special diet is taken by them during the period of pregnancy.

The delivery takes place at the husband's house in the *kono* or the sleeping room. An elderly female of the household is in attendance at the time of delivery. If the case is too complicated, the wife of Marra Tharu, who is said to be an expert midwife, is called in.

The umbilical cord is severed by the woman-in-attendance. It is buried in the forest, preferably near a tank or a pond. In case of male birth, 60 seers of paddy are given to the woman-in-attendance and in case of a female child, only 40 seers. This payment in kind is invariably made even when the woman-in-attendance belongs to the same household. She

PLATE No. 24



Chillies hanging in the roof

can very well sell the grain and utilize the proceeds for her personal use. Immediately after the birth, the child is washed in hot water and fumigated with fire. Fire is kept burning outside the room of confinement, to ward off evil spirits and ghosts. A knife or sickle is also kept near the child with a view to protecting it from the evil spirits. The village women assemble together at this house and sing and dance merrily on this occasion. The birth of a male child is an occasion of greater merriment.

For the first two days the mother is served with *panjeri*, (a preparation of *gur*, *ghee*, *sonth* or dried ginger, and black pepper). No qupor is served to her during this period. The period of confinement is limited to eight days. On the eighth day the *Chhati* ceremony is performed. The child is given a bath and laid in a *soop* (winnowing fan) over a small quantity of rice as is done on the first day. The mother of the child is also given a bath. On this occasion a feast is given, fish being the main plate in the menu.

If the child is male, the oldest man of the family presents a *kardhani* to it and blesses it with long life.

There is no special ceremony on the occasion of giving a name to the child. Some months after its birth, a name is given to the child by an elderly member of the household.

No ceremony is performed when a girl attains puberty.

Marriage Customs

The Tharus of this village form one endogamous group. Inter-marriages between various families are performed provided the bride and the bridegroom are not blood relations or very close relatives. Marriages with Rana Tharus living in other villages also take place but marital connexion in far off localities are avoided. They do not marry in families other than of Rana Tharus.

Although *Mangni* or betrothal ceremony is performed at an early age, yet actual marriages are now ordinarily performed when the parties are rather grown up. No inter-caste marriage has taken place but marriages by elopement are not rare. Extra-marital ties are severely dealt

with by the caste *panchayat*. The offering male is sentenced to pay a fine or to give a feast to the clansmen. If he belongs to another community, a severe beating is sometimes 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 generally negotiated through a middleman called the *manjhi* who might be a near relation of the prospective groom. If the families agree, a date for the marriage is fixed.

Marriages are generally of the following types :

- (1) *Mangni Vivah*,
- (2) *Badla Vivah*,
- (3) *Rand Vivah*, and
- (4) *Urhra Vivah*.

Mangni Vivah

This type of marriage is the most respectable and popular. It consists of the following four stages :

(1) *Mangni*—consists of betrothal of the couple through the efforts of the *manjhi*. No gifts are exchanged or feast given on this occasion. In fact there is no direct contact even between the parents of the parties.

(2) *Poochhna*—*Mangni* takes place quite early but the marriage is performed at a latter stage according to the convenience of the parties. Marriages are generally performed in the month of *Magh* (January). About two months before the date of marriage which suits the boy's parents, his father goes to the bride's house and formally enquires if the engagement of his daughter to his son stands. In actual practice the engagement is rarely repudiated. After the fact of engagement has been confirmed, and the parties are agreeable to the performance of marriage in the coming month of January, further action in the matter is taken.

(3) *Dil Lena*—About a week or two after the *Poochhna* ceremony, the father of the

boy again comes to the bride's house for a day and settles the date of marriage and other details with her father.

(4) *Pachhachaon* or *Pachauti*—This ceremony is performed 12 days before the date of actual marriage. The father of the groom goes to the bride's residence with one maund of rice, 20 seers of *urd* pulse, five pieces of turmeric, two *bhailies* of *gur*, some mustard oil and fish.

One day before the marriage party (*barat*) leaves for the bride's house, the *Kasthai* ceremony is observed. On this day the groom's father goes to the forest to worship goddess Vanaspati in the morning. He takes some *gur* and *ghee* and puts it on fire under an all-green tree (preferably *sakhoo*). He then wraps a yellow thread seven times round its trunk.

In the evening, *puja* of Nagarihayi Bhawani is performed by the Pradhan and his wife along with other females of the village under the *pandariya* tree.

White *jama* or *jhagula* (a long coat), *dhoti* or *pyjamas*, *pagri* (turban) and shoes are worn by the groom. He also carries with him an *angochha* (scarf) about two yards long. The dress of the bride is also prepared at the groom's place. Red *ghagra* is generally worn by her. All these garments are prepared by the tailor who comes from Nepal. He is not paid in cash but always in the form of grain.

The groom is carried on a *dola* (a sort of ordinary palanquin) decorated with the feathers of peacock. It is carried by honorary Tharu bearers. The womenfolk of the groom's household accompany the *barat* for some distance and then see them off. Only males go in the marriage party. The *baratis* are made to stay in a hut, set apart for the occasion.

There is no *dwar puja* ceremony. The bridegroom is called inside the house and the hem of his *angochha* is tied with the hem of the *orhni* of the bride by the husband of the groom's sister. It is he who presides over the marriage ceremony and conducts it. The boy and the girl are made to sit side by side near the nuptial

fire. The *Kanyadan* or the ceremony of giving away the daughter in marriage to the groom is performed by the father of the bride. The marriage becomes effective after the completion of *shaptapadi* or *pheras* (the circumambulation of the nuptial fire seven times) to the recitation of marriage vows by the bride and the groom. Vermilion is not daubed by the groom in the hair parting of the bride.

This is followed by a feast in which meat and liquor are not served. The marriage party stays in the village of the bride during the night. On the following morning, the bride is sent in veiled *dola* to the house of the groom. She is usually accompanied by some male and female members of the household who stay at the house of the groom. When she reaches the house of the groom, the latter's sister gives a dance performance. The groom is not allowed to meet the bride. Next morning she returns to her village with the members of her father's household.

Gauna ceremony is performed within a month of marriage if the bride is mature but it has to be postponed to a later date if she is a minor. On the appointed day, the bridegroom accompanied by four persons comes to the house of the bride. The next morning the party returns with the bride. The arrival of the bride is celebrated with songs and dances and a feast is usually given in which meat and liquor are served to the near and dear ones. Thereafter, they begin living as husband and wife.

(2) *Badla Vivah* (Marriage by Exchange)

Marriages by exchange of sisters also take place in this village. All the formalities and the ceremonies that are performed in a regular marriage (*Mangni Vivah*) are performed in these marriages also.

3. *Rand Vivah* (Widow Remarriage)

Widows with one or two encumbrances are remarried if they so desire. Such marriages are performed only when the widow shows her inclination of marriage to a man selected by herself. She has to take the approval of the tribal

panchayat before the actual ceremony is performed. She approaches the *panchayat* through her father or father-in-law. The permission of the *panchayat* can be taken before or after the marriage but the prospective groom has to pay some compensation money to the father or the father-in-law of the widow, if marriage is performed in anticipation of the approval of the *panchayat*. Even in widow remarriages, the *bhanwar* or *shaptapadi* are necessary but other ceremonies are deleted. Marital garments are not prepared.

It was reported that Pooran *alias* Birbal Tharu had married Srimati Kaidi the widow of Ghoomal Tharu in this manner.

(4) *Urhra Vivah*

This refers to the marriage of a woman when her husband is alive and she deserts him and remarries. In such cases the tribal *panchayat* meets and hears the parties. If the woman has been eloped or abducted, the offender is punished to pay a fine or give a feast and the father or the husband is given the money realised from the offender. In such marriages also, except for the *bhanwar*, no other ceremony takes place.

It was reported that the present wife of Jhunai Tharu was originally married in Dhangari, Nepal before she eloped with him and refused to go to her husband. The *panchayat* made Jhunai pay Rs.650 to her husband as compensation. She began living with Jhunai as his wife.

Srimati Sundar, the present wife of Birchha Tharu, was originally married in Malakhet, Nepal. She did not like her former husband and began to live with Birchha. When her former husband came she refused to go. The *panchayat* directed Birchha to pay Rs.512-50 P. as the cost of the bride and allowed her to live as the wife of Birchha.

Sagga, a married Tharu, fell in love with Bhooka the unmarried daughter of Bhoora. When Sagga's wife came to know about it, the relations between the husband and the wife became strained. He left his wife who eloped with another man and married him. Sagga eloped with Bhooka (eloping is called *hankai*

lena) and stayed in Nepal till a decision was taken by the tribal *panchayat* in which he was asked to pay Rs.500 to the father of the girl. Now both of them are living as husband and wife.

The younger brother can keep his elder brother's widow but the elder brother cannot keep the younger brother's widow. Polygamy is not common among the Tharus but there is no objection to it.

Jangi Tharu married his elder brother's widow but his wedded wife deserted him and married another man.

Marriage Customs among Non-Tharus

Sri Bali Ram, the village blacksmith, migrated from Nepal about 18 years ago. He is *Maisoor* Lohar, a community found in Nepal only. His family can marry only in families of *Maisoor* Lohars of Nepal. The marriage party goes to the bride's house where the *paon poojan* and *bhanwar* ceremonies take place. Marriage is complete as soon as the *bhanwar* ceremony is over. Friends and near relations participate in the marriage. Next day, the marriage party returns along with the bridegroom and the bride who is carried in a *doli* (palanquin). She returns to her father's place after three days. The *Gauna* ceremony is ordinarily performed after one year but if she is a minor it might be postponed to a later date when she becomes mature. The groom wears white garments and the bride wears yellow garments, prepared by the tailors of Nepal.

As regards other Hindus, they follow the customs practiced by their communities in the plains. The Muslims, too, have no changed customs.

Death Customs

Immediately after death the dead body is laid on the ground in the compound with the head towards the north. The usual method of disposal of the dead body is by burial. In some cases the body may be cremated if the deceased had expressed a desire for cremation before his death or at the will of the family members. The members of the family except the husband and his elder brother, carry the dead body

of a female. No ceremony is performed before taking away the dead body from the house. It is bathed and wrapped in a white shroud of a new cloth 7 yards long, and then carried to the burial ground near the river Mohan. If death occurs in the rainy season, the dead body is buried or cremated at the bank of the Terha nala to the south of the village. Corpses of children up to the age of 14 years are invariably buried.

In case of earth burials, the grave is about four to five feet deep, six feet long and three feet wide. The shroud-draped corpse is lowered in the grave. The dead body of a male is laid in a prone position and that of a female in a supine position. In both the cases the head is towards the north and the feet towards the south. In case of cremation also, similar procedure is adopted in laying the corpse on the funeral pyre which is lit by the nearest relation. In case of females, lighting of the funeral pyre or the committing of the dead body to the grave is not done by any male member who is older than her husband. The ashes are immersed in the river in case of cremation and a grave of mud (locally called *chaura*) is made in case of an earth burial on the next day. Pucca graves are not allowed to be constructed.

There is nothing like ritual impurity of the family because the mourning period lasts till the period of the *Chhoti Roti* which is performed the next day. The heads of the persons younger than the deceased are shaved by the members of the community as there is no barber in the village and a feast consisting of rice, pulse, vegetable, meat and country liquor is served to them.

The *Bari Roti* or the *Ghara* ceremony must take place at any time before the commencement of the next calendar month of *Kartik*. For *Ghara* ceremony no date is fixed for the whole community and it is observed according to the

convenience of the family. No offerings to the soul of the deceased are ever made.

Death ceremonies are identical in case of males and females with the only difference that moustaches are not shaved by the sons in case of the death of the mother if the father is alive.

Customs relating to Inheritance

On the death of a Tharu, the sons become the legal heirs of the immovable and the movable properties of the deceased. All sons get equal shares. If there are no sons the wife of the deceased inherits the property. There is no prerogative of any kind for the females on any type of property. On the death of the wife the property will go to the next male relative of the deceased. The daughters or their children are not given any share in the property of their parents. Legally speaking, the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 applies to this community and other Hindus. People are not, however, in favour of inheritance by daughters.

Other Social Laws and Customs

The elder brother cannot touch the wife of the younger brother. There is no *purdah* in the household. The father-in-law treats his daughter-in-law like his own daughter. Divorce is allowed. The divorced or separated woman can marry again just like a widow.

There is no dowry system among the Tharus of this village. However, the father of the bride may give articles of small value as presents to his daughter at the time of her departure to the house of her husband.

The practice of adoption is also prevalent among them. The person who wishes to adopt may do so at his or her will.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Occupation

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

TABLE No. 3.1

Number of Persons engaged in different Occupations

Occupation	Number of Persons			Proportion of total workers
	Persons	Males	Females	
1. Cultivation	240	121	119	86.6
2. Agricultural Labour	15	11	4	5.4
3. Forest Services	11	10	1	4.0
4. Trade	2	2	..	0.8
5. Blacksmith	1	1	..	0.4
6. Cattle grazing	8	8	..	2.8
Total Workers	277	153	124	100
Non-workers	215	100	115	..
Total Population	492	253	239	..

Only 56 per cent of the population consists of workers ; and out of the working force, about 55 per cent are males. Agriculture is the most important occupation in which 86.6 per cent of the working population is engaged. In cultivation about 50 per cent of the workers are males. Out of the remaining workers 15 persons consisting of 11 males and 4 females are engaged as agricultural labourers, 8 males are engaged as cattle grazers, 2 males are engaged as retailers of general merchandise, one person as blacksmith and 11 persons consisting of 10 males and one female as employees of the Forest Department. The female employee is the wife of the sweeper. In addition to these occupations, most of the male workers sometimes work as lumbermen on daily wages of Rs.1.25 per day under the Forest Department or its contractors. The number of such workers fluctuates as this seasonal work is done according to one's needs and convenience.

Occupation by Caste

The following table gives a castewise distribution of workers in various occupations :

TABLE No. 3.2

Occupations by Caste

Caste	Cultivation		Agricultural Labour		Service		Trade		Blacksmith		Cattle grazing	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Hindus—												
Brahmin	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kshatriya	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ahir	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lohar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Pasi	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tharu	..	121	119	9	3	..	..	..	..	..	8	..
Mehtar	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..

Caste	Cultivation		Agricultural Labour		Service		Trade		Blacksmith		Cattle grazer	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Muslims—												
Pathan	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sheikh	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Saiyad	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
GRAND Total	121	119	11	4	13	1	2	..	1	..	8	..

Out of the 277 workers, 260 persons or 93.8 per cent are Tharus and the remaining 6.2 per cent are non-Tharus comprising Brahmin, Kayastha, Lohar, Pasi, Ahir and Mehtar among the Hindus, and Pathan, Sheikh and Saiyad among the Muslims.

Occupational Mobility

There has been almost no occupational mobility among the Tharus of this village. No Tharu of this village has ever gone to city for service. The occupations of the present heads of households with reference to the occupations of their fathers were studied. Out of the 31 Tharu households of this village, it is only in one case that the father was cultivator but the son is an agricultural labourer.

Among the non-Tharus there has been a change in the occupation of the son as compared with that of the father in 8 cases only.

The following table indicates the details of occupational mobility in the village:

TABLE No. 3.3

Occupational Mobility

Caste	Present Occupation	Father's Occupation	No. of Households	Cause of Change
1. Tharu	Agricultural Labour	Cultivation	1	Lost land due to migration
2. Brahmin	Service	Cultivation	2	Preferred service
3. Mali	Service	Trade	1	Got service, which is more secure

Caste	Present Occupation	Father's Occupation	No. of Households	Cause of Change
4. Kshatriya	Trade	Cultivation	1	Trade more profitable
5. Pasi	Chowkidar	Cultivation	1	Chowkidari more secure and profitable
6. Sheikh	Service	Cultivation	..	Got service which is more secure
7. Kshatriya	Service	Retailer of General Merchandise	1	..

