

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME VII

KERALA

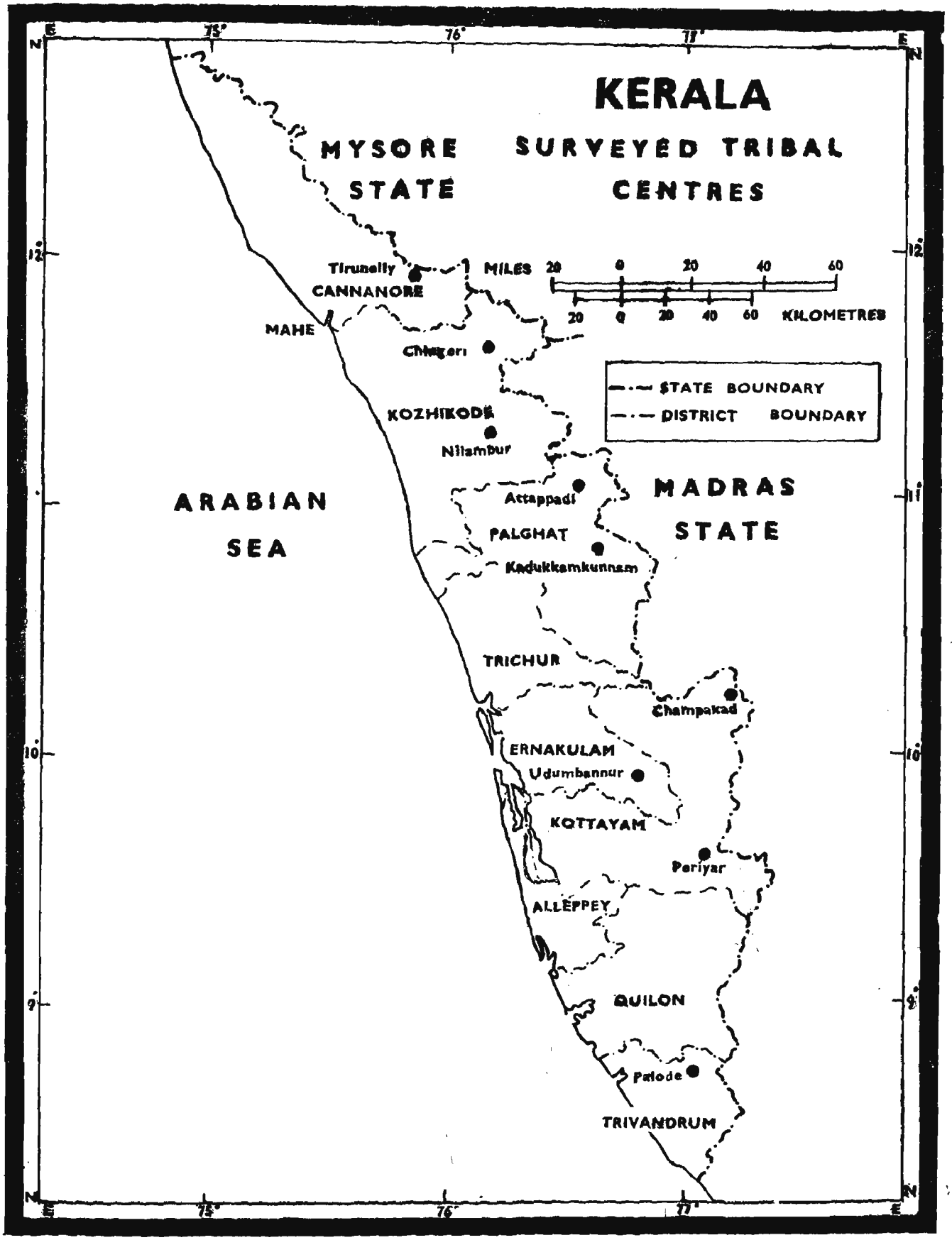
PART VI H

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

TRIBAL AREAS

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and
the Union Territory of Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands

1974


KERALA
SURVEYED TRIBAL CENTRES
MYSORE STATE
MADRAS STATE
ARABIAN SEA
MILES
KILOMETRES
STATE BOUNDARY
DISTRICT BOUNDARY
Tirunelly
CANNANORE
MAHE
Chingeri
KOZHIKODE
Nilambur
Attappadi
PALGHAT
Kadukkamkunnam
TRICHUR
Champakad
ERNAKULAM
Udumbannur
KOTTAYAM
Periyar
ALLEPPEY
QUILON
Palode
TRIVANDRUM

FOREWORD

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

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

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

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

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

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

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of on old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition.

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

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

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress, ornaments and footwear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities, festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves

to the utmost for the success of the main Census Operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general state ments and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

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

New Delhi,
July 30, 1964

A. MITRA,
Registrar General, India

PREFACE

Thirty five centres were selected for Village Survey in Kerala. Out of these, nine are tribal areas. Of these, monographs on four have been published in 'Part VI-G, Village Survey Monographs, Tribal Areas' of the Census of India 1961 Report on Kerala Vol. VII. The remaining five centres are covered by this publication. These are Nilambur in Kozhikode District, Palode in Trivandrum District, Periyar in Kottayam District, Thirunelly in Cannanore District and Udumbannoor in Ernakulam District. These centres have been selected having regard to the concentration of Paniyas, Alars and Muthans in Nilambur, Kanikkars in Palode, Mannans and Paliyas in Periyar, Adiyans, Paniyans and Kurumans in Thirunelly and Mala Arayans and Uralis in Udumbannoor.

I was experiencing dearth of Investigators to do the survey of the tribal areas. When I mentioned this problem to Dr. (Miss) A. George, Professor of Statistics, University of Kerala, she readily volunteered to take up the survey of the nine tribal centres employing the services of her own staff, this department meeting the Travelling Allowance of the Investigators for the field survey. The entire field survey, collection of data, their tabulation and the preparation of the drafts of the monographs were done by Shri J. Rajasekharan Nair, Lecturer and Sarvashri N. Karunakaran Nair and P. R. Ramachandran, Research Assistants of the Department of Statistics, University of Kerala under the able guidance of Dr. (Miss) A. George. I am happy to acknowledge with gratitude the brilliant contribution made by them. The entire credit of this publication goes to Dr. (Miss) George and her young and energetic colleagues.

These monographs have been in no small measure enriched by the various photographs given in them. The entire work of photography for this and similar sets of monographs with very few exceptions was done by the Department of Public Relations of the Kerala Government free of cost, the conveyance and a few films alone being provided by the Census Department. I am deeply grateful to Shri V. R. Narayanan Nair, Ex-Director of Public Relations for the enthusiastic co-operation and good will extended by him in implementing the above programme through his Photographers Sarvashri T. M. Joseph and K. V. Ravindranathan Nair and particularly the latter who has done the bulk of the work. The maps and drawings in these monographs have been done by Sarvashri K. Krishna Pillai and M. Thankappan Pillai, Draftsmen of this office.

The blocks of all the plates were made by the Printers Blocks, Trivandrum who has bestowed great care in processing these blocks efficiently and promptly. The printing of a profusely illustrated publication of this type with a large number of inset tables is an arduous task requiring a good deal of diligence and experience. The St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, Ernakulam under the able guidance of Rev. Fr. Michael Panakal, has executed this work quite efficiently.

The statements made and the conclusions drawn in these monographs are authors own and do not necessarily represent the views of the Government.

Trivandrum, M. K. DEVASSY.

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	,,	Year 1958 I Annual	114	134
4	1.5	23rd line from bottom	abundent	abundant
11	2.14	12th line from Top	Muthan	Muthans
44	XVII	Under the age group 5-14 of male Muthans	13.46	18.46
46	4.3	6th line from top right	earliar	earlier
	XXI	Sub-heading of Table	Percentage	Present age
52	4.5	3rd line from top right	divising	devising
58	5.14	5th line from top right	tractics	tactics
80-81	XI	Under the Name of the crop	Betal leaves	Betel leaves
83	3.33	16th line from top left	Anijli seed	Anjili seed
88	3.48	3rd line on top right	off reasons	off seasons
106	II	Year 1958 II Annual	3750.7	3650.7
120	2.52	8th line from top left	apper	appear
	2.52	21st line from top left	town	torn
135	3.52	4th line from bottom right	saying	saving
136	3.54	5th line from top right	repayed	repaid
148	XIX	Heading	Diots	Details
163	5.17	11th line from top left	ma weaving	mat weaving
183	IV	Paniyans Total	38	33
	,,	Vettakurumans Total line	2 rooms Total	2 rooms Total
			9 23	8 22

				For		Read	
				Total		Total	
192	VII	Adiyan	Age group	Female	Total	Female	Total
			15-34	23	49	32	58
			Total	95	194	104	203

			Workers		Non workers		Workers		Non workers	
	IX	Then Kuruman	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total
		Line Total	21	58	44	69	20	57	45	70

Page	Para/Table	Item	For	Read

193 Table XI may be read as follows:-

Workers and Non-workers - All Tribes together

Age groups	Workers			Non workers			Total			Percentage
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
0-14	6	2	8	97	120	217	103	122	225	40.76
15-34	76	46	122	1	40	41	77	86	163	29.53
35-59	77	41	118	3	21	24	80	62	142	25 72
60 and over	8	..	8	3	11	14	11	11	22	3.99
Total	167	89	256	104	192	295	271	281	552	100.00

Percentage of workers among males = 61.62
Percentage of workers among females = 31.67

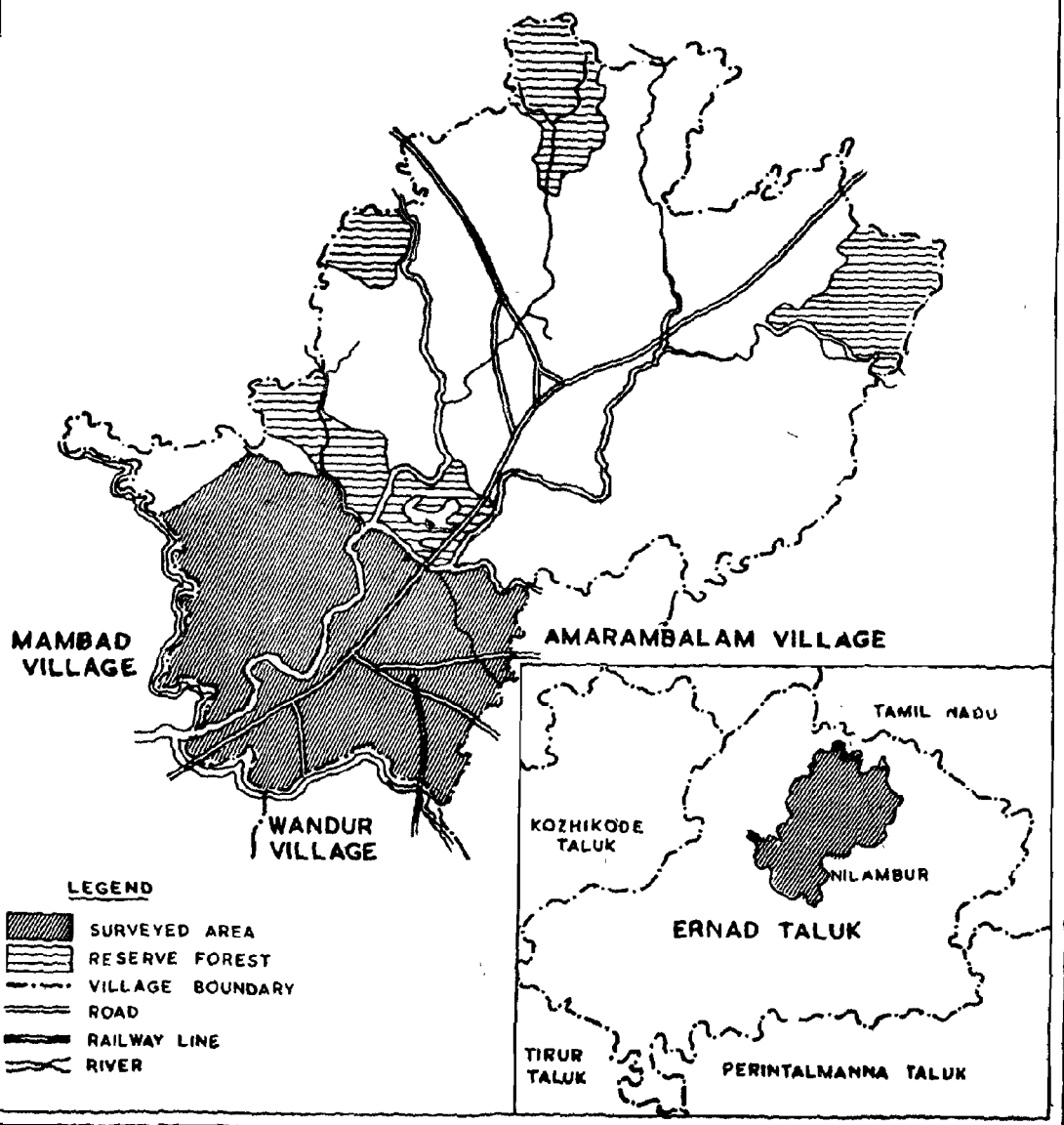
202	XX	Col. 1 – In between line 551 – 600 and 651-700 a line 601-650 may be read and against it in Col. 2 the figure 1 may be read.		
204	3.45	First line on the right below the table	ou of	out of
222	LVII	Under Col 'f' of Blood relation against N. K.	..	'1' may be read
227	4.36	23rd line from bottom right	agticulturists	agriculturists
233	5.14	7th line from top left	threre	there
240	1.21	25th line from bottom left	ying	lying

		For						Read					
279	XXII-B	Never married		Married		Total		Never married		Married		Total	
	Age group	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	10-14	14	16	..	..	14	16	15	15	..	..	15	15
	15-19	20	11	..	..	20	20	21	10	..	..	21	19
	25-29	..	..	15	13	18	14	..	..	13	15	16	16
	Total	83	82	57	60	..	..	85	80	55	62	..	..

NILAMBUR

NILAMBUR VILLAGE

A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM



N I L A M B U R *

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Introduction

Nilambur village, in Kozhikode district, is noted for its forests. Over one-fourth of the total area of this village is covered by forests Formerly, this forest area was exclusively the abode of tribes. It was only recently that the tribes living in these forests were brought into contact with people of the plains. A special feature of the village is that different tribes inhabit it. It is this feature that accounts for the selection of Nilambur for the purpose of this study. The surveyed households are located mostly in the area between Chaliar river and Karumpuzha, nearer the former. A few tribal settlements on the southern side of the Calicut-Ooty road have also been surveyed.

Location and Public Institutions

1.2 Nilambur village lies 40 miles east of Calicut. The Calicut-Ooty road runs through this village. Besides the office of the Village Panchayat, there are in this village a Divisional Forest Office, a P. W. D. section office, a post office and a Government hospital. The village has a high school, a lower primary school and an upper primary school. The village is connected, both by rail and road, with the district headquarters, and other adjacent places. One of the marked features of this village is that it is a commercial centre. Commercial activities in this village are reported to have steadily increased during the past several years. There is a weekly public market; a venue for sales of agricultural commodities, besides several other items, is this market. One of the major items of cottage industries in this village is pottery, which is monopolised by a particular caste.

Physical Aspects

1.3 Geographically, Nilambur lies between 11° 15′ and 11 26′ latitude and between 76° 10′ and 76° 23′ longitude. The elevation of the place is reported to be less than 500 ft. The village is bounded by rivers on its eastern and western sides, while the northern side is blocked by lofty hills. Climatic condition here is not unfavourable, despite all its unwelcome variations. While the figure of average rainfall is fairly complacent, the village has rains only in a short, sequestered season. Instances are not few when the pluvial incidence has exceeded the acceptable maximum limit causing devastating floods. The Chaliyar river, in this village, floods every year, inundating its banks. During summer season, the atmosphere becomes dry, the earth remains parched, and the rivers bare their sandy banks. Truly, the summer is but sardonically welcomed by the people here.

* The basic survey in this area was conducted during April-May 1952

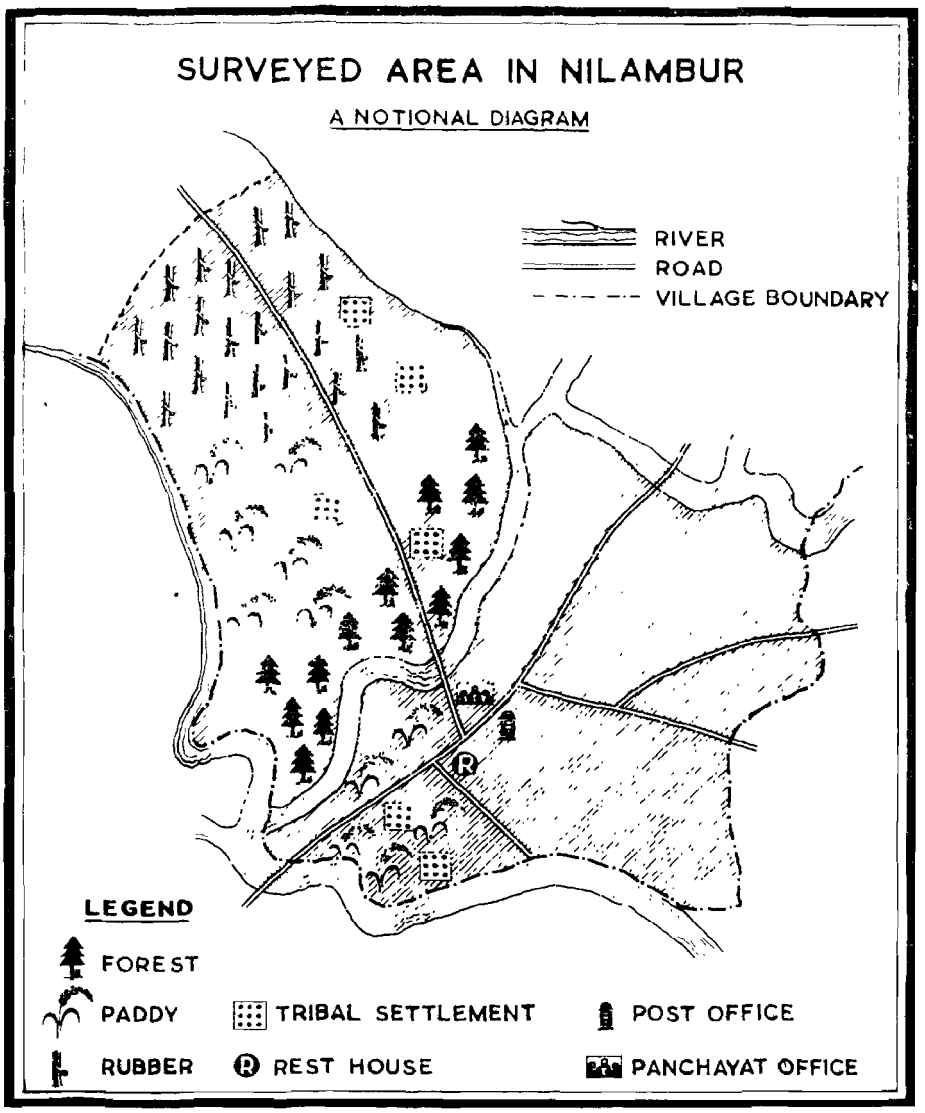

SURVEYED AREA IN NILAMBUR
A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM
RIVER
ROAD
VILLAGE BOUNDARY
LEGEND
FOREST
PADDY
TRIBAL SETTLEMENT
POST OFFICE
RUBBER
REST HOUSE
PANCHAYAT OFFICE

Table I

RAINFALL

Year		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept	Oct	Nov.	Dec.	Annual.
1951	I	..	..	..	6	9	25	21	15	10	10	6	1	103
	II	..	..	..	123.2	207.8	551.2	557.0	155.2	264.9	236.7	136.9	6.6	2239.5
1952	I	..	..	..	3	4	24	29	26	5	12	..	5	108
	II	..	1.5	..	34.8	60.5	439.7	537.5	370.8	60 5	295.9	5.6	57.1	1863.9
1953	I	..	..	..	5	7	20	28	23	9	20	1	..	113
	II	..	..	..	61.0	32.5	452 9	1231.1	438.9	61.7	374.4	4.3	..	2656.8
1954	I	2	...	1	8	8	23	24	23	14	11	2	2	118
	II	17.5	..	10.7	84.1	114.3	712.0	621 3	469.4	113.3	272.5	50 0	27.9	2493 0
1955	I	1	..	..	6	16	26	17	19	19	20	5	1	129
	II	3.1	..	..	123 9	510.3	788.7	3320 0	311.4	524.5	601.2	102.6	5.1	6295.8
1956	I	1	..	1	6	14	28	20	17	11	14	10	..	122
	II	3.8	..	4.6	100.8	368.5	677.4	545.6	445.8	85.9	216.4	180.1	10.2	2539.1
1957	I	..	..	..	..	1	27	27	23	3	15	8	..	104
	II	..	..	..	..	111.3	1042.7	1157.0	435.6	21.6	253.2	171.7	..	3193.1
1958	I	..	..	1	4	14	17	25	21	29	12	11	..	114
	II	..	..	24.6	124.0	248.6	525.3	959.4	487.6	61.8	181.9	149.3	..	2762.5
1959	I	..	..	..	4	13	20	29	22	18	7	4	2	119
	II	..	..	..	36.9	386.2	937 2	1505.3	432.3	348.0	123.0	74.3	24.9	3868.1
1960	I	..	..	..	9	23	25	24	12	13	10	..	..	116
	II	..	..	2.6	119.1	362.2	442.8	676.1	185.6	219.4	309.4	..	..	2317.2
1900 to 1950	(1)	0 5	0.4	1.1	4.3	7.6	21.8	26.1	19 8	12.6	12.9	7.4	1.8	116.3
	(2)	6.6	5.8	13.2	62.0	157.5	636.5	861.6	433.1	191.3	280.9	133.1	28.5	2810.1
1960	(3)	0.8	0.9	3.1	11.1	20.8	20.3	20.9	14.9	18 7	11.6	15.7	1.5	140.3
	(4)	11.0	11.7	52.3	214.6	581.0	450 9	692 0	328.6	391.8	246.7	372.0	25.9	3378.5

I. No. of rainy days
(1) Mean No. of rainy days
(3) Average No. of rainy days in the State

II. Total rainfall in millimetres
(2) Mean monthly total rainfall in millimetres
(4) Average rainfall for State in millimetres

As is seen from the table, monsoon starts here usually by late May, and lasts up to August, at a stretch. June and July, however, have invariably the highest incidence of rain, inasmuch as it was almost uniformly so throughout the period from 1951 to 1960. There was a noticeable hitch in the trend of rainfall during September, in most of the years over the period, while the month of October, though not with as much intensity as the month of June or July, had inevitably resumed the trend. The pluvial incidence during these months had shown wide fluctuations over the period from 1951 to 1960; the variation in the highest incidence of rain each year was so great that in one year it was over six times the lowest during the period.

1.4 The following is the soil analysis data pertaining to Nilambur.

Table II

SOIL ANALYSIS

Laboratory No. of soil	Organic carbon %	Av. P. Kg./Hectares	Av. K. Kg./Hectares	pH	T. S. S.
4992/62	0.25 (low)	8 (low)	32 (low)	5.0 (acidic)	0.1 (normal)

Organic carbon — Rating of organic carbon relates to available nitrogen
Av. P. — Available phosphorus
Av. K. — Available potassium
T. S. S. — Total soluble salts

The Flora and the Fauna

1.5 Natural conditions in this village are apposite to growing vegetables. The village has, understandably, a preponderent peasant population. The vast stretches of paddy fields, rubber estates, tapioca fields etc give impressive evidence of the fact that the region has a wealth of lush vegetation. Paddy is the major agricultural produce of this village, while tapioca and other tuber crops, etc. are also abundent. The forests of Nilambur have innumerable useful trees and plants. Nilambur forests have gained great reputation for their quality teak trees and their extensive plantation.

1.6 The following description of the teak tree and its uses is found in the book, "The forest trees of Travancore" by T. F. Bourdillon (1937) pp. 249 to 253. "Leaves 1–2 ft. by 6–12 in. oval or obovate obtuse, glabrous but rough above, clothed with dense white tomentum-beneath, lateral veins prominent; Petiole 1–1½ in., flower white 1/3 in. long, borne in erect, terminal panicles 1–2 ft tall nut with the spongy covering, 1/3 in. diameter enclosed in the pale green inflated calyx, forming a loose bag 1 to 1½ in. diameter; seeds 1–3; rarely 4.

1.7 "A very large deciduous tree sometimes attaining a height of 150 ft. and a diameter of 8 ft. It is common in deciduous forest from sea-level to 3,000 ft. in suitable localities throughout the State. South of the latitude of Quilon, where the rainfall does not amount to 100 inches, teak does not attain a large size and it is altogether absent from much of the deciduous forest northeast of Trivandrum. In the very dry climate of the extreme south it seldom exceeds 1 ft. in diameter and 30 ft. in height. It is then known as Kolteak, and is often found growing in pure groves to the exclusion of every other tree. North of Quilon where the rainfall exceeds 100 inches, as far as the northern frontier, this tree attains its largest dimensions on the lower slopes of the hills. The teak tree is indigenous all up the west coast, on the Annamallaye, in Central India and Burmah as far north as 25° N. lat. But it is absent from Ceylon. It is also found in Java, Sumatra and some islands of the Indian archipelago.

1.8 "Teak loses its leaves according to season and locality between the end of November and the middle of January, and it remains leafless till the first showers in March. The new foliage is then very quickly put on. The flowers appear between June and August and the fruit ripens from November to January.

1.9 "The bark is 1/3 in. thick, pale brown with shallow longitudinal cracks, rather rough. Sapwood white, usually small. Heartwood pale brown or dark

golden yellow, darkening with age, moderately hard but rather coarse, strongly scented with a fragrant wood oil. Pores large to small, the larger running in concentric circles and making the spring wood, the smaller decreasing in size through the summer and autumn-wood. Rays moderately broad and fairly numerous, plainly seen on a vertical section. Annual rings marked by rows of large pores at varying distances.

1.10 "The weight and strength of teak wood have been tested by many persons and the figures given differ widely. When fresh-cut this wood will hardly float but after seasoning it does so easily. The larger logs take from 2-3 years to dry while for the smaller a year will generally suffice. Gamble gives figures showing variations between 55 lb. and 31.5 lb. per cubic feet. As pointed out by Brandis "the teak tree thrives with a mean temperature during the cold season of between 60° and 80°, during the hot season between 80° and 85°, during the rains between 77° and 87°, during autumn between 71 and 81 , while the mean annual temperature which suits its best lies between 72 and 81 .

1.11 "The mean annual rainfall should, as I have shown, exceed 100 inches; but teak will grow where the fall is very much less. The soils best suited to it are a rich, red, sandy clay mixed with stone or a dark alluvial sand, but teak will not grow well if the drainage is bad, as on stiff laterite. If flooded for many days at a time, the trees will sicken and die. Teak is a light demanding tree, and cannot grow in close proximity with other trees; nor can it bear to be over topped or crowded by them Hence its absence from the evergreen forests. It is generally found in company with *Dalbergia latifolia*, *Pterocarpus narsupium*, *Schleichera trijuga*, *Xylia dolabriformis*, *Terminalia tomentosa* and T belerica, *Cassia fistula*, *Guelina arborea*, *Bridelia retusa*, *Stephegyne parviflora* and others. In Travancore it is not generally found growing with bamboos alone but in the Idiyera valley it attains a large size with an undergrowth of *eeta* (Orychlandra Travancorica).

1.12 "In the forest the teak tree is subject to the ravages of forest fires, and the young seedling is often burnt down for several years in succession before it can raise its head high enough to escape them Even then and on throughout the whole of the life of the tree, its stem is liable to be burnt, whereby its timber is much damaged, but the tree itself manages to survive. It is now generally admitted that the concentric rings so characteristic of the wood of this tree exactly indicate the age, one being representing each year. Gamble quotes figures to show that the average rate of growth in the forest only is 12.2 rings per inch, equivalent to an increase in diameter of one inch in six years and he calculates that the average girth at different ages is as follows:-

at	68 years	3 feet
at	97 years	4½ feet
at	132 years	6 feet
at	159 years	7 feet

1.13 "In plantations the growth is much more rapid and Gamble states that under favourable circumstances, 2.01 rings per inch are added each year. According to P. M. Lushington (Nilambur working plan) the average annual growth increment on the Nilambur plantations is 1.42 inches at 18 years and 8.8 of an inch at 47 years, equivalent to from 4 to 8 rings per inch. In vertical growth the teak shoots up from 10 to 15 feet or even more in the first year, and 6 feet a year for some years upwards. But the 30th year it has attained a height of 80 feet with a clean bole of 60 feet and its diameter at breast height is 10 inches. After that the growth in height is slow, but the girth steadily increases. At 50 years it should be 14 in. diameter, at 70 years, 19 in. and at 90 years, 24 in. Teak grows to an immense size. I have myself measured a tree in

the Achencoil valley 26 feet in circumference but it has short bole. At the beginning of last century, when the British Navel department were collecting teak in Travancore a tree was felled in the Idyora Valley, which measure 7 feet in diameter at its butt and 26 inches at a length of 70 feet. It therefore contained 900 cft. of timber. Greater measurements have been recorded, elsewhere. Such huge trees must be many thousands of years old.

1.14 "Plantations of teak were first commenced in Travancore in 1042-1866-7 A. D. and they have been gradually extended since then.

1.15 "Provided that labour is plentiful the forming of plantations is a very simple matter. The chief difficulty consists in keeping down the weeds for 2 years after planting. If this is not carefully attended to the young teak, the trees are killed out. For the first few years the distance of planting between the trees was 15 feet by 15 feet each way. At present it is 5 feet × 5 feet or 6 feet × 6 feet. Thinnings commence at the 7th year and are repeated in the 9th, 12th, 16th 20th and every 5th year afterwards. The final fellings are expected to be made in 90th year. From actual measurements of sample plots it has been calculated that charging 4 per cent interest the sales of thinnings will pay of all expenditure by the 70th year, and that at the time of final felling in the 90th year, there will be a balance to the profit of Rs. 6,887 per acre or at the rate of Rs. 76.6 per acre each year from the commencement.

1.16 "It has often been suggested that teak should not be grown alone, but that it should be associated with some other trees, and several kinds of trees have been suggested. Experiments on a small scale, by undersowing with the *Anjili* (Artocarpus hirsuta) have been very successful, as this tree is a shade endurer, and grows rapidly. Further experiments with this tree on an extended scale are now being carried out.

1.17 "There are vast areas of forest land in Travancore which were cleared for hill cultivation in former years and are now covered, with a pure growth of the *eeta* (Orchalandra Travancorica). This would do admirably for growing teak but the problem is how to plant them up rapidly. The "Taungaja" system followed in Burmah, but which cultivators are allowed to clear the land and take one or two crops of grain of it, provided they plant and deliver over at the end of a year, certain number of teak trees per acre has been tried here, but has not been a success. It is proposed to give the system another trial under different conditions.

1.18 "Teak, especially when grown in plantations, is liable to the attacks of insects and to damage from other causes. When the trees are from 1 to 2 years old and the wood is soft the caterpillar of a moth (cossur cadamboe), bores a whole in to the stem, generally within a foot of the ground and then tunnels downwards. The only remedy is to cut the tree down and let it throw up a new shoot below the wound. As the wood hardens with age, it becomes no longer liable to the attacks of this borer, but should the mature tree be lopped of its branches, a custom which used to be very prevalent in compounds in North Travancore, for the purpose of cultivating ground crops under the teak, the wood again softens and is readily tunnelled by the same borer. Another insect that does immense damage is the caterpillar or Hibloea puera. It attacks the young leaves of the teak tree as soon as they are fully developed in April each year and completely defoliates the trees in 2 or 3 weeks. If the monsoon is delayed, a second crop of leaves may be destroyed in the same way, otherwise the insect disappears for a year. Sometimes if the weather is favourable to them, these caterpillars may appear in September and defoliate the trees, but as a rule they do

not do so. Such defoliation entirely checks the growth of the tree till the leaves are renewed and no remedy has been discovered which will prevent these attacks.

1.19 "Elephants do a great deal of damage by breaking down young trees up to 10 years old, in order to taste the bark, though they do not eat it, and much loss is caused by windstorms which snap off the finest trees especially just after the thinning of a plantation.

1.20 "The uses of teak are innumerable, for there is hardly any purpose for which timber is employed to which it cannot be put. As remarked by Brandis, one of the most valuable qualities of the wood is that once seasoned it does not split, crack, shrink, warp or alter its shape. It works easily and takes a good polish and is of handsome appearance. But its principal value is its great durability, which is due to the essential oil it contains, which prevents white ants from attacking the heartwood and preserves it from the effects of weather. Another great advantage in the use of teak is that it is abundant in places where it is indigenous and the supply of it is steady and of equal quality. But it is a mistake to suppose that teak is a strong wood, capable of bearing a great strain. In this respect blackwood and many other timbers surpass it and it should not therefore be used for engineering works, bridges and houses where it must bear a heavy weight, but for the other parts of houses, for doors and windows and for furniture it is unsurpassed It is more largely used than any other wood for ship building.

1.21 "The comparative value of fast and slow-grown teak has been much discussed, the general impression being that the latter is superior, but this is not the case with oak, it having been conclusively proved that fast-grown oak is superior to the slow-grown timber of the species. In 1880 experiments were carried out on the Nilambur plantations which showed that plantation teak was denser than that grown in the natural forests. The matter requires further investigations, but whatever may be the final decision, both classes of timber have their uses, the denser and heavier being superior for building, and the lighter being preferable for furniture.....

1.22 "The oil is used medicinally, as a substitute for linseed oil and as a varnish (kurz), but it would seem that its extraction as an oil is difficult, while as a tar it is comparatively easy (Gamble). The leaves are used as plates, for wrapping parcels and for thatching rough sheds. They contain a red dye."

1.23 Regarding the uses of tender teak leaves and flowers, Major Heber Drury writes, "From the tender leaves a purple colour is extracted which is used as a dye for silk and cotton cloths. The tender leaves are eaten and a syrup made from them boiled with sugar is given in aphtha. The flowers boiled with honey are administered in dropsy. From the young fruits bruised an ointment is made to be very useful in herpes." [1]

1.24 Nilambur has commendable natural conditions for animals. Even though no exact figures of cattle population are at hand, the fact that Nilambur has remarkable cattle wealth is inexcapable. Cattle are, virtually the wealth of peasants, and Nilambur has no few peasants. The most remarkable incentive for maintaining cattle here is the inexpensiveness of the whole endeavour. Vast stretches of forests serve as pastures to the cattle population here. Availability of hay in plenty is no small matter in this regard. The forests here do not abound in wild animals like tiger, panther etc. However, the occasional sight of a roaming tiger or a jungle fox, etc. in the backwoods of this village is not entirely an impossibility.

1. Useful plants of India by Heber Drury, page 428

It is said that the toll set on the lives of cattle here by the immane rapacity of those wild animals is negligible if not nil. Nilambur forests shelter a variety of birds. Besides, almost in every part of the forests, one will hear the clatter of monkeys in mirth or rapture. There are no organised poultry farms in this village.

Residential Pattern

1.25 The village extends over an area of 40 sq. miles Residential pattern in this village is similar to the noted feature of Kerala, each house stands in an isolated, well marked plot of land. Ordinarily there will be one household in each hut. But the residential pattern of the tribal people here is different. The tribal gregariousness has not yet been superseded by the salutary practices or customs of the non-tribes.

Communication

1.26 As has been stated earlier, Nilambur is connected, both by rail and by road, to important places like the Calicut district headquarters and other district headquarters. The Calicut-Ooty road passes through this village. Gudallur, an important plantation centre, is but 31 miles away from this village. A private road, through the forest area, takes one to the interior of the village. But for this, there is no thoroughfare, to reach its interior parts. The village has three rivers touching it. These rivers are not useful for communications during the monsoon season, because of the force of the current. In short, the facilities for communication within the village are not adequate, while facility for transportation to the interior parts of the village are practically nil as the Chaliyar river has to be crossed before touching the private road.

Public Places

1.27 The population in Nilambur consists of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and tribal people. The religion of the tribes here has, apparently, much affinity to Hinduism. In this village, there are places of worship for the different religious sects. Muslims and Hindus are having more number of them. There is no public crematorium or burial ground attached to their places of worship and the forest area is used to inter the deceased.

Water Resources

1.28 The sources of water in this village are not adequate. Drinking water is mainly secured from wells. In some parts of the village, shallow ponds are of much use; the water obtained from there is hard. Factually in some parts of the village acute scarcity of drinking water is felt during some periods of the summer season. The rivers in this village are not harnessed for irrigation, and it is not possible, too, in the existing conditions. Channelling the water from these rivers, by some apposite techniques may make the conditions favourable to agriculturists. At the same time, an effective check to the devastating floods is of equally great import to agriculturists as well as to others.

Administrative Institutions and Markets

1.29 The village panchayat is looking after the internal administration, while the village office is engaged in collection of revenue, and maintenance of land legislations. There is only one market in this village, where agricultural and industrial products are commerced. There is no cattle market here; the nearest one is at Vandur about 16 miles away from this place.

History of Settlement of the Population

1.30 A good part of Nilambur village was said to be under private occupation, particularly of a few lairds, during the past. Only a small portion was at that time under the direct control and possession of the Government. Even now, despite many changes, vast stretches of forests and other types of land are under the control of some of the landlords. Perhaps, there are not many similar parts in the State, where there are such extensive plots of forests and paddy fields

under private possession. Formerly, the administration of these forest land and paddy fields was entrusted with a committee, consisting of representatives of the different families who jointly owned the plots. The functioning of the committee was rendered feeble, owing to the indifference and inefficiency on its part. Also the onset of individual interests, above that of the committee and its joint enterprise, had hastened its ineffectiveness Then, in defiance of the committee and its rules, some members of the family of owners began to distribute in their individual capacity, some plots of these lands, to their minions on receipt of nominal monetary gratifications This act of the persons gathered wide popularity, since it inevitably meant an immediate financial bonanza to each of them. The result was that others also adopted an equally defiant attitude to the committee, and all began vying with each other in this business. Thus, the possession of a good portion of land was transferred to some people, who, in turn, sold their rights at prices then prevalent in the locality. This had evidently resulted in the immigration of a lot of people mainly Christians and a few Muslims, from other parts. This was said to be the history of settlement of the different communities in this place, which was formerly occupied by only a few people including the tribes. The tribal people were formerly occupying the forest area, while remaining loyal to the landowners. They were mainly engaged in tilth and the collection of forest produces was entirely their prerogative. The influx of population, and the spread of agricultural activities, brought about much of deforestation. A good many tribal people were forced to disown their agricultural plots and remain subservient to the landowners. They were then absorbed as agrestic serfs albeit with much of their reluctance in being so. But this new system was promising them a steady though meagre, sustenance. As there was hardly any choice left for them they were forced to accept the imposed terms and remain loyal to the lairds. However, some of the tribal people had escaped to the wilderness of the forest, and led a life anent their traditions.

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Ethnic Composition

2.1 Confining attention to the tribal people, it may be stated that there are mainly three groups viz. Paniya, Alar and Muthan.

Paniyas

2.2 Paniyas were a set of shifting peasants in the past. The vast areas of Nilambur forests were their home quarters during those days. The virgin soil of the forest area responded without fail, even to their crude and archetypal form of cultivation, and more often than not, to their fullest satisfaction Besides, the wealth of edible vegetables of the jungles was of much avail to these jungle dwellers. This was undeniably a perennial provenance of their vegetable food. The traditional occupation of these Paniyas was, understandably, agriculture.

2.3 The language of these Paniyas is basically Malayalam, but not without certain peculiarities of pronunciation and strange terminology akin to Tamil.

2.4 Paniyas are traditionally a set of peace loving, or less adventurous, type of people. This trait in them among other things, of course has been responsible in leading them to their present predicament. They are very obsequious to their landlords and are without any manifest grudge or demur.

2.5 Paniyas are grossly illiterate, and are intellectually humble. Highly orthodox and superstitious are their faiths, their fealty and piety to their chosen gods obviously blind. While there are, of course, certain diverse features among Paniyas, basically, they are of the same stock and they can almost effortlessly agglutinate themselves into one unit. This is amply suggestive of their traditional sentimentality and solidarity. Ostracization is bitter and not any better than death, and nobody braves it, even these days.

2.6 Paniyas recognise ring leaders in each of their group, and hold them in high esteem.

Alars

2.7 Alars are said to be similar and socially equal to Paniyas, even from the past. But, there is a noticeable difference in their dialect, and that of Alars is hardly intelligible to strangers. It is said that Paniyas and Alars moved and lived together in the forest during the past. However, it is easy to see that they are less developed than Paniyas in social and economic aspects. Thus, it can be said that Alars have moved but a little lesser than did their traditional associates, Paniyas, from their pristine tribal habits and ways.

Muthans

2.8 Details of the origin of Muthans are buried deep in the obscurity of the past, and despite an enthusiastic attempt it had not been possible to gather anything substantial in the matter.

2.9 Only a negligible few of them have any contact with the people in the plains. They maintain a distinctiveness of their own, while they refuse to adopt even a modicum of change in their traditional ways, however practical it might be in their changed surroundings. Although they are highly orthodox, they have intelligent ways, more than most of the other tribes in this area. Habitually inclined to keep themselves clean, they do not allow others to touch them or mingle with them. They never have food touched by others, not even a bowl of

simple water, and they never convive with persons other than of their own community. It is customary for their women to wear no upper clothes to cover the torso including their bosom; they apprehend, they will incur the wrath of their gods by doing otherwise. The ascribed sanctity of their hut is preciously preserved by them. Visitors have to keep themselves a few yards away from their hut. Trespassers will have the unpleasant experience of seeing the hut being incinerated in their very presence, and the inmates of it fleeing away in flurry and frenzy to protect them from pollution. Nevertheless, the xeniel manners of these tribal people are pleasing and exemplary. They are said to be very avid to attend to the convenience of their guests, but not the least in sharing food with them.

2.10 Most of the Muthans still have the forest as their habitat. They raise some tuber crops, plantains, etc., around their huts. During agricultural seasons, they work for their landlords, and live upon the meagre emoluments obtained through it. Temperamentally, they are truthful, and they insist on doing a thing to nicety, using the best of their means and abilities. This trait in their character, which is popularly acclaimed, has rendered them sincere and honest workers regardless of remuneration for their work. It is said that they are straightforward, and that they never resort to telling a lie consciously even in the face of grave trouble. In short, they are a set of naive and trustworthy people.

2.11 The language of these tribes is not easily understandable to the people of the plains. Although their dialect is basically Malayalam, their unintelligible pronunciation renders it implex.

2.12 Muthans, too recognise leaders among themselves, and they hold them in high esteem. This leader is, generally, in charge of inviting their gods for redressing their gravamen or to rid one of one's illness caused by evil spirits, and of prevailing upon their people to lead a life according to their traditive tribal mores and regulae.

2.13 Muthans observe polygamy. Their custom permits plurality of wives, which, however, is not a *sine qua non* of their family life The motive behind these polygamous marriages is to have more children. Children are considered to be of economic advantage by them.

2.14 Muthan are traditionally illiterate. Their surroundings are even now not quite favourable to their attaining education. But, of late, there is a feeble, yet growing, tendency among them to get their children educated.

2.15 The traditional weapon of these tribes is bow and arrow with which they used to hunt animals in the past. Muthans are said to be deft in archery.

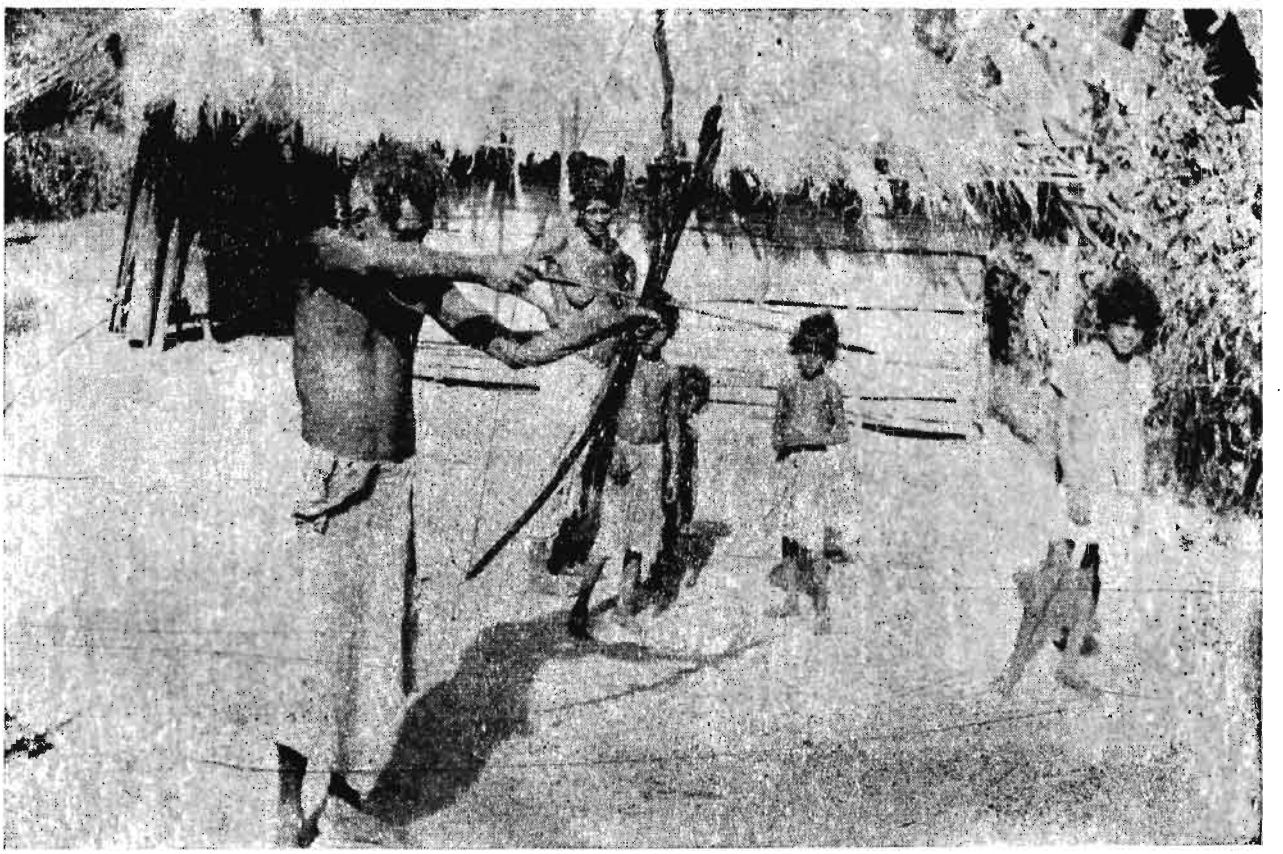
House Types

2.16 The traditional habitat of Paniyas is a small thatched hut. Most of the Paniyas have, even now, the same type of huts. Some of them, however, have houses constructed by government. Paniyas do not as a rule set compartments inside their huts. They are accustomed to sleep beside the hearth. However, to say that they dislike comparting is to fly in the face of reality. Certainly they should have preferred it, had it not been costlier and demanding additional labour for construction. Humble as they are, simple are their ways of life. The tribal gregariousness is still with them, almost unabated In each of their groups there will be three or more households. As mentioned earlier some of these Paniya families live in buildings constructed by government. It has been reported that these buildings have been erected on lands owned by some local lairds, and therefore it has come to these Paniyas to believe that these buildings were gifts under the munificence of these landowners. Even the permanency of possession of these buildings is not known to most of the

Paniya households who possess these buildings. They seem to believe that if they refuse to work for their landlords as and when the latter want them they will be evicted by the sheer dint of authority of these landlords. Apart from this difficulty, the most distressing thing about each of these buildings is its dilapidated condition. According to the inhabitants it almost "threatens" to derange itself at every whiff of wind. These Paniyas would have abandoned these buildings long back, and shifted contently to their traditional form of huts, had there been no restrictions imposed on them in moving about to the neighbouring places and erecting their humble homesteads. It would be preposterous to expect these Paniyas, in their present impecunious plight, to effect repairs to these buildings at their cost. Neither the landlords, nor the Government seem to be concerned about these in any way. It is no exaggeration if they say that these buildings, in their menacing peculiar condition, are more of a curse to them than of help. Ordinary huts of these Paniyas are erected on ground level, and not on raised plinths. Walls of the huts are often made of bamboo crushed to undetached strips which serve well against the continuous rains in the region and the blazing hot sun. During the monsoon season these walls will be covered with straw, or coconut leaves, so as to make the huts more cosy and comfortable. The roof is thatched with straw. The floor is laid with mud in thick layers. In the building constructed by Government the roof is covered with tiles. There are no ceilings for these buildings. The walls are erected with laterite stone or sun-burnt bricks. These buildings are erected on raised plinths. The walls are not plastered with stucco or anything like that. Instead, as in some houses, they are seen covered with mud. The floor is also laid with mud. Each building has a small verandah, a small kitchen, and a bedroom. The pattern of construction of these huts is not uniform; the height, the design and the size of the huts vary. Paniyas do not ordinarily give themselves any bother to keep their huts, or their surroundings clean.

2.17 The dwellings of Alars are not much different from those of Paniyas. Their huts are small, and in each there is ordinarily but one household. In some of the huts of these Alars, there are two compartments, one a bedroom-cum kitchen, and the other, which has no surrounding walls, a sort of verandah where the inmates usually squat during their leisure time. It is not, however, quite uncommon to see that cooking is also done in this uncovered compartment. Materials of the walls, roof and floor are the same as those of the Paniya huts. These Alars have no Government buildings for their use, but all are in their traditional old form of huts, usually situated near fields. In the matter of cleanliness Alars are no better than Paniyas, if not worse. As in the case of Paniya settlements, the Alar settlements also are isolated, so that there will be no non-tribals in their neighbourhood. This is really a disadvantage to these tribes, as their improvement would have been easier and accelerated if they had enough association with the non-tribals.

2.18 Muthans, like the two tribes, live in huts. Materials of walls, roof and floor are the same as those used by the other two tribes. Muthans construct their huts, as far as possible, deep inside the forests, so that they shall not be polluted by others. Thus, their huts are far more isolated than those of the other two tribes. Their huts have two compartments, one being a kitchen-cum-bedroom, while the other a store-room where they keep their valuable things, like ornaments, agricultural produces, etc. Characteristically enough, they live in groups, there being no more than one household under the same roof. They are more keen than

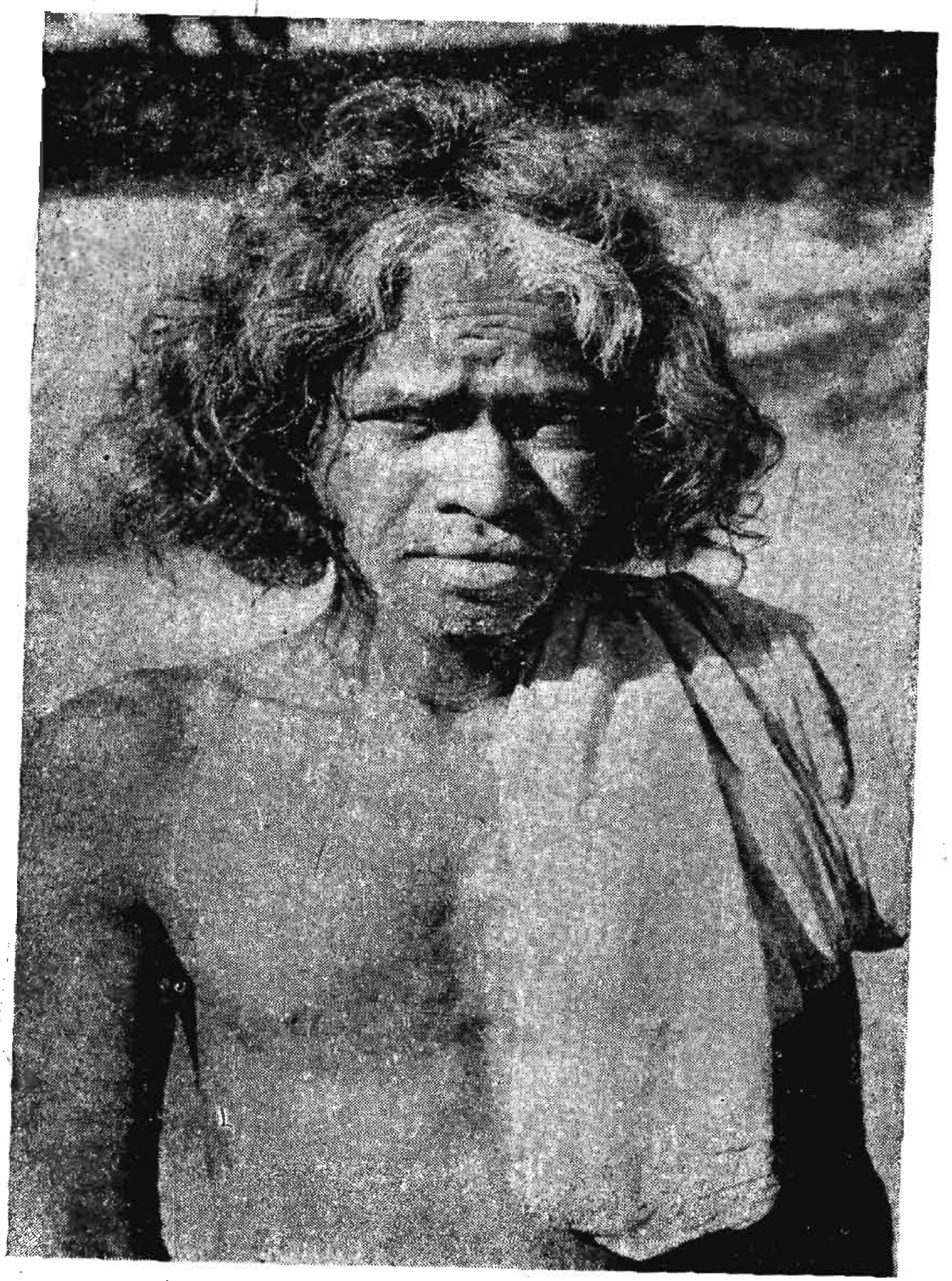


Pl. 1

A HUT OF MUTHAN — IN FRONT,
A MUTHAN IS AIMING WITH BOW AND ARROW



Pl. 2 A MUTHAN MALE Page 13



Pl. 3 AN OLD MUTHAN

the two others in keeping the hut and its surroundings clean. They have no Government building for their use. Some are desirous of having them, while some are not, but all are reluctant to change their traditional surroundings.

Dress and Ornaments

2.19 Most of the Paniya males wear only a loin cloth. Paniya women are also ordinarily satisfied with a loin cloth; rarely do they hang a piece of cloth on their shoulders, so as to cover their breasts. In brief, they are scantily dressed, not because they like them that way, but they can hardly afford to have more dress items. However during festive occasions, or visit to relatives or friends, some of them titivate themselves by putting on garish clothes, and thus making themselves seemingly conspicuous. Paniyas are financially very poor, and they cannot afford costly ornaments. However, they are not above the human hankering for remaining attractive. They beautify themselves, in their own humble way, using some brass, glass or plastic ornaments. Bangles, rings, chains, etc. are their choices. The old types of ornaments, if they had any, are hardly worn by any nowadays. Their preference to modern ornaments is pronounced these days

2.20 It has been observed that Paniyas spend on an average about 10 per cent of their annual income for dress, while what they allot for ornaments is not more than 4 per cent.

2.21 The mode of dress of Muthans is not much different from that of Paniyas. Besides a loin cloth, like that of Paniya males, Muthan males have a piece of cloth twisted and tied round their waist. Their women have apparently no regard for any modern *ton* (if at all they are aware of it) in the matter of raiment, in that they are complacent with their traditional form of dress, a mere loin cloth round the waist and no upper cloth to cover the torso or the bosom. Rarely Muthan males are seen wearing shirts or baniyans. As has been indicated earlier, women of this tribe are forbidden from wearing any upper cloth to cover the breasts or torso. But they lavishly embellish themselves with ornaments of red beads, brass, silver chains, bangles and rings, and ear ornaments of brass with pearl-like stones. While women wear chains on their neck, men wear ornamental threads round their neck or wrists. Also Muthan males wear ear ornaments of brass or silver. Some of them have silver bracelets. It appears that neither their men nor women lag behind each other in their hankering after ornaments.

2.22. Nevertheless the expenditure reported for ornaments is meagre, as it is less than half a per cent of their average annual income. Understandably enough, the average expenditure on dress for them is not high; it claims only a little over 7 per cent of their annual income.

2.23 Alars and Paniyas are more or less similar in the matter of their dress. As a majority of the Alars have only a meagre earning through their day long toil, they are a bit more sparing in the matter of their accoutrements and ornaments. Some Alar women are seen using bangles, ear-rings, and nasal ornaments made of aluminium. The expenditure reported on dress is nearly 7 per cent of the total annual income. Ornaments cost them very little, as is seen from what has been reported. It claims only 0.28 per cent of the total annual income.

Household Goods

2.24 Household utensils of these tribal people are, generally, made of clay. It is not difficult to understand, why they satisfy themselves with cheap clay utensils, instead of costly ones. Some of the Muthan families are, however reported to possess brass and copper utensils, and it is said that they are very cracy in acquiring those. The average annual expenditure on this item, expressed in percentages to the total annual income, is as follows — Paniyas 0.87 per cent, Muthans 0.91 per

cent and Alars 0.87 per cent.

Food and Drink

2.25 Food habits of these tribes are interesting to note. Paniyas have two main meals a day, one at mid-morning and the other at dusk. During the intermediate time they satisfy themselves with light food and drinks. In the morning some of them take rice gruel, which would have been ordinarily spared from the previous night's supper. The staple food of Paniyas is rice. Besides this, they relish edible corns, peas, etc. Non-vegetables are also degusted by them as they do vegetables. In fact, they prefer non-vegetarian dishes to vegetarian; meat of cow, ox, bison and baffalo are however taboo. Eggs make sumptuous meals for them. Fish, no doubt, make favourite dish for them, and, fortunately enough, they have not restricted its use by any traditive taboo. Fish is almost a regular item in their everyday food, while, in their present predicament, they can hardly afford good vegetables or meat.

2.26 Paniyas take intoxicants as and when they can afford them. The impediment to this is their impecuniosity, not to speak of the restrictive prohibition laws prevalent in the region.

2.27 The food habits of Alars are in every way similar to those of Paniyas.

2.28 As in the case of Paniyas, there are only two main meals for Muthans; one at dawn and the other at night. Like the Paniyas, Muthans prefer non-vegetables to vegetables, but beef is taboo for them. Cow's milk too is taboo for them, They are very dour in observing their traditional precepts regarding food. Since the habitat of these Muthans is still the forest, they have no scarcity for vegetables which grow luxuriantly in the forest. Hunting is a pleasant task for them, which is always promising them good meat too. Fish make delicious dishes for them, and eggs are no less so. Muthans, too, take intoxicants, but no one sots for spree as they can ill afford them.

2.29 Most of the Muthans found here are fairly healthy. It might obviously be due to their good food habits and natural surroundings.

2.30 It has been reported that these tribal people spend a little bit of their income for medical care. Muthans are, traditionally, experts in simple, but effective treatments, using certain medicinal herbs. But in this method of treatment, to ensure effectiveness they insist on invoking their gods Obviously the desired effect is brought out by not merely the medicines but by some inexplicable psychological factors, too.

Beliefs and Practices

Birth

2.31 One of the basic urges in a living organism is to beget its own kind. The faith is universal that the very nature of existence is broadly based by births as well as by deaths. Tribal people here are no exception to this universal faith. The avid desire to beget their own kind is more pronounced in them, than in most of the other people here. In contrast to the people of the plains, who prefer to have lesser number of children, owing to certain economic considerations, tribal people are eager to have more children precisely for the same considerations. It is their notion that in the existing environments, more number of members in a family means more income to the family, while the difficulty of pampering them all is not very onerous.

2.32 All these tribes observe pollution preceded by child-birth. A woman in labour is confined to a seclusion shed, either adjacent to the dwelling house or a few yards away from it. Pollution is observed for over 16 days. Muthans are very strict in observing their conventions, while much of the vigour of traditional conventions have however been conveniently shed by both Paniyas and Alars.

Marriage

2.33 The traditional customs of marriage of these three tribes differ. Ordinarily

Paniya girls are held nubile only after their attaining puberty. The fixation of a marriage is entirely the prerogative of the elders. Among Paniyas, girls are considered to be the wealth of their parents, for they fetch money at the time of marriage. It is the custom among Paniyas to give the girl to the bridegroom, only on receipt of a bride-price which is ordinarily fixed by the girl's parents. The girl is married to the bridegroom after a rigorous scrutiny of the caste and relations of the bridegroom. It is not imperative for Paniyas to have only consanguineous marriages. However, instances of this type of nuptial relationship are not rare. It has been observed that a little over 17 per cent of the total marriages reported are consanguineous. Generally speaking, Paniyas are not polygamous or polyandrous. Levirate and sororate systems are also not in vogue among them.

2.34 The ceremony of marriage is simple for Paniyas. The prospective bridegroom presents the bride's parents with food articles and clothes, besides the bride-price agreed upon already, in the alliance. The Paniyas have a patrilocal system.

2.35 The customs and ceremonies of marriage of Alars are similar to those of Paniyas. Out of the total marriages recorded, nearly 9 per cent of the marriages were consanguineous. Polygamy and polyandry are very rare. In fact, there is only one polygamous family of Alars out of the whole interviewed in Nilambur.

2.36 The customs and manners of marriages of Muthans are slightly different from those of Paniyas. One important difference is that they have the privilege of plurality of wives, as envisaged in their traditive customs, if they so choose. The coterie of elders is ordinarily consulted before fixing a marriage. The marriage ceremony is even now with all their pristine formalities and customs. Paying the bride-price and feasting relatives and invitees are invariably part and parcel of the function. The marriage ceremony is tying a *tali* or ornamental thread, round the neck of the bride, garlanding each other following immediately. Then husband and wife eat together from a piece of plantain leaf, and the guests are feasted. A *pandal* (shed) is specially erected for accommodating the invitees to the function. After this the bride is brought to the hut of the husband.

