

The Tribe of Western Duars: A Case Study on Asur Tribe from Colonial to Post-Colonial Period

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Abstract: *The introduction of tea plantation in northern parts of Bengal during colonial rule, a large number of tea garden Coolies (labourers) were brought in the isolated plantation enclaves of Duars from Chotanagpur (Jharkhand), Santhal Pargana and Nepal. One of them Asur (Ashoor)Tribe. This paper tries to understand the History of Origin, Development and Society and Culture of Asur tribe from Colonial to post-colonial period. This Study done by the case study on Karilane of Nagrakata Block Jalpaiguri district. Now gradually their emergence since independence of India, development with tribe identity and impose political influence. This is an unexplored area which try to fill the gap.*

Keywords: Culture, Coolies, Labours, Society, Education, Christianity, Asur, Colonial, Tribe

1. Methodology of the Study

Method of the writing of this paper is descriptive with applying historical analysis. Data has been collected from different secondary sources like books, research papers, research thesis, newspapers, and especially field report and also personal interview with Asur tribe people of this village.

2. Introduction

According to the 1991 census, the population of Ashur community in West Bengal is 4864. Of these, the total number is 3108 in the undivided Jalpaiguri district of North Bengal. There are also some Ashur people in Jalpaiguri and Cooch Bihar districts. Ashur is one of the 40 Scheduled Tribes of West Bengal who claim to be the descendants of this same name in the past. However, it is true that the word Ashur is inscribed in multiple Hindu scriptures. Such as Rig Veda, Brahmada, Aranyakas, Upanishads, Puranas etc. The tea belt of the plains of North Bengal basically refers to the Duars and the Terai. The British declared the area a "non-regulated area" to protect the area from tea cultivation. As a result, the general laws of the British government did not apply to this region. The permanent land system and other land-related relationships are unique here. A large number of workers are required to set up tea gardens in the area. Indigenous peoples like Mech, Rava, Garo, Toto etc were not interested in working as tea garden workers. It is also true that the agricultural lands of these tribes were taken over by the English. All these aborigines were forced to move away, leaving no doubt that the British rulers, especially the tea-tax relations, had a good relationship with them. The European conquest and colonialism not only expanded their commercial empire but also had created a distinctive social space altering the economic and environmental history in the non-European world. One of the ways was the commercialisation of agriculture and secondly was the establishment of large-scale plantations which served the western capitalist and revenue interest. Along with the large-scale cultivation of cash crops like jute and the tea plantations in British India. During the nineteenth century British colonial rule in India, the introduction of tea plantation in northern parts of colonial

Bengal had changed economic base and the demographic characteristics of the region. Almost at the same time, another region located at the foothills of Darjeeling Himalaya known as Duars also emerged as one of the largest teas producing belts in British India (Das, 2019). At the time a lot of workers were needed to work in the tea garden, then the British tea owner brought many coolies labours from Chotanagpur, Jharkhand and Bihar to work in the tea garden. Among them were the Asur (Ashoor) tribe who worked under the supervision of Carron Sardar (Carron Asur) after that named the village Karilane. The early name of this village was Takta. After that this garden was named Carron Tea Estate located at Nagrakata block in Jalpaiguri. In this article will discuss in detail about the Asur (Ashoor) tribe, which learned from them.

3. Origin and Development

According to the 1991 census, the population of Ashur community in West Bengal is 4864. Of these, the total number is 3108 in the undivided Jalpaiguri district of North Bengal. There are also some Ashur people in Darjeeling and Cooch Bihar districts. Ashur is one of the 40 Scheduled Tribes of West Bengal who claim to be the descendants of this same name in the past. However, it is true that the word Ashur is inscribed in multiple Hindu scriptures. Such as Rig Veda, Brahmada, Aranyakas, Upanishads, Puranas etc. In trying to find the answer, the court first mentioned the name of a small indigenous group in America, "Nowaho". They belong to the reserved group. Interestingly, the Americans call them nowa-ho, but the people call themselves tribe people. In the same way, in India too, several tribal groups are known by name today peoples who were not actually known by at least 7 names before themselves. Mundas belonging to the proto-Australoid family are mentioned as an example. The name Munda is given to others by the name "Munda". They called themselves "Harak". Harak means people. This is exactly how the people of the "Ho" community in Singbhum identify themselves as "Horo". The word "horo" is horoko's apobhrongsha. The Santals identify themselves as Hor. The word "hor" means man. Another indigenous people of Chhotanagpur is "Birhor". The word "bir" means forest, and the word 'hor' means man. They identify themselves as forest dwellers. But others identify them by the name of

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Birhor. There are more such examples. For example, the Oraos of Chhotonagpur of the Dravidian language group identify themselves as seals. Seal means son of the sun. But we identify them as Orao. In the same way the word Asur resembles the word "Assyria". It means powerful people. It is said that Assyria Babylon was formed on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Although it is almost impossible to divide them historically or geographically. However, it is just that the word Asur has been inscribed in multiple Hindu scriptures. Rigveda, Brahmanada, Aranyakasa, Upanishads, Puranas etc.

