

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME IX

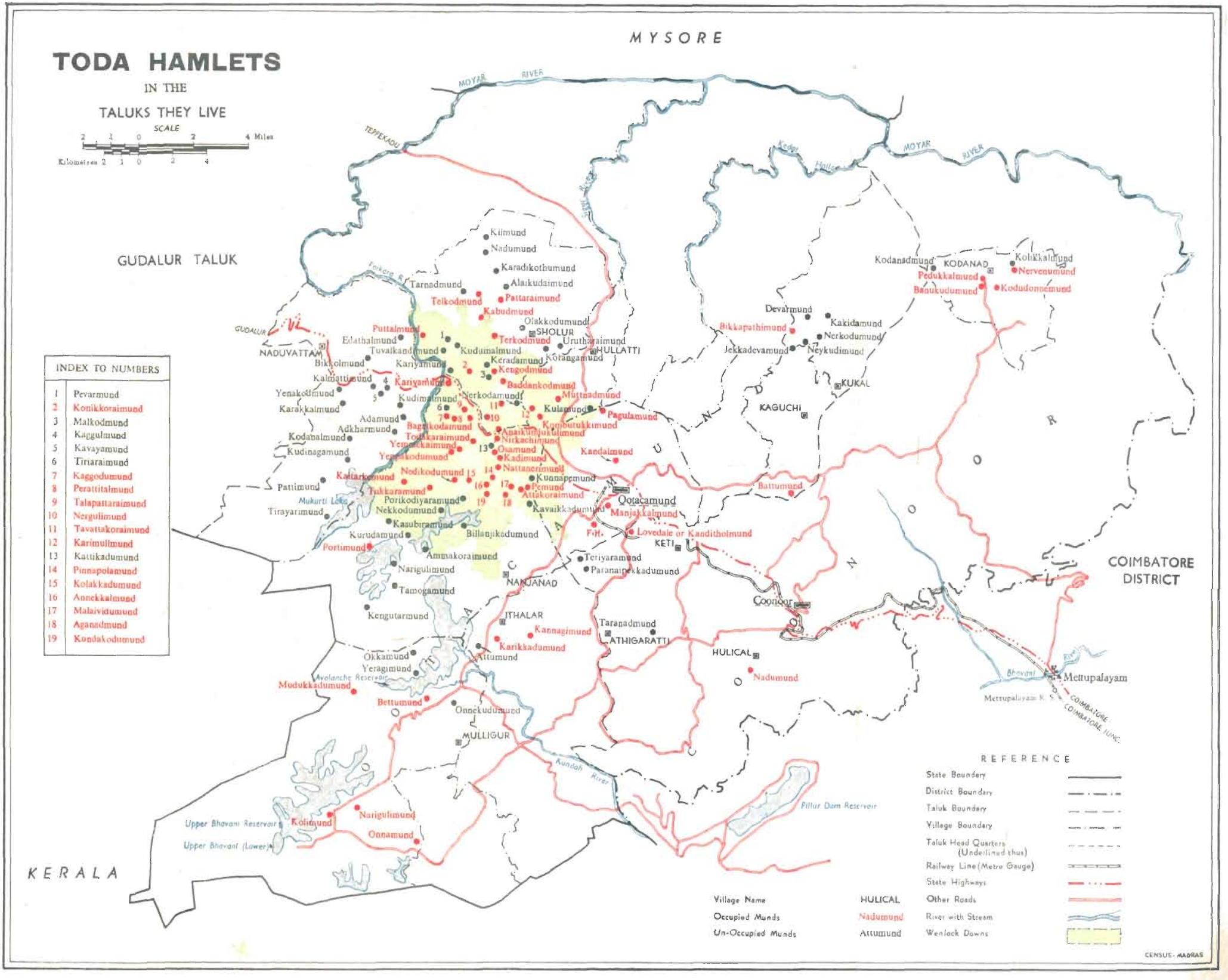
MADRAS

PART V-C

TODAS

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Superintendent of Census Operations, Madras

1965


TODA HAMLETS
IN THE
TALUKS THEY LIVE
SCALE
4 Miles
Kilometres
MYSORE
GUDALUR TALUK
KERALA
COIMBATORE DISTRICT
MOYAR RIVER
TEPPEKADU
GUDALUR
NADUVATTAM
SHOLUR
HULLATTI
KODANAD
KUKAL
KAGUCHI
KETI
NANJANAD
ITHALAR
ATHIGARATTI
HULICAL
MULLIGUR
Coonoor
Mettupalayam
Avalanche Reservoir
Upper Bhavani Reservoir
Upper Bhavani (Lower)
Kundah River
Pillur Dam Reservoir
Wenlock Downs
INDEX TO NUMBERS
1 Pevarmund
2 Konikkoraimund
3 Malkodmund
4 Kaggulmund
5 Kavayamund
6 Tiriaraimund
7 Kaggodumund
8 Perattitalmund
9 Talapattaraimund
10 Nergulimund
11 Tavattakoraimund
12 Karimullmund
13 Kattikadumund
14 Pinnapolamund
15 Kolakkadumund
16 Annekkalmund
17 Malaividumund
18 Aganadmund
19 Kondakodumund
REFERENCE
State Boundary
District Boundary
Taluk Boundary
Village Boundary
Taluk Head Quarters (Underlined thus)
Railway Line (Metre Gauge)
State Highways
Other Roads
River with Stream
Village Name
Occupied Munds
Un-Occupied Munds
HULICAL
Nadumund
Attumund
CENSUS - MADRAS

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

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CONTENTS

		Page No.
	Preface	xi
Chapter		
I.	Introductory	1
II.	Origin	3
III.	The country they live	17
IV.	Population trends	27
V.	Appearance, dress and ornaments	39
VI.	Housing patterns and dwellings	44
VII.	Material culture and domestic life	49
VIII.	Tribal hierarchy	55
IX.	Social customs and manners	60
X.	Religion and Religious beliefs	73
XI.	Land and land problems	79
XII.	Economy	90
XIII.	Toda Embroidery	99
XIV.	Recreation, songs and folk dance	102
XV.	Tribal Welfare	108
XVI.	Language	124
XVII.	Conclusion	131
	Bibliography	135
	APPENDICES	
I.	Schedule used for the survey	136
II.	Places of interest in the country they live	140
III.	Toda patta lands	142

LIST OF TABLES

		Page No.
1.	Names of deities of Sumerian origin in use among the Todas ...	13
2.	*Nad*-wise distribution of Todas ...	21
3.	Village-wise distribution of Todas ...	22
4.	Distribution of Toda patta lands as on 21—8—1893 ...	
5.	1951 Census provisional figures of Todas ...	28
6.	Sex ratios at the provisional count and final count of 1951 compared with those of 1931, 1941 and 1961 ...	
7.	Population count of Todas at the present study and at the 1961 Census (By sex and religion) ...	29
8.	Number of Todas from 1812 and their annual rate of increase or decrease ...	
9.	Population Indices ...	30
10.	Number of Toda women per 1,000 men at various periods ...	
11.	Number of non-convert Toda women as on 15—5—1960 per 1,000 men at various age-groups ...	
12.	Percentage of sterile and fertile cases according to the age at first consummation ...	31
13.	Number of ever married Toda women and total number of sterile women by age-group ...	
14.	Results of the blood test in 1927 for wasserman reaction ...	32
15.	Age and sex break-up of Todas who had symptoms of syphilis in 1957	
16.	Primary Abstract showing the result of all conceptions of Toda women living on 15—5—1960 ...	
17.	Reproductive wastage for England and Wales in 1950 ...	33
18.	Percentage of conceptions with various spacing ...	
19.	Result of conceptions expressed in percentage for each spacing ...	
20.	Proportion of wastages based on the age of mother at first consummation ...	34
21.	Correlation between the maternal age and the wastage of pregnancy ...	

		Page No.
22.	Average maternal age for a Toda woman compared with that for India, U.S.A., Australia and England and Wales ...	35
23.	Average maternal age according to order of births ...	
24.	Average number of live births upto maternal age periods for fertile women ...	
25.	Percentage live births for Todas in the various maternal age periods ...	
26.	Percentage births in the maternal age periods for women in India, U.S.A., Australia and England and Wales ...	36
27.	Age periods which are the most important accounting for over 70 per cent of births of a given gravida ...	
28.	Number of first pregnancies of Toda women, terminated at specified age-groups ...	
29.	Total number of live births by order of conception and age of mother at termination of pregnancy ...	37
30.	Proportion of live births by gravida ...	
31.	Fertility rates for Todas and others ...	
32.	Age specific fertility rate ...	
33.	Population of Jaunsar-Bawar and their mean decennial growth rate ...	38
34.	Total number of houses occupied by Todas (By religion, type of house, number of dwelling rooms and number of windows) ...	47
35.	Total number of houses occupied by Todas (By religion, size of household and number of dwelling rooms) ...	48
36.	Total number of houses occupied by Todas (By religion, type of roof and type of wall) ...	
37.	Population of Toda non-converts as on 15—5—1960 (By sex, age-group and literacy) ...	51
38.	Population of Toda Christians as on 15—5—1960 (By sex, age-group and literacy) ...	52
39.	Age and sex break-up of Todas who had symptoms of Syphilis in 1957 ...	54
40.	Differential wastage of conception among non-convert Toda women ...	
41.	Chief *munds* and the clans represented by them ...	56
42.	Population of Todas as on 15—5—1960 (By sex and clan) ...	57

		Page No.
43.	Population of Todas in 1906 (By sex and clan) ...	58
44.	Percentage of Todas first consummated at given age (By Religion and sex) ...	62
45.	Population of Todas as on 15—5—1960 (By religion, marital status, sex and age-groups) ...	63
46.	Population of Todas as on 15—5—1960 (By religion, sex, age-group and working status) ...	91–92
47.	Buffaloes owned by Todas ...	93
48.	Frequency table showing total number of households with specified number of cattle ...	
49.	Number of economically active Todas as on 15—5—1960 (By religion, sex and monthly income) ...	96
50.	Frequency table showing the total number of households with a given extent of Gross Asset and Liability ...	97
51.	Nature of assets and their value ...	97
52.	Abstract showing the proportion of investment by each household in cattle, house and ornaments ...	
53.	Frequency table showing the number of repayable debts as on 15—5—1960 (By religion, rate of interest, extent of debt and purpose of borrowal) ...	98
54.	Population of Todas as counted by the special medical unit in 1927 ...	110
55.	Table showing the number of years taken by certain population to double the number ...	111
56.	Estimated cost of a dispensary in 1927 ...	112
57.	Financial assistance rendered by the District Board for medical treatment ...	113
58.	Strength of Thakker Bapa Gurukulam at Nirgachimund (By sex and standard) ...	116
59.	Progress of constructing pucca residential houses ...	117
60.	Financial assistance given to Todas for agricultural operations ..	119–120
61.	Amount sanctioned for women welfare ...	123

MAPS

1.	Toda hamlets in the taluks they live	Frontispiece
2.	Nilgiri District showing the location of the taluks they live	Facing page 16

PHOTOGRAPHS

1.	A Toda man with his colourful *Poothukuli*	xii
2.	*Mund*-the Toda hamlet	,,
3.	Ootacamund, the queen of hill stations ...	4
4.	Charring cross, Ootacamund ...	18
5.	Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund ...	19
6.	Picturesque Ootacamund ...	20
7.	Mother Nature and Toda women ...	22
8.	Grazing of Toda buffaloes in Wenlock Downs Reserve ...	24
9.	Toda maidens ...	38
10.	Tattooing ...	40
11.	Twisted braids ...	40
12.	Men with *Poothukuli,* the insignia of the tribe ...	42
13.	Women with *Poothukuli* ...	42
14.	Far from the traditional wear–Woman with saree and blouse ...	42
15.	Man in a modern dress ...	43
16.	Close-up shot of a traditional hut ...	44
17.	*Mund* and the Pen ...	44
18.	Facade ...	45
19.	Entrance to a traditional hut ...	46
20.	Fire place ...	47
21.	Todas to their bed ...	46
22.	Dwelling huts—old and new ...	48
23.	Household utensils ...	49
24.	Toda couple in their native surroundings ...	60
25.	Salutation ...	66
26.	Buffalo Pen—the place of sacrifice ...	68
27.	Temple ...	72
28.	*Boa* or Toda Cathedral ...	74
29.	*Boa* under renovation ...	76
30.	A pastoral scene of peace ...	90
31.	Grazing ...	94
32.	Buffaloes in the Pen ...	95

			Facing page
33.	Artistry at work	...	98
34.	*Poothukuli* in its endless variety	...	98
35.	Toda embroidery at its best	...	100
36.	Folk dance	...	102
37.	Stone lifting	...	104
38.	Stone lifting–Another view	...	106

CHARTS

1.	Population Indices	...	28
2.	Sex Trend	...	30
3.	Results of conceptions of Toda women	...	32
4.	Conception with various spacing and the results of conceptions in each spacing	...	34
5.	Wastage of Pregnancy	...	35
6.	Average maternal age for each order of conception resulting in live birth	....	36
7.	Fertility pattern among non-convert Toda women	...	36
8.	Houses occupied by Todas on 15-5-60 (By religion, type of house and number of dwelling rooms)	...	47
9.	Cattle wealth among non-converts	...	92
10.	Earners and Income earned by non-converts	...	96
11.	Indebtedness of Toda non-converts	...	96

SKETCHES

			Page
1.	Hair style	...	40
2.	Tattooing on the forearm	...	41
3.	Traditional ornaments	...	42
4.	Ground plan of a dwelling hut	...	46
5.	Milk vessels and churning equipment	...	50
6.	The commonest toy with which children play	...	120

PREFACE

It was the good fortune of 1961 Census that Sri A. Mitra, Registrar General has encouraged every Superintendent to take up any special studies relating to his State. A study on Todas is the result of this approach. It is not in a strict sense an ethnographic study nor will it interest the anthropologists, but it is a study on Todas from an essentially Indian point of view giving as much authentic information as possible. This study has been facilitated by the cooperation rendered by Todas themselves, especially by Miss Piljain, Sri Pellican and Sri Narican. The actual survey was conducted by Miss Piljain. I take this opportunity to record the painstaking work she has done in eliciting details of an intimate nature which normally no other investigator could get out of Todas. It was her association with the tribe as the Head-Nurse of Mobile Medical Unit attached to the Ootacamund Headquarters Hospital and the philanthropic work she has done among the Todas that has made it possible for the Census Organization to collect as much material as possible.

Sri P. Vasudhev, Tabulation Officer of my office was in charge of the survey and he has also prepared useful preliminary report embodying as much information as possible. A language study has been conducted by Kumari R. Indrani. The two Deputy Superintendents P. Murari and T.B. Bharathi have given me very interesting notes—Murari, on Embroidery and Bharathi, on their customs and manners.

Dr. B. K. Roy Burman has sent me a note on the possibility of further field study among Todas. I have covered some of the more important points indicated by him, but it has not been possible for me to undertake an ethnographic study of Todas on the lines indicated by him. I will leave this work to someone more competent to do it.

In 1954, I came to know Todas as a tribe as Collector of Nilgiris. I had occasion to be closely associated with the development schemes initiated by the Government of Madras for their uplift. I also had occasion to know their problems from the point of view of administration. Every Governor took personal interest in the welfare of Todas and as such, much has been done during the decade 1947-61 for the general improvement of the conditions of Todas. Whenever they had any specific problem to face, which could not be settled easily, Todas have appealed to the Governors who have intervened on their behalf. In this connection, two names can be mentioned—Raja of Bhavanagar and Sri Prakasa.

As such, it was with great interest that I could make a study of Todas as an outsider and put on record my views on the problems. I must take this opportunity to impress on the reader that the views found in this Volume are personal and do not reflect in any manner the views of the Government of Madras or the Government of India or the Registrar General, India. In making the study, it has become necessary to highlight many features of Todas which are compli-

mentary as well as uncomplimentary. In doing this, I have only the welfare of the Todas at heart and I hope this little Volume on Todas will help the Todas as well as others to understand the peculiarly difficult problem of Toda welfare. Messrs. Janatha Press, Madras has helped me by printing it in a really efficient manner. I am also grateful to the Madras Government and to the Curator, Madras Record Office for having placed at my disposal old valuable records which have thrown considerable light on the problem of the emancipation of Todas.

In conclusion I wish to add that it should be the endeavour of everyone to preserve Todas as a separate entity and give them as much assistance as possible to develop self-sufficiency and become useful citizens of India. In a country of infinite variety, Todas have a really interesting role.

P. K. NAMBIAR



A beard can add dignity to a man where he has the mien and build to go with it. This Toda with his colourful Poothukuli is a man with memories - memories of past greatness and glory of which only the empty shell remains at present.



TODA MUND

Like the Zulu kraals of South Africa, the Toda mund with its picturesque huts set amidst sylvan surroundings makes a pretty picture. A benign Government has introduced modern vestiges of civilisation into an ancient way of life. Note the tiled structures, but civilisation has no effect on temples, the two traditional huts in the front.

TODAS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Early References

In the delightful hills of Nilgiris live a small tribe of more than 700 persons who have attracted the attention of anthropologists and students of Sociology. Much has been written about this singular tribe chiefly by foreigners. A sort of romantic halo was attached to them by foreigners because they felt that Todas have a non-Indian origin and by appearance, Todas differ appreciably from other people they found in South India. Nothing definite is known about this tribe until 1819 when Nilgiris was discovered by the Europeans. Mr. Sullivan, the then Collector of Coimbatore was responsible for this. The first authentic book written about Todas is by Capt. Henry Harkness of the Madras Army published in 1832. His object was to arouse the interest of the public in the customs and manners of Todas living in Nilgiris hills. We have a very valuable book on the tribes by a German Missionary F. Metz who has spent a number of years among tribals in Nilgiris. On May 3, 1870 Ross King read a paper before the Anthropological Society of London on the Aboriginal tribes of Nilgiris hills which is another valuable document for our study. In spite of these publications, W. Francis has made only the following cryptic comment on this tribe in his Census Report of 1901 on Madras.

> "Toda (807)-A pastoral tribe found only on the Nilgiri Hills. In 1881, they numbered 675 and in 1891, 739; so, they are apparently on the steady increase. Special precautions were taken this year, however, to see that none were omitted."

After this, a monumental work was published on the Todas by Dr. Rivers which contains a lot of details regarding the customs and manners of Todas. Apparently, there is no aspect of life which Rivers has omitted. The most authentic publication on Todas is by M. W. M. Yeatts in the Census Report in 1931. As observed by Yeatts, "more has been written about this race. More theories have been evolved about its origin and more prophecies about its future than about any other tribe or caste of South India. Even the fact that the Todas should arouse such interest is not surprising for in outward appearance their departure from all South Indian types is marked. Even the most Gallio of Europeans observe the Toda, or at least the Toda male as something different. The greater stature, the erect carriage, the luxuriance of hair and beard, the clear and generally lighter skin, the almost Semitic cast of face, the distinctive garment, the easy shepherd's gait that comes from generations of walking over springy down grass, all form a type that even the most non-observant could hardly fail to register. When peculiar customs, uncertain origin, unusual houses set almost always in beautiful surroundings are added and also the melancholy interest that attaches to alleged decay and approaching extinction, it would be strange if the Todas were not a Nilgiri institution. They are known far beyond India and the undesirable side of this fame is shown by the Todas near Ootacamund having sunk to be a globe-trotters' showpiece."

Later Studies

Prince Peter of Greece has devoted a good deal of time on the study of Todas and have lived with them in 40s and 50s for a period of 2 years. His approach to the Toda problem is that of a sentimentalist, he being keenly interested in the regeneration of the race and it was due to his effort that the Governor of Madras took special interest in the Toda welfare to which we will have occasion to refer in the course of this discussion. Dr. Aiyappan has written about Todas which represents an Indian point of view. Dr. Emeneau has made a study of the Todas in greater detail about their language, songs and embroidery which contain a lot of useful material.

Dr. Pandit's Study

Under the auspices of the Government of Madras, a different type of study was undertaken on Todas in 1925 by Dr. Pandit regarding the possibility of the decay of this race. A definite scheme was placed before the Government for consideration in order to save the tribe from extinction because of the prevalence of venereal diseases. But this scheme, however, was not implemented. It was rather an extension of this idea in 1950 that the Government of Madras agreed to give a mobile van for the use of Todas which has done great service to the Toda Community.

Difficulties in Study

The study of the Todas has always been a difficult problem. No one knows the language of the Toda and there are very few educated people among the Todas. Earlier historians have depended on Todas themselves for whatever information they have collected. Unfortunately, Todas have in the past always given such information as will please the investigator because they consider that older and queerer their customs are, more is the interest evoked and normally they expect a cash return for every item of information given by them. This has been admitted by Rivers himself in his book on Todas. This has been stated by Yeatts in his comment on the Todas and I think the experience of Prince Peters will not be quite different from those of others. Secondly, all persons who have studied the culture and manners of Todas are foreigners. They had a bias in favour of theories which gave a non-Indian origin to Todas. Further, they have no knowledge of conditions prevailing in South India or of other languages spoken here, with the result, they have made contradictory statements. A perusal of the various literature on Todas will show that no two opinions have agreed on the origin of their language or the customs of Todas.

Present survey

In the 1951 Census, the Todas were counted separately. This enumeration took place in December, 1950. The reason for the special enumeration was that in the months of February onwards, Todas were in the habit of returning to their summer houses in search of more pasture for their buffaloes. The then Superintendent of Census Operations, Sri. Venkateswaran in 1951, however, recorded the view that the Todas need not be enumerated separately. In consultation with the Collector of the Nilgiris, I felt that the Todas could be enumerated along with the rest of the population, but as the Todas had certain special features of interest both to the sociologists and the anthropologists, it was desirable to make a special study of this tribe. This idea met with the approval of the Registrar General, India and a special questionnaire was devised for this purpose. Now the main difficulty we had was to get the correct information of the Todas. For this purpose, a special investigator was selected from among the Todas themselves, an educated lady, Miss Piljain who has been in charge of the Mobile Medical Unit working among the Todas for a number of years. She has, therefore, had occasion to move in close contact with them and what is much more important is to gain their confidence in the process. Our questionnaire contained many intimate details of their personal life and without such an agency, it would not be possible to collect this information. On the technical side, the work was supervised by a Statistical Assistant from our office, Mr. Vasudhev. The count was made from house to house and every Toda was enumerated. It was conducted in April-May, 1960.

1961 Census of Todas

During the Census, the Todas were counted with the rest of the population. The difference in count will be discussed later because it is always difficult to get an accurate count of a small tribe like 700 in a General Census in which lakhs are enumerated. I have prepared two sets of Tables, one based on special count and the other on the Census enumeration of 1961. While indicating the differences between these two sets of Tables, I propose to base our special study on the Table prepared at the special count because I feel that this count was much more accurate as it was done by a specially trained person and a person with the requisite knowledge was put in charge of it.

CHAPTER II

ORIGIN

Its Complexity

The Todas are the best known of all Indian Tribes. Generally, above the common height, athletic and well-made, with the bold bearing, open and expressive countenance, they made the westerners think that they belonged to a different race from their neighbours in peninsular India. This is but natural. But who are they? When the Europeans came into contact with them they found the peculiar custom under which Todas were considered Lords of the soil and could levy *Gudu* or tribute in kind from other tribes. This coupled with their self-assertion and independent bearing aroused deep interest in the early European visitors to the hills. More enthusiastic among them put their own account of the origin of the Todas into print. Dr. Caldwell who has made a study of the South Indian languages has observed that Todas are a Dravidian race of Scythian origin. In that case, they would seem to have left the plains after the Aryan invasions but before the tenets of Brahminism got any hold on the minds of the people and no mixture of races could take place.

Uncertainty

The date of their coming and their previous history are alike uncertain and lost in antiquity. They have no legend or literature of their own. Their songs for which Todas are noted only describe the current local events and do not throw any light on their past. Some think that they migrated to the hills about 800 years ago from the Kanarese country and those who hold this theory look at them as a people who have degenerated as a result of isolation, their religion containing only some fossil remains of a former faith and their language remaining undeveloped or dwindling to a mere skeleton. Colonel Marshall's researches have, on the contrary, led him to look on them as a primitive race still in its infancy. According to Todas themselves, they came from the jungle tract of interior hills situated between the Kanarese and Tamil districts in the direction of the Hasanur Pass in the Eastern Ghats, North East of the Nilgiris. In making this assertion, they are probably repeating parrot-like the Badaga tradition regarding the latter's advent to the hills, as Todas are not gifted with sufficient imagination to evolve a mythic history of their own. Another theory is that they came from the West Coast. The similarity of some of their customs to those of the Malayalees and their location of the Munds which are mostly in the western uplands of the plateau, while some are even found in the Wyanad, have lent colour to the view that their country lay to the west of the Nilgiris.

Malabar

On the other hand, Dr. Caldwell remarks as follows :—

"It has not been noticed by writers on the Nilgherries, but it is nevertheless a fact that, notwithstanding the long residence of the Tudas on a cold, cloudy mountain region, the colour of their skin is considerably darker than that of the more modern hill race, the Badagas, a race of people who immigrated from the Canarese country not many centuries ago, and is many shades darker than that of the majority (One tribe, the Puleiyas, in Malabar are very black) of the natives of the Malabâr coast. The darkness of the complexion of the Tudas tends to prove that they came originally from the eastern or sun burnt side of the range of Ghats; and that, long before they took up their abode in the hills, they had formed a constituent portion of the low country population".

Their mode of wearing the hair also is a pointer in this direction. The luxuriant crop or mop of hair, which is their pride, differs very little from the rough, shaggy and unkempt hair of many of Pareiya and wandering castes of the Carnatic and Dekkan except that it is oiled and combed. This pride in "these redundant locks robustious to no purpose" is shared in an eminent degree by the women whose desire to curl their hair which has little natural wave in it may be a point deserving the attention of the Ethnologists for this fashion is perhaps but an imitation of the mode of the same superior race with whom their ancestors were familiar. The hazel or brown eye common to the Toda, Kurumba and Kota is also met with in the wild castes of the Eastern plains.

Tamil

Dr. Pope derives the name from the Tamil word *Toru-Van*, a herdsman. Mr. Metz and Dr. Caldwell doubt the correctness of this derivation, the "d" in Toda being the dental, not the lingual "d", and not related to the Tamil "r" or "l". They consider the correct derivation still unknown. Some declared that

their Roman noses and flowing robes gave indications that they were the survivals of the Roman Colony in South India.

Roman

A closer study, however, showed that there were differences between *Puthukuli* and the *Toga* and the Todas had other than Roman features. Some others adduced their Jewish cast countenance as proof that they were the remnants of the lost tribes of the Hebrews; and one gentleman Captain H. Congreve of the Madras Artillery set himself to demonstrate that they were a relic of the ancient Scythian invaders who, driven from place to place, by the hostility of the dwellers in the plains, had at last taken refuge on this plateau. A caustic contemporary criticism of this last theorist, which applies equally to several of his fellows said :—

"He has treated the subject with remarkable acuteness and displayed much curious antiquarian lore; by systematically magnifying every mote of resemblance and by pertinaciously neglecting or despising every beam of dissimilitude, together with a little of the freedom of assertion allowed to system-spinners, he has succeeded in erecting a noble edifice, which lacks nothing but a foundation."

Evidences

The proximity of the Todas to a favourite hill-station amidst ideal surroundings for ethnographic enquiry has continued to keep alive the extra-ordinary interest they awakened from the first and the literature regarding them is now extensive. In spite of these advantages, their origin, which is always a difficult problem is particularly so in the present case, where archaeological and comparative information is totally lacking and is lost in antiquity. The evidence which is available for our inquiry is of three kinds :

(1) Records of the Todas in the past ;

(2) Traditions preserved by the Todas; and

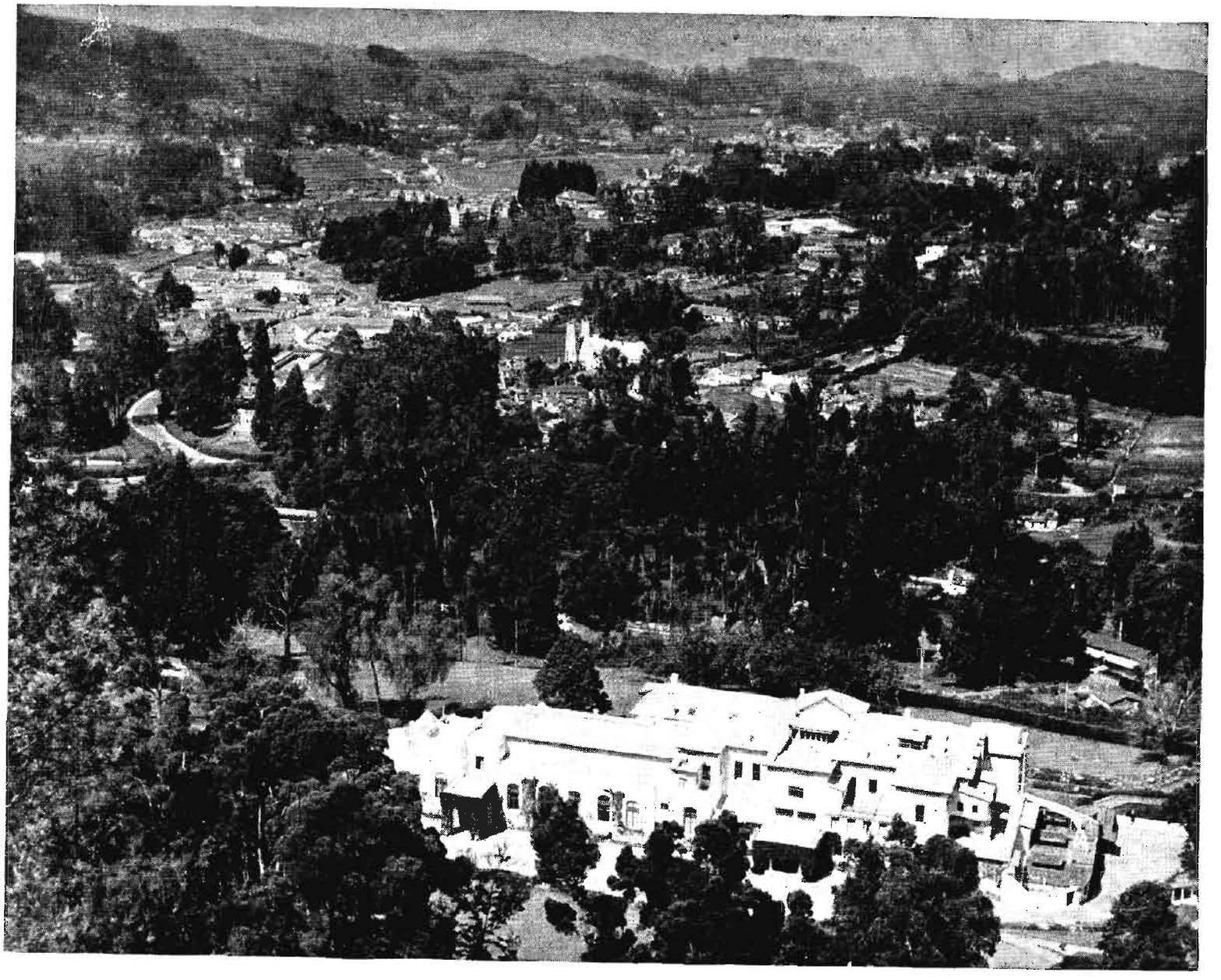
(3) Evidence derivcd from the comparative study of physical and psychic characters, language, beliefs and institutions.

The evidence coming under the first category is the scantiest. The climate of the Nilgiris which can be only inhospitable to an Indian, the difficulties of the passes upto it and the feverish jungle which hedged it around, did not tempt any Indian invader. So the materials for an account of its people in the days preceding British occupation are very meagre. In most other parts of the State, the inscriptions on the stone walls of the numerous temples have given us valuable clues to the events of the byegone centuries. But on the Nilgiris plateau the shrines are either temporary, modern or seldom more than thatched huts and apparently there is not even one ancient inscription of any historical value in the whole of the Nilgiris district. The neighbouring Mysore territory is, however less destitute of records and the contents of these have been set out in Mr. Lewis Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica* and throw a dim reflected light on the state of affairs in the Nilgiris in early days.

Vishnuvardana, a king of Hoysalas, whose capital was at Dvarasamudra (Halebid in Mysore State) and who ruled from 1104-1141 is said to have captured the Wynaad with a frown. He also seized the Nilgiris plateau; for his general Punisa is said in a record of 1117 A. D. to have "frightened the Toda, driven the Kongas underground, slaughtered the Poluvas, put to death the Maleyalas, terrified king Kala and entering into Nila mountain offered up its peak to the Lakshmi of Victory". This is the first mention of the names of Todas and Nilgiris till this is undiscovered. Of the doings of the Mysore Kings or of the internal history of the district down to British occupation in 1799, no record or definite tradition has survived.

European expedition

The earliest European expedition to the Nilgiris was undertaken by two Portuguese priests, who were sent there in 1602 by the Bishop of Syrian Church, Cochin to contact some natives believed to have been professing Christianity. Here, they came upon a race which appeared to be of those who were driven from the territory of St. Thome by the many wars in former times and scattered through these parts. They found no trace of Christianity in them. They had neither cross nor books though they said they had some once but they were lost as those who could read had died out. They had no pagoda worship nor pagan ceremonies. As the information brought by the two priests was not enough, the Bishop sent another priest by the name of Father Jecome Ferreiri to make further enquiries about the native Christians. This priest also returned to Cochin unsuccessful without meeting any Christians in the Nilgiris, though he met some Todas. Thus, the Todas, the most aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiris, were found for the first time by the Europeans. But even this priest was unable to throw much light about the origin of Todas, for when he asked the chief of the Todas if they knew from whom they were descended, he said 'no' and thereupon was about to



OOTACAMUND THE QUEEN OF HILL STATIONS

" The proximity of the Todas to a favourite hill station amidst ideal surroundings has continued to keep alive the extraordinary interest they awakened from the first ".

leave. Probably this is an indication of his unwillingness to share the knowledge of origin, if the Todas had any such knowledge at that time. At another time, when the priest raised the same issue and asked in an Assembly of Todas from whence they were descended, one replied that he had heard that they came from the East and some remained there while some settled lower down. They were also amazed at seeing the priest, a white man, and asked him to uncover his arms for them to look at. It is not clear what for they wanted to look at the arms.

The next excursion to the Nilgiris was undertaken nearly two centuries later when Dr. Buchanan, an economist, who was deputed by Lord Wellesley, the then Viceroy of India, to explore the commercial and agricultural conditions in and around Mysore, just then acquired by the East India Company, ran into the lower parts of the Nilgiris. Grigg, the author of the "Manual of the Nilgiris District" says that Dr. Buchanan might probably have reached Kotagiri and then returned to the Plains below the same evening. Twelve years later, in 1812, a British Surveyor named Keys, accompanied by an apprentice, Mac Mohan was sent up by Mr. Garrows, Collector of Coimbatore to make a detailed study of the Nilgiris. There is nothing on record to show that Keys had set eyes on the Ootacamund area even from a distance, for he confined himself only to the lower portions of the Nilgiris plateau. Six years later in 1818, two enterprising British young men, named Whish and Kindersely, who were working as Assistant Collectors at Coimbatore were sent to these hills by the then Collector, John Sullivan, on some special duty. They trekked to the Nilgiris and saw and heard enough in the course of their peregrinations through the wild and bleak hilly country to excite the interest and curiosity of Sullivan, who consequently set about the task of further exploring the hills personally. In January, 1819, accompanied by Dr. John Jones, Medical Officer, Coimbatore, and Whish, his assistant, Kindersely having left for England on furlough, Sullivan made the arduous trip to the hills. But he and his friends were forced to return to Coimbatore within four days on account of the extremely difficult climatic conditions.

Mr. Sullivan's attempts

Undeterred by the failure of his first attempt, Sullivan repeated his visit to the Nilgiris in May, 1819 along with Dr. John Jones and M. Leschenault, a French Naturalist. They established a camp at Dimhatty a Badaga village near Kotagiri and used it as a base for their exploratory operations. They stayed there for 20 days during which they explored the upper parts of the Nilgiris. On many days, he left his two friends behind at Dimhatty bungalow and carried on his exploration of the upper region of the Nilgiris with the help of the Badaga in the course of which he discovered the enchanting valley, surrounded by hills, which was later named Ootacamund. But, for reasons not known to any one, he did not give the slightest indication of his discovery in all his letters and articles to some journals in England on his exploration. Sir Frederick Price, I. C. S., a former Collector of the Nilgiris, in his admirable book entitled "Ootacamund-A history" written in 1908, says that there seems to be no reasonable explanation for this taciturnity of Sullivan about his discovery save that he did not visit the valley (Ootacamund) in May, 1819. He had expressed the view supported by authentic documentary evidence and reference to Sullivan's official itinerary and movement during 1819-1820 as the Collector of Coimbatore and a Special Officer of the Board of Revenue and later as a Member of the Board of Revenue that his first visit to Ootacamund was in 1821 when he bought a plot of land from a Toda and constructed the well-known Stonehouse between April 1822 and May, 1823. It has been recorded that Sullivan's child, born on Februrary 22, 1823 was baptised at Stonehouse.

It was during this period that Captain B. S. Ward surveyed the hills and completed his valuable geographical and statistical Memoir which has been reproduced as Appendix No. 20 to the Manual of the Nilgiris district, 1880. In his Memoir, Captain Ward observes that "The Todas are evidently a distinct race, and are in fact the aborigines of these aerial regions; their origin it is impossible to trace. When interrogated on this point we could only learn that they have some idea that they were originally self-borne and they have also a notion that their ancestors in primitive times were the palanquin bearers to the giant Rawan and were expelled from Lanka on his being slain by Rama." Since that time, very many of those who had visited the Nilgiris had something to say about the Todas, their ways, origin and manners. Perhaps the book entitled "Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris" is the only publication which contains numerous photographs of the antiquities of the hill attempting to give some archaeological evidence.

Antiquities

The antiquities of the Nilagiris, though numerous, did not possess any great variety, neither do they differ materially from similar remains to be found in almost every hill range in Southern India. They

consist of Cairn, barrow, Kistvaen, Cromlech and Azaram. Mr. Breeks has adopted in his book "Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris, 1873" the following concepts and definitions for the various terms:—

"By Cairn, is meant a circular enclosure formed either by a rough stone wall, or heap, or by single stones. Toda, *Phin*; Badaga, *Hok-Kallu*, navel stone.

By barrow, a mound of earth encircled by a ditch, and sometimes also by one or more circles of stones. Badaga, *Pongui*, gold pit.

By kist-vaen, a vault of large stone slabs, closed on every side, but sometimes with a round hole in one of the walls, with or without a surrounding stone circle or tumulus. Badaga *Moriaru Mane*, Morier's house.

By Cromlech, a similar enclosure open on one side. When these contain sculptured slabs, they are called by the Badagas; *Sela Kallu* (சிலுக்கல்) by the Kurumbas and Irulas *Bira Kallu* (வீரக்கல்) stone of a hero, and by Todas and Kotas *Pandavaru Mane*, (பாண்டவர்மனை) Pandava's houses. Those without sculptures are called by the Badagas, *Gattige Kallu*, throne or seat stones and the modern one used by the Kurumbas are called *Bira Kallu*, hero stones or *Savu Mane* (சாவுமனை).

The Azaram is a circle of stones, in which the relics preserved from a Toda green funeral are burnt, the ashes being buried under one of the stone."

The Cairns and Barrows always stand on the top of some commanding hill and sometimes occur in groups. They are scarcest on the Kundahs where only a few small ones exist in the neighbourhood of Avalanche and most numerous and also most prolific in relics in the Todanad. Within the stone enclosures of the cairns, which range from ten to twenty-eight feet in diameter and in the barrows which are from 20 to 60 feet in extreme width are generally found large oblong stone slabs, lying on the ground and usually placed south-west and north-east as though by compass.

These cairns and barrows were clearly burial-places and appear to belong to the same period. The things found within them included burnt bones and ashes, pottery, iron weapons and domestic implements, a few bronze vessels one or two bronze and copper weapons, a few gold ornaments, and beads of glass, agate and cornelian.

The commonest find was pottery. It is usually made of coarse clay, like the Chatti of to-day, but sometimes is finer and finished with a polish made from mica. Some of the forms are unique and quite unlike anything found in other parts of South India. The real cinerary urns which contained the ashes and bones of the dead are shaped like flattened chatti and rudely ornamented with vandykes, dots and circles. They were usually buried four or five feet deep. Nearer the surface were much more striking examples of pottery, namely long cylindrical jars, generally empty, with round or conical bases fashioned to rest upon ring-stands or to be stuck into soft soil, like the classical amphorae. They have domed lids on which are grotesquely and clumsily executed figures of the most varied kind, including men and women standing or riding on horses, leopards, buffaloes with great curved horns, pea-cocks, deer with spreading antlers, sheep, elephants and other animals too rudely-fashioned to be identifiable with certainty. Some of the buffaloes and sheep have bells round their necks. The men wear beards clipped short; both men and women have headdresses, some of which resemble the Phrygian cap; the only clothes they wear to protect them from the rigours of the plateau are narrow waist-cloths, but they have necklaces, bracelets and other ornaments and cross-belts in front and behind. Nothing could be more unlike the dress of the present dweller on the hills.

The weapons (none of the hill-people now use any weapons at all) include short-handled axes, heads of spears, javelins and arrow, sword and daggers; and the domestic implements comprise sickles, razors, knives, shears with spring handles, tweezers, lamps and bells. The few bronze vessels, which are naturally much better preserved than any of the iron articles, are so elegant in shape and so delicately ornamented with flutings and lotus-patterns that they almost resemble Greek or Egyptian art and stand quite apart from the other finds. The gold ornaments are also prettily designed, and the beads are cleanly drilled and sometimes engraved with varied patterns filled in with a kind of white enamel. Many of these articles again differ entirely from anything now in use on the plateau.

Regarding the age and authors of these cairns and barrows there has been much ingenious speculation. In many parts of the world, a distinct bronze age preceded the iron age, but there is as yet no evidence that this was so in Southern India and the fact that bronze and iron articles occur side by side in these monuments raises no clear inference as to their date. Ancient trees (computed

to be 300 or 400 years old and one of which, mentioned by Congreve was 27 feet in circumference) grow out of the middle of some of them; but the nature of the relics does not point to a really remote antiquity, and no one of the hill-tribes claims any right in the monuments or (though this fact can doubtless be explained away) exhibit any objections to their being opened and rifled. There is nothing about the monuments to connect them with any of these tribes (unless it be the numerous figures of buffaloes which resemble those which the Todas now breed) but on the other hand their contents, as has been seen, rather point to their having been the work of people who differed altogether from the present inhabitants and have disappeared. Captain B. S. Ward, whose survey memoir of 1822 appears to be the earliest paper in which the monuments are referred to and who was a most careful enquirer, said that the people told him that they were built by the Boopalans, predecessors of the present race of the Toduwars or Todas. Breeks, on a consideration of all the evidence, thought it more satisfactory to assign the cairns to the Todas than [to an unknown race. One or two collateral pieces of evidences furnished by him are as follows:-

"First the cairn builders were clearly familiar with the buffalo. Not only are these by far the most numerous figures found, but while many others are so badly imitated that it is not easy to guess what they are meant to represent, the buffaloes are singularly characteristic and often very spirited, though of course rough.

On the other hand, very few of the human figures at all resemble Todas; the women seem to have the low country top-knot instead of the toda curls, and carry chattis on their heads, a domestic occupation to which no modern Toda lady condescends. Moreover none of the figures wear the characteristic Toda armlet and the Puthukuli certainly is not represented.

Second; Besides the bells generally represented as hanging to the buffalo's neck, fragments of iron bells occur occasionally, and small imitations of them in clay frequently. Unless we are to treat all the clay figures as idols, which would be to credit the cairn builders with a Pantheon as extensive and varied as the Egyptians, there is hardly anything else in the cairns to which we can assign a religious meaning. In one cairn, indeed, there were two or three figures resembling Buddhist statues, but these are unique. It is needless to say that this is exactly what might be expected in Toda tombs."

If the pottery found in them was really the work of the ancestors of the present Todas, these latter must have greatly degenerated in aesthetic appreciation, because now-a-days their domestic utensils are of the plainest description. The only theory we can advance is that they gave up yearnings of the beautiful when they found another caste could fashion sufficiently serviceable, if ugly, utensils for them.

Ravana's descendants

It has already been indicated that there was a belief that the Todas are descendants of a Special Caste of Royal Palanquin - bearers of the Kandyan Kings of Ceylon. At present, no Toda asserts that the Todas are the descendants of Ravana. They argue that the story was manufactured and circulated mischievously by the Kurumbas. The story according to the Kurumbas is that because the Todas owned the fierce type of wild buffaloes, they linked these buffaloes to Yama and that these buffaloes were the off-springs of Yama's buffaloes which according to a legend in Ramayana was said to have been captured by one of the brothers of Ravana just for the sake of annihilating Yama.

Pallavas

There was another theory that since the shape of the Toda hut is somewhat similar to that of a Pallava monolithic shrine and since the buffaloes kept by the tribe are rather of the north than of the south Indian variety, the Todas must be surviving Pallavas, who after the disappearance of their empire, took refuge in the fastness of the Nilgiris.

Pandavas

Todas are inclined to believe that they are the descendants of Pandavas. The Todas of Muthinad Mund say that they offer milk and light a lamp in which ghee is poured to Dharmarajan in the month of January. The Todas of Taranad Mund say that they formerly offered poojas to Pandavas, for whom, they say, there are idols in Solur village near Palcodr Mund. They, however, agree that at present they are not offering any poojas at this place. The Todas of Kundhicod Mund say that they offer poojas to Pandavas in the month of February. They stated that they go to Poo Malai for this purpose. According to them, there are stones representing Pandavas in this hill. The Todas of Honnemund stated that, though they believe that their descendency is from Pandavas, they offer no poojas to the Pandavas. The Todas of Bedugal Mund also do not offer any poojas to Pandavas.

Legend

Though all the Todas who were questioned believed that they are descendants of Pandavas, they have also

another story about their origin. They place more reliance on the latter which is to the following effect. Tekkarizi is believed to be the creator of Todas. She created both the divisions, Tartharol and Teivaliol. She is also supposed to have created the sacred buffaloes for the benefit of the Todas. The actual creation is believed to have taken place in a stone near Narshmund (Muthinad Mand). The name of Tekkarizi is said to be mentioned in most of the social ceremonies. This story giving importance to the creation of Todas from a stone in Muthinad Mund is said not only by the Todas of Muthinad Mund but also by other Todas living in other munds. The Cathedral at Narshmund called as 'Moonbea' is visited by all the Toda clans of both the divisions.

Though all the clans believe in their original creation by Tekkarizi, each clan has some story about their first chieftain. The Todas of Taranad Clan believe in the chieftaincy of Thikudathi. The story about Thikudathi is narrated in a folk song of Todas. The translation of the song is as follows:-

"Thikudathi of Tharad Clan
A Stubborn leader of the clan
Adament in all aspects
Refuses and dodges to attend panchayats
Which led him to an end after all

Kotrane and Kotray had a dispute
Which contributed to religious
Kotray was possessing a sacred Bell
For use in the temple
And Kotrane had not one such

One day a dispute arose among them
Kotray made fun of Kotrane
By abusing about non-possession of Bell
Ashamed was Kotrane filled with anger
Determined to take revenge

Thikudathi was the supporter of Kotray
Saw sacred buffaloes of Narsh Clan migrating
Went up to the herd boldly with perversion
Snatched away the Sacred Bell
And handed over to Kotray-his supporter

Kotray felt extremely joyous and received the bell
Thus he fulfilled his taking revenge
The bell-loser Clan was much perturbed
Worshipped Goddess Thekershi for punishment to Thikudathi
The mischievous act of Thikudathi was untenable

Goddess Thekershi in disguise of human being
Went down to forest and appeared before Thikudathi
Thikudathi's action was condemned and alas
He was shot dead by Goddess Thekershi by bow and arrow
And thus was an end brought to the stubborn leader-Thikudathi."

The Todas of Honnemund (Pan clan) believe that they came after Kotrane. They say that Kotrane killed his first wife because she was not agreeable to him. So, he married a Deva Kanniga. It appears he met this Deva Kanniga when she was taking her bath in a stream. He took hold of her clothes and promised to give them only if she consented to marry him. She agreed and married him. His wife came to be called as Tekkush. The soul of Kotrane is supposed to be hovering round the Malabar coast. The Todas of this Clan say that they possess an original ring of Kotrane. Where exactly the ring is, no one is able to say. This Kotrane is said to have had two sons through this wife and the descendants of these two sons form the two Kudrs (sub-divisions) of this Clan.

Aryans

Todas never divulge anything about the more intimate aspects of their religious life and so it is difficult for anthropological investigators to fill in several major gaps nor furnish information about Toda ritual, belief and mythology. Their religion has not so far been adequately investigated. Though their religion and religious custom show few traces of Brahmanism, yet they differ in many ways from the ordinary cults of the wild tribes of the South. Moreover, the fact that Todas have no veneration for the serpent, but worship the Sun may show that they could not have been long under the power of the Nagas but, on the contrary, were in close contact with a race of Sun worshippers. Such worshippers were the Aryans. But that the Todas did not come from the far North with these people, it seems probable, apart from linguistic and physical peculiarities, from the fact that they hold the buffalo in such affectionate regard, for it is improbable that this black and ungainly wallowing animal could have become the affectionate regard to a people who knew and used the Brahmani ox, the horse and the elephant.

Analysis

It seems not an unnatural inference that though aboriginal, this curious people was on very intimate relations with an Aryan race. The names of their deities, it will be remembered, are of Sanskrit origin, fairly direct, whilst their language has been but slightly influenced thereby. Can this be explained on any

reasonable theory? It seems very doubtful; but we may perhaps find in the history of the Dekkan, a clue which, if followed up, may throw light on the past of this people. Their traditions and their speech show them to be a Kanarese or Telugu people who approached the Nilagiris from the north, and this view is supported by the Brahman tradition, mentioned by Mr. Metz., that they came with Rama from the north. (Though conflicting with the Toda story, this legend is noteworthy as both legends would place them in close relation with great kings. It may indicate that they were a tribe adopted by the conquerors.) Also by the fact that they call the South-western portion of the Pirgur, which Mr. Metz interprets as the land of Feringis, i. e., of strangers. The absence of any Toda settlements on the southern slopes of the hills also points the same way. They further call their grazing grounds (the uplands of Todanad) Melur, but have no name, Mr. Metz states, for the western portions. of the Kundas, though they call the eastern portion Meurur or the land of rain. A people who lived from time immemorial on the uplands would not naturally call these uplands Melur; but a people coming from the lowlands would. It is also curious to observe that though the Todas had settlements in Wainad near the Nilagiris and even have a special reverence for a shrine there, where their hunting God Betakan resides, yet they have not extended their settlements thither. It may be that incursions from Malabar drove them hillwards. Their presence in Wainad must, however, date back many centuries, for the absence of Lingayats in Wainad is an evidence that, for the last eight centuries at least, Kanarese dominion in that taluk, though the tract geographically is a part of Karnata, must have been very fitful. That they came from the north may then be admitted, but with what people were they connected there? Their religion may help us to find an answer. What is there unique in it? Veneration for the buffalo, adoration of the Sun, Moon and Fire-in a word, light—and the hermit character of their priests. These traits appertain to a race having a fire cult and to a land where the buffalo was held in special honour. Again, their marriage customs would connect them with a race of polyandrists. A race possessing several of these characteristics seems at one time, in the dim twilight of history, to have ruled in part of the Dekkan. There is mention of a Mahishamati—city(?) of the Buffalo—on the Nerbadda; again in the Mahabarata, of a town of the same name situated apparently futher south—south probably of the Godavari, on a tributary of the Kistna—and again in Buddhist history (240 B. C.) of a Mahisha-mandalam, or buffalo country, probably Mysore, in the South. Of Mahishamati on the Nerbadda, we are told that during the reign of a king of the solar line, the restorer of the kingdom of-the Nagas, said by some to be a Scythian race—the Haihagas—also a race, seemingly of Scythian origin—attacked the City and drove out the king. During his flight in the forest his son Sagara was born, who on coming to man's estate, became a great conqueror, nearly destroyed the Haihagas and their allies, and imposed on the conquerred the mode of shaving the head and wearing the hair known as *Kudumi*. Of the Mahishamati of the Mahabharata, we read that in it one Nila ruled. Here was the worship of Agni (fire) maintained, and here prevailed a system of free love amongst the women. Mr. Rice thinks that this fact may indicate the dominion in the South of a Malabar chief. But against this view it may be urged that the religion of the Malayalams was essentially phallic. Nila was attacked by Sahadeva, one of Yudhisthira's generals, who, after conciliating the god Agni, conquered the City. Lastly, we read, as already stated, in the Mahawanso that after the great Buddhist council in 241 B. C.—the third synod—in the reign of Asoka, missionaries under the leadership of Mahadeva were despatched to Mahishamandalam to establish the religion of Buddha and to bring them unto righteousness which passeth knowledge, and to deliver those bound in the fetters of sin. There they made 80,000 converts. It is strange to find that there existed in Southern India a race of polyandrists who were at the same time worshippers of the Vedic deity, the Sun, and whose cities, situated in the land of rivers, were called after the buffalo, whose home is in the wide river basins of the Dekhan, where it attains its greatest vigour and size. And further that this race should not only have been in conflict with Scythian tribes, but have more or less mingled with them. Vedic, Scythian and Dravidian cults seem here to have mixed. With such a race, the Todas must once have been in close contact. We find them using burial places and performing burial rites so similar that it makes it a question whether they were not the builders of the cairns, though we know that the Nilagiri cairns do not differ essentially from cairns found in other parts of the globe, which are generally admitted to have been built by Scythic tribes. They still adore the sun and light, though the Sun has ceased to be a god; whilst the absence of snake-worship may indicate that they were connected with a race which did not adopt the religion of the Nagas. Moreover when we consider that there are the strongest grounds for believing that they were inhabiting the Hills when Buddhism and Jainism ceased to be the State beliefs of the powerful neighbouring Karnata kingdoms, the absence of marked traces of these religons may indicate that the Todas

left the plains before they became organized cults, for had they migrated thither during their ascendancy, surely some more distinctive traces of these creeds would survive amongst them.

Further Legends

The Todas themselves had a few stories of no historical importance. They may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most crude tribes. They are, therefore, reproduced‡ below:

"A Pekkan† En, and his wife who was with child, went from Kultul mand to Okadnadmand. The husband brought fibres of a thorn tree, and in due course the wife brought forth a pumpkin! § The Pekkan said, "What! this child is dead, we must make a *ked.*" They made a *Ked*, and when the fire touched the pumpkin it split into two, and one half contained a male child; they brought it to Ootacamund, and it lived there, until one day the father found it playing in the kraal, and blew some dust on it, when it became a kite, and flew away. In those days the gods used to assemble on Doddabett, and the kite used to sit with them. One day the gods took counsel, saying "Why does the kite come here, let us drive him out;" so one of them, named Kodatha, took the kite home to Kodathabetta (Hulikaldurga), and pushed him over; the kite, in falling, caught hold of a bamboo, with which he returned, and struck Kodatha's head, so that it split into three pieces. Again the kite joined the assembly of the gods, who said, "The kite does everything; will he turn backwards the stream of Picwakmund? Will he catch hold of the sun?" The kite turned back the stream, and tried to catch the sun, first with iron, then with bellmetal chains, both of which melted; at last he made the hook and part of the chain with stone, and caught the sun, and brought it down to Nervenmand. Then the world was dark; then the gods went to the kite and said, "You are very great, let the sun go;" so he let the sun go, and the river returned to its course.

Before death began, one En, a Todi of Muttanad Mand,* used to go the other world and return, accompanied by Ponetwan of Okadnadmand. One day when they were in the other world, the kite came and said to the people of Okadnadmand, "En and Ponetwan will not return, therefore tie bells to thirty buffaloes and make the *Ked* ceremony on their account;" and they did so. As En and Ponetwan returned, they met buffaloes with bells coming; so Ponetwan cried, "The kite has done this;" and he touched the buffaloes with his forehead and wept, and his tears became a spring of water; and he blew his nose and there sprang up a tree. Then both said, "They have killed buffaloes for us, we must go back to the other world;" so they went, and took the buffaloes with them. Afterwards a man died in a circle of stones on the right hand side of the road to Kalhatti.** People tried to lift the body, but could not, so they burnt him there. As there were no posts to the circle, they made women with rice-pounders stand at the entrance all night, and next day the buffaloes were killed.

As the Paikara *Tiriari* buffaloes had gone with En and Ponetwan, Pursh, En's daughter, went to the other world and brought them back. But when they returned, they said, "We will not give you our milk, Pursh; let our calves have it." Pursh went and told this to En, who said "Give the *Ted* tree bark to the buffaloes, and they will cease to speak, and you can take their milk." Again Pursh went to ask for the golden milk-vessels and churn, which she had left in the other world; but En said, "You left them here, and I will not give them back; use bamboos for milk vessels, and make a churn with five branches like the kafle flower, and do not come here any more."

When En was gone, there was no head of the Todas, so Pursh was made head; and she lived at Muttanad temple, and established the *Palals*, *Tiriaris*, *Mands*, and *Boas*. One day an army of horsemen

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‡ pp. 35–38 "Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris" by J. W. Breeks, 1873

† Pekkan of Manjakal Mand

§ Comp. Ramayana, book 1, chap, XI Soumati, the wife of king Sagara of Ayodhya, gave birth to a pumpkin, which broke, and from it issued the 60,000 sons she had been promised. Afterwards the 60,000 were reduced to ashes in an encounter with Vishnu, but obtained Swarga on being sprinkled by the Ganges by the advice of Garuda, whose appearance seems to make it possible that the Toda story may really be a corruption of this very old legend.

* To the left hand of the segur road, near the top of the Ghat close to Seven Cairn hill. The 'Boa' is at this mand, which, from the position it holds in all these stories, might be one of the oldest.

** Nearly opposite Muttanad Mand. There are several circles here, some apparently kraals. Breeks dug out the circle built on rock and found that it had nowhere more than a foot of soil above the rock, so that the posts could not have been fixed. There are many *Azarams* on a neighbouring hill, and the place seems to have been an old funeral mand. This story looks like an invention to account for this abortive kraal, when the real story was forgotten.

from Mysore came near; when Pursh heard of it she said, "Let them all become stones;" so they were turned into stones;† but a few escaped. After this another troop came, and halted at Segur. Four of them came up the hill, captured a Todi, and asked him, "Who turned the first army into stones?" and they bribed him to tell them of Pursh's curse. Then the Mysoreans returned and told their chief; and he said, "Take mutton, and throw it at Pursh's door, and the flesh will expel the god." They did so, and Pursh came out like a fire, and was transformed into the hill behind Muttanad Mand.‡ Then the Mysoreans came up and plundered the Todas. Before this time the Todas used to see and speak to their gods, but from the time Pursh disappeared and from the day that a Toda betrayed his people, the gods are seen no more of men.

Second Story

Koten, Tekudi, and Elna were three brothers, who lived respectively at Hona Mand, Tarnat Mand and Muttanad Mand.* The wife of the former cursed her husband, saying, "You possess no *Kotagiri*, no *Tiriari*." Koten went to his brother and said, "I am cursed, I cannot eat or go to the house; give me a *Tiriari* and some Kotas." Then Tekudi gave him a *Tiriari* bell and buffaloes from the Muttanad *Tiriari*, and Elna gave him a Kota man and woman.

Koten went off with these to the Kundahs, and established a *Tiriari* and *Palal*, and placed the Kotas at the Kundah *Kotagiri*, called by Todas Merkokal.§

When the Paikara Palal drove Elna's buffaloes to the Sholur Tiriari where the god Enta presides, the buffaloes refused to go, and said they could not go without the bell which Tekudi had taken. The Palal told Elna, who told Enta. He said he would give a stick, which was to be given to a Pekkan of Manjakal Mund, who was to take a horn to be cut from the head of a living buffalo, and blow it in front, when the buffaloes would follow. Even now when the Paikara buffaloes go to the Sholur Tiriari, a Pekkan must go in front with a horn, and the horn is blown every evening when the Palal has finished his meal. Enta added that he would kill Tekudi by a bow and arrow within eight days.

As Tekudi came from Tarnat Mand one day, an arrow appeared in the shape of a bird screaming. Tekudi looked up and the arrow dropped into his eye. The arrow was one that a lame Toda, lying down and by means of his legs,‡‡ shot by command of Enta into the air.

Tekudi fell on his back and died, and a Toda man with him put a stone on his head and on each of his hands and his legs. The man accompanying Tekudi, reported what had happened to the people at Tarnat Mand, and they all went out to see, and found some hair on the stone which had been placed over the head, and some blood, but no corpse.

After this, Koten went to a Kurumba village in Bani Shima,** and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand ; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swami woman, by name Terkosh, whom he married. After this, Koten returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Koten slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Terkosh were transformed into two hills, which are now known by the names of Koten and Terkosh, on the Sisapara side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits.†† The

† A variety of this story is connected with some upright stones, apparently slabs from a half-destroyed cairn, near Mr. Findlay's plantation at Kodanad. Mr. Findlay told Breeks that he was told by a Toda, that these were once soldiers who insulted the Palal of a neighbouring Tiriari, whereupon he threw some milk over them and turned them into stones.

‡ The hill nearest Muttanad Mand is Seven Cairn Hill, connected with the story of Dirkish.

* All these mands belong to the Todi clan, which is the largest, and possibly the oldest from its position in these stories.

§ Merkokal means the Kota village of the Kundahs. Mer is the Toda for Kundahs, and Kokal for Kota village.

‡‡ Compare *Elephinstone's History of India*, Appendix iii, page 263 "The peculiar Indian bow, now only used in mountainous countries which is drawn with the assistance of the feet, and shoots an arrow more than six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, & C.," This incident confirms in a measure the testimony as to the use of the bow afforded by the marriage and funeral rites.

** Bani Shima, the country of the Bhawani (Bhowany) river.

†† Thus five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, viz., Dirkish, Kodatha, Pursh, Koten, and Terkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt at Maleswaramale.

Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Terkosh. When Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Koten.

Elna had five or six hundred cattle at Muttanad. When milking them in front of the mand, samber used to come out of the *shola* and bell and make a noise, which made all the buffaloes run away. So Elna built the wall which now appears at Muttanad Mand.*

Third Story

En's father was called Pith. He and his father made the Mands. Enta, Pith, and Dewak were born at the same time, all Swamis in the form of men, and are recognised by all Todas as gods. There were no Todas when they were born. En one day said, "What's the use of being quiet?" and took a stick and thrust it in the earth, from whence came eighteen hundred common buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding a buffalo's tail. En's wife did the same a little way off, and out came two thousand white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. En took a rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman and from these two came all the Todas. En had a son Pauv. Pith, En, and Pauv made all the mands and *Tiriaris*. They themselves became *Palals*, and built temples. When a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Azaram*.

Pith and En lived in Ennad Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and En set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Amunad*. En and Pauv remained making *puja* and building mands. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

En had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Amunad*. En then told the Todas he must go to *Amunad*. They said they would go also. En Said, "No, you must remain here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away."

The religion of Todas has one characteristic feature which cannot be found in any other tribe or caste in India, i.e., the absence of idols. It has no doubt resulted in the formulation of new theories on the origin of Todas. As Metz has observed on p. 9 of his book entitled "The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills", mere peculiarity of features unaccompanied by any collateral evidences cannot be considered conclusive as to the origin of any race of men; for while the argument drawn from the supposed absence of idol worship among this tribe would equally prove every Mahomedan to be a jew.

Manichaeans

According to Mr. Whitehouse, Todas were Manichaeans, and this idea was based on their reverence for Sun and Fire and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and it was also based on their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichaeans. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic Missionaries to discover and use any resemblances, real or apparent, between the heathen religions in possession and what they sought to introduce, one may conclude the theory that Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichaeans, as improbable. In his interesting narrative of the Syrian Church of Malabar, Rev. Thomas Whitehouse has expressed the view that there is no reason whatever to believe that the Todas of the Nilagiris were ever in any way associated with either the Christian or Manichaean settlers of the low country or of the coast of Malabar or had ever known anything of Christianity, even so much as external forms.

The trace of element worship, traces of ancestor worship and strong pastoral colouring are almost Vedic while the omission from their Pantheon of the regular gods of the plains can be attributed to long isolation.

Sumerians

H. R. H. Prince Peter of Greece conducted anthropological research among Todas in 1939 and in 1949. He discovered eleven names of deities of Sumerian origin in use among the Todas. They are tabulated below:-

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* This seems to have been concocted to account for the existence of the wall which runs round the crest of the hill and forms a peculiar feature at Muttand Mand

TODAS		SUMERIAN	
Name of Deity	*Description*	*Name of Deity*	*Description*
I. Colloquially termed as On; but in prayer pronounced as An or Anu	Name of the Principal male deity. Lord of the underworld (*Amnor*), to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while still there, he created, together with his wife Pinakursh men (*Olk*-Todas) as well as the Toda buffaloes.	An or Anu	The principal God of the Sumerians
II. Terkish; but in prayer pronounced as 'Ishtar' and sometimes as 'Ishkiar'	The great mothergoddess. Sister of On. Reputed to have stayed behind with the Todas when On retired to *Amnor*, and has residence on the summit of the hill near the Norsh Mund known in English as the Toda Cathedral.	Ishtar	The semitized form of Innini the heaven virgin goddess of Erech
III. Innini	Another colloquial name for Terkish	Innini	Heaven goddess of Erech, also considered as a specialised aspect of Nintud, the virgin mother-goddess of engendering semitized later into Ishtar from the South Arabian Venus, Athar.
IV. Nintud	Terkish is also called as Nintud at prayer during October festival at Norsh	Nintud	The virgin mother goddess of engendering.
V. Makh	Terkish is evoked as Makh by the people of Karsh and of Pan when they cross the Avalanche river on their way to the Kundahs	Makh	"The Supreme goddess" another Sumerian qualification for Nintud — Innini-Ishtar
VI. Ellil or Enlil	Name given to Terkish (female deity) by all Todas in the morning prayer which they say on awakening	Enlil or Ellil	The earth God (male deity)
VII. Nelu	Prayer name for earth	Ninlil	Consort of the former God
VIII. Utwe	Colloquial name for sun	Utu	Sun God
IX. Sin	Moon referred to as sin at the time of prayer in Kiuju dairy and Karsh Mand	Sin	The moon god
X. Ninkurshag	A prayer used in all Ti-mands at the time of lighting	Ninkurshag	Queen of the mountain
XI. Ninurtha	Name of a god which the people of the now extinct Mitur mand in the Wynad used to worship.	Ninurtha	The war god

He could not find any traces of anything remotely resembling Ea or Enki, the water god of Eridu, and his consort Damkina; Marduk, the great God of Babylon, son of Ea; Nusku, the fire god, son of Enlil; and any of the lesser deities such as Ashan (Nidaba, Nisaba), the grain goddess; Ninkasi, the wine goddess; Ninkharburvildu, the goddess of expiatory rites; and Immer, the rain and thunder god. The Prince feels that such absence may either mean that ancestors of Todas might have had some contacts with Sumeria before the cult of Marduk at Babylon was firmly established, i.e. after the first Babylonian Dynastry or that these possible forerunners had no contacts with the port of Eridu or the Gulf (where Ea was worshipped) or with Babylon further north, but did have so with other regions of Mesopotamia.

These speculations are based on conjecture. Perhaps they may indicate the time and place of early relationship between the Todas and people who might have been their ancient kinsmen. The survival of Gods and goddesses in Sumerian as well as in Semitic consonance among the Todas will point also to a very early antiquity.

The possibility of Toda contacts with Sumeria might appear to be rather fantastic; but facts are often stranger than fiction. Most of us find it difficult to consider the likely proofs of trans-continental and trans-oceanic movements of pre-historic communities Most of us consider it as fantastic that Indian culture in any direct way influenced the Maya civilization, but an exhibition in the American Museum of Natural History which showed the details of the manner in which Indian art motifs were copied by the Mayas and the very able exposition of the subject by Prof. Von Heine-Geldern convinced many that there was traffic by sea between India and South America several centuries before the so called discovery of America. Indo-Sumerian affinities are among the accepted facts of Indian and Mesopotamian archaeology and their extension to the Toda enclave in South India, though somewhat difficult at present is a relatively simple problem which some concentrated research might resolve in the near future. And this is consistent with the theory that Toda culture is part of Indian culture.

Dr. A. Aiyappan feels that the authenticiy of the name On and Sin can be accepted as established. He finds it difficult to believe that the Toda informants of Prince Peter could have all conspired to mislead him in the case of the other nine names! If Prince Peter's discovery gets corroborated, we still have to answer a series of questions: How did these Sumerian names exist in such pure form among the Todas? Are only the names Sumerian or were the Todas themselves Sumerian in origin? All these questions cannot be answered satisfactorily before a great deal more of comparative studies of mythology and linguistics at both the Dravidian and Sumerian terminals are undertaken.

Indian and Sumerian

There seems to be more Sumerian elements in Indian religion than we are likely to concede. There is a similarity between the Indian Shiva and the Sumerian God, Ningizzida [(Saham(fire), Serah (vegetation)], personification of the generative forces of nature. He is represented on cylinder seals with snakes in his hands; sometimes he is indentified with the double coiled serpents; he sleeps ritually with his consort on a couch; as part of the annual fertility rites; he wears a horned headdress (Shiva of Mohenjodaro). The Indian god has snake ornaments and his ritual connubium is still conducted with an image of his consort. Divested of syncretistic exuberance, Siva, like Ningizzida, is sanctified fertility in eternal connubium. While it may be argued that the serpant symbol and the sacralization of fertility are common to all parts of the world, parallelism in specialised ritual should be ascribed to a common source of inspiration and common tradition.

Siva is not an isolated instance of this parallelism. In Sumeria are found the analogues of Indian serpant spirits, human busts with snake tails and of the Indian Narasimha (Lion-man) and the full-vessel (*purna-kalasa*). The Sumerian temple was organised as a royal palace. The South Indian temple likewise is *Kovil* (the house of the king). If the Sumerian influence were wide spread, primitive Toda culture was likely to have been part of that wide stream, not a bucketful that somehow got transported to the Nilgiris.