2.37 No case of polyandry has been found among Muthans. Levirate and sororate systems are also not in vogue among them, nor are they recognisable under their traditional tribal precepts.

2.38 All the marriages reported by Muthans were consanguineous marriages.

Death

2.39 Death is described as the 'radical cure' to life's soring problems. Nevertheless, it is greeted by none, not the least by these tribes. Instead, it is viewed with grief and gruesomeness. Death is inauspicious and afflicting for the tribal people as much as it is for the non-tribals.

2.40 Their obsequies are somewhat similar in character, but not without certain minor differences. Among Paniyas, the sad news of death is immediately diffused among relatives and friends. All assemble at the house of the dead, condoling the bereaved. Next, they prepare for the burial of the deceased. The beard and hair of the corpse are first shaved off by the nephews of the deceased. It is then bathed in cold water anointed with turmeric. Bedecking the corpse with the good cloths is done with meticulous care, lest, they fear, they should incur the wrath of the spirit of the dead. Besides this, the things which the defunct most liked and regularly used (eg. his staff, sickle, etc.) in his life time, are also placed beside the corpse. The dead body is then laid on a bamboo carrier. Carrying it to the place of interment is the next item. Relatives and friends accompany the cortege bewaiting the unatonable afflicting bereavement. A pit, of six feet

length and 3 to 4 feet depth, is dug for burying the corpse. Covering the corpse with mat from head to foot is done immediately before lowering it to the pit. The corpse is placed in the pit with its head pointing southward. Before throwing sand in to the pit, the corpse is mutilated, by severing head, hands and legs from the torso. This, according to them, is to prevent the ghost of the dead taking back the body and moving about "playing" the living. It is their faith that the ghost of the dead cannot take back the mutilated body and it is thus made invalid. After burial, a big stone is placed at the position of the head of the corpse. Cremation is not generally practised. According to them only very old and important people are cremated. After an ablution, all return to the home of the dead and conduct themselves to a sumptuous feast. The place of burial is visited again by the members of the bereaved family after a week. Going round the place after lighting a lamp at the piece of stone is the function of that day. Ordinarily feasting follows this function. Pollution is observed for 10 to 15 days. The dead is then remembered only at an annual feasting called "chathamuttal" ceremony. These people have no traditional notion of heaven or hell; they believe in the entity of the spirit of the dead, though invisible to the human eye. They fear that these spirits can cause trouble to the living. Therefore they are avid to please these spirits, not perfunctorily, in order that they shall not incur the wrath of them.

2.41 The obsequies of the tribe 'Alars' are similar to that of Paniyas.

2.42 Muthans have different mortuary rites and practices. They do not allow a person to die in their dwelling house. The moribund person is taken out of the hut before he breathes his last. If any one happens to die lying within the hut it will be considered polluted, and will be burnt down. Muthans observe pollution for a longer number of days than do the Paniyas or Alars. The corpse is not bathed or shaved. It is only wrapped up in clothes used by the deceased and then taken to the burial ground. All the belongings of the deceased without any exception, not even costly ornaments are buried along with the dead body. No mutilation of the corpse is done, as it is not their traditional custom. Contrary to the superstitious notions of Paniyas, Muthans do not believe in the physical resuscitation of the dead by any mythological charm. They are very much disciplined in the observance of their traditional obsequies. The annual feasting of the dead, "chathamuttal" is observed by the Muthans also. They have no concept of heaven or hell.

2.43 Much of the rigidity and rigour of the traditional customs and manners are being dropped by them, with the advent of close association, with the non-tribes. Economic factors have really an important role in actuating these changes. Love marriage is at times allowed in defiance of their traditive formalities and customs.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Economic Resources

3.1 As has been indicated earlier, Nilambur has a wealth of forests and vast stretches of agricultural lands. The village has a preponderance of peasant population while there are a good number of agricultural labourers, too. The glaring peculiarity of this village is that most of the land here is owned, in sizable chunks, by a few families. Nevertheless, the fragmentation of these large holdings has come into vogue with the leasing out of lands to peasants. But most of the individual holdings here are sizable. It is said that the land had been leased out in sizable units in the past. Most of these lands have been brought under the plough except the vast stretches of forest land. It is said that the land in this village is not commendably fertile, especially for raising crops like plantains, mango trees, jack trees, paddy etc. With regard to fruit plants, not only the yield is poor, but the produces are defective too, according to the village people. Again, the influence of adverse climatic conditions is no meagre thing to be overlooked. Heavy rains and devastating floods more often than not, hit below the belt of the poor peasants here. During summer season the drought is very acute. The earth remains arid and unfit for cultivation during this season. All the rivers within and around the village are reduced to feebly flowing, fordable brooks, during this season. Thus agriculture suffers a very serious setback during summer. In Nilambur there are absolutely no irrigational facilities to aid agriculture during this season.

3.2 The viridescent forests of Nilambur are strikingly glamorous. Only a small portion of these forests is owned by few families in and around the locality. These forests are the treasurehouse of teak wood, rose wood and a variety of other costly and useful woods. Numerous medicinal herbs grow luxuriantly in these forests. It is said that all vegetables grown in the plains are found in these forests too, those peculiar to the forests to boot. Beautified bamboo tufts are numerous in these forests, adding vividly to the viridity of these forests. This is ostensibly one of the major items of forest wealth in this part. Besides, the frankincense, honey, wax, etc. are collected galore from these forests. Perhaps, the most important of all is the collection of firewood. The collection of firewood is done throughout the year, and it is thus a regular and steady source of income to the lairds. As this requires labour, some local labourers get sometimes engaged for this work. Apart from these two aspects, collection of firewood is a regular source of income for the economically poor families here — obviously including the tribes. The people enter the forests at day break and albeit illegally, collect firewood, in large bundles and sell it in the market.

3.3 As has already been indicated there are vast expanses of very fertile, but so far uncultivated, land amidst these forests. This has never been allocated to anyone, neither for cultivation nor for habitation. Thus these plots remain waste.

3.4 The live-stock wealth of Nilambur is not poor. The most remarkable factor about Nilambur in this respect is the inexpensiveness of feeding the cattle. The use and importance of cattles are seen widely realised here. The most obvious

reason for this is that a majority of the people here have agricultural pursuits, to which cattle are undoubtedly useful. Paddy being the major agricultural crop in this village, hay is available in plenty for the cattle. Incidentally it may be remarked that there is a milk cooperative society which collects and sells milk fetching profit to its member-donors. This obviously gives encouragement to procure and maintain more number of cattle.

3.5 Nilambur is one of the commercial centres in Kozhikode district. Wood is the major commodity sold in this place. Firewood, umbrella-sticks, bamboo and reed are also sold in abundant quantities almost every day. Next in importance is the commerce of agricultural produces, like paddy, gingelly etc. The part "Chettiyangady" in Nilambur is, in fact, a very busy commercial centre. There are banking institutions in Nilambur, to give financial fillips to industry.

3.6 Industrially this village is backward, like most of other villages in Kerala. The only cottage industry found in this village is pottery. But this is a monopoly of a section of the population, called 'Kusavans'. Mention has to be made of the fact that these people are immigrants and are not original inhabitants of this village. There are certain small carpentry units, here, which make various useful pieces of furniture.

3.7 It is said that at Nilambur there are ores of gold and mica. During the regime of the British, a course of exploration of gold ores was actually undertaken by a German firm. But this was abandoned later for reasons not widely known. After a lapse of several years, the once widely known fact that there were gold ores had more or less become merely a myth. However a few persons engaged themselves, albeit not regularly, in collection of gold particles from the river beds here and, according to them, a day's effort would ordinarily fetch them a sum which is fairly competent with the wage rates for labour prevalent in the place — no wonder why some have still some lingering faith in the old story.

3.8 The tribes here are landless labourers. They have their hovels on the outlands of agricultural fields, owned by the local lairds. They are in a sort of traditional subservience to their landowners. Their servility is often claimed as a right by most of the land-owners here. It is but human to resist this nagging, sordid system, which these tribes are bound to accept as a congenital curse. This has resulted in the fact that these tribes have, not developed any attachment not to speak of possession, to land, because they often have to shift from one place to another as they choose their different landlords. But it is not entirely unlikely that one or two tribal families till small plots of land around their huts, with the kind permission of their landlords They may raise some tuber crops on these plots, the yield of which will make but a modicum of their gross annual requirements.

3.9 Those who are having the forest as their abode have, however, no scarcity of land around their huts. These vast stretches of forests are owned by certain families, and the right of restriction to the movements of these tribes is well within their power. But, in effect, these tribes are free to live within the forests, particularly, right in the core of it. But, except that they can cultivate the land, which they rarely do as the jungle provides them with abundant edible vegetables and grains, they have no right over the land. As has been indicated already, most of the tribal families show no inclination to tilth at least in the small plots, on which they have erected their homesteads. It is really too much to except of them to devote their hard-earned leisure time, after a full day's toil, for their own agricultural activities, no matter however beneficial it might be for them Further, they have no money even for their

day-to-day requirements and worse still to embark on any agricultural activity which is no doubt expensive. The most important inhibiting factor is their own cloth which is characteristic of poor health and, no doubt, indifference.

3.10 Tribes here have no cattle wealth, but they have to bear the brunt of looking after the cattle of their land-owners, who have conveniently shirked this onerous task to these poor tribes. Although this system is nominally remunerative, truly it has no significant influence on the economic standard of these tribes. None of these tribal people is found interested in poultry. Except for a number of dogs, they have no animals to claim.

3.11 The tribal people here often go for collection of firewood and, in fact, this is a steady source of income to those who undertake this task. Since it is not facile, but arduous, some do not at all attempt this. For the collection of forest produces, some of these tribes are also occasionally engaged.

3.12 In brief the only economic resources, for the tribes here is labour, and most of them live by the sweat of their brows.

Factors Influencing Economic Life

Land Reform and Land Improvements

3.13 As has been indicated earlier, during the past a major portion of the land in Nilambur village was under the possession of a few families. Formerly, these plots were cultivated single handedly by each of these families, with their family labourers, a majority of whom were tribes, and later, the possession of land, though in sizeable chunks, came to the hands of a few more families. Though at first cultivation of these lands was done directly by these families, later, this system was found inconvenient and more or less impracticable with the change of time. They then distributed the land among their minions who were interested in cultivation. The stipulations were that every year a certain amount of crop yield, or the value thereof, should be submitted to the land-owner. The tenants were having absolutely no right on the land. They could be evicted without any notice, or the payment of any compensation, if the land-owner so desires. Although these conditions were formerly accepted by the tenants, some of them are, understandably enough, reluctant to abide by all these stipulation now. Moreover, most of them are really apprehensive of the drastic step of depriving them of their land holdings by the landlords, if they do not dance accordingly to the tune of the land-owners' fiats. It has been observed that some of the tenants here are not aware of the recent land legislations while some are sceptical of the applicability of the said statutes to their land holdings. The immediate consequence of the land reforms, as has been observed from here, was the elimination of the cordiality of relationship between the land-owner and the tenants. None of them is however, happy over the new developments. Consequently, there was a light decline in the interests towards agriculture on the part of the tenants, as well as the land-owners. Lack of interest, enthusiasm and proper disposition has by itself entailed a sizeable reduction in the agricultural production. The impact of this was a reduction in the economic standard of the agriculturists as well as the agricultural labourers

3.14 According to the local people, no effort has so far been made by government for the improvement of land. The cultivation of tuber crops, plantains and in fact all others yield poorly, because of the defective nature of the soil. Devastating floods and extreme drought are two major factors arresting progress The reclamation of a good portion of fallow land could have been facile, had it been distributed among the landless people here.

3.15 Thus land improvement is factually are unattempted item of development, yet in these parts. Neither the Government,

nor the people, have bestowed proper attention on this very vital aspect of development. As for the people, they can hardly afford a sizeable capital expenditure on agriculture in the existing situation. Most of the peasants here are tenants of one land-owner or the other, and so long as these land-owners refuse to cooperate, or do not bear the cost of capital expenditure, it will only be deferred by the tenants. Further, most of them are sceptical of the fixity of tenures, and what more, there is no cordiality in the relationship between the landlords and their tenants. Both of them are bound to lose albeit gradually, all interest towards agriculture and land improvement if this system continues.

Industrialisation and Trends of Urbanisation

3.16 The trends of industrialisation and urbanisation is at a very low ebb, in this region. In fact, but for a rubber processing centre, there is no industrial unit, neither big or small. It is worth mentioning in this connection that most of the employees in this rubber processing centre and rubber estates are immigrants to this place, the cause of immigration being search of labour. Broadly speaking, the people of this locality are benefited only to a small measure by this unit.

3.17 Some parts of this village are electrified, and have amenities akin to an urban area. But in the interior regions there are no such amenities.

Improvement of Communication

3.18 A vast portion of this village is cut off from its most developed centre by a river. This is really a great handicap to communication here. In short communication facilities are inadequate in this village because of this. No effort is seen made towards the improvement of the position. The local Panchayat have certain proposals for the improvement of transport from its existing standards. These proposals are reported to be under detailed consideration of the government.

Sources of Finance

3.19 For the administration of the Panchayat and the implementation of its plans fiscal allotments are to be procured from the government. Panchayat is collecting building tax, crop tax etc. from the villagers.

3.20 Credit facilities in this village are not scarce with the existence of banking institutions, co-operative credit societies, and agricultural credit societies. Besides these there are certain money lenders, too in this village. But the borrowing and repaying capacity of most of the people here is very poor. The peasants here do not venture to take sizable loans for the development of agriculture, as the repayments are to be effected on the merit of the crop yield, which is often subject to wide variations. Again the ambit of industrial and commercial activities are not very wide, so as to exploit the available sources of finance. As regards the tribal people, no source of finance, if it is not in the form of subventions, is available to them. Even if they are gifted with sizable sums of money, the proper utilisation of it will not always be effected, out of their sheer irresponsible nature or indifference. Further, they have nothing to pledge for getting loans.

Economic Activities

Livelihood Classes

3.21 The people of Nilambur belong to different livelihood classes. Some are agriculturists, some are agricultural labourers, some are shopkeepers, merchants or businessmen and some are their assistants. A good number of people are manual labourers.

3.22 Most of the tribal people here, except those who live in the interior area of the forests, are either agricultural labourers or other unskilled manual labourers. A negligible minority not exceeding 10 persons, are reported to be mahouts by profession. It is said that some of them have traditional talents, which is profecticious in this line. But for

these, all are labourers. Paniyas and Alars are mere agricultural labourers, while some of the Muthans have some plantains or pea cultivation in the forest area. There is a system of bonded labour among these tribes, as well as among the poor Scheduled Castes here. The land-owner primarily settles some tribal people in his land on the condition that they should always remain obliged to work for him. Besides each male is given during the Vishu day a sum of Rs. 5 to Rs. 10, two to five paras of paddy, a piece of cloth, some provisions, oil and the noon meal, while each female will be given Rs. 2 to Rs. 5, 1 to 3 paras of paddy and also the other items. The cash payments are recoverable. Recovery is made by instalments by effecting small deductions in their wages. If anybody accepts this dole of the landlord he or she does accept concomittantly the *sine qua non* of working for him for a year from the Vishu day. For a day's labour he will enjoy some payment, either in kind or in cash. These tribes often prefer to have payment in kind as it means food item in the offing. Payment in kind is at the rate of three 'pakkas' (15 'pakkas' make a 'para') of paddy for males and one to two pakkas for females for a day's work. In addition to this, all workers are given 'kangi' once in a day. The rate of cash payment for a day's work is Rs. 1.12 for a male, and 75 p. for a female and nothing else. The poverty of these tribes persuades them persistently to accept these low rates, even when the minimum wages fixed for aggrestic labourers are higher. Any resistance on their part to the existing system will entail calamitous complications unbearable to them, and they do not venture any such thing.

3.23 As has been indicated earlier, a few people who are not agricultural labourers engaged themselves in other unskilled manual labour. They are engaged by some contractors to cut wood and bamboo from the core of the forests, and to bring those to the plain land, to be sold in bulk to merchants. This is reported to be fairly remunerative, as the wages for a day are commensurate with the quantity of work units turned out on the day. But only a very few people are seen engaged in this (generally all are youngsters), inspite of the prospect of handsome wages. This type of work obviously calls for more enthusiasm and effort than any other. Most of these tribes here are inclined to be spared of any arduous work. On seeing this it is difficult not to gather the impression that most of these tribes here are workshy and they prefer to go slothful, irresponsible, and unpragmatically indifferent to the grave threats of famishment or abject poverty.

3.24 It has been gathered that there was particularly no change in the livelihood classes with regards to the tribes here. There was hardly any factor actuating a change in this. In fact, the general tendency among the tribes, as well as many others, is to adhere to the old system and obstinately oppose any innovation.

Ownership of Economic Resources and Trends of Changes

3.25 As has been indicated earlier in detail, a major portion of the land in this village is owned by a few families. In the case of forests, but for a small portion owned by government all are under private ownership. There had been practically no change in the system for the past several years. Even now there is no inkling of an impending change in the tenancy system now prevalent here, inspite of the recent land legislations. One is to presume on observing this persistent old pattern that so far, there has been no incentive for an all out change.

3.26 Although the live-stock wealth was formerly confined to a few rich agriculturists, it is on the more widespread these days, and it is growing too.

3.27 Industrial activities are scarce in

this village, and no impending change to improve the position is observed. Commercial activities are understandably on the increase the basic reasons for growth being the increase in population, exploration of all available resources to this end, and using it as a means of livelihood by many people. The other economic resources mentioned earlier are not under any ownership, and there has been absolutely no remarkable change in the set up of those resources.

Occupation

(a) Agriculture:

3.28 As has been indicated earlier, the tribes here, to whom our study is confined, are mainly agricultural labourers. Agriculture is mainly the pursuit of the non-tribes here.

3.29 Broadly speaking there have been no remarkable changes in the farming practices or the nature of produces. The important produces are paddy, tapioca and other tuber crops, gingelly, plantains, etc. Rubber cultivation which has been here for the last several years, tend to expand in its extent and quantum of production. The primordial type of tools and equipments are still very much in use, with hardly any change, while the techniques, too have not changed to any extent. Nilambur has plenty of agricultural labourers. Not only the tribes but also the non-tribes, who are generally in the low economic strata, are engaged in work in the agricultural fields. Sources of finance have already been dealt with previously. A good share of the total expenses in agriculture goes to pay the manual labour, while only a very low percentage is spent for manure. No modern manure is used here, even now, because the agriculturists can hardly afford it. The agricultural produces are partly used for paying wages, and partly for personal consumption, while the rest are sold out. The agricultural season begins in April, and ends by January when the drought tend to increase severely. However, a slight change in these agricultural seasons, consequent on the unpredictable protein nature of climate is not ruled out.

(b) Animal Husbandry, Fishing and Forestry:

3.30 There are no developments, or changes, in the activities of animal husbandry in this village. As regards fishing, there are no wide resources in this area; however, the rivers, which make the boundary of this village, are often explored by certain people to this end. There are no organisational set up, or improved techniques, etc. in this as the scope of the enterprise is scarcely lucrative. Ordinarily, the season for active fishing is summer.

3.31 Nilambur village has reportedly one quarter of its area under forests. There is a Government forest department in this village. A vast portion of the forest here is owned by certain private families, while only a small portion is owned by Government. But for a recent legislation restraining the rampant deforestation activities in the private holdings, Government have not meddled with the affairs of the private forests. The collection of forest produces is being directly undertaken by its owners, while in the Government forest the right of collection for a particular period is sold in auction. In the case of the private forests, most of the collection work is being done by the local people including tribes chosen for the task. These forests abound in costly woods, like teak, rosewood, and a variety of others. In fact these have been the major items of wealth of the forests and are fully, but temperately, used both by the Governments as well as by the private owners. For this item of work, ordinarily, the local people are engaged. The tribal people are not generally employed in this in remarkable proportions for reasons better known to the employers. Regarding the tools and techniques there has not been any remarkable change. Even now the old system of employing elephants

to carry big logs of wood is retained. These items are sold in auction by the Government, while some of the private owners dispose of it on the basis of certain presettled terms. Utilisation of wood, for any industrial or other purposes is scarcely done here. Excepting the monsoon season, these activities are done throughout the year. There are no fresh afforestation activities in this village nor is any planned for the near future.

(c) Village Industries:

3.32 Industrial activities are scarce in this village, though there is ample scope for them. The only item of industry is pottery, which is being attended to by a small section of the population - a particular community. It has been reported that raw material for this are collected from certain regions of the village. But owing to scarcity of raw materials and other reasons, this item of activity has been reduced to one of a subsidiary occupation of the particular community. The work pertaining to this is done manually, except designing or shaping for which wheels are used. There is no effort on the part of this community to impart knowledge of this and transmit skill, to others. The capital investment in this item of industry is obviously low. A major portion of these products are sold in the village market and the rest is sold at the different localities of this village as well as the nearby villages. Even though there is no large scale production of this, a surplus production invariably causes a decline in price, despite the monopoly of this industry by a particular community. The season of activity is subject to more than one factor; availability of clay, unsold surplus, and of course, the quantum of total demand which is higher only during certain festive occasions.

3.33 The scope of expansion of industrial activities in this village is remarkably good. Nilambur is affluent with forest wealth. Timber is available galore in this place. The wood from the forest can obviously be used for a variety of industrial purposes. Reed and bamboo, which grow in abundance in the forest can be utilised more lucratively. Besides, improvement in the employment position, and consequent increase in the economic standard of the people, can easily be attained through this industrial development.

(d) Commerce:

3.34 Commercial activities are on the increase in this village as perhaps the case with most of the other villages in the State. 'Chettiyangadi' is the most important commercial centre of this village. There are a number of commercial establishments, dealing with a variety of commodities, mainly agricultural. An unchecked influx of people to this region during the last ten years has resulted in a prodigeous rate of increase in the size of the population here. This increase in population has ostensibly occurred in the various livelihood classes here. Understandably enough, the increase in population has given a fillip to the development of commercial activities here. Intensive, as well as extensive cultivation, was no doubt promising to feed more mouths, and it was increasingly practised here of necessity. This has resulted in an increase in production of a varity of agricultural commodities and the rates of consumption of those. Growth of commerce and increase in capital investments in commerce have taken place in this village almost concomitantly with these developments.

3.35 As has been indicated earlier, the increase in population of the village has resulted in intensified cultivation of a variety of agricultural crops For example, the cultivation of pepper, tapioca and other tuber crops, rubber etc. have been widely practised here with a persistent effort to increase production. The reportedly steady increase in forest produces can be ascribed to intensive and exhaustive

collection techniques, unlike those adopted in the past. It has been reported that a declining trend has however been observed in the quantum of timber, bamboo and reeds obtained from the forest. This is mainly because of the deforestation activities and the encroachment and deformation of the forests in the various forms they are practised here now. Soil erosion is also one of the concause of this declining trend.

3.36 Storing of commercial commodities is not widely practised in this village, except, of course, by certain individual agriculturists, who prefer to sell things only when they fetch a satisfactory price. Collection is done through various means. Small merchants collect the commodities in small quantities from individual agriculturists, either from the market place or from the different localities in the village. These in turn will be bought by big merchants and stored, if necessary, before reselling them in bulk.

3.37 At present there is no indication of a change in this system, which has been in vogue yet.

3.38 Most of the transactions are based on cash, and there is no barter trade at all any where in this village. Collection of agricultural products to a certain extent is done through advance payments. Repayment of these is effected in kind at a prepense, or prestipulated price rate fixed after much rendentious haggling towards the benefit of the person who advances money.

3 39 Agricultural commodities are sold after the harvest, subject to availability, and wood and other items are sold throughout the year.

(e) **Other Occupations:**

3.40 As there are no vast avenues of employment, the percentage of population having occupation other than what has been mentioned earlier is but very small. There are a few Ayurvedic physicians and some allopathic practitioners. The tribal people here are generally labourers.

Table I

DISTRIBUTION OF PANIYAS ACCORDING TO WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS BY BROAD AGE-GROUPS

	Workers		Non-workers		Total	
Age-group	M	F	M	F	M	F
0–14	2	3	58	77	60	80
15–34	68	63	3	3	71	66
35–59	38	42	2	5	40	47
60 and over	1	1	1	11	2	12
Total	109	109	64	96	173	205

3.41 It can be seen from Table I that the percentage of workers among 'Paniyas' considering them as a whole, is nearly 55. Excluding children below 15 years of age, who are generally dependents, it has been found that as many as a little over 85% of them are workers. Considering males who are of age 15 and above, the percentage of workers among them is found to be nearly 95. Similarly among females of age 15 and above the percentage of workers is reported to be nearly 85. It can also be noted that the percentage of workers in each age-group among males and females are not very different, or at least comparable.

Table II

CLASSIFICATION OF ALARS
ACCORDING TO WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS

	Workers		Non-workers		Total	
Age-group	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-14	..	2	20	10	20	12
15-34	12	15	..	..	12	15
35-59	12	12	..	..	12	12
60 and over	1	1	..	2	1	3
Total	25	30	20	12	45	42

3.42 Among Alars, it has been reported that a little over 63% are workers. Excluding children below the age 15, the percentage of workers among them is as high as over 96. Among males and females who are of age 15 and above the percentage of workers is reported to be hundred and a little over 93 respectively.

3.43 For the tribes Muthans no one below 15 years of age is reported to be working, while every one both male and female of 15 years or more of age is found working.

3.44 Almost all the workers belonging to the three tribal sects here have reported to have labour as their principal occupation. Generally no one among them excepting a few has reported any occupation other than labour.

3.45 The traditional occupation of these tribal people if they had any, could be nothing other than agriculture. During the past the prime requisite of these tribes, who lived in the core of the forests, was their food. But, the forests abounded in a wide variety of edible vegetables, and wild games. Therefore, the embarkment on agriculture, however, would not have been particularly emphatic. Any deficit in the requirement could have been deftly made up at that time by a facile glean of the forests vegetable wealth. The next in importance to this was hunting, which was really more than a mere avocation of pursuit. The fact that it promised them delicious food was, no doubt, irresistably enticing. Apart from this it nurchered the spirit of adventure in the tribes' mind, while offering them the thrill of experiences. In addition, it helped them a great deal to understand and feel the sense of maxim 'unity is strength'. Thus, it is not difficult to see that their gay and gainsome avocation, hunting – had a very salutary effect on both the body and mind.

3.46 But with the change of environments most of these tribes have abandoned their traditional occupation, despite a deep and ardent penchant to it. Most of these tribes could not help themselves against this unwelcome change. While many have been deprived of their traditional freedom, easy-going, and happy nature of life, some of them escaped into the unexplored cores and corners of the forest, in order to have a life of their own choice. Those who were the victims of the unhappy turn of events were reduced to no more than mere serfs in the course of time; they had to work for their landlord ever since they accepted his enticing and ensuring bounty in the form of food articles, cloths and money.

3.47 Fortunately enough, the old system has been divested of its characteristic rigidity and rigour in the course of time. Nevertheless, some of the vile aspects of the old system are still lingering under the obfuscating shroud of sham help,

which is, no doubt, irresistably inveigling, too. Many years have passed since then, many changes have visibly occurred around them, but most of these tribal people are still detained in their economic thraldom and in unscrupulous social segregation. The cause of this stagnancy in their conditions is partly their own indifference and lack of a proper outlook on life. Admittedly, many factors are beyond their control. They are intellectually incompetent, socially unequal, and economically poor. These obviously have contributed liberally to bring about their present predicament; and it is obviously difficult for them to thrive any more effectively in it. It is no exaggeration to say that they are utterly lacking in a prudent disposition, and a pragmatic outlook of life. Now, after the cataclysmic changes that swept them for long, they live content with the sweet memories of their good old past.

Indebtedness

3.48 The tribes here are generally indebted only to their landlords. They never borrow from others, not because that they are not desirous of getting loans that way, but because of the disinclination on the part of others to give money to them as loan. The repaying capacity of the tribes is popularly known to be poor, if not nil. As has been stated earlier, by accepting the payments of the landlords on the 'vishu' day these tribes are obliged to them. Since all the amount and a part of the measure of paddy given on the 'vishu' day are recovered in effect through their labour, the bounty of the landlord, if anything, is nothing more than a loan to the tribes. The tribal people are still seen with a sort of blind avidity to retain their traditional ties with these lairds, though they are in full cognizance of the fact that they are being exploited through these nexuses. Further, a sum of Rs. 10, a measure of paddy, a new cloth, and a sumptuous meal, are irresistably entising to these poor people. The 'vishu' is a festive occasion for them, and no one can even imagine to let it pass without its traditional pomp and splendour. It is not at all possible for them to celebrate this occasion without the landlords' help. Moreover, if anyone refuses to accept this and later work for the landlord, he or she will no longer be in the regular rolls of workers and will have to seek work elsewhere. Thus an attempt to break through the cobweb of traditional ties will often entail grave troubles, atleast initially and obviously. Only a few can take courage into their hands and do it. Temperamentally these people are so timid that they cannot say boo to a goose, and they fight shy of any tussle or quarrel with others, even when they are justifiable, in those. They had rather self subjugation than recalcitrance to their landlords. This is something like a phychological mania on their part, to their age old system, and it might not be easy to eradicate this by giving them material wealth. What is obviously needed is mental development, which can be attained only through edification.

Income and Expenditure

3.49 The only source of income for the tribes here is labour. The type of work these tribal people do here are similar, with fixed wage rates. Table III shows that there are wide variations in their annual income. Obviously the variations in income are due to those in the number of working members in different household. Thus, broadly speaking, the income of a household depends upon its size. It has been observed from Table III that over 67% of the households lie within the income group Rs. 301 to 700 while a little over 24% earn Rs. 701 and more and nearly 9% fall in the income group Rs. 300 and less.

Table III A

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN EACH INCOME GROUP FOR THE THREE TRIBES

Annual Income Rs.	Household size: 3 and less			4 to 7			8 and more		
	Paniyas %	Alars %	Muthans %	Paniyas %	Alars %	Muthans %	Paniyas %	Alars %	Muthans %
500 and less	80.65	93 33	90.91	19.44	6.67	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.00
501-1000	16.22	14 29	0.00	72.97	85.71	87.50	10.81	0.00	12.50
1001 & more	0.00	0 00	0.00	44.44	50.00	0 00	55 56	50.00	0.00

3.50 Table III A gives the distribution of the households of the three tribes (in percentage) according to broad income groups and household sizes. This table helps to compare the three tribes in regard to the relationship of the size of the household to its annual income. As can be seen from the table, the pattern of relationship between the size of the household and its annual income – income increasing with the size of the household is similar though not the same in magnitude for the three tribes here.

Table III

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS (PANIYAS) ACCORDING TO ANNUAL INCOME

Income in Rs.	Size of household: 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 and more	Total
300 & less	1	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
301-350	.	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
351-400	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
401-450	..	1	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
451-500	..	4	5	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
501-550	..	1	3	2	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	10
551-600	..	..	1	1	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	7
601-650	.	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
651-700	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	6
701-750	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
751-800	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	3
851-900	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
901-950	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	2
1251-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301-1350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1351-1400	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
1401 & more	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	2
Total	1	15	19	6	16	8	8	4	3	1	..	1	82

Table

PATTERN OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE

No. of households in the annual

Income in Rs.	200 & less	201-250	251-300	301-350	351-400	401-450	451-500	501-550	551-600	601-650	651-700
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
300 & less	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
301-350	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
351-400	..	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401-450	..	..	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
451-500	..	..	..	..	7	7	..	..	..	..	..
501-550	..	..	..	..	1	6	3	..	..	..	..
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5	.	..	..
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..
701-750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1
851-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	..
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1251-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301-1350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1351-1400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	:	..
1401-1450	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1451-1500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1500 and more	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	6	3	5	8	8	13	6	10	16	4	1

1V

ON FOOD — PANIYAS

expenditure range of Rupees

701-750	751-800	801-850	851-900	901-950	951-1000	1001-1050	1051-1100	1100 & more	Total	Income in Rs.
13	14	15	16	17	18	18	20	21	22	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	300 and less
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	301-350
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	5	351-400
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	401-450
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	451-500
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	501-550
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	551-600
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	601-650
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	651-700
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	701-750
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	751-800
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	801-850
2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	851-900
..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	901-950
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	951-1000
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1001-1050
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1051-1100
..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	1101-1150
..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1151-1200
..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2	1201-1250
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1251-1300
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1301-1350
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1351-1400
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1401-1450
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1451-1500
..	...	..	..	..	...	..	..	1	1	1500 & more
2	1	...	2	...	3	1	1	2	82	Total

Table

PATTERN OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE

No. of households in the annual

Income group	20 & less	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	91-100	101-110	111-120
300 & less	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
301-350	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
351-400	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401-450	..	..	..	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
451-500	..	1	9	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
501-550	..	..	3	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
551-600	..	..	5	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
601-650	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
651-700	..	..	..	..	1	2	1	1	..	1	..
701-750	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..
751-800	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1
851-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
901-950	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
1251-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301-1350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1351-1400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1401-1450	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1451-1500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1500 & more	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	7	4	20	11	17	3	3	6	2	2	2

V

ON DRESS — PANIYAS

expenditure range of Rupees

121-130	131-140	141-150	151-160	161-170	171-180	181-190	191-200	201-210	Total	Income group
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	300 & less
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	301-350
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	351-400
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	401-450
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	451-500
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	501-550
..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	7	551-600
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	601-650
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	651-700
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	701-750
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	751-800
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	801-850
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	851-900
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	901-951
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	951-1000
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1001-1050
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1051-1100
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1101-1150
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1151-1200
..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	1201-1250
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1251-1300
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1301-1350
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1351-1400
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1401-1450
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1451-1500
..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1500 & more
..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	2	82	Total

Table

PATTERN OF ANNUAL

No. of households in the

Income group	Domestic utensils												Ornaments				
	Rs. 3 & less	Rs. 4	Rs. 5	Rs. 6	Rs. 7	Rs. 8	Rs. 9	Rs. 10	Rs. 11	Rs. 12	Rs. 13 & more	Total	upto Rs. 2	Rs. 2	Rs. 3	Rs. 4	Rs. 5
300 & less	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	6	1	..	..	..
301-350	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	1	..
351-400	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	5	..	..	..	..
401-450	2	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	3	3	1	..	..
451-500	1	7	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	4	8	1	1	..
501-550	1	5	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	10	2	6	..	1	1
551-600	..	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	4	3	..	..	..
601-650	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	1	1	..
651-700	..	..	..	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	1	3	1	1
701-750	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	3	..
751-800	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	2	1	..
851-900	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	1	..
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	..
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
1251-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301-1350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1351-1400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
1401-1450	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1451-1500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
1501 and more	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total	16	22	15	13	6	4	1	..	..	4	1	82	23	25	9	12	3

VI

EXPENDITURE — PANIYAS

annual expenditure range of

Rs. 6	Rs. 7	Rs. 8	Rs. 9	Rs. 10	Total	Medical attention: Rs. 0	Rs. 1	Rs. 2	Rs. 3	Rs. 4	Rs. 5	Rs. 6	Total	Income groups
..	..	..	..	..	7	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	7	300 and less
..	..	..	..	..	3	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	3	301–350
..	..	..	..	..	5	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	5	351–400
..	..	..	..	..	7	2	3	2	..	..	..	..	7	401–450
..	..	..	..	..	14	6	5	2	1	..	..	..	14	451–500
..	..	..	..	..	10	1	6	2	..	1	..	..	10	501–550
..	..	..	..	..	7	3	3	1	..	..	..	..	7	551–600
..	..	..	..	..	3	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	3	601–650
..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	3	2	1	..	..	6	651–700
..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	3	701–750
..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	751–800
..	..	..	..	..	3	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	3	801–850
1	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	851–900
..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	901–950
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	951–1000
..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1001–1051
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1051–1100
..	..	1	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	1101–1150
..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1151–1200
..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	1201–1250
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1251–1300
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1301–1350
1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1351–1400
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1401–1450
..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1451–1500
..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1501 and more
2	..	2	..	1	82	24	28	17	6	5	2	..	82	Total

3.51 The major expenditure for the tribe Paniyas is for their food. They spend more than 81% of their income on food items, while the rest they devote on other items viz. dress, domestic utensils, ornaments, medical attention and miscellaneous other items. As is seen from table VI the increase in expenditure for food is characteristic of the increase in income. In no other item of expenditure this feature is so distinct or marked.

Table VII

ANNUAL INCOME AND SIZE OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

(Tribe: Alars)

Income group Rs.	No. of households with 1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	9 members	10 members and over	Total No. of households
200 & less	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
201-250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
251-300	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
301-350	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
351-400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401-450	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
451-500	..	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
501-550	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
551-600	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	4
601-650	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
651-700	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
701-750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	..	9	6	3	3	2	..	..	..	1	24

Table VIII

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO EXPENDITURE ON FOOD

(Tribe: Alars)

Income group Rs.	No. of households in the expenditure range of Rs. 151-200	Rs. 201-250	Rs. 251-300	Rs. 301-350	Rs. 351-400	Rs. 401-450	Rs. 451-500	Rs. 501-550	Rs. 551-600	Rs. 601-650	Rs. 651-700	Rs. 701-750	Rs. 751-800	Rs. 801 & more	Total No. of households
200 and less	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
201-250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
251-300	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
301-350	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
351-400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401-450	..	..	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
451-500	..	..	1	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
501-550	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
701-750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	1	3	1	4	5	1	4	1	1	..	..	..	1	2	24

Table

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS

(Tribe:

No. of households in

Income group Rs.	On dress (Rs.)									On domestic utensils (Rs.)						
	20 and less	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	Total	2 and less	3	4	5	6	7	Total
200 and less	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
201-250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
251-300	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
301-350	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	2
351-400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401-450	..	1	3	1	..	..	..	..	5	1	..	3	..	1	..	5
451-500	..	1	3	2	..	..	..	..	6	..	1	1	3	1	..	6
501-550	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
551-600	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	1	3	..	..	4
601-650	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
651-700	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
701-750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Total	2	4	10	5	2	..	..	1	24	3	2	6	7	6	..	24

IX

ACCORDING TO EXPENDITURE ON DRESS ETC.

Alars)

the annual expenditure range of

On medical attention (Rs.)					On ornaments (Rs.)							Income group Rs.
0	1	2	3	Total	0	1	2	3	4	5	Total	
1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	200 and less
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	201-250
1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	251-300
2	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	301-350
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	351-400
3	2	..	..	5	1	1	2	1	..	..	5	401-450
2	3	1	..	6	..	3	1	1	1	..	6	451-500
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	501-550
2	2	..	..	4	..	4	..	..	..	..	4	551-600
1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	601-650
..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	651-700
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	701-750
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	751-800
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	801-850
..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	851-900
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	901-950
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	951-1000
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1001-1050
..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1051-1100
..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1101-1150
12	10	2	..	24	3	12	5	3	1	..	24	Total

3.52 In the case of Alars (see table VII) more than 79% of the household lie in the income group Rs. 301 to Rs. 700 while, excepting a little over 8%, all come in the income group, Rs. 701 and above. Here also the tendency of increase in income with increase in size of the households is fairly clear. Like Paniyas, Alars spend a lion's share of their income for food. The pattern of expenditure is shown in tables VIII and IX.

Table X

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO INCOME AND SIZE

(Tribe: Muthans)

Income group Rs.	No. of households with 1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	Total No. of households
200 & less	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
201-250	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
251-300	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
301-350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
351-400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401-450	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
451-500	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	3
501-550	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2
601-650	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
701-750	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	3
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Total	6	3	1	4	..	2	2	1	19

Table XI

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ON FOOD

(Tribe: Muthans)

Income group Rs.	No. of households in the expenditure range of															Total No. of house-holds
	Rs. 150 and less	Rs. 151-200	Rs. 201-250	Rs. 251-300	Rs. 301-350	Rs. 351-400	Rs. 401-450	Rs. 451-500	Rs. 501-550	Rs. 551-600	Rs. 601-650	Rs. 651-700	Rs. 701-750	Rs. 751-800	Rs. 801-850	
200 & less	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
201-250	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
251-300	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
301-350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
351-400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401-450	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
451-500	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
501-550	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
701-750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	3
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	2	2	2	..	1	3	2	1	2	..	3	..	..	..	1	19

Table

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS

(Tribe:

No. of households in

Income group Rs.	On dress (Rs.)							On ornaments (Rs.)						
	20 & less	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	Total	0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
200 & less	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
201-250	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
251-300	..	3	..	..	..	..	3	..	1	..	1	..	1	3
301-350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
351-400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401-450	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
451-500	..	..	3	..	..	..	3	..	1	1	1	..	..	3
501-550	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
551-600	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	2
601-650	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
701-750	..	..	..	2	1	..	3	..	..	2	..	1	..	3
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Total	2	5	6	4	1	1	19	2	3	7	4	2	1	19

XII

ACCORDING TO EXPENDITURE ON DRESS ETC.

Muthans)

the annual expenditure range of

On domestic utensils (Rs.)								On medical attention (Rs)					Income group (Rs)
3 and less	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total	0	1	2	3	Total	
2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	.	2	200 & less
..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	.	..	..	1	201-250
..	2	1	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..		3	251-300
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	301-350
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	351-400
..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	.	..	..	2	401-450
.	1	1	1	..	..	..	3	1	2	..	..	3	451-500
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	.	.	1	501-550
	2	.	..	..	..	.	2	2	..	.	.	2	551-600
	1	.	..	..	..	..	1	1	.	..		1	601-650
..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	651-700
..	..	2	1	..	..	..	3	1	2	..		3	701-750
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	751-800
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	801-850
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	851-900
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	901-950
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	951-1000
2	9	5	3	..	..	..	19	14	5	..	..	19	Total

3.53 Muthans like the other two tribes are economically very poor. The reported income of different households vary from Rs. 1000 to less than Rs 200 (Table X). The lower limit is lower in the case of Muthans than in the case of others, since there are households with one member alone. Muthans like the other two tribes, spend a greater part of their income for food (Table XI). When compared to the other two tribes Muthans spend slightly more for their ornaments, as may be seen from Table XII. No trend of change is discerned during the present study in the pattern of expenditure of these tribal people. As has been indicated earlier, the source of income for these tribes is but labour. No significant trend of change is observed in the aforesaid position.

3.54 Table XIII shows the average income per household of the three tribes and the average expenditure expressed in percentage to the average income.

Table XIII

AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Tribe	Average annual income (Rs)	Percentage of expenditure to average annual income					
		Food	Dress	Domestic utensils	Ornaments	Medical attention	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Paniyas	603 70	81 39	9 73	0.87	0.40	0.22	7 37
Muthans	480 21	82.72	7.29	0.91	0.46	0.05	8.37
Alars	532.67	83.34	6.75	0.87	0.28	0.09	8.67

3 55 It can be seen from table XIII that the tribal people here spend a portion of their annual income for these items of expenditure almost similarly, or, at least, without much variation.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Age and Sex Distribution

4.1 The tribes here could not report their age, as they had absolutely no idea of it. The ages recorded here are all estimates - rather crude - and are therefore, to be accepted only with caution.

The age distribution of Paniyas is shown in Table XIV.

Table XIV

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUP

(Tribe : Paniyas)

Sex	Age-group										Total
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 & over	
Males	24	21	15	18	21	14	18	17	23	2	173
Females	40	25	15	13	15	20	18	26	21	12	205
Total	64	46	30	31	36	34	36	43	44	14	378

As is seen from the Table, for every 100 males there are 118 females. Thus the females are preponderous than males. The age distribution show that nearly 17% of the whole population are in the age-group 0-4, while a little over 20% fall in the age-group 5-14. The rest forming nearly 63% of the total are above 14 years of age. The sex distribution for each age-group is also shown in table XIV.

Table XV

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUP

(Tribe : Alars)

Sex	Age-group										Total
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 & over	
Males	10	8	2	2	1	6	3	6	6	1	45
Females	7	2	3	1	5	5	4	7	5	3	42
Total	17	10	5	3	6	11	7	13	11	4	87

Among Alars, there are 107 males for every 100 females. In other words, only a little over 48% of the total is claimed by women. Further, nearly 20% of the population are children below the age of 5, while over 17% are children in the age-group 5-14. The rest which form nearly 63% are above the age of 14.

Table XVI

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUP

(Tribe : Muthans)

Sex	Age-group										
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 & over	Total
Males	6	5	7	7	3	.	3	2	4	2	39
Females	2	6	1	2	..	5	1	6	3	..	26
Total	8	11	8	9	3	5	4	8	7	2	65

Among Muthans, male population is far greater than female population. There are 150 males for every 100 females. Among the total population a little over 12% are below the age of 5. Those above age 14 form 59% of the total.

Table XVII gives the distribution of persons belonging to the three tribes in certain age-groups expressed in percentage to the total.

Table XVII

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS IN CERTAIN AGE-GROUPS EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGE TO TOTAL

Tribe	Age-group					
	0-4		5-14		15 and over	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Paniyas	6.35	10.58	9 53	10.58	29.89	33.07
Alars	11 49	8.05	11.49	5.75	28.74	34.48
Muthans	9.23	3 08	13.46	10.77	32.31	26.15

Statistics on Birth and Death

4.2 A very earnest attempt to collect the birth statistics of these tribes miserably failed, mainly because of the inability characterised by ignorance, on the part of these tribal people to report the facts correctly. In fact these tribal people have no idea about the concept or sequence of numbers or of time in terms of month or year Often, parents are found in a sort of quandary even to answer the question regarding the number of children they have. Thus birth statistics could not be got correctly. Similarly death statistics have also not been obtained accurately. In the case of death statistics there was another obstacle too. According to the tribal traditional conventions, no one is ordinarily concerned, out of sheer fear, about the dead, not in the least in committing to memory the year of death or the age at death of the deceased.

This peculiar difficulty among others, has hampered a comprehensive study of all the demographic aspects of these tribes.

Marriage Statistics

4.3 Table XVIII gives the distribution of Paniyas according to marital status. It has been observed that out of the total of 378 Paniyas enumerated, over one half (53%) are never married. Among the ever married approximately 17% are found to be widowed. Ninety per cent of the persons in this group are women. Also it is seen that the percentage of divorced among the ever married is as low as 8%, and a peculiar feature is that there are only women in this category.

Table XVIII

MARITAL STATUS

(Tribe Paniyas)

Age-group	Unmarried		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total		Grand Total
	Ma-les	Fe-males	Ma-les	Fe-males	Ma-les	Fe-males	Ma-les	Fe-males	Ma-les	Fe-males	
0-9	45	65	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	65	110
10-14	15	15	..	..	.	..	..	..	15	15	30
15-19	18	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	13	31
20-24	21	3	..	10	..	1	..	1	21	15	36
25-29	2	..	12	18	..	2	..	..	14	20	34
30-34	..	1	18	10	..	4	..	3	18	18	36
35-39	..	1	6	11	..	.	.	1	6	13	19
40-44	..	1	11	8	..	2	..	2	11	13	24
45-49	..	1	11	6	1	..	..	..	12	7	19
50-54	..	1	6	3	..	6	..	..	6	10	16
55-59	..	..	3	1	2	3	..	..	5	4	9
60 & over	..	..	2	2	..	9	..	1	2	12	14
Total	101	101	69	69	3	27	..	8	173	205	378

Table XIX

CLASSIFICATION OF 84 EVER MARRIED MALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe : Paniyas)

Age-group	Age at first marriage											Average age at first marriage
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
20-24	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22.0
25-29	..	..	2	4	3	3	1	..	..	..	..	23.8
30-34	1	1	3	..	3	5	5	..	..	..	..	24.1
35-39	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	1	1	26.4
40-44	..	1	..	1	1	2	4	1	4	..	..	25.8
45-49	..	..	..	2	2	3	1	1	4	1	1	26.2
50-54	..	1	..	..	1	1	2	..	1	1	..	25.6
55-59	..	..	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	1	..	25.3
60 & over	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	25.7
Total	1	4	6	8	12	19	14	3	11	4	2	25.1

Classifying 84 ever married males (Paniyas) by their age at first marriage, (Table XIX) it has been observed that nearly 23% of Paniya males get married by the time they attain the age of 23 while over 70% marry after 23 and before 29. A little over 7% remain unmarried even after the age of 28, but all get married on or before 30 years of age. Demarcating Paniya males upto and equal to 34 years of age, it is easy to see that there is a marked tendency among younger generation to marry earliar than their elders did.

Table XX

PERCENTAGE NUMBER OF HUSBANDS ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe : Paniyas)

Age-group (husband)	Age at first marriage										
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
20-34	3.12	3.12	18.75	12.50	18.75	25.00	18.75	..	..	..	..
35-54	..	6.98	..	6.98	11.63	16.28	16.28	4 65	25.59	6.98	4.68
55 & over	..	..	..	11.11	11.11	44.44	11.11	11.11	..	11.11	..
Total	1.19	4.06	7.14	9.52	14.29	22 62	16.67	3 57	13.10	4.05	2 38

Out of a total of 32 males in the age-group 20-34, one has married even at the age of 20, while all have got married by the time they attained 26. More specifically over 81 per cent marry by the time they attain the age of 25 while over 94% marry between the ages of 22 and 26. In the second age-group, viz., 35-54, the earliest age at first marriage reported is 21, and this is with a very low frequency viz., less than 7% of the total in the group. Also it can be seen that while nearly 75% of the males who are between 35 and 54 had married only after they had attained 25 years of age, about 70% get married between the ages of 25 and 29. Similarly for persons who are 55 and above, the range of age at first marriage is not wide, but it is clustered round 25 years.

Table XXI

DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIED FEMALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe : Paniyas)

Percentage of wife	Age at first marriage											Average age at first marriage
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	N A.*	
20-24	..	..	2	5	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	19.7
25-29	1	..	..	3	7	4	4	1	..	..	..	20.4
30-34	..	..	..	1	4	2	5	..	4	1	..	21 9
35-39	..	..	..	2	3	3	2	2	..	..	..	20 9
40-44	..	..	..	..	8	2	2	1	..	..	..	20.7
45-49	..	..	..	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	20.7
50 54	..	..	..	..	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	21.0
55-59	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	20.5
60 & over	..	.	..	2	8	..	1	..	..	..	1	20.5
Total	1	..	2	17	36	17	23	4	4	1	1	20.7

* Not ascertained

In the case of Paniya women (Table XXI) the age at first marriage is centered round 20. Over 88% of the 105 women, who were ever married, had married between the ages of 19 and 22, while those marrying at ages of 18 and below and 23 and above make only less than 3% and 9% respectively. On a study of the difference of age between husbands and wives it has been found that over 14% of the total number of couples are having a difference of 2 years and less of age, while nearly 65% having a difference of 3 to 5 years, and nearly 21 per cent a difference of 6 years or more of age. Table XXII also helps us to compare the three tribes in this respect.

Table XXII

PERCENTAGE NUMBER OF COUPLES ACCORDING TO DIFFERENCE IN AGE

Tribe	Difference in age (Years)		
	2 & less	3 to 5	6 and more
Paniyas	14.28	64.94	20.78
Alars	12.50	70.83	16.67
Muthans	..	60.00	40.00

Table XXIII

MARITAL STATUS

(Tribe : Alars)

Age-group	Unmarried		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total		Grand Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
0-9	18	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	9	27
10-14	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	5
15-19	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	3
20-24	1	1	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	5	6
25-29	1	..	5	4	..	..	..	1	6	5	11
30-34	..	..	3	4	..	..	..	..	3	4	7
35-39	..	..	2	2	..	2	..	..	2	4	6
40-44	..	..	4	3	..	..	..	..	4	3	7
45-49	..	..	3	2	..	1	..	..	3	3	6
50-54	..	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	2	2	4
55-59	..	..	1	..	..	.	..	..	1	..	1
60-64	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
65-69	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	2
70 & over	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1
Total	24	14	21	21	..	6	..	1	45	42	87

Table XXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIED MALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Alars)

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage										Average age at first marriage
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
20-24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25-29	.	..	..	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	24.2
30-34	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	25 0
35-39	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	25.3
40-44	..	1	..	..	..	.	..	1	2	..	26.0
45-49	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	25.0
50-54	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	22.7
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	:	1	29.0
60 & over	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	21 0
All ages	..	3	..	2	6	5	2	2	2	1	24.7

It has been reported that nearly 44% (see table XXIII) of the Alars are never married, of whom over 84% are of age 14 and below. Out of the rest who are ever married (claiming about 66% of the total), a little over 12% remain widowed. One woman remains divorced. It can be seen from Table XXIV that nearly half of a sample of 23 males who are 20 and above get married at their 24th or 25th year of age, while there are instances of first marriages even at the ages of 21 and 29. As regards women, no one below 19 remain married while most of them get married before they are 23 (Table XXIII).

Table XXV classifies 28 ever married women according to their age at first marriage.

Table XXV

DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIED FEMALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Alars)

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage						Average age at first marriage
	19	20	21	22	23	N. A.	
20-24	..	1	2	1	..	..	21.0
25-29	..	1	..	3	1	..	21.8
30-34	1	..	..	3	..	..	21.3
35-39	1	..	1	1	..	1	20 7
40-44	..	1	1	..	..	1	20.5
45-49	1	..	2	..	..	..	20 0
50-54	..	1	..	..	..	1	20.0
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 & over	..	3	.	..	..	..	20 0
All ages	3	7	6	8	1	3	20.9

As is seen from the Table XXV, 84% of the women marry between the ages of 20 and 22. A study of the difference of age between husband and wife reveals that nearly 17% of the couples have a difference of 6 years and more, while a great majority that is nearly 71% have only a difference of 3 to 5 years (see table XXII).

Table XXVI

CLASSIFICATION OF MARRIAGES ACCORDING TO THE RELATIONSHIP OF HUSBAND AND WIFE PRIOR TO MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Alars)

Total marriages	No relation	Male married to his mother's brother's daughter
33	3	30

It may be seen from Table XXVI that nearly 91% of a total of 33 marriages of Alars are consanguineous.

Table XXVII

MARITAL STATUS

(Tribe: Muthans)

Age-group	Unmarried		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total		Grand Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
0-9	11	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	8	19
10-14	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	1	8
15-19	7	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	2	9
20-24	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	3
25-29	..	1	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	5	5
30-34	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	3	1	4
35-39	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
40-44	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	2	2	4	6
45-49	..	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	3	2	5
50-54	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	2
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 & over	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
All ages	28	13	10	10	1	1	..	2	39	26	65

Table XXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIED MALES ACCORDING TO PRESENT AGE AND AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Muthans)

Age of male	Age at first marriage								Average age at first marriage
	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	N.A.	
20-24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25-29	.	.	...	..	..	..	..	..	..
30-34	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	14.0
35-39	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
40-44	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	25.0
45-49	..	..	.	1	1	1	..	..	27.0
50-54	.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	24 0
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 & over	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	27.0
All ages	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	25.6

N. A — Not available

Table XXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIED FEMALES ACCORDING TO PRESENT AGE AND AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Muthans)

Age of female	Age at first marriage								Average age at first marriage
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	N.A.	
15-19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20-24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25-29	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	21.3
30-34	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	23.0
35-39	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	21.0
40-44	..	..	2	..	2	..	1	..	21.6
45-49	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	22.0
50-54	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	21.0
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 & over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
All ages	..	..	4	2	4	2	1	1	21.5

N. A. — Not available

Among Muthans over 63% are never married of whom nearly 88% are 19 and below. Among the ever married over 8% are widowed and an equal percentage divorced. It is seen from the classification of 12 ever married males (Table XXVIII) that most of them marry between the ages of 23 and 26, whereas from a classification of 14 ever married women (Table XXIX) it is seen that most of their women have their first marriage between the ages of 20 and 22. According to them the polygamous system prevalent among them is advantageous for they can have more number of children. Children are considered to be of economic advantage by these Muthans. However, from considerations of health, the problem of pampering more number of members in a family in their present predicament is obviously implex. Muthans in their talk often refer to the disharmony and strife among their wives, who consort with the same male and live under the same roof. This will often result in tense and unhappy family atmosphere. Because of this conventional protection of polygamy, Muthans do not exercise any restraint over themselves in aspiring the hands of as many women as they like from time to time. They do not mind even when a later marriage entails the disjunction of all previous ones. Thus, the tenure of matrimony of a couple is quite unpredictable. This naturally results in lack of faith, security and attachment, not only between the husband and wife but also among the children and their parents. This is obviously a very unhappy state of affairs, which will hamper a healthy growth of the family and its members. It has been observed that the younger generation of Paniya males, recently show a tendency to get married earlier than did their elder generations. The Paniya boys are hastily inclined to set up separate families, leaving alone their parents and other relatives to look after themselves. The only qualification for them to get married is, perhaps, physical maturity. Emotional maturity, economic soundness and a variety of other essential requisites are being wholly set at nought by them.

One general defect with all these tribes here is in the method of choosing their mates. They have no idea of their age. A superficial study physiognomy of the couples, before they marry, need not always be correct or unprejudiced. Further, surprisingly enough, a woman has no voice in the choice of her life partner; but all such rights are vested in the hands of the elders, particularly of her parents. According to the age old conventions parents prefer to sell their girls at high price. So much so, the present system often unites in matrimony, the most unsuitable. This may result in the husband-wife nexus becoming less cordial and sometimes, in infidelity between the couples. Again the wife in a family enjoys an undesirably dominant position, not only because she 'provides' for the family in addition to 'preparation' but also she is covetable and costly by virtue of their traditional custom. If this is denied to her, pandemonium prevails in the house. At a threat of running away from the husband, the wife will often succeed in bringing the husband to snivelling subservience for it is not easy for him to get another woman in wedlock, seeing to all that it demands, particularly money. Thus the cordial relationship and warmth of feelings for each other are apt to be absent in most of the tribal families.

Diseases

4.4 The most common disease found among these tribes is anaemia, caused by malnutrition. The irregular habits of diet, which in most of the cases is unbalanced too is the real impediment to their growth. The other common ailments among them are fever, headache, stomach diseases, etc. The tribes' way of treating diseases is peculiar in that it is characterised by their traditional faith and practices. The root cause of a disease it is

believed by them, is the wrath of their gods. However, this superstitious notion is evidently on gradual decline. Muthans treat themselves, and they are experts in using certain medicinal herbs. Paniyas and Alars do not have any such knowledge or skill. They may either resort to the help of Muthans or some local Ayurvedic physicians. In most of the cases of illness, they do without any treatment. But, as a matter of course, they promise pious donations to their gods for curing diseases.

Education

4.5 The tribes are miserably backward in education. Although they are not against, in principle, to education, it is often not convenient for them. The eldest child has to take care of the younger ones, when both the parents go for work. Children also go for work as soon as they can, in order that they can add their small remuneration to their family income. Parents can naturally give no encouragement beyond a certain measure in this matter, as they are themselves totally uneducated. Adult education is neither practised nor attempted. These tribes are considered to be socially low, not by virtue of any rules, but by certain convention. The basic reason for the development and observance of this convention is that they are economically poor. Although Muthans claim that they belong to a high social class they have not been recognised so by others. These tribes have a strong class consciousness. Paniyas are alike, irrespective of their different economic standard or place of habitation. They never dine with a race which they think is socially inferior to them. It has been reported that Alars are socially lower than Paniyas while both of them are lower to Muthans. Muthans do not touch a Paniya or Alar and they are not even allowed to come near their huts. The dividing factors might have been, in the past, the difference in social and religious conventions, and inequality of group strength which was accentuated and augmented by the skill in divising and using lethal weapons.

The present situation when the tribes live in isolation is not very helpful in their amelioration. It would be more efficacious if they are given opportunities to learn things by themselves, rather than being taught. It can be easily observed that there is absolutely no use of imposing anything on them, howsoever good it might, so long as they are not convinced of its adoptability and desirability.

The tribes, by virtue of their class, are enjoying various amenities, educational grants, housing grants, colonisation facilities, facilities for prevention of diseases and for preserving health, distribution of land for agriculture, agricultural grants etc. But the effect of these on the tribes is distressingly not commensurate with the large sum of money spent on this accord. It appears that the system at present is not free from defects. Lack of proper understanding of the tribal ways and habits is the most important of all. Temperamentally, the tribes are repulsive to changes in their traditional ways. Any improvement can possibly be effected on them if only their traditional ways are properly understood, and respected, too. There is no point in dashing against them with all out comprehensive changes. Further, the lack of an even distribution of help among all sections of these tribal people, will no doubt have in its wake, some unpleasant after effects. All are to be equally and properly cared for, as none among them is any better than the other.

Family Structure

4.6 A tribal household here ordinarily consists of a husband, wife, and their children. Sometimes the father or mother of the husband or wife may also be seen in a household. Each household has a separate hut. It seems that this has been their traditional practice, for no two households are seen under the same roof.

This feature is more glaring among Muthans as there are many households with a single member. The average family size for Paniyas is found to be nearly 5 (4.61 to be exact), while that for Alars is nearly 4 (3.63 to be exact). The average family size of Muthans is only slightly greater than three, and thus they have the lowest average family size. Incidentally it may be stated that nine out of the nineteen households of the Muthans are found to be with size two and less.

Table XXX

CLASSIFICATION OF TRIBAL HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE OF FAMILY

Family size	No. of households of		
	Paniyas	Alars	Muthans
1	1	..	6
2	15	9	3
3	19	6	1
4	6	3	4
5	16	3	..
6	7	2	2
7	9	..	2
8	4	..	1
9	3	..	..
10	1	1	..
11	..	..	..
12 & over	1	..	..
Total	82	24	19

Rule of Inheritance

4.7 All these tribes have a patrilineal system of inheritance. The descent is from father to son among Paniyas and Alars, while among Muthans, the nephews of the deceased have a claim on his tools and weapons. The present trend of change is confining every right of inheritance to sons. This is specially being influenced by the present set up of households.

Leisure and Recreation

4.8 The tribes have hardly any leisure hours. After the tiresome work of the day they return to their huts at dusk. Paddy obtained as daily wages has to be husked in order to use it for their supper. This takes away not only the rest of their energy but much of their leisure hours too. Housewives busily prepare the supper, while householders go for collection of firewood. The urge in them for somnolence is often overpowering the call of stomach. Immediately after supper, all go to sleep. Thus, there is scarcely any leisure for them.