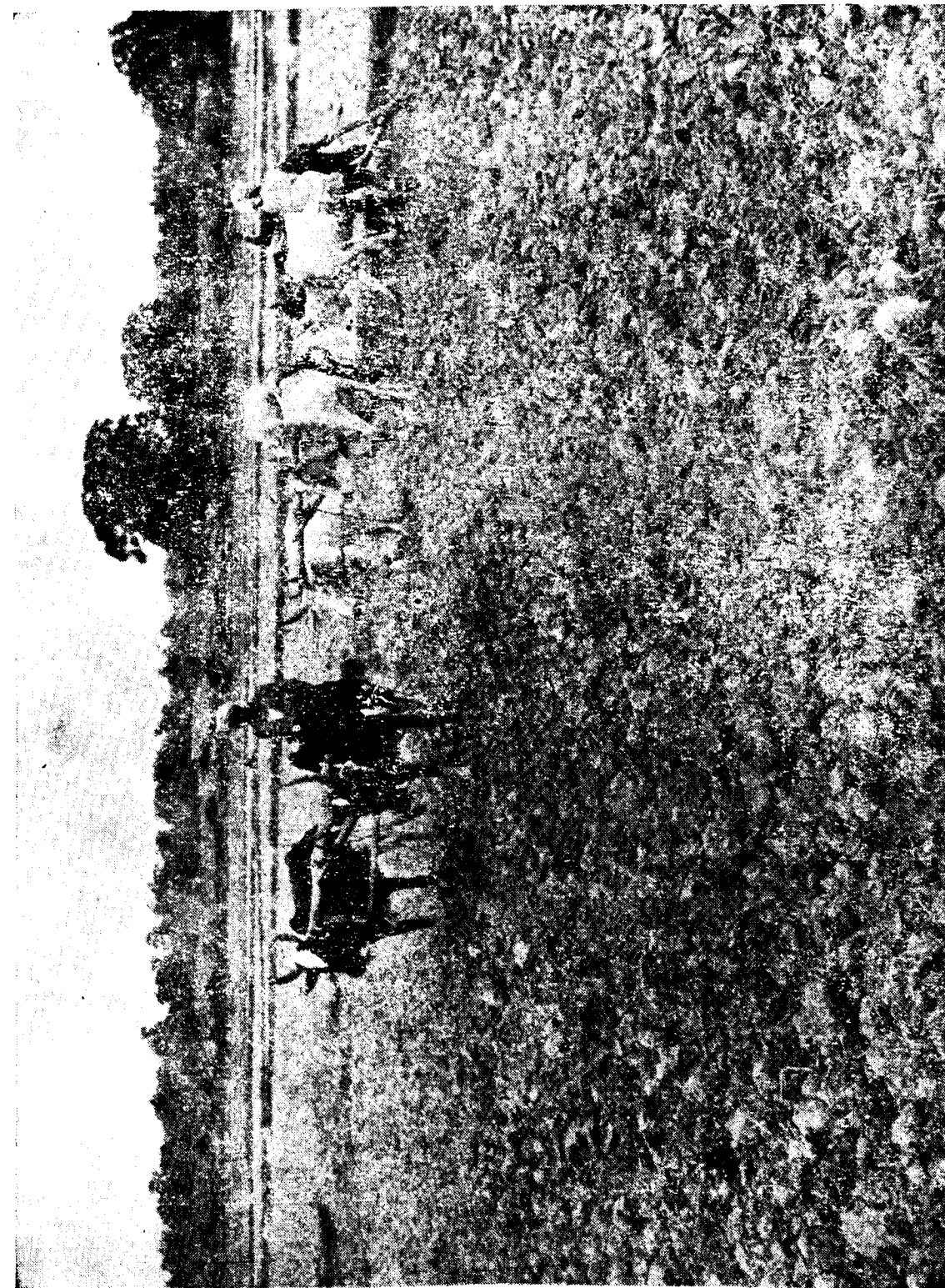
The occupational mobility in respect of the Tharu household occurred because the head of the household left the village for Nepal and, therefore, lost the land in this village. When he returned he found that his land has been allotted to his neighbour. He has to work as an agricultural labourer.

The occupational mobility in respect of two Brahmin households who are under the employment of the Forest Department occurred because they preferred service. Their fathers are still working as cultivators in their villages.

The father of the Mali used to keep a shop. There was loss in the business and hence the son sought employment in the Forest Department as a gardener.

Of the two Kshatriya households, one has changed over from trade to service. His father still works as a retailer of general merchandise. The other Kshatriya, Sri Puttu Singh, has not actually changed his traditional occupation. He

PLATE No. 25



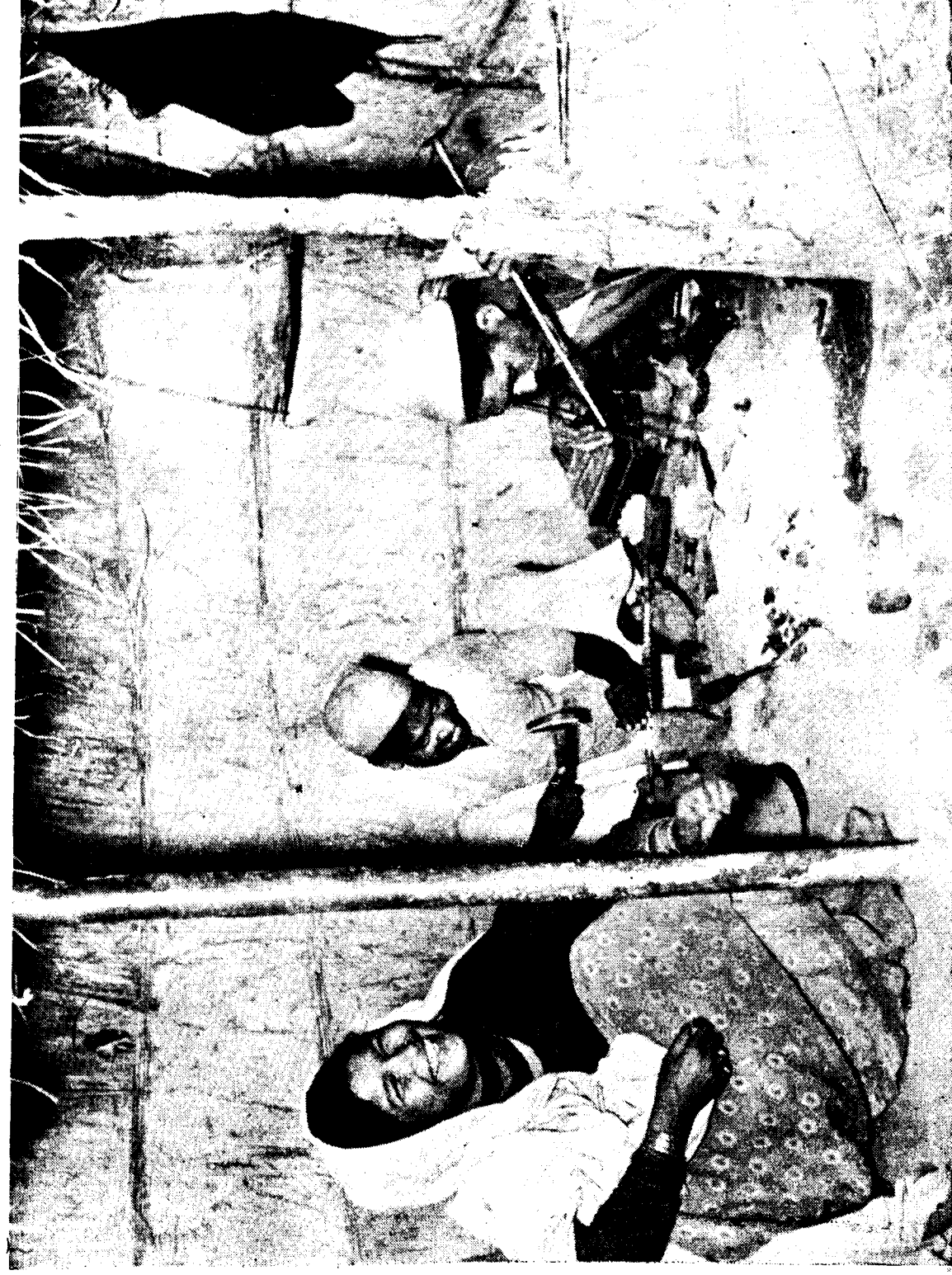
Ploughing the field

PLATE No. 26



Tailor in the village

PLATE No. 27



Goldsmith in the village

is still doing cultivation work which his father used to do but in addition to cultivation he works as a trader too. Trade is more profitable than cultivation. He is also a contractor, a money-lender, a doctor, and a chemist. He was originally a Forester in the Forest Department but resigned and took to numerous occupations that he is doing.

The Pasi male works as chowkidar of the village whereas his father was a cultivator. There was little land with his father and hence he left his village and took up the present job.

The Sheikh male also preferred service because it is more secure. Besides, his presence as cultivator would have added further pressure on the ancestral land.

The heads of all the 49 households in the village were questioned about their aspiration in regard to the occupations to be followed by their sons. All the Tharus want their sons to be cultivators because firstly they do not find them fit for any other job or service, and secondly under the forest rules they cannot accept the employment under any one else. The non-Tharu households want their sons to be in the occupation in which they are except the Forest Range Officer who likes his son to become a doctor.

Subsidiary Occupations

A study of the subsidiary occupations among the workers of this village was made. As regards the two Brahmins and one Kshatriya who work in the Forest Department, cultivation is being done in their respective villages. The subsidiary occupations of Thakur Puttu Singh have already been mentioned. The blacksmith is employed as seasonal fire-watcher also.

Among the Tharus, the following subsidiary occupations are followed :

Subsidiary Occupations	Number of Persons in the Occupations
1. Transport by Bullock Cart ..	26
2. Forest Labourer ..	14
3. Agricultural Labourer ..	1

The number of workers who work as lumbermen could not be found correctly because whenever anyone finds spare time, he works in the forest and earns some money.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the principal occupation of this village as 240 persons, 121 males and 119 females, out of a total of 277 workers were found engaged in cultivation while another 15 persons, 11 males and 4 females, were found dependent on agriculture as labourers.

The following table indicates the age-group of workers in cultivation :

TABLE NO. 3.4

Workers in Cultivation Classified by Sex and Age Groups

Age Groups	Cultivation			Agricultural Labour		
	P	M	F	P	M	F
All ages ..	240	121	119	15	11	4
0—14 ..	33	11	22	2	2	..
15—34 ..	129	67	62	7	6	1
35—59 ..	68	35	33	6	3	3
60 and over ..	10	8	2	..	..	..

In this village females work equal to and sometimes even more than males. Except ploughing, the Tharu female does every odd job in connection with agriculture. In cultivation and agricultural labour there are 123 females or 48.5 per cent of the total workers engaged in agriculture.

System of Land Tenure

This village is basically a Tharu settlement allowed by the Forest Department within the forest area. Such forest village are designed solely to afford a permanent supply of suitable local labour and are not to be established merely for the purpose of extending cultivation and bringing in rent. Some land is allotted for cultivation to the residents of the village so that they might remain busy with some occupation. Ordinarily only, those persons who are by race,



Blacksmith in the village

caste or occupation habituated to the extraction or handling of forest produce are admitted to reside in a forest village along with their families and dependents. The number of houses in each village and the extent of cultivation is fixed by the Conservator. When by natural increase of population the number of houses and of inhabitants approaches the limit of their means for their support afforded by the village land, the Government assumes the right of removing the excess population, if necessary.

The land revenue is 25 Paise per bigha for all cultivators except the Pradhan and the two *bhalamanus*, who are required to pay at the rate of 12 Paise per bigha only. The village is included in alluvial tract of land which is quite fertile. Land is held at the will of the Forest Department.

Irrigation

There is no provision for irrigation as there are no canals or tube-wells. The tobacco and *ghuinyan* crops are cultivated near the wells where they can be irrigated with water.

Important Crops

Only *kharif* and *rabi* crops are grown in the village. The crops raised during *kharif* are paddy, maize, *urd* and *ghuinyan* (a vegetable) and the crops raised during the *rabi* season are wheat, gram, *masur*, *aksa* (a type of coarse pulse), rape, potato and tobacco. *Partal* is not done in this village and hence the actual area under various crops is not correctly known.

Paddy is the most important crop. *Anjana*, *Solthiar*, *mahesho* and *gurra* varieties of autumn paddy and *rehmanwa*, *jhinwan* and *andi* of winter paddy are generally sown. Paddy sown in the month of July–August and harvested in the month of November–December is called winter or *aghani* paddy and paddy sown in June–July and harvested in the month of September–October is called autumn or *kunwari* paddy. The seed is sown by the broadcasting method and no transplantation takes place. The

plots are ploughed up five or six times before the seed is sown. Locally prepared compost manure is used.

Weeding is done by an implement known as *kilwa* which is operated in the field with the help of bullocks.

At the time of harvesting, the plants are cut with a sickle at the lowest part of the stem. The harvested crop is collected in the compound. The grain is separated from the chaff after the plants have fully dried.

The seed sown per acre is 40 seers and the yield about 20 maunds. The yield per acre of other crops was reported to be as follows:

Crop	Seed sown per acre	Yield in maunds per acre	Number of times the land is ploughed
1. Wheat	50	10	8
2. Gram	40	15	4
3. Masur	30	15	3
4. Maize	10	20	3
5. Rape	8	20	3

Pests and Crop Diseases

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

Crop	Insects	Diseases
1. Paddy	<i>Gundhi</i>	..
2. Maize	Grass hopper	..
3. Wheat	<i>Gunjhia</i> and Rat	Rust
4. Gram	Cutworm	..
5. Potato	..	Mosaic and Blight

Besides the above insects and diseases, loss is caused to the crops by fire, wild animals and

TABLE NO. 3.6

Size of Agricultural Holdings	Number of House-Holds
1. Between 5 to 10 acres	7
2. Above 10 acres	25
Total	32

Thakur Puttu Singh has got about 20 acres of land in his possession whereas the rest of the cultivator households who are all Tharus have land between 5 acres and 15 acres.

Source of Finance and Marketing

The money-lending business and the purchase of the grain are done by persons who are licensed by the Forest Department. Sri Amir Ahmad of Sheshgarh district Bareilly and Thakur Puttu Singh have taken licence for this purpose. In winter season Sri Amir Ahmad comes to this village, stays here for a fortnight or so, lends money, collects grain and goes back. The Tharus take loan in cash and repay it in instalments. The instalments are paid in terms of paddy which is accepted at the rate of 1½ times of the prevalent market rate. Instead of using weights, paddy is measured by *muththis* (handfuls). Thus the money-lender is able to realise a big amount by way of interest, even though he says he charges no interest. The other money-lender, too, was reported to be realising a big amount in a similar manner.

Agricultural Implements

The agricultural implements in use are locally made. The wood is available from the forest free of cost; only iron has to be purchased. The blacksmith of the village makes iron implements that are used in agriculture. He also repairs and maintains them from time to time. For this servicing a contract is made between the cultivator and the blacksmith for payment of wages which ranges from 15 seers to 20 seers of paddy per plough per year. The wooden portion is prepared by the Tharus themselves without the help of any carpenter.

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

Agricultural Produce and its Disposal

The following table shows the agricultural produce of cultivation run by the households and its disposal:

TABLE NO. 3.5

Agricultural Produce and its Disposal

Product	Annual Produce (in Mds)	Amount consumed (in Mds)	Amount sold (in Mds)
1. Paddy	5,270.00	2,214.00	3,056.00
2. Wheat	48.45	41.12	7.33
3. Maize	90.25	90.25	..
4. Pulses	218.50	218.50	..
5. Barley	19.45	19.45	..
6. Vegetables	337.00	337.00	..
7. Fodder	4,490.00	4,490.00	..
8. Oil-seeds	215.00	185.00	30.00

Paddy, wheat and rape-seed are sold in the market to meet other domestic needs. There is no oil-crusher in the village. The oil crushing is done by a *tehi* named Lal Singh, resident of Nepal, who temporarily shifts to the village every year for some time.

