

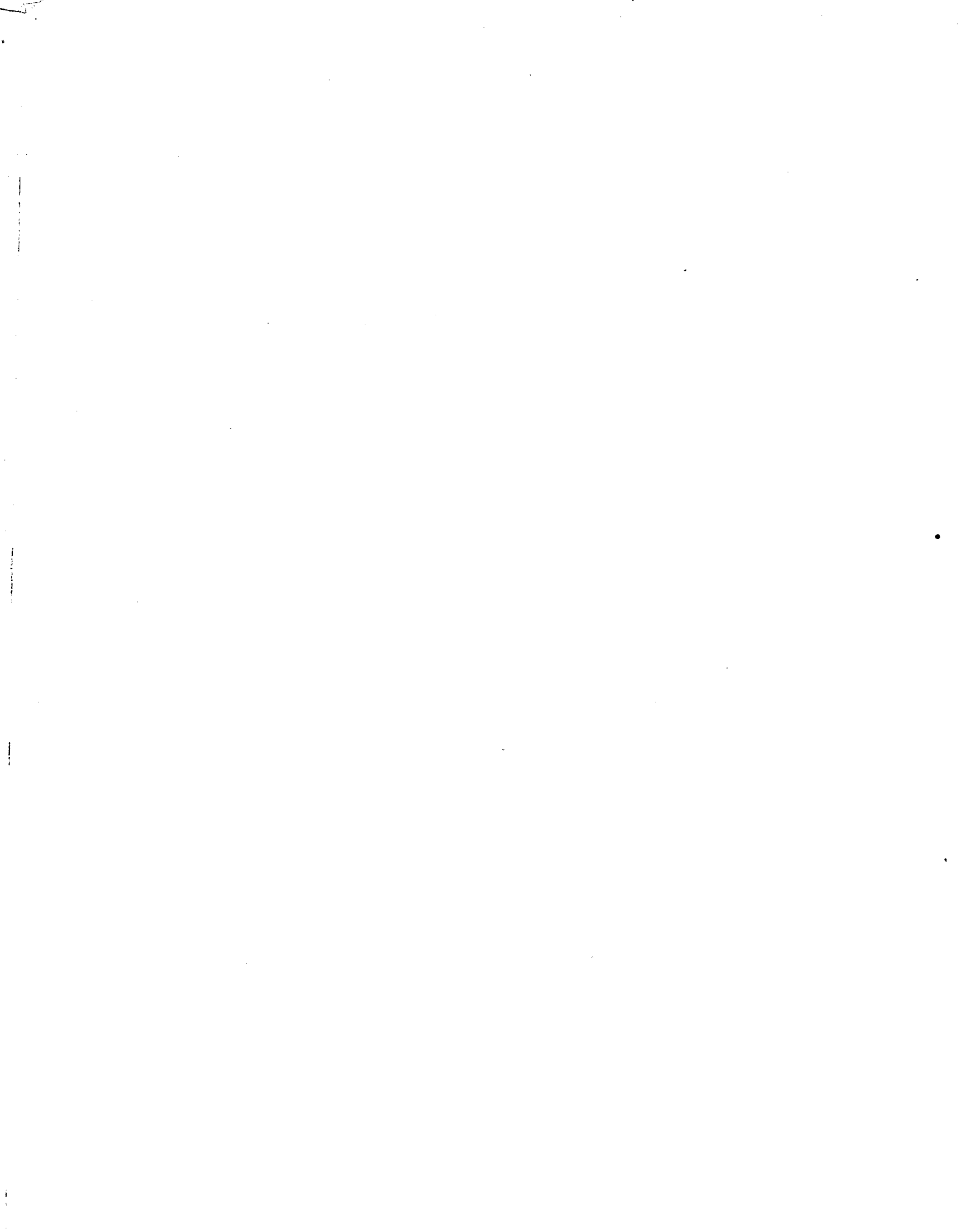
VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH ON
BHUMIJ DHAN SOL

Investigation & First Draft
GOUR CHANDRA BAGCHI

Editing & Final Draft
SUKUMAR SINHA



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Investigation, Tabulation & First Draft

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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 under-pinning 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 presentations 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 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 immoveable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical under-pinning to conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operation, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done ; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from

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

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

New Delhi
July 30, 1964.

ASOK MITRA
Registrar General, India.

A Passage To Bhumij Dhan Sol, *Tout Ensemble*

"I began to doubt how far the normal idea of progress was beneficial for these people and, indeed, whether this was progress at all in any real sense of the word. It was true that they could not be left cut off from the world as they were. Political and economic forces impinged upon them and it was not possible or desirable to isolate them. Equally undesirable, it seemed to me, was to allow these forces to function freely and upset their whole life and culture, which had so much of good in them....."

We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. In the world of today that is not possible or desirable. At the same time we should avoid over-administering these areas and, in particular, sending too many outsiders into tribal territory.

It is between these two extreme positions that we have to function. Development in various ways there has to be, such as communications, medical facilities, education and better agriculture."

—Jawaharlal Nehru

The first bus to Lalgah was missed. Passengers, bound for different other routes, waiting at the bus-stand in Midnapur town, pitied me for my predicament. They all chuckled at the impending plight, in which, they fancied, I might be landed the same day. The weather had fallen sharp and a flighty piping wind beat about the town. The people in the bus-stop did not commiserate with me for the possible inconveniences, that might be caused by the flying, rumbling clouds, a black speck like a swallow in the tumultuous, leaden chaos of the brazen sky of June; they were more

worried for the lurking, unknown dangers, I might be faced with, on my arrival at night in a village of alleged hardened criminals. My feeling was indeed eerie and I could pluck up my courage only with some efforts on the eve of my passage to Bhumij Dhan Sol.

The second bus, rather the last bus to be more exact, was a ramshackle with passengers and cargo loaded alike, the former packed up like sardines and the latter laden to the breaking point of the roof atop and the floor of the deck inside. The journey was novel, a little strenuous though for the nerves. Jolting, all along, the bus moved slowly along a *kutch*a road, promises of its being *pucca* being attested by the assurances of the fellow-passengers and also by the stone-chips, heaped up for long by the way. Pools of water accumulated on the route during the shower earlier the same afternoon and in such an eventuality it was a usual practice for the people to negotiate the road on foot, while the bus wended through a diversion-route across an agricultural field for a stretch of some hundred yards or so. Bhumij Dhan Sol was far, very far, not because of its situation at a distance of a little above twenty two miles from Midnapur town, but because of bad communication and inadequate number of transport. In all, two buses plied up and down the route daily and one could at best make two trips both ways the same day, but not more. The villagers of Bhumij Dhan Sol, therefore, lived away from the events at the terminal point of the route, Midnapur town, the district headquarters.

The journey ended in the small hours of the evening. Bhumij Dhan Sol stood there rain-washed, with sleepy huts and a thick, sprawling forest in sight and with yawning villagers about to retire. All on a sudden, I heard a human voice, as if it blared from a radio-set. The uncanny feeling, after I had heard the unseen voice, sent a shiver down my spine. I took it for an illusion or a witchcraft, cryptic stories of which I had gloated over, with carefully concealed raptness, from some of the rurbanised passengers. But, I could shake off the illusion, soon after I was escorted by Sri Bagchi, the Investigator, into the guest-room of *Samaj Sevak Sangha*, a voluntary welfare organisation, where a radio-set was then sending forth a full throated popular Bengali song. I sensed that I was in a different realm, where I discovered some people in the same room, assembled there not to welcome me, but to listen to the broadcasting of a few lilting songs, without understanding either their meaning or their language. The communicability of Bhumij Dhan Sol was not altogether absent. The people were aware of a larger world around, though not fully aware of what it exactly was or how it exactly looked like.

In the quiet, dark night of Bhumij Dhan Sol the hurricane-lantern flickered in the unspacious room of *Samaj Sevak Sangha*, where on a *charpoy* we were seated. Charan Singh with a robust body and a straight carriage scrutinised my face and asked me if I had met his son Ganesh. Charan Singh was the Bhumij leader of the village and the elected *Adhyaksha* of the statutory *Gram Panchayat*. Ganesh, an unassuming youth within his teens, who stood nearby unnoticed, was a student of Class X in a school at Bhimpur, where he used to go on a bicycle. The bicycle and its owner both held a unique position in the village, for none had this conveyance or any son reading in Class X. Bhumij Dhan Sol was a village of people, not acquainted with the three R's. Ganesh typified the widening of the expanding horizon and represented the dormant aspirations of his parents. Charan Singh reopened the talk saying, "Why should we live like tribals? Can't my son be equal to a *Babu* of Midnapur town, working in any office, say in the Collectorate, and get dressed in trouser and shirt?" Ganesh, dressed in 'trouser and shirt', stood there opposite to his father, clad in a *dhoti* of short length, with the upper part of the body remaining bare. I volleyed back a rhetoric question at Charan Singh, "Why not? But, why are you shy of your way of life and why do you object to the word, *tribal*? The Lodhas don't say that they aren't tribals. Do they?" Charan Singh straightened himself up, brought out several *chuttis* (country-cigarettes), gave me one and himself lit one. He puffed out some smoke and replied in a buoyant voice, "We don't love to live like the Lodhas. They are all primitive people. We don't like those stinking criminals. Will you yourself like them eating tubers and toads? We take tubers, but surely not toads."

The Bhumij had come to the village earlier than the Lodhas and took some of the catables, as found their place in the Lodha menu. But still, the Bhumij aspired to qualify in the higher echelon of the socio-economic structure of the village, where they were landed cultivators. I could not quite follow what a tuber was or how it tasted. At dinner tuber was an item of our food. I looked askance at Sri Bagchi and asked him, "Where did you first taste it? Aren't you town-bred? If so, do you relish it?" "It is the forest and the people around, that made me change my food-habit," came the cogent answer from Sri Bagchi. No statement could be more explanatory of the material life of the people than the answer itself. It was the same forests that made the Bhumij take to tubers, if not to toads.

The rambles next morning brought me face to face with some playful Lodha children, mostly nature-clad. I could have ascribed the absence of a clothing

to poverty, had I not seen all the Lodha children similarly without clothes. But, therein did not lie the full answer. The Lodha huts looked desolate and forlorn. The Lodha grown-ups were out to earn their daily bread early in the morning. So, I waited till evening to accost one or two of them. But, what an experience I had had, when I tried to do so! The males were mostly boozy then.

A little late in the afternoon the village awakened, as if from the sleep of *Rip Van Winkle*. Noisy quarrels of women in shrill voices, cries of babies and incoherent words of some intoxicated men drew me to the Lodha Colony. I sauntered to reach the place, to be eyed by curious people from a distance. As I reached the heart of their locality, I was greeted by the icy look of no concern of a few Lodha villagers. Mothers clutching their sickly babies hurried indoors and fowls cackling with fright scurried to safety. Only a handful of amused children with their lips and cheeks very pale and wan, and a small group of bemused youths remained there to scan me from head to foot, if I looked like an ogre. I did not allow the distance to disturb me in the least, nor frigid silence was continued long to keep the people remain at a distance. I accosted one or two more familiar-looking men first and asked them where they had gone that day to work and how much they had earned by their labour. A few rupees and some odd *paise* were the average income of most of the households, the members of which offered a violent contrast in appearance and dress to the Bhumij and the Mahatos, the other two communities of the village, whom I could meet earlier at noon. The effects of incomplete diet and chronic malnutrition were furrowed on the body of the tired workers. They seemed to suffer from quantitative hunger—lack of energy to cover the needs of living and working. Yet, they worked and the deficiency in food-requirements was supposedly made up by the country liquor, sold freely in a shop in the neighbourhood against payment in cash from the hard earned daily wage or for bondage of eternal indebtedness to the shopkeeper.

During my leisurely walk in the Lodha Colony I came across a trader measuring the skin of an iguana, just flayed. A Lodha had sold it for a price, fantastically low, when compared to the equitable price prevailing in towns or elsewhere. The trader looked at me with the dubious smile of a beguiler, who had successfully played his tricks on some simple people; the smile was one of triumphant exploitation over a group of people, whose simplicity was parabolic, but economically suicidal.

I returned to my Camp and mused on the village, the socio economic study of

which was ready for drafting. It was a village with the same old story, which little differed from another ; yet it had a singularity of its own, an aroma of a different order. Bhumij Dhan Sol remained a village of simple tribals, whose poverty and disease, love and happiness ruled with equal strength as their anxiety about their land, their crops, their lonesome forests and their absorbing hunts ; their hacking worries about their next meal were as disquieting as the crawling agony of their rolling thought about the problems of their living ; their optimism to exist was as dominant as their *tour de force* to resist grinding poverty, out for their gradual effacement.

II

Bhumij Dhan Sol is really an old village, where the Bhumij have their human and property rights, held aloft and maintained intact, as because they are the first settlers. Their ego is unmistakably written on their attitude, revealed only during a probe into their history or into the past of their village. The name of the village itself suggests that the human habitations that came in the wake of the settlement of a group of agricultural labourers here in the midst of jungles were theirs some hundred years ago. Their association with the village was given an indelible seal of permanence by appending the name of the village to that of their community. The name Bhumij means 'one born of the soil' and the interpretation holds good here with as much logic as elsewhere. But, the Bhumij cling to their belief that the village is theirs and it is difficult to unhinge them from this popular belief. When none but the Zemindars of Lalgarh and Ramgarh settled them as tenants in this hitherto unnamed and unmanned territory, how otherwise could they nurse their belief that they were not the autochthons of the area ? History and tradition, myth and legend also tell the same tale. So, they stayed in the village in possession of the agricultural land, not too fertile to meet their needs, yet not unyielding to their ceaseless toil to bear and grow the crops, they raised. The labour, they infused into the land, made them landed too, an aristocrat among the landless tribals of the region.

Plots of land of varying sizes, that they had acquired in course of time, anchored them further to the village-soil, accentuated their urge to fall in line with the cultural currents of the region and heightened their desire to gradually shear off their tribal characteristics in stages, after adopting some of the Hindu beliefs and practices. They were the sole monarch of the village, their

tutelage on paper to the Zemindars virtually not affecting their *de facto* position. Seasoned cultivators as they had become, their pride had also the prop of the tradition of their mythological origin, which dates them back to the age of the *Mahabharata*. Their martial prowess of hoary fame, quite becoming of the soldiers from which the Bhumij traced their lineage, melted away but had not evaporated altogether. It mellowed into the tenacious zeal and never-ending energy of an agrarian worker, determined to tame the barren land to be bounteous in its fruits. This enviable position of satiety was then not open to any forces of change or opposition from any co-sharer. Needs of life having been limited and few, the Bhumij had built their own world in Bhumij Dhan Sol.

The *deus ex machina* entrance of the Lodhas at a later stage in the village-scene was viewed by the Bhumij with their usual tribal circumspection, though the former had not appeared in the arena to wrest land from the Bhumij owners or to partake of the fruits of the Bhumij labour. The Lodhas, haunted although by the spectre of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871, could not banish from their mind the tremulous shame of criminality even in their newly found habitat. Tribals as they were, they had neither any desire nor any motivation to upgrade their status by connecting traditions of their origin with eloquent lores of yore, with gorgeous royalty of the past or with glorious pageantry of the *Puranas*. Their scorn of the Brahmans, bred of the unhealing wound in their heart because of the alleged theft of their godhead *Jagannath* by those, who placed themselves at the apex of the Hindu society, was hard to go. They were looked upon as forest-tribals, who in the village were silently stripping the green forests of the well-grown branches at the paid call by the timber merchants from the towns, till all was bare. The sylvan haven, out of which they had emerged, having gone, the Lodhas were homeless, even though they had huts in the village to live in.