The tribes attend temple festivals. The attraction towards these is that it helps

a happy get-together, more than anything else. They have their own group dances and group songs, but it is rarely conducted these days. But for these, they have no recreational activities at all.

Religious Institutions in the Village

4.9 Population of Nilambur consists of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and a good number of tribes. There are numerous places of worship for the people in this village. Hindu temples are far exceeding in number than any other places of worship. It might be due to the fact that the population of the village is lopsided with Hindus. It was with the advent of Christians, Hindus and a few Muslims to this village that the places of worship here have increased in number. None of these institutions here has any remarkable architectural importance or prominence. Management and control of these religious institutions are done by the people of this locality and the sources of finance are pious donations from the people and the returns from temple properties and assets. The area of influence of these institutions is spread over the entire village and parts of its neighbouring villages.

The common festivals in this village are *Onam* and *Vishu*. Besides these, there are festivals peculiar to the different communities. No trend of decline in the religious beliefs or faiths of the people is discernible here. As regards tribes they are ardently and sometimes even blindly religious. They still adhere to their age old beliefs, faiths and practices while they turn their back to external factors causing change.

Village Organisation

4.10 Organisational trend in this village based upon any dividing factors, such as occupation, hamlet, etc. appears to be scarce or even nil. Even the people in this village as a whole do not constitute an organisation at least for the sake of being organised. In fact the reasons for this trend is that there has been no incentive for them to organise. The different hamlets and different castes in the village get on amicably. There is no trend of tension, nor of any disintegration, in the atmosphere of the village. The tribes here are, however, united in their own way. Paniyas, Alars and Muthans are independently organised, even traditionally by virtue of their class consciousness. All these tribal people normally live in peace, unless otherwise provoked.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

4.11 The one democratic institution in this village is the village panchayat. Elected representatives constitute the panchayat and it has, in addition an executive officer appointed by the Government. All the people in the village are duly represented in the panchayat. Certain minority groups, like the tribes and Scheduled Caste people, are also enjoying special privileges to represent them in this body.

The panchayat is engaged in the development of the village in its social and economic facts. The financial source for this institution apart from Government grants, is taxation. Building tax, marketing tax, entertainment tax, etc. are collected by this panchayat. In addition, the panchayat proposes to promote commerce and industry in the village. Improvement of educational facilities is also one of the activities of this panchayat.

Voluntary Organisation, Clubs, etc.

4.12 As has been indicated earlier, excepting one or two communal organisations there are no voluntary organisations in this village. Nilambur village is short of a library. But the panchayat has proposed to establish here a good library with the help of the local people. A small library and a reading room, both attached to the panchayat are functioning even now. But these establishments are not capable of satisfying the needs of a considerable section of the population,

as they are too small. The tribes obviously are in no way benefited by these institutions, as they cannot read, or write.

Reform Measures Introduced by Various Agencies

4.13 The most important of all reform measures introduced by Government or other institutions is the campaign for prevention of diseases. Government have succeeded in the eradication of malaria, as well as in the prevention of epidemics, like smallpox, cholera, typhoid, etc. The attitude of the people, in general, is quite cooperative and encouraging. But the tribes here are habitually indifferent towards these, as they have more reliance on their traditional procedure of treating these. They are not amenable to friendly persuasions nor to any threats. Family planning propagation activities are scarce in the village. The practice of paying dowry for a girl before getting her in wedlock goes without any hitch even now, only economic weakness or 'cupid's arrow can cause any decisive blow to this traditive custom. Untouchability has been removed with all its diabolic forms, but the tribes observe this among themselves. For example, a Muthan will not touch a Paniya nor does he like an Alar to stand close to his hut. Nothing has so far helped to check this practice. Raising the standard of life of these people on social, economical and educational level will presumably effect a permanent check to the unwelcome tribal idiosyncrasies.

Other Aspects of Social and Cultural Life

4.14 Social and cultural inequalities are typical of undeveloped people. Economic self-sufficiency, and high educational standard are often the levelling factors. But it is in these we see sizable variations here, more than in anything else. Thus, it is not surprising to note that there are social and cultural inequalities existing in this village, where also the economic disparity is inescapably egregious. The tribes here are held socially and culturally low Education has not spread among them, not even to a small extent. The basic cause which kept them low in these was nothing but their economic backwardness. This is a black spot on any civilised society and it has to be blotted out at all cost.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1 The social awareness of a people is basically governed by their cultural milieu. But, ostensibly, economic prosperity is necessarily the precursor of social and cultural development; spiritual and cultural aspects of the life of a people can sprightly thrive only if they have a stable and somewhat satisfactory economic standard.

5 2 Though the population of Nilambur has its inherent diverse features, with regard to religion, social conventions and moves, political persuasions and, above all, economic status, it is largely a compact social entity. The diverse features of the society here are not tending to create any dour tendencies of sterile strife, disruption or disintegration. The mutual understanding and respect of the people are, of course, the hot-bed for promoting a peaceful social life. Exceptions here are necessarily few and hence negligible, though they cannot be ruled out with fairness to exactitude or reality.

5.3 Nilambur village has no distinctiveness of its own in any of the aforesaid aspects, when compared to any of its surrounding regions.

5.4 The object of the present survey was a study of the socio-economic conditions of the tribes. It is deemed germane to deal with some problems of tribal amelioration with particular reference to this region. It need hardly be over emphasised that no venture of amelioration of the tribes will meet with success unless it is based upon a comprehensive and astute understanding of their ways and manners of life, in addition to their present condition. The following are fairly important points, which deserve earnest attention in the context of amelioration of the tribes.

5.5 Almost the first thing to be stated in this connection is that it is foolish to attempt to ram any reforms down the throat of these tribes, for they have nearly an instinctive resentment towards any alien system.

5.6 Health is the most important of all items, as it is understandably the very basis of improvement of a people. Most of the tribes here pay little or no attention to a hygienic way of life. One is led to believe that it has almost become a preferment of these people to exist in detestably ugly and unhygienic surroundings. Neither their huts nor the surroundings are kept clean, even when it calls for no special effort to keep them clean. The location of each hut, more often than not, is not congenial, while the construction of it is totally defective and unconducive to health. Even the houses constructed by Government are found to be defective. Tribal gregariousness, although understandable cannot be encouraged to any unwholesome extent. Instead, it has to be reduced to the barest minimum possible, without indeed, tampering with the predilections of the tribes.

5.7 Tribes ordinarily pay scant attention to prevention of diseases. Even an avid effort, with a genuine interest in them, will lead but to frustration, because of their non-cooperation. Even the proper treatment of diseases is either unattempted, or deferred imprudently, because of their dour faith that all diseases are caused by the wrath of their Gods. Thus, their traditional way of treating diseases is propitiation of their ruffled Gods. Even chronic cases of small-pox or typhoid are incapable of moving them a

little from their unflinching, firm faith and this traditional rut of behaviour. This is obviously a very dangerous, but a deep rooted, traditive tenet in them. The removal of this tendency in them is not facile, so long as a psychological development is not attained. Therefore, it is at times desirable to adopt tactfully, a suitable course of action, no matter even if it is contrary to their hoary tradition, to mend this trend of behaviour. It can be reasonably hoped that they will be convinced when they come to know of the feasible effects of modern medicines.

5.8 Their present system of marriage needs to be modified to conform it with the general modern trends. The practice of selling girls lead but to an unhappy atmosphere in the home. The polygamous practices prevalent among the Muthans have to be discouraged. The various other disadvantages have already been dealt with earlier.

5.9 The food habits of these tribes are ostensibly unwholesome. The mode of preparation and the contents prepared require healthy modifications. A salutory change in their dietary habits will no doubt help them to have a wholesome existence. But this will remain a far cry so long as their economic standard does not improve. Habits are after all, matters of mental trait. To change an ingrained habit is at least as difficult as, if not more than, imbuing a new one so much so apart from the economic emancipation, the basically essential thing is a change in their mental make up.

5.10 The tribes are generally insouciant about the size of their family. Most of them even now have not felt the necessity, of limiting the size of their family as a measure to secure economic soundness for the menage. Matters of health are often set at nought by them. However, it is easy to see that all these are due to their ignorance. Propagation of family planning, with clear and convincing explanation of the social, psychological and economical implications of it, will surely carry conviction to these tribes. But much care has to be taken not to dash against them with these ideas. They should be approached with tact.

5.11 Literacy among these tribes is nearly nihil. Only a very few boys and girls go to local schools; but, according to the information gathered, these students are not at all studious, and they are grossly irregular in attending the classes. Moreover, the attendance of these children is often hard-earned and it is often secured by persistent persuations (including threats of floggings). Further, most of the elder children, who do not go for work, have to look after the younger ones during day time, when both the parents go for their day's work. This is really a major impediment to the spread of education among the tribal children. This obstacle can be obviated by choosing an appropriate time, convenient to the tribal students for holding classes. As far as possible, intending tribal students should be detached from their family atmosphere, and brought in to residential schools in order to inculcate in them an aptitude for education. The indifference of the tribal children, and the difficulties caused by the inconvenience in their family atmosphere can be obviated only this way. It is equally important to make the educational institutions attractive to the tribal children. It would be encouraging to the tribal parents to send their children to schools, if a nominal sum is paid to the students as stipend, besides meeting all the expenses in connexion with their children's study. The present rate of stipend is reportedly inadequate for the purpose; it should be suitably enhanced. Special attention should be paid to each student, so as to nourish and nurture the talents in each. Children should be properly directed to their line of interests and talents. The problem of providing proper employment to

tribal children after their studies is the most important of all. This has to be looked into with meticulous care, as it is really the most effective encouragement for the tribes towards education.

5.12 Of all the amelioration activities, the spread of education among the tribes is the most important as it forms a useful basis for all other developments. Social and cultural and even economic development can best be attained through educational improvement.

5.13 Barring a few upper class families the population of Nilambur is constituted of middle class and low class people. The tribes no doubt, have been poor, agrestic serfs even from the old past. Their low social position and economic backwardness had seen practically no progress as yet. Thus these tribes are in a state of economic thraldom. Even now inspite of the many changes that have occurred to them, most of them, do not try, effectively or with wholehearted determination, to extricate themselves from this cobweb of economic thraldom.

5.14 Now, liberating these people from their traditional economic bondage is one of the most important and urgent problems to be tackled. Understandably enough, hardly any initiation will come from these tribes. The Government should come to the rescue of the tribes. Fixation of minimum wages for different types of labour and prevention of the possibilities of exploitation of the tribes by the landlords, may be done with immediate effect. The practice of taking loans from usurious landlords or others on any unlawful stipulation of repayment should be discouraged at all costs. The Government may consider the possibility of helping them with short term loans. Next in importance is giving them facilities for agriculture. The tribes here have no land of their own. Forest land may be distributed among them as far as possible. It is important that the ownership of this land should be retained by the government; otherwise it is likely that the tribes will exchange this land for cash with the non-tribes here. These tribes will be an easy prey to their deceptive tractics and the guise of friendliness. It is important that even the transfer of possession of the land thus distributed should be checked effectively by the welfare authorities. In order to meet capital expenditure in agriculture, Government may help them with lumpsum subventions, proper vigilance being kept on them so as not to misuse the grants. Distribution of seeds and agricultural implements should inevitably follow. The supply of live-stock is no less important.

5.15 The tribes here are generally skilled in handicrafts. Some here, for instance, are skilled in mat weaving, and basketry, using bamboo strips and grass. It seems that the interest towards this activity is almost inherited by these tribes. But owing to lack of proper encouragement and remuneration many have been constrained to abandon it, with the result that their instinctive interest towards crafts is rapidly fading out, not to speak of the bad economic effects of it. A revival of these handicrafts is worth attempting.

5.16 The tribes here are not at all thrifty. They live from hand to mouth. Some of them are so slothful and indifferent that they go for work only when driven to exigencies like famishment or the like. This attitude of the tribes is really a major obstacle in the economic emancipation of the tribes. 'Chit' system may be introduced to promote practices of thrift among the tribes. Facilities as well as incentives for saving money may also be provided to the tribes through tribal cooperative societies, or banks, or such other institutions.

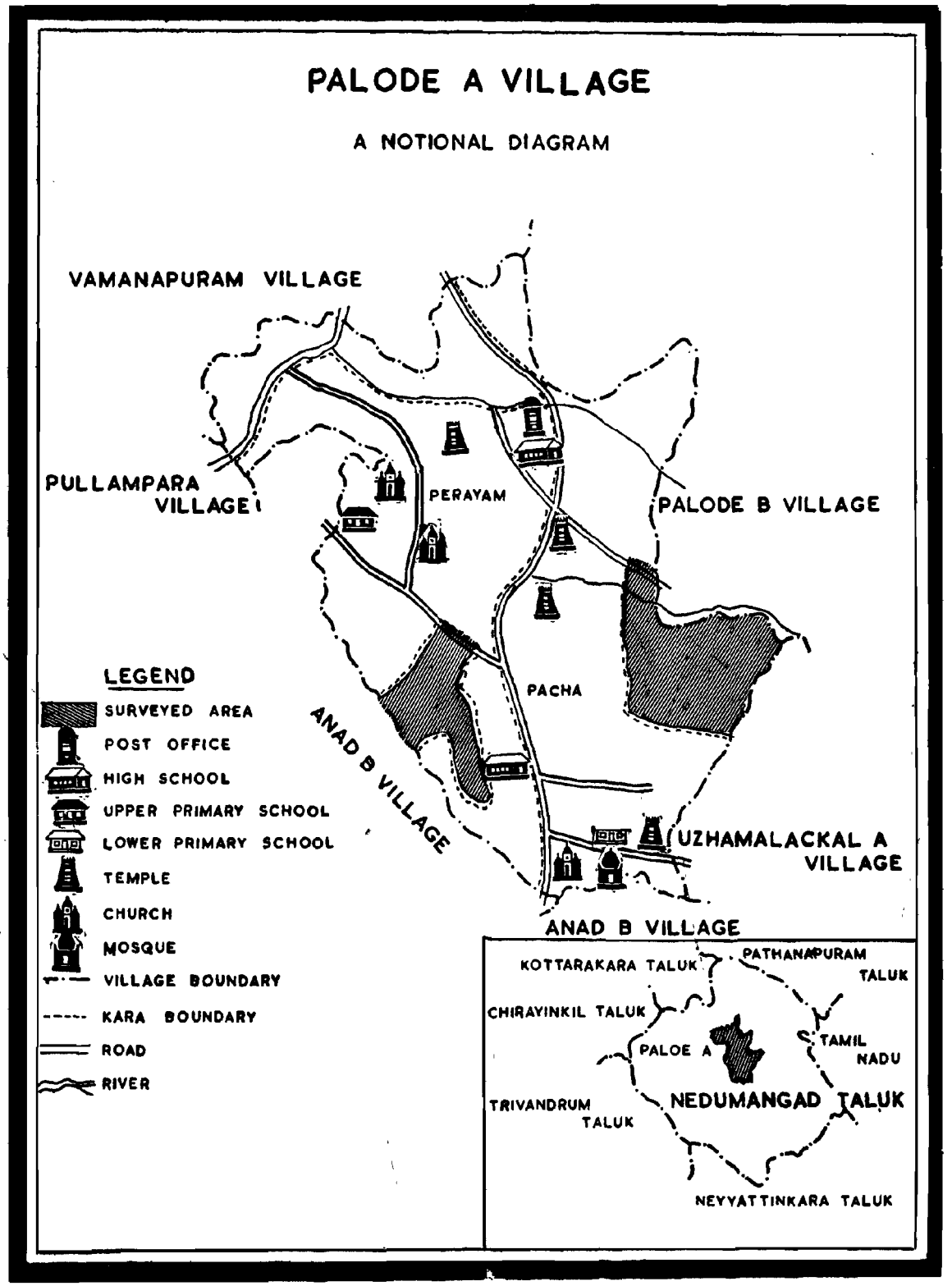
5.17 The *bona fides* of the Government in establishing welfare institutions is no doubt commendable. The functioning of these institutions may be, broadly speaking, satisfactory. But, unfortunately, the

expectations regarding those institutions remain at least partly unfulfilled. The fundamental defects of the institutions are lack of enough number of personnel with a basic and astute understanding of the problem in all its ramifications. Further, trained personnel are very few in these institutions. Government might take special care to train officials in welfare work, and to select only those who are specially interested in this work. Next in importance is, removing the administrative snarls, which are almost characteristic of these institutions. Shortage of staff and vast unwieldy jurisdiction of these institutions go a great deal against their smooth and effective functioning. In fact, hardly any contact is established by these institutions with many of the tribal settlements within their jurisdiction. In order to rectify this, trained welfare workers may be appointed for each tribal settlement, or at least at the rate of one welfare worker for every 100 households, their area of activity being limited as far as possible, only to a part of the village. The welfare workers should have strict allocations of work, and any laxity on their part should be severely dealt with.

5.18 Social and cultural backwardness, and an attitude of subservience should be obviated effectively. A salutory social awareness should of necessity be instilled in them.

5.19 The facile way to obviate an obstacle is to fight it unitedly. Thus the maxim "Unity is strength" should be brought home to these tribes. Although these tribes were traditionally organised on the basis of caste or other factors, they are not properly organised now. A spirit of cooperation on a democratic basis, which is now lacking in them, should be instilled in them. Organising these tribes into cooperative unions with purely collective interest will help a great deal to achieve their amelioration.

PALODE A


PALODE A VILLAGE
A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM
VAMANAPURAM VILLAGE
PULLAMPARA VILLAGE
PERAYAM
PALODE B VILLAGE
PACHA
ANAD B VILLAGE
UZHAMALACKAL A VILLAGE
ANAD B VILLAGE
LEGEND
SURVEYED AREA
POST OFFICE
HIGH SCHOOL
UPPER PRIMARY SCHOOL
LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOL
TEMPLE
CHURCH
MOSQUE
VILLAGE BOUNDARY
KARA BOUNDARY
ROAD
RIVER
KOTTARAKARA TALUK
PATHANAPURAM TALUK
CHIRAYINKIL TALUK
PALOE A
TAMIL NADU
TRIVANDRUM TALUK
NEDUMANGAD TALUK
NEYYATTINKARA TALUK

PALODE A

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Of the four taluks of Trivandrum District, Nedumangad is specially important for the production of cash-crops. A major portion of these is obtained from Palode A village. It lies between latitudes 8° 39′ and 8° 51′ and longitudes 76° 59′ and 77° 05′ and covers an area of about fifteen square miles. The village is bounded on the north by Vamanapuram B village, on the west by Palode B village, on the east by Anad village and on the south by Uzhamalackal village.

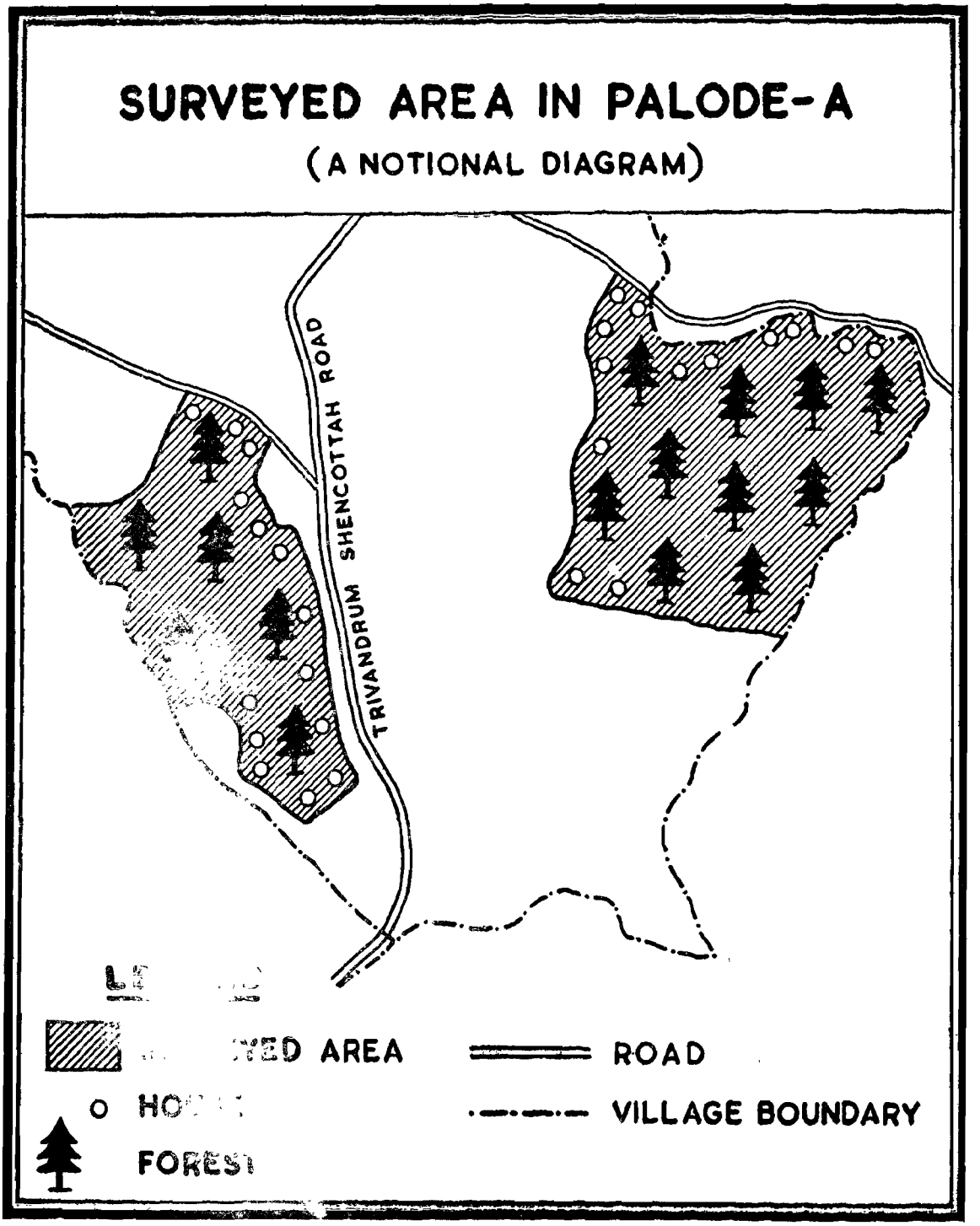
1.2 The Pacha and the Shekkonam are the two reserve forests under the control of the Department of Forests, where the Kanikkar tribe is settled. The Pacha Reserve Forest covers an area of four square miles, while the Shekkonam, proposed as a Reserve Forest covers an area of two square miles and 159.41 acres. About 800 acres in Pacha and 430 acres in Shekkonam Reserve Forests have been allotted for different plantations like jack, *anjili*, teak, cashew, beedi leaf plants, and eucalyptus.

1.3 The survey of Palode is a case study of a typical village of Nedumangad taluk, where the tribes and the country people have various opportunities of coming into contact with each other through agriculture and trade. Though sufficient area of forest land is in the possession of the tribes even at the present moment majority of these tribes are under-fed, unhealthy and educationally backward. Unemployment and under-employment during the off-seasons add to their economic backwardness. Nevertheless their social and cultural progress surpasses all expectations. The old tribal characteristics having been shed, they are coming forward evincing keen interest in politics and social activities. For the above reasons a study of this village is highly useful in giving an insight into the socio-economic conditions of the Kanikkars.

Soil

1.4 The soil of Palode A village belongs to the laterite group. Detailed examination has shown that the available percentage of phosphorus and potassium is low and that it is acidic. The percentage of organic carbon is reported to be low while the total solvable salts are normal. The leaching also impoverishes the soil. Since the percentage of phosphorus and potassium is low, the need for heavy doses of fertilisers is obvious.

1.5 The soil is, however, suitable for raising areca-nut, pepper, paddy etc. The tribes do not manage the soil properly and do not apply any kind of manures for their crops.


SURVEYED AREA IN PALODE-A
(A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM)
TRIVANDRUM SHENCOTTAH ROAD
ROAD
VILLAGE BOUNDARY
FOREST

Climate and Rainfall

1.6 The following table gives the figures for temperature at Trivandrum, the nearest station situated at a distance of 18 miles.

Table I

TEMPERATURE AND HUMIDITY

Month	Temperature (°C)				Humidity in percentage	
	Mean maximum temperature	Mean minimum temperature	Highest maximum temperature recorded	Lowest minimum temperature recorded	Mean relative humidity in percentage at 08.30 hrs. IST.	Mean relative humidity in percentage at 17.30 hrs. IST.
January	31.4	22.7	33.3	20.9	78	66
February	32.3	22.5	34.4	20.7	74	64
March	32.3	23.9	34.3	22.8	79	67
April	32.1	24.1	35.3	22.2	82	77
May	29.5	23.4	34.6	21.2	91	85
June	29.3	23.6	31.0	22.0	89	79
July	29.5	23.0	31.7	21.7	89	83
August	29.7	23.1	31.9	21.6	88	78
September	28.9	22.7	31.0	21.5	91	81
October	29.9	23.0	31.3	21.6	86	81
November	28.9	22.7	31.3	21.6	91	85
December	31.0	22.3	33.1	19.7	80	68

1.7 February, March and April are very hot months, but the temperature starts falling towards May-June, and becomes very low in October-November. The highest maximum temperature is in April and the lowest minimum temperature is in December. In the higher elevations of the place a slight difference in temperature may be felt.

1.8 During winter the nights are chilly and the mean humidity percentage rates are also found to be low. Table 2 gives the distribution of rainfall and the number of rainy days for 10 years from 1951 to 1960, and mean monthly total rainfall in millimetres for the period of 1900 to 1950. The mean monthly rainfall for the period (1951-1960) works out to 2226.71 mm. whereas the mean rainfall reported during the period 1900 to 1950 is 1955.6 mm. The South-West monsoon starts by May accompanied by thunder-storms and by the middle of June the whole taluk is in its Grip. It lasts till July. The North-East monsoon causes rains in September and October. By an analytical study of the data it is seen that the total rainfall in the year 1955 was very heavy and that in 1952 low. In summer and winter the rainfall is scanty.

Table II

RAINFALL

Nedumangad

Year		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1951	I	1	..	6	12	11	24	12	4	13	14	15	3	115
	II	5.8	..	93.2	309.1	250.9	465.8	193.0	27.4	304.8	241.1	485.4	81.0	2457.5
1952	I	..	3	1	7	14	17	10	11	3	11	7	4	88
	II	..	76.5	41.9	288.6	285.0	220.2	97.8	90.2	74.9	407.4	114.5	43.0	1740.0
1953	I	2	2	2	10	1	13	21	4	3	20	9	..	87
	II	23.1	69.9	15.2	132.3	22.9	324.1	591.3	61.5	52.8	603.3	136.1	..	2032.5
1954	I	4	..	6	10	5	14	13	9	11	14	1	5	92
	II	42.9	..	119.4	225.3	105.4	175.5	197.9	143.5	179.6	421.9	19.3	85.6	1713.3
1955	I	..	3	..	8	18	18	11	5	15	10	14	4	106
	II	..	29.5	..	116.8	473.5	264.4	109.5	48.8	2061.0	221.5	322.3	128.3	3775.6
1956	I	3	..	1	9	9	22	10	8	5	12	14	2	95
	II	35 8	..	29.2	165 9	126.5	279.7	142.5	124.7	67.5	180.9	225.3	57.1	1435.1
1957	I	..	1	1	11	15	22	12	8	1	10	10	6	97
	II	..	11.4	7.6	201.7	446.5	528.6	217.9	119.1	6.1	211.6	215.9	73.7	2040.1
1958	I	1	4	5	12	14	20	12	16	1	15	13	1	114
	II	13.7	54.6	102.6	160.1	264.3	530.1	163.8	275.1	8.1	257.4	249.0	4.1	2082.9
1959	I	..	2	2	11	18	20	20	11	9	9	7	5	114
	II	..	41.9	26.6	113.9	492.2	426.8	432.1	96.3	171.4	218.4	123.7	49.7	2193.0
1960	I	2	1	6	10	19	12	16	10	22	14	21	1	134
	II	27.9	13.2	83.7	257.8	532.0	186.9	399.0	146.2	349.4	289.4	517.1	54.4	2857.0
1900	(1)	1.9	1.4	3.5	9.3	9.9	18.2	16.2	11.3	8.4	12.2	8.9	3.1	100.4
to 1950	(2)	27.2	22.1	65.5	172.5	227.8	408.7	277.6	189.7	138.9	289.8	177.8	58.4	1965.6

I No. of rainy days

II Total rainfall in millimetres

(1) Mean monthly total rainfall in millimetres

(2) Mean No. of rainy days

The climate of Palode is very salubrious and pleasant during the summer. As the village is lying at the foot of the Ponmudi hills it has a pleasant climate during most months of the year.

1.9 Agriculture in Palode depends for its success mainly on the timely onset of the monsoon and their seasonal distribution.

Flora and Fauna

1.10 The village has a rich and varied flora which are characteristically tropical. The common varieties of trees here are teak, white teak, *anjili*, etc. and the trees yielding edible fruits such as jack, mango etc. Palode is very famous for areca-nut and pepper cultivation. A sizable portion of the Reserve Forest is under different plantations like teak, beedi leaf plant, eucalyptus, jack and *anjili*. *anjili* and teak are slow-growing magnificent trees with long straight stems.

1.11 Besides these varieties of trees, reeds, bamboos etc also thrive. Almost all varieties of perennial tropical flowering plants flourish in this region.

1.12 About 15 years back a beedi leaf plant plantation was started at Vembil in Pachamala Reserve Forest in an area of 8 acres. This plant *(Diospyrous Melanoxylon)* rises from a moderate size to large tree attaining a height of 60-80 feet and a girth upto 7 feet with a straight cylindrical bole of 15-20 feet under favourable conditions. It bears cariaceous leaves varying in size and form.

"Diospyrous melanoxylon is distributed in the Indian Peninsula extending northward to Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and Bombay and is one of the most characteristic trees of the dry, mixed deciduous forests in these regions. It is also found in sal forests, after replacing sal, when the ground becomes too poor to support the latter. In the peninsula it appears to attain its best developments on metamorphic rocks.

"In its natural habitat the maximum shade temperature varies from 105°F to 119°F and minimum from 30°F to 55°F; the normal annual rainfall varies from 20 to 60 inches. Seedlings and young poles stand moderate shade but for later development, more light is needed. Seedlings are resistant to frost and drought but susceptible to excessive damp ....."

"Under natural conditions seeds germinate in the rainy season and seedling reproduction is often plentiful. Observations on artificial production show that transplantation of seedlings raised in nurseries is not always satisfactory owing to the large size of the tap root. It is best to raise seedlings in long narrow baskets and to plant the seedlings along with the baskets during second rains. Direct sowing in lines is preferable to transplanting and lines should be weeded during the first two or three years ....."

"Diospyrous melanoxylon is heavier and harder than teak. Both black and light coloured woods are durable but the latter is somewhat liable to borer attack. Preservative treatment is not necessary unless required for posts in the ground ....."

"Diospyrous melanoxylon is a good fuel wood. The leaves of Diospyrous melanoxylon are highly esteemed for wrapping beedies. Their flavour, flexibility and resistance to decay are properties which are particularly valued for this use. Coppica shoots produce fine wrapper leaves and are plucked when freshly expanded. Leaves from Himachal Pradesh are preferred in the trade".

"The fruit is globose and edible. Dried flowers are reported to be useful in uninary, skin, and blood diseases. The bark is astringent and its decoction is used in diarrhoea and dyspepsia".[1]

1.13 It is stated that the beedi plants do not come up well in the locality, and that the collection of leaves is also not profitable.

1.14 Another important tree in the Reserve Forest is eucalyptus which is a hybrid resultant from certain species of eucalyptus. This is a light crowned tree

[1]The wealth of India — Raw Materials Vol. III C. S. I. R. Publication pp. 81-84.

attaining in 10 years a height up to 70′ and a girth of 28″ and yielding as much as 60 tons of wood per acre (6′ x 6′ espacement) in good sites where there is a loamy soil, adequate drainage, and equitable rainfall especially from North-East monsoon. It is used for wood distillation, since it has a high percentage of total acidity. Also the leaves yield the essential oil, that promises to be a supplementary raw material for the manufacture of pulp.

1.15 The seeds are very small weighing about 26,000 to an ounce. The seeds are collected from mature seed bearers during February/March and September/October of the year, when the capsules get dried ready for dispersal of seeds. The seeds retain effective viability for a period of about 12 months, but seeds from fresh collection show better germination results.

1.16 It is preferable to select the nursery site as close to the planting site as possible in a well drained locality with good red loam. The soil can, however, be improved by mixing red earth with sand. The site has to be given a deep digging of about 18″ and standard beds have to be formed. The seed beds are to be ready by the end of December. The seeds mixed with fine sand have to be sown. A top dressing of sand is then given. To prevent disturbance of the seeds while watering and also to prevent damage to the young seedlings it would be helpful if a thin layer of paddy straw is spread. But care should be taken that there is no white ant attack. Germination commences in about seven days. Watering should be done twice a day. The seedlings will attain a height of 18″ to 24″ by about July, when they can be planted in the field. Planting should be done in wet weather. It can be harvested in about 10 to 15 years.

1.17 Besides these the soil is suitable for rubber plantations and the villagers have started plantations in the different parts of the village.

1.18 In the interior forest area elephants, bison etc. are seen but their presence has not been reported in the tribal settlements. Carnivorous animals like wolves, jackals and herbivorous animals like monkeys etc. and reptiles of different varieties are met with frequently. A number of snake bites were reported during the survey. Domestic animals such as cows, oxen, goats etc. are reared by the Kanikkars. They rear dogs to look after their cultivation and house; pigeons, crows, and various non-migratory birds are also quite common in this area.

Residential Pattern and Communication

1.19 Palode A is a multi-caste village. Each communal group lives not in isolated clusters but each house is set up in a separate plot, in which they cultivate pepper, plantain, tapioca and other tuber crops.

1.20 Kanikkars are allowed to cultivate the forest area. Their houses are widely scattered. A few houses are constructed by the Department of Harijan Welfare for the tribes under the free house loan scheme, The Kani settlements are not easily accessible and one has to climb steep hills. Tribal settlements are inter-connected only with narrow foot paths; communication facilities are poor.

1.21 The tribes are put to great difficulty in the transport of agricultural products to the market and in emergencies when a doctor has to be brought from Nanniyode. All the other parts of the village are connected by roads. Nearly 15 miles of roads are maintained by the Public Works Department. Besides these a few roads are maintained by the Nanniyode Panchayat. The most common mode of transport is the bus. Since the village fringes the Trivandrum-Shencotta Road, one can reach the village by the State Transport bus. A number of private buses are plying between Palode and the neighbouring towns.

1.22 The Pacha sub-post office provides postal and telephone facilities. Recently a telephone exchange was started

in the village. A number of phones are in service in the private sector.

Important Public Offices

1.23 As the village is famous for the production of areca-nuts, Indian Central Areca-nut Research Committee has started a Regional Areca-nut Research Station to carry out studies on the various aspects of its cultivation. This station has done useful work for the development of areca-nut cultivation. Apart from several primary and upper primary schools both in the public and private sector, the village has two high schools and a basic training school by name Nalanda Basic Training School, Nanniyode. The high schools are in the private sector. Recently a junior college "Iqbal Junior College, Peringamala" has been started in the neighbouring village. It is a veritable boon to the student population of the village.

1.24 Housed in a convenient building on the bank of Vamanapuram river and surrounded by a large number of fine trees is the Forest Range Office of the Palode Range.

1.25 A primary health centre and a child welfare and maternity centre render medical aid to children and expectant mothers in this village. The other important institutions are the Nanniyode Panchayat office(this is the Panchayat for the village), public works department section office, village office, Pacha sub post office, Elavattom branch post office, office of the Assistant educational officer and office of the Gramasevak.

1.26 The Panchayat headquarters is at Nanniyode about eight miles away from the tribal settlement.

Market

1.27 The famous Nanniyode market in the village buzzes with extraordinary activity on two days of the week — Mondays and Thursdays. Merchants from the neighbouring villages visit the market on those days and make their purchases at favourable rates. All sorts of vegetables, plantains, other seasonal products such as jack, different varieties of mangoes etc. are brought to the market. Kanikkars also bring their produce to the market. It is reported that baskets and mats made by Kanikkars are famous for their durability and beauty. On other days only the local people will assemble. The market is under the control of the Panchayat. A considerable amount of income, is obtained by way of market fees.

1.28 A wholesale fair price depot and four retail fair price shops are working in the village. At Nanniyode junction a cluster of shops can be seen which form a sharp contrast to other parts of the village where shops are few in number.

Sources of Water

1.29 Wells are the main source of water supply for drinking purposes in the village. Almost all the houses are provided with wells which are neatly built with bricks and granite. Some of the surveyed tribal houses have wells of their own in their premises and the neighbours fetch water from these wells. A few public wells have been constructed by the panchayat and it is a great boon to the tribal people. They take their bath in the nearby river or at the small springs which provide water in all seasons of the year.

1.30 For the provision of irrigation three tanks have been constructed by Government under minor irrigation schemes and handed over to the panchayat. They are Puliyoor Chira, Planthottu Chira, and Thevarakonoth Chira. As the land is undulating and slopy, natural drainage facilities exist, but no effort has been made to improve them. No tribal house is equipped with latrines.

Places of Worship

1.31 People of different faiths live in this village and followers of each religion have got their own places of worship. A famous sastha temple, under the control of the Devaswom Board is situated in this village and the most important festival is held in March-April. Another important

temple is at Pacha which is dedicated to the Lord Subramonia. Besides these there are a few small temples in honour of Ayiravally and Ayyappan under the control of the Kanikkars.

1.32 Catholic, C. M. S. and Salvation Army churches are situated in various parts of the village and regular services are conducted on Sundays and holy days. There are also a mosque and two prayer halls. Muslims go to prayer halls for 'Atiskaras'.

1.33 There is no public burial ground for Hindus and cremation is done in their own compounds. Muslims and Christians have burial grounds attached to the mosque and the church respectively.

Settlement Pattern

1.34 The origin of these tribal settlements is lost in antiquity. No information could be elicited from the tribe about their history. (Pacha, Kuzhiyan, Nagara, Vembu, Shekkonam etc. are the tribal settlements of the Kanikkars).

1.35 There is no definite settlement pattern or arrangement about the houses. No colony life is led by them. In olden days, when they had to face the attack of wild animals, they were residing in clusters or groups. During the survey no case of the attack of wild animals was reported. Now each household enjoys a few acres of land and they help themselves in the cultivation of tapioca, pepper etc. At present they are not nomadic in nature.

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

2.1 Kanikkars are mainly agricultural labourers found in Trivandrum and Quilon districts. Nedumangad, Palode, Kulathupuzha, Aryanad, Aruvikkara and Neyyattinkara are the chief places of their settlements. They are popularly known as Kanis. When a male member of the tribe gives his name he adds the tribal name, Kani. At present they cannot be distinguished from other people by their appearance.

2.2 Their colour varies from light to dark brown. Men generally crop their hair and comb it properly, while women grow long hair and knot it at the back of the head. Both men and women wear ear rings, but among men, while the elders appear to take a fancy for ear ornaments, the youngsters show reluctance in using them.

2.3 Regarding the origin of the tribes, there are a number of legends. But they differ very much from one another and therefore do not help in giving a true picture. The history of the settlement is lost in antiquity. It is reported that in olden days the Kanikkars were called "Mala Arayans", a name bestowed on them by sage Agasthya. Agasthya lived at Agasthyakudam, a mountain in the vicinity of the Palode village. The ancestors of the tribe presented the sage with a particular herb called 'Malayar' which could be used, for performing ablutions in fire. The sage called them 'Malayarans'. Even today they worship Agasthya as their God. They were named Kanikkars by one of the ruling chiefs to whom they presented honey, ivory and cardamon as homage (Kani). Ever since they have been called Kanikkars. In this connection it is to be noted that Malayarayans form a distinct tribe at the Udumbannur centre.

2.4 According to Edgar Thurston[1] "the word Kanikkar means a hereditary proprietor of land. There is a tradition that there were two hill kings, Sri Rangal and Virappan whose descendants emigrated from the Pandyan territories beyond Agasthyakudam under pressure from a superior force and never returned to the low country. The story is not known to any tribe of the locality.

2.5 "There is yet another account which relates that the Kanikkar once went to Attingal to pay their homage to the Attingal Raja who then possessed rights over Kalakad and Kallidakurichi when His Highness was making arrangements for the feeding of the hill chieftains and their followers, their leader, Vira Marthandan Arayan, informed the Attingal Raja that his followers would cook their food and that they might be given provisions. When they were on their way to the river to cook their food, they were accosted by *chennan* and *chakki* (Channans by caste) who invited them to their home. There they ate food given by *chakki*. When the Raja was informed of this incident he said "മണ്ണു ചാന്നാൻ മലയരശൻ" which means "By your association with chennan you have fallen in my estimation. You deserve to be only Malayarayans or lords of the hills". It may, however, be said that the Kanikkar do not eat at the hands of the Channans even at the present day".[2]

2.6 Thus by the wrath of the king

1. **Castes and Tribes** of Southern India Vol. III, p. 167.
2. **The Travancore Tribes and Castes by L. A. K. Iyer**, Vol. I, p. 3.

they became the forest dwellers. These were the first Kanikkars of the forest. Though there are a number of legends like those mentioned above the younger generation cannot throw any light on their origin.

2.7 Clan system is prevailing among them and they are divided into two illoms, Muttillom and Monillom, which are exogamous. Marriages within the clans are forbidden According to L. A. Krishna Iyer "the origin, of the clan is traced to the finding of the carcasses of an elephant. He who saw the haunches and hind limbs became a Muttillom (Mutt – haunches illom – clan) and he who saw its trunk became a Monillom. The Kanikkars of the present day claim to be the descendants of the ancestors of the two clans".[1]

2.8 They worship Hindu gods and goddesses and during the last census they were returned as Hindus. The majority of Kanikkars are non-vegetarians and they have no objection to consuming the flesh of other animals except that of the cow.

2.9 Kanikkars have been enumerated since 1901 census and the following statement gives the figures.

Table III

POPULATION OF KANIKKARS 1901 — 1941

Year of Census	Total	Males	Females
1901	4139	2124	2015
1911	4034	2166	1868
1921	3762	1967	1795
1931	6659	3525	3134
1941	7527	4061	3466

House Types

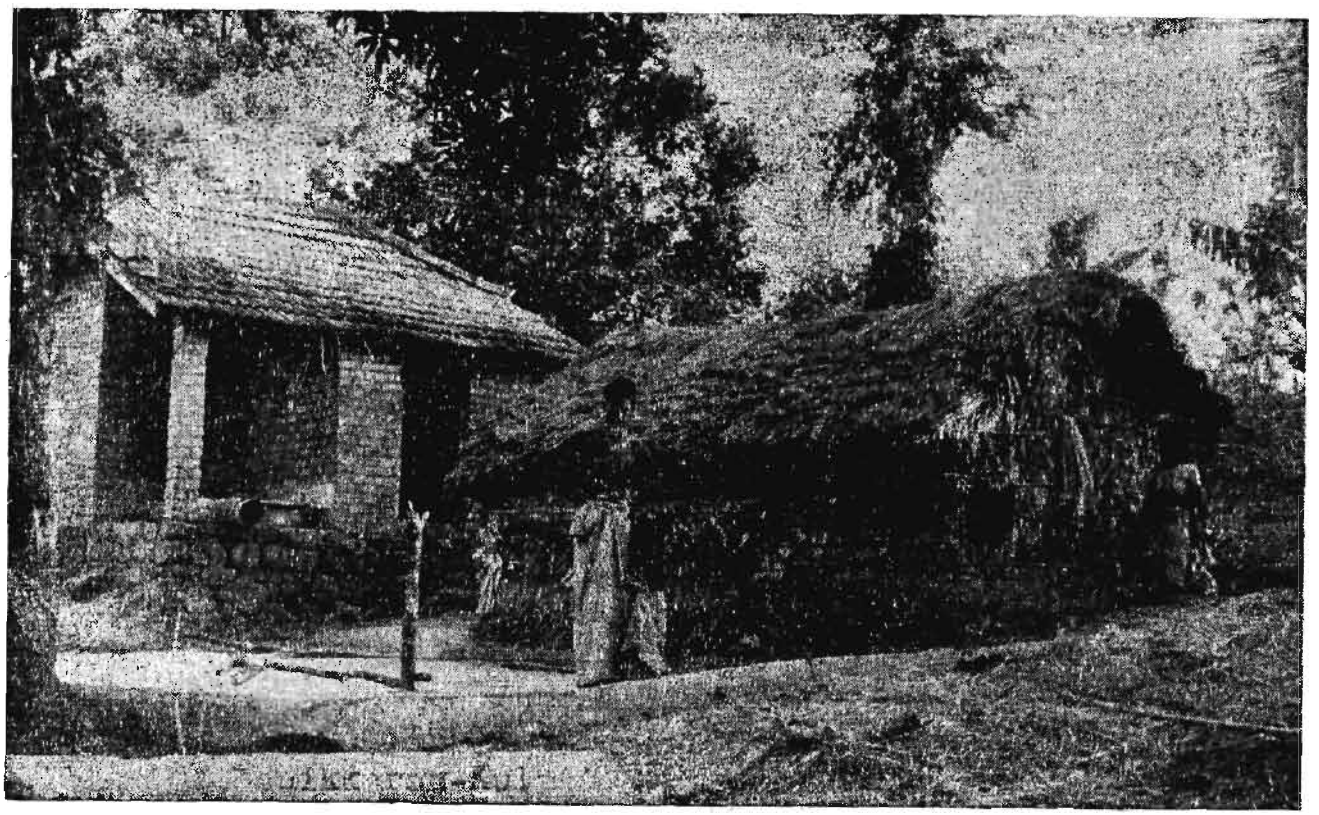
2.10 An attempt was made to study the living conditions of the tribal people of the village. Details of dwellings were recorded with special reference to roof, wall, floor and the number of living rooms. The huts are generally rectangular and on an average they are about 20 feet by 12 to 15 feet and consist of one room or two rooms. Since a considerable percentage of households fall in the low income group they are unable to provide themselves with houses having separate kitchens and bedrooms. Though in the non-tribal areas the number of members in each house is increasing in the case of Kanikkars, the number of members in each household is on the decrease. The main reason reported is that as soon as they get married a new house is constructed adjacent to their parental home and they begin to set up a family of their own. The average family size is found to be 4.74.

Table IV

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

No. of households with						Total
1 member	2 or 3 members	4 or 5 members	6 or 7 members	8 or 9 members	10 members and over	No. of households
4	29	25	19	13	1	91

1. The Travancore Tribes and Castes by L. A. Krishna Iyer, Vol. I, p. 12.



Pl. 4 DWELLING OF KANIKKARS — ON THE LEFT IS A HOUSE BUILT BY THE DEPARTMENT OF HARIJAN WELFARE, GOVERNMENT OF KERALA Page 71



Pl. 5 COOKING OF TAPIOCA — SEE THE HANDLING OF BAMBOO SPATULA Page 73

2.11 Table 4 presents data regarding the size and composition of the households surveyed. There are 4 one member households. It is reported that 3 of the heads of these households have recently divorced their partners and in the fourth household there is an old widow, whose children are staying very near to her hut. 31.9 per cent of households have 2 or 3 members and there is only one household with more than 10 members.

2.12 The Kanikkars live in scattered homesteads. From the point of view of amenities, their living conditions are by no means satisfactory. Many huts are only temporary sheds. The sheds are partitioned into rooms by means of mud walls or cadjan leaves. Cadjan or bamboo leaf walls do not give sufficient protection during the rainy season. Few houses are made of mud or raw bricks.

2.13 Grass and cadjan are the most commonly used thatching materials, the latter being more costly. Only a few of the houses in the sample have tiled roofs.

2 14 The Harijan Welfare Department has given loans for the construction of houses to 10 households at the rate of Rs. 800 but only a few houses have been completed with this assistance.

Table V

HOUSEHOLDS BY MATERIAL OF WALL, ROOF AND FLOOR

Materials of											
wall					roof				floor		
Grass or bamboo leaves	Mud	Burnt bricks	Cadjan leaves	Total	Grass or leaves	Tiles	Cadjan leaves	Total	Cow-dung plaster	Cem-ent	Total
14	47	2	28	91	61	4	26	91	90	1	91

2.15 Table 5 presents information regarding the materials used for walls, roofs and floors. Mud walls are the most common, 51.6 per cent of the households having mud walls. The walls of 15.4 per cent of the sample houses are of grass or hay and about 30.8 per cent have walls made of cadjan leaves. These walls do not give sufficient protection against forces of nature like wind, rain etc. There are only two houses with walls, of burnt bricks, these are also well plastered. 67 per cent of the dwellings are thatched with bamboo leaves or grass. The cost of roofing with grass or bamboo leaves, which are abundantly available in the area, is very low and such roofs would last for more than a year. There are only 4 (4.4%) tiled houses and the remaining 28.6 per cent of houses are thatched with cadjan leaves. The practice of more than one household living under the same roof is not common among the Kanikkars of the surveyed village.

2.16 Floors are generally smeared with cowdung; there is only one house with cemented floor. Kanikkars pay very great attention to keeping their houses clean, even with their meagre resources.

Table VI

HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS AND NUMBER OF PERSONS OCCUPYING

No. of rooms	No. of persons					Total
	1	2 or 3	4 to 6	7 to 9	10 to 11	
1 room	3	20	17	5	..	45
2 rooms	1	9	10	4	..	24
3 rooms	..	..	7	9	1	17
4 rooms	..	..	1	2	..	3
5 rooms & above	..	..	1	1	..	2
Total	4	29	36	21	1	91

2.17 Table VI gives the distribution of houses according to the number of living rooms with the number of persons residing in them. It is seen that nearly 50 per cent of the houses are one roomed huts and the space available for an individual is very small. Two roomed houses form 26% of the total, while 18.7 per cent are 3 roomed houses; two houses have 5 and above rooms each.

Dress and Ornaments

2.18 The dress of a Kani male consists of a dhoti and a banian or a towel when at home. The younger men generally wear shirts when they go out whereas the elder male members do not use shirts. Women wear blouses and dhoties while the younger women have begun to use saries also. Children wear frocks, shirts and towels. At home many of the Kanikkars may be seen in shabby and soiled clothes. On ceremonial occasions like wedding, onam etc. they wear new clothes specially mill made varieties.

2.19 The non-tribal people generally wear dhotis and shirts. It can be seen that the villagers are simple in their dress. The tribes spend only a small percentage of their average annual income on clothing. They generally get new clothes during onam, or after harvesting pepper and areca-nut. Mill clothes are available at the shops at Nanniyode and handmade products in the Nanniyode market

2.20 Both men and women adorn their persons with different items of jewellery, usually made of gold, silver etc. No ornaments made of beads were seen during the present survey. The main items they use are gold ear studs, nose studs, chains, necklaces, and rings. Glass bangles are also commonly used. Unlike other tribes, Kanikkars do not show special fondness for ornaments.

2.21 Men use ear rings but it is not popular among the younger generation. Ornaments are purchased from local goldsmiths. The tribes prefer the designs in vogue in the locality. People in the low income groups who cannot afford to buy such costly ornaments wear small inexpensive trinkets. Young children wear around their waists a girdle made of silver thread woven with much skill.

Table VII

ORNAMENTS

Value of ornaments	No. of households having ornaments
Up to Rs. 25	16
26-50	12
51-75	5
76-100	3
101-150	1
151-200	1
Total	38

2.22 Only 38 households have ornaments of some value, of which 16 (42%) have ornaments worth up to Rs. 25. About 31.6% of households have ornaments of the value between Rs. 26 and 50. Only 5 (13.1%) households have ornaments of the value between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75 and 3 (8%) of the households have ornaments of the value between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100. There are only 2 households having ornaments worth more than Rs. 100 and less than Rs. 200. 53 households do not have any kind of ornaments at all.

2.23 The average annual expenditure incurred on ornaments is found to be very small.

Household Goods

2.24 The household goods possessed by the Kanikkars are few and low priced ones The common types of domestic utensils they possess are mainly earthen pots, pans and aluminium vessels. Certain households have vessels made of bronze, brass, copper etc. Water is stored mostly in earthen pitchers and a few households use metallic pots. As their rough life does not allow most of them to keep costly earthen pots and pans, they generally buy very cheap goods. They get them from the nearby market on cash payment. Old pots serve as the repositeries for various things. They possess few pieces of furniture, that too in very deplorable condition. A few well-to-do tribal families possess chairs, benches, tables and cots. The other families honour their guests with mats, made of reeds or grass. Kanikkars consider possession of furniture as an index of social status.

2.25 They use hurricane lamp or home-made kerosene oil lamps. A few households have lamps made of bronze.

2.26 Mortar and pestle, spade, knife, etc. are common household goods. Dressed granite stones are used for grinding condiments. They prepare meals outside as well as inside their kitchen. Rough stones are used for making hearth. The collection of fire-wood is done by women and there is no need for purchasing it.

2.27 Thus the domestic utensils possessed by them are scanty and the average annual expenditure on such items is also very low.

Food and Drink

2.28 The majority of the Kanikkars of the Palode village are ill-fed and victims of malnutrition. The food that they get is inadequate in quality and quantity. Rice and tapioca are the staple food but they are able to consume only little rice. During the survey it was noticed that they are suffering from lack of energy as a result of malnutrition. Only on festival occasions do they use pulses and quality vegetables. Though a few families cultivate vegetables, these are sold at the

Nanniyode market for cash. They relish mutton, chicken, duck, squirrel etc. But they seldom use beef. The flesh of the dead animals is taboo. They have no objection to taking eggs of hen or duck but only very few tribes are able to use them.

2.29 Almost all the Kanikkars are non-vegetarians. They use both dry and fresh fish which are available with the local merchants. Some of them engage themselves in fishing in the nearby river during their spare time.

2.30 Palode village is very famous for tapioca, *kachil, chena* etc. The tribes harvest them during March April. For cooking purposes they use cocoanut oil which is available at the local shops. During festive days like *Onam, Karthika,* New moon etc. extra dishes with vegetables are prepared and in certain families puddings are also prepared. Though they prepare much more food in those days, they never hire utensils from outside. But for marriage functions, they take utensils from the nearby houses.

2.31 Besides the above tuber crops they relish-arrow root and sweet potatoes which are abundantly available. Nevertheless their calorie intake is insufficient for maintaining proper health.

2.32 Like the other working classes, Kanikkars also frequently take tea during their working hours from the small local tea shops. Only a very few families prepare tea or coffee at home. Though the village is in the prohibition area, it is reported that a few heads of households are addicted to liquor obtained by illicit distillation. The majority of the tribes of the village are ill fed and have only sub-standard health.

Customs and Manners

2.33 A sort of pseudo marriages were prevalent among the Kanikkars of the Palode village. Generally a child on attaining the age of seven was married to one of her cross cousins. The tali (Marriage badge) consisted of a pendant and a thread which is made yellow with turmeric. The holy ceremony was performed in front of a *ponkala* (offering of cooked rice). The invitees were treated to a feast, the pomp and splendour of the function depending on the economic status of the family. It is reported that nowadays owing to the frequent contacts with the local people the majority of them do not observe such pseudo marriages

2.34 Generally marriage takes place only after the girl attains puberty. The proposal for marriage is mooted by the parents of the bridegroom or his maternal uncle. Cross cousin marriage is common. No dowry system is prevalent among the Kanikkars. Marriage is fixed only if the horoscopes agree. Usually they consult the local astrologers on these matters. It is they, the astrologers, who fix the day and time *(muhurtham)* for the marriage.

2.35 On the marriage day the relatives and other invitees arrive at the bride's residence. In the decorated *pandal*, seats are arranged for the bride and bridegroom. The *tali* tying ceremony is done by the sister of the bridegroom. New costumes are given and finally the invitees are feasted. It is the usual custom to give the bridegroom all the money that is received as *polivu*. The bride is taken to the bridegroom's house on the same day and she enters the house holding a lighted lamp in her hand to the accompaniment of *'kurava'*. She is received by the bridegroom's mother and other relatives. After a few days, the parents of the bride visit the bridegroom's house with some presents and invite the bridegroom and bride to their house.

2.36 Unlike other tribes the Kanikkars consult the local astrologers and they choose a day when all the auguries are favourable. Also they pay great attention to omens.

2.37 Though legislation has helped very much in maintaining the sanctity of marriages, both parties are at liberty to



Pl. 6 A KANIKKAR COUPLE Page 74



Pl. 7 'TO THE FOREST' FOR HUNTING AND GATHERING Page 83

divorce their partners even for petty reasons. If husband takes the initiative, he has to give back the money and other gifts (if he has received any) to his wife. It is seen from the survey that widowers get remarried sooner than widows. Though they divorce and remarry soon, they are little bothered about the future of their children. One of the parties will look after the children. Subsequent marriages will not be as grand as the first one.

2.38 It is reported that a few years ago a woman of Kanikkaran tribe got married to a local non-tribal. The relationship did not last long and now she is living with a Kanikkaran.

Polygamy and Polyandry

2.39 Though the system of monogamy is generally followed by the Kanikkars of the Palode village, polygamy is also tolerated. In the present survey four cases of polygamy have been noticed and in three of them it is seen that men have married their wives' sisters. Both the wives are living amicably under the same roof. The incidence of divorce is very high and women as well as men are at liberty to divorce their partners and there is no caste council to question them. Polyandry is not prevalent among them.

Puberty and Menstruation

2.40 In former days, occasions like puberty were celebrated on a grand scale. When a girl attains puberty her kith and kin are informed of it and she is confined to a room in the hut or in a separate hut which is constructed for this purpose. Such huts are made by families only when they have special places for poojas called '*kalams*'. The period of segregation lasts 9 days and during these days she is bathed in hot or cold water by her mother or one of her close relatives. Special food such as egg, beaten rice, parched rice, etc. are given to her and a small feast is arranged on the last day of segregation.

2.41 A woman at every menstrual flow is also segregated in this manner. Pollution lasts for four days and on the fifth day she is purified and joins the family group.

Childbirth

2.42 During the seventh month of pregnancy a special "ponkala" is held before leaving the husband's house. Rice is prepared in seven pots and when it begins to boil she salutes it. A special room or a separate hut is made for delivery. Pollusion lasts for 9 days and on the 9th day presents are given to barber, dhobi, and others who attend the delivery. No ceremony is conducted on the day of giving rice to the child or its birthday.

Death Ceremonies

2.43 Dead bodies are disposed of either by burial or by cremation. They never cremate children less than twelve years old. The death of a person is intimated to his kith and kin soon after his death and they assemble at the hut of the deceased to express their condolences. The corpse is washed in warm water, and sandalwood, sacred ash and saffron are placed on the forehead and chest. His loins are girded with white clothes. It is then placed either on green plantain leaves or on dry sand where it remains exposed during the time the arrangements for the obsequies are in progress.

2.44 When close relatives take part in the funeral functions they bring betel leaves, tobacco and a piece of new cloth. They put the piece of cloth on the corpse when it lies exposed outside.

2.45 The grave is dug by the cousins of the deceased with the help of a barber not far away from the hut. The size of the pit is usually 6′ x 3′ x 6′. Even if the selected place is found rocky after digging a few feet, they have to continue digging there until a pit of the required diamensions in made. No change of site is permitted once the spot for the grave has been chosen.

2.46 When everything is arranged for burying the dead body, the close relatives

of the deceased put a small quantity of rice and soaked rice in the mouth of the corpse. This has to be done by relatives only after their bath and no drying of hair is allowed before the rice giving. With the help of two long parallel poles (usually mid ribs of cocoanut leaves) the dead body is taken to the burial ground by the cousins of the deceased. They walk round the grave three times, place the corpse in the grave and fill it with earth. The chief mourner, the eldest son, goes round the grave three times and pours upon it some water that is allowed to trickle from an earthen vessel which he carries on his head and which he afterwards breaks at the head end of the grave. Besides these, a tender cocoanut is placed at the feet end of the grave and this is repeated for 16 days. In the absence of male children the chief mourner will be the nephew. A particular place is selected for the cooking of rice for this purpose and the vessel used is kept for 16 days. Raw rice is cooked and then moulded into 15 small balls and a big ball of rice is placed on the small balls. Then the balls are thrown to crows. The Kanikkars consider crows as the spirits of the deceased ancestors. This is called the *balikarma* for the deceased. A feast is arranged on the 16th day on which pollution ends and the closer relatives leave the hut.

2:47 In cases of cremation a shallow pit of about six feet in length and three feet in breadth is dug first and fuel is arranged so as to place the corpse on the funeral pyre.

2.48 The corpse is placed upon it and a lighted torch is brought and the chief mourner sets fire to the pyre. Other funeral functions are the same as those in the case of burial.

2.49 On the fifth day of the cremation the chief mourner accompanied by his relatives and friends goes to the burial ground and from the pyre he collects two or three pieces of bone which are kept in the earthen pot after washing them with milk. They are then consigned in the nearby river. Cremation is done only for grown-up persons.

2.50 Dead bodies of those who meet with unnatural or premature death are only buried and no ceremonies are held.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

3.1 The Kanikkars of the Palode A village are traditionally agriculturists. They claim that their ancestors were also agriculturists, that the whole forest area was in their possession and that they were at liberty to choose any place for cultivation purposes. But now due to the aforestation schemes of the Forest Department, a considerable portion of the forest area has been converted into plantations. Also owing to the small size of the holdings, they do not obtain what they actually require. Though the average size of holdings varies from two to three acres, the presence of rock renders a portion of their lands uncultivable. The Kanikkars follow primitive methods of cultivation. The explanation for their backwardness is to be sought in the lack of resources. Also the yields have gone down due to the exhaustion of soil, as a result of continuous cropping without adequate manurial replenishment and soil conservation measures.

3.2 The main crops are paddy, tapioca, pepper, areca-nut, betel leaves etc. They also grow tuber crops like yam, colocasia, sweet potato and arrow-root.

Live-stock

3.3 Kanikkars possess a few domestic animals. As a part of the survey an assessment of live-stock was also made. They rear some cows and goats. Poultry is a more common item. They have no objection to using eggs and chicken. It is customary with them to offer animals and birds as sacrifice to gods. They allot fowls for sacrifice. Since rules and regulations do not permit them to do it, they sell the offered fowls and give the amount to the temple in the form of other kinds of *poojas*.