Size of Holdings

The land utilization survey is not made every year as is done in the plains. It is only the Forester who measures the land and assesses the rent to be paid by the cultivator. The holdings are divided according to the rules of the Forest Department.

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

In addition to the old agricultural implements, one cultivator plough and 7 harrow ploughs are owned by Thakur Puttu Singh and 13 harrow ploughs are used by the Tharus.

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

Local Name	English Synonym	Made of	Used
1. <i>Hal</i>	Plough	Wood and Iron	for tilling the soil
2. <i>Juwa</i>	Yoke	Wood	for putting a pair of bullocks together for ploughing or levelling
3. <i>Kilwai</i>	Leveller and weeder	Wood	for breaking the clods and weeding out the grass
4. <i>Phar</i>	Plough shear	Iron	in plough for tilling the soil
5. <i>Kudal</i>	A long hoe	Iron with a wooden handle	for digging earth to an ordinary depth
6. <i>Kudari</i>	A small hoe	"	"
7. <i>Pharuwa</i>	Spade	"	for digging earth to a greater depth
8. <i>Hansia</i>	Sickle	"	for harvesting and grass-cutting
9. <i>Khurpa</i>	Scythe	"	for grass-cutting
10. <i>Akhayin</i>	"	Wood	a thin wooden log, bent in the lower part for turning up and down the straw while thrashing it.

Rites and Proverbs relating to Agricultural Operations and Seasons

The Tharus observe *Nava* ceremony before starting consumption of the cereals of the new crop. When a crop becomes ripe and ready for harvesting, a small quantity of new grain is brought by the head of the household on an auspicious day in the evening. This new grain is taken with other articles of food prepared in

the household. This ceremony is performed twice in the year — once for the maize crop representing the *kharif* harvest and again for the wheat and barley crops representing the *rabi* harvest.

Another custom prevailing in the community is the gift of a small quantity of the newly-produced crop to some beggar or priest, usually a *bharna*. If he is not readily available his share of the grain is kept separately and is given to him when he visits the household.

The Tharus observe the *Harawat* ceremony also. In the moonlit fortnight of the month of *Aghan* at about 4 a.m., every cultivator quietly goes to his field without speaking to anyone. Next day regular ploughing of the fields starts. According to common belief it is inauspicious if anyone going out on a mission is questioned by someone as regards his destination. For obviating such a possibility the auspicious operation of ploughing is performed so early in the morning. Special dishes are prepared on this occasion.

The *Mooth* ceremony consists of digging part of a field with a spade in the month of *Baisakh* and then scattering a handful of paddy over it, as a token of starting the preparation of land for the paddy crop.

In the month of *Kunwar*, a handful of ears of new paddy brought from the field are offered to Nagarihayi Bhawani, to show respect to her and obtain her blessings. This is known as the *Arawun* ceremony.

The following sayings relating to agriculture are prevalent in the village :

सावन शुक्ला सप्तमी,
घन गरजे आधी रात ।
तुम मिया जाओ माडवे,
और हम जहें तुजरात ॥

If on *Shukla Saptmi* in the month of *Shrawan* cloud thunders in the midnight, there is sure to be a drought and a famine due to non-availability of rains. In such circumstances, the

PLATE No. 29



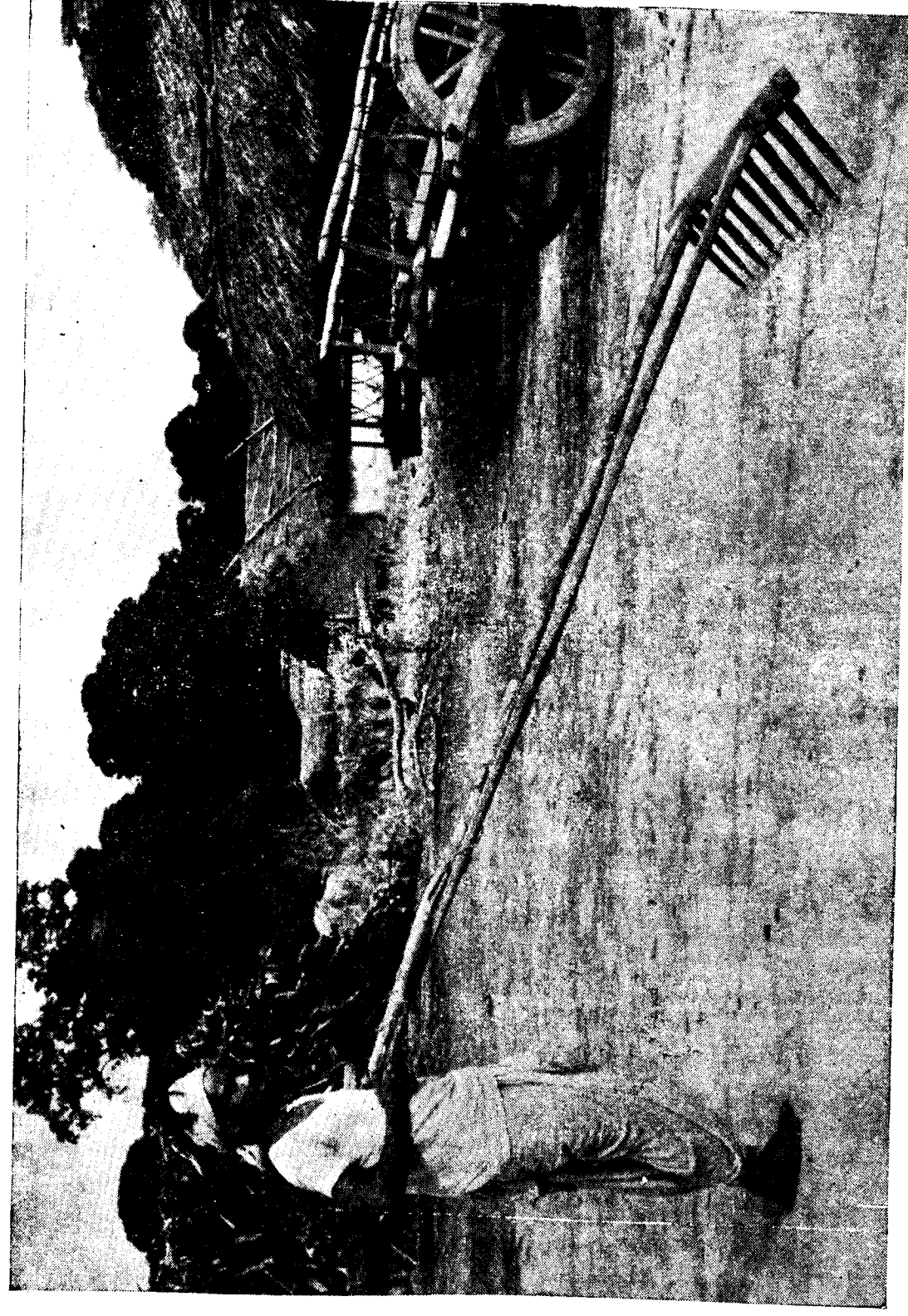
Wooden plough

PLATE No. 30



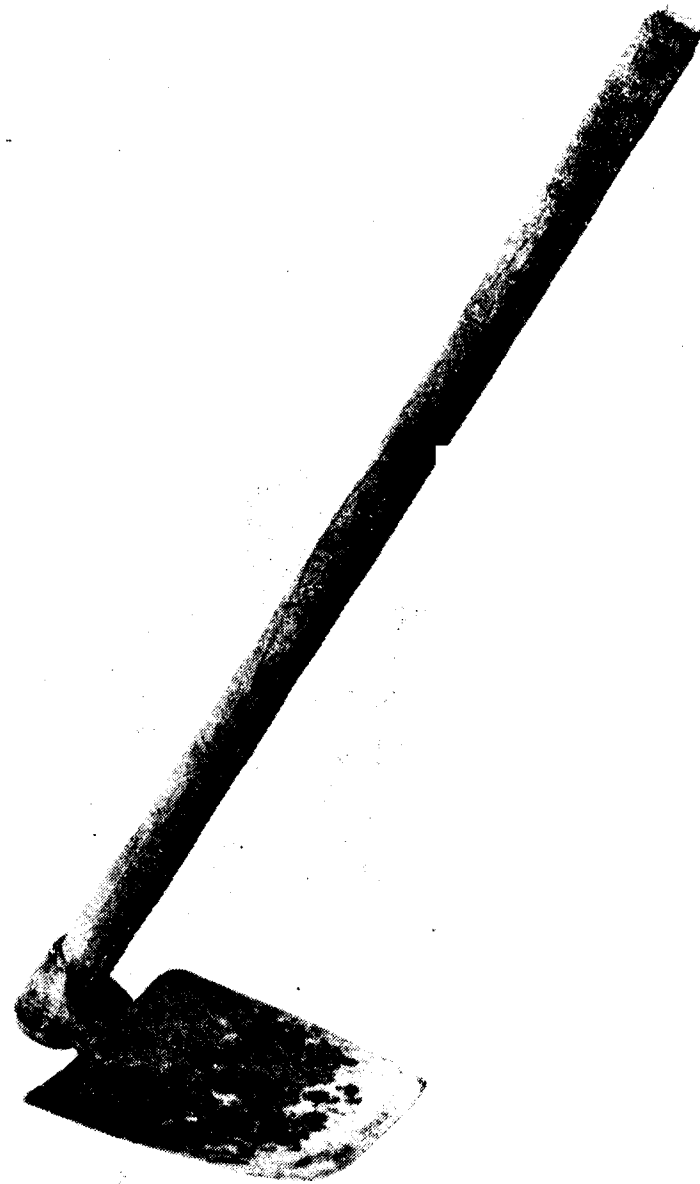
Subash plough

PLATE No. 31



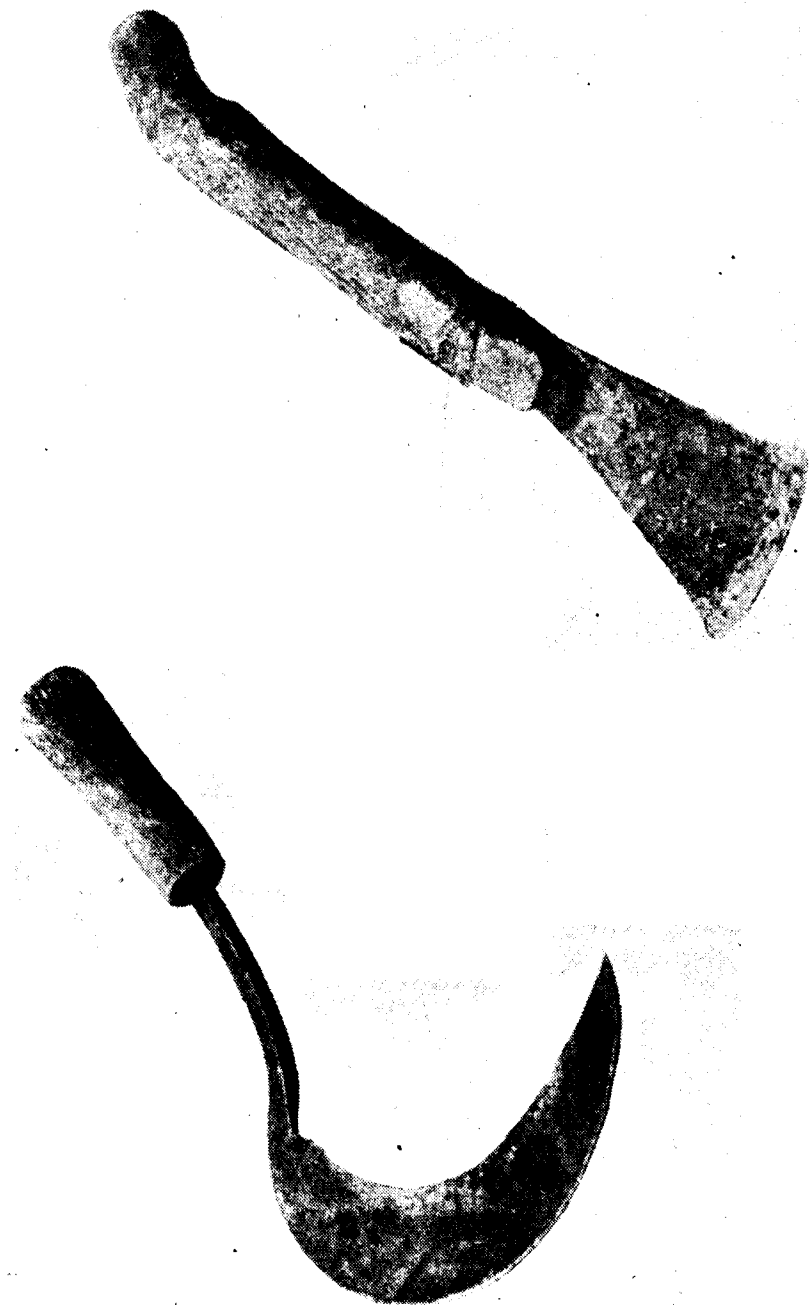
Kilwai

PLATE NO. 32



A spade

PLATE NO. 33



Sickle and seythe

wife tells her husband that both of them would be separated as victims of famine.

जेठ परेवा मन्त चुये ,
चहुं बिसि पड़े अकाल ।
बैल बधिया बँच कर ,
लइका लियो जिपाय ॥

If there is no rainfall on the *Pariva* day in the month of *Jaith*, there is every possibility of a famine alround. Under such circumstances one has to sell one's bullocks, etc., in order to keep one's sons alive.

Livestock

The following table shows the position of livestock in the charge :

TABLE No. 3.7

Distribution of Livestock

Items of Livestock			Castes, Households and Number of Animals							
			Brahmin		Kayastha		Mehtar		Pasi	
			Number of households owning	Total No.	Number of households owning	Total No.	Number of households owning	Total No.	Number of households owning	Total No.
Milch cattle	—	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..
Drought bulls	—	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Goats and sheep	—	..	..	..	—	..	1	3	1	2
Pigs	—	..	..	..	—	..	..	..	1	1
Duck and geese	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hens and cocks	..	..	..	..	1	15	..	..	..	..
Dry cows	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	4
Dry buffaloes	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Horse	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..

[illegible]

The number of poultry birds is more than even the number of bullocks in the village. All the bullocks are of the famous Khairagarh breed which is found mostly in the northern portion of this district, Lakhimpur Kheri and a part of Bahraich. Cows are not milked among the Tharus who take only buffalo milk. Cattle are allowed to be grazed only in defined grazing blocks in the forest area, the maximum number of grazing units being fixed for each block. The existing grazing rates are as follows :

Kind of Cattle	Annual Charges (Paise)
1. Buffalo ...	0.50
2. Horse ..	0.50
3. Cow, bullock ..	0.25
4. Donkey ..	0.25
5. Goat ..	0.12
6. Sheep ..	0.06

The Tharus are exempted from payment of any dues. The non-Tharus too are not to pay anything up to four units of cattle per plough, a buffalo being equivalent to 2 units, a donkey $\frac{1}{2}$ unit, a goat $\frac{1}{4}$ unit and a sheep $\frac{1}{8}$ unit.

The bullocks are fed in a manger kept on a raised platform. Goats are reared for table meat more than for milk. Hens are reared by Tharus and non-Tharus alike for eggs and chicken.