Reed huts with arched roof have been suggested by drawings and sculptures from several Mesopotamian sites (Iraq, II. P. 31). The barrel-shaped huts of the marsh-dwelling tribes of modern Iraq (see Field, H., "The Anthropology of Iraq-The Lower Euphrates Tigiris Region", Anthropoligical Series, Field Museum of Natural History, 30, Part I No. 2. 1949) are somewhat similar to the Toda huts and are more difficult to make than other types of huts in vogue in the immediate neighbourhood of the Todas. If the Sumerian hypothesis of the origin of the Todas is correct we might say that the conservatism of the Todas led to the persistence of the Iraqi domestic architecture in the Nilgiris. That these barrel-shaped type of buildings were at one time more wide spread in

western and southern India is shown by their sculptural representation in several Buddhist monuments of great antiquity.

While making this reference to modern Iraq, it may be added that the water buffalo is an animal of great economic importance to the tribes of Iraq as they are to the Todas.

North Indian

In discussing Toda affiliations, definite information about the racial status of the tribe is essential, but the material available is indeed scanty. The most recent anthropometric study of the tribe is that of Baron Von Eickstedt whose conclusions have been published but not the figures on which they are based. He considers that the Todas belong to the "North Indid" type to which also belong the Sikhs and several other hairy, robust, high-statured, light-skinned groups of Afghanistan, Kashmir, Punjab and Rajputana who were originally pastoral tribes of Central Asia, patrilineal and speaking Aryan tongues. "In the Todas of the Nilgiris" according to him "this type remained isolated and have maintained a remarkable racial purity." However, he has ignored a very important characteristic of the Toda head, namely, its high cranial vault which puts the tribe in a different category from the dominant North Indian group with which he has wrongly clubbed the Todas. On the other hand, Dr. A. Aiyappan feels that the Todas are more correctly comparable to the long-headed race, with high cranial vault, long face and narrow prominent nose, which numerically, dominated in Mohenjo-Daro from its earliest phases. This type which has been described as proto-Mediterranean is widely distributed in Northen as well as Southern India. In the Toda tribe, the proto-Mediterranean type is represented with very little admixture with the proto-Australoid strain of the Indian population.

In his book on the Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris, J. W. Breeks quotes an extract furnished to him by Dr. Gundert according to which the Todas called their God '*Bidi*'. In this connection, it may be pointed out that (வ) (v) in the Tamil script is at times pronounced by foreigners as (ப) (b). For instance, Ravindran is pronounced as Rabindran. So also the Todas might have talked about "Vidhi" (விதி) the fate which forced them to migrate into the Nilgiris. Such a reference to "Vidhi" might have been misconstrued by the foreigners as a reference to "*Bidi*" as a god.

It is likely that Todas were upset by the act of this unknown fate that they are unwilling to talk freely about it. This might be the reason for the disinclination of the chief of the Todas to be dragged into a discussion on their origin with the first Portuguese priests in 1602.

A reference has already been made to a story according to which En set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept as a result of which Pith flew out and went to "*Amunad*". And there is also another story of En and Ponetwan going and returning from the other world "*Am Nad*". probably *Amnad* might be a corruption for 'Nam Nad', (நம் நாடு) or our mother land. En might have undertaken a peace mission to the main land from which Todas migrated to do away with the root cause for the supposed fateful event of Toda's migration.

More scientifically based hypotheses of the origin of the Todas are to be found in the writings of W. H. R. Rivers (The Todas, London, 1906) and of M. B. Emeneau (Language and Social forms; A study of Toda kinship terms and dual descent, Language, Culture and Personality, Menasha, Wisconsin (not dated), pp. 158 to 179.)

Malabar

Dr. Rivers in his monumental work tries to show that the Todas, failing anything of greater antiquity, can at least be traced back to Malabar. In support of this assertion, he gives instances of resemblances of Toda and Malabar social customs: polyandry, intercaste concubinage, the giving of a piece of cloth by the bridegroom to the bride, the name for this cloth, *Kach*, which is common to Toda and to Malayalam, the placing of a similar piece of cloth on the body of the dead relative at his cremation, the posthumous "marriage" of deceased, unwedded girls, and the Nair ceremony of *Pulikuti*, the name of which is reminiscent, he thinks, of the Toda ceremonial dairy, the *Pulpali*, the use of the arrow in the tali ceremony of Malabar and in the maternity ceremony of the Todas and also the existence in both the areas of a basic matrilineal sib organisation along with patriliny and polyandry. He further affirms that there is a definite affinity between the Toda and Malayalam (although he does disclaim all knowledge of the language of Malabar, which he rightly says, puts him at a disadvantage) and that it is a curious fact that the Toda diviners, the *teuols*, when prophesying usually rave in Malayalam, which they profess not to know in their ordinary life.

Further the Todas believe that their dead go west which may or may not be a reminder of the path they travelled upto the Nilgiris while a tall pole the *tadri* used by the Nilgiri tribe at its funerals together with the boxes called *Pettei* and an umbrella called *Mitukwader*, all come from Malabar. Finally, Rivers

shows the disposition of the Toda villages or munds to be very suggestive of a gradual movement from West to East with the latest Toda mund to be given up situated at Gudalur on the Wynad plateau, while some of the most sacred buffaloes are said to have come from Perithi in Wynad taluk, where one of the principal Toda clans, Tarar, even claims to have its own private afterworld.

South Indian

To this piece of evidence collected by Rivers, Emeneau has raised objections. According to him, it is "profitable to look to a generalised South Indian background as the basis for the highly specialised and aberrant Toda culture forms" and insists that what Rivers looked upon as parallels between Toda and Malabar cultures are really nothing else than common traits of such a generalised South Indian institution. He contests that Toda is akin to Malayalam and finds it more closely related to Canarese (Kannada). That the Toda diviners speak the vernacular of Malabar even in a trance, he explains by their claiming spiritual communion with deities situated in Malabar temples. There is no linguistic connection between *Pulikuti* and *Pulpali*. As for the disposition of the Munds, leading up from the western lowlands to the mountainous east and the claim that certain buffaloes came from Wynad, he dismisses by revealing that the Gudalur settlement was a recent one and that sacred buffaloes are equally supposed to have come up from the Eastern, Coimbatore (Tamil) side of the mountains. Emeneau concludes that it is evident that the general South Indian situation provides ample basis for the Toda developments.

In another chapter, we have discussed the affinity of the Toda language to other South Indian languages and come to the conclusion that Toda language is basically more alike Tamil than any other language. The customs which are found among the people of Malabar coast can also be found among other tribes and castes scattered in South India. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the Todas are a subsect of the South Indian group. All the theories suggesting other Asiatic or non-Asiatic origin or influences may apply in general to all South Indians but not to Todas alone. Some of these influences are no doubt more conspicuous among the Todas and this is the result of long isolation after a certain stage in the hills of Nilgiris. Again, the Todas are free from the influence of Brahmanism and they had nothing to do with the people of various castes.

Conclusion

We should, therefore, conclude that Todas are as much South Indian as any other race found in the subcontinent, though the foreign traces, which can be revealed, can be found among other tribes also, perhaps to a lesser degree. No doubt Todas represent a segment of South Indian population which have been isolated for a long time in Nilgiris hills without any contact with outside influences until the Europeans came on the scene. Even to-day Todas have preserved more purity than any other tribe or caste which can be seen in this country.

NILGIRI DISTRICT

SHOWING THE

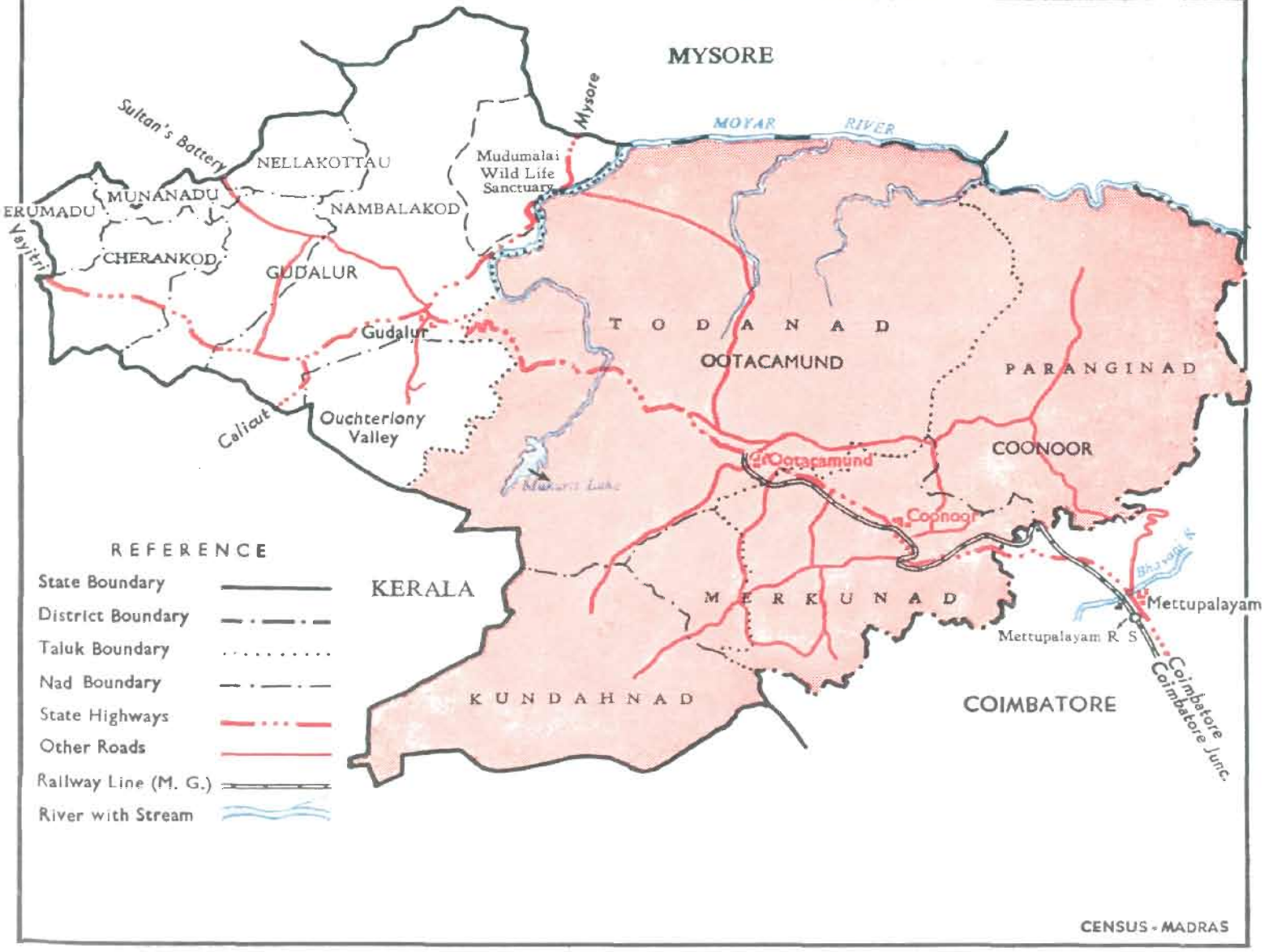
LOCATION OF THE TALUKS THEY LIVE

SCALE

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CENSUS - MADRAS

CHAPTER III

THE COUNTRY THEY LIVE

Todas live in a beautiful country, Nilgiris. They are treated as part of the landscape itself. The discovery of the Nilgiris led to the discovery of Todas. No Indian would like the climate of the hills which permitted Todas to live in splendid isolation till early 19th century. Toda has no doubt appealed to the romantic element of the European visitor, who has tried to treat him as a group separate from Indians. His aim has been to preserve him in his pristine purity. An attempt to convert him was made only after 1920s. The stay of the Toda cannot be understood without knowing something of the land of which he is a part.

In Southern India, stretching between 76°27′ and 77°4′ of East Longitude, and 11°37′ and 11°8′ North Latitude lie the Nilgiris or Nila Giris (நீலகிரி – Blue Mountains) forming the nucleus of the Eastern and Western Ghats which run southwards at a converging angle through the Madras State. The Nilgiris comprise of two distinct ranges of hills, which traverse the district of Coimbatore somewhat in the form of a horse-shoe, and blend at one extremity with the Western Ghats. One of these ranges is called the *'Neilgherries Proper'*, and the other *'Koondahs'*. These hills, on their northern aspect, slope off rapidly into a declivity, which terminates in the broad and elevated plateau of the Wynaad and the Mysore country, a fine and commanding view of which is obtained from some of the high elevations. On the Malabar side, the Nilgiris approach the sea coast to within a distance of 40 miles, while on the east they are 230 miles from the opposite sea shore.

The base of Nilgiris which covers a surface of nearly 200 miles, is surrounded by a zone of thick jungle, extending more or less into the plains; and excepting to the west, is encircled by two rivers, the Moyar, and Siru (or little) Bhavani, which, in some parts sweeping close under them, in others running out to a considerable distance, eventually meet a little to the north-east, and thence flow in one united stream under the general name of Bhavani.

The district called the Nilgiris includes, besides the great plateau from which it is named, three widely different outlying tracts; namely a strip of malarious jungle skirting the northern foot of the plateau; the Ouchterlony Valley on the west, a deep recess in the high wall of the plateau called after the man who first exploited it; and, still further west, the country known as the south-east Wynaad (the land of swamps), a table land of bamboo forest, paddy flats and bogs lying about 3,500 feet lower than the plateau and the same height above the sea.

The Nilgiris District is bounded on the south-east, east and north-east by the Coimbatore District; on the north by the Mysore territory and the Moyar river and on the west and south by the districts of Kozhikode and Palghat of Kerala State.

The length of the district from east to west (i.e.) from a point near Rangasami's Peak to the Pandi river in Wynaad is 40 miles. Its breadth from north to south (i.e.) from the Moyar river to the Coimbatore frontier, near Melkunda, is 29 miles. The plateau between its extreme north-east and south-west points, is in length approximately 42 miles. Its breadth, in the centre, from north to south, is 15 miles; but its average breadth is only about 10 miles. The area of Nilgiris District is 981.7 sq. miles and that of the plateau is approximately 478.87 sq. miles.

The summit of the two ranges of hills is greatly diversified by peak and valley, plateau and undulation, in alternate succession. The peaks vary in altitude; the higher of them ranging from 5,000 to 8,000 feet above the level of the sea. Dodabetha, which is the highest peak in Southern India, attains to an elevation of 8,760 feet above the sea, and 1,344 feet above Ootacamund, which is situated in a bowl or basin sheltered by a surrounding range of low hills.

These hill ranges, from their natural altitude and geographical position, are subject to the influence of both the monsoons; and are noted for possessing a climate, which, for mildly invigorating properties and equable seasonal changes throughout the year, is perhaps unrivalled anywhere within the Tropics. The annual mean temperature enjoyed on the summit of Nilgiris has been fixed at 58°68′, a mean that is seldom experienced on any other mountain range in India.

The discovery of Ootacamund, the premier hill station in India by John Sullivan between 1821 and

1822 is ranked among some of the outstanding achievements in the field of geographical exploration during the 19th century. Even though Sullivan was not the first European to visit the Nilgiris, the credit for having discovered Ootacamund and recognised the possibilities of developing the place into a holiday-cum-health resort goes indisputably to Sullivan, but for whose pioneering vision, exploratory zeal, tough spirit of adventure and unremitting toil, the Government of Madras cannot boast of "a little Switzerland in India" as Ootacamund has been rightly called by many foreign tourists.

The development of the Nilgiris began in the nineteenth century. The first post office was opened in 1826, the first hospital in 1829, the Municipality was established in 1863, the Collector's office in 1866 and a library in 1878.

The first road to the Nilgiris was begun in 1819. It started at Sirumugai near Coimbatore border and ran via Kotagiri and Dinpatti to Ootacamund. It was however steep and unsatisfactory. In 1829 Mr. Lushington, Governor of Madras, ordered the construction of a new road which commenced from the village of Nellitorai near Mettupalayam at the foot of the Hills on the eastern side and was commissioned in 1832. It was in 1853 that the construction of the present road from Coonoor to Ootacamund was taken on hand. The entire stretch from Mettupalayam to Ootacamund lies through magnificent scenery and has several hairpin bends and loops.

In 1864, the proposal was first made for the present 29 mile railway link between the places. The work on it was commenced by a private company only in 1891 and was completed by the Government in 1908. Sixteen tunnels and several girder bridges were constructed. Till the advent of the Railways, travellers were conveyed to Ootacamund by bullock carts or horse carriages.

The climate and scenic beauty of Ootacamund impressed Sullivan so much that he recommended to Government that the place should be developed into a summer resort and in May 1827 he made an offer to let Stone-house to Government as 'a place of public accommodation'. This was accepted by Government for a period of 2½ years on a rent of Rs. 490/- a month. Sullivan was appointed as a member of the Board of Revenue in January 1835 and as a member of the Governor's Executive Council in 1836. He retired from service in May 1841. The Stone-house was eventually taken over by the Department of Public Works on April 15, 1869. Lord Napier, Governor of Madras, visited Ootacamund in November 1869 and thought that the Government could be moved to Ootacamund during every summer. The cost of this exodus was estimated to be Rs. 6,600 per annum. The first exodus of the Government of Madras to Ootacamund took place in July 1870. The Government returned to Madras on September 30, 1870. The cost of that exodus was Rs. 7,016-14-11. This exodus continued till 1937 when the first Congress Ministry led by Sri C. Rajagopalachari stopped it.

To-day the 140 year old Stonehouse is occupied by the Government Arts College, established here in June 1955; and the Connemara Cottage, built in 1884—85 and named after Lord Connemara, a Governor of Madras, has been placed at the disposal of the College authorities for use as a hostel for women students. There is nothing to remind the public about the epoch-making services of John Sullivan except a decaying tree, planted by him, in front of the portico of the building.

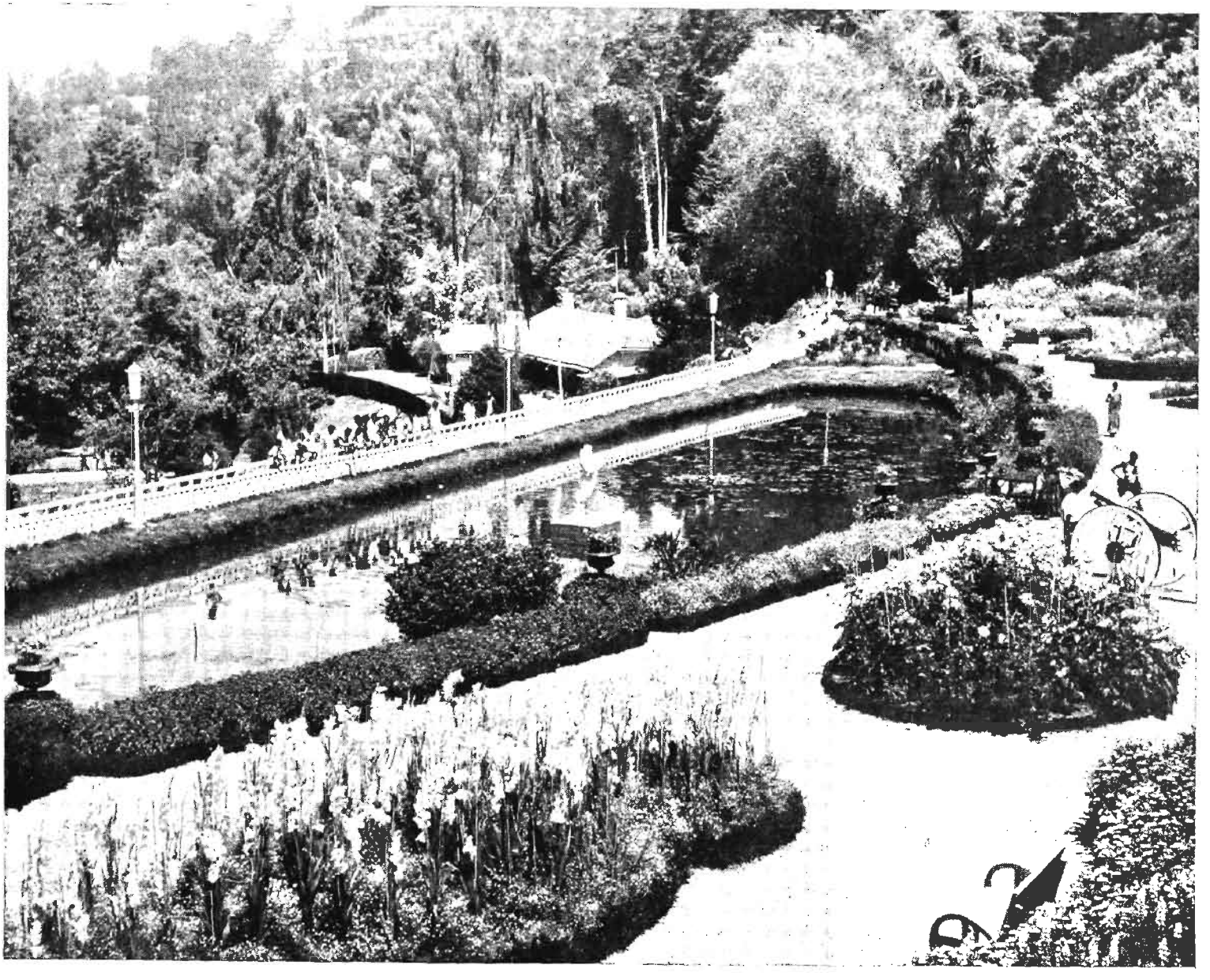
Ootacamund is one of the finest health resorts in the world and one of the two or three all-weather resorts in India. It is not often realised that in most of the health centres, there are great extremes of temperature ranging from the oppressive heat of mid-summer to the snows of the mid-winter. This is the case even in New Zealand which is a country marvellously favoured by Nature. In Ootacamund, on the other hand, the highest day temperature during the year never exceeds 65° to 68°F. (18° to 20°C) and at no time is there any snowfall. Such an equable climate is therefore conducive to the maintenance of optimum health and eminently suitable for persons of delicate constitution who are affected by climatic variations.

The scenery of the Nilgiris, comprising as it does, some of the most picturesque Downs in the world and interspersed, as it is, with clumps of forests and stretches of water is variegated and restful. It is a matter of gratification that the insensate and short-sighted felling of trees and the deforestation which characterised Government and private activities during the last few years have now been checked by the present Madras Government and it is to be hoped that the oak, the cypress and pine, which were the characteristic features of the Nilgiris will again become characteristics of Blue Mountains. To the ethnologist, to the antiquarian and to the nature-lover, the Nilgiris, in short, provides every variety of interest; and the provision of Rest Houses and adequate bus and car facilities will infallibly attract



CHARING CROSS, OOTACAMUND

" Tennyson sang of ' The sweet half-English Neelgherry Air ' and a visit to Ootacamund will convince anybody that Ooty with its exquisite natural scenery and bracing climate is the paradise of holiday makers ".



BOTANICAL GARDENS, OOTACAMUND

" The Botanical Gardens, a landmark in Ootacamund, have thousands of plants from various countries ".

increasingly large numbers of seekers after health and entertainment. It may also be stated that the Kundah, Mukurti and the Pykara Hydro-electric projects have enhanced the significance and beauty of the place; the film industry and other enterprises which take advantage of the power generated by the cataracts and water-falls which are abundant in this region have added new attractions to a locality already eminently favoured by Nature.

Important Landmarks

Tennyson sang of 'The sweet half-English Neelgherry air' and a visit to Ootacamund will convince anybody that Ooty with its exquisite natural scenery and bracing climate is the paradise of holiday makers.

Picturesque Ooty

Set amidst the most beautiful scenery in the Nilgiris, Ooty stands at an altitude of 7,500 feet and ranks among the most exquisite scenic spots in India. Its hills, ravines, woods and grass downs cast a spell on the visitor. Sports and games of all kinds and all facilities for a gay social life are available for the holidaying tourist while, for the introvert and nature lover, the walks and drives in and around Ooty provide a magnificent view of the splendours of Nature.

Ootacamund takes its name from the Toda village above the Government gardens, 'Othaka manthu', meaning one stone village. Over 7,440 feet (2,270 metres) above sea level, Ooty has a temperate climate. At the bottom of the valley is Ooty's artificial lake which covers 2 square miles in area and passes over a natural one. It was conceived by Mr. Sullivan, the Collector of Coimbatore in 1823. The lake provides facilities for boating and fishing.

Walking from the lake towards the Bazaar, one comes to the edge of Hobarts Park, where there is a race course and a pavilion. Racing is a weekly event in Ooty during the season. West of this area are the Wenlock Downs named after one of the Governors of Madras. Across the Downs and round the outer edges of the plateau run several drives which wind through lovely scenery and in places command a magnificent view of the low country.

Botanical Gardens

The Botanical Gardens, a landmark in Ooty, were laid out at the foot of Dodabetta by Mr. McIvor, an expert. It has many rare trees and plants. Ooty's flower, fruit and vegetable shows are widely patronised. The gardens have about a thousand plants from various countries and they include 35 types of eucalyptus, 75 types of roses, 20 medicinal plants and a large number of coniferous trees. The Dodabetta Peak standing at an altitude of 8,640 feet is the highest peak in Madras State. It is six miles from Ooty and a good motorable road leads upto the summit. From its top, on a clear day, one can have a panoramic view of the extensive Mysore plateau, the distant Coimbatore plains and the other hill stations on the Nilgiris.

Stephen's Church, built in 1830, is the oldest church in the Nilgiris. The wooden arches of the church are said to have been taken from the palace of Tippu Sultan. Within the church are tablets to the memory of Sullivan, the founder of Ootacamund. Kandal Cross, two miles from Ooty, is another Catholic pilgrim centre.

One of the main features which distinguish Ooty from other hill stations is the length of its motorable roads. The town has an area of 14 square miles which no other hill station can boast of. One can live in Ooty throughout the year unlike in other hill stations. Even though the altitude of Ooty is 7,500 feet it does not experience snowfall during winter. This is due to its proximity to the equator.

Ooty holds an annual hunt, perhaps the most 'English' of sports. Faded records reveal that officers of British regiments in Madras and Malabar hunted 'Sambar' in the Nilgiri hills as early as 1835. But it was not until 1845 that the 'Ooty Hunt' was officially organised.

Several excursions are possible around Ooty. One of them is to Cavin Hill, the prettiest among the hills. From here the lovely view of Avalanche can be seen. Besides Avalanche other interesting excursion spots are Mukurti and Pykara.

Mukurti is renowned for its peak even more than for its dam and the waters of its river. The peak is held sacred by the Todas who believe that beyond it lies 'the gate way to Heaven'. The peak is in the shape of a half cone stuck on the hill top which resembles a severed nose from which the peak derives its name. This old shape has also given rise to many legends. The road to Mukurti passes along the ridges of the Governor's shola and eventually follows the winding Mukurti stream, which is the head of the Pykara river.

There are other drives and the Governor's shola is one of them, so called because of the five mile shady road which used to be a favourite of the Governors.

Elk Hill is only about an hour's easy walk from the Ooty market. There is a temple on the top of the hill dedicated to Lord Subrahmanya.

Glenmorgan, a delightful picnic spot, is 16 miles from Ooty. From here, there is an inclined haulage way (ropeway) leading to the power house, which is two miles down the hill.

Coonoor

Visitors who prefer milder climates choose to stay on the lower heights at the nearby hill stations of Coonoor and Kotagiri. Coonoor is only 6,000 feet high and 12 miles from Ooty. Kotagiri is 6,500 feet high and 18 miles away. Both possess charm and many places of interest. Between Ootacamund and Coonoor, the winding road affords excellent view of the lovely valley of Kaity. At Aravangadu, there is a cordite factory, which was started in 1904.

Three miles from this point is Wellington, the military town with rows of barracks, which were first built in 1852. In Coonoor, Lady Canning's Seat is perhaps the loveliest point about 6 miles from the town and in the heart of the woods. Lady Canning was fond of this spot which commands a panoramic view of the numerous coffee and tea estates which abound in Coonoor. Mettupalayam is also visible in the distance. Lamb's Rock is a point on the way to the Seat. In the heart of Coonoor town itself is Sim's Park which is prettier though smaller, than the Botanical Gardens at Ootacamund.

Thirteen miles from Coonoor is Kotagiri "a little pearl in the ear of the Nilgiris". The scenery on both sides of the road is exquisite. Kotagiri has lovely green fields and a golf course.

The Mudumalai wild life sanctuary lies on the Nilgiris district abutting upon both Kerala and Mysore States on its outer borders. This sanctuary was established in 1840 with an area of only 24 square miles. In 1956, it was extended to 114 square miles. It is 40 miles from Ootacamund on the Ootacamund-Mysore Road.

The fauna that may be seen in this sanctuary are the common Langur, Bonnet Macaque, Tiger, Leopard, Sloth Bear, wild Dog, Malabar Squirrel, Porcupine, Elephant, Bison, Barking Deer, Mousedeer, etc. The sanctuary is also rich in bird life. Several permanent observation towers have been erected.

The picturesque elephant camp at Teppakadu is one of the sights of the place. It is stated that more elepharts have been born in captivity at this camp than anywhere else in the world.

On account of the strict protection afforded to wild life in this area and the prohibition of shooting, the wild animals in this sanctuary are able to live unmolested and breed in peace. Special protective staff take care of the sanctuary.

From the practically unexplored area that the Nilgiris remained till about the first two decades of the 19th century to the 'little Switzerland of India' that it has to-day become is indeed a far cry. Thanks to the prospecting excursions of the pioneers and the vision of its earliest settlers, the development of the Nilgiris has been fast.

The Nilgiris district, in addition to being a summer resort, contributes substantially to power generation in Madras State. At present, there are four power stations at Pykara, Moyar, Kundah I and Kundah II (at Pegumbahallah) with a total installed capacity of 286 MW. or 51 per cent of the present installed capacity of the Madras Grid of 560 MW. During 1962-63, 2,616 million units were generated in all the power stations of the Madras State Electricity Board. 2,161 million units were generated from all the hydro-stations and the balance from the two thermal stations at Madras and Madurai. The four hydro-stations in the Nilgiris district generated 1,161 million units accounting for 54 per cent of the hydro-generation. Three more power stations are now under construction in this area and when these are completed, the installed capacity of the power stations will be increased to 2,500 million units. These figures indicate the importance of Nilgiris district from the point of view of power for the State.

There are six dams at Mukurthy, Pykara, Maravakandy, Avalanchi, Emerald and Kundah (forebay dam) which store the water for use in these power stations. In addition, six more dams at Sandynallah, Upper Bhavani, Parsons Valley, Porthimund, Pegumbahallah and Pillur are now under construction.

Among the hill tribes, the entire plateau (i. e.) excluding the Ouchterlony Valley, the portion lying between the foot of Segur Pass and the Moyar, and the lands attached to Irula villages on the eastern slopes is divided into four compartments or Nads, viz., Peranganad, Mekanad, Kundanad and Todanad.

Peranganad (initial syllable is probably a contraction of *Peria* (பெரிய), great, an honorific) derives its



PICTURESQUE OOTACAMUND

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name from the God Rangasami worshipped by the Badagas, whose temple is located on the peak of that name within the arrondissement. It forms the eastern division, and is separated from Todanad, on the west by the Mudukkadu stream and Orange Valley, and north-east spur of the Doddabetta range. On the west and south it is divided from the Mekanad by the southern spur of the same range, and the Kateri river. It contains the settlement of Coonoor and Kotagiri and the Military Depot of Wellington.

The Mekanad (derived from '*merku*' (மேற்கு) is really the south-eastern division of the plateau, but is west of Peranganad, originally the most important sub-division. It is divided from Peranganad by the boundaries already mentioned, from Todanad on the north-west by a spur of the Doddabetta range, and the eastern branch of the Biguli or Kunda river, which flows through the Lovedale and Nanjanad Valleys to the main stream. The Biguli river also separates it from the Kundanad on the south-west.

The Kundanad lies to the west and south of the Kunda river, its northern boundary, separating it from the Todanad, being the western branch of this stream, and another stream known as the Arakadholla which constitutes the principal source of the Nellambur river.

The Todanad occupies the whole of the plateau north-west of the other three nads, the table-land at the foot of the northern slopes. The Ouchterlony Valley may now be regarded as part of this nad.

In his Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a Survey of the Neelgherry Mountains, Captain B. S. Ward, Deputy Surveyor-General, observed in 1821 that "the migratory tribe Todas confine themselves to the Mullanad and Kulanum Hills, which afford excellent pastures; this tract, consisting of the western portion denominated Todanad, is marked by several of their kralls or munds—those towards the west are occupied during summer. On the approach of the Malabar monsoons they retire with their cattle to the east, on the skirts of the Badager villages; a few families, however, continually reside in Perunganaad and Maiknaad, or Mekanad and tend with their own the cattle of the Badagers."

In 1847, Captain J. Ouchterlony has recorded in his Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a survey of the Neilgherry Mountains, as follows :

"The total number of Toda villages, called munds, on the hills is 85, the whole of which with the exception of 11, are situated in the division called the "Todanaad", and almost all to the extreme west of that part, approaching Pykara or Moyar river.

The great mass of the Todars inhabit the valleys and woods to the westward of the plateau, being confined with the exception of five inhabited munds in Perunganaad, and two in Meykenaad, to the division called Todanaad and in this portion of the plateau their munds are principally congregated to the westward, apart from the villages of the Burghers, only a few in the neighbourhood of Ootacamund and to the northward being interspersed amongst their cultivated lands.

Out of a total of 337 souls, of which the tribe of Todars at present consists, only 42 are located in Perunganaad and 10 in Meykenaad, while all the rest amounting to 285, are located in Todanaad".

The survey indicates the following manner of distribution.

Nadwise Distribution of Todas

Nad	No. of occupied munds	No. of House-holds.	No. of Persons Males	Females	Total
Todanad	57	125	308	274	582
Kundanad	7	11	22	19	41
Peranganad	5	11	24	20	44
Merkunad	4	22	53	38	91

Note: Excludes the migration of one household to Madras.

The above statement establishes the fact that still the bulk of the Todas are found in Todanad.

Prior to the survey and settlement conducted by Mr. (Sir Ralph) Benson, I. C. S., in 1881-1884, there were no revenue villages for the Naads (sometimes called villages) more properly corresponded to taluks or divisions. At the time of settlement, each Nad or division was sub-divided into villages of convenient size for administrative purposes, natural or well known boundaries being adopted as far as possible, and due regard being paid to area, population, revenue and such like matters. The four nads were thus split up into thirty-six villages.

For administrative purpose, the plateau of the traditional four nads was also arranged into two taluks of Coonoor, which embraces Peranganad and Merkunad and Ootacamund, which includes Todanad and Kundhanad and the strip of jungle at the northern

foot of the plateau. The south-east Wynaad and the Ouchterlony Valley together form a third taluk known, from its head-quarters, as the Gudalur taluk.

Subsequently, the management of lands in the occupation of the Todas as well as the unoccupied tracts over portions of which they had been wont to pasture their herds and the spots appropriated to their religious rites, was taken over by the forest department in the year 1893. According to this document, all these areas, called 'Toda patta lands', are situated within 14 out of the 36 villages. The villagewise extent of occupation as on 15-5-60 is presented in the following statement.

Distribution of Todas on 15-5-60

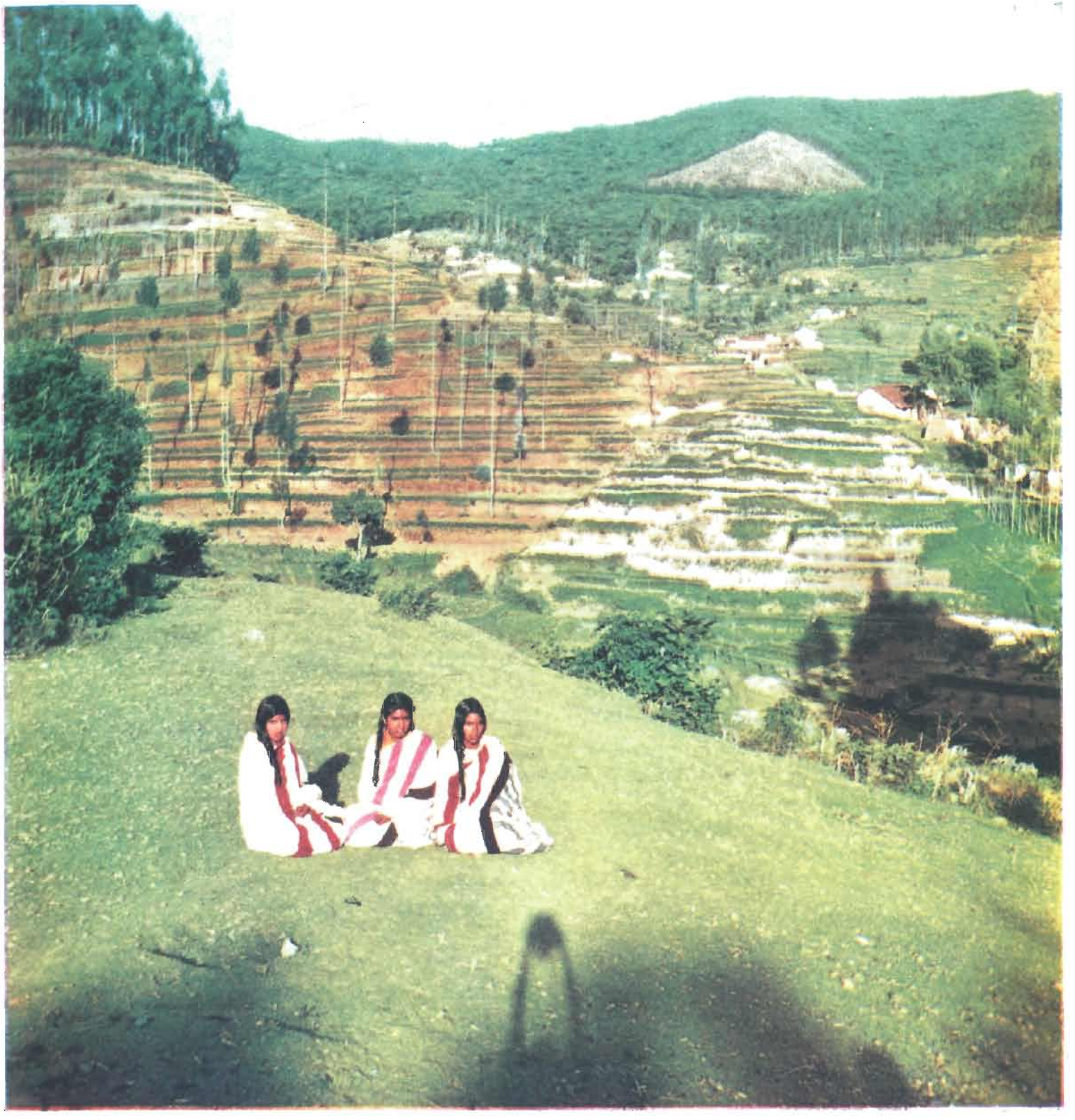
Taluk	Administrative unit (Name of village or Municipality)	Non-Converts					Converts				
		No. of occupied hamlets.	No. of house-holds.	Males.	Females.	Total.	No. of occupied hamlets.	No. of house-holds	Males.	Females.	Total.
Ootacamund	Ootacamund (both Municipal & NonMunicipal)	7	27	61	51	112	2	6	19	19	38
	Nanjanad village	24	44	99	91	190	3	8	30	23	53
	Sholur village	15	22	68	49	117	...	...	...	...	...
	Hullatti village	4	11	19	28	47	...	...	...	...	...
	Kukal village	1	3	7	4	11	...	...	...	...	...
	Kagguchi village	1	4	5	9	14	...	...	...	...	...
	Mulligur village	7	11	22	19	41	...	...	...	...	...
	Ithlar village	2	7	16	18	34	...	...	...	...	...
Coonoor	Coonoor Municipality	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	5	5	10
	Kodanad village	4	10	19	15	34	...	...	...	...	...
	Kethi village	...	...	...	...	...	1	12	31	14	45
	Hulikal village	1	3	6	6	12	...	...	...	...	...
Madras	Madras city	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	2	4
	Total	**66**	**142**	**322**	**290**	**612**	**7**	**28**	**87**	**63**	**150**

The above type of villagewise distribution has never been collected in the past. However, the extent of Toda patta lands at the time of taking over by the Forest Department will give a fairly good idea of the then distribution. The following table presents the data.

Distribution of Toda Patta Lands as on 21-3-1893
(Source: G.O. 249 Revenue dated 21-3-1893)

Name of Taluk	Name of revenue village	No. of munds.	Area of Toda patta lands in acres.
Ootacamund	Ootacamund	11	522.31
	Nanjanad	38	726.71
	Naduvattam	10	154.86
	Sholur	30	521.34
	Hullatti	4	93.38
	Kukal	6	122.97
	Mulligur	9	125.19
	Ithlar (formerly part of Merkunad included in Coonoor taluk)	3	225.53
Coonoor	Vubathalai	1	8.51
	Jakathala	3	54.40
	Kodanad	7	121.74
	Athikarahatty	1	89.20
	Kethi	1	69.21
	Hulikal	1	113.32
	Total	**125**	**2,948.67**

The maximum concentration is in Nanjanad followed closely by Ootacamund and Sholur.



Mother Nature provides an appropriate back-drop to these coy Toda maidens as they face the camera.

Wenlock Downs

At the instance of Ootacamund Municipality, Government ordered in G. O. No. 7 dated 4-1-1878 that no application for private occupation of any land within the tract enclosed by a line, "from the Sigur road and to Sandynullah, Briar Sholah, Governorshola and Fairlawns" should be entertained without the specific sanction of the Government. This is the first step to declare common land in perpetuity and to preserve to the town as pasture and Recreation Ground which has resulted in the preservation of the existing Wenlock Downs. The proposal to demarcate the area and enter in the Settlement register as 'Government reserve for recreation and pasture' was approved four years later.

Mr. H.A. Sim, one of the earliest Collectors of the Nilgiris took a keen interest in the preservation of the "Recreation Ground" by the Government, mainly to provide a hunting and riding ground for the residents and visitors of Ootacamund. Ootacamund was not a developed place then. It was not connected by train. Drainage and water-supply were completely unknown. Yet Mr. Sim visualised it as "the chief site of the future hill stations of India" and as one in charge of its administration felt the need for preserving and developing and making the most of the advantages, with which nature endowed it. He thought it must be the privilege and duty of any Government to preserve in tact the source of so much health and recreation as lies in these "happy hunting ground", to preserve them not merely for the station or for the district or even for the State but for the whole of India.

It was Mr. Sim's observation that "there is no hardship to others in it, for so bare and bleak and wind-swept are the downs that no really profitable cultivation can be carried on upon them, no ryots own them; the considerable portion of Toda patta, Reserved Forest, swamp and road poramboke would in no case be available for cultivation; no villages are likely to arise upon them; and yet there is need that protection should be formally accorded to them; an occasional application for a patch here and there is even now put in, bluegums are put down and the land lost to the Recreation Ground for ever, or the bluegums die, the pits are left half filled up, grass grows up and hides them, and the land remains a source of serious danger to riders indefinitely; gravel and laterite are dug from the hill sides, without permission or control, and an unsightly scar or a dangerous quarry is the result; sand is excavated on or under the banks of the stream, and an additional obstruction is added to the already sufficiently narrow hunt crossings, boulders are carried off to be broken up into road metal, and the first one hears of it is when a horse is brought down by the trap that the boulder's bed now forms. No amount of Badaga cultivation on these bleak downs will bring to the district, as much wealth, as a largely increased crowd of visitors will bring it, and counting it up merely in shilling and pence, no more profitable use could probably be made of the downs than to reserve them.

For I look forward to a time when the downs will be known far and wide both for their health and sport and beauty. Little by little, year by year, as funds are available, they can be improved and beautified, pits can be filled up, hunt crossings made safe, bridlepaths can be cut through sholahs, lakes can be made along the stream, shrubberies planted along their margins: there is indeed no reason why in time the downs should not be formed into an ideal recreation ground, suitable for all classes, all pockets and all degrees of energy; its hither side within easy reach of Ootacamund, its farther side being opened out, as the less accessible but more beautiful parts of the plateau generally will be, in time, by the construction of a small hotel or a district bungalow in convenient situations".

Mr. Sim also made a proposal to enlarge the Ootacamund recreation ground by extending it so as to include the entire tract lying between the town of Ootacamund and the Pykara river from the Pykara bridge and the crests of the slopes in the north to the Porthimund and Nanjanad reserves on the south and to reserve the enlarged recreation ground under Chapter II of the Madras Forest Act V of 1882.

Mr. Sim's proposals were accepted in principle and it was decided that the downs in question should be named after Lord Wenlock who proved himself to be both a well-wisher of the planting interests and a sporting Englishman.

Under the provisions of section 16 of the Madras Forest Act (V of 1882), the "Wenlock Downs" was constituted as a reserve forest with effect from 1-5-1900.

The Wenlock Downs reserve consists of a block of land measuring 19,813.69 acres lying within the following limits :

On the north

Commencing from the Pykara river near Mount Gorden Estate, passing through Bokkepuram, Dunsandle, Sandynulla and Muthanad reserve to Sigur road, then along that road to Sandynulla Stream,

On the East

From Sandynulla stream along Ootacamund Settlement and Connemara road to Rifle Butt; then along the Sigur road and then along Poudrette Depot hill to Governor shola road.

On the South

From the above road along Golf Links bills to Mandana and Fair Lawns reserve and along Kilkunai holdings to Nanjanad reserve; then along that and Porthi block boundaries to Pykara river.

On the West

The western bank of Pykara river.

It consists of undermentioned reserved forests:

1.	Kengodu	8.	Nergodumund
2.	Keradamund	9.	Krurmund
3.	Pykara	10.	Governor's Shola
4.	Sandynulla	11.	Ulnad
5	Muthanad	12.	Cully
6.	Yemmakal	13.	Baikie
7.	Brook lands	14.	Madanashola

The main object of reservation was to permanently retain and adequately protect the land as a grazing ground for the villages and a recreation ground for visitors, leaving the whole area open in the fullest and freest manner for the use of enjoyment of the people of Ootacamund and its neighbourhood. Also the grazing thereupon was to be left absolutely free and no cattle was to be excluded therefrom.

As already indicated the reserve consists of Toda pattas, reserved forests, swamp and road poramboke etc.

The District Officer put in a claim on behalf of the general public to admit the existence of certain public rights within the proposed reserve.

As regards all private and Toda Patta lands included in the reserve, but treated as enclosures as per statements furnished by the karnams concerned, the right of way to enter upon the patta lands, was generally admitted. It was not anticipated that any inconvenience or doubt could arise from granting these rights of access which were up till then enjoyed, especially as the whole was open to grazing and for that purpose at any rate rights of way existed in every conceivable direction.

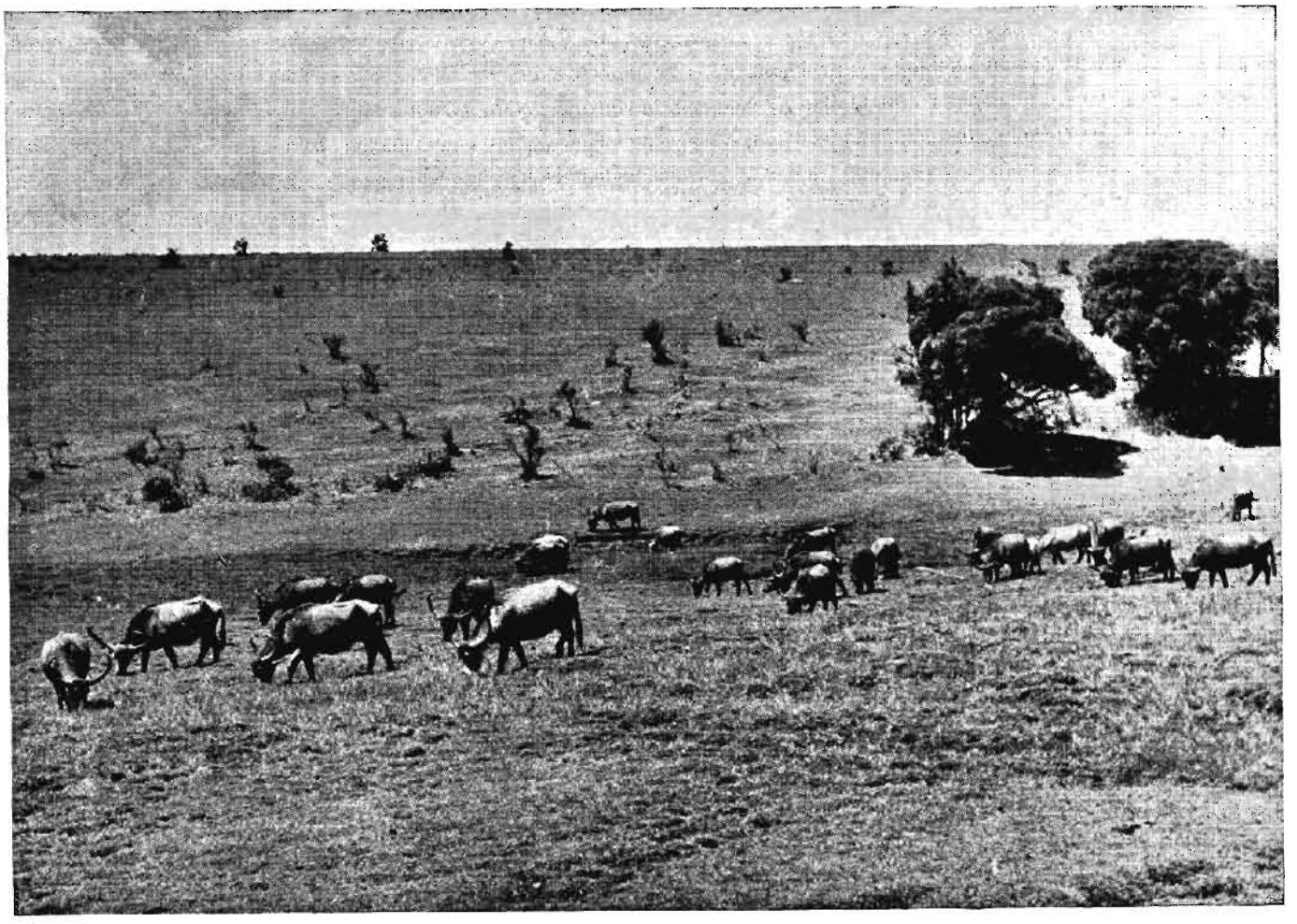
What Mr. Sim visualised as early as 1878 became true by now.

The scenery of the Wenlock Downs is unique in the whole of India, perhaps in the world. The Downs provide fishing and shooting and splendid riding country, great opportunities for the naturalist to study an exceptionally interesting flora and fauna and for the anthropologist to study the unique primitive race, Todas. They offer a place of rest to the mere lover of natural beauty who wishes to escape from the rush of modern life. In fact, Ootacamund, Coonoor and Kotagiri are purely residential towns whose very existence depends upon the attractions which the Wenlock Downs are able to provide.

In 1939, it was noticed that private individuals were able to obtain portions of the Downs for cultivation thus gradually spoiling the beauty of parts of it on a big scale. The planters of tea, Coffee, Cinchona, and the breeders of cattle did it on a smaller scale. It was observed that there existed a real danger that this process of spoilation might reach a point when the beauty of the hills is marred beyond repair. One unpleasant result of this would be that the prosperity of the Nilgiri District would be seriously affected, as those who used to bring a substantial sum of money into the district would cease to do so. There arose an apprehension that the beauty of the Downs might be still further marred either by afforestation in the form of planting trees on the open slopes and summits which provide one of their characteristic beauties or by disafforestation in pursuit of some experiment in agriculture. As the law stood then, there was nothing to prevent experiments in afforestation. They could be carried out by an executive order. Once the open Down has been planted with trees, it could never be restored to its original condition. It was therefore found expedient to set apart the Wenlock Downs Reserve Forest as a National Park by a formal Act of Legislature, which would imply popular consent to the preservation of the Downs and would secure permanent retention of the Downs as a beauty spot. However, this splendid idea did not materialise in view of certain practical difficulties involved in such reservation.

Even under this proposal the interests of Todas, who have enjoyed from time immemorial the right of free land for house sites, free grazing on the hill sides and free fuel from forests within the Downs should not be affected.

The extent of Toda patta lands, as already indicated, is 2,948.67 acres. Out of this extent, 1,327.05



GRAZING OF TODA BUFFALOES IN WENLOCK DOWNS RESERVE.

" The main object of reservation was to permanently retain and adequately protect the lands as a grazing ground for the villages and a recreation ground for visitors ".

acres or 45.01% lie within Wenlock Downs. This forms 6.70% of 19,813.69 acres, the area of the Downs. Thus, even though only a fraction of the Wenlock Downs belongs to the Todas, this constitutes fairly a major portion of the lands reserved for them. In terms of dwellings, out of 73 munds occupied at the time of survey, 46 munds or 63% were within the Wenlock Downs. 430 Todas representing 57% of population live within the Downs.

It can almost be said that the Todas are the only community having the privilege of residing within the Downs. Any proposal to keep the Wenlock Downs free from habitation by offering assignment of lands outside the Downs was not liked by the Todas. Their sentimental objection to move from their ancestoral place was so great that the Government had finally to give up the idea of evacuating them. Further details on this issue will be found in the Chapter on land tenure.

Some of the foreign authors have referred Todas as nomadic. Taking that term to imply a tribe which, without any fixed place of residence, wanders in quest of food– whether that be game or pasture for its cattle—the word is a misnomer as applied to the Todas. They were in the habit of moving from one place to another for the sake of fresh pasturage and with a view to escape the inclemency of weather caused by the west-monsoon and rain. But, even this movement is limited to the areas within the two taluks of Coonoor and Ootacamund. This aspect is discussed in detail in the chapter on 'Housing patterns and Dwellings'.

It remains as an undisputed fact that, among the existing castes and tribes of the Nilgiris, the Todas are the earliest settlers. They have lived for centuries with other tribes undisturbed by outsiders. A brief reference to other tribes will help us in knowing Todas better.

Kotas

Kohata or Gohata, cow-killer has been suggested as the derivation of the term 'Kotas'. The 1961 Census has returned 832 Kotas in the Nilgiris District consisting of 460 males and 372 females.

This tribe ranks next to the Todas in priority of occupation of the Nilgiris. They are of low caste, equivalent of the Paraiahs in the plains. They were the most industrious of the hill tribes, giving much of their time and attention to agriculture and handicraft. When not required at agriculture operations they worked as Carpenters, Smiths, basketmakers etc. They employed themselves as curriers, and were known for the excellent leather they cured. They performed all the menial offices required by the Todas and Badagas, supplying them with barbers, washermen ete. In common with the Badagas, they paid Gudu in grain to the Todas in acknowledgement of their feudal proprietory right over the land which they tilled and which it appears the Todas, in spite of their own superiority and the uncleanness and low caste of the Kotas, did not hesitate to receive and eat, though no Badaga would touch grain so polluted. At the same time they exacted from each hamlet of the Badagas within a certain distance of their own village, certain annual fees, which they received in kind for services rendered as handicraftsmen, in addition to that of ceremonial or festive occasions for menial services performed.

Kotas used to supply most of the things burnt at Toda funerals. They also played pipes and drums on these occassions. In return, they got the bodies of the buffaloes which were slain at funerals or which died a natural death.

A Kota visiting a Toda village at any time was given clarified butter to take away with him. He was also given food consisting of jaggery and rice, which must be eaten on the outskirts of the village. A Kota was never given milk, buttermilk, or butter.

Once a year, there was a definite ceremony in which the Todas used to visit a Kota village with which they were connected to wish prosperity for them, their crops and their buffaloes, to make a present of ghee and receive grain.

Mr. Shortt observed in 1868 that "had they only received the encouragement and patronage bestowed by Europeans on the idle Todas, it is impossible to state to what extent they might have advanced in the several arts they practise, and how far they might have got rid of some of their filthy habits. There can be no doubts that, like the Todas, these people also belong to the great Dravidian family".

This has to some extent become true. Kotas have improved their economic status to such an extent that they have severred their subservient attitude towards Todas, even though the latter still consider them as their inferior in social status.

Badagas

Not long after the migration of Kotas (i. e.) 4 or 5 centuries ago a party of Badagas emigrated from the 'North Country'; and being good cultivators, at once perceived the advantages offered to them in the virgin and rich soil which they saw on all sides. They accordingly appear to have obtained permission to

settle and cultivate land, upon the same terms as those granted to the Kotas.

The Badagas are an agricultural race. They were also the intermediaries between Todas and the world beyond the Nilgiris. The term Badaga is supposed to be a corruption of the word *Vuddaca,* or north, as they are believed to have migrated to the Nilgiris either from Mysore or Canara in consequence of famine or political persecution, and, finding these Hills would afford them shelter and quiet, and their pre-occupiers peaceable and disinclined to molest them, they settled here.

Meeting with success in their early agricultural operations, they soon induced others of their countrymen to follow them, and thus formed the nucleus of the numerous caste and tribe now recognised as the chief and most important portion of the hill population. On settling here originally, they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Todas who pre-existed there, and agreed to pay tribute, or 'gudu', if allowed to continue unmolested.

With increase of numbers, however, the deference of the Badagas for them diminished, and with it, the amount of the Gudu which achieved a great acceleration in its decline by the coming of Europeans to the district; when the Badagas observing their indifference to the alleged claims of sovereignty of their hitherto feudal landlords, gradually assumed the position of donors of the gudu of free will, and as a charity; and hence reduced its amount as the circumstances of an abundant or poor harvest, or their own wants and inclinations directed. It has now become a history of the past.

Although the Badagas are far numerous, and whose migration into Nilgiris have exerted considerable influence over the economic and cultural life of the primitive tribes, especially the Todas, they are not aboriginal or jungle race and as such have not been notified as a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe in the Constitution. Hence data relating to them have not been presented separately in 1961 Census tables.

Badagas and Kotas are the only tribes with whom the Todas had contact habitually. Kurumbas and Irulas are the other two tribes who occupy the Nilgiris District but their points of contact with Todas are much less important.

Kurumbas

Kurumbas seem to have played a significant part in the Indian History. They are chiefly known as the former possessors of Tondamandalam, which comprised the sea-coast from Pulicat of Cuddalore and extended west at least as far as the foot of the Eastern Ghats, possibly over a considerable part of Mysore. They were reported as murderers and derived their name from குறும்பு (Kurumboo) which means mischief. But as far as Nilgiris is concerned, they confined their habitations to the middle belts of hill or intermediate slopes and were known for their witchcraft. According to 1961 Census, there were 1,174 Kurumbas in the Nilgiris District comprising 609 males and 565 females.

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas and Kurumbas was the belief of the former in the magical powers of the latter, a belief which was shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Todas was believed to be dangerous, but could be remedied; but there was no remedy for a Kurumba sorcery and all that could be done was to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences rather than from motives of revenge. Now-a-days, the once dreaded cunning Kurumba has less scope to play.

The Kurumbas played no part in the social life of of the Todas.

Irulas

The Irulas are not, strictly speaking, inhabitants of the Blue Mountains, but occupy the lower slopes and jungles that skirt the base of the Nilgiris, with a total strength of 4,502 at 1961, consisting of 2,327 males and 2,175 females. Their occupation is the collection of wild fruits, herbs and roots to appease hunger; also honey, bees wax, gums and dyes of various sorts, and medicinal herbs and drugs, which they barter with the people of the plains in exchange for food and clothes.

They are very intrepid as regards the wild beasts they frequently meet with in the jungles. They hunt and take game of every description with great cunning and expertness.

The term 'Irula' is derived from the Tamil word 'Irul' (இருள்) or dark, implying that there was no light in them, and they were wild and uncivilized. The other hill tribes do not recognise the Irulas as inhabitants of the Blue Mountains, and do not hold much converse with them.

They are very much superior in physique to the Kurumbas, and in some respects even to that of Kotas; but they are an idle set; the majority being vagrants, living on what they can obtain from the jungles and natural resources of the forest through which they wander, rather than labour and cultivate. They never recognised the Todas as lords, nor did they pay them 'Gudu'.

CHAPTER IV

POPULATION TRENDS

Todas have been counted at various times, beginning with what must have been a very rough estimate made by Keys in 1812, in which the number of the Todas was placed at 179. In 1821, Ward estimated the numbers of men and women at 140 and 82 respectively of whom the great majority lived in the Todanad district of the hills. Hough in 1825 found the population to consist of 145 men, 100 women, 45 boys and 36 girls, altogether 326. In 1838, Birch gives the population as consisting of 294 men and 184 women, amounting to 478, but elsewhere in his paper he says that the number of the Todas was computed at about 800. In 1847, Ouchterlony found the number of the Todas to be 337, made up of 86 adult males, 87 male children, 70 adult females, and 94 female children. The proportion of males to females was only 173 to 164, showing a very much smaller preponderance of males than in any other estimate before or since. In 1856, Grigg gives 185 males and 131 females, altogether 316. In 1866, Grigg gives the population as 794. If the estimates of this year and that of 1856 were correct, it would show that the population had more than doubled in ten years. It is evident that the census of 1866 is the first which gives anything approaching an accurate record of the Toda population. Even in this year there is one obvious source of error, for it would seem that those living at the foot of the hills, near Gudalur were not included, and probably twenty or thirty, if not more, would have to be added on this account. William E. Marshall estimated 407 males and 306 females in 1870.

For the Census of 1871 the records are conflicting. On page 29 of the manual, Grigg gives the numbers as 693; 405 males and 288 females. On page 187 he gives instead of these numbers 376 males and 263 females, making a total of 639. Breeks gives the latter numbers and also a revised result which brings out the total population as 683 with a foot note that when the census returns were revised and tabulated, it was found that thirty-eight Todas, counted in the Ootacamund population had been omitted, and that there were other slight inaccuracies. This figure of 683 or the earlier of Grigg's figures 693, evidently approximates to the correct population, which shows a slight falling off as compared with five years earlier.

In the census of 1881, the members would appear to have continued to diminish, the population being put at only 675; 382 males and 293 females.

In 1891, the number had risen to 736; 424 males and 312 females.

In the census of 1901, there were found to be 451 males and 354 females, making together 805. In that census special precautions were taken to ensure accuracy, a separate enumeration being taken in advance of the general Census and before they had scattered, as usual in the early part of the year, to the distant grazing grounds on the Kundahs.

W. H. R. Rivers estimated the Toda population as 419 males and 317 females in 1902. This fell short of those of the 1901 Census, taken a year previously. Rivers himself admits this to be an under estimate and possible omission of certain women, especially of widows or unmarried women.

748 Todas were reported in 1911 Census and it was believed that their real number was in all probability, some 50 less. Following the precedent of 1901 census, a special enumeration was held on December 15, 1910 when 383 males and 293 females were enumerated. The remaining 72 Todas were reported to be found here and there at the general enumeration. The census report suggests that from the similarity of the schedule entries on either occasion it is probable that nearly all, if not all, of these latter Todas represent cases of double enumeration. Observation of this fact may serve to some extent as an explanation of the strange rise and fall in the number of this people at various enumerations.

There were 360 males and 280 females making a total of 640 Todas in 1921 Census. This indicates an apparent large decline and appears to be the result of the influenza visitation of 1918-'19, which worked havoc among the Todas. There is another suggestion that no Christian Toda was included in the number.

Dr. Pandit, an Assistant Surgeon from the King Institute, Guindy carried out in 1927 an investigation to examine the causes of the decay of the tribe. He

took a census of the population. According to his Census, the population of the Todas was 582 consisting of 333 males and 249 females. The figure 582 included 42 Todas who were converts to Christianity. During the period 1923-24 when the epidemic of relapsing fever played havoc among the hill tribes of the Nilgiris, there was a heavy mortality among the Todas. According to the figures collected by the District Board Health Committee, 95 deaths from relapsing fever had occurred among them.

Particular attention was paid to Toda enumeration in 1931 Census. The enumeration was, as in the previous decades, non-synchronous with the regular Census and was done in December 1930. Double enumeration was eliminated by issuing instructions to Todas enumerated in December to decline proffered enumeration in February; and to the enumerators at the ordinary Census that, before enumerating any Toda, they must make absolutely certain that he had not been enumerated in the munds in December. The total number of persons thus enumerated was 597; (340 males and 257 females).

Prince Peter of Greece, an Anthropologist and one who took keen interest in the study of Todas conducted a personal Census in 1939 recording a total of 518 Todas.

In 1941 there were 630 Todas consisting of 342 males and 288 females.

Prince Peter took another personal Census in 1949 according to which there were 484 Todas.

The 1951 Census recorded an abnormal increase recording 426 males and 453 females. Sri S. Venkateswaran, the then Superintendent of Census Operations was of the opinion that the figures confirmed his personal feelings that there was no justification for the general apprehension that this tribe might die out, if proper remedial measures were not taken in time. He thought that there was under enumeration in 1941 and 1931.

When the field work for the present survey was in progress, I noticed some discrepancy in the 1951 Census figures. A reference to the original papers in the Nilgiris Collector's office gave the provisional figures of Todas as follows:

Area	No. of persons	Males	Females
Ootacamund Taluk excluding Ootacamund Municipality	518	285	233
Ootacamund Municipality	87	46	41
Coonoor Taluk	84	42	42
Total	689	373	316

The above provisional figures were based on the special enumeration held in December 1950. The original records of the Tahsildar, Coonoor and the Commissioner, Ootacamund Municipality dealing with this special enumeration have been destroyed. On his own initiative, the Tahsildar Ootacamund had, in his Rc. A1. 9141/50 dated 9. 2. 1951 specifically instructed the enumerators of the General Census (who were not entrusted with the special enumeration) not to include Todas at the time of the General Census. No such instruction was apparently issued for Ootacamund Municipality and Coonoor taluk. It raises the possibility of a double count but such a count cannot distort the sex ratio.

Sex ratios at the provisional count and final count

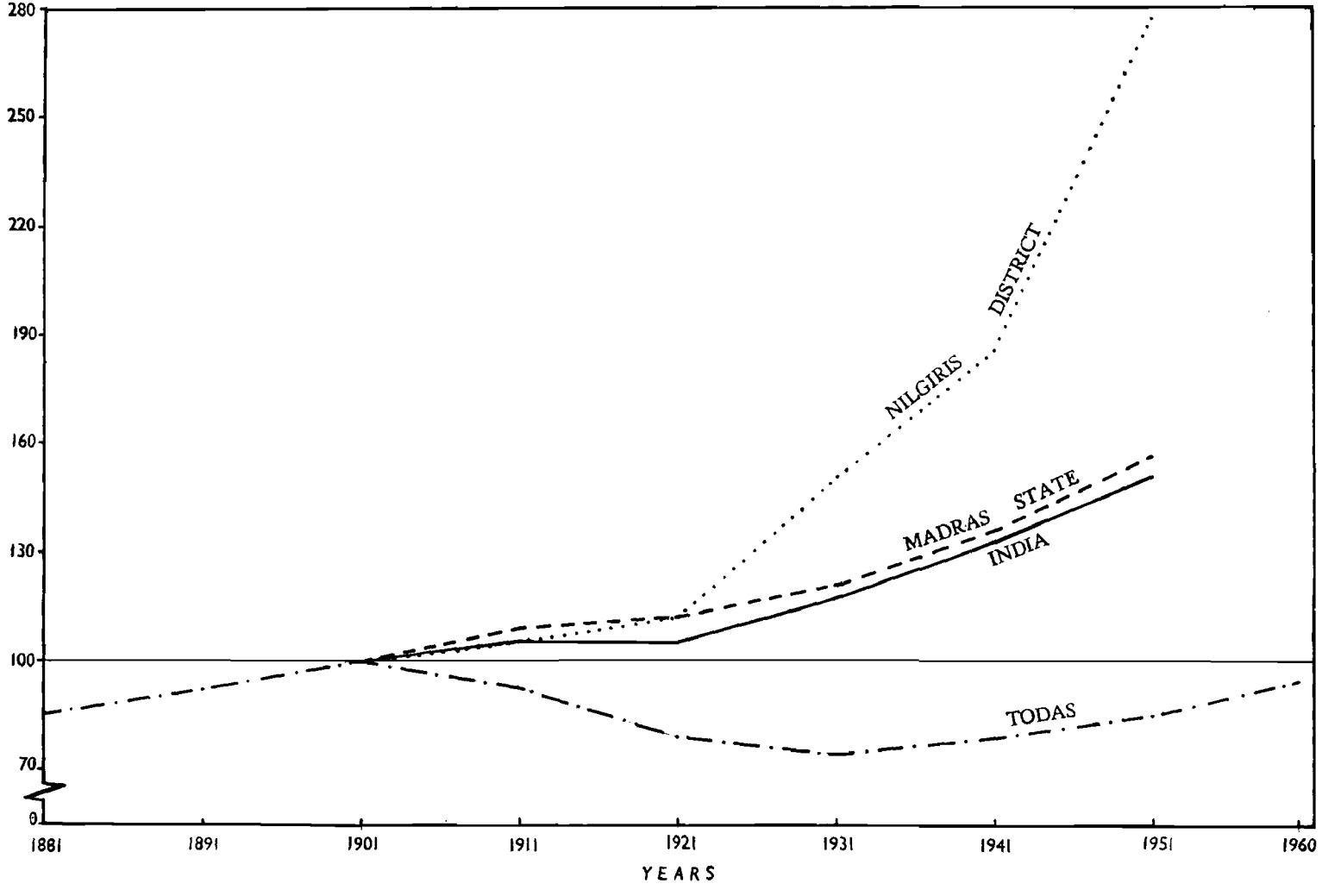
1961	...	904
1960	...	863
1951 (final)	...	1,063
1951 (provisional)	...	847
1941	...	842
1931	...	756

The sex ratio of the final count cannot be correct for a group like Todas. It is also not in keeping with the previous and later sex ratios. No such abnormal variation in 1941-51 can be undone during 1951-61 in the natural course of events. I am therefore inclined to think that the higher figure for females in the census count of 1951 is a typical though unusual clerical error. It has not been subjected to the check of internal consistency and has crept into 1951 census records. The figure has to be rejected. The discussion in this volume is therefore based on the provisional figure of 1951.

Based on the normal rate of growth and sex ratio of Todas at various censuses the provisional estimate of 1951 (689) is more reliable than the final figures (879) adopted in the Census report.

POPULATION INDICES

BASE YEAR 1901



The present study, which is independent of 1961 Census was undertaken in April 1960. It reveals 762 Todas as follows:-

Sex	Non-converts	Converts	Total
Males	322	87	409
Females	290	63	353
Total	612	150	762

The Todas were also counted along with others in 1961 Census as follows:-

Sex	Non-converts	Converts	Total
Males	335	40	375
Females	291	48	339
Total	626	88	714

In general, Census data will not be free from errors. The basic idea behind any statistical survey depends on the theory of inertia of large numbers. So it will be too optimistic to expect perfection of details for a small tribe like 700 counted along with lakhs of people in Census. Yet the census count of 626 non-converts compares favourably with that of 612 enumerated in the present survey.