They became immobile in all respects, economically and socially. Occupationally unsettled, they were all along chased by the bogle of criminal imputation, even when most of them were innocent. One or two delinquents might have been lured by the temptation of easy virtue to feed their hungry wives and children on the spoils of petty pilferage. But, this lapse was not a characteristic of the whole community; rather it was adventitious. Viewed in this historical perspective, the gradual passage of the tribe into a morass of an alleged moral dissolution gains a plausible explanation. The Lodhas, who might have been involved in rebellions in the 19th century, were, according to some anthropologists, victimised by the operation of a political vendetta of

British administrators, who notified them as Criminal Tribes, thus forcing many of them to crime. Whatever the historical explanation of their criminality, the Lodhas were brought to an ignoble position of helpless wanderers of forest-tribes, against whom the stringent forest-laws were applied with rigour and on whom the chariot of injustice, in the name of justice, rolled heavily. In Bhumij Dhan Sol the Lodhas were in a predicament likewise, without land, without home, without occupation, but saddled with the responsibility of many mouths to feed and many members to look after. A frantic search for shelter resulted in the emigration of one or two adventurous youths to distant districts like Jessore ; but the majority stayed on, as they considered this bid futile. Though they were nonplussed, this climacteric of their perplexed helplessness and starvation was resolved by their struggle to rise on top of the problem.

Human labour, abundantly available among them, was their only resource, they could capitalise by mortgage, sale or hire, to prevent a debacle. So, they set out daily all around, with their central refuge pitched up at Bhumij Dhan Sol. Their labour was incredibly cheap ; they were forced to undersell their labour to withstand the stiff competition from other agricultural labourers. A paltry wage was enough for them to make both ends meet. Forests, that still remained at the threshold of the village, supplied them most items of their traditional food, which they obviously sneaked or poached to avoid the long hands of the forest laws. Their other wants were few, much fewer than those of the Bhumij. In the scale of socio-economic standards the Lodhas ranked far below.

This new chapter in the story of their struggle against odds saved them from a crisis, but their life did not turn over a new leaf. Spring was yet too far and they still bled on the thorns of life in their primeval efforts and primitive ways to survive. The experience gained them the bread of adversity and they specialised in agricultural work. But, being landless, they could not attain the status of a cultivator. They lived in the village in traditional huts of their own, ate indigenous roots, tubers and animal meat of the hunted games, whipped up their waning energy with a bout of country-liquor, relaxed themselves sometimes in their festive songs and dance, enwrapped themselves in their own beliefs about diseases and death, gods and religion and coexisted with innumerable elphs and goblins of the other world in their cocooned life at Bhumij Dhan Sol. Apparently settled, at least physically, the Lodhas lived in isolation, hermetically sealed against any other current of life in the village. This way of life had been breeding mistrust and suspicion against them without anybody's knowledge. The repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1952

little changed the outlook of others, who had bad blood against the Lodhas. In 1961 the outlet was found by the Bhumij and the Mahatos in a flimsy pretext to give vent to their discontent. The settled Lodhas were again unsettled, when their life and property fell an easy prey to organised arson and vandalism. Now, the attention of the outside world was focussed on the tiny village, where philanthropists and administrators, sociologists and social workers rushed to take a serious view of an utterly neglected community.

Lodha Rehabilitation Scheme, as conceived by *Samaj Sevak Sangha*, and blessed by the Government of West Bengal, is a reflection of the anthropologists' anxiety for the Lodhas, the settlement of whom was not easy to effect with only charitable dispensation of money and mercy. The Lodhas were placed under the caressing care of social workers and the watchful look of specialists. Huts were built anew and allocated to the families, livestock distributed for rearing and land purchased for distribution. The Lodhas had by then somewhat recovered from the shock. But, the picture of their life did not alter much. If it did not change, it was not the fault of the agency, which executed the scheme or of the Government, which sanctioned it. The malady is deep-rooted and the socio-economic malaise is the outcome of several forces, seen and unseen.

The historical force, which placed a weighty load of criminal stigma on the Lodhas, was the manoeuvre of the British suzerains, who were out in their bid to smother any attempt to organise political or military functions. The blow of the Chuar Rebellion of 1799, Bhumij Rebellion of 1832 and the Santal Rebellion of 1855 scared the representatives of the British Crown in India of the "terrible indigenes" of the *Jungle Mahals*. The pathogenic fear of the British administration about the tribals in the *Jungle Mahals* at the close of the 18th Century may be evident from the Fifth Report (*Madras Reprint, 1883, pp. 767-68*), "*Within the district of Midnapur there existed a considerable extent of forest country, called the Jungle Mahals; the inhabitants of these wilds are little better than savages, and their only principle of obedience seems to be their devotion to the native chiefs..... They sided with the discarded zamindars, condemned the authority of the police officers, and were frequently guilty of great disorders.*" Like burnt child the British started dreading the fire, even when the situation did not warrant the heartless, cruel measures, in the trail of which was clamped down the Criminal Tribes Act on the alleged trouble-makers of tribal origin. In spite of all apologia for the policy which actually "helped to breed increasing dissatisfaction" and to beat "down weak subjects to their knees" and force "down their throats a dose of revenue which they

would not take except under force and compulsion," the repression became a patent feature of the apparent administrative reform. Mr. Stephen eloquently moved the Criminal Tribes Bill on the 12th October, 1871, at Simla in the Council of Governor General of India, presided over by the-then Viceroy Lord Mayo and attended by the-then C-in-C, Sir Richard Temple, Messrs. B. H. Ellis, R. E. Egerton, J. Strachey, F. R. Cockerell, Major-General H. W. Norman, and Maharaja of Jaypur. Even during the discussion Mr. Stephen admitted that "in any measure of this sort, it was difficult not to confound the innocent with the guilty and to avoid entrusting the unfit depositaries of power the means of exercising oppression". Their objectives get all the more gruesome meaning, when one examines the proceedings further and finds the Commander-in-Chief expressing satisfaction about a measure, which "though apparently one of executive severity" "was really calculated to be of great benefit to large classes of people of India who, though in a certain sense criminal, were yet wanting in one element of criminality, in as much they were unconscious of the nature of their acts, having been educated to consider them as innocent, and trained from their earliest youth for the purposes of crime" (*Abstracts of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulation, 1871, Vol. X, pp. 651-58*). When the authors of legislation were so outspoken about the purpose of the Bill, one need not have to rack one's brain to imagine the course of events after. Police and executive officials were immunised by the Act against censures by the judiciary through nullification of their overzealous and extra-legal measures. Premeditated persecution drove the Lodhas to their wit's end and driven from pillory to the post, they arrived at the village of Bhumij Dhan Sol with the unceremonious appendage of "criminal horde," an unwanted liability forced on them. In any village-society people are apt to raise brows with consternation for such an entry of undesirable people. The Lodhas suffered a similar fate here.

Economically the Lodhas were an anachronism in a village, dependent largely on agriculture. Nurtured in the forests by which they were succoured in body and spirit, the Lodhas were like fish out of water, when placed in the context of a deforested village, which could offer them little means of subsistence. An attempt to rehabilitate them in agricultural occupation was slow to produce any tangible effect. Agriculture being the occupation of the settled community, it required generations of experience and labour to acquire proficiency in this occupation, if one was to compete with another neighbouring agriculturist community like the Bhumij. The Lodhas did not get the opportunity or time to specialise as cultivators. The formidable adversary in this regard was the barren nature of the soil, to reclaim which one required money and technical

skill. Landlessness was another handicap with the Lodhas against their striking roots in the soil as cultivators, while the prerequisites of the occupation of an agriculturist were not readily available for them. Furthermore, depleted forests and stringent enforcement of the rules of the forests drove a nail to the coffin of their dying forest-economy. But, even more important factor for the gradual impoverishment of the Lodhas, the economically lowest of the lows, was the tentacles spread by a greedy trader in the area, who dominated the scene and dictated the course of their fate. The wine-seller very well knew that like all the tribals the Lodhas too were fond of liquor. So, with all designs, covert and overt, he sucked the life-blood of the Lodhas and others. In the case of the Lodhas the exploitation suffered by contrast ; for poor wage-earners as they were, they grew poorer day by day. The lurid story of exploitation did not end by this single clever stroke of ingenuity. The avaricious trader, through his liquor-shop, grocery and usurious loans, sapped the roots of economic rehabilitation of the Lodhas, to which end the Government and the anthropologists had been directing all their resources and manpower for some time. Lucifer did not cry a halt to his infernal designs even at that. An incontestable trader with all the buying and selling power set forth to purchase at an unbelievably cheap price whatever was produced or grown by the people in the village, he sold in his turn all the needs of life at sky-high price, at the cost of the helplessness of the villagers. The grip was not relaxed even at these contrived schemes. Actuating a few criminals to further their criminal motives, some interested persons in one breath received stolen property for unusually low price and branded all the Lodhas as criminals in the next breath.

While the machinery of economic exploitation was thus very well set against the Lodhas, the community bore the burden of an intricate socio-religious complex. The costs of their marriage ceremonies, the expenses of the rites and rituals to propitiate their multiple gods and goddesses, witches and spirits or to expiate the self-imposed sin at the outbreak of any disease or to mollify the unpacified souls of the dead cannot be treated as too insignificant to be ignored as trivial. These practices were all traditional and sanctified by a long usage ; nevertheless, as a consequence, their economy, however simple or rudimentary it might be, had been corroded very slowly without any corresponding economic regeneration. The loss was palpable and had been mutely borne by the suffering mass.

Sociologically, the Lodhas, treated as "poor cousin", "dirty, simple and primitive" by their more sophisticated compatriots, the Bhumij, were initially meted

out a treatment of indifference, for they had arrived late in the village as casual labourers, as mercenaries under the service of the lessee timber merchants. As soon as the employers had effected their exits, the Lodhas could not be left out of the orbit of the village-life. But, what social intercourse could be expected of two incompatible tribal groups, one economically placed better than the other? The Bhumij of this village along with others outside wore the mantle of employers and the Lodhas voluntarily accepted the servility of labourers in agricultural fields. The two groups lived in isolation and village-unity was more a myth than a reality. The kind of social symbiosis in the village, an outcome of economic imbalance, led to a peculiar adjustment, a maladjustment truly speaking, which did neither organically sythetise the two tribal groups nor did create any amity between them. Strangely enough, the Lodhas, who had occasions to go outside and to pick up, in course of their temporary sojourn in alien soil, cultural contagions through contacts with urban people or with people with more developed traits of material and social culture, were far behind in the process of acculturation, obviously for economic reasons, whereas the Bhumij, who lived in internment within the village, developed a highly sensitive nature with pronounced keenness to move forward with the distant forces of progress and change, which had not even touched the fringe of village-life in course of the last few decades or so. That is why, the Bhumij did not evince much eagerness to be treated as any other tribals and one or two socially powerful persons in their community cherished in disguise a latent ambition to educate their children, who might one day ascend the higher rung of the socio-economic ladder, to acquire a culture and attain a status of equality with the urban *Babus* of the Midnapore Collectorate. This awakening from the slumber of ages, this social awareness, this alacrity of the human spirit, somnolent so long, this neophyte alertness are not explained with a clarity by the ecological factors, which failed to reveal any startling impact of any measures of improvement on certain basic things like transport and communication, health and sanitation.

In the village itself the area of cooperation between the Lodhas and the Bhumij had indeed been very limited, circumscribed by an attitude of contempt and dissension, a spirit of jealousy and ill feeling, sometimes manifested in the behaviour of the Bhumij and the Mahato trio against the Lodhas. It is true that tension, that appeared in Bhumij Dhan Sol, was not the handiwork of any person through a veiled effort to make the village-life turgid first and later to fish in troubled waters. Instead, the measures of social reform, undertaken by social reformers and the Government, were not always above the misgivings of the Bhumij, who failed to realise why tribals even though they

were, they did not receive the same beneficial help as the Lodhas. The subtle nuances of sociological terms like advanced or backward, so common in the parlance of the anthropologists, could not be all understood by them. Their failure to follow the implications and objectives of the measures of social welfare of the Government consequenced in their growing hatred against the Lodha recipients of these benefits. The poisoned social climate was not conducive to the sustained development of either of the groups, far less to the permanent rehabilitation of the Lodhas.

Bhumij Dhan Sol thus stands static, set against a jungle-background, with cruel earth miserly in her returns. The silence of the village is broken only occasionally "in thunder, lightning or in rain", but ruffled almost daily in the sad twilight when Lodha babies raise the pitch of their voice in shrieking cries of hunger, because their mothers are away for the whole day in fields or forest to earn their living. Poverty, stamped immutably on the vacant looks of emaciated children, casts its lengthening shadow on the dress and food of the elders. The only escape, the people make from the stark reality of the present, is through the corridors of tribal songs and dances once in blue moon, when lovely men and women drink, wandering in the alleys of life, maddening wine of joy and rejuvenation, whose dregs they drain to deep intoxication. The storm and strife within the village, the hard labour of everyday life for a bread, the disenchanting prohibitions under the forest laws, the excruciating misery of the pettines of daily existence, and the disguised exploitation in dizzy proportions by a few have not paled, or trampled or stilled the people, who have learned to live with 'man and beast, foul and fair', through their experiences of the supernatural world, where fair and foul play together. Farewell is not yet bid to their tender hopes, which their hearts gently bear, for a better life in emancipation and prosperous future for posterity.

III

This is the fifth in the series of the Village Survey Monographs to be published as a part of the Census Programme of 1961, the objectives having been enunciated in clear terms by the Registrar General, India, in his Foreword, which precedes this discourse. The details about how and how many villages were selected have been explained in the prefatory account entitled, 'In The Place Of A Preface', included in the Village Survey Monograph on Raibaghini, published earlier in this series as Monograph No. 4. The schedules adopted

for this Survey are the same as shown there in Appendices. Only the special schedule with pointed questionnaire, specially framed on the eve of the study of villages near forests, has been included in Appendix IV of the present Monograph.

The Tables, specially processed by Sri Swapan Kumar Guha, B. Com., Investigator, for inclusion in Appendix I, in order to utilise as much statistical material from the schedules as possible, in pursuance of the deliberations of the Census Conference at Trivandrum and Cape Comorin, will enable the reader to interpret many facts of life at Bhumij Dhan Sol.

Apart from a thorough census of the households, structured questions for the family and the village, group-discussions and interviews and participation-observation were resorted to, in studying the village. Impressionistic observations are there, but not without the support of case-studies. Though objective analysis has been attempted on the basis of statistical tables mostly, at times subjectivity, that crept in, could not be left out. Figures do not always speak, specially so when the subject is the mind of man, his attitude and his behaviour.

An apology is due to the readers for the delay in publishing this Monograph. Without, however, shifting the blame on any person or institution, I may be allowed to say that the Press even despite its best efforts could not print the bulky volume more expeditiously because of certain operational problems. Even then, the Report has not outlived its purpose or grown back-dated. Currents in the village-life move at a still slower pace.