What is the significance of the word Asur! The first thing to mention in the answer is- Asur is a name of appreciation index. Rigveda also hints at it. What was the best and most honorable of Asur Shakti? The answer is found in future old texts. "Hiranya Hastah Asurah". That is to say, the man whose hand is golden in color - Asurder skin color was probably brown and bright to look at. There are more references in the Mahabharata with Asurder. There are indications that demons came to India from outside. According to historians, archaeologists, anthropologists have hidden the Asurder past. In multiple archeological sites of Mohenjo-daro. According to Hindu scriptures, demons are also foreign to India. The Vedas also give his indication. Jagat Guru Shankaraacharya has given the meaning of the word Asur - Powerful, Highly Intelligent, Destroyer of Enemies, Giver of life. That is, in the Rik Veda, Asurder is mentioned as strong; Shankaraacharya has therefore explained the above analysis of the multiplicity of Asurder. Older people in Asurder who are still alive today think or are proud to be descendants of the heroic Asurer. Although they can't tell any story of their former masculinity. Speaking about Variyar Tata Steel, remarked that iron must have been known in the Vedic age and that the Asur human group was an integral part of the Indus Valley Civilization. The ruins of an earthen fort at Ghashi, twenty-four miles from the present-day city of Azamgarh in present-day Uttar Pradesh, are believed by locals was Asur. Further argues that excavations in Azamgarh district have found evidence that the Koonwar and Munghi rivers connected - a tunnel, still known as 'Asurin'. The locals believe that the creator of this 'Asurin' was Asur.

In fact, a ruler named Bok Asur became very famous at some point. The boundaries of his kingdom extended from Uttar Pradesh to Bihar and further to North Bengal and Assam. His pattern was named after several villages in the region named Asured. Bok Asur was eaten people, as mentioned by Hugh-en-Sang (A Chinese traveler) in his famous travelogue to India. Thus, in the Chhotonagpur region, multiple traces of the Asur civilization can be found. First of all, in ancient times, a great Assyrian named Gay Asur practiced austerities in Gaya for a thousand years. According to many people - the city of Gaya was also named after several Asur heroes. In fact, earlier in the state of Bihar, now in various parts of Jharkhand province, in Gaya, Patna, etc., various patterns of Asur civilization can be found.

"Ensaiclopedia Mundarika" - Reverend John Hapman S. J.'s famous research book with Munda - here of course Mr. Reverend has found many similarities between the Asur and

Munda in philosophy and the Asur language. According to him, the Asuras are a branch separated from the Mundas. In response to this one strong argument, it still doesn't look that way. The long battle of Asur against the Aryans has been described in various mythological books including Rigveda, Mahabharata, Ramayana. In addition, Buddhist and Jain texts have spoken of the Asur was absolute powerful. References to the Asur community are also found in Greek-Puran. Many people think that the word "ahur" of the pre-Zoroastrian era means Asur. About a thousand times in Vedic literature. The RigVeda has been praised 88 times about Asur. The fifth mandala of the Rig Veda, 42 Sukta, 11 Rik says, "Whose archer is the best, who is the lord of all medicine - praise Rudra, worship Rudra for peace of mind, worship that radiant Asura with salutation". Praying to Asur "O Asur! O Prachet! O Rajan! Do us a favor". The word Asur is used 8 times in the seventh mandala of the RigVeda. Praising of Asur, it has been said, "You should always worship Manu Kartik Samiddhagni, who is worthy of praise, Asur, skillful, quick, truthful, like human beings in the world". Mojumdar (1927) makes it clear that Asur was strong and brave enough during the time of the Aryans. So, they clashed with the Aryans. However, the Aryans are unable to defeat the Asur by force but are able to weaken the Asur through deception, slander, diplomacy etc.