According to the instructions issued for the 1961 Census, the name of the caste or tribe has to be ascertained only in case of Scheduled caste or tribe. To satisfy the concept of a Scheduled caste, one should profess Hindu or Sikh religion, but Scheduled tribes can profess any religion. In all its probability, the name of the tribe was not ascertained by the enumerators of 1961 census in respect of certain Toda converts due to the misconception of applying the religion criteria to the caste or tribe, leading to a possible under count in 1961 Census. Miss D. B. Piljain, a well educated and enlightened Toda convert who has great experience with Toda women and won their confidence was in complete charge of the field work of the special enumeration. As such, the data collected in April 1960 are likely to be more accurate and refined than the Census count.

To have a compact picture, the above data are presented below in a tabular form:

Year	Males	Females	Total	Annual rate of increase or decrease
1812	N. A.	N. A.	197	—
1821	140	82	222	+ 2.67%
1825	190	136	326	+ 11.71%
1838	294	184	478	+ 3.59%
1847	173	164	337	— 3.28%
1856	185	131	316	— 0.69%
1866	N. A.	N. A	704	+ 12.28%
1870	407	306	713	+ 0.32%
1871	405	288	693	— 2.81%
1881	382	293	675	— 0.26%
1891	424	312	736	+ 0.90%
1901	451	354	805	+ 0.94%
1902	419	317	736	— 8.57%
1911	426	322	748	+ 0.18%
1921	360	280	640	— 1.44%
1927	333	249	582	— 1.51%
1931	340	257	597	+ 0.64%
1939	N. A.	N. A.	518	N. R.
1941	342	288	630	+ 0.55%
1949	N. A.	N. A.	484	N. R.
1951 (Provisional)	373	316	689	+ 0.94%
1960	409	353	762	+ 1.18%

N. A: Not available.
N. R: Not reliable.

The earlier records of the population are certainly far below the mark. Captain Harkness, writing in 1832 estimates the attendance at a funeral at 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and girls. Those seen by Harkness may not have been all Todas, since Badagas and Kotas undoubtedly attend Toda funerals, but we may safely call this a total attendance of 500, which would show that the records prior to 1866 are far below the mark.

The records have probably been fairly correct since 1866; with the exception of Prince Peter's figures for 1939 and 1949. The Prince did not include converts in his count.

The figures show a falling off in population from 1866 to 1881 and again from 1901 to 1927. Increasing trend is noticed from 1881 to 1901 and from 1927 upto this date. In general the population of Todas either declines or the rate of increase is far less.

It may be an interesting factor to compare the rate of growth of Todas with that of the District, State

and the nation. Population indices for the past five decades have therefore been arrived at as follows:-

Population Indices

(Base year : 1901)

Year	Todas	Nilgiris District	Re-organised State of Madras	India
1901	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1911	92.7	105.2	108.6	105.8
1921	79.3	112.1	112.4	105.4
1931	74.0	150.1	122.0	116.9
1941	78.1	186.0	136.6	133.8
1951	85.4	276.5	156.6	151.6
1960	94.4			

The growth of Toda population from 1931 is less rapid than the growth of the Nilgiris District and State populations.

It is instructive to examine the factors contributing to this poor growth rate. Population growth consists of three important factors; birth, death and migration. The available vital statistics registration for Todas is inadequate, and incomplete to draw any inference regarding these factors. As regards migration, it has been found that there is no migration among non-converts and only a negligible proportion among converts. Any explanation for the low growth of population has therefore to be sought only in low fertility or combined with high mortality.

That a low fertility among the Todas is likely is indicated by several evidences like sex ratio, sterility and wastage of pregnancy. These factors are examined below.

Sex Ratio

It is perhaps natural to expect 5% variation, if not equal numbers of males and females at all times. The following table will enable a study on the sex ratio of Todas:-

Number of Toda women per 1,000 men at various periods

Year	Males	Females	Sex Ratio
1821	140	82	586
1825	190	136	716
1838	294	184	626
1847	173	164	948
1856	185	131	708
1870	407	306	752
1871	405	288	711
1881	382	293	767
1891	424	312	736
1901	451	354	785
1902	419	317	757
1911	426	322	756
1921	360	280	778
1927	333	249	748
1931	340	257	756
1941	342	288	842
1951	373	316	847
1960	409	353	863

Without any exception, all the enumerations show an excess of men over women. In general there is a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women. All the earlier accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the practice of female infanticide. It has become the history of the past and has now been extinguished.

Number of Non-convert Toda women as on 15-5-1960 per 1,000 men at various Age-groups

Age-group	Males	Females	Sex Ratio
0— 4	58	50	862
5— 7	33	37	1,121
8—12	19	20	1,053
13—17	10	13	1,300
18—22	17	28	1,647
23—27	18	23	1,278
28—32	22	34	1,545
33—37	19	13	684
38—42	34	14	412
43—47	17	16	941
48—52	24	15	625
53 & over	51	27	529
All cases	322	290	901

It is seen that there is a female excess from 5 years of age upto 32 followed by a male excess in the subsequent age groups. The resulting sex ratio is tilted in favour of males to the extent of 901 females per 1,000 males.

In many societies, it is common knowledge that males exceed females at birth and at the younger ages and because of the biological capacity of the females to survive, this male domination dwindles down at higher ages, and gradually females predominate. In the case of Todas, one notices a tendency which is quite contrary

SEX TREND


480
450
420
390
360
330
300
270
240
210
180
150
120
90
60
30
0
POPULATION
1821
1825
1838
1847
1856
1870
1871
1881
1891
1901
1902
1911
1921
1927
1931
1941
1951
PROVISIONAL
1960
YEARS

to the common experience of many civilised societies. The sex ratio at birth of 99·63 females per 100 males, though somewhat on the low side, still gives only a picture of male preponderance of birth. This is as one should normally expect and therefore it is somewhat surprising to notice the female excess in the age-groups 5-32. This could happen only if there is heavy male mortality at younger ages.

Another striking feature of the data is that males instead of females predominate after 32. This is again contrary to the experience of several countries. This could possibly be attributed to the practice of female infanticide prevalent 3 or 4 decades back, and the effect of high mortality of women at child birth reported in 1927 by the medical investigation unit. Skilled assistance afforded by the mobile medical unit might have reduced such contingency during the last decade.

The excess sex indulgence practised by the Toda women and the prevalence of venerial disease among them also tell upon their health badly and this would also be a factor detrimental to their longevity.

Sterility

Out of 178 cases of ever married women, 49 are found to be sterile among non-converts. Relative figures for converts are 20 and 3 respectively.

Dr. S. R. Pandit, Assistant Surgeon, King Institute, Guindy who was in charge of the Medical Unit deputed in 1927 to examine the causes of the decay of the Todas observed that:

"Pre-puberty intercourse is a pernicious custom and under the cloak of religion or custom, young girls are being raped. A girl, shortly before she attains puberty is visited by a strong young man, not of her clan, and he spends a night with her and has intercourse with her. The ceremony must take place before puberty, and it is considered a disgrace should it be delayed. Almost all the Todas whom I interrogated were unwilling to acknowledge the existence of the custom; but I have it on good authority, that the custom still prevails. Many young girls dreading this approaching event, have left their homes and asked to be converted to Christianity. It is difficult to say if this practice has a bad effect on fertility. Very likely it has a deleterious effect on the generative organs and their functions".

Most probably Dr. Pandit refers to the initiatory ceremony, referred to by Mr. E. Thurston, in which a Toda man of strong physique took part. But such a ceremonial defloration does not exist now. Yet it is reported that cohabitation is common before puberty, that too at the age of 10. There is a common belief that such sort of early consummation and the sexual excess described in detail elsewhere may perhaps be sufficient to injure the women's health and their reproductive organs resulting either in sterility, wastage of pregnancy or low fertility. While there is hardly any data either to justify or refute this theory, it is neverthless noticed that a high percentage of women have sex relations at early ages and among them the percentage of sterile cases is very high. The following table testifies to the high percentage of sterile cases according to the age at first consummation.

Age at first consummation		12 and below	13	14	15	16
Sterile cases	Absolute figures	33	12	4	...	...
	Percentage	34%	20%	25%	0%	0%
Fertile cases	Absolute figures	65	48	12	2	2
	Percentage	66%	80%	75%	100%	100%

The following table presents the number of ever married Toda women and the total number of sterile women by age-group.

Age-group	No. of ever married women	No. of sterile women	
		Absolute figures	Percentage
13—22	36	13	36
23—32	57	12	21
33—42	27	4	15
43—52	31	8	26
53 & above	27	12	44
Total	178	49	28

It is observed from the above figures that the percentage of sterility declines steadily with age upto the age-group 33-42 and thereafter increases. It has been established elsewhere that the first conception is rare after 32 years of age. So the first two age groups cannot be taken as completely sterile. The increasing trend after 33 years of age indicates less sterility compared with the position of two or three decades back.

It is generally viewed that the chief cause for the sterility among Todas is veneral disease. According to the report of the Medical unit in 1927:

"Syphilis is very common. All the stages of the disease were met with, chancres and condylomata being perhaps the commonest. Syphilitic affections of the palate, throat and nose were fairly common, but nerve

syphilis was rare. Specimens of blood from 465 individuals were sent to the King Institute for the Wassermann Reaction with the following results:-

Positive	226	or 49	per cent
Negative	235		of the total
Total	461		

Three specimens were anti-complementary and in the fourth the serum was insufficient for the test.

The positives were thus classified:-

Strong positive	49
Moderate positive	84
Weak positive	93
Total	226

In most cases the results confirmed the diagnosis of syphilis arrived at by clinical evidence.

Gonorrhoea:- One hundred and sixty five adult males were examined for discharge after massage of the urethra. Eighty eight of them (53 per cent) either gave a history of having had gonorrhoea, or had a discharge on examination, or both. Of the 88, 65 had a discharge, and on microscopic examination the gonococcus was found in 55.

Women were not examined for gonorrhoea. Of the women seen, some gave a history of gonorrhoea, but generally they were silent and it is not possible to say to what extent they suffer. But it may be presumed that they suffer to the same extent as the men. Nearly 20 per cent of the women are sterile and gonorrhoea is certainly partly responsible for this high rate and for the low rate of fertility. Veneral disease, both gonorrhoea and syphilis, and possibly the custom of prepuberty intercourse are chiefly responsible for the low rate of fertility.

It is not possible to say how long syphilis and gonorrhoea have existed among the Todas. A few of the older men who were asked the question, informed me that the diseases had been unknown among them and had been introduced after the Nilgiris were occupied and became a popular health resort. Though their statement cannot be absolutely relied upon, one cannot help thinking that if the diseases had been in existence for any length of time—say, four or five centuries—the Todas would have become extinct by now, as conditions have been so very favourable for the spread of the diseases".

In October 1957, 330 specimens of Toda's blood were tested by the Mobile Medical Unit with a limited idea of finding out the symptoms of syphilis. Here again, no blood was taken below 12 years of age and no special symptoms looked for except to test whether it was positive or not. On the whole 176 cases were found to be positive. The sex and age break up for these 176 cases were tabulated as follows:-

Completed age of the patient	Males	Females	Total
13—17	2	4	6
18—22	8	13	21
23—27	9	8	17
28—32	17	20	37
33—37	12	10	22
38—42	14	10	24
43—47	4	6	10
48—52	5	2	7
53 & above	18	14	32
Total	89	87	176

Because of their peculiar social custom in regard to sexual relationship, there is every fear that those who have no symptoms will easily be infected by others.

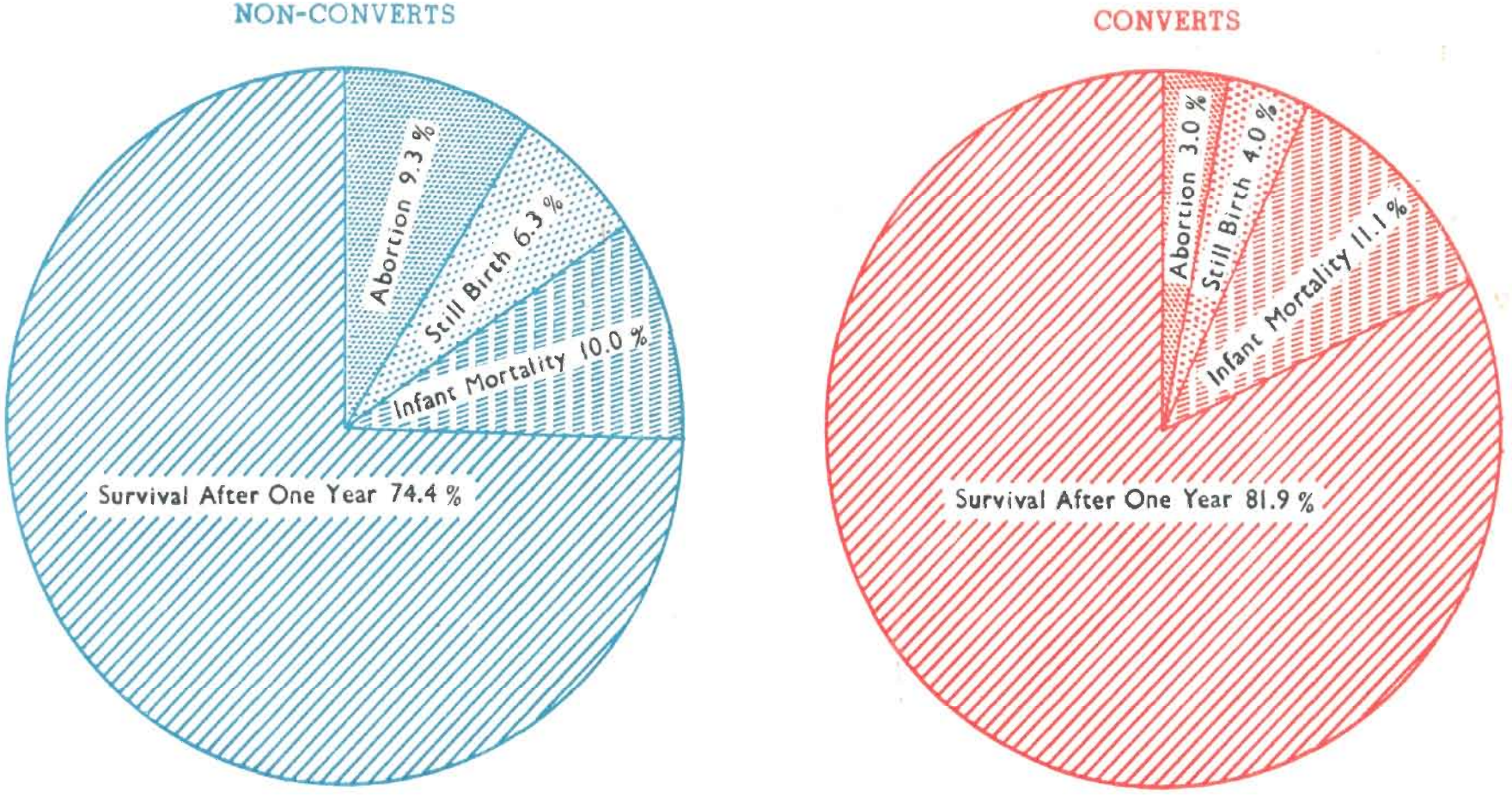
Wastage of pregnancy

The following abstract shows the extent of wastage of pregnancy among Todas.

Primary Abstract showing the Result of All Conceptions of Toda Women Living on 15-5-1960

Result of conceptions	Non-Converts		Converts	
	Absolute figures	Percentage	Absolute figures	Percentage
Total number of conceptions	525	100.0	99	100.0
Abortions	49	9.3	3	3.0
Still births	33	6.3	4	4.0
Died within one month	22	4.2	5	5.1
Died between one and six months	16	3.1	2	2.0
Died between six months and one year	14	2.7	4	4.0
Died after one year	54	10.3	6	6.1
Still alive	337	64.1	75	75.8

RESULTS OF CONCEPTIONS OF TODA WOMEN LIVING ON 15-5-1960



In this connection, it is relevant to compare these results with similar figures for England and Wales. While writing on the 'Total wastage', Mr. B. Benjamin has pointed out (para 11.57-pp 237-238) in his book on 'Elements of Vital Statistics' that:-

"The Medical Text of the Registrar General's Annual Statistical Review for 1950 provides an interesting attempt to estimate the total loss of life during pregnancy and labour and the first year of life, by bringing into account the loss among embryos and foetuses prior to the twenty-eighth week of gestation which is not covered by registration data. It may be estimated from various sources, reviewed by the Medical and Biological Committee of the Royal Commission on Population (1949) and the Inter-departmental Committee on Abortion that, roughly nine percent of pregnancies in England and Wales are terminated by spontaneous abortion and a further four per cent are terminated by induced abortions, i.e. the total live and still births form eighty-seven per cent of the total pregnancies. The following statement may then be prepared for 1950.

Total Pregnancies

(713,181 live and still births ÷ 0.87) = 819.748.

	Number	*Per thousand*
Abortions ...	106,567	130
Still births ...	16,084	20
Neonatal deaths ...	12,917	16
Post-neonatal deaths ...	7,900	10
Total reproductive wastage ...	143,468	176"

It is really deplorable to note that about ¼th of the conceptions of Toda women terminate as abortions, still births or results in infantile mortality. Among the non-converts, due to social, educational and economical advancement, Toda Christians manage to save the mishap at earlier stages. As in the case of sterility, wastage of pregnancy is generally attributed to the syphilis, early consummation and sexual excess among Todas. Apart from these, the effect of other causes on these mishaps is discussed below. As the data available for converts are very few in number, no general conclusion can be arrived at with such inadequate data. Hence only the data relating to non-converts are taken up for detailed analysis.

Spacing

On the assumption that the space for first conception refers to the duration between first consummation and first termination of pregnancy, and that for the other conceptions refers to the period between consecutive termination of pregnancy, the percentage of conceptions with various spacing has been worked out as follows:-

Space in years	Percentage of Conceptions
1	15
2	46
3	13
4	7
5	4
6 & above	15
Total	100

It is seen from the above table that the highest percentage of conceptions takes place with spacing of 2 years, followed by one year. The average spacing is approximately 2.3 years.

The following table gives a synoptic view of the out-come of conceptions according to spacing.

Result of Conceptions Expressed in Percentage for each Spacing

Space	Abortion	Still births	Infantile Mortality	Successful Births
1	23	9	8	60
2	6	5	14	75
3	2	5	5	88
4	2	—	15	83
5	—	8	8	84
6 & above	9	6	4	81

It is observed from the above table that the wastages are 40% and 25% respectively for a spacing of 1 and 2 years and for the rest, it is far less than 20%. It is also noticed that abortions and still births are at their highest level in the case of one year spacing, whereas infant death proportions are at a maximum in the case of 2 and 4 year spacing.

The following table presents the proportion of wastages based on the age of the mother at first consummation:-

Age at first consummation	Percentage waste
12 below	28
13	24
14	20
15	14
16 and above	14

More wastage occurs for those who marry earlier in their life and the wastage decreases as the age at marriage increases. Probably consummation before girls' physical development may lead to wastage.

The following table exhibits the correlation between the maternal age and the wastage of pregnancy:-

Age at termination of pregnancy	Percentage waste
13—17	23
18—22	19
23—27	14
28—32	12
33—37	13
38—42	5
43 & above	14

The above figures indicate that the wastage occurs in the case of conceptions at young age suggesting early maternity could be responsible for the wastage.

It has also been noticed that 21% of the wastage occurs in the first gravida; 16% in the second and 19% in the third.

Fertility

Lieutenant-Colonel William E. Marshall made an attempt to study the fertility pattern of the Todas in 1870. His study was based on a sample population of 196 persons. His findings are reproduced below from p. 122 of his book entitled "A Phrenologist amongst the Todas";-

I The earliest age at which women commence child-bearing is about 14 years.

II The average age at which women commence child-bearing is 17.4 years.

III The average age at which women leave off child-bearing is 37.4 years.

IV Women bear children during a period of 19.6 years.

V The average interval between the birth of children is 3 years.

VI Including barren women, the average size of family is 5.7 children.

VII Exclusive of barren women, the average size of family is 6.7 children.

The special medical officer of the King Institute, Guindy, who was deputed by the Government in 1927, to examine the causes of the decay of the Todas, made a small reference about fertility in Section V of his report, which runs as follows:-

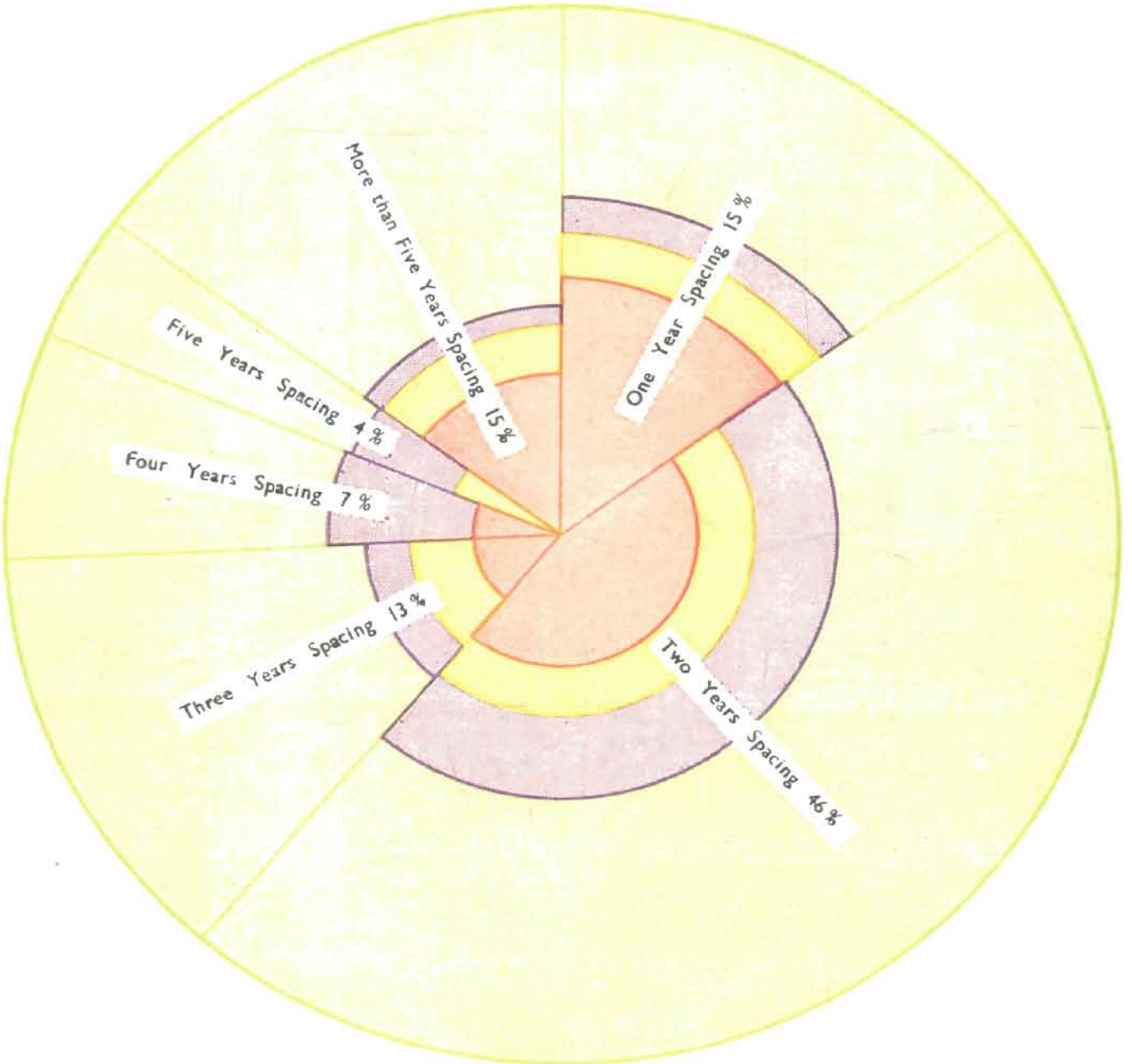
"The fertility rate is 5.8. It represents the average number of children born per married woman at 50 years. Still-births and abortions were not taken into account; if they are included the figure works out at 6.4. As early marriage is the rule; and custom provides for the remarriage of widows, conditions are to that extent favourable for a high fertility rate. But it is distinctly low, for 'the average fecundity of women marrying at 15 to 20 years of age has been found to be 9.12 (Major Russell in Mac Nally's Sanitary Handbook for India' 1933 edition. The figure relates to the Madras Presidency). What helps keep the rate for the Toda women low is the fact that nearly 20 per cent of them were found to be sterile".

As the data on fertility are important for demographic study, questions on the age at first consummation, Marital status, result of conception [(i e.) Still birth, abortion, or alive] sex, and month and year of each conception were collected at the time of survey. I will now discuss the tabulated data in detail.

Fertility Pattern

As already pointed out, 129 of the women enumerated during the Special Survey of Todas conceived at least once in their life. Among the total conceptions, 428 cases resulted in live births for which reliable data on the Gravida and Age at termination of pregnancy are available. All these cases are taken up for a detailed analysis on the reproductivity of a

CONCEPTION WITH VARIOUS SPACING AND THE RESULTS OF CONCEPTIONS IN EACH SPACING



REFERENCE

Abortion

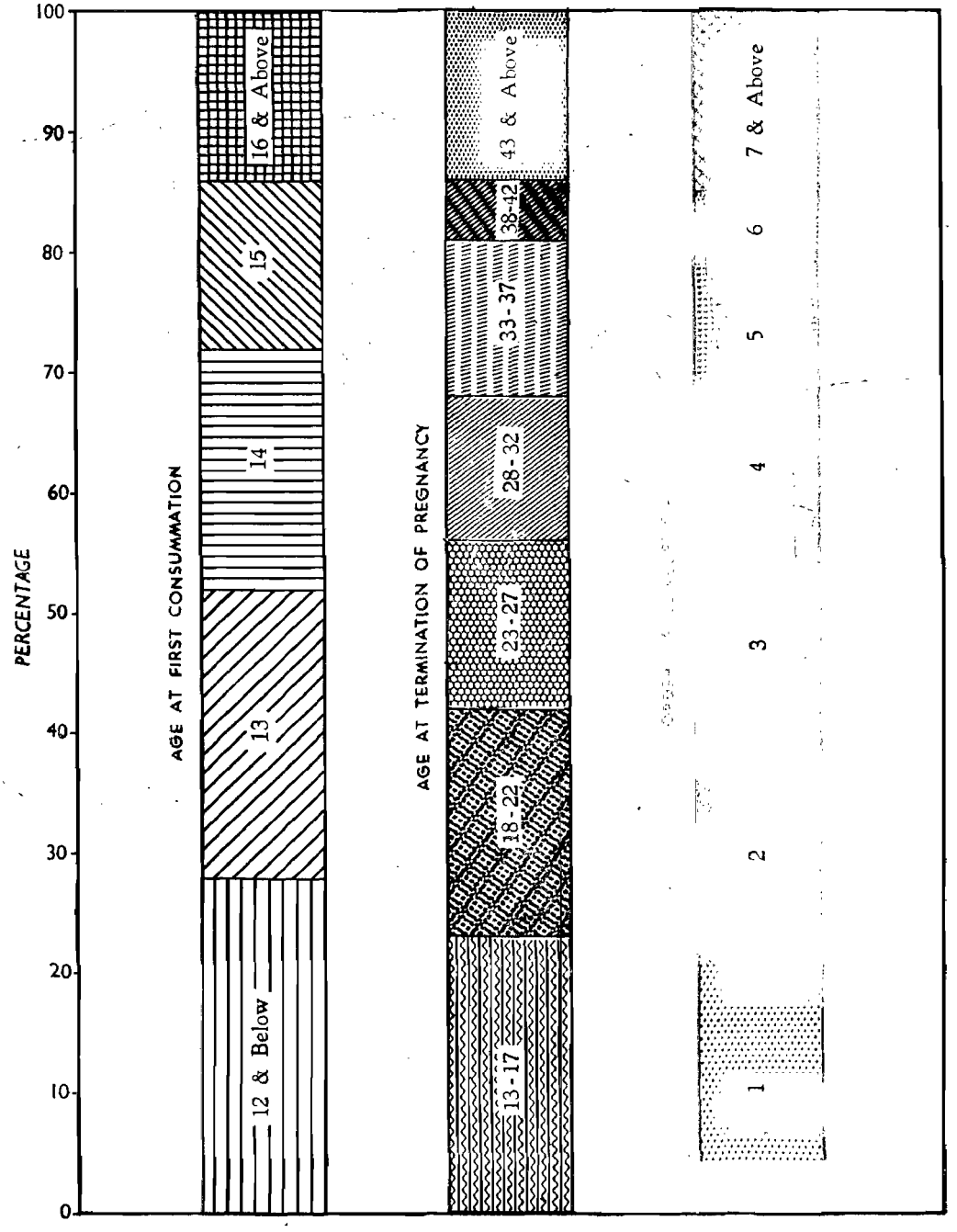
Still Birth

Infant Mortality

Successful Births

WASTAGE OF PREGNANCY

(By (I) Age at First Consummation (II) Age at Termination of Pregnancy and (III) Order of Conception)



Toda Woman. A comparison is being made with the fertility pattern of other women in India and Western countries by adopting the statistics quoted by Shri S.P. Jain, in the Indian Journal of Medical Research 39, April 1951.

The following table gives the comparative figures of average maternal age for a Toda woman and women of other regions in India and in other countries.

Women belonging to	Average Maternal age
Todas	24.4
India	27.2
U. S. A.	27.2
Australia	28.4
England & Wales	29.5

The average maternal age for the Toda Woman is the lowest of all. However, such a general average will not help in drawing any conclusion, without the averages for each order of conception. These are presented in the following table.

Average Maternal age According to Order of Births

Order of conception resulting in live birth	Toda	India	U.S.A.	Australia	England & Wales
1	19.2	21.9	24.4	25.8	26.7
2	21.3	22.2	27.0	28.6	29.8
3	23.8	26.2	29.1	30.7	31.8
4	26.0	28.3	30.3	32.3	33.4
5	27.5	30.5	31.6	33.4	34.7
6	31.3	32.0	33.0	34.5	35.8
7	33.7	33.7	34.3	35.6	36.9

These averages give the ages where most of the live births are concentrated for each gravida. It may be seen that, for any order of conception, average maternal age is the lowest for a Toda woman.

Average number of live births upto various age groups is presented in the following table. The age refers to the age at termination of the latest pregnancy and not the age of mother at the time of Census. It is therefore obvious that these averages do not necessarily measure the average size of family amongst all married women of completed fertility.

Average Number of Live Births upto the Maternal age Periods for Fertile women.

Maternal Age	Todas	India	U.S.A.	Australia	England & Wales
All ages	3.67	2.65	1.38	1.35	1.18
14 & below	*N.A	0.07	0.03	...	...
15—19	1.76	0.47	0.22	0.15	0.09
20—24	2.46	1.38	0.67	0.53	0.38
25—29	3.73	2.63	1.30	1.12	0.85
30—34	4.47	4.13	2.03	1.80	1.44
35—39	7.36	5.36	3.06	2.59	2.17
40—44	*N.A	6.05	4.68	3.59	3.36
45 & above	*N.A	6.54	6.46	5.03	5.06

(* N.A. Reliable figures are not available)

The above figures give a picture of the family trends of the fertile section of women. The average at every age is much higher for Todas than for others. This seems to indicate that the fertile women among the Todas have a higher fertility when compared to other societies. In spite of this high fertility among the fertile women it appears that the fertility for the community as a whole is lower when compared to other communities due to the high percentage of sterile women in the Toda population.

Percentage Live Births for Todas in the Various Maternal age Periods

Maternal age	13—17	18—22	23—27	28—32	33—37	38—42	43—47	48 & above	All ages
Percentage live births.	18.00	25.47	25.73	18.69	07.94	03.24	00.70	00.23	100

It may be seen from the above table that less than 5% of the total live births takes place after the age of 38. Conception in the age period 38 and above may therefore be taken to be cases of almost completed fertility in the active reproductive span of life of a Toda woman. It is also noticed that the active part is between 18 to 27 years of age. Maternal ages 13-17 and 28-32 are also equally active. The distinction of Todas from other women is more striking as will be revealed from the following table:-

Percentage Births in the Maternal Age Periods

Maternal age	Below 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45 & over
India	0.60	12.4	29.3	26.4	17.8	9.2	3.8	0.5
U. S. A.	0.04	8.6	32.3	29.3	18.4	9.0	2.2	0.2
Australia	0.02	4.8	26.7	31.0	22,4	11.5	3.3	0.3
England & Wales	...	2.3	23.1	30.4	25.3	14.6	4.0	0.3

It is uniformly noticed that 20-34 is the period when the highest percentage of births occurs in all the countries noted above. In India and U. S. A. the peak period of fertility is the age group 20-24 whereas in Australia and England & Wales it is 25-29. Among the Todas the period 18-27 is observed to be the period of peak fertility.

The age periods which are the most important, accounting for over 70 percent of births of a given gravida are indicated below:-

Gravida	Todas	India	U. S. A.	England & Wales
1	13-22	15-24	15-29	20-34
2	18-27	15-29	20-34	20-34
3	18-32	20-29	20-34	25-39
4	18-32	20-34	20-39	25-39
5	23-37	25-34	25-39	30-39
6	23-37	25-34	25-39	30-39
7	28-42	25-39	25-39	30-44
8	28-42	30-39	30-39	30-44
9	28-42	30-39	30-44	35-44
10 & over	33-42	30-44	30-44	35-44

The manner in which the importance is gradually shifted to successive age periods as the gravida increases is well established by the above table. It is also noticed that for every order, the births are concentrated at comparatively younger ages for Todas.

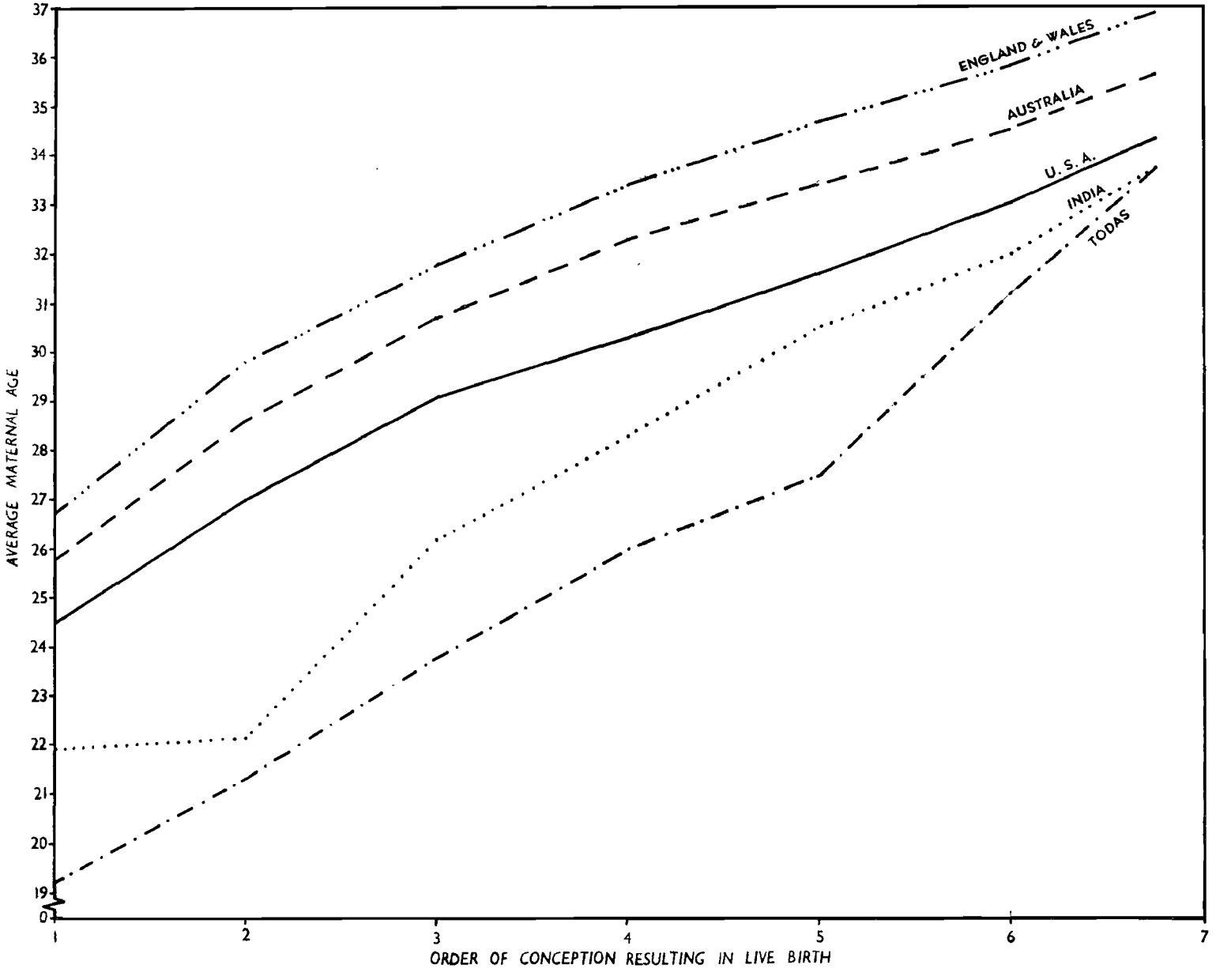
The following table furnishes the number of first pregnancies of Toda women, terminated at specified age groups:-

Age at termination of first pregnancy.	Non-Converts			Converts		
	No. of first pregnancy	Percentage	Cumulative percentage	No. of first pregnancy	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
13—17	52	45	49	9	56	56
18—22	40	34	79	5	31	87
23—27	17	15	94	1	7	94
28—32	5	4	98	1	6	100
33—37	1	1	99	...	...	...
38—42	1	1	100	...	...	...

It is observed from the above statement that all the first conceptions among Toda Christians occur before 32 years of age. Among non-converts 98% of the first conceptions take place before the same age. Hence it can reasonably be concluded that 32 is the maximum age limit for the first conception. If at all any first conception takes place after 32 years of age, it is but a rare event.

Nearly 45% of the first pregnancies terminate below the age of 17 in the case of non-converts and 56% in the case of converts. Converts tend to conceive earlier and consequently the percentage of termination below the age of 17 is higher among converts than among non-converts. In the next age

AVERAGE MATERNAL AGE FOR EACH ORDER OF CONCEPTION RESULTING IN LIVE BIRTH



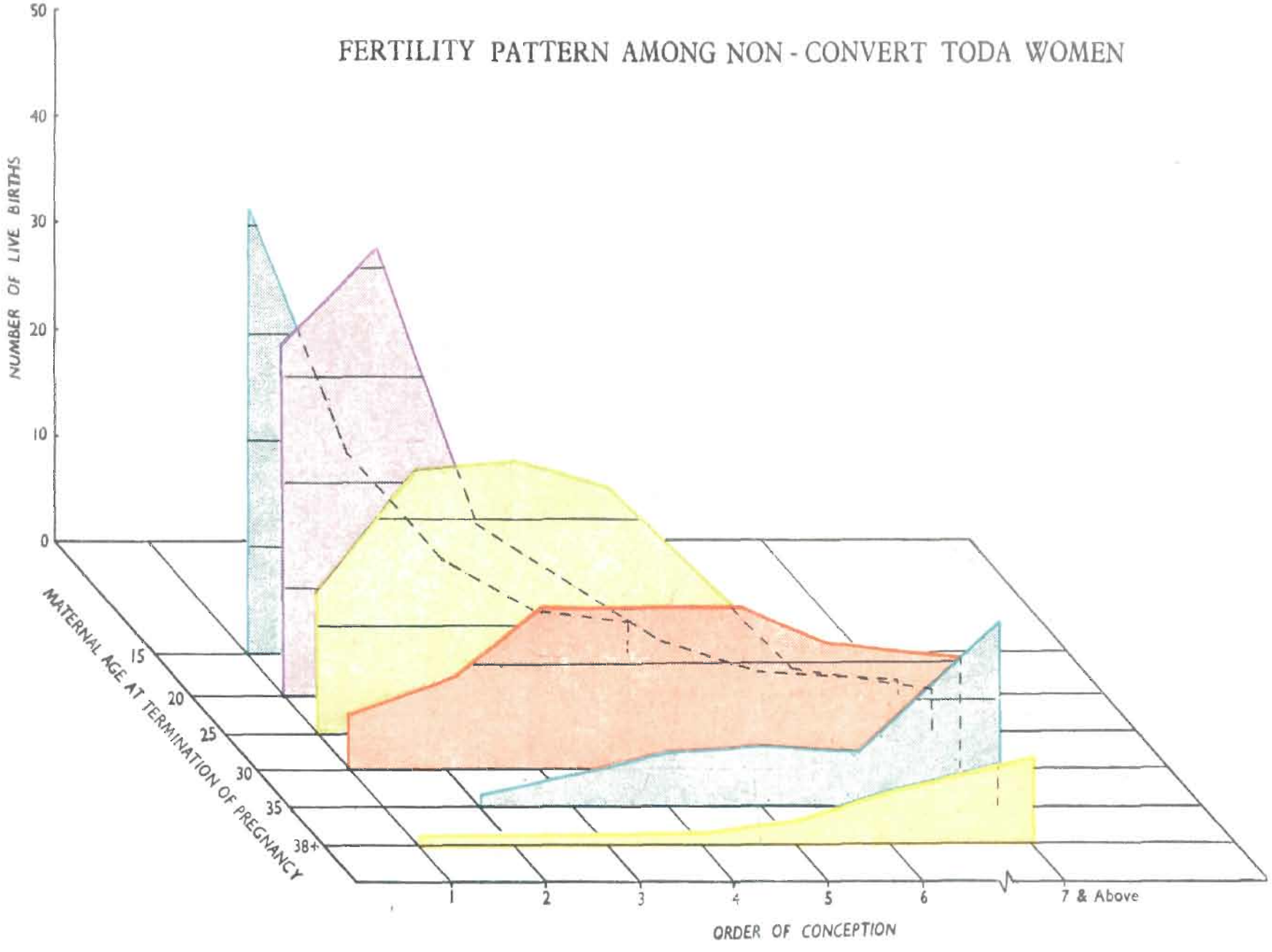
Fertility Pattern Among Non-Convert Toda Women

Total Number of Live Births by order of Conception and Age of Mother at Termination of Pregnancy

Order of Conception	Age at Termination of Pregnancy										
(1)	All ages (2)	13—17 (3)	18—22 (4)	23—27 (5)	28—32 (6)	33—37 (7)	38—42 (8)	43—47 (9)	48—52 (10)	53 & over (11)	NR (12)
All orders	443	77	109	110	80	34	14	3	...	1	15
1	101	42	33	13	5	...	1	...	...	...	7
2	98	19	42	24	8	1	...	...	...	...	4
3	68	9	16	25	15	...	1	...	...	...	2
4	58	4	10	23	15	5	...	1	...	...	...
5	46	3	5	15	15	6	1	1	..	..	...
6	30	...	2	6	12	5	4	...	...	1	...
7	15	...	...	3	4	3	4	1	...	...	...
8	8	...	1	...	4	3	...	...	...	...	...
9	6	...	...	1	1	2	1	...	...	...	1
10 & over	12	...	...	...	1	9	2	...	...	...	...
N.A	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1

(N.R. Not reliable — N.A. Not available)

FERTILITY PATTERN AMONG NON - CONVERT TODA WOMEN



group viz., 18-22 these percentages are more or less equal among converts and non-converts.

Proportion of Live Births by Gravida

Gravida	Todas	India	U. S. A.	Australia	England & Wales
1	21.97	21.0	39.5	38.5	42.3
2	21.97	19.6	28.4	28.0	30.0
3	15.42	16.7	14.3	15.5	13.7
4	13.55	13.1	7.3	7.9	6.2
5	10.75	9.4	3.9	4.2	3.2
6	7.01	6.9	2.3	2.4	1.8
7	3.51	4.8	1.5	1.4	1.1
8	1.90	3.3	1.0	0.9	0.7
9	1.20	2.1	0.7	0.5	0.4
10 & over	2.80	3.1	1.1	0.7	0.6

In respect of all the cases, as expected, the proportion decreases with increase in gravida. Except in the case of Todas and Indians, the proportion of first birth is very high, falls considerably for the second gravida and declines steeply for births of higher order. In the case of India and the Todas the proportion of first and second order of births is not high. Upto 6th order the proportions are higher among Todas than for India. This is followed by higher Indian percentage for subsequent gravidas. This again only shows that conceptions of 6th and higher order are rare among the Todas.

Birth rate

Generally, birth rates are calculated from the data available in the birth registers. As already indicated, reliable birth statistics for Todas are not available. However, live births during 1958 and 1959 were recorded during the special enumeration. Average number of births during these two years can broadly be taken to reflect the position of the general population as a whole and hence these data are made use of in the present analysis.

Fertility rate is defined as the rate of *live births* per 1,000 married women (sterile as well as fertile women) aged 15—44. Such general fertility rates for Todas and others are presented below:-

Todas	130.5
India	194.9
U. S. A.	109.1
England & Wales	78.0

It is established from the above statistics that Todas are less fertile than other Indians. This conclusion is well borne out by the earlier discussion regarding sterility of Toda women and its consequent depressing effect on Toda fertility. The trend of fertility rate within each maternal age group is as follows :-

Age Specific Fertility Rate

Maternal Age	15–19	20-24	25–29	30–34	35-39	40-44
Todas	196.4	193.2	203.7	48.1	83.4	...
India	155.4	299.6	274.3	282.2	185.7	117.9
U.S.A.	426.7	333.9	217.5	132.3	69.3	19.1
England & Wales	341.3	337.1	199.3	145.4	86.1	25.7

It is observed that the fertility rate for Todas is at its peak in 25-29, whereas in the case of India the maximum fertility is observed in the age group 20-24. The U.S.A. and England and Wales have high fertility in the age group 15-19. Toda fertility records a steep fall during 30 to 39 with practically no births after 40 years of age. Further, only in the age group 15-19, Toda fertility is higher than Indian fertility, but in all other age groups it is below the Indian level.

Before closing this chapter, it will be interesting to make a passing reference to the population of Jaunsar-Bawar in the District of Dehra Dun which poses a problem similar to Todas. In his report on the social economy of a polyandrous people, Mr. R.N. Saksena discusses (pp 16-19) the problem as follows:-

"The following statement shows the population of Jaunsar-Bawar during the Census enumeration of previous decades:—

Population of Jaunsar-Bawar

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1881	25,400	19,717	45,117
1891	28,435	22,262	50,697
1901	28,349	22,752	51,101
1911	30,518	24,294	54,812
1921	31,567	24,056	55,623
1931	31,922	24,852	56,774
1941	32,345	25,305	57,650
1951	32,704	25,765	58,469

It will be observed that the population of this region is almost static and the net increase in the population shows a downward trend, as would be evident from the following analysis:-

Mean Decennial growth rate	(1881-1901)	13.3
,, ,, ,,	(1901-1921)	8.8
,, ,, ,,	(1921-1941)	3.6
,, ,, ,,	(1941-1951)	1.4

Another interesting feature of the population is the disparity in sex-ratio which is said to have exerted its influence on the form of marriage and helped polyandry.

They are a delicately poised people on the brink of extinction. If we attack their social economy, either through legislation or administrative measures without adequate safeguards, they are destined to meet the fate of a dying race like the Maoris or the Red Indians. Therefore, what is needed is a well-planned policy which aims at improving their living standards but, at the same time, is not revolutionary as to adversely affect their social organisation. For it is here that the chief danger lies. It has been suggested by some eminent persons who wield considerable influence over public opinion that the salvation of the Jaunsaris lies in their giving up their polyandrous practices and adopting monogamy. The country has of late been swept by a wave of social reform and we have a number of proposals to change customs to bring them up to what is presumed to be ideal in Hindu level. Mention has already been made of the fact that the sex-ratio of the population in this region is greatly unbalanced. According to the Census of 1951 there were 7 females to 10 males approximately. If we were to enforce monogamy, either through legislation or as a social reform measure, it is bound to give rise to social vice. Prostitution is altogether unknown in this region. Moreover, partition of property due to setting up of monogamous families will prove economically ruinous.

A theory has been advanced that the extremely low birth rate in Jaunsar-Bawar may be attributed to polyandry. It has been suggested that excess of sex indulgence which is inevitable when a woman has to live with many husbands, leads to a kind of sexual atrophy which is responsible for the widespread prevalence of sterility among Jaunsari women. But at the same time we are reminded of the large-scale infection of veneral disease among the people, which is the most important cause of sterility among women. The W.H.O. team, which visited the border of Jaunsar-Bawar in the Sirmoor State, estimated that sixty to seventy per cent of the population were suffering from veneral diseases. No such figures are available for Jaunsar-Bawar but here the estimate cannot be said to be in any way lower. The focus of this infection is usually alleged to be Chakrata, where British soldiers had been stationed for a considerably long period when on holiday. Spreading to adjacent villages, the system of village exogamy allowed the infection to spread to the interior. Polyandry as well as the double standard of morality for women claimed more victims, and thus it went on spreading till it has become a common disease of the people. Sterility, therefore, is mainly due to this affliction among the Jaunsaris. Once stringent scientific measures for combating venereal disease have been adopted in this region and the people convinced of their efficacy, at least one of the major causes of sterility among Jaunsari women will disappear".



Unabashed and not camera conscious like their sisters elsewhere these Toda maidens pose for the photographer. With their privacy invaded by numerous anthropologists and research workers avid to study this colourful tribe, curiosity and shyness have yielded place to complacency and indifference.

CHAPTER V

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

There is something striking about their persons and feature as distinct from other tribes of Nilgiris though this dissimilarity has been overemphasised. There is, however, a pastoral simplicity about them, when seen with their herds or in their munds. A group of Todas can be easily distinguished from other castes and tribes, which distinction is enhanced by their peculiar dress and bearing.

The earliest reference about their appearance was made by Lieutenant Evans Macpherson, Superintendent, Neelgherry Road, to John Sullivan in a letter dated 12th June 1820. According to him, "the Toda is fair and handsome, with a fine expressive countenance, an intelligent eye, and an aquiline nose; his appearance is manly, being tall, strong-built, and well set up; his limbs muscular and finely proportioned. It is not uncommon in a circle of twenty Todas to find perhaps two or three above six feet high. Their hair generally curls, and some of the women have natural ringlets which, many a fine lady may envy; but this is their only charm, possessing no other grace nor beauty. Men and women go bare headed and barefooted. A single cloth which envelops their persons is the dress common to both sexes".

Captain Harkness (1864), a Pioneer in the study of the Nilgiris has recorded in his 'Description of a singular Aboriginal race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills' as follows:-

"The appearance of the Todas is certainly very prepossessing. Generally above the common height, athletic, and well made, their bold bearing and open expressive countenances lead immediately to the conclusion that they must be of a different race to their neighbours of the same hue.

They never wear any covering to the head, whatever the weather may be, but allow the hair to grow to an equal length, of about six or seven inches; parted from the centre or crown, it forms into natural bushy circlets all round, and at a short distance more resembles some artificial decoration than the simple adornment of nature. The hair of the face also is allowed a similar freedom of growth, and in every instance, except from the effect of age, it is of a jet black, and of the same degree of softness, as that of the native of the low country.

A large, full, and speaking eye, Roman nose, fine teeth, and pleasing contour; having occasionally the appearance of great gravity, but seemingly ever ready to fall into the expression of cheerfulness and good humour, are natural marks, prominently distinguishing them from all other natives of India".

Dr. Caldwell took a different view suggesting "that many of the statements that are commonly made, both in conversation and in books, respecting their physical characteristics are mere romance. As regards size and strength of body they will not bear comparison with the natives of the North West Provinces, or even with the Telugu farmers and Palanquin-bearers. The supporters of the Celtic Indo-European origin of the Todas, are wont to rest the chief weight of their theory on the Roman noses of their proteges, but aquiline noses are not unfrequently met with amongst the people of the plains, though they have not had the good fortune to attract so much of the notice of tourists; and, after all, the nose which is most commonly seen on the Toda face is not an aquiline, but simply a large nose. Even if it were universal, it would reveal nothing respecting the origin of the Toda, for physiology makes little account of noses, but much of heads and the shape of the head, and the head of the Toda does not differ in any material point from that of the low-country Dravidian."

The physical superiority apparent to the eye at first sight cannot survive close observation. The first impression is produced by the combined effect of their graceful costume, self-possessed deportment, long beards, and the cut of their hair. It had so much pleased the European eye in contrast with those of the plains and thus originated the idea of Toda's physical superiority. It may have given a certain physical superiority but it does not make them any different from the average South Indian. The average height of a man is about 5½ feet and that of a woman is about 5 feet. The halo round them is something created by the imagination of foreign writers.

Women

Writing about the women, captain Harkness has recorded that;

"The women are of a stature proportionate to that of the men, but of complexion generally some shades lighter, the consequence perhaps of less exposure to the weather. With a strongly feminine cast of the same expressive features as the men, most of them, and particularly the younger, have beautiful long tresses, which flow in unrestrained luxuriance over the neck and shoulders.

With a modest and retiring demeanour, they are perfectly free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex of the low country; and enter into conversation with a stranger, with a confidence and self possession becoming in the eyes of Europeans, and strongly characteristic of a system of manners and customs widely differing from those of their neighbours."

Toda women are no doubt very pleasing in expression and the young women, upto twenty years of age have handsome lineaments and are exceedingly fair, but become old and wrinkled before they attain their twenty-fifth or thirtieth year, after which they are poor specimens. This might be the result of the over-attachment of Toda men to their women in carrying their affection for the sex to a most voluptuous degree. In fact, their sex life is very peculiar and a girl's sexual relationship during her teen-age period is very loose till she becomes less attractive and continues to live with a single man.

Hair style

The most striking peculiarity about the Toda woman is the arrangement of their fine glossy black hair, which is dressed in ringlets and flows waving down to the shoulders. On the top of the head the hair is smoothed and parted with the greatest care, and curled to form ringlets. The long ringlets hang on either side of the face with a neatness and regularity strangely at variance with their apparently rough mode of life.



The hair is smoothed and parted with the greatest care and curled to form ringlets.

The hair in both sexes is anointed with ghee, as is also the skin. They never had the practice of shaving, either face or head or cutting the hair periodically. But both men and women used to cut their hair as a token of mourning on the decease of relatives. The practice of periodical hair cut and shaving is slowly gaining favour with the younger generation.

Dress

The chief traditional garment of a Toda is known as Poothukuli. It is a thick white cotton cloth of 5 x 1¾ yards manufactured in Coimbatore district having one or two bars of colour, generally red, blue or black woven into it at the ends, which is supplemented by embroidery by the women folk. This traditional type of dress is simple in the extreme, but not ungraceful and is worn along with a waist cloth both by men and women. But the waist cloth which serves as an under garment appears to have been adopted at a latter stage.

Finicio's account of his visit to the Todas in 1603 (Rivers, p. 726) is very explicit about the clothes worn by them. He says: "they (the men) are clothed in a large sheet with no other covering but a small loin cloth four or five fingers wide." The large sheet must be the Poothukuli. One often enough sees a Toda without suspecting that he is wearing a waist cloth, so well is it covered by the Poothukuli, but the loin cloth is so seldom visible when a Toda is completely clothed that we can be sure that Finicio's enumeration is complete. Of the women he says (Rivers p. 727): "the women wear nothing but a long sheet like the men." This is the Poothukuli. The account which follows makes it clear that the women were keeping themselves very modestly covered, as they do at the present time. But an incident in one of the stories that Emeneau had recorded makes it clear that Finicio was correct and that women did not wear waist cloth. The story goes that a young man's great grandfather's wife was divorced by him because at a funeral she opened her Poothukuli by grasping one end in either hand and shook it to remove the dust. In doing this, she uncovered her body completely and outraged her husband's sense of decency.

Men wear the waist cloth by carrying one of the long edges completely round the waist and tucking the



With queenly dignity she surveys her world – perhaps circumscribed in her case to her hearth and her family. Note the tattoo marks on her body.



Toilet completed, the mantle draped around, this lady surveys the world with peace and contentment. Those flowing tresses, with loving and tender hands she cares and lo, behold these twisted braids emerge the crowning glory of the Toda woman, of which any hair dresser would justly be proud to own as his or her handiwork.

end of this edge in at the left side, letting the garment fall straight to the knees. The garment is adjusted so that it falls only as far as the knees by folding over a sufficient quantity of material at the top before carrying it around the waist. Women wear it by passing it in the same way around the body under the armpits. Children until puberty wear only a waist cloth draping it as their elders do the Poothukuli.

Men wear the Poothukuli round the body, so as to form a kilt or petticoat, leaving the legs nearly bare; then it is brought under the right arm and the end is terminated with the left shoulder, over which the bordered end is allowed to hang loosely. The right hand, which is exposed, serves to keep the wrapper from disrobing or being blown away. When in a recumbent or sitting position, this mantle envelops them entirely, and for the night as well as for the day, it is their only clothing.

The woman merely throws the Poothukuli over the shoulders and holds it together in front. It reaches to the feet and envelops her whole frame. It is not worn so gracefully as by the men.

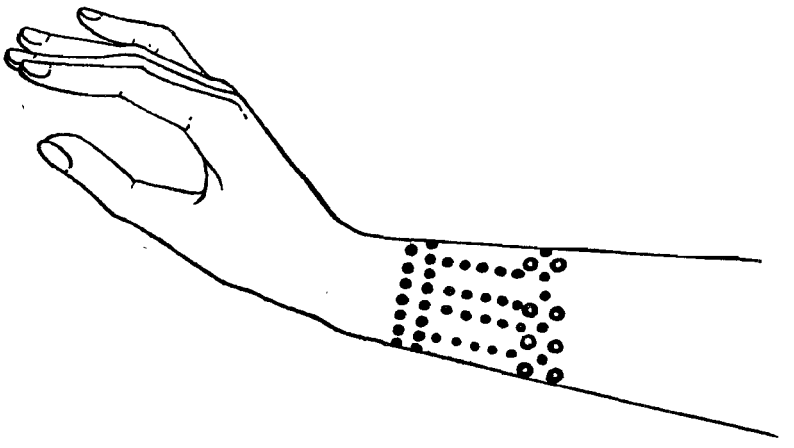
As already indicated at the beginning, the Poothukuli is made of a coarse species of white cotton cloth woven at Coimbatore. It is formed by folding the short edges together so that they become thicker. This double layer of cloth is sewn together at the edges except at the upper part of one side leaving the opening of a large pocket where the two layers of the cloak are again sewn together. The sewing along these edges has no other object than to keep the two thicknesses of the garment together and make the whole more easily managed when it is worn.

Shirts and blouses are slowly gaining favour in the munds, but no such modern dress is permitted on religious and sacred occasions. A Toda in a modern dress loses all his dignified and traditional charm and is an unattractive sight.

The temple poojari is restricted to wear only a black cloth, called Thini. This custom is still followed.

Personal decoration

Tattooing is practised by women but to a lesser extent. It is done on the chin just below the lower lip, on the forearm, both sides of the body above the breast and below the neck.

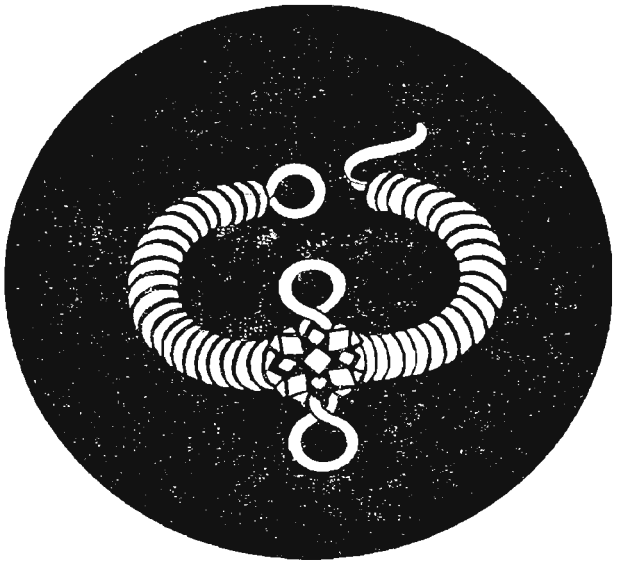


Tattooing on the forearm

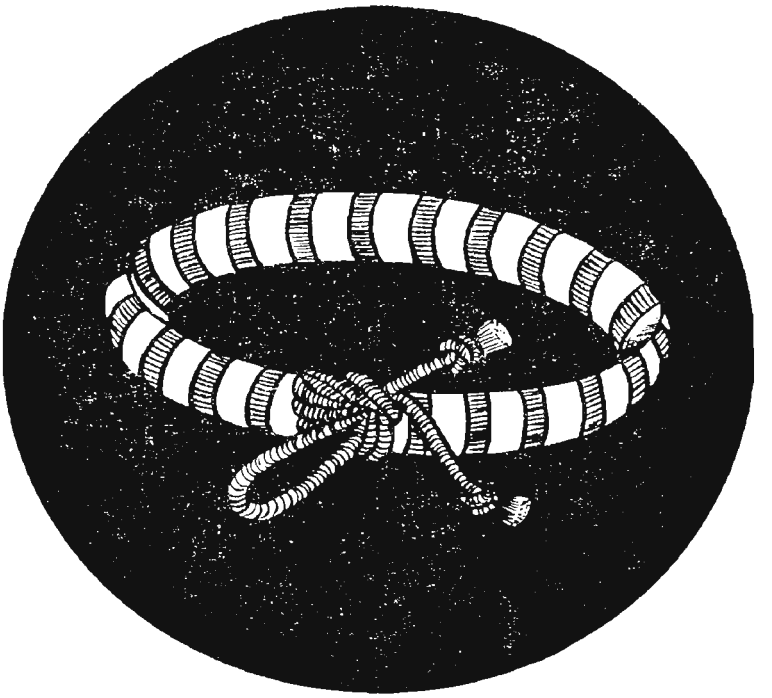
Ornaments

A list of ornaments used by Todas in 1873 is furnished below:

1. Four pairs of rings worn by Toda men and women. Rings made by Kotas. Rupees 4, 10 annas.
2. Gold earrings. Worn generally by men and sometimes by women. Made by Kotas. Gold procured from Malabar in the shape of sovereigns. Rupees 12, 8 annas.
3. Silver box, end opening with a screw. Used for small gold coins. Worn round the waist over the tharp with a string, or sometimes a silver chain, silver got from silver coins. Made by low country smiths, and bought in its present shape by the Todas. Rupees 6.
4. Tolwadi. Brass armlet worn by women above the elbow; big ones weigh each 2¼ lbs., small ones 1 lb. Made by Kotas of brass brought up by low country merchants. An armlet made of Nilagiri nettle fibre, bound with cotton thread, with a coarse tassel, is worn as a sort of buffer between the brass armlets. A woman will sometimes wear two of the big brass armlets, and two of the small ones on each arm. Girls of ten years old will begin to wear the small ones, and three or four years after the big ones. The armlets are never taken off except for repairs. Rupees 12, 8 annas.
5. Two necklaces worn and made by Toda women, Beads purchased in Bazaar. The beads are strung upon thread made of the Nilagiri nettle. Black beaded necklaces called Kechwad. Red beaded necklaces called Nerballi. Annas 4.



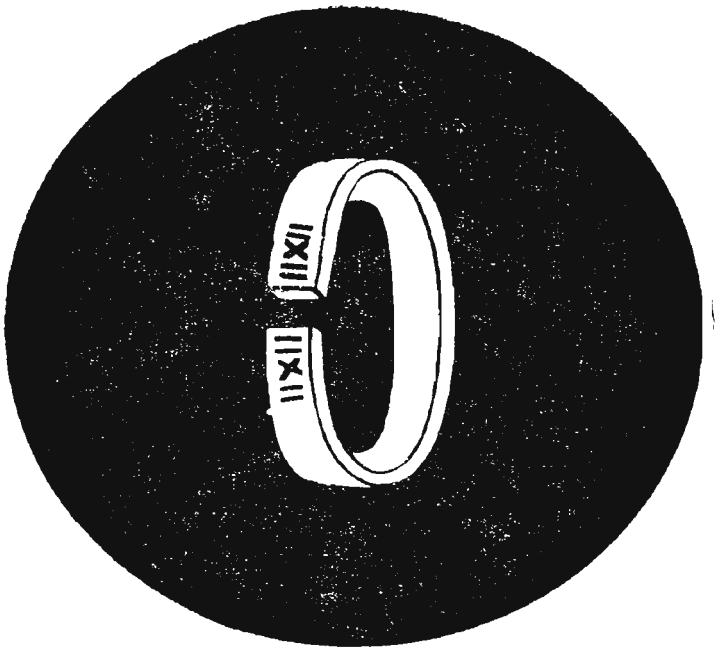
Sinn



Kanosth



Pall (பள்)



Kundu

" Ornaments worn by the Todas at present are very much less in number and are not anything unusual. The above are their show pieces and are claimed to be traditional ones, but are rarely used."



The patriarchs of the Mund with the insignia of the tribe, the eternal yet famed Poothukuli.



A group of Toda matrons bedecked in their finery. They merely throw the Poothukuli over the shoulders and hold it together in front. It reaches the feet and envelops here whole frame.



FAR FROM THE TRADITIONAL WEAR

"Sarees and blouses are slowly gaining favour in the munds".



FAR FROM THE TRADITIONAL WEAR

" A Toda in a modern dress loses all his dignified and traditional charm ".

6. Kafthriath. Silver earrings worn by women in each ear. Made by Kotas Rupees 5.
7. Hibbal. Iron bracelets worn by women on the left wrist. Made by Kotas 12 annas.
8. Hebbu. Two small iron rings worn by women on the first finger of the left hand; they usually wear two, sometimes four. Made by Kotas. Gratis.
9. Bilthagar. Necklace, made by Kotas. The chain of silver, the tassels of cowries. When worn, the tassels hang down behind. Rupees 3.
10. Kattshiram. Ordinary purse worn by Todas. Made in the low country and bought by Todas from traders who came to the hills. Gratis.
11. Kevilth. Necklace made by Kotas. Worn generally by women; burnt with the body at funerals. Rupees 30.
12. Billvall. Worn by women on the right wrist. Made by Malabar jewellers. Small silver beads rattle inside. Rupees 5, 8 annas.
13. Thaggar. Brass chain worn by women round their waist next to the skin. Made at Kota village. Rupees 1, 4 annas.
14. Modara. Silver ring worn by men and women on the small finger of either hand; a coin often forms the seal of the ring. Made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 3, 4 annas.
15. Pitteh. Worn by males and females on the third finger of the right hand, and made by Tamil smiths. Rupees 4, 8 annas.

The ornaments worn by the Todas at present are very much less in number and are not anything unusual. In fact, they do not play any significant role either in their social or economic life. Normally earlobes are pierced for ear-rings but not noses. Both men and women wear ear-rings, but ear-boring is celebrated only in the case of male children. Ear rings are called 'Sinn'. Necklace is called 'Thaggash' and contains a few coins in it.

Even though the traditional custom of a Toda is not to have any kind of protection to the feet or legs, some use chappels. They carry no weapon of defence, of the use of which, indeed, they seem to have no notion; they usually carry a small rod or wand like a walking stick.

CHAPTER VI

HOUSING PATTERNS AND DWELLINGS

The life of Todas is in every respect pastoral. They do not congregate in towns or villages, but every household lives separately in isolated places lying at distances of two to four miles. These places are called munds. Each mund is known by a distinct name. The term " Mund " may be construed as a corrupted form of the Tamil word " Mandhai " (மந்தை) which means a herd or cattle pen. Even though the munds are situated in isolated places, they are specially selected romantic looking spots, where woodland, streamlet and lawn combine to render the landscape picturesque and attractive. Though the Todas can hardly be said to possess any love for the beautiful, the picturesqueness of their munds, and the beauty of the sites which they choose for them, have probably helped to heighten their attraction as a people, and to add to the mystery which surrounds them.

One or two of these hamlets are perched on the extreme edge of the plateau, commanding glorious views of the plains and of the rich woods from which the mountains rise. Others nestle on the edge of a shola, or are at least backed by some beautiful single trees. The presence of their buffaloes, seldom driven far away when pasture can be found near at hand, ensures a patch of short green velvet sward, sloping down to the stream which supplies the mund with water.

Sholas lend an additional, though perhaps fictitious charm to these villages, for they give them from a little distance, the one characteristic in which they are often wanting on a nearer view—a look of neatness and order. There is occasionally a strange resemblance in these sholas to carefully planted shrubberies, and some glades about Ootacamund might almost belong to the grounds of a well kept country place. The trees in the depth of the wood are often not high and of no great size, but their branches are gnarled and moss-grown, and nature has selected and placed them, as if with a view to variety of growth, foliage and colour. Shrubs, wreathed with jasmines and dog-roses, fringe the edges of these copses; and ferns and flowering plants, among which are the violet and a variety of the forget-me-not make a border where they meet the sward. Periodical fires and the grazing of the buffaloes help to keep this line distinct; and if the trees are torn or cut for firewood, nature restores the injury done to her with a lavish hand, and throws a mantle of rich green drapery over the wound. The woods are, however, too valuable as a shelter from rain and cold to be ruthlessly injured by the Todas.

In his Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a Survey of the Neilgherry Mountains, 1847, Colonel Ouchterlony indicated that " the total number of Toda villages, called "Munds", on the hills is 85, the whole of which, with the exception of 11, are situated in the division called the 'Toda-naad', and almost all to the extreme west of that part, approaching the Pykara or Moyaar river ".

J. Shortt writes in his Account of the Tribes on the Neilgherries, 1868 that " the Collector gives the Toda munds as 106 and a population of 704. In Captain Ouchterlony's Memoir, they are given as 85 and 337 respectively, in 1847; from which it will be seen that during the last twenty years there has been an increase of 21 munds and 367 souls".

The question of ownership of land occupied by the Todas gave rise to much speculation and different schools of thought put forward different theories. This aspect has been considered in a later chapter. After much consideration, the Forest Department took over the management of the lands which were attached to the various Toda munds in 1843 and 1863 and confirmed at the settlement of 1881—1884. According to the then documents, there were 125 munds covering an extent of 2,948·67 acres. This total number of munds need not necessarily be occupied munds for the following reasons.