3.4 Usually milk and eggs are sold to the local merchants at a nominal price. They do not pay much attention to rearing cows and goats scientifically and systematically.

3.5 Besides their own cattle and poultry which supplement their income, they augment it by receiving grazing fees from others. When the milking period of cows is over the people of the plains entrust them over to the Kanikkars who look after them until the next milking period. The Kanikkars keep dogs and it can be seen that majority of the households possess dogs to protect their cultivation and to guard their huts. It is reported that some people catch fish from the nearby river only to feed their dogs.

Table VIII

LIVE-STOCK

No. of households surveyed	Total number of				
	Cows	Calves	Bulls	Goats	Hens and fowls
91	14	3	5	27	57

Table IX

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS HAVING LIVE-STOCK

No. of households surveyed	No. of households possessing					No. of households having no live-stock
	Cows	Calves	Bulls	Goats	Hens and fowls	
91	12	2	3	14	20	62

3.6 Table VIII presents the number of cows, goats, etc. of the surveyed households, and table IX gives the distribution of households according to live-stock possessed. It is noticed that nearly 2/3 of the total number of households do not possess any of these animals or even poultry. About 13 per cent families possess cows, about 15 per cent have goats and nearly 21 per cent have poultry. With regard to the number of live-stock it is reported that there are 14 cows and 27 goats. Generally speaking the live-stock is more of a burden than a source of income.

3.7 As mentioned elsewhere the Kanikkars reside in the Palode Reserve Forests and cultivate the forest area. According to the rules and regulations for the treatment and management of Hill Tribes they enjoy the concession of cultivating the land free of tax. The tribes are aware of this fact. Untouchability is dead and the tribes are aware of these laws also. They are thoroughly ignorant of the land reforms and they are never benefited or deprived of their privileges by the land reforms. The department of Harijan Welfare has given agricultural loans to a few deserving families in the village and all households of Pachamala have received free supplies of seeds of paddy and horsegram.

Improvement of Communications

3.8 The communication and marketing facilities play an important role in modern society, and such services are an impetus to agricultural production directly as well as indirectly. The existing facilities can be considered to be fairly satisfactory. The village is connected with the neighbouring villages by private bus services. Also since the village is on the route between Trivandrum and Shenkotta, Government transport buses ply through the village. Nearly 15 miles of road in the village are under the control of the Public Works Department. There are besides, 12 Panchayat roads connecting different parts of the village. Communication facilities are very poor in the tribal settlements namely Kuzhiyam, Pacha, Vembu etc. Postal articles are delivered to the tribal settlements without delay. Except a few localities and the tribal settlements electricity has been extended to this village and street lights are provided in the Nanniyode–Kusavoor road.

3.9 Tannimoodu-Elavattom road, Palode-Periyamala road, Nanniyode-Pacha road up to Paluvally L. P. S. Junction, Pacha-Paluvally road (through the paddy fields), Nanniyode-Kallipara road, Nanniyode- Pacha Sastha temple road and Plavara-Neyyappali road are important roads of the village.

3.10 Recently a telephone exchange has been opened in the village and a number of telephones are in use. Under the control of the Nanniyode Panchayat two radio kiosks are working and a number of listeners attend regularly.

Expansion of Marketing Facilities

3.11 In olden days, when village economy was more or less self sufficient, marketing of the agricultural produces was not at all a difficult problem. The farmers used to sell their produce direct to the consumer on barter basis. The

introduction of marketing and money economy is not at all of recent origin among the Kanikkars. Now there are a number of middle men. However for certain jobs even today wages are given in paddy. The surplus food crops and cash crops are sold to the local merchants, who exploit the tribes.

3.12 The residents of the village purchase vegetables and other daily needs of life from the Nanniyode market. Among the produces brought to the market are bananas, vegetables, pepper, areca-nut cashewnut etc. Monday and Thursday are the market days and merchants come over to the markets from the neighbouring villages to purchase things at low rates.

3.13 The tribesmen take their produce to the market in head loads which is the only means of transport. In other areas heavy goods are carried in bullock carts and for long distances lorries are used. Certain people use bicycles for short distances.

3.14 It is high time that the extent of exploitation of those tribes by the middle men is studied. There was a co-operative society to collect the produces of the tribes but now it is not working.

3.15 The development of co-operative marketing is essential to ensure that the tribes get, a fair return for their produce and also to save them from the clutches of money-lenders.

3.16 Two co-operative credit societies are functioning properly in the village.

Workers and Non-workers

3.17 As has been mentioned agriculture is the chief means of living of the Kanikkars. They cultivate the forest land allotted to them and a few people do manual labour to supplement their income. Table X shows the distribution of workers and non-workers according to age-groups. The percentage of earners is about 31.28 and that of non-earners 68.72.

Table X

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS

Age-group	Workers			Non-workers			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0–14	1	..	1	87	118	205	88	118	206
15–34	59	11	70	12	47	59	71	58	129
35–59	46	12	58	..	26	26	46	38	84
60 and above	6	2	8	..	4	4	6	6	12
Total	112	25	137	99	195	294	211	220	431

3.18 The majority of the households (about 60 per cent of the total households) have only one adult male earner. The percentage of households with one adult male earner and one adult female earner is 15.4, while 13 per cent have 2 adult male earners and one adult female earner. Households with only one adult female earner, those with two adult male earners and one adult female earner and those with three adult male earners each constitute 3.3 per cent of the total. There are both full-time and part-time workers. Women rarely go out of their houses for cooly work. They help the male members of their household and simultaneously they attend to their domestic duties also.

3.19 It can be seen from this table that there is only a solitary male worker in the age-group of 0-14. It is reported that he is the only one earning member of the family, who attends to some work outside the forest area. Of the 431 members in the 91 Kanikkar households

70 (16.2%) belonging to the age-group 15–34 and out of 84 persons in the age-group 35–59, 48 are returned as workers or wage earners and the remaining 28 as females. In the age-group of 60 and above there are 8 workers consisting of 6 men and 2 women. Only 4 persons (all women) are returned as non-workers in this age-group.

3.20 It is worth mentioning that only 11.4 per cent of women are earning members whereas the percentage of male earners comes to 53.1. Two or three Kanikkars are skilled in the art of basket weaving which is their main source of income.

3.21 A male worker gets between Rs. 2 and Rs. 3 per day. For harvesting they get 3 to 4 measures (*edangazhi*) of paddy.

3.22 Table XI gives information on the area used for different crops and the production of each crop. Only 2 families sold 25 and 35 *paras* of paddy and the remaining paddy they consumed. Though the land is fertile, the yield is found to be poor due to their primitive methods of cultivation.

Table XI

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCES AND THEIR DISPOSAL

Name of the crop	Area under cultivation (in acres)						Annual quantity produced						
	Less than 1	1 & less than 2	2 & less than 3	3 & less than 5	5 & less than 8	8 & over	Less than 1	1 & less than 2	2 & less than 3	3 & less than 4	4 & less than 6	6 & less than 10	10 & over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Tapioca	..	..	3	12	..	..	3	7	13	8	28	16	13
Areca-nut	..	2	..	..	..	..	4	15	10	10	3	1	11
Pepper	1	6	2	..	..	..	15	23	15	15	6	8	..
Betal leaves	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3
Tapioca & pepper	..	2	6	7	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tapioca, areca-nut & pepper	..	5	12	23	11	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Areca-nut & pepper	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cocoanut	3	2	..	..	..	.	1	1	2	1	..	..	..
Cashewnut	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Tapioca & areca-nut	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..
Paddy	3	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	1	1	..

contd.

Table XI — *concld.*

Name of the crop	Total quantity consumed							Quantity disposed of						
	Less than 1	1 & less than 2	2 & less than 3	3 & less than 4	4 & less than 6	6 & less than 10	10 & over	Less than 1	1 & less than 2	2 & less than 3	3 & less than 4	4 & less than 6	6 & less than 10	10 & over
1	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Tapioca	3	7	16	8	36	15	3	..	7	5	3	2	4	2
Areca-nut	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	15	10	10	3	1	11
Pepper	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	15	23	15	15	6	8	..
Betal leaves	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3
Tapioca & pepper	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tapioca, areca-nut & pepper	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Areca-nut & pepper	..	.	..	..	..	.	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cocoanut	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Cashewnut	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Tapioca & areca-nut	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Paddy	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..

The units of measurements are —

Paddy in paras
Tapioca in mannu
Pepper in paras
Areca-nut in 1,000
Cocoanut in 100
Cashewnut in mannu
Betel in 100
Area in acres

Description of the Different Occupations
Agriculture

3.23 Rice and tapioca are the staple food of the people of the village. Paddy grows best on the soil and the conditions of temperature and humidity of the place are favourable for paddy cultivation. The villagers depend on the seasonal rains though a few minor irrigation tanks are in service. Double cropping is commonly practised and certain families cultivate peas and vegetables after the January-February harvest.

3.24 Both dry and wet systems of cultivation are in vogue. Shallow ploughing is found to be the order of the day. The wooden ploughs and the spade are the chief agricultural implements used. For wet cultivation bullocks and buffaloes are used for ploughing which is repeated three or four times at short intervals.

3.25 Usually the farmers of the village prepare the required seeds, but they do it without any scientific treatment. The Kanikkars also preserve seeds for the next cultivation. Out of the 91 Kanikkar households surveyed, it is reported that only 5 families had paddy cultivation during the previous year. The system of cultivation is the same as that adopted by the other villagers except for the fact that the Kanikkars use only small quantities of manure.

3.26 The sowing seasons are April-May and October-November and the harvesting periods are August-September and February-March. Harvesting is done when the grain is fully ripe. They use sickles to harvest the crop and threshing is done by beating the sheaves on the floor.

Tapioca

3.27 Tapioca thrives in the soil and it is cultivated on hill slopes and waste lands. The land is prepared by hoeing while the people of the plains use manures like tapioca mixture, the tribes do not apply any type of manures except wood ash. The stems of the preceding crop are preserved for the next year as planting material. Usually planting is done in December-January. The shedding of leaves is a sign of crop maturity and the plants are pulled out along with the tubers. The average yield of a plant is about 1 to 2 kilograms and nearly 2,000 cuttings are planted in an acre. The Kanikkars cultivate tapioca along with pepper and areca-nut but the main defect is that tapioca is cultivated in the shade of big trees. The surplus is sold in the market and a few households dry it for preservation. Raw tapioca is purchased by manufacturers for the preparation of starch.

Pepper

3.28 Pepper is one of the important products of the Kanikkars which accounts for a good portion of their income. Pepper thrives best in surveyed village. Areca-nut, jack and *murukku* (Erythiam indica) are used as supporters. It is usually propogated from rooted or unrooted cuttings obtained from healthy vines of 10 to 15 years of age. Four or five cuttings each having about five nodes, are planted to the base of each support. Usually no manuring is done. The Kanikkars sell their product at a low rate at the flowering stage of the plants. The local contractors collect the matured pepper spikes. From the table XI, it is seen that most of the surveyed households had pepper cultivation during the last year.

3.29 Another important cash crop of the village is areca-nut which is grown extensively in the tribal settlements also. It is planted either by sowing the seeds or transplanting the seedlings in the permanent position when they are two or three years old. The period of harvesting is January to March. The flowers are formed from December to February and it takes eight to ten months for the nuts to mature.

3.30 Apart from these, the tribes cultivate betel leaves, cashew, cocoanut and tuber crops like yam, colacasia, etc. No attention is usually paid for the cultivation of cashew.

Animal Husbandry and Fishing

3.31 Details regarding the cattle wealth of the Kanikkars of Palode village have already been given supra. They usually purchase calves at a low price and sell them at a profit when they are grown up. As fodder is not a problem in the forest area they take cows and goats of the people of the plains to look after them during their dry period. They sell the eggs and sometimes hatch them and sell chicken. It is reported that fox and the kite take a heavy toll of their chicken. Besides these, dogs are also domesticated and the majority of households keep them to guard their huts.

3.32 Fishing in the local streams and nearby rivers is done only by a few

persons. The main implements they use are rods and hooks and fishing nets. All kinds of fish, both dried and fresh are consumed. As fishing is mainly intended to meet their domestic requirements, fish is not sold outside.

3.33 Though they reside in the reserve forest, hunting is unknown to them. During the present survey, it is reported that one man knows how to use bow and arrow and it is used for catching small birds for his pet dogs. They give little importance to the collection of forest products like honey, wax etc. However a few persons are engaged in collecting *Anijli* seeds and it is sold to the forest authorities at Rs. 5 per *para*.

Village Industries

3.34 The supply of reeds and bamboo is more plentiful in the reserve forest than in the neighbouring villages. Although they get it free of payment only a few families are engaged in mat weaving and basket making. The percentage of households which supplement their income with these handicrafts is found to be about seven. These products are noted for their durability and neatness and they find ready sale at the Nanniyode market. Apart from the above, there are no cottage industries worth mention.

Commerce

3.35 Pepper and areca-nut form the main agricultural produce of the village and the chief sources of income. Rubber plantations have been started at different localities in the village; the planters have organised themselves into a Karshaka Sahakarana Sangham No. T 229 at Nanniyode for obtaining financial and technical aid from Government. Nanniyode Service Co-operative Bank Ltd. No. 1161 situated at Nanniyode junction, gives considerable help to the development of the economy of the village. The Government servants of the Palode village have started their own co-operative society by name "Government Servant Cooperative Society No. T. 225". A multipurpose co-operative society was working effectively upto 1963 December at Pacha exclusively for the tribesmen. It used to collect and sell the produce brought in by the tribesmen so as to ensure fair returns and cut out intermediate agencies. At the time of the survey there was only a fair price shop under the control of the society.

Family Budget

3.36 Details regarding income and expenditure on each item namely food, clothing, medicine, ornaments, household utensils and agricultural implements and indebtedness have been collected during the survey. These figures give a fairly clear picture of the living conditions.

Income

3.37 The total income of all the earning members in a household is taken as the income of the household. Table XII gives figures for income according to the number of members in each household.

PALODE A

Table XII

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND INCOME GROUP

Income group Rs.	No. of households with: 1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	9 members	10 members & more	Total No. of households
Up to 250	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
251-300	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
301-350	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
351-400	1	6	1	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	12
401-450	..	..	2	4	4	1	..	..	..	..	11
451-500	..	1	6	4	..	3	1	2	2	..	19
501-550	..	1	1	..	-	1	2	1	..	..	8
551-600	..	..	..	..	3	1	1	1	..	..	6
601-700	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	4
701-800	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	2
801-900	..	..	.	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	5
901-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	3
1001-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
1101-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301-1400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1401-1500	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2
1501-1600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1601-1700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1701-1800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Above 1800	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	3
Total	4	12	17	12	13	11	8	10	3	1	91

Table XIII

PATTERN OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ON FOOD BY INCOME GROUP

No. of households in the expenditure range of

Income group Rs	Up to Rs 200	Rs. 201-250	Rs. 251-300	Rs. 301-350	Rs. 351 400	Rs. 401-450	Rs. 451-500	Rs. 501-550	Rs 551-600	Rs 601-700	Rs 701-800	Rs 801-900	Rs 901-1000	Rs. 1001-1100	Rs. 1101-1200	Rs 1201-1300	Rs. 1301-1400	Rs 1401-1500	Rs. 1501-1600	Above Rs. 1600	Total
Up to 250	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	5
251-300	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
301-350	.	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
351-400	..	1	3	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
401-450	..	..	2	5	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	11
451-500	..	..	1	3	6	7	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
501-550	..	..	..	..	3	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	.	.	.	.	..	..	..	..	8
551-600	..	..	..	.	..	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
601-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
701-800	..	.	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
801-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
901-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
1001-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
1101-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301-1400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1401-1500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
1501-1600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1601-1700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1701-1800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Above 1800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	3
Total	7	3	10	15	14	14	6	3	4	2	6	2	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	91

3.38 The largest percentage of households falls in the income group of Rs. 451-500 per annum, followed by households in the income group of Rs. 351-400 and Rs. 401-450. In higher income groups, the number of households falls sharply. The number of members, and the income are also highly correlated. There are only 3 households with income of above Rs. 1,800 and only 8.8 per cent of the total households have an income of more than Rs. 1,000. The average annual income of the households is found to be Rs. 626.41 and the average per capita income Rs. 132.4.

3.39 Table XIII presents the distribution of income of each household according to their expenditure on food and it can be seen from the table that as the income of the household increases, the expenditure on food items also increases.

Expenditure on Food

3.40 An attempt is made to assess the annual expenditure on food items of the 91 surveyed households. The figures have been tabulated according to the number of members in each household. It is seen that the lion's share of their income is set apart or devoted for food.

Table XIV

EXPENDITURE ON FOOD BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Expenditure on food (Rs.)	Households with 1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	9 members	10 members	Total
Upto 200	3	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
201—250	.	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
251—300	..	3	4	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	10
301—350	1	3	3	1	3	2	1	..	1	..	15
351—400	..	1	4	1	3	1	1	3	..	..	14
401—450		1	2	3	4	3	1	.	..	..	14
451—500	..	..	..	2	..	2	1	..	1	..	6
501—550	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	3
551—600	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	4
601—700	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2
701—800	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	2	..	..	6
801—900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	2
901—1000	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
1001—1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1101—1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201—1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301—1400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1401—1500	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	2
1501—1600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Above 1600	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Total	4	12	17	12	13	11	8	10	3	1	91

Of the 91 households about 22 per cent spent only less than Rs. 300 during last year on items of food. Nearly 32 per cent of the households spent Rs. 301-400 and 22 per cent Rs. 401-500. Thus maximum number of households concentrate in the expenditure group of Rs. 301-400. About 17 per cent families have an expenditure of between Rs. 501-800 and the remaining 7 per cent are spending above Rs. 800. The majority of the surveyed households spend only less than Rs. 500 per year on food. The average annual expenditure on food is found to be Rs. 488.82.

3.41 Generally they buy rice, condiments and fish from outside and, for the majority of the households, their tapioca cultivation is barely sufficient for their requirements.

Expenditure on Dress

3.42 As has been mentioned, the Kanikkars of the Palode village cannot be distinguished from the people of the plains by their dress. They use mill cloths as well as the local handloom products. The art of weaving is unknown to them and they buy things from the local merchants either during the harvesting period or during the *Onam* week.

3.43 The average annual expenditure on dress is found to be Rs. 37.47 which works out to about 6 per cent of the average annual income of the surveyed households.

3.44 Table XV gives the distribution of expenditure on dress according to the total income of the households.

Table XV

EXPENDITURE ON DRESS ACCORDING TO INCOME GROUPS

Income group (Rs.)	No. of households spending																					Total
	Up to Rs 20	Rs. 21-30	Rs. 31-40	Rs 41-50	Rs. 51-60	Rs. 61-70	Rs. 71-80	Rs 81-90	Rs. 91-100	Rs. 101-110	Rs 111-120	Rs 121-130	Rs 131-140	Rs. 141-150	Rs. 151-160	Rs. 161-170	Rs. 171-180	Rs. 181-190	Rs. 191-200	Above Rs 200		
Up to 250	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	.		5
251—300	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..	..	..	..		4
301—350	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		4
351—400	7	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		12
401—450	2	6	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		11
451—500	2	10	4	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		19
501—550	1	1	..	5	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		8
551—600	2	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..		6
601—700	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		4
701—800	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		2
801—900	..	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..		5
901—1000	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		3
1001—1100	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		2
1101—1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
1201—1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
1301—1400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
1401—1500	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		2
1501—1600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
1601—1700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
1701—1800	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		1
Above 1800	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..		3
Total	23	31	11	13	5	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..		91

3.45 It may be noted that nearly 60 per cent of the sample households spend less than Rs. 30 on dress and nearly 26 per cent families spend between Rs. 31 and Rs. 50. The percentage of households spending large amounts falls sharply and there is only one family which spends between Rs. 191 and Rs. 200. (This has an income of above Rs. 1,800.) Unlike other tribes, Kanikkars spend more on dress in proportion to the increase in income.

Other Items of Expenditure

3.46 Expenditure on medical treatment is almost negligible, being 0.01 per cent of the average annual income of the surveyed households. In olden days they practised some crude methods of healing with the help of the *plathi* (medicine man). Many of the diseases were attributed to evil spirits and some *poojas* were performed to get rid of them. Even today some of the tribesmen perform some kind of *poojas*. Most of the Kanikkars visit the local primary health centre and the maternity centre.

3.47 The other items of expenditure relate mainly to the purchase of household utensils, ornaments and purchase and repair of agricultural implements. The expenditure on the above-mentioned items is very small. 0.01 per cent is spent for getting household utensils. Smoking and chewing are generally prevalent among the Kanikkars even from their youth. A small portion of their income is spent on these items.

Indebtedness

3.48 There is an old French proverb which says "Credit supports the farmer as hangman's rope supports the hanged". This is true in the case of Kanikkars also. Usually they take loans from the local merchants during off reasons and for agricultural purposes on condition that the loans will be repaid when the crop is harvested and marketed. Certain households have given their whole areca-nut and pepper gardens to the local vendors at a low rate for havesting for a year in return for advances received. Thus the majority of the tribes of the surveyed area are in the clutches of money-lenders and local merchants who exploit their pitiable and weak economic position in fixing the prices for their produce. The rate of interest they charge is also very high and the burden of debt oppresses the Kanikkars.

3.49 During the present survey it was seen that nearly 36 per cent of the households are in debt. A few Kanikkars declined to disclose the real facts of their advances since there is no legal validity for the transactions they have entered into with the vendors. Of the 33 households in debt about 66 per cent have borrowed to meet agricultural needs, about 15 per cent for medical treatment, nearly 12 per cent for meeting ordinary wants and the remaining for house construction and repairs.

3.50 The amount of indebtedness varies from less than Rs. 50 to more than Rs. 1,000. The extent of indebtedness of majority of the households comes to Rs. 100 per household.

3.51 In this connection it may be mentioned that 10 households have received non-repayable lump sum grants for house construction from the Department of Harijan Welfare.

Table XVI (a)

INDEBTEDNESS BY INCOME GROUPS

Income group Rs.	No. of house-holds in the group	No. of house-holds in debt	Percentage Col. 3 / Col. 2	Income group Rs.	No. of house-holds in the group	No. of house-holds in debt	Percentage Col. 3 / Col. 2
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Upto 250	5	3	60	901-1000	3	2	66
251-300	4	..	..	1001-1100	2	1	50
301-350	4	..	..	1101-1200	..	..	..
351-400	12	2	16	1201-1300	..	..	..
401-450	11	5	45	1301-1400	..	..	..
451-500	19	6	32	1401-1500	2	2	100
501-550	8	3	37	1501-1600	..	..	..
551-600	6	..	..	1601-1700	..	..	
601-700	4	3	75	1701-1800	1	..	..
701-800	2	..	..	Above 1800	3	3	100
801-900	5	3	60	Total	91	33	36

Table XVI (b)

INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSES

Reasons for incurring debts	Amount of debt (Rs.) Upto 50	51-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	501-700	701-1000	Above 1000
1 House construction & repairs	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
2 To clear off outstanding debts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Treatment purposes	2	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
4 Family maintenance	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Agricultural purposes	7	5	3	2	..	2	..	2	..
6 Others (litigation etc.)	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Total	12	7	5	2	2	3	..	2	..

CHAPTER IV

DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS

4.1 General demographic details such as age, age at first marriage of wife and husband, marital status and the blood relationship before marriage between husband and wife of the members of the 91 households have been collected and given in the succeeding pages.

4.2 In table XVII the age and sex composition of the population are given. The average family size is 4.7 and the total number of persons is 431 consisting of 211 males (48.96%) and 220 females (51.04%) giving a sex ratio of 1,043 females per 1,000 males.

Table XVII

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUP

	Age-group																
Sex	0–4	5–9	10–14	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45–49	50–54	55–59	60–64	65–69	70 & over	To-tal	Percen-tage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Males	30	28	30	20	16	22	13	13	12	8	3	10	1	5	..	211	48 96
Females	39	40	39	15	21	11	11	12	9	11	3	3	2	..	4	220	51.04
Total	69	68	69	35	37	33	24	25	21	19	6	13	3	5	4	431	100

4.3 The above table indicates the excess of females over males upto age 24 except in the age-group 15–19. About 48 per cent of the population is in the age group 0–14 and 50 per cent in the age-group 15–59.

Marital Status

4.4 The information on the marital status of the members by sex and age-groups is given in table XVIII, wherein the persons are classified into four groups — not married, married, widowed and divorced or separated.

Table XVIII

MARITAL STATUS BY AGE AND SEX

Age-group	Sex and marital status: Not married M	Not married F	Married M	Married F	Widowed M	Widowed F	Divorced or separated M	Divorced or separated F	Total M	Total F	Total T
0–4	30	39	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	39	69
5–9	28	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	40	68
10–14	30	39	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	39	69
15–19	20	8	..	7	..	..	..	..	20	15	35
20–24	12	1	2	19	..	..	2	1	16	21	37
25–29	14	..	8	11	..	..	..	..	22	11	33
30–34	1	..	10	10	..	..	2	1	13	11	24
35–39	1	..	12	11	..	1	..	..	13	12	25
40–44	..	..	11	8	..	..	1	1	12	9	21
45–49	..	..	8	6	..	4	..	1	8	11	19
50–54	..	..	3	..	..	2	..	1	3	3	6
55–59	..	..	10	..	..	3	..	..	10	3	13
60–64	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	1	2	3
65–69	..	..	4	..	..	..	1	..	5	..	5
70 & over	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	4	4
Total	136	127	69	72	..	16	6	5	211	220	431
Percentage to total	31.5	29 47	16.47	16.71	..	3.71	1.39	1.16	..	..	100

4.5 Out of the 431 persons it is reported that about 61 per cent are never married and nearly 33 per cent married. No one is married in the age-group 0–14 and in the age-group 15–19 there are 7 married females. Though polygamy is not practised, it is tolerated among them. Three cases are reported during the survey. Thus there are 69 married men and 72 married women. The number of widows is large, numbering sixteen. At the same time there is no widower in the sample. This can be ascribed to the fact that the widowers remarry immediately. It is also worth mentioning that except one, all the widows belong to the age-group of above 45 which is considered as the maximum age for child-bearing.

4.6 As regards the divorced or separated the percentage is only a little more than 2. As has been mentioned supra the Kanikkars divorce their partners even on silly grounds and contract fresh marriages. Four of the six men belong to the age-group of less than 34 and three out of five women also belong to the age-group of less than 44. Since there is no caste Panchayat to question them about the divorce or remarriage they marry soon after the divorce. No case of polyandry has been reported. Cases are not few where the tribesmen had two or three marriages with women who had previous marriages which had been dissolved by separation or divorce or death of the husband. In the 91 households there had been 129 marriages.

4.7 Data relating to the present age of husband by present age of wife are given in table XIX.

Table XIX

DISTRIBUTION OF PRESENT AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

Present age of wife	Present age of husband										
	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45–49	50–54	55–59	60 & over	Not known	Total
Below 15	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
15–19	1	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
20–24	1	6	10	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
25–29	..	2	2	5	3	1	..	1	..	..	14
30–34	..	..	..	2	5	4	..	..	..	1	12
35–39	..	..	..	..	4	2	1	2	5	2	16
40–44	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	3	3	2	13
45–49	...	..	..	..	..	2	3	4	5	5	19
50–54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	5	..	8
55–59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	3
60 & above	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	2	6
Not known	...	..	..	1	3	...	..	1	2	...	7
Total	3	9	14	17	15	12	6	14	26	13	129

4.8 No case has been reported in which bride is elder than bridegroom. The difference between the ages of wife and husband has also been studied.

Table XX

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

Difference in age of wife and husband	The present age of wife											
	Below 15	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45–49	50–54	55–59	60 and over	Not known
0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
3	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..
4	..	..	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
5	..	1	2	..	..	1	..	1	2	2	..	..
6	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
7	..	..	1	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
8	..	..	3	..	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	..
9	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
10	1	1	4	4	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
11	..	..	1	..	2	1	..	..	2	..	..	..
12	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
13	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
14	..	1	3	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
15	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	1	..	..	..
16	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
17	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
18	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
20 & over	..	1	..	2	..	6	3	2	1	..	..	..
Not known	..	..	..	..	1	2	2	5	..	1	2	7
Total	1	7	23	14	12	16	13	19	8	3	6	7

Table XXI

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

(a) By the present age of husband

Difference between the ages of husband & wife	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 and over	Not known	Total
0	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	1	1	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	5
3	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	5
4	..	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	6
5	1	2	..	..	1	..	1	2	2	..	9
6	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	..		..	3
7	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	5
8	..	1	2	..	..	3	..	1	..	..	7
9	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	4
10	1	1	4	4	..	..	..	2	..	..	12
11	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	2	..	6
12	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	2	..	5
13	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	4
14	..	..	3	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	7
15	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	1	..	5
16	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	3
17	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	5
18	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
20 and over	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2	11	..	15
Not known	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	1	2	13	20
Total	3	9	14	17	15	12	6	14	26	13	129

4.9 The maximum difference reported is 29 and there are 15 cases where the differences are more than 20.

Table XXII

DISTRIBUTION OF AGE OF HUSBANDS AT FIRST MARRIAGE AND THEIR PRESENT AGE

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage 19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35 and above	Not known	Total
20-24	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
25-29	1	..	1	2	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
30-34	..	..	1	..	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	13
35-39	1	..	..	2	..	1	1	1	1	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	13
40-44	..	1	..	1	..	2	4		..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
45-49	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	9
50-54	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	5
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	2	2	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	10
60 and over	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	2	2	2	..	..	1	..	..	7	..	17
Not known	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	11
Total	2	2	5	6	3	9	13	4	7	10	9	1	5	1	..	..	13	11	101

Table XXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF AGE OF WIVES AT FIRST MARRIAGE AND THEIR PRESENT AGE

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage 14 and less	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	Not known	Total
Below 15	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
15-19	1	3	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
20-24	3	3	4	5	4	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
25-29	4	3	1	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
30-34	4	2	2	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	12
35-39	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	..	1	1	..	2	1	..	..	..	15
40-44	2	3	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	10
45-49	1	..	2	..	2	5	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
50-54	..	..	3	1	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
60 and over	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	6
Not known	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	7
Total	18	16	14	11	14	11	8	4	4	2	3	4	1	..	1	7	118

4.10 Table XXII gives the distribution of the present age of husband by age at first marriage of husband and table XXIII presents the present age of wife by age at first marriage. Marriage at a very young age is not common among the Kanikkars. The most common age at marriage for girls is between 15 and 19 and for boys it is 25–29. Though in the past child marriages were common, nowadays marriages take place only after the attainment of puberty. The correlation between the age at first marriage of the women and that of men is very high.

4.11 An attempt is made to study the relationship between the husband and wife before marriage.

Table XXIV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE (BEFORE MARRIAGE)

Age of husband	No relation	Blood relationship					Other relation			Grand total
		e	f	m	n	Total	Wife's sister	Brother-in-law's sister	Total	
20-24	2	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
25-29	6	..	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	9
30-34	11	2	1	..	..	3	..	..	..	14
35-39	9	3	5	..	..	8	..	..	..	17
40-44	11	2	1	..	..	3	1	..	1	15
45-49	11	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	12
50-54	3	..	2	..	1	3	..	..	..	6
55-59	11	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	14
60 and above	19	2	3	1	..	6	..	1	1	26
Not known	11	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	13
Total	94	15	16	1	1	33	1	1	2	129

e Married to his mother's own brother's daughter
f Married to his father's own sister's daughter
m Married to his mother's step brother's daughter
n Married to his father's step sister's daughrer

4.12 The table highlights the fact that of the 129 marriages only 33 (about 25 per cent) were between blood relations in one way or another. They marry either daughter of maternal uncle or paternal aunt. In about 73 per cent cases marriages were between persons not related by blood. Thus no importance is attached to marrying their 'murapennu' as in the case of certain other tribes.

Diseases

4.13 Since subnormal nutrition lowers resistance to diseases and infection, the Kanikkars especially of the low income groups suffer from diseases like fever, anaemia, and skin diseases. They generally do not get enough to eat and what they get cannot be considered to be balanced food. They take little protective foods, such as milk, eggs, vegetables etc.

4.14 In olden days the Kanikkars were under the impression that diseases were due to the wrath of the forest deities and *in order to get rid of the diseases,* they followed their own rude ways of treatment and *poojas.* 'Plathi' (priest and medicineman) who acted as the *poojari,* used to give certain leaves and herbs as medicine. A few elderly men take those medicines even today. However, due to the frequent contacts with the people of the plains they have begun to realise the importance of medical treatment and consult either Ayurvedic or Allopathic doctors. Their main difficulty is that the stretchers are the only means to carry patients to the doctors.

4.15 A Government primary health centre and a maternity and child welfare centre are working properly in the village. Expectant mothers are taken to the hospital and the maternity centre for advice and assistance in case any difficulty arises, at the time of delivery.

4.16 During the survey it has been reported that in case of snake bite they consult practitioners of the traditional system.

4.17 A mobile medical van visits the tribal areas twice a week. Apart from these, a number of private Ayurvedic dispensaries and Allopathic dispensaries are functioning at various localities in the village.

Literacy

4.18 The educational facilities available in Palode village are highly satisfactory. There are a number of primary schools and upper primary schools. Two high schools and a basic training school are also functioning under private management. Only a few primary schools are managed by Government. The office of the Assistant Educational Officer is situated in this village. Though in olden days the Kanikkars showed no interest in taking their children to schools, now they have begun to realise the importance of education and have begun to send their children to the nearby schools. It is learnt from the school authorities that the attendance of tribal children is also satisfactory.

4.19 Table XXV presents information regarding illiterates and literates by age-groups. One of the significant findings of this survey is that the percentage of illiterates is high. The children of the Kanikkars go to school only at the age of 8 or 9 and it is seen that out of the 68 children in the age-group 5–9 only 17 are attending the primary classes and about 60 per cent of the children in the age-group 10–14 go to schools regularly. All except a few in the age 25 and above and are illiterates.

4.20 91 persons of all the age-groups have studied up to the primary or are now studying in the primary classes and 18 persons have either completed the middle school classes or are now attending those classes. Only 3 persons are studying in the high school classes

Table XXV

LITERACY

Literacy age-group	Illiterate	Upto primary	Upto middle	Upto high school	Total
0-5	69	..	..	..	69
5-9	51	17	..	..	68
10-14	27	30	11	1	69
15-19	17	12	4	2	35
20-24	21	14	2	..	37
25-29	25	8	..	..	33
30-34	20	3	1	..	24
35-39	22	3	..	..	25
40-44	21	..	..	..	21
45-49	18	1	..	..	19
50 and over	28	3	..	..	31
Total	319	91	18	3	431

4.21 A few persons subscribe for the malayalam dailies. No one is borrowing books from the local libraries.

Structure and Intra-family Relationship

4.22 The Kanikkars of the Palode village do not follow the joint family system except in a few isolated cases. Each family possesses a few acres of forest land and when a new family is formed they encroach on a few acres of land. When children grow up and get married they construct houses near their ancestral huts or somewhere in the reserve forest area. Thus each family is put up in a separate compound.

4.23 An attempt has been made to study the households with reference to the following points.

1. Simple family consisting of a couple and their unmarried children.
2. The intermediate family comprising the married couple, their children, unmarried brothers and sisters and one of the parents and
3. The joint family including married couple, along with married sons or daughters or brothers or sisters and both the parents. The percentage of simple families is as high as 86.81 and that of the intermediate family is 5·5 while joint families form about 8 per cent.

Inheritance

4.24 In the early days they followed the 'Marumakkathayam' (Matriarchal system of inheritance) system but now *Marumakkathayam* has lost much of its hold and the Kanikkars follow the system of 'Makkathayam' — from father to his children. They give equal rights to both men and women when the property of the parents is partitioned among the children.

4.25 The same change is seen in the case of leadership among the tribesmen. Though the present 'Moottukanis' do not weild any power, the title is retained for prestige. In the former days it was

'Karanavakettu' – from uncle to the eldest nephew and now it has become 'Achankettu' from father to his eldest son.

Leisure and Recreation

4.26 At the time of the survey nine Arts and Sports clubs were working properly, out of which two were Balajana Samajas. Apart from these clubs three reading rooms and libraries were also functioning in the village area. A large number of local people make use of the facilities but no tribesman was taking any interest in such activities. Recently at the instance of the Grama Sevak of N. E. S. Block of Vamanapuram the tribes have started an association of their own at Vembil, a tribal settlement of the Palode village. Being mostly illiterate they show little interest in the association's activities.

4.27 The main recreation of the Kanikkars is film shows. They visit the local cinemas and form an important element among the patrons of the cinema. Central Theatre, Palode is situated at Pacha. After the day's work, when the labourers and other male members go to the Nanniyode junction to purchase their daily necessaries of life they attend the radio programmes. A radio kiosk has been installed at Nanniyode by the Panchayat. At times the tribesmen also attend the programmes.

4.28 In former days group dances and group songs were common among the Kanikkars. A few tribes are still interested in them. *Kolekali* (stick dance) is the popular folk dance. A party of ten or twelve men are provided with two sticks each about a foot long. Stories from the Mahabharatha or the Ramayana are the themes of the dance song.

4.29 Some of the tribesmen engage themselves in fishing from the nearby river during their leisure hours. Very rarely they go for the collection of honey or other forest produce such as *Anjili* seeds.

Fairs and Festivals

4.30 The Kanikkars have got numerous gods and godesses. They worship Ayiravalli, Sastha, Subramonia etc. as benevolent gods. Malevolent gods like Kali, Manthramoorthi, Malamoorthi etc. are dreaded and worshipped because of their power to cause diseases and epidemics. Even now they believe that malaria and smallpox are due to the wrath of the malevolent deities.

4.31 As has been mentioned, the village has got two major temples — the Sastha temple and Subramonia temple. In the Sastha temple, usually festival is conducted in the month of *Kumbhom* (February–March) on the 'Uthram' asterism. Various programmes of entertainments are arranged and a considerable amount is spent over fire works. The festival attracts a large concourse of people from the different parts of the village.

4.32 Another important temple in the village is situated at Pacha which is dedicated to Subramonia. A festival, though not on a large scale, is held in February–March with the cooperation of the public. The tribes perform *poojas* in *Koduthikalams* (places where *poojas* are conducted). A number of these can be seen in their settlements. These *poojas* are annual festivals conducted on a small scale. The main item of the *pooja* is 'chettapattu' (a particular type of song in honour of gods and godesses) which is sung with the help of a particular type of instrument. Two hollow iron tubes are dressed as files, so as to produce a special type of sound.

4.33 At Nagara, one of the tribal settlements is a small temple consisting of a raised platform erected in front of an old tree. Manikettiya Maruthu or bell-tied tree) in the name of Nagar (serpant-god).

4.34 There is a legend in connection with the tree and the temple. The story goes that once a few wood cutters tried to cut down the tree at the behest of a contractor. When they began to cut it down, they became unconscious and fell

down and a few snakes jumped suddenly from the tree. Thereupon the tribes of the locality raised a platform in front of the tree and began to worship Ayiravally and Nagar. It is believed that the god Ayiravally visits the place in his chariot.

4.35 Another temple which is dedicated to Sabarimala Ayyappan is situated at Pacha tribal settlement, where *poojas* are performed daily two times – morning and evening by a priest, who is a Kanikkaran. Special *poojas* are held on Saturdays. A number of tribal people visit this temple during the *Mandala Pooja* days (November–December) and special *poojas* are performed in those days.

4.36 Apart from these festivals the Kanikkars celebrate *Onam* in September, *Karkadaka Vavu* in August, *Sivarathri* in February and *Karthika* in November. They do not observe the *Deepavali*, *Vishu* etc. On the day previous to the *Thiru Onam (Uthradam* day) they offer certain *poojas* to *Malamoorthis* (Deities of the mountain) to obtain their blessings. This can be considered as an agricultural festival. On *Onam* day special curries and puddings are prepared and they wear new dresses.

4.37 On the day of *Karkadaka Vavu* they pay obeisance to their deceased parents and elders. Special *poojas* are offered and it is believed that the deceased will come in the form of crows to get rice and curry.

4.38 The *Sivarathri* day which falls in February–March is held in honour of Lord Siva.

4.39 'Thrikarthika' which occurs in November-December is considered as an agricultural festival. Lighted lamps are placed in the backyards to be seen by the trees and other vegetables. They eat all sorts of tuber crops on that day.

4 40 Besides these festivals, *Pooppada*, *Pongala*, etc. are also performed in honour of certain gods.

Village Organisations

4.41 In olden times they had their own caste council headed by a *Mootkani* (headman) and a *Plathi* (priest and medicineman). The offices of *Mootkani* and *Plathi* are heriditory. The caste customs and rules were enforced by the council and the offenders were severely punished. The chief duties of *Mootkani* were to give instructions in agriculture and to arbitrate in disputes. The Kanikkars had to seek verbal permission of the *Mootkani* to start agricultural operations. The *Plathi* used to give advice regarding treatment of diseases.

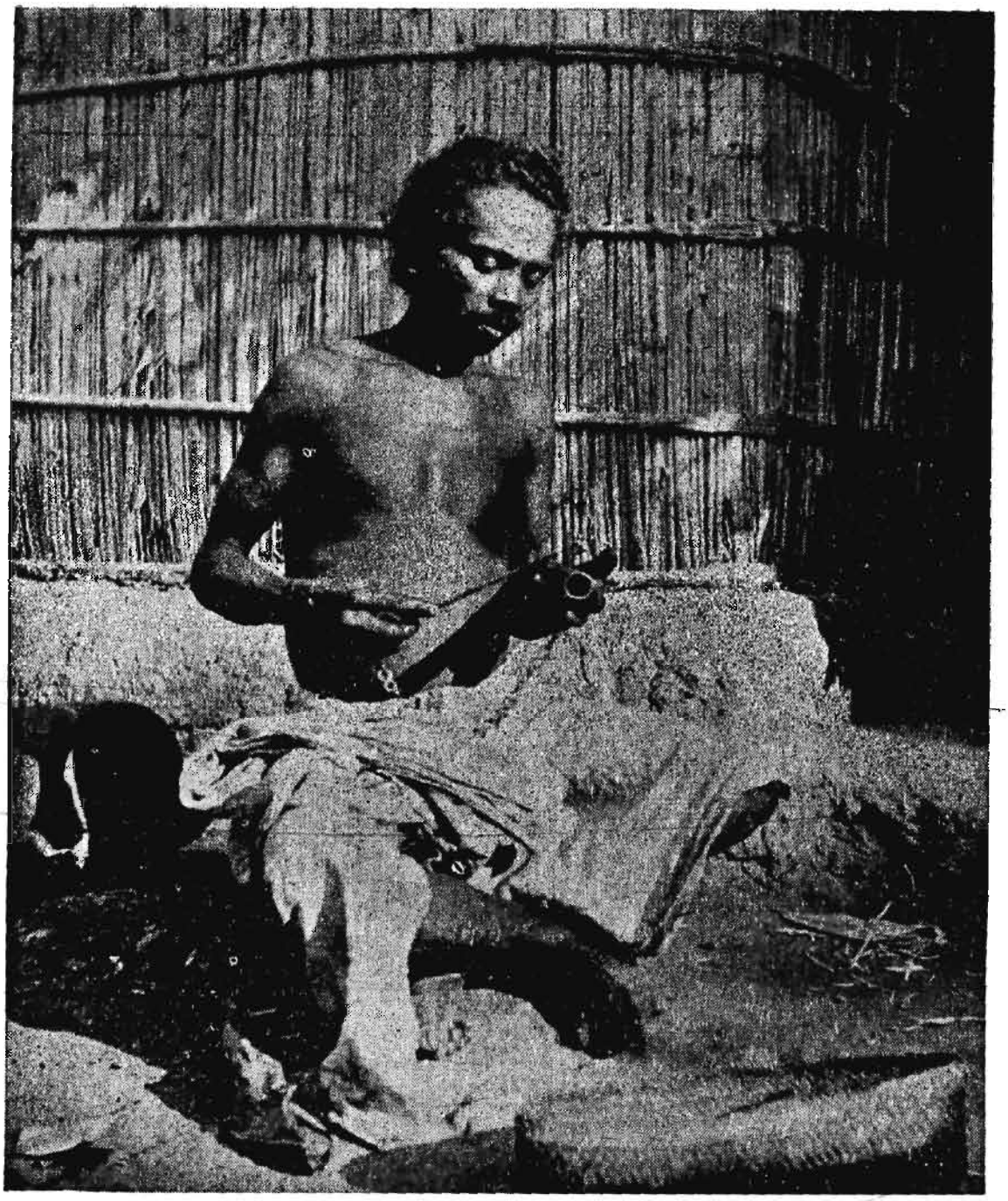
4.42 Today the position has changed and these offices exist only in name. The *Plathi* performs some kinds of *poojas* and it is believed that the *mantras* are taught by gods only to deserving candidates and in no case should these be imparted to another man. When a *Plathi* attends a function he will be assisted by a number of tribes men called *Kunjuplathis*.

4.43 Recently the Kanikkars of Vembil have registered an organisation 'Kerala Giri Varga Pradesika Sangham' which aims at the betterment of their society. The president and secretary are Kanikkars themselves. Only a few Kanikkars have enrolled themselves as members of the union. The organisation has started a free tuition class for the students of standards I to IV. A Kanikkaran is engaged in taking classes regularly. They have got an idea of starting a night class for adults.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

4.44 As has been mentioned, the entire Palode village is in the Nanniyode Panchayat and it consists of 8 wards and the members are elected on adult franchise. One of the Kanikkars has been elected and it is reported that he is attending the Panchayat meeting regularly.

4.45 Regarding the irrigation facilities under minor irrigation three tanks were constructed by Government and a number of roads had been made by the Panchayat. The Panchayat is in charge of sanitation and public health activities. The tribal



Pl. 8 A PLATHI CHANTING 'MANTHRA' Page 100

settlements do not show much progress. For the requirement of Chellanchi L. P. S. and Elavattom L. P. S. two pieces of land have been purchased by the Panchayat at Rs. 1,000 each. Two radio kiosks are maintained by the Panchayat.

Reform Measures Introduced by the Government and Various Agencies

4.46 In describing the reform measures introduced by the Department of Harijan Welfare, it is to be reported that a few houses have been constructed for the tribes, on a free loan basis. Some of the households have been provided with agricultural implements like spade, sickle etc. and seeds of gingelly, horsegram etc.

4.47 Medical facilities have been provided in the tribal settlements. Medical van visits Pachamala and Vembu every Wednesday and it is a blessing for the sick in the tribal settlements.

4.48 The Gramasevak of the Panchayat is taking classes on the different aspects of agricultural operations both tribal people and others take part in it regularly. A compost pit association has been started at Vembil and about 100 pits have been dug.

4.49 Two film shows had been conducted at Pachamala and Vembu by the authorities of the N.E.S. Block, Vamanapuram. The area under survey is included in the jurisdiction of the N. E. S. Block.

4.50 A number of tribal students are attending the local schools. Each of the students of standards I to III gets a sum of Rs. 3 for purchasing books and a student of standard IV gets Rs. 4. A student of standard V receives a sum of Rs. 15 and Rs. 40 for purchasing books as stipend per annum.

4.51 A multipurpose cooperative society has been organised with its headquarters at Pachamala with its jurisdiction over the tribal settlements of the village and that of the neighbouring villages. About 200 persons have enrolled themselves as members and have taken shares. The name of the society is "The Multipurpose Cooperative Society Reg. No. 3883 Pachamala, Pacha". A non-tribal has been appointed as a paid Secretary while the President and the committee members are Kanikkars. It was the practice of the society to collect pepper, areca-nut and other hill produces of the tribesmen and sell them in the Nanniyode and Nedumangad markets. But it is now working properly. The capital collected from the shareholders has been invested in the Nanniyode Cooperative Bank. A fair price shop is functioning under the cooperative society.

Attitude towards Family Planning

4.52 The methods of limiting the family size are known to a few Kanikkars though they are not practising them. The opinion survey shows motivation for the practice of limiting the family is not weak. The average family size is only 4.7 and according to them more children are not at all a problem.

Dowry

4.53 The giving or receipt of dowry is unknown among the Kanikkars. Nowadays they have begun to give a small amount not as dowry but as a presentation to the bridegroom. In case where the bridegroom takes initiative for dissolving the marriage he has to give back the amount which he received at the time of marriage.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1 The village Palode A is potentially rich with the soil yielding crops sufficient for the needs of Kanikkars. The main source of income is agriculture but they do not work hard enough to make both ends meet. They have no thought for the morrow and seem to be satisfied with the pleasure of the moment. Thoughts about the future and the dangers of indolence and resultant misery and privations are alien to them. They sell off their produces in advance to middlemen before the harvesting period for a nominal price. The little money they got at the harvest is soon spent away and from the next day onwards they try to get loans from the local people at a high rate of interest. Thus they lead an improvident and impecunious life.

5.2 The Kanikkars rich or poor dress alike but people of high income groups use costly clothes. Compared to other tribes they are more neat and clean. They take a bath atleast once in two days. They annoint their heads with cocoanut oil or gingelly oil.

5.3 Owing to contacts with the people of the plains, the traditional customs and manners are slowly dying out. One notices that child marriage is absent and the ages of marriage for both boys and girls have risen. Though they are permitted to marry their maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter only a small percentage of such consanguineous marriages have been reported. Both parties are at liberty to divorce their partner and there is no caste council to question them.

5.4 It is observed that the male member is the head of the family who controls the affairs of the family. When a man divorces his wife either of the party looks after the children there being no hard and fastrule in the matter.

5.5 The Kanikkars believe that spirits have got immense influence in shaping their destiny. Generally the priest officiates as the *poojari*, and prayers and offerings are believed to secure the blessings of the spirits. Ancestor worship is done on the *Karkataka Vavu* day. They worship the sun every morning with folded hands. Ayiravally and Ayyappan are their main benevolent deities and it is reported that some of them go to Sabarimala during the *Mandala Pooja* days. A large number of devotees attend the *poojas* in the temples.

5.6 Only a few Kanikkars of the surveyed village are engaged in the manufacture of baskets and mats with rattan. The things which they make are considered to be of good quality. The necessary raw materials are obtained from the Palode Reserve Forest without any kind of payment. It is reported that nowadays the chance of getting honey and honey-wax is very remote.

5.7 Though the primary and middle school education have been made free and compulsory and the Kanikkars have been sanctioned scholarships, mid-day meals, and towels they do not think it convenient to send their children to schools at the proper age and regularly. They send their children to schools when they attain the age of 8 or 9. A few families are exceptions to this. It is noteworthy that recently attempt has been made to start a night school for the adults under the auspices of their organisation.

5.8 It is highly laudable that one

of the Kanikkars has been elected as Panchayat member of the Nanniyode Panchayat who shows keen interest in development and for the welfare of the community.

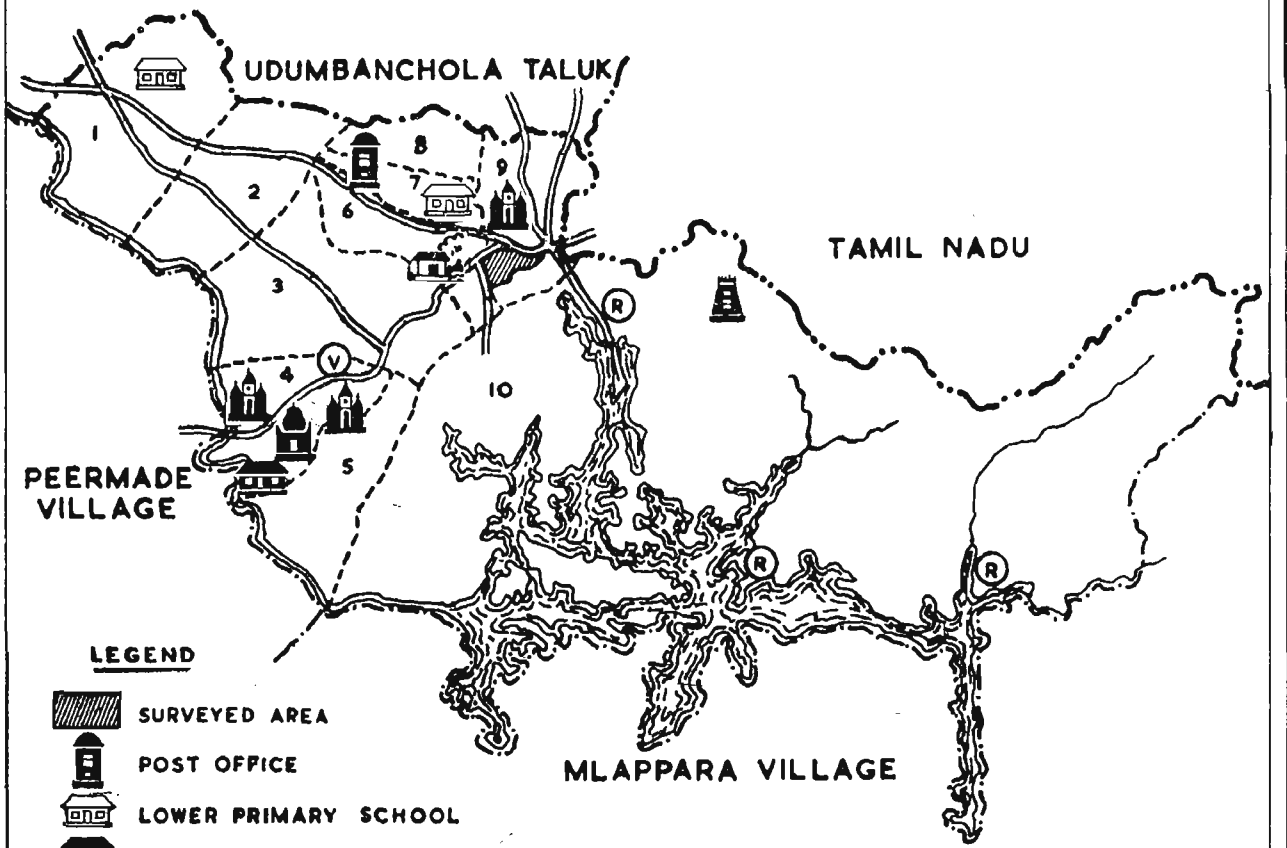
5.9 In the opinion of the Kanikkars of the surveyed households, the important requirements are:-

1. Better agricultural and loan facilities
2. House loan
3. Improvement of communication facilities in the tribal area
4. A co-operative store to market their produces and to supply them the necessaries of daily life.

PERIYAR

PERIYAR VILLAGE

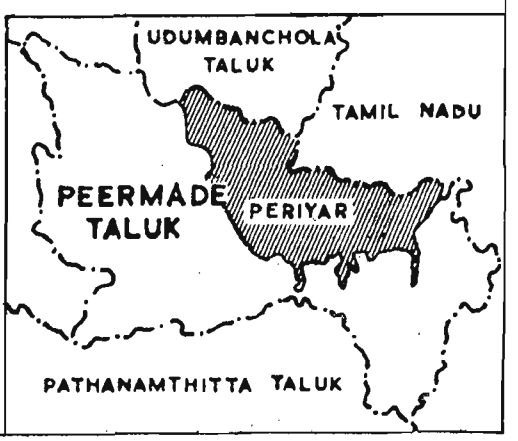
A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM



LEGEND

- SURVEYED AREA
- POST OFFICE
- LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOL
- UPPER PRIMARY SCHOOL
- TEMPLE
- CHURCH
- MOSQUE
- VILLAGE OFFICE
- (V) VETERINARY HOSPITAL
- (R) REST HOUSE
- STATE BOUNDARY
- TALUK BOUNDARY
- VILLAGE BOUNDARY
- KARA BOUNDARY
- ROAD
- LAKE & CANAL
- RIVER

1 CHENKARA
2 ARNIKUZHI
3 VALARDI
4 PERIYAR
5 THANKAMALA
6 CHOTTUPARA
7 MURUKADI
8 MOONKITHOZHO
9 KUMALI
10 THEKKADI



PERIYAR

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Periyar village is situated on the northern part of Peermade taluk in the Kottayam district of Kerala State. It is nearly 3,000′ above the sea level and is treated as a Class I hilly region. The district headquarters, Kottayam is 70 miles west and taluk headquarters Peermade 22 miles west of this village. The village lies between 9°29′ and 9°38′ north latitude and 77°48′ and 78°09′ east longitude. It has an area of nearly 63,000 acres. This village comprises both wet lands and dry lands, the proportion of the latter being overwhelmingly large. The soil is commendably fertile and responsive to the plough.

1.2 Kumali the surveyed area lies in the north-eastern portion of Periyar village. It is bounded on the north and east by the Kottayam-Kumali road, on the west by a village road and on the south by reserve forests. There is a concentration of two tribes viz., Paliyas and Mannans in this part of the village. Formerly, they occupied the forest area of the region. According to the data supplied by the village panchayat, there are nearly 1,000 households in Kumali ward, while the whole panchayat consists of 1,700 households. The number of tribal households is 89, of which 32 are Paliya households and the rest those of Mannans. The survey of this area is with particular reference to these two tribes.

Soil and Rainfall

1.3 Details as to the nature, composition and types of the soil of Kumali as such are not available. What is given below is the result of analysis of two samples of soil culled from Udumbanchola, a locality over 25 miles north of Kumali. It is not suggested, however, that the nature of soil of the two places is entirely identical; for, there is hardly any scientific reason to ascertain this.

Table I

SOIL

Laboratory No. of soil	Organic carbon %	Available phosphorus	Available potassium	pH.	Total soluble salts
1553/63	1.60 (medium)	4 (low)	Trace (low)	5.1 (acidic)	0.0 (normal)
1555/63	1.02 (medium)	16 (low)	100 (medium)	5.6 (acidic)	0.0 (normal)

The climate here is apposite for agriculture. The village has the incidence of ample rains, sometimes running to excess and flooding the locality.

RAINFALL

1.4 Data on rainfall for Kumali as such are not available. The table given below shows the rainfall data for Peermade, which happens to be the nearest place though about 22 miles away, where these are recorded.

Table II

RAINFALL

Year		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1951	I	..	1	6	9	7	27	23	15	16	16	6	..	126
	II	..	25.4	72.4	175.3	166.4	1179.8	996.9	205.7	538.5	487.7	177.8	..	4025.9
1952	I	..	3	2	13	16	29	31	31	13	23	5	5	171
	II	..	21.6	29.2	157.5	417.8	688.3	596.9	353.7	58.4	325.1	121.9	45.7	2816.1
1953	I	3	3	4	21	5	17	29	23	18	29	5	..	157
	II	17.8	12.7	22.9	231.4	44.7	344.2	1203.5	702.1	176.5	930.9	35.1	0.8	3722.6
1954	I	2	3	7	8	17	29	29	31	29	21	3	5	184
	II	7.1	31.0	160.0	97.5	327.1	1162.6	1190.5	1093.5	591.8	598.2	75.9	60.5	5395.7
1955	I	1	1	4	8	20	30	27	25	19	25	14	2	176
	II	2.8	12.7	48.3	172.7	709.2	1496.3	692.7	459.7	436.6	505.5	242.8	12.2	4791.5
1956	I	..	..	1	6	17	30	..	25	23	25	22	..	149
	II	1.5	..	12.7	117.6	647.2	1575.6	..	902.5	473.5	871.5	276.3	..	4878.4
1957	I	..	2	3	7	16	29	27	27	13	24	11	..	159
	II	..	61.5	20.3	162.8	687.1	1529.1	1182 5	579.1	136.4	726.7	265.9	2.8	5354.2
1958	I	..	2	7	10	..	21	21	26	11	12	10	..	120
	II	0.3	6.1	68.4	147.3	..	596.0	907.3	1039.6	213.4	285.3	387.0	..	3750.7
1959	I	1	4	..	9	22	24	26	22	15	12	11	..	146
	II	20.6	53.1	..	102.1	407.8	878.5	1281.5	557.7	624.2	244.3	191.9	..	4361.7
1960	I	..	2	3	8	22	18	24	12	19	13	17	3	141
	II	..	30.2	31.3	211.2	793.0	408.5	1016.7	458.9	677.7	257.3	505.5	33.0	4423.3
1907 to 1950	(1)	1.2	1.9	4	10.1	13.2	26.8	27.5	25.8	20.2	19.7	11.9	3.5	165.8
	(2)	19.3	43.2	58.9	137.4	320.3	1104.7	1277.6	861.8	522.0	492.5	255.8	67.6	5161.1

I. No. of rainy days
II. Total rainfall in millimetres

(1) Mean No. of rainy days
(2) Mean monthly total rainfall in millimetres

Kumali intersects nearly 20 miles of the Periyar river. Adjacent to this region is the 'Thekkady game sanctuary', a centre of tourist attraction.

Flora and Fauna

1.5 Periyar village is affluent with vegetables and plants by virtue of its favourable climatic condition and fertile soil. The forests here are rich with a variety of plants and trees. The region has a majority of agricultural population. The important cultivations here are

paddy, sugarcane, ragi, tapioca, and other tuber crops, pepper, plantains, cardamom, tea, coffee etc. A major portion of the village is clad by evergreen forests. The plant selected for detailed description for Kumali is 'Eettie', as it is known in the local vernacular. There are mainly two botanical varieties of this, though both are not distinguished as such in their vernacular names, and they are (1) *Dalbergia latifolia* or Bombay Rosewood (black wood) and (2) *Dalbergia sissoides* or Malabar black wood.[1]

1.6 Major Her Ber Drury describes *Dalbergia latifolia* in the following lines:

Dalbergia Latifolia

Description. "Tree 40-50: leaves pinnate: leaflets alternate 3-7, generally 5, orbicular emarginate above glabrous, beneath somewhat pubescent when young; panicles auxillary, branched and devaricating: Corolla papilonaceous; Calyx segments oblong: stamens united in a sheath open on the upper side: ovary stalked, small, white, on short slender pedicels.

Uses etc.