The study, conducted in two different periods, once in March-April, 1962, and once in June, 1964, followed up by some more visits later, has produced the present Monograph, which affords one a peep into a microcosm of West Bengal, which is called a village. If the Lodhas, the Bhumij and the Mahatos, the three communities of the village Bhumij Dhan Sol with the former two being tribals and the third being in the minority, view visitors from the outside world with caution and perplexed wonder, people from outside are also overwhelmed with little knowledge, they acquire, of so little known a village with its less known past and practically unknown people. The experience is thrilling mostly but shocking too at times, thrilling because the life of the people is polycladous and yet polychromatic, shocking because a bare living demands so high a price in tears and toil and because 'poisoned tooth of hunger' gnawing the vitals can be so cruel. Scourged by hunger, hatred

and starvation and smothered with cankers and diseases, the people here live a very meek life a life, laden with tears, sorrows and tragedies, only to survive with unfathomable grief in this vast world. They grow like death in life, yet they labour hard, with every drop of moisture not in the men's bottles and flagons in the form of cider raining as perspiration from their foreheads and cheeks, under the monochromatic burning summer sky. And the inevitable question awaits an answer, "Why so?"

In conclusion one has to agree with Sri Asok Mitra, when he says, "Pundits will always say that this is a country with an ancient culture, with a degree of sophistication and capacity for abstraction which is not always apparent on the surface, discrimination born of an under-current of ancient heritage and so that explains. But one has also seen how grinding poverty, the absence of clear drinking water or the absence of elementary privacy can erode human nature. This is an experience which has to be endured to be fully comprehended". (*Now, dated June 2, 1967.*)

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

Calcutta,
The 4th September, 1966,
The 13th Bhadra, 1888 Sakabda.

Sukumar Sinha

A Tribute In Quietude

*“But love, though misdirected, is among
The things which are immortal, and surpass
All that frail stuff which will be—or which was.”*

To the Lodha, Bhumij and Mahato villagers of Bhumij Dhan Sol who love to live and live to love life through religion, songs, magic and witchcraft, through expansive joy in liberty and suffering sorrow in confinement, I offer my unstinted respect in unrestrained emotion. They live far away from our society in their own world in freedom, not stifled by the noise, dirt and disturbance of a town, nor prejudiced by any urban sense of values. They worked in jungles and some of them in the agricultural fields and they do so even now. By the legacy of foreign rule the Lodhas were stigmatised as criminals and forced to live a life of isolation, humiliation and sufferance. They were punished more for crimes that they had not committed than they would have been if they had committed the crimes. More sinned against than sinning, the Lodhas were dubbed as sin-born. The post-Independence period apparently rescued them from the bondage after the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act, but the pathos of their life was not so easy to go. Understanding and appreciation alone could redeem them and assuage their agony. I am now “left with the inconsolable memory of the treasure I went into” their village to find and I shall cherish it as a priceless possession, for which no word is a worthy tribute.

To Sri Asok Mitra, I.C.S., Registrar General, India, and Secretary to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, who knows the tribals, the people and the culture of our country so intimately, I pay my profoundest regards and present the Monograph with some diffidence. Throughout my work and in all my thoughts I was inspired by his great tradition.

To Sri J. C. Sen Gupta, I.A.S., formerly Superintendent of Census Operations, West Bengal and Sikkim, and now Secretary to the Government of West Bengal, Departments of Cottage and Small-Scale Industries and Panchayats, I remain grateful for the opportunity, he had kindly afforded me to associate myself with the work.

Sri A. Chandra Sekhar, I.A.S., Additional Registrar General, India, encouraged me at every stage to work with the spirit of a 'voyaging explorer'. To him I remain especially indebted for many kind words and suggestions, which never allowed my spirit to flag.

Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, in the Office of the Registrar General, India, New Delhi, kindly assisted me in every possible way not as a critic but as a helpful guide, and impelled me not to allow any realm untrod. I am also thankful to him for his kind permission to print a synopsis of his talk entitled, "Land and Tribals" in Appendix III.

Sri Gour Chandra Bagchi, M.A., Investigator, had visited the village twice, once in March-April, 1962 and once more in June, 1964. With no shop, no market, no school, no temple, and in a word with no institution of importance, Bhumij Dhan Sol is a village of people, simple in their ways of life and simpler in their thoughts. Yet, the task was not simple to enquire into this village of tribals. A cautious approach and discreet investigation were necessitated by a desire to delve into the fast-changing organisations and institutions of the people there. Without being a student of Anthropology, Sri Bagchi worked in the village with tact and intelligence. His close association with the people and his sincere work to know them and their village enabled me to give shape to the Monograph in its present form.

I also remain thankful to Sri Arunabha Dutta, Artist-cum-Photographer, for the photography and art-work to vivify the village. The lay-out contains touch of his artistic hand in many places.

Statistical diagrams drawn by Sarvasree Jaladhi Bhusan Dasgupta and Bimalesh Das, Draughtsmen, deserve appreciation. Sri Satyendra Nath Ganguly, Cartographer, earns my praise for the Maps. Sri R. C. Bhar, Printing Inspector, assisted by Sarvasree Amiya Ranjan Kar and Sitangshu Bhattacharya, enabled the present publication to be free from as many blemishes as possible.

My colleagues Sri J. Datta Gupta, W.B.C.S., and Sri B. Roy, W.B.C.S.,

offered me their friendly counsels and valuable suggestions. To all other colleagues in this organisation I remain thankful for their helpful co-operation and ungrudging services all the time. I wish to record in particular the commendable assistance rendered to me by Sarvasree Afzaluddin Ahmed, Ajit Kumar Ganguly, Sm. Anjali Moitra, Arun Kumar Roy, Bechuram Dutta, Bimal Kanti Bose, Dulal Kumar Dutta, Gouri Sankar Chatterjee, Kalyan Kumar Datta, Manindra Nath Sarkar, Nalini Kanta De, Sm. Namita Bose, Nirmal Kumar Mitra, Nirmal Kumar Sarkar, Ranjit Kumar Chakraborty, Sahidul Huq, Some Nath Roy, Sunil Kanti Majumdar and Sm. Swapna Roy (Chakravarty).

Besides, I owe a sense of gratitude to a number of persons and institutions. They are Sarvasree Ashutosh Mahato, Beni Maday Bhattacharya, Charan Singh, Ganesh Singh, Gobinda Mahato, Ranjan Bhattacharya, Trailokya Savar, of Bhumij Dhan Sol ; Sri Alok Banerjee of Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation, Calcutta ; Dr. Amiya Kumar Bagchi now in Cambridge ; Sri Ananda Lal Bose of Martin Burn Ltd., Calcutta ; Sri Ananta Kumar Chakraborty, Librarian, West Bengal Secretariat Library, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta and members of the staff of the same Library ; Sri Durga Prasad Bhattacharya of Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta ; Forest Range Officer, Lalgarh ; Sri Jatindra Mohan Datta of Calcutta ; Sri Nalinaksha Nanda, Deputy Secretary, Home Department, Govt. of West Bengal ; Sri Nitya Priya Ghosh of Now. Calcutta ; Officer in Charge, Binpur Police Station ; Professor of Zoology, Presidency College, Calcutta ; Dr. Netai Bagchi, M.B.B.S., Junior Research Officer, All India Institute of Medical Science, New Delhi ; Sri Pranesh Chandra Bagchi, M.A., B.T., Headmaster, Santipur Oriental Academy, Santipur ; B. Ghosh, M. R. Saha and S. B. Sinha of Rup-Lekha, Calcutta ; Sri Saroj Kumar Mukherjee of Oriental Fire and General Insurance, Calcutta ; Sri Satya Bhattacharya of Calcutta ; and Dr. Sukumar Ganguly of Calcutta.

Dr. P. K. Bhowmick, Lecturer, University of Calcutta, is well known for his Doctoral Thesis on the Lodhas of West Bengal. Besides, he is the man behind the Samaj Sevak Sangha, which has been working for the rehabilitation of the Lodhas in different parts of Midnapore district. Dr. Bhowmick was kind enough to contribute a paper entitled, "Dhansola Rehabilitation Scheme", included in Appendix II. I recall his contribution with a sense of gratitude.

Dr. Pradip Kumar Ganguly of Presidency College, Calcutta, was not disinterested in this village ; rather his direct help many a time by way of original suggestions stimulated me to make the Monograph as much comprehensive as possible. His friendly association and scholarly interest have bound me in deep gratitude.

Prof. Satyesh Chakravorty of Presidency College, Calcutta, kindly helped me in preparing the Map of West Bengal, locating the villages selected for survey and also in suggesting certain new methods of approach to this study. I am indebted to him for his scholarly assistance.

Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, the celebrated Anthropologist, now the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, has been a source of great inspiration to me throughout. I remain grateful to him for the helpful guidance and invaluable suggestions given to me many a time.

Lastly, I cannot but remember my dearest father Sri Shyama Pada Sinha, who responded to the affectionate call of his son in improving upon the Monograph, wherever he felt it necessary.

Calcutta,
The 4th September, 1966,
The 13th Bhadra, 1888 Sakabda.

Sukumar Sinha

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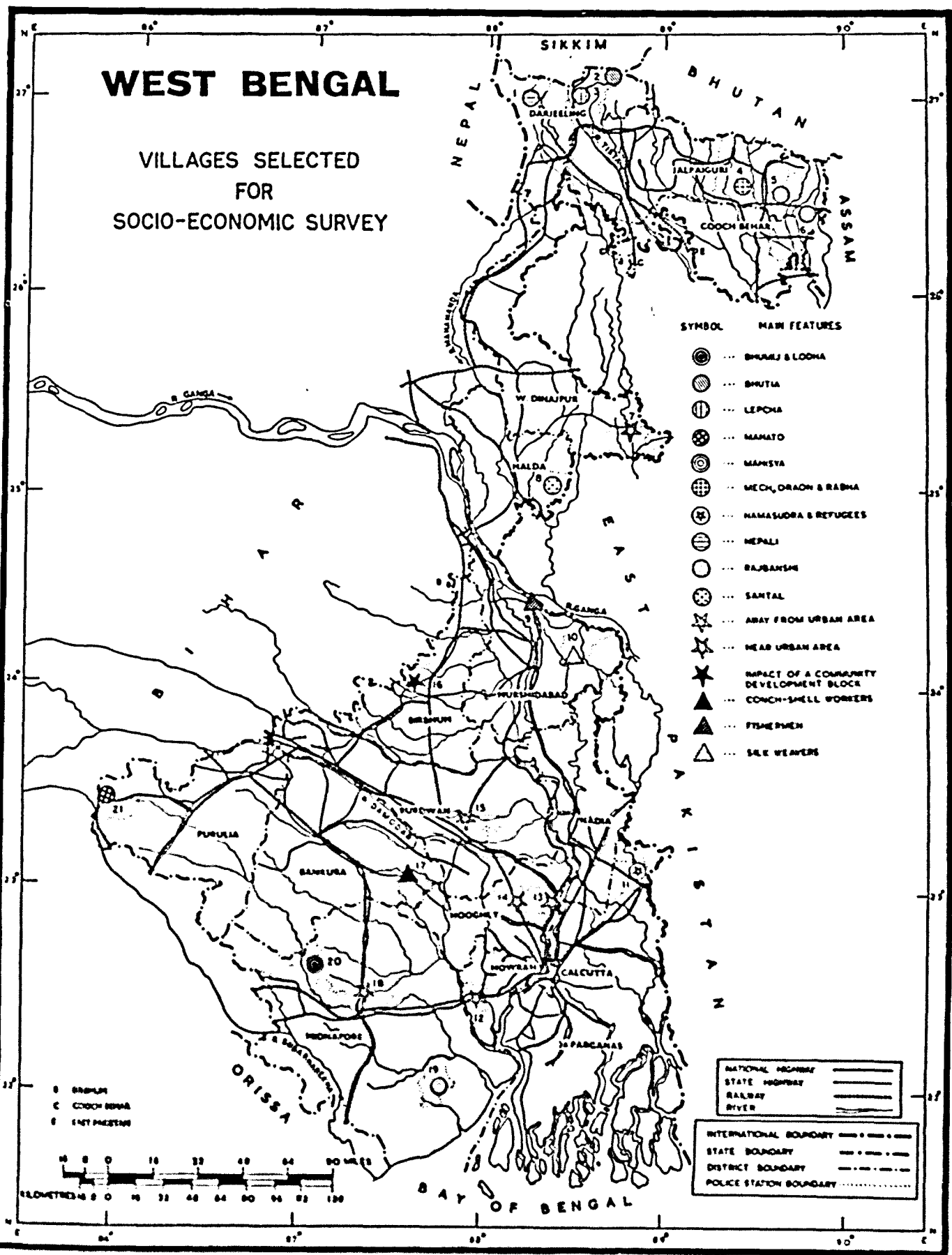
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41 Gods that surge the souls	"
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44 An open hair-cutting saloon, a pointer to social rank too	"

VILLAGES OF WEST BENGAL SELECTED FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

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

WEST BENGAL

VILLAGES SELECTED
FOR
SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY



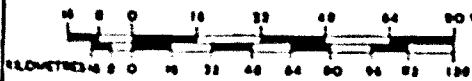
SYMBOL MAIN FEATURES

- ... BHUMLI & LOCHA
- ◐ ... BHUTIA
- ◑ ... LEPOHA
- ◒ ... MAMATO
- ◓ ... MANSYA
- ◔ ... MECH, DRAGON & RABHA
- ◕ ... NAMSUORA & REFUGEES
- ◖ ... NEPALI
- ◗ ... RAJBANSHI
- ◘ ... SANTAL
- ✱ ... AWAY FROM URBAN AREA
- ✴ ... NEAR URBAN AREA
- ★ ... IMPACT OF A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK
- ▲ ... CONCH-SHELL WORKERS
- ▲ ... FISHERMEN
- △ ... SILK WEAVERS

NATIONAL HIGHWAY	—————
STATE HIGHWAY	—————
RAILWAY	—————
RIVER	—————

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY	—————
STATE BOUNDARY	—————
DISTRICT BOUNDARY	—————
POLICE STATION BOUNDARY	—————