In the first of the 20th century tribes of the North Bengal started movement for upgrading their position to get equal social rank as the higher caste. Actually, the tribal community is politically and socio-economically developed. The term tribal defies any universal definition. Between the Maoris of New Zealand, the Aborigines of Australia and the Indigenous People of North America, there is a shared historical fact. They were all there before the colonial powers pushed them to margins. This is not so in the case of all tribal communities in India. Some of the Indian tribes such as the Onges and the Jarawas of Andaman and Nicobar Islands have been entirely indigenous. Some others like the Banjaras in Western and Central India and the Gujjars in the Himalayas have been nomadic. And, some, such as several sub-groups of Bhills, have migrated in various historical phases to their present geographical locations. The stories of migration of such communities are found in their oral traditions. The diverse histories of tribes in India are seen among the 'Particularly Vulnerable Groups' as well. The term 'primitive' used for them at one time has fortunately been declared as pejorative. In the context of a pan-Indian consideration, Asurs look like one single community. However, it is not really a monolith and has several distinct sub-groups within it. It likes to classify the members under the captions: 'Vir- Asur', 'Virajiya- Asur' and 'Agariya-Asur'. These three clan categories also reflect the different occupations that Asurs have traditionally followed. Some of them lived by forest produce and hunting, others engaged in smithy, making agricultural implements and some others lived by agricultural work. The ancestry of the Asurs is not quite clear. Going by the most widely shared tale of their origin, it seems that two of these three sub-groups came from 'outside' and were adopted and endeared by a third sub-group which had been resident in the area from earlier times. The folktale speaks of two children — a girl and a boy — being lifted up by a cyclone — a mythological person — and being dropped atop a hill. The twins could not

be rescued but subsequently became 'spirits to be worshipped'. Oral history mentions that Sarguja district in Madhya Pradesh was the original habitat of the Asurs, or at least of one of the three clans. At present, they are resident in the forests of Palamu, Gumla and Lohardaga in Jharkhand. They inhabit the region spread between Jharkhand and West Bengal. Asurs speak a language quite different from Bangla and Hindi, which is derived from the Proto Asutroloid source. It can be surmised that their contact with the others with Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages has been not as intimate as the contact that most other tribal communities in India had with them. In recent years, some NGOs have attempted to document and place in print some of the Asur language words and a few folk songs. The term 'Asur' occurs in ancient Indian literature right from the Vedic age. 'Asur' initially meant a powerful god and later came to be associated with 'darkness' or 'deprived of the Sun'. Nearly a hundred or more locations such as forts and cemeteries in Ranchi district and surrounding areas show signs of some Asur association inscribed in the local folklore. However, it is difficult to press these claims beyond a point as they have neither followed the ideas of divinity central to the ancient literature, nor do they show traces of having participated in the historical dynamics of the region. This is borne by the fact that Asurs mostly follow the 'Sarana' (or Sharana) faith, to which many tribal communities in the eastern states subscribe, and which has as ancient an origin as other faiths in the sub-continent. The Sarana theology likes to depict ecology as the most important ethical guide for humans. As part of this, man and other animals belong to the earth, the earth does not belong to them. Some of them have started accepting Hindu myths and gods. Some others have moved to Christianity.

The Asur community is facing a serious threat of extinction. Their population is not growing on a par with the general growth in Indian population. In Singhbhum, their population could be counted in two digits, while in places like Dhanbad district and Raidih block of Jharkhand, it can be counted in a single digit. Bishupur in the state has the highest Asur population, which is under 10,000. Their literacy rate in 1971 was a mere 5.5 per cent. At that time, they were in the top 5 per cent of 'the most illiterate' communities country-wide. Today, they continue the same legacy though the literacy rate has now increased to over 20 per cent. But this has not increased their livelihood security. Rather, the opposite is true. The spread of mining activity in their region has reduced them to greater penury. Given the struggle for survival and cultural existence they face, it matters little to them if they are Hindus or not. What they need is livelihood and a threat-free environment. The young generation among Asurs requires more hostels in cities for them so that they can attend high school, polytechnic and college for learning new life-skills. Those among them that have some agricultural talent require the pattas for the land that they have cultivated for centuries. If this can happen without their being coaxed to worship Durga, they would feel culturally safeguarded. As the most popular Asur folksong states, "Hai, re, Aampendon-ko aandhi tufaan maar rahaa hai... (Alas, the storm raging round us is destroying the mango trees)." How sad, in our republic!