Fishing

All the Tharu households are engaged in fishing in spare time either in the tanks and ponds found here and there in the forest or in river Mohan. The fish are of small size and are used only for domestic consumption. Better variety of fish is rarely available. For catching fish, they use nets made of strings. Fishing is done only in day time. The females, too, go out for fishing. The fish are mostly salted and dried in the sun or on fire and then consumed.

Agricultural Workers

Normally the Tharus cultivate their plots with their own efforts. It is seldom that agricultural

labour is engaged. The agricultural labourers are engaged from *Phagun* (February–March) to *Agahan* (November–December). The village has 15 agricultural labourers, 11 males and 4 females. Out of the 11 males, 6 are regular agricultural servants and others are agricultural labourers who are engaged from time to time for sowing, harvesting, threshing, etc. The agricultural labourers employed on daily wage basis get about 12 seers of paddy per day. They work from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. with a break of two hours and a half in the noon. There is no difference in the working of males and females. The females do not, however, work as seasonal agricultural servants.

Transport

Most of the Tharu households are engaged in transport of timber and wood by bullock cart from the forest to Paulaha and Dingania railway stations. As the stations are only two miles away, four to five trips a day can be made. The loading and the carrying of logs is done on the basis of contract between these workers and the contractor.

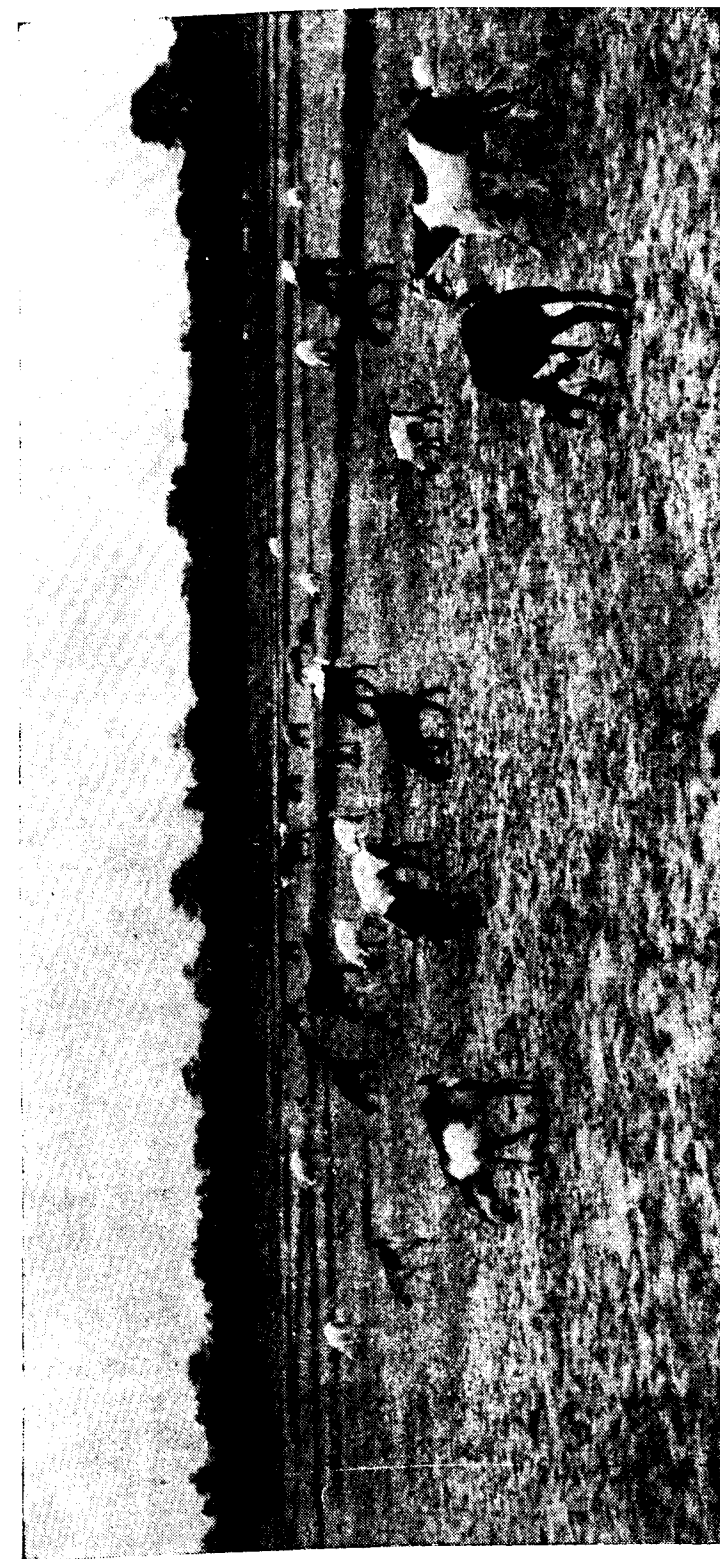
Government Service

The 11 Government servants consist of 10 males and one female. A Mehtar and his wife work as sweepers. The remaining 9 males consist of one Ranger, one Deputy Ranger, two Foresters, two Forest Guards, one Range Clerk, one peon and one *mali*. The Deputy Ranger, the Range Clerk, one Forester and the peon are Muslims; others are Hindus. All of them are temporary migrants to this village.

Trade

Thakur Puttu Singh owns a shop run by his adopted son Ram Chander Singh. Grains, spices, cloth, sugar, medicines and other commodities of daily requirement are sold by him. The residents of other villages also come to this shop. Transactions are made in cash and credit both. Barter system is more prevalent thereby providing an upper hand to the ...