Even though the Todas have a strong bias in favour of a permanent home, yet, in the past they migrated once or twice a year from one mund to another or from one mountain side to that of another, both for the sake of fresh pasturage and with the view of escaping the inclemency of weather. Forty four out of one hundred and forty two households, still follow this traditional custom of seasonal migration. But even these migrations are limited to certain munds known as Kalolmunds situated within well defined boundaries. The total number of 125 munds mentioned in the previous para might represent the mund sites that were

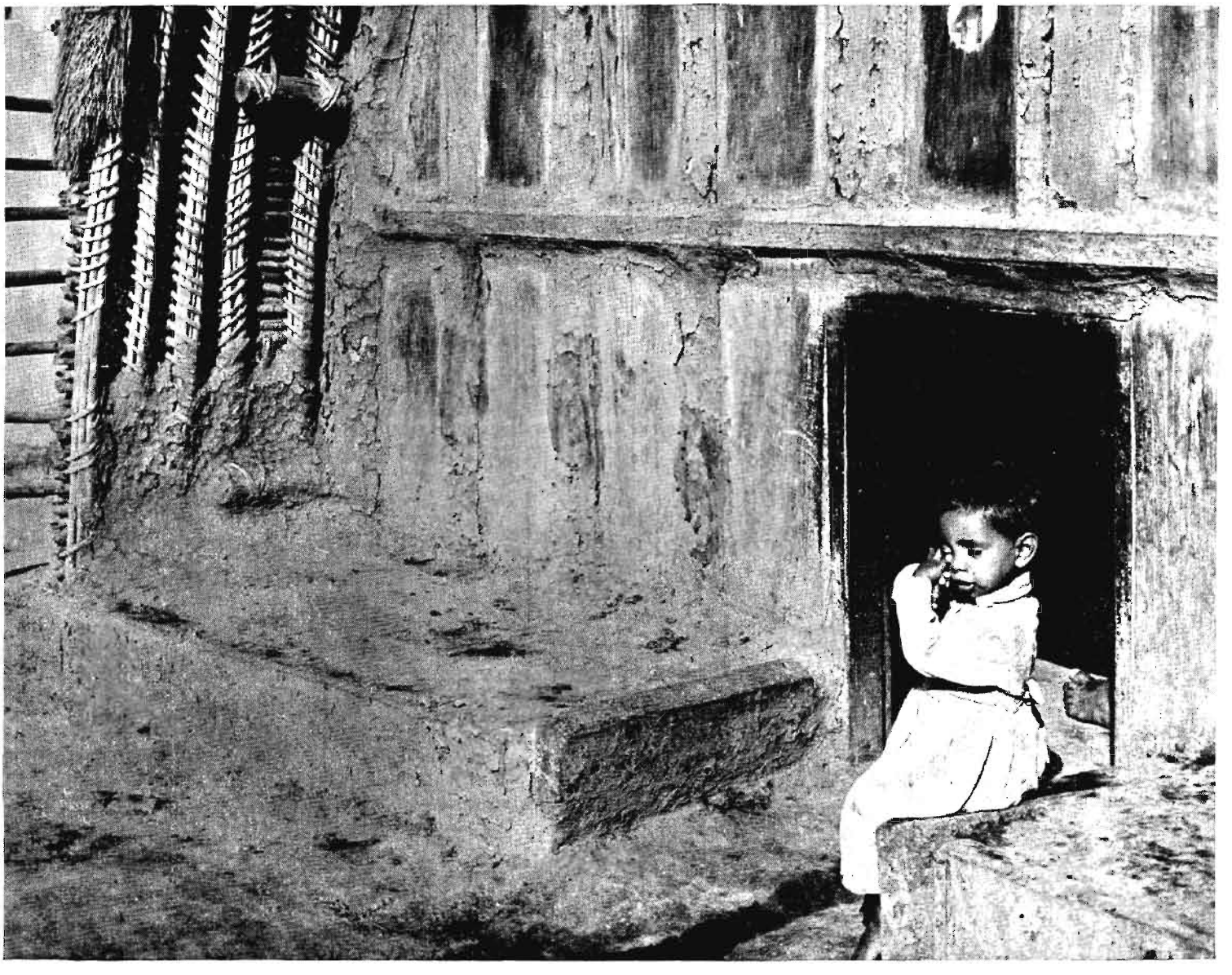


When cold winds blow it is pleasant to bask in the warmth of the Sun. A Toda takes his pleasure on the pial of his picturesque hut. This close-up shot throws into bold relief the architectural details of the hut including the symbol of the buffalo God he worships – the curved horns adorning the outer facade.



MUND AND THE PEN

" The buffaloe pen, situated in the vicinity of the mund, is a circular enclosure surrounded by a loose stone wall to a height of three or four feet with a single entrance for keeping the buffaloes at night ".



FACADE

" The front and back walls are composed of roughly planed block of wood. Gaps in between the planks are plastered with clay and buffalo dung. Split bamboos or odai sticks are closely laid together and are fastened with rattan to a thickness of half to one foot ".

occupied at one time or other and that were considered likely to be chosen for further occupation or migration. Thus the figure may not represent the total number of occupied munds.

The present survey indicates 73 munds as occupied ones. The present occupation is thus less than those reported earlier in 1847 and 1868.

Todas classify the munds as Etudmund and Keenmund. These are the basic classifications leading to the division of clans and hence will be discussed in the chapter on " Tribal hierarchy ".

Two of the munds were specially known as Sathimund. Kengodmund (Kudrmund) and Bigupathimund (Kannarsh) are believed by some as Sathimunds. The function of the Sathimund is based on the belief that where a dispute arises, the deponents to the dispute are asked to give their version in front of the temple in those munds and the deponents believe that they cannot speak anything other than truth in those munds without inviting calamity. The belief about Sathimund is of course still preserved; but now-a-days, very few go to establish the truth of their statements. Further details about Sathimund will be discussed in the chapter on ' Religion'.

A mund seldom comprises more than three residential units with one hut consecrated as a temple and one large circular pen for their buffaloes. Besides, there is generally one small hut attached to the mund in which the calves they breed are kept separate from their dams. This hut resembles that of the residential one.

Buffalo pen

This is known as "Undi" or "Tuel" situated in the vicinity of the mund. It is a circular enclosure surrounded by a loose stone wall to a height of three or four feet with a single entrance for keeping the buffaloes at night. The pen has no covering above and offers no protection or shelter. The floor is covered with the accumulation of their own droppings. During summer, flies breed in it in large numbers.

Temple

There is always a place set apart within each of the mund, to which the Todas attach a sacred feeling and would not allow any one to go near it. In most cases, there exists a hut similar to other living huts.

The hut is used as a dwelling by the *Poojari*. It is situated at some small distance from the habitations. It is entirely surrounded by a low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes. It is reported that a similar custom or rule exists among Kaffirs of South Africa.

Most of the munds have two streams closeby. One is reserved exclusively for the use of the sacred buffaloes and the other for household purposes. In some munds where only one stream can be found close-by, two points always exist for taking water. The one up-stream is intended for the use of sacred buffaloes and the one lower down intended for household purposes. In the Kundhikad Mund, for example, such an arrangement still exists. The idea behind setting apart different water points for the sacred buffaloes and for the people of the mund is that the water-point used for the sacred buffalo should not be contaminated by the people.

The mund is not provided with bathroom or latrine facilities. No attempt is made to devise proper drainage or the proper disposal of rubbish. Its location has prevented its becoming a slum.

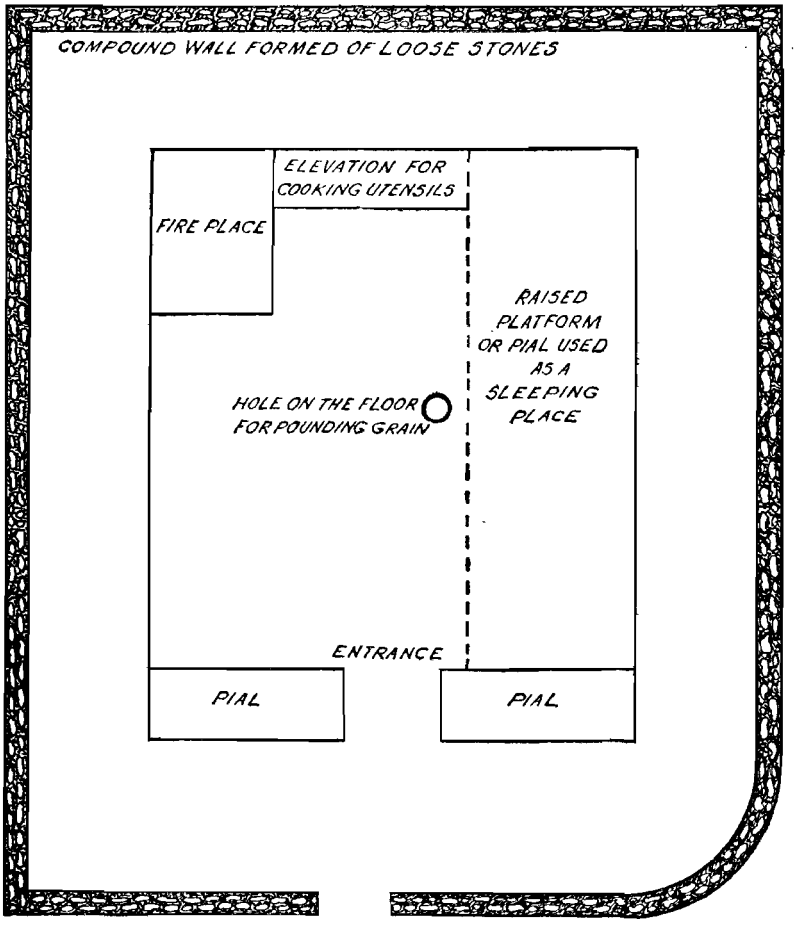
Dwelling hut

A typical Toda hut is of a shape associated during the war with the name of Nissen, bamboo taking the place of corrugated iron. The huts are low and arched with a semi-barrel shape but admirably contrived to keep out rain and cold, the roof and the side walls forming one continuous curve of split bamboos, rattan and thatch, having an end wall strongly built and a front wall with one small opening or door in it, so small indeed that the inhabitants have to crawl on their hands and knees to enter by it. Each hut is generally surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high and includes a space or yard.

The whole hut is about 15 feet in length and 12 feet in breadth. The ends are gables about eleven feet in height from the ground to the ridge of the roof having slightly rounded points. The sides are not more than three feet high. The little door at one end is two feet in height by one foot broad.

The front and back walls are composed of roughly planed blocks of wood. Gaps in-between the planks are plastered with clay and buffalo dung. They are erected with a foundation to a depth of 1½ to 2 feet.

Wooden poles are placed over these end walls to serve as the beam of the structure. Split bamboos or



Ground plan of a Dwelling hut

odai sticks are closely laid together and are fastened with rattan to a thickness of half to one foot. Such a substantially built frame is said to last for fifteen to twenty years.

The roof is made of reeds and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and strong plant attaining a height of about six feet, growing on hills. The sides are covered in by the pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. Roofing needs renewal every five years.

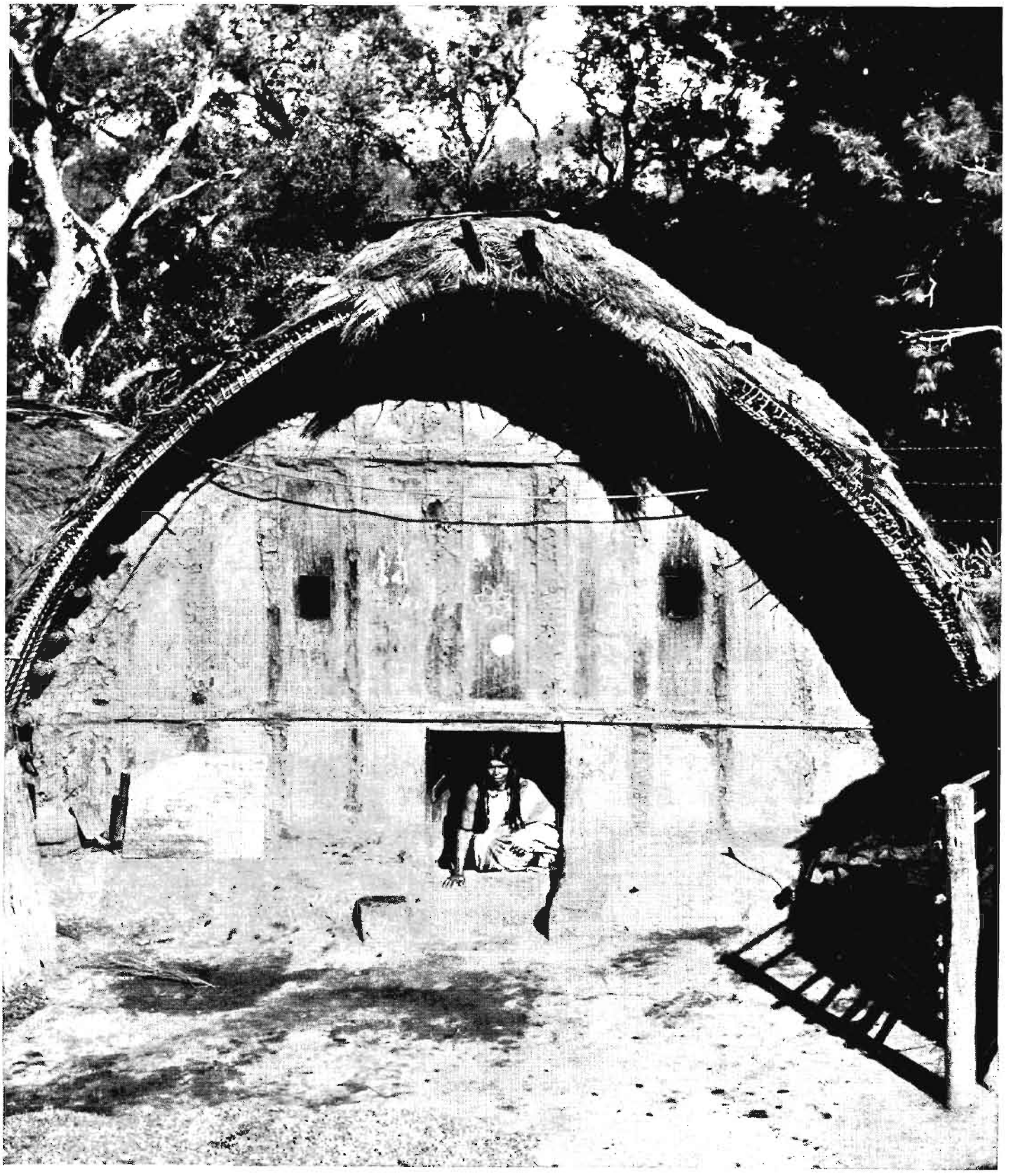
The floor is hardened by a mixture of clay and buffalo dung. Once or twice a week, the floor is sprayed with diluted buffalo dung.

All the housing materials are available in the near-by sholas. The labour is supplied by the household members. Transportation may at times involve a little expenditure. As such, the cost of the hut is negligible. The inside of a hut is sufficiently high in the middle to admit a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the hut faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and sometimes a hatchet.

Except the entrance which is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, there are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress and exgress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The absence of provision for ventilation or for the escape of smoke does not seem to affect the Toda adversely, as the greater portion of his time is spent in the open air. As the Todas are primitive folk, living in an elevated climate, they might have had to fear from cold than from heat. So, they might have originally taken much pain to design such a type of hut which could exclude every particle of external air from their dwellings and is well adopted for comfort.

The first attempt to go in for a change in the mode of construction was made only in the year 1941. One of the Todas constructed a pucca building in his Toda patta land. Under the rules, the Todas could erect only munds and temples of the traditional types on their patta lands. However, as the building was constructed, no action was taken against him. In 1943 another house was constructed. In 1947, six Toda converts of Toda colony at Ketty village constructed pucca dwelling houses. As cases of such construction came to notice frequently, the question of revising the rules to permit such construction was taken up in the year 1948.

The traditional type of houses was found to be in the midst of very unhealthy conditions. There was no provision for ventilation and the hut had only one very small entrance. The floor space was very limited.



ENTRANCE

" The opening or door in the front wall is of such small dimension that to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance can be effected ".



FIREPLACE

" On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the hut, faggots of firewood are seen piled up and secured in their place by loops of rattan ".



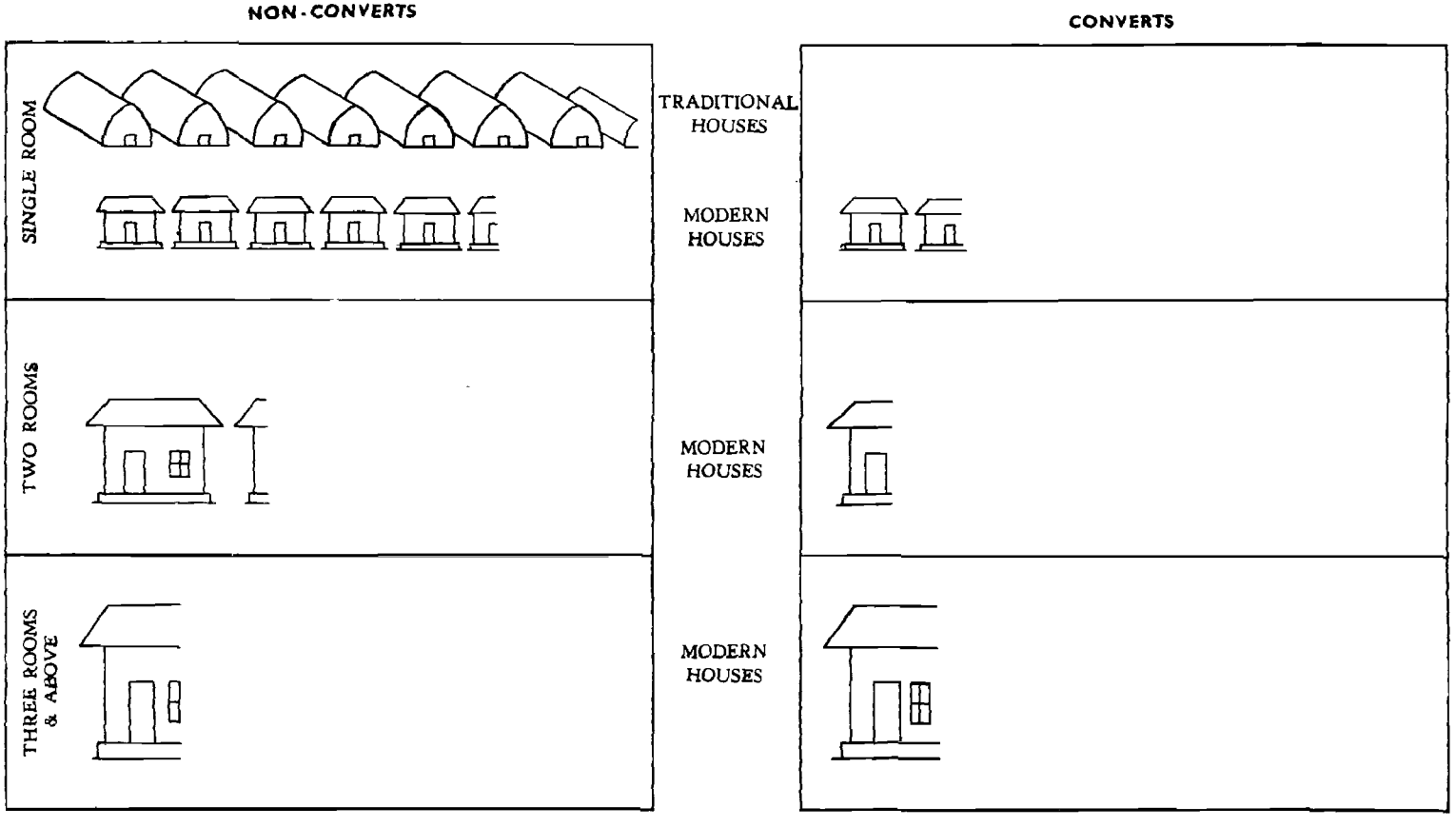
TODAS TO THEIR BED.

"On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2′ high. This platform is used as a sleeping place".

TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSES OCCUPIED BY TODAS ON 15TH MAY 1960

BY RELIGION TYPE OF HOUSE AND NUMBER OF DWELLING ROOMS

(ONE FIGURE REPRESENTS 10 HOUSES)



If, under these circumstances, some of the Todas had of their own accord built pucca houses, the Government considered it unfair to stand in their way. So they encouraged the building of substantial houses by amending rule 3 of the rules governing Toda patta lands so as to permit them to construct pucca houses on their lands.

Subsequently, Government started giving financial assistance to the extent of Rs. 1,000/- per family for constructing tiled houses, Rs. 700 - being subsidy and Rs. 300/- being interest free loan. The design of the houses is supplied by the Government.

The survey indicates the existence of 71 traditional types of huts and 69 modern types of houses among the non-converts. All the converts have given up the traditional huts. The presence of a modern house in a mund has an oddly jarring effect and one feels that some virtue has indeed gone from the Toda if he abandons the huts of his ancestors.

The following table indicates the distribution of dwellings classified by the number of rooms and provision for ventilation.

Total number of houses occupied by Todas on 15-5-1960

(By Religion, type of house, number of Dwelling Rooms and number of Windows)

Number of Dwelling Rooms	Number of Windows	Non-converts		Converts	
		Traditional Houses	Modern Houses	Traditional Houses	Modern Houses
One room	All cases	71	53	...	18
	No window	59	10	...	...
	1 window	10	37	...	16
	2 windows	2	6	...	2
	3 & above	...	...	...	...
Two rooms	All cases	...	11	...	4
	No window	...	...	...	...
	1 window	...	1	...	...
	2 windows	...	9	...	3
	3 & above	...	1	...	1
Three rooms and above	All cases	...	5	...	6
	No window	...	...	...	...
	1 window	...	...	...	...
	2 windows	...	3	...	1
	3 & above	...	2	...	5

The absence of provision for ventilation in the traditional types of huts is clearly indicated by the table with 59 out of 71 huts without any window. It may be true that the Todas are not affected adversely as they spend most of their day time outside the hut. Still some provision should be made to admit sunlight within the hut. In this connection, it would be more appropriate to refer an opinion that weak mindedness and lack of self-help in the Nilgiris Hill Tribes (Todas) is due, as in the case of dwellers in the Swiss valleys, to their not having enough of sun light and their dwelling in dark places.

Another noteworthy feature is the absence of Chimney both in the traditional and modern types of houses. At least in the hut, the smoke escapes through the crevice. But it gives lot of inconvenience in the pucca house.

It will also be noticed from the table that all the traditional types of houses are single roomed. Out of the 97 pucca houses, 71 or nearly 73% are single roomed, 15 or 16% are double roomed and 11 or 11% are three roomed. The number of persons living in the various categories are presented in the following table.

Total Number of Houses Occupied by Todas on 15 5-1960

(By Religion, Size of Household and number of Dwelling Rooms)

RELIGION / No. of occupants in the house / No. of dwelling rooms in the house	NON-CONVERTS					CONVERTS				
	All cases	1-3	4-6	7-9	10 and above	All cases	1-3	4-6	7-9	10 and above
All cases	140	47	77	14	2	28	10	8	6	4
One room	124	44	66	12	2	18	9	4	4	1
Two rooms	11	2	8	1	...	4	...	...	2	2
3 & above	5	1	3	1	...	6	1	4	...	1

It will be observed that on an average four to five people live in a single roomed house. Nearly one third of the house is occupied by household belongings. An epidemic has therefore a very good chance to spread. In fact, in 1927 Dr. Pandit found that the epidemics of influenza and relapsing fever carried away a large number of the people during 1923-24. About 60% of the people were attacked by relapsing fever of whom more than a fourth died. He observed that crowding and the lousy conditions of the Todas, who by the way are not over clean in their personal habits, were chiefly responsible for this high incidence.

The materials used in the construction of houses are brought out by the following statement.

Total Number of Houses Occupied by Todas on 15. 5. 1960

(By Religion, Type of Roof and Type of Wall)

RELIGION / Type of Roof / Type of Wall	NON-CONVERTS				CONVERTS			
	All cases	Tiled	Thatched	Zinc Sheets	All cases	Tiled	Thatched	Zinc Sheets
All cases	140	51	77	12	28	21	...	7
Stone	21	13	8	...	1	1	...	...
Brick	45	33	1	11	27	20	...	7
Wood	71	5	66	...	...	...	...	...
Mud	3	...	2	1	...	...	...	...

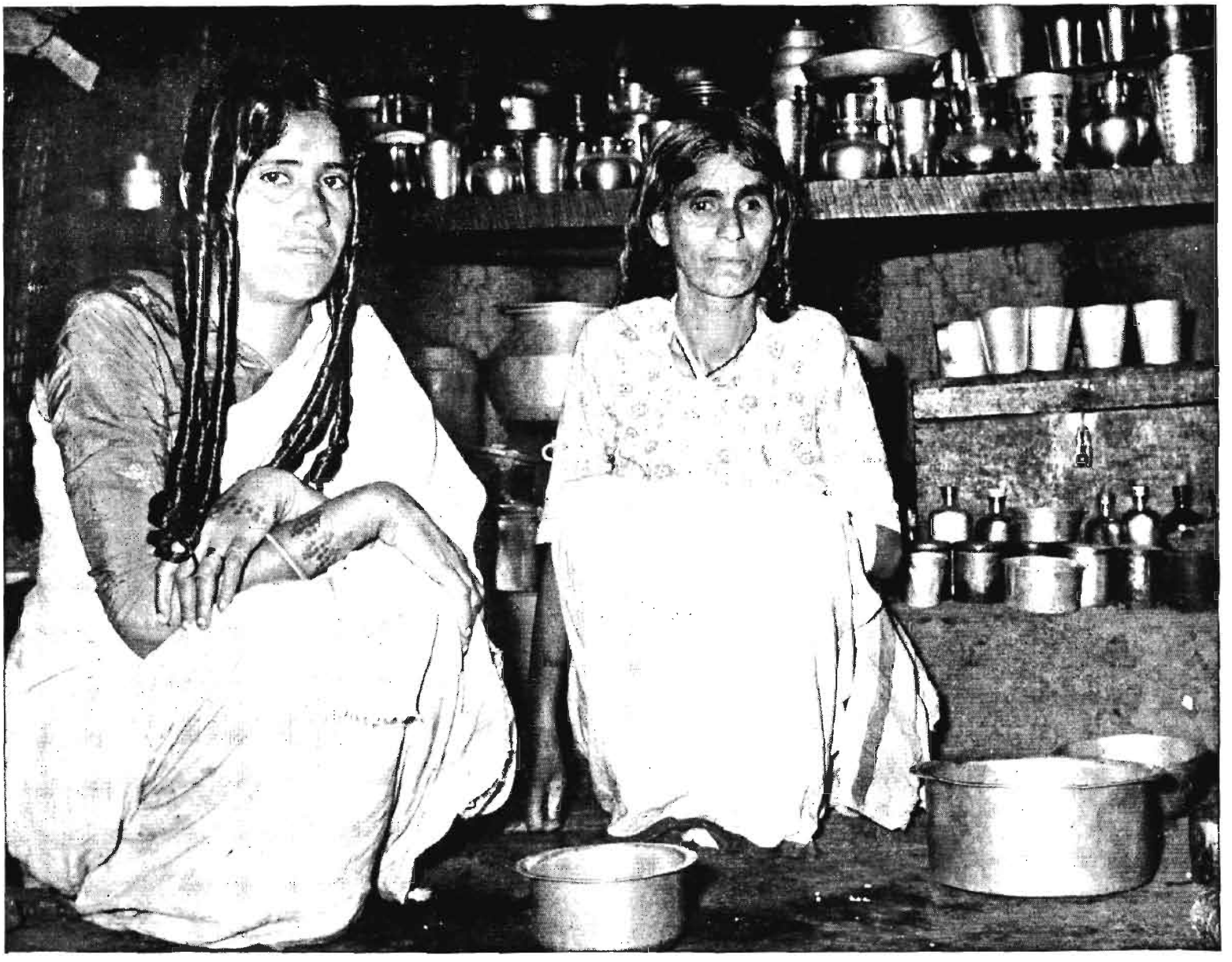
It is obvious from the above statement that almost all the converts construct their houses with brick wall. A handful few prefer zinc sheets as roof material, but the others use tiles.

Among non-converts, wood and thatch occupy the chief place. These are the cheapest materials afforded by the nature to keep them warm in the chilly climate of the region occupied by them. Brick wall with tiled roofing assumes next in importance. This type of house represents the outcome of state help in affording the financial assistance referred to earlier. It is also said that the change-over from old to new type of construction has taken place because they could not get the grass and the cane required for roofing traditional types of houses.



DWELLING HUTS — OLD AND NEW

" The presence of modern house in a mund has an oddly jarring effect and one feels that some virtue has indeed gone from the Toda if he abandons the huts of his ancestors ".



HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

" All types of vessels that are moderately cheap and easily available in the market have gained favour with the Todas ".

CHAPTER VII

MATERIAL CULTURE AND DOMESTIC LIFE

The inhabitants of a mund are generally related to one another, and consider themselves one family. Each mund consists of one to three households of close relatives on the paternal side, such as married brothers, married sons, widowed or unmarried sisters and daughters, *poojaris* of the temple and full time employees, if any. Each of the household in the mund has got its own hut and own mess, *poojari* being a separate household, the place of his abode being the temple of the mund. Each householder in the mund has also his own cattle, which he can dispose of absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mund herd graze together, tended generally by the male members, who milk them morning and evening.

Each household has a recognised head. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. The inheritance goes in the male line, not in the female. A person's father is held to be the man who presented his mother with the bow and arrow in the seventh month of her pregnancy. Women do not inherit except what is given as dowry. The father's wishes determine, to some extent, the distribution of the estate.

Status of women

In former days, the woman was exempt from household cares and duties. She was served by the men, whose duty it was to prepare and cook the victuals, and it was also her privilege to be carried on the shoulders of her husbands when she made visits or journeys. She selected whom she pleased of the family as her companion at bed and board and this freedom of choice produced no interruption of domestic harmony. It was necessary that all the men of a family should agree in the choice of a wife, and if there was a dissentient voice amongst brethren when a woman was submitted for their approbation, she was forthwith sent back to her relations.

The unlimited privileges of women to claim exemption from household duties, and to be carried on the shoulders of husband etc., might be the result of the problem posed by the low sex ratio. Now the position has changed and women do not enjoy such undue advantages. They do cooking and all the household duties and are not carried on the shoulders. Their right to choose a man of one's choice for bed and board still continues and is discussed in detail under their marital custom. They are, however, not permitted to participate in any of the religious functions. Even in social gatherings and community life, women have practically no part. They are mostly excluded. But in family life, especially on marriages and divorces, they have the deciding role.

Personal habits

Both males and females appear to have antipathy to bathing. They bathe only once or twice a week. They have a practice of anointing their bodies with ghee which they rub on their arms, chest, and head ; and as this substance soon becomes rancid, the odour on approaching them is anything but agreeable.

Their dresses are unkempt and huts unclean. Once a week or so, floors are cleaned by sprinkling diluted buffalo dung. But no attempt is made to clean the buffalo pen. Even the buffalo dung is not removed, making the Toda mund a happy hunting ground of flies. They, however, keep their household utensils clean.

Vessels

The Todas were in the habit of using bronze plates which are very heavy. Now-a-days, all types of vessels that are moderately cheap and easily available in the market have gained favour with the todas. It is a good and healthy practice among them not to use other's vessels. In fact, vessels used by a particular person is burnt along with his corpse. Bamboo vessels are used for milking, churning etc. A reference to the legend on page 10 would indicate the story behind this custom of using bamboo for milk vessels.

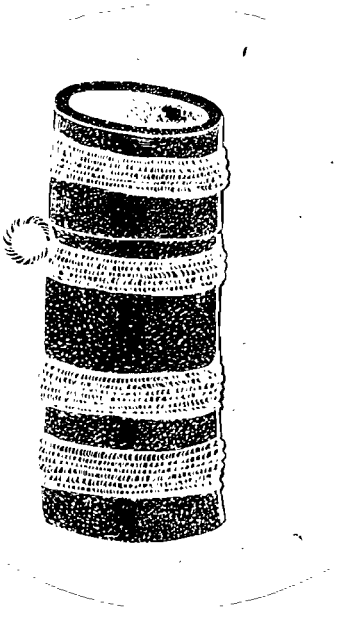
Being a pastoral tribe and strict vegetarians, Todas had no occasion to use any kind of weapon except axes.

Fire

Fire is, in these advanced days, obtained by the Todas in their dwelling huts for domestic purposes from matches. But within the precincts of the dairy temple or for religious or ceremonial purposes, the use of matches is forbidden. In such cases fire is kindled with the aid of two dry sticks called *kiaz*. Of these, one, terminating in a blunt convex extremity, is about two



Milk Vessels and churning equipment



"Phenn" the jug made of bamboo for milking

"Pursh, En's daughter, went to the other world to ask for the golden milk-vessels and churn, which she had left; but En said, you left them here, and I will not give them back; use bamboos for milk vessels, and make a churn with five branches like the cauli flower, and do not come here any more." (page 10)

feet long ; the other, with a hemispherical cavity scooped out close to one end, is about three inches in length. A little nick or slot is cut on the edge of the shorter stick, and connected with the hole in which the spindle stick is made to revolve. In this slot the dust collects, and, remaining in an undisturbed heap, seemingly acts as a muffle to retain the friction-heat until it reaches a sufficiently high temperature, when the wood-powder becomes incandescent. Into the cavity in the short stick the end of the longer stick fits, so as to allow of easy play. The smaller stick is placed on the ground, and held tight by firm pressure of the great toe. The larger stick is then twisted vigorously between the palms of the hands turn and turn about, until it begins to glow.

Food habits

The todas are pure vegetarians. Their diet consists mainly of milk in its natural form or its products and also different millets and cereals.

It is said that formerly they lived exclusively on the milk of the buffalo, honey and with such roots, herbs and fruits produced on the hills ; but now they purchase rice, wheat, dhall and other grains in the bazaar and use them as others do.

Of beverages, besides butter milk, tea and coffee are the chief. Many primitive tribes seem to have known the art of preparing fermented drink which they indulged in on festive occasions. But the Todas are unusual among primitive tribes in that they have no tradition of manufacturing fermented liquor. This did not prevent them taking easily to the products of the liquor shop and though the temperance propaganda of prohibition for hill tribes was successful for a time, it has been frustrated by Todas obtaining drink through members of other communities and having been introduced to the esoteric delights of methylated spirits drinking. Both men and women drink methylated spirits obtained by dubious ways in the bazaar. It is sad to observe that an appreciable amount of loan with an interest ranging from 24 to 36% is obtained just to pay the fine of prohibition offences.

Tobacco is used by both sexes, chiefly in the form of snuff. It is usually rubbed on the gums from time to time. This is probably the cause of the peculiar discoloration of the teeth commonly seen among them. A Toda can always be seen spitting every now and then as a result of this habit.

Food taboo

Todas use the milk without boiling or heating. For the first few days, it is prohibited to milk a buffalo

for household purposes, but is reserved exclusively for feeding the calf. After seventh day or so, it is milked at the temple. This is followed by a milking in the nearest river or stream. Only after observing all these formalities, the buffaloes can be milked for household or commercial purposes.

Priests or temple *poojaris* are prohibited to taste the food prepared in the household. They should prepare their own food. Even in this respect, there are limitations. They can prepare their diet only from rice, jaggery and milk.

It has been indicated at the beginning that the todas are pure vegetarians and flesh is forbidden. But there are reasons to believe that they take a little flesh once in a way.

In his report on Todas written in 1832, Captain Harkness described a religious rite called "Yerrgompts" or sacrifice of a calf. In that, he observed that each and every one of the members who took part in the sacrifice was given a little of the meat from the sacrificed animal and a quantity of newly-made butter. The meat was rolled up in the butter and eaten and the meat was evidently less to gratify the appetite, than to comply with a needful part of the ceremony. But females were never allowed to join in the sacrifice. According to the enquiries made by Breeks, the institution was *mamul* (மாமூல்-traditional). The present enquiries indicate that the practice still continues and once in a year or two, a buffalo calf is sacrificed in a remote place near Mukurthi. But the todas deny that all those assemble take part in eating of the flesh of the sacrificed calf, but say that only the priest tastes a small piece, more as a ritual than for anything else. However, this statement remains to be verified.

Education and Literacy

A few Todas have attended school. They are taught three 'R's in the usual way and the schooling has done them little good.

Education is certainly the best way to help any community reform themselves and get rid of detrimental customs, if any. Bearing this in mind, as early as 1839, the Court of Directors had desired that the Government provide educational facilities for the Todas and in 1846 the first batch of schools were established by the Basel Mission and in 1857 Government schools for the hill tribes of Nilgiris were first opened. Though nearly a century has elapsed, and the Badagas have taken greater advantage of the schools, the Todas in mass are still illiterate. The People who can read and write can literally be counted on the fingers of one's hands. A primary school started by the Mission at Susikandi has to be closed for want of students to attend the classes. Another school started by the Servants of India Society exclusively for the Todas had to be used for all the tribes as the response from the Todas was very poor.

Financial assistance affording scholarship for boarding, clothing, school accessories, etc, exists from 1927. Education concession as given to other scheduled tribes has also been extended to the Todas but none of them takes advantage of it, except the few who have been converted to Christianity.

The extent of literacy among the Todas is exhibited in the following statements:-

Population of Toda Non-Converts as on 15. 5. 1960
(By Sex Age-Group and Literacy)

SEX	MALES						FEMALES					
Age Group \ Educational qualification	All cases	Illiterates	Read & write	I Class to IV Class	V Class to II Form	III Form to V Form	All cases	Illiterates	Read and write	I Class to IV Class	V Class to II Form	III Form to V Form
All cases	322	180	64	48	24	6	290	223	29	30	8	...
0— 4	58	58	...	...	...	...	50	50	...	...	...	...
5— 7	33	25	7	1	...	...	37	33	4	...	...	...
8—12	19	9	2	3	5	...	20	10	1	5	4	...
13—17	10	5	1	1	2	1	13	4	1	6	2	...
18—22	17	3	...	7	5	2	28	14	2	11	1	...
23—27	18	7	5	4	2	...	23	17	5	1	...	...
28—32	22	11	9	2	...	....	34	27	5	2	...	...
33—37	19	7	5	4	1	2	13	11	1	1	...	...
38—42	34	14	11	4	4	1	14	11	2	1	...	...
43—47	17	6	5	4	2	...	16	11	3	1	1	...
48—52	24	8	5	11	...	...	15	11	3	1	...	...
53 & above	51	27	14	7	3	...	27	24	2	1	...	...

Population of Toda Christians as on 15. 5. 1960

(By Sex, Age-Group and Literacy)

SEX	MALES											FEMALES									
Age Group \ Educational qualification	All cases	Illiterates	Read & write	I Class to IV Class	V Class to II Form	III Form to V Form	VI Form	Secondary Grade Trained	PUC or Inter	B.A.	All Cases	Illiterates	I class to IV class	V Class to II Form	III Form to V Form	VI Form	Trained Nurse	Secondary Grade Trained	PUC or Inter	B.Ts.
All cases	87	15	4	12	23	22	3	5	1	2	63	12	11	9	16	6	1	5	2	1
0— 4	12	11	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5— 7	6	3	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8—12	12	...	1	5	6	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
13—17	11	...	...	1	5	5	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	2	5	...	...	...	...	...
18—22	10	...	...	...	2	6	...	...	1	1	19	...	1	1	8	4	...	3	2	...
23—27	11	...	...	...	3	5	2	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
28—32	5	...	...	1	...	2	1	1	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
33—37	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
38—42	4	...	...	...	2	1	...	1	...	...	5	...	1	1	2	...	...	1	...	...
43—47	5	...	...	1	3	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
48—52	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
53 & above	8	...	...	1	2	2	...	2	...	1	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...

It is observed that almost all the Christians above the age of 5 are educated. Even among them, college education is very rare. Generally, they stop with middle school. Some of the Christians are trained school teachers.

The educational standard of non-converts is low. No one has completed the Secondary school. Among the literates, only six per cent have passed the elementary standard. 66% are complete illiterates. The rest are no better than illiterates.

The position among the children of school going age (5-12) is also not satisfactory. Out of 52 male children, only 15 attend the school. Among the females 13 out of 57 children attend the school. Others idle away their time.

Health

The Todas were subject to a variety of diseases; but they manifested the greatest susceptibility to attacks of fever, rheumatism and small-pox.

Since the introduction of vaccination, small-pox has not been so prevalent. The fever from which they suffered in the past was generally of a malarious type, either of the intermittent, remittent or typhoid varieties. They never had any knowledge of medical drugs or of the treatment of disease. Abortions and premature births were of frequent occurrence, and were attributed to the poor, ill-fed and badly clothed conditions of Todas living in munds defective in sanitation, together with early marriages and child-bearing, prolonged lactation and excess of venery resulting from their system of polyandry. Although epidemics are not unknown, the ailment from which the Todas suffer is the venereal disease.

The largest apparent epidemic was in the decade 1911-21 in which occurred the influenza visitation of 1918-19 which worked havoc among the Todas.

During the period 1923-24 when the epidemic of relapsing fever played havoc among the hill tribes of the Nilgiris, there was a heavy mortality among Todas. According to the figures collected by the District Board Health Committee, up to the 31st August 1924;95 deaths from relapsing fever had occurred among them.

Todas are not over-clean in habits or dress. Relapsing fever's heavy toll can be easily understood; a disease of dirt could not fail to work havoc in such a population so housed. Since 1925, no epidemic has operated on todas.

Dr. S. R. Pandit, Assistant Surgeon, King Institute Guindy, who was incharge of the Medical unit deputed in 1927 to examine the causes of decay of the todas, made a detailed investigation and observed as follows:-

"Fifty specimens of stools were examined for ova, with the following results :-

Ankylostome ova were present in 3, i. e. 6 per cent

Round-worm ova were present in 30, i.e. 60 per cent

Whip-worm ova were present in 15, i. e. 30 per cent

Ova of any kind absent in 14, i. e. 28 per cent

The specimens were collected from todas in and around Ootacamund and of the three positives, only one showed a heavy infection. Hook-worm infection is therefore rare. Its incidence may be higher in certain places which are at a lower altitude. But even there it may not be very much higher, as the todas are confined to the plateau, and hook-worm infection is said to be very rare above an altitude of 4,000 feet.

Malaria

Malaria may be said to be absent on the plateau; twelve people with enlarged spleens and a history of previous attacks of fever, whom I examined, had caught the infection in the valley of the Bhavani river or at Masinigudi, where business had taken them. Of the twelve, three were positive microscopically, the parasites of benign tertian being found in two and malignant tertian in the third. In the remaining nine no parasites were found.

Smallpox and vaccination

About 81% of the people are protected by vaccination and few had an attack of smallpox. The Todas practise voluntary segregation when a case of smallpox occurs. The patient is segregated in a hut and is attended on by people who have had a previous attack of the disease. The only other disease in which isolation is practised is plague.

Other non-venereal disease

There is one leper in the community. Tuberculosis is rare. There was not a single case of deficiency disease"

Venereal disease

Venereal disease was met with in the latter half of 19th century. This appears to be the result of the todas' contact with other castes and tribes that have migrated to the Nilgiris. No less a person than J. Shortt, an European, member of licentiate of midwifery of the Royal College of Surgeons England, and Surgeon of His Majesty's (Madras) Medical Service, observed in 1868 as follows:-

"Most of their women have been debauched by Europeans, who, it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were at one time perfect strangers, and which, as they have no means of curing, is slowly, but no less surely, sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combindly are becoming more and more apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which at the present day these tribes generally present."

Eventhough it may be argued that their traditional and peculiar social customs of pre-puberty intercourse, considerable promiscuity of men and women irrespective of clan and divisional barriers, the prevalence of official lovers extra to the regular husband, and of concubinism in addition to the wife by nearly every adult Toda of both divisions etc., should not be looked upon as detrimental in themselves, they have however become so owing to the presence of venereal diseases, which they naturally tend to spread, often with alarming rapidity. Were it not for their excellent milk diet and the robust physique which these people have inherited from their ancestors, they would certainly be far worst off than they actually are to-day.

Medical investigation of 1927 revealed that:-

"Syphilis is very common. All the stages of the disease were met with, chancres and condylomata being perhaps the commonest. Syphilitic affections of the palate, throat and nose were fairly common, but nerve syphilis was rare. Specimens of blood from 465 individuals were sent to the King Institute for the Wassermann Reaction with the following results:-

Positive,	226	or 49 per cent of the total
Negative,	235	
	461	

Three specimens were anti-complementary and in the fourth the serum was insufficient for the test.

The positives were thus classified:-

Strong positive	49
Moderate positive	84
Weak positive	93
	226

In most cases the results confirmed the diagnosis of syphilis arrived at by clinical evidence.

Gonorrhoea:- One hundred and sixty-five adult males were examined for discharge after massage of the urethra. Eighty-eight of them (53 per cent) either gave a history of having had gonorrhoea, or had a discharge on examination, or both. Of the 88;65 had a discharge, and on microscopic examination the gonococcus was found in 55.

Women were not examined for gonorrhoea. Of the women seen, some gave a history of gonorrhoea, but generally they were silent and it is not possible to say to what extent they suffer. But it may be presumed that they suffer to the same extent as the men. Nearly 20 percent of the women are sterile and gonorrhoea is certainly partly responsible for this high rate and for the low rate of fertility. Venereal disease, both gonorrhoea and syphilis, and possibly the custom of pre-puberty intercourse are chiefly responsible for the low rate of fertility.

It is not possible to say how long syphilis and gonorrhoea have existed among the Todas. A few of the older men who were asked the question, informed that the diseases had been unknown among them and had been introduced after the Nilgiris were occupied and became a popular health resort. Though their statement cannot be absolutely relied upon, one cannot help thinking that if the diseases had been in existence for any length of time—say, four or five centuries—the todas would have become extinct by now as conditions have been so very favourable for the spread of the diseases."

In October 1957, 330 specimens of Todas blood were tested by the Mobile Medical Unit with a limited scope of finding out the symptoms of syphilis. No blood was taken from Todas below 12 years of age and no special symptoms looked for except to test whether it was positive or not. On the whole 176 cases were found to be positive. The sex and age break up for these 176 cases were tabulated as follows:

Completed age of the patient	Males	Females	Total
13—17	2	4	6
18—22	8	13	21
23—27	9	8	17
28—32	17	20	37
33—37	12	10	22
38—42	14	10	24
43—47	4	6	10
48—52	5	2	7
53 and above	18	14	32
TOTAL	89	87	176

A scheme did exist in 1927 affording medical treatment to the Todas, especially for venereal diseases. It lasted until 1934 and was found to be very useful. It was however discontinued for lack of funds.

Miss Ling of Church of England Zenana Mission did a lot for the Todas in this respect, but as the attendance was then tied up with the preaching of the Christian religion, they did not come to look upon it as an unmixed blessing.

A Mobile Medical Unit was established in the middle of 1952 and is still operating, fully equipped for purposes of treatment of venereal diseases, malaria and other ailments common to hill folk for the treatment of all sections of the population in general and Todas in particular.

The incidence of venereal disease resulted in low fertility, frequent barrenness and high infantile mortality. The position has however improved as a result of the introduction of Mobile Medical Unit. A detailed information on fertility and sterility was collected and the results are presented along with the discussion on population trend. It will be seen therefrom that nearly 28% of ever married women are sterile. Among the fertile women, the loss of life during pregnancy, labour, the first year of life etc., is indicated below:

Differential wastage of conception among non-convert Toda women

Result of conceptions	Absolute figures	Percentage
Abortions	49	9.3
Still births	33	6.3
Died within one month	22	4.2
Died between one and six months	16	3.1
Died between six months and one year	14	2.7
Surviving after one year	391	74.4
Total number of conceptions	525	100.0

Thus, one out of four conceptions result either in abortion, still birth or infantile mortality. Such deaths may be due to inherited or infectiuous syphilis and gonorrhoea, as well as to enteric and other intestinal trouble.

CHAPTER VIII

TRIBAL HIERARCHY

Captain Henry Harkness, the pioneer in describing what he considered a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills, wrote in 1832 that the todas were divided into two branches or what might be considered two grand families. One was reported as Peikis or Terallis who were competent to hold all sacred offices; the other Kutas or Tardas who were competent only to hold minor ones within their own particular families, and who might be considered as the lay class.

Harkness also wrote that "Till within the last few generations, these two branches kept themselves quiet distinct and never intermarried; but since that period, intermarriages have taken place, and the progeny of these are called -Mookhs- a general term for children or descendants".

Metz (1864) and J. Shortt (1868) refer to five distinct classes of todas, known by the name Peiky, Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna and Tody; of which the first was reported as the most aristocratic. According to Metz, these classes did not intermarry with each other, and was therefore considered not to lose their distinctive characteristics.

In 1873, Breeks classified todas into two classes, viz :—

(1) Devalyal and
(2) Tarserzhal

According to him, " the first consists of the Peiki clan, corresponding in some respects to Brahmans. The second, of the four remaining clans, the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna and Tody.

The Peikis eat apart; and a Peiki woman may not go to a village of Tarserzhal; although the women of the latter may visit Peikis.

The Peikis are not, however, like the Brahmans, recognised as superiors. On the contrary the other clans say " Are they not our servants ?"

Peiki women are called Kotti, those of the other clans Panni "

Rivers (1906) feels that these five divisions were recognised by Badagas. He believes that eventhough the todas were perfectly acquainted with these divisions, they were not in use among themselves. Rivers located 18 clans.

Whatever be the contradictions about the number of clans, the opinion is undivided about the existence of the two primary divisions which are now known as Tharthazoll and Thevelioll. These divisions form two endogamous groups, each of which is again divided into a number of exogamous sects or clans like the 'Gothras' of other Indian communities.

Eventhough the two divisions are endogamous, their social custom permits a Tharthazoll to have a concubine in Thevelioll Division or vice versa. The only restriction is that they could not perform the Bow and Arrow ceremony. This implies that a man might be the real father of a child, but if he belongs to a division different from that of the mother, he can neither become the legal father of the child nor the legal husband of the mother. It may be apparent from Harkness account quoted in para 2 at the beginning of this chapter that this arrangement gained favour with the Todas only in the latter half of 18th century. As a token of such practice, the lover should present a Poothukuli, the traditional garment of todas to his concubine. This presentation should be repeated annually so long as they are in union.

Both the Divisions claim themselves to be superior to each other. Probably a serious disparity between them existed in the past. For instance, as Grigg points out in his Manual (p-187), the Theveliolls might have derived their name from the sacred office, *Deva* of Sanskrit origin and the word Tharthazoll might have '*Dasan*' as its origin, signifying that they were servants or slaves. Eventhough their day to day social and economic life does not suggest such a wide disparity at present, one can not completely rule it out as impossible in the unknown past, for, as indicated at the beginning, early authors invariably refer Peikis or Devalyas as equivalent to the Brahmins. Besides, the strict enforcement of 'no marriage' between the two divisions might be the result of the social prestige, whereas the recognisition of concubinism is a practical solution to

overcome the social snag. Such a system was in vogue among the Nambuthiris and Nayars of Kerala.

At present there appears to be little restriction on social intercourse between the two divisions except the restriction of a Thevelioll woman, to visit Tharthazoll. The restriction is said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Thevelioll woman, on a visit at a Tharthazoll mund, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her Poothukuli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tharthazolls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Thevelioll women. Whether there is any truth behind this or whether the so-called superiority of Thevelioll forced their women to consider it below their dignity to visit a Tharthozoll mund, remains to be investigated.

As on 15—5—1960, the reference date for the present survey, there were 580 Tharthazolls and 180 Theveliolls, out of which converts to Christianity were 148 and 2 respectively. Considering the general trend of conversion in South India, one will notice that the major portion of conversion took place among low castes or it took place among such of those sub sects within a community who were treated as inferiors within that community. If we view the position of todas with this background it is clear that the Tharthazoll might have been considered as inferiors. This argument supports the view held by the previous authors that Tharthazoll might be considered as a lay class. But Rivers takes a different view and suggests that Tharthazolls were superior to Theveliolls. His arguments were founded on the fact that "Ti", the most important sacred dairy institution of the Todas, which has gone out of existence, belonged to the Tharthazoll; that the Thevelioll used certain words as names of objects which were not used by the Tharthazoll; that if Tharthazoll's buffaloes go to a Thevelioll's village, they are prohibited either to milk them or use their milk or milk products; that eventhough there are a large number of ceremonies in which both the divisions work for the other on equal terms, the duties being thoroughly reciprocal, there were some ceremonies in which the Thevelioll had definite duties to perform at a Tharthazoll's funeral, which were not reciprocated.

Besides, Rivers brought out another interesting difference between the two divisions by finding out that the preponderance of males was greater among Thevelioll than among the Tharthazoll, the number of males for every 100 females being 259 and 159.7 respectively at one point of time and 171 and 129.2 at a latter stage. These figures almost meant that female infanticide was more in vogue among the Thevelioll and was practised by them to a greater extent than by Tharthazoll. The present indication is quite different as the corresponding sex ratios remain at 117 and 119 respectively. This would seem to show the absence of female infanticide in both the divisions.

To distinguish between a toda and a non-toda, todas called themselves as Oll (ஆள்) and the non-todas as 'Pedar' (பேடர்—a Coward). The suffix 'Oll' to each of the divisions of their social organisation is the result of such differentiation.

It has been indicated at the beginning that the two primary divisions of Tharthazoll and Thevelioll form two endogamous groups, and each is again sub-divided into a number of exogamous sects or clans like the Gothras of other Indian communities. There is a practical difficulty in making a detailed study about each clan due to lack of historical evidence or background about each clan. At the first instance, the existence of several clans was not observed by early authors like Harkness,' consequent of which they did not pay much attention to this aspect. Secondly different Todas give different versions.

It appears that originally the clan system might have been constituted as a social unit by forming all the munds consisting of agnates as separate entities. Each such group recognises one of its munds as a chief mund, which is termed as "Etud mund" and all the other munds within the group are known as "Keen mund". Munds which are now recognised as Etud Munds and the clans they represent are indicated below:

Primary Division	Chief Munds or Etud Munds		Corresponding clan	
Tharthazoll	Muthunadu	Mund	Norsh	Oll
	Kandal	Mund	Karsh	Oll
	Tharnad	Mund	Tharadr	Oll
	Manjakkal or Garden	Mund	Melgrash	Oll
	Kannagai	Mund	Kerrodr	Oll
	Kodathuni or Kodanad	Mund	Pirgot	Oll (I)
	Nedi	Mund	Nedi or Neare	Oll
	Bettu	Mund	Inikkithi or Pam	Oll
	Bikbathi	Mund	Kerheir	Oll
	Onne or Korakundha	Mund	Medr	Oll
Thevelioll	Kundhikodu	Mund	Kiote	Oll
	Emmikal or Amgarsh	Mund	Amgarsh	Oll
	Karigadu	Mund	Mathikedr	Oll
	Orukudu or Pear	Mund	Peet	Oll
	Kollam or Konigore	Mund	Konigore or Kollam	Oll
	Bedugal or Kodanad	Mund	Pirgot	Oll (II)

In the words of Marshall, "Etud mund should be, as the meaning implies, great munds and their dairies should be held in more reverence, and be guarded with more care than those of ordinary villages. In a general way, they appear to be somewhat larger than usual. One can see that their droves of cattle are of more than common size. These 'great' Munds are used for the purpose of considering matters of weight concerning a large circle of families.

That an Etud mund should have larger herds of cattle than ordinary mund may be accounted for by the practice of the people to give cattle in fulfilment of a vow; that if so and so occurs—a son is born, for instance—the gift of a cow or calf will be made to the dairy"

The earlier reports were not consistent about the number of such Etud munds or clans. For instance, Harkness refers to two divisions. Probably he had no opportunity to learn about the existence of clan system within the two primary divisions of Tharthazoll and Thevelioll. The five divisions referred to by most of the authors and mentioned at the beginning might be the ancient divisions.

Etud munds do not appear to be hereditary emblems of a clan. If the Etud mund of a particular clan disappears for some reason or other or is rarely visited there is a tendency to name the clan after another chief village in use. It also appears to have happened that instead of a single group, two or more sub-groups sprang up within a group, leading to more clans. In all its probability Melgarsh Oll, Tharadr Oll, Norsh Oll and Thevelioll can be identified with the five old divisions of Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, Tody and Peiki respectively. All the other sub-sects appear to have originated from these five divisions. The following statement indicates that out of the existing sixteen clans, these five clans are very prominent even now.

Population of Todas as on 15-5-1960

(By Sex and Clan)

Primary Division	Sub-sect or Clan		Males	Females	Total
Tharthazoll	Inikithi or pam	Oll	6	9	15
	Karsh	,,	87	70	157
	Kerheir	,,	9	6	15
	Kerrodr	,,	13	16	29
	Medr	,,	19	14	33
	Melgarsh	,,	49	42	91
	Nedhi or Neare	,,	17	14	31
	Norsh	,,	47	47	94
	Pirgot	,, (I)	21	19	40
	Tharadr	,,	43	32	75
Thevelioll	Amgarsh	,,	13	15	28
	Kiote	,,	40	29	69
	Konigore or Kollam	,,	1	...	1
	Marthikedr	,,	11	13	24
	Pett	,,	25	21	46
	Pirgot	,, (II)	8	6	14
		Total	**409**	**353**	**762**

Such clanwise distribution of Todas has never been collected in the past except by Rivers.

Population of Todas in 1906
(By Sex and Clan)

(Source : pp. 643–678 'The Todas' by Rivers, 1906)

Primary Division	Sub-sect or Clan reported by Rivers	Corresponding Sub-sect or Clan as it is known at present	Males	Females
Tharthazoll	Pam	Inikithi or Pam	17	13
	Kars	Karsh	67	50
	Kandodrs	Kerheir	13	23
	Keradr	Kerrodr	16	9
	Pan (Medrol)	Medr	27	9
	Melgarsh	Melgarsh	31	20
	Nidrsi	Nedhi or Neare	16	25
	Norsh	Norsh	43	30
	Kwodrdoni	Pirgot I	17	14
	Taradr	Tharadr	37	39
	Kidmadol	These two clans have become extinct	5	3
	Karshol		2	2
Thevelioll	Kuharf	Amgarsh	13	13
	Kuudrol	Kiote	63	35
	Kulhem	Konigore or Kollam	6	3
	Keadr	Marthikedr	11	10
	Piedr	Pett	28	14
	Pedrkars	Pirgot II	7	5

By the number of females, Rivers means such of those females who were born members of the clan. But, as a matter of fact, a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan. So this does not represent the correct position.

Besides, Rivers also admits defects in his figures for his genealogies were untrustworthy as a record of the young children of the community; he omitted a certain number of women and he failed to hear of a certain number of widows, or unmarried women or girls.

However, a broad outline can be drawn by comparing the number of existing males in various clans and those reported by Rivers. Such a comparison indicates that the two clans Kidmadol and Karshol have become extinct and Kollam or Konigore clan is almost at the point of extinction. The strength of Amgarsh Oll and Marthikedr Oll remains constant. There exists a decreasing trend in the strength of Pam Oll, Kerheir Oll, Kerrodr Oll, Medr Oll, Kiote Oll and Pett Oll. The remaining seven clans indicate an increasing trend.

As each of the clans consists of agnates, there is an unknown force binding them together, so that the clan tie has some social significance. But, as the property is largely centred in the family or the individual, there is no economic significance in the clan system.

Now a days, the Etud mund plays a very little role in the social life of Todas. As the chief temples of each clan are situated here, the clan folks gather at the respective Etud munds for social or religious festival. Apart from this, it has no significance.

Once, each of the clans was further sub-divided into two groups called Kudr. This sub-division was of ceremonial importance. If there was any violation of any social custom or religious rite, in token of propitiation or in token of atonement, the members belonging to the kudr which committed the offence or violation were to give certain offerings in the shape of buffaloes. The offering which was given by one Kudr became the property of the members of other kudr. But this system has almost died out.

Another sub-division of a clan, which is quite independent of kudr is Polm (or Pallam). This is an unit, constituted with a view to demand a share for common expenses that have to be incurred for a clan as a whole. Any expenses which the clan may incur as a whole are not equally divided among the individual members of the clan, but are equally divided among the polm. The chief occasion on which such expenses arise is in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy or the chief temple of the clan.

The division of a clan into polm is in existence from time immemorial. But the size of the polm in terms of adult male members or the earning members may not be equal. Thus one polm may have five earning members and another may have only one earning member. According to convention, this one man has to contribute exactly the same amount as the other five, resulting in a heavy strain on small sized polms. To avoid such a contingency, Tharadr Oll allocates the expenses in proportion to the size of the earning members in the various polms. In other clans, the inequality in the size of the polm is equalised by lending some of the earning members from one polm to another which is too small. The redistribution is decided by the members of the clan itself.

The Social Organisation which has more practical significance and plays an important role among Todas is the Caste Panchayat. It is constituted to consider problems that may be of a common interest for the entire community or concerning two or more families. Such Panchayat is not a permanent body nor does it keep any fund of its own. As soon as the problem is settled it becomes defunct. Still, the verdicts of such Panchayats are respected to a great extent.

Proposal for forming a Panchayat originates from any one who is faced with a problem. He takes the initiative to constitute a Panchayat. Personnel to be included in the Panchayat are decided by common consent. The Panchayat meets anywhere in an open place which is most convenient for the elderly and the most respected persons. The problem is placed before the Panchayat for consideration.

Normally marriage proposals and disputes come before such councils frequently. The offenders are generally penalised by a fine of buffaloes, which will be distributed to the victims.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CUSTOMS AND MANNERS

Marriage and Sex Life

The Todas have always attracted much interest, not only because they are an ancient race whose origin is a matter for investigation, but also because of their peculiar social customs, especially that of their marriage and sex life.

The marriage tie is very loose among Todas. The form of marriage has no religious ceremony nor does it create an ever lasting marriage tie. In fact, the relation of husband and wife is not vital in the concept of a toda family. It is merely cohabitation at will and the position of children in relation to the several husbands is not well defined.

A man may at will or caprice return his wife to her parents, while she in turn may desert her husband at will and consort with another man whom she may prefer without any formal divorce. No marriage law has been enacted, for no matrimonial disputes have ever come before the courts. At the instance of some of the Todas, attempts were initiated by State Government to frame some marriage regulations but did not evoke sufficient response. This point has been discussed in detail in the chapter on 'Tribal Welfare'. At present marriage disputes are settled by Caste Panchayats, which ordinarily consist of not less than four elders.

Among the Todas, marriages are contracted in a style to which, for simplicity and the absence of ceremony, it is difficult to find a parallel elsewhere. There are too many peculiarities which are best illustrated by a summary of a marriage dispute, described by Captain Henry Harkness in his book entitled "A Description of a singular aboriginal race inhabiting the summit of the Nilgiris". The summary runs in the form of a narration by an aggrieved Toda named Pinpurz Kutan. The summary is reproduced below to serve as a case study made in 1832.

The History of Pinpurz Kutan

" I was not seven years old, when my father, taking a child's garment, in value about a quarter of a rupee, and selecting one of the best of our herd, desired me to accompany him to the morrt (i.e) Mund of Kinori. This Kinori had, a month or two before, a daughter born to him. Soon after we had arrived at the morrt, it being understood that Kinori gladly consented to the propositions which had been made by my father, I was directed to bow myself down, and in the presence of the whole family to ask his foot. This I did; and touching it with my forehead, the buffalo and the garment were presented to him, and I was considered to be affianced to his daughter. We remained there for some days, during which period it was agreed upon, what number of kine I was to receive in dower, on my intended spouse coming of age, and we again set out to return to our own morrt. I had no brothers, or they also would have been affianced to my intended, as this was part of the agreement, in case of my father having any more sons born to him. In this case Kinori's daughter would have been wife to us in succession as we arrived at manhood, and we should have formed one united family, the supreme authority, however, still resting with me. The next year, my father presented to my intended bride, a garment, double in value to the first, which he had presented, and in each succeeding year, one proportionately increasing in value. We also sacrificed a buffalo, and presented a kutch* on every occasion of a death among any of the relations of my intended's family, and one also at their obsequies. In case of any accident of the kind in our family we expected the presenting of the kutch, from which my bride's father was exempted on account of the dower he had to give with her, which would greatly exceed in amount any expense which I could be to my father. My father died, and when I had attained man's estate, I was not pleased with my betrothed; and presenting her father with three kine, the contract was by mutual consent dissolved. Had the reverse been the case, and the bride or her father had declined to allow of consummation, I could have claimed of the latter a fine equal to fifty kine; and till this fine was paid, the former could not marry any other. Freed from my contract with my first bride, I sought to affiance myself in a manner more to my own inclinations, and wishing to be connected with the family of my present wife, Pilluvani, who was then only six years of age, I spoke to her father, and obtaining his consent, presented her

* A part of their raiment, generally, at present, a piece of dyed or printed cotton.



TILL DEATH DO US PART

A Toda couple pose in their native surroundings.

a garment in value, according to her age, of about a rupee and a half*, and a milch buffalo. I continued to present her with a garment every succeeding year; and on the occurrence of a death among any of the relations of her family, and at the obsequies, I always sacrificed a buffalo, and presented the kutch. Pilluvani was afterwards betrothed to two others, Khakhood, and Tumbut. When she had arrived at a certain age, and had for eight days been living with one of her female friends in a dwelling separate from those of the family, intimation was sent to me, and I went to her father's morrt, that is, Kerjwan's, her second father, the first one being dead. I was feasted and bedded; and after a few days, Kerjwan laying on his hands gave us his blessing, and I returned with my wife to my own morrt, receiving with her in dower, four buffalo kine: her father also presented to her on this occasion, a pair of ear-rings, a pair of armlets, a necklace, a brazen salver, and five rupees.

Now, according to our customs, Pilluvani was to pass the first month with me, the second with Khakhood and the third with Tumbut; and the two latter, waiting in succession on the father-in-law, were to ask his blessing, and claim their privilege in right. I was to give her raiment the first year, Khakhood the second and Tumbut the third. I had the option of claiming the three first children, Khakhood the second three, and Tumbut the third three; when the option again revolved to me. It was my place to go to her father two or three months prior to the birth of a child, and delivering to him a small piece of wood, which we call a billu (வில் or bow), to claim the forthcoming infant, whether male or female, and acknowledge before him and his relations that I would protect and nourish it; and that, whatever might happen, I allowed this to be in satisfaction of one of my claims. On this occasion also, I was to present him either five or ten rupees, and in return he was to allow me to select, if I presented him five rupees, three; if ten rupees, six, of the best kine of his herd. If the child proved a boy, he would have to present me with a heifer, and another one also on the birth of each son, but not on the birth of a daughter, as it is supposed that she will soon be betrothed, and that a fortune will accrue to her in that way.

After the third birth, the same observance and privilege would have fallen to Khakhood and Tumbut successively, or if I chose to give up any of my rights, the two latter would successively have had choice of adoption, &c., &c., We all three should have been equally bound to protect the whole of the children, to marry, and to give them in marriage; but the superior authority would always have rested with me.

The case of Pilluvani and myself, however, was at variance with this custom. We were very fond of one another, and determined not to separate. I offered to pay the usual fines, but the other party would not accept of them. I had been unfortunate. A murrain had attacked my herd; the greater part of Korrorr, and which belonged to my fathers had been forsaken by the Marvs and Cuvs, from the oppression of some of their rulers, and from being a leading man among my own people, I was now reduced, but principally by the oppressions of my wife's relations, to comparative poverty".

I present as an appendix to this chapter seven case studies which will high light the changes in the family life. One fact emerges clearly that marriage does not have vital significance in their life. Even today a Toda would give up their wife in exchange for buffaloes. More than the absence of any ceremonial marriage, it is the absence of any genuine affection for the partner that is the basis of life.

Child Marriage

It will be observed from Harkness' account that early betrothals are common among the Todas. The betrothal takes place when the children are two or three years of age. The most suitable match for a boy is the daughter of his maternal uncle or of his paternal aunt. Betrothals are ratified by repeated periodical presents of clothes. The girl remains with her own people until she is fifteen or sixteen. But such engagements are not regarded as binding any one and can be broken at any time, even at the last moment on payment of certain specified fines and do not prevent a grown-up woman choosing a man of her own choice as her partner.

No elaborate ceremony is performed in connection with the child marriage. The boy is taken to the girl's house and salutes his future father-in-law. The father or a male guardian of the bride-groom presents a new robe to the father of the bride which is called "Thaduppu Koduthal". The bride-groom's people visit the bride's place and enjoy a feast. They in turn give another feast to the bride's party. There ends the formalities.

It has already been observed that marriage with mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter is preferred. But the choice is not always restricted within such relatives. The only restrictions are that

* The value of these federal presents vary according to the circumstances of the parties.

a girl should not be chosen within the same clan but should belong to the same Division (i. e.) Tharthazoll or Thevelioll as the case may be.

Defloration Ceremony

This is a pernicious and curious custom and under the cloak of religion or custom, young girls were being tested for their fitness to enter married state. A girl, shortly before she attained puberty was visited by a strong young man, not of her clan, and he used to spend a night with her and had intercourse with her. The ceremony ought to have taken place before puberty, and it was considered a disgrace should it be delayed. Many young girls dreading this approaching event, left their homes and asked to be converted to Christianity. It is difficult to say if this practice had a bad effect on fertility. Very likely it had a deleterious effect on the generative organs and their functions. But this custom has now become past history. However, it is reported that cohabitation at one's own will is common even at the age of 10.

Sex Life

Among the Todas, there is a recognised institution of irregular marriage. Promiscuous intercourse between men and women is permitted. It is not obligatory on the part of a girl to acknowledge the betrothed as her first mate. Independent of her betrothed, she has perfect liberty to choose any individual as her mate. The young folks do not at first consult their parents in the matter, but carry on a courtship and even have sexual relationship without any ceremony. Since social custom imposes little restrictions, no one hesitates to furnish the age at which such consummation took place. The data are presented below to represent what is conventionally known as "Age at first marriage".

Percentage of Todas first consummated at given Age
(By Religion and Sex)

Age at First consummation	NON-CONVERTS Males	NON-CONVERTS Females	CONVERTS Males	CONVERTS Females
12 & below	...	55	...	5
13	...	34	...	20
14	...	9	...	4
15	4	1	...	15
16	16	1	...	35
17	...	...	...	15
18	54	...	7	...
19	2	...	...	...
20	15	...	22	5
21	9	...	11	...
22	...	...	22	...
23	...	...	4	...
24	...	...	4	...
25 & above	...	...	30	...