- B BHUMLI
- C COOCH BEHAR
- E EAST PAKISTAN

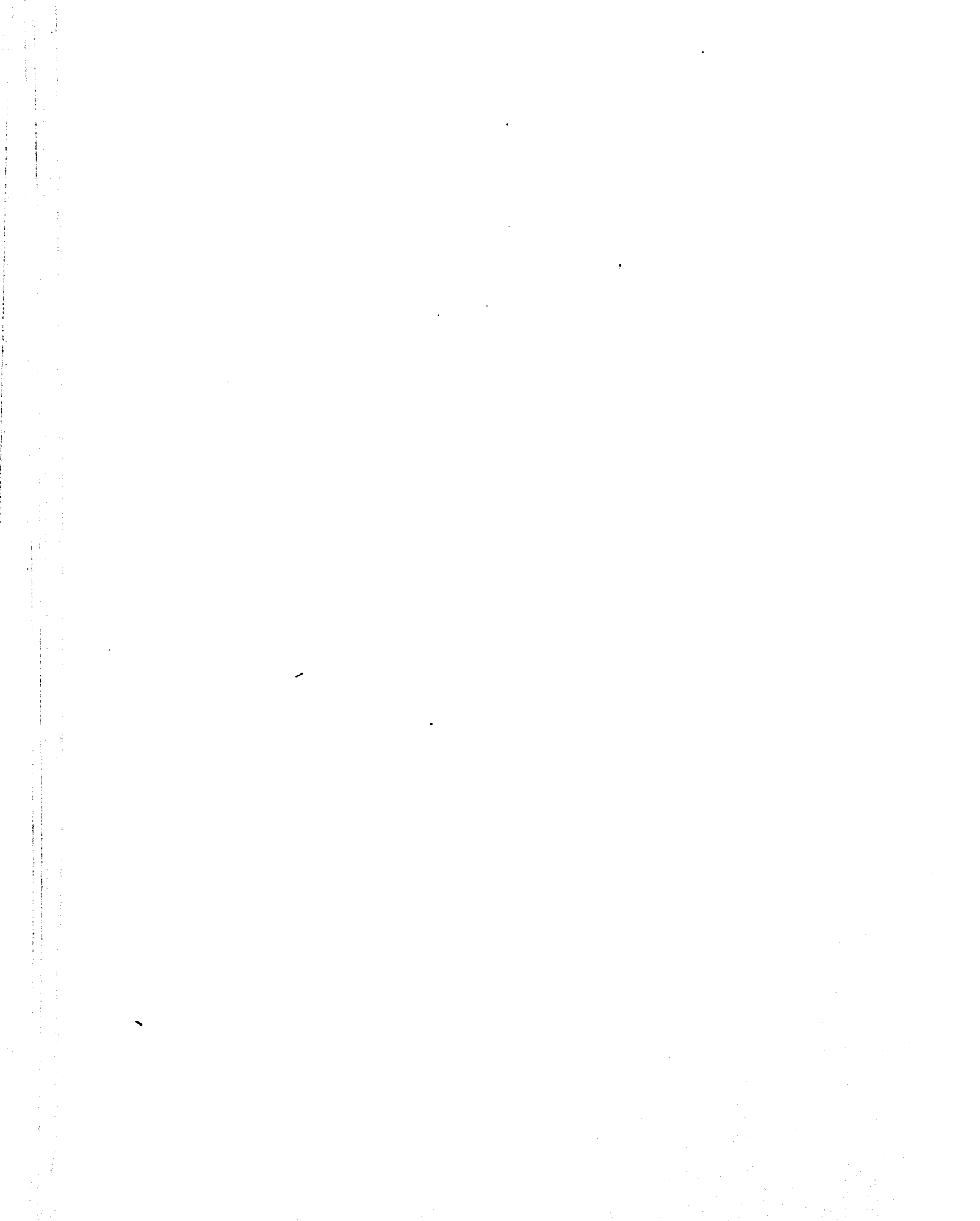




CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

- Introducing the village in its most significant characteristic
- Location with reference to the district
- Reasons for selection
- Location of the village and its neighbourhood
- Location with reference to important centres of administration
- Location of the neighbourhood
- Transport and communication
- Physical aspects
- Boundary
- Latitude and longitude
- Geology
- Soil
- Flora
- Fauna
- Size
- Number of households
- Residential pattern
- Important public places
- Places of worship
- Crematorium
- Hats or markets
- Shops
- Educational institutions
- Sources of water
- Etymology of the name and history of the village
- Legends
- Early history
- Growth of settlement in the village
- Reasons of immigration to the present village
- Some important landmarks in the history of the village
 - (a) *Epidemic*
 - (b) *Midnapore Cyclone of 1942*
 - (c) *The Great Famine of 1943 and its impact on the village*
 - (d) *The Tragedy of 1961*



CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL CULTURE

A. BRIEF ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGE

The village, as already said, is composed of three distinct ethnic groups; of these, the Lodhas and the Bhumijes are

Scheduled Tribes and the Mahatos are Caste Hindus.

In the following the population of the village is shown caste-wise :

TABLE 3

Caste/Tribe	No. of households	Persons	Males	Females
Lodha	35	174	90	84
Bhumij	17	88	45	43
Mahato or Kurmi	3	19	12	7
Total	55	281	147	134

The early history of these people has not yet been fully known. A misty veil still hangs over their real origin, primitive abode and original occupation. Yet, these are the people who were once the masters of the soil. The early history of these people with all their joys and sorrows, hopes and fears have not been recorded in the annals of history. It is bound to be a tough job for any one to trace them out. But the antiquarian interest of the anthropologists has not allowed their antecedents to pass into oblivion. From their folk-tales and folk-lore, legends and myths, some of their past accounts, however meagre they may be, have been rescued.

Lodha

The Lodhas are an ex-criminal Tribe of West Bengal. A tribe, which regards the Brahmans as its sons-in-law and hesitates to take water from them, a tribe, which does not accept the spiritual superiority of the Brahmans, the Lodhas are an object of careful study for the anthropologists, the psychologists, the criminologists and the administrators. The

study of a tribe, which claims to be the descendants of *Jara Savara* who had shot Lord *Srikrishna* in the remote *Dwapara* era, a tribe which claims Lord *Jagannath* of Puri to be their original godhead, is bound to be an object of antiquarian interest.

"The tract along the western border now known as the Jungle Mahals, which is still covered with the remains of forest, was the home of nomadic tribes who lived on jungle products and the spoils of the chase. Among them were the Savaras, a powerful race that can be traced as far back as the *Aitareya-Brahmana* and other aboriginal tribes who spread over the country from the Ganges to the Godavari. Their descendants may be identified with the nomadic Sahars of the present day and the Lodhas, as a tribe of hunters, as their name (a corruption of the Sanskrit *lubdhaka*, i.e., hunters) implies."

Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India mentions Luda Savaras as one of the sub-tribes of Savaras. Most probably, the Luda Savaras, referred to above, are akin to the Lodhas of

1 A. Mitra—District Handbook of Midnapore, 1931, p. xv.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

INTRODUCTION

The economic structure of Bhumij Dhan Sol is crude and simple. In the main it is agriculture-oriented. The surrounding jungles and forests exert a formidable influence on the village-economy. Most of the people are not self-contented landowning cultivators with a pair of bullocks. Instead, they are a landless mass, honestly toiling in the fields for days together.

Various currents and cross-currents ope-

rate to shape the economy of the village. It would be interesting to see how even the poor economy of a predominantly tribal village can get further impoverished through the ruthless exploitation of one or two persons here and there.

The occupational table of the heads of the households would enable the readers to form some idea about the nature of economic pursuits of the households.

TABLE 12

No. of households with the heads engaged in

Caste/Tribe	Total no. of households	No. of households with the heads engaged in					Other services
		Cultivation	Agricultural labour	Livestock	Forestry and hunting	Manufacturing	
Lodha	35	..	20	..	13	1	1
Bhumij	17	4	8	2	..	2	1
Mahato	3	2	1	..	..	..	..
Total	55	6	29	2	13	3	2

It appears from the above table that 35 households, out of 55 (63.6 per cent), are directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture, while 13 families (23.6 per cent) are dependent exclusively on forestry and hunting. In the face of it, the figures over-estimate the importance of agriculture and undervalue the importance of forestry and hunting. Instead of exerting a negligible influence, forestry and hunting still act as the main pivot round which the whole economic structure of the village revolves. Psychologically the people are still dependent on the good old jungles in different stages of their economic life.

A. LAND

(i) Area

Land by itself provides an important source of livelihood of an agricultural village.

The following table will show the land-utilisation pattern of the village :

TABLE 13

Utilisation of land	Acres	Percentage to the total land of the village
Cultivable land	119.91	43.6
Uncultivable land	57.45	20.8
Forest area	93.50	33.9
Village roads	4.61	1.7
Total area	275.47	100.00

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Demography

- Changes in population*
- Density of population*
- Classification of population by age and sex*
- Sex-ratio*
- Composition and size of families*

Social characteristics

- Family structure*
- Marital status*
- Age at marriage*
- Literacy*

Social structure

- Internal organisation*

Structure of family

Intra-family relationship

- Relation between husband and wife*
- Parents-son relationship*
- Parents-daughter relationship*
- Brother-brother relationship*
- Brother-sister relationship*
- Sister-sister relationship*

Role of woman

- Place of woman in the socio-religious sphere*
- Place of woman in the political sphere*
- Place of woman in domestic sphere*

Inheritance of property

Kinship

Marriage, society and morals

- Marriage prohibition*
- Age at marriage*
- Negotiation for marriage*
- Bride-price*
- Different forms of marriage*
- Marital zone*
- Divorce*
- Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relations*

Health and sanitation

Family-planning

Leisure and recreation

- Ha-du-du*
- Bou-du-du*
- Kanamachhi or Blindman's buff*
- Dainra*
- Karia*
- Others*

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Though born free, the villagers are still in chains of tradition and primitive ways of life, of thought and action. An area bounded by the uncared for jungles under the Zamindars of the area, the denizens of which were the unnamed beasts and birds with loyalty to none, Bhumij Dhan Sol attracted some autochthons about a century ago ; but the history remained unrecorded so far. The Bhumij were the first to come, clear some jungles for modest habitation and finally to settle down as *Prajas* (tenants) to mark the establishment of a village, the christening of which was done after their name. The tall green trees of the village-forests caught the eyes of timber merchants of Calcutta, who imported the Lodhas from different parts of Jhargram subdivision and engaged them as coolies, for they charged so little for their sweating labour. The woods became thinner and thinner with the fall of each stroke of axe, till the merchants left the village ; it was no more profitable to run the business. The Lodhas remained here with no definite occupation except the occasional rambles in the forests for fruits and fuel. The Zamindari was abolished and forests were taken over by the Government to mark a different chapter in the life of the Lodhas, if not for the Bhumij, who had struck some roots in the soil as cultivators-long ago.

The Lodhas made a frantic bid to live here ; a return to their ancestral homes was out of question, for they had severed all ties. Some learnt the arts of cultivation, for they had the vigour to plough the soil, broadcast the seeds, transplant the seedlings and reap the

harvest. All this they did as landless agricultural labourers. Some moved through the forests as lost children and gratefully accepted whatever paltry collection, they could make there, to keep the wolf from the door. The call of the forests they felt in their blood. They would often pick up the good old bows and arrows and set out for hunting.

The aimless way of life found some meaning, when the Lodha Rehabilitation Scheme was undertaken and the Lodhas could get a durable roof to live under, some livestock to rear and a hope for some lands of their own to cultivate. The delinquents, who wanted an easy life as lurchers, brought ignoble shame for the community, which still now suffers from suspicion and lack of good neighbourly feelings of others.

The Bhumij are better in this regard and so also are the Mahatos. They have some vestige of land, to which they cling with the attachment of land-hungry cultivators. For them "to plough is to pray, to plant is to prophesy and the harvest answers and fulfills", but not fully their dreams.

The over-all picture of the people is dismal, difference being only in the shades of poverty and want. Their life moves within the narrow orbit of Bhumij Dhan Sol with occasional break-throughs in surrounding areas. Early in the morning they start with the hope for the day, get sun-burnt in the fields and fatigued in the jungles, return in the evening to whip up their waning energy with a bout of drinks and

by evening they bury their lost hopes in sleep. The interested parties in the adjoining villages suck their life-blood, either by offering them a never-ending supply of country-drinks and appropriating a good share of their hard-earned income or by making a capital of their wants by advancing them ready loans and getting in return disproportionate interest, which would have shocked the hardest banker with the heart of Shylock. Human avarice does not stop here. The numbered few, who operate unseen and carve out the fate of these poor people as a cruel Nemesis, purchase at cheap price whatever the people produce. These avaricious traders sell the needs of the village-life at exorbitant cost, thus reaping the fullest advantage of the lack of any competing shops and traders in the area. The picture is not full without reference to those, who thrive on the crimes of some, by instigating the criminals among the Lodhas to further their interests, receiving the ill-gotten wealth and at the same time branding all the Lodhas as criminals. The *Dickensian Fuggin*, thus, acts in disguise.

The results are very apparent. Children remain unclad, women insufficiently clothed and the adult males get emaciated. Scourges of hunger bring tears in the innocent eyes of the babies, who are benumbed to sleep.

The potentialities of nature with her hidden wealth are abundant here and may properly be utilised to harness the resources of

the people to productive ends. The Lodhas raise silk cocoons in the forest, collect the fruits of *Mahua* and leaves of *Sal*. While the experiments with the Lodha Rehabilitation Scheme have aroused some hope in the sunken hearts and made the people dreamy about their future, some more schemes for utilisation of the forest produce might be attempted to better their lives. Thus, the fruits of *Mahua* may be crushed to produce oil required for soap-industry, sericulture may be another serious proposition, production of charcoal cannot altogether be obviated, because of the large area of forests in the region.

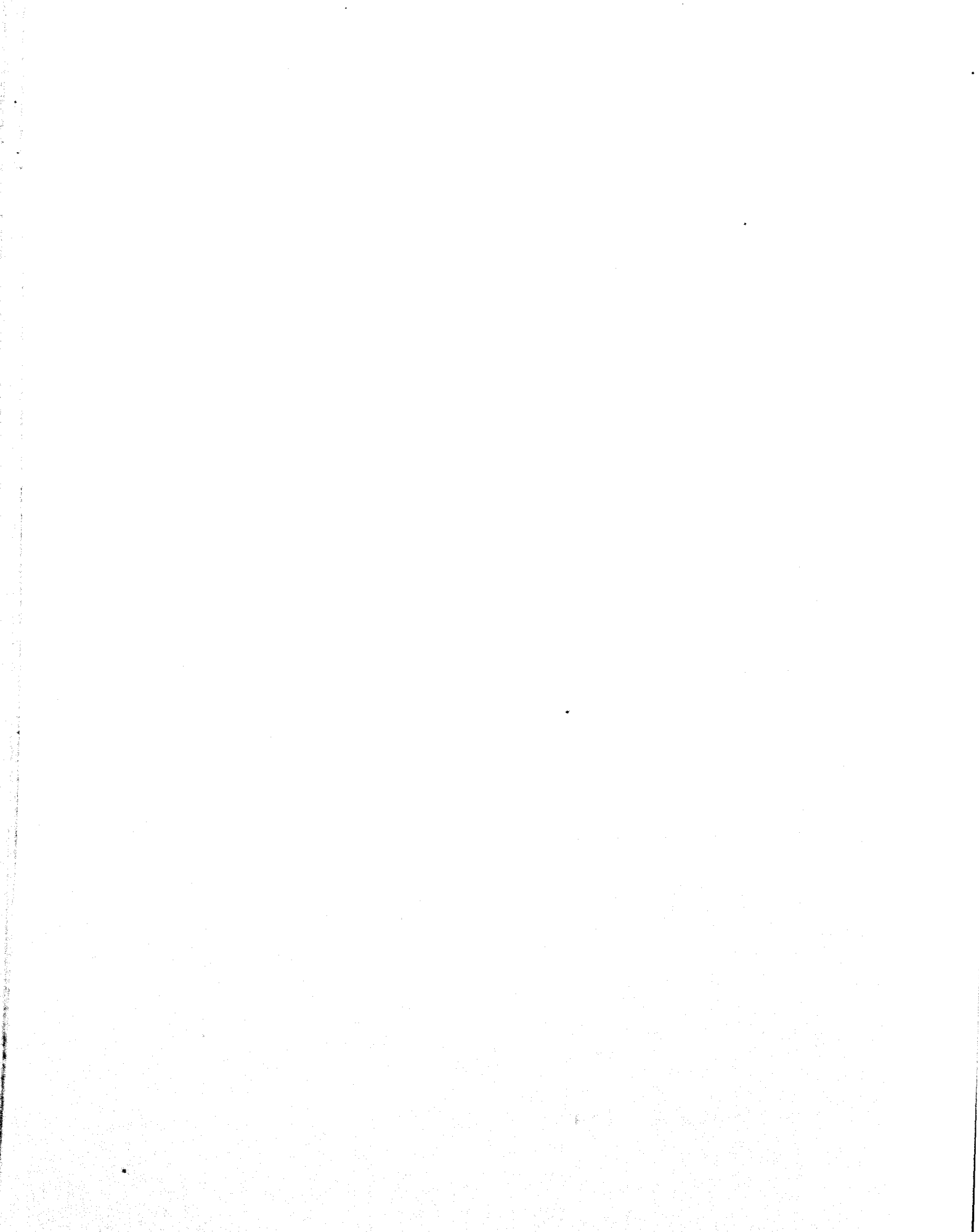
Whatever might be proposed, it is true that the people in spite of their squalor and poverty have not forgot to laugh. They are mirthful in their age-long religious festivals, in their errands for the *Hats* and visits to their relatives, in the absorbing cock-fights and *Kathinach*, in their simple but philosophic folk-songs and folk-tales. Abysmal ignorance of modern thoughts and developmental activities makes them neither sorry nor ashamed. They still view an outsider in awe and curiosity.