PLATE No. 35



Goats and sheep in pasture land

PLATE No. 36



Cattle resting under shed

PLATE No. 37



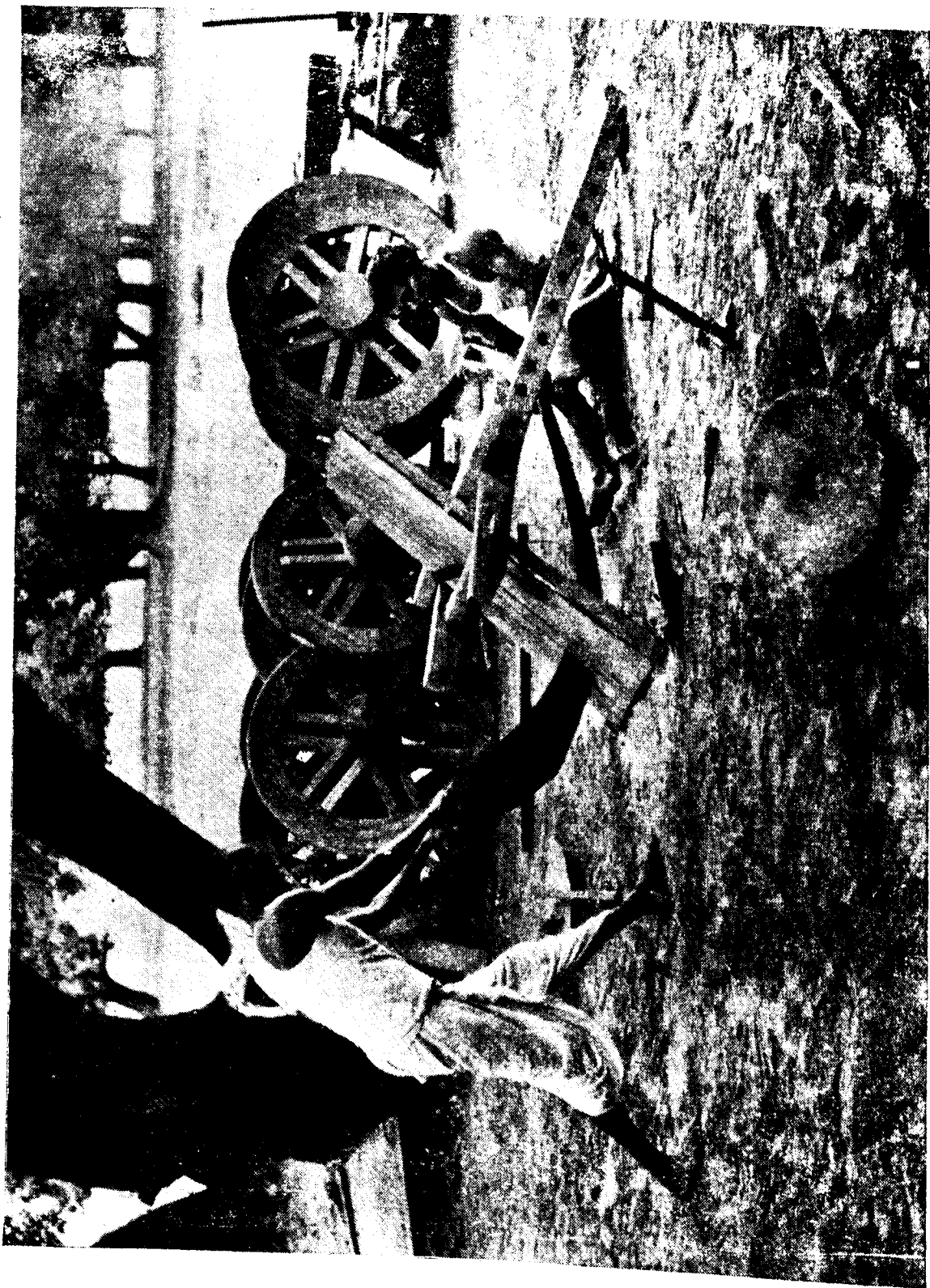
A provision shop



A woman sewing her choli and a male making a net for fishing

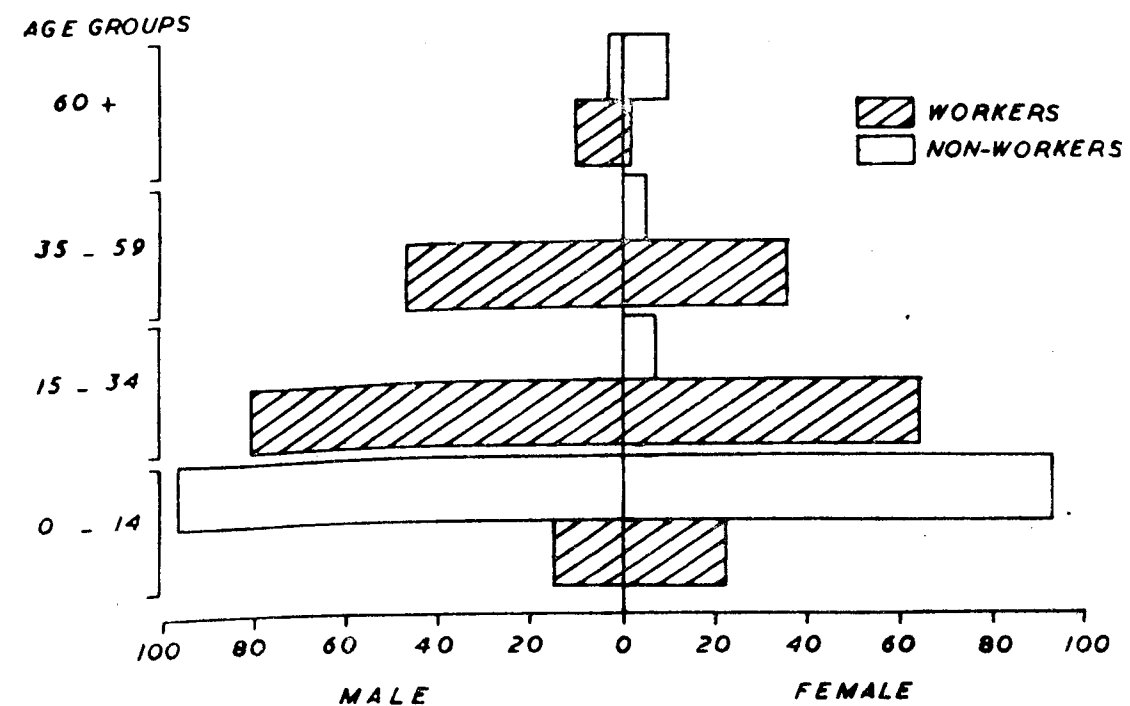


Husking of paddy

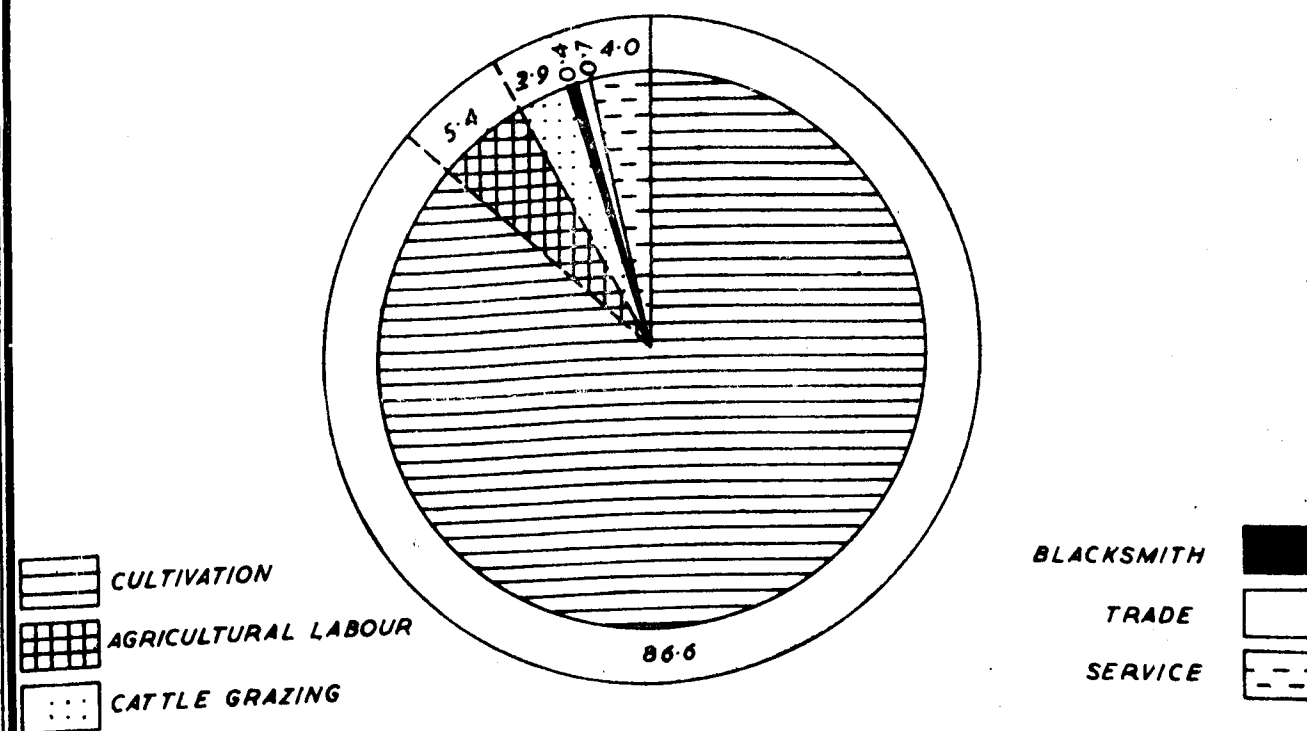


A village carpenter at work

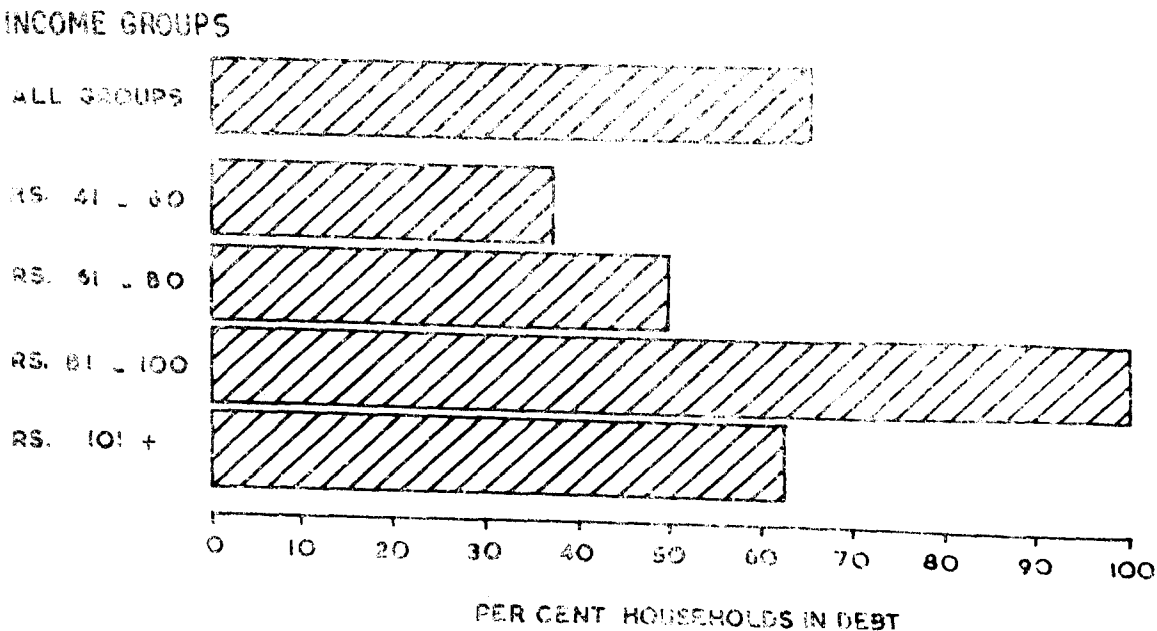
WORKERS & NON-WORKERS



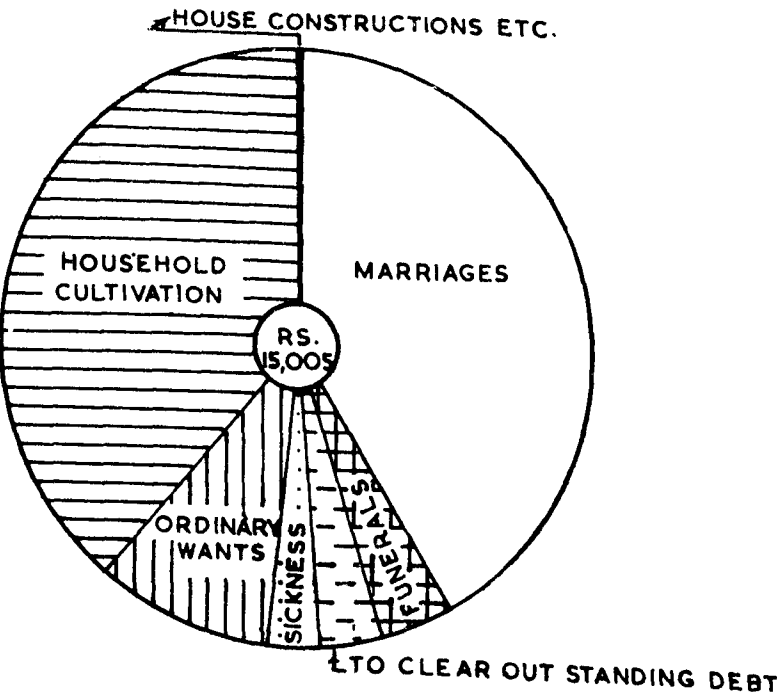
OCCUPATION



INDEBTEDNESS BY INCOME GROUPS



INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSES



Blacksmith

There is only one blacksmith in the village. He is Lohar by caste and has migrated from Nepal 18 years ago. He manufactures scythe, sickle and small agricultural implements besides repairing and maintaining the major agricultural implements of the cultivators. He gets 15 to 20 seers of paddy per plough per year. He serves the cultivators of this village only.

Lumbering

The Tharus also work as lumbermen in the forest casually. Only the able-bodied can do this strenuous work. When they are spare, they are engaged by the forest contractors who pay them between Rs.1.25 P. to Rs.1.50 P. per day according to the work.

Household Industries

The following articles are prepared by the Tharu households for domestic use and not for sale :

1. *Chhatri* : An umbrella prepared from the leaves of the *maorayan* plant. First of all, small pieces of bamboo are interwoven without string ; then leaves of the *maorayan* plant are spread over it... Then a web of *bankas* grass string is knit on it. All are tied together with ivy of a creeper locally called *bail*. The requisite raw material is available free of cost from the forest.

2. *Chatai* : It is a mat prepared from paddy straw tied with a string.

3. *Jal* : The fishing net made of thread.

4. *Gundri* : It is a mat prepared from the stem of the *gond* grass.

5. *Kandia* : A basket made of cane.

6. *Tokri* : A basket made of *rangai* cane.

7. *Dalia* : A basket made of *seenk* grass.

8. *Khatia* : Cot made of wood and woven with string.

Gondi : A mattress made of *gondi* grass.

10. *Ban* : *Moonj* string used for inter-weaving a cot.

11. *Machia* : An armless small cot-like chair.

12. *Pankha* : A fan made of *bendu* or *marur-phali* grass.

Non-workers

Out of 492 persons in the village, only 277 persons, 153 males and 124 females, are workers and the remaining 215 persons, 100 males and 115 females, are non-workers. Thus 44 per cent of the population was found dependent upon 56 per cent of the population. The following table shows the non-workers by sex, broad age groups and nature of activity :

TABLE No. 3.8

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

Age Group	Total Non-workers			Full-time Students		Persons engaged in household duties		Dependents, infants and children not going to schools and persons permanently disabled		Retired persons	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	215	100	115	4	3	..	12	93	90	3	10
0-14	190	96	94	4	3	..	7	92	91	..	..
15-34	7	..	7	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..
35-59	5	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	9
60 and over	13	4	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Thus 85 per cent of the non-workers consist of dependents, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled. Only 12 females are exclusively engaged in domestic duties.

Indebtedness

The following table shows the extent of indebtedness in the village at the time of Survey :

TABLE No. 3.9

Indebtedness by Income-groups

Income-group	Total number of households	Number of households in debt	Percentage of households in debt	Average indebtedness per household in debt
Rs.40 and below	..	..	..	..
Rs.41 to 60	8	3	37.50	200.00
Rs.61 to 80	6	3	50.00	320.00
Rs.81 to 100	11	11	100.00	517.27
Rs.101 and above	24	15	62.50	701.20

As is seen from the above figures, all the 11 households in the income-group Rs.81 to 100 are in debt, the average indebtedness per household being Rs.517.27 P. Another feature of indebtedness figures is that the average indebtedness per household in debt increases with the rise in the level of the income-group.

The following table shows the indebtedness by causes :

TABLE No. 3.10

Indebtedness by Causes

Cause	Amount of debt (Rs.)	Number of families in debt	Percentage of debt due to the total amount of debt
1. House construction or repairs	35	1	0.23
2. Marriages	6,170	15	41.11
3. Funerals	590	4	4.00
4. For clearing standing debts	500	1	3.38
5. Sickness	425	4	2.47
6. Ordinary wants	1,425	7	9.49
7. Household cultivation	5,860	20	39.32

Evidently the main causes of debt are marriages (41.11 per cent) and household cultivation (39.32 per cent).

Income

A little difficulty was experienced in finding out the income of the households. True to human tendency everywhere, the villagers were a bit reluctant to disclose the household income correctly. The income of the households as returned at the time of Survey is shown in the following table :

TABLE No. 3.11

Distribution of Households by Occupation and Number of Members

Occupation	Number of Households	Households by Monthly Income				Total number of members in households
		Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 101 and over	
1. Cultivation	32	..	2	11	19	427
2. Agricultural Labour	4	..	4	..	..	15
3. Trade (Subsidiary)	1	..	..	..	1	20
4. Industry	1	..	1	..	..	3
5. Service	12	3	4	..	5	37

The highest income in this village is from cultivation followed by service and trade. More than 50 per cent of the households fall within the income-group Rs.100 and over. The household having the highest income (Rs.500 per month) is that of Thakur Puttu Singh who follows more than one occupation. Amongst the Government servants, the Forest Range Officer gets a salary of Rs.250 per month and is the highest paid man.

Expenditure

For determining the expenditure pattern, the budgets of all the households of the village were studied. People in general have a tendency to exaggerate their expenditure. The budget of

the following three households which are of a representative character are discussed below :

1. A cultivator named Labra, with an income of about Rs.300 per month, who is also the *bhalamanus* of the village.

2. A cultivator named Dehrha with an income of about Rs.100 per month.

3. An agricultural labourer named Gariba with a monthly income of about Rs.60 per month.

The household of Labra aged 41 years consisted of 22 members at the time of survey. His 3 brothers Sagra, Bal Krishan and Hari Kishan live with him jointly with their families. Out of the 22 members, 10 persons are below 12 years ; his widowed mother is more than 70 years. Thus 50 per cent of the members are dependents. He has 16 acres of land under cultivation.

His expenditure was reported to be as follows :

Items	Expenditure (Rs.)
1. Cereals and pulses	182.00
2. Rape-seed oil	8.00
3. Other food items	22.37
4. Kerosene oil	1.50
5. Clothing and footwear	28.00
6. <i>Daru</i>	12.00
7. Religious ceremonies	20.00
Total	273.87

The expenditure on food items was about 77 per cent of the total expenditure. There is no expenditure on education. Milk is not purchased. Meat and fish are consumed almost daily but these too are not to be procured on payment of cost. Hence these items have not been included either on the income or the expenditure side. The expenses on *daru* and on religious observances are unavoidable. He has paid Rs.3 to the *bharra*. During the last ten

years he has repaid a debt of Rs.200. At present the household is in debt of Rs.500, Rs.360 having been borrowed for the purchase of a pair of bullocks and Rs.140 for marriage. The budget is otherwise a balanced one.

The household of Dehrha consists of 6 members including his wife, brother, brother's wife, brother's son and mother. Dehrha is aged about 25 years and his wife about 28 years. Except the brother's son who is one year old, everyone works on the 10 acres of land under cultivation, thereby earning about Rs.100 per month.

The expenditure pattern of the household was reported to be as follows :

Items	Expenditure (Rs.)
1. Cereals and pulses	45.50
2. Rape-seed oil	4.00
3. <i>Daru</i>	1.50
4. Other food items	8.50
5. Kerosene	2
6. Clothing and footwear	10
7. Other items	12
Total	81.20

The expenditure on food items is about 75 per cent of the total expenditure. There is no expenditure on milk as it is available from the she-buffalo in the house. Similarly, fish and fuel are available free of cost. Hence the expenditure on these items has been included neither on the income side nor on the expenditure side. The budget is a surplus one but this year due to illness of family members and the marriage of his sister, he had to take a loan of Rs.250. Out of this he spent Rs.100 on marriage, Rs.50 on sickness and Rs.100 on the purchase of a buffalo. Thus the household is in debt at present.

Gariba, aged 38 years is an agricultural labourer and earns Rs.50 per month as wages. He has

no land under cultivation. He has three members in his family, viz., his wife aged 38 years and his son aged 20 years besides himself. All of them work as agricultural labourers. His wife works only casually. The expenditure pattern of the household was reported to be as follows :

Items		Expenditure (Rupees)
1. Cereals and pulses ..	..	33.50
2. Rape-seed oil ..	..	0.50
3. Other food items ..	..	5.44
4. Kerosene oil ..	..	1.50
5. Clothing and footwear ..	..	6.00
6. Daru ..	..	1.50
7. Other items ..	..	2.00
Total	..	50.44

The expenditure on food items is about 80 per cent of the total expenditure. There is no expenditure on milk and *ghee* as these articles are not used in the household. Fish and fuel are available free of cost. The household is not in debt and this budget is a surplus one.

The aforesaid study of the budgets leads to the following obvious conclusions :

- (1) The percentage of expenditure on food items is high which indicates low *per capita* income and lower standard of living.
- (2) No amount is usually spent on fuel, fish, meat, chicken, vegetables and construction and maintenance of houses.
- (3) Every Tharu spends some amount on *daru*.
- (4) Incidence of debt is quite high.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Brief Review of Population

At the time of Survey the total population of this village was 492 persons with 253 males and 239 females. The population at the time of 1951 Census was 362 persons with 188 males and 174 females. Thus during a period of 10 years there was an increase of about 36 per cent in the population of this village.

Density of Population

The area of the village is about 1.1 sq. miles and hence the density of population comes to 446 persons per square mile.

Sex-ratio

At the time of Survey the village had 253 males and 239 females, thereby giving a sex ratio of 944 as against 926, the sex ratio at the time of 1951 Census. The little disparity is explained by the fact that some employees of the Forest Department do not keep their families with them. The Tharu population has 212 males and 214 females, thereby showing a balance in the number of the two sexes.

Births and Deaths

Since it is not a revenue village, no Gaon Sabha has been constituted in it under the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act and hence no birth and death records have been maintained. During the period of 12 months preceding August 1, 1961 there had been 20 births and 11 deaths in the village. There has been no case of small-pox for the last 25 years and of cholera for the last 30 years. Malaria and fever are the general causes of death. D. D. T. is sprayed in the village twice a year by the Anti-malaria staff as a result of which the incidence of malaria

has gone down. The vaccinator comes to the village from Palia once a year.

Medical Aid

Dispensaries are situated at villages Palia and Dudhwa at a distance of 16 miles and 18 miles respectively from this village and hence the patients go there for medical aid only in rare cases. The officials of the Forest Department sometimes get themselves treated in the dispensary of Forest Department at Dudhwa. One Thakur Puttu Singh keeps a stock of medicines. He is not a qualified physician but works as a doctor and a chemist both, prescribing medicines for administering injections to the patients and also selling medicines at exorbitant prices.

It is a common belief among the Tharus that disease and illness come upon them on account of the wrath of gods and goddesses which should be suitably propitiated for securing a relief. Whenever a Tharu falls ill, Baura Tharu is called in from village Saunahan of Dudhwa Forest Range, which is about 8 miles away from this village. He is locally known as *bharra* and cures a patient through his magical art. He feels the pulse of the patient and comes to know of the evil spirit or deity which is responsible for the disease. He takes a handful each of wheat and rice in a *thali* (brass plate) and throws the grain in pairs in all the directions, chanting some *mantras* in low and unintelligible tone — perhaps invoking his favourite deities. Ordinarily the patient is cured through this device but if the disease persists, Thakur Puttu Singh is consulted for diagnosis and treatment. It is only rarely that the patient is taken to the hospitals at Palia and Dhudhwa for treatment. In December 1962, Maharaj Tharu contacted pneumonia. He was treated by the *bharra* for some time but his condition worsened and hence

Thakur Puttu Singh was consulted. The patient got some relief after medicines, including injections, had been administered to him.

The *bharra* is invariably a Tharu by caste. He knows the art of propitiating the deities or controlling the evil spirits because he is supposed to have acquired such power through concentrated prayers and worship. The post of the *bharra* is not hereditary nor is it restricted to a particular family. One who acquires the power of controlling the evil spirits and propitiating the deities on the one hand and gains the confidence of the Tharus on the other hand can become a *bharra*. Formerly, Mullahay Tharu resident of village Chhidya served the community in this capacity for 3 years but he was dethroned because people lost faith in him. He was succeeded by Baura Tharu in 1958. He serves Tharus in 8 villages. He is given 30 seers of paddy per plough every year in lieu of the services rendered by him to his *jajmans* (clients). Whenever he visits a patient for treatment, he is also served with meal and *daru*. The *bharra* does not act as a priest nor does he play any significant role in the economic and political life of the village by virtue of his office as a witch-doctor. The non-Tharus do not consult him.