It is observed that more than 75 per cent of the males start their first consummation before 19 years of age and the females before 13. It is also observed that 98 per cent of females start their first consummation before the age of 14 whereas among converts, corresponding percentage at that age is only 30.

When the season of indiscreet sort of wooing is over, and if the pair are mutually pleased with each other, the successful man solicits the permission of the girl's father to become man and wife. If he is not the same as the one betrothed at childhood, he has to pay a sort of compensation or fine to the betrothed which has to be decided by the Panchayatdars, and can take her to his house as his wife, without any rite or ceremony.

This alliance fixes up the responsibility for the husband to look after his wife. But it does not prohibit any one to have sexual union with one or more of his or her choice. Normally, no cohabitation occurs within the same clan. No permission, formality or ceremony is required to have any number of lovers within the same Division (i.e) Tharthazoll or Thevelioll. A man may divorce his wife on any ground but there will not be even a single instance of divorce for adultery, which is hardly regarded as a wrong doing.

Divorces and Remarriages

In very many cases it is found that the first wife of a young man rarely lives with him long, but is taken away from him by another. As compensation, the latter gives the first husband a certain number of buffaloes, the number being determined by the panchayat. The carrying away of one man's wife by another is a very common incident in the life of the community, and the greater portion of the time of the panchayat is taken up in settling such disputes. In a community where girls are married in infancy or early childhood, a widower who wants a wife has either to marry a very young girl or carry away another's wife, and he most often chooses the latter. It may be said that on an average a Toda woman marries four times. After these shortlived marriages, she is probably more steady and less attractive to wife-lifters, and continues to live with her next husband for the rest of her life. This has been observed in the histories of most of the Toda women.

From the foregoing discussions, it will be clear that the Toda concept of marriage is one form of Group marriage in which every male member of one clan has a claim over every female of other clans within the same Division (i. e.) Tharthazoll or Thevelioll. There is no doubt that monogamy, poly-

gamy and group marriage are found side by side with polyandry. In fact Todas' concept of marriage falls in line with the school of thought which considers polyandry not as a separate and distinct type of marriage but merely as a phase of group marriage from which common root polygamy or polyandry sprouts.

Ordinarily, there is no intermarriage between Todas and any other race though they live together on most friendly terms. It is said that if any suspicion exists of a non-Toda element in the parentage of a child in the munds it is not suffered to live. In the case of the Christian Todas, the difficulty in obtaining Toda wives has obliged some to take brides from other Indian Christian families.

The following table presents the marital status of Todas as on 15-5-1960.

Population of Todas as on 15-5-1960

(By Religion, Marital Status, Sex and Age Groups)

Age Group	NON-CONVERTS										CONVERTS									
	MALES					FEMALES					MALES					FEMALES				
	All cases	Never married	Married	Widowed	Separated	All cases	Never married	Married	Widowed	Separated	All cases	Never married	Married	Widowed	Separated	All cases	Never married	Married	Widowed	Separated
All ages	322	142	155	12	13	290	112	151	24	3	87	60	23	3	1	63	43	17	3	...
0–12	110	109	1	...	...	107	107	...	...	...	30	30	...	...	...	19	19	...	...	...
13–17	10	9	1	...	...	13	4	9	...	...	12	12	...	...	...	6	6	...	...	...
18–22	17	8	7	...	2	28	1	27	...	...	10	10	...	...	...	19	14	5	...	...
23–27	18	5	10	...	3	23	...	21	1	1	11	6	5	...	...	2	2	...	...	...
28–32	22	3	18	...	1	34	...	34	...	...	5	2	3	...	...	3	2	1	...	...
33–37	19	2	15	...	2	13	...	12	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...
38–42	34	3	27	2	2	14	...	14	...	...	4	...	4	...	...	5	...	5	...	...
43–47	17	1	15	1	...	16	...	15	1	...	5	...	5	...	...	1	...	1	...	...
48–52	24	1	21	1	1	15	...	10	4	1	3	...	1	1	1	2	...	1	1	...
53 & over	51	1	40	8	2	27	...	9	18	...	7	...	5	2	...	4	...	2	2	...

NOTE : Sexual relationship by the presentation of Poothukuli or practising Polyandry alone is not considered as Marriage

As the social custom of Todas permits divorce and remarriage, only a negligible proportion of widows and separated persons can be found in the earlier age group. The table also reveals the universality of marriage among the females. But such universality is not observed among males. This may be the result of low sex ratio. The low sex ratio may also explain the abnormal marital customs among Todas.

We have already observed that the Todas are divided into two endogamous Divisions Tharthazoll and Thevelioll. As has already been said, they cannot intermarry, but a woman of one Division who has her regular husband or not, can have one or more recognised lovers of the other Divisions, who are known as Mokhthodvaiol and the mode of union is known as Mokhthoditi. According to this convention, a Toda

should present a Poothukuli to his beloved belonging to the other Division as a token of love. If he prefers to have her for more than a year, then such presentation should be repeated every year. At the time of survey, it was found that 132 men and 141 women out of 180 married men and 178 married women had not presented or received Poothukulis during 1960. Probably, most of the Todas are satisfied with their wives and lovers within their own Division.

It will be of some interest to quote here an English version of love poem furnished by a Toda Sri M. Pellican, President of the Nilgiris Toda Munnetra Sangam :-

"The like of you was never born or made.
Hanging hair, how beautiful,
Your teeth, how beautiful,
You have beautifully clothed legs,
If you marry me,
As two leaves of the same shape and colour
We will become one. Come.
Let us go to the barrel shaped house there, come
We will give birth to hutful of children, come
Potful of money we will have, come
As life not lived before we will live, come
We will have buffaloes as in olden times, come
To hungry men, food and charity we will give, come
To the thirsty, milk and alms we will give, come
We will request all men to assemble near our house, come
We will request all men to assemble near our temple, come
We will wear good clothes, come
We will wear embroidered clothing, come
You will wear ear-rings, come
We shall count our days singingly, nor separately, come."

The net effect of the peculiar marital custom among Todas is that no one knows the actual person responsible for a conception. However, among the Todas some one has to take up the responsibility for the maintenance of the mother and child. This is decided after the first conception of a woman, by a typical social custom, which is given all the importance of marriage, and celebrated in a simple but solemn manner.

Pregnancy and Child Birth

At or about the fifth month of a woman's pregnancy she was required to live in a rude hut at some little distance from the mund. Each of her wrist was branded by means of a rag, rolled up, dipped in ghee and lighted. She had to stay a month in the hut and was then purified by drinking milk and allowed to come back again to her home on the next new moon day.

At the 7th month, the celebration for recognising a sociological father takes place. He is a person already chosen by common consent and accepted by a Panchayat. For all social and legal purposes, he will be her husband and the father of the child. He is the father, not only of the child to be born shortly afterwards, but also of all the succeeding children until another man performs the essential ceremony. For the first sociological father, the father-in-law gives a dowry in the form of buffaloes. The succeeding sociological father, if there happens to be any, should give compensation to his predecessor.

This ceremony of fixing up the Sociological Father is celebrated on a New Moon day. The ceremony takes place under a *kiaz* tree (Naval in Tamil) near the husband's residence. The gathering, attending the ceremony, assemble in front of the tree, women in the front row and men at the rear. A hole is cut in the *kiaz* tree for keeping a small lamp burnt with ghee. An odd number (usually 7, 9 or 11) of various grains, along with a small bottle of honey are offered at the foot of the tree.

The ceremony starts with the bride and groom approaching each of the elder members for their blessings. At the time of blessing, presentations, in terms of cash, are given to the couples. Then the bridegroom goes in search of a plant called *pufdhoor*, makes an effigy of a Bow and Arrow with its branch and presents it to the bride. The ceremony ends with a feast and a folk dance by all the male members attending the function.

The dance is not of exciting description, but it seems to afford sufficient satisfaction to the cheerful and good-natured Todas. It consists of stamping on each foot alternately, the body being jerked half round at one step, and back again at the next to the time of a very monotonous song. Volume 4 of Madras Government Museum Bulletin by E. Thurston presents an English translation of a marriage song which is reproduced below :-

Marriage Song

"Boys and girls are singing
Much money are they spending
To the girl her father is giving five buffaloes
The husband tells his wife that she must cut her hair

In her hair is curled all the people will rejoice
The buffalo is slain, and now we must all dance
Why are not more people here? More should come
My buffalo is big, very big
Go quickly and catch it.
The Todas are all there. They are standing in a row
To him will a present of five rupees be given
I will go and catch it first
The Todas are all fighting
The Todas are all feasting
People give them rice
The buffalo is coming. Two men run to catch it by the neck
Ten men collect the buffaloes. They pen them in a kraal
At one O' clock we take our food
The buffalo is running, and I hit it on the back with a stick
Swerves aside, but I drive it back to the path.
Night comes, and we all dance.
Next morning at 10 A.M. we bring out the buffalo, and slay it.
At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it.
At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls
At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple
He lights the lamp.
At eight he milks his buffaloes
He puts on no cloth
He places butter and ghee before the god.
Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.
Then he puts on his cloth.
At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.
He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.
He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.
He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.
He alone may sleep in the temple.

At four the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze. At seven he milks them.
The woman's house is down the hill
The priest must not go in unto the woman
He may not marry.
When he is twenty years old, he may not enter the temple
Another is made priest in his stead."

The delivery of the child takes place in the house. But three days after the child is born, the woman used to carry it to the same hut where the wrist-burning occurred and there remained till the next new moon. The child's face should not be seen by any one for three months.

The custom of such seggregation has now been given up. All the ceremonies connected with the child birth are conveniently fixed up on a new moon day itself so that there is no gap between the ceremonial day and new moon day.

No ceremony is observed when girls are named, but boys are taken by the father unaccompanied by the mother to the sacred hut of the clan and given a name with prayer.

Nomenclature

Boys are named after mountains, rivers, munds and temples and girls are named after jewels. Now-a-days, it is not uncommon to name as other Hindus do. No name already given to a Toda is repeated for another Toda as there is a belief that after the death of a person, one becomes a supreme being and as such, his or her name should not be pronounced by any one.

Infanticide

Disparity in sexes led to a supposition that the Todas were in the habit of destroying the female children, at least on ominous days of the week, by some unnatural means, leaving them at the door of the pen to be tramped by the buffaloes rushing out furiously when liberated. In writing about their sex life and infanticide, Mr. J. Shortt observed in 1868 that polyandry, perhaps, pre-existed, and, as a sequence, the female sex became one too many in number, and to keep down the needless proportion, female infanticide arose. Whatever be the cause of infanticide, its existence was not established free of any doubt in any of the books on Todas. Even Captain Harkness, one of the pioneers to contribute to the existing literature on Todas did not elaborate except quoting as Todas' statement that infanticide certainly had existed among them, but that it was by then discontinued.

Mode of Salutation

Todas' mode of saluting one another is peculiar to themselves. An elderly man when he meets a woman, lifts his feet, first one and then the other, to her head as she crouches before him. In the case of an old woman, the ceremony is reversed, and she places her foot on the head of the man.

Salutations among Toda males take the form of specific expressions. There are different expressions for a grand-father, father, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, elder brother and friends. They have entirely different

set of expressions for elderly women-folk. Youngsters are saluted by merely pronouncing their names just as we call out some one.

Exposure of right shoulder is an act of respect, especially at the time of milking, worshipping God, taking meals etc.

They generally greet non-Todas with a bow or salute made in courteous and dignified manner.

Caste Panchayat

Caste Panchayat is prevalent and might be said to be almost omnipotent. Appointment and resignation of *Poojaries*, marriage, divorce, disputes etc., are referred to the Panchayat, discussed, resolved and endorsed by the Panchayats. Punishment by the Panchayat is mainly in the form of fines in terms of buffaloes.

The Panchayat is not a Permanent body with any sort of Assets or funds. It is only a group of elderly people selected by common consent of the persons involved in a particular matter under dispute. The aggrieved party takes the initiative to constitute and call for a meeting of the Panchayat. The meeting takes place in any open place. Members attending the Panchayat are seated in a circular manner, elderly people sitting on the upper side of the slope of the hill.

The Todas have also constituted an Association and registered it as "Nilgiris Thothuvar Munnetra Sangam" in 1956 with the following objects.

1. To maintain unity among the people of the Toda Community, to work for their upliftment, to establish and run schools, to promote adult education, to maintain reading rooms etc., and to arrange for installation of Radio Sets to enable the Todas to have an idea of world affairs and to work for the common benefit of the Todas.
2. To arrange necessary lands to the Todas, to avail medical aid and other public health amenities, to promote agriculture, to provide water and transport facilities and to avail Government help in all respects for the betterment of the condition of Todas.
3. To strive for the eradication of bad habits prevalent among Todas.
4. To arrange for sports and other entertainments to encourage the members and to improve the funds of the Sangam.
5. To co-operate with the Government towards execution of all plans successfully which would be arranged for the amelioration of the conditions of the Todas and for improvement of their villages.
6. To work for the general advancement of the Todas, to develop their intellects, and to decide and set matters right in improvement of their lot.

Inheritance

The right of inheritance is restricted to the male members. Females inherit nothing. They only receive from their parents whatever is given as dowry.

Any one may wonder how succession takes place among Todas, where polyandry and peculiar marital custom exist. The problem has been well brought out in a petition quoted by Captain Harkness on pp. 32-33 of his book on Todas, which runs as follows :

"My mother had three husbands, Tedidi, Terdevan and Kirjiav. To these three husbands she bore two children, myself and my sister, and died. One of her husbands, Tedidi, also died. The other two husbands, Terdevan and Kirjiav, took to themselves other wives; and I then claimed, on my own part and on the part of my sister, our one third of the whole property of our mother and of her first husband, and which one-third was to be equally divided between my sister and myself. This my claim is according to laws well known among us, regarding the division of property; and Terdevan is willing to grant it; but Kirjiav, contrary to all precedents in such cases refuses to do so".

Descent of property is generally in the male line, a person's father being held to be the man who presented his mother with the bow and arrow in the seventh month of her pregnancy. Women do not inherit except what is given as dowry. It is probable, however, that the father's wishes may to some extent determine the distribution of the estate.

Death and Funeral

Of all the ceremonies, Todas attach much importance to *Kedu*, the death ceremony and spend lavishly. The ceremonies are open to all and visitors are often invited. There are two celebrations, the first one at the time of cremation called "Pachchai Chavu" (wet or green funeral) and the second one called "dry funeral" with a purpose analogous to *Karumathi* in Hindu custom. The first obsequies may be held to express feeling and mournful sentiments for the deceased and the second one can be looked on as a commemorative festival, performed with the object of



Can humility, a quality rare nowadays, be more apparent than here? So do the Toda young rever their elders. It is at the same time a greeting and a blessing. But for all this reverence and humility the Todas are a proud and close knit race.

speeding the general welfare of the friend gone to the unknown country; but in a style of show and hospitality somewhat commensurate with his worldly importance.

It would be more appropriate to have an idea of their ancient funeral rites so that a comparative and critical analysis could be made about their existing customs. Such an account is available in the following few lines, which have been taken from one* of the earliest literature.

"On a person dying, the corpse is laid out, dressed in new clothes, and decorated with ornaments such as the deceased possessed and placed in a bier, which is so decked out with green boughs, twigs and herbs, and it is thus retained in state for several days. On the day fixed for the performance of the funeral rites, the bier with the corpse is conveyed on the shoulders of four men and followed by a train of mourners, composed of the friends and relatives of the deceased of both sexes and of all ages, the greater portion of whom carry bundles of faggots, or utensils containing ghee, milk, jaggery and grain, and who chant in a doleful wailing tone an improvised requiem, the chief burden of which is the good qualities of the defunct individual. On arriving at the spot where the last offices are to be performed, the procession halts, and the bier is placed on the ground; the mourning relatives and friends now form a circle around it, and sitting down continue to wail forth their lamentations, and at the same time constantly throw handfuls of earth or grain towards the corpse. In the meanwhile, the funeral pile is being raised. When completed, the heir or nearest relative of the deceased approaches the corpse and cuts a lock or two of hair from the head, after which the body, with its decorations undisturbed, is placed upon the pile of faggots, and other faggots are added to it, and while the process of throwing earth and grain at the corpse and the wailing of the mourners are still continued, the pile is set fire to by some near kinsfolk and the conflagration briskly maintained by the addition of fresh faggots, and the process of cremation is effected as speedily as possible. As the body is being burnt, the relatives of the deceased conceal their heads with their mantles and continue to weep in audible tones. After the body is completely burnt, and the pile begins to crumble, water is thrown on it, and the fire is quenched; a search is made by the relatives among the ashes for any ornaments, pieces of bone, or hair which may have escaped destruction. These are carefully picked up, tied in an old mantle, and preserved as relics of the deceased.

* pp 12-16 An Account of the tribes on the Nilgherries- J. Shortt, 1868

After the performance of a death ceremony, the members of the family sustaining the loss shorten their hair. This, however, is only done by the younger members to denote their respect for their seniors. This custom is not observed by all the tribes; some only put aside their personal ornaments for a time. During the period of mourning, visits of condolence are paid by other families to the family of the deceased, who daily continue to chant their lamentations, in which the visitors join. After some days, the grieving family migrates to another mund.

Among the Toda tribe, dead bodies are invariably subjected to cremation, and various ceremonies are afterwards performed under the notion that the well-being of the departed souls is thereby secured in the next world. The most important of these is one at which animals are sacrificed, and great concourse of the various tribes assemble. It is usually kept up annually, and consists of feasting, dancing, slaughtering animals, and other ceremonies extending over several days. At the present day, it is not such an exciting and imposing spectacle as it was formerly.

Dry Funeral

On the first day, this annual funeral ceremony is commenced with dancing. Twenty to fifty men of the tribe open the ceremony by starting off into a kind of dance. They form themselves into ranks of two deep, join hands and dance round and round, holding their wands in the left hand. They begin with a steady walk shouting out ha! hoo! ha! hoo! but the pace soon quickens, the steps become more nimble, and keep time to the unvaried houling tune of ha! hoo! which is shouted out faster and louder. The figure of the dance commences by all merely advancing, then crossing their feet they wheel rapidly round and fall back into files of two and two, slackening their pace into a steady walk; the step now becomes quicker, and the evolution is repeated. These successive stages are performed without variation and in rapid alternation for a full hour or longer, during which time those who become fatigued are replaced by others. As this exciting dance is going on, food, consisting of rice and other grains, is being prepared, and, when ready, all the friends and invited guests assemble around a hut erected for the occasion by the relatives of the deceased. The men and women sit apart in separate rows, and observe an orderly decorum. The boiled rice and grain of other kinds is served out with ghee on leafy plates to each guest by two Toda men, who act as attenders and pay particular attention to the female portion of the guests. Inside the hut, over the front door of which some obsolete and current coins are suspended, some of the near

relatives of the deceased are seated, serving out rice, etc., to other guests. After the repast is over, the dancing is again resumed by some; while others, comprising the younger and more active men, proceed to where the buffaloes are penned, to make a selection of the animals intended for the sacrifice. In former times, on the death of a Toda, his entire herd was sacrificed. Men leaped into the pen with their clubs, and the animals were beaten at much personal risk, for the Toda buffaloes are strong and fierce, even attacking strangers on their walks if they incautiously approach too near them. The Government put a stop to this cruel practice of wholesale slaughter, and at the present day no more than one or two animals are sacrificed at this annual ceremony. The whole herd was sacrificed in the superstitious belief that they were thus secured to the deceased in the next world.

A similar custom prevailed amongst the ancient Scythians, and indeed is adopted by all savage nations the sacrifice of a favourite horse, slave, or wife, in the hope that its services would thus be secured in the next world. The Todas believe that, unless this be done, the departed soul will have no peace, and will for ever haunt the place it lived in on earth.

At these annual holocausts, the best and most valuable of the herd ought to be sacrificed; but the Todas, growing wise in their generation, select some of the old, barren, and useless animals for this purpose.

The fated animals are dragged by the horns into a ring or pit, which is surrounded on all sides by embankment, and from 30 to 40 yards in diameter; and when all the animals are secure within, the dancing is again commenced and continued for sometime. This terminates the ceremony of the first day.

On the second day, the scene changes to the enclosure where the doomed animals are penned. While a party is howling and dancing outside the enclosure, another party enters it, and with their club-like staves irritate and torment the animals, who rush about infuriated, confused, and wild in all directions, sometimes goring their tormentors and causing accidents of a serious nature. As the animals are running about, two or three of the men adroitly seize them by the horns, spring on to their heads, and cling there. The beasts becoming more excited and infuriated, rush madly around the arena, while the confusion, noise, and excitement of the dancers outside reach their climax. The dance is somewhat different from that of the preceding day. The men arrange themselves in a circle around a long pole—ornamented at the top, middle, and lower end with cowrie shells, and held in its place by two men—and around this pole the dancing goes on for some time, and is followed, as on the previous day, by a repast. After the meal, the ashes of the deceased are mixed with water brought from the nearest stream, and sprinkled on the stakes which guard the entrance of the enclosure. The ground in front of the enclosure is broken up, and a new cloth or mantle is spread over it. The mourning kinsfolk and friends approach the spot with their heads and faces concealed under their mantles, pick up handfuls of the loosened earth which they throw into the enclosure three times, and the same number of times on the cloth, all the while exhibiting demonstrative grief and sorrow. After this, two or three men rush into the enclosure, and drag out, one by one, the fated buffaloes to the front of the newly erected hut. Here they are brought forward separately, securely held by three or four strong men, and struck a powerful blow on the head with a small axe by a kinsman of the deceased, the blow generally proving instantaneously fatal. Sometimes the mantle containing the relics of the deceased is brought to the scene of slaughter and sprinkled with the blood of the animal first killed and a requiem sung over it. The carcases of the animals are dragged to the enclosure of the pit, and their heads laid upon the cloth spread in front of it. The men prostrate themselves on these dead bodies, cry over them, and, in a piteous and rather affectionate manner, fondle, caress, and kiss the face of the animals, in which they are joined by the women, who set up a howling lament and add to the impressiveness of the scene."

Mr. J. W. Breeks has, in his book on "Primitive Tribes of the Nilgherries", 1873 observed that the next ceremony at a Todi (a sub-clan of Tharthazoll) funeral is most striking, and vividly recalls Mosaic sacrifices.

"The Peiki Varzhal (priest belonging to Thevelioll) carries a small urn-shaped vessel of leaves, stitched together, and filled with pieces of bark of the *Meliosma pungens*, to the mand herd, and sits a little way off, while the young men run in and seize a female buffalo and a calf. The latter is decorated with an iron bell, and held by two or three men, while the buffalo is dragged to a stone, to which the putkuli and ked, the deceased's stick, and a miniature bow and three arrows are brought. The ked is untied, and the hair, etc., laid on a mimic stretcher about 1½ foot long, roughly made of green sticks. The buffalo is half stunned by a blow between the horns from a big stone, and a clansman of the deceased, with an axe, makes a gash under its right foreleg. Into this wound the Varzhal (priest) dips a few of the pieces of bark from the leaf vessel, and gives some of them to the kinsman, who smears



THE BUFFALO PEN

If stones or earth could speak, they would tell many a tale of buffalo sacrifices and deeds of valour performed by the young men of the tribe. In this pen are kept in custody the buffaloes of the mund and here were conducted the sacrifices now banned by the Government.

the blood on the ked, with some words which are differently reported by different Todas. The clearest sentence given is "Karma odi pona," "May the sin run away".

A Peiki man (Thevelioll) then puts on the putkuli, in which the ked had been wrapped, and taking the bow and arrows, the latter laid across the bow as though in readiness for shooting, dips the points of the arrows into the blood on the ked, saying "Birzhutukama," "Shall I give the bow". After this they walk to another stone near the *Kedmane* in procession, shouting "Hoh Hoh," the Peiki (Thevelioll) with the bow in the middle, and the Varzhal (priest) in front, carrying the leaf vessel, out of which he takes two pieces of bark at intervals, throwing one behind him and another before him. The calf is dragged to this stone and let loose, when they all run after it, throwing themselves down at intervals so as to touch the ground with their foreheads, and shouting.

Amunadga Seruma
Karma dharma tilima

which may be rendered, "May he enter heaven, may it be well with his good deeds and his sins".

The Peikis (Thevelioll) and Pekkans (sub-clan of Tharthazoll) do not sacrifice a buffalo, nor loose a calf at the dry funeral, but at the next new moon they slaughter a male buffalo, and bringing the blood in a leaf vessel to the *kedmane*, sprinkle it on the kraal and the *Azaram* (the circle of stones in which the relics preserved from the green funeral are burnt).

The ceremonies are hardly concluded, before the Kotas descend upon the carcases of the buffaloes like so many vultures, and hack them to pieces, screaming and squabbling over the spoil, and carrying off the flesh in great lumps to their homes."

The ceremony of the third and last day consists in simply setting fire to the relics, before day break. The hut with the slaughtered buffaloes, the Todas firmly believe, are thus safely transferred to the spirit of the deceased in the next world.

The display and expense at these annual ceremonies vary with the means of the families by whom they are celebrated, and normally it may cost not less than Rs. 500/- besides the loss of the buffaloes sacrificed. Now a days it is not celebrated with great pomp as in former days. They get cash presents from the relations as in the *moi* (மொய்) system. Yet, it will be seen from the chapter on Economy that the indebtedness on account of celebrating the funeral forms a considerable proportion of the total.

It is rather difficult for any one associated with Government to make a detailed investigation about their funeral rites as the Todas make a secret of their proceedings, fearing, not unreasonably, that it may be objected to on the score of humanity and more punitive measures would be taken to stop them in future.

It would be appropriate in this connection to make a reference to the following extracts.

Extract from "The Mail" dated 17-12-1959

Sacrifice of Buffaloes – Collector stops Toda custom
"Mail" News Service

Ootacamund, December, 17

"Mr. K. J. Somasundaram, Collector of the Nilgiris, has put an end to the custom of the Todas of sacrificing buffaloes to their dead.

The Collector, who was present by invitation at this function known as "Kedu", held on Sunday at Muthinad Mund, six miles from here, criticised the Todas for indulging in such brutal sacrifices.

In this function some buffaloes are starved for two or three days and led into a kraal where they are attacked by young Todas. The number of animals sacrificed depends upon the status of the dead man.

About six such famished buffaloes were led into a kraal and attacked by 20 young men with sharp pointed sticks. The Collector, who was watching the scene, said he was not aware that it would be so violent and ordered it to be stopped forthwith. The animals were then released from the pen. The Todas were warned not to indulge in such acts in the future".

Extract from "The Mail" dated 25-12-1959

Buffalo sacrifice at Toda Funeral - An Eye witness account.

"A very biased approach is being taken in the so-called "civilising" of the Toda tribe, a process which can only result in eliminating one of the most interesting and unique groups of people in the world, writes Mrs. F. E. Stanes of Coimbatore, who was an eye witness to the buffalo sacrifice at a Toda funeral reported in "The Mail", December 17-18.

She writes:

As one of the foreign invitees present at the Toda funeral reported by your correspondent, I feel I must protest at the gross exaggeration of the report in question.

To take one point it is incorrect to state that part of the ritual is "to beat the buffaloes to death with sticks and axes"; the actual practice is that a group of men, admittedly armed with sticks with which they both beat the buffaloes and protect themselves, try to overcome and hold the animals. During this process no axes were used, no buffalo blood was shed, a great deal of bravery was shown by the men concerned, some of whom (I believe three was the number) were injured —one with a cut on his head one being gored through the thigh, all of whom I observed having professional treatment after the fight. The animals having been captured are normally taken to the Cathedral area where they would have been killed by the ordinary method of poleaxing—with no blood - letting—a highly skilled process which we hope can be observed in any licensed slaughter-house anywhere. However, at this point, and to avoid any further injury, Mr. Somasundaram quite rightly stopped the actual killing of the animals, not only for humanitarian reasons, but also because of the waste of valuable animals.

Not Starved

Although the practice is cruel (and therefore to be stopped) it is also incorrect to say that the six buffaloes were starved for "three days"; the animals were penned during the evening of Friday, December 11, and kept without food and water for the whole of Saturday, and until about 11-30 a. m. on Sunday, when they were released by order of the Collector. It was, by the way, very noticeable that none of the buffaloes made for water upon being let out, five of them following an apparent leader towards the latter's home mund; your correspondent's report was here exaggerated.

As an observer standing on the platform erected for the occasion, the only screams I heard came from a woman who was obviously frightened and upset by the spectacle of men being tossed and animals being beaten.

Law Abiding

Far from being "savage-looking", the Todas are a particularly handsome race. It was also strikingly demonstrated that they are a very law-abiding race by the promptitude with which they desisted from what was clearly a most important ritual to them, at the first blast of the police whistles. Order was restored within a few minutes—a tribute both to the efficiency of the police and the obedience of the Todas.

As I was able to obtain a complete description of what to expect at the ceremony it seems incredible that the same information could not have been obtained by any one else present before accepting an invitation to attend. Written permission having been given to the Todas to hold their ceremony, to cavil because they did so seems unreasonable. The ritual followed, by the way, can be seen at any bullfight in Spain, with the added "savagery" that horses are used as well as men, these horses often being terribly injured during the fight.

It seems to me that a very biased approach is being taken in the so-called "civilising" of this particular tribe, a process which can only result in elimination of one of the most interesting and unique groups of people in the world."

Enquiry among the Todas indicate that the buffalo sacrifice is a sport-cum-religious ceremony. The sportful part of the sacrifice is reported to be the act of controlling the buffaloes ear-marked for the sacrifice. The sub-sect Tharthazoll is reported to participate in the act of controlling the buffaloes, if the funeral rite is performed for a Toda belonging to Thevalioll sub-sect and vice versa. However, the religious part of sacrificing at least one temple buffalo for the wet and dry funeral is the primary responsibility of the *poojari* (priest) of the mund. The sacrifice should be performed by a stroke at the forehead. No temple buffalo is sacrificed for women. It seems that the Kotas do not take away the carcases as they used to do in the past.

The object of the festivities appears to have been originated to gratify a pious desire to further the material welfare of their friend in "Ammanad" and to bow him out of this world with ceremony and honour.

Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. The number has been reduced fairly in recent times due to economic conditions and also owing to the intervention of the Government. But the truth remains that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen the loss by despatching what, no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless. This early step in civilisation is a pace backwards—to commercial gain, and moral loss. The duration of the dry funeral is not prolonged for three days as they used to do in the past but is limited to one day.

Even now, Todas keep separate cremation grounds for the 16 clans. Each clan has got two cremation grounds, one for males and the other for females. These places where the funeral is held are called munds the same name as is used for a Toda hamlet.

The *Kedmanei* or funeral-house constructed at these places for the reception of the dead body are like ordinary Toda huts, being usually erected within a stone circle. Cremation of males takes place either on Tuesdays or Sundays and that of females on Thursdays or Saturdays. Till then, the corpse is kept at its mund.

Among the Hindus, there is a practice of men shaving their tonsure as a mark of respect on the death of parents or wives doing so on the death of their husbands. But among the Todas, all the relatives, both men and women cut a portion of hair. The length of the hair to be removed depends on the degree of consanguinity of the deceased.

Todas believe that there was nothing known as death for them in ancient times. They had only two worlds, 'Ammanad' and 'Todanad'. Before death began, they had the privilege of going to 'Ammanad' the other world, see and speak to their gods and return to 'Todanad', this world as they wished. But from the day a Toda betrayed* his people, the gods see no more and those who leave this world reach 'Ammanad' and live there permanently.

It has already been observed that the religious part of sacrificing temple buffalo is the primary responsibility of the *poojari* (priest) of the mund in which the death has occurred. By this act at the funeral, he had to undergo a purification ceremony observing all the formalities of ordination ceremony. The places used during the funeral rites should also be purified. This ceremony is observed on a new moon day. All the old vessels at the temple are replaced at this ceremony.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX
(SOCIAL CUSTOMS AND MANNERS)

CASE STUDIES

Case Study No. 1:- Mannar of Narshmand - age 55 years. The original name of Mannar was Satispar. It was subsequently changed as Mannar because one Headconstable who was a friend of the family gave that name and called him as Mannar. He now owns three buffaloes. He has cultivated 2 acres of land with potatoes and cabbage. He gets an income of about Rs. 300 annually from this land. By selling milk, he gets about Rs. 30 per month. He has no debts. He is now living in a house which was built in a non-traditional type with Government subsidy. He was betrothed when he was very young. The first wife came to live with him when he was 20 years. No child was born by this marriage. She lived with him for 5 years and then got separated. She became a christian later. She was his paternal aunt's daughter. The second wife was distantly related. She lived with him for two years. No child was born out of this marriage also. He got this wife after giving 7 buffaloes to the previous husband of this woman. She got separated from Mannar and married his cousin brother. The third wife was got after giving 5 buffaloes to the previous husband of the woman. She lived with him for 6 years. No child was born through this woman also. She got separated and married his own step-brother. He then got his fourth wife 10 years before by giving 11 buffaloes to the previous husband of the woman. Through this wife he has 4 daughters and one son. He got a dowry of 5 buffaloes from the father of the fourth wife. He is a regular devotee of Nanjundeswarar of Nanjangud. He visits this temple often.

Case Study No. 2:- Enkuttan of Taranad Mund—age 49 years. He was betrothed when he was 5 years old. She joined him when he was 16. She lived with him for three years. He divorced her and got 6 buffaloes from the man who married this woman later. He then married another woman by giving three buffaloes to the previous husband of the woman. No child was born through this marriage also. She lived with him for 7 years. He exchanged her for 5 buffaloes with some other man. He got a third wife in exchange for 11 buffaloes. He has three boys and one girl through this third wife. He is living with her for the past 38 years. He says that he did not have conjugal contact with the first and second wives because he was very young. He has read upto fourth class. He now owns 6 buffaloes. He has taken four acres of Toda patta and has given it on lease to a Badaga. He gets an annual income of about Rs. 500/- out of the land. He sells milk for Rs. 100/- per month. He has no debts.

Case Study No. 3:- Kakrish - age 50 years - Karanad Clan. He has taken one acre of land on Toda patta. He cultivates it himself and has read upto third class. He owns 20 buffaloes. He was not betrothed when young. He got his first wife when he was 22 years old. He purchased this wife in exchange for 11 buffaloes. He lived with her for ten years. She died of some fever. No child was born out of this marriage. He then got his second wife in exchange for 7 buffaloes. No child was born through this wife also. He is living with her for the past 15 years. He is indebted to the extent of Rs. 250/-. He is regularly worshiping Mariamman and Murugan.

* legends published in the chapter on origin (pp. 10–12)

Case Study No. 4:- Kanroo of Karanad Mund - age 60 years. He has studied upto third class. He has taken two acres of land on Toda patta and has leased it to a Badaga for waram cultivation. He gets about Rs. 300/- annually out of the land. He at present owns 10 buffaloes. He is getting about Rs. 30/- p. m. by sale of milk. He got betrothed when he was six years old to his maternal aunt's daughter. She lived with him for three years. He divorced her in exchange for 11 buffaloes. The second wife was got after giving 7 buffaloes to the previous husband. He divorced this woman also after living with her for one year. He got 9 buffaloes in exchange for this wife. No issues through this wife. The third wife was got in exchange for 11 buffaloes. He has now one son, aged 6 years. He is living with this wife for the past 20 years. No debts. His wife earns about Rs. 20/- p. m. on doing embroidery on cloth.

Case Study No. 5:-Ponnai of Kundhikod Mund—age 35. He was betrothed when he was 5 years old, to his maternal cousin's daughter. This girl died when young. When he was 17, he gave 7 buffaloes and got married to a woman after getting her divorced by the previous husband. He got a dowry of 10 buffaloes through the father of this wife. He has now two daughters. He has read upto second class. He owns now 20 buffaloes. He sells milk and gets a monthly income of about Rs. 100/-. He has taken two acres of land on Toda patta and is himself cultivating it. He gets an annual income of Rs. 250/- out of the land. He is at present indebted to the extent of Rs. 900/-. He says that the cause of indebtedness is because of purchase of seeds, manures etc., and due to failure of potato crops. He occasionally acts as priest in a Vorshali dairy. He is visiting Palani temple thrice and Nanjangod temple.

Case Study No. 6:- Tharad of Pan Clan. He is cultivating four acres of Toda patta land. He now owns no buffaloes. His income out of the land is about Rs. 500/- annually. He is at present indebted to the extent of Rs. 500/-. The cause of his indebtedness is said to be due to frequent dissolution of marriages. He was betrothed to his maternal uncle's daughter and she lived with him for one year. She died of some fever. No child was born through this wife. He then got a second wife in exchange for three buffaloes. He lived with her for 8 years. Only one son was born out of this marriage. He divorced this wife in exchange for nine buffaloes. He got his third wife in exchange for seven buffaloes. He lived with his third wife for one year and divorced her in exchange for 10 buffaloes. The fourth wife was got in exchange for ten buffaloes. He lived with her for one year and divorced her in exchange for 13 buffaloes. His fifth wife was got in exchange for three buffaloes. He is at present living with the 5th wife for the past three years. No dowry was got through any of the wives. He says that he worked under one Sri G. N. Das, Anthropologist for 5 years. He has read upto 5th class. No child was born through the last wife.

Case Study No. 7:- Piljikar of Bedugal Mund-Bedu Karsh Clan-age 46 years. Read upto 6th class-owns 9 buffaloes. He cultivated 2½ acres of land before. Now the land is fallow. He is indebted to the extent of Rs. 400/-. The cause of indebtedness is said to be due to household expense and crops failure. He is getting a monthly income of about Rs. 50/- by sale of milk. He was betrothed when he was very young, but this wife never came to live with him. He got his second wife in exchange for seven buffaloes. He is living with this wife for the past 14 years. No child. He got a dowry of 5 buffaloes through this wife.



TODA TEMPLE

The abode of God trying to bridge the gap between mere mortals and Divinity. The steeple or the spire, the Vimana or the Gopura, the hut or the house – they are all the outer embellishments of but one religion – Faith in God.

CHAPTER X

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

All the Todas enumerated in 1891 were returned as Hindus. In 1901, 3 men were reported as Hindus and the rest (448 males and 354 females) as Animists. In 1911, 45 (28 males and 17 females) were Hindus and 703 (398 males and 305 females) were Animists. The 1921 Census did not cross tabulate the religion with caste or tribe. Christian Todas were reported for the first time in 1931 Census. The Superintendent of Toda Mission gave her total of Toda Christians as 37 against the 27 of the Census returns and suggested that certain Toda Christians living outside the Christian Toda colony or the munds might not have been included. But Mr. Yeats, Superintendent of Census Operations was of the opinion that the difference of ten might be in the border zone of conversion (i. e.) they were Christians to the Mission and Animistic or Hindu to the Census enumerator and every one else. Dr. Pandit of the King Institute counted 42 converts even in 1927. So, the actual number of Christians in 1931 could be 37, justifying the claims of the Superintendent of Toda Mission.

There was no cross tabulation for religion and caste or tribe in 1941 and in 1951. 150 converts were found at the time of special survey. Thus the Toda Christians have increased from 42 in 1927 to 150 in 1960. Among the 762 Todas enumerated at the time of special survey, 87 males and 63 females were found to be Christians. 322 males and 290 females followed their traditional faith. Detailed enquiries revealed that besides the 63 female converts found in the Nilgiris District, 17 female converts married outside the Toda community and left the Nilgiris District to live with their husbands.

Actually the Todas either follow their traditional faith which has been classified as Hinduism or Animistic or Christianity. Animism is attribution of a soul to inanimate objects and natural phenomena. Hinduism is polythestic religion of Hindus. No religion except Christianity has exercised any influence over the Todas.

Those who embraced Christianity have given up many tribal customs. They live separately from the non-converts. Non-converts do not recognise them as one among themselves.

Todas are more secretive about the more intimate aspects of their religious life. It is not quite easy for sociologists or anthropologists to make a detailed investigation on the subject, for which reason there are several major gaps in our information about Toda ritual, belief and mythology. So, Toda religion still remains inadequately investigated. Still a broad outline can be drawn with the materials that are gathered at various stages.

Eventhough Todas are said to be Hindus, their faith and mode of worship differ from those of other Hindus. First and foremost, they are not practical idolators, nor have they any definite notions of their symbolical objects or places of worship. In fact, they have none of actual or assembled worship. Secondly, women are neither allowed near their traditional temples nor are they allowed to participate in any religious rites. Thirdly, there is no religious festival analogous to that prevailing among Hindus. It has few features of fetichism, no expiatory sacrifices, and there are but few traces of the joyous nature worship of Vedic times, still less any connection between its vague ideas of deity and its notions of right and wrong. Their dairy buffaloes and bell are fused into an incomprehensible mystic whole or unity, and constitute their prime object of adoration.

A few Todas visit certain Hindu pilgrim centres like Palani, and Tiruparankundram. But the tribal customs have been little influenced by the impact from plains. Occasionally offerings are given in Hindu temples in Ootacamund and Masinagudi, but the ceremonies connected with their own religion remain unaffected and in fact any innovation in their traditional worship is taboo; thus fire in their ceremonies must not be produced by a match but by friction and no modern dress is permitted near the sacred enclosure.

Following the Toda through the peaceful but monotonous course of his life, from the quaint ceremonies which herald his birth to his death-bed, surrounded by relatives who mourn, no trace of any guiding or restraining power apparently no sense of religious obligations or supernatural fears can be located. He is too strong and fearless, or perhaps too dull and unimaginative for superstitious horrors. His simple

life presents few problems of good and evil, right and wrong. Hence he has little conscience or sense of wrong doing.

Being a pastoral tribe, it is but natural that the Todas' concept of religion is associated with the dairy and buffaloes. They make a distinction between their buffaloes, dividing them as sacred and ordinary. The latter may be kept at any hamlet and are tended by the men and boys of the hamlet and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products. In case of the former category, the degree of sacredness varies and corresponds to the munds in which a buffalo is reared. The office of the sacred buffalo is hereditary. One among these sacred animals is the chief. Should it die, its calf, if a female one, succeeds to its office. Should it have no female calf, one of the other sacred ones is chosen as the chief.

There are some rites connected with the sacred buffaloes. Milking of these buffaloes, churning of the milk, preparation of ghee etc., constitute the Toda religion. These are the primary functions in their sacred enclosures which can be construed as their temples.

In addition to living huts there exists in each and every mund a temple. It is situated at some small distance from the habitations and is surrounded by a low wall. In outward appearance, a temple resembles an ordinary hut, but is larger. Even if there exists no such hut, enough space is reserved separately for the purpose. It is considered by them sacred and they would not allow any one to go near it. Women are not permitted to enter it. It is interesting to note that even to-day, no Toda woman is permitted to travel by train between Lovedale and Fernhill as there is a Toda temple near the railway track between the two stations.

Each of the temple is under the care of a priest or *Poojari* who accepts the office as an act of self-discipline and renunciation. The *Poojari* resides in the temple and attends to the processing of the milk in the temple, which can also be called as dairy. Both the milking of the buffaloes and the processing of their milk in the dairies are done to the accompaniment of mechanically recited prayers called kwarshm, which the priest entones in a marked ritual tone. These consist of unexplainably unusual names for the Gods, local landmarks, dairy instruments, buffaloes etc., called out in a high, sing-song voice, one after the other, with no other sequence than the prescribed traditional one. Such kwarshms are also recited at other religious occasions besides the ordinary daily dairy operations.

The temples or dairies are of varying sanctity, corresponding to the degree of sacredness of the buffaloes which are tended in them or the munds in which they are situated. Paltchi or Pali is the ordinary temple which is seen in most of the munds.

While discussing the housing patterns and dwellings a reference has been made about Etudmund and Keenmund. Elaborate description about these two types of munds have also been made in the chapter on Tribal hierarchy. It will be seen therefrom that Etudmund is the chief mund of a particular clan. As such, temples of Etudmund assume more importance than those of Keenmund. A temple of Etudmund is known as Muimund or Vorshally and is similar in appearance to that of Paltchi or Pali.

There was a belief in the past that the temples of Etudmund contained a *kurpu* or relic of an ancestor; a ring for instance, a hatchet or other imperishable article, even as is said, a bell. The temple in which a relic was kept was looked upon as a shrine. In the past, the importance of a temple depended upon the relic it contained. Such a superiority arising out of the possession of a relic, sacred bell etc., does not exist now. However, as the Etudmunds are the chief munds of each clan, the mund and its temple is the central place for the clan folks to gather for social or religious festival or to settle disputes amongst themselves, challenging one another to make good their word. Apart from such significances, more sanctity is not attached to these places as in the past.

Another type of temple to which was attributed a particular significance and sanctity was that attached to Sathimund. It was the belief that if a dispute arose between two men they were taken to the front of the dairy or temple of the Sathimund and made to state what had happened and any thing a man said under such condition was believed. It was thought that if a man did not speak the truth, he would fall sick and his buffaloes would die. It is considered that there were only two Sathimunds at Kengodmund (kudrmund) and Bigupathimund (Kannarash). The belief about Sathimund is still preserved, but now-a-days few go to establish the truth of their statements.

In the Sathimund, in token of what one speaks, he is asked to open the door of the temple. No one will dare open the door if what he had deposed was not



BOA OR TODA CATHEDRAL

These temples arouse the curiosity of the Sociologists, Anthropologists and visitors. These have been compared to the bothan or beehive houses in Scotland and similar buildings in the Sinai peninsula at Suez. This is a subject for more speculation.

correct. Sathimunds are supposed to be common to all clans and the clan people in which these munds are located do not have any special secular or ceremonial role in the rituals of the Sathimunds.

The fourth type of temple, which is considered to be the most sacred of all is the one associated with 'Ti' of Tiriari. In each of such temple, there were two huts one for 'Palal' the priest and the other for 'Kavalal' the watchman; an enclosure for the sacred herd of buffaloes; a separate hut for the calves; and a small conical thatched building, intended for a temple, in which one or more sacred bells were placed. Only the most sacred buffaloes were tended in 'Ti'. The chief of the sacred herd was not milked, its calves being permitted to consume entirely the milk of their dam. The priest and watchman appropriated the milk of the rest of the sacred herd. It was considered too holy to be sold as milk, but what remained when the priests had had their shares was made into milk products and in that state sold to the laity.

Even in 1868, some of these sacred Tiriari temples were deserted and there existed only three 'Tis'. At present, all the 'Ti' buffaloes have become wild and as such there exists not even a single 'Ti' dairy.

An interesting and altogether different kind of temple is Boa or Toda cathedral. It is a building consisting of a conical thatched roof on a circular wall of stout plankirg. The temple is surrounded by a wall of uncut stone, put together without cement. This has been compared to the bothan or beehive houses in Scotland and similar buildings in the Sinai peninsula at Suez. This is a subject for more speculation. Some writers have thought that the Boas were built by some extinct race.

Todas do not seem to attach more importance or sanctity to Boa temples. However these temples arouse the curiosity of the sociologists, anthropologists, and visitors but not the Todas. The best known of these temples is Mamboa at Norsh or Muthunad mund about four miles from Ootacamund. It is one of the show places of the Nilgiris. Another one is Muthu shlol (or Mutterzhva) near Bikpathi. A third Boa temple is at Anton near Sholur. Breeks, who wrote in 1873, says that at that time there were four and a fifth one was in ruins. They were called Tarzkava at the Tiriari mund on the Kundhas and Katedva near Mukurthi peak respectively. Both of them have now fallen into ruins.

In the dwelling huts, for domestic purposes, fire is obtained from matches. But within the precincts of the dairy-temple and for other religious and ceremonial purposes the use of matches is stirctly forbidden, and fire is kindled with the aid of two dry sticks of 'kiaz', "Litsae Wightiana". Of these, one terminating in a convex extremity is about 2 feet long; the other, with a hemispherical cavity scooped out close to one end, is about three inches in length. Into the cavity the end of the longer stick fits, so as to allow of easy play. The smaller stick is placed on the ground, and held tight by the cavity. The larger stick is then twisted vigorously between the palms of the hands by two men, turn and turn about, until it begins to glow.

"Ththudr" tree (Meliosma Simplicifolia) is another element which is considered sacred and is used in almost all religious and ceremonial occasions. For instance, its bark and leaves are considered sacred and used extensively in connection with the ordination of the priests, details about which will be discussed shortly.

No one except the concerned priest or *Poojari* is permitted to enter any traditional temple. If accidentally or otherwise any one except the *poojari* enters the temple, the violation results in the loss of sanctity and it is considered a 'theetu' (தீட்டு) or pollution. Rigid formalities lasting from a fortnight to one month have to be observed to purify and re-establish the sanctity of the temple.

It has been the ancient practice among the Todas that one of the males should devote himself to a life of pious solitude. He is revered as a *poojari* or priest. His dutics are to tend the temple herd, to conduct periodical sacrifice of a calf, to invoke fruitfulness among their herds, and to attend to funeral rites. His office is by no means permanent. It is voluntarily assumed. The choice having been made, the consent of the community panchayat should be obtained. He can be a bachelor or a married man. But he should renounce women, lead a celibate life during his term of office and live a life of rigid asceticism. The acts of self-discipline and renunciation reminds us of the Hindu ascetic.

There are different kinds of priests or *poojaris* depending upon the temple which they take care of. The highest are the Palals (பால் + ஆள் Pal = Milk; Ol = Person or at this context a Toda). They live in the isolated holy temples of "Ti" or "Tiriari". No female approaches the mund, and no man may converse with Palal except from a distance, much less touch him. His own father must bow down before him. He is attended by a herdsman called the Kavalal (காவல் + ஆள்) or watchman, who is also an ascetic, but by no

means so holy as the Palal, being merely his servant. He may converse with the Palal, but may not touch him.

Great sanctity attaches to the person of the Palal in the eyes of his Toda brethern, and he exerts a powerful influence over their minds.

Both Palal and Kavalal are generally married men, and only lead a celibate life during their term of office. The preparation which a Palal must undergo is by no means light. The aspirant is expected to retire to the jungles and there to live for eight days without any clothing to protect him from the severity of the weather and with hardly any food. Each day he strips some bark off the "Ththudr" tree (Meliosma simplicifolia or Millingtonia); and three times every day he performs the following ceremony:-

Squeezing some of the juice of the bark into a leaf cup containing water from the stream or spring, he raises the cupful with the right hand to his forehead in token of respect; then lowering it to his mouth and drinking off the contents, passes the empty leaf round over his head and left shoulder then depositing it behind his right side. This formula is repeated three times, using a fresh leaf each time. Next he takes the remainder of the bark and rubs his naked body all over with it, washing himself immediately with fresh water.

After thirty days of this exposure in the wilds, he is allowed to enter upon his duties, and from henceforth he inhabits a small hut in the lonely Tiriari-mund.

He renounces women and lives a life of rigid asceticism. The office of Palal is seldom, if ever, held for life. There are instances of its being held for fourteen years, but the ordinary period is from two to three years. He may resign of himself, by conveying his intentions to the community panchayat, which may appoint some other individual to his room. The dress of a Palal consists of a scanty black cloth called Thuni (துணி).

It has already been indicated that Tiriari temples have fallen into ruins and their buffaloes have become wild. As such there is no need for Palal or Kavalal. Besides, the present Todas do not seem to be interested in becoming a Palal or Kavalal, probably in view of the vigorous restrictions attached to such offices.

Priests of the second order are called Varzhal. (வருஷ ஆள்) They go through the same ceremonies as the Palal, but hold office for a shorter period and are employed as milkmen. They wear only the languti or loin cloth.

The next two orders seem to be identical with the Varzhal, but their designation depends upon the munds to which they belong. They are called, respectively, Kokvali living in Tarnad mund and Kurpuli living in Kenna mund of Kandal. The last Palkapals, (பால் காப்பாள்) i. e. milk watchers, are a lower order. They are not obliged to lead a celibate life and may wear the Poothukuli.

It is said that the Palals made up for their austerities by paying occasional visits to Badaga villages. They were held in great reverence for their sanctity and for their supposed acquaintance with the black arts by the timid Badagas, who readily supplied them with such luxuries as they had to give.

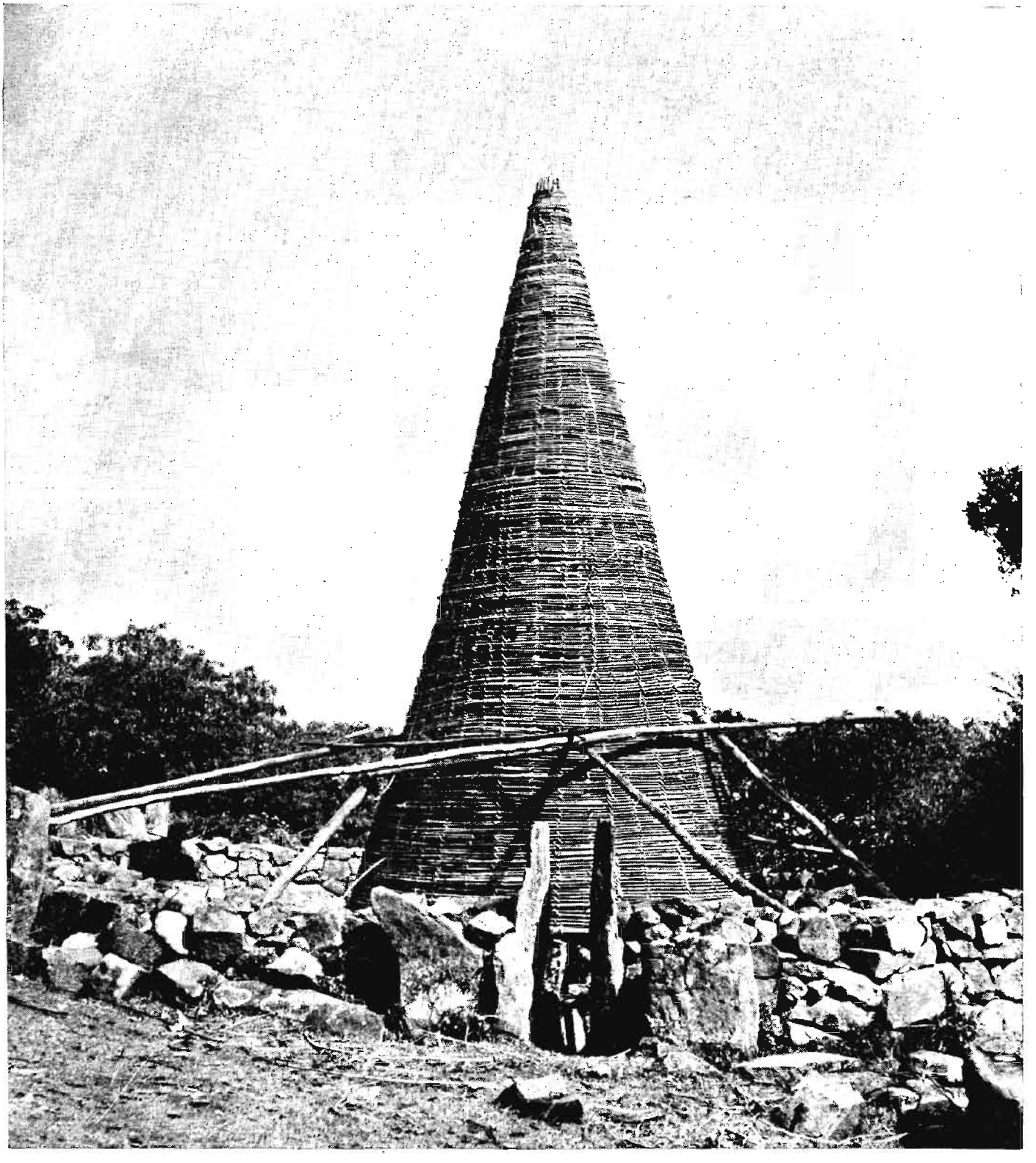
All kinds of priests take care of the herd attached to their temples, produce milk, process them and convert them into milk products. While doing so, they recite mechanically prayers or formulae, called Kwarshms. "May all be well"; "May the buffaloes be well" is the only form of prayer. They do not seem to appeal to their mund God nor do they seem to expect that he will show them any special favour. In fact the ritual has come to play so important a part in religious practice, that a clear conception of the deities is quite beyond the Toda mind to-day. However there prevails an opinion that the gods lived freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same kind of Toda pastoral life as now-a-days, with buffaloes and dairies. Only some are reputed to be still present in the Blue mountains, each living on the summit of a distinctive hill. Such principal Gods of whom one hears most from the Todas are the following:-

On

Lord of the underworld (Amnad), to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while still there, he created, together with his wife Pinakursh, men (ol = ஆள், in the present context Todas) as well as the Toda buffaloes.

Terkis (or Teikirzi)

The sister of On, she is by far the leading Toda deity, amounting to a protecting mother-goddess of the tribe; she is reputed to have stayed behind with the Todas when On retired to Amnad, and has her residence on the summit of the hill called Todhut (near the Norsh mund, known in English as the Toda Cathedral). She is omnipresent, being found, the Todas will tell you, also in London and New York.



BOA OR TODA CATHEDRAL OF NORSH OR
MUTHUND MUND UNDER RENOVATION.

Kwoten

A man-god, his fabulous life is closely associated with the Pan oll, one of the Tharthaz clans; Rivers believed him to be an outstanding Toda who was posthumously deified.

Kwoto

Another man-god, he is closely associated with the Melgarsh oll of the Tharthaz clans; one of the legendary feats he accomplished was to tie down the sun between two mountains and take it to drink at a stream everyday, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

It has been supposed that the Todas believe in the transmigration of the soul, but this is not very clear. However, they have a distinct idea of a life after death, to be spent in a world, called Amnad. As buffaloes milk are their chief food in this World, they considerately kill a sufficient number at each funeral to supply the dead with milk in Amnad. The spirits of men and buffaloes are supposed to take a leap together to the celestial regions.

Besides the sacrifice of buffaloes as a part of their funeral rites, the Todas sacrifice a buffalo calf, the details about which, they hesitate to share with others. The following account given by Captain Harkness in his "Description of Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Nilgiris", 1832 was narrated to them:-

"In the recess of a wood, whence a view of every thing, but the sky and the surrounding mountains, was excluded, a number of Todas has assembled, some of whom were busied in collecting dried bark and leaves of trees; others in lopping the branches and preparing fuel of a larger kind; others, again, in the act of producing fire by the friction of two pieces of wood; and some standing, in melancholy mood, musing over a calf, a most beautiful animal of the kind, the intended victim of the sacrifice. The fire was applied to the dried leaves and bark, and quickly fanned into a flame; more wood was then added, and as the smoke began to curl up from among the trees; and fly off towards the mountains, the calf was brought near the pyre, the whole of the party collecting together round it, the officiator being provided with a small club, which he had just fashioned, in one hand, and a bunch of leaves of the holy (Ththudr) *Tiurr* in the other. The officiator now received from the party who made the offering a small piece of money; and after making repeated salutations to the East, and waving the bunch of leaves around the calf, struck it with his club on the back of the head, and instantly deprived it of life. While its limbs were still quivering, the whole party, throwing up their hands and eyes towards heaven, repeatedly exclaimed, May it be as an offering from ...naming first one, and then the others, of their several high places.

The waving of the leaves was then again renewed, and the sacrificer taking off the skin, spread it out on a layer of branches, and placing upon it all the several pieces into which he had cut up the animal, except the head, feet, and entrails, sprinkled them with the blood. Others of the party had in the meantime prepared a number of doublepointed skewers, on the one end of which were now stuck the several pieces, while the other was forced into the ground, and the whole were arranged in a circle around the fire. When the flesh had become well singed, small pieces of it were torn off and, together with the head, thrown into the flame. A skewer was then given to each of the party, together with a quantity of newly-made butter, and each making his salutation to the East, picked off a little of the meat rolled it up in the butter, and eat it. However, with the exception of one old man, who seemed to relish the flesh, and to be loath to rise so soon as the others, the eating of the meat was evidently less to gratify the appetite, than to comply with a needful part of the ceremony.

What remained of the offering was equally divided for the purpose of being sent to the different families of the Todas, throughout the hills. Both Tardas and Terallies the two major divisions of Todas joined in this ceremony, and the sacrificer also was a Tarda. A little boy and girl, the children of the sacrificer, had accompanied the party. The boy was allowed to remain, and to partake of the offering, but the girl was sent away to a distance, till all was over, when a little of the meat was also given to her; but females are never allowed to join in this sacrifice."

On hearing the account, the Todas admit that the sacrifice of male buffalo calf, known as *Kona Shastra* still continues and the flesh is roasted on a fire made by friction. It takes place once in a year or two in a remote place near Mukurthi. They however deny that all those assemble take part in eating of the flesh of the sacrificed calf, but they say that only the priest tastes a small piece, more as a ritual, than for anything else.

Some of the Todas salute to the rising sun and moon. Some also fast at eclipses. It is interesting to note that they have a legend for the eclipse. It runs as follows:

"Many years ago, the story goes, two Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey. After walking for a few miles they separated, and proceeded in different directions. The uncle was unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate nephew secured two *kandis* (bamboo measures) of honey. This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle believe was the entire product of his search. On the following day the nephew went alone to the spot where the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment, that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the bamboo measures, which were transformed into two snakes. Terrified at sight thereof, he ran away, but the snakes pursued him. After running for a few minutes he espied a hare running across his course, and, by a skilful manoeuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it for the man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare, which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles. This accounts for the Solar Eclipse. The honey, which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into the Paikara river."

Todas are superstitious enough to have their lucky and unlucky days. This has a powerful influence in all their concerns; thus Thursday, Saturday and Sunday are good days, and other days are unlucky. If a person dies on any of the ominous days, the funeral rites are deferred to the succeeding good day.

Again, the fortnight coinciding with waning of the moon is considered inauspicious for all religious or ceremonial purposes. Counting newmoon day as the first day of a month, Todas have devised their own calender as indicated below:

Name of month		*Name of week days*
Aathari	Immatti	Dhoovoom
Aadi	Koortl	Om
Aavani	Alloni	Buthoom
Purrattathi	Nalloni	Thaam
Thuttheevi	Aani	Bilsh
Kruthvee		Thanni
Thai		Aarsum

Todas claim to know two mantras. By chanting one of them, they say they can cure snake bites. By the other, they believe that they can save missing buffaloes from probable attacks from wild animals like tiger.

CHAPTER XI

LAND AND LAND PROBLEMS

The policy of Madras Government towards the proprietorship of the soil is based on the following declaration made in 1796 by the Governor of Madras:

> "It is the feature in all Governments of India that the sovereign, whether he be a Mussalman or Hindu, is the lord of the soil; and hence it is that no alienation of the lands from the proprietor of the soil and this distinction is invariably followed the conquests of all nations who have established themselves in India."

Having been used to the system in England under which the King is considered to be the owner of all lands within the realm, and the subject can have no absolute proprietary right in the land but only the interest thereon; and having seen the conditions prevalent in the disturbed times in India, their conclusions that the proprietorship belonged to the crown was but natural. This view was somewhat modified later and the proprietary right of persons who had enjoyment of the land was partially recognised and the ryotwari system introduced in Madras State. A somewhat different approach was made by the British administrators in dealing with Malabar.

To understand the problem of Toda land, it is necessary to have an idea of the system followed in Malabar district. The land revenue settlement of Malabar differs from the ordinary ryotwari settlement of the Madras Presidency in that, the existence of a landlord between the State and the actual cultivator has been recognised in the theoritical distribution of the proportions on which rates of assessment are based. As elsewhere, the State claims a share of every crop. Assessment is the first charge on the land and is recoverable by the usual processes including, in the last resort, the attachment and sale of the land itself. But in fixing the share of the State, account has been taken of the landlord as well as the cultivator. The reasons for divergence from the ordinary rule can be explained on the basis of the concept of *Janmam* and *Kanam* rights prevalent in that district. The British rulers accepted the conditions in Malabar as they found no general land revenue system in Malabar at the time of the First Mysorean invasion. This thinking influenced the view of Mr. Conolly who was the first person to study the conditions in Nilgiris district. Actually, the Todas are a pastoral race who have enjoyed full right of grazing over the lands in Ootacamund. They have not cultivated any part of it when the Britishers discovered Ootacamund. In addition to this, there was a '*Gudu*' paid by other tribes to Todas in recognition of their sovereignty. For these reasons, the British Administrators concluded that Todas had higher proprietary right in the land than they conceded in the case of others in the rest of Madras State. To some extent this approach was influenced by the consideration that earlier settlement was made by the Britishers in Ootacamund and that in early transactions they purchased land from the Todas for settling down in that place. I will in the course of this discussion show how this approach made to the land problem, raised some complicated issues on Toda lands which remains unsolved even to-day and an earlier decision of the Court of Directors to liquidate the right of Todas over certain portions of land by a lump payment has left the Todas with a feeling that they have preferential right for the lands in which they lived and the Government do not have absolute right to do whatever they like with that land.

The fact that the Todas were the earliest occupants of the plateau made the Britishers presume that there was some sort of lordship over the hills, a view which received for many years the enthusiastic support of Mr. John Sullivan, of Mr. Hough and of Captain Harkness but which was equally opposed by some members of the Civil Service especially Mr. S. R. Lushington and Mr. Bird. It was also alleged that Mr. Sullivan's view of the right of Todas was to a large extent influenced by his having purchased some land in Ootacamund. The then Governor was then inclined to ignore these claims but his successor Sir Frederic Adam regarded them favourably and made concessions which were opposed to the permanent rights in soil, which, throughout the whole of India, irrespective of historical events, belonged to the State. Towards the end of Lord Elphinston's reign in 1840, after Mr. Sullivan's retirement from service, the civilian members of the Government made a determined attack on the policy of the preceding five years. The question was however referred by Marquis of Tweeddale to the Court of Directors in London. In

their reply of 21st June, 1843, the quantum of the right of Toda in the land was finally set in favour of the Todas. This decision was to a great extent influenced by the views expressed by the Collector of Malabar who had the *Janmam* tenure in Malabar in mind and who thought that the rights of Todas over the land was similar to the right which he found in Malabar.

The advocacy of Toda right was based on the consideration that they had from time immemorial paid to the Government a tax on all female buffaloes in their possession amounting to 2 cantarai fanams or 9 annas 5 pies per animal as well as an assessment of 1 cantarai fanam or 4 annas 8 pies per bullah on the grazing lands in the immediate neighbourhood of their mund calculated at the rate of 10 bullahs (38 acres) for every hundred head of cattle herded at a mund. This latter tax produced Rs. 350 in 1828 and Rs. 400 in 1847.

The Todas have always practised pasturing their herds over an undefined extent of territory comprising the length of the whole plateau of the Nilgiris. Their profession was grazing cattle. All their holdings were in the form of pasture. As such, the only title that can be advanced by Todas for any proprietary right in these lands is that of immemorial occupation. But no written evidence exists. The nature and extent of rights to be conceded to the Todas was examined in the year 1835 by the Collectors of Coimbatore and Malabar and by Mr. Sullivan, the then Senior Member of the Board of Revenue. The reports of these officers are mainly based on the information collected in 1832 and published by Captain Henry Harkness in his "Description of a Singular Aboriginal race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills"

According to him, the Todas "assert a claim to the soil and declare that it was only by their sufferance that the other tribes came to reside on it; that they receive from them a payment in kind, not, however, for many kannies or acres, but for such or such a spot, measuring it with the eye; an indefinite sort of demarcation, which, where land is so plentiful, and the inhabitants so few, is not attended with any inconvenience". Captain Harkness was doubtful about the claim that the annual donations of '*Gudu*' or the payment in kind and paid by the Badagars were made as an acknowledgement of their proprietary right in the land or from superstitious motives or with the object of inducing the Todas to refrain from molesting them. Another confusing factor is that, not only Todas but also Curumbars, Cohatas and Tirivis are entitled to receive portions of the produce suggesting that they have equal rights with the Todas. Mr. Sullivan has however observed firmly that the "Cohatas are paid in money or kind in return for their services; the Curumbas are paid for specific services at the time of ploughing, sowing and harvest and to avert the exercise of the preternatural powers which they are supposed to possess and the Tirivi is the sacred place of the Todas to which the Badagars make separate offerings and render a portion distinct from what they give the Todas and it is therefore to the Todas and to them alone that the payment is made as the ancient inhabitants, the *mirasidars* of the hills." It was also the view of Mr. Sullivan that no documentary evidence of proprietary right could be produced by a race who had no written character or any visible symbol by which they can indicate their thoughts. He has also quoted Mr. Drury to the effect that "the whole pasturage is grazed by the buffaloes of all the Todawars in common of the same mund and sometimes by those of another mund if the Todawars of both consent. Each mund has its separate grounds including woodlands and pasturage. Todawars do not consider themselves as proprietors in common with the other Todawars that their rights in their munds are independent of other munds". This quotation indicates that the Toda lands descended from generation to generation and that it does therefore form a portion of inheritance. The then principal Collector expressed an opinion that the "Todas have only a right of *Pasturage* and that not an exclusive one because all *waste* land capable of cultivation or not, has always been considered exclusive by the property of the Circar or ruling power and the rights of the Government must be the same on the Neilgherry Hills". According to Mr. Sullivan, waste land as such, was not the property of the Circar, either in Malabar or Canara in any sense of the word and portion of the Nilgiris range was always included in Malabar. The intimate connections that had always subsisted between the Nilgiris and Wynaad and their proximity to the Western Coast where private property in the land was universal made it the more probable that the Todas who are admittedly the most ancient race on the hills had the same propriety in the soil and were to all intents and purposes as much proprietors of the soil as the Nairs and other classes of the adjoining district of Wynaad.

Mr. Sullivan commended the principle that the right of the Todas should be respected in the most ample sense of the term and that they should not be deprived of any portion of their long established privileges without liberal compensation. The Governor in Council concurred with the views of Mr. Sullivan for respecting the rights of Todawars on the Nilgiris and resolved that they should not, on any account whatever, be disturbed in the possession of lands held

by them which they might desire to retain for pasturage so long as they paid the taxes payable by them, that private persons should not be permitted to appropriate any of those lands without the consent of the Todas interested in them on terms mutually agreed upon and that no part of those lands should be taken for public purposes without compensation to the Todas who had previously occupied them. Even though the rights of Todas on the Nilgiris have been recognised in principle, the Court of Directors did not define precisely the rights of the Government in the soil. The question was reopened when the Collector of Malabar concluded an agreement with the Todas to make over to the Government the land contained in the Cantonment of Ootacamund on the payment of annual quit rent of one hundred and fifty rupees.