1.7 A magnificent tree abundant in the forest of South India and elsewhere, producing what is well known as the black wood. As a timber for furniture it is in very great request. It is likewise used for ordinance purposes. The planks however have a propensity to split longitudinally, when not well seasoned. An earthy deposit is frequently found embedded in the largest logs which occasions a great defect in otherwise fine planks. Some planks are four feet broad after the sap wood has been removed. Black wood is one of the most valuable wood of South India, and when well polished has much the appearance of rose wood, which name it frequently receives in commerce. The root of the tree is used in medicine, and a fixed oil is procured from the seeds said to be good in cutaneous diseases".[2]

'Leaf-rachis 5-6 inches. With 7-10 leaflets each 1½-2½ in. by ¾-1¼ in. oblong; generally tapering to both ends, all more or less equal in size, glabrous, pale green when young, dark green and shining when old, beneath glaucescent, petiolules stour, ¼ - ⅓ in. Flowers white, ⅓ in. long in small terminal panicles about 12 together. Stamens 9, united in a sheath. Pod 2-3 in. by ½ in. tapering to both ends, pointed seeds veriform, pale brown.

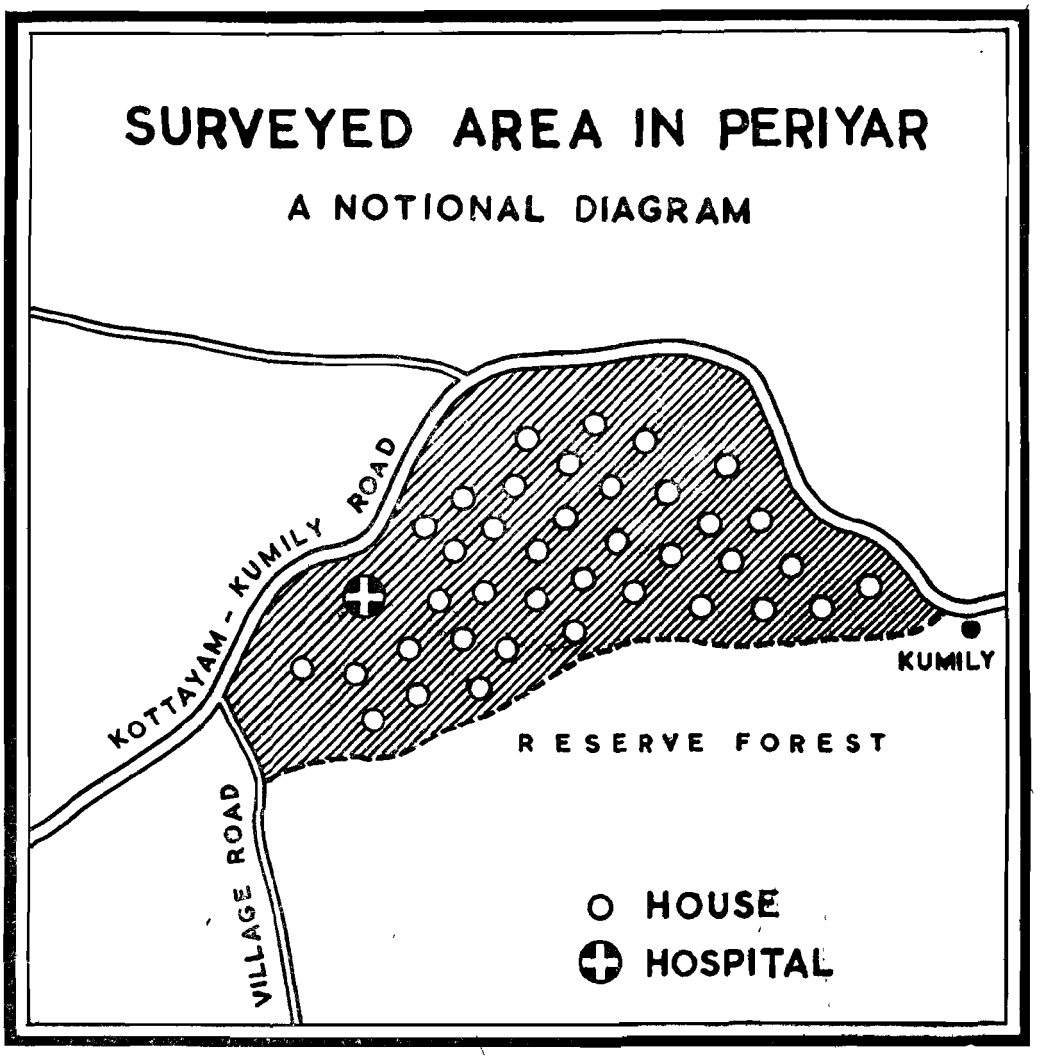
A handsome deciduous tree of ..... common through Travancore in grass forest up to 2000' and commoner in the low country than *D latifolia*. Height 60 feet diameter 2 feet. Found also in the Nilghiris and Palneys, but confined to Southern India.

Flowers appear with the fresh leaves in Jan.-Feb. Fruit ripens Oct.-Jan. Bark pale brown, ¾ in. thick, sap wood 2 in. thick, yellowish white. Heartwood purple or dark brown with darker longitudinal streaks of brown or purple, very hard, close grained but apt to be cross-grained. Pores medium sized to large, irregular often divided, joined by white concentric lines. Rays fine and uniform. Annual rings indistinct. The properties and uses are the same as *Dalbergia latifolia*, but the timber is said to be stronger and harder and not so susceptible of a good polish .....'

Surveyed Area

1.8 The tribes people here are confined to a particular area in the village. Formerly they were occupying the forest area in the region. The surveyed households are situated at Kumali in an area about 120 acres in the game sanctuary area. This area is bounded on its north and east by the Kottayam-Kumali road, on the west by a village road and on the south by reserve forest. A notional map of the surveyed area is given below.

1. The Forest Trees of Travancore by R. F. Bourdillon pp. 117, 118
2. H. Drury, Useful Plants of India, 1858, p. 185



1.9 It grows well from seeds and coppices freely, but does not seem to propogate itself so well from root-suckers. The rate of growth seems to be such faster. Measurements of an old tree taken for several years show an increase in diameter of 1 in. per year.[1]

1.10 The live-stock wealth of this village is, no doubt, commendable and exemplary. Inexpensiveness of maintaining cattle is the most encouraging factor for the people here. The vast forest areas serve also as pasture for the cattle. Forests of the game sanctuary are the natural abode to wild animals like tiger,

1. The Forest Trees of Travancore by R. F. Bourdillon, p. 118

panther, wild boars, elephants, bisons, wolves and bears. Further, these forests purvey numerous sambars and deers. While tiger, panther, wolves and bears are a standing menace to the local cattle, others are to cultivation. All these wild animals are preserved and pampered in the game sanctuary. It is said that it has thousands of elephants, hundreds of bisons and wild boars, and numerous sambars and wolves All these animals, excepting tigers and bears are commonly seen on the banks of the Periyar lake which is within the game sanctuary.

Residential Pattern

1.11 Obviously, the population of Kumali panchayat is not commensurate with its area. This is mainly because of the vast forest area of the village and some tea, coffee and cardamom estates. Kumali is like any other part of Kerala, as regards residential pattern. Each house stands in an isolated plot. There is no conjestion or over-crowding anywhere in the region. But the tribes' gregariousness is traditional and unsuperseded by any modern practice or system. The two tribes here, Mannans, and Paliyas, live in two distinct portions of a 120 acre plot allotted for them. In the two groups, households are found huddled together, conjestedly in hovels. Huts are seen erected in distinct groups, each consisting of three or four huts. In each hut, ordinarily, there will be more than one household, sometimes even 5 or 6 households. There is apparently no separate demarcation of land for each household here.

Communication

1.12 Communication facilities are fairly good in this village. The Kottayam-Kumali road passes through this village, and the place is connected to Devicolam and Munnar by road. Also, as this village, lies on the border of this State, it is connected by road to Theni, Lower Camp and Madurai in the Madras State. Buses are regularly plying in the Kottayam -Kumali route, the Kumali-Devicolam route and the Kumali-Madurai route. The village has many roads and lanes leading to its core.

Public Places

1.13 There is no important public place in this village. The Thekkady game sanctuary and the Mullaperiyar lake is nearby this village. Thick jungles of the game sanctuary have surrounded this lake completely as if the lake is entrapped into it. The forests with their green heritage and the placid Periyar lake never fail to tickle all alien, gay visitors and have thus become a popular holiday resort. The State Government have established a tourists' house, called 'Aranya Nivas', right in the wilderness of the forests. The name of the tourists' house speaks for itself. No wonder, it entertains a good number of foreign visitors, growing in numerical strength every year. The game sanctuary and the lake area are under the control of the Game Reserve Department and admission to these is restricted by this department. Within this locality, there is one Hindu temple, two churches and one mosque. The village has no public crematorium. Forest areas are used as burial ground by most of the villagers, especially the tribes. There is no distinguished monument any where in the locality.

Water Resources

1.14 The village intersects nearly 20 miles of the Periyar river. Water from the Mullaperiyar lake is wholly assigned to the Madras Government, by virtue of a contract entered into by the two States. The village has a channel on its northern region, for over a mile. This channel is the only source of irrigation to the paddy fields extending over an area of 100 acres and lying on the side of it. The village has fortunately ample rains during the monsoon seasons. The panchayat has recently constructed a well from which water is pumped to different parts of the region. But this supply is hardly adequate to meet the gross demand of water.

Drinking water is awfully scarce during summer. The petulent demand for water is then met by small wells and shallow pools in the locality. But the water obtained from these is impure and unpotable.

1.15 In the tribal settlement there are certain small channels of water running through hill tracks. This water is moderately pure during its course, but it gets contaminated in the place where it gets pooled. The tribes people solely depend on these, for all their water needs.

Welfare and Administrative Institutions

1.16 The area is included in the jurisdiction of the Peermade Taluk Harijan Welfare Officer, whose office is situated at the taluk headquarters. The administration of the village is entrusted with the local panchayat, constituted by elected representatives from the people. The local village office, which is situated about 3 miles away west of the region, is responsible for maintaining land legislations and collection of revenue. The village has a Forest Range office, besides a Game Range office. The Game Range office is having exclusive control and administration of the game reserve area here and its games. A Health Inspector's office, a Post and Telegraph office, a Sales Tax office and an Excise office are the other Government institutions in the village.

Market

1.17 Kumali is a small market centre, though it is not yet officially called so. There is no other market centre with as much prominence as this in the village. Vandiperiyar, which is about 10 miles away from the village, is a major market centre. There is another one, at Pambanar, nearly 15 miles away from this place. There is no officially recognised cattle market in this village or anywhere near about.

History of Settlement of the People

1.18 Kumali village was, many years back, covered with thick jungles and was with hardly any human habitations excepting, of course of the nomadic tribes. Gradually, many from the nearby regions came in and occupied the virgin forest land for profitable cultivation. All of them established themselves here, converting vast stretches of virgin forest areas into yielding, agricultural fields. The earlier immigrants were followed by many others in the later years, before any effective check of encroachment was imposed on them. The present position is that a few families possess large holdings of land, while many others have comparatively smaller holdings Some of the earlier immigrants have planted coffee, tea and cardamom on extensive plots in this village, and have brought here many people from other regions for agricultural labour. Later on, many people came in of their own accord seeking employment. Malaria was a nightmare of the high ranges during those days. The Government later started a vigorous 'Anti Malaria' campaign and has now very nearly succeeded in eradicating this devastating evil, by several year's persistent, intensive and arduous work. The people in the region now are relieved, much to their pleasure of the unnerving fear of Malaria.

1.19 The influx of population from time to time, together with the natural increase accounts for the present population pressure in the village. In addition the evacues from the Ayyappancoil forest range have also been settled at a locality, called 'Amaravathy', in the village. About 900 acres of forest land have been allotted to the evicted families, numbering over a thousand.

1.20 Those settled at Amaravathy and those who have immigrated to this place earlier include people with different religious and communal affiliations. Perhaps the only common feature of them is that most of them are agriculturists.

1.21 Government have liberally sanctioned 'Pattom' rights for these

land-holders, and are collecting land tax from them accordingly.

1.22 The history of tribal settlement, as heard from them, is based upon a different logic. The 'Mannans' at Kanchiyar (a place near Ayyappancoil) despatched some of their families to distant unoccupied thick forest areas in Kumali and Mlappara. The main feature of attraction of these places was said to be that these forests were abounding with ample game. The Mannans, who immigrated to Kumali cultivated the virgin forest lands and lived in plenty. They used to shift from place to place immediately after the harvest of their crops at each place. Hunting was their second major occupation, and they took pleasure and ample gain in moving about the core of the forests, hunting the wild game. It is true, however, that the non-tribal encroachers of Kumali forests had their own influence of forcing these tribes further into the interior of the forests. Mannans preferred isolation from the people of the plains for many reasons. With the increased influx of population to this area, Mannans moved into the game reserve area, and comfortably settled there for some time. Later, the Game Range authorities decided to push them out of the game reserve area for, according to them, the tribes' stay in the game reserve forests would be detrimental to the healthy preservation of the wild animals in it. The fact that these tribes were traditional hunters, possessing fire arms and other hunting implements, really hastened the enforcement of their decision. It was some sixteen or seventeen years back that they were literally pushed out of their forest habitats, forcing them, in addition, to disown their agricultural plots, hunting outfits and implements, household utensils, and in fact, everything except their healthy body and a disappointed, yet enthusiastic, mind. All of them were forced to settle down at a particular area, on a side of the game reserve forests, where they are found even now. Further, forest laws have shackled them against any attempt to resume their traditional hunting inurements.

1.23 The Paliyas here are said to be emigrants from Madurai. They were nomadic agriculturists, and sufficiently deft hunters to assure them of their much-loved meat-diet. They came to the Travancore forest area through the Kambam pass and settled down there. They were so humble and obsequious that they had no difficulty in submitting themselves to the then royalty. This they secured the right of being his tribal subjects and then were entitled to occupy the forest areas. Paliyas too preferred to live in the core of the forests, although they used to go out of their forest abode frequently seeking work among the people of the plains. Just as in the case of Mannans, Paliyas too had to move into the core of the game reserve area, with the ever growing influx of population, only to be pushed out of it forcibly.

1.24 Now both these Mannans and Paliyas are settled in a plot extending over 120 acres. The two tribes refuse to associate or intermingle with each other on a soi-disant, superiority of each over the other. Even now, they occupy two distinct parts of the 120 acre plot, avoiding all possible chances of intermingling or association.

Legend

1.25 There is particularly no popular legend or story about the village, enlightening its origin. The locality Kumali, however, is named so by virtue of one of its former physical aspects. Kumali locality was in the past a marshy place with deep watery mire. One used to see everywhere in this locality at that time numerous gas bubbles coming out of the surface and exploding. According to the local people the place is named after these gas bubbles. They are termed 'Kumala' in the local vernacular and hence the nam Kumali to the village.

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Ethnic Composition and Brief Note on each Tribal Group

2.1 The population of Kumali is constituted by Hindus, Christians, Muslims and the tribes (according to the order of their numerical strength). A further division into castes should record mainly Nairs, Ezhuvas, Catholics, Jacobites, Muslims, Tribes and a few Brahmins.

2.2 The stress is laid particularly on the tribal population as per the intent of the present survey There are but two distinct tribes, 'Mannans' and 'Paliyas' here.

2 3 The word Mannan is said to be derived from the word 'Mannu' the vernacular term for soil. These Mannans were said to be veteran agriculturists, and that they merited their name 'Mannan' by virtue of their professional skill and exemplary enthusiasm towards agriculture.

2.4 The origin of these Mannans was, reportedly, at Mannan Kotta, which was then in the domain of the Punjar Raja. They had been engaged by the Punjar Raja solely for cultivation of his land. During those days there arose a dissension, followed by fight, between the Mannans and 'Maravars'. The beaten and plaintive Maravars took refuge in the Raja's court, and apprised the king of the atrocity and savage brutalities of the Mannans. The chagrined and distressed king summoned all the Mannans, and reproached them for their gruesome pernicious pugnacity. They were, then, ordered to vacate the agricultural plots and occupy the forest area, in order to avert future dissension and fight. Before they were dispatched to the forests, they were grouped into different parties, each with a leader called 'Kani'. To supervise these Kanis, one was assigned the 'Pattom' title of 'Raja' (King) and was assigned with gubernatorial powers. The Kanis were to act as his ministers. Besides these, there were, under the Kanis, the following posts of dignitaries 'Periya Kudiyanavan', 'Valiya Olanthari', 'Ilayapattom', 'Thandakkaran' and 'Thannipatta' in the order of their rank, each with well stipulated assignment of responsibility and work. The offices of these dignitaries, were declared hereditary by the Punjar Raja. The Periya Kudiyanavan was having overall charge of the associate dignitaries and, in particular, he was responsible for the maintenance and enforcement of tribal discipline and order of life. Valiya Olanthari, assisted by Olanthari was in charge of the physical security of the people, against wild animals in the forests and difficult mountain terrains covered with thick jungles. Ilayapattom held the portfolio of food and agriculture. He was primarily responsible for ensuring them of their food, by making each family do the periodical agricultural operations and the preservation of buffer stocks for times of penury. Thandakkaran was their medicine man and he was responsible for invoking goddess 'Kali' to obviate evil spirits and their evil influences. He knew several tribal manthras and the rites and rituals of incantation. According to a tribal leader, he was the representative of goddess Kali. Thannipatta was an associate dignitary to all, mainly to Thandakkaran and was of the lowest rank. The Punjar Raja proffered the Raja Mannan and other Kanis suitable presents to keep them ever loyal to him and also to identify them as his subjects.

2.5 Later, the then Travancore Raja

sought the help of this jungle dwellers to collect forest produces, and made a request to the Punjar Raja to this end. The Punjar Raja donated all the Mannan families to him, and, thus, the Mannans became subjects of the Travancore monarchy.

2.6 The Travancore King recognised the title and function of the Raja Mannan and those of other dignitaries, and gave royal presents, canes and tin bangles symbolising authority and distinction to them, thus ceremonising the accession of them as his tribal subjects. The Mannans first settled down at 'Mannan Kandam' – a place still known so in Devicolom taluk.

2.7 After some years, Raja Mannan and some Kanis came and settled down at Kanchiyar, in Udumbanchola taluk, leaving Vadakkoru Mannan and the four other Kanis at Mannan Kandam (Descendants of Vadakkoru Mannans and four other Kanis are still found at Mannan Kandam). The idea of dispersing themselves, in the different parts of the forest, came to them when they felt difficulty in meeting the growing demand for food. From Kanchiyar, a group went to 'Idukky', while another went to 'Periyar'. Another group – Chindra Pandy Mannan and Ola Mannan – took allegiance of the Pandalam Raja; this group later went to Mlappara. Another group went to a place called Manchuppara A group, with six Kanis, came to Kumali. One of the Kanis was assigned the title of 'Nattu Mannan' and he was sent as the surrogate of the 'Raja Mannan'. Those Kanis who came to Kumali were 1) 'Nattu Mannan', 2) 'Anchu Mannan', 3) 'Naya Mannan', 4) 'Kellippara Mannan', 5) 'Valladan Mannan' and 6) 'Mike Mannan'. The progeny of Mike Mannan is reported to have perished owing to deadly epedimics and diseases, while those of others are still found here. A few families from Mlappara and Manchuppara later came to Kumali in search of labour and settled down there.

2.8 An average Mannan enjoys good health and possesses a good physique. Mannans are of dark or rosy complexion, and are, generally, of agreeable mien. But most of them are grossly indifferent in the matter of dress and cleanliness. Their women are generally healthy and good looking. The hair of the Mannans is curly and brownish. The status of this tribe is normal.

2.9 The language of Mannans is peculiar in its own way, and it is intelligible only to Mannans. It is a curious mixture of Tamil, Malayalam and tribal slangs and is without proper syntax. It appears to be with no recognisable discipline, or order, at least of its own. Mannans can, however speak Malayalam too, but not without the peculiar accents akin to their own language, which make it unintelligible to strangers. Young people among them can speak fairly better Malayalam, while for the old it is difficult to deviate much from their own dialect. Nevertheless, it cannot be overlooked that the long association with the people of the plains and the spread of education among them have entailed apparent, but gradual, changes in their Malayalam. Their language has no scripts, nor is it serviceable in conversing or communicating with those other than Mannans. Their dialect is common irrespective of their place of residence or mode of life.

2.10 The religion of the Mannans is fairly similar to Hinduism. According to their religious faith, they can worship all Hindu gods and goddesses; but their supreme God is Lord Sastha, and all are particularly indulgent in worshipping him. Their pious fealty to lord Sastha is traditional, and it is based upon the logic of a story which the Mannans believe impeccable and holy. The story goes: Lord Sastha, in his bid to hide himself from the common people, took to the core of the thick jungles. Only Mannans dared to accompany him, giving him all possible assistance throughout his journey through

the thick forest and arduous mountain terrains. Lord Sastha was travelling on horse back making it gambol from hill top to hill top, and over precipitous mountain terrains. Mannans were impressed by his uncanny powers and prowess, and their admiration of him changed to implicit adoration. They followed him on foot. During the course of his journey, Lord Sastha took bait at a place called Mlappara, where he was seated on a "Peeddom" (Platform) of rock constructed by these loyal Mannans. According to the tribal leader, the remnants of this rocky platform are still seen at Mlappara. After a day's rest, Lord Sastha sent an arrow and decided to reach the place where it would strike. He was to take permanent rest there. The arrow struck at Sabarimalai. Mannans accompanied him up to Sabarimala and helped him in constructing his 'graham' (rocky-abode). Lord Sastha was amply pleased with the enthusiasm, skill and, above all, the pious loyalty of these Mannans. He promised them every protection and help, so long as they abide by his directives and remain loyal to him. The Mannans parted with Lord Sastha, after getting profusely blessed by him in divine bliss and beatitude.

2.11 Ever since that day, Lord Sastha was their Providence, and, according to the tribal leader Lord Sastha helped them at their pious invocation. It is said that during the past, while they were living in the forest which abounded with numerous wild animals, no one was hurt. Further no animal dared to enter their agricultural plots if they posted four wooden poles as the vertices of their agricultural plots, uttering the name of Sastha. They believed that the violation of their moral and social customs would entail his wrath, and they never dared to deviate from them. Sexual morality, particularly the chastity of their women, was held in high esteem.

2.12 Although they have undergone many changes, their faith in Lord Sastha remains adamant. Pious donations are still given to him, and an annual prayer called 'Swamiccu Kumbidil' (bowing before the Lord in humility and piety) is conducted by them even now. Some of them visit Sabarimala temple every year. Aside the tribal leader's hut, there is a small hut where a small pot is kept to deposit pious donations to Lord Sastha. These donations are taken to Sabarimala once in every year. Worship of Kali was also prevalent among them during the past. This was to shield them from deadly diseases like small-pox, etc. and also to obviate the troubles caused by evil spirits. No animal sacrifice was customary of Mannans to propitiate the goddess, but offerings of fruits, vegetables, etc. were prevalent among them.

2.13 But for Kali and Lord Sastha, there are no gods or goddesses whom they worship. According to them, the effect of invoking their gods now has become feeble owing to the profanity on their part in not adhering to their traditional mores and manners of life. This they attribute to the unwelcome and unwholesome association they had, rather forced to have, with the non-tribes.

2.14 The rituals commonly used by these people are flowers frankincense, vermillion, sandal, etc. while the offerings comprise of cocoanuts, fruits, rice, paddy and sometimes, cooked rice.

2.15 The residential pattern of these Mannans is characteristic of most of the tribes in this State. The tribal gregariousness is found with them even these days. They erect two or more huts in close proximity, each hut being ordinarilly occupied by more than one household, and the next such group will be erected some 100 to 150 feet away from it.

2.16 Most of the Mannans here are labourers. A few have agricultural pursuits, often only in nominal measures. These tribes are gradually losing all their interest towards agriculture owing

to wanton crop destruction by wild elephants, sambars, deers and pigs.

2.17 According to their traditional custom, a Mannan male married his uncle's daughter. They have peculiar customs of puberty, pregnancy and childbirth. Sexual license was neither recognised nor tolerated. Infidelity was no small matter to be tolerated by them. Even their well-being, physical security, etc are believed to be ensured by the noble chastity and moral purity of their women. Crop destruction, and physical disaster in all its manifold forms, are attributed by them to the sin of unchastity and non-observance of their traditional tribal rules. Formerly, their women moved only through the rut of their rigid moral and social dictates. Women were virtually under the control of their men while no woman experienced any difficulty in being so.

2.18 Now the system has undergone drastic changes. One householder has reported that the Mannan women have lost much of their sacrosanctity and restraint in themselves, as a result of the unwelcome association with the local people. According to some, the "truth" of the Mannans has been made to languish by the nefarious misbehaviour of their women. This is obviously a revelation, characterised by the despair of the males, over the unchecked moral way of life of their women. Ever since the women were allowed to poach upon the males' prerogatives – going for outside labour and gaining money out of it, monetary support for the maintenance of their family, etc. they have begun to enjoy much freedom, often to an undesirable extent. The sordid persuation, and flagitious influence, of the local non-tribes way-lead the innocent and impressionable Mannan women Perhaps, their poverty stricken plight offers a fair weather to all these In short, morality is deplorably dissolute among them now. Two illegitimate births and several anecdotes, which are no secrets, bear testimony to this.

2.19 Remedying the situation or securing them a resipiscence, is well beyond an ordinary task. It can be hoped that the amelioration of the tribes in the economic, social and cultural facets might impede or restrain this unwholesome way of life and save them from the existing maelstroms

2.20 According to the old system of *Mannans, everyone owed his allegiance* to the Raja Mannan. The clan system was so strong and well-founded that it exercised proper control and authority over every one, in their community. Any irregularity, or crime, on the part of a person was used to be brought to the notice of the clan leaders, and if the matter was serious, like adultery, etc., it would be brought to the notice of the Raja Mannan. Appropriate punishments would be adjudged and decreed by the august coteric of clan leaders, headed by Raja Mannan Caning and mulcting were the usual punishments prevalent among them. A portion of the fine levied from the culprits would be donated to Lord Sastha. These finings and punishments had a very chastising effect on Mannans, and no one ordinarily dared to brave it. Those who refuse to abide by the rulings of the Raja Mannan, would inevitably, face proscription and isolation, not to speak of numerous other difficulties. Ex-communication was very rarely resorted to by these tribes.

2.21 But now, most of the Mannans at Kumali have not even a vague idea of their original phratry divisions. The different posts of power, prevalent in olden times, have completely ceased to exist now. Even the names of old Kanis have been forgotten by this time. Further, young people are now reluctant to leave the leadership in the hands of old men, on the spacious reasoning that they are outmoded in their new environments. They have now become more independent, and are not entirely bound by their old

customs and rules. The Mannans, who were once enterprising and resourceful agriculturists, have now lost much of their interest and zeal towards it, and some of them have actually abandoned it. This is partially due to the regular loss they sustain in agriculture.

2.22 Thus the old order and system have now become no more than mere myths of yore. Perhaps in the new set up it will not be possible nor will it be feasible, to revive all the aspects of their pristine way of life.

2.23 A small group of "Paliyas" is found at Kumali, the numerical strength of whom being barely 150. While this group, with another one at Vandanmettu, retains their traditional way of life, another group at 'Chakkuppallom' have reportedly adopted Christianity.

2.24 It may be admitted at the outset that an earnest attempt to obtain the details of their origin correctly did not prove entirely fructuous, because the Paliyas here are found to be poor in recollection of their past. Moreover, they are found to be helplessly beyond standard to give clear verbal expression, even of their present. In a sense, they are lukewarm either to look back to the past or to look forward to the future, but smug in being in 'day-light' compartments. The major concern for them at daybreak is just that day's affair, which they will manage satisfactorily or otherwise.

2.25 A close observation of their ways of life and attitude can gather good evidence of their reported origin at Madura. Their language is colloquial Tamil. The very way of their dressing, and their mania towards bedizening themselves, are fairly suggestive of their reported origin at Madura. Shri L. A. Krishna Iyer has stated the following as one version of their origin. "A 'Kallar' of Madura has two wives and that when some dissensions arose his children by the second wife fled to Sankurandi Malai fearing molestation. Those who did not fall a victim to the marauders came to be known as Paliyans. They came to the Cardamom hills via Bodinaickannur. In memory of this connexion the Kallars of Madura refrain from doing any harm to Paliyas. These two tribes interdine but do not intermarry".[1]

2.26 The Paliyas are reported to have migrated to Travancore in search of labour and food.

2.27 An average Paliya possesses good physique. Wide variations are noticed in their features. Some have thick, everted lips, some have plump flat nose; some have bristling long hairs. A good number of them are, however, with common features. Men and women are generally healthy. But the condition of children is different in that most of them are unhealthy, owing to the peculiar way of their life coupled with the insufficient care of their parents. The absence of a healthy and regular food habit is, no doubt, equally responsible for the poor health of their children.

2.28 The language of Paliyas is colloquial Tamil. They do not speak Malayalam *inter se* to others. Although these tribes have had ample association with the local people ever since they migrated to Travancore, hardly any change has occurred to their language. Probably this is due to the fact that their language is easily understood by others, while they find no difficulty in apprehending the language of their neighbours. In other words, there was hardly any necessity for change in their dialect, to converse and communicate with others.

2.29 In the Paliya settlement, unlike in the case of Mannans, there was only one group leader, named 'Kanikkaran' who was held in esteem. The Kanikkaran used to enjoy many privileges by virtue of his position. His wise counsel was usually

1. L. A. Krishna Iyer, Travancore Tribes and Castes, Vol. III, p. 28

sought to settle a dispute or a general issue of great import. On such occasions, the Kanikkaran was the head of a coteric, an august body consisting of other esteemed elder members too. The salubrity of a marital relationship the flagitious crime of adultery or sexual immorality, etc. were no doubt, discussed and disposed of by this court. It was customary that persons convicted by this court comply with its decision. If anybody refused, he invariably faced proscription. As proscription was bitter than any other punishment, nobody ordinarily dared it.

2.30 But now the importance and influence of this post of power has almost died out. Young men and women prefer an independent way of life to one bound by any out-moded rules or regulations. Each menage is self-dependent and no neighbour is of any help or sway to it. It is understandable, too, in their present plight. After all, it is the inherent characteristic of man to desire his independence and to strive for it. The substantial changes in their ambiences have been mainly responsible for this change from their old way of life. Frequent meetings of elders were there in the past. But now it is seldom held probably because the people never need it, nor can they heed to it.

2.31 The Paliyas have reported that they were driven to the present place from their jungle habitats, which were in the game reserve area. The huts of these tribes are situated on the slope of a hill and they are almost in a line. The area but for a small outlet at the north-eastern side is surrounded by the game reserve forests. Water resources in this area are scarce during summer seasons.

2.32 The different occupations of Paliyas are labour, collection of firewood from the forests (this is being done without the knowledge and consent of the forest authorities) and agriculture. These people are at time engaged in fishing and mat weaving, but it is not with any considerable monetary gain.

2.33 The religion of Paliyas can be said to be Hinduism, in the sense that it has greater similarity, and affinity, to Hinduism than to Christianity or Islam. It is different from even tribal religion. It can be presumed, taking into consideration their former place of habitation and nomadic nature, that during the past they might have turned to worship some jungle stones, images or trees, out of fear and cognizance of their own weakness. They were aware of their inability to obviate the evils in the forests, which they believed were the homequarters of bloodsucking vampires, and fierce wild animals. Now the conditions have entirely changed, changing them too.

2.34 Paliyas hold Lord Karuppa Swami – a deity near Sabarimala as their supreme God, and he is believed to bring them all good, in return for their pious loyalty. Besides, they worship Lord Sastha, goddess Kali, and all other gods or goddesses whom the Hindus worship. They often visit temples and offer pious donations. The Kali is propitiated to obviate evil spirits and their evil influences, and also to shield them from deadly diseases.

2.35 The mode of worship of the Paliyas is similar to that of Mannans. They bow down before the deity, in humility and piety, with folded palms. The rituals used by these Paliyas are reported to be vermillion, flowers, camphor, frankincense, paddy and rice. Now there are no animal sacrifices to propitiate any blood-fonding deity. Instead they are offering cocoanuts, fruits, cooked rice, etc., as if to please the gods, whom they worship.

2.36 'Mantras' and its mysterious effects are now no more than mere myths according to the Paliyas here. Nobody among them has reported the efficaciousness of 'mantras' in curing diseases. In fact there is no one among them now who are well versed in sorcery or conjuration.

2.37 The spirits of the departed are said to be feasted, annually, in a function called 'Chathamuttu'. They believe that if they fail to do this, the spirits will grow wrathful to them, and cause innumerable troubles. But for this, they hold no function or ceremony for their ancestors. Obviously, what they do is different from ancestor worship.

2.38 The obvious aim of their observing religious rites is mere material prosperity, such as good yield in agriculture, protection from disasters, etc. This faith is evidently blind or superstitious. Their religion hardly helps them in edifying themselves, or in attaining spiritual amelioration.

2.39 Paliyas have had ample association with the non-tribes, especially after they have come to their present place of residence. The aftereffects of this association were not quite pleasant. Their low economic and social position, coupled with their ignorance, often finds themselves the helpless victims to the sordid influence and pernicious persuation of the local nontribes. The Paliyas are reported to be having no tight moral custom even from very early times. Loose morals are characteristic of their loose way of life.

House Type

2.40 The settlement of the tribes here is in an area extending over 120 acres. The area is in close proximity to the Game reserve forests.

2.41 The Mannans live in huts erected on the ground level. The huts are made of reeds, leaf of reeds, bamboo, straw and wooden poles. The average size of their traditional form of hut is 19′ x 10′ x 9′. Ordinarily each hut is with one entrance and very rarely with two entrances. With no windows or ventilators, ordinarily a hut has no compartments. The floor of the hut is covered with thick layers of mud or clay. Mannans never use cattle-dung for flooring or plastering, as it is taboo for them.

2.42 There are however, three buildings with brick walls, tiled roof and cemented floorings, all constructed with the financial help from the Government. These three houses are built on high plinths, and each has one verandah, one bedroom and one kitchen.

2.43 The Mannans show preferment to live at close quarters. The tribal gregariousness still remain unabated even-though they have undergone many other changes. Apart from the traditional trible gregariousness, this is actuated by other reasons too. It is often their lot to fight the intruding wild animals unarmed. To them it is prudent to units and fight the foes, and moreover, it is a compelling necessity too.

2.44 The peculiar nature of the Mannans is that when a hut becomes slightly damaged, they totally forsake it, and take shelter in the neighbours hut. The construction of huts is mainly the task of male members, and, with their characteristic sloth coupled with many other unfavourable factors, they often defer erecting a new hut.

2.45 Mannans do not appear to be particular in keeping the hut and its premises clean. As most of the huts are not with compartments, the hearth is always seen on one corner of the hut. While cooking food, the entire hut is filled with smoke. The ashes in the hearth get spread everywhere in the hut, at every blow of breeze. Also, it seems that they have got a peculiar hankering for their old forms of hut, for, even when they have good houses with granite walls, they erect extensions to them using reed, reed leaves, straw, etc. The riff-raffs are indiscriminately thrown around the hut. Perhaps, it is too much to expect them to keep the surroundings of their huts clean, while they do not keep their huts themselves clean.

2.46 Most of the Paliya households live in huts. The materials used for building the huts are reeds, reed leaves,



Pl. 9 A MANNAN GROUP IN FRONT OF THE HUT



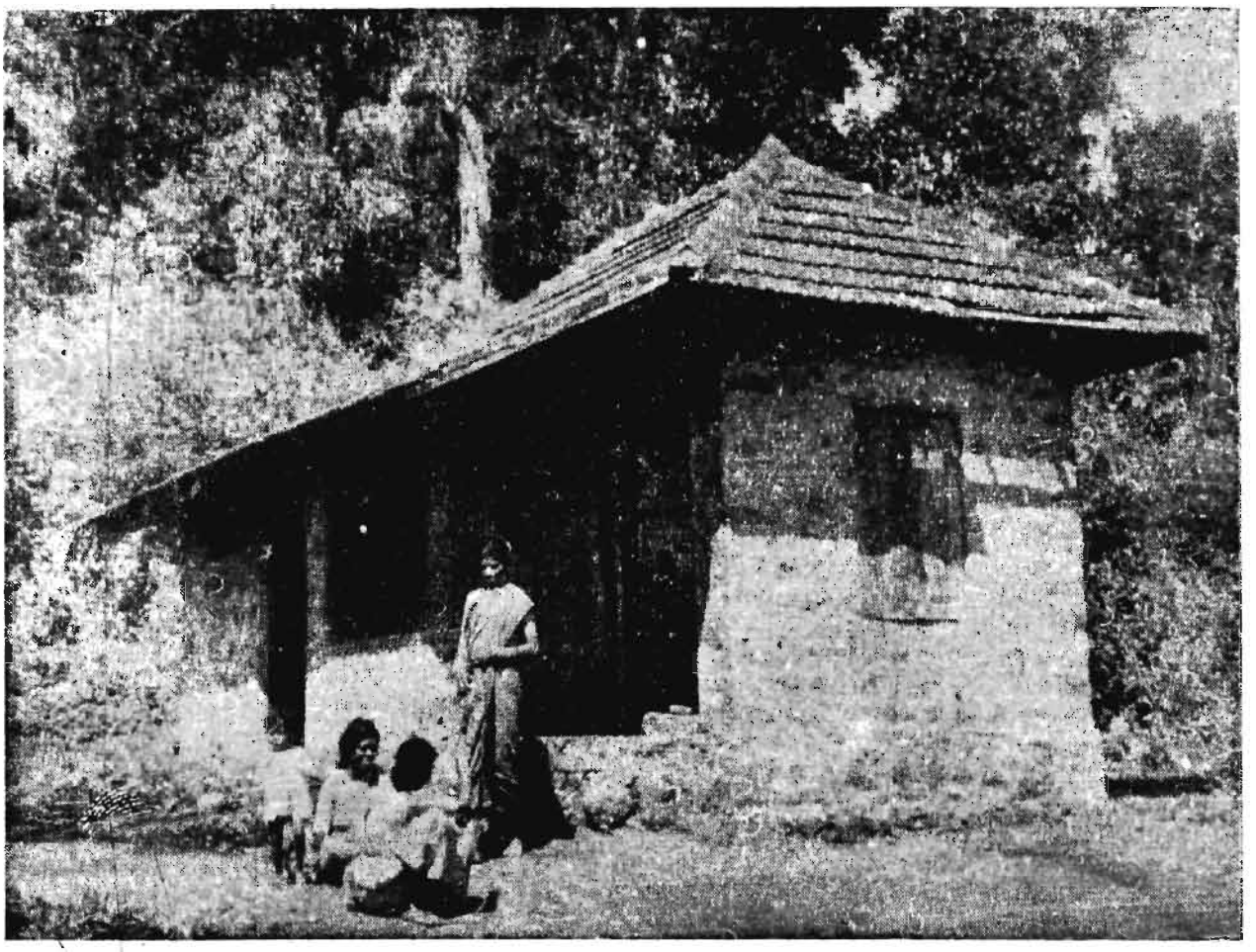
Pl. 10 A PALIYA MALE Page 119



Pl. 11 A PALIYA FEMALE WITH GRANDSON Page 119



Pl. 12 A PALIYA GROUP Page 119



Pl. 13 PALIYAS IN FRONT OF THE GOVERNMENT BUILT HOUSE



Pl, 14 A MANNAN MOTHER — SEE THE EASY WAY OF CARRYING THE CHILD Page 120

wooden poles, and bamboo and straw. The average size of their hut is 10′ x 12′ x 10′. Their huts are erected on ground level. As in the case of Mannans, there are no compartments in a Paliya hut. Three buildings with granite walls and tiled roof have been constructed by Government and given to these tribes. Each of these buildings consists of a verandah, a bedroom and a kitchen. But Paliyas here appear to be quiet unwonted in placing any distinction to these compartments. Hearth is sometimes seen set in the verandah or even in the bedroom. Cleanliness is next to nothing in the huts of these Paliyas. In fact, Paliyas are worse than Mannans in this respect. The floor is laid with mud. Often it is seen loosened at different corners of the hut by their pet dog, which comes in and sleeps comfortably beside its masters. With no ventilators or windows a hut ordinarily has not more than a single door, and as in most of the huts, the door is too small that one has to wriggle into the hut through this. The premises of the hut are often found to be detestably unclean. On the whole, the surroundings of their hut have a very disgusting and despicable appearance. Another feature is their wonted, but wanton, gregariousness. While there is no room to swing a cat in such a small sized hut, it is ordinarily occupied by more than one household, and in most of the cases by not less than three households. The condition of each living in the hut can only be left to one's imagination.

2.47 It, no doubt, appears to anyone, who happens to visit their hut and its surroundings, that the first step in the venture of amelioration of the tribes is teaching them cleanliness and personal hygiene.

Dress and Ornaments

2.48 The usual form of dress of a Mannan male is a dhothi and a head-dress. Those who are possessing a shirt, no doubt, wears it at all times for reasons apart from necessity. Ordinarily, a male has only one pair of dress at a time. At times some of them are however, seen in shorts, while some old men clad themselves with trite, clouted coats. More often these people misuse their clothings, for carrying every odds and ends—varying from provisions to firewood.

2.49 Women ordinarily wear *chela* and blouse. They prefer always gaudy, and deep coloured, cloths. Their mode of dressing is not anything peculiar. At a time ordinarily every woman possesses two pairs of dress. Children are often seen dressed in pieces of *dhotis*. Boys wear shirt and shorts while girls wear blouse and *pavada*, or frocks.

2.50 It has been noticed as a general characteristic that these people show scant regard for cleanliness, as all of them appear in detestably shabby dress. One reason for this might be that they cannot have shifts, as they possess hardly more than a pair, or so, at a time, their poor financial position prevents them from possessing a sufficiently good number of pairs of dress. Women sling their babies on their back, using the upper end of their *chela*.

2.51 Mannan women wear ear ornaments chains and bangles made of brass or tin. Glass and plastic bangles are also commonly worn by them. Mannan males do not ordinarily wear any ornaments, except rings of brass or tin. Mannans do not possess costly ornaments or the like, because they can hardly afford to buy those. There is no distinctive feature of their ornaments and the ornaments are usually bought from local shops.

2.52 The most common dress of a Paliya male is a *dothi*, and a shirt or a baniyan. Ordinarily one will have only one pair of dress at a time. Often these people appear in untidy clothes. Women wear *chela* and blouse. Their peculiar preference for garish dresses of scarlet, deep yellow, deep blue or purple colour is striking. The *chela* is tied round the

body, so as to cover the bosom also, with one end of it which passes over the left shoulder. This end of the *chela* is often used to perch their babies on their back. Like Mannans, these Paliyas also misuse their clothes, by making use of it for carrying rice, provision and, sometimes, even firewood. Most of the women apper in detestably shabby dress. Their uncombed brown hair, with hardly any stain of oil on it, gives them a despicable mien. Even though it has to be admitted, in deference to their strong assertion that they wash themselves daily it can be stated free from fear of contradiction, that they seldom clean their clothes. The case of children is indescribably bad. Children, in their usual, day-long dander, appear either with a piece of *dhoti*, or *chela*, indifferently tied on their body, or with an indiscriminately town and trite shirt or blouse – the ownership of which more often than not, is surreptitiously shifted to them from their elders. When the grown-up themselves are indifferent to maintain at least a minimum standard of cleanliness, it would be too much to expect a better standard from the young ones.

2.53 Most of the Paliya women and children are possessing chains, ear ornaments, nasal ornaments, and rings, made of brass or tin, glass and plastic bangles are also used by them. Few women, however, reportedly possess gold ornaments. Like Mannans, Paliyas also buy their ornaments from local shops.

2.54 It is seen from table IX that the variation in expenditure on dress of the households are relatively small when compared with that of their annual income.

2.55 The expenditure on ornaments is meagre for most of the families. The convincing explanation that can be offered to this is that they can hardly afford to spend too much on ornaments. But they are no exceptions to the universal human hankering for embellishing themselves, and to appear at their best. They, therefore, satisfy themselves with cheaper ornaments. A few households however, have costly ornaments, too.

Household Goods

2.56 Mannans use pots and plates, made of clay. Food is prepared in clay pots, and is served in clay plates, using a cocoanut shell with a long bamboo handle. Some people have turned to using aluminium utensils, too, along with clay utensils. Quite a few households possess mortar and pestle, they are mostly of their own make. Hardly any household possesses brass utensils or the like. One thing they have in plenty is basket of their own make.

2.57 All that the Mannans possess in the name of furniture are some reed mats of their own make. The pleasing hospitability displayed by the Mannans, when they offer a reed mat to guests, no matter even when they are strangers, is suggestive of their traditional etiquettes.

2.58 Paliyas too possess reed mats of their own make. Baskets in plenty will be in every hut, as the possession of it involves no monetary commitment. The wealth of domestic utensils for them is that of a few clay pots, plates and cups, and very rarely some aluminium plates and cups. All these things they purchase from markets.

Food and Drink

2.59 The dietary habits of these tribes are peculiar. Formerly these tribes were entirely depending upon forest game and the wealth of forest-vegetables. They had, however, certain taboos during the past, some of which are still retained inspite of the many changes they have undergone perforce, regarding the use of meat.

2.60 Most of the Mannans and Paliyas have some *kanji* (rice or ragi) at daybreak. Usually, this would be what they might have spared from the last supper. If tapioca is available, it will invariably be an item of the breakfast.



Pl. 15 AN OLD MANNAN WOMAN — SEE THE PECULIAR HAIR STYLE Page 120

2.61 After breakfast, men go out for labour, while women go for fishing and collection of firewood. These tribes do not ordinarily have lunch during mid-day. But, if obtainable they can have anything. After the day's work, they rush to nearby hotels, to answer to their stomach's call. They eat and drink to their hearts content. Usually, almost every member of the household, children in particular, will manage to share this lunch of the householder. This system, obviously, costs them a sizable share of their day's earnings, though the food value obtained through this is far from commensurate with it. With the balance left, they buy some rice, provisions, etc., for the supper.

2.62 The staple food of these tribes can be considered to be rice, though ragi is consumed in not much lesser measures. They cultivate ragi, with as much interest as they have for paddy cultivation. Powdered ragi is boiled with water to make a kind of pudding. This is a delicious dish for them. It has been reported that they do not even bother themselves to remove the husk of these cereal.

2.63 The vegetables that are commonly used by them are *cheera* plant – which grow luxuriantly in the forest, wild roots called 'Nooran; Vallikizhangu', etc., mangoes, jack fruits tubers like tapioca and sweet potato, and numerous others which are locally available. Cocoanuts are used only by some among the Mannans while others decline to use it on a traditional superstitious belief. With a drift to acute want of vegetables the Paliyas live on the stem of a wild shrub called 'Kattuchembu'.

2.64 The tribes are very fond of animal flesh. The use of beef and meat of bison is however, forbidden to them. Meat of deer, sambur, pig, squirrels, lizards, fowls, sheep or goat, etc., are taken and relished by them. They do not go for hunting nowadays Their economic position does not permit them to buy meat from shops. Therefore they have to do without it in these days, except when they get quite fratutiously the carcass' of certain animals during their dander through the forests. The tribes rarely use eggs, not because of any tribal objections, but because it is rarely obtainable, and more, particularly, very costly. A few households are reported to possess hens.

2.65 Fish is an everyday item for them, which not only adds to the quality of the food but also to the quantity of it. Placing no restriction to scaled or scaleless fish, they consume abundant quantities of fish every year They wholly depend upon the Periyar lake, which has a wealth of fishes for their requirements. Mannans are experts in fishing and, it is said, that dexterity in fishing is almost inherited by them. It has been observed that their method of preparation of fish requires essentially some healthy modifications.

2.66 Mannans and Paliyas drink coffee and tea. They depend mainly on hotels for these, as they are rarely prepared at their homes. Besides coffee and tea, they have intoxicating drinks too as and when they are available. Probably, no one among them have any scruples against intoxicants. But the only restricting factor is their poor financial position.

2.67 It may be seen from table IX that there is a vide variation in the expenditure on food for the different households with different incomes. However, one common feature for all the households is that the expenditure on food has the lion's share of their gross income.

Beliefs and Practices

2.68 The tribal beliefs and faith regarding birth is basically in conformity with the universal beliefs; but they have their own practices.

2.69 Mannans confine the woman in labour to a seclusion shed, which they erect for this sole purpose. She will be attended to and nursed by elder female members of the family. They observe pollution preceded by birth. According to their

traditional practice, the mother will be confined to seclusion for over 30 days, after the delivery. During this period, food and other requisites, are served to the mother and baby in their privacy. When the pollution is over, the mother and baby bathe and come back to the main hut. It is customary of Mannans to have no ceremony on child birth, or on naming the child. Usually, the child is given its grand-parent's name.

2.70 Paliyas, too have similar practices, in the matter of child-birth, but they celebrate the naming of the child. Often it is called by its grand-parent's name. During this ceremony, the neighbours and relatives are feted.

2.71 The nature of the traditional custom of these tribes people was very rigid during the past. Mannans were so superstitious that a husband never used to go for hunting or undertake any hazardous enterprise when his wife was in the seclusion shed. Both Mannans and Paliyas were very strict and disciplined in observing pollution preceded by birth. It was their belief, during the past, that if they ever violated their traditional customs, misery would befall them. Obviously, it was out of fear of danger that they abided by their traditional customs and they were never impressed properly of the basic wholesomeness of those. Naturally, with the change of time and environments, most of them have shed the shackling rigidities of their old rules and customs so as to suit their conveniences.

Marriage

2.72 Mannans here have their own marriage customs and ceremonies. They are divided into two moieties "Aravakudi" and "Panikudi". No one among the Mannans here could now give any information on this fundamental division of them into two groups. With respect to the two moieties, Mannans are exagamous; that is, persons of one moiety can marry only those of the other. According to their old custom, the marriage proposal was mooted by the relatives of the bridegroom, the issue was discussed in the coterie of elders, mainly Kanis and the Nattumannan. Relatives of both parties were also allowed to attend the discussion. All these were *de rigueur* for the Mannans even traditionally. If the issue was resolved in the affirmative, the marriage would take place on a prefixed date, ordinarily at the time of the annual festival called 'Swamiccu Kumbidil'. To test whether the union would be suitable and healthy, they used to adopt a curious system. The male and the female were asked to roll themselves on a piece of mat, starting simultaneously from both ends. The position when they collide with each other was noted, and the divination was made based upon that. If the front parts of the two collided, the union would be deemed excellent, if the sides of the two came into contact, the union would be deemed fair; and if they collided with their back the union would be considered bad and not permissible. Another method was the divination, by the 'Thandakkaran', by swiftly twisting a cocoanut, on a sheet of timber, and reading the direction of its face when it would come to a standstill. Now the two systems are not in vogue. According to their traditional custom, a man can marry only his maternal uncle's daughter, or his father's sister's daughter.

2.73 Many of their old customs have undergone perceptable changes by now. A person is now at liberty, albeit now with the pleasant recognition of elders, to choose his or her spouse obviously, the opposition these marriage alliances would bring in can easily be overlooked, as it hardly affects the economic or social status of the family in the present set up. Now each household is independent, and is with practically no control or influence over the other. If, however, there is serious and heavy opposition from elders and relatives, the couples will take to

disappear from among them. Often this will be unpleasent to all, or, at least, to the relatives of the couple; but no one is capable of standing against the indomitable will of the lovers. This inability on the part of the elders and the obstinacy of the youngsters, have entailed many marriages which are not solemnized as per their traditional tribal punctilios.

2.74 The marriage takes place at dusk, in the presence of relatives and invitees. The couple is first made to sit on a piece of mat. Linking the little fingers of the two, by the bride's father, is the solemn ceremony of marriage. After this function, each is profusely garlanded by the other. Clothes, ornaments, etc., are presented by the bridegroom to the bride. Feasting follows the function. It is conventional that the neighbours and relatives contribute their mite for these functions. Entertainment programmes are, invariably, part and parcel of the function.

2.75 The couple ordinarily sets up another hut and live together after the marriage.

2.76 Polygamy and Polyandry are prohibited among Mannans. But polygamy is at times permitted on grounds of ill-health or sterility of wives.

2.77 Levirate and sororate systems are also not in practice among Mannans, nor are they backed by their traditional tribal laws.

2.78 Divorce is permissible under the tribal law, but only on adequate grounds. Infidelity or lack of proper concinnity between the married couple is stated to be adequate reason. It may be mentioned here that these people do not in anyway bother themselves to deliberate on the financial position of each other before they marry. So much so, divorce never takes place on the grounds of financial insecurity or inequality. Ordinarily, elders are consulted before effecting a divorce. Children of the divorced couple may either stay with the mother or be taken away by the father. After divorce, they are at liberty to remarry.

2.79 The marriage customs of Paliyas are somewhat similar. Girls are held nubile at the age of 16. Usually girls are married only after they attain puberty. The parents of the bridegroom moot the marriage proposal to the parents of the bride. If both parties are willing, the group leader and elders in the group are consulted. The merits and demerits of the union are discussed in detail by elders and relatives. If decided in the affirmative, the marriage will be solemnized according to the traditional tribal customs. The appositeness of the union is judged merely by a superficial study of the physiognomy of the couple. Unlike Mannans, Paliyas do not have any device to divine the suitability of the union.

2.80 The marriage takes place at dusk in the bride's hut. Relatives and invitees collect themselves in the hut to witness the function, and also to wish good for the couple.

2.81 The couple sit on a reed mat in the presence of elders. The bridegroom then ties a *tali* round the neck of the bride, implying as it does the girl is taken to his care and credit. The bride then garlands the bridegroom. Both of them present new clothes to each other, and, after an exchange of *pansupari* the couple links their hands together. The marriage ceremony is over by this. Feast and entertainment programmes follow the marriage function. After marriage, the couple ordinarily sets up a new hut.

2.82 No dowry system is prevalent among Paliyas because their economic position is generally very poor. Since all of them live by the sweat of their brows, a marriage never involves monetary considerations. In their present condition, earning the family's bread is not entirely the prerogative of the males.

2.83 No legitimate case of polyandry has been found among Paliyas. It is said that this system is not in vogue among

them, although there is no legal objection to it.

2.84 One person among them is reported to have possessed two wives at a time. As his first wife was sterile, he married his wife's younger sister too. But for this, there is no other case of polygamy among them. Levirate and sororate system are also permissible for them, on grounds of help to the poor and suffering.

Death

2.85 Death is deemed to be inauspicious and unholy by these tribes. Even if it is described as the "radical cure to life's sorrowing problems" it is greeted by none; instead, is viewed with grief and gruesomeness.

2.86 Mannans have their own peculiar obsequies. Neighbours and relatives throng in the house of the deceased at news of death. While consoling the members of the bereaved family, neighbours and relatives arrange for the burial of the corpse. The burial has to be conducted by persons in the 'kudi' (group) other than that of the defunct. This arrangement is, obviously, for convenience, and is being continued as a convention.

2.87 The corpse is taken to a place about 50' away from the hut, and is washed in cold water. The corpse is shrouded with new clothes, usually supplied by the nephews of the deceased. The dead body is then covered in a reed mat, and is placed on a bier made of reed and leaf of reeds. The bier and the corpse are decorated with flowers of various colours. Burning of sandalwood and frankincense is invariably done to counteract the miasms of the corpse. It is then carried to the nearby jungles by relatives and friends. A pit of about 3' to 4' depth is dug in the north-south posture, and few reed leaves are thrown into the pit so as to cover the bottom of the pit The corpse is then lowered into the pit with its head pointing southwards. Paddy is thrown on to the body as if to pacify the spirit of the dead. There is still the influence of a popular, age-old belief that the spirit of the dead will be roused to do manifold harms to the living, if they do not supply the dead all that the person liked and possessed in his lifetime. After this, over the corpse but within the pit, they erect a covering using reed and reed leaves. This is simply to ward off the sand thrown inside, from touching the corpse, so that "the spirit of the dead shall not suffer suffocation". As the sand is thrown into, so as to fill the pit, the relatives of the defunct burst into boisterous bewailings. A small stone is placed on the burial place to indicate the position of the head of the corpse.

2.88 All invoke their Lord Sastha to give divine bliss and eternal beatitude to the spirit of the dead. The soul is believed to go to the domain of Sastha. According to their traditional rule, the corpse can only be buried and not cremated.

2.89 When the burial is over, all return home after a bath in the rearby river or stream. The relatives and neighbours are then feasted. Rice, items of provisions, vegetables, and sometimes even money are contributed to the bereaved family by others at this occasion.

2.90 After seven days, the place of burial is again visited by the relatives of the dead. They jointly lament the eternal loss, standing on the premises of the burial-ground. After this, no one ordinarily thinks about the departed. The fear of the ghost of the defunct prevents these people from getting too much concerned about him later. Only once in a year they conduct "Chathamuttu" (feasting the dead) ceremony to sooth and satiate the departed souls.

2.91 Paliyas have their own peculiar obsequies. At the news of a death in a hut, neighbours and relatives rush to it and throng round the corpse. All boisterously bewail the eternal bereavement While consoling the bereaved family, neighbours arrange for the burial of the

corpse too. The corpse is laid on a bier of reeds and is carried to a place 100' away from the hut. After it is bathed in cold water, the corpse is anointed with turmeric water. The corpse is then covered with new clothes and bier is embellished with flowers. Frankincense and *bathies* are now burnt. The corpse is then taken in a cortage to the graveyard, relatives immediately following the corpse. A grave of about 3' depth is dug in the thich jungle in the north-south posture. A reed mat is then spread in the pit and the corpse is then lowered on to it along with the bier, the head pointing to the south. A handful of paddy is thrown on the body, as if to please the spirit of the dead, lest, it is believed, the spirit of the dead should grow wrathful and move about 'Plaguing' the living. A reed mat is then spread over the corpse and the pit is filled with sand. A stone is kept at the position of the head to mark its position. The mourners return home after a bath in a river or stream.

2.92. The neighbours and relatives who have attended the function are feasted on the day. The bereaved family is helped by their relatives and friends with contributions of rice, vegetables and, sometimes money. The members of the bereaved family remain awake throughout the night that follows the day of interment. They observe pollution for 7 days, and on the 8th day the relatives of the defunct throng round the grave. Some *pansupari* is placed at the side of the stone and all return home. No monument is erected on the grave to commemorate the deceased. Later, they conduct what they call "Chathamuttal" or feasting the departed souls. They have no concept of heaven or hell, nor of rebirth.

2.93 It has been noticed that, inspite of the many changes these tribes have undergone, their traditional tribal obsequies are being observed, without fail, even now. Probably, this is because one hardly dares to be deliberately defiant to these traditional rules when distressed by the affliction caused by death.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Economic Resources

3.1 Kumali has vast expanses of fairly fertile land The fertility of the soil and the responsiveness of it to the plough curb considerably the troublesome task of cultivation here. Kumali has favourable climatic conditions, too, for agriculture. A majority of the population here are agriculturists and agriculture is certainly one of the most profitable items of enterprise. A variety of crops are raised in the soil of Kumali. Some of the important crops are paddy, sugar-cane, ragi, pepper, cocoanuts, areca-nut, rubber, coffee, tea and cardamom. Land here is cultivated only once in a year. The crop yield is fairly high in this locality. The average rate of yield of paddy is said to be 45 *paras* per one *para* of seed sown. Wet land here bears a low proportion to the dry land. Besides these areas of fertile land, Kumali has extensive areas of fallow land. Further, Kumali has commendable forest wealth. These forests here are the treasure-house of a variety of timber like teak, Rosewood etc. Collection of forest produces is done periodically. Cutting and selling of timber from the forests, apart from contributing to the commercial activities of the village, ensures, labour for the local people. The tribes people collect firewood from the forest and sell it in the market. For them, this has become a regular source of income.

3.2 Kumali has fairly good cattle wealth. Milch cows and buffaloes are numerous here, while he-buffaloes and bulls are also seen in almost equal number. Goats and sheep are few here. The most important aspect of cattle wealth here is the inexpensiveness of their maintenance. The vast forest area is a free grazing ground to all cattle. As the majority of the population are agriculturists, the importance of possessing cattle is widely felt. Also, as agricultural activities are accrescent, both in its sphere and intensity, the cattle population is also increasing commensurately.

3.3 Industrial activities in this village are scarce. Some households are seen manufacturing molasses (crude sugar) from sugarcane. But this is seasonal, and is small too in the matter of labour requirements and production. There are some small units here, possessed by certain households, and this is no more than a cottage industry. This industry has, particularly, no influence on the economic life of the village, except of course in the season peculiar to this.

3 4 Besides this, a brick manufacturing unit is also found at Kumali. The raw materials for this are obtained locally. The manufacturing and selling of bricks require labour. But, as this is only a small unit, the impact of it on the economic life of the village is rather insignificant.

3.5 Commercial activities are ever on the increase here. The main commodities are agricultural produces. The next in importance is timber.

Factors influencing Economic Life

3.6 The recent land reforms have left practically no impact on the economic life of the village. Most of the land here is owned by Government, and it is occupied by different persons as tenants. Obviously, the recent land legislations can hardly effect any change in the present set up.

3.7 As regards the tribes, they have

no land of their own. They are settled in a plot of land, which is part of the game sanctuary area.

3.8 As has been gathered, agriculturists here are not given any particular incentive for improvement of land, in the form of financial grants, etc. Land improvement costs the cultivators heavily and ordinarily, this is not attempted in a large scale by any of the poor peasants here. The big cultivators have reported certain other difficulties created by the present taxation policy of the Government. In short, land improvements, except of course, the periodical ones, are not attempted by the cultivators.

3.9 As regards the tribes, only the periodical bunding, etc., are done by them. They cannot ordinarily do costly land improvement enterprises no matter even when it is reassuring, because of their poor financial position.

3.10 There is no trend of industrialisation of the village. Industrialisation, no doubt, will have a salutary effect on the economic life of the village. But even the existing small industrial units are not fed with any encouragement. The urbanization of the village is obviously tardy; yet it is hearteningly progressive. The financial position of a majority of the people here is poor, and this is one of the basic reason for tardy development of the village.

3.11 As has been indicated earlier, Kumali has no recognised market centre. Small merchants come to different parts of the village, and collect agricultural produces from there. As there is no much competition among these merchants at the same part, often the peasants have to suffer great losses in disposing their agricultural commodities. The local panchayat has proposed to establish a market at Kumali. This will have its own influence on the economic life of the village, and, in addition, boost up its commercial activities.

3.12 Credit facilities in this village are poor, if not nil. There are no banking or co-operative credit institutions which extend credit facilities to the people. However, the existence of private moneylenders cannot be ruled out. But, no one is having any significant role. It cannot be overlooked that there is no wide scope of utilisation of funds here, even when they are made available in the form of credit. There is hardly any scope for investing money in industry or commerce. Therefore the only choice for them is agriculture which calls for only limited investment in the existing condition.