Maternity cases are ordinarily conducted by the old and experienced Tharu females. They have not received any training for this work but have gained adequate experience. Complicated cases are referred to the wife of Marra Tharu, who is considered to be an expert midwife even though she has received no formal training for the job. Even complicated cases are handled successfully by these women. They attend the non-Tharu females too. The woman who acts as midwife is given 60 seers of paddy in case of a male issue and 40 seers of paddy in case of a female issue, in addition to meals, even when she belongs to the same household.

Population by Age Groups

The following table gives a break-down of the population of this village according to age groups :

TABLE No. 4.1
Population by Age Groups

Age groups (Years)	Total Population		
	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	492	253	239
0-4	93	43	50
5-9	80	43	37
10-14	54	25	29
15-19	31	15	16
20-24	40	24	16
25-29	51	25	26
30-34	30	17	13
35-39	21	11	10
40-44	25	12	13
45-49	18	13	5
50-54	11	8	3
55-59	13	3	10
60 and over	25	14	11

Thus 227 persons or 46 per cent of the total population belong to the age group 0-14 years, and 49 persons or 10 per cent belong to the age group 50 years and above. The proportion of population in the age group 0-14 years is more than twice that in the age group 50 years and over and hence the population of the village is progressive just like the population of the whole State.

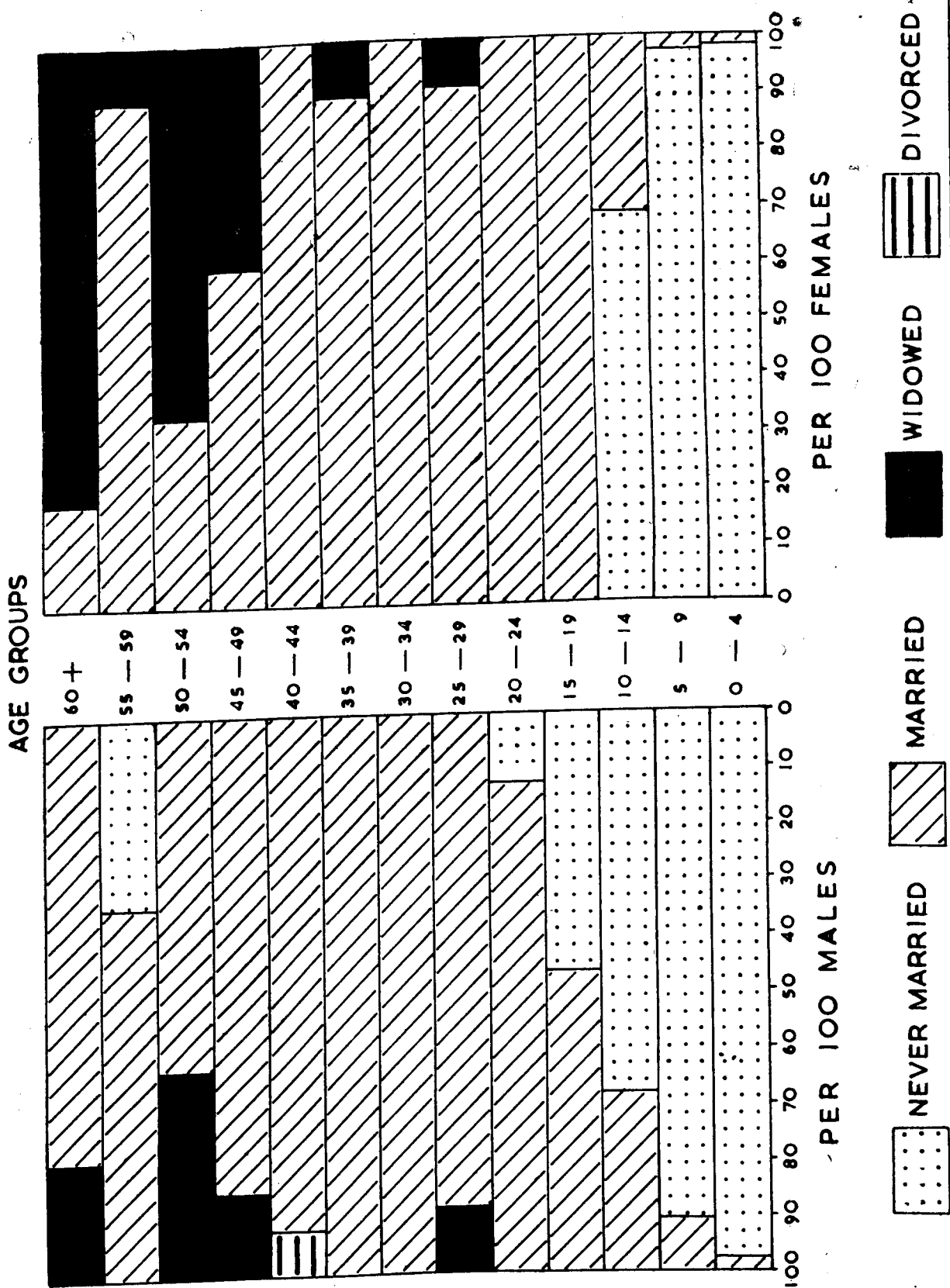
Marital Status

The following table shows the marital status of the population by age groups :

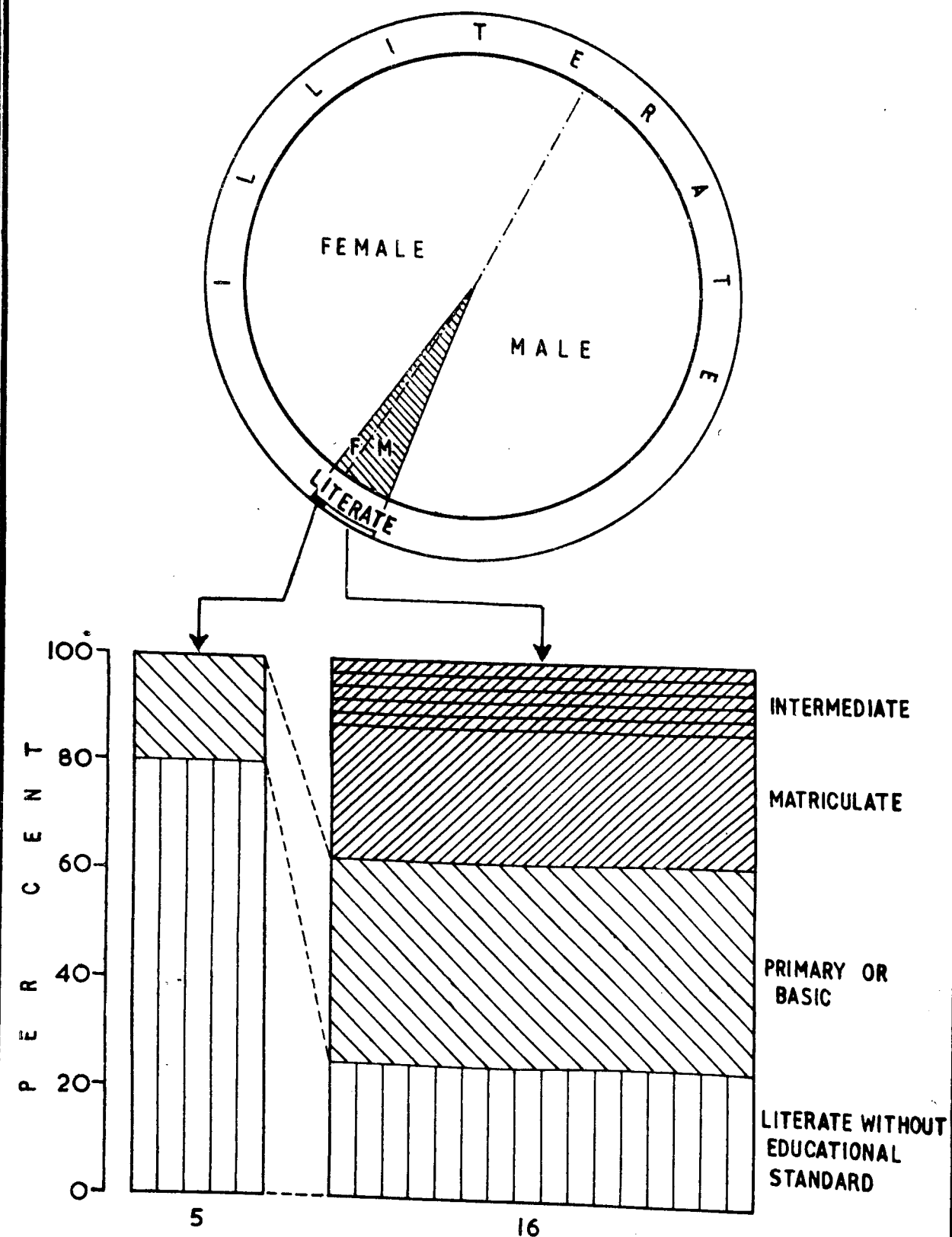
TABLE No. 4.2
Marital Status by Age Groups

Age groups (Years)	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced of Separated	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	109	105	132	117	11	17	1	..
0-4	42	49	1	1	..	..	..	..
5-9	39	36	4	1	..	..	..	..
10-14	17	20	8	9	..	..	..	..
15-19	7	..	8	16	..	..	..	..
20-24	3	..	21	16	..	..	..	..
25-29	..	..	22	24	3	2	..	..
30-34	..	..	17	13	..	..	..	..
35-39	..	..	11	9	..	1	..	..

MARITAL STATUS BY SEX & AGE GROUPS



EDUCATION



Age-groups (Years)	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
40-44	..	..	11	13	..	..	1	..
45-49	..	..	11	3	2	2	..	..
50-54	..	..	5	1	3	2	..	..
55-59	1	..	2	9	..	1	..	..
60 and over	..	..	11	2	3	9	..	..

Out of 492 persons, 214 persons or 43.5 per cent were never-married, 249 persons or 50.6 per cent were married, 28 persons or 5.7 per cent were widowed and one person only was divorced. Out of the never-married persons, 203 persons or 95 per cent belonged to the age-group 0-14 years.

Age at Marriage

The following table shows the age at marriage of all the ever-married persons :

TABLE No. 4.3

Age at Marriage

Age at Marriage (Years)	Frequency amongst				
	Tharus		Whole Population		
	M	F	M	F	P
2	..	1	..	1	1
3	3	13	3	13	16
4	8	51	8	51	59
5	4	26	4	26	30
6	94	16	94	16	106
8	4	1	4	1	5
9	..	1	..	1	1
12	2	1	2	4	6
13	..	..	1	2	3
14	3	4	3	7	10
15	2	4	2	4	6
16	3	..	4	1	5
17	3	1	4	2	6
18	2	1	4	2	6
19	..	..	2	1	3
20	..	..	1	..	1
21	..	..	2	..	2
22	..	1	..	2	2
23	..	..	2	..	2
24	..	..	1	..	1
25	..	..	1	..	1
30	..	..	2	..	2
Total	128	121	144	134	278

The above figures indicate that 92.36 per cent of the males were married before they had attained the age of 18 years and 85.8 per cent of the females were married before reaching the age of 14 years. Among the Tharus, out of 128 ever-married males, only two were married on attaining the age of 18 years. Similarly, out of the 121 ever-married Tharu females, only 11 females were married on attaining the age of 14 years or after.

Most of the Tharu males and females were married at the age of 2-8 years. After the enforcement of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, seven Tharu males and six Tharu females were married. Out of them two males were married before reaching the age of 18 years and three females were married before reaching 14 years. People in general are not aware of the provisions of law nor do they care to know about it so long as the penal provisions remain unextended to them in actual practice.

Size and Composition of Households

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

TABLE No. 4.4

Size and Composition of Households

Size of Households	Number of Households	Population	
		Males	Females
Single member	..	5	..
2-3 members	..	9	15
4-6 members	..	9	23
7-9 members	..	6	25
10 members and above	20	185	181

The highest number of households, mostly of Tharus, has 10 members and above. The average

family consists of 10 members. The Tharus have an unshakeable faith in the virtues of a joint family system. Partition in the family takes place rarely. The following households—all Tharus—have the largest number of persons:

Name of Head of Household	Number of Members
1. Sachcha	39
2. Lalu ..	29
3. Bhuka ..	25
4. Labha ..	23
5. Labra ..	22
6. Shiva Charan ..	20
7. Chanta ..	19
8. Bikram ..	18
9. Labra ..	16
10. Chutka ..	16
11. Ram Bux	16

Literacy and Education

The following table indicates literacy and education castewise:

TABLE No. 4.5
Literacy by Caste and Sex

	Brahmin		Kshatriya		Muslim		Mehtar		Kayastha		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M F
Literate without standard	..	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	..	..	4 4
Primary standard	1	..	3	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	6 1
Middle School	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	3 ..
High School	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2 ..
Intermediate	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1 ..

Only 21 persons, 16 males and 5 females, are literate or educated. Thus only 4.2 per cent population is literate. A clerk of the Forest Range Office has passed the Intermediate Examination; the Ranger and a Forest Guard have passed the High School Examination. The three persons who have passed the Middle School Examination are also employees of the Forest Department.

Not a single Tharu has received any education. Most of the literate persons are not residents of this village.

Educational Institutions

There is only a Lower Primary School in the village established in 1954 by the Antanim Zila Parishad. It is located in a hut in the mango grove outside the village. In December, 1962 it had one teacher, a non-Tharu, and 35 students, all boys belonging to this village. Out of these, 28 students were Tharus and the remaining 7 belonged to non-Tharus, who were sons of the employees of the Forest Department. Recently the Tharu caste *panchayat* decided that a Tharu who will not send his son to the school will have to pay fine to be imposed by the *panchayat*.

Family Structure

Family plays an important role 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. As mentioned earlier, the Tharus have extraordinarily big families.

In this village, out of 49 households, 17 households (35 per cent) were simple, consisting of a husband, wife and unmarried children, 4 households (8 per cent) were intermediate consisting of a married couple, unmarried brothers and sisters and one of the parents, while 27 households (55 per cent) were joint, consisting of a married couple with married son(s)/daughter(s) or with married brothers/sisters. One household consists of the husband only. Out of the 34 Tharu households, 25 households are joint. There is no instance of separation of the son and his family from the main family during the lifetime of the parents.