They looked entranced at the road, which winds through the jungles leading the way to the "fabulous city" of Calcutta, situated in a supposedly *Fairy Land* and sighed heavily, when the Investigator had packed up the schedules and left the village in a bus, which rattled out of sight.

APPENDIX I

TABLE

Habit of taking sugar
Habit of taking tea
Prohibited food and drinks
Furniture acquired in last five years
Consumer goods acquired in last five years
Use of mosquito-curtain
Use of soap
Laundry habit
Reciprocal aid in agricultural practices
Livestock statistics
Occupational mobility
Land reforms
Land development
Monthly income
Attitude towards marriage
Permissibility of inter-caste marriage
Range of information
Desirability of inter-caste marriage
Awareness of Untouchability Offences Act
Awareness of the functions of Gram Sak
Information about functions of Panchayat
Opinion about improvement through Panchayat
Awareness of changes in Hindu Laws
Community Panchayat—existence and attitude
Contravention of marriage rules
Community Panchayat—function
*Attitude towards family planning with reference
to age of the heads of households*
*Attitude towards family planning with reference
to age of the child-bearing women*



APPENDIX I

TABLE I

HABIT OF TAKING SUGAR AS CORRELATED TO INCOME

Community	No. of households taking sugar, with monthly income of					No. of households not taking sugar, with monthly income of						
	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 26-50	25 or less	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 26-50	25 or less
	Lodha	6	26	3
Bhumij	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	4	8	1	..
Mahato	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Total	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	10	35	4	

TABLE II

HABIT OF TAKING TEA AS CORRELATED TO INCOME

Community	No. of households taking tea, with monthly income of					No. of households not taking tea, with monthly income of						
	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 26-50	25 or less	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 26-50	25 or less
	Lodha	6	26	3
Bhumij	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	3	4	7	1	..
Mahato	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Total	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	3	10	34	4	

TABLE III

PROHIBITED FOODS AND DRINKS

Community	No. of households reporting as prohibited			No. that did not report any food to be prohibited	No. that did not report any drink to be prohibited
	No. of households reporting as prohibited				
	Beef	Pork			
Lodha	35	35	Nil	35	..
Bhumij	17	17	Nil	17	..
Mahato	3	3	Nil	3	..
Total	55	55	Nil	55	..

TABLE IV
FURNITURE ACQUIRED IN LAST FIVE YEARS

Community	No. of house holds which have acquired in last five years	
	Talchips	Khatia and chair
Lothia	..	..
Bhambuj	1	..
Mahato	..	1
Total	1	1

TABLE V
CONSUMER GOODS ACQUIRED IN LAST FIVE YEAR

Community	No. of households which have acquired in last five years	
	Consumer goods	
Lothia	Nil	
Bhambuj	Nil	
Mahato	Nil	
Total	Nil	

TABLE VI
USE OF MOSQUITO-CURTAIN

Community	No. of households that use mosquito curtain, having monthly income of				No. of households that do not use mosquito curtain, having monthly income of			
	Ru. 150 and above	Ru. 101-150	Ru. 51-100	Ru. 50 or less	Ru. 150 and above	Ru. 101-150	Ru. 51-100	Ru. 50 or less
Lothia	6	29
Bhambuj	1	..	..	1	6	9
Mahato	1	1	..	1
Total	1	..	1	2	12	39

TABLE VII
USE OF SOAP

Community	No. of households that use liquid soap, having monthly income of			No. of households that do not use liquid soap, having monthly income of			No. of households that use washing soap, having monthly income of			No. of households that do not use washing soap, having monthly income of			
	Rs. 150 and above	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 150 and above	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 150 and above	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 150 and above	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 50 or less

Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhumij	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mahato	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	1	1	12	39	6	29	6	9	6	6	6	29

TABLE VIII
LAUNDRY-HABIT

Community	No. of households that send clothes to washerman, having monthly income of			No. of households that do not send clothes to washerman, having monthly income of		
	Rs. 150 and above	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 150 and above	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 50 or less

Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhumij	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mahato	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	1	1	13	2	39

TABLE IX
RECIPROCAL AID IN AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES

Community	Number of households practising agriculture	Number of households that borrow agricultural implements from others at the time of cultivation	Number of households that take help of neighbours at the time of sowing or harvesting	Number of households that assist neighbours and receive help at the time of cultivation in the form of manual labour	
				Nil	Nil
Lodha	..	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Bhumij	8	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Mahato	3	1	Nil	1	1
Total	11	1	Nil	1	1

TABLE X
LIVESTOCK STATISTICS INCLUDING FISHERY

Community	Milk cattle		Draught bullocks		Young cattle		Goats		Fowls	
	No. of households owning	Total no. of milch cattle	No. of households owning	Total no. of draught bullocks	No. of households owning	Total no. of young cattle	No. of households owning	Total no. of goats	No. of households owning	Total no. of fowls
Levha	7	9	6	12	10	14	18	45	18	58
Rhumi	6	12	5	12	9	17	7	19	10	42
Mabato	2	6	3	13	2	18	1	1	..	..
Total	15	27	14	37	21	49	26	65	28	100

TABLE XI
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY—NATURE OF ASPIRATION

Occupation	Number of persons who want their sons to be in					
	Number of persons in the occupation (Head of households)	The same occupation as in (Col. 1).	Cultivation	Service	No. opinion	Does not arise
Cultivation	6	2	..	2	..	2
Agricultural labourers	79	..	18	4	5	2
Livestock, Forestry, hunting etc.	15	..	7	1	3	4
Manufacturing industries	3	1	1	..	1	..
Other services	2	..	1	..	..	1
Total	105	3	27	7	9	9

TABLE XII
LAND REFORMS

Community	Number of households benefited by abolition of Zamindari	Brief indication of the manner of benefit	Number of households harmed by abolition of Zamindari	Number of households benefited neither harmed	Can't say	Remarks
Rhumi	15	2	
Mabato	1	2	..	
Total	45	6	

TABLE XIII
LAND DEVELOPMENT

Community	Number of families benefited by land reclamation and development measures	Brief indication of the reclamation and development measures
Loathie	Nd	Does not arise
Bhamsi j	Nd	Does not arise
Mahana	Nd	Does not arise

TABLE XIV
MONTHLY INCOME BY SOURCE OF OCCUPATION

Characteristics of a household	Source of income	Monthly income per household in the range					Rs. 101 & over
		Less than 25 rupees	Rs. 25-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 101 & over	
Cultivation	Cultivation	..	1	2	..	2	
	Agricultural labourer	1	..	..	..	..
	Forestry & industry	4	1	..	..	..
	Unspecified (money order)	1	..	..	..	..
Agricultural labourer	Agricultural labourer	10	18	1	..	..
	Cultivation	7	..	..	..	..
	Forestry & hunting	25	4	..	..	..
	Manufacturing industry	5	..	..	..	..
	Livestock	2	..	..	..	..
Livestock	Agricultural labourer	1	..	..	..	..
	Forestry & hunting	1	..	..	..	..
	Forestry & hunting	10	3	..	..	..
	Agricultural labourer	9	2	..	..	..
Forestry and hunting	Manufacturing industries	6	..	..	..	..
	Manufacturing industries	2	1	..	..	..
	Cultivation	1	..	..	..	..
Manufacturing industries	Agricultural labourer	2	..	1	..	..
	Forestry	3	..	..	..	..
	Other services	2	..	..	..	..
Other services	Cultivation	1	..	..	..	..
	Agricultural labourer	2	..	..	..	..
	Forestry	2	..	..	..	..

TABLE XV
ATTITUDE TOWARDS MARRIAGE WITH PERSONS OF DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES BUT OF
THE SAME SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Community	Number of persons interviewed	Number of persons having no objection to marriage with other communities	
		Caste	Remarks
Lotha	35	..	Have objection
Rhumi	17	..	Have objection
Mishato	3	..	Have objection
Total	55	..	..

TABLE XVI
PERMISSIBILITY OF INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE

Community	Number of persons interviewed	Number of persons who consider it permissible to form marital tie with any other community	
		Nil	Nil
Lotha	35	Nil	Nil
Rhumi	17	Nil	Nil
Mishato	3	Nil	Nil
Total	55	Nil	Nil

TABLE XVII
DESIRABILITY OF INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE

Community	Number of persons interviewed	No. of persons who consider it desirable to form marital tie with any other community	
		Nil	Nil
Lotha	35	Nil	Nil
Rhumi	17	Nil	Nil
Mishato	3	Nil	Nil
Total	55	Nil	Nil

TABLE XVIII

RANGE OF INFORMATION

Community	Total no. of households	Number of heads of households which know				Name of principal rivers of the district
		Asarhal Panchayat head quarter	Thana headquarter	District headquarter		
Lodha	35	30	35	35	28	
Bhumij	17	16	16	16	12	
Mahato	3	3	3	3	3	
Total	55	49	54	54	43	

TABLE XIX

AWARENESS OF UNTOUCHABILITY OFFENCES ACT

Community	Number of persons interviewed	Number of persons aware of prohibition of untouchability under law
Bhumij	17	2
Mahato	3	..
Total	55	2

TABLE XX

AWARENESS OF THE FUNCTIONS OF GRAM SEVAK

Community	Number of households	No. aware of the functions of Gram Sevak	No. that could describe the functions of Gram Sevak		
			Fully satisfactory	Satisfactorily	Unsatisfactorily
Lodha	35	3	..	..	3
Bhumij	17	6	..	3	3
Mahato	3	2	..	..	2
Total	55	11	..	3	8

TABLE XXI
INFORMATION ABOUT FUNCTIONS OF PANCHAYAT

Community	Number of informants according to whom main parties are		Number of informants according to whom dominant castes are	
	Nil	Bhumij	Bhumij	Not known
Lotha	Nil	22	13	
Bhumij	Nil	10	7	
Mahato	Nil	2	1	
Total	Nil	34	21	

TABLE XXII
OPINION ABOUT IMPROVEMENT THROUGH PANCHAYAT

Community	No. according to whom after establishment of statutory Panchayat there has been											
	No. of houses built	Settle-ment of disputes	Road	Relief	Road & settle-ment of dis-putes	Relief & settle-ment of dis-putes	Well & road	Road relief, wells	Road relief, well, road	Settlement of disputes, well, road	No. according to whom after establishment of statutory Panchayat there has been harm	No. according to whom after estab-lishment of statu-tory Panchayat there has been ne-ither improvement nor any harm
Lotha	13	4	2	2	1	1	6	1	1	..	..	17
Bhumij	9	..	..	..	1	..	7	..	..	..	..	9
Mahato	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	1
Total	24	4	2	2	2	1	13	1	1	2	..	27

TABLE XXIII
AWARENESS OF CHANGES IN HINDU LAWS OF SUCCESSION AND ADOPTION

Community	Number of persons interviewed	Number aware that there have been changes in Hindu Adoption Act		Number aware that there have been changes in Hindu Succession Act		Number that could describe the changes in Hindu Succession Act correctly
		Number aware that there have been changes in Hindu Adoption Act	Number that could describe the changes in Hindu Adoption Act correctly	Number aware that there have been changes in Hindu Succession Act	Number that could describe the changes in Hindu Succession Act correctly	
Lotha	33	..	..	2	2	1
Bhumij	17	..	..	2	2	..
Mahato	3	..	..	2	2	1
Total	53	..	..	6	6	2

TABLE XXIV
COMMUNITY PANCHAYAT—EXISTENCE AND ATTITUDE

Community	Number of households	No. (Head of households) according to whom Community Panchayats exist for		Number according to whom Community Panchayats should exist
		Lodha	Bhumij	
Lodha	33	34	..	29
Bhumij	17	..	17	12
Mahato	3	..	..	..
Total	53	34	17	41

TABLE XXV
CONTRAVENTION OF MARRIAGE RULES

Community	Number of marriages in contravention of Caste/Tribal law	Frequencies of each type of contravention	
		Marriage of a Lodha girl	Marriage of a widow
Lodha	1	1	..
Bhumij	1	..	1
Mahato	..	..	..
Total	2	1	1

TABLE XXVI
COMMUNITY PANCHAYAT—FUNCTION

Community	Number of households	Number according to whom functions of Community Panchayats are	
		Religious	Settlements of disputes
Lodha	35	1	13
Bhumij	17	3	2
Mahato	3	..	..
Total	55	4	15

TABLE XXVII
ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO AGE OF THE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Community	Number wanting more children, the age of the head of household (male) being				Number wanting no more child, the age of the head of household (male) being			
	Above 50		50 or less		Above 50		20 or less	
	41-50	31-40	21-30	50 or less	41-50	31-40	21-30	20 or less
Lodha	3	7	8	..	3	6	4	..
Bhumi	1	4	4	..	3	2	..	..
Mahato	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..
Total	4	12	12	..	8	8	4	..

TABLE XXVIII
ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO AGE OF THE CHILD-BEARING WOMAN

Community	No. wanting more child, the age of the child-bearing woman being						No. wanting no more child, the age of the child-bearing woman being					
	Above 40		Less than 16		Less than 16		Above 40		16-20		Less than 16	
	36-40	31-35	26-30	21-25	16-20	Less than 16	36-40	31-35	26-30	21-25	16-20	Less than 16
Lodha	2	4	3	8	1	1	4	1	3	1	..	..
Bhumi	1	2	1	3	2	..	3	2	..	..	..	..
Mahato	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Total	3	6	5	11	3	1	8	6	3	1	..	..

APPENDIX II

PANORAMIC REVIEW
OF THE
DHANSOLA REHABILITATION SCHEME

APPENDIX II

PANORAMIC REVIEW OF THE DHANSOLA REHABILITATION SCHEME

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I

Dhansola—a multi-tribal village is situated in Binpur P.S., in Jhargram Subdivision, and under the Lalgarh Development Block (Binpur-I). A moorum-road connects this village directly with Midnapur district headquarter. The village is mainly inhabited by the Santals, the Lodhas and the Bhumijes, and these communities, as yet, maintain some sort of segregation. To spurt up the economic condition of these people, at first, a rehabilitation scheme for the Lodhas was taken up and implemented sometime in the middle of 1962, just after a local riot, in which the Lodhas were virtually ousted from their hamlets by the Mahatos, a rather prosperous and scheming community. On a false pretext or plea they attacked the Lodhas, set fire to their shelters in broad day light, and rendered them homeless riot-victims. Most of the Lodhas took shelter in the Block Development Office of Lalgarh for a couple of days, while some of them fled away to distant places for safety and have not returned. It

attracted the attention of the district authorities, including the Tribal Welfare Officer, who requested the undersigned to investigate into the happenings, and to draw up a scheme for proper rehabilitation of the Lodhas.

The matter was given due priority and almost all the members of the Board of Trustees of the Samaj Sevak Sangha studied the whole situation and the cause of this enmity and clash, and drew up a detailed scheme, which was submitted for approval to the T.W. Deptt. for financial sanction.