Economic Activities and Nature of Change

3.13 As has been indicated earlier a majority of the people here are peasants. There are, however, a good number of unskilled manual labourers. A few are merchants. Most of the tribes here are unskilled manual labourers.

3.14 It has been observed that among Mannan males, barring children of age 14 and below nearly 93 per cent are workers. Excluding the female children over 50 per cent of the women are workers. The two main occupations of these Mannans are labour and agriculture.

3.15 Among Paliya males, excluding children of age 14 and below, over 90 per cent are workers, while among women who are of age 15 and above, over 79 per cent are workers. Obviously this is greater than the percentage of working women among the Mannan community. The different occupations of these tribes are found to be labour, collection of firewood and agriculture. Although fishing and mat weaving are taken up by a section of the tribes, they are of no considerable monetary gain. Most of the women are engaged in collection of firewood.

3.16 All these tribes were formerly full-time agriculturists, as has been reported by them. But in their present settlement, crop destruction by wild animals of the game sanctuary is almost a regular feature. The tribes have sustained heavy losses on account of this.

Their enthusiastic efforts had often failed to ward of these ravaging wild animals from their agricultural plots. Because of this distressing state of affairs, there has been a sharp decline in their interests towards agriculture. Consequently, most of them turned to labour, mainly agricultural labour, which ensured them a more or less steady income. This change has, however, been gradual. Most of the households have attributed only secondary importance to agriculture, for it is not yet free from the risk of being tampered with, or dewtroyed, by wild animals.

Ownership of Economic Resources

3.17 As has been indicated earlier, the high ranges of Travancore was formerly left unoccupied With the pressure of population in the plains, and also with the enthusiastic expansion of agriculture, people began to occupy these high ranges, bit by bit, for purposes of habitation as well as for agriculture. Agriculture was found to be amply profitable, and this was mainly a feature of attraction of the high ranges. Many people began to encroach and occupy these land for cultivation.

3.18 Thus, except a few thousand acres, the entire area of this village is *puthuval* or Government owned land. This *puthuval* land is also now occupied and cultivated by the local people. Evidently, they have no ownership right for these land. The present holders can only bequeth or transfer the possession of land. Another striking feature of this locality is the concentration of land holdings in a few hands.

3.19 Some of these households are maintaining vast estates of rubber, tea and coffee, while some others have leased out, or rather temporarily transferred, the possession of their land to others on receipt of monetary gratification. Nevertheless, the fragmentation of land holdings is on the whole at a low pace in this village. There is no significant trend of change in the nature of land holdings here.

3.20 The live-stock wealth of this village is almost entirely in the hands of the non-tribes; one or two tribal households are, however, reported to possess a few fowls; one household possesses a pair of bullocks. All these tribes are eager to procure live-stock, but they can hardly afford to pay for it. Government as an item of welfare activity, are extending financial help to these tribes for purchasing live-stock. But so far, this has not effected any change in the conditions of these tribes in this respect. One household which brought a pair of bullocks with the grant was unfortunately divested of them not very later than they were bought, owing to their death. Government have not further helped any other households in this locality for the purchase of live-stock.

3.21 Evidently, the persistence of old pattern of the ownership of economic resource is nothing deliberate, but is owing to lack of incentives and definite causes of change.

Table III

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS

(Tribe : Mannan)

Age-Group	Workers		Non-workers		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
9-14	..	..	73	61	73	61
15-34	49	27	5	22	54	49
35-59	24	11	1	8	25	19
60 & over	4	..	..	7	4	7
Total	77	38	79	98	156	136

Occupation

3.22 It has been observed from Table III that among Mannans, children of age 14 and less are not workers. Of the rest, nearly 73 per cent are workers. Considering males and females separately and excluding children below 15 years of age, nearly 93 per cent of males and little over one half of females are workers as has been mentioned earlier. Eventhough the percentage of women workers is low, it can be said that they have a role of shaping the income of their message in as many cases as are not. But when comparing these Mannan women to their next-door neighbours (Paliyas), they are less industrious and less hard-working. This is mainly due to the fact that these Mannans, who were formerly against sending their women for outside labour because of their prohibitive traditional rules and regulation, have still some dislike in sending them out for work. But with the advent of changes in their ambiences, mainly economical, this tendency has been on the decline.

Table IV

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO THEIR PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION

(Tribe : Mannan)

	Total No. of workers		Agriculture		Labour		Others	
Age-group	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-34	49	27	5	..	42	27	2	..
35-59	24	11	4	1	20	10	..	..
60 and over	4	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
Total	77	38	13	1	62	37	2	..

3.23 It has been observed from table IV that nearly 81 per cent of the working males have labour as their principal occupation. Similarly over 97 per cent of the female workers have labour as their principal occupation. Only about 17 per cent of the male workers have agriculture as their main occupation. Obviously, agriculture fails to attract more workers now, whereas labour, which include agricultural labour also, is more attractive to them.

Table V

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO THEIR SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATION

(Tribe : Mannan)

	Total No. of workers		Having principal occupation but no subsidiary occupation		Agriculture		Labour		Collection of forest produces	
Age-group	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-34	* 49	27	12	27	29	..	5	..	4	..
35-59	24	11	6	10	14	1	1	..	3	..
60 and over	4	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	77	38	22	37	43	1	6	..	7	..

* There is one person with two subsidiary occupations

3.24 Agriculture is, however, the major subsidiary occupation of these Mannans. Nearly 56 per cent of the workers have agriculture as their subsidiary occupation, while a little over 28 per cent have no subsidiary occupation at all. The second major subsidiary occupation is, reportedly collection of forest produces, while the third, is labour. Among the women workers, over 97 per cent have no subsidiary occupation at all, while just one woman has agriculture as her subsidiary occupation. Only one person among the lot has reported two subsidiary occupations for him.

3.25 Paliyas found here are more active and industrious than the Mannans (see table VI). Nearly one half of the total population of Paliyas are workers. This is inclusive of children below age 15, who cannot normally work to earn for the family. Excluding them, over 83 per cent are workers. The percentage of women workers among Paliyas is far higher than that among Mannans.

Table VI

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS

(Tribe: Paliya)

Age Group	Total		Workers		Non-workers	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-14	33	31	..	..	33	31
15-34	22	24	19	20	3	4
35-59	18	17	18	14	..	3
60 and over	1	2	..	..	1	2
Total	74	74	37	34	37	40

It has been reported that over 79 per cent of the Paliya women who are 15 and above are workers, while among Mannans only a little over one half are workers. Obviously, Paliya women shoulder nearly an equal responsibility with their men in shaping their family income. However, it is primarily the duty of women to 'prepare' for the family, and Paliya women never venture to shirk this responsibility, too. Thus they not only 'prepare' for the family but also 'provide' for it.

Table VII

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO THEIR PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION

(Tribe: Paliya)

Age-group	Total workers		Agriculture		Labour		Collection of firewood	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-34	19	20	..	..	18	1	1	19
35-59	18	14	1	..	16	..	1	14
60 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	37	34	1	..	34	1	2	33

3.26 The different occupations of Paliyas are reported to be labour, collection of forest produces or firewood, and agriculture. Fishing, mat weaving and basket making are known to them; but they are not widely practised owing to the fact that they are not satisfactorily remunerative. It has been observed (table V) that the principal occupation of nearly one half of the workers is labour. Considering male workers alone, nearly 92 per cent have labour as their principal occupation, while barely 3 per cent of the women workers have it as their principal occupation. Most of the Paliya women here (i.e. over 97 per cent) have collection of firewood as their principal occupation, while only a little over 15 per cent of working men have collection of firewood or forest produces as their principal occupation. Only one person is reported to have agriculture as his principal occupation.

Table VIII

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO THEIR SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATION

(Tribe: Paliya)

	Total workers		No subsidiary occupation		Agriculture		Collection of firewood	
Age-group	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-34 *	19	20	2	19	8	..	10	1
35-59 *	18	14	1	14	12	..	12	..
60 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	37	34	3	33	20	..	22	1

* 8 men have reported two subsidiary occupations for each of them

3.27 Considering the subsidiary occupation of these Paliyas, it has been reported (Table VIII) that slightly over 8 per cent of men, and over 97 per cent of women, who are having principal occupations have nothing to claim as their subsidiary occupation. The rest of the working men have either collection of firewood (including forest produces), or agriculture, as their subsidiary occupation. In fact, eight working men are reported to have two subsidiary occupations for each. Agriculture is only secondary to collection of firewood and forest produces, from the point of view of lucre.

3.28 The traditional occupation of Mannans and Paliyas was, reportedly agriculture. Hunting was also an equally important avocation of them during the past. But now, since these people are settled near the game sanctuary, they are forbidden to do hunting. The authorities have already snatched away their valuable possessions of fire-arms, and the like. In fact, forest rules have even forbidden them to enter into the forests. When they were first settled in their present place they began as usual, their extensive agricultural activities, with avidity characterised by their traditional skill and experience. But much to their distress and disappointment, crop distruction by the ravaging wild animals of the game sanctuary became rampant. These animals make frequent forays into these poor tribes, tilths, when the crops are about to bear fruit, and graze lavishly unobstructed and unhurt. The tribes

here are helpless, in their present predicament, to check these wild animals from trespassing to their fields. The disheartening result is that they suffer serious losses in agriculture. Some of their desperate attempts to drive off these intruding wild animals, mainly wild elephants, have even costed them some of their dear ones' lives. Now it is their first concern to keep themselves away from the reach of these fierce wild animals, no matter even if it will result in the gross destruction of their crops or the smashing away of their humble habitats; these tribes people erect tree-houses and seek protection from these wild animals. With all this, they grow, almost concomittantly, disinclined towards agriculture. Their enthusiasm towards tilth is gradually fading out obviously, the present nature of their agricultural pursuit is meagre or nominal. They can no longer afford to run great risks by embarking on extensive cultivation of their plots. Much against their desire and aptitude, they now lay little stress on agriculture. Nevertheless, the change has been fairly gradual, which is suggestive of the tribes lingering faith and engoument towards agriculture. Now most of them, albeit nilly-willy, have either abandoned or rendered nominal their enthusiasm towards agriculture.

Description of Occupations
Agriculture

3.29 The land here is remarkably fertile and the climatic conditions are fairly favourable. A majority of the people here are agriculturists. The farming practices are still archetypal and is without any modernisation or change. The important agricultural produces here are paddy, ragi, sugar – cane, tubers, plantains, beans, etc. In addition, tea, cardamom and coffee are cultivated on a large scale. Agricultural tools are still of primordial type, and there is no trend of modern tools replacing the traditional old ones. Ploughing, weeding, harvesting, thrashing, etc., are still done here in the traditional old way. The village has no scarcity of labourers. They are engaged on fixed wage rates during the agricultural seasons. There is particularly no organisational venture to make available and utilise man power resources in this village. The extent of credit facilities in this village is meagre, as there are no banking or other credit institutions. Poor peasants here have to depend upon big agriculturists or merchants, in order to meet their credit needs. But, often, this system will be more a taxing and an exacting deal than a timely help. As regards the nature of expenditure towards agriculture, the periodical bunding and ploughing, or loosening the land, claim a good share of the total expenditure. The villagers are not generally using any of the chemical manures. Further since the land is sufficiently fertile, the expenditure towards manure is generally the least. Weeding, harvesting and thrashing claim a sizable share of the expenditure. The wages are paid in kind also, according to the convenience of the employers as well as the employees. Marketing of most of the agricultural produces is done in the village itself. The time of different agricultural activities is chosen according to the appositeness of the climatic conditions, which do not ordinarily show much variations.

3.30 Among the Mannans, nearly one fourth of the households have no cultivation, even when some of them have land. The area of their cultivated holdings varies from 10 cents to 3½ acres, while the average per cultivating family, is found to be nearly an acre (0.96 acre). Over 86% of the cultivating families have paddy cultivation, with the acreage under paddy varying from 5 cents to one and one quarter of an acre. The yield is reported to be poor; and some households have reported even total crop destruction. On an average, the production of paddy per

acre is found to be nearly 62 *paras*. Among the cultivating households, nearly 84% have ragi cultivation. The area under ragi varies from 5 cents to three quarters of an acre. The average yield obtained is reported to be 30 *paras* per acre. Nearly 77% of the cultivating households have tapioca cultivation. The average yield is reported to be 75 lb. per acre. Obviously, the yield per acre of all these crops is strikingly low. This, according to the tribes, is due to the colosal crop distruction by wild animals.

3.31 Among the Paliyas nearly 72% have some agricultural activities. The main crops cultivated by them like Mannans are paddy, ragi and tapioca. The area under each of these crops is considerably small. The maximum acreage under paddy, ragi and tapioca does not go higher than 40 cents, 40 cents and one and one quarter of an acre respectively. The average yield per acre is reported to be 41 *paras* for paddy, 35 *paras* for ragi and 137 lb. for tapioca.

3.32 The tools and techniques used by these tribes for farming are still their pristine ones. They have got an inherrent, unerring skill in predicting the climate, and they adjust the time of their agricultural activities accordingly.

3.33 Most of these tribal households do their tilth themselves, they do not engage people to work for them as they can hardly afford to pay for them. Mannans succour each other during the season of agricultural operations. But it is not widely practised now, as it is not very essential, for each household can better see to their small cultivation by itself. It is a convention among them that one should give food and drinks to one's helpers till the work lasts. Some households have actually reported some expenditure towards this.

3.34 Generally, the tribes are disinclined to incur expenditure on agriculture because of the grave risks involved in it. However, most of the cultivating families have reported expenditure on purchase and repair of implements and purchase of seeds. While a few have reported expenditure on miscellaneous items, including labour charges. The average annual expenditure per cultivating family among Mannans on purchase and repair of implements is reported to be Rs. 3 but it varies widely from Re. 1 to Rs. 14. For the second item, namely purchase of seeds, some families do not incur any expenditure at all, while others do with considerable variation, ranging from Rs. 2.50 to Rs. 23. On an average, each Mannan (cultivating) household spends nearly Rs. 5 on this item.

3.35 The cultivating households among Paliyas also have reported expenditure on these two items. The variation in the expenditure incurred by these different households is comparatively low. On an average each cultivating household spends Rs. 2 for purchase and repair of implements, and nearly Rs. 4 on purchase of seeds. Only one household among the Paliyas has reported expenditure towards payment of labour charges.

3.36 These tribes sometimes take small loans of cash, or seeds from friends, which they repay either at the time of harvest or before. Particularly, there is no other source of credit facilities for these tribes.

3.37 It has been observed that none of these tribal households is cultivating any crop, the annual yield of which is sufficient for them for an year. They have to purchase these items from shops before the year is out, as their own agricultural produces will last only for a few months. The rate of consumption of crop produces viz., paddy, ragi and tapioca, of Mannans is 85.51%, 100% and 90.29% respectively, of the gross produces. For Paliyas, the figures of consumption of these crop produces are not much different from that of the gross production.

3.38 Marketing of crops produce is being done in the village itself. Only

Mannans have sold some paddy and tapioca, and that too in negligibly small quantities. One Mannan household who has some cardamom cultivation is reported to have sold 40 lb. of cardamom for Rs. 400 while just another one has sold a few pounds of pepper.

Animal Husbandry, Fishing and Forestry

3.39 Old methods of Animal Husbandry are still being practised in this village without any modern scientific changes.

3.40 The vast Periyar lake here is rich with a vide variety of fishes. But fishing, in this lake, is forbidden by the authorities. Nevertheless, people here have their own way of being impervious to the rigid regulations, or have their own way of hoodwinking the authorities. The Mannans here are said to be deft in fishing, a skill which is almost profecticious for them, it is said. Local people allure the Mannans here, with promises of handsome remuneration, to fish furtively in the lake for them. This has become lucrative and flourishing enterprise for some of the local people, who go almost unnoticed and unhindered by the authorities. Mannan women and Paliya women catch small fish from the lake, with their simple device of entrapping them in a plate, covered with a cloth having a hole in the middle (to let in the small fish). These they entirely allot for personal consumption. Tribes people do not sell the fish they catch on their account, as they are themselves badly in need of it. Further, these tribes do not possess the implements such as fishing net, hooks etc. to conduct fishing in a large scale. These are being supplied to them by the local people for whom they work.

3.41 The game reserve forests are maintained entirely for the preservation of the wild animals, and therefore, forestry. Collection of forest produces or the like, are not so far a serious concern of the authorities. However, frankincense, wax, honey, soap nuts, etc. are collected from these forests by the authorities according to the estimates for each year. The tribes are engaged for this on fixed wage rates. The collection for an year is sold in auction, and the cash received therefrom is remitted to the Government.

3.42 The preservation of these forests, so as to purvey the wild animals offering them a natural habitat, is the main concern of the game reserve forest authorities here. This is being avidly endeavoured and almost fully accomplished, seeing to all that it involves.

Village Industries

3.43 There is scarcely any industrial activity in this region. One brick manufacturing unit is seen established here in the private sector. The raw material clay, for this is obtained from the low areas of the locality. The manufactured goods are sold to commercial establishments in Kottayam or Munnar. This industrial unit is so small that it has practically no significant effect on the economic life of the village.

3.44 Another industrial activity in this village is the manufacture of molasses (crude sugar) from sugar-cane. Evidently this is seasonal, as the raw material for this is cultivated in the village only during a particular time. During the season of activity, there will be a few different units in this village, each established by a set of sugar-cane cultivators. In some units a crushing machine, which works on oil and not on electricity, is used to squeeze the sugar-cane, whereas in some a cattle-drawn mill is used for the same purpose. The next process is to boil the liquid juice and get condensed the sugar contents of it. This is done by actually boiling the liquid in a big vessel. According to the local people, there has been no significant change in the tools and techniques employed for this activity. These industrial units are too small, and have hardly any impact on the economic life of the village because of their low labour requirements.

3.45 The tribes are in no way connected or influenced by the abovementioned industrial activities of the village.

3.46 The tribes are known to have some peculiar skill in basketry, and mat weaving. Most of the households undertake this in their own limited way. The raw material used for this is reed. The tools are simple, and consist not more than a few sharp knives to cut the reeds into strips and to smoothen it. They make mats and baskets of beautiful designs. The source of design is obviously their own skill and aptitude towards this work. The peculiarity of this item of activity is that it is not satisfactorily remunerative for all the labour it requires. Reed is not easily obtainable now and it has to be cut and brought from the core of the forests. Further, they are slow at this work and they require a good lot of time for finishing a product. Unfortunately, these finished products never command a value commensurate with the labour and time involved in their manufacturing. Therefore, these tribes never manufacture these articles with the intention of selling them in the markets. However some time they manufacture these articles on specific (and satisfactory) orders from those who want it.

3.47 The mode of transmission of skill in manufacturing these articles has been from elders to youngsters, through practical instruction. But now, as this is not a lucrative enterprise, the tribes naturally grow less enthusiastic and interested in the transmission of skill to others.

3.48 Normally these people get some orders for these articles during festive seasons, like *Onam*, *Vishu*, Christmas etc.

Commerce

3.49 Commercial activities are accrescent here. Nevertheless, big commercial establishments are totally absent in the village. Only those dealing with essential articles, like cloths, agricultural produces, etc. are seen here. Kumali has many liquor shops, and to many this is an attractive feature of the place. Collection of commercial commodities, mainly agricultural produces, is done through small merchants, and they are disposed of in moderately big quantities. There are no recognised facilities for a storage of these commodities. Commercial activities are uniformly brisk throughout the year, but slightly more brisk during the agricultural seasons.

Other Occupations

3.50 The most important occupation of the tribes here is ordinary unskilled labour, as has been indicated earlier. They generally prefer outside labour because of the easiness and immediate monetary benefit of it, many other reasons apart.

3.51 As has been observed earlier, a good majority of the working Mannans are labourers. The average daily wages is reported to be Rs. 2. Some of the Mannans are reported to be working in the nearby estates, on wage rates of Re. 1 (for male) and 75 p. (for female) a day, but the unique advantage of this is that apart from its regularity, rice, provisions, vegetables, etc. are supplied to the workers at cheaper rates.

3.52 Like the Mannans, Paliyas also prefer to go for outside labour. The Paliya men go in groups to work as labourers at 'Pamba' where a Hydro-Electric project is progressing. The attraction towards this work is mainly the comparatively higher wage rates and the system of work and payment of wages. They are engaged for a term of one month at a stretch, and the final payment is effected only at the expiry of the term. But, meanwhile, small payments will be made to them for meeting their daily expenses. Although the system is so devised as to benefit the employers, it is in effect advantageous to these Paliyas too. These people are not in the habit of saying money, but by this system of payment they will have some cash balance to their credit, at the expiry of every term of

work. This amount they use for purchasing dress, ornaments and the like.

3.53 Mannans here collect forest produces, like honey, wax, soap nuts, frankincense, etc. from the forests and submit them to the forest department. This is a source of income for these people. Paliyas here collect honey from the forest, and stealthly sell it in the market. Also, both men and women among them collect firewood from the forests and sell it in the market. In fact, this selling of firewood is a regular source of income for all the Paliya families here, and the principal occupation of over 97% of the working Paliya women. This is said to be done without the knowledge and permission of the forest authorities. Mannans never collect firewood to sell it in the market, as they are more loyal to the forest department, even traditionally, than these Paliyas. Paliyas overlook the existing rules and regulations because they cannot afford to be defiant to the daily needs. If caught guilty, they will cadge for compassion or commiseration from the authorities.

Indebtedness

3.54 Some of the tribal households were, reported to be in debt during the period of a year beginning from 1st April, 1960. 21 per cent of the Mannan households and 25 per cent of the Paliya households were in debt during the period. Most of these households have taken loans from a co-operative society, during the year 1959. The society, which was started during 1959 with the help of the Welfare Department, later ceased to function. Most of these loans were agricultural loans, and no loan was repaid till the end of the period ending on 31st March, 1961. The regular crop destruction suffered by the tribes has obviously its own influence in this matter. Rarely, these tribes take fresh loans, as their repaying capacity is poor. One or two households were reported to have taken small loans during the period, from friends and neighbours. The repayment of these loans was being effected in instalments. Besides these cash loans, kind loans are also taken by these tribes. But this will ordinarily be repayed at the time of harvest.

3.55 Analysing the indebtedness of the Mannans, it has been observed that during the period there was an increase of 10.06%, from the debt as on the beginning of the period. Repayment was effected only at the rate of 4.5% (roughly) of the total loans during the period, so that at the end of the term there was nearly 3% net increase from the total debt at the beginning of the period. Also it has been observed that efforts are made only to effect the repayment of fresh loans taken during the period, so that the old debts are entirely left uncleared. Although there is a net increase in the indebtedness of these Mannan households at the end of the period, it can be stated that the increase is not with a long stride. In fact the repayments of the fresh loans are being effected in instalments.

3.56 For the Paliya households, there was a 22% increase during the period, from the debt outstanding clearance at the beginning of the period. Repayments were reported to be effected, all towards the fresh loans taken within the period, at the rate of roughly 11% of the total loans during the periods. The net increase in the indebtedness for the period is found to be a little higher than 7%. Thus the increase in indebtednes of Paliya is slightly greater than that of Mannans.

Income and Expenditure

3.57 As has been indicated earlier, the main source of income for these tribes is labour. Agriculture and collection of firewood are the other sources of income.

3.58 In table IX the Mannan households have been classified according to their size and income. As is seen from the table, there is wide variation in the annual income of these households. Apparently, this variation in the income

is partially sponsored by that in the size of the households, as can be observed from the table. However, it is seen from table VII that over 77% of the households lie in the income group of Rs. 501–800; over 21% of the households have annual income of over Rs. 800. The average annual income of a household among Mannans is found to be about Rs. 718.

3.59 The important items of expenditure of these tribal households is reported to be that on food, dress, domestic utensils, ornaments, medical attention, and miscellaneous items including agriculture. Understandably enough, expenditure on food grabs the bulk (over 78%) of their income. Obviously, the expenditure on food varies according as the size of their annual income. Table VIII clearly gives the nature of the variation in expenditure.

3.60 Next in importance is the expenditure on dress. Mannan women have an instinctive interest in bedizening themselves. They almost crave for tawdry, and thus attractive, clothes, and what restrains them from making great leaps forward is, perhaps, their low economic position. Nevertheless, these Mannan women are fairly dressed. Every woman will have atleast an attractive *chela* and a matching, beautiful blouse, which are, no doubt, the priced and cherished possessions of her. Men here are only just sufficiently dressed, as they can hardly afford to have more. Dress claims, on an average, 13% of the annual income of these households. As is seen from table IX, the expenditure on dress increase with increase in income. It is not hard to predict that the expenditure on dress is bound to increase in bulk in future, as these tribes are growing more and more dress and beauty-conscious.

Table IX

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO ITS ANNUAL INCOME

(Tribe : Mannan)

Income group Rs.	No. of households with: 1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	9 members	10 members and over	Total
401—500	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
501—600	..	2	4	6	6	2	1	..	..	..	21
601—700	..	1	2	2	3	..	1	..	..	..	9
701—800	..	1	..	4	2	4	1	1	1	..	14
801—900	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
901—1000	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	4
1001—1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	3
1101—1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2
1201 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	1	1

Table X

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO EXPENDITURE ON FOOD

(Tribe : Mannan)

Income group Rs.	Expenditure on food (Rs)														Total
	301–350	351–400	401–450	451–500	501–550	551–600	601–650	651–700	701–750	751–800	801–850	851–900	901–950	951 & more	
451—500	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
501—550	1	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
551—600	1	1	7	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
601—650	..	..	1	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
651—700	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
701—750	..	..	..	..	1	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
751—800	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
801—850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851—900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
901—950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
951—1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
1001 –1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
1051—1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
1101 –1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
1151—1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
1201 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1

Table XI

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO EXPENDITURE

(Tribe : Mannan)

Income group Rs.	No. of households in the annual expenditure range of														
	On dress (Rs.)						On domestics utensils (Rs.)								
	51-75	76-100	101-125	126-150	151-175	Total	1 & less	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 & more	Total
451-500	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
501-550	4	3	..	..	..	7	..	..	3	1	3	..	..	..	7
551-600	9	5	..	..	..	14	..	5	6	1	1	1	..	..	14
601-650	3	2	..	..	..	5	..	1	2	1	..	..	1	..	5
651-700	1	2	1	..	..	4	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	4
701-750	..	5	3	..	..	8	..	..	2	4	..	2	..	..	8
751-800	..	3	2	1	..	6	..	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	6
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	2
901-950	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	2
951-1000	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2
1001-1050	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
1101-1150	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
1201 and above		..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	18	21	8	8	2	57	..	8	19	13	7	6	2	2	57

(contd.)

Table XI — *concld.*

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO EXPENDITURE

(Tribe : Mannan)

Income group Rs	No. of households in the annual expenditure range of																			
	On ornaments (Rs.)										On medical attention (Rs.)									
	1 & less	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 & more	Total	1 & less	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 & more	Total
451-500	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
501-550	1	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	1	7	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
551-600	2	6	4	..	..	2	..	..	..	14	3	5	4	1	..	..	..	..	1	14
601-650	..	1	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	5	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	5
651-700	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	4	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	4
701-750	1	2	..	2	1	1	..	1	..	8	4	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
751-800	1	2	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	6	3	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	6
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
901-950	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
951-1000	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
1001-1050	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
1101-1150	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	.	1
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
1201 & above	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	.	1
Total	5	17	16	4	7	6	..	1	1	57	17	14	13	5	2	2	1	2	1	57

Mannans spend a small percentage of their income for ornaments, domestic utensils, and medical attention. Each of these costs them only less than a percentage of their annual income. Their ornaments are cheap made of plastic, brass or glass, and their purchasing power is too low limited to embrace costly ornaments of gold, etc. Domestic utensils they possess are made of clay and obviously they cannot cost them heavily. The expenditure on medical attention is reported to be very low, and it is the lowest compared to those, for the various aforesaid items. A little over 7% of their annual income is spent for miscellaneous items. These include expenditure on agriculture and entertainments, along with many other casual items like repairment of huts, donations to religious institutions, gifts, presents to relatives and friends, etc. etc.

Table XII

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO INCOME AND SIZE

(Tribe : Paliya)

Income group Rs.	No. of households with							Total No. of house-holds
	1 mem-ber	2 mem-bers	3 mem-bers	4 mem-bers	5 mem-bers	6 mem-bers	7 mem-bers	
550 & less	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
551—600	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	4
601—650	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
651—700	..	2	2	..	2	..	..	6
701—750	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	4
751—800	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	3
801—850	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
851—900	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	3
901—950	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	3
951—1000	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
1001—1050	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
1051—1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
1101 and above	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	3

Table XIII

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO EXPENDITURE ON FOOD

(Tribe : Paliya)

Income group Rs.	No. of households in the expenditure range of (Rs)														
	400 & less	401-450	451-500	501-550	551-600	601-650	651-700	701-750	751-800	801-850	851-900	901-950	951-1000	1001-1050	1051 & above
550 & less	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
551—600	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
601—650	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
651—700	..	..	1	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
701—750	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
751—800	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801—850	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851—900	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
901—950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
951—1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001—1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
1051—1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
1101 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1

Table XIV

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

(Tribe : Paliya)

Income group Rs.	No. of households in the annual expenditure range of														
	On dress (Rs.)								On domestic utensils (Rs.)						
	50 & less	51-75	76-100	101-125	126-150	151-175	176-200	201 & above	1 & less	2	3	4	5	6	7 & above
550 & less	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
551-600	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	1	..
601-650	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
651-700	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..
701-750	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	1
751-800	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
801-850	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
851-900	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..
901-950	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
1101 and above	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	2	..

(contd.)

Table XIV — *concld.*

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

(Tribe: Paliya)

Income group Rs.	No. of households in the annual expenditure range of												
	On ornaments (Rs.)							On medical attention (Rs.)					
	1 and less	2	3	4	5	6	7 and above	0	1	2	3	4	5 and above
550 and less	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
551-600	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	2	..	2	..	..	..
601-650	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
651-700	..	3	..	1	..	..	2	3	1	1	1	..	..
701-750	..	2	1	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	1	..	..
751-800	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	..
901-950	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
1101 and above	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..

3.61 The economic standard of Paliyas here is more or less similar, or at least not very different from that of Mannans. The variation in the income of different Paliya households is considerably great, as it ranges from Rs. 550 and less to Rs. 1,328. Classifying them further, it has been observed that over one half (56%) of the total number of households here fall within the income group Rs. 551 to Rs. 800, while a little over 31% lie in the income group Rs. 801 to Rs. 1,100. Slightly over 9% of the households are having still higher income, the highest being Rs. 1,328. Table X apparently, suggests the trend of variation in the income of the different households according to size. It has been observed that nearly 95% of the households having annual income less than or equal to Rs. 800 are of size five or less. Again, nearly 62 per cent of the rest of the households having higher annual income are of size six and above. It is fairly evident that the variation in the annual income is partially brought out by the variation in the size of the family However to draw it fine, it is based upon the number of working members in each family, as the remunerations for the different types of work here are not very different. On an average, the annual income of each household is found to be Rs. 797.

3.62 The pattern of expenditure on the various essential items for these Paliyas is more or less similar to that of Mannans. Table XV below gives the various expenditure expressed in percentage to the annual income for Mannans and Paliyas.

Table XV

AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Tribe	Average annual income (Rs)	Percentage of expenditure to average annual income					
		Food	Dress	Ornaments	Domestic utensils	Medicial expenses	Miscellaneous
Mannans	717.91	78.50	13.00	0.49	0.57	0.39	7.05
Paliyas	797.32	78.65	13.82	1.01	0.51	0.16	5.85

3.63 It is discernible from the table that for Paliyas, too, the expenditure on food grabs the lion's share. Considering the individual households (Table XIII) it is observed that the expenditure on food for each household bears a direct and somewhat close, relationship to the income of the household. As per the difference in the average annual income of these two tribes, it can be stated that apparently the Paliyas are better fed as they spend more money on food.

3.64 Paliyas are inordinately desirous of having the most decorative (according to their tastes) dress. Each Paliya woman invariably possesses at least 2 or 3 *chelas* and a suitable number of blouses at a time. Men are also not far behind the women in the matter of their eagerness to possess attractive dress. Thus, it

is no wonder that their major concern next to food is dress, and consequently they devote a comparatively higher share of their income for it. The Paliyas spend on an average 13.82% of their annual income for dress.

3.65 The average expenditure on ornaments for Paliyas is found to be comparatively high. This is because a few households who have reported considerably higher expenditure on ornaments have eventually pushed up the average. Obviously this is an exception, rather than the rule, as they differ a great deal from the common trend set up by the rest (over 81%) of the households. Excluding these, few, the average expenditure on ornaments is found to be nearly 0.4% which is admittedly in conformity with their economic standard. Like the Mannans, Paliyas, too, generally possess only cheap domestic utensils made of clay, and the expenditure reported for it is 0.51% of their annual income.

3.66 Paliyas spend only very little on medical attention compared to that spent by Mannans. The nearby Government hospital is generally their resort in case of illness.

3.67 The miscellaneous expenditure for the Paliyas is barely 6% of their annual income, and thus it is lower than that for Mannans. Evidently, this may be due to their comparatively low expenditure on agriculture, as well as on the maintenance of their huts. Paliyas are living more gregariously than Mannans, and their hovels are generally smaller and simpler in construction.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Sex and Age Distribution

4.1 The tribes claim ignorance of their age and in all cases their age had to be estimated. Those estimates are admittedly crude. Mannans here number nearly three hundred, (292 to be exact), (Table XVI). Slightly over 21% of the total is constituted by children below the age of five, of which exactly one half are females.

Table XVI

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX

(Tribe: Mannan)

Sex / Age	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 & over	Total
Male	31	25	17	6	16	13	19	13	12	4	156
Female	31	22	8	5	14	22	8	13	6	7	136

Further, about 46% of the total is below the age of 15. The sex-ratio for the Mannans is suggestive of male preponderance. There are only 87 females for every 100 males.

Table XVII

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

(Tribe: Paliya)

Sex / Age	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 & over	Total
Male	18	5	10	5	5	6	6	12	6	1	74
Female	13	11	7	8	5	9	2	12	5	2	74

4.2 The numerical strength of Paliyas here is still smaller than that of Mannans. The Paliyas here number only a hundred and forty-eight. Nearly 21% of the total population is constituted by children below the age of 5, and of which over 58% are male children. Classifying the population further, it has been found that children below the age of 15 constitute a little over 43% of the total population. Taking as a whole, the numerical strength of both males and females is equal, although in the different age-groups this proportion does not hold good.

Birth Statistics

4.3 A very earnest attempt to study the fertility rates of these tribes has failed, owing to the inability on the part of them to report correct data regarding births. In fact, they keep no account of time, and they hardly bother themselves to know even the arithmetical sequence of numbers. Therefore it is hardly possible for them to report any of these facts correctly, and they leave it to be judged by others. Needless to stress that a judgment based upon a superficial study of the physiognomy of these tribes cannot be exact. Further the paucity of the population was by itself a major obstacle to a fairly reasonable statistical judgement in this matter.

Table XVIII

MARITAL STATUS

(Tribe: Mannan)

Age-group	Unmarried		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total		Grand total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
0-9	56	53	..	..	..	..	..	..	56	53	109
10-14	17	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	8	25
15-19	6	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	6	5	11
20-24	11	4	5	10	..	..	..	..	16	14	30
25-29	2	..	11	21	..	..	..	1	13	22	35
30-34	..	..	19	8	..	..	..	..	19	8	27
35-39	..	..	8	7	..	..	..	..	8	7	15
40-44	..	..	5	6	..	..	..	..	5	6	11
45-49	..	..	6	1	..	..	..	..	6	1	7
50-54	..	..	3	2	1	1	..	..	4	3	7
55-59	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	2	2	4
60-64	..	..	1	1	2	4	..	..	3	5	8
65-69	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	1	2	3
70 & over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	92	67	60	60	4	8	..	1	156	136	292

Marital Status

Marital status of the Mannans has been classified in table No. XVIII. It is seen that nearly 49% of them are ever married, of which 48% are males. The percentage of 'widowed' among ever married males and females is 6% and 12% respectively. There is one case of divorce, and the divorced is a female.

Table XIX

DIOTS OF MARRIED MALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Mannan)

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage											Average age at first marriage
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30 & more	
20-24	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20 3
25-29	..	1	2	5	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	23 4
30-34	..	1	3	..	3	5	4	1	..	..	..	24.4
35-39	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	3	..	..	..	25 3
40-44	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	25.3
45-49	..	..	1	..	1	2	1	2	..	1	1	26.1
50-54	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	24.3
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	25 0
60 & over	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	2	..	1	26.5
Total	2	4	7	7	8	13	8	6	4	1	2	24.6

Table XX

CLASSIFICATION OF EVER MARRIED FEMALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Mannan)

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage											Average age at first marriage
	15 & less	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
15-19	..	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16.7
20-24	..	..	3	1	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	18.4
25-29	..	1	..	5	6	3	3	1	1	..	..	19.4
30-34	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	20.6
35-39	1	..	1	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	1	19.9
40-44	..	..	1	1	1	..	2	2	1	..	..	20.4
45-49	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18.0
50-54	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	20.5
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	20.5
60 & over	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	18.0
Total	2	3	11	11	14	5	7	6	3	..	3	19.3

In table No. XIX 62 Mannan males have been classified according to their age at first marriage. The age at first marriage for men is reported to vary from 20 to 35. And as is seen from the table a majority of the men marry around the age of 25, and the tendency is more towards marriage on or before the age of 25 than latter. Also there is a discernible trend of increase in the average age at first marriage as the age increases, implying as it does, that the younger generations tend to marry earlier than did the older generation. Similarly, 65 females have been classified in table No. XVIII according to their age at first marriage. Although the age at first marriage is reported to vary from 14 to 25, a majority of the Mannan females marry between the ages of 17 and 21, while the age of 19 has the highest frequency.

4.4 As has been indicated earlier, the Mannans marry their maternal uncles' daughter as a custom. In fact, nearly 96% a total of 71 marriages reported is of the aforesaid type. (See table XXI)

Table XXI

DETAILS OF MARRIAGE

(Tribe : Mannan)

Total number	No relation	Consanguineous relation			Other relations
		e	f	g	
71	1	68	1	1	Nil

e Married to his mother's own brother's daughter
f Married to his father's own sister's daughter
g Married to his mother's own sister's daughter

Only one couple out of the total is reported non-related before marriage. One case was that of a man, who married his father's sister's daughter, while just another one was that of a man marrying his mother's sister's daughter. A man marrying his mother's sister's daughter is traditionally unusual and wrong among Mannans.

Table XXII

MARITAL STATUS

(Tribe : Paliya)

Age-group	Unmarried		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0—4	18	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	13
5—9	5	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	11
10—14	10	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	7
15—19	5	4	..	4	..	..	..	..	5	8
20—24	1	..	4	4	..	..	..	1	5	5
25—29	1	..	5	9	..	..	..	..	6	9
30—34	..	..	6	2	..	..	..	..	6	2
35—44	1	..	11	11	..	..	..	1	12	12
45—59	..	..	6	2	..	3	..	..	6	5
60 & over	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	1	2
Total	41	35	32	32	1	5	..	2	74	74

4.5 Table XXII gives the marital status of the Paliyas surveyed in this centre. It is seen that a little over one half (over 51%) of these Paliyas are never married, of which nearly 54% are males and the rest females. Among the ever married nearly 46% are males, including one widower, while among the ever married females little over 5% are divorced, and nearly 13% are widowed.

Table XXIII

CLASSIFICATION OF EVER MARRIED MALES ACCORDING TO PRESENT AGE AND AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe : Paliya)

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage										Average age at first marriage
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29 and over	
20—24	3	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20.8
25—29	1	..	3	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	22.3
30—34	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	2	1	..	24.4
35—39	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	26.3
40—44	1	1	..	..	1	1	3	..	..	..	24.0
45—49	..	..	1	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	24.6
50—54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	28.0
55—59	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	25.0
60 & over	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	25.0
Total	5	4	8	1	2	8	4	3	3	2	24.0

4.6 Table XXIII classifies 40 married men according to their age at first marriage. As is seen from the table, the age at first marriage varies from 20 to 30 years. But it is discernible from the table, that there is an apparent tendency among the younger generations to marry earlier, than did the older generations. Nearly 67% of the men who are below the age of 35 married by the time they attained 22 years of age, while nearly 73% of men with 35 or more years of age married only after they attained 25 years of age. This is exponible, too based upon their present social and economic conditions. The first and foremost thing is that they are free from the rigidities of their traditional rules these days. One can enjoy ones independence fully, unhindered by any rules or regulations. Secondly males begin to earn their livelihood as soon as they come of age, and their immediate concern would be to marry and set up a separate family.

Table XXIV

CLASSIFICATION OF EVER MARRIED FEMALES ACCORDING TO PRESENT AGE AND AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Paliya)

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage											Average age at first marriage
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
15—19	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15.5
20—24	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	17.3
25—29	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	2	..	2	1	20 1
30—34	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	18.7
35—39	1	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	17.3
40—44	..	1	..	..	2	..	3	..	1	..	1	19.6
45—49	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	19.0
50—54	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	18.5
55—59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	22.0
60 & over	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	18.3
Total	1	6	5	3	6	1	8	2	3	3	2	18.7

4.7 In table XXIV 40 married women have been classified according to their age at first marriage. According to what has been reported girls are held nubile as early as at the age of 14, while the latest age at first marriage was as late as of 24. However, a majority of the women were married between the ages of 15 and 20.

4.8 As has been indicated earlier, Paliyas, too, generally marry their maternal uncle's daughters or father's sister's daughters and out of total of 49 marriages, 67% are of the first type while 14% are of the second type (see table XXV). Nearly 10% of the cases were non-consanguineous and were with no other relationship before marriage.

Table XXV

DETAILS OF MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Paliya)

Total number	No relation	Consanguineous relation			Other relations
		e	f	g	
49	5	33	7	4	Nil

e Married to his mother's own brother's daughter
f Married to his father's own sister's daughter
g Unclassifiable (consanguineous) relationship

Diseases

4.9 The most common disease among these tribes is stomach disease in its various forms. Besides, there are cases of malaria, rheumatism, pneumonia, lung T. B. etc. Generally, these tribes, are not aware of the grave danger posed by these deadly diseases, not in the least aware of their causes. During the former times, they had their own ways of treatment, using certain medicinal herbs. *Invoking goddess (Kali) to obviate the* causes of diseases was perhaps, more important than anything else. But now, according to the people, those who were the repositories of all these knowledge were long dead, imparting the knowledge to none of their descendants. Thus the tribes here are now devoid of any device or skill of treating illness. Their traditional faith in the efficacy of *mantras* and incantations is according to them almost extinct by now. There is a Government dispensary and some Ayurvedic dispensaries in the region. These tribes have more faith in Ayurveda than in Allopathy, as the former is having some similarity with their own old ways of treatment. The expenditure on medical attention is meagre for all these tribes, and Paliyas have comparatively the least expenditure.

Death Statistics

4.10 A very avid effort for studying the death-rates of these tribes has ended in a fiasco, for reasons stated before in connection with the birth statistics. However, it is fairly clear from what has been reported that infant mortality is very high for these tribes.

Education

4.11 A proper aptitude towards education is actuated basically by mental propensity, by any inherited disposition, or virtues. The spread of education among these tribes is at a very low pace inspite of the various facilities preferred to them. It would be germane, in this connection to analyse the position and find where exactly the shoe pinches. The tribes children are entirely left to themselves, and they have their own way of dawdling away their time. Usually they spend most of their day time in idle dander through the forests. Puerile, prattling and playing are, of course, loved by all children but these tribes children are exceptionally ebullient and eager to have these. Sometimes some of them go, along with the elders for catching fish or *cutting firewood, by which they get the* first lessons of emulating their elders. Thus, the ambiences of these children are such that school-going never occurs to their mind. They almost instinctively offer resistance to any force which makes them attend scholastic institutions. In their young minds the idle dander and namby – pamby is much more pleasing and pleasurable than the promise of a crowded class room. Further, their parents are poor advocates of education as they are themselves in a quandary either to understand or to explain what education means to their children. Besides this, they can hardly take time off their bread-earning routine work and persuade these children with sufficient perseverence, to attend to their education. In short, these tribal children in their existing environments, hardly sap while they have not much of incentives to be otherwise.

4.12 Their low economic position is no less a major obstruction to the spread of education. Most of these tribal parents are really hard up to meet all the incidental expenses — in connection with their children's studies. More over, they have to fill up the gap caused by the insufficient supply of stationeries, books and clothes by the Government if they want to have their children through their studies. Naturally the inadequacy of facilities often abates their hard-earned interests towards education. Again, it is the traditional rule of these tribes to share the responsibilities of maintaining a

menace by all its incumbents, as soon as they come of age. An additional working member means much to a household in their present predicament. Thus it is not realistic to expect any one to proceed with his studies, through thick and thin fruitful goal. Therefore, even if some children venture to have an educational career, they will be forced to abandon it even before they are half way through it.

4.13 Nevertheless, it is heartening to note that these tribes are gradually growing aware of the importance and usefulness of education. Persistent persuation, and proffering of facilities, have done a good deal to this end. The Welfare Department has established a primary school in this area in the year 1957. Now classes upto 4th standard are being conducted in this institution. A social service organisation by name Gandhi Sevak Samaj is helping four children from the locality to have schooling at one of their institutions at Kaladi. In addition to this tribal school, there is a craft instruction centre established by the Welfare Department. This institution at its best is expected to nurture the innate talent towards crafts of these tribes, and also to direct it to the proper way. Ten students are being taught in their institution for a specified term each being given a stipend of Rs. 25 per mensem.

Table XXVI

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO THEIR EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

(Tribe : Mannan)

	Age and sex standard													
	0—4		5—9		10—14		15—19		20—24		25 & above		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total persons in the age-group	31	31	25	22	17	8	6	5	16	14	61	56	156	136
1st standard	..	..	6	5	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	9	6
2nd ,,	..	..	5	4	4	4	2	..	3	..	..	..	14	8
3rd ,,	..	..	1	..	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	6	1
4th ,,	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..
5th ,,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6th ,,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7th ,,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8th ,,	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..

4.14 Table XXVI gives the distribution of Mannans according to the educational standard attained by them as on 31st March, 1961. It has been found that nearly 22 per cent of males and 11 per cent of females only have had some education. (At least upto the 1st standard) Excepting one boy, who is studying in the 8th standard, no one among them had schooling beyond the 4th standard. None of the males above 24 years of age and none of the females above 19 years of age have had any education. In the age-group 5-19 a fairly good percentage of the children have attended schools.

Table XXVII

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD AS ON 31ST MARCH 1963

(Tribe: Paliya)

	Age and sex standard											
	0—4		5—9		10—14		15—19		20 & above		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total persons in the age-group	18	13	5	11	10	7	5	8	36	35	74	74
1st standard	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
2nd ,,	..	..	3	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	7	2
3rd ,,	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	3	2
4th ,,	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	3	..
5th ,,	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..

4.15 The plight of Paliyas in the matter of education is comparatively poor. (See table XXVII). Hardly 15 per cent of the total population have had any education compared to nearly 17 per cent among Mannans. No one among Paliyas has studied beyond the 5th standard. Further, no boy above 19 and no girl above 14 have attended any school. Considering males and females separately, it has been found that while 20 per cent of the males had attended schools, only a little over 9 per cent of the females had done so. The reasons for low rate of education among females are not far to seek. Apart from their ingrained insouciance towards education they are not on the lookout of any illustrious life, attainable through education. Their concern, as they grow in age, is to emulate their mothers and not to have a life different from that of the mother or grand mother. This tendency is even among the civilised section of the population, and no one need be ebullient, to excess to eradicate this draw back with elan it is well known that the process of educating women can but be tardy. However, it is heartening to note that a fairly good percentage of the young children are now attending schools, though it remains to be seen whether all of them will go through a full course of education, so as to attain a sufficiently good standard.

Family Structure

4.16 The tribes here are still seen retaining their traditional forms of family structure and intra-family relationship.

As soon as a man and a woman are united in matrimony, they constitute a separate household. During the old days, they even moved into a different hut as a rule, but in these days it is not widely practised owing to many reasons. Thus, in a household there will ordinarily be only a man and his wife and their unmarried children with the man as the paterfamilias. But sometimes, albeit very rarely, some of these households have to accommodate some of their in-laws too.

4.17 Eventhough every couple forms an exclusive household, each holds their relations with cordiality and warmth of feelings. In fact, the tribal families were particularly attached to each other even in their traditional past when the thick jungles and intractable mountains were their home quarters. They had ample, and sometimes even excessive, faith in the maxim 'unit is strength'. They were of help and succour to each other even traditionally. Even now in spite of the many changes they have undergone, this aspect of their familial set up is retained with not much of changes.

Table XXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO SIZE

(Tribe: Mannan)

Size	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 & over	Total
No. of households	..	4	7	14	12	7	5	4	2	2	57

Table XXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO SIZE

(Tribe: Paliya)

Size	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
No. of households	..	4	4	5	10	5	4	..	32

4.18 The aforesaid practice is common for both Paliyas and Mannans. Evidently, the family size of these tribes cannot be too big as each of it will ordinarily be constituted by a father, mother and their unmarried children. In fact, the household size of Mannans is found to be slightly higher than 5 (5.12) to be precise, while that of Paliyas is less than 5 (4.6 to be exact) (See table XXVIII and XXIX).

Rule of Inheritance

4.19 According to the traditional conventions of the Mannans the order of descent is to the nephews (sister's sons) the eldest nephew being the legal heir to the social position, as well as the material wealth of the deceased person. Although the sons and daughters enjoy all the privileges by virtue of their father's position, during his life time, it is not so after the father's death. However, if there are no nephews the properties will be bequeathed to the sons, and the traditional occupation, if any, is inherited by the eldest son.

4.20 The law of descant for the Paliyas is reported to be different. The sons will inherit the material wealth and social position of the father. The eldest son is the legal heir.

Leisure and Recreation

4.21 Leisure and recreational facilities

are scarce in this village. But for a cinema, which functions only intermittantly there is no public place, like a park or such, for enjoying one's leisure. The Periyar lake and the game sanctuary here do not in any way serve the general public in this respect, because a jolly boat ride in the lake is very expensive business, while even the entrance to the game sanctuary is allowed only on payment of a fee.

4.22 As regards the tribes, they have hardly any leisure hours during a day. Their old practices of group dances and group songs are not in vogue now, owing to lack of skilled personnel among them. The only entertainment item for them now is the cinema. The tribes, particularly their women and children are madly fond of it and they attend the cinema as often as they can. One old man among them remarked the women and children are so fond of it that they attend the cinema even at the neglect of their fond This film seeing mania has obviously superceded all their traditive forms of entertainments, and the tribes, hardly bother themselves to the latter.

Religious Institutions

4 23 Religious instititutions in the village are a temple, two churches and a mosque. The temple is said to be very old, and nothing is now known about its origin. The deity is Lord 'Subramanya' a deification in the Hindu mythology.

4.24 The temple has no architectural importance. The institution is managed by the Hindus of the locality. The provenence of finance is, more than anything else, the pious donations of the Hindus. The area of influence of this institutions is the whole village.

4.25 The two churches here are said to be established by the immigrants to this area. The development of these two institutions was concomitant with the increase in Christian population, caused mainly by large scale, influx to this area. The management of these churches is done by a commissary of the superior eccleciastical authority, as is the case with any other church The source of finance is mainly the pious followers of these religious institutions. The area of influence is the whole of Periyar village for these two institutions.

4.26 The local Muslim population, too, have one religious institution. This institution is said to be not very old as a majority of the Muslim population here are relatively recent immigrants. This institution is managed by a religious head of the Muslims and financed by the community. It has influence over the entire village.

4.27 The tribes here have no special religious institution of their own. They can worship the Hindu gods and goddesses as a rule. One household among the Mannans has constructed a separate hut, to keep an image of the family deity (Lord Sastha) in it. Pious donations to the Lord are kept in this hut, to be taken to Sabarimala once in a year.

4.28 The different community festivals here are *Onam, Vishu*, Christmas, Muharam, Ramzan, etc. But the tribes have their own peculiar festivals.

4.29 The annual festival for the Mannans here is what they call *Swamicku Kumbidil* - sagging before Lord Sastha with reverence. This is done immediately after harvest. At day-break, all have an ablution; and they clad themselves in neat — as far as possible new — dress. Then they arrange themselves in different columns, facing the orient with Kani's and elder male members, in the front row to take the lead. Flowers, cocoanuts, plantains, beaten rice and roasted rice are kept in a piece of plantain leaf before them. A pot full of water is also kept on the side of each of this. A measure of raw rice is also kept beside the leaf. Frankincense, *bathis* and camphor are burnt and all these things are said to be offered to their Lord. All of them offer prayers to Lord Sastha, holding up their joined palms in

implicit reverence and occasionally crouching in humility and piety.

4.30 After this prayer ceremony, all disperse and entertain themselves in a feast by midday.

4.31 At dusk, all of them again gather together and offer prayers to Lord Sastha. This is ordinarily followed by entertainment items, lasting overnight. The festival ordinarily lasts for two days.

4.32 Ordinarily, Mannans conduct the *Chathamoottal* — feasting the spirits of the dead — ceremony along with this. A small quantity of cooked rice is offered, in this function to the spirits of the departed.

4.33 Paliyas celebrate *Chithira* in August and *Deepavali* in November. The two celebrations will include sumptuous fetes entertainment programmes to boot. But, nowadays, these entertainment programmes are rarely conducted owing to lack of talented personnel.

4.34 The tribes here have very ardent interest towards festivals inasmuch as they are exhilarating and frolicsome. It has a salutary effect, albeit ephemeral, on human minds, rendering it light and happy. Thus the obvious reasons for its attractiveness if anything is psychological. The low economic position of these tribes is the only hurdle in their way, in celebrating these occasions with pomp and ceremony. Paliyas manage to steer clear of this difficulty by making each household contribute their mite for the common conduct of the function. Mannans have no such practice. If the crops fail, or if they fail to raise sufficient funds for the function, the various traditional punctilios of it will be dropped. The obvious after effect is the lessening of the gravity and importance albeit gradually of the function. Further, the rigidities of their traditional rules and regulations regarding this function were too embarassing to them in their new environment, and they have been constrained to shed much of them. This has its own effect on the religious lives of these people. Their new ambiences have helped them to cultivate a mood to ignore or defy anything restraining their freedom or is inapposite in their present conditions of life. They are in a sense but adapting themselves to their capricious environments.

Village Organisation

4.35 There is no organisation in this village, based on occupation, income, hamlet, or others. The interhamlet relationship as well as the inter-caste relationship here is cordial, or atleast without any strife or baneful rivalry. Educational and cultural growth, which the people are undergoing now can hardly accommodate tendencies of strife or disruption. But, political predelictions and affiliations make one simply impervious to all these sane and salutary principles of peaceful and happy co-existence.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

4.36 The only democratic organisation here is the village panchayat. The village panchayat, by virtue of its constitutional set up, represents the whole population in this village with reserved representation for the minority communities. This institution is functioning on a purely democratic basis, which with elected representatives of the people, and an executive head, appointed by the Government. As envisaged in the rules this August body has to work for the economic and social reconstruction, of the village. Rural development is an equally important task facing it. Doctrinisation of the people with democratic principles and propensity is *inter alia*, the motive of this institution. Also, promotion of co-operation social awareness and collective interest among the people is avidly attempted by this institution. The only inhibiting factor in the smooth functioning of this institution is the political rivalry or strife of the people. This has become an ineluctable feature of the attitude and thinking of a majority of the people as they grow more and more politically conscious. Obviously this trait in the people may even defeat

the very purpose for which this institution stands. It would be pragmatic on the part of the people as well as the Government to ward off this unwelcome element from having a free play in the affairs of this body, so that it may well work for its ultimate goal and attain the desideratum. In this village there is no traditional organisation, like caste panchayat or regional hunt council of tribes etc.

Voluntary Organisation, Clubs, etc.

4.37 A small unit of the Gandhi Sevak Samaj is running a tribal girls' hostel here. Tribal girl students are admitted in this hostel, being given free boarding and lodging facilities besides helping them in their studies The basic objective of this institution is said to be social service, the service it renders for tribal development being a part of this. It is mainly functioning on charity donations from the public. The scope of activity of this institution here is limited and it has particularly no influence on the life of the tribes here. Also there is a boat club in this village, organised by a few retired Government officials and some of the local people. Membership to this club is obtainable on payment of a nominal fee. The club has in its possession a boat. Members of this club can hire the boat and have a jolly boat-ride in the Periyar Lake. The source of finance for this club is obviously the rent of the boat and the membership fees. Evidently by way of its very nature it has no wider ambit of activity, development or influence on the life of the people in this village.

4.38 There are no public libraries in this village. The local panchayat is said to be entertaining an idea of establishing one, with the effective co-operation and help of the local people.

Reform Measures introduced by Various Agencies and the Attitude of the People towards it

4.39 The Government Welfare Department is doing all that is possible in its own way for the social and economic amelioration of the tribes. The basic thing these tribes should be taught is a clean and hygienic way of life. Unfortunately, no effective emphasis has so far been laid on this, by the Welfare Department. The tribes characteristically enough show scant regard to these vital and salutary principles of life. Further there has not been so far any effort for the propagation of family planning among the tribes. The system of dowry is not practised by these tribes in any large scale so as to intrigue their already poor economic condition Practice of untouchability is also not in vogue among the tribes.

4.40 The tribes here are generally insouciant and even recalcitrant towards the reform measures which fly in the face of their traditional mode of life This is due to the ignorance of the people, while the absence of effective persuation and inspiring incentives is, no doubt, equally responsible.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1 The growth of social and cultural education of the people often ensures the concomitant growth of social awareness of them. The villagers here are fairly conscious of the need and wholesomeness of collective existence, and are, therefore, abiding by the existing social conventions and moves. However the so-called social evils are characteristic of a diverse featured society no matter how civilised it may be. Here, although there are no organised conscious effort to eradicate these evils, it is at a reasonably low level, without causing any violet hitch in the smooth flow of a happy and peaceful social life.

5.2 It is fairly noticeable that people here are not sufficiently oriented towards or given inspiring incentives for collective enterprises and efforts towards the economic and cultural development of the society. This is indisputably a great draw-back for the people, as it will definitely deprive them of the many achievements they can possibly secure, if otherwise. The efficacy of healthy and honest co-operation in the various spheres of economic and social life, has not been sufficiently popularised here. Consequently the people here are less conscious of as well as the least ebullient to know, the great value of it.

5.3 The population of the village as has been indicated earlier is constituted by people belonging to different communities and castes. The people are having apparently a symbiotic relationship despite the diverse features of these different communities and castes. The community life here is cordial and peaceful, to a reasonable extent. But, this should not tempt any one to believe that there are no trouble spots at all in the society life here. The social inequalities existing in this village are grossly inescapable to a sagacious observation. It is widely known that the economic inequality, which is invariably in the very veins of almost every society is itself a hotbed for the social inequality to get itself perpetuated. Obviously it is not easy to root this trait of social behaviour with recourse to any device so far known to the civilised world. What is best suited to the occasion is tolerance and due recognition by the people of these through unwelcome features of the society. The people here are showing remarkable reticence, tolerance and forbearence towards this particular aspect of society.

5.4 But as is widely known social and economic inequalities offer a fair weather for exploitation and persecution of the incapable by the capable of the have-nots by the haves; this is obviously disquieting and distressing. It may be remarked in this connection that the tribes here who are economically, socially and educationally backward are more or less the victims of this sort of exploitation.

5.5 The village has no particularly important place in the region in the matter of economic and social structure. It is like any other village adjacent to it, in economic and social features.

5.6 Before concluding a few points for tribal development with special reference to this region are made.

Health

5.7 The tribes here appear to be nonchalant, in maintaining a healthy way of life. They are habitually unclean and unhygienic in their life. The shabby and fetid dress they usually wear gives them a

despicable appearance. No one among them pays any heed to the importance of washing himself or his dress regularly. The scarcity of water, lack of cleaning materials, like soap and want of a sufficient number of dresses are of course, a disheartening factor for all. But what basically matters is a proper penchant to remain clean which the tribes people hardly have.

5.8 The traditional tribal gregariousness is understandable and admissible, too, in so far as it does no harm to themselves. The practice of huddling themselves in a conjested, stuffy hut is no doubt detrimental to health. The condition of Paliyas is much worse than that of Mannans, their huts are smaller with more number of inmates. None of these two tribes partition their huts into kitchen, bedroom etc. The hearth is seen set up at different places within the hut, so that each household can cook separately and warm themselves during chilly nights. The stuffy, small sized hut, with three or more fire places within it, can hardly contain any uncontaminated air, but the tribes people find it cosy and comfortable. The practice of keeping the domestic utensils and other articles promiscuously within the hut gives one the impression that these people have hardly any sense of order or discipline. The flooring of the hut is dried mud, which easily sticks up to the dress and body of the inmates giving them dirty drab and detestable mien. While this is the case with their huts, its surroundings are kept deplorably unclean. All the riff-raffs and dross are thrown ordinarily beside the hut, and these constantly emits an offensive stench. In short, these tribes are deplorably unclean and unhygienic in their ways of life.

5.9 The tenacity of tribal attitude is flatly rebarbative to any change, no matter even if it is designed for their ultimate weal. The Welfare Department employ welfare workers in certain tribal areas to inculcate on these tribes the importance of cleanliness and hygiene. But their efforts hardly prove fat because of many reasons. The best way is, perhaps, to organise social service squads among the tribes themselves, and make them mend this unhealthy aspect of their own life. They need assemble to work only once in a week under an able and trained welfare worker so that it shall never be felt as an onerous task by any of its members. The initial difficulty in organising such a squad can be easily overcome by approaching them with humility and tact. Persistant persuation and promise of proper gratification (not money but some victuals or drinks or such) after each day's of work will no doubt enthuse these tribes to constitute such groups and work for it. If this is achieved, surely the difficult problem of their unhealthy and unhygienic ways of life can be brought under effective check.