So, the British brought the tribals like Orao, Santal, Munda and Asur from Ranchi, Dumka, Santal Parganas (Jharkhand) etc. in various ways. All these tribes were engaged in agriculture in their old homeland for generations. The British tea-tax distributors distributed land to people from multiple indigenous communities for farming, which is not suitable for tea cultivation. Many of the Asur community thus became permanent residents of the Tarai-Duars region in search of alternative livelihoods in search of land. However, it is true that the people of the Asur community living in North Bengal, including the Tarai-Duars region, still think of their main homeland Ranchi or the greater Chhotonagpur region. They speak "Ashuri" at home. They use Bengali, Sadri and Hindi in the tea garden areas of West Bengal. They have no script of their own. They use Devanagari script. Ashur belongs to the Dravidian people. Ashur was mainly engaged in iron smelting. Risley says: "Asur, the small non-Aryan tribe of Lohardanga and the eastern portion of Sangula who lived almost entirely by iron-melting".

Social life of Asur Tribe

The people of Asur community are mainly from Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha and Chhattisgarh. Their original habitat is the Netarhat area of Ranchi district. According to the 1991 census, Kisco and Senho police stations in Lohardanga district of Jharkhand accounted for 94 per cent of the total Asur population. They are basically divided into three sub-castes - Bir, Birjia and Agaria. Again, the Bir's are known by multiple names. Such as- Solka, Thupu, Kol, Jat etc. Although the government has declared them Asur. Asur traditionally cultivated by smelting iron or cutting down forests woods and setting fires. In those summer seasons, they cut down many shal trees and set fire to them to melt iron. Even though the forest was destroyed in this way, they have become accustomed to this work in pursuit of the traditional way of life. Over time, forest conservation has become an important issue. Now more than one detailed law on forest, wildlife, environmental pollution, etc. has been introduced in our country. This prohibition has forced Asur to change their traditional habits. They normally made their house by mud. They made a separate dormitory room for young boys and girls. They made separate room for domestic animals. They art their room's wall and use wooden things like table, piri or macha.

After the Independence of India, they had a total of 90 families. According to survey, the total population of the carry lane village is 195 peoples out of 54 family. The rest of the Asur tribe families are scattered in different parts of Duars (Voter list 2016-17). 'Some came as a result of marriage, while others came for the convenience of better living' ShibCharan Asur Said. The area of Karrilane among the 54 families, 105 are males and 90 are females. They highest learning place of children are the tenth class and they lag behind modern society in education. Their primary language is Asur, but their language is similar to that of Santhal, much like the Santhal. At first, they did not go out of the garden because they were afraid of outsiders, now they have learned to mix with other races and peoples and a change can be noticed in themselves. Now they are married to different tribal peoples and race like oraon, munda, nepali etc. They have converted to Christianity for various reasons.

But Shukni Asur and Thurki Asur‘ did not converted to Christianity, they still flow their tradition’ they said. Electricity has been provided in this village, they have learned to used sophisticated technology, along with learning different languages like Bengali, Hindi, Nepali etc. They relied mainly on tea gardens, as the gardens were not very satisfactory, so they made a living by fishing, hunting birds, and hunting rabbits etc. There have also been some changes in their diet that were different before. And is a lot change in their culture that was different before.

Talk about the Asur people, would say that their clothing is distinct from men and women. ‘Men used to wear Dhuti (Lower part), Feta (turban) and Khazim (vest). Women used to wear Julha (it was worn below the waist), Jhula (khazim, was worn on the upper part of the women body. At that time Julha, Jhula used to buy from Muslim or other traders through various means because they did not have the technology to make them. Now they wear modern clothes instead of wearing full traditional clothes.’ Sib Charan Asur said. All these traditional costumes were worn during their own pujas and festivals. One of the most important of these was that since they were a Asur race, the Asur was killed in durga puja, so they hid in the distant forest during Durga Puja. There is still that custom, the Asur Tribes here who do not see Durga puja, they hid themselves says Shukna Asur. It’s true that we have never celebrated Durga Puja,” says Shib Charan Asur. “It is also true that we remain inactive during those nine days and, at the end of it, make offerings to our ancestors so that we are all safe,” says the Thurki Asur, her home in carriline village 15km from the Ngrakata block Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal. The Asurs claim to be descendants of Mahish Asur, the buffalo-demon whom Goddess Durga kills after a spirited fight lasting nine nights. It’s this mythology in mainstream Hinduism that’s celebrated in the form of the nine-day-long Durga Puja, but observed as ‘Mahish Asur Dasain’ among the Asurs, who hold a period of mourning during which they largely stay indoors.