In that scheme* the sponsors categorically included provision for wages and excavation of wells, but district authorities did not sanction these expenditures. However, the scheme as subsequently sanctioned on 22nd March, 1962 (*vide* Memo. No. 655-T.W.), for rehabilitation of 35 Lodha families, at a cost of Rs. 70,000/-, which included the following provisions :

TABLE A

(i) Housing for 35 families and 1 Community Hall.	Rs. 15,250-00
(ii) Purchase of cultivable land, cost of house-see and reclamation.	Rs. 38,000-00
(iii) Purchase of agricultural implements, cattle and bullocks, seeds, carts, etc.	Rs. 7,500-00
(iv) Poultry.	Rs. 600-00
(v) Goat rearing.	Rs. 900-00
(vi) Small-scale cottage industry.	Rs. 4,500-00
(vii) Pisciculture.	Rs. 200-00
(viii) Rent for land.	Rs. 300-00
(ix) Recreational facilities.	Rs. 550-00
(x) Supervision charges.	Rs. 1,200-00
(xi) Contingent expenditure.	Rs. 500-00
(xii) Unknown expenditure.	Rs. 500-00
Total	Rs. 70,000-00

The scheme was given a start in the middle of April, 1962, and a social-worker was placed in charge of it. A Rehabilitation Subcommittee was also formed, of which the B.D.O. Lalgah and the S.O., T.W., Midnapur are ex-officio members. Government was pleased to sanction Rs. 17,000 as the first instalment.

II

It took a long time to create confidence in the minds of the people who suffered as a result of the riot, besides the normal disadvantages of a backward people. They had no homes or other shelters, or even any livestock or household utensils. After a few discussions with the Lodhas, a few of them could, however, be convinced that the scheme was for their real welfare. Amongst them there were a few notorious incorrigible jail-birds, and all of the members of the Lodha families were habitual drunkards. There is still a rice-beer shop in the vicinity of the village owned by a Sunri distiller, who also has a grocer's shop. In the evening, almost the whole earning of the Lodhas for the day, goes to that Sunri shop-keeper, who supply them rice, oil, pulses, etc., as well as country-made rice-beer. Thus the situation was very difficult at the initial stage to tackle, as any sort of preaching or discussion with them was difficult to be held during night. Early in the morning, these hungry people hastened for outside places of work, in search of odd jobs, or to collect edible roots and tubers, honey, eggs, etc. from the forest area, or sometimes to catch *Iguanas*, the skin of which is sold and the flesh consumed. In this adverse situation the work of rehabilitation had to be taken up.

A few other difficulties were also felt at that time. There was no good well for supply of drinking water (one is there which is useless and it goes dry after winter months) and

the workers and the members had to face a lot of troubles for this. We expected that a good cultivable land will be available for purchase, but its price was so high, that we felt embarrassed about its prospect. The then B.D.O. tried his level best to procure this land, but failed to do so. So, the sponsors had to face many problems, one after another. Yet, at the very beginning arrangements had been made to repair some broken huts with thatching, and the Lodhas were given to understand that they should be given a goat each, and these they might purchase according to their own choice in the presence of our social worker. As a result, some of them became interested and came forward to act according to this scheme, and began to help the social worker in the manifold activities. A few agricultural implements, mainly hoe (*Kochill*) were given to each of them. Each individual was supplied with a goat and a few cocks and fowl, both of native breed and improved variety.

During the rainy season each individual was given about 1 *higha* of homestead land. A demarcation boundary was made for each plot, and they were supplied with good seeds of various vegetables, like maize, ground-nuts and a few varieties of pulses. During this period, they got a bumper yield, which attracted them more and more to the beneficial aspects of this scheme and created more interest for greater participation. The Rehabilitation Subcommittee, in the meantime, held a number of meetings, in which it was decided that they should each be given a mud-built hut, roofed with either C.I. sheets or tiles, because it is their common vicious habit to apply fire in a drunken state to other's habitat, in case there is a quarrel between two individuals. With the help of the S.O., T.W. a few bundles of C.I. sheets were procured, and from one abandoned

Lodha colony, a few such sheets were also collected, for construction of such huts. Altogether 15 twin-quarters were constructed, along with a big Community Hut, with three rooms. The amount, spent for this work, far exceeded the allotment made by the Govt. Five other individuals still remained homeless. They generally use the Community Hut for shelter, as they are without encumbrances, being either issueless, divorced or widowed. A radio set has been placed at this centre and each evening, adult males and females come to listen to the programmes broadcast. In stages, the sponsors purchased two types of land, and procured some *Khas* land, only recently. The following table gives the details of such land.

TABLE B

TYPES OF LAND PROCURED

1. Homestead (<i>Khas</i>)	10 00	acres
2. <i>Dala</i> land for <i>Das</i> (purchased)	6 56	acres
3. <i>Dala</i> land (<i>Khas</i>)	55 31	acres
Total	72 87	acres
4. Best cultivable land (purchased)	22 96	acres

One bullock cart, 7 bullocks and 2 buffaloes have already been purchased, and major amount sanctioned for purchase of bullocks and setting up of cottage industries (Rs. 10,000) remains yet unspent. It is expected that it will be fully utilised by the middle of July '65.

A few acres of cultivable land have been purchased early and cultivated by a few Lodhas, who got from these better crops. Arrangements had been made to procure about 10 acres of land outside this village, to be cultivated by *Roops* system of share-cropping, in which the Lodha cultivators will get half of the total production. This year some land was purchased with standing crops, which has been collected and stored at the Commu-

nity Hut. Other social benefits like, defraying a part of wedding expenditure, etc. were also extended to them by the Organisation. Some of them were given the facilities for touring some places of interest and the like. One social worker has been appointed on whole-time basis, to look after the various problems of the Lodhas and he has been giving them all possible assistance in times of need. The output of ground-nuts, maize, etc. are noteworthy and seeds for these were supplied to the B.D.O. Office for distribution amongst the Lodhas. Even the paddy cultivated by the Lodhas under the guidance of the social worker is significantly high and, on the results, the local B.D.O. has requested to allot a few *maunds* more of better seeds, to be distributed to others in the Block area.

III

Rehabilitation is fundamentally a different programme from the work of relief. Besides, the rehabilitation of the Lodhas is a very difficult and intricate problem. They, in general, are not at all an agriculturist people. At best they are unskilled agriculturists. Traditionally they are food-gatherers, and even today, in this particular region, most of them subsist by collection of roots, tubers, honey and various kinds of fruits, which are either sold or exchanged for other articles, with the people of the locality or outsiders. They also catch *iguana* and *Chirona* snakes, and sell their skins. So, achieving efficiency in agricultural operations will take time, as well as to obtain a better output, which had been possible due to constant participation of the social worker in their agricultural endeavours. The Samaj Sevak Sangha desires that a few plots should be cultivated by common participants, the output of which will be ultimately for communal purposes and supply of midday meal to the Lodha children reading in the schools. Such

model farms will enable them to grow better seeds and obtain adequate agricultural facilities and advantages, which will be gradually acquired by each of the Lodha members of the Colony.

As they have to stay outside for most part of the day, they are not getting sufficient time to look after their bullocks or other cattle properly. Hence a community cattleshed is also necessary for this purpose.

No wages have been sanctioned by the district authority for those who will participate in common agriculture, as a result of which, the Lodhas will suffer economically during agricultural operations. Because they have no capital or other resources which can be utilised when they will work at their own fields, it is also difficult to introduce as a common practice. The Organisation has, therefore, sent a proposal in this respect to the local Government officials concerned. Besides, utter economic crisis and insolvency have created frustration in their minds, which have indirectly created lack of self-reliance.

They are stigmatised with the habit of thieving and other anti-social activities. A few of them are, however, found to be of a contrary nature. Yet the general consensus and caustic remarks go against them, and these by repetition over years have brought a perpetual moral degeneration. They are also habitually incorrigible liars, and everybody knows of each other's faults. So criminal activities are generally overlooked, and are not protested against by the community members. Even if a protest is made against these, very little support from others is available, though a good number of them have now responded to moral and economic rehabilitation. Due to their thieving habit, they do not get any employment elsewhere. So securing suitable

employment for the Lodhas is also a very difficult problem.

The sponsors of this Organisation have set up an agency sometime ago named Minor Forest Produce Co-operative Society Ltd. to provide employment to the Lodhas, but it could not start functioning as yet, due to lack of interest and help of the authorities concerned. Knowing fully well about the scarcity of drinking water in this area, the authorities remained silent for long 3 years, although constantly reminded, until the District Magistrate and the Addl. District Magistrate personally visited the place for investigation, as a result of which a well has been sunk this year, though not capable of meeting the requirement.

This year D.M. and the A.D.M. had kindly recommended for sanction of salary of one social worker here, which was not available for full one year, as the sanctioned amount was exhausted.

However, inspite of all the above defects and drawbacks, the scheme seems to have been partially successful, as it has been able to create some sort of self-confidence in the mind of this denotified community. A few denotified community colonies in this State have been abandoned by the inhabitants, and such examples are not rare even in this district, where a lot of Government money have already been spent, but no actual beneficiaries, in the real sense, exist as yet. Contrary to this, there is demand from outside Lodhas to be settled in this colony, and altogether 5 more Lodha families have come to stay here, for whom an application has been made for the consideration of the local authorities. The Samaj Sevak Sangha has been able to check, in most cases, the drinking habits of the Lodhas, by providing recreational facilities to

them, as an alternative. The Lodha boys are lodged in the Ashram Hostel at Daharpur (Head Office) for better education, and at the time of marriage celebrations, members of the notorious Lodha families are denied any financial help at present, who normally lure other Lodhas to indulge in anti-social activities. Besides, the members of other tribes like the Bhumijes, the Mahatos, the Santals are now also entertained by the social worker and the Lodhas, as a result of which, no hostility or misunderstanding exists at present amongst them.

It seems a tie of new friendship is gradually being fostered amongst them. We are thinking to start a cheap Co-operative Store for all the people here, which will ultimately bridge up and reconcile the differences in attitude, and some sort of economic inter-dependency will be created through this in time. Further, a new social relation which will bind all the communities together for the sake of their own betterment, is expected to be born of this endeavour.

SAMAJ SEVAK SANGHA

P.O. FULGERIA, MIDNAPUR, WEST BENGAL.

The society is registered under Act XXI of 1860. It has a Board of Trustees consisting of 5 members, the present office-bearers being Prof. P. K. Das, President; Prof. R. M. Sarkar, Vice-President; Prof. K. C. Sarmal; Dr. P. K. Bhownick, Founder; and Prof. R. P. Das, Secretary. This organisation has undertaken betterment work for the backward communities in many places of Midnapur. It has organised a number of social-education centre-run night schools. Main activities of this organisation are directed towards improvement of the economic and social conditions of the tribal and backward people in Midnapur. The Board of Trustees, when they

are vested with the charge of implementation of any Government sponsored scheme of rehabilitation and welfare, generally constitute a Subcommittee, with a few local people, and some ex-officio Government representatives like the S.O., T.W., Midnapur, the B.D.O., the Anchal Pradhan, etc., for administrative convenience and planning. As a result, supervision of work becomes easy and local problems could be studied and tackled effectively without much difficulty. There are, at present, altogether 4 Anthropologists in the Board of Trustees, who are not only interested in determining various local problems but also in the rehabilitation work by application of the methods of field-anthropology or applied anthropology. The nucleus of this organisation is situated at Daharpur, in Narayangarh P.S., quite close to the Railway Station of Narayangarh and the main metalled road. Previously in this village, one model rehabilitation centre for the Lodhas was organised by the Sangha, and later a Co-operative Multipurpose Society has been established by the beneficiaries themselves, the functioning of which, the Samaj Sevak Sangha supervises, as a care-taker institution. A Grain-Gola for the Scheduled Tribes consisting mainly of the Santals, the Mundas, the Lodhas and the Bhumijes has been organised a little later, which is functioning quite satisfactorily. An industrial centre has also been set up, in which, the crafts of mat-making, spinning, weaving and tailoring are taught to the tribal people, to make them economically self-sufficient and independent. This has been done, just to provide the people with gainful employment, during their leisure time, for the present. A few Lodhas have taken such training and have proved themselves capable of being efficient weavers. Thus their income has gone up, and they have secured proportionate economic relief.

A Junior Basic School has already been

sanctioned for this area and an Ashram Hostel for the Lodha boys attached to the Junior Basic School has been established with grants from the Central Government. There is a library, and a woman organiser is in charge of it. Besides this, the Sangha had been extending its help, from time to time, to various institutions, by accommodating temporarily, a few of their research scholars and investigators, at its nicely built community huts in the different villages, and organising University and College anthropological field-trips in this area.

Members of the Board of Trustees gene-

rally attend the meetings and symposia, which are held for discussion of the local problems, and to find out remedial measures. This organisation is receiving support and sympathy of many distinguished educationists, social workers and personalities like, Prof. N. K. Bose, Sri Panchanan Bose, Dr. S. S. Sarkar, Dr. M. N. Basu, Sri R. K. Gupta, D.I.G (Arms & Border), Sri A. Mitra, I. C. S., Registrar General, Sri A. N. Banerjee, I.A.S., Sri S. Samaddar, I. A. S., Sri R. R. Bhattacharya, I. A. S., Sri J. C. Sengupta, I. A. S., Shri B. N. Chowdhury, I. A. S. and the high officials of the Tribal Welfare Department of the Govt. of West Bengal.

APPENDIX III
LAND AND TRIBALS

Note : Synopsis of a talk given by Dr. R. K. Roy Burman, in Tribal
Orientation & Training Centre, Bhubaneswar. — Editor.



APPENDIX III

LAND AND TRIBALS

By

Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, M.Sc., D. Phil.,

Officer on Special Duty.

Office of the Registrar General, India.

1. A very large proportion of the representations received by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission is related to the question of land. To the tribal communities, protection of their traditional rights over lands is of vital importance. By and large the planners and administrators are aware of the necessity of protecting the rights of the tribals, but they are also concerned with the problem of effective and appropriate utilisation of the lands with which the tribal communities are connected for generations.

This difference in emphasis sometimes lead to conflict and tension.

2. Frequently the administrators fail to appreciate that the tribal communities, they are dealing with, have their own concepts about their relation with lands in their territory and this creates many complications. Bailey has pointed out that whereas according to the Government the right to hold cultivated land ultimately derives from itself, and (with certain exceptions) the Government is not concerned with the place of residence or social affiliations, the Khonds have a different notion about it. Each Khond village has a territory which is traditionally considered to belong to it and the members of the community living in that village have right to make use of the land in that territory, in lieu of certain duties and responsibilities discharged by them towards the community.

During the preparation of record of rights, the tribals, therefore, do not care to register their rights over waste land ; as such, rights are taken for granted. Only lands under actual occupation at the time of the survey are included in the record of rights ; the rest of the land are shown as Govt. waste land. But difficulties arise, when Government tries to make use of the waste land for public purposes.

3. The concept of communal ownership of territory, as noticed among the Khonds, is found in various forms among many tribes in other parts of the country.

In the border of West Bengal and Bhutan, there is a small tribe Toto, who are practically found only in one village viz., Totopara. The territory of Totopara covers an area of 3.12 sq. miles. According to the Totos, supreme deity *Ispha* has ordained them to live in this territory alone. Any Toto living outside Totopara for more than a week was in the past required to perform a penance before he was allowed to rejoin his people. Even now, prolonged stay outside the village is discouraged. The relationship between the community and the land is a sacred relationship ; and not merely a proprietary relationship.