5.10 The tribes here are having no healthy good habits. Their only concern is to ward of hunger, by stuffing their stomach with anything edible. There is absolutely no regularity or discipline in their dietary habits while there is no concern about the quality of the food they take. The practice of having unbalanced diet, with hardly any regularity with respect to time is opt to hamper their health. Evidently, their low economic standard is an arresting factor to any improvement in the quality of their diet. But habits are essentially matters of mental outlook, and are to be suitably modified for one's own benefit. Effective persuation should be given to the tribes by means of health visitors, to turn over to a healthy habit in their matter with their existing resources.

5.11 Their traditional methods of conjurement for treatment of diseases is, no doubt, absolutely unscientific and ineffective to bring in any radical cure of diseases especially in their changed environments. The tribes should be convinced of this and they should be helped

to emerge from their ignorance and indifference to the miracles of modern medicine. Also the well-known principle 'prevention is better than cure' should be brought home to them. What is basically important is to carry conviction to them.

5.12 The tribes here show the least restraint in using their natural abilities for procreation. They are having a sort of promiscuity, showing the least order regularity and healthy discipline in their sexual life. With practically no discipline of sexual continuance there is no proper spacing of pregnancy and they suffer albeit unknowingly all its attendant disadvantages.

5.13 In fact the rate of infant mortality is very high among these tribes. The traditional old method of obstinence is hardly put into practice now.

5.14 In order to check this defect, the tribes should be given proper sex education and information on planned parenthood. This can be done by a qualified health visitor and a trained nurse. Their habitual recourse to sex for enjoyment is certainly actuated by the utter lack of recreational and entertainment facilities in their ambiences. To the extent possible these may be provided to them.

5.15 These tribes have had ample association with the local people here ever since they were driven away from their jungle habitats. But this long term association with the so-called civilised section of the population has wrought more bad effects than good to them. Their traditional, rigid moral and social customs have considerably been trimmed to suit their convenience in their present ambience. It cannot, however, be overlooked that those customs were really imposed even on the defiant with impetus of personal views and interests. All those rules and regulations were *lex non scripta* and were thus susceptible to modifications. The caprices in their traditional environments have gradually brought out the abatement of all the rigour and rigidities of these rules and regulations. Much incentive was indirectly given to them by the local people, to abandon their seemingly shackling moral and social system of life. These tribes were formerly so naive and impressionable that they were hardly capable of knowing the various deceptive tactics employed by these local people to exploit them. The local non-tribes scraped friendship with these poor tribes and in the disguise of benefactors. They sordidly swayed these tribes for their advantage. It is widely known that these tribes here are amoral now. This is evidently a deterioration in the conventional human ethos, this has to be checked at any cost. Proper education may prove to be the only shift to check this rapidly deteriorating conditions. If possible their old system should be revived and they should be allowed to adopt them *mutatis mutandis*, if it will help them to attain a resipiscence.

5.16 The low economic position of these tribes is undoubtedly a great impediment to their amelioration. The Government are doing everything possible to render financial assistance to these tribes, for purposes of agriculture and construction of houses. But the succour extended to the tribes here has so far been only a modicum with which no substantial increase in their standard of life could be attained Further, nothing has so far been done with respect to the peculiar conditions prevalent in this centre. The tribes cultivation here is subjected to colossal destruction by wild animals almost regularly. If otherwise they would have happily continued with their much liked agricultural pursuits and remained self employed too. The gravity of the situation has not been realised by the Government despite the tribes persistant requests. Construction of a trench around their settlement would prove to be very helpful to ward off the intruding wild animals. This can be easily got done with the effective co-operation of the tribes

themselves if they are given an initial incentive to organise themselves and work at it. Development of agriculture may be attempted with advantage after ensuring that the present distressing menace of crop destruction is totally obviated. In fact these tribes are still ardent to resume their traditional agricultural pursuit if it is generally lucrative to them

5.17 Again these tribes here are deft in basketry and ma weaving using reed. But none of them has taken up these as a regular item of work with which one could have earned one's subsistence for want of sufficient raw materials and marketing facilities. The Government have started a craft instruction centre in this village wherein all ten students are being taught The stipend sanctioned to each student is Rs. 25 per mensum. But it has been reported that for several months in a year this institution has to work without sufficient raw materials, and also that stipend to the students is not regularly paid at the end of every month, owing to administrative snags. These administrative delays and difficulties which have a tellingly adverse effect on the enthusiasm and interest of the students have to be checked at all costs. The finished products or articles are kept dumped here, as they are found difficult to be sold profitably. In short, the institution is being run by the Government at a great loss. This loss could have been curbed to a reasonable extent by arranging to dispose of the finished articles, either with the help of the State Handicrafts Board or through private merchants, at reasonable rates of price or profit.

5.18 The greatest impediment to the economic emancipation of these tribes is their tenacious economic behaviour. They know but to live from hand to mouth. Thrift is neither practised nor attempted by these tribes. It has almost become a trait in their character to be extravagant when in plenty and penurious in impecuniosity. It is very important that these people should be offered enough incentives and facilities for thrift, lest their economic position should see no progress. At present, there are no such facilities for them here. Establishment of co-operative societies or banks would help them in a dual way. The much needed credit facilities can be proffered to the tribes through these institutions while through them they may be given enough conveniences too to practise thrift. The co-operative society, which was started here on a grant of Rs. 6,000 from the Government ceased to function not many years after its inception for want of an efficient secretary to manage its affairs. Effort should be made to revitalise this co-operative society with advantage to the tribes.

5.19 The tribes here are generally lazy or the least industrious. They prefer to work only with a drift to exigencies like impending famishment, or the like. In the case of Mannans their women are generally very lazy in their present environment and they dawdle away their time without charming the responsibilities of managing the menace. The Paliyas are however, better than Mannans in this respect. This indifference and sloth on the part of these tribes is obviously due to lack of incentives and opportunities for being diligent or industrious. Every effort should be made to bring a leaven which will secure them better disposition and penchant to be industrious all to their own good. The principles of co-operation, collective enterprise and joint sharing of benefits may be propagated among them. This would help them a great deal to have a happy existence. To cite an example the construction of a trench around their settlement could have been easily accomplished with their joint effort. Obviously what they are short of now is inspiring incentives, able guidance and effective help to work for their own social and economic development.

5.20 Last but not the least important

is the spread of education among the tribes. After all, material prosperity is not the only index of the standard of life of a people. In fact an effective basis for economic prosperity is the educational and cultural standard of the people without which nothing will be tenable and long lasting.

5.21 The educational standard of these tribes is deplorably low. As has been indicated earlier, the tribal children have a psychological aversion to school going. Their parents are, poor advocates of it, as they are themselves uneducated. The lack of a studious atmosphere, both in the house and in the schools, have actually augmented this rebarbative attitude of the children towards education. Apparently, an apposite scientific method to bring in an overall change in the position has to be devised. A psychological method is obviously expedient to bring in with ease, rapidity and stability a wholesome change in the position.

5.22 The indifferent tribal children should be attracted towards the school by a suitable modification of the existing mode of instruction. Merely the study of a few lessons of any literature, by itself, is not necessarily education; but what is basically needed is the study of everything necessary in the good development of human standards in the social, psychological and economic facets. The approach should be psychological and should be with temperateness, humility and tact. Each student should enjoy individual attention of the teachers. The problems of each student should be studied with sagacity and sympathy and dealt with deftly and scientifically in order to win him a wholesome change in his disposition and attitude. It would be better if these children are lodged in hostels so that it will be possible to have ample acquaintance with their problems, even from the inchoation of their educational career. Kindergarten system can be introduced with advantage, in tribal schools, while nursery schools should be opened to attract young tribal children. To the extent possible the trait of instinctive talents and interests of each student should be traced out and nurtured, to the best advantage of him or her.

5.23 The bonafides of the Government in the venture of spreading education among the tribes people is no doubt commendable. But the existing methods are not particularly advantageous or attractive to the tribes. Even the rates of supply of food, clothes and stationery are not sufficient to meet the minimum requirements of the students. The usual delays that occur in the actual distribution of these items are all the more disheartening. The tribal students have a tendency to abandon their educational career as soon as they come of age. This is mainly due to the low economic position of their family and the feeling that they are themselves a burden on their family. This can be checked to a reasonable extent by providing facilities atleast for their own independent existence. One thing that is basically essential is the proper, scientific understanding of the emotional, sentimental, social and economic aspects of the tribes before venturing to ameliorate them.

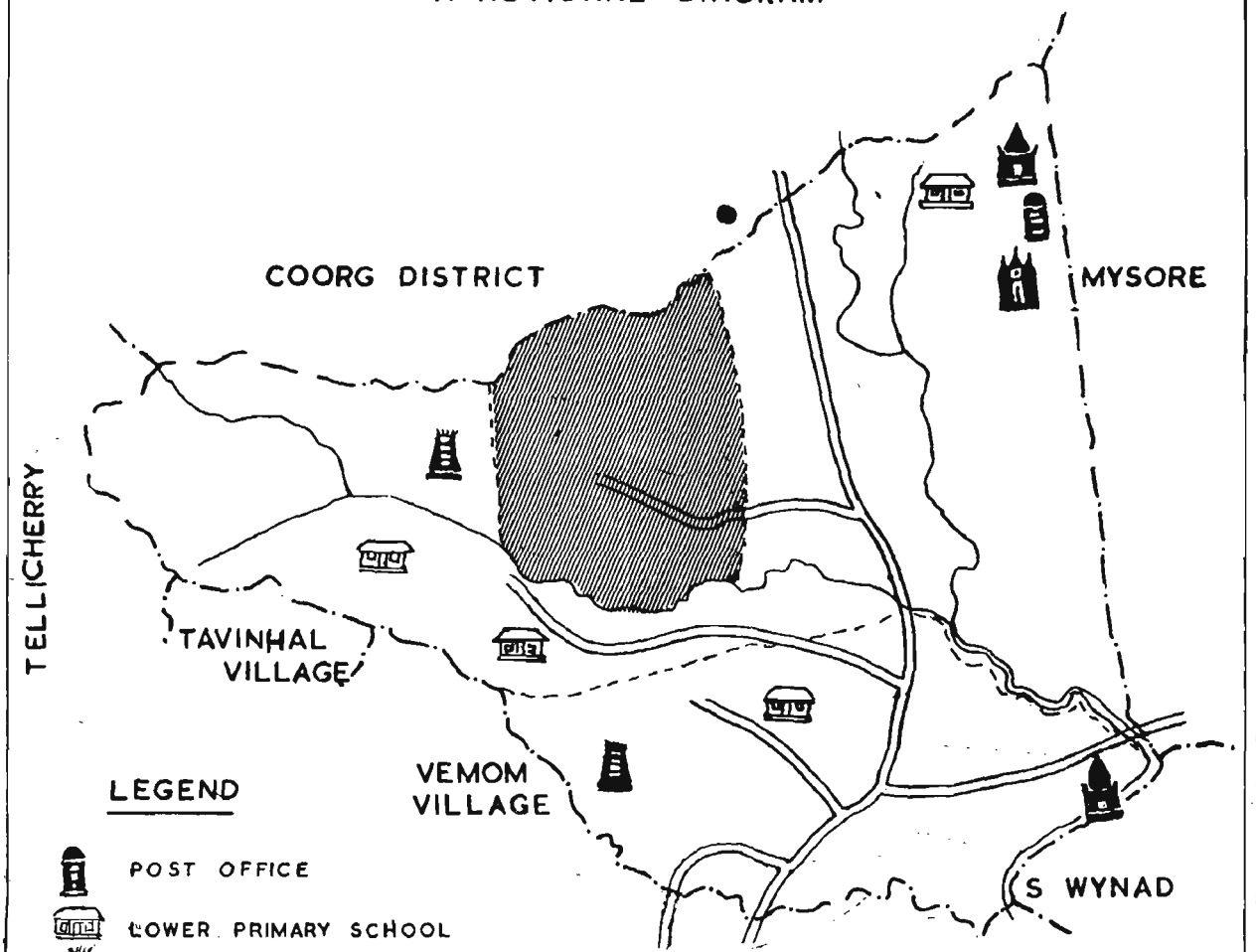
5.24 The importance of adult education in the context of amelioration of the tribes need hardly be stressed with expatiation. It is important and useful to include adult education programme also in the scheme of spreading education among the tribes. It will not suffice if the adults are taught merely some arithmetic or the alphabets of a language but in addition to these they should be instructed to lead a healthy economically sound, and above all happy life with their existing limited resources. Sound economic principles should be taught to them, inasmuch as they are useful and necessary for them; this will help them to use their resources frugally and fruitfully.

5.25 The difficulty of adult education should in no case be understated or under estimated. Obviously, it will not be that facile as it is talked about. They may not be interested in these programmes and some of them might be positively indifferent to this. As has been indicated earlier they are impervious even to friendly persuations. Here a psychological method will prove expedient if everything else fails to attain the desired objectives. They may be attracted through colourful and amusing information imparting programmes, and should be instructed while they are not directly aware of the process of edification. Film shows or the like may prove to be very helpful for the purpose. Utmost care should be taken to ensure that these adult education programmes do not interfere with their daily life or work. The Government should thus be so magnanimous and diligent while attempting the amelioration of the tribes. It will only be pragmatic to find every venture of amelioration on the basis of acute scientific understanding of each problem, as well as the emotional and sentimental aspects of tribal life involved in it. Evidently this calls for a perspicacious observation of the tribes life and this should be facilitated by an incissive first hand study of the intricacies subtlities and complexities of tribes feelings, strains and sentiments. It will be a colossal folly to ride roughshod over the tribes characteristic feelings and sentiments and to ram the reform measures down the throat of these people. For they are a people respecting tradition and resisting almost instinctively transformations. Expediency should be the essential quality of every step taken towards tribal amelioration. No one need hesitate to admit that the whole endeavour of tribal upliftment, will be highly expensive and arduous to the Government.

THIRUNELLY

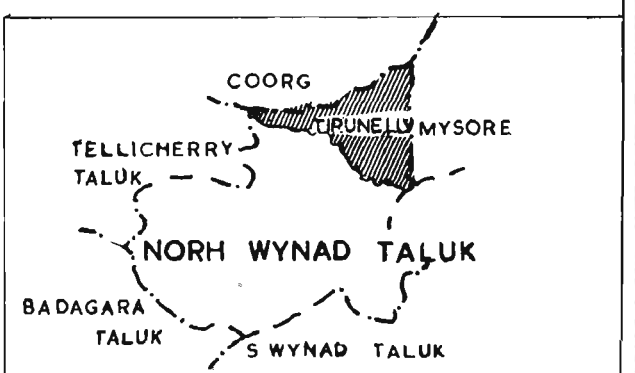
TIRUNELLY VILLAGE

A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM



LEGEND

- POST OFFICE
- LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOL
- TEMPLE
- CHURCH
- MOSQUE
- VILLAGE BOUNDARY
- KARA BOUNDARY
- ROAD
- RIVER
- SURVEYED AREA



THIRUNELLY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Situation

Thirunelly village or amsom in North Wynad taluk of the erstwhile Malabar District of Madras State, is situated in close proximity to the eastern boundary of the present Kerala State. Wynad is an elevated and exceedingly picturesque mountainous plateau, the eastern parts are fairly open and flat and merge insensibly into the land of Mysore; the Brahmagiri hills on the north separate it from Coorg (now part of the Mysore State) Thirunelly village consists of two 'desoms' — Thirunelly and Trissilery — which are bounded on the north and the east respectively by Mysore State and Pakkom Desom in South Wynad, Vemom Desom and Kottayam taluk form the boundaries on the south and west respectively. The Thirunelly Desom is bounded on the south by Trissilery Desom and on the west by Dindummal Desom. Geographically Thirunelly village is situated between 11° 49′ and 11° 58′ latitude above the equator and between 75° 56′ and 76° 08′ longitude:

1.2 Thirunelly is one of the largest villages in the State with an area of 49,564 acres of which 36,357 acres of land are under Reserve Forests, scattered throughout the entire area of the village. Generally the land is thrown into uneven hills, thus providing innumerable ups and downs. Recently the forest authorities have started deforesting certain portions to convert them into plantation areas for teak and sandal-wood.

Physical Aspects

1.3 As has been mentioned, there are many ups and downs scattered over the entire area of the village and the land is generally unevenly thrown. Lofty mountains surround almost all sides of Thirunelly of which the Brahmagiri hills, Narinarangu hills etc. are worth mentioning. The northern and north-eastern portions of this village form the foot hills of the high western ghats. This locality, which is a portion of North Wynad taluk has been included as a hilly tract Class II.

Soil

1.4 It is learnt that the soil in these localities is lateritic in character. An analytical data of the soil in Thirunelly (N. Wynad), obtained from the soil testing service centre, gives the following details.

Table I

SOIL — ANALYTICAL DATA (AT THIRUNELLY, N. WYNAD)

Laboratory number of soil	Organic carbon	Av. P Kg./Hectare	Av. K.	pH	T.S.S
2995/63	1.01	Trace	Trace	5.3	0.0
	(M)	(L)	(L)	(AC)	(N)
2997/63	1.40	Trace	40	5.4	0.1
	(M)	(L)	(L)	(AC)	(N)

L — Low Ac — Acidic M — Medium N — Normal

Organic Carbon — Rating of organic carbon relates to available nitrogen

Av. P — Available phosphorus; Av. K — Available potassium; T.S.S — Total soluble salts

Rainfall

1.5 No data on rainfall is available for Thirunelly. The nearest place for which rainfall data have been recorded is Manantoddy, the headquarters of North Wynad taluk located at about 20 miles south-west of Thirunelly. Details of rainfall at Manantoddy for a period of 10 years from 1951 to 1960 and the mean monthly rainfall for the period from 1900 to 1950 are presented in table II. Invariably the month July had been the wettest month followed by June and August in almost all the years. Number of rainy days in September was found to be high in some years, eventhough the total rainfall for the month was not high as in July. The incidence of rainfall during the months of October and November in most of the years, was also appreciable. It may be found from the average figures for the period from 1900 to 1950 that most of the days of the month July were rainy days having recorded an average of rainfall of over 1000 mm But the average rainfall during June and August was just about half of that for July though the number of rainy days was high. There was practically no rain during the months January and February. The average annual rainfall for the period 1900 to 1950 recorded was 2834.4 mm. Thirunelly being situated to the north-east of Manantoddy, at a higher altitude and with dense forest, may have slightly higher annual rainfall than Manantoddy.

Table II

RAINFALL (MANANTODDY)

Year		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1951	I	..	..	3	9	10	25	22	20	13	8	10	2	
	II	..	..	72.9	85.1	134.1	531.9	839.0	337.8	162.6	72.6	107.9	9.9	
1952	I	..	6	..	12	16	25	26	27	5	12	..	4	
	II	0.5	38.9	..	145.3	125.7	386.8	647.9	554.7	83.8	202.9	..	89.7	
1953	I	..	2	..	9	4	16	27	22	10	21	5	..	
	II	..	16.5	0.5	62.7	40.6	454.4	1396.0	722.4	82.5	148.3	11.4	..	
1954	I	..	..	5	4	6	22	26	22	20	13	..	2	
	II	..	1.5	76.5	83.1	114.3	583.9	988.3	813.6	251.5	233.2	..	8.1	
1955	I	..	..	1	4	13	21	24	23	17	14	3	1	
	II	1.3	..	44.7	55.4	426.7	649 2	297.9	297.4	252.7	294.9	26.2	14.0	
1956	I	..	1	1	11	12	23	29	22	15	14	10	..	
	II	..	17.8	23.6	146.6	128.3	730.5	1013.2	464.3	108.7	193.8	91.9	..	
1957	I	..	..	..	..	11	21	26	25	6	11	8	1	
	II	..	..	..	..	374.1	534.4	1051.6	451.4	68.3	117.1	209.3	3.8	
1958	I	..	..	5	9	9	18	29	23	9	10	4	..	
	II	..	..	39.4	141.5	237.9	409.4	1086.1	540.1	74.0	121.4	74.1	..	
1959	I	..	..	..	9	13	22	30	27	20	11	6	2	
	II	..	..	..	150.8	160.8	817.6	1787.1	498.7	380.2	100.9	56.0	8.4	
1960	I	..	..	..	17	16	20	22	24	21	10	11	..	
	II	1.0	..	..	248.3	219.9	301.7	909.7	430.7	303.5	159.2	230.1	1.3	
1900 to 1950	(1)	0.5	0.5	1.7	6.5	8.2	21.2	27.2	23.0	14.3	11.2	5.4	1.2	120.9
	(2)	7.1	7.4	22.1	86.9	139.9	565.4	1011.9	544.1	192.8	166.1	75.2	15.5	2834.4

I. No. of rainy days
(1) Mean No. of rainy days

II. Total rainfall in millimetres
(2) Mean monthly total rainfall in millimetres

Climate

1.6 Data on temperature and humidity for Thirunelly are not available as there is no meteorological centre in this village or at Manantoddy. The climate in these parts is said to be unpleasant and hot during the months of February or March to May. During this period hot and strong winds blow causing fever etc. and in general the climate during these months is not quite conducive to health. The monsoon starts by about the end of May or June and lasts till about October. Severe cold would be experienced during the rainy season and there would be heavy rainfall. The rest of the period of the year, say, from November to January or February generally is said to be pleasant, the climate being cool. It may be added here that variations occur in the climatic conditions and rainfall. The close proximity of the location of the village to the high western ghats and the thick forests in some parts of the village have its own effects on the climatic conditions and rainfall in these parts.

The Tribes

1.7 Adiyans, Paniyans and Kurumans are the three important tribes found in the Thirunelly village. Most of these tribal families are agricultural labourers under the local ryots from the plains or are daily labourers in the coffee and other estates in the village. These tribes have their own customs and manners and are mostly following the religion of Hinduism in their beliefs and practices. An account of the tribes, their customs and manners and their means of livelihood with reference to the place of their habitation, has been given in the following paragraphs.

Important Places

1.8 The taluk headquarters of North Wynad, viz. Manantoddy, situated 50 miles away towards south-east of Tellicherry Railway Station and 68 miles away towards north-east of Calicut town, and 67 miles away towards west of Mysore city, is the nearest town to the village. The village headquarters viz. Karttikulam is at a distance of about 7 miles to the east from Manantoddy, on the Manantoddy-Mysore road. The roads connecting Manantoddy with Mysore and Virajpet (in the erstwhile Coorg State) pass through Karttikulam. "This was the main route by which sandalwood, pepper, coffee and other grains were brought to the coasts. Moreover, this route, was used as an alternate route for the passage of troops from the coast to Mysore".[1] The village office, the salestax checkpost, the Junior Engineer's (P. W. D.) office, and an extra-departmental sub post office and the Panchayat Board office are the offices functioning at Karttikulam. There are three more extra departmental sub post offices in the village viz. at Thirunelly, Tholpetty and Trissilerry. But the nearest Telegraph and Telephone office is at Manantoddy.

Communication

1.9 Coffee, orange, pepper, lemongrass, rubber and paddy are the main produces of cultivation under about 3,000 acres of land in the village, in addition to the teak plantations in the forest lands. In spite of the large population and commercial activities it may be mentioned that communication facilities in the village are quite deplorable and meagre. The road from Manantoddy to Thirunelly is motorable by public conveyance to a distance of about 12 miles and the remaining distance of about 9 miles is 'Kaccha' road, motorable only in summer months. There is no public conveyance for this part of the road leading to the temple. This portion of the road is maintained by the local Panchayat.

1.10 The people living in and around the localities of the temple experience great difficulties in the absence of proper

1. Logan, W – Malabar Vol. I, 1951 – p. 65

conveyance facilities. Portions of the road from Manantoddy to Thirunelly are not suitable for vehicular traffic during the rainy seasons. The people generally make use of small narrow footpaths through the midst of forests and across vast paddy fields which serve as a shorter alternative route for going out to different localities of the village. Attack of wild elephants at certain localities of the forests, and during rainy seasons small leeches or blood snatchers and marshy places are great problems for them.

1.11 The road from Manantoddy (via) Karttikulam to Tholpetty branches off into two at a place 12 miles away from Manantoddy – one leading to Tholpetty, a locality adjacent to the State's boundary through which there is regular bus service and the other to Thirunelly. There is a bridge near Begur, which, at the time of the survey, was in a dilapidated condition. Buses and other loaded vehicles were not allowed to pass through that bridge and these vehicles, had to cross the river when there was not much of water flowing. It was learnt that during rainy seasons, there would be heavy flow of water in the river and hence no through bus service to Tholpetty. There is no railway line in any part of the North Wynad taluk and motor transport alone is the possible means of communication. It may be added here that there is no electricity power supply in many parts of this region. The communication and transportation facilities in the village are quite meagre and insufficient.

Places of Worship

1.12 The Hindu temple at Thirunelly dedicated to Lord Vishnu located at a place about 15 miles away from Karttikulam is unique and is said to be popularly known as the "Benares of the South", where people from many parts of the State and the neighbouring States go for worship, almost on all the important religious and festive days of the year. There is a legend about the origin of this temple, which has been described elsewhere in this report. The temple is surrounded on all the four sides by mountains. Since the Thirunelly temple is situated here, this locality has become popular and is known after it. In addition to the Vishnu temple at Thirunelly, there is another famous Siva temple at Trissilerry, which though 6 miles away from Thirunelly is in the same village. It is said that the Thirunelly temple and the surrounding areas once belonged to the Maharajah of Mysore who wanted to build a strong wall around the temple and this work still remains incomplete. But later on the Rajah of Kottayam captured this locality and from those days, this formed a part of his State. Tippu Sultan of Mysore later made an attempt to conquer this area and the ruined condition of the temple, not yet fully renovated, stands a proof to this historical event. There is only one church in the village at Tholpetty. It may be noted that the Christian population in the village is very sparse. These people assemble at the Church on holy days for offering prayers.

1.13 There are three mosques in the Thirunelly desom – one at Tholpetty, another at Kunniyur and the third at Karttikulam. Burial grounds are also provided in the premises of these mosques. There is no separate area set apart for cremation purposes in the village, for the Hindus. The tribes, it may be said, bury the dead in forest areas or in distant places.

Water Resources

1.14 Local channels and the small streams in the various localities and the wells in almost all the houses, form the main source of water supply to the people in the village. Three of the rivers worth mentioning in the village are:–

(i) Kabini river flowing through the south of the village which empty into the River Kavery.

The river is said to be known as "കണ്ണനീർപുഴ" (Kannunirpuzha) in

Malayalam meaning the river formed by the tears of the eyes. The story goes to say that Sita Devi, during her 14 years of life with Sree Rama in the forests was once weeping when she could not find Sree Rama, and her tears are said to have formed into a river".

Several streams such as the Manantoddy and the Bavoly join this river which when united drains nearby the whole of North and South Wynad.[1]

(ii) River Kalindi which takes origin from the Brahmagiri hills known as 'Papanasini' at Thirunelly.

(iii) A canal flowing by the downside of River Kalindi and this also joins the river Kavery. The water from the wells (in some of the houses) and from the local channels and river, is used for all purposes. It can be seen that in some places long bamboos split into two, lengthwise, and connected to some continuous source of good water supply or natural spring, so as to form a pipe to carry water to the houses over long distances, are used as a source of water supply for all purposes. Some of the tribal families living at certain localities have to carry water in pots or other vessels to their huts from nearby sources.

Flora and Fauna

• 1.15 A casual perusal of the nature of flora, reveals that almost all flowering plants which flourish at some high elevations grow luxuriously in this village. Palms are very rare and the people have grown plantains for their private use. The main grass variety is the bamboo which grows in thick set groves and this yields much of the raw material for the paper and pulp industry. Many people (including tribes) are engaged in the work of cutting bamboos, for the use of the pulp factory, recently opened near Calicut. Climbing plants are a fascinating addition to the flora and many woody climbers can be seen creeping over and hanging from huge forest trees. All common varieties of vegetables are grown by the people here for their own use. Tuber crops are also not rare.

1.16 The forests of Wynad, contain valuable timber trees such as teak, rosewood, *Anjily*, *Venghai*, venteak and a host of others, growing to a great size. Vast acres of forest are being cleared for teak plantations by the forest department. "The produces in the forests contain many valuable articles of commerce of which wax, honey, resin, turmeric, and myrobalans (species of Terminalia - കടുക്ക) are the principal".[2] Vast acres are covered with a growth of coarse grass to a height of about 5 or 6 feet. The ever green forests clothes the slopes of the western ghats on the west, and of the Dindummal and Brahmagiri ranges on the north. These forests where the trees are lofty and the growth very dense, have a gloomy aspect due to the absence of sun's rays. There are some private forests also in the village of Thirunelly, under the possession of a few individuals. Much of these forests have now been cleared, and coffee, pepper, and orange plantations are the more principal plantation crops in this village.

Orange

Source: Farm Bulletin No. 15 "Oranges, Lemons and Limes in India" by Sohrab R. Gandhi – Published by Farm Information Unit, Directorate of Extension, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, New Delhi.

Introduction

1.17 The citrus fruits – oranges, lemons and limes – have been cultivated in South China, Malaya and the Sub Himalayan parts of Assam from time immemorial, from where they spread to other tropical

1. Logan W – "Malabar" – Vol. II (1951 p. cccxxii)
2. Logan W – "Malabar" – Vol. II (1951 p. cccxxxiv)

and subtropical parts of the world, possessing a suitable climate. Next to the mango and the banana, citrus fruits represent the third largest fruit industry of India. Citrus is grown in almost all States in India.

1.18 Oranges, lemons and limes are all members of the same botanical family 'Rutaceae'.

1.19 Oranges grown in different parts of India are of two different species or family groups - 'sweet oranges' (citrus sinensis) and 'Mandarin oranges' (citrus reticulata). Typical examples of the sweet oranges grown in India are the 'Mosambi' of the Bombay, Deccan, the 'Malta' of the Punjab, and the 'Sattigudi' of South India. The mandarin group includes all types of loose jackets oranges commonly called by the Indian name of 'Santra', such as Nagpur Santra, Coorg Santra and Assam Santra. Fruits of sweet and mandarin oranges differ greatly from one another in their physical structure.

Climate

1.20 Sweet oranges thrive better in a sub-tropical, dry climate with distinct summer and winter seasons and a low rainfall, whereas, the mandarins prefer more humid and tropical summers, warmer winters and a higher rainfall. In southern India, santras are grown on a fairly large scale in the equable tropical climate of the warm and humid regions of Coorg, the Wynad tract of the Malabar, and the lower slopes of the Nilgiris and Yercaud hills, without artificial irrigation at altitudes of 2,000 to 5,000 feet with about 60 inches of well distributed rain from April to December. Except in Assam (where they are grown as a rainfed crop on the steep slopes of the Khasi hills) some of the above-mentioned hills of South India, 'Santras' are invariably cultivated under artificial irrigation. The largest and most important centre of sandra cultivation in India with an area of about 25,000 acres, is around Nagpur and the adjacent districts of Amraoti, Akola, Wardha and Bhandara in Vidarbh, at an altitude of 1,025 ft. This is a dry hot region with an average yearly rainfall of 45 inches, restricted to the period from June to September, an average relative humidity of 53%, the highest maximum temperature of 117°F in May and the lowest minimum temperature round about 43°F in January. In this tract the world's finest mandarin orange, called 'Nagpur Santra' is grown to perfection.

Soil

1.21 The deep alluvial loams of the Indo-gangetic plains, the coarse friable black soils of Madhya Pradesh and similar black soils of the Deccan overlying strata of porous disintegrating rock called 'murum' are considered excellent for growing sweet as well as santra oranges. In Vidarbh, most of the best orchards of Nagpur santra are on the course, free-working, well drained, black loamy soils. In Coorg, santra oranges flourish in deep but well drained red loamy soils. They are about six feet deep and are overlying a bed of soft 'murum' or coarse sand mixed with lime nodules. Soils of high salt concentrations and irrigation water containing large amount of salt should be avoided for orange cultivation.

Varieties

1.22 The most important of the sweet oranges cultivated on a commercial scale in India are the 'Malta' (common) and 'Malta' (bloodred) of the Punjab, the 'Mosambi' of the Bombay, Deccan and the 'Sattigudi' of South India.

1.23 'Nagpur Santra', widely cultivated on a commercial scale, is considered as world's best variety of the mandarin oranges. Other varieties of santra, namely Assam Santra, Sikkim Santra and Coorg Santra seem to be the ecological types of the Nagpur Santra, but are influenced by the different climate in which they are grown. Among the foreign mandarins which have been successfully introduced into India, 'Dancy' and

'Emperor' varieties deserve mention.

Propagation

1.24 Since the commercial varieties of oranges do not reproduce tree by seed, they must be propagated by a vegetative method known as 'budding', and this consists in inserting a bud of the choice variety to be propagated into the stem of a seedling of another species of citrus. The bud of the choice variety so inserted is called the 'Scion'. By experience and by experiments it has been found in all the important orange growing countries of the world that different species of citrus stocks vary in their adaptability to growth on different soils and under different climatic conditions, as well as with different scion varieties. Heavy rains at the time of budding are not desirable. In parts of South India, which get rains from the south-west as well as the north-east monsoons, the clear weather prevailing from July to September is considered the best for budding.

1.25 The most commonly used stocks for propagating the sweet as well as the mandarin oranges in India are 'Jamburi', and 'Kharna' or 'Kharna Khatta'.

1.26 In wide contrast to the cultural practice followed in the Western, Northern and Central India, the oranges in Southern and Eastern India, have always been grown from seed, with the result that in orchards of the same variety, large variations between orchard trees have been observed in respect of fruit quality and such fruit characters as shape and size of fruits. It is only since 1935 that budding has been introduced as an improved method of propagation in South India.

Planting

1.27 In the hilly and moist regions where plantings are done on steep slopes, it is better to prepare bench terraces, parallel to one another, on the hill slopes. The land may be cleared of any bush or jungle and the site of the orchard may be well protected from high winds. In favourable soil and climatic conditions, both sweet as well as santra oranges may be spaced 20 to 25 feet apart on the square system. The planting of the trees is done when the soil in the holes (dug for planting) properly manured and irrigated, comes to a workable condition.

1.28 The commencement or the middle of the south-west monsoon (July-August) is the best time for planting in most parts of Southern India. In the heavy monsoon areas, however, the santra oranges may be planted at the end of the heavy rains in September. Young trees have to be regularly watered throughout the year, during the dry seasons, and the area around the trees should be kept absolutely clear of weeds, particularly during monsoon. Trees generally take 7 to 8 years to cover most of the ground of the orchard.

1.29 Oranges are relatively shallow-rooted trees. Most of their roots are surface-feeding, the top ones being very near the surface of the soil. The 'Loranthus' parasite, if growing anywhere on the branches of trees, should be removed. The trees should be sprayed or dusted for pests and diseases at the proper time.

1.30 Pruning of the orange trees, at proper times and at regular intervals will maintain them in good shape. Undesirable growths, like the water shoots and the interfering and crossing branches in the centre of the trees have to be removed for the proper growth of the orange trees.

1.31 Both sweet and santra oranges begin to bear small crops from the fourth year after planting, but they bear substantial crops from the seventh year. It is from this stage onwards the trees that they require a special cultural treatment called 'resting'. The time of giving the annual cultural treatment differs in different tracts. Proper irrigation, supply of manures, hoeing and weeding are the important items of work. Protection of the trees against sun-burn, wind-storms and frost are also factors to be considered in certain regions, for the proper growth

of the trees and bearing of fruits.

1.32 Both the sweet and santra oranges mature their fruit about 9 months after blossoming. When fully mature for picking, the colour is changed from green to orange yellow. Oranges are expected to bear fairly good crops upto the age of 30 to 40 years, under favourable conditions. In many parts of India, however, the average life of an orange plantation may not be above 25 years, and in several places where trees usually suffer from various kinds of deficiency diseases, the life of the plantation is even reduced to 12 to 15 years.

Pests and Diseases

1.33 Orange trees, leaves and fruits are attacked by a large number of pests, and diseases at different stages. Proper and effective methods of removal of these diseases and destruction of the pests have to be adopted. A brief description about the important pests and diseases that cause destruction to the orange trees and fruits is given in the following paragraphs.

(a) Pests

1.34 Lemon cater pillar is the cater pillar of the lemon butterfly (Papilis demoleus) which attacks mostly nursery plants or oranges and lemons in seedling stage, particularly during monsoon, spraying with D. D. T. of the plants is an effective method of destroying these insects.

1.35 The stem and bark of the trees are destroyed by insects like 'Arabela tetraonis' and Citrus stem borer 'Chloridolum alcaruene'. The stem may be injected with a mixture of petrol or other insecticides.

1.36 The leaves of the trees and ripening fruits, are often destroyed by moths and caterpillars like 'Citrus fruit sucking moth' (Opbideres sp.), 'Citrus leaf miner' (Phyllocnistis Citrella), 'Aphids' (Toxoptera aurantu) or 'Plant lice', 'Mealy bugs' (Pseudococcus Citri), 'Citrus white fly' (Dialeurodes Citri), (Often a serious pest of oranges in the Punjab), 'Citrus psylla' (Diaphorina Citri), 'fruit fly' (Chactodacus sp.), 'Thrips' (which are too minute to be seen with the naked eye) and the 'mites'. The mites are of two kinds. The one which destroys orange fruits (it turns the rind of orange into a sort of copper red colour) is called 'rustmite' and another one usually attacking lemon fruits. These mites destroy the twigs and leaves also. The leaves attacked by the pests, get curled and deformed and thus their normal functioning is affected, as also the growth of young shoots. The pests attacking the fruits suck the juice and feed into the soft pulp, thus damaging the fruits. Thus the insects and pests mentioned above, attack the leaves of the orange trees or the fruits, damaging them and ultimately destroying the tree.

1.37 Spraying of the trees, leaves or fruits with proper insecticides like D.D.T. or mixtures of nicotine sulphate or rosin compound, or lime sulphur wash etc. at the appropriate times and seasons will destroy these pests and insects.

(b) Diseases

1.38 Mottle leaf or frenching is a leaf disease of oranges caused by the deficiency of zinc or manganese nutrients in the plant body. Mottling is more intense in soils with a high lime content and lacking inorganic matter. The trees may be sprayed with a mixture of zinc sulphate or manganese sulphate. Certain bacterial diseases of citrus trees like 'Citrus Canker' are highly infectious and spread from tree to tree by contact. Mild temperature and wet weather favours this disease.

1.39 'Withertip' and 'Pink disease' are fungoid diseases of the young terminal twigs, leaves and bark, which ultimately destroys the trees. Spraying with Bordeaux mixture and use of good farm yard manure is the remedial measure to check the diseases. Another fungoid disease affecting the basal part of the trunk and bark is 'Brown-rot' (or 'Gummosis' or 'foot-rot'). Cutting out all the diseased

bark and painting with creosote oil or carbolic acid serves as a good measure of remedy.

1.40 The disease 'Powdery Mildew' (Oidium tingitaninum) is reported to occur on santra oranges in the moist sub-montane tracts of the Kotagiri and Shevroy Hills of South India, damaging the twigs, leaves and young fruits. Dusting the trees with dusting sulphur controls the disease.

1.41 'Leaf-fall' and 'fruit rot' of oranges (Phytophthora sp.) is a disease reported to occur on santra oranges in the moist zones of Wynad and Coorg in South India. The leaves rot and shed and the fruits become soft and rotten and is covered with a growth of fungus, and fall off. Bordeaux mixture spraying before the monsoon in May or June and again during the break in the monsoon is advocated.

1.42 'Dieback' diseases, known to result from copper deficiency in the plant body are remedied by spraying with Bordeaux mixture. This disease affects the stem, bark of the twigs and the fruits. The term 'Dieback' is often commonly applied to trees dying from various diseases or from malnutrition in abnormal water and soil conditions.

1.43 'Sudden Wilting' or 'quick decline' is a recently observed disease, suspected to be caused by virus, particularly of shallow, medium black soils in the Bombay Deccan, by which an apparently healthy tree, dries up in a short time. The dead tree in such cases should be removed and the soil pit sterilized.

Uses of Orange

1.44 Oranges are the most refreshing, delicious, wholesome and health-promoting juicy fruits and as such deserve a prominent place in our daily dietary. Orange juice is immensely rich in vitamin C, and is a good source of vitamins A & B. Besides vitamins, the juice contains fruit sugars, fruit acids, minerals, and alkaline salts which contribute health-promoting ingredients to the human diet. Orange juice is also largely used for preparing refreshing beverages. The inner white peal and rag of the orange, if consumed along with juice and pulp, provide bulk and help to relieve constipation.

1.45 The inner white peel of the citrus fruits contain a substance known as 'pectin', which makes these fruits very valuable for making marmalades and jellies, either when used by themselves or in combination with other kinds of fruits low in pectin. Orange and lemon oils are obtained from the upper rind of these fruits and are used for flavouring purposes. Citric acid and citrate of lime are made commercially from lime or lemon juice. The juice of either lime or lemon is a natural cosmetic. It is excellent for external application as a hair-rinse, as a skin-lotion and also as a mouth-wash.

1.46 The village is very rich in the varieties of fauna. The wild elephant is the most important and common animal in Wynad. "Without his assistance, when domesticated, it would be difficult to work the forests"[1]. A few pits excavated for the capture of these animals, but now almost half-filled in, could be observed in many parts of the forests. The bisons and the wild pigs are found in the interior parts of the forests. The wild pigs, in fact, do much havoc and damage to the crops, especially paddy during the nights. But they are kept in check to some extent by the efforts of the agriculturists. Sambur though not quite common in this part are rarely found. The wild squirrels, porcupines and the spotted deer are some of the gentle mammals that could be found in parts of these forests. Different types of monkeys, bats, jungle cats, and mongoose are also some of the animals very commonly found in the forests around the village but they generally do not cause any harm to men and their

1. Logan, W – Malabar – Vol. I (1951), p. 58

properties. Snakes of all varieties are common in all parts of the village and people seldom go out at night especially during rainy seasons without a light, for fear of these reptiles. Domestic animals such as cows, oxen, sheep and buffaloes are reared by a few of the families in the locality for milk and for agricultural purposes.

1.47 "Of fishes there are innumerable species and varieties and all fresh water bodies teem with them"[1]. The tribes as well as those from the plains who have now settled in the village use all kinds of dried fishes available in the local shops, and also those available in the local rivers and channels.

1.48 Various types of wild roots and fruits which form one of the main items of food for the tribes are obtained in some of the places in the village. In recent times most of these tribal people do not generally go after in search of these roots and fruits for want of time and easy availability.

1.49 The common birds – crow, vultures, owls, bee-eaters, herons etc. are a common sight in the village. Some varieties of small sparrows, as well as butterflies of multicolours are seen busily flying from one tree or plant to another gathering honey and pollen.

Residential pattern

1.50 There is generally no definite and systematic pattern for the arrangements of the houses of the caste people, who have been living in these localities for long number of years. These houses are generally at distances apart. Each family owns a few acres of land and the house is generally located in the centre of the land or in some cases near to one of the sides, close to fields. There is no proper road connecting the households in many a cases but small lanes over hill-slopes of the forests and sometimes only narrow foot-paths across paddy fields are used by the people to go from one locality to another. In the case of a few coffee estates, private roads, for their own purposes have been constructed.

1.51 The tribes are found living in groups of families forming settlements and each settlement generally consists of 5 to 10 houses and in some cases, more or less. Different tribal sects occupy different settlements and normally no two tribal sects are found living together in any settlement. The settlements are located at different localities of the village at some distances apart and there seems to be no specific rule regarding the direction of facing or arrangement of the huts, or the pattern of construction. But usually the huts are huddled together and closely adjacent to each other in a circular form and in a few cases with or without a shed or common place at the middle. These settlements are usually said to be permanent ones. But there is still a tendency among some of these tribal people, to shift from one locality or settlement to another in the region, occasionally.

Institutions

1.52 There are six lower primary schools in the village, three under private management and three under the Government. They are

i. Serve India Adivasi L. P. S. at Thirunelly.
ii. Dasan Chetty Memorial L. P. S. at Thirunelly.
iii. Central Aided L. P. S. at Tholpetty.
iv. Government L. P. S. at Trissilery.
v. Government L. P. S. at Karttikulam and
vi. Government L. P. S. at Palvelicham.

1.53 About the welfare institutions in the village, there is a maternity centre under the Panchayat Board at Karttikulam, with the services of a full-time

1. Logan W – Malabar – Vol. I (1951). p. 61

midwife. A reading room and library had been organised by the local people at Thirunelly and another at Trissilery by the Panchayat Board. A multipurpose co-operative society organised by the local people and with a few tribal people as members is functioning at Karttikulam, and one of the main objectives of this society is to provide agricultural loans, to its members. Some of the important offices in Manantoddy the headquarters of the North Wynad Taluk are the Taluk Office, N. E. S. Block Office, Forest Division Office, Salestax and Agricultural Incometax Office, Posts and Telegraph Office, Assistant Engineers (P. W. D.) Office, Taluk Headquarters Hospital, Munsiff's Court, and local offices of the Education Officer, Labour Inspector, Health Inspector, Harijan Welfare Taluk Inspector, Police Circle Inspector, Sub-Registrar, Inspector of Central Excise and Coffee Board.

Marketing Facilities

1.54 Marketing facilities in the village are very poor and there is no public market, worth mentioning, in Thirunelly. The nearest market is at Karttikulam and there is another one at Manantoddy. There are a few shops in certain localities of the village where most of the items of daily requirements including earthen vessels, fish, clothes etc. are available, and the people in the localities mostly depend on these shops and merchants or get these items directly from Manantoddy.

1.55 The commercial products like coffee, orange, pepper and the like are, generally sent out in large quantities by the estate owners and other growers, to Calicut and other places, or are sold to the agents of the authorised dealers (like the Coffee Board for coffee seeds). Industrial activities in the village, in general are limited to certain cottage and small scale industries like mat weaving, basket making etc. and these products are mostly sold to the people living nearby. However absence of a public market in these parts is noticeable.

Health, Sanitation and Drainage

1.56 The taluk headquarters hospital at Manantoddy, about 20 miles away from Thirunelly is the nearest hospital. But the problem of difficulty in transportation facilities — especially of the sick patients is acute and mostly for this reason the people in the area are not able to make use of the facilities in this hospital. There is a maternity centre under the Panchayat, at Karttikulam. Apart from these there is no dispensary in any part of Thirunelly.

1.57 There is, reportedly, no arrangement for sanitation in the village. Due to the untiring efforts of the public health officials, and the National Malaria Eradication Programmes, malaria has almost been rooted out successfully, in these parts. Vaccinators of the Health Services Department at times visit these parts for vaccination and innoculation and it is said that most of the people (excepting probably most of the tribal people) evince interest in getting themselves vaccinated or innoculated as a prevention against attack of epidemics.

1.58 A few of the people here have made some arrangements near their houses, for latrines, like septic tanks. But many of these people, including the tribe, mostly make use of vast open lands and forest areas near the settlements, for this purpose. There are facilities for natural drainage in many parts of Thirunelly and water scarcity does not seem to be an acute problem for all the people here. But on the whole it may be said that the tribes in the localities surveyed do not seem to lead a clean, healthy and hygienic way of life.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

The People

2.1 A majority of the population in the Thirunelly desom excepting the tribes are immigrants to the area and are now permanently settled there. They are good agriculturists owning a few acres of land or enjoying revenue lands taken on temporary patta. The total population of the village according to the Census figures of 1961 is 10,108 persons. The density of population according to the 1961 Census is 131 persons per sq. mile.

2.2 The tribal population in Thirunelly village is appreciably high and figures to 4,876 according to the 1961 Census. The tribes in the locality comprising of Adiyans, Paniyans, Thenkurumans and Vettakurumans are mostly working as agricultural labourers under the local ryots or as daily labourers in the coffee and other estates. A small number of Kurichiya families who are by profession agriculturists are permanent inhabitants of other parts of this village for long years. Most of the tribal families may be said to be permanent settlers in the localities, but still, a few especially among Paniyans and Kurumans, are to some extent nomadic in habit, and shift their camps (alone or in groups of families) to suitable places in the same village and neighbouring areas. These tribes claim that they were the original inhabitants of the forests of Wynad from time immemorial and were reluctant to come into contact with more civilised population on account of fear. Nevertheless for the past few decades they had left their forest abodes and settled in parts of the village. Frequent contacts with the local people have inculcated among the tribes a desire to work and earn their living and to lead a life similar to those around them. Some of the tribal families now possess a few acres of land which they cultivate, but lack of proper cultivating practices and financial resources are real handicaps. The literacy level among them is very poor and only a very few families realise the necessity and importance of education for them, as well as for their progeny.

Religion

2.3 These tribes, it is learnt, follow the Hindu religion in all their beliefs and practices, though they are classed under the tribal religion. They worship all Gods and Goddesses especially, Thirunelly Perumal, Valliyoorkavu Bhagavathy, Masthi and Karimkali. Goddess Bhagavathy is believed to have supreme control over the dreadful diseases like smallpox and cholera. Offerings and sacrifices are made to Gods and Goddesses on all important festive and religious occasions. They believe that a person is attacked by diseases because of God's displeasure and one of the still existing crude methods of treatment of diseases among them is to please the Gods by evoking Him and making offerings to Him.

Adiyans

2.4 Adiyans generally tall and sturdy in stature and dark in complexion are found in Thirunelly, mostly in the areas around the famous Thirunelly temple and also in neighbouring localities. Most of them work as agricultural labourers under the local land-owners and have permanent dwellings, and some are doing cultivation.

2.5 The word 'Adiyan' in vernacular means 'slave', which shows that this tribes was from very olden days working a

slaves under others. About the origin of these tribes in the locality, it is said that, Adiyans are supposed to be the descendants of Ravana, who was believed to have stayed in those forests and hence called by another name 'Rauvana', but this name is seldom in vogue these days. However, no authentic information or legend about the origin of these people could be obtained. Their language is a mixture of Canarese and Malayalam in the corrupt form and in recent times, due to their contact with other people they are able to speak Malayalam (which is the prominent language in their neighbourhood) to others, though not in the very correct form.

2.6 There are various sub sects among the Adiyans, termed 'Kudumbam' and marriages between the males and females of the same 'Kudumbam' are forbidden. The various subsects(Kudumbams) among the Adiyans in Thirunelly are reported as

Thirunelly Mantu Kudumbam
Vadakku Mantu Kudumbam
Poddur Mantu Kudumbam
Ulankuthu Kudumbam
Edamala Kudumbam
Kachala Kudumbam
Maragayu Kudumbam
Nalappadi Kudumbam
Puthuru Kudumbam
Kallila Kudumbam
Kalamkottu Kudumbam
Mudire Kudumbam
Momotte Kudumbam
Chinthe Kudumbam
Anjila Kudumbam and
Evila Kudumbam

The system of 'Marumakkathayam' is followed by this tribe in reckoning the 'Kudumbam', i. e. the sons and daughters are said to belong to their mother's Kudumbam.

2.7 The Adiyans of one locality or hillock select their headman known as 'Moopan' (Peruman) and those in the entire area have a 'Nattumoopan'. The Moopan is the final authority among them who presides over marriages and funerals and other important functions, and settles disputes among them.

2.8 Polygamy and Polyandry are not generally prevalent among the Adiyans. But an Adiyan male or female seeks separation from his or her partner, even for simple reasons and elopes with another person, with whom a marriage relationship is established. It is interesting to note that elopement of a man with another's wife is not considered to be a crime but a penalty levied from the parties concerned, justified their action. Marriages after elopement are also quite common. Remarriages of widows and widowers and reunion of divorces are also usual among the Adiyans. This system of elopement and subsequent marriages as well as remarrying of widows, widowers and reunion of divorces are very common among the other tribes also, in the loc a lities surveyed viz., Paniyans, Thenkurumans and Vettakurumans.

Paniyans

2.9 Paniyans, generally nomadic by nature, shifting from one locality to another, are found living scattered in the various parts of the village. They are traditionally agricultural labourers under the local landlords and have their huts constructed usually in a corner of the temporary master's land. "The word Paniyans means labourer and they believe that their original occupation was agriculture as it is for the most part, at the present day".[1] "They were once actually agrestic slaves bought and sold with the land to which they were attached as slave labourers. Since slavery in any form is now an offence, the Paniyas are theoretically free persons, but their freedom is even now limited by the hard economic conditions under which they live." They are on the whole, a hardy people capable

1 Thurston – Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. 6, page 59



Pl. 16 AN ADIYAN HEADMAN IN OFFICIAL DRESS Page 180



Pl. 17

A KURUMAN GROUP

Page 181



Pl. 18 WOMEN OF KURUMAN TRIBE WITH KIDS Page 181



Pl. 19 TYPICAL ADIYAN HUT

of doing hard agricultural work particularly in the marshy valleys, in Wynad."[1] They generally live in groups of 5 or 6 families and will have a common place in the centre, where they usually meet together. They move from one locality to another even at the slightest provocations – for example, when a person dies or a calamity happens they believe that the locality has been haunted by evil spirits. It is not a matter of grave concern for the different tribes in the village to abandon their huts when they want to move to a new area. They have but few possessions of value to take with them. A few earthenware pots, mats and other items are the only main things they have to take with them.

2.10 It is learnt that there is no sub sect among the Paniyans, as in the case of Adiyans, and a Paniya male is at liberty to marry any Paniya woman. The Paniyans of a locality select their headman or 'Moopan', who is supposed to be their leader in all religious and other functions. Their language is an admixture of Canarese and Malayalam used in a corrupt form. Most of them are able to understand and speak Malayalam though not quite clearly.

Kurumans

2.11 "There seems to be a confusion of names in regard to this tribe. Three names are recorded – Kuruman, Kurumban and Kuruban'. This mispronunciation of the name 'Kurumba' had led to two tribes in Malabar in the Census Reports of 1941 with the names Kuruba and Kuruman."[2] The Kurumans (as we may call them) found in the Thirunelly village and the suburban forests in North Wynad are divided into two classes — (i) the Then-kurumans (also known as Jen or Jenu-kurumans) and (ii) the Vetta-kurumans or Uraly Kurumans.

Then-kurumans

2.12 The Then-kurumans as the name indicates, ('Then' in Malayalam is honey) were in former times engaged in the collection of honey and bees' wax and such other produces of the forest; and the latter (Vetta-kurumans) are "a small active people capable of great fatigue and are experts at forest work".[3] The Then-kurumans were originally dwellers in the interior parts of the forests of Wynad, and in the adjacent forests of the erstwhile Coorg and Mysore States, but in recent times they have settled in parts of the nearby village areas. Their language is an admixture of Canarese and Tamil used in an unintelligible form and only a few people are able to understand and speak Malayalam. They usually construct their huts called 'Padi' or 'Hadi' on hill-slopes and do not properly know the methods of cultivation of paddy and other crops. But in recent times they work as daily labourers mainly in the coffee and orange plantations.

2.13 It is learnt that there is no sub sect or family system among this tribe and marriage between any Then-kuruman male and female is allowed. Like the Adiyans and Paniyans, the Then-kurumans of a locality select their headman or Moopan, who presides over all religious and other important functions, though in olden days he was virtually their leader. As a whole they are trustworthy and are good at forest work. They are dark in complexion and are considered to be inferior in caste status to Vetta-kurumans. Though these two tribes live close to each other, they do not have social contacts or marital relationships.

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1 Dr. Ayyappan, A. Report on the Socio-economic conditions of the aboriginal tribes of the Province of Madras (1948), page 98

2 Ibid. pages 105 & 125

3 Ibid. page 125

Vetta-kurumans

2.14 "The Vetta-kurumans also known as Uraly Kurumans were and are even this day to some extent, the chief artisan tribe of the Wynad taluk, being skilled blacksmiths and basket makers."[1] Generally nomadic by nature, they have in recent times begun to settle down in the plains of the village. They are not good agricultural labourers, but most of them – men and women – go as labourers. They are good in handicrafts such as making of baskets and mats etc. with rattan and bamboo reapers. This is said to be their traditional occupation. At present only a few families are seen engaged in this occupation of little profit to them. No authentic information or legend about the origin of the tribes in this village could be gathered.

2.15 The Vetta-kurumans are divided into different sub sects (or 'Kulam') or 'Padi' as they call it. The important 'Padis'* found in this village are:

Champapadi
Kottapadi
Kollipadi
Karumpattupadi
Moolapadi and
Pathipadi

Marriage between members of the same family or 'padi' is forbidden, though this restriction is not strictly adhered to in recent times by the younger generation. They have their own language – a mixture of Canarese and Malayalam used in a corrupt form – in which they converse among themselves. Most of them are able to understand and speak in Malayalam, though not fluently and correctly.

2.16 These tribes usually live in clusters generally in a circular form; some five or six families together with a small shed at the centre, where they gather at night and enjoy themselves in front of burning logs of wood. They would not wear footwears and do not permit anyone to enter their huts with shoes on. They are good mahouts and many are employed by the forest department for this purpose. The older people among them, do not crop their hair, but bring it on to the back of their heads in a knot, but the younger generation keep their hair well-cropped. A few of the families are still engaged in blacksmithy and craft works – making baskets, mat weaving etc.

House types

2.17 Most of the tribes construct their huts in Government wastelands, and in the case of agricultural labourers, in some corner of the ryots' land. The dwellings of these tribes are mostly small ones, with one or two compartments inside, separated by bamboo 'thatties' (screens closely interwoven with long bamboo strips). The walls of the huts are also made of bamboo 'thatty' or with mud, the raw materials for which are obtained from the nearby forests. The roofs are thatched with hay and the floor plastered with cow-dung. The huts of Adiyans and Vetta-kurumans will be generally on a crude foundation built of ordinary earth and others have their huts with flooring on a level with the ground

2.18 The entrance to the small hut will be generally through a small door or opening which can be closed with a small 'thatty.' One has to bow into the hut with some difficulty as the entrance is small and there will be, in most of the cases, no windows or openings except the main entrance, to let in light and fresh air. Moving space inside the hut is limited, and the kitchen and their belongings occupy some space. The general condition of the hut in many a case is quite

1 Dr. Ayyappan, A — Report on the Socio-Economic conditions of the aboriginal tribes of the Province of Madras (1948), page 95.

* Note:– The settlements of the Vetta-kurumans here are also referred to as 'Padi'. Probably in olden days, the families in a settlement were of the same sect and related.

deplorable. Small kerosene oil lamps are used for lighting the huts during the night. Burning logs of wood or bamboo pieces are commonly seen at night near the tribal settlements, around which batches of people sit and warm themselves during cold nights.

Table III

HOUSES USED BY TRIBES BY MATERIAL OF WALL AND ROOF

Name of Tribe	Walls				Roofs			Flooring		
	Bricks	Mud or mud plastered	Bamboo thatty	Total	Tiled	Hay or grass or thatched	Total	Mud or ordinary ground	Cow-dung plastered	Total
1. Adiyans	8	9	21	38	8	30	38	..	38	38
2. Paniyans	..	..	33	33	..	33	33	..	33	33
3. Then-kurumans	1	5	27	33	1	32	33	..	33	33
4. Vetta-kurumans	..	6	17	23	..	23	23	..	23	23
Total	9	20	98	127	9	118	127	..	127	127

2.19 The Department of Harijan Welfare have given lumpsum grants amounting to Rs. 1,000 each for construction of houses, to a few of the tribal families, who have settled permanently there. 22 such houses have been constructed – 20 for Adiyans, one for a Then-kuruman family and one for a Vetta-kuruman family. These houses are tiled, and walls made of bricks or granite stones. A reference may be made, in this connection to the table (Table 3) wherein are given the materials of construction of the walls, roofs and flooring of the huts in the case of the households surveyed.

Table IV

HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS AND PERSONS OCCUPYING

Number of Persons	Adiyans				Paniyans				Then-kurumans				Vetta-kurumans			
	1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	Total	1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	Total	1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	Total	1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	Total
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
2	1	2	..	3	7	1	..	8	1	6	..	7	4	1	..	5
3	4	1	..	5	10	1	..	11	3	2	..	5	3	2	..	5
4	5	1	1	7	4	1	..	5	..	2	..	2	2	..	..	2
5	3	2	..	5	3	3	..	6	3	6	1	10	1	2	..	3
6	6	..	1	7	2	..	..	2	..	3	2	5	1	2	..	3
7	3	2	..	5	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	2	1	..	3
8	2	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
9	1	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 and over	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	25	10	3	38	26	7	..	38	10	20	3	33	14	9	..	23
Percentage	65.8	26.3	7.9	100.0	78.8	21.2	..	100.0	30.3	60.6	9.1	100.0	60.9	39.1	..	100.0

Note:— It may be seen from the table that almost all the households surveyed had only one or two rooms or compartments separated by bamboo *thatties*, irrespective of the number of members in the household.

Dress and ornaments

2 20 The tribal people are generally poor, illfed and inadequately clothed. The males wear a 'dhothi' and baniyan or shirt while at home and outside. Most of them do not wear any ornaments, but a few are found having rings and ear studs made of brass or aluminium. The females of Adiyans, Paniyans and Then-kurumans wear a long cloth — 'Chela' as they call it — taken round their left shoulders and tied as a knot. Most of them do not wear any blouse. But in recent years, due to contact with people of the plains young women of all the tribes have begun to wear blouses also. The Vetta-kuruman females also wear the 'Chela' covering their body below the shoulders by tying a long cloth round the armpits, leaving shoulders and arms bare. Children usually wear small bits of cloth as 'dhothi' or as 'chela,' as the case may be. These people do not seem to have any special type of dress for festive and other occasions; and in general seldom keep their dresses clean and washed, but put on dirty ones. Many among them take their bath only once in two or three days; or even less occasionally.

2.21 Ornaments made of gold and silver are seldom used by them due to economic reasons, but beads and German silver chains bought from local shops and hawkers, are used in plenty and these ornaments cost them only petty amounts. The tribal women show much interest to buy these ornaments and adorn themselves with these. The average annual expenditure for the tribes, on items of ornaments is very small and correspondingly the cost of ornaments possessed by them is also not much. Neither the male nor the females use footwears, as they are quite adept in going uphills and down, barefooted.

Household goods

2.22 The more common types of domestic utensils used by them are made of clay, copper and aluminium. 'Kindi,' 'Montha' and such small vessels made of brass or bronze are also rarely used. Copper vessels for fetching water for domestic use, small copper or aluminium vessels, clay plates, and earthen pots for cooking purposes are used by almost all households. It may be noted that being nomadic by nature, only the most essential items of household goods are used. A very few families possess wooden furniture such as stools, benches and chairs. It was stated that they do not hire special utensils on festive occasions, but borrow if necessary, from neighbouring families. The household goods are purchased both from local merchants and nearby markets where they gather on festive occasions, the payment being made in cash.