Shukna Asur, a tribal activist in carriline, says the community also celebrates Sohrai, which coincides with Diwali, by applying koronj (or karanja in Hindi) oil on their navel, chest and nose, and eat cucumber. The symbolism here is that when our ancestor Mahish Asur was killed, he had blood oozing from his navel, nose and chest. Applying oil on those parts depicts the same. Eating cucumber is a symbol that we are avenging his death by eating the kaleja (liver) of the killer, shukna Asur explains. He also says that we slowly losing our culture. Shukna Asur says he has did not studied and is working with tribal activists to “revive our lost traditions, songs and skills”. Over the years, he says, there are several of these traditions that have given way to modern practices of the “outsiders”. They paid honoured and vowed to some special people of the society, among them it was worth mentioning like Pahan/Baiga (Priest), Shusani (Assistant of Pandit/Priest), Ojha (Kabiraj) who used to give all kinds of herbal medicines. Earlier there was no good medical system in all these areas so they relied more on these Kabiraj and Ojhas. The name of this tribe is terrible, but in fact they were no so terrible, the meaning of this word was lack of food. They did not have enough food; their ribs could be counted on their worn-out bodies, if they were on

an empty body. As they were stupid and could not eat well with as much as they earned by breaking bones all day long. They used to roam in the forest with various weapons to provide food. They roamed the forest hunting rabbits along with deer, birds, snakes, frogs, etc. Notable among the tools they used for this hunt like Ashar (arrows), Gular (bow), Gittish (Batul), Bhala (Spear), Balua (Farsha), Tangia (axe). They also used special fishing nets, usually made of baboo like Beroo, Jhoka, Dhewly, Jakhoi, Thoroko, Khocha and Sip. They have almost forgotten to use them now. Shoma Asurs, he says, were once iron smelters, but now the village doesn’t have a smelting unit. Shoma Asur says he used to make small weapons, “but I have forgotten all that now”.

Notable among the festivals and ceremonies performed by this tribe like Murgi chegnawala¹, Khutipuja, Mungi Hariari (nabanna), Nayapuja (before 10 days of Durga puja), Guriya/Gulhali puja (Laxmi puja), Gram puja (devi worship), Sharna puja (Tree ceremony), Gay puja (cow ceremony), Bhag Katna (home entry worship), Sikari Puja² (hunting worship) etc. One of them used to say that they would hide in Durga puja, but as they are disappearing their old traditional worship is also taking part in Durga Puja. Although some older men and women, who are older people are still exceptional. Since it has been converted to Christianity, they now observe all the festivals of Christianity. They celebrate Christmas on 25th December. They performed their own dance in various ceremonies, all of which were dances like Dasara, Jatra Dance, Donkas (marriage ceremony dance), Fagua dance, Chhati (rice ceremony or eat and drink) and if any of the members died, they would observe Gami (Shradhyo) etc, says by Shib Charan Asur. Although this species is on the verge of extinction, there are some older men and women who have saved their generation. We can learn the Asur (Ashoor) culture from their mouths on the way to getting lost. The surviving members of the Asur (Ashoor) tribe of Carrilane are listed as being over 60 years of age, of these, 9 are men and 12 are old women. Many of these old men have wives, none. Some of these old women have husband or widow.

Male

- 1) ShibCharan Asur (67) husband of Bimla Asur (62)
- 2) Machhuya Asur (62)
- 3) Shoma Asur (71) husband of Lalita Asur (63).
- 4) Maku Asur (68) husband of Bhinshari Asur (65)
- 5) Shuita Asur (76) husband of Mangri Asur (65)
- 6) Mangra Asur (77) husband of Sukro Asur (61)
- 7) Shukna Asur (81)
- 8) Mangal Asur (83)
- 9) Budhna Asur (81)

Female

- 1) Bimla Asur (62)
- 2) Lalita Asur (63).
- 3) Bhinshari Asur (65)
- 4) Mangri Asur (65)
- 5) Sukro Asur (61)
- 6) Thurki Asur (64) Widow
- 7) Pano Asur (67) Widow
- 8) Jhalo Asur (66) Widow
- 9) Shukni Asur (68) Widow
- 10) Bhudhni Asur (66) Widow

- 11) Regri Asur (65) Widow
- 12) Nehiyari Asur (63) Widow

Not only this location the Asur tribes are living separately in different location like Three of these families are living in Dakshin Madarihahat name of the old member are Mahata Asur (61), Matlu Asur (60) and Minu Asur (62), in Paschim Madarihahat Lakhia Asur (68), Mahara Asur (63), in Madhya Madarihahat are Soma Asur (65), Bandhan Asur (61) all under the Hindu religion (Annapurna HP Gass office Madarihahatcustomar list). Mahata Asur Said there are 9 families in Tapshikhata, 11 families in Hamiltanganj, 10 families in Madhubagan, 3 families in Satali, 15 Families in Cooch Behar Bagan they still in Hindu.