The Sherdukpens of the village Rupa in NEFA have relationship of another category with their land. It is of political category.

Officers to look after the tribal interests in land used to be appointed till 1936, when the district was under Madras. After that the post had been abolished.

Serious irregularities have been noticed in the enforcement of the law relating to protection against alienation of tribal land. There was a case in High Court in which it was alleged that a tribal landowner of Bolangir had lost 22 acres of good paddy land for Rs. 60/- In another case, more than 30 acres of land was sold for Rs. 60/-.

These cases show that the formal laws are not enough; the enforcement of the law through proper machinery is equally important.

8. In Tripura the different tribes are required to pay house-tax at different rates for carrying on shifting cultivation. This seems to be an indication in the diverse political relation of the various tribes with the ruling family during the State period.

9. In many States there was no restriction till recently for the tribal people to carry on reclamation of waste land and settle there. After a period of 2-3 years, they were assessed. This has now been stopped in Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh etc., as a result of which

thousands of tribals have been declared as trespassers in these States.

10. As a programme of welfare of Scheduled Tribes, several States have given priority to the Scheduled Tribes in the matter of allotment of waste land, and surplus land vested with the Government since introduction of land reform measures. It has been noticed in Bihar that the land allotted to the tribals is not frequently under their actual possession. They do not have the capital or the necessary interest to develop the land and bring it under cultivation. Hence there are many cases of unauthorised transfer; or again there are cases of land remaining unused. The same position has been noticed in Orissa also.

Allotment of land to the tribals should not therefore be considered to be the end of the programme but the beginning of the programme.

The tribals require capital to reclaim the land, purchase equipment including draught cattle and also to support themselves till the first crop is raised. The tribals also sometimes require guidance and advice in the matter of selection of crops, use of better seeds, use of manures and fertilisers etc. All these should constitute inseparable parts of a unified land policy in respect of the tribals.

APPENDIX IV

SPECIAL SCHEDULE ON
VILLAGES NEAR FORESTS



APPENDIX IV

SPECIAL SCHEDULE ON VILLAGES NEAR FORESTS

District _____

Police Station _____

Village/Mauza _____

J. L. No. _____

Name of the Head of the Household _____

Sl. No. _____

1. Do you collect any forest produce? Do you collect them every month? On what right do you get the produce?
2. How much forest produce do you sell during a month? What price do you get?
3. Where do you sell the forest produce? To whom do you sell the forest produce?
 - (a) Individuals
 - (b) Wholesalers
 - (c) Co-operative Society
 - (d) Any other agency
4. Are you engaged as forest labourer? For how many months in a year do you get work? What is your monthly earning on an average?
5. Do you hunt animals in the forest? What animals do you find for hunting? How many animals of different types in a year do you hunt on an average? Do you sell the carcass? If so, at what price?
6. Are you troubled by wild animals? What preventive measures do you take?
7. Are you troubled by insects or pests? Any preventive measures taken by you?
8. Sources of water and their distance from the village.
9. What are your main occupations in off season?
10. Do you leave the forest area for your livelihood in off season? If so, name and distance of the place where you go. What work do you get there? Do you go there alone, or with any member(s) of your family/community? For how many years have you been going there?
11. Has any member of your family died of any usual forest hazard during the last 5 years while engaged in active hunting operations?
12. (a) What are the hunting implements you use? Do you prepare them yourself or get them prepared by others or purchase them? If prepared by others, who are they? If purchased, wherefrom do you purchase them? What is the price of each implement in each case?
 - (b) Do you hunt individually? Why so?
 - (c) Do you hunt on a collective basis? Who are the participants? Do the female members and children participate? If so, what are their roles? How do you apportion the catch? Is there any leader during collective hunting? What is his role?
 - (d) Is there any religious festival connected with hunting? If so, details.
 - (e) Is there any myth or legend about hunting?

- (f) Do you know any practice or belief which foretells bad or good omen connected with hunting ?
- (g) Is there any taboo which prevents any member of your family from participation ? What are the disabilities ?
13. What time do you think propitious for hunting and why ?
14. Do you take hunting as a sport/pastime/religious function/convention/means of earning livelihood ?
15. Has any factor curtailed your hunting activity ?
16. Do you think that your activity is restrained or restricted by the forest laws ? What steps do you suggest that may improve hunting activity ?
17. Have you differed in any way from the hunting practices as observed by your forefathers or by the members of your community in your native place ?

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

(as on 17th February 1964)

AGARTALA—

1. Laxmi Bhandar Books & Scientific Sales (Rest)

AGRA—

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

AHMADNAGAR—

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

AHMEDABAD—

1. Balgovind Kuber Das & Co., Gandhi Road (Reg.)
2. Chandra Kant Chaman Lal Vora, Gandhi Road (Reg.)
3. New Order Book Co., Film Bridge (Reg.)
4. Mahajan Firm, Opp. Khadia Police Gate (Rest)
5. Saira Kitab Ghar, Near Relief Tailors, Pathar Kura, Relief Road (Reg.)

AJMER—

1. Book Land, 63, Madar Gate (Reg.)
2. Rajputana Book House, Station Road (Reg.)
3. Law Book House, 271, Hathi Bhatta (Reg.)
4. Vihar Book, Kutchery Road (Rest)
5. Krishna Book, Kutchery Road (Rest)

ALIGARH—

1. Friends' Book House, Madia University Market (Reg.)

ALLAHABAD—

1. Superintendent, Printing & Stationery, U.P.
2. Kanchan, 12-A, Kanha Narayn Road (Reg.)
3. Law Book Co., Sadar Patel Marg, P. Box 4 (Reg.)
4. Ram Narain Lal Das Modlin, 2-A, Kanra Road (Reg.)
5. Universal Book Co., 20, M. G. Road (Reg.)
6. Universal Book Agency (of India), Tigar Road (Reg.)
7. Wadhwa & Co., 27, M. G. Marg (Rest)
8. Dharti Law House, 11, Mahatma Gandhi Marg (Rest)
9. Ram Narain Lal Das Prakash, 2-A, Kanra Road (Rest)

AMBALA—

1. English Book Depot, Ambala Cantt. (Reg.)
2. Seth Law House, 477A, Rainbow Road, Ambala Cantt. (Rest)

AMRITSAR—

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

ANAND—

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

ASANSOL—

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

BANGALORE—

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

BAREILLY—

1. Agarwal Brothers, Bara Bazar (Reg.)

BARODA—

1. Sri Chandrakant Mehan Lal Saha, Raopura (Rest)
2. Good Companions Booksellers, Publishers & Sub-Agent (Rest)
3. New Medical Book House, 510, Madan Zampa Road (Rest)

BELWAR—

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

BILGHARIA—

1. Granthak. Antiquarian Booksellers & Publishers (24-Fargana), 51, Ambica Mukherjee Road (Reg.)

BHAGALPUR—

1. Paper Stationery Stores, D. N. Sirdi Road (Reg.)

BHOPAL—

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

BHURANESWAR—

- 1 Ekamra Vidvabhan, Eastern Tower, Room No. 3 (Rest)

BIJAPUR—

- 1 Shri D. V. Deshpanda, Recognised Law Booksellers, Prop. Vinod Book Depot, Near Shirahetti Chowk (Rest)

BIKANER—

- 1 Bhandani Book (Rest)

BILASPUR—

- 1 Sharma Book Stall, Sadar Bazar (Rest)

BOMBAY—

- 1 Supdt. Printing and Stationery, Queens Road
- 2 Charles Lambert and Co., 101, Mahatma Gandhi Road (Reg.)
- 3 Co-operator's Book Depot, 5/32 Ahmed Sailor Bldg. Daxlar (Reg.)
- 4 Current Book House, Maruti Lane, Raghunath Dadaji Street (Reg.)
- 5 Current Technical Literature Co. P. Ltd., India House, 1st floor (Reg.)
- 6 International Book House Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, M. G. Road (Reg.)
- 7 Lakkami Book Depot, Gurgaum (Reg.)
- 8 Elpers Agencies, 24, Bhangwadi, Kolbadevi (Reg.)
- 9 P. P. H. Book Stall, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road (Reg.)
- 10 New Book Co, 183-190, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road (Reg.)
- 11 Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road (Reg.)
- 12 Sunder Das Gain Chand, 601, Gurgaum Road, Near Princess Street (Reg.)
- 13 D. B. Taraporewala Sons and Co. (P) Ltd., 210, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road (Reg.)
- 14 Thacker & Co., Rampart Row (Reg.)
- 15 N. M. Tripathi Private Ltd., Princess Street (Reg.)
- 16 The Kothari Book Depot, King Edward Road (Reg.)
- 17 P. H. Rama Krishna and Sons, 147, Rajaram Bhuvan, Shivraj Park Road No. 5 (Rest)
- 18 C. Jambadas and Co., Booksellers, 146-C, Princess St. (Reg.)
- 19 Indo Nath and Co., A-6, Daulat Nagar Borivli (Reg.)
- 20 Minerva Book Shop, Shop No. 1/80, N. Subhas Road (Reg.)
- 21 Academic Book Co., Association Building, Gurgaum Road (Rest)
- 22 Dominion Publishers, 23, Bell Bldg. Shri P. M. Road (Rest)
- 23 Bombay National History Society, 91, Walkeshwar Road (Rest)
- 24 Dewaramdas and Co., 16, Naraina Building, Ballard Estate (Rest)
- 25 Anan Trading Co., 310, the Mirahall, P. B. 1503 (Rest)

CALCUTTA—

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

CALICUT—

- 1 Touring Book Stall (Rest)

CHANDIGARH—

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

CHHINDWARA—

- 1 The Verma Book Depot (Rest)

COCHIN—

- 1 Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Pallissera Road (Reg.)

CUTTACK—

- 1 Press Office, Choudhury Street (Reg.)
- 2 Cuttack Law Times (Reg.)

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

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CUTTACK—

- 3 Prabhat K. Mahapatra, Mangalabag, P. B. 35 (Reg.)
- 4 D. P. Sur & Sons, Mangalbag (Rest)
- 5 Utkal Stores, Balu Bazar (Rest)

DEHRA DUN—

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

DELHI—

- 1 J. M. Jaina & Brothers Mori Gate (Reg.)
- 2 Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmere Gate (Reg.)
- 3 Federal Law Book Depot, Kashmere Gate (Reg.)
- 4 Bahri Bros., 183, Lajpat Rai Market (Reg.)
- 5 Bawa Harkishan Das Bedi (Vijaya General Agency) P. B. 2027, Abata Kedara, Chamalan Road (Reg.)
- 6 Book-Well, 4, Sant Narankari Colony, P. B. 1565 (Reg.)
- 7 Imperial Publishing Co., 3, Faiz Bazar, Daraganj (Reg.)
- 8 Metropolitan Book Cor., 1, Faiz Bazar (Reg.)
- 9 Publication Centre, Subsimandi (Reg.)
- 10 Youngman & Co., Nai Sarak (Reg.)
- 11 Indian Army Book Depot, 3, Daraganj (Reg.)
- 12 All India Educational Supply Co., Sati Ram Bldg., Jawahar Nagar (Rest)
- 13 Dhawan Medical & Law Book House, 1572, Lajpat Rai Market (Rest)
- 14 University Book House, 15, W. B. Rangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar (Rest)
- 15 Law Literature House, 2046, Bahadur Sarai (Rest)
- 16 Sumner Book, P. O. Bala Lota (Rest)
- 17 Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16, Netaji Subhas Marg (Reg.)
- 18 R. Nath & Bros., 3072, Chitrakhowan (Chowki Bazar) (Rest)
- 19 Rajkamal Prakashan P. Ltd., 8, Faiz Bazar (Reg.)
- 20 Premier Book Co., Printers, Publishers & Book-sellers, Nai Sarak (Rest)
- 21 Universal Book Traders, 82, Gokhale Market (Reg.)
- 22 Tech. & Commercial Book, Coy., 73, Gokhale Market (Rest)
- 23 Sansi Law Publishing Co., 1116, Chabgotra, Kashmere Gate (Rest)
- 24 G. M. Abujar Book-sellers & Stationers, 209, Netaji Bazar (Rest)
- 25 Sri Narain & Sons, 1111 Mohd. Ali Bazar, Main Gate (Reg.)
- 26 Kishor Mohd (Widow's Heir) P. Ltd., 22, Faiz Bazar (Reg.)
- 27 Hindu Sahitya Samiti, Nai Sarak (Rest)
- 28 Manohar Book Mandirani Ltd., Chawwal Bazar, Millers & Publishers, P. B. 1163, Nai Sarak (Rest)
- 29 K. L. Book Suppliers of Law, Commercial Tech. Books, Anand Nagar, Connaught Place (Rest)
- 30 Anand Publishing Services, 24, 26 Anand Road (Rest)

DELHARAD—

- 1 Loring Co-operative Stores Ltd., P. O. Indian School of Mines (Reg.)
- 2 New Market Press, Post Bag 26 (Rest)

DHARWAR—

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

ERNAKULAM—

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

FEROZEPUR—

- 1 English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road (Reg.)

GAUHATI—

- 1 Mokshada Pustakalaya (Reg.)

GAYA—

- 1 Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Budha Marg (Reg.)

GHAZIABAD—

- 1 Jayana Book Agency (Rest)

GORAKHPUR—

- 1 Vishwa Vidyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road (Reg.)

GUDUR—

- 1 The General Manager, The N. D. C. Publishing & Ptg. Society Ltd. (Rest)

GUNTUR—

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

GWALIOR—

- 1 Supt. Printing & Stationery, M.B.
- 2 Loyal Book Depot, Patankar Bazar, Laikhar (Reg.)
- 3 M. C. Dastari, Prop. M. B. Jain & Bros., Book-sellers, Sarafa, Laikhar (Rest)

HUBLI—

- 1 Prerog's Book House, Koppikar Road (Reg.)

HYDERABAD—

- 1 Director Govt. Press
- 2 The Swarnaj Book Depot, Lakdikapul (Reg.)
- 3 Book Lovers Private Ltd. (Rest)
- 4 Labour Law Publications, 673, Sultan Bazar (Rest)

IMPITAL—

- 1 Tilendra & Sons Book-seller (Rest)

INDORE—

- 1 Walshaw & Co., S. M. G. Road (Reg.)
- 2 Anand Brothers, Khatari Bazar (Rest)

INDORE—

- 3 Madhya Pradesh Book Centre, 41, Abilya Pura (Rest)
- 4 Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace (Rest)
- 5 Navyug Sahitya Sadan, Publishers & Book-sellers, 10, Khajuri Bazar (Rest)

JABALPUR—

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

JAIPUR—

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

JAMNAGAR—

- 1 Swadeshi Vastu Bhandar (Reg.)

JAMSHEDPUR—

- 1 Amar Kitab Ghar, Diagonal Road, P. B. 71 (Reg.)
- 2 Gupta Stores, Dhakidih (Reg.)
- 3 Sanyal Bros., Booksellers & News Agents, Bistapur Market (Rest)

JAWALAPUR—

- 1 Sahyog Book Depot (Rest)

JHUNJHUNU—

- 1 Shashi Kumar Sarat Chand (Rest)
- 2 Kapram Prakashan Prasarana, 190 Namdha Niwas Azad Mark (R.)