The relations within the family are generally cordial. In a Tharu household, the word of the head of household is final. It is he who makes the division of work among the family members and allots work to each according to his individual capacity. The work of cultivation is allotted to the strongest and the lighter job of

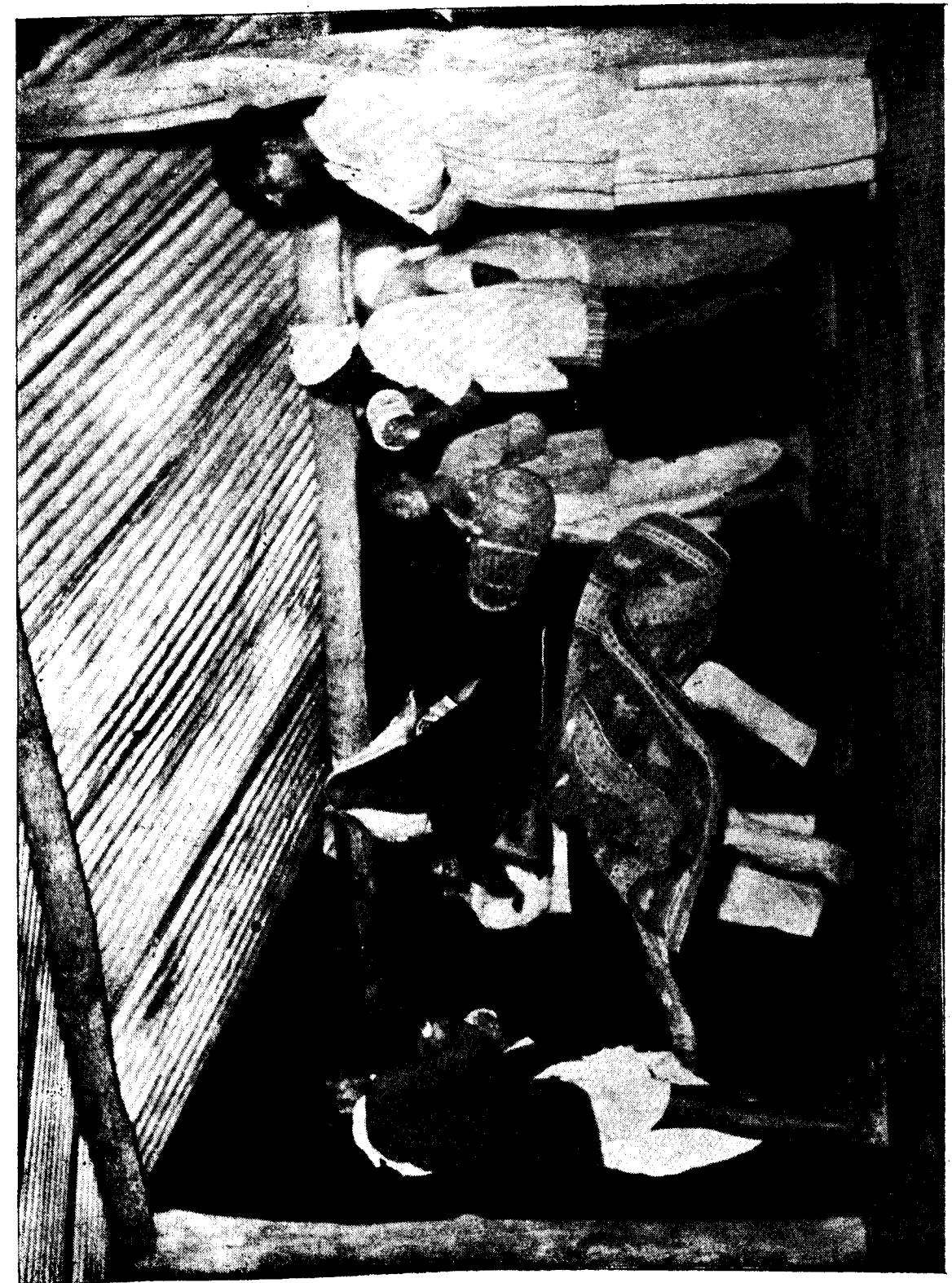


PLATE No. 41

Dancing



Playing a game of cards

grazing the cattle is given to the young boys or old people. The joint family system is quite strong. The arrival of a bride does not ordinarily disrupt the unity of the family. The daughter-in-law is obedient and respectful to the wife of the head of the household. Individualism is not allowed to creep in lest the family might disintegrate. The females in the households maintain harmonious relations among themselves.

There is no *purdah* system among the Tharus. Whenever required, the daughter-in-law can speak 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.

The relations outside the family are usually formal. The relatives who are scattered in distant neighbouring villages meet at ceremonial occasions, community festivals or the caste *panchayats* and also in fairs or markets. The relations of Tharus with the non-Tharus are cordial.

Leisure and Recreation

One radio set for community listening has been provided by the State Directorate of Information. It is installed at the residence of Thakur Puttu Singh and everyone can assemble and listen to the news or other items. Two more radio sets are scheduled to be received here for community listening.

There is also a public library known as *Ram Chandra Pustakalaya* after the name of the adopted son of Thakur Puttu Singh who started it in 1957. It was reported that the library contains about 100 books and one thousand pamphlets, etc., supplied by the Directorate of Information. There is no membership fee or admission fee. Books and pamphlets are issued to persons known to Thakur Puttu Singh. The library also subscribes to *Nav Jeevan*, a Hindi daily, issued from Lucknow and Hindi edition of *Blitz*, a weekly issued from Bombay. Unfortunately, the Tharus cannot take any benefit from this library because they are illiterate. The non-Tharus read the papers and the books regularly.

In 1961, a Football Association was formed by Thakur Puttu Singh with Sri Om Prakash, the local school master, as the organizer of the game. Persons belonging to the Thakur family, the employees of the Forest Department and a few Tharus participate in this game which is played casually only. No membership fee is paid by anyone. A football has been purchased by Thakur Puttu Singh.

Some children play *gulli-danda* and hide and seek. Other means of recreation and amusement are the local festivals when both men and women assemble, sing and dance to the beating of drums. Generally, dancing and singing are preceded by drinking country liquor. Even though males and females dance simultaneously, there is a separate ring for each sex. They perform a sort of duet. The festival of Holi provides an occasion of such recreation for a week or so. They would sometimes indulge in lewd songs and abuses as well. Marriage celebration is yet another occasion for singing, dancing and merriment.

At leisure they also get together in small groups and discuss village affairs and casual scandals. Of late, the conflict between India and China has been a hot topic of every discussion. The radio and the newspaper has kept everyone well informed about the day-to-day developments in the matter. The womenfolk remain busy either in cultivation or in the domestic chores. Casually they also snatch some other time for discussing the village affairs, especially the erotic side of it.

Religious Institutions

There is no temple or mosque within the village. Just adjacent to the south-west corner of the village is situated the shrine (*than*) of goddess Nagarhayi Bhavani. The *than* consists of two clay mounds, bearing the semblance of grace, situated side by side under a spreading *pandariya* tree over an area of 0.10 acres of uncultivated land. This shrine is sacred only to Tharus, there is no place of worship for non-Tharus.

It is specially worshipped at the time of marriage. The evening before its actual per-

formance, the mother of the bride or the groom as the case may be, goes to the *than*, accompanied by other womenfolk of the clan, the village *pradhan* and his wife. On reaching there the *pradhan* winds a yellow thread round the *pandariya* tree, seven times if it is a bridegroom and five times if it is a bride. The goddess is worshipped by offering *poories* and turmeric. *Poories* fried in rape oil are distributed to everyone present. In this way the blessings of the goddess are obtained. The *pradhan* has to be present because as head of the Tharus he represents the community.

This goddess is worshipped also on the occasion of *Asarhi Pooja*, which is an important festival of Tharus, performed in the month of *Asarh* (June-July). All adult males assemble under the *pandariya* tree where a goat, a *pathia* (male young goat), a pig and a sheep, purchased by common subscription of all Tharus in the village, are brought. The sheep and the pig are sacrificed by the *bharra* at the shrine of Bhavani. The exact date of worship and time of sacrifice are fixed by the *bharra*. After sacrifice the heads of the sacrificed animals are taken by the *bharra* and the flesh is distributed among the villagers. The two goats are not actually sacrificed but one is taken away by the *bharra* and the other by the *pradhan* of the village.

Goddess Bhavani is worshipped in the form of goddess Vanaspati and Parvati as well. According to a custom prevailing amongst Tharus, goddess Vanaspati is worshipped in the morning before the date of marriage. The father of the boy or the girl goes to the nearby forest and sacrifices *gur* and *ghee* in fire under a tree, not a single branch of which is dry.

Parvati is the family goddess of Tharus. It is found in every Tharu house except those of Ram Lal, Birchha, Labra, Lalu, Kaidu, Ghomman, Kishna, Dhani and Bammhan, who worship Mahadeo or Burha Baba. Pig cannot be sacrificed and pork cannot be taken in a house where goddess Parvati is worshipped.

Fairs

No fair takes place in the village. The Tharus, however, attend the fair in village Urma in

Nepal on the occasion of Dasehra and another fair at Kailari in Nepal in the months of *Kartik* and *Jyastha*.

Festivals

Festivals play an important part in the social and religious life of the village. They provide occasions not only for merry-making but also for reaffirming the family ties and strengthening the community or village solidarity and expressing ones faith in the Almighty. They keep the culture and the religion of the community alive and active.

The following Hindu festivals are mainly observed by Tharus in the village :

Asarhi

This festival is observed in June/July on a day to be fixed by the *bharra*. The mode of celebrating it has already been described.

Teej

This festival is observed in the month of *Shravana* (July/August). The grown-up females of every household keep a fast on the occasion. In the evening they get together and go to the bank of the Terha Nala for performing *pooja*, praying for the long life of the father and the brother. The fast is broken in the evening after worship. Fried food and special dishes are prepared in the evening. Swings are not used on the occasion as is done in the plains.

Ashtami

This festival is observed on the 8th day of the fortnight of *Bhadrpada* (August/September) to celebrate the birth of Lord Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu, who is believed to have taken birth at midnight. Fast is observed till midnight when *havan* is performed. *Khajuria*, a sort of bread, is prepared and distributed after being mixed with *gur*. No Tharu would drink on the occasion of this festival.

Holi

This festival falls on the 15th day of *Sudi Phagun* (March). Holi pyre is set on fire by the village *pradhan* in the evening. It is not

worshipped nor do women keep a fast on this day. Coloured water is thrown by villagers on each other the next day. They also smear each other's faces with *gula* (powdered colour) and embrace each other with affection. The Tharus drink in plenty on the occasion. They dance and sing, sometimes obscene and lewd songs, water, mud and filth are also thrown by some people. The celebrations continue for 8 days, culminating on this gay day of colour-throwing, merry-making and laughter all round. Special dishes are prepared in all the households.

The Hindus, other than Tharus, living in this village celebrate all the Hindu festivals observed by other Hindus in the plains, the main festivals being Basant Panchami, Holi, Janam Ashtami, Dasehra and Diwali. None of them has started celebrating the festivals observed by the Tharus.

Similarly, the limited number of Mohammedans living in this village perform the usual Muslim festivals such as Idul Fitar, Id-uz-Zuha, Moharrum, etc.

Beliefs and Superstitions

In one form or the other, beliefs and superstitions are so mingled in the life of our countrymen that not to say of the uneducated even the educated persons are firm believers thereof. The Tharus, too, have their own beliefs and superstitions.

While starting on a journey it is considered inauspicious if some one sneezes or a person with empty vessels is met or a cat crosses the way from left to right or a one-eyed person comes across. Meeting a person with filled-up vessels or the sight of a magpie on the right hand or the calf suckling the cow or a washerman carrying dirty clothes for washing are considered auspicious. It is an ill omen if someone inquires the destination of the prospective traveller on the commencement of his journey. 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 effect 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.

The Tharus consider sickness to be due to the curse of some deity and in order to cure the patient an offering of *daru* is made to the deity. Animal sacrifices are also made in serious cases. Sun, moon, cow, serpent and the *peepal* tree are also held in veneration. They believe in *bhoots* (evil spirits).

Village Organisation

The village organisation is an integrated whole and no tension is visible. All the Tharus in this village belong to the same sub-caste. They are not quarrelsome by nature. Disputes are referred to the *pradhan* for decision and if he cannot decide to the *Bhai Bandi Panchayat* of Tharus or ultimately to the Tharu Association, but no matter is referred to the police or the courts. They mix freely with each other, smoke the same *hookah*, eat together, drink together and observe all the community festivals together without any reservation. They share the joys and sorrows of each other.

Inter-caste Relationship

Residents of the village are interdependent in the village economy. The pivot of activity in this village is Thakur Puttu Singh. He is resident of district Sitapur and was once posted as Forester in this village. He resigned and became forest contractor, a cultivator, a shop-keeper, a money-lender, General Secretary of Tharu Association (even though he is not a Tharu), village doctor-cum-chemist, village barrister and President of Bankati Congress Committee. Everyone looks to him for guidance and goes to him for advice. He is in fact the friend, philosopher and guide of the village population. The employees of the Forest Department too keep a close contact with him. There is no occasion for an inter-caste dissension and hence the relations are quite cordial.

Inter-hamlet Relationship

The village has no hamlet. The villages in the neighbourhood visited by the residents of

this village are Sarayya Pata at a distance of one mile to the east of this village and Singhayya at a distance of 2½ miles to the west of this village; all these villages have a predominant population of Rana Tharus. They visit each other at the time of caste *panchayats*, marriages, death and other occasions. Their relations with each other are quite cordial. There has been no occasion for any rift or tension. Inter-village rivalry does not exist. Everyone in this area lives in houses which can catch fire very easily and hence none can afford to have enmity with others. All the land belongs to the Forest Department and hence it is not a bone of contention. Crime is almost unknown.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

There is no *Gaon Panchayat* as *Nyaya Panchayat* because the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act has not been extended to this village. The administration of the village is in the hands of the Forest Department.

Tharus have a strong tribal organisation of their own for dealing with disputes within the community. Manna Tharu is the *pradhan* of Tharu community within the village. He is also responsible for collecting the land revenue from the cultivators in this village and depositing it in the Forest Office. For these services he gets a commission of 6½ per cent. He is assisted by two *bhalamanus* (*bhala*, Hindi for good and *manus*, Hindi for man), Sachcha Tharu and Labra Tharu, both of whom pay rent at the rate of two annas per *bigha* while others pay at the rate of four annas per *bigha*. The *pradhan* also supplies Tharu labour to the Forest Department and the local Tharus derive benefits from the Forest Department through him. Thus the *pradhan* and the *bhalamanus* hold privileged position in the village community. Their posts are ordinarily hereditary but are subject to the approval of the Divisional Forest Officer.

Tharus do not take recourse to courts for settlement of their disputes. Whenever a dispute is referred to the *pradhan*, a meeting of the *panchayat* is held by circulating a message through the *chaukidar* to heads of all the house-

holds. Ordinarily the meeting is held at the residence of the *pradhan* and sometimes at the house of the complainant. Such meetings are generally called in the afternoon. Participants sit together on mats spread on the ground without any distinction of high or low. The *hookah* goes round. The *pradhan* presides over the meeting. In the proceedings every adult male (females are not invited to these meetings) is free to discuss and express his views on the subject but the opinions of the elderly persons are valued and respected more. After hearing the parties and discussing the matter, the final decision is announced by the *pradhan*.

The matters that come up for decisions before the *panchayat* are of the following nature :

- (1) Abduction, rape and adultery,
- (2) Trespass by men or cattle in the fields,
- (3) Theft cases,
- (4) Other petty disputes,
- (5) Undue harassment by the Forest Department, and
- (6) Matters concerning the welfare of the village community such as eradication of social evils and bad habits and limiting expenditure on marriages and drinks.

In cases of abduction, rape and adultery the guilty person is ordered to give a feast with liquor to the clansmen. In other cases the guilty is made to compensate for the loss caused to the complainant. Disputes among Tharus are frequent but they are of a petty nature and are invariably settled by the caste *panchayat*.

Ram Lal Tharu began living with the widow of Ghamman Tharu as her husband with the consent of the *panchayat*. After some time they quarrelled and Ram Lal deserted her. He was summoned by the *panchayat*, fined Rs.10 and restored to his wife.

Similarly, Mela Ram Tharu gave a beating to the wife of his brother Ganga Ram over a petty dispute. Consequently, the two brothers quarrelled and separated. The *panchayat* imposed a fine of Rs.5 on Mela Ram and ordered

the two brothers to get united again. They have been living jointly ever afterwards.

Cases which are not decided by the village *panchayat*, generally those involving two or more villages, are referred to the *Bhai Bandi* (Tribal) *panchayat*, which covers the following villages :

(1) Villages Kiratpur, Bangawan, Kajaria, Singahiya, Bankati, Saraiyapata, Sunda and Beriha of Bankati Forest Range. Tharus and non-Tharus both live in villages Sunda, Beriha and Bankati but in other villages only Rana Tharus live.