The term quit rent employed in the agreement was considered to recognise rights of a more absolute nature than the Todas were entitled to claim. In a very able minute, Mr. C. M. Lushington, Senior Member of Council, combated Mr. Sullivan's theories and pointed out that the legal position of the issue might lead to the danger of sacrificing and abandoning the sovereign rights of Government. He pointed out not only the necessity of obtaining a precise and legal understanding of the various rights and interests concerned but also expressed his strong sentiments against admitting the claims of the Todas as proprietors of the soil on the Nilgiris. In the first place, the legal enactment preserves the rights of Government. Regulation XXXI of 1802 reads as follows:-

"Whereas the ruling power of the provinces, now subject to the Government of Fort St. George, has in conformity to the ancient usages of the country reserved to itself and has exercised the actual proprietary right of lands of every description and whereas consistantly with that principle all alienations of land, except by the consent and authority of the ruling power, are violation of that right. The length of occupation constitutes no ground of right and all parties refusing to produce their sunnuds, the lands are to be attached. Where lands are held under authorised titles such title shall be null and void if any revenue has not been paid on them for a period of 12 years antecedently".

Todas had no sunnuds. They paid tax for their pasturage and for permission to graze their cattle at so much per head. It was the view of Mr. Lushington that *Gudu* was paid for reasons independent of the proprietary right of the soil. He did not consider that any such demand strengthened the claims of Todas to be considered as the lords of the soil. In this context, the following account on page 13 "Primitive tribes of the Nilagiris" by J. W. Breeks 1873 will be of some interest:

"The Todas receive *Gudu* from the Badagas and Kotas, more or less according to the season and means of the cultivator and they retain possession of their village sites and the surrounding lands under grazing pattas for which they pay two annas an acre in lieu of the taxes formerly levied. They have an effective mode of extracting the Gudu from a refractory Badaga village without reference to law courts. Throughout the district, wherever Badagas cultivation has extended, the Todas have reserved the old sites of their munds and buffalo kraals, and have persuaded the Badagas that these places, however long abandoned and now surrounded with cultivation, are in some sense sacred. When a difficulty about the Gudu arises, the Todas by way of an ultimatum, make ready the nearest abandoned mund for habitation. The prospect of having a herd of Toda Buffaloes kraalled in the midst of their fields soon brings the Badagas to reason."

It was also the view of Mr. Lushington that it was the practice in India to grant titles over land for ages and the Inams granted by Naicks of Madurai, which the British recommended and regulated, were instances. It was an established fact that the Todas paid taxes for pasturage and permission to graze their cattle. This fact proves that the Todas had no right of ownership. Mr. Conolly pointed out that in Malabar, all land was strictly private property and the right of yeumkar or proprietor were held to be inalienable, whether it be cultivated or whether it be left waste. But even in Malabar, it was laid down by standard authority on all matters relating to the land tenures that, should a person bring into cultivation a piece of waste ground which appeared to have no claimant, the owner, on making his appearance, after any lapse of time, would have right to resume his property, paying for the improvement that had been made. But a man was not allowed to keep his land waste unless he agreed to pay the Government the tax they would derive from its cultivation. Should he decline to do this, the land was delivered on or to any person who would undertake to till it, a specification being made that out of the profits deducted from its cultivation a certain portion (about 15%) shall be given to the Proprietor as the landlord's share. It was therefore a serious question whether the Todas should have greater favour shown to them allowing them to be the proprietors of the soil than is shown to the proprietors of Malabar; whether they should be allowed to keep the large portion of the hills which they claim as their peculiar property in a state which

may fairly be called waste, to the prejudice of Government who might derive a large emolument from it, if brought under cultivation.

If the proximity of the Nilgiris to the Western Coast and the intimate connection with Wynaad was a proof for a paramount right in the soil on the Nilgiris to belong to private individuals then the same analogy should be extended to the districts of Coimbatore and Mysore which are nearer than the Nilgiris. According to Sir Thomas Munro, private property in the land was universal confined solely to the Malabar Coast. No such right ever existed in Coimbatore and as such the inference of the existence of private ownership in Nilgiris, because of its proximity to the western coast, was not convincing. Again by Regulation XXXI, Government denied that any length of tenure constituted a right without production of authentic documents, but they had by orders of 1835, declared that the Todas' rights in the soil were paramount; consequently no settler could obtain a valid title, for if he claimed by purchase from a Toda, he was met by the objection that the law allowed no such rights in waste land; if by purchase from Government, by the objection that the Government had declared they would not sell without the consent of the landlord Toda. These claims extend to a very large tract of the Neilgherries and the person preferring them is the Nilambur Zamindar whose Zamindari adjoins the Nilgiris. This is another reason against admitting the claims of the Todawars except on legal proof, for, as justly observed by Sir Thomas Munro, "We must not too hastily declare any right to be permanent, lest we give to one class what belongs to another". The views of Mr. Lushington were fully endorsed by the other Civilian Member, Mr. John Bird, who, whilst agreeing that compensation, not quit rent or *Gudu*, should be paid, demanded that the claims of the Todas to the sovereign rights in the soil should be repudiated.

In February, 1843, the Government of Madras submitted the question of the Todas' rights for the decision of the Court of Directors. After pointing out that the chief difficulty in disposing of claims to land on the Nilgiris arose from the circumstance that the right of the inhabitants in the soil had never been defined and the resolution of the Government in 1835 had been held virtually to apply to the Ootacamund settlement only, they proceeded thus:-

"An attentive examination of the whole subject did not enable us to discover that the rights of the Todas in the land differed from those of the people of India generally in their relation to the existing Government. They seem always to have paid a land tax and this was a light pasture tax only because the Todas are a pastoral tribe in the lowest stage of cultivation. Other classes of the hill population, we observed, of more settled habits, were not exempted from the payment of the usual agricultural tax. It is true we found that the latter were in the habit of offering certain gratuities or allowances of grain to the Todas under the name of *Gudu* the exact import of which is unknown, but similar payments are made to other rude tribes of the mountains without any acknowledgement of superiority claimed or service rendered".

The Court of Directors decided not to admit the existence of any proprietary right in the soil on the part of the Todas as can in any way interfere with the right of Government to permit parties willing to the full assessment to bring it under the plough. In regard to the right to be compensated for the abridgement of the grazing privileges, rights which the Todas had exercised over the lands on the hills, by the gradual settlement of strangers on the hills, it was admitted that the consequential diminution of the pasture grounds would be a positive disadvantage to the Todas and the loss of a privilege which they have enjoyed from time immemorial was a fair subject for compensation. It was observed that they would be sufficiently compensated by a payment equivalent in amount to the *gudu* which they received from the Badaga cultivators especially as they had been in the habit of interposing any obstacle with the cultivation of the lands in their occupancy on these terms. In the event of land for which the pasturage tax was paid being brought under cultivation an equivalent remission was to be made from the amount of the tax.

It was also decided that the lands, which were in the more permanent occupation of the Todas such as their munds on sites of villages and particular spots appropriated to religious rights, should be secured from all interference and their absolute right in them declared and also that the local authorities should abstain from making any grant of lands in the immediate vicinity of their villages as it was hoped that in course of time they might be induced so far as to change their habits as to bring themselves into cultivation.

On receipt of the directive the Board of Revenue was asked to prepare a manual of rules for the approval of Government and further to ascertain precisely the lands in the occupation of European on the Nilgiris and the circumstances under which such lands had been acquired.

The Manual of Instructions though submitted late in 1843 did not receive sanction until the end of 1849

on the completion of Major Ouchterlony's survey. The map prepared and published in that volume, among other things, exhibited the lands in the occupation of the Todas as well as the unoccupied tracts over portions of which these people had been won't to pasture their herds. These instructions laid down that lands which had hitherto been entirely unoccupied or used only as pasture grounds by the Todas should on being taken up for agricultural purposes, be assessed according to the rates paid on land of similar quality in the nearest agricultural villages, unless where the land be within a specified distance of Ootacamund, where special rates, from which Badagas were exempt, prevailed. The rules also required the observance of the Court's order regarding the non-proximity of land grants to munds and other Toda sites.

In the course of the survey of the hills, it was found that the Badagas were not generally disposed to admit the rights of the Todas to demand *Goodoo* from them at any specified rate, although they acknowledged the practice of giving Goodoo and their readiness still to give it according to their own wants or fancy. It was found too that Badagas had for some time past sold lands to Europeans and others without any mention of the Goodoo and that no claim had been urged by the Todas on the buyer. It appeared, that the extent of land over which *Goodoo* was claimable, were not more than about a hundred munds occupied and unoccupied and that the pasturage rights of the Todas, in practice, only extended to the area surrounding each mund. Under these circumstances, it was ruled that lands in the proximity of a mund or of spots appropriated to religious rites formed the grazing grounds of the Todas, but elsewhere unoccupied land might be given by Government on lease for building or agricultural purposes. Each lease, however, was to contain a stipulation that *Goodoo* would be charged to the grantee and added to the annual assessment, if it appeared to the satisfaction of the revenue authorities that *Goodoo* was payable thereon.

The amount of *Goodoo* was determined by the Collector subject to an appeal to the Board of Revenue. The Todas could sell no other right than that of pasturage. If the land be required for cultivation, it must still be disposed of under the rules in force, by public auction, for that purpose, the goodoo on the land, when such may clearly appear to be payable, being in that case paid to the party who has purchased the right of grazing from the Toda in the place of the Toda himself, which practically, though not overtly, deprived the Toda of his ill-defined but admitted rights of pasture in the Nilagiri uplands.

Thus the earlier right granted to the Todas was modified and the right restricted to pasturage. These rules remained in force, subject to certain modifications in 1858 until the 6th March 1863 when wastelands rules were introduced. It destroyed final grazing rights and also the communal claims of a village to the lands with its ancient limits by the decree that all lands were waste in which no rights of private proprietorship or exclusive occupancy exist and were liable to be disposed of by public auction.

Rule XVII stipulated that the claim of private proprietorship or of exclusive occupancy or any other right incompatible with the sale of land under these rules should be recognised. This was in accordance with the revenue practices of other parts of the present Madras State. Under orders from the Government, the revenue authorities abstained from leasing or putting up to public auction lands which could be said to be in inconvenient proximity to Toda munds. In order to be free from the interference by the settlers in the enjoyment of their munds and the spot appropriated to their religious rites, pattas were issued to each mund three ballas (11.46 acres) of land. In 1863, Mr. Grant obtained permission to make additional allotment of nine ballas (34.38 acres) to each mund on the express condition that this should be used only for pasturage and that neither it nor the forest on it should ever be alienated. This was in essence the legal protection to the Toda for the land so given up. The policy of the Government to look after the welfare of Todas by exclusive instructions was accepted and has been followed to this day. But the intention of the Government to look after the Todas has been throughout defeated by a system of sub-letting which converted the home lands of several munds into potato fields and market gardens. Government's policy has been, throughout the last century, based on safeguards intended to secure the proper enjoyment of lands of Todas themselves as will be shown by the statistics published in this volume. It will be seen that the policy has been more often than not failed. The earlier step taken was to collect assessment at full rates of lands granted on favourable tenure if alienated by lease.

Under the Survey 1870-1880, about fifty acres of land, ordinarily to a considerable extent woodland, were demarcated as the site or reserve for each mund, the total number being about seventy. On this, the Todas had to pay an assessment of 2 annas per acre i.e., the lowest assessment under the then settlement. This was the only tax which was about double the rate of the ancient *Pilluvari* or Grass Tax paid by them, the buffalo tax having been abolished with the Moturpha taxes in or about 1850. The ancient grazing tax was

levied at the rate of one-tenth bullah or two fifths of an acre to each buffalo.

In G. O. No. 249, Revenue, dated 21-3-1893, the Government empowered the Forest Department to control the allotment of lands which were made to the various Toda munds in 1843 and 1863 and confirmed at the settlement of 1881-1884. These allotments consisted largely of woodland and were intended to provide the Todas with a certain extent of inalienable grazing ground round about their dwellings. When the Forest Department took over the management, there was an extent of 2,948.67 acres of Todapatta lands. At present a total extent of about 2,795.10 acres remains as Todapatta land.

All laws existing upto the date of taking over were codified and were issued as rules framed under section 26 of the Forest Act. The intention was to protect the Todas in the exercise of their ancient privileges allowing them to graze their buffaloes free, to take fuel and grass for their domestic requirements, to receive free permits to remove timber, bamboos etc, for repairing their munds or temples and even to cultivate—yet prevented other classes of people from molesting these patches of forest. The Todas were also allowed free grazing for their buffaloes in the other reserves—a concession allowed to no others. The original rules framed under Section 26 read as follows:-

1. No person shall fell, girdle, mark, lop, uproot or burn or strip off the bark or leaves from or otherwise damage any tree growing on the said lands or remove the timber or collect the natural produce of such trees or lands or quarry or collect stone, lime, gravel, earth or manure upon such lands or break up such lands for cultivation or erect buildings of any description or cattle kraals, and no person or persons other than the Todas named in the patta concerned, shall graze cattle, sheep or goats upon such lands unless he is authorised so to do by the Collector or some person duly empowered in that behalf by the Collector.

2. The Collector may select any of the said land to be placed under special fire protection. After the limits of these areas have been clearly indicated and duly notified in the District Gazette, no person within such areas shall wilfully or negligently set fire to or instigate, aid or abet the setting fire to the trees, timber grass, fern or any forest produce, or shall kindle or keep burning any fire except at such places and subject to such precautions as may be prescribed by the Collector by notification in the District Gazette.

3. No person shall hunt, beat for game or shoot in such lands without a licence from the Collector of the Nilgiris. The payment to be made for such licence shall be Rs. 30/- except in the case of non-commissioned officers and soldiers of Her Majesty's forces in whose case it may be reduced to Rs. 5/- by the Collector, but all holders of licences from the Collector under the rules for the regulation of shooting in reserved forests and reserved lands in the Nilgiris district shall be exempt from any further payment under this rule. The licence shall be non-transferable and shall be available only for the currency of the fasli year, i.e., from the 1st July to the 30th June to which it relates, whether it be taken out at the commencement of or during the currency of the year.

4. The Collector of the Nilgiris may, by a notification in the District Gazette, from time to time declare during what season such licence will entitle the holder to hunt or shoot within the limits of the said forest and lands; after the publication of such notification, no person shall hunt or shoot within the limits of the said forest and lands except during such season.

5. No person shall at any time set nets, traps or snares for game on such lands.

6. All Todas in the Nilgiris district shall, in respect of their own patta lands, be exempt from the operation of the above rules and shall be at liberty to graze their own buffaloes, to remove fuel and grass for their domestic requirements and to collect any honey or wax upon such lands. They shall likewise be entitled to and shall receive free permits for the removal of all timber, bamboos, rattans, fibre and thatching grass that they may require for building or repairing their munds and temples.

7. The Collector shall have power to issue annual permits for the cultivation of grass land only in Toda Pattas by Todas themselves free of charge, or otherwise as Government may from time to time direct but no Toda shall be at liberty to permit any other person except a Toda to cultivate or assist in the cultivation of such lands.

8. Any breach or infringment of rules 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 will render the offender liable, on conviction by a Magistrate, to imprisonment of either description as defined in the Indian Penal Code for a term which may extend to one month, or fine which may extend to Rs. 200 or both.

Rules 3 to 5 were subsequently deleted. Certain bits of lands were also excluded from the list of Toda Patta lands. Other than these changes and some minor amendments in the wordings no major change was made upto 1947 and the position remained undisturbed for about five decades after which rule (4)

[original rule of (7)] under Section 26 of the Forest Act and the question of permanent assignment of land turned to be a controversial issue.

In practice, the Forest Department proved to be less sympathetic to the Todas. Under rule (4) it was the practice to issue annual permits to the Todas who wished to cultivate the Toda patta lands till 1947. It was represented at the meeting of the Toda Welfare Committee held on 22-9-1947 that due to the system of issuing annual permits for cultivation which were renewable every year, they could not start and stabilize any permanent cultivation on a strong footing and so land should be granted on ryotwari tenure. It discussed the question in detail and addressed the Government to increase the lease period for cultivation from one year to ten years. The Government authorised the Collector to issue permits upto a period of 10 years at a time. Rule (4) also laid down that no Toda shall be at liberty to permit any other person except a Toda to cultivate or assist in the cultivation of Toda Pattas. This rule was, however, modified as follows:-

At least one member of grantee (Toda) family should personally work on the land and that the non-Todas should not be entitled to be paid anything other than the wages or hire at the prevailing rates for the assistance given by them in cultivation. The basis for this relaxation was the fact that Todas could not cultivate their lands without employing non-Todas as coolies.

In 1947, at the instance of the Toda Welfare Committee, the Collector of Nilgiris proposed the formation of House Building Co-operative Society for the Todas. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies felt that they did not seem to be very particular about housing accommodation. However, as they did not live continuously in a particular place throughout the year but moved according to the availability of pasture for their cattle, he found it practically difficult to organise a building society for the Todas. In the alternative, he suggested that the Todas should be educated to settle down at a place permanently by assigning to them cultivable lands before a building society could be thought of.

By its resolution No. 2, the Toda Welfare Committee which held its meeting at Ootacamund on 27-11-48 resolved as follows:-

"In view of the fact that out of 2,795.10-3/8 acres of land reserved for Todas, only about 150 acres are under cultivation by them, it is rather premature to consider the question of further reservation of lands for Todas. Resolved also that lands under cultivation by Todas may be permanently assigned to them and as further lands are brought under cultivation, they may be progressively assigned."

The Collector agreed with the first part of the resolution but opposed the move for assigning any land permanently as he felt that the lands would be alienated directly or indirectly. The Government however ordered that an area of 154 acres of land in the Todapatta lands which was actually under their cultivation should be assigned to them permanently.

In August, 1950, the Collector reported that these two concessions had worked unsatisfactorily and recommended their withdrawl. His contention was that the Todas were not cultivating the lands themselves but used to lease them out on the pretext of employing non-Toda labour and remain content with the rent paid by them. Again, these steep grass lands were exposed to the danger of serious soil erosion. No effective check against the violation of the rules could be made as the Toda patta lands are scattered.

The Chief Conservator of Forests also recommended the cancellation of the Government orders. According to him, the cultivation by Todas was of recent origin. Until potato and vegetable cultivation became so profitable during the Second World War, they did no cultivation. Even that cultivation was being done at the instance of Badagas for profit. The Chief Conservator also pointed out that it was necessary to have special provision for the aboriginal tribes for their own self preservation for as one of the eminent Anthropologist Haimendorf says, "if they are pitch-forked upon a world they cannot comprehend, they have no other chance of survival". The Board of Revenue disagreed with the recommendations of the Collector and the Chief Conservator of Forests. It considered that (1) the concession granted regarding the employment of non-Todas might be tried for sometime more and reviewed in the light of experience; (2) the Collector should restrict the area to be assigned to the absolute minimum by assigning only such extent of land as in the effective bonafide occupation of the Todas; (3) Todapatta lands should be cultivated observing soil conservation methods similar to those leased to political sufferers. (4) in case the privileges were abused, the land assigned might be resumed. This view was accepted by the Government subject to the following conditions:-

1. That soil conservation measures should be adopted by the Todas to whom lands were assigned.
2. That lands steeper than 1 in 4 should not be ploughed.

It was the view of the Collector of Nilgiris that the decision of Government directing the permanent assignment of Todapatta lands to the individual Toda and permitting the Toda to employ non-Toda labour and extending the period of lease to ten years destroyed not only the foundation but the very superstructure that had preserved these lands to the tribe throughout the century.

Todapatta lands was a communal property. It would not be legally proper to assign permanently on any individual. It will create dissension within the tribe by trying to assign common lands. By inclination, the Toda could never be an agriculturists. To assign land to them will in due course work to their detriment unless the land will pass on to other tribes. Whether the period was one or ten years, the permission to engage non-Toda labour will not help the community because it has been the tradition to lease their lands secretly to non-Todas. Whatever participation Todas may take in cultivation would only be nominal and intended to meet the condition of the grant. It was never in the tradition to take to agriculture as a profession which point we will be further developing in the next chapter.

Further, the Toda cultivation was a serious threat to the existence of Wenlock Downs. An extent of 1319.34 acres of Todapatta lands lie within the Wenlock Downs. It was found that Todapatta lands were sold to outsiders including money lenders who ploughed them and planted potato and other crops. The area was not always restricted to what constituted Todapatta lands as the lands were ostensibly assigned to Todas but actually cultivated by others and were never protected from soil erosion either by the Todas or by their assignees. So the Government, in their G.O.Ms. 4313, Development, dated 28-5-51, cancelled their earlier orders of permanent assignment and withdrew the right of Todas to engage non-Toda labour. Five Toda converts filed a writ petition for cancellation of the above G. O. The contentions in the petition would throw some light on the stand of Todas against this vital question affecting their future. The order, according to them, denied the ryotwari assignment of the lands to the pattadars and the reimposition of restrictions with regard to the labour to be employed for such cultivation was unconstitutional. Besides they were deprived of the property not under any specific povision of law but arbitrarily. On the other hand, the contention of the Government was that according to the original settlement register of 1883, the Toda patta lands were classed as "inalienable common property of the Toda community." No individual Toda or Todas had any personal, ryotwari right in those lands nor were they permitted to sell or lease or otherwise alienate the land. Therefore, the sanction in G.O.No. 3098, Development dated 8-6-49, permanently assigning 154 acres to individual Todas became inoperative. No steps were taken to assign this extent of land to the petitioners. They never got possession of any property and as such their claim was untenable. The G. O. did not result in any irrevocable grant.

It was held by the court that the solution to these questions depended upon a consideration of documentary and oral evidence and a study of the history and tenure obtaining among the Todas from the earliest times. These questions could not be satisfactorily disposed of within the ambit of a writ petition. The proper course was to file a suit for a declaration of their rights and other incidental reliefs in a Civil Court which in the normal discharge of its duty was competent to give them. Instead of pursuing the matter, it was again represented to the Government requesting for the revival of the employment of non-Toda labour for cultivation. The Government held the view that the Todas could not be made agriculturists, if they were denied the benefit of employing genuine labour familiar with agriculture, but not interested in exploiting the Todas or their land. They, therefore, directed that the Todas might be permitted to employ non-Toda labour for cultivation in the Todapatta lands, subject to the following conditions:-

(1) Atleast one member of the grantee's family should actually cultivate.

(2) Non-Todas should not be entitled to anything other than the wages or hire for the labour or assistance rendered by them at the rates prevailing;

(3) The non-Todas employed should be restricted to the absolute minimum.

(4) The Toda Welfare Officer should, after personal investigation, certify in each case that the non-Todas permitted to be employed were restricted to the absolute minimum required and that they were genuine in the sense that they were not interested in exploiting the Todas or their lands.

In 1955, the Todas continued their agitation for land and represented to the State Government and the Prime Minister of India that they were in a position to safeguard their patta lands from falling into the hands of outsiders, and requested that the lands might be assigned to them on permanent patta. The Prime Minister wrote to the State Government observing that the apparent desire of the Todas to change over from their pastoral life to that of regular agriculturists should be encouraged by providing them with some lands, on

the express condition that they should engage themselves in agricultural work and must not pass on the land to non-Todas.

The State Government, however, observed that in spite of the fact that permits were issued freely still the Todas probably felt that it was *infra dig* to subject themselves to these restrictions. However, on the lines of the Prime Minister's suggestion, the State Government decided that a beginning should be made in the matter of assignment of lands to Todas on a permanent basis. This perhaps would give them a certain amount of self confidence in themselves. This was embodied in G. O. Ms. No. 2700, Revenue, dated 31-8-55 which reads as follows:-

" (1) that an extent of 1,393 acres of land lying outside the Wenlock Downs in Ootacamund Taluk of the Nilgiris should be utilised for assignment to the Todas on a permanent basis subject to the condition that the land so assigned is not alienated or sold to anyone (including any other Toda) within a period of 10 years from the date of assignment and that thereafter the land can be alienated or sold only to another Toda;

(2) that the extent to be assigned to each Toda family should be limited to 5 acres;

(3) that the assignment should be free of market value;

(4) that the other restrictions usually imposed in the case of landless poor persons should not be made applicable to the assignment of lands to Todas".

An extent of about 1402 acres of Todapatta land lies within the Wenlock Downs which is situated west of Ootacamund. The Wenlock Downs is a special preserve of the Forest Department which has raised a number of blue-gum and other plantations in the place. It was, therefore, thought that it was not desirable to assign any land in this area to the Todas. A direction was, therefore, issued that the Todas who occupy Toda patta lands inside the Wenlock Downs have to vacate them if they want lands outside the Wenlock Downs on permanent patta. It was also ordered that a portion of the district allotment for agricultural and Land Improvement Loans should be earmarked for the Todas and a liberal policy should be adopted in granting loans to these people. However, this order has not been implemented.

The Todas were not happy about the unwillingness of the Government to assign lands within Wenlock Downs where more than 50% of the Todapatta Lands are located. They, therefore, made a fresh representation that the Toda patta lands occupied by Todas within Wenlock Downs should also be permanently assigned to them. The fact, however, is that Todas are not agriculture-minded but depend on Badagas to cultivate their patta lands. Land problem has been very acute near the Wenlock Downs. The intention of the Government was that the Wenlock Downs should be reserved for the Forest Department to raise blue-gums and other plantations. Any interference with Wenlock Downs will also affect the Ootacamund watershed and the stability of the Hydro-Electric system. At the same time, it was not considered desirable to cause any hardship to Todas. As such, their occupation within Wenlock Downs was ordered to be continued on the permit system and further occupation prohibited. The Government hoped that the Todas would eventually realise the advantage of taking up lands outside the Wenlock Downs on a permanent assignment and give up their annual patta lands within the Wenlock Downs.

The existing rules under Section 26 of the Madras Forest Act which govern Todapatta lands in the Nilgiris district are reproduced below from the Madras Forest Manual, Volume I.

(1) No person shall fell, girdle, mark, lop, uproot or burn or strip off the bark or leaves from or otherwise damage any tree growing on the said lands or remove the timber or collect the natural produce of such trees or lands or quarry or collect the lime, gravel, earth or manure upon such lands or break up such lands for cultivation or erect buildings of any description or cattle, kraals, and no person or persons other than the Todas, including Toda Converts named in the patta concerned, shall graze cattle, sheep or goats upon such lands unless he is authorised so to do by the Collector or some person duly empowered in that behalf by the Collector.

(2) The Collector may select any of the said lands to be placed under special fire-protection. After the limits of these areas have been clearly indicated and duly notified in the District Gazette, no person within such areas shall wilfully or negligently set fire to or instigate, aid or abet the setting fire to the trees, timber grass, fern or any forest produce, or shall kindle or keep burning any fire except at such places and subject to such precautions as may be prescribed by the Collector by notification in the District Gazette.

(3) All Todas, including Toda Converts in the Nilgiri district shall, in respect of their own patta lands,

be exempt from the operation of the above rules and shall be at liberty to graze their own cattle, to remove fuel and grass for their domestic requirements and to collect any honey or wax upon such lands. They shall likewise be entitled to, and shall receive free permits, for the removal of all timber, bamboos, rattans, fibre and thatching grass that they may require for building or repairing their munds and temples. They shall also be permitted to construct pucca houses on their lands and shall for this purpose be entitled to the removal of stones, gravel and sand available on such lands in addition to the above materials. The leasehold rights for house sites shall be in the name of the individual Toda who constructs the house.

(4) The Collector shall have power to issue from time to time, permits to Todas for a period not exceeding ten years at a time for the cultivation by Todas themselves of grass land only in Todapattas free of charge, or otherwise as the Government may from time to time direct in this behalf.

(5) Any breach or infringement of rules 1 and 2 will render the offender liable, on conviction by a Magistrate, to imprisonment of either description as defined in the Indian Penal Code for a term which may extend to one month, or fine which may extend to Rs. 200, or both.

Under rule (4), the Collector issues annual permit with the following conditions.

(1) The annual permit should normally be renewed every year on or before the 1st April, failing which, it may be renewed after levying a fine or the renewal may be refused without any compensation for the loss or damage caused to the permit holders.

(2) The permit holders should vacate the land, if they are requested to do so. The Collector's decision in this regard will be final.

(3) A margin of one chain should be left between the shola and the border of the cultivated plot. Cultivation should not be extended outside the limits for which the permit is issued.

(4) An assessment of np. 50/-per acre may be levied if the same land is cultivated for more than three years.

(5) Shola and the trees standing on the land should not be destroyed.

(6) Terrace cultivation should be done.

(7) At least one member of the grantee's family should actually cultivate.

(8) Non-Todas should not be entitled to anything other than the wages or hire for the labour or assistance rendered by them at the rates prevailing.

(9) The non-Todas employed should be restricted to the absolute minimum.

(10) The District Welfare Officer should, after personal investigation, certify in each case that the non-Todas employed were restricted to the absolute minimum.

(11) Without any notice, the Collector will cancel the permit for a breach of any of these conditions.

(12) An assessment of np. 50/- per acre should be paid.

(13) *Special Condition*:- The lease will be liable to be cancelled if the land is not cultivated by the permit-holder himself or through hired labour.

(14) The land should be cultivated following soil conservation methods.

The problem remains as it was at the beginning of this century. The policy of the Government has been to see that any concession extended to the Todas should not be exploited by non-Todas. For this purpose, they have imposed conditions from time to time which has made the working of the system somewhat difficult. But, at the same time, no Toda except converts has made any serious attempt to take to agriculture as a regular occupation. The Toda has always remained susceptible to exploitation by other hard-working people living in Nilgiris District. He has by his heritage and temperament lived a life of ease and has looked to the Government for assistance which has been forthcoming ever since the Todas were discovered by the British administrators. This desire of the Government to help the Todas has been exploited by their neighbours from time to time. The question is further complicated by the fact that Wenlock Downs,which is considered to be a sacred place for Todas and round which is scattered their tribal hierarchy and their customs and manners, is considered as a national preserve for many purposes including raising of plantations by Forest Department. This internal conflict between the policy of the Government and their desire to help the Todas to preserve the past culture has made the solution of this problem extremely difficult. Again, there is a feeling that agriculture is superior to pastoral life. An attempt has, therefore been made to make the Toda settle down to cultivation. It was the view expressed by Prince Peter of Greece who made a special and sympathetic study of Todas that some risk should be taken in seeing that

they settle down to cultivation by alloting lands unconditionally to them. Any person knowing the habits of Todas and the people with whom they have dealings are however inclined to the view that these lands will not remain in their possession for long, if an unconditional assignment is made by the Government of Madras. Again, there is the basic question whether a Toda can be a good agriculturist so long as he retains his tribal hierarchy and follows the customs and manners of his predecessors. His civilisation is centred in what can be known as Buffalo and what he needs is grazing facilities for the preservation of his cattle. That a Toda can be a good cultivator has been proved by converts. So, if a Toda has to be made an agriculturist by the policy of the Government, it necessarily means the extinction of what is essentially tribal in the Toda race. There is a sentimental aspect to this question which has to be examined at length before any decision can be taken. Again, a Toda had not reacted favourably to the educational facilities extended by the Government to them. Repeated attempts have been made by social reformers to help the Todas from time to time. Therefore, it is likely that in the present set-up, a Toda can never take to active life in Nilgiris like Badagas and plains people. The fact that the Government of Madras have considered Todas as their own people led to the modification from time to time the severity of measures contemplated by the Government against them.

Much has happened after independence. The grazing land of the Toda has become economically important to the Madras State. It has also become a national asset. It is no longer possible to have the land as the property of Todas without detriment to the national interests. The land policy has been hampered by sympathy for Todas but how long the Government can resist the preservation of national interests remains to be seen.

CHAPTER XII

ECONOMY

The Todas are purely a pastoral people and in spite of efforts to make them agriculturists even to this day continue to be so. The care of buffaloes and the duties connected with the dairy form the sole work of the Todas. Even their religion is centered round the buffalo. Of late, some have taken to other work but the bulk of the population are graziers, pure and simple.

Since the migration of the Badagas to the Nilgiris, said to have taken place early in the fourteenth century, the Todas as 'lords of the soil', collected 'gudu' from them. Each Toda mund had such gudu from a certain number of Badaga villages appropriated for its support. This gudu and the dairy products were their only source of livelihood. But the Badagas no longer recognise them as their 'lords' and having to pay 'kist' to Government on the lands they cultivate, are less ready to give the gudu to the Todas. In fact, the gudu said to have been delivered as a landlord's due has become rather a case of the Toda going to the Badaga for doles and it seems certain that the Badagas have come to exercise considerable influence over the Todas, the influence that the payer of a pension has over its recipient. The Todas therefore find it difficult to subsist.

It is probably true that other means of livelihood could be found, but so long as the Toda remains a mund-dweller, he is unlikely to depart from his tribal custom. A reference to the chapter on tribal welfare will indicate the measures undertaken to improve their conditions. Toda has not shown any tendency to take to any other profession. He does not like work requiring long and steady application. The grazing of cattle permits many hours of sleep in sholas or on the banks of a pleasant hill stream. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt.

Instances are not lacking to prove exceptions to such an attitude; but they are of recent origin, and are the outcome of inducement and encouragement shown by those who worked for the welfare of the tribe.

Grigg's Manual of the Nilgiri District, 1880 is the first literature in which mention has been made about Toda's inclination and attempt to make departure from their traditional occupation. The author writes " of late years some few Todas impelled by the example of the Badagas, whose industry is gradually making them rich, have applied for employment on plantations, but neither they nor their employers appear to have been much pleased with the experiment ".

Edgar Thurston had met with more than one man who had served or was serving Government in the modest capacity of a forest guard and he heard of others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success on planters' estates.

Of the 676 Todas enumerated in 1911, 561 depended on buffalo grazing for livelihood. There were 33 coolies and 9 beggars.

The present extent of dependence of the Todas on different sources of income is brought out by the tables on the following two pages. It will be observed therefrom that the proportion of economically active females is negligible both among converts and non-converts. Among males, 183 out of 202 non-converts and 41 out of 46 converts, above the age of 18 years, are economically active. This does not mean that they are economically well off. In fact, they are living under primitive and subsistence conditions and are not participating to any significant extent in the money economy of the country. The table only presents the branch of economic activity in which individuals perform their occupation. The division of labour is not highly developed. Hence nearly all the individuals, from the time when they reach working age, are commonly engaged atleast to some extent in the economic activity. If any scheme is evolved to measure the time they worked and the efforts put forth, it would clearly indicate that most of the cases, if not all, are of underemployment.

Hereditary Occupation

Being a pastoral tribe, 165 out of 190 economically active non-converts (i.e.) about 87 per cent engage in the chief occupation of tending and rearing of large herds of semi-domesticated buffaloes mainly for milking. But among the converts, only 8 out of 44 males or 18 per cent stick on to their hereditary occupation.

The activities of such Todas are almost limited to the care of their buffaloes and to the complicated ritual which has grown up in association with these animals. It has already been mentioned at the beginning that the rearing of buffaloes constitutes the main basis of



A PASTORAL SCENE OF PEACE

The buffalo is his God, it is his life. A Toda is milking his buffalo. Milk and milk products form the staple diet of the Todas.

Population of Todas as on 15-5-60

(By Religion, Sex, Age Group and Working Status)

MALES

Age Groups	NON-CONVERTS											CONVERTS							
	All Cases	Both Buffalo rearing and Potato cultivation	Buffalo rearing alone	Potato cultivation alone	Buffalo rearing & / or potato cultivation in addition to some other occupation	Forest Guard	Gardener	Other Economically active persons	Students	Other non-working dependents	Receiver of agriculture rent	All Cases	Both Buffalo rearing and Potato cultivation	Buffalo rearing alone	Potato cultivation alone	Buffalo rearing & / or Potato cultivation in addition to some other occupation	Other economically active persons	Students	Other non-working dependents
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
All Age Groups	322	94	71	9	4	3	7	2	18	112	2	87	5	3	26	5	5	26	17
0— 4	58	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	1	11
5— 7	33	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	25	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	3	3
8—12	19	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	7	9	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	11	1
13—17	10	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	11	...	1	2	...	...	6	2
18—22	17	2	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	10	...	1	3	...	1	5	...
23—27	18	6	9	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	11	1	1	6	...	3	...	...
28—32	22	12	7	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	4	...	1	...	...
33—37	19	7	6	2	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
38—42	34	18	10	1	1	...	1	...	...	2	1	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
43—47	17	9	6	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	5	1	...	4	...	...	...	...
48—52	24	12	2	2	2	1	1	1	...	3	...	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	...
53 & over	51	25	16	1	...	...	...	1	...	7	1	8	3	...	4	1	...	...	...

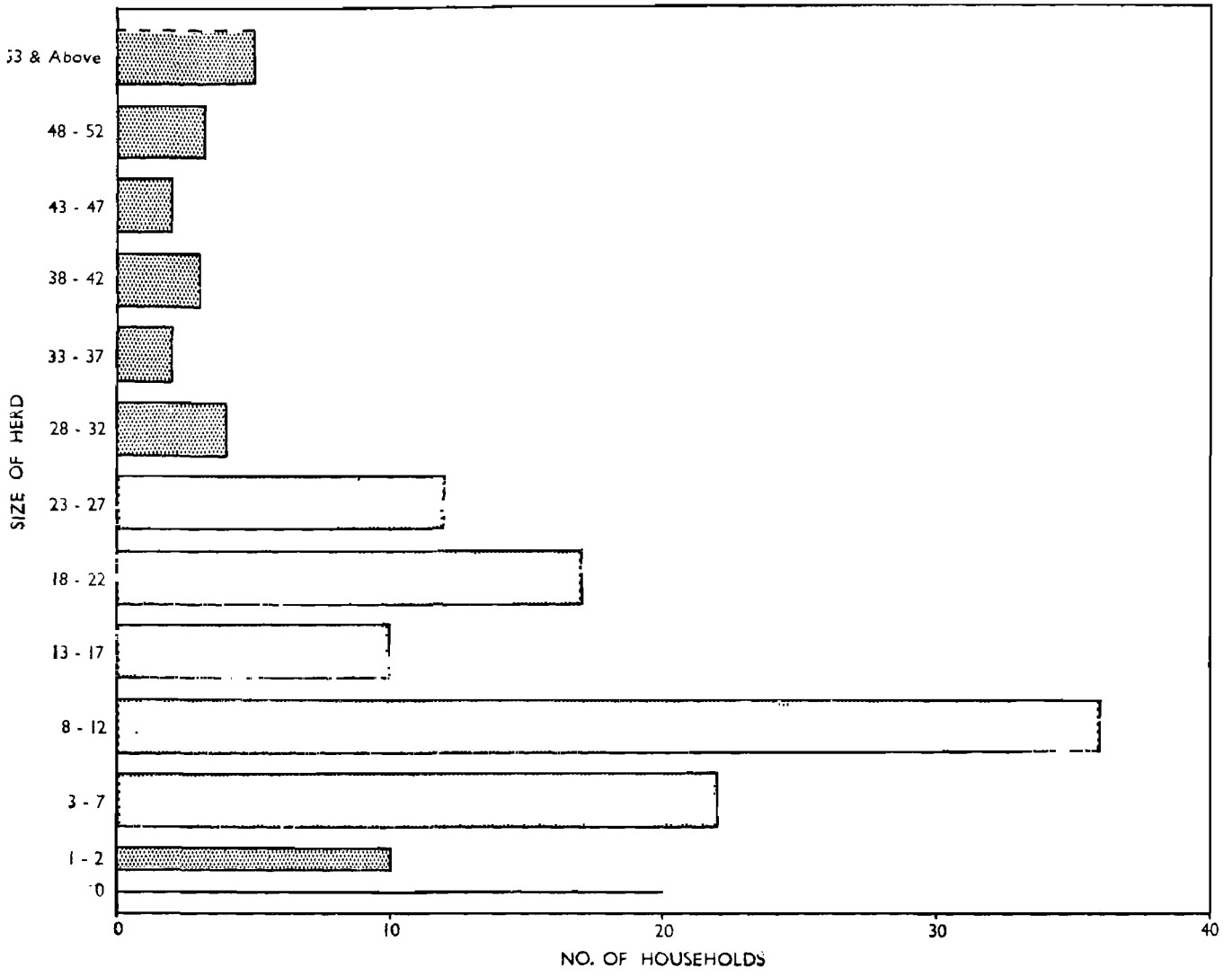
Population of Todas as on 15-5-60

(By Religion, Sex, Age Group and Working Status)

FEMALES

Age Groups	NON-CONVERTS								CONVERTS							
	All Cases	Buffalo rearing and / or potato cultivation	Embroidery	School Teacher	Other economically active persons	Housewives	Students	Other non-working dependents	All Cases	Embroidery	School Teacher	Nursing Sister	Pharmacist	House wives	Students	Other non-working dependents
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
All Age Groups	290	8	15	...	...	132	14	121	63	2	5	1	1	16	28	10
0— 4	50	...	...	...	...	...	1	49	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
5— 7	37	...	...	...	...	...	8	29	5	...	...	...	...	...	5	...
8—12	20	...	...	...	...	2	5	13	6	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
13—17	13	...	...	...	...	9	...	4	7	...	...	...	...	...	7	...
18—22	28	...	2	...	...	25	...	1	19	1	3	...	...	6	9	...
23—27	23	1	5	...	...	17	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
28—32	34	1	3	...	...	30	...	...	3	...	1	1	...	1	...	...
33—37	13	1	3	...	...	8	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
38—42	14	1	1	...	...	12	...	...	5	...	1	...	...	4	...	...
43—47	16	1	1	...	...	14	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
48—52	15	1	...	...	...	10	...	4	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
53 & over	27	2	...	...	...	5	...	20	3	...	...	...	...	2	...	1

CATTLE WEALTH AMONG NON - CONVERTS



economic, social as well as religious life of Todas. We will now discuss the economic aspect of buffaloes. Buffalo is an animal to which this climate seems better adapted than that of the plains. They are not tormented by the innumerable flies and insects that in the plains force them to plunge into water, or into some muddy pool, remaining there in for the greater part of the day with their snouts above the surface; but here, they quietly range over the downs in herds unmolested and unannoyed feeding on a rich and luxuriant herbage, more adopted to their taste than the finer kinds of grass.

Unfortunately, the fine breed of buffaloes is reported to be rapidly decreasing, murrain and other diseases having carried them off in far greater numbers. In his Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a survey of the Neilgherry Mountains, Captain J. Ouchterlony reports that the Todars paid an annual tax to Government of 9 annas and 5 pies per head on all the female buffaloes herded by them, the bulls being exempt from tax. The amount of revenue collected from them in 1847 on account of tax on buffaloes was Rs. 960/–. Thus, it could be estimated that there was a minimum of 1,630 she-buffaloes in 1847. The buffalo Census taken in November 1931 showed Toda herds to a total of 1,619. The present survey reveals that there are 2,262 buffaloes in the possession of all the Todas as indicated below :-

DETAILS OF CATTLE		OWNED BY		
		Non-Converts	Converts	Both
BUFFALO-BULLS	Calves	110	3	113
	Stud bulls	44	2	46
	Bullocks	..	..	..
SHE-BUFFALOES	Calves	337	15	352
	Milking	398	24	422
	Dry	1,297	32	1,329
TOTAL		2,186	76	2,262

The above figures do not substantiate the general opinion that the Todas' buffaloes are decreasing rapidly and are far less than in bygone days. If we have to respect this opinion, then the 1931 Census has to be treated as an under-count. The estimate of 1847 might be an under estimate as there is bound to be tax evasion at any point of time.

In his Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Neilgherry Mountains, 1821, Captain B. S. Ward, Deputy Surveyor General reports that each clan was in possession of from one to two hundred buffaloes.

It has been said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in connection with the visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. A Clergyman, who has done mission work among the Todas, generally illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to come out of their huts. Thinking they required humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining the object of his tour, and thinking to impress the Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and is bringing out a retinue of two hundred peoples'. 'Yes, Yes', said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how many buffaloes is he bringing?" Let us adopt the same yard stick and see how wealthy is a Toda.

Frequency Table showing Total number of Households with specified number of cattle

SIZE OF HERD	Number of households with a particular size of herd	
	Non-Converts	Converts
0	22	18
1 - 2	4	3
3 - 7	22	4
8 - 12	36	1
13 - 17	10	...
18 - 22	17	1
23 - 27	12	1
28 - 32	4	...
33 - 37	2	...
38 - 42	3	...
43 - 47	2	...
48 - 52	3	...
53 & above	5	...
TOTAL	142	28

It is observed that possession of cattle is more common among non-converts than among converts. As against 15 per cent of non-converts 64 per cent of converts do not possess any cattle. On an average each household possesses 8 to 12 buffaloes. The entire herd belonging to the tribe is fairly distributed among the various households.

Their buffaloes are different from those of the plains being bigger and more strongly built and having huge horns which rise in a wide curve above their heads instead of running in almost straight line long either side of their bodies, as elsewhere. They are not, however, so powerfully and thickly built as the famous

drought-buffaloes of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. Their ferocity is proverbial, and the combined charge of a herd of them down a steep hill with a bag at the bottom of it is unpleasant to encounter.

The buffaloes are divided into two categories sacred and non-sacred. Among the sacred, the degree and order of sanctity varies. For instance, *Tirari* buffaloes are considered to be the most sacred one. They are not milked except for the use of *Poojaris* belonging to *Tirari* temple. Milk of other sacred buffaloes should be used only by *Poojaris*, but their milk products can be used by any one or sold in the market. It will be difficult for a non-Toda to distinguish between different categories.

The herd of buffaloes are kept at night in a 'tuel' 'undi' or pen, which is a circular enclosure, varying in size according to the number comprising the herd. It is generally located in some sheltered spot, and embanked with loose stones with a single entrance to the height of three or four feet. These pens having no covering above, the cattle are exposed at all seasons to the rains and sun, while the floor is covered with the accumulation of their own droppings. As they are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time much elevated. Some scheme could profitably be evolved to utilise the buffalo dung either as manure or fuel.

The cattle are neither fed nor watered in the 'undi'. During the day the calves either accompany their dams, or are grazed separately under the care of an attendant.

The male buffaloes are turned to no use. If they are castrated and reared, they would be most admirably suited from their great strength, to drag proper iron ploughs over the steepest and most difficult ground. She-buffaloes are milked both in the morning and evening. The demand for milk is great and hence they sell the surplus milk without conversion into butter or ghee.

Shortt reported a daily yield ranging from five to nine quarts or 200 to 360 ounces of very rich well flavoured milk. But the present day yield is very poor ranging from 4 to 5 bottles of 24 ounces a day, with a selling price of annas 5 per bottle.

Endeavours to breed foreign cattle on the hills have met with little success. English cattle were tried, but none of them seem to have survived. In 1880 some of the well-known Amrat Mahal animals from Mysore were entrusted to the Lawrence Asylum authorities, but by 1884 all but two had died. There seems to be a peculiar lack of nourishment in the natural grasses of the plateau, due, it is conjectured, to the low percentage of lime in the soil.

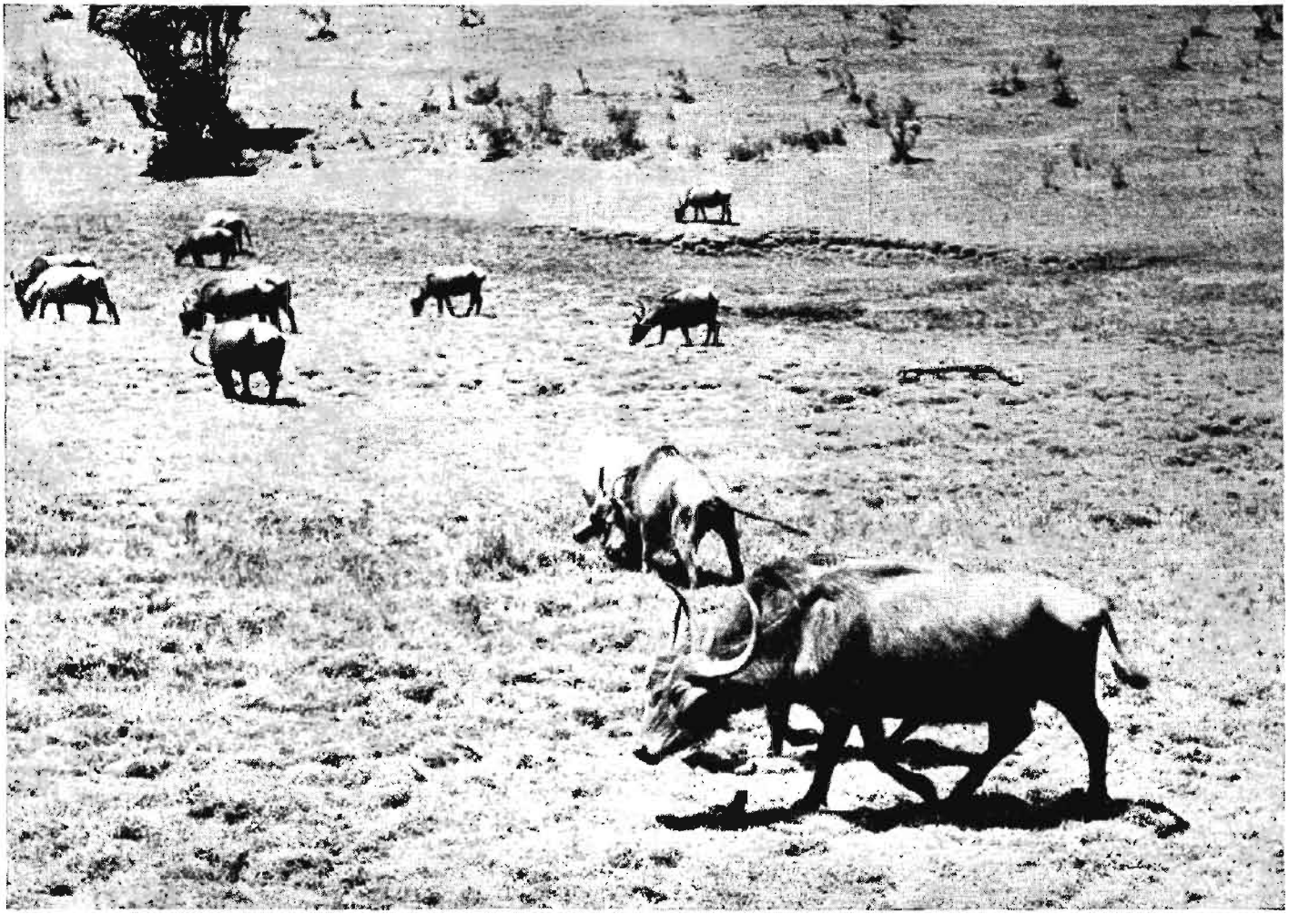
During dry season lasting from about December to March, pasturage around the munds becomes scanty. The grass upon which the Todas pasture their buffaloes becomes more coarse. So they used to burn it down and migrate to places of abundance, many of which are in or near Kundah. A fine tender young grass replaced the ashes of the old grass by the time they returned to the mund, round which they had run the fires. Now-a-days, this seasonal migration has been reduced to a large extent. Out of the 142 non-convert households, only 44 households are in the habit of moving to their interior summer residence. All the converts have given up this practice.

The buffaloes feed only on green grass and water. Todas do not take any special care in rearing their buffaloes. Early in the morning or rather as soon as the sun has risen the herd is liberated from the pen and some of the male members drive the herd to great distance to graze and towards the evening the herd draw together around the mund.

Pasturage of buffaloes has been adversely affected by the influx of immigration and extension of agricultural and plantation activities by other castes and tribes. Further there is reduced scope of grazing due to establishment of hill station, hydro-electric reservoirs etc. However, this difficulty can be obviated by switching over to "stall feeding". In fact, "stall feeding" is said to result in more yield and better health than 'grazing'. Besides, 'domestication', 'up grading' or 'cross breeding' 'artificial insemination', feeding with rice bran and oil cake etc., are reported to indicate praiseworthy progress in the development of livestock and improve the milk yield, capacity to stand the environmental conditions and disease-resistant qualities and ensure early maturity resulting in faster rate of growth. But the conservative character of Todas, who adopt the primitive animal husbandry methods in the upkeep of their buffaloes, might impede the progress of any scheme attempted on large scale without adequate personal contacts and propaganda.

Agriculture

In the past, cultivation was completely unknown to Todas. They were frequently migrating from one mund to another or from one mountain side to that of another, as the seasons changed, or as the pastures in their immediate vicinity began to fail. So they never had a single settled or long established residence.



GRAZING

"The buffaloes quietly range over the downs in herds unmolested and unannoyed, feeding on a rich luxuriant herbage, more adopted to their taste than the finer kinds of grass".



BUFFALOES IN THE PEN

" The herd of buffaloes are kept at night in a '*tuel*' or pen, which is a circular enclosure. Pens having no covering above, the cattle are exposed at all seasons to the rains and sun, while the floor is covered with the accumulation of their own droppings ".

Hence cultivation of grain or vegetables of any description was most unsuited for them.

Besides, they were reported to have had prejudice towards agriculture. In the words of Breeks, "they (the Todas) say that here (in this world) men's arms and legs are poisonous, so that by culture they wear out the earth, but that. in Amunad (world after death) the tables are turned, and the arms and legs of the cultivators are gradually worn down to the elbows and knees. When they have arrived at this stage, they return to earth. This seems a strange form of the common tradition of antagonism between the earth and its inhabitants. As Todas cannot be accused of wearing out the earth by culture, this peculiarity of Amunad probably only affects strangers. It is curious to find this prejudice against agriculture expressed in almost the same terms as far back as the time of Menu. Cf: Institutes, X. 84 "Agriculture is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame : for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it".

The earliest attempt on the part of Todas to try cultivation was made in the year 1892 by sending a petition to the Collector praying for permission to cultivate potatoes or other vegetables upon small portions of their grass lands. At that time, Todapattas were given for mund site or grazing purposes only. Even then the Collector wondered whether the Todas would avail themselves of the privilege. Still, the Collector thought that they should be encouraged whenever they showed any sign of enterprise or desire to improve its condition. The Government therefore raised no objection to grant permission to them for cultivation of vegetables on small portions of Toda patta lands. However, a condition was imposed that the area should not exceed one acre of land for each male adult Toda and no grant should be sanctioned until the Collector satisfied himself of the *bonafides* of the applicants and approved the sites applied for. Such grants were exempted from any extra charge for three years at the end of which period the land if still under cultivation was to be assessed at the usual rate for such land. The permit had to be renewed annually.

The Government of Madras observed in 1929 that some of the Todas took to potato cultivation with enthusiasm and good results. As some of them desired to cultivate more than the one acre permitted, the limit of one acre was raised to two acres for each adult male.

The above orders restricted the Todas from cultivating staple grains. As many of the Todas took to potato cultivation with enthusiasm and with good results and as the cultivation of potatoes on the same patch of land for two or more crops successively would render the soil unfit for further cultivation of the same crop, the Collector was authorised to permit the Todas to cultivate other crops such as wheat or barley as rotation crops.

Simultaneously, the Government implemented several schemes for making Todas agriculturists. The details of such schemes and the extent to which the Todas were benefited are discussed in detail in the chapter on Tribal Welfare.

As indicated in the chapter on land and land problems, the Collector issues annual permit for the cultivation of Todapatta land to a maximum extent of 5 acres of land per family with a financial assistance of Rs. 600/-, Rs. 300/- being subsidy and Rs. 300/- being interest free loan to be repaid in two annual instalments. The survey indicates that an extent of 394 acres of Todapatta land is under effective cultivation. As the existing rules lay down a special condition that the lease will be liable to be cancelled if the land is not cultivated by the permit-holder himself or at least by one member of the grantee's family, it was found difficlut to ascertain whether the entire extent is cultivated by the Todas themselves or leased out to ryots belonging to other community, under the pretext of employing non-Toda labour. However some of the Todas lease the lands to others for cultivation. A total extent of 116 acres is under lease, out of the total extent of 394 acres reported as under effective cultivation. It is likely that more area is under lease.

The table presented at the beginning of the chapter will show that converts have chosen 'Agriculture' as their chief occupation. 26 out of the 44 economically active converts or 59 per cent depend solely on potato cultivation. Another 5 converts or 11 per cent depend partially on agriculture and partially on livestock industry. Among non-converts, 9 out of 190 or 4.7 per cent are pure agriculturists and 94 persons or 49.5 per cent derive their income from agriculture as well as buffalo rearing.

Embroidery

Besides doing their domestic duties, the Toda women employ their leisure hours in embroidery work, which they execute in a clever but off hand manner. It will be a common sight near the mund to see Toda women curling their locks and doing embroidery. In the past, the embroidery was confined to their traditional type of dress 'Poothukuli'. A woman who is industrious will

generally make two Poothukulis a month. The only tool they use is an ordinary sewing needle. The only technique used in the embroidery is that of darning and counting the threads of the woven material to form the patterns.

As most of the women undertake this as a favourite pursuit during leisure hours, more detailed description about this art is given separately on the next chapter. Any how, it has to be mentioned here that 15 non-converts and 2 converts who are reported as workers in the table at the beginning were regularly working at the embroidery centre at Nirgachimund which has since been shifted to Ootacamund. The centre was started by the All India Handicrafts Board in the middle of June 1958 at Nirgachimund, 8 miles away from Ootacamund with a view to revive the fast dying craft and to improve the economy of the tribe. In the beginning 10 Toda women were provided with daily wage work in their traditional embroidery at Rs. 1.50/- per day. During the first three years, the centre provided work for 1,760 women hours per month producing about Rs. 21,000/- worth of goods.

On an average every month about 30 to 40 women are provided with part time or full time work. Annual production in 1962-63 amounted to Rs. 5,000/-. Annual sales during the same period was Rs. 3,500/-.

Income earned by a Worker

It has already been indicated that the Todas live under primitive condition at the level of subsistence. So, it would be more appropriate to measure the subsistence income taking into account (a) the rental value of the owner-occupied mund; (b) consumption in kind such as embroidery made by members of the family for own use, milk and milk products produced and consumed by the family; (c) direct investments, such as own-account durable improvements to the dwelling, dairy, natural increase in the number of livestock owned etc. But leaving aside the purely statistical difficulties involved on such collection, the conceptual aspects of subsistence production and its valuation are far from simple. So personal cash income alone was collected, consolidated and has been presented in the following table :

Number of Economically Active Todas as on 15-5-1960

(By Religion, Sex and Monthly Income.)

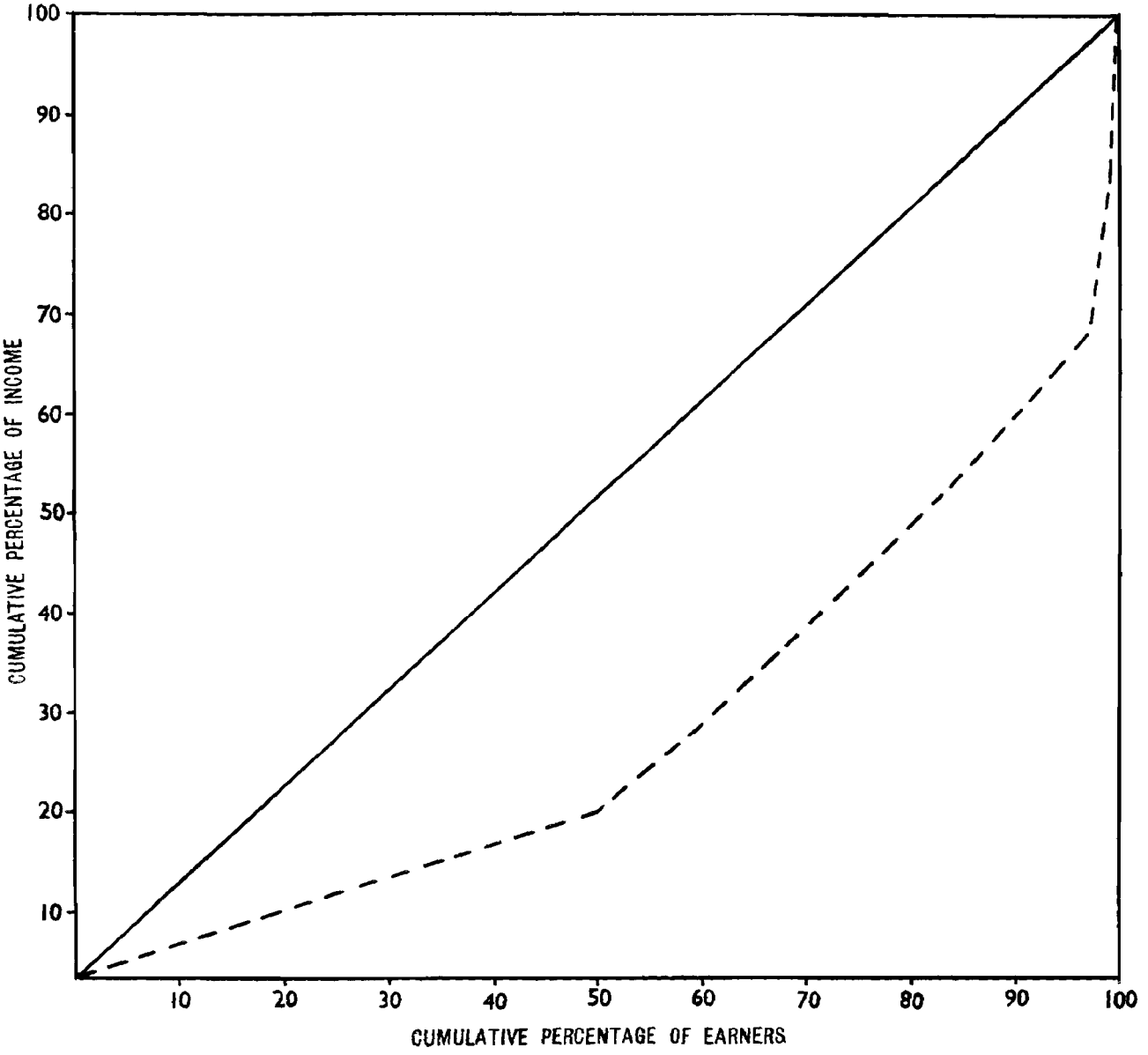
Income	Religion and Sex			
	Non-Converts		Converts	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
All Cases	190	23	44	9
1— 12	1	...	...	...
13— 37	24	16	4	2
38— 62	38	3	5	...
63— 87	16	...	7	4
88—112	7	1	4	1
113—137	5	...	1	...
138—162	26	...	4	...
163—187	11	1	3	...
188—212	11	...	1	...
213—237	...	...	...	...
238—262	4	...	...	1
263—287	...	...	...	...
288—312	1	...	...	1
313—337	...	...	...	...
338—362	...	...	1	...
363—387	...	...	...	...
388—412	...	...	1	...
413 & above	...	...	1	...
Family workers	40	2	12	...
Wages in kind	6	...	...	...

About 1/5th of the workers are classified as family workers. Others earn a monthly income generally ranging from Rs. 25 to 200. On an average, an active non-convert will earn Rs. 50/-per month, whereas a convert earns Rs. 75/-. The average monthly incomes for the females workout to Rs. 25/- and Rs. 75/- respectively. The per capita income for a non-convert is Rs. 25/- and for a convert, it is Rs. 33/-.

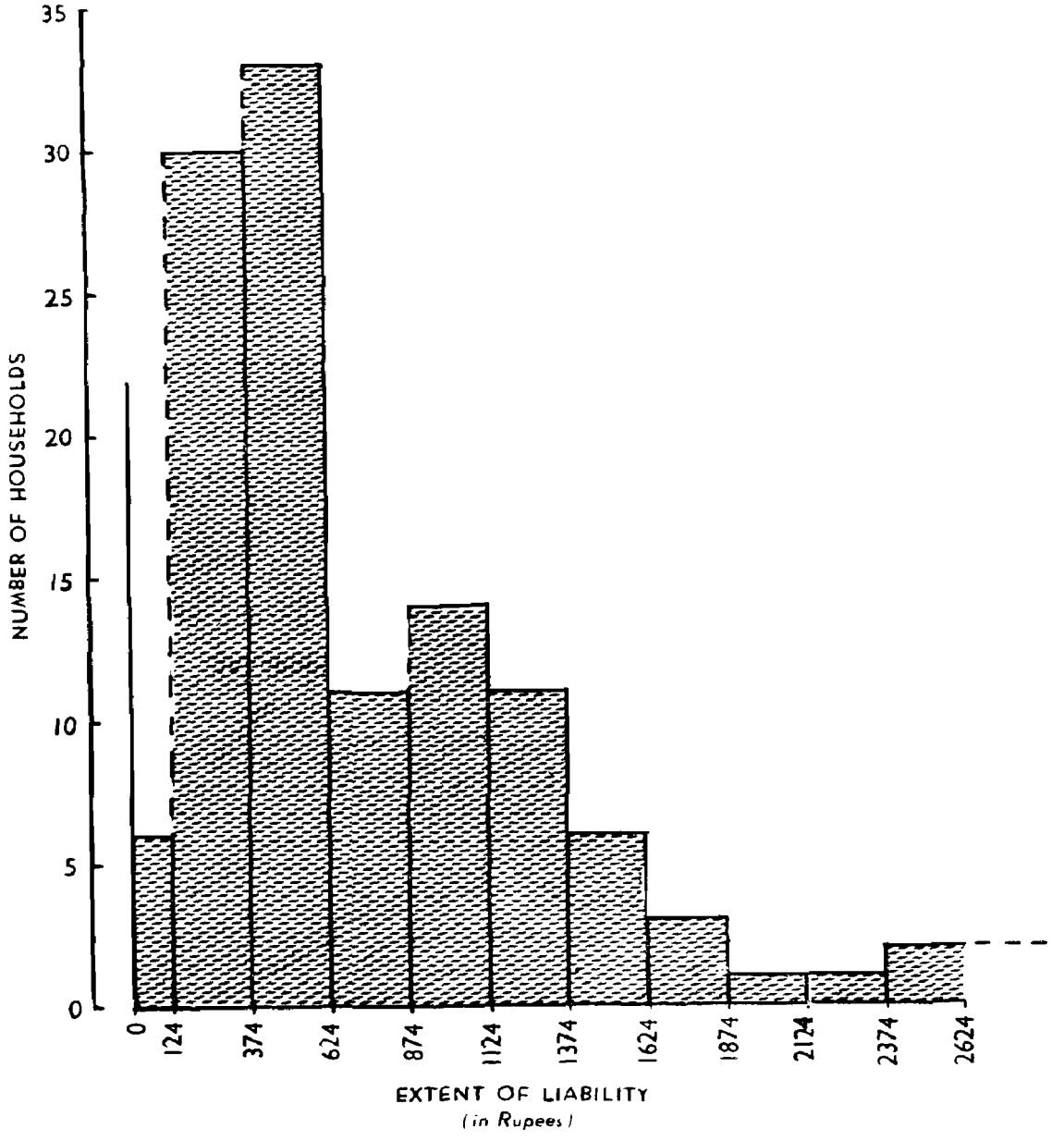
Affluence

The following table has been furnished to show the distribution of the wealth among Todas.

EARNERS AND INCOME EARNED BY NON-CONVERTS



INDEBTEDNESS OF TODA NON - CONVERTS



Gross Assets and Liabilities of Non-Converts as on 15-5-1960.

Frequency Table showing the Total number of households with a given extent of Gross Asset and Liability

Gross Liabilities	All Cases	Gross Assets: 0	1– 124	125– 374	375– 624	625– 874	875–1124	1125–1374	1375–1624	1625–1874	1875–2124	2125–2374	2375–2624	2625–2874	2875–3124	3125–3374	3375–3624	3625–3874	3875–4124	4125–4374	4375–4624	4625–4874	4875–5124	5125 & above
All Cases	142	16	...	2	11	8	13	7	9	6	6	8	6	6	4	5	6	1	...	1	4	1	3	19
0	22	11	...	...	1	1	1	2	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
1– 124	6	...	...	...	4	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
125– 374	30	2	...	...	3	4	2	2	3	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	...	.	...	...	...	...	...	2
375– 624	33	...	...	1	3	2	6	...	1	2	3	3	3	...	1	1	3	...	...	...	...	. .	...	4
625– 874	11	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	2	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	3
875–1124	14	1	...	...	...	1	2	1	2	...	1	2	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
1125–1374	11	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	..	...	1	1	...	1	1
1375–1624	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	..	...	...	...	...	2
1625–1874	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2
1875–2124	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	1	...
2125–2374	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2375–2624	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
2625–2874	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2875–3124	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3125–3374	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3375–3624	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3625–3874	...	...	...	...	...	...	. .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3875–4124	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4125–4374	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	1
4375–4624	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4625–4874	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4875–5124	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
5125 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

The Nature of Assets and Their Value

Number of Households

Gross value of the Assets (In Rupees)	NON-CONVERTS					CONVERTS					
	Cattle	House	Ornaments	Loans to others	Godowns for potato	Cattle	House	Ornaments	Loans to others	Others with descriptions Gun	Others with descriptions Sheep
Total No. of households	142	142	142	142	142	28	28	28	28	28	28
0	26	75	74	137	141	17	6	22	28	27	27
1— 499	8	8	45	3	...	7	...	3	...	...	...
500—1499	54	25	18	2	...	2	11	1	...	1	1
1500—2499	24	21	5	...	...	...	3	1	...	...	...
2500—3499	16	11	...	...	1	1	4	1	...	...	...
3500—4499	4	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
4500—5499	4	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
5500 & above	6	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...

It is estimated that the average value of the affluence of non-converts is Rs. 2,500/- and that of converts is Rs. 2,250/- per household. The possession of wealth is mainly in the shape of buffaloes, houses and ornaments. The following abstract shows the proportion of investment by each household in each of these 3 categories.

Nature of wealth	Estimated value for Non-Converts	Converts
Cattle	Rs. 1,500	Rs. 400
House	Rs. 750	Rs. 1,650
Ornaments	Rs. 250	Rs. 200
TOTAL	Rs. 2,500	Rs. 2,250

But the statement, considered alone, is liable to give an incorrect view of the financial position of Todas. For instance, the cattle owned by the Todas are semi-domesticated buffaloes. To arrive at the above estimate, normal milking or pregnant buffaloes are estimated at the rate of Rs. 150/-, a dry one at the rate of Rs. 100/-, a calf at the rate of Rs. 30/- with a reasonable variation for each of the cattle after considering its sex, age, milking capacity etc. In assessing the value of the house, the cost of construction was the main yardstick. But sales and purchases of buffaloes or houses are not transacted within the community and have no demand from outside the community because of the isolated location of the houses and the semi-domesticated nature of buffaloes. Thus these investments are merely "fictitious assets" which cannot be realised.