The Asur tribe has lagged far behind in terms of education since its inception. Even through it is now a Hindi school, no one has been educated in higher education even though they have received primary education there. Girls of this tribe are married only when they are a little older, i.e., 15 or 16 years of age, as is the case with boys. Earlier they used to get married in their own race, but with the touch of new civilization they got married to different races which can be noticed. These tribal families, who depended on gardens, could not afford to pay for their education and were employed at a young age in search of money. Due to poverty, concrete houses could not be built, although a few families built concrete houses but not absolutely. Earlier, they used to fetch drinking water from a spring of Bhutan Hill. Now the government has laid water pipeline so that they can live on water. Heard from the Budhna Asura tribe, 'they were brought by British from Jharkhand'. At the time, Carry Sardar used to take care of Coolies. Then the name of this village is Carry Line according to his name and the name of the tea garden is Carron Tea Garden. The British built a hospital for the workers here so that first aid could be provided but this Asur tribe was afraid to go to the Doctor. So, the they would take the help of Ojha themselves. He also says, 'Now the situation has changed a lot, they are not afraid to mix with other ethnic groups and outsiders like before. They now travel to Siliguri, Kolkata and Vellore for treatment.' The names listed above are all old, most of them are old and sick. ShibCharan Asur of that village has wounded one of his legs, the only hope of his walking stick. Traditionally, Asurs don't drink cow milk. 'We want the calf to have all the milk and grow up strong so that it can be used in the fields,' says Bimla Asur, ShibCharan Asur's wife. Villagers still don't drink much milk, happy instead to down a glass of rice beer. But now they keep cow and eat cow's milk.

It's here, down a hillock carpeted with emerald-green tea bushes, that Mangal Asur (83), lives with his family. Mangal introduces himself as the "oldest resident" of 'Asur Line', a colony of about 100 mud and bamboo huts in the tea estate. "He is not the first person to say our beliefs are wrong. For centuries, we have been afraid to talk about them openly. Now we carry out our rituals almost apologetically," says Mangal Asur, whose son and grandchildren and himself now converted to Christianity a few years ago. But Shukni Asur and Thurki Asur did not converted to Christianity, they still flow their tradition. Dhanbir Singh says, 'For the first time, the Carron Tea Estate was closed from 2000 to 2004. The

condition of the all-tea workers was very bad as the Tea garden was closed. Many of the tea workers there died of starvation. At that time, the govt. helped a little with food items. After 16 years, the tea garden was closed again for Covid-19 (March, 2000). At that time situation gets worse as they get stuck around, stopped connection with outside the village. They depended on only savings. At that time, they got Rice and Wheat from the government.'

4. Conclusion

In the end, it can be said that the British brought these tribes as tea workers and worked hard with them but they (British) did not look at their miserable condition but after 76 years of independence their condition has not changed. They are helpless to work in the tea garden. It gave them peace of mind or physical well-being. They are still deprived of modern splendour; their educational progress is very low. They need to be developed so that they can be more modern.

Notes:

- 1) Murgichegnawala was an indoor puja, was done with the small chickens, everyone used to do this puja in their own house.
- 2) Shikari puja was an outdoor puja, done in forest before the hunting. Before performing this puja, the person had to turn the stone to decide who would perform the puja, and the person to whom the stone would stand was given all the responsibilities of the puja. Then the Pahan would teach him the rules of puja and stay with the Pahan's colleague Shushani.

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- [10] ShibCharan Asur 67-year-old tribe, he helped with all the important information. Personal interview Date 15th December 2020 at 2pm.
- [11] Shukna Asur 81 years old Asur tribes he helped with the information of types of cloth and changes in now. Interview date 15th December 2020 at 4pm.
- [12] Thurki Asur 64 years old Asur tribe woman helped with the information of festival. Interview date 18 December 2020 at 1pm.
- [13] Dhanbir Singh 33-year-old a social worker as well as Rajput, he helped with the voter list of 2016-2017-part number 137 Kariline village. Date 18 December 1pm.
- [14] Shoma Asur 71 years old Asur tribe helped with the information of used instrument or tools. Interview 18 December 2020 at 3pm.