(2) Villages Bhoora, Pipraula, Bajahi, Chheddia East, Chheddia West, Dhakia, Najhola, Masan Khambhi, Deorahi, Jainagar, Saunaha, Bharari Dhyampur and Surma of Dudhwa Forest Range — all inhabited by Rana Tharus.

(3) Villages Gohraula, Purania, Mangalpurwa, Chandan Chowki, Bichpalia, Ram Nagar (Chamrahiya), Beldari, Barera, Pachperi, Barhata, Persia and Poyan of Sonaripur Forest Range. Only village Bichpalia has a mixed population of both Tharus and non-Tharus.

At present Mulha *pradhan* resident of village Chheddia of Dudhwa Forest Range is the *sarpanch* of the *panchayat*. Every village is represented by a *panch*. Whenever inter-village disputes arise, this *panchayat* takes action for settlement. It was reported that the wife of Bansi Tharu of this village eloped with the son of the *pradhan* of village Pachperi. A *panchayat* meeting was summoned. It was presided over by the *sarpanch* and attended by the *panches* of villages Bankati and Pachperi. She refused to return to her husband. The *pradhan* of Pachperi was, therefore, made to pay Rs.200 as compensation to Bansi.

Another organisation of Tharus is the Tharu Association which was founded in 1957 at the

initiative of Thakur Karan Singh of village Jhandi, who was then the Member of Legislative Assembly from this locality. The aims and objects of the Association are as follows :

- (1) Development of Tharu community socially, economically and politically.
- (2) Decision of cases which could not be decided by the village *panchayat* or the Tribal *panchayat*.
- (3) Removal of the difficulties and enlightenment of Tharu community.
- (4) Safeguarding Tharus from harassment by the officials of the Forest Department.

The first President of the Association was Thakur Puttu Singh of this village. The last elections took place on November 6, 1962. Thakur Karan Singh of village Jhandi was elected as the President, Thakur Puttu Singh of this village as the General Secretary and his adopted son Ram Chandra Singh as the Treasurer. The other office bearers and members are all Tharus. The headquarters is at Bankati. The Association has 411 members who reside in the villages of Bankati, Dudhwa and Sonaripur Forest Ranges. The term of the office-bearers is only one year.

Sri Raja Ram, *pradhan* of village Persia, was removed from his post as *pradhan* by the Forest Range Officer. The Association has taken up the matter with the Divisional Forest Officer. Similarly, the *pradhan* of village Purania was removed by the Forest Range Officer, Sonaripur. The Association made a representation to the Divisional Forest Officer who cancelled the order of removal.

The Association has also set up the National Defence Organisation and collection of funds has been going on.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Traditionally the Indian village enjoys the reputation of being static, dogmatically clinging to the old order. This applied with greater force to an isolated forest settlement like Bankati which is situated near the border of Nepal. Outside influences are naturally slow to penetrate this far-off habitation and hence it is expected that the life of this village is likely to change only at a very slow pace.

Tharus are a simple, honest and hard working people with comparative immunity against the adverse effects of the malarial climate of the area inhabited by them. They are uneducated and illiterate and the world of their knowledge and activity is generally confined to their own village and a few villages more which have to be casually visited by them. They come in contact with people of Nepal where they go quite often either for visiting fairs or meeting other Rana Tharus. These contacts, however, cannot bring about a change in their outlook on life and the way of their living. They cannot seek employment outside because under the terms of settlement they are meant for providing labour in connection with the exploitation or improvement of the forest area. They cannot sell their produce to anyone other than the two dealers who hold a licence from the Forest Department. It is not necessary that the prices offered by the two licencees should be profitable. Similarly, they cannot borrow money from any one other than these dealers who are also the licensed money-lenders. Thakur Puttu Singh naturally holds a great influence on them because in times of need they look up to him as friend, philosopher and guide. The sphere of their activities is also restricted by the attitude of the local officials of the Forest Department. It is only these officials and Thakur Puttu Singh who influence the life of these people in various ways.

The U. P. Panchayat Raj Act has not been extended to this village and hence there is no *Gaon Sabha* or a *Nyaya Panchayat* for them. The Tribal *Panchayat* and the Tharu Association are the main agencies for settling their day-to-day disputes. They have not had the facilities which are provided by the Planning and Development Department. There is no Co-operative Society for channelising their economic activities on mutual help basis. Some households have no doubt introduced improved types of ploughs and harrows for cultivation but the methods of cultivation have remained unchanged. The Japanese method of paddy cultivation is unknown to them; they are totally ignorant of the *Kharif* and the *Rabi* Campaigns undertaken by the Planning Department for raising agricultural production; chemical fertilizers are not used by them and they stick to the traditional compost manure; there is no seed store for supplying improved varieties of seed to them and hence they have to use whatever seed is available to them locally. Under these conditions it cannot be expected that they would advance on the economic front. That is why most of these households are in debt.

Perhaps the only facility provided to them is the community listening radio-set. Being illiterate, they cannot read newspaper. Whatever they learn is either through the radio or by listening to what is being discussed by the Forest officials or Thakur Puttu Singh or by the village school master. They do not have any political consciousness. Even the three Assembly and Parliament elections have not been able to bring about any political awakening among them, obviously because they are uneducated. Only last year they seem to have realised the virtues of education because their Tribal *panchayat* has passed a resolution that anyone who does not send to school his children of school-going age would be severely dealt with.

As a result of this decision the number of Tharu children going to the village school has increased abruptly.

In the social and religious spheres Tharus have not changed much. An indication of their conservative attitude is evident from the fact that the wives still treat themselves superior to their husbands who are generally henpecked and docile, submitting meekly to the will of their wives, following the old tradition according to which these womenfolk were the wives of Rajput warriors and the menfolk were their palanquin-bearers. The birth customs, the

death customs and the marriage customs have registered almost no change with the passage of time.

Tharus are content with their lot, probably because they are not aware of something better or because they feel that there is no way out. They get their necessities of life, and for the comforts and luxuries provided by modern civilization they have no ambition. Perhaps the Tharu Association of which the president and the secretary are non-Tharus might in course of time do something substantial for the emancipation of these people.

TABLES

TABLE I

Area, Houses and Population

Area in		Density	Number of Houses	Number of Households	Population		
Acres	Hectares				Persons	Males	Females
706	245	446 persons per sq. mile	86	49	492	253	239

TABLE 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
492	253	239	43	50	43	37	25	29	15	16	24	16	25	26	17	13	23	23	24	18	14	11

TABLE III

Size and Composition of Households

Total no. of Households	Size of Households														
	Single member			2—3 members			4—6 members			7—9 members			10 members & 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
49	5	5	..	9	15	10	9	23	24	6	25	24	20	185	181

TABLE IV

Caste and Nature of Families

Caste	Total Number of House-holds	Simple	Inter-mediate	Joint	Others
Ahir	1	1	..	..	..
Brahmin	2	2	..	..	..
Kayastha	1	1	..	..	..
Lohar	1	1	..	..	..
Mali	1	1	..	..	..
Mehtar	1	..	1	..	..
Pasi	1	1	..	..	..
Pathan	2	1	..	1	..
Sheikh	1	..	..	..	1
Saiyad	3	2	..	1	..
Thakur	34	6	3	25	..
Tharu	..	..	..	..	..

N. B.—Simple family consists of married couple and unmarried children.

Intermediate family consists of married couple and unmarried brothers, sisters or one of the parents.

Joint family consists of married couple living or with married children or married brothers.

Others refers to single members or unmarried brothers and sisters or one parent living with unmarried sons or daughters.

TABLE V

Households classified by Religions, Castes and Sub-castes

Religion	Caste	Sub-caste	Population			Number of House-holds
			Persons	Males	Females	
Hindu	Brahmin	Tewari	5	3	2	1
		Chaubey	2	2	..	1
	Kshatriya	Ahban	23	13	10	2
		Rawat	1	1	..	1
	Ahir	Gowal	1	1	..	1
		Mali	1	1	..	1
	Tharu	Rana	426	212	214	34
		Lohar	3	2	1	1
	Pasi	Mehtar	6	4	2	1
		Balmiki	6	3	3	1
	Kayastha	Jauhri	2	1	1	1
		Saiyad	1	1	..	1
Muslim	Sunni	Pathan	3	2	1	1
		Sheikh	12	7	5	2

TABLE VI

Age and Marital Status

Age Groups	Total Population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	492	253	239	109	105	132	117	11	17	1	..
0—4	93	43	50	42	49	1	1	..	..	..	..
5—9	80	43	37	39	36	4	1	..	..	..	..
10—14	54	25	29	17	20	8	9	..	..	..	..
15—19	31	15	16	7	..	8	16	..	..	..	..
20—24	40	24	16	3	..	21	16	..	..	..	..
25—29	51	25	26	..	..	22	24	3	2	..	..
30—34	30	17	13	..	..	17	13	..	..	..	..
35—39	21	11	10	..	..	11	9	..	1	..	..
40—44	25	12	13	..	..	11	13	..	..	1	..
45—49	18	13	5	..	..	11	3	2	2	..	..
50—54	11	8	3	..	..	5	1	3	2	..	..
55—59	13	3	10	1	..	2	9	..	1	..	..
60 and over	25	14	11	..	..	11	2	3	9	..	..

TABLE VII

Education

Age Group	Total Population			Illiterate			Literate without educational Standard			Primary or Basic			Matric or High School			Intermediate		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All ages	492	253	239	471	237	234	8	4	4	7	6	1	5	5	..	1	1	..
0—4	93	43	50	93	43	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5—9	80	43	37	75	40	35	4	2	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10—14	54	25	29	53	24	29	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—19	31	15	16	40	14	16	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20—24	40	24	16	38	23	15	1	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
25—29	51	25	26	47	22	25	2	1	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30—34	30	17	13	29	16	13	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35—39	21	11	10	18	9	9	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	1	1	..
40—44	25	12	13	25	12	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45—49	18	13	5	15	10	5	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..
50—54	11	8	3	11	8	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55—59	13	3	10	12	2	10	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 and over	25	14	11	25	14	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE VIII

Workers and Non-workers by Sex and Broad Age Groups

Age Groups	Total Population			Workers			Non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	492	253	239	277	153	124	215	100	115
0—14	227	111	116	37	15	22	190	96	94
15—34	152	81	71	145	81	64	7	..	7
35—59	88	47	41	83	47	36	5	..	5
60 and over	25	14	11	12	10	2	13	4	9

TABLE IX

Workers classified by Sex, Broad Age Groups and Occupation

Age Groups	Cultivation			Agriculture labour			Service			Trade			Blacksmith			Cattle grazing		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All ages	240	121	119	15	11	4	11	10	1	2	2	..	1	1	..	8	8	..
0—14	33	11	22	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..
15—34	129	67	62	7	6	1	6	5	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	2	..
35—59	68	35	33	6	3	3	5	5	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	2	2	..
60 and over	10	8	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..

TABLE X

Households by Number of Rooms and by Number of Persons occupying

Total number of households	Total number of rooms	Total number of family members	Households with no regular room	Households with one room	Households with two rooms	Households with three rooms	Households with four rooms	Households with five rooms	Households with five rooms and more							
			Number of households	Number of family members	Number of households	Number of family members	Number of households	Number of family members	Number of households	Number of family members	Number of households	Number of family members				
49	136	492	2	9	15	50	10	68	7	66	7	107	4	92	4	100

TABLE XI

Livestock

Caste	Milk cattle		Draught bull		Goats and sheep		Pig		Duck and geese		Fowl	
	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.
Brahmin	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kayastha	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	15
Mehtar	1	1	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pasi	..	..	..	..	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	..
Pathan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
Sheikh	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	2
Saiyad	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Thakur	1	3	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
Tharu	34	160	34	252	20	146	..	..	10	28	31	342

Caste	Dry cows		Dry buffaloes		Horse	
	Number of household owning	Total no.	Number of household owning	Total no.	Number of household owning	Total no.
Brahmin	1	1	1	1	..	..
Kayastha	1	1	..	..	1	1
Mehtar	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pasi	1	4	..	..	..	..
Pathan	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sheikh	..	..	..	..	..	..
Saiyad	..	..	..	..	..	..
Thakur	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tharus	34	166	32	206	..	..

TABLE XII

Agricultural Produce of Cultivation run by the Households and its Disposal

(In Mds.)

Name of products	Paddy	Wheat	Maize, Jowar, Bajra	Pulses	Barley	Vegetables	Fodder	Oil-seeds
(1) Annual quantity produced	5,270	48.45	90.25	218.50	19.45	337.00	4,490.00	215.00
(2) Total annual quantity consumed by the producing households.	2,214	41.12	90.25	218.50	19.45	337.00	4,490.00	185.00
(3) Total annual quantity available for sale.	3,056	7.33	..	..	..	..	..	30.00

TABLE XIII

Indebtedness by Income Groups

Income Groups (Rupees)	Indebtedness by Income Groups			
	Total number of households	Number of households in debt	Percentage of col. 3 to 2	Average indebtedness per household in debt
20 and below	..	..	..	..
21—30	..	..	..	..
31—40	..	..	..	..
41—60	8	3	37.50	200.00
61—80	6	3	50.00	320.00
81—100	11	11	100.00	517.27
101 and above	24	15	62.50	701.20

TABLE XIV

Indebtedness by Causes

Cause	Indebtedness by Cause of Debt		
	Amount of debt Rs.	Number of families in debt	Percentage of debt due to the total amount of debt
(a) Purchase of land	..	..	..
(b) House construction or repairs to existing building	35	1	0.23
(c) Marriages	6,170	15	41.11
(d) Funerals	590	4	4.00
(e) To give dowry	..	..	..
(f) To clear outstanding debts	500	1	3.38
(g) Sickness	425	4	2.47
(h) Ordinary wants	1,425	7	9.49
(i) Household cultivation	5,860	20	39.32
(j) Industry run by the household	..	..	..
(k) Business run by the household	..	..	..

LIST OF VILLAGES SELECTED FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

District	Tahsil	Village
1. Uttarkashi	Dunda	Birpur
2. Pithoragarh	Munsiari	Ghorpatta Malla Darkot
3. Pilibhit	Bisalpur	Daulatpur Hira
4. Garhwal	Pauri	Thapli
5. Almora	Ranikhet	Bijepur
6. Bijnor	Bijnor	Rafiulnagar <i>urf</i> Raoli Mughalpura
7. Budaun	Bisuali Budaun	Mirzapur Behta Kachla Pukhta
8. Bareilly	Nawabganj	Adhkata Rabbani Begam Barkhan
9. Dehra Dun	Chakrata	Dhaura Chapnu Sareri
10. Saharanpur	Deoband	Sadharansar Bilaspur
11. Aligarh	Atrauli	Barauli
12. Mathura	Sadabad	Nagla Beru
13. Agra	Kheragarh Etunadpur Bah	Beri Chahar Chawli Pidhaura
14. Etah	Jalesar	Baghai
15. Etawah	Etawah Auraiya	Udi Ayana
16. Kanpur	Kanpur	Ishuriganj
17. Allahabad	Soraon	Sarai Kesho <i>urf</i> Bagi Kalyanpur
	Phulpur	Bhadkar Uparhar
18. Hamirpur	Rath	Qasba Khara

LIST OF VILLAGES

District	Tahsil	Village
19. Banda	Naraini	Akbarpur
20. Kheri	Nighasan	Belapursua Bankati Lodhauri Rakehti Kanduni
21. Sitapur	Biswan	Suganagar Domri
22. Gonda	Balrampur	Rajderwa Tharu
23. Bara Banki	Nawabganj	Gadia Dadra
24. Sultanpur	Sultanpur	Barasin
25. Azamgarh	Phulpur	Sumba Dih Surhan Pakri Buzurg
	Ghosi	Para
26. Ghazipur	Ghazipur	Lohta Mehndiganj
27. Varanasi	Varanasi	Mitapur Gidhia Parsoi
28. Mirzapur	Robertsganj	