Indebtedness

A study on the indebtedness reveals that the average indebtedness of a household is Rs. 650/- for a non-convert and Rs. 1,000/- for a convert. The amount borrowed during each transaction, the rate of interest paid and the purpose of loan are as follows :-

Frequency Table Showing the Number of Repayable Debts as on 15-5-1960

(By Religion, Rate of Interest, Extent of debt and purpose of borrowal)

Rate of interest	RELIGION / Gross Indebtedness / Purpose of borrowal	NON-CONVERTS: Loans received from Government. For Potato cultivation	For housing	Other Agricultural loan	Other Housing loan	Purchase of Buffalo	Celebrating funeral	For want of sufficient monthly income	Total	CONVERTS: Loans received from Government For potato cultivation	For housing	Other Agricultural loan	Other housing loan	Purchase of Buffalo	Celebrating funeral	For want of sufficient monthly income.	Total
O	All Cases	53	50	13	11	7	9	66	209	16	21	5	...	1	...	7	50
	1— 100	...	...	...	...	1	2	16	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	101— 250	6	10	2	1	4	1	29	53	1	2	1	...	...	...	2	6
	251—1000	47	40	10	10	2	6	21	136	15	19	3	...	1	...	5	43
	1001 & above	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
1-12	All Cases	...	...	16	...	3	2	11	32	...	...	3	1	...	...	6	10
	1— 100	...	...	...	...	1	...	....	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
	101— 250	...	...	4	...	2	1	7	14	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	3
	251—1000	...	...	11	...	...	1	4	16	...	...	3	...	...	...	3	6
	1001 & above	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13-24	All Cases	...	...	13	6	1	3	40	63	...	...	5	1	...	...	1	7
	1— 100	...	...	2	...	...	...	14	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	101— 250	...	...	3	...	1	...	12	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
	251—1000	...	...	8	6	...	3	14	31	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	4
	1001 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2
25 & above	All Cases	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1— 100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	101— 250	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	251—1000	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	....	...	...	...	...
	1001 & above	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Among the general causes of indebtedness, low income stands first. Though the standard of life of a Toda is poor, the income is not sufficient to meet even the minimum requirements of life. A number of outstanding debts with interest rates exceeding 12 per cent indicates large scale exploitation by money lenders. Generally, the mortgaged articles are not redeemed. Most of the loans advanced to Todas are either treated as 'bad debts' or 'doubtful debts' indicating their low financial standing.



ARTISTRY AT WORK

The men tend their buffalo and the women sew and embroider. But Toda embroidery achieves a fame, a niche all its own in the deft hands of the women folk.



The Poothukuli in its endless variety, with intricate designs, each born out of the genius of the woman who fashioned it.

CHAPTER XIII

TODA EMBROIDERY

In his book "Handicrafts and Industrial Arts of India", Sri Rustum J. Mehta says, "that the art of embroidery is of very great antiquity throughout the world and though probably of eastern origin must date back to the very remote ages. There is very little doubt that hand embroidery has been widely practised in India since very early times though we have no surviving examples of the work dating much before the 16th century due to its perishable nature." Ancient literature and sculpture also go to prove the antiquity of the art of embroidery in India. Embroidery differs from place to place and different kinds of embroidery can be found among the people. In many cases the art is dependent on the standard of living and the artistic development of the people. So it is that we find in many primitive tribes that though embroidery is known, it is in its crudest form. As Rivers says, the artistic side of life among the Todas is very little developed. Their interest is so much absorbed in ceremony that little is left for the development of art even of the primitive kind. But even then, the Toda garment is so much a part of their ceremonial way of life, that it is in the manufacture of this that their artistic expression finds an outlet.

The garment worn by Toda men are three in number: the perennial cloth, the waist cloth or torp and the famous Puthkuli, the cloak. Women wear both the torp and the Puthkuli. The torp is something which has been adopted in comparatively recent times. As quoted by Rivers, Finicio who visited the Todas in 1603 is very emphatic in stating that the Todas were wearing only the Puthkuli and the perennial cloth or the loin cloth. Finicio further adds that the women wore nothing but a long sheet like the men which was the Puthkuli or cloak. Since the Toda cloak or Puthkuli is one of the most important piece of clothing which has ceremonial significance for the Toda, it is in its preparation and embroidery that the Toda woman expends her native genius and talent to the fullest extent. The earliest Toda woman was an adept only in embroidering the famous patterns on the Puthkuli. It is only with the recent changes in fashion and the contact with civilisation that she has turned towards making fancy articles like bed covers, bedspreads, cloaks for the fashionable, table linen etc., with her own brand of stitches and with motifs peculiar to the Toda genius. The main material of Puthkuli is khadar which is white in colour. In earlier days, the Nilgiris tribes obtained this hand-woven cotton material from Coimbatore and Satyamangalam or sometimes even from the villages in Nilgiris District. Perhaps there existed a barter economy with the Badaga tribesmen or some of the natives of the plains itinerated among the munds selling the cloth in exchange, perhaps for milk or butter obtained from the buffaloes except the sacred ones.

The Puthkuli which is made of this khadar material when completed measures $4\frac{1}{2}'$ x $8\frac{1}{2}'$ roughly, sometimes even 9′ long and is made of two thick layers, probably to withstand rigours of winter on the hills. The base or body of the fabric is fashioned as follows. Khadar which is purchased from Coimbatore or Satyamangalam is bought in yardlengths. The material is taken and cut into two equal strips each, $2\frac{1}{4}'$ wide and 18′ long. These two strips are placed one a top the other and folded across, so that they form a shorter piece of 9′ length and $2\frac{1}{4}'$ width. This is to increase the thickness of the cloth, so that there are now four layers of cloth. Then the cloak material which forms 4 layers are stitched together lengthwise with the help of black thread stitched about 2″ inwards from the outer edge. Then the outer length of the material is turned away from the inner edge, so that the former forms one longitudinal half of the garment while the inner edge forms the other half. Now comes the intricate task of embroidery. Coloured stripes are woven into the fabric. The embroidery is more fascinating and colourful along the lengthwise stripes rather than across the widthwise stripes. The embroidery is done in continuous bands across the lengthwise end of the cloth of Puthkuli while the less elaborate embroidery is worked into the reverse side of the widthwise end. Now a pocket is sewn as follows. The garment is hung with the fold at the top, the seam of the first sewing down the middle and the elaborate hand embroidery at the bottom. The open edges at the top right hand corner of the cloth are now sewn together on one side and this forms a pocket. So much for the top open edges. The lower open edges of this cloak are once again stitched for about 18″ on either side of the central seam at the lower left hand corner. Similar rows of stitches are started at the corner and carried for about 9″ along the lower edge and very near the edge until it meets the first woven

band. When this sewing is completed, large knots of thread are left at the end in order to give a special effect. This embroidery on the Puthkuli is worked with coloured thread. The woven strips of embroidery on the body of the Puthkuli follow a set pattern with very minor variations. The colour of the thread used is normally the same, i.e. crimson and black. If any other colour is used, it cannot be called a Puthkuli. The pattern of embroidery on the body of the Puthkuli is as follows. Each of the long strips 27" wide has along both the selvages between $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1" from the edge, two lines stitched of crimson thread about 1 mm. wide the more elaborate ends having from the end a broad black stripe about 8 cm. wide. About 16 cm. from this is a stripe of crimson 75 mm. wide, another 12 cm. is in a stripe of crimson about 8 cm. wide. Between the black stripe and the first crimson stripe of 10 cm. from the black stripe, at either end is a plain triangular stitch of single woven crimson thread. Similarly between the two crimson stripes is again a similar triangle. At the central seam of the garment the triangles unite at their base to form very elongated lozenges. The less elaborate ends which are widthwise and which are not visible when the cloth is worn have stripes alternating two in black and two in crimson with a solid crimson stripe above it. This is the most common type of Puthkuli seen. In the Toda Embroidery Centre run by the All India Handicrafts Board near Charing Cross, Ootacamund, a few variations of the regular Puthkuli can also be seen. This has a lesser amount of embroidery and the black and red stripes alternately. One or two cloaks also had green stripes but these, I learnt, cannot be worn by a Toda and is normally worn by Badagas or Kurumbas. The prices of cloaks vary according to the amount of embroidery and the size of the cloak. Most of the cloaks that are seen have a small amount of embroidery work on them. The most elaborately worked specimens are worn by men and women of some importance and affluence at festive gatherings including funerals.

The main technique used in the embroidery is that of darning and counting the threads of the woven material to form the patterns. A few simple patterns are used for this purpose. They fall into two classes. The first is the filling up of the broad woven strips on the elaborate ends of the Puthkuli. The most important variation of the Toda embroidery, compared to other types of embroidery, is that the side of the material on which the patterns are most clearly seen is for the Todas the wrong side or the reverse side while the side, where the loops of thread meet each time the direction of the darning is reversed, is the right side. For others like us, the side on which the patterns appear clearly is the right side whereas the insertions and the place where the darning is reversed, is the wrong side. The thread used in those days was a coarse variety obtained locally in the bazaar, usually black or dark blue. But now-a-days, good quality thread is purchased and supplied to the Toda women by the All India Handicrafts Board under whose wing, Toda embroidery seems to be flourishing once again. The main types of embroidery patterns used are, as termed by the Todas, (1) the "Peacock tail eye", i.e. the design observed on the tail feathers of the peacock, (2) the mat embroidery and (3) the zig-zag rows or loops enclosing the zig-zag lines. The patterns are distinguished by the number of horizontal white threads enclosed within each line or loop. If there is only one white thread, i.e. two loops, the pattern is called 'squirrel embroidery', perhaps bearing a resemblance to the stripes on a squirrel's back and those with one white thread and three loops are called 'snake embroidery' and so on. The manner in which the patterns are used and combined is as follows. Between the two broad crimson stripes at the left side of the fabric are four long stripes of embroidery which are extensions of the snake or rice embroidery pattern. At each end of these stripes, and at the edges of the cloak three stripes called crosswise embroidery are worked at right angles to the woven strips. To the right of the second crimson stripes are three stripes of embroidery. At the end of these are three stripes of the same pattern known as crosswise embroidery. This is the normal pattern though garments are found with slight variations of alternate long stripes of embroidery of different patterns.

Two other types of stitches not included in the manufacture of Puthkuli are found on other garments. This is the whipping stitch employed on either side of the black woven stripe. It is primarily used in order to prevent unfinished ends of the material from raveling and is made by darning with the thread made of a strand of black thread and one of crimson.

The second type of work is done by darning and counting of threads, but unlike the former explained above, the darning is done along the length of the stripe of pattern and not across it, so that there are no loops of threads at the edges of the stripe and the pattern would be alike on both sides of the material. The stripes of patterns run at right angles to the woven stripe and usually extend from it to the very edge of the cloth.

Readers should not be carried away with the impression that the Toda women only embroider the



The fruits of labour — Toda embroidery at its best. Cloaks, shawls, table napkins and towels, all bear the impress of the genius of native craftsmanship.

Puthkuli and the other garment, the torp. Much embroidery is done by the Toda women, thanks to the interest shown by the Missionaries with the result their unique abilities have been channelised into the manufacture of table clothes, curtains, women's cloaks as well as table napkins. Unlike the Puthkuli and the torp for which a variety of off-white khadar home-spun is utilised, for table linen, curtains and other types of fabrics, even coloured cloth is utilised. The cloth is what is normally available in the bazaars. For curtains, two strips of cloth about 2′ wide and 6′ to 8′ long are taken and the typical Toda embroidery in black and crimson with an occasional stripe of green is utilised, the pattern being those normally found on the Puthkuli. Simple geometrical motifs like frets or the herring bone stitch, a zig-zag stitch, triangles and lozenges or occasionally a St. Andrew's cross are woven on simple material and these according to the size and design are sold as table cloths or table napkins. In addition to the traditional black and crimson, other coloured threads in blue, yellow and orange are used for the embroidery. One or two new patterns as well as slight modifications of old ones have been introduced into this type of work and in this case some of the patterns introduced by the Missionaries are also finding their way into the traditional Toda garments, though the Puthkuli has yet remained untouched.

A normal Puthkuli with a minimum of embroidery will fetch anything between Rs 30 to Rs. 35. As the number of stitches increases and the size of the Puthkuli also becomes bigger, the charges may range upto Rs. 68 to Rs. 75. The production of these Puthkulis as well as the embroidered table mats, curtains, cloaks, etc., is now channelised in the All India Handicrafts Board Centre near Charing Cross in Ootacamund town. At one time, it was thought that the unique craft of Toda embroidery was dying and to revive it, as well as improve the economy of the Todas, an Embroidery Development Centre was started by the All India Handicrafts Board in June, 1958 at Neergachi Mund, 8 miles from Ooty on the Ooty-Gudalur road where the Servants of India Society are running a residential school for the Todas. At the outset, 10 Toda women were employed here to manufacture Toda garments and they were paid daily wages of Rs. 1.50. During the first three years, the centre provided work for 1,760 women hours per month and produced about Rs. 21,000 worth of goods. Nearly 75% of the products were sold. At Neergachi Mund the unit was serving only a few of the Toda families and other Toda families also wanted to take advantage of this scheme. To accomplish this, the unit was shifted to Ootacamund which is the common rendezvous for all tribal folk every week. This shift was accomplished early in 1962. With the experience gained in working the unit at Neergachi Mund, the unit at Ootacamund was re-arranged to work as a procurement centre by providing jobs and the raw material, viz. cloth and khadar to the Toda ladies who had by then picked up enough skill in their native craft. On an average, 30 to 40 Toda women are provided with part-time or full time work. The annual production of this unit during 1962-63 was Rs. 5,000/-. The unit contemplates the preservation of all the traditional aspects of Toda embroidery, at the same time introducing new innovations but these are limited to the field of utilitarian articles like curtains, table linen, etc., so as not only to preserve the traditions of the craft, but also to secure a steady wage for the Toda families.

CHAPTER XIV

RECREATION, SONGS AND FOLK DANCE

Todas pastimes are not numerous. A few of the Toda women spend their spare hours in idleness "under the green wood tree". But invariably all the women derive pleasure at their toilet, especially curling their locks. On the top of the head, the hair is smoothed and parted with the greatest care and curled to form ringlets. The long ringlets hang on either side of the face with a neatness and regularity flowing down the shoulders.

In regard to games it is not altogether easy to draw the line between Toda games and Toda ceremonies. The sport which is practised with the greatest zest is undoubtedly the catching of the buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

At many Toda hamlets, there is a large globular lifting stone. A man should be able to lift it by raising it first to the knee and rolling it up the thigh and the chest to the shoulder. But this can now rarely, if ever, be done and some of the stones can only be lifted a little way from the ground. These stones seem to afford clear evidence of the degeneration of the Todas in physical strength.

The commonest toys with which the children play are little imitation of buffalo horns made of wood.

In his book on "Primitive Tribes of the Nilgiris, 1873", Breeks has described three distinct games as played by Todas. According to him, *Ilata* is played with a cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends. It is placed against the corner of a stone; a slight tap from a stick sends it flying into the air; as it comes down the batsman hits it away to a great distance, and scouts are posted to catch it as it falls.

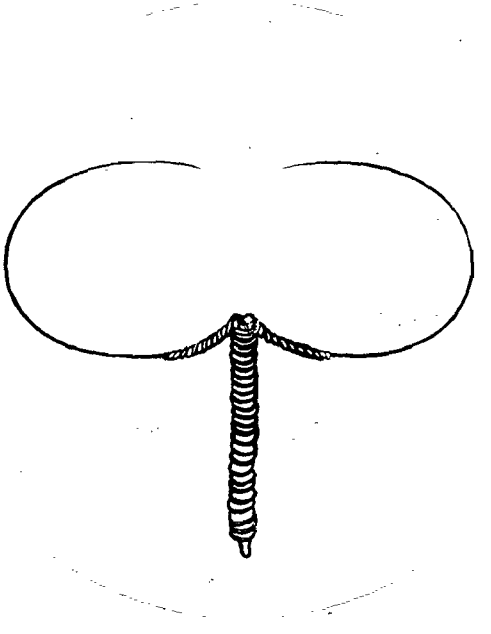
Another game is called *Narthpimi.* Close to some munds a sort of stone table may be observed, consisting of two slabs stuck edgewise into the ground and another laid across them, leaving an opening just large enough for a man to drag himself through on his stomach. Two stones are fixed as starting posts, one at about thirty, the other about sixty yards from the table. A man stands by each of these, and the nearer of the two runs to the table, and tries to wriggle under it, before the other, starting at the same time from the farther stone, can catch him. The rapidity with which they squeeze through the opening must be the result of long practice in crawling in and out of their house doors.

A third game, called *Karialapimi* has some resemblance to puss in the corner.

However, these games do not seem to find favour with the Todas now. In fact the Todas would prefer to idle away their time rather playing any game. Reading is definitely out of question because of the large scale illiteracy.

Songs and Folk Dance

According to M.B. Emeneau who has made a special study of the artistic activities of the Todas, the art of song among the Todas is highly developed and plays an extremely large part in their life. I have to accept this statement with some reservation. It is true that when compared with other activities like story telling, the role played by songs in their life is notable. But I cannot by any imagination call them original



The Commonest Toy with which the children play



To sing and to dance, to happily carry on along the sequestered vale of life are the prerogatives of children of nature. Spontaneity is the key note of this impromptu dance put up for the benefit of the visitor, even to the extent of having umbrellas instead of the ritual staffs. But a Toda dance is much more than letting off psychological steam. It is a ritual, a symbol of their traditional culture and heritage.

composers or musical in their approach to life. Almost all the Todas know at least one song. The songs are generally old and are sung generation after generation. Most of the words which are used to compose songs are not used in their speech. All ordinary things in the language have a set of names in songs and they are used in couplets. It is true that they can compose a song at any given moment on any subject they are interested in, but they always use standard and set phrases in composing their songs.

Among the limited circle in which Todas live and move, they can utilise every subject for a song. They can compose songs on a mund or a dairy. To a dead person, they attribute all good qualities and sing in praise of them. They can compose songs about any incident in their life, about any visitor or about a new comer who has visited their mund. They also compose songs about inanimate subjects like a house, river or mountain.

The songs are divided into two classes—songs which are sung with dancing and songs sung without dancing. The first is called 'poṭ' and the other is called 'nö'. 'Poṭ' is sung only by men. Kon or konnieṣt is similar to ballad and their funeral lament to lyric. In the Toda community, only men are permitted to dance. I can produce a description given by Emeneau. "They form a circle facing inward to its centre, each man's hand being joined to that of his neighbour in such a way that with elbow close to side and forearm at right angles to upper arm, the palms of the two men's hands are together and the fingers interlaced without being bent. The circle then rotates in counter-clockwise direction with a measured tread, the right foot of each man at each step being placed behind the left foot of his right hand neighbour and then the left foot brought across to the front of the neighbour's right foot. Most of the dancing is done to the accompaniment of a concerted shout 'O hau hau' which marks the time for each step. To almost all gatherings where there is to be dancing, one or two composers are invited. After a dance of the type just described, the circle breaks up and after a short rest, is reformed. The composer forms one of the circle. If two men are composing together, they are side by side in the circle, the chief one being on the left of the other. The circle then rotates in somewhat slower time than in the dance just described and after a few preliminary shouts of 'hau hau' by the whole circle, the composer shouts the first three syllable unit. The singing is done by the throat, as a result of which the words are not intelligible to any one except Todas." I think the song was described by Emeneau in the thirties. I had the privilege of witnessing a similar performance in 1960. No material change has taken place either in their form of dancing which still takes the form of monotonous gyrations performed unaccompanied by any instrumental music except the shouts of 'hau, hau' by the performers, nor is it likely that any change will take place in the near future in the manner in which their songs will be sung.

The Toda songs cover various aspects of their life, their ideas and beliefs. Every person can compose a song at any time. For instance the following is a song composed by Mr. Manican. The subject matter of the song means the mund 'Norṣ' considered to be superior to all other munds. Norṣ mund is said to be the land of truth. Its fame has reached the whole of Nilgiris and the plains below the hills. The mund pushed the sky by a bow thereby making it possible for the rain to fall. It gave the name 'norṣoḷ' to the persons living in the mund, which gave the 'Koroz err' to the mund. This mund made sacred bells and gave one to each mund. This mund made 'pep' and gave it to all munds. It divided the Toda people into two divisions and gave them the name 'Torr' and 'Tev'. It gave the name 'ti' to the temple. It allotted the God 'Tyo' to that temple. It named seven 'poloḷ' and gave them seven "tinni" which is a kind of cloth. It named the tree as 'teḍr' and it gave fresh water. It also gave names to all munds and gave Gods to all the temples. This mund attended to public meetings and gave decisions on all disputes. It worked with vigour and vigilance. The birds will sing in the bush and the lightning will be pleasant. The song is given below.

I Porṣ yekīrṣ satyanoḍr tūlodnt
Norsh mund Norsh mund Truth Land True God

Koikūrṣat land kūhaiyan noḍr
Land

Nelvalṣzat nilta noḍr
among all the munds stood land

Pirṣiṭ ponk ufta noḍr
Bow sky push land

Peṭiṭ nīr ūṭṭia noḍr
cane water pour land

Norṣ torr peṣta noḍr
Norsh mund men named land

Karozh err tirsentu
Karozh buffalo gave it

Moüi uḍ kis pesta noḍr
Bell one make named land

Pep uḍ kis tirsentu
Buttermilk one make gave it

Torr uḍ kis peṣta noḍr
man one make named land

Teu uḍ kis tirsentu
Theviliol one make gave it

Ti uḍ kis peṣta noḍr
Sacred dairy one make named land

Teu uḍ kis tirsentu
God of thi one make gave it

Evalol peṣta noḍr
Seven polol named land

Eva tinni tirsentu
Seven cloth gave it

Kuṭṭo teḍr peṣta noḍr
untouched thedr tree named land

Aḍa nir tirsentu
fresh water gave it

Norḍroz elm peṣta noḍr
Mund all named land

Teaus elm tirsentu
God all gave it

Appaḍr kuḍt piya noḍr
public meetings went land

Atorvorṣk nuṭiantu
matters looked into

Modenoyam kuḍria noḍr
Judgement decided land

Modekiṭch akiantu
Tuvulṣvili pilsa noḍr
Bush in bird cry land

Paḍrulṣmiṭz miṭcha noḍr
Crowd in lightning land

Whatever is important in the life is represented in these songs. Firstly the song tells us about the man and his buffaloes. The bell is an important item in the temple, so also the pep. When the pep becomes polluted, for some reason or other they have to purify it by bringing the pep from a sacred mund. The song continues to tell us about the 'Ti' and the God, the 'polol' i.e. priest and his dress. Of all the trees, 'teḍr' is used for ceremonial purposes. For the dairy, Todas do not take water from the stream which is used daily by them. For every ceremony they have to get fresh water. Another common factor in the Toda life is their participation in the councils. The song ends with a beautiful description of the land.

"Tūrvulṣ vili pilsa noḍr
Paḍrulṣ miṭz miṭcha noḍr"

The land is pleasing to the eye and its pleasantness is compared to that of the flashing lightning. The birds will sing. We can see their imagination in these two lines.

"Pirṣit ponk ufta noḍr
Peṭiṭ nir uṭṭia noḍr"

The mund, according to them, is powerful that it made the sky move far away and made water spring out of the cane. The words used in the song rhyme properly and each phrase or sentence is used only with a parallel phrase or sentence. It will also be seen that some of the words in the song are different from the ordinary words used in daily speech.— 'Torr' in song refers 'oḷ' and 'moni' refers to 'kong', i.e. bell. They compose laments for the dead which consist of sentences in praise of the virtues of the deceased. They narrate incidents which took place during his or her life time. The following is the song composed on the ex-Toda 'moniagar' who died in the year 1958. According to the song, he was a man full of power and good qualities. He was clever; he could control things which could not be controlled by others. He turned what could not be turned by others. He spoke in many meetings and participated in many councils. He fined one man in the form of buffaloes. He gave a bride to another man. He decided about the lands. He attended courts. What he heard, he wrote and kept accounts. He became the moniagar or headman. He had six children and six buffaloes. He went to 'Norṣ' mund and laid the important stone. He provided a plank of wood to the temple roof. He bent and shaped canes for building the roofs. He went to the cremation place, broke the rod used for cremation. He entered the krawl with the buffaloes, yet he was not injured. He wore a black cloth. He screamed, shouted and danced.

II. **The Song**: (Koṇ from Aparṣ-40 yrs. about Belli-ex-Toda monigar)

Kavaṭkarn āyetik
Clever man you were

Kavanati āyetik
Kavanathi you became

Argantat ārkitik
What could not be done you did

Tirgantat tirikitik
What could not be turned you turned

Paohekūṭm eṣtetik
Big meetings you spoke

Sāver ākiyetik
Thousands you made



A modern Thesus or a Milo of Athens ? — So are the feats of valour performed by the chosen of the tribe. The legendary stone which even a weight-lifter cannot budge is hoisted to the shoulder with ease by this Toda, a strong man of the tribe. Years of practice and skill must have gone into the consummation of this feat.

Terudöḷk eṣtetik
fined one to man you said
Kahu ḍolk kīsetik
girl one to man you made
Innevej aḍiatik
he decided about women
Monnevej kīsetik
he decided about land
Agupal piyatik
he went to court
Augiseri ayetik
place of law (you were)
Voleiṭat partetik
palm leaf you wrote
Ekmiṭet eṣtetik
(*account you told*)
Sinmonegar ayetik
(*monigar you became*)
Sinvarpat paṭṭatik
leader you were
Armohet votsetik
six children came to you
Arīrret aḍetik
six buffaloes
Porṣek vīyetik
(*to Norsh*) *you went*
Moḍreṣkarṣ veṣtetik (*He laid the important stone*)
Stone you kept
Yekirṣ viyetik
Nors you went
Kohoṣviḷ kitsetik
a plank of wood kept in the temple as a finishing of the roof
Iṣkitick viyetik
you went
Peṭṭamodk kiyetik
shaped the cane you did
Iṣkvok viyetik
you went
Kaṭṭoteṣk tirkiyetik
you turned
Polgirṣelv piyetik
you went (cremation place of Tharnad mund)
Polgarmirṣ oḍrtetik
The rod (he broke the rod) you broke
Tevtilsnk piyetik (*He went in to the krawl with the buffaloes*)
into the krawl you went
Ergiatil viyetik
he was not injured
Karhòtkög petetik (*He wore black cloth*)
black cloth you wore
Kuṭṭaḍkag itatik
untouched cloth
Porṣtilviḷ pilsatik (*he screamed and called*)
in the cremation ground you cried
Polgarṣelv auṣiatik
Cremation place danced

The Toda monigar in whose honour this song was composed died in 1957. As such, it is a recent composition. But some of the lines used in this song can be found in 'Rivers':

"Kavaṭkarn ayetik kavanati ayetik
Poahekuṭm eṣtetik saver akiyatik
Ter uḍ öḷk eṣtetik moh uḍ ölk kisetik"

This explains the conventional system followed by Todas in composing their songs. They have certain set phrases which are to be used for definite subjects. When they sing about the greatness of a man, they always speak about his cleverness, his ability to do certain things and how he excelled others, how he took part in meetings, how he decided their disputes, how many children he had, how much wealth he possessed, i.e. the number of buffaloes and what places he visited, what he did and how he caught buffaloes, without being injured. This is the accepted standard for praise. To this they may add some other qualities which the person may possess. That is why repetition is an obvious feature of Toda songs.

I reproduce below a 'koṇ' or 'koṇṇieṣt' about 'Tevak', a sacred mund of the 'pit' clan. The pattern of the song is indicated below. They praise the mund, then the temple, then the buffaloes and lastly the bell which is tied around the neck of the buffalo. They then relate a legend. The temple buffalo was going to some place. One snake wanted to take revenge on the buffalo and waited near the pool. The buffalo had to cross the pool. The 'kaltmo' who was attending the buffalo came to know about this and he took the bell which was tied around the neck of the buffalo. It could not, therefore, hear the noise of the buffalo's movement. The buffalo came and stamped on the snake. Its head was thrown at a place called 'Turṣuṣ', the tail in 'Polligar' and the body in the pool 'Norṣagarṣ'. These places are considered sacred for the 'Pit' clan. For one year, there was mist above the pool.

III. **Song** : (koṇ about Tevak–a sacred mund of the Piṭ clan by Apparṣ)

Tevak tegṇḍri poḷḷi narṣelva
the mund dairy the sacred temple
Monidilän atillān
Names of the Gods
Kuṣerigelv adanoḍr
Fresh land
Purṣar tanm ätanoḍr
Name of buffaloes created land
Karrenikani kuḍḍanoḍr
Name of the bell Kidur land
Karreniget puḍen err
The bell neck untied buffalo
Punerṣpōb narṣikets kat
Name of the snake, name of the pool, waits
Narṣov erzanoḍr
The buffalo strong
Maḍaṭvoi turṣuṣet peṣsanoḍr
Head thrown place
Kālaṭvoi paḷḷigar peṭṭanoḍr (*The tail went to this place*)
The tail name of place
Noḍriṭvoi narṣigarṣ petsanoḍr (*The body was in the pool*)
Body name of the place
Uradr nol narṣigetk iṭvoimoḍj perṣanoḍr (*For one year the pool was covered with mist*)
one year day name of the pool mist
Annirk iṭṭvoi karṣk aurtilnol tilloten (*For six months the water of the pool was not cleared*)
That water day not clear

The following is a song about life in general. It explains how people use to dress when they go for festivals. They will cover the body with ornamental mantle and will wear ear-rings. They will wear watch and spectacles. (This shows that the song has been composed recently). They will go and see leg dance.

(Sinvatru–present monigar–20 yrs. Kariamund)

IV. **Song:**

Tuḍrvor karkuḍrsin
Ornamental mantle ear-ring gold
Morṭatoḍr mohtoḍr
Festival dress Boy dress
Koṇkonoḍi koikoḍiyaram
Spectacle hand watch
Kōlahoṭ koṇṇonoṭe
leg dance eye sight

M. B. Emeneau has given some of the lines in his book " The songs of the Todas " as:

Kōle–ōt Ōḍju
leg dance they are dancing
Kone nuṭ nu Tju
eyes for sights they are looking at

The following is a song which describes the house. It is a well built one having a nice roof. The inmates lead a prosperous life. They have many children. This house has raised portions. A lamp is burning inside the house.

V. **Song:**

öḍtiṭarṣ ivoṣen
Toda hut
Paḍtvoḷ immorṭof
Köṭṭamen ivoṣten
Prosperous life
Pívaṣk immorṭof
Arṣviḍchmo ivoṣen
with many children
Tuvirschir immorṭof
Aromntevn ivoṣten
by families
Ororgiṭc immorṭof
Aiyoḷkoḷ ivosten
generation after generation
Aiyirkir immorṭof
Itiṇṇarṣ ivoṣten
raised portion
Innoveḷk immorṭof
lamp

The following song is composed in praise of a man. It is not a lament, but a 'nö'. The women only sing this. It describes a man. He has ' puhuru putkuḷi '. He wears the ' karkuḍrsin '; he can dance the leg dance; he is wearing nice dress; he has held many councils and done something to the temple; he levied fines; he read and wrote; he caught the buffaloes; he composed and sung songs.

VI. **Song** :

Tuḍvohor pursolori
Ornamented covering mantle
Karkuḍrsin iḍsolori
ear ring putting
Kōlohot oḍsolori
leg dance dancing
Koṇṇonoṭ noḍsolori
eye sight seeing
Ulkopposm iḍsolori
inside dress putting



Thews and sinews under the weight. — Another view of this breath-taking feat of strength.

Morṭovtoḍr pichorlori
Festival dress wearing
Innovej oḍisolori
Monnevej oḍisolori
Phiikutm kuḍsolori
Big council gathering
Saver okṣolori
thousand making
Karsveḍneḍtk pichalori
Muḷorneḍtk oḍṣolori
Teruḍölk iḍsatenk
fine one to man made
Mohodölk kísatenk
Girl one to man made
Sinnedmoṭch poṭzetenk
bench
Kosatel arsatenk
money
Pīvamoli puḍetenk
necklace you put
Kosamali kaṭṭiatenk
chain you wore
Wolaṭet persolori
he wrote and read
Siṭaṭet wursolori
Kugīstoḍr oksolori
pair dress having
Kuīatoḍr oṭchalori
Fresh dress wearing
Moyirkuṭk piṭchalori
buffalo catching
Pirarnoḍi toṭcholori
Buffalo touching
Punnĕgīs kīsalori
New song making
Putoneṭch kīsalori
new song making

It is generally difficult to get the content of a Toda prayer. I have succeeded in recording one such prayer. It is nothing but the recital of the names of the things used in their dairy. This is called 'koṣam'. Their names are different from the ordinary names used in daily life. Rivers has given a long list of such names. They vary from mund to mund. The following is a prayer in which the names of the dairy buffaloes, domestic buffaloes, bells, names of streams used for dairy purposes and household purposes occur. The lamp and the pep are also mentioned in the prayer.

VII. **Song**:

Atgar Ayeneṛṣ kalkoḍri
Name of the clan Name of the village calf enclosure
Paḷḷiteuḍr paḷḷi teu teḍr teu
temple Buffalo-pen
Kengarṣ[1] atgarṣ[2] taṣigarṣ[3]
Kisigarṣ mohoḍrteṣk motsoḍven
Stone Names of postir buffaloes
Pemmeḍupalli paterr errkartorz
Dairy postir when it is milcked
Nirgirṣnir nirgirṣan kiṣkveṭ
Sacred dairy spring Sacred buffaloes
tagiṣkven
Ordinary buffaloes
Peltarṣ erterṣ
lamp of the porthatmarsh dairy
Katiatveḷk kartatpep
burning lamp Butter milk

1, 2, 3 : Names of stones in the temple.

(a) stream in which they take water for the temple purpose

(b) domestic water supply stream

(c) they usually keep a little pep in the milking vessel before milking the sacred buffaloes.

The following is a song about the Pedrkarṣ mund for which the meaning is not given :

VIII. **Song :**

Peḍrkarṣ koḍrenoḍr
Paḷinarṣel norzhelva
Kiṣkveṭ taṣkaven
Tinnarṣov kaḍrtilikhon
Kurgiṣguṭ malliṣgan
Koikurṣat kuhaiantu
Nelvalṣat niltanoḍr

CHAPTER XV

TRIBAL WELFARE

Financial Assistance

The Todas have never become a part of the economic life of the communities living in Nilgiri hills. It was their tradition to keep aloof from others. Perhaps they felt that they were lords of the soil and superior to others. They led a pastoral life, living mainly on the produce of their buffaloes, selling ghee and purchasing with its proceeds the bare necessities of life. In both sale and purchase, they were as a rule swindled. The local money lenders who used to exploit them ruthlessly collected from Todas all the ghee they produced towards the liquidation of their debts and arrears of interest. Todas lacked education and had no idea of accounts and could not remember the details of any transactions and so they were the victims of unscrupulous money lenders. In 1927, the Collector of Nilgiris instituted an enquiry and found that all of them were indebted, but that no individual owed a very large sum and that it would never be possible for them to discharge the debts. The total indebtedness was estimated as Rs. 7,500. It was felt that as a preliminary step to set the Todas on their feet and start them on the road to prosperity, the total indebtedness of the tribe should be wiped off. The Government sanctioned in 1928 the grant of a loan, in G.O. Ms. 242, Labour, dated 28-1-28, of Rs. 7,500 to the Todas for the liquidation of their debts through a Cooperative Society with unlimited liability to be formed for the purpose. The loan was sanctioned free of interest and was ordered to be repaid within a period of five years. Sanction was also given for the employment of one Cooperative Junior Inspector and one Peon. A Cooperative Society with unlimited liability was formed by which each member became jointly and severally responsible for the entire debts. The loan amount of Rs. 7,500 was placed at the disposal of the Society on a simple bond executed by the Panchayatdars in favour of Government. The Society advanced loans to individual members on surety bonds to the total amount of Rs. 7,500. The debts of each individual Toda were thoroughly investigated and paid for in the presence of the Collector. In a large number of cases, with a little persuasion on the part of the Collector, the creditors were willing to forego interest and other disputed claims. Thus the debts of 99 families were completely paid. The other families had either no debts, or were living in very outlying parts.

During 1928-29, there was a surplus amount of Rs. 1,711/- from the recoveries of the loan from the Todas and this amount was utilised in full for granting further loans to the Todas for purchasing seeds and for giving them small amounts of subsistence allowances every week during the cultivation season. During 1929-30, the collections towards the repayment of the loans advanced amounted to Rs. 2,031-3-10. Out of this, a sum of Rs. 1,500 was credited to Government towards the second instalment of the loan on 16-12-1929. The balance of Rs. 531-3-10 was partly utilised for granting further loans to the Todas. By the end of March, 1930, the Toda Cooperative Society had only a sum of Rs. 283-12-8 on hand. It was found to be insufficient to meet the demands. Government therefore granted a further loan of Rs. 5,000/- repayable in 10 years as the five years' period granted for the repayment of the earlier loan was considered to be too short.

The repayment of loan fell in arrears even after 1933. This scheme naturally went to the benefit of the creditors of the Todas and as far as Todas were concerned, it improved their credit which they began to use in order to borrow more. Apart from this, Todas did not benefit in any way by this scheme.

Sri E. C. Wood the then Collector felt that it was unfair to enforce the joint responsibility on the members of the Society for these loans. The Society had no control over the individual loans and the theory on which joint responsibility could be enforced did not apply.

The Todas had no assets except their cattle. The market is restricted to the Todas themselves as the cattle are amenable only to them. It would not be possible to confiscate the cattle because they will be losing their only means of livelihood. This was contrary to the intention with which the loans were granted. It was considered that it would not be proper to ruin a number of Todas to recover a small proportion of their loans. The Government therefore ordered that the uncollected balance of Rs. 4,500 outstanding from the loans to the Todas should be written off the accounts. The Cooperative Society was also liquidated proving that the benevolent scheme became a total failure.

Health and Medical Aid

In response to public sympathy evinced for the Todas on account of their simplicity and ruthless exploitation by Labbais, the local money lenders, a Toda Welfare Committee was constituted in the latter half of 1926 with Sri C. F. Brackenbury, the then Collector of Nilgiris as the President. The Committee asked the Government to provide them with special medical aid. In response to this, Government deputed a special medical unit of the King Institute, Guindy to examine the causes of the decay of the tribe. The conclusions reached by the Investigation Unit and the remarks of the Director, King Institute will be of great interest to a student of Toda history. They are reproduced below :-

Conclusions reached by the Medical unit

"(1) The incidence of venereal disease, especially of syphilis and gonorrhoea is very high. 49 per cent of the population is syphilitic as diagnosed serologically and the percentage of gonorrhoeal infection in adults is about the same.

(2) The loose morals of the Todas and their social customs are favourable for the spread of venereal disease. If unchecked, it will very likely reduce the population considerably in years to come.

(3) Venereal disease has chiefly been responsible for the low rate of fertility—5.8 the average for the Presidency being 9.12.

(4) Since 1901, the population has been steadily declining. Though the epidemics of influenza and relapsing fever have been responsible for the decline in very recent times, the chief other causes are the low rate of fertility and the high rate of infant mortality. The latter is nearly 400 per thousand.

(5) There has been a tendency during the last six years for the population to remain stationary.

(6) Contact with civilization for a century has not improved the condition of the Todas much. They are now poorer than they were before and their education has not materially advanced. In marked contrast to these are the Badagas, their neighbours whose economic condition has improved, and the population has doubled during the last fifty years.

(7) Of the baneful customs of the Todas, female infanticide has diminished considerably now, if it has not ceased altogether.

Polyandry has decreased, but is still largely prevalent".

Recommendations made by the medical unit

"The Todas have for a long time been considered objects of curiosity, because they have held fast to their primitive ways and customs. Visitors to the hills look on them more as museum specimens than as ordinary human beings. So long as the Todas continue to be so, and do not keep up with the civilization with which they have come in contact, they are bound to die out, as has happened in the case of the Bushmen, some Red Indians and other primitive tribes. The best way of improving the condition of the Todas is to civilize them. They must be educated, and it is the spread of education that will make them realize the evils of their society and help at their removal. The Todas are very unwilling to attend schools and to encourage them liberal stipends or a meal at school could be given. As the Toda munds are scattered, the chief difficulty with schools will be their location, and, unless they are within easy reach of the boys and a sufficiently attractive bait, as recommended above, is held out, they may not become popular and may share the fate of some of the schools that were started before.

The Todas are by profession graziers and they must be taught to improve their stock by scientific breeding, etc., so that the quantity and quality of milk yielded may be bettered. At present the Todas think more of the number than of the quality of their buffaloes.

The Toda Welfare Committee has encouraged the Toda to take to agriculture as a side occupation. If he takes to it earnestly and is helped with money to bring his land into cultivation, the question of relieving the poverty of the Toda will, to a large extent be solved.

It is known that Toda women are very unwilling to work as labourers in the fields or on the plantations. The ideal occupation for the women would be a home industry like weaving and spinning. Though the district is not a cotton-growing one, cotton is plentiful in the adjoining district of Coimbatore.

The above are suggestions for ameliorating the poverty of the Todas. As regards diseases, treatment of venereal disease demands attention first. Treatment could either be given at a dispensary or at the door of the Todas by house to house visits. Though there are certain advantages in the latter, the former is preferable, as treatment will be more thorough, the patients more thoroughly examined and kept under better observation. It is therefore recommended that an out-patient dispensary with the necessary equipment be started at a central place accessible from the various scattered munds. The staff could consist of a sub-assistant surgeon, a male attendant, a trained nurse and if required, a sweeper. The nurse should have experience of midwifery work.

As the munds are scattered through two taluks, it is difficult to locate a site for the dispensary which is both central and easy of access from the different munds. Susikandi on the Pykara Road is probably the best for locating the dispensary as it is in the midst of the greater number of Toda munds.

The chief difficulty that is to be anticipated is that the Todas, who fight shy of hospitals and dispensaries, may not take as much advantage of a dispensary as they could and persuasion may be necessary. The Missionaries, particularly Miss Ling, have been giving in a limited way some medical relief to the Todas, besides working in other directions for their uplift, and have earned their confidence. If they are prepared to conduct the dispensary on a Government grant, such an arrangement is to be preferred.

The trained nurse, who should also be midwife, should be available for conducting cases of delivery. If a Toda nurse is available, she should be preferred."

Comments of the Director, King Institute, Guindy

"I think that the most significant facts of the reports are that the Todas suffer from:

(a) Venereal diseases that are easily spread by their bad social customs

(b) a low fertility rate

(c) a high mortality in women at child-birth and a high infant mortality and

(d) poverty.

(1) at least 28 per cent of all individuals men, women and children have active syphilis as judged by the proportion giving a strong or moderate Wassermann reaction and that there is evidence of the disease in about 50 per cent of the whole population;

(2) at least 50 per cent of adult men have gonorrhoeal infection and that probably more than 50 per cent of the women are similarly infected.

(a) Existing in these proportions the two diseases cannot fail to cause sterility and diminish fertility to a very great extent. Gonococcal infections are probably more responsible for this than syphilis, for one of the chief effects of these infections is to cause sterility by inflammatory blocking of the oviducts in women.

(b) Thus the existence of these two diseases is sufficient to explain the second condition of lack of fertility.

(c) More direct evidence of a high death rate in child-birth is needed, but it is rather significant that the only two deaths that occurred during the visit of the Unit were in women from child-birth. Indirect evidence is given by the drop in the relative numbers of women at child bearing ages compared with the men in the following table:

Population of Todas as counted by the special medical unit in 1927

AGE GROUP	MALES	FEMALES
0- 4	18	22
5- 9	22	23
10–19	66	41
20–29	75	54
30–39	67	40
40–49	34	29
50–59	28	26
60 & above	23	14
TOTAL	333	249
Total Population	582	

that is, if we assume that this drop is not due to female infanticide practised twenty or more years ago. If, as I strongly suspect, an unusually high child-birth mortality exists, then here is a moderately easily preventable cause of death at the most important age for reproduction.

The conditions of ignorance that bring about a high mortality of women in child-birth usually also produce, as here, a high infant mortality. This is not so easily prevented as the death of the women themselves; but still some deaths could be prevented by good midwifery and attention in the first few days of life.

(d) The conditions of poverty and the social customs of the Todas have been well described by Dr. Pandit, so that we can see how these assist the spread of disease. The problem will be solved when the Todas cease to remain Todas except in name by becoming converted to a religion with more advanced ideas of morality and of the necessity for work. In addition to those suggested, an economic palliative would be the employment of Todas in a large dairy and their subsequent education into the habit of work.

I agree that medical help is needed, particularly to cure syphilis. It will be difficult to do much for gonorrhoea. I would stress the importance of the women getting the attention of a good midwife".

The Surgeon-General examined the question in detail and observed that:

"The most striking feature of the report is the comparison of the Todas with the Badagas. The latter are industrious, sober and educated. They have more than doubled in population in the last fifty years. I give below a table showing the number of years taken by certain population to double the number. It will be seen the Badagas head the list, a striking testimony to the salubrity of the Nilgiris climate.

Races	Population in millions	Annual increase per thousand	Annual increase in millions	No. of years to double
Europeans	650	12.0	7.80	58
Americans	60	8.0	0.48	87
Indians, Arabs and Central Asians	420	2.5	1.05	278
Mongolians	510	3.0	1.53	232
Negroes	110	5.0	0.55	139

In direct contrast the Todas are lazy and thriftless, avoid education and cling to primitive customs. The community is apparently becoming smaller. The irresistible conclusion is that education and the adoption of industries will bring health and numerical strength to the Todas.

It is a pity the contrast in the report between the Badagas and Todas ends with this general statement. The conclusions would have carried greater weight had the figures for fertility and venereal incidence been extended to the Badagas.

The fertility rate is given as 5.8 (excluding abortions and still-births). This is a comparatively high rate for a primitive race, especially as no less than 20 per cent of the women are said to be barren. Barrenness or sterility is quite common among primitive races and I attach a few extracts showing the fertility rate among primitive tribes in other parts of the world.

Spencer and Gilless state that among the Native Tribes of Central Australia the number of children rarely exceeds four and is generally two or three.

Murdoch writes of the female Eskimos that few have had more than two children and many are childless.

Nansen says that the pure bread Greenlander are not prolific. ' Two, 3 to 4 children to each marriage is the general rule '.

The Crow Tribe of American Indians have small families under four children in each. The women of the Nootka tribe rarely have more than two or three children. Among the Chinooks barrenness is common, the birth of twins rare and families do not usually exceed two children. The evidence seems to point to a lower degree of fecundity among the lower races than among the civilised races.

The only conclusion to be drawn from the figures given in the report is that the fecundity and fertility of Toda women is fairly high.

The report also stresses the fact that the rate of increase in population of the Todas is slow, and that in the past 25 years there has been an actual decrease. The table given above shows that the annual increase of Eastern population is slow, and that in India the population is only doubled after some 300 years.

A study of the census tables for the past three decades in India will also show that at certain periods there has been a marked diminution in population for certain sections. That is, normal fertility is more than counterbalanced by excessive mortality from epidemics. During the present decade some 15 per cent of the Toda population are said to have died of relapsing fever. This loss from one disease alone which occurred during a short period of time in the decade is greater than the natural increase in population over a whole decade for a healthy European population. This short epidemic of relapsing fever is sufficient to account for the decrease during the present decade.

Between 1901 and the present day, India as a whole, has suffered severely and unprecedentedly from plague and influenza. The Todas are said to have suffered from influenza, but no figures relating to mortality are forthcoming. The great influenza epidemic was in 1918 and it is striking that the chief fall in the Toda population (from 748 to 640) occurred in the decade 1911 and 1921. I differ from the writer of the report in one respect and am inclined to think that the main cause of the recent fall in the population of Todas is to be found in epidemics. Relapsing fever is a disease of dirt, and can be eliminated by ordinary cleanliness.

In discussing the prevalence of other diseases the writer lays great stress on the incidence of venereal diseases. The incidence is high, but is it higher than in other communities? It would have been of great interest to compare the incidence among Badagas.

Colonel Bradfield investigated the incidence of venereal diseases among patients in the general wards, that is among patients who presented no clinical symptoms of the diseases. He considered a strong

positive Wassermann reaction as evidence of syphilis, and for comparison it is necessary to take only the strong positive among the Todas.

Colonel Bradfield examined 672 individuals none of whom had active signs of syphilis. The writer of the report examined 226 Todas most of whom had clinical signs. In Colonel Bradfield's series 27 per cent were positive ; among the Todas the positive percentage was 21. I do not wish the inference to be drawn that the incidence of syphilis in the general population is greater than it is among the Todas. This is obviously not so. An investigation among the prisoners in Trichinopoly and Alipuram jails has shown that the incidence in the former though high (12 per cent) is lower than among the Todas and in the latter is very low.

All that can be said is that a high incidence of syphilis is not confined to the Toda community. In gonorrhoea Colonel Bradfield examined the same number of random cases ; in some the urethra was massaged, in others there was no massage. The gonococcus was found in 20 per cent. Among the Todas, 165 males were examined, about half gave a history of gonorrhoea or had a urethral discharge at the time. All males were subjected to urethral massage. The gonococcus was found in 30 per cent. Returning to Colonel Bradfield's figures, the examination of 420 random patients from Madras City showed a percentage of 28 with gonorrhoea. The incidence of syphilis and gonorrhoea among the Todas is certainly no higher than it is among certain sections of the population in Madras City.

The report suggests a dispensary should be established with the main object of treating the sufferers from syphilis. I may say at once that the decision cannot rest on medical grounds. The medical aspect is that an effort should be made to cure and prevent all disease. This is at present financially impossible. So the funds available must be spent to the best advantage of the majority. It is clear that a dispensary for the sole use of some 600 persons cannot come into the picture now. The decision must be based on ethnological grounds entirely. On this I cannot give an opinion. The cost of a dispensary will be :—

Staff paid from Establishment

		Rs.
Sub-Assistant surgeon	...	136
Class V–Expensive localities allowance	...	25
Conveyance allowance	...	30
One attendant	...	12
Class V allowance	...	2
Nurse Midwife	...	40
Class V allowance	...	15
Conveyance allowance	...	20
Rs. 280 per mensem or Rs. 3,360 per annum.		

Contingencies

		Rs.
Contract contingencies including pay of a sweeper on Rs. 12.	...	250

Non Contract Contingencies

Supplies and services-Special Medicines.		1,250	
Other medicines	...	500	
Diet	...	500	
Other Hospital necessaries	...	500	
			3,000
Total			6,360

I have put in diet because the treatment of syphilis does not consist merely in the routine administration of drugs. The drugs used are dangerous and symptoms of intolerance are sometimes exhibited. A course of arsenical treatment consists of about seven weekly injections. Two, three or more courses separated by intervals, are sometimes required. When arsenic is administered, it is advisable to prepare the patient before the weekly injection, and to insist on some after-treatment for about 12 hours. The after-treatment consists mainly in rest, avoidance from alchohol and hot milk to drink. In the case of soldiers, admission to hospital for 24 hours is insisted on.

I therefore think the dispensary should have a few special huts in its vicinity in which patients under treatment could stay for about 24 hours."

The Government observed that between 1866 and 1927 the Toda population decreased from 704 to 582, a decrease of only 122. The mortality which probably occurred from the epidemic of influenza in 1918 and the relapsing fever of 1924, if taken into account, the decrease since 1866 could not be considered to indicate abnormal conditions. The Government therefore felt that there was no justification for the expenditure of Rs. 6,500 a year on the establishment of a dispensary for a population under 600 especially as there was no guarantee that the Todas would make use of an institution situated at some distance from their munds.

This has to be contrasted with the more liberal attitude of Government of Madras five years later in sanctioning a loan to wipe off indebtedness.

Miss C.F. Ling, the Superintendent of the Church of England Zenana Mission of the Nilgiris is perhaps the first lady who took active interest on the welfare of the Toda women. A Ladies Auxiliary of Toda Welfare Committee was constituted in 1927 with Miss Ling as Honorary Secretary. Its first meeting was held at Dunmere on 1st March, 1927. At that time, the investigation into the cause of decline of the Todas was in progress. The Investigation Unit was examining the possibility of opening a dispensary at Suskundi (Windy Gap) and employing a Toda woman there. There was no educated Toda woman except converts to Christianity. So Miss Ling had in mind an educated Toda Christian woman living at Peymund, who, she thought would be willing, to be trained as a midwife. The Municipal Council, the District Board and the Government were therefore moved to meet the cost of training her as a nurse. But the Toda woman declined to undergo such training.

As the entertainment of a nurse-midwife for the Todas was an essential part of any special medical aid, a fully trained nurse-midwife was appointed from 1—8—1927 to minister to the needs of the Toda community on a salary of Rs. 40/- per mensem, without any allowances. She was paid upto 31—3—1928 from the funds made available to the Collector from his discretionary grant. By the end of this term, the Surgeon-General considered that she should be considered a health visitor and not necessarily confined to the Todas.

The Ootacamund Municipality responded to an appeal of the Toda Welfare Committee and undertook the treatment of all Todas brought to the special ward for venereal disease at the Municipal hospital. As the Todas lived throughout the district, the District Board met half the cost involved in the treatment.

The Ladies Auxiliary Toda Welfare Committee started a small dispensary and Maternity Ward at the Mund on the Ooty Downs with a trained Midwife and nurse in charge. The District Board also helped the move by giving medicine etc., and paying her salary and arranging that a Toda woman to accompany her and act as an interpreter. The financial assistance rendered by the District Board is indicated in the following statement :—

Financial Year	Amount	Particulars	Authority
	Rs. As. Ps.		
1928–29	980 9 4		G. O. Ms. 571, P.H., dt. 13–3–30.
	40 0 0 per mensem	Pay of Nurse–Midwife	G. O. 1469, P.H., dt. 23–7–1928
1929–30	350 0 0	For the treatment of Todas in the Thomund Dispensary for venereal disease.	G. O. 1715, P.H. dt. 9–7–1929.
	300 0 0	Cost of Medicine and feeding charges.	
1930–31	350 0 0	For the treatment of venereal disease among Todas.	G. O. 572, Public Health, dt. 13–3–30.
	40 0 0 per mensem	Pay of the nurse-midwife.	
	12 0 0 ,,	Pay of her Assistant.	
	350 0 0	Cost of medicine and treating charges of Toda patients in Thomund Dispensary.	G. O. No. 1187, Public Health, dt. 13–5–1930.

The nurse-midwife treated patients who came to the dispensary for small ailments and sent or took the more serious cases to the Ootacamund Hospital and visited all the Toda Munds, besides paying regular visits to pregnant women and advising them. But the dispensary had no income guaranteed for medicine, conveyance, feeding charges and upkeep. Originally the Maternity and Child Welfare Society in Madras used to give a monthly grant for medicine of Rs. 15/- per mensem but it was stopped in 1932 as it was required for training Health Visitors for the City of Madras. Occasionally, the Local Red Cross gave the dispensary grants and subscriptions which were precarious and could not be depended upon. The Church of Zenana Mission used to lend a car to the nurse but the fuel cost had to be met by her. The Government was approached for an annual grant of Rs. 400/-; Rs. 180 for medicines, Rs. 120/- for petrol for car lent by the Mission and Rs. 100/- for feeding charges and upkeep. The Government expressed their regret to sanction a recurring grant towards the maintenance of the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre.

Besides, the Ootacamund Municipal Council used to lend its ambulance car for carrying patients for treatment and at one time spent a large sum. By the middle of 1932, the Municipal Council decided not to lend their ambulance car or give any aid for those living outside the Municipal limit. This hampered the work of medical aid to the Toda. It was therefore proposed to open two venereal clinics, one at Wapshare Choultry about 12 miles from Ootacamund and the other at Governorshola, 7 miles from Ootacamund. The Nilgiris District Board was to provide medicines for the clinics. Dr. Raj, who was honorary veneralogist to the Government Hospital, Ootacamund and was specially trained in Madras gave his services free by visiting the proposed centres twice a week provided his travelling expenses were met. The Government accorded a sanction of non-recurring grant of Rs. 400/- for 1933-34 to the Toda Welfare Committee towards the reimbursement of the travelling expenses.

Even though Miss Ling's attempts were good for the Todas, the attendance was tied up with the preaching of Christian religion. The Todas did not look upon it as an unmixed blessing. After this, not much enthusiasm was shown on medical aid.

In the years 1948 and 1949, representations were made to Government by Sri A. V. Thaker Bapa of the Bhartiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh and by Prince Peter of Greece, the anthropologist interested in the welfare of the Todas that medical facilities should be provided for them with a view to eradicate the venereal diseases prevalent among them and thus save them from extinction. Prince Peter suggested the establishment of a dispensary at the 7th mile 5th furlong on the Gudalur Mysore Road.

The Government examined the suggestions and considered that more benefit would be derived by the Todas if a Mobile Medical Unit was organised. Sanction was therefore accorded in G. O. Ms. 1165, Health, dated 3.4.51 for the establishment of a mobile dispensary under the charge of a Civil Assistant Surgeon assisted by one Compounder, one Midwife, one driver and one cleaner.

The Madras Provincial Welfare Fund, Nilgiris contributed Rs. 10,000 towards the cost of mobile dispensary. The Nilgiris Mobile Medical Unit was inaugurated at the Toda school, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles on the Ooty-Gudalur Road on 11.6.52 by His Excellency Shri Sri Prakasa the then Governor of Madras.

In 1955, Kumari D. B. Piljain, the Toda convert who was of immense help in the present survey offered herself to work among her own tribal people and desired to be posted on the Mobile Medical Unit. She possessed good qualification by being trained in nursing and midwifery in the Medical College Hospital, Vellore Sister Tutor Course, College of Nursing, New Delhi, Nursing of Men St. Paul's Hospital, London and Nursing at Queens' Institute, London and Bristol and was appointed direct in G. O. 1899, Health, dated 3.6.55 as the Head Nurse in the Mobile Medical Unit.

The Medical Unit still operates, fully equipped for purposes of treatment of veneral diseases, malaria and other ailments common to hill people for treatment of all sections of population in general and Todas in particular. A woman Assistant Surgeon in the hospital is taken in the mobile van when her services are actually required.

In the same year, the Servants of India Society undertook the construction and maintenance of a Maternity and Child Welfare Centre at Nirgachimund at the 7th mile 5th furlong on the Gudalur-Mysore Road in Wenlock downs. This Centre was constructed with the help of a special donation from the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, which Shri Sri Prakasa, the then Governor of Madras was able to secure for the Servants of India Society for this purpose. The Centre was run by the Society for about

two years after which it was handed over to Government for management.

Measures to instil a better concept of marriage

It is a well known fact that the marriage of Todas does not constitute a religious ceremony to create a binding marriage tie. In fact, the relation of husband and wife is not inherent in the conception of a Toda family. It is merely cohabitation at will and the position of children in relation to the several husbands is not well defined.

However, captain Harkness, in his report on "A Description of a singular Aboriginal Race of the Neilgherry Hills", gives an exception. According to the incidents described by him, Pilluvani, the daughter of Kerswan was given in marriage to one Pinpury when she was seven years of age. They lived happily and had a male child. Fifteen years after the marriage, some differences developed between the father-in-law and son-in-law resulting in the compulsory separation of the wife from the husband. Pinpury became desperate and thought of fleeing the mountains and seeking refuge among those of his race who had absconded to the plains rather than obeying the panchayat and allowing his wife to be shared by others.

After a lapse of seventy years, a similar case is on record illustrating the strength of natural affection as opposed to vicious customs. It goes on that Tiruvalli, a Toda woman was living happily with her husband and complained bitterly of the pressure brought by her father and another to force her from her husband and children, and adopt the immoral practice of the tribe. In consequence of this persecution she had to leave the mund with her family and take refuge with Miss Ling, a Toda Missionary. The trouble, however, recommenced in 1901 by her parents reviving the attempts to force her to cohabit with other males. But the interference by police and officials safeguarded the interests of Tiruvalli.

The outcome of the second incident was a memorial to the Government demanding for permissive legislation enabling those who so desired to contract a valid marriage leaving entirely free those who did not wish to acquire any rights or incur any liabilities on account of marriage but preferred the freedom of the traditional customs.

The Government considered the question fully and decided that legislation on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act IV of 1896 was unnecessary, but it was open to such of the Todas as were willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act III of 1872 to contract legal marriages under the provisions of that Act. Under the provisions of section 3 of the Act, the Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nilgiris was appointed as a Registrar of Marriages. Unfortunately, no marriage was registered even within a period of 5 years from the issue of the Government order. It is needless to say that no registration has taken place even up to the present time.

Education

As early as 1839, the Court of Directors desired the Government to take into consideration the provision of education for the Todas. Upto the close of 1842, the District Collector was unable to bring forward any feasible plan for effecting the object. The Court of Directors thereon expressed their regret that the efforts of the Madras Government to introduce education and civilization among the Todas had hitherto been unsuccessful, but they did not doubt the Government would not neglect any available means, if they should offer, of effecting this object. The District Collector was again urged to do what he could. Nothing, however, was done until 1846, when the Basel Mission Society established an agency on the plateau and made attempts to instruct the Badagas and other hill tribes, though, owing mainly to the apathy of the people—their wild habits and indifference to learning—their labours were rewarded with but little success.

The Todas have never displayed any more enthusiasm for learning than they have for other ways of improving their material condition, and a special school started for them by the Church of England Zenana Mission Society had to be closed in 1904 owing to the lack of interest they took in it.

Miss Ling, Superintendent of the Church of England Zenana Mission of the Nilgiris applied in 1927 for the grant of scholarships to 12 Toda pupils reading in class I to Form I, some of whom were converts. The helps sought for was intended to cover the cost of boarding, clothing, school accessories and materials for the learning of an Industry. Boarding grant at Rs. 6/- each a month for 11 months to 12 Toda pupils were sanctioned from 1st April, 1927. From the year 1944-45, three additional boarding grants at the rate of Rs.10/- per pupil per mensum were sanctioned involving an extra recurring cost of Rs. 300/-per annum.

During an inspection, the Director of Harijan Welfare visited the Toda Christian colony where he found that there were no boarding facilities for the grown-up Toda boys in C. E. Z. M. Boarding Home,

Ootacamund to which the Harijan Welfare Department was giving 33 boarding grants for Toda girls. From 1951-52, another hostel called C. M. S. Hostel was being run in Ootacamund. In 1953, 13 pupils studying in various forms were maintained in that hostel. The management of the hostel applied to the Director of Harijan Welfare for subsidy for the maintenance of these pupils. Accordingly 13 boarding grants at Rs. 23/- each per mensum were sanctioned to the hostel involving an annual expenditure of Rs. 2,990/-

It was in the year 1950 that the Servants of India Society extended its tribal welfare activities to the Nilgiris District and took initiative to start a boarding school exclusively for Todas in the Wenlock Downs at Nirgachimund near the 7th mile on the Ootacamund-Mysore Road. It was thought that it would help to create some sort of incentive to the Todas to send their children to school, as Nirgachimund is a central locality for all the Todas. The Government accepted the proposal and directed that an extent of two acres of Todapatta lands in S. No. 75 of Nanjanad village be granted to the Society, for a period of 10 years at the first instance for the construction of the boarding school for Toda children.

Soon the construction of a building for the school was undertaken and completed at a cost of Rs. 8,000. The school was opened by Shri Sri Prakasa the then Governor of Madras on 22nd May, 1952. The Education Department of Madras recognised the school on a permanent basis on the 24th May of the same year. It is known as Thakkar Bapa Gurukulam and provides instruction to tribal children and day scholars upto the V Standard. A girl's dormitory was added to the Gurukulam in 1953 as the number of girls seeking admission to the Gurukulam was increasing. The dormitory was opened by the Deputy High Commissioner to the United Kingdom in Madras. The Gurukulam received its first grant of Rs. 4,432 in 1954 from the Harijan Welfare Department and the Hostel received a total grant of Rs. 5, 250 by way of subsidy for 1954-55. while the school section received Rs. 814. as teaching grant. That year there was also a donation of Rs. 1,000 from the Sir Dorab Tata Trust for Toda Welfare work.

In 1955, the Gurukulam, which till then was open only to Toda children. was thrown open to the Kota children also. This created a stir among the Toda who thought it *infra dig* for their children to be in the same Gurukulam with the Kota Children. However, the opposition was overcome through the good offices of a few progressive Todas who convinced their kinsmen of the futility of such an opposition. Today the Gurukulam is open to the children of Kotas and Todas.

In the hostel attached to the Gurukulam there were as on 31-3-1960, 53 tribal children consisting of 10 Toda boys and 9 Toda girls and 29 Kota boys and 5 Kota girls. The total strength of the school in all the five classes as on 31-3-1960 was 75 consisting of 60 boys and 15 girls, of whom 23 day scholars belonged to Christian, Muslim, Harijan and other communities. The classwise strengh is as follows :—

Standard	Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes		Others		Total of boys and Girls
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
I	11	5	8	2	26
II	10	5	2	0	17
III	8	1	3	0	12
IV	8	0	3	0	11
V	5	2	2	0	9
Total	42	13	18	2	75

Recently a kitchen and an additional building for holding classes were added to the Gurukulam at a cost of about Rs. 8,000/-.

Education concession as given to other Scheduled Tribes have also been extended to the Todas but none of them takes advantage of it, except the few who have been converted to Christianity and they have training in the C. E. Z. M. School, Fernhill.

Housing

While Brackenbury was the Collector of Nilgiris in 1927, he noticed that the Todas were senselessly overcrowded and their huts were pitch-dark without any ventilation. Besides, most of the huts were dilapidated and some of the Todas were contemplating incurring debts in order to repair or replace them. So, he felt it necessary to prevent them from further indebtedness by providing funds for the purpose. He wanted to make use of the opportunity to insist on the construction of more sanitary huts. For this purpose and to encourage them to take up cultivation, he obtained a sanction for a free grant of Rs. 5,000/- which is discussed in detail in the later part of this chapter.

"Mund" is the term used to designate a Toda hamlet. Each mund usually comprises about three dwelling huts. The traditional types of hut forms a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped construction. Such huts are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened

with rattan and covered with thatch which renders them water-tight. The sides are covered in by the pent roofing which slopes down to the ground. This practice was continued universally till 1941, when one of the Todas constructed a pucca building in his Todapatta land, followed by a similar case in 1943. In 1947, six Toda converts of Toda colony at Ketty village followed suite. All these cases were violation of the rules governing Todapatta lands, according to which the Toda could erect only munds and temples of traditonal type. However, the Government did not intervene to enforce the rules strictly but encouraged their building pucca and substantial houses by amending the rules suitably.

A study of social anthropology showed that weak mindedness and lack of self-help among Todas was due, as in the case of dwellers in the Swiss Valleys, to a land of cretinism of not having enough of sunlight and their dwelling in dark places. The Collector of Nilgiris therefore recommended on 24-9-47 the creation of a housebuilding Co-operative Society with small amount needed for constructing the simple dwelling needed by them, repayablein instalments spread over twenty years. The Collector felt that advice and propoganda without adequate financial aid by Government would be futile. However this proposal did not materialise as the Todas were found to be moving from place to place according to the availability of pasture for their cattle and did not live continuously in a particular place throughout the year. Besides, the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies, who was deputed for investigation into the proposal reported that the Todas did not seem to be very particular about housing accommodation but were keen in getting permanent assignment of land. Hence it was suggested that the Todas should be educated to settle down at a place permanently by assigning cultivable lands to them, before a building society could be thought of for providing housing accommodation to them.

As a part of the five year plan programmes for Scheduled Tribes, the Todas are afforded the facilities for constructing pucca houses. The scheme affords a loan-cum-subsidy for housing, under which financial assistance to the tune of Rs. 1,000/- (Rs. 700/- being subsidy and Rs. 300/- being interest free loan) is given to each Toda family for constructing houses with pucca materials like brick, cement, tile, tin etc. The achievement made so far is indicated below :

Year	Amount spent	No. of houses constructed
1956-57	Rs. 21,600/- @ Rs. 900/- per house	24
1957-58	Rs. 43,000/- @ Rs. 1,000/- per house	43
1958-59	Rs. 3,000/- ,,	3
1959-60	Rs. 14,000/- ,,	14
1960-61	Rs. 15,000/- ,,	15
1961-62	Rs. 6,000/- ,,	6
TOTAL	Rs. 102,600/-	105

Schemes for creating Agricultural bias among Todas

Sri C. F. Brackenbury, the Collector of Nilgiris observed in the year 1927 that the occupation pursued by the Todas, viz., tending buffaloes and making ghee was quite insufficient to maintain themselves at an economic level. If they were to hold their own among other communities, they must adopt some other occupations. He therefore suggested that, as they had already begun to cultivate potatoes, it would be expedient to encourage the cultivation of potatoes and other vegetables by giving them all facilities such as the supply of seed potatoes and preventing them from mortgaging their crop to the Labbais, the local money lenders. To enable them to commence the cultivation, it was found necessary to provide them with the required agricultural implements as they were a pastoral race and had none. As their lands were situated among sholas and forest reserves they must have to be protected from wild animals by means of proper fencing and possibly trenching. Eventhough cattle manure was available at the kraals near the Toda munds, it had to be supplemented with other manure. Seed potatoes had also to be supplied. With the above objects in mind and to assist the Todas in repairing their munds, the Collector recommended a free grant of Rs. 5,000/-. The Collector's proposals were approved in toto.

With the aid of the free grant amount of Rs. 5,000 which was utilised for the purchase of agricultural implements, seed potatoes and other charges incidental to agricultural operations, 60 families were induced to cultivate potato on grass lands in their munds. On the whole, an extent of 30 acres was brought under cultivation. Fencing, which in view of the location of their munds in the midst of reserved forests, required particular attention was very effectively done. Weeding and earthing of the crop as well as guarding during nights was very successfully done under the close and unremitting attention of the special staff sanctioned for

the purpose. Though the rains were unseasonal and inadequate and the yield consequently poor, the result of harvest was not disappointing. The thirty acres yielded 1,050 bags of 8 maunds, a far better yield than that of the Badagas.

As regards the sales of potatoes, tenders were invited in vain. However, two of the local potato merchants undertook to purchase the entire crop at Rs. 10 and 4 per bag for the bigger and smaller sort and this fetched a sum of Rs. 8,983/- net. It was observed that, not withstanding the adverse season, the damages caused in certain munds by pigs, and the inexperience of Todas in Agricultural operations, the results were most encouraging. Intensive supervision was primarily responsible for the success achieved.

The sale proceeds of potato were with the Collector and the amount due to each member was credited to his individual account and disbursements were being made to them each week to meet their requirements for the week.