JODHPUR—

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

JULLUNDUR—

- 1 Harmonia Bros., Mai Hiran Gate (Rest)
- 2 Jain General House, Pazar Bansawal (Reg.)
- 3 University Publishers, Railway Road (Rest)

KANPUR—

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

KARUR—

- 1 Shri V. Nagaja Rao, 26, Srinivasapuram (Rest)

KODARMA—

- 1 The Bhagwati Press, P. O. Jhumri Tilaiya, Dt. Hazaribagh (Reg.)

KOLHAPUR—

- 1 Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road (Rest)

KOTA—

- 1 Kota Book Depot (Rest)

KUMTA—

- 1 S. V. Karnat, Booksellers & Stationers (N. Kanara) (Reg.)

LUCKNOW—

- 1 Soochna Sahitya Depot (State Book Depot)
- 2 Balakrishna Book Co. Ltd., Hazratganj (Reg.)
- 3 British Book Depot, B1, Hazratganj (Reg.)
- 4 Ram Advani, Hazratganj, P. B. 154 (Reg.)
- 5 Universal Publishers (P.) Ltd., Hazratganj (Reg.)
- 6 Eastern Book Co., Lalbagh Road (Reg.)
- 7 Civil & Military Educational Stores, 106 B, Sadar Bazar (Rest)
- 8 Acquarium Supply Co., 213, Fairbairn Road (Rest)
- 9 Law Book Mart, Amin-Ud-daula Park (Rest)

LUDHIANA—

- 1 Lvall Book Depot, Chaura Bazar (Reg.)
- 2 Mohindra Brothers, Katchery Road (Rest)
- 3 Nanda Stationery Bhandar, Patak Bazar (Rest)
- 4 The Pharmacy News, Park St. (Rest)

MADRAS—

- 1 Supdt., Govt. Press, Mount Road
- 2 Account Test Institute, P. O. 760 Engross (Reg.)
- 3 C. Subbiah Chetty & Co., Triplicane (Reg.)
- 4 K. Krishnamurti, P. B. 314 (Reg.)
- 5 Presidency Book Supplies, B, Pymforts Road, Triplicane (Reg.)
- 6 P. Varadachary Co., B, Linghi Chetty Street (Reg.)
- 7 Palani Parthasarani, J, Pymforts Road, Triplicane (Reg.)
- 8 NCH Private Ltd., 199, Mount Road (Rest)
- 9 V. Sudarand, The Presonal Bookshop, 10, Congress Bldg. III, Mount Road (Rest)

MADRAS—

- 1 Oriental Book House, 174, West Mass Street (Reg.)
- 2 Visalakanda Press, 48, West Mass Street (Reg.)

MANDYA SUGAR TOWN—

- 1 K. N. Narimbe Gowda & Sons (Rest)

MANGALORE—

- 1 U. R. Shetty Sons, Cor Street, P. Box 123 (Reg.)

MANJESHWAR—

- 1 Mukenda Krishna Nayak (Rest)

MATHURA—

- 1 Rath & Co., Tiloni Bldg. Bengali Ghat (Rest)

MEERUT—

- 1 Prakash Educational Stores, Subhas Bazar (Reg.)
 2 Hind Chitra Press, West Kutichery Road (Reg.)
 3 Loyal Book Depot, Chhipi Tank (Reg.)
 4 Bharat Educational Stores, Chhipi Tank (Rest)
 5 Universal Book Depot, Bookellers & News Agents (Rest)

MONGHYR—

- 1 Anusandhan, Minerva Press Building (Rest)

MUSSOORIE—

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

MUZAFFARNAGAR—

- 1 Metal & Co., B-5-C, New Mandi (Rest)
 2 B. S. Jain & Co., 71, Alapura (Rest)

MUZAFFARPUR—

- 1 Scientific & Educational Supply Syndicate (Reg.)
 2 Loyal Corner, Tilmans House, Ampala Road (Rest)
 3 Tallest Book Depot (Rest)

MYSORE—

- 1 H. Venkateswami & Sons, New Square Circle (Reg.)
 2 Peoples Book House, Opp. Jagas Mohan Palace (Reg.)
 3 Lotus Book House, Bookellers & Publishers, K. S. Desai Marg, Shivajinagar (Rest)
 4 New Peoples House, Landmark Building (Rest)
 5 Lotus Mercantile Corporation, Ten Palms, Ramnagar (Rest)

NAGHAT—

- 1 B. A. Dewar, Station Road (Rest)

NAGPUR—

- 1 Supt. Govt. Press & Book Depot (Reg.)
 2 Peoples Book Depot, Rashtrapati Road (Reg.)
 3 The New Publishers, Mineral Industry Association, Mineral House (Rest)

NAINITAL—

- 1 Central Book Depot, Main Road (Rest)

NANDED—

- 1 Book Centre, College Lane Central Books, Station Road (Rest)
 2 Hindustan Commercial Stores, Paper & Stationery Merchants, P. B. No. 34 (Rest)
 3 Peoples Book Agency, Taminabad (Rest)

NEW DELHI—

- 1 Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus (Reg.)
 2 Bhawani & Sons, 8F, Connaught Place (Reg.)
 3 Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
 4 Empire Book Depot, 27B, Aliganj (Reg.)
 5 English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus, P. O. B. 328 (Reg.)
 6 Faqir Chand & Sons., 15-A, Khan Market (Reg.)
 7 Jain Book Agency, C-9, Prem House, Connaught Place (Reg.)
 8 Oxford Book & Stationary Co., Scindia House (Reg.)
 9 Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore) 16/B, Connaught Place (Reg.)
 10 Sikh Publishing House, 7-C, Connaught Place (Reg.)
 11 Suneja Book Centre, 24/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
 12 United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
 13 Jayana Book Depot, Chhapparwala Kuan, Karol Bagh (Reg.)
 14 Navayug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, Dev Nagar (Reg.)
 15 Sarawati Book Depot, 15, Lady Harding Road (Reg.)
 16 The Secretary, Indian Met. Society, Lodi Road (Reg.)
 17 New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals, Stv. & Novels, P. B. 96, Connaught Place (Reg.)
 18 Mehra Brothers, 50-G, Kalkaji (Reg.)
 19 Luxmi Book Stores, 42 Janpath (Rest)
 20 Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath (Rest)
 21 People Publishing House (P) Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road (Reg.)
 22 R. K. Publishers, 23, Beadon Pura, Karol Bagh (Rest)
 23 Sharma Bros. 17, New Market, Moti Nagar (Reg.)
 24 Azadi Dukan, 5/5777, Dev Nagar (Rest)
 25 Saraswata Service, 65A-1, Rohtak Road, P. B. 2521 (Rest)
 26 H. Chandon, P. B. No. 3034 (Rest)
 27 The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India, 23/B/2, Rohtak Road (Rest)
 28 Standard Bookellers & Stationers, Palam Exclave (Rest)
 29 Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Regarpura (Rest)
 30 Sati Ram Bookellers, 16, New Municipal Market, Lady Colony (Rest)

PANJIM—

- 1 Scepter's Book House, P. O. B. 70 Near the Church (Rest)
 2 Scepter's Book House, Bookellers, 5-7, Rua, Il de Janeiro (Rest)

PATHANKOT—

- 1 The Krishna Book depot, Main Bazar (Rest)

PATIALA—

- 1 Supt. Bhagwanta State Press (Reg.)
 2 Jain & Co., 17, Shah Nahan Bazar (Reg.)

PATNA—

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

PITHORAGARH—

- 1 Maniram Punetha & Sons (Rest)

PONDICHERRY—

- M/s. Honesty Book House, 9 Rue Duplax (R.)

POONA—

- 1 Deccan Book Stall, Deccan Gymkhana (Reg.)
- 2 Imperial Book Depot, 276, M. G. Rd. (R.)
- 3 International Book Service, Deccan
Gymkhana (Reg.)
- 4 Raka Book Agency, Opp. Naru's Chawl
Near Appa Balwant Chowk (Reg.)
- 5 Utility Book Depot, 1339, Shivaji Nagar (Rest)

PUDUKOTTAI—

- 1 Shri P. N. Swaminathan Sivam & Co., East
Main Road (Rest)

RAJKOT—

- 1 Mohan Lal Desabbhai Shah, Bookellers and
Sub-agents (Reg.)

RANCHI—

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

REWA—

- 1 Supdt., Govt. State Emporium V. P.

ROURKELA—

- 1 The Rourkela Review (Rest)

SAHARANPUR—

- 1 Chandra Bharata Pustak Bhandar, Court
Road (Rest)

SECUNDERABAD—

- 1 Hindustan Dairy Publishers, Market Street (Reg.)

SILCHAR—

- 1 Shri Nabitto Sen, Nazirpatti (Rest)

SIMLA—

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

SINNAR—

- 1 Shri N. N. Jakhadi, Agent, Times of India
Sinnar (Nauk) (Rest)

SHILLONG—

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

SONEPAT—

- 1 United Book Agency (Reg.)

SRINAGAR—

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

SURAT—

- 1 Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road (Reg.)

TIRUCHIRAPALLI—

- 1 Kalpana Publishers, Wostur (Reg.)
- 2 S. Krishnaaswami & Co.,
33, Subhash Chandra Bose Road (Reg.)
- 3 Palaniappa Bhow (Rest)

TRIVANDRUM—

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

TUTICORIN—

- 1 Shri K. Thiagarajan, 10-C, French Chapel
Road (Rest)

UDAIPUR—

- 1 Jagdish & Co., Inside Sarajapole (Rest)
- 2 Book Centre, Maharana, Bhowal
Consumers, Co-op. Society Ltd. (Rest)

UJJAIN—

- Manoh Chand Book Depot, Sati Gate (Rest)

VARANASI—

- 1 Students Friends & Co., Lanka (Rest)
- 2 Chowkamba Sanskrit Series Office,
Gopal Mandir Road, P. B. B. (Reg.)
- 3 Gosh Book Centre (Rest)
- 4 Kishore Sareya, University Road, Lanka (Reg.)
- 5 B.H.U. Book Depot (Rest)

VELLORE—

- 1 A. Venkatasubham, Law Bookellers (Reg.)

VIJAYAWADA—

- 1 The Book & Review Centre, Ebers Road,
Governor's (Rest)

VISAKHAPATNAM—

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

VIZIANAGARAM—

- 1 Sarda & Co. (Rest)

WARDHA—

- 1 Swarajya Bhandar, Bhooji, Market (Reg.)

For Local Sale

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

Railway Bookstall holders

- 1 S.S. A. H. Wheeler & Co., 15, Egin Road, Alahabad
- 2 Gubbins Bros., K. E. M. Road, Bangalore
- 3 Huggins & Co. Ltd., Market Road, Madras
- 4 M. Gulab Singh & Sons Private Ltd., Malabar Road, New Delhi

Foreign

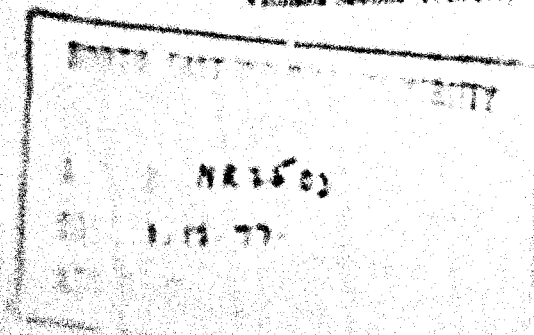
- 1 S.S. Education Enterprise Private Ltd., Kachumbuda (Nepal)
- 2 S.S. Asia Bookstall, C. R. Frasers Road, Havelock Market, Pondicherry-2, Box 1526, South India-16 (Australia)
- 3 Bookstall Verboekhandel Saengster, Post 710, Garmengstrasse 21, Saengster No. 11145, Saengster dm. Germany West
- 4 Star Line Bookstall, 432, Riverside Drive Apt. 6, New York, U.S.A.
- 5 The Proprietor, Book Centre, Lakshmi Museum, 69, The Mill, Lahore (Pakistan)

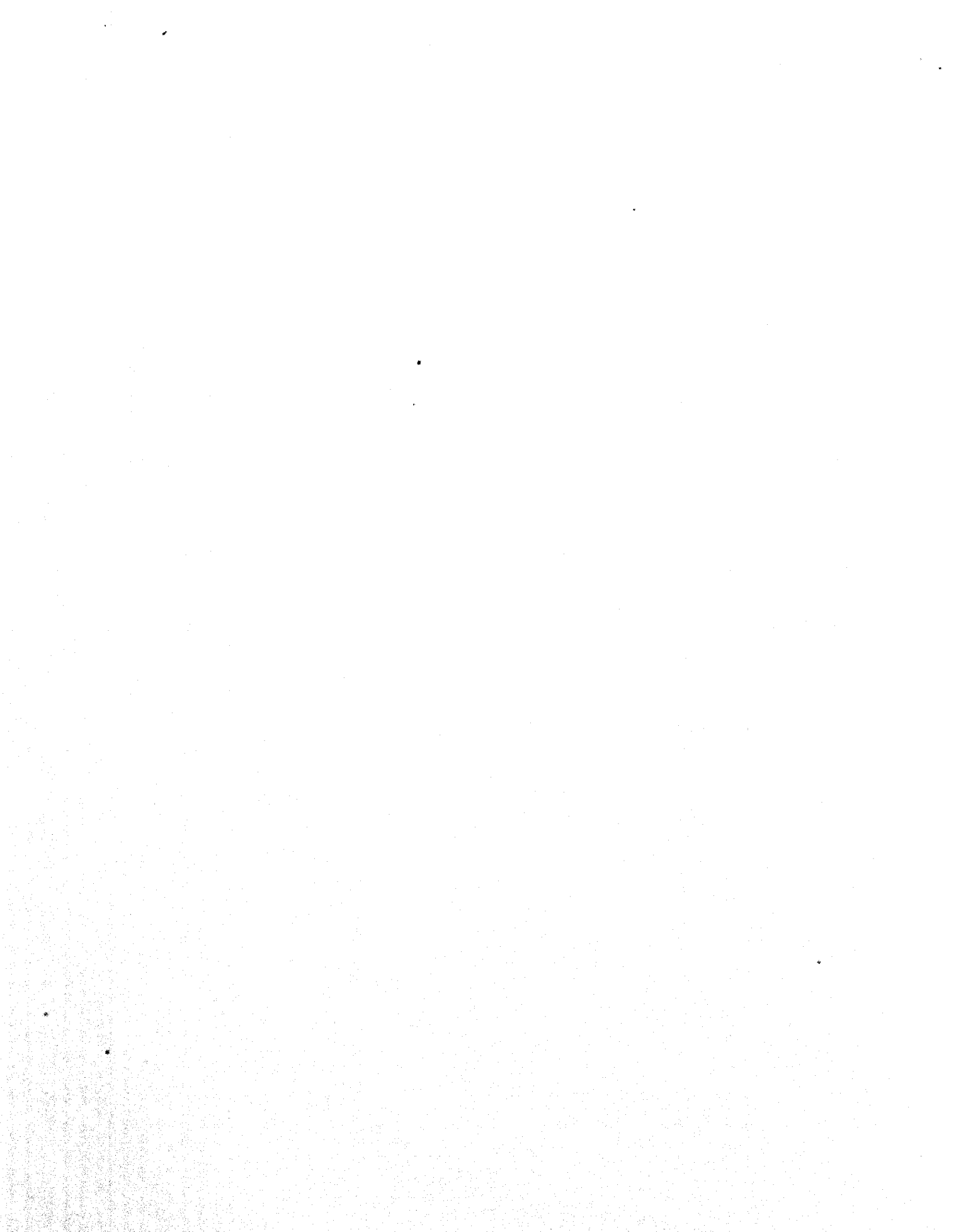
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