Out of the free grant of Rs. 5,000/- a total sum of Rs. 4,855.0.5 was utilised for the purchase of agricultural implements and potato seeds supplied to such of the Todas who took advantage of the scheme and the balance of Rs. 144.15.7 was surrendered. In 1930, it was noticed that there were still 37 Todas, who were members of the Toda Cooperative Society but were not benefited by the free grant. With a view to encourage these Todas to take up potato cultivation, the Government sanctioned a further free grant of Rs. 2,000/-for the potato cultivation.

Round about 1933, it was finally observed that the scheme was formulated by the Government through its officers occupying a position of "active confidence", and inducing the Todas to take a speculative business for which they were unfitted. Eventhough the scheme appeared to have started well, it was very speculative and owing to the fall in prices and the absence of aptitude among the Todas, the speculation failed. Government had to write off ultimately a sum of Rs. 4,500/- and to abandon the scheme.

At its meeting held on 4.5.48 the Todas Welfare Committee passed a resolution that the Agricultural Department should take up the question of free grant of manures and seeds. Thus, the question of a second trial in agriculture was mooted with the object of selecting some enterprising Todas and encouraging them in potato cultivation by distributing, free of cost, seeds and manures for purposes of cultivation of lands leased to them by the Government.

At this time, under the supervision of Development Officer, 24 selected Todas were supplied with one bag of potato seed and one bag of potato fertiliser for raising the main crop. Though most of the ryots obtained good yields, they merely considered it a gift from the Government to them and evinced no further interest.

The question was re-examined again at the instance of Sri A. V. Thakkar, the President of the Bharathi Adimjathi Seva Sangham. It was observed that the economic condition of Todas could not be improved so long as they would take to nothing seriously except pastoral avocations. It was suggested that they should not be encouraged to attempt cultivation on extensive lands which might be wasteful, but should be educated and assisted to cultivate the lands reserved for them (i. e.) Toda patta lands in the most intensive manner practicable. There was no difficulty in giving them as much land for cultivation as they could put to sensible use. But the hopes of immediately settling on the lands as Agriculturists were not very rosy, as they were distributed over a wide area and they had natural apathy for Agriculture. However, it was assumed that if the Todas could be rehabilitated along the Mysore Road, they might acquire an agricultural bias if a demonstrator was made to work among them for some years.

Government therefore sanctioned in the year 1950 the employment of one Agriculture Demonstrator for a period of one year for creating an agricultural bias in the Todas of a few selected munds and for teaching them improved methods of cultivation. It was believed that by making the Todas agricultural minded and settling them in small farms, their social and economic condition would be greatly improved.

The Special Agricultural Demonstrator joined duty on 22.6.50. During the first year of the scheme, no budget amount was sanctioned for the supply of seeds and manures and as such the Special Agriculture Demonstrator carried on propaganda requesting the Todas to take up cultivation instead of leasing it in favour of non-Todas.

As a next step, the scheme was extended with an additional establishment of one Demonstration Maistry from 1951-52. The extended scheme envisaged the tackling of 20 Todas per annum and it was proposed to make all the Todas agriculture minded in the course of about five years.

In the above scheme, the Todas were supplied with the necessary seeds, manures and implements in kind as

advance and the value of the same was collected at the time of harvest. The Todas were also helped in marketing their produce in the best advantageous manner.

During 1951-52, 59 Todas were supplied with 148 bags of potato seeds, 168 bags of manure mixture and 13 digging forks to cover 19 acres at a cost of Rs. 12,851.8.9. The cost was recovered in full at the time of harvest. Apart from potato cultivation, the Todas were helped in raising vegetable and cereal crops to an extent of 22 acres which helped them in meeting their daily requirement of food.

In 1952-53, 90 Todas were supplied with 292 bags of potato seeds with equal quantity of manure mixture and 20 digging forks to cover 37 acres at a cost of Rs. 21,952.7.0. The cost was recovered at the time of harvest. They were also helped in raising vegetable and cereal crops to an extent of 30 acres.

In 1953-54, 110 Todas were advanced 585 bags of potato seeds, an equal quantity of manure mixture and 23 digging forks at a cost of Rs. 44,997.1.6. Out of this advance made, a sum of Rs. 1,678.14.0 was pending recovery from 10 Todas as late as March 1955 and it was found very difficult to recover them.

In 1954-55, it was decided to expand the sphere and scope of work by tackling more number of Todas and to increase the staff strength so as to contain one Agricultural Demonstrator, four Demonstration Maistries, one Store-Keeper and one Assistant Welfare Worker (to be manned by an educated Toda) with a budget estimate of Rs. 1,03,114/-. It was also decided to open a sub depot for conducting transaction relating to the distribution of seeds etc.

For the second crop 1954, a total quantity of 37½ bags of potato seeds and 66 bags of manure were issued to 19 Todas at a cost of Rs. 3,654/-. Out of this advance made, a sum of Rs. 588.8.0 was pending recovery from 9 Todas for a very long period. For the irrigated crop of 1955, a total quantity of 50½ bags of potato seeds and 90 bags of manure mixture costing Rs. 4,719.5.6. were advanced to 14 Todas. For the main crop 1955, a total quantity of about 825 bags of seed potatoes and 850 bags of manure costing Rs. 49,000/- were issued to about 100 Todas.

Besides the advance made, other agricultural activities such as compost making, preservation of cattle manure, tree planting, green manuring, soil conservation were carried out, creating an agricultural bias among the Todas. Thus the Todas were taking up to Agriculture, step by step utilising the agricultural bias, instead of their pastural life. Out of an extent of 2,795.10 acres of Toda patta lands a total extent of about 800 acres was under cultivation.

The Todas were advanced with seeds, manures and implements only on the security of their crops. They had no land to offer as security. Initially the Todas were returning the amounts advanced to them as they were afraid that some steps would be taken to recover the dues in case of default. Some of the Todas began to feel that no action would be taken against them for recovery of any outstandings, as there was no landed security to effect the recovery, in case of default. From the experience gained, it was felt that the advances could not in future be recovered in full. Thus it was likely that a good portion of the amount advanced by way of seeds and manure, might be left out without recovery resulting in loss to the Government. Out of the 800 acres of Toda patta land under cultivation, it was found that a large extent was sub-leased to non-Todas. When action was taken on non-Todas who had taken lease of the land according to the permits issued by the District Collector, the Todas claimed that these lands were cultivated by themselves and as such no action could be taken on the above sub-lease. In view of the agricultural bias already created among the Todas and on account of the difficulties in the recovery of the amount the scheme was discontinued after December, 1955.

As a member of the Scheduled Tribes, Todas are now in receipt of the benefits of plan schemes under which financial assistance is granted for agricultural operations. The following statement indicates the extent of financial assistance given to the Todas :

Year	Amount sanctioned	No. of Todas benefited.	Nature of Scheme
1958-59	39,000	35	Each Toda cultivator was given a subsidy of Rs. 300/- for potato cultivation.
1959-60	24,420	37	Each Toda cultivator was given a subsidy of Rs. 330/- for potato cultivation.
1960-61	12,000	60	Each cultivator was granted a full subsidy of Rs 200/- for potato cultivation.

Year	Amount sanctioned	No. of Todas benefited	Nature of Scheme
1961-62		Nil	
1962-63	2,600	13	Each Toda cultivator was granted a full subsidy of Rs. 200/- for potato cultivation.

Anthropologists like Prince Peter of Greece feel that ameliorative measures aiming towards the uplift and betterment of the Todas by converting them to agriculture, springs from a complete misunderstanding of what pastoral activities really are, what they can produce, and what they mean to the people who practice them. To imagine that, agricutlure is a superior activity is a very current misconception, met with in most parts of the world, and the cause of much avoidable suffering and maladjustment among people.

An authority such as Arnold Toynbee, in his remarkable 'A Study of History,' on page 168 of the abridged edition, says:

"When we compare the civilization of the Nomad who has abandoned agriculture and held his ground on the steppes with the civilization of his breathern who have preserved their agricultural heritage by changing their habitat, we shall observe that Nomadism displays a superiority in several ways. In the first place the domestication of animals is obviously a higher art than the domestication of plants in as much as it is a triumph of human wit and will over a less tractable material. The shepherd is greater virtuous than the husbandman. The Nomad's life is, indeed, a triumph of human skill. He managed to live off coarse grasses that he cannot eat himself, transforming them into milk and flesh of his tame animals, and in order to find subsistence for his cattle, in season and out of season, from the natural vegetation of the bare and parsimonious steppe he has to adapt his life and movements with meticulous accuracy to a seasonable timetable".

It is argued that herdsmanship has actually developed out of agriculture and hence, it cannot be expected that a pastoral people like the Todas can be induced easily to return to something which they have left behind. This is claimed to explain the reluctance, not only of the Todas, but of all Nomads the world over to cultivate the ground, and their feeling that it is an inferior occupation, quite unworthy of them.

Assuming the above arguments to be sound, a better prospect seems to attend the efforts to encourage the hereditary occupation of buffalo tending by improving the breeds and the marketing of produce. It might be remembered, for instance that in Europe Denmark etc., which are poor country from the agricultural point of view have intensified animal husbandry. With the steady growth in population of the plateau, there is a growing demand for reliable dairy produce, from which demand, the Todas may be expected to benefit. To such a developement they would probably take less unkindly for it is in keeping with their traditions. I will now consider how efforts were made for development of dairy.

Hereditary occupation

Prior to 1927, the Todas were almost entirely outside the economic life of the general community, living mainly on the produce of their buffaloes, selling ghee and purchasing with its proceeds the bare necessaries of life. In both transactions, sale and purchase, they were habitually swindled. The Labbais, the local money lenders, collected from them all the ghee they produced towards the liquidation of their debts and alleged arrears of interest. The Todas, like other depressed classes lacking education, had no idea of accounts, could not remember, if they ever understood, the details of any transaction and were therefore the victims of never-ending plunder by money lenders. To free them from the ruthless exploitation by Labbais, a co-operative store was opened to deal with the purchase and sale of the whole of Toda ghee. Two carriers were employed among the Todas themselves to collect ghee from the whole tribe and produce at the stores. It was all stocked there and sold each week to the highest bidder. On account of this arrangement, it was possible to realise a price of Rs. 2.8.0 per viss on the average whereas, prior to this arrangement the average price per viss was Rs. 1.8.0. This arrangement also saved them from being duped in respect of the actual quantities produced by them. The total quantity of ghee so collected and sold in the stores during 1928 was 82 maunds and $2\frac{1}{2}$ visses, which fetched a sum of Rs. 1,723.5.6. There was also sale of foodgrains to the Todas from the stores.

The above co-operative store formed part of the co-operative Society organised to finance the Todas to liquidate their debts, which was wound up later. The liquidation of the Society put an end to this item of work.

In 1942, the Todas submitted a petition to the Government praying for finding out ways and means to solve the financial crisis due to the high cost of living caused by the war. When this question was examined,

a suggestion was put forth that if the intention was to preserve the Todas as a separate race and improve their physical standard of living, it could best be done by organising their undoubted ability as cattle farmers to the best advantage. There was much scope for improving dairy farming in the Nilgiris District. The Badaga knew little about it and would not compete with the Toda in this field. The idea was to make a small start by importing the North Indian murrah buffalo to improve the local strain and to train the Toda for improved dairy farming methods. The Government approved the principle and took up the question of formulating a scheme for the grant of assistance to the Todas for the purchase of cows and buffaloes. The Government also considered that improved dairy work might produce fairly quick results if taken up vigorously at once.

But the Todas were not interested in cows. Assistance, therefore, would have to be given for the purchase of buffaloes, either the Toda buffalo or the plains buffalo. In the case of the former, assistance for their purchase would not help the community as a whole as it would simply mean an interchange of stock among the community. The only alternative would be to supply plains buffaloes. But there was no experience to show how these animals would get on under the conditions prevailing in the Nilgiris and under Toda management. So with a view to effect an increase in the number of female stock, the production of more milk and as a preliminary measure, 50 plains she-buffaloes were purchased at a cost of Rs. 8,100 (including transport charges) and distributed free to selected Todas after treating them for protection against Rinderpest. But, by 1952, none of these existed. Most of them were sold away or allowed to die for want of proper care.

As a next step, a proposal was considered for the establishment of a livestock farm on a smaller scale. The intention was, in addition to produce male stock for breeding purposes, to have a dairy and to demonstrate dairy management. The proposal envisaged the supply of Padarpur or Nagpur buffalo bulls to improve their stock without impairing their hardiness, purchase of a minimum of 200 Nagpur she-buffaloes at about Rs. 500/- each for free distribution to the Toda at the rate of 10 for each mund and to construct two milking sheds near the 10th mile stone from Ootacamund to serve as a common milking centre, providing a milk collection room, cream separator room, butter making room and a room for preparation of ghee. The proposal anticipated a total non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 2,55,000/- and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 1,74,460/- per annum. To minimise the capital cost, it was suggested to combine this scheme with the Municipal Dairy at Ootacamund. But the scheme was not pursued further as it would be difficult to bring the animals of about 33 munds situated from 15 to 20 miles apart without good connecting roads to a particular point (i.e.) 10th mile from Ootacamund for milking twice every day.

Besides, the Ootacamund Municipality did not favour the idea of combining the Toda Scheme with the Municipal Dairy. It was also not considered necessary to increase the supply of milk on the hills at enormous cost to Government because the Ootacamund Milk Supply Society which was producing 1,500 Madras measures of milk was unable to find a market for all the milk produced and was forced to send its surplus to Palghat.

Still two more schemes were considered as ameliorative measures on a small scale to better the lot of the Todas. The proposal of the first scheme was to distribute 50 Nagpur or Dharwar she-buffaloes and a buffalo bull among the Todas and to organise a co-operative milk union among them. The second envisaged a small dairy at a suitable centre for processing all the milk received from Todas. Some of the milk should be collected by Dairy van at suitable connecting points. In addition, there would be cattle yards to house 200 milch buffaloes for housing and feeding during lactation period. Both the schemes could not be taken up in view of the financial stringency.

The question of starting a Co-operative Milk Society with a view to improving the economic condition of the Todas was taken up again in the year 1950. In his report, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies pointed out that attempts were already made to organise a separate milk supply society for the Todas but the proposal was dropped as it was not feasible. He also reported that the Ootacamund Co-operative Milk Supply Society had already 30 Todas as members and that the Society was willing to admit more Todas as members, provided the Government gave a guarantee to recoup 50% of the losses which the Society might sustain in the issue of loans to Toda members, subject to a maximum of Rs. 5,000. The Government guaranteed the same in G. O. Ms. No. 4848 Development dated 29.4.50 subject to the following conditions.

1. The guarantee should apply only to the losses sustained in respect of the loans to be issued to the Toda members after the issue of the government order.

2. The guarantee should be limited for a period of one year

3. The Society should get a bond executed by the member to whom a loan was advanced offering the animal purchased out of the Government advance as security for the loan; and

4. The Society should make every effort to collect the loan and report to the Government the circumstances under which the amount could not be collected if the Government was asked to recoup any loss.

On a suggestion made by Prince Peter of Greece, for the establishment of a Co-operative Milk Supply Society exclusively for the Todas, the question of starting such a Society was taken up in the light of the Government guarantee to recoup the losses of the Ootacamund Co-operative Milk Supply Society in advancing loans to Toda members. Experience showed that the Todas defaulted heavily and many of them were reported to be disloyal too. A scheme was therefore drafted to group them into a separate society and to exercise strict supervision.

According to this scheme, a Co-operative Milk Supply Society should be started for the benefit of the Todas at the 7th mile 5th furlong on the Ootacamund-Gudalur Road. The area of operation of the society would cover about 15 to 20 miles. 150 members were expected to join the society and it was expected to handle about 1,500 pints of milk a day. As the Todas had no resources of their own, Government would have to grant them subsidies towards share capital, purchase and maintenance of a Motor van, construction of office accommodation, quarters for staff and a shed for housing milch animals, purchase of utensils etc. In addition, a Senior Inspector of Co-operative Societies would have to be employed at Government cost and interest free loan would have to be sanctioned for purchase of milch animals. The scheme was estimated to cost Government an expenditure of Rs. 79,272 which included the loan of Rs. 30,000/- to be advanced for purchase of milch animals. In the strict sense, the scheme was not on the co-operative principle of 'self-help' but on the principle of 'State-help'. As the scheme involved heavy financial commitments, it was not implemented.

Similar to the scheme of 1944, another 45 Jaffarbody buffaloes were brought up to Nilgiris in or about 1952 at great expense to the Government and distributed to the Todas with the object of improving theri stock. By 1953, there were only nine left; and of the nine, five were in a poor condition.

The income of Todas was decreasing day by day and reached a stage in which the little income they get by way of cultivation of Toda patta lands was being spent towards the purchase of dress, materials for embroidery work etc. The Government therefore sanctioned the issue of subsidy to 10 Toda families at Rs. 150/- each for the purchase of milch buffaloes by a diversion of funds provided for in the plan schemes under the agricultural subsidy scheme. However, it was represented at a meeting of the Madras Tribes Advisory Council that buffaloes from the plains should be transported to the hills and supplied to the beneficiaries, as such buffaloes would yield larger quantities of milk than the local buffaloes. Government accepted the proposal and revised the earlier orders sanctioning an expediture not exceeding Rs. 1,750/- towards the purchase from the plains of 10 buffaloes at Rs. 175/- each for supply on half-loan and half grant basis to 10 Toda families during 1959-60.

In spite of the several attempts to develop their cattle wealth, no achievement proportionate to the effort put on has been recorded.

Women welfare

In 1947, Government sanctioned the opening of branches in the Nilgiris District for the purpose of women's welfare work. There upon, two community welfare centres of the Women Welfare Department were being conducted among the Toda women at Ootacamund and the Todas were reported to be evincing great interest in the welfare work. Classes were conducted for them in the open air, but posed a problem during the rainy season. Government therefore sanctioned an expenditure of Rs. 300/- towards the construction of two huts, one at Garden Toda Mund and the other at Arranmore Toda Mund for the purpose of holding classes.

After a short period, it was considered that, besides the above two munds, Lovedale Mund was also easily accessible and could be taken up for welfare work among the Toda women. The aim was to pay attention to the general welfare work including Adult Education, Adult Literacy, Pre-basic spinning, needle craft and knitting and to introduce basket making and poultry keeping. For the purpose, the Government sanctioned the appointment of one full-time Organiser to be in charge of 3 munds and one woman peon to work under the organiser.

The following items of non-recurring and recurring expenditure were also sanctioned.

Non-Recurring

Construction of a Toda hut in Lovedale Mund Rs. 300/-

Equipment for each of the 3 munds	Rs.
Black Board 1—3 ft. x 2 ft.	= 25
Two book shelves	= 35 each
Glass Almirah 1	= 50
Mats	= 10
Spinning apparatus	= 32
Charkas 4	= 54
Games materials, Indoor & Outdoor	= 60
Pre-basic class equipment	= 50
Slates, Books	= 25
Literacy equipment—books	= 100
Centre materials (Needles, Knitting Needles, embroidery equipment pattern books both for knitting & embroidery).	= 100

Recurring Expenditure

Long cloth in different colours for embroidery work	= 600
Other fancy handicrafts	= 100
Miscellaneous such as practical demonstrations including cooking.	= 150

In September 1951, the Toda Welfare Committee desired that a small poultry unit might be started for the benefit of the Todas. Accordingly, the District Veterinary Officer proposed a scheme at an estimated cost of Rs. 720/-. On the recommendation of the Collector of the Nilgiris and Women Welfare Officer, Government sanctioned in December, 1951, the starting of a poultry unit of the Women's Welfare Department at Arranmore Mund for the benefit of the Toda women. But it did not receive the full support of the Todas and it was reported that they did not even collect the eggs.

Toda embroidery

With a view to give a fillip to the tribal handicrafts (i.e.) the embroidery work of the Todas, the Servants of India Society approached the All India Handicrafts Board to explore the possibilities of infusing fresh life and vigour into this tribal handicraft. The Chairman of the All India Handicrafts Board, Srimathi Kamala Devi and Sri S. R. Venkataraman, member of the Servants of India Society toured the Nilgiris district twice and prepared a scheme under which the All India Handicrafts Board provided funds for the construction of a building for conducting the training cum production Centre at Nirgachimund in the heart of the Toda Munds, which is 7 miles and 5 furlongs distant on the Ootacamund Mysore Road. The Embroidery Development Centre started functioning from the middle of June 1958 in the specially constructed building which is adjacent to the Residential School conducted by the Servants of India Society. In the beginning, 10 Toda women in the line were provided daily wage work in the traditional embroidery at Rs. 1.50 per day.

During the first three years the Centre provided work for 1,760 women hours per month producing about Rs. 21,000/- worth of goods. Three fourths of this production was disposed off, which gave the psychological courage for the tribal to practice the craft.

At Nirgachimund the unit was serving a limited number of Toda families. The other members of the tribal race desired to take advantage of the special development programme. To accomplish all this, the unit was shifted to the real central place viz., Ootacamund which is the common rendezvous for all every week. Thus the unit was shifted early in 1962 to Ootacamund. With the experience gained in working the unit at Nirgachimund the working at Ootacamund was lightly rearranged to work as Procurement Centre by providing the job and raw material to the Toda ladies who had by then picked up enough skill and practice in the professional craft. With the changed location at Ootacamund, providing piece work to skilled Toda ladies, the products become popular. To comply with urgent requests, daily wage workers also (about 20 women) are employed to cope up with the demand. On an average every month about 30 to 40 women are provided with part time or fulltime work.

The Unit is a Central Government run unit. Budget provision of this unit is about Rs. 15,000/- annually.

Annual production for 1962-63	Rs. 5,000/-
Annual sales for 1962-63	Rs. 3,500/-

The Unit is claimed to have achieved its normal objectives of revival of craft, improving of designs retaining all traditional aspects and rendering them more utilitarian and economical. The aim is to convert the Unit into a Co-operative Society or hand it over to any recognised social organisation.

CHAPTER XVI

LANGUAGE

Toda is a spoken language and no attempt has so far been made to put it in writing. An analysis of the vocabulary shows that many of the words are common to the Dravidian languages. But there are some which are peculiar to the Toda language and for which we cannot find any equivalent in other Dravidian languages. But all those who have written on the Toda are generally of the view that this language belongs to the Dravidian group.

On first contact with the Todas one will find that he cannot understand a word of what they speak. Their pronounciation is different from the pronounciation of other Dravidian speaking people. They talk fast. They do not open their mouth fully. The operation is done in their throat and they whisper the latter part of the sentence and the last syllable of the word. So the language is generally unintelligible to a non-Toda. The Toda is distinct from other members of the Dravidian family by its phonetic system. When a Toda produces 'sh' sound, it has a ringing effect in our ears. They use many words which are difficult to pronounce or which cannot be understood by persons who are not accustomed to their talk. That is why Todas consider that their language is one of the most difficult in the world. Normally we should expect that the sounds would be changed according to their fancies, but it is remarkable that not much difference can be found among the dialects of Todas. They have also preserved the purity of their language. According to the changes in the conditions surrounding them, they have borrowed words from other languages, but they have changed their pronounciation. A scrutiny of their language says that short and long vowels and some of the consonants are used as phonemes. They also use some other sounds which are allophones. This multiplies the number of sounds as produced by them. Some Dravidian words are used in Toda without any change even in its form. Such words are

nīr	—	water
mīn	—	fish, star
pul	—	grass
nī	—	you

There are some words which have undergone a slight change in form.

Tīggl	—	moon
Pōn	—	sky
Kōt	—	wind
Pūf	—	flower
Kōy	—	fruit
Kōṇ	—	eye
Kōl	—	leg
Nōy	—	dog
Pöb	—	snake
Nöḷ	—	day
Peṇ	—	butter
Peḷk	—	lamp
Up	—	salt

On comparison with other languages, Toda vocabulary is limited. This is in keeping with the life of the Toda in which his requirements are limited to food, shelter, and clothing. They do not have much attachment to the outside world. Their civilisation is buffalo centred and more terms are found on buffaloes and their dairies and the connected ceremonies. The Toda vocabulary is limited to those things which are seen and felt. Most of the words represent concrete nouns. Only a few words for abstract terms exist. They do not have a word for hardness while they have a word for hard. To describe fever, they use the term which means fire and then rising (Tiṭch + oditit=Titiditi). Though their language seems to be primitive, unlike other tribal people, Todas have developed a perfect numerical system. They can count more than 100. They can use the numbers 1000 and crores in songs. As their main occupation is milking buffaloes, they have measurements for measuring milk.

Toda grammar is not complicated, but is irregular. They do not use the grammatical principles they have, in a normal manner. They have the pluralising particle 'am', but it is seldom used. No difference is maintained between singular and plural. They make distinction between first and second personal pronouns and their verbs. No difference is maintained between the present and future. They have the case signs and they are suffixed to the nouns, but their use is irregular. The fourth case is clear and is often used. Their grammar

is extremely simple and resembles the grammar of a child. They use the minimum number of words to convey all their ideas. In Toda language, conjunctions are not generally used. The words are used as they are. They never use the passive voice. If they want to say 'pour the milk into the pot', they will only say 'pour milk pot'. When a comparison is made between the words collected by different European authors, a remarkable similarity can be found. Not much change can be seen in the form or in the pronunciation or in the meaning of these words. This demonstrates the wonderful capacity of the Todas to retain things as they are. A spoken language is always flexible to change, but the memory of the Todas is such that they have retained it free from any change. In their songs no word can be distinguished clearly. They split the words and lengthen the syllables. For the sake of rhyming, they add inflections which have no meaning and they have different words for use in songs. In ordinary language, the man is 'ö|', but in songs it is 'tar'. Their prayer is full of names which they consider sacred. It is quite different from speech. Each sacred thing is given a different name in the prayer. The name will vary from mund to mund. The prayer is full of names which are peculiar to Todas and their names of Gods and Goddesses differ from those of Dravidians. If one lives among Todas for a few months, it will be possible to understand the language, but it is well nigh impossible to speak it and be understood by others.

Todas, by their characteristic appearance, peculiar customs and primitive form of religion have attracted the attention of anthropologists and research scholars. Their language is as peculiar as the race itself. In day-to-day life, Todas use Tamil and other languages for intercourse with other people on the hills. Normally no one takes the trouble to learn Toda language and speak in that language to Todas

No two opinions have concurred as to the origin of Toda language and its place among the Dravidian languages. The study has been made difficult from the fact that it has no script and has to be organised on the content of the spoken word. Earlier anthropologists and research scholars who lived among the Todas held divergent opinions about the origin of Toda language. Dr. Shortt in his book embodying "An account of tribes on the Nilgiris" by himself and late Col. Ouchterlony has recorded in 1868 as follows: The language of the tribes on the Nilgiris is unmistakably Tamil although what is now spoken is a mixed dialect being a jargon of Tamil and Canarese. At first, it is difficult, to understand what they say owing to the peculiar low muttering rapid utterance and gutteral expression, but if close attention is given and they are made to speak slowly, their language becomes intelligible to anyone conversant with both Canarese and Tamil. Their pronouns and verbs appear to have been derived from Tamil. Rivers considered it to be a dialect of Malayalam while Pope considered it to be a dialect of Canarese whereas there were others who considered it to be a dialect of Tamil. Each one came to his conclusion on the basis of the amount of admixture of Tamil, Malayalam or Canarese words found in the day-to-day speech of the Todas. According to these authors, the Toda language was a dialect of one of the Dravidian languages which was commonly spoken by the people surrounding this tribe. During our study, we found that though there was a greater proportion of Tamil words in their day-to-day speech with a fair admixture of Canarese words, Malayalam was comparatively rarer. When the Toda priests established in the munds situated on the way to Gudalur are possessed by spirits for a brief period, they are said to speak in chaste Malayalam. We had no occasion to witness this. From reliable reports, we know that Todas know little or no Malayalam and one cannot explain this strange phenomenon of how a person with no knowledge of Malayalam is able to speak chaste Malayalam when possessed by the so-called spirits. The plausible explanation which we obtained is that in Gudalur there is a Malayalam Goddess who is alleged to be possessing the body of a Toda during these occasions and using the Toda as a medium for expressing herself.

It will be interesting to summarise the views expressed by various research scholars who had occasion to study Toda language. According to Henry Harkness, Toda language has no affinity with Sanskrit. The pronouns, the plural, the honorary termination of verbs and the negative verb show that their language is much nearer to Tamil than to any other dialect. Bernard Schmid holds the view that 2/3 of the Toda words can be traced to Tamil and the other 1/3 to no language though the words have been disfigured by regular process of change. According to Rev. Stevenson, it is the sixth kindred Indian peninsular language. Dr. Caldwell holds the view that among all other Dravidian languages, Toda language is most allied to Tamil. Dr. Metz, one of the earliest persons to come in contact with Todas holds the view that it is a dialect of Canarese. Dr. Pope holds the same view in his 'Outline of the grammar of the Toda language'. Dr. Opert holds the view that the Toda language is probably allied to Telugu than any

other Southern dialect. Rivers in his monumental work on Todas has tried to show that there is a definite affinity between Toda and Malayalam. As late as 1958, Emeneau held the view that Toda is closely related to Canarese. As distinct with this, Prince Peter who has spent a lot of time among Todas has given a new theory about the origin of the Toda language. He is of the view that the names of Gods in Toda language resemble the names of Gods in Sumarian language though he has himself admitted that the existence of Sumarian names for some of their Gods is no proof to say that Todas migrated from Mesapattomia.

Whitney says, "The content of any language in words and phrases and their meanings must correspond with and be measured by the mental wealth of the community to which it belongs". The language and culture are closely interrelated and unless we know something about the customs and manners of Todas which are picturesque in themselves it will be difficult to appreciate the language.

Todas call themselves as öḷ which means in the anguage "man". They consider themselves "lords of the soil" and claim to be the original inhabitants of Nilgiris and thereby entitled to exclusive possession. That is why in their language they call themselves, the 'man' and this priority was once conceded. Todas are known to Kotas as 'Ton' and Badagas as 'Toduvaru' Todas call Badagas as 'mäf' and Kotas as 'kōv'. All others are known to them as 'pedr'. After coming into contact with Europeans, they have coined a new word for them as Pöḷtpöḷ which means white man.

Toda community is divided into two descriptive groups - Tharthashzol and Theviliol.

Rivers in his book "The Todas" has detected dialectical differences in the languages spoken by these two groups. In page 687 he has given some examples.

	Tarthar	**Teivali**
Wooden spoon	chudi or sudi	kīrstegi
Basket	tōdri	putukēri
Food vessel	paterkh	tōdriterkh
Round metal vessel	kūdikunm	kūdichakh
Milking vessel	pun	kōnipun
A dairy vessel	tat	kashtat
Iron instrument	pōditch	pōtch
Comb	tīrkōli	siekhkōli
Small boy's cloak	kuchār	kupichār
Roof	pōdri	idrnpōdri
Western side of hut	meilmerkal	meilkushkōni
Eastern side of hut	kīmerkal	kīkushkōni
Mushroom	kiūn	ālabi
A tree	tipöti	ketak
A black fruit	kalpom	akatpom
Tomorrow morning	pelikhaski	pedrkhaski

He has suggested the possibility that a phonologist may detect differences in pronounciation and accent between the two groups. No such difference can, however, be detected today. Thartharszhōḷ used 'äḷabī' for mushroom, 'cheḍi' for spoon and 'piḷgāshki' for next morning. The Theviliol used 'kiūn' for mushroom, 'kirstegi' for spoon and 'makkālī' for next morning. The Thartharszhol was rather critical of the names used by the Theviliol even 20 years ago. Now the Theviliäl has begun to use the language of Thartharszhol.

Of the other examples given by Rivers, tirgolli is the dust comb. Tīrgolli is now used to indicate a long comb intended for removing and destroying nits and Seykkoli is the ordinary comb. Piṇ is the larger vessel for keeping butter and Konipīṇ is the milking vessel. Except these, no other difference can be found.

Unlike other hill tribes, Todas have a developed numerical system. Toda songs are considered to be ancient, and generally the songs retain ancient words. In their songs we find words like kōṭi munnūr, sāver. They know to count more than 100. This shows that Toda might have been the dialect of a highly cultivated language or other languages might have sprung from Toda. According to Prince Peters, it is related to Sumarian language. This is based on the coincidence he found in the names of Gods between the Sumarians and Todas. Syntax, grammar and vocabulary all agree with the Dravidian language. It has little to do with Sanskrit. There is no evidence of the Brahminical influence over the Toda culture. The words like Rōjn and karma are in the Toda language, but they have been transmitted through Dravidian languages. Personal pronouns, verbs and construction of sentences are completely different from Sanskrit.

Henry Harkness has recorded the view " their language, the pronounciation of which is deeply pectoral appears to be quite distinct from the languages of the surrounding countries." Toda differs from Badaga slightly. It agrees more with Kota, than any cultivated language. The form is more or less similar. Words relating to nature such as star, moon, sky, fire, water, earth, mountain, cave and parts of the body like head, hair, ear seem to be identical.

Toda	Kota	Badaga	
Pīrṣ	Poḍt	Hotu	(sun)
Tiggḷ	Tiggḷ	Tingue	(moon)
Muṭ	Muṭm	Muṭṭu	(new moon)
Korf	Koru	Koruvu	(cold)
Mīn	Mīn	Mīnu	(Star)
Pön	Vānm	Bānu	(Sky)
Tīt	Tiṭch	Kiṭchu	(lightning)
Nīr	Nīr	Nīru	(water)
Nelu	Nelu	Nela	(Earth)
Tīṭ	Tīṭ	Beṭṭu	(Hill)
Oḷb	Aḷ	Āye	(cave)
Maḍ	Manḍ	Maṇḍa	(head)
Kīfi	Kev	Kivi	(ear)
Mīr	Mīr	Mīru	(hair)
Af	Av	Avve	(mother)

The numbers, personal pronouns and grammatical features like case system, construction of sentences are similar. Further Toda and Kota do not use the aspirated sounds. They use not as phonemes, but as allophones. Primitive Dravidian did not have aspirated consonants and Toda and Kota do not have aspirated consonents. In Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam under the direct influence of Indo-Aryan aspirated consonants have been incorporated.

As Emeneau records, "Todas, Kotas and Badagas all live and have lived for centuries in an area of more than forty by twenty miles, with their villages sandwiched among one another in the most intimate fashion and yet three mutually unintelligible languages are spoken." "Toda is not intelligible to speakers of other Dravidian languages, not even their nearest neighbour, the Kotas and Badagas can understand Toda, without spending time on learning the language and in fact no Kota and very few Badagas ever learn it well." According to Emeneau this is due to the diversity fostered by the Hindu caste structure. I cannot accept the statement as completely true. But Todas lead a secluded life and their manner of living does not make it obligatory for them to move with the Kotas or with the Badagas. They have more transactions of late with Badagas than Kotas. Todas are quick in picking up other languages and they use Tamil and Badaga for intercourse with non-Todas. Normally they do not allow outsiders to mingle with them freely and none has so far attempted to learn their language. The greatest obstacle is the peculiarity of the Toda language that it is spoken in such a way that none can understand them. To a linguist these three languages show a wonderful similarity. Though the Kota and Toda have affinities in fundamentals, the later development emphasised the dissimilarities. The majority of the authors have agreed that Toda language belongs to the Dravidan family, but they differ in holding that it is a separate language or it is a dialect of one of the languages. As Toda is an undeveloped language with only rudiments of grammar, they held the view that it was the dialect of one of the Dravidian languages. They approached Toda from one of the four Dravidian languages and on seeing similarities, they concluded that it was the dialect of that particular language. This is the result of the fundamentals of Toda agreeing with Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. Only Dr. Oppert is of the view that Toda is a dialect of Telugu. Rivers is of the view that it is a dialect of Malayalam. Dr. Pope in 'The outline of Toda grammar' stated clearly that the original language of the Toda was old Kanarese. Pope gives the consonants as k, g, kh, gh. Kanarese uses these aspirates as phonemes, but Toda does not. A spoken language employs more sounds than the written language. But for a comparison, only phonemes should be taken into consideration. Some of the aspirated sounds come in the beginning of words in Kanarese. But in Toda, no aspirated letter comes in the beginning. Pope has written "It may be stated as a rule that the Toda 'sh' and 'zh' generally represent l or ḷ of the Kanarese. Toda 'sh' and 'zh' does not represent Kanarese l or ḷ, but Dravidian l or ḷ. Whatever is said to be derived from Kanarese is a common feature of other Dravidian languages—Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu. The words he has given are not only used in Kanaresebut also in other Dravidian, languages. Moreover ancient Kanarese resembles Tamil more than the modern Kanarese. Pope's view is that the language seems to have been originally old Kanarese and not a distinct dialect. The Todas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese country and have dwelt on the Nilgiris for about 800 years. Their language was old Kanarese. A few Tamil forms were introduced by the Poligars."

Dr. Emeneau has examined the above points stated by Dr. Pope. According to him, it is not dialect of any of the Dravidian languages. He has concluded we have no right to conclude Toda as a dialect of Kanarese rather than as a dialect of some other South Dravidian language or as an independent language. (pp. 27-34 of Toda a Dravidian language) When a language is compared with another language, its history should be examined. Though the development of languages is a continuous method, its vocabulary does not remain stable. Comparison of the ancient with modern or literary with colloquial will highlight this fact that each passes through an evolution of its

own. History of the languages shows that Telugu was developed after Tamil, then Kanarese and then Malayalam. Of all these languages, Malayalam shows close similarity to Tamil and Telugu the least similarity. The Dravidian languages though widely divergent at the moment are believed to have been derived from a common stock. We find a lot of similarity in their grammar and in their vocabulary if we classify them as fundamental and borrowed words. Sometimes words differ only in pronounciation. Toda is more or less akin to other languages on this basis. When a comparison is made between Toda and other Dravidian langauges, the task is rendered difficult. If any of the languages is taken seperately and compared with Toda, that particular language will show resemlance to Toda. As such, a study should be made on a comparative basis, structure being the same. We cannot depend on the grammar; we have also to examine the vocabulary and general trend of the language. If the common Dravidian words found in all the South Indian languages are ignored, there are only two words which can be compared with Telugu.

Telugu	**Toda**	
kōḍi	kwīḍi	(fowl)
mūḍu	muḍ	(three)

In Telugu every word without exception must end in a vowel of its own. 'U' is suffixed to the last consonant. The second peculiarity is the metathesis. Toda does not have these peculiarities. Most of the Toda words end in the consonant and even the words which end in 'U' in other languages, when used in Toda 'U' is omitted.

Uppu	Up	(Salt)
Ambu	Ab	(Arrow)
Narambu	Narb	(Nerve)

Even in grammar where Telugu is found to be different from other languages, those differences are not found in Toda. The geographical location of Telugu is such that it cannot have such influence over Toda.

Though in the language the phonetic tendency works with great regularity, in certain places, we cannot always find phonetic equivalent because certain analogical influences might have been at work during the course of its development and might have prevented us absolute regularity. Certain words have led the authors like Dr. Pope and Metz to come to the conclusion that Toda is the dialect of Kanarese. In the multitude of words which form the vocabularies of two languages, there could be accidental similarities. Languages are not to be declared akin on the strength of a few straight forward resemblance or through particular instances, however curious or striking they may be. General tendencies must be taken into account. As such, the evidence we have is not sufficient to say that Toda is the dialect of Kanarese. Toda agrees more with Kota and Badaga than with the cultivated languages. If we compare Toda with these two languages, we can come to the conclusion that Toda is not a dialect of modern Kanarese. Kota resembles Tamil and Badaga resembles Kannada. The following examples can be considered.

Tamil	**Kota**	**Toda**	**Kannada**	**Badaga**	
Veḷḷi	Veyḷ	Piḷ	Belli	Beḷḷi	(silver)
Vānam	Vānm	Pön	Bānu	Banu	(sky)
Āṇḍu	Ād	Odr	Varṣa	Barṣ	(year)
Iṅgu	Ī	Ink	Illi	Illi	(here)
Ī	Īp	Īpi	Noṇa	Noṇa	(a fly)
Eṟumbu	Irb	Irb	Iruve	Irpu	(ant)
Karuppu	Karp	Kart	Kappu	Kappu	(black)
Kāṟṟu	Kāṭ	Köṭ	Gāli	Gayi	(wind)
Kiḻavan	Pērōḷ	Keḷöḷ	Muduka	Muduka	(old man)
Kiḻavi	Pērachi	Keḷöch	Muduki	Muduki	(old woman)
Kutirai	Kutir	Kutir	Kudare	Kudare	(horse)
Tavaḷai	Kepuk	Kappun	Kappe	Kappe	(frog)
Tī	Titch	Tit	Kichchu	Kichchu	(fire)
Tēn	Tēn	Tīn	Jēnu	Jēnu	(honey)
Kaṇ	Kaṇ	Koṇ	Kannu	Kaṇṇu	(eye)
Paḻam	Pam	Pöm	Haṇṇu	Haṇṇu	(fruit)
Pal	Pal	Parṣ	Hallu	Hallu	(tooth)
Pāmbu	Pob	Pöb	Hāvu	Hāvu	(snake)

Tamil	Kota	Toda	Kannada	Badaga	
Pēn	Pēn	Pēn	Hēnu	Hēnu	(louse)
Maruntu	Mad	Mad	Maddu	Maddu	(medicine)
Mōr	Manj	Moj	Majjīge	Majjige	(buttermilk)
Viḷakku	Veḷīk	Peḷk	Dīpa	Divige	(Lamp)
Viral	Verl	Päḷ	Beralu	Berlu	(finger)
Vēr	Vēr	Pīr	Bēru	Bēru	(Root)
Vāl	Vālm	Porṣm	Bālu	Bālu	(Tail)
Vaḷai	Vaḷ	Paḷ	Baḷe	Bä	(Bangle)
Vil	Vil	Pirsh	Billu	Billu	(Bow)
Veḷḷai	Veḷ	Pölt	Biḷi	Beḷḷe	(white)
Veṇṇai	Veṇ	Peṇ	Beṇṇe	Beṇṇe	(Butter)
Viṭu	Pay	Arṣ	Mane	Mane	(House)
Ney	Nay	Neyi	Tuppa	Tuppa	(ghee)
Narambu	Narb	Narb	Narambu	Naruvu	(Nerve)
Nāḷ	Näḷ	Nöḷ	Dina	Jina	(day)
Nilam	Nelu	Nelu	Nela	Nela	(earth)

In Toda, stress is given to the first syllable and the rest is whispered in the air. That is why it is difficult to understand Toda language. A study may indicate that Toda is more similar to Tamil than any other language. Case system appears to be irregular in Toda language. Dative and genitive cases are definite.

About Malayalam, Caldwell says "being a very ancient offshoot of Tamil, differing from it chiefly at present by its disuse of the personal terminations of the verbs and the larger amount of Sanskrit derivatives it has availed itself of, it might perhaps be regarded rather as a dialect of Tamil than as a distinct member of the Dravidian family. The difference between Malayalam and Tamil, though originally slight, has progressively increased so that the claim of Malayalam as it now stands to be considered not as a mere dialect of Tamil, but as a sister language cannot be called in question. Originally it is true; I consider it to have been not as a sister of Tamil, but a daughter". These remarks apply to Toda. A separate language cannot be called as a daughter. Toda uses more vowels and consonants than Tamil. One reason for this may be given that Tamil has developed a system of writing much earlier than other languages.

In Toda language sometimes the long vowels of Tamil are represented by short vowels and short vowels by long vowels.

paḷam	pom	(fruit)
vayir	pīr	(stomache)
mayir	mīr	(hair)
mēṟku	mok	(west)

This is the peculiarity of Toda language that they omit most of the vowels in the words and make the words shorter.

Tamil	Toda	
Viḷakku	Peḷk	(lamp)
Nilam	Nelu	(Earth)
Enatu	ent	(mine)
Ninakku	Niṅk	(to you)
Erumai	är	(he buffalo)
	īr	(she buffalo)
Uppu	Up	(salt)

It is curious to note certain ancient Tamil words in Toda.

Tamil	Toda	
Aḻai	Oḻb	(cave)
Tiṭṭai	Tīṭ	(mountain)
Tūṟu	Tūṛ	(shrub)
Nañju	Noj	(poison)
Kūgai	Kūmn	(owl)
Ugir	Uīr	(Nail)
Miḍaṟu	Mīḍr	(neck or throat)
Karumpon	Kabbin	(Iron)
Puḻ	pīḻ	(bird)
Kōḍu	Kwīdr	(Branch)
	Oḻār	(path)
Āṟu	Ōr	(way)
	ōḻār	(path)

Tamil	Toda	
Aṭ	Oṭ	(to pour)
Aḍu	Odr	(to cook)
Aḍaikkāy	Aḍky	(arecanut)
Aṟai	Ar	(rock)
Tūṅgu	Tūh	(to hang)
Uṇaṅgu	Wīṇh	(to wither)
Uṟaṅgu	Warh	(to sleep)
Uṇavu	Ūṇ	(food)
Uṇ	Uṇ	(Drink)
Tūvi	Tūfi	(feather)
Machchigai	Moj	(buttermilk)
Tiṅgaḻ	Tiggḻ	(moon)
Mīn	Mīn	(star)

Our conclusion is that Toda cannot be a dialect of Tamil, but it is an uncultivated cognate language.

CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSION

In the earlier Chapters, I have told the story of the Todas as I understand it. Todas are a well-known tribe who do not need any introduction to the outsider. But generally the foreigners have treated them with affection and sympathy. I do not think that Indians, with a few notable exceptions, have ever taken to them kindly or shown them any respect.

The approach of foreigners has been an attempt to civilize them. In the opinion of earlier writers like Metz in the 19th century, the conversion to Christianity was treated as a permanent solution to the problem of Toda welfare. They felt that it would not only destroy the obnoxious customs practised by the Todas, but also save their soul in the process. Perhaps this is only a projection of the view held in general on Hindus by the Missionaries who came to India in 18th and 19th centuries. It has no validity today.

A different view has been expressed by Dr. Verrier Elwin, the distinguished anthropologist who spent years among the tribes in India. In his view, the tribes should be kept as they are. His view has been misunderstood as an attempt to hold up the progress of tribals and preserve them as specimens for the benefit of anthropologists. As a lover of nature, he has found beauty and charm in the pristine simplicity of the tribes. Any attempt of civilization may destroy the richness of the tribal life and any civilization should be attempted whenever the tribes are ready for it. They should build up pride in their own life and become economically self-sufficient, so that they would not be completely overwhelmed when the outside world dominates them. It means making terms with the past and oing forward in a natural evolution from it.

The third approach is that of the reformer, an attitude typical of independent India in its zeal to create standard citizens of every caste and tribe. Externally it means giving them education and material facilities for their economic progress. As has been indicated in the earlier Chapter, much has been done by independent India to reform the Toda and make him an ordinary citizen of the land, but an intimate study of the measures taken will show that they lacked the sympathy and understanding which is the basis of any sound reform among tribals. It seeks to annihilate those beliefs and practices which give stability to tribal life. It destroys their basic faith in their tribal hierarchy. In due course they will get merged with the generality of the people and their inner life which gives them happiness will be destroyed.

The question, therefore, arises what can be done for Todas in future. No doubt an attempt has been made to look after them. Today we find a good percentage of Christians among Todas in Nilgiris district. The earlier attempt of the Missionaries in 19th century did not break the tribal solidarity of the Todas and their success was limited. But in the early decade of the 20th century, an attempt was made by Miss Ling to convert Todas. The chief attraction offered was medical assistance and some economical support. Today undoubtedly the Christian Todas are better off than the non-Christian Todas. We find a larger number of them have taken to ordinary avocations of life including agriculture and have done extremely well. Their women can be found in different parts of India. With greater education, they are bound to be as progressive as any other section of Indians. But the fundamental fact remains that he has ceased to be the real Toda. The tribal cohesion which binds together the different members of a tribe in all matters relating to the community life has been completely shattered. No doubt an individuality has been evolved, but it is at the loss of the tribal life which it is perhaps desirable to preserve. Of course, no more attempt can be made for the conversion of Todas into Christians. That era has passed. What I have said is not intended to minimise the role played in the development of Todas as a community and the assistance rendered by the Missionaries and their zeal to reform them.

The third approach, reformation, as will be seen from the earlier pages, has not produced the desired effect in stabilising the economy of the Todas. To my mind all the attempts have been misdirected and did not take into account the basic philosophy of Todas. His life is centred in buffalo and his chief occupation is dairying. He had unlimited resources at his disposal for grazing with no intrusion from outsiders, but when the area for grazing got limited and his economic

life was threatened, the attempt of the reformer was to make him take to agriculture. A Toda has no genius for agriculture. Nor is he likely to develop any. The half-hearted concessions to the Toda for cultivation has been utilised by the non-Todas for their own benefit, especially by Badagas. The more concession we give, the more will be the benefit accruing to such communities and not to the Todas. Prince Peter, the great benefactor of Todas has opined that it is better to give him an interest in the land and leave him to look after himself rather than impose restrictions on his right of cultivation and leave him in a state of suspense. This view can be justified on grounds of ethics, but in its practical application, it will mean the transfer of all the Toda lands to the possession of non-tribals either *de-facto* or *de-jure*. In their desire to preserve these lands to be utilised for Toda benefit, Government have imposed a number of restrictions which are extremely irksome and which defeat the purpose for which the concession has been given. This, of course has the advantage that the lands have not passed to the custody of non-Todas. But the fact remains that these measures have not served the purpose which the Government had in mind and any amount of propaganda done in this direction will not make the Toda take to agriculture as his basic occupation. No doubt the Christian Toda has taken to some cultivation with some success, but to that extent he has lost the tribal instinct Therefore, the attempt of the Government to make him a cultivator and settle him outside Wenlock Downs is doomed to failure. Such an effort will destroy whatever Toda stands for.

A study of the tribe will show that it has stuck to customs through ages without any change. The only community in India I can find similar to Todas in its attitude towards old customs is the Namboodiri of Kerala, but under the impact of modern education, this community has given up its old habits in the last three decades. But Toda has not done so. Even in the year 1961, with all the influence of the foreigners and non-tribals and all the educational propaganda done among them, a Toda instinctively believes that the happiness of the departed depends on the number of buffaloes sacrificed on his death and indulges in a somewhat crude form of celebrating their funeral. Every belief of his is based on the past. He has never adopted any new tenets of religion. One important reason for this attitude may be that though the Britishers came into contact with the Todas early in the 19th century, the British education did not touch the Toda, neither has it done today. The Toda has not taken to any form of education and any attempt to educate the Todas will not succeed so long as his life is centred in the community to which he belongs. Whenever he is taken out of this background, perhaps he will take to education and become an ordinary citizen, but with that, he will cease to be a Toda.

The basic life of the Toda which is centred in buffalo worship and which has to depend for his survival on buffaloes has to be recognised in any reform of the Toda. Toda has not developed any self-reliance or confidence in his manner of life. He had looked to others for help in the past and continues to do so. This habit has become strengthened because of the anxiety of the Government to do whatever is possible to improve the lot of the Toda. But no initiative has been left to them. It is, therefore, my view that both the approaches made by the reformer and missionaries have failed to do any substantial good to the Todas in general. Another approach still remains; that of Dr. Elwin who has indicated that the tribal should be treated with sympathy and understanding and he should make terms with his past and go forward in a natural evolution from it. For this purpose, much less should be done to the Toda than is attempted to be done. His interest in Wenlock Downs which is his ancestral home should be recognised by the Government and any desire by the Forest Department to convert it into a National Park should not obliterate the Todas from their natural habitation. In my view, the existence of Todas as a simple community living in their natural surroundings will add beauty to any National Park which we may develop.

The present attempt to make Toda a cultivator has to be given up. His basic approach to life is only through buffalo, and the schemes initiated by the Government can be utilised to develop buffalo keeping as an industry for the Todas with facilities for grazing in Wenlock Downs and other parts of Ootacamund. Whatever milk is produced can naturally go to improve the milk production in the country. This is the approach to be made to the Toda Welfare. He should be given facilities for education, but should not be compelled to educate himself. Even children keep aloof from other children of other castes and this has to be broken in due course before Toda can play a legitimate role in the society to which he belongs. No doubt the invasion of the Nilgiris by non-hillman has naturally overwhelmed the Toda, but it has not destroyed his antiquity. Whatever be the effort made to educate him, whatever be the economic exploitation to which he is subjected, even today a Toda remains aloof from others and has not copied their manner of life or methods of living. Even today he has an element of arrogance towards non-Todas which was his characteris-

tic in the 19th century. Therefore, what is needed is to understand that his basic element is the pride in his way of life and give him such facilities as are necessary to make him a useful citizen of India. In that process the beauty of his life should be recognised and he should be made an added charm to a beautiful place like Nilgiris which will attract not only anthropologists but also foreign tourists. That is the role which can be assigned to the Toda in any regeneration. It is very difficult to come across such a caste or tribe in India and perhaps in any other part of the world which has lived through ages unaffected by external factors and lived an unchanging life without making any effort to understand the external forces that surround him or to evolve any philosophy which will explain the facts of life. He has taken to life as it is. What the future has before him, he has not thought of. Even after this world he does not know what will happen, but believes that it is a beautiful world. This simple approach to the problems of life has a charm of its own which can make its members who believe in it happy and contented with life.

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APPENDIX I

Schedule used for the survey

Taluk	Village and hamlet	Door No.	Traditional type of house or not	
Type of wall	Type of roof	No. of dwelling rooms	No. of windows in dwelling rooms	Religion
Sub-Sect	Vegetarian or not	Leaving munds for pasture or not	Participating in potato cultivation or not	

Name of women living in this mund who had given birth to children	(1)				(2)				(3)			
Birth order of the children	Sex	Month and/or year of birth	* S.B./A/ A.B. Cause of death	Age at death	Sex	Month and/or year of birth	* S.B./A/ A.B. Cause of death	Age at death	Sex	Month and/or year of birth	* S.B./A/ A.B. Cause of death	Age at death
1st child												
2nd child												
3rd child												
4th child												
5th child												
6th child												
7th child												
8th child												

* S. B. for Still Birth ; A. for Alive ; A. B. for Abortion.

Note:— 1. "Birth" will also include "Abortion". 2. "Birth order of the Children" will mean "order of conception".
3. "Child" will include all types of births including "Abortion".

Serial number	Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head	Highest Examination passed	Marital status		Poothukuli to members other than those in this *mund*		Nature of Establishment in which working	Nature of production, industry or business of establishment	Nature of work the individual does (i.e.) Designation	Monthly income in Rupees	Type of activity if not working*
						S + W M NM	Age at first marriage	Recd. or given	Sub-Sect: to / from — whom: given / received					
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														
6														
7														
8														
9														
10														
11														
12														

\+ S for separated or divorced ; W for Widowed ; M for Married ; and NM for Never Married.

* ST for full time students doing no other work ; HW for housewives or other adult females who do domestic duties but no other work ; D for infants and other dependents who do not work ; R for retired persons doing no work again, receivers of agricultural or non-agricultural rent, royalty or dividend ; B for beggars, vagrants, independent women without indication of source of income, others of unspecified source of existence ; I for inmates of penal, mental and charitable institutions ; NE for persons seeking employment for first time ; UN for persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work ; Write X for persons working.

ASSETS		LIABILITIES				
Particulars	Amount	Particulars	Purpose of borrowal	Year of borrowal	Rate of interest per 100 per year	Amount
	Rs.					Rs.
Present Market value of: 1. Grazing grounds		1. Loans received from Government	*(a)*			
2. Lands under potato cultivation ...			*(b)*			
3. Lands under other field produce such as rice, etc.			*(c)*			
4. Lands under plantation crops such as Coffee, tea etc. ...		2. Loans received from Banks and financial institutions	*(a)*			
5. Uncultivable lands			*(b)*			
6. Cattle			*(c)*			
7. House		3. Loans from individuals	*(a)*			
8. Ornaments			*(b)*			
9. Others with description ...			*(c)*			
(a)						
(b)						
(c)						
10. Loans given to others ...						
Total ...		Total ...				

	Local name of right on land	Extent of land in acres and Cents				
		Grazing purpose	Potato Cultivation	Other field Produce	Plantation Crops	Others such as barren grounds house-site, etc.
Government lands such as on lease, B. Memo etc.	1					
	2					
	3					
Permanently owned such as Patta lands.	1					
	2					
	3					
Obtained from private persons for payment in money kind or share such as lease, etc.	1					
	2					
	3					
TOTAL						
Given to private persons on lease, mortgage etc.	1					
	2					
	3					

Cattle Owned					
Males			Females		
Calves-under 3 years of age	Bulls-over 3 years of age		Calves-under 3 years of age	Cows and Buffaloes-over 3 years of age	
	Stud Bulls	Bullocks		Milking	Dried

Certified that the information is correct to the best of my knowledge.

Date and Signature of Enumerator.

Date and Signature of Supervisor.

APPENDIX II

Places of interest in the country they live

OOTACAMUND or Ooty, known as the Queen of the Hill Stations, stands at an altitude of 7,500 feet above sea level on the Nilgiris or Blue Mountains. Its climate is both bracing and equable. The scenery is magnificent. Its hills, ravines, woods and grassy downs capture the interest of the tourist. The walk in and around Ooty will reveal that Ooty is a veritable paradise.

General Information

(*a*) Area : 14 Sq. Miles
(*b*) Altitude : 7,500 ft. above sea level
(*c*) Population : 50,140
(*d*) Climate :
Summer : Max. 21.1°C Min. 11.6°C
Winter : Max. 17°C Min. 7.7°C
Rainfall : 48.35″ average

Places of interest in Ootacamund

1. Government Botanical Gardens : (About 1½ miles from Railway station). Beautifully laid out terraced gardens on the slopes of a hill. There is a wood hut (Log House) at the top from where a panoramic view of Ooty can be had. There is also a Toda *Mund.* Flower shows, as well as Dog show, Cattle show and Poultry show are held here annually during May.

2. OOTY LAKE : (½ mile from Railway station on the Mysore Road). Boating can be had on the lake.

Fish Farm : South side of the Ooty lake, opposite to Railway Station. Carp of various kinds are bred and distributed. There are hatcheries that can be visited by previous arrangement.

3. DODDABETTA PEAK : 8,640 ft. above sea level. Highest peak on the Nilgiri hills. There is a motorable road upto the top (6 miles). On a clear day one can see all the Hill Stations of the Nilgiris and the Coimbatore Plain.

4. THE PALACES : There are a number of Palaces in Ooty which may be visited after obtaining permission from the Superintendents. The most interesting among them are :-

(*a*) Mysore Palace :- (1½ miles from Railway Station towards Fern hill.)

(*b*) Aranmore Palace (3 miles from the Railway Station towards Fingerpost via Savoy Hotel).

(*c*) Nawanagar Palace (2½ miles from Railway Station via, Stephen's Church).

5. BHAVANI TEMPLE, FERNHILL : (2 miles from Railway station). The origin of the River Bhavani is in Fern Hill near the Mysore palace. Ashes of Mahatma Gandhi were brought and immersed in this place. There is a small and beautiful temple of Lord BHAVANI EASWER which is worth a visit.

6. OOTY MARKET: There is a very fine market, considered to be one of the best in South India, with separate sections for vegetarian and non-vegetarian purchases.

7. WENLOCK DOWNS : (5 miles away from Railway station towards Mysore.) Most of the Toda *Munds* are in Wenlock Downs. These cover nearly 40 Sq. Miles and are one of nature's beauty spots. Sunset from the Golf Club on the Downs is a glorious sight. The Servindia Tribal School is located at Nirgachi *mund,* 7½ miles from Ooty.

8. TODA CATHERAL : (6 miles from Ooty via,. Fingerpost.) A very important temple of the Todas. From the summit of the hill beyond this quaint edifice can be seen a grand view of the steep Singur Ghat.

Other Places of interest

(Distances are indicated with reference to Ootacamund)

(*a*) Kalhatti water Falls-good for picnic (8 miles.)
(*b*) Avalanche–good for picnic and fishing trout (15 miles.)
(*c*) Mukurti Peak and Dam-good for picnic, boating and fishing (21 miles.)
(*d*) Pykara Dam (12 miles)
(*e*) Glen–Morgan and Singara Power House :

(To see these, previous permission of the District Collector is necessary.) From Glenmorgan (14 miles from Ooty) one can go to Singara Power House by Trolley, for which permission is necessary from the Engineer, Electricity, Glen Morgan.

(*f*) Mudumalai Game Sanctuary (situated between the 35th and 45th mile stone on the Ooty-Mysore Road.) Permission to visit the sanctuary, stay at the Tourist Lodge and for

booking elephants for sight-seeing can be obtained by contacting the District Forest Officer, Gudalur Division, Ooty.

(*g*) Cinchona Plantations, Naduvattam (22 miles.) Outside West Bengal, the only place in India where Cinchona Plantations flourish and quinine is manufactured.

(*h*) Kundah Hydro-Electric Project (18 miles) Biggest scheme so far undertaken by the Madras Government with Canadian aid under the Colombo Plan.

(*i*) Coonoor is another hill station in the Nilgiris. Sims Park and Pasteur Institute are worth visiting.

(*j*) Kotagiri, the third hill station of the Nilgiris of importance to tourists. The stronghold of Kotas.

APPENDIX III

Todapatta Lands

(Source: G. O. 1990 Development Dated 31-8-1937)

Name of Todamund and land	Settlement number	Area Acs	Total area for the village Acs
	OOTACAMUND TALUK		
	TODANAD NAD		
	OOTACAMUND VILLAGE		
Denadmund ...	A 72	0.73	...
—do— ...	A 73	119.40	...
—do— ...	A 74	2.39	...
—do— ...	A 75	4.40	...
—do— ...	A 76	7.55	...
—do— ...	A 78	20.65	...
Pagulimund ...	A 80	1.99	...
—do— ...	A 81	66.19	...
—do— ...	A 82	10.47	...
—do— ...	A 83	0.36	...
—do— ...	A 84	9.03	...
—do— ...	C 1	5.62	...
Marlimund ...	A 86-A	1.15	...
—do— ...	A 86-C	0.67	...
—do— ...	A 87	17.66	...
—do— ...	A 87-2	0.93	...
—do— ...	C 12	10.20	...
—do— ...	C 13	0.58	...
—do— ...	C 48	1.80	...
—do— ...	C 49	2.25	...
—do— ...	C 50	1.74	...
—do— ...	C 51	0.11	...
Manjakkalmund ...	D 85	14.44 2/8	...
—do— ...	D 86	3.53 4/8	...
—do— ...	D 87	3.48 6/8	...
—do— ...	D 88-2	5.95	...
Kunditolmund ...	F 88	9.77 2/8	...
—do— ...	F 89	10.14 2/8	...
—do— ...	F 90	1.31 5/8	...
—do— ...	F 91	1.00 6/8	...
Kavimund ...	H 16-B	45.65	...
Tiriyaraimund ...	H 116	0.36	...
—do— ...	H 118	1.60	...
—do— ...	H 122	0.95	...

Name of Todamund and land	Settlement number	Area Acs	Total area for the village Acs
Kettarimund ...	I 114	10.85 4/8	...
—do— ...	I 114-B	0.10 7/8	...
—do— ...	I 115	3.57 5/8	...
—do— ...	I 115-B	2.23	...
Kavaikadumund ...	I 146	1.55	...
—do— ...	I 147	3.92	...
—do— ...	I 148	17.30	...
Total, Ootacamund village		423.62-3/8	423.62-3/8

NANJANAD VILLAGE

Kariyamund ...	1	12.05	...
Tiriaraimund ...	2	33.45	...
Perattitalmund ...	3	6.46	...
Kaggodumund ...	3-2	5.33	...
Talapattaraimund ...	4	11.43	...
Bagalkodumund ...	5	10.77	...
Todakaraimund ...	6	4.99	...
Yemmekaimund ...	7	35.12	...
Yeppakodumund ...	8	25.77	...
Nedikodumund ...	10	10.87	...
Kulamund ...	11	4.23	...
Tukkaramund ...	12	12.14	...
Kaitarkemund ...	15	11.71	...
Kasubiramund ...	16	11.90	...
Portimund ...	18	14.57	...
Kengutarmund ...	19 A	0.50	...
—do— ...	19 B	6.14	...
Tamogamund ...	21	33.96	...
Narigulimund ...	22	34.34	...
Kurudamund ...	24	33.72	...
Ammakoraimund ...	27	11.72	...
Billanjikadumund ...	36	18.10	...
Mekkodumund ...	44	31.07	...
Porikodiyaramund ...	48	10.54	...
Kundakodumund ...	53	9.85	...
Aganadmund ...	54	34.84	...
Kundakodumund ...	55	33.76	...
Annekkalmund ...	56 A	27.32	...
—do— ...	58	6.70	...
Kolakkadumund ...	61	11.23	...
Pinnapolamund ...	64	11.64	...
Nattanerimund ...	66	34.45	...
Kadimund ...	67	11.97	...
Osamund ...	68	34.56	...
Kattikadumund ...	70	5.83	...
Nirkachimund ...	75	33.12	...
Kunnapemund ...	83	6.38	...

Name of Todamund and land	Settlement number	Area Acs	Total area for the village Acs
Malaividumund ...	85	10.87	...
—do— ...	87	11.75	...
Attakoraimund ...	89	11.92	...
Pemund ...	90	4.68	...
Kavaikkadumund ...	101	34.96	...
Total, Nanjanad village		726.71	726.71
NADUVATTAM VILLAGE			
Edathalmund ...	6	11.38	...
Hadamund ...	25	10.33	...
Kudimalmund ...	26	11.75	...
Bikkolmund ...	89	13.00	...
Kalmattimund ...	142	11.10	...
Karakkalmund ...	159	33.66	...
Yenakodmund ...	165	11.55	...
Pattimund etc. ...	220	34.77	...
Tiravarimund ...	222	6.11	...
Kudinagamund ...	223	11.21	...
Kavayamund ...	35 A–2	5.65	...
Kodanaimund ...	349	5.50	...
Adkharmund ...	348	36.10	...
Kaggulmund ...	347	12.60	...
Total, Naduvattam village		214.71	214.71
SHOLUR VILLAGE			
Urutharaimund ...	30	1.96	...
Korangamund ...	67	1.83	...
Olakkodumund ...	86	4.55	...
Nerkodamund ...	259	11.26	...
Anaikundukulimund...	261	14.05	...
Nergulimund ...	262	11.46	...
—do— ...	...	6.59	...
Tavattakoraimund ...	264	22.91	...
Baddankodmund ...	267	35.01	...
Kengodmund ...	268	34.14	...
Malkodmund ...	269	11.64	...
Keradamund ...	270	7.56	...
Terkodmund ...	271	12.15	...
Pattaraimund ...	273	11.43	...
Telkodmund ...	276	22.56	...
Tarnadmund ...	283	33.81	...
Aretalmund ...	284	11.46	...
Kudumalmund ...	288	3.92	...
Konikkoraimund ...	292	9.78	...
—do— ...	293	11.66	...

Name of Todamund and land	Settlement number	Area Acs	Total area for the village Acs
Kariyamund ...	296 A	10.97	...
Tuvalkandimund ...	298	11.52	...
Pevarmund ...	300	7.83	...
Puttalmund ...	303	11.94	...
Kilmund ...	396 A	33.05	...
—do— ...	396 C	10.16	...
Nadumund ...	397 A	33.81	...
—do— ...	397 C	4.00	...
—do— ...	397 D	0.95	...
—do— ...	397 E	1.19	...
Karadikothumund ...	407 A	10.97	...
Alaikudalmund ...	409	10.01	...
Kabudmund ...	439	35.40	...
	Total, Sholur village	461.53	461.53
HULLATTI VILLAGE			
Baggulamund ...	167 B	13.91	...
Kombutukkimund ...	190 B	11.46	...
Karimulimund ...	198 A	34.00	...
Muttnad ...	207 A	34.01	...
	Total, Hullatti village	93.38	93.38
KUKAL VILLAGE			
Nerkodumund ...	231	5.27	...
Neykudimund ...	233	7.52	...
Jekkadevamund ...	235	30.01	...
Bikkapatimund ...	237 A	18.15	...
Devarmund ...	241 A	46.08	...
Kekidamund ...	242 A	15.94	...
	Total, Kukal village	122.97	122.97
KAGUCHI VILLAGE			
Battumund ...	543 B–1	9.51	...
...	543 B–3	11.88	...
	Total, Kaguchi village	21.39	21.39
	Total, Todanad		2,064.31 3/8

Name of Todamund and land		Settlement number	Area Acs	Total area for the village Acs
		KUNDANAD NAD MULLIGUR VILLAGE		
Yeragimund	...	1 A	15.59	...
Okkamund	...	2	3.25	...
Mudukkadumund	...	6	13.74	...
Bettumund	...	47	7.30	...
Onnekudumund	...	49-A	18.68	...
Narigulimund	...	195	11.96	...
Kolimund	...	196	15.25	...
Onnamund	...	197	19.70	...
		Total, Mulligur village	125.19	125.19
		Total, Kundanad		125.19
		MERKUNAD NAD ITHALAR VILLAGE		
Kannagimund	...	195	5.66	...
—do—	...	218	15.51	...
Karikkadumund	...	309	16.65	...
Attumund	...	356	8.34	...
Karikkadumund	...	357 A	48.68	...
—do—	...	357 C	130.01	...
		Total, Ithalar village	224.85	224.85
		Total, Merkunad		224.85
		Grand Total, Ootacamund taluk		2,414.35-3/8
		COONOOR TALUK **PARANGINAD NAD KODANAD VILLAGE**		
Kodanadmund	...	1	30.48	...
Pedukkalmund	...	53 A	0.77	...
—do—	...	53 B	17.38	...
—do—	...	53 D	3.08	...
Banukudumund	...	55 A	10.32	...
Kolikkalmund	...	69	3.67	...
Nervenumund	...	71 A	15.17	...
—do—	...	74	7.01	...
Banukudumund	...	76	14,22	...
Kodudonnemund	...	81	20.37	...
		Total, Kodanad village	122.47	122.47
		Total, Paranginad		122.47

Name of Todamund and land	Settlement number	Area Acs	Total area for the village Acs
	MERKUNAD NAD ATHIGARATTI VILLAGE		
Taranadmund ...	722	89.20	...
			89.20
	KETI VILLAGE		
Teriyaramund ...	1191	18.69	...
—do— ...	1198	2.31	...
—do— ...	1199	0.95	...
—do— ...	1201	8.75	...
—do— ...	1202	12.48	...
—do— ...	1203	9.64	...
—do— ...	1204	1.53	...
Paranaipekkadumund	1192	1.41	...
	Total, Keti village	55.76	55.76
	HULICAL VILLAGE		
Nadumund ...	160 A	113.32	...
	Total, Hulical village	113.32	113.32
		Total, Merkunad	258.28
		Grand Total, Coonoor taluk	380.75
		Grand Total, Nilgiris district	2,795.10-3/8