2.23 Agricultural implements such as spades and sickles are possessed by some of the agricultural families. Every household invariably possess morter and pestle and sickles.

Food and drink

2.24 The tribes are mostly non-vegetarians and use the flesh of wild pigs, porcupine, deer and mountain squirrels and certain small birds and fowls. They do not use the meat of cows, oxen and buffaloes, as these domestic animals are considered as sacred. Flesh of dead animals are not used by most of them. All types of fish, whether caught by them from the local river and ponds, as well as dried fish bought from outside are used by them. Eggs of hens are taken, if available. All varieties of vegetables are also used by them. A few families grow tuber crops like colocasia and elephant foot yam (amorphophalus) for their own use. Wild roots and fruits which was in past times, one of the main items of food of the tribes, are seldom obtained in the localities surveyed. More food dishes are usually prepared on festive occasions.

2.25 Rice and Tapioca are the staple food of these tribes. Most of the families take their food twice a day 'rice' or 'kanji' with fish and curry. They gener-



Pl. 20 AN ADIYAN LADY Page 184

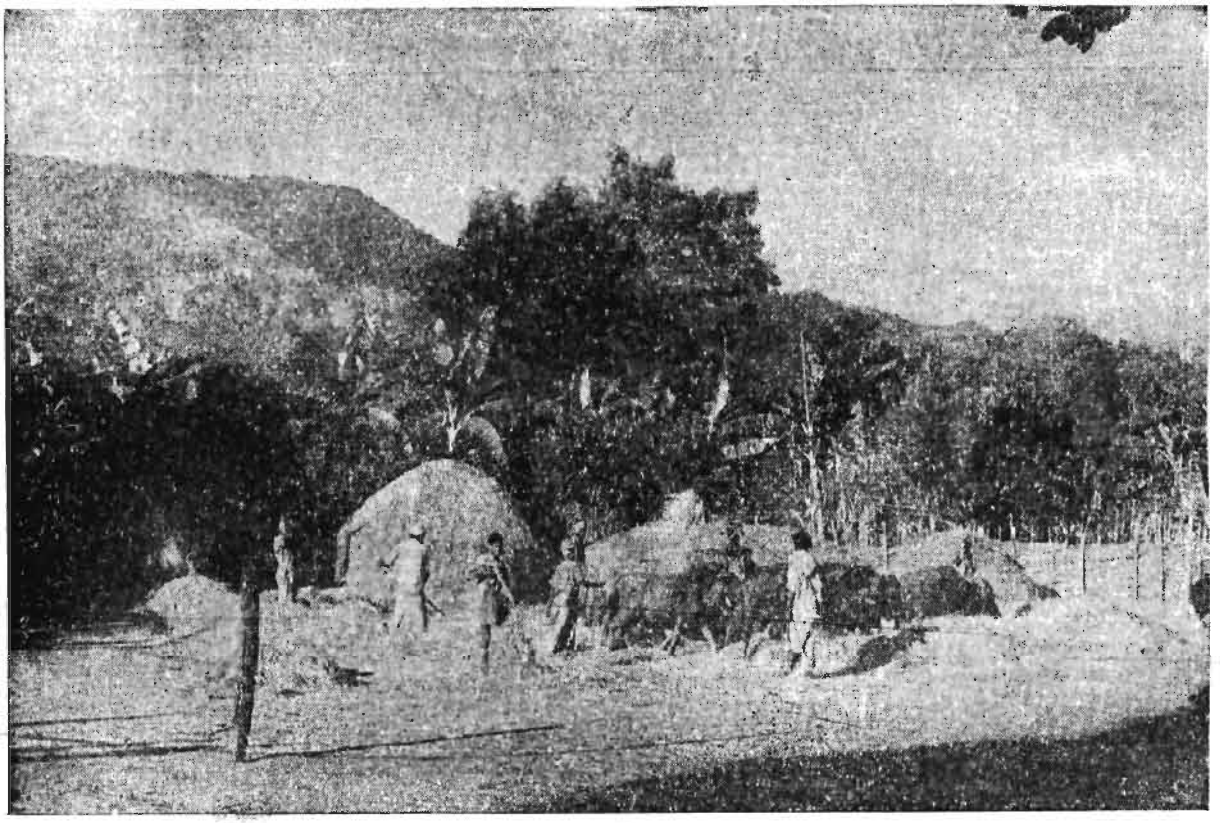


Pl 21 PANIYAN WOMEN — SEE THE TYPICAL DRESS, HAIR STYLE AND ORNAMENTS Page 184



Pl. 22

A PANIYAN GROUP



Pl. 23 THRESHING OF PADDY Page 195

ally use cocoanut oil for cooking purposes, which they have to buy from the local shops. All food materials, condiments, oil, rice etc. are purchased from outside. There does not seem to have any restriction among these tribes about the use of certain pulses like horse gram etc.

Marriage

2.26 Marriages are generally fixed up before the girl attains puberty, but take place only later on, among all these four tribes. Normally the marriage alliance is negotiated and settled by the parents of the contracting parties. The marriage usually takes place during day time at the girl's hut. Among the Vetta-kurumans the marriage function takes place either during day time or at night, generally at the bridegroom's hut. On the day of the marriage the bride is escorted by her kith and kin to the bridegroom's hut and is received by the bridegroom and his party. The expenses connected with marriage are usually borne by the bridegroom's parents but in some cases shared by both parties. 'Talikettu' (or the tying of the 'tali' on the bride's neck) forms the important and main item of the function among all these four tribes. The eating of food by the bride and the bridegroom together and chewing the two halves of the same betel leaf signifies their union and is followed by feasting to the guests. Music and dancing accompanied by drum-beating and merry-making which sometimes lasts for long hours forms the concluding part of the function. Among the Adiyans, the couple after the 'talikettu' function, are seated together on a mat and the Moopans do some religious rites. Later the bridegroom takes his wife to his hut, accompanied by the guests, where a feast is arranged. The Moopans engage themselves in long hours of 'pooja' which may probably last all through the night. The guests give presents to the couple and all disperse after taking betel leaves and nuts.

2.27 The invitation of the guests for the marriage is done in a particular manner among the Then-kurumans. One member each from the boy's and girl's side join together and go for inviting the guests, offering these betel leaves and areca-nuts. It is said that unless such personal invitations are made their people do not attend the wedding functions.

2.28 A custom which prevails among the Adiyans and Paniyans is that, the husband should pay every year to his father-in-law (or brother-in-law if the former is dead) what they call as 'Thalapothy.' This consists of about a bag of paddy and a few other household items. On his first visit after marriage to his wife's house the bridegroom is accompanied by elder members and takes with him about a 'para' (പറ) a unit of measurement) of paddy, coconut oil, and items for chewing. The system of paying 'Thalapothy' is discontinued by an Adiyan or Paniyan only if the marriage relationship between him and his wife ends i.e. if his wife dies or deserts him.

2.29 Among the Adiyans and Paniyans the system of rendering service by the would-be bridegroom to his future fathers-in-law is in vogue. The bridgroom lives with his future wife and her parents, after the fixing up of the alliance and he hands over his earnings to them. In former days the bridegroom was asked to bring fuel and water for domestic use. But this system is not seen prevalent among the other two tribes.

2.30 Cases of elopment of the man and woman or with another's wife are not uncommon among all these tribes of Thirunelly. In such cases the penalty decided upon by the elders of the community is paid and these such married relation drips are held valid. It is quite common that a Paniyan may have two or three or in rare cases more number of wives married at different times but only one wife at a time. Same is the case with most of their women. Another point which may be mentioned here is that a

good number of marriages in recent times among the Then-kurumans and Vetta-kurumans take place by mutual agreement by the man and the woman for an alliance The subsequent elopement of the woman with him, and their returning to his hut after a few days. Their union is recognised as valid and they lead a married life.

Child-birth

2.31 Among the tribes of Thirunelly elderly women of their own sect attend to and help the woman in child birth and indigeneous medicines prepared by these elderly women are taken by the mother during the period of lying in. The women in child-birth stays in a separate room or compartment in the hut set apart as labour room and birth pollution is observed among all these tribes, the period of pollution is varying from one tribe to another. The Adiyans observe birth pollution for a period of 5 days only, but the Paniyans and Vetta-kurumans observe about 10 or 11 days and the Then-kurumans observe pollution for a period of about a month, after this period the woman takes her bath and enters the house from her seclusion room. Feasting is arranged for their close relations if purse permits. The naming ceremony of the new born is also performed in this day by the Moopan or other elderly person. Among the Adiyans some 'poojas' are performed on this day by the Moopan.

2.32 It is a common feature among all these tribes that the males keep aloof from the woman in child-birth during the period of birth pollution and associate with her only after the pollution period.

2.33 In recent times medical aid in case of any difficulty is sought from the nearest *Vaidyan* or dispensary or other qualified persons.

Death

2.34 When a person is dead news is carried to all kith and kin who assemble at the hut of the deceased. The dead body is bathed in warm water (in some cases turmeric is also added to the water and oil also is used in the case of Then-kurumans) and covered with new clothes and the body is taken in bamboo bier to the grave, accompanied by those assembled there and the Moopans. Among the Adiyans the Moopan performs some pooja before the corpse is taken to the grave, among them there is a separate set of people called 'Karmikkaran' who performs the religious rites for the dead. Among the Vetta-kurumans there is a custom, that the relatives and friends assemble at the hut of the deceased with a cloth for the dead which are used to cover the corpse before being taken to the grave.

2.35 The Adiyans and Paniyans dig the grave in a particular manner so as to keep the corpse buried safe inside and to be free from the ravage of wild animals in the forests. A pit is dug in the north-south direction about three or four feet deep. Though the inside east of this pit another inner pit of about six or seven feet long is scooped out in the north-south direction. The Then-kurumans also dig out the grave almost in the same form as described here, but the Vetta-kurumans do not prepare an inner pit but just have a grave dug about three or four feat deep in the north-south direction.

2.36 The body is then placed in the inner side pit in a bamboo 'thatty' with head towards the south and the leg diverted towards north. The first of pit is fully covered with earth and the corpse is thus buried safe in the inner side pit. A small bamboo screen or *thatty* is generally placed on the corpse to avoid direct contact with the earth when the grave is covered as is in vogue among Then-kurumans. Vetta-kurumans perform certain religious rites to the dead before laying the body to rest in the grave. The digging of the grave and the burial of the corpse among the Adiyans, are generally done by the 'Karmikkaran', a set of people in their sect. As a mark of identification a stone or some other object is

usually erected or placed on the ground at the place of burial at the head side or leg portion of the buried dead. A pot of water and cooked rice and a few items and belongings of the dead are also kept at the place of burial by Vetta-kurumans and Then-kurumans, as offerings to the departed. A lighted lamp and a bowl of rice are generally kept on that day in front of the hut or in the room of the hut where the person had died, among the Adiyans and Then-kurumans. Again there is a custom among the Adiyans that the immediate relatives shave off their hair and bathe. The females do not go to the burial ground. Among the Then-kurumans boiled rice and horse dal are used as special items to be served for the feasting held after the burial rites. The people who have assembled there later on go to the nearest river or canal and take bath, then they all disperse.

2.37 Pollution connected with the death of a person is observed for a certain number of days among these tribes of the locality excepting the Vetta-kurumans. It is strange that the Vetta-kurumans do not observe death pollution at all. No function connected with the death of a person is conducted by them. According to the Vetta-kurumans the dead is buried deep and his or her memories are not cherished any longer. The death pollution lasts for about 7 or 8 days among the Adiyans, for a period of not less than 7 days among the Paniyans and for about 15 days among the Then-kurumans. The ryot under whom the dead persons was working gives his family his contribution for the funeral expenses viz. paddy or rice, oil, clothes, etc. or make cash payments.

2.38 Among the Adiyans after the period of pollution, the Moopan and the 'Karmikkaran' accompanied by the relatives of the dead person go to the grave with cooked rice, clothes and water and give these as offerings to the dead; these are later consumed by the 'Karmikkaran' and this signifies that the dead person had accepted these offerings and afterwards they all return home. Feasting according to their capacity is arranged for the guests and there will be singing and dancing in their traditional way accompanied by drum-beating throughout the night. This function is known as 'Kakkapala'. Annual functions connected with death are also conducted by them with feasting, music and drum-beating.

2.39 Among Then-kurumans the offerings of sweetened rice, water, fruits, clothes etc. to the departed are made by the Moopan. These offerings are later shared by those assembled there after which they all return home. But among the Paniyans of this locality no kind of offerings such as those mentioned above are reportedly made to the dead person, but the relatives of the dead go to the burial ground at the end of the pollution period, take some earth from the spot of burial and return home, when the Moopans perform the religious rites, to the accompaniment of singing and drum-beating, and after the meals and chewing they all disperse. Every year, on the day of the death aniversary cooked rice is offered to the dead.

2.40 Among the Then-kurumans the dead bodies of very old persons are some times cremated with due rites instead of burying. In such cases some plants are said to be planted at the site of cremation.

Tatoo

2.41 Tatoo marks, more prominently taken by women among all these tribes, on the arms and foreheads are a very common feature worth noticing. The women of one tribe can easily be distinguished from those of the other tribes with the help of the particular design of tatoo marks on their foreheads and arms, the design being separate for each of these tribes. The tatoo marks are taken by these women after attaining puberty or in some cases after marriage, with the help of outsiders, during local festive occasions. An indelible sort of ink

produced indigenously is said to be used for the purpose of tatooing. The males do not generally have any such tatoo marks on their foreheads though there are persons with some tatooing on their arms.

2.42 The Paniyan women usually cut and shorten the length of the hair on the front portions of their heads but the males do not.

Inter Caste Marriages

2.43 During the course of the survey, one or two cases of mixed marriages were reported. A Then-kuruma woman is known to have lived first with a Muslim as her husband and after his death with an Ezhava and has a daughter. He later on deserted her, and she is now living along with her daughter. A chetty male had preferred to live with one Then-kuruma woman as his wife. The marriage bond between the man and the woman among these tribes is not an everlasting one, and breaking of connections commonly take place whenever one of the parties wish to do so. The divorced party in such cases goes in for a mate and no matrimonial ceremony generally takes place. The children, if any, from the dissolved union stay either with the father or mother, and there does not appear to exist any right regarding this. However these tribes generally seem to adhere to the principle of one mate at a time. "Their simple marriage customs (which include even marriage by elopement) premarital courtship, seclusion of women, absence of the question of legitimacy and freedom for the widows to remarry, are all healthy practices which civilized communities are gradually aiming at by legislation."[1]

Puberty and Menstruation

2.44 A girl attaining puberty is lodged separately in a room in the hut for a certain number of days and the period of pollution differs from one tribe to another. During this period she is not given freedom of movement outside and mingling with others. Food is served to her by elderly women. After the period of pollution the girl, accompanied by some women, goes to the nearest river or pond and takes her bath, after which she floats a betel leaf and an areca-nut in the water. In some cases dancing and merrymaking accompanied by drum-beating also follow. Dressed in new clothes, the girl returns to her hut with a pot of water on her head and receives the blessings and presents from the elder persons, assembled there.

2.45 During their monthly periods, women keep themselves out of their huts for a few days, varying for each tribe, and observe pollution. After this period she takes bath and joins the family. No separate function is attached to the monthly periods in women. In recent years, many of the tribal women also go for work in the estates and they seldom remain separate during menstruation periods. The Adiyans, Paniyans and Then-kurumans consider the period of pollution in connection with death and puberty as inauspicious.

1 Ayyappan, A.— Report on the socio-economic conditions of the aboriginal tribes of the Province of Madras (1948), Page 47.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Introduction

3.1 The tribes in the Thiruhelly desom are mainly engaged as agricultural labourers under the local ryots or as estate workers. When both the husband and wife leave for work, their younger children in the house are left to be cared by the elderly children. The agricultural workers get their wages usually in kind (paddy) and those in estates receive monetary payment. Over and above their regular wages, permanent estate workers receive accessory benefits such as free medical aid, bonus and gratuity, as scheduled in the labour act. But these people do not stick on to any particular estate and almost every year, they change from one estate to another.

3.2 The vast majority of the people other than the tribes in the village are agriculturists or landlords who own lands-wet and dry, and cultivate them. Paddy is the most important of the crops cultivated by them, though tapioca, certain tuber crops like colacasia, and elephant foot-yam etc. are also grown by many of them. There are a few coffee and other estates in the region, owned by certain individuals. The tribes are generally employed as labourers in the agricultural lands and estates which give them almost regular employment. A small number of tribes have lands of their own, where cultivation of paddy and tapioca are generally done in small quantities. This quantity is seldom sufficient for them and these people also go for cooly work elsewhere. Lack of proper facilities for irrigation coupled with difficult financial resources are important factors that confront them in successfully cultivating their lands. Bamboo cutting and other forest works like plantation are occupations in which some of the tribes are engaged; while a few others have taken to certain craft-works like basket making, mat-weaving and blacksmithy. But these occupations do not provide them sufficient earning for a livelihood and they also resort to other types of unskilled manual labour.

3.3 The results of the socio-economic survey reveal that out of the 38 Adiyan families surveyed, 27 families were owning lands, of which 13 owned only less than 50 cents each. Only 9 out of these 27 families, cultivated their lands. Among the Paniyans, Then-kurumans and Vetta-karumans (excepting two families) covered by the survey, none had so far attempted cultivation, even though some of the families possessed lands of their own. These lands were mostly left uncultivated.

3.4 Other occupations in which the tribes are engaged, are forest works (i. e. felling of trees, plantation of the forests with teak, and as mahouts) and in looking after grazing cattle belonging to the local people.

Live-stock

3.5 The tribes possess only a few domestic animals, namely cows, oxen and sheep. A reference may be made to tables (Tables V & VI) wherein are given the number of domestic animals in the households surveyed and also the number of households having domestic animals, for each of the four tribes.

Table V

NUMBER OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS IN THE HOUSEHOLDS

Name of Tribe	Number of households surveyed	Cows	Calves	Bulls	He Buffaloes	She Buffaloes	Goats	Sheep	*Other animals	Hens and fowls
Adiyans	38	15	18	1	..	..	..	..	3	55
Paniyans	33	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	9	34
Then-kurumans	33	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	10	30
Vetta-kurumans	23	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	7	21

* Other animals include dogs, cats, etc.

Table VI

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS HAVING DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Name of Tribe	Number of households surveyed	Cows	Calves	Bulls	He Buffaloes	She Buffaloes	Goats	Sheep	*Other animals	Hens and fowls
Adiyans	38	9	14	1	..	..	..	1	3	17
Paniyans	33	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	9	14
Then-kurumans	33	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	8	11
Vetta-kurumans	23	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	9

* Other animals include dogs, cats, etc.

3.6 There were 15 cows, 18 calves, 1 bull and a sheep in the households of Adiyans. Poultry keeping was done by some of the households. Domesticated animals such as dogs and cats were kept in three of the households, for guarding the houses and for hunting purposes. 13 of the households had none of the animals nor poultry. Out of the 33 Paniya households surveyed, only one had a calf and 14 had hens and fowls. Similarly among the Then-kurumans, only 3 households had cows numbering three, and one had a calf. Only one out of the 23 Vetta-kuruman households had 2 calves, and 9 had hens and fowls. It was observed that about 54% of the households of Paniyans, 61% of Then-kurumans and 52% of Vetta-kurumans, had no cattle at all, nor even poultry at the time of the survey. Despite the availability of large grazing grounds, these people do not seem to rear adequate live-stock.

3.7 In Table VI it may happen that the same households having one or more of the cattle and fowls, are taken separately into account, against each item.

3.8 Apart from these tribal households, there were cattle and fowls in many households of the other people in the localities. Bulls and he-buffaloes were also reared by most of these families for agricultural purposes. It may be said that on the whole the cattle wealth in the localities surveyed is not too meagre though not sufficiently rich.

Economic Life and Activities

3.9 The lands now possessed and enjoyed by the tribes are either forest and revenue waste lands encroached by them, and subsequently fallen in their possession or obtained by them from Government on the basis of provisional *patta*. Lands once acquired by provisional *patta*, will not be

mostly recovered from them, but will be given to them permanently after fixing the centage. These lands are to be allocated to them free of land value and other expenses according to informations gathered. These tribal families who own only small areas of land allotted to them from the Government or, are occupying small portions of the employers' (ryots) lands (in the case of families which do not possess lands of their own), are reported to be in no way benefitted or deprived of their privileges by the land reform acts, introduced by the Government, and other land improvements. Nevertheless the department of Harijan Welfare of the State Government give to the deserving agriculturist families among the tribes, interest free loans amounting to Rs. 300 for the purchase of bulls, seeds, manures and agricultural implements, to encourage them to cultivate their lands.

Industry and Commerce

3.10 There is reportedly no proper and sufficient resources available in the village for any kind of industrial activity worth mentioning. Lack of resources of raw materials, deplorable facilities for communication and the economic backwardness of the tribal people are important factors, which add to this.

3.11 However, a few tribes are reported to be engaged almost full-time, in making baskets, mat-weaving and such other items of craft works with reeds and bamboo. These occupations do not seem to earn them a living, and they go for unskilled manual labour also to supplement their income. The produces are generally sold to the people in the village. Blacksmithy is yet another vocation engaging a few of the tribes, and this occupation too, according to them, does not prove to be productive, as most of the implements etc. produced by them, are available in the local shops and markets nearby, at comparatively cheaper prices. Collection of honey and wax and other produces is done occasionally by some of these people (this has been reported to be on the decrease in recent times) and sold to others.

3.12 The facilities for communication in the region is deplorable and quite insufficient. The situation of the village closely near to the state's boundary in the North Wynad Taluk and the climatic conditions there, adds to the sort of isolation of this region and there does not seem to be attempt of industrialisation and urbanisation of the region. It is hoped that improvement of communication facilities and providing gainful employment to the tribals, thereby helping them to utilise and develop their creative faculties will lead the way to gradual industrialisation.

Livelihood Classes

3.13 The socio economic survey conducted, revealed that about 45% of the 203 members (Adiyans) were workers (dependent or independent earners) of both sexes and of all age-groups. Again almost all of the males who are aged 15 and above were workers. Nearly 60% of the females in the age-group of 15 and above were reported to be workers. It can be seen that even among children who are less than 15 years of age and who generally do not contribute much to the labour force, a small number of boys are returned as workers. Invariably there was no male member aged 15 and above (excepting one aged over 60) who was returned as non-worker. Considering all males, about 60 per cent of the males are workers.

3.14 In the case of Paniyans, about 49% of the 118 members surveyed, (belonging to both sexes and all ages) were workers. About 69% of the males (belonging to all ages) and about 33% of the females (in the age-group 15-59) come under the category of workers. Excepting 2 males who were sick all the males aged 15 and above, were workers. In the case of females aged 15 and over, about 55% were workers. Among Adiyans and Paniyans, agricultural labourers and coolies under the local ryots, and daily labourers engaged in forest works etc.

formed the bulk of workers.

3.15 Among the 127 members in the 33 Then-kuruman households surveyed, it was found that nearly 46% (of both sexes and all ages) were workers. Moreover, about 95% of the males and 50% of the females, belonging to age-group of 15 and above come under this category. A small percentage of children below 15 years were also workers. Among the non-workers there were three males (aged 15 and above), one was reported to be studying, the other sick, and the third of old age. The proportion of females as compared to that of males among the workers was small and among the non-workers this proportion was found to be high.

3.16 In the case of Vetta-kurumans nearly 47% of the 104 members belonging to both sexes and all ages above 14 were returned as workers. Almost all males aged 15 and above, and a little over 50% of the females in those age-groups belong the category of workers. Among the non-workers 74.5% accounted for boys and girls below the age of 15 years. The following tables (tables VII to XI) give the distribution of workers and non-workers according to age and sex for each of the tribes.

Table VII

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS — ADIYANS

Age-groups	Workers			Non-workers			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-14	4	..	4	39	48	87	43	48	91
15-34	26	19	45	..	13	13	26	23	49
35-59	29	14	43	..	6	6	29	20	49
60 and over	..	..	..	1	4	5	1	4	5
Total	59	33	92	40	71	111	99	95	194

Table VIII

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS — PANIYANS

Age-groups	Workers			Non-workers			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-14	1	..	1	14	26	40	15	26	41
15-34	14	9	23	..	10	10	14	19	33
35-59	20	13	33	2	5	7	22	18	40
60 and over	1	..	1	..	3	3	1	3	4
Total	36	22	58	16	44	60	52	66	118

Table IX

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS — THEN-KURUMANS

Age-groups	Workers			Non-workers			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-14	1	2	3	22	27	49	23	29	52
15-34	18	12	30	1	9	10	19	21	40
35-59	15	6	21	1	5	6	16	11	27
60 and over	3	..	3	1	4	5	4	4	8
Total	37	21	58	25	44	69	62	65	127

Table X

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS — VETTA-KURUMANS

Age-groups	Workers			Non-workers			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-14	..	..	..	22	19	41	22	19	41
15-34	18	6	24	..	8	8	18	14	32
35-59	13	8	21	..	5	5	13	13	26
60 and over	4	..	4	1	..	1	5	..	5
Total	35	14	49	23	32	55	58	46	104

Table XI

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS — ALL TRIBES TOGETHER

Age-groups	Workers			Non-workers			Total			
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
0-14	1	..	1	14	26	40	15	26	41	(34.7)
15-34	14	9	23	..	10	10	14	19	33	(28.0)
35-59	20	13	33	2	5	7	22	18	40	(33.9)
60 and over	1	..	1	..	3	3	1	3	4	(3.4)
Total	36	22	58	16	44	60	52	66	118	(100.0)

(Figures in brackets give the percentages to the total)
Percentage of workers among males — 69.2
,, females — 33.3

Ownership of Economic Resources

3.17 As explained in earlier paras, a major portion of the land in this village comes under forest areas; Government as well as privately owned, and a good portion of the revenue lands is owned by private individuals who cultivate paddy, tapioca, coffee, and such other crops. The tribes possess but few acres of land and many are not engaging themselves in a profitable and productive means of cultivation. So much so, the ownership of economic resources is mostly in the hands of private individuals and landlords who hire these tribes to work under them. It was learnt that these tribal families had not so far been allotted lands by the Government, though proposals to that effect were said to be under active consideration of the authorities.

Traditional Occupations

3.18 The Adiyans and Paniyans claim to have been traditionally agriculturists in the past, and that they used to cultivate parts of the vast forest lands. Hunting of certain small birds and animals, collection of certain edible wild roots and fruits that were in plenty in the forests were other occupations of the tribes in general. No doubt food was the primary item of necessity for them. The Thenkurumans are said to be experts in the collection of honey and wax, and such other produces of the forests. It is said that they are able to spot out the honey comb at a locality, just by the smell and the sight of two or three bees in the vicinity. The Vetta-kurumans claim that they were in former times the chief artisan tribe of the Wynad taluk who were skilful

in the art of basket-making, mat weaving with the raw materials of bamboo and rattan available in the forests and were also skilled blacksmiths. The Then-kurumans and Vetta-kurumans were not agriculturists by tradition, but they used to go for hunting.

3.19 But, by effect of time, the gradual increase in the number of the plains-people who had settled even in the remote parts of the village and had begun cultivating the lands, affected to a large extent these tribes, who were leading a life of contentment in their traditional environments. Being less powerful or incapable of resisting the outside powers the tribes are said to have gradually taken to labour work on wages, under the agricultural landlords and estate owners. The importance of hunting as a means of existence for these tribes is becoming less for various reasons. They do not get much leisure and facilities for hunting purposes after their day's hard work. Moreover the hunting games for the people are not easily available in the outskirts of the forests without going into the interior parts.

3 20 Availability of baskets, mats etc. and smithy products in the local shops and adjacent markets at comparatively cheaper rates and at various sizes and designs is one of the main reasons for the poor market for the produces made by the tribes. Moreover the non-availability of the raw materials like bamboo, reeds etc. the restrictions imposed by the forest authorities to obtain them, and above all the cost of labour add to the reasons.

3.21 But in recent times, most of the tribes have taken to labour work which is said to be more remunerative for them and for which they get their wages in cash or in kind. The Adiyans and Paniyans at Thirunelly are mostly working as agricultural labourers under the local ryots. A few of the Adiyans are themselves agriculturists, cultivating their own lands and producing small quantities of paddy and tapioca. The Then-kurumans and Vetta-kurumans are mostly labourers on daily wages, working in the coffee estates. Some of the tribes go for bamboo cutting in these localities, and according to them, they get more wages for this work though it is hazardous and difficult. The wages for this work is said to be calculated according to the quantum of work done. Their desire to make more income with less efforts, poor economic conditions and inability to adopt modern techniques in agriculture and above all the state of landlessness in the case of many tribal families — all these may be said to be reasons for their going for labour work under others, and in return getting their wages in cash or in kind. However there is a desire expressed by most of these people, to get lands of their own from the Government for cultivation purposes.

3.22 The following paras deal with the different occupations with particular reference to these tribes.

Different Occupations

Agriculture

3.23 The tribes in the region are not good at modern agricultural techniques due to many handicaps. Among the 127 households of all tribes, only as few as 11 households were doing agricultural cultivation, mainly paddy and tapioca. Nine Adiyan families and one family each among the Then-kurumans and Vetta-kurumans, were the only cultivating families. It may be noted that among the 38 families of Adiyans, 13 had no land in possession and that they were occupying a portion of the land belonging to others. Similarly it was reported that about 90 per cent of the Paniya families, about 63 per cent of the Then-kuruma families, and about 61 per cent of the Vetta-kuruma families were not owning any land at all. These families were living either in a portion of the land belonging to others, or were living in a small portion of a hut with another family and forming a different household.

3.24 In the case of cultivating families

among the Adiyans, the extent of land in their possession varied from small holding of even less than half an acre to 3 acres. Five of the 9 families owned only one acre or less, each. Paddy and tapioca are the produces cultivated by them. Apart from the cultivating land owned by a few families, some other families had reported that small bits of lands were owned by them, extending from about 5 cents to about an acre and a half. But in many cases, these lands were being left uncultivated, (excepting growing plantains etc. by a few people). The average holding of land per Adiyan family in the case of families owning any land at all, was only slightly less than an acre. The quantity of paddy produced by the cultivating families was comparatively less and it was entirely being used for their own consumption purposes. According to them, the quantity of paddy produced was not sufficient to meet their requirements for the year and they often had to buy from outside. The average area of land under cultivation of paddy, per household of Adiyans, in the case of cultivating families only was found to be about 1.38 acres.

3.25 Paddy is the most important agricultural crop in the region. As stated earlier the main occupation and means of livelihood for many people of all castes here is agriculture. There is no noticeable trend of any change in the mode of cultivation or agricultural practices of the tribes. The lands which they possess and cultivate (if any) generally lie on the hill-slopes and are less fertile. The tribes do not usually plough their lands deep, using plough and oxen before they sow seeds, but they do only the spading of the surface soil using spades. Of course, sowing of seeds, weeding and transplanting are done at proper times. The implements they use are few in number and still of the old type consisting of spades and sickles. These tribes are practically ignorant of the modern techniques of agriculture and this is an important handicap and reason for the fact that they get only small quantities and of inferior quality of crops. They do not use quality seeds for sowing nor make use of modern types of fertilisers and manures. But a few of these people use cowdung and ash for their fields, if available. It may be added in this connection, that a few of the agricultural families among the Adiyans have been supplied with facilities for agriculture in the form of agricultural loans, for the purchase of quality seeds, manure and implements by the Government. Oxen and ploughs are supplied to them in such cases but they seldom make use of these implements for ploughing.

3.26 One of the main handicaps confronting the tribes is their economic backwardness. As mentioned in the previous para, a few of the agricultural families are given loans amounting to Rs. 300 for agricultural purposes, from the department of Harijan Welfare. Excepting this (and this too in the case of a few families) there is no scope for financial resources for these people other than the daily wages they get. They do the agricultural operations (mainly sowing, transplanting and harvesting) themselves and sometimes the members of the family extent their help. But these people do not employ any person nor seek any help from outside for the agricultural operations. The problem of marketing does not arise in the case of these tribal cultivators who get only small quantities of crops. However large scale cultivators of paddy and other crops like coffee, orange, etc. sell their produces to merchants and traders from outside the region, at proper times and at proper prices.

3.27 Tapioca was planted in the plots along with paddy. Other items of cultivation, though on a very small scale, include plantains tuber crops like colatasia, elephant-foot-yam and different vegetables. None of the 33 Paniyan families were engaged in any kind of cultivation

not even vegetables though two of the families were in possession of small bits of lands. Among the Then-kurumans only one family had paddy cultivation in about one acre of land and this family had another 1½ acres of land under coffee plantations. But as explained earlier the yield of paddy and coffee were very small. He had sold the coffee seeds and the paddy was kept in store for own use. Another 11 families who owned small areas of land had left them uncultivated. Similarly 8 families of Vetta-kurumans who possessed land (only about less than 2 acres each on the average) had left their lands uncultivated. One family was reported to have paddy cultivation in about 1.5 acres of land belonging to him but the yield of paddy was low. Thus agriculture as a principal or subsidiary occupation was engaging only a small number of tribal families. The sowing of seeds for paddy crops is usually done in the month of May and harvesting is done in January or February. Weeding, transplanting, manuring and other agricultural operations are done at the proper seasons in between the sowing of seeds and harvesting.

Animal Husbandry, Fishing and Forestry

3.28 "Animal Husbandry, both as a principal and subsidiary occupation, can make a very significant contribution to the tribal economy.[1] There are vast areas of pasture and open lands and other facilities for rearing cattle in large numbers unexpensively. But the cattle wealth in the village does not seem to be very rich in spite of these facilities. Cows, oxen, sheep etc. are found in many of the households of the agriculturist landlords and other people, reared for their own purposes of milking and ploughing. But the tribes own only small number of cattle. These people do not get any financial assistance from outside sources like the Government or the N. E. S. Block for rearing quality cattle or raising poultry farms.

3.29 Fishing is more a pastime activity and leisure time vocation for the tribes in this area. Local channels and streams and the rivers in these parts are the places where they go for fishing. Small varieties of fish are caught by them for own use. The tribal children are commonly seen trying to catch fish by bunding the water. Fishing traps, nets and hooks are the common tools for fishing. Bunding the water in the channels and poisoning the water are other methods used for catching fish. There is no organised group or association engaged in fishing, but only individuals are seen, at times, engaged at it. It may be pointed out here that they do not sell their catch and as such they do not have to meet the problem of marketing. There is no specific time of activity for fishing, which does not suffice their requirements. In fact they often buy dried fish from nearby shops and markets.

3.30 More than two-thirds of the area of the village is covered with forests belonging to the Government and private individuals. Coffee and other plantations flourish in different parts of the privately owned lands and teak plantation has been taken up vigorously and extensively by the forest officials. Bamboo cutting on an extensive scale has been in progress for supply to factories, on the basis of a contract. Collection of honey, wax and certain other forest produces engage the attention of the tribes. There is no kind of other important activities, worth mentioning, regarding forestry.

Village Industries

3.31 No establishment or organisation worth mentioning, engaged in any kind of industrial activities, are said to be functioning in the village. The tribes have their own old and crude methods of craft

1. Dhebar U. N. Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, Vol. I. (1960-61) page 157.

work. It is said that the Vetta-kurumans were in former times, good craftsmen especially in blacksmithy, basket making and mat-weaving with rattan and bamboo strips, the raw materials for which were easily available from the adjacent forests. But very few families are now seen engaged fulltime in these occupations which do not prove to earn them a good living. The tools and equipments they use are mostly of old type, and they do not get any assistance or outside help and resources for the improvement of their technique and knowledge and popularisation of their art. The produces are mostly sold to people in the localities at cheap prices. There does not seem to be any specific season or time of the year for this activity, but availability and resources of the raw materials and the demand for the products are important factors that govern the nature of the activity. However according to them no trend of change in the improvement of this activity is noticeable.

Commerce

3.32 The tribes in Thirunelly do not engage themselves in any commercial activity. The establishments engaged in commercial activities in the village are mainly the coffee estates, orange and pepper groves owned by private individuals from the plains. The tribes are employed in these estates as daily labourers. The produce namely coffee has to be sold to the agents authorised by the Coffee Board soon after the berries are gathered. Orange and pepper are usually sold to cantractors on 'pattom' basis. Coffee berries are plucked generally in the month of February and orange and pepper in May and February respectively. Apart from the local provision shops, tea-shops and other kinds of shops are found in small numbers in various localities of the region and which serve as commercial organisations. These shops, which function almost throughout the year, form the main place of transactions for purchase of essential commodities for the people of the localities, payment being made is cash in most of the cases.

Family Budget

Introduction

3.33 Being mostly labourers, dependent on the local ryots and planters for their employment and means of livelihood, the tribes of Thirunelly, are poor wage earners and have a low standard of living "Their poverty is due to their inability to take the maximum advantage in utilising the natural facilities to develop profitable economic activities, whilst they have to live in a social environment which stimulates artificial desires that cannot be easily satisfied. The gradual destitution of their forests for commercial purposes, their state of landlessness and their inadaptness and inability to cultivate their lands have led them into a life of inadequatedly paid wage earners".[1]

3.34 During the course of the survey details were collected about the occupational and other sources of income, expenditure on items of food, clothings and such other items, as also their indebtedness. It may be said that none of these tribal families always get permanent employment and therefore they do not mostly have definite and fixed incomes.

3.35 It may be seen from Table XII that the average income in the case of Adiyans is higher than that of the other three tribes namely Paniyans, Vetta-kurumans and Then-kurumans. The Paniyans have the lowest income. The tribes have to buy provisions, oil and other food items from shops or markets outside, and except in the case of agricultural labourers who get their wages mostly in kind (Paddy) and a few agriculturists who cultivate paddy, they have to buy rice also from outside. All the tribal families surveyed were spending a major percentage of their income for their consumption purposes.

1 B. H. Mehta: "Historical background of tribal population" — Indian Journal of Social work, Vol. XIV, No. 3, 1953, page 241.

Table XII

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Tribe	Average annual income Rs.	Expenditure (Rs)				
		Food	Dress	Treatment purposes	Domestic utensils	Other items
Adiyans	572.24	452.00	37.50	4 24	2.36	76.14
	(100.00)	(79.00)	(6.55)	(0.74)	(0.41)	(13.30)
Paniyans	465.64	382.98	26.36	4.52	1.32	50.46
	(100.00)	(82.25)	(5.66)	(0.97)	(0.28)	(10.84)
Then-kurumans	471.67	390.70	27.73	3 09	1.47	48.68
	(100.00)	(82.83)	(5.83)	(0.66)	(0 31)	(10.32)
Vetta-kurumans	488.13	394,00	31.87	3.09	1.70	57.47
	(100.00)	(80.72)	(6.53)	(0.63)	(0.35)	(11.77)

Note: Figures in brackets give the percentages to the income — other items include purchase of ornaments, agricultural implements etc.

The Adiyans are found to have spent only 79 per cent of their income for food items and 13.30 per cent for other items. If ranking is made according to the expenditure on food items, it can be seen that Then-kurumans spend the highest proportion followed by Paniyans and Vetta-kurumans in descending order. Adiyans are found to spend a higher proportion of their income for items of dress, and Vetta-kurumans, Then-kurumans and Paniyans come next in the descending order.

3.36 In the following paragraphs are discussed the family budget details of each of the tribes.

Adiyans

Income

None of the 38 families of Adiyans, reported of an annual income of less than Rs. 350 or about Rs. 950. About 71 per cent of these 38 families belonged to the annual income group of Rs. 351 to 600 and 15.8 per cent had incomes over Rs. 750 annually. The average annual income of the Adiyan families of the surveyed area was found to be Rs. 572.24.

Table XIII

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO ANNUAL INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS — ADIYANS

Annual income Rs.	Number of members in the household										Total number (percentage)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
351-400		2	2								4 (10.5)
401-450			1	1							2 (5.3)
451-500		1	2	3	2	2					10 (26.3)
501-550				1	2	2	2				7 (18 5)
551-600				1		2	1				4 (10.5)
601-650					1						1 (2.6)
651-700						1	1	1			3 (7.9)
701-750								1			1 (2.6)
751-800				1			1	1			3 (7.9)
801-850									1		1 (2.6)
851-900											
901-950									1	1	2 (5.3)
Total		3	5	7	5	7	5	3	2	1	38 (100.00)

It may be seen from the table that as the number of members increases the income also increases and they are positively correlated.

3.37 The annual expenditure on food items (Table XIV) in the case of a majority of families (about 76%) varied between Rs. 351 and Rs. 600. About 74 per cent of the 38 families were spending amounts varying between Rs. 251 and Rs. 500 and only about 13% belonged to the expenditure group of above Rs. 600 per annum. Considering the number of households in the single expenditure group, the group Rs. 351 to Rs. 400 had the maximum number of 11 (i. e. about 29%). The average annual expenditure on items of food for these families was found to be Rs. 452.00 (i. e. about 79%) of their average annual income.

Table XIV

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO EXPENDITURE (ON FOOD) AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS — ADIYANS

Annual expenditure on food Rs.	Households with number of members										Total number	Percentage
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
251-300		2	1								3	(7.9)
301-350			1								1	(2 6)
351-400		1	3	4	2	1					11	(28.9)
401-450				2	2	4	1				9	(23.7)
451-500						2	2				4	(10.5)
501-550					1		1	1			3	(7.9)
551-600							1	1			2	(5.3)
601-650				1				1			2	(5.3)
651-700									2		2	(5.3)
701-750										1	1	(2.6)
Total		3	5	7	5	7	5	3	2	1	38	(100.00)

Table XV

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO INCOME AND EXPENDITURE—ADIYANS

Annual income Rs.	Expenditure on food items (annual) Rs.										Expenditure on dress Rs.						Expenditure on medical care (Rs.)	
	251-300	301-350	351-400	401-450	451-500	501-550	551-600	601-650	651-700	701-750	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	Up to 10	11-20
351-400	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	2	..
401-450			2									2					1	
451-500			9	1								8	2				7	
501-550				6	1								7				6	1
551-600				2	2								3	1			1	1
601-650						1								1			1	
651-700					1	2								3			2	
701-750							1							1			1	
751-800							1	2						2	1		3	
801-850									1							1	1	
851-900																		
901-950									1	1					1	1	2	
Total	3	1	11	9	4	3	2	2	2	1	..	14	12	8	2	2	27	2

(Nine families reported of no expenditure on medical care last year)

3.38 Table 15 gives the expenditure of the Adiyan families on food items, on items of dress and clothings and on items of medical care, classified according to income groups. They spend only as little amount as is quite necessary for purchase of clothings. Nearly 68 per cent of the families were reported to be spending only less than Rs. 40 per annum on this account and only four families were spending above Rs. 50 but below Rs. 70. The average annual expenditure on items of dress was given to be Rs. 37.50 i. e. about 6.6 per cent of the average annual income. The expenditure on medical care is, in most of the cases small, and forms only less than 1 per cent of the average annual income. The other items of expenditure include purchase of domestic utensils ornaments (generally of cheaper varieties) agricultural implements, expenditure on chewing, smoking etc. and this forms nearly 13 per cent of the average annual income.

3.39 Indebtedness to the traditional money lenders and local vendors, in general, affects to a great extent the economic progress of the tribal people. In the surveyed village also most of the tribal people are borrowers of money in advance from their employers which is to be adjusted in their wages later on. The particulars of indebtedness of the Adiyan families surveyed are given in table 16.

Table XVI

INDEBTEDNESS — ADIYANS

Income Rs.	No. of households in the group	No. of households in debt	Percentage columns $\frac{3}{2}$	No. of households with debt			
				up to 10	11-20	21-30	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
351-400	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
401-450	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
451-500	10	2	20.0	1	1	..	2
501-550	7	2	28.6	..	...	2	2
551-600	4	2	50.0	..	2	..	2
601-650	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
651-700	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
701-750	1	1	100.00	..	1	..	1
751-800	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
801-850	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
951-960	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	38	7	18.4	1	4	2	7

It was given that only 7 out of 38 families about (18.4 per cent) were in debts of varying amounts, up to Rs. 30. Most of the debtors were in the income groups between Rs. 451 and Rs. 600. All these families had borrowed money for purposes of family maintenance. The average amount of debt incurred per family considering the case of only the debtor families was found to be Rs. 17.86.

3.40 A few families had received from the department of Harijan Welfare grants for construction of houses and for agricultural purposes.

Paniyans

3.41 Regarding the income of the 33 Paniyan families surveyed it can be seen that excepting one family in the income

group of Rs. 301 to 350 all the other families had reported of annual incomes above Rs. 350 but below Rs. 700. Nearly 76 per cent of the families belonged to the income group of Rs. 351 to 500 and only about 21 per cent had income above Rs. 500.

Table XVII

HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO ANNUAL INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS - PANIYANS

Income groups Rs.	Number of households with members							Total number	Percentage
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
301-350			1					1	(3.0)
351-400		2	3	1				6	(18.3)
401-450		5	3	1				9	(27.3)
451-500		1	3	2	4			10	(30.3)
501-550			1					1	(3.0)
551-600				1	2	1		4	(12.1)
601-650							1	1	(3.0)
651-700						1		1	(3 0)
Total		8	11	5	6	2	1	33	(100.00)

The average annual income of the families was found to be Rs. 465.64. A good number of families having income between Rs. 351 to 500 had 2 to 4 members. The annual expenditure on food and drink, for the families surveyed varied from Rs. 251 to 550 with the exception of one family, falling in the group of Rs. 201 to 250. Nearly 64% of the family incurred an expenditure on food items between Rs. 301 to 400. The average annual expenditure on this account was found to be Rs 382.98 that is, about 82.3% of the average annual income.

Table XVIII

HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO ANNUAL EXPENDITURE (ON FOOD) AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS - PANIYANS

Expenditure on food groups (Rs)	Households with number of members							Total number	Percentage
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
201-250			1					1	(3.0)
251-300		1	1					2	(6.1)
301-350		3	3	2				8	(24.2)
351-400		4	5	2	2			13	(39.4)
401-450			1		2			3	(9.1)
451-500				1	2	1		4	(12.1)
501-550						1	1	2	(6 1)
Total	..	8	11	5	6	2	1	33	(100.00)

The average annual expenditure on purchase of dress items was only about Rs. 26.36 and this formed 5.7% of their average annual income. A reference to table 19 shows that the expenditure on this account varied from Rs. 11 to 40 and nearly 58% fell in the group Rs. 21 to 30.

Table XIX

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PATTERN (ANNUAL) - PANIYANS

Income groups (Rs.)	Expenditure on food (Rs.)							Expenditure on dress (Rs.)				Expenditure on medical care (Rs.)		
	201-250	251-300	301-350	351-400	401-450	451-500	501-550	Up to 10	11-20	21-30	31-40	Up to 10	11-20	21-30
301-350	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
351-400	..	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	3	..	1
401-450	..	..	4	5	..	..	..	..	2	7	..	5	..	..
451-500	..	..	..	8	2	..	..	..	..	10	..	6	..	..
501-550	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	1	3	4	..	..
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Total	1	2	8	13	3	4	2	..	9	19	5	20	..	2

(11 families reported of no expenditure on medical care last year)

3.42 Regarding the expenditure on medical care, it was found that only 22 out of the 33 families had spent some amount for this purpose. The amount spent on this account was small, and the average annual expenditure on medical care per family was only about 1% of their average annual income. Other items for which a small portion of their incomes are spent have been mentioned previously against Adiyans.

3.43 Regarding the debt particulars, it was reported that only 10 out of the 33 Paniya families were in debt of small amounts (in any case of not more than Rs. 40). These amounts had been borrowed from their employers as advance amounts on a contract between themselves and their masters to work under them for the entire agricultural season. The system of bonded labour it may be said still exists among the Paniyans. One of the 10 families in debt had borrowed money for treatment purposes, and the remaining for family maintenance purposes.

Table XX

INDEBTEDNESS - PANIYANS

Income groups (Rs.)	No. of households in the group	No. of households with debt	Percentage of coln. $\frac{3}{2}$	Households with debt of (Rs.)				
				Up to 10	11-20	21-30	31-40	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
301-350	1	1	100.0	..	..	1	..	1
351-400	6	3	50.0	..	1	2	..	3
401-450	9	3	33.3	2	1	..	..	3
451-500	10	3	30.0	1	..	..	2	3
501-550	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
551-600	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
651-700	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	33	10	30.3	3	2	3	2	10

Purpose of borrowing - Treatment purposes - 1 family; Family maintenance - 9 families

Average debt for family of those families in debt - Rs. 21

It is learnt that these amounts which were borrowed by them a few months back, would be repaid in instalments before the beginning of the next agricultural season. The average amount of debt per family considering the case of the 10 families in debt was found to be Rs. 21.

Thenkurumans

3.44 The distribution of annual income for the 33 families classified according to the family size, has been given in Table 21 with the exception of one single family having annual income of Rs. 900. All the remaining families had reported of income between Rs. 201 and Rs. 650.

Table XXI

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO ANNUAL INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS — THENKURUMANS

Income groups (Rs.)	No. of households with No. of members							Total number	Percentage
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
201-250	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	(6.1)
251-300	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	(6.1)
301-350	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	(6.1)
351-400	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	4	(12.1)
401-450	..	1	3	1	..	..	..	5	(15.1)
451-500	..	..	1	1	5	..	..	7	(21.2)
501-550	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	(3.0)
551-600	..	..	1	..	3	2	1	7	(21.2)
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	(6.1)
651 & above	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	(3.0)
Total	3	7	5	2	10	5	1	33	(100.00)

Nearly 30 per cent of the families belonged to the low income group of less than Rs. 400 and only about 9 per cent belonged to the income group of above Rs. 600. Nearly 61 per cent of the families belonged to the annual income group of Rs. 401 to 600. The average annual income of the families was found to be Rs. 471.67. With regard to the expenditure pattern (Table 22), it was found that about 18 per cent of the families had spent only less than Rs. 300 on food items during the last year and the rest, excepting one family, belonged to the expenditure group of Rs. 301 to 550. The average expenditure on food items was found to be Rs 390·70 i. e. about 82.8 per cent of the average annual income. The table below gives the distribution of expenditure (on food) according to the family size.

Table XXII

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO ANNUAL EXPENDITURE (ON FOOD) AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS — THENKURUMANS

Expenditure on food groups	Households with number of members							Total number	Per-centage
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
151-200	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	(3.0)
201-250	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	(9 1)
251-300	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	(6.1)
301-350	..	3	..	1	1	..	..	5	(15.1)
351-400	..	1	4	..	3	..	..	8	(24.2)
401-450	..	..	1	1	3	..	..	5	(15.1)
451-500	..	..	..	..	3	2	1	6	(18.3)
501-550	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	(6.1)
551-600	..	..	..	..		..	..	..	..
601 and above	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	(3 0)
Total	3	7	5	2	10	5	1	33	(100 00)

3.45 The distribution of the 33 Thenkuruman households surveyed classified according to the income groups and expenditure pattern on food items, dress items, and on medical care has been given in the following table (Table 23). 24 ou of the 33 families with annual expent diture (on food) of Rs. 301 to 500 can be found to belong to the income groups varying between Rs. 351 to 600.

Table XXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO INCOME AND EXPENDITURE — THENKURUMANS

Annual income groups	Ependiture on food items (Rs.)										Expenditure on dress (Rs.)						Expen-diture on medical care Rs. 10
	151-200	201-250	251-300	301-350	351-400	401-450	451-500	501-550	551-600	601 & above	Up to 10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51&over	
201-250	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
251-300	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
301-350	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1
351-400	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	1
401-450	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	2
451-500	..	..	..	..	4	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	6
501-550	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	1	..	5
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
651 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	1	3	2	5	8	5	6	2	..	1	1	8	15	6	2	1	21

(12 families reported of no expenditure on medical care last year)

Speaking about the expenditure on purchase of dress items, it may be seen from the table that 23 out of the 33 families had spent amounts varying between Rs. 11 to 30 during the last year and 8 families could spend Rs. 31 to 50 for the same. The average annual expenditure on this account per family was Rs. 27.73 which is about 5.9 per cent of their average annual income.

Regarding medical care, 12 out of the 33 families had not reported of any expenditure on medical care during the last year and 21 families had spent only less than Rs. 10 each, on this account.

3.46. Excepting small amounts borrowed by a few families from their employers and local shop-owners, which would be repaid in due course, the Thenkurumans had not incurred any lumpsum debt. All the 7 families in debt had borrowed money for the purpose of family expenditure when they had no work or had only little income. (Refer table 24).

Table XXIV

INDEBTEDNESS — THENKURUMANS

Income groups (Rs.)	No. of households in the group	No. of households with debt	Percentage of Col. 3/2	No. of households with debts of (Rs.)			
				Up to 10	11-20	21 & above	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
201-250	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
251-300	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
301-350	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
351-400	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
401-450	5	2	40 0	1	1	..	2
451-500	7	2	28.6	2	..	..	2
501-550	1	1	100 0	..	1	..	1
551-600	7	1	14 3	..	1	..	1
601-650	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
651 and above	1	1	100.0	..	..	1	1
Total	33	7	21.2	3	3	1	7

The average amount of debt for the 7 debtor families was found to be Rs. 17.43. The number of families in debt, according to the income groups has been given in table 24.

Vettakurumans

3.47 Excepting two families with annual incomes above Rs 650 the remaining 21 families of Vettakurumans surveyed belonged to the income groups of Rs. 351 to 650 per annum which can be seen from table 25.

Table XXV

HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO (ANNUAL) INCOME AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS — VETTAKURUMANS

Income groups (Rs)	Households with number of members									Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	No.	Percentage
351-400	..	4	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	8	34.8
401-450	..	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	4	17 4
451-500	..	..	..	..	2		..	..	..	2	8 7
501-550	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	..	..	4	17.4
551-600	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	8.7
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	4.3
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	4.3
701 and above	..	..	..	..	..		..	..	1	1	4.3
Total	..	5	5	2	3	3	3	1	1	23	100.0

About 52% of the families had reported of annual income between Rs. 351 and Rs. 450 and nearly 35% had income between Rs. 451 and Rs. 600. It may be seen from the table that the income goes up (though not proportionally) with the number of members in the households. The average annual income of the families surveyed, was found to be Rs. 488 13.

3 48. Like the other tribes of the region the Vettakurumans also spend a major percentage of the income (about 80 7%) on items of food. The average expenditure on food items was found to be Rs. 394 per year

Table XXVI

HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO EXPENDITURE (ON FOOD) AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS — VETTAKURUMANS

Expenditure group (Annual) Rs	Households with number of members									Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	No.	Percentage
251-300	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	17.4
301-350	..	1	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	6	26 1
351 400	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	3	13 1
401-450	..	..	..	1	1	1	2	..	..	5	21 1
451-500	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	3	13. 1
501-550	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	4 3
551 & abve	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	4.3
Total	..	5	5	2	3	3	3	1	1	23	100 0

About 57% of the families had spent only less than Rs. 400 on this account and only two families could spend more than Rs. 500. Their standard of living is very poor with only small incomes they get from labour work and other occupations.

3 49. As may be seen from table 27, 74% of the families reported to have spent only less than Rs. 30 during last year for purchase of dress items, though two other families could afford to spend above Rs. 50. The average annual expenditure on this account was about Rs. 31.87 i.e. 6.5% of the average annual income.

Table XXVII

HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO INCOME AND EXPENDITURE — VETTAKURUMANS

Income groups (Annual) Rs.	Expenditure on food (Rs.)							Expenditure on dress (Rs.)						Expenditure on medical care (Rs)	
	251-300	301-350	351-400	401-450	451-500	501-550	551 & above	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	60 & above	Up to 10	11-20
351-400	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	1	7	..	..	..	..	2	..
401-450	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	2	..
451-500	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..
501-550	..	..	...	3	1	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	3	1
551-600	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	..
601-650	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
701 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Total	4	6	3	5	3	1	1	1	16	2	2	1	1	11	1

(11 families reported of no expenditure on medical care last year)

Speaking about their indebtedness, it was found that 12 out of the 23 families had incurred debts (mostly small amounts) repayable in convenient instalments borrowed from their employers or from local shops.

Table XXVIII

INDEBTEDNESS — VETTAKURUMANS

Income groups (Rs.)	No. of households in the age-group	No. of households with debt	Percentage of Col. 3/2	Households with debt of (Rs.)					
				Up to 10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41 & above	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
351-400	8	4	50.0	2	1	..	..	1	4
401-450	4	3	75.0	..	2	..	..	1	3
451-500	2	1	50.0	..	..	1	..	..	1
501-550	4	1	25.0	1	..	..	..	..	1
551-600	2	1	50.0	1	..	..	..	..	1
601-650	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
651-700	1	1	100.0	..	1	..	..	..	1
701 and above	1	1	100.0	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	23	12	52.2	4	5	1	..	2	12

3.50 Of the 12 families that had incurred debts, 8 families had borrowed for purposes of family maintenance, 3 families for purchase of cloths and other items and one family had borrowed for marriage purposes. Excepting 2 families with debts of above Rs. 40 the remaining had debts of only small amounts. Moreover, unlike in the case of Adiyans, Paniyans and Thenkurumans the proportion of families with debt among the Vettakurumans was high. The average amount of debt for the 12 families was Rs. 21.67.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Most of the tribal families in the areas surveyed reported that they had been born and have been living in these parts permanently. However, shifting of places of residence cannot said to be quite uncommon among these tribes, as they may move from one place to another in the same region (or outside) in search of means of livelihood. Again a few families who had come to this place from adjoining localities had planned permanently settling here. An analytical data of some demographic features have been given in the following paras for the different tribes. It is a fact worth mentioning, that these tribes are highly illiterate and neither know their own ages, nor that of their family members. In many cases it was difficult to elicit information from these people the details about child-birth. There is also a natural hesitancy among them to reveal facts about the number of marriages taken place.

Age-groups, sex and family size

4.2 There were 203 members, in all age-groups (99 males and 104 females) in the 38 families of Adiyans, covered by the survey. The average family size was 5.3. About 48.8% of the total members were males and the remaining 51.2% were females, thus having a sex-ratio of 1050 (females per 1000 males).

Table XXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE-GROUPS

Sex	Adiyans			Paniyans			Thenkurumans			Vettakurumans		
Age-groups (years)	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0-4	19	18	37 (18.2)	3	12	15 (12 7)	9	10	19 (15 0)	8	8	16 (15.4)
5-9	13	12	25 (12 3)	5	6	11 (9 3)	4	11	15 (11.8)	10	5	15 (14.4)
10-14	11	18	29 (14.3)	7	8	15 (12.7)	10	8	18 (14.2)	4	6	10 (9.6)
15-19	3	5	8 (3.9)	2	3	5 (4.3)	5	3	8 (6.3)	6	5	11 (10 6)
20-24	6	14	20 (9 9)	1	6	7 (5.9)	1	8	9 (7.1)	7	2	9 (8 6)
25-29	12	6	18 (8 9)	6	5	11 (9.3)	9	5	14 (11.0)	5	3	8 (7.7)
30-34	5	7	12 (5 9)	5	5	10 (8.5)	4	5	9 (7.1)	..	4	4 (3.9)
35-39	6	6	12 (5.9)	4	5	9 (7.6)	3	3	6 (4 7)	3	3	6 (5.8)
40-44	6	2	8 (3.9)	3	5	8 (6.8)	5	3	8 (6.3)	2	5	7 (6.7)
45-49	3	8	11 (5.4)	5	7	12 (10.2)	5	2	7 (5.5)	6	1	7 (6 7)
50-54	9	4	13 (6.4)	7	..	7 (5.9)	2	2	4 (3.1)	1	3	4 (3 9)
55-59	5	..	5 (2.5)	3	1	4 (3.4)	1	1	2 (1.6)	1	1	2 (1.9)
60 and over	1	4	5 (2.5)	1	3	4 (3.4)	4	4	8 (6.3)	5	..	5 (4.8)
Total	99 (48 8)	104 (51.2)	203 (100.0)	52 (44.1)	66 (55 9)	118 (100.0)	62 (48.8)	65 (51.2)	127 (100.0)	58 (55.8)	46 (44.2)	104 (100.0)

(Figures in brackets give the corresponding percentages)

Table XXX

FAMILY SIZE

Name of Tribe	Households with number of members					Total
	1	2 or 3	4 to 6	7 to 9	10 and over	
Adiyans	..	8	19	10	1	38
Paniyans	..	19	13	1	..	33
Thenkurumans	3	12	17	1	..	33
Vettakurumans	..	10	8	5	..	23
Total	3	49	57	17	1	127

4.3 The total number of members in the 33 Paniyan families, was found to be 118, of which 44.1 per cent were males and 55.9 per cent were females, coming from all age-groups. The average family size was 3.6. 19 out of the 33 households had only 2 to 3 members and there were 4 to 6 members in 13 households.

4.4 The distribution of the 127 members in the 33 families of Thenkurumans classified according to broad age-groups has been given in the table 29. The average family size was 3.8. The males constituted about 48.8 per cent and the remaining were females, giving the sex ratio as 1048. More than 50 per cent of the families had 4 to 6 inmates.

4.5 Only 23 families of Vettakurumans were covered by the survey. Nearly 55.8 per cent were males and 44.2 per cent females. The average family size was obtained as 4.5. Ten out of the 23 families had only 2 or 3 inmates and 8 families had 4 to 6 members.

Marital Status

4.6 The marital status of the members of the families of the different tribes surveyed, classified according to age-group and sex are given in tables XXXI to XXXIV for each of the tribes. It may be seen from the tables that the percentage of Paniyans remaining "never married" is rather low and correspondingly there is a high percentage of "married" members as compared to the other tribes. The percentage of widows, widowers and divorcees among the Vettakurumans is very low.

Table XXXI

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS — ADIYANS

Marital status / Age groups	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated		Total			Percentage (Totals)
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	T	
0-9	32	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	32	30	62	30 55
10-14	11	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	18	29	14.29
15-19	3	3	..	2	..	..	..	..	3	5	8	3.94
20-24	4	2	2	12	..	..	..	..	6	14	20	9.85
25 29	..	..	11	6	..	..	1	..	12	6	18	8 87
30- 34	..	..	5	6	..	1	..	..	5	7	12	5.91
35 39	..	..	6	6	..	..	..	..	6	6	12	5.91
40 44	..	.	5	2	..	..	1	..	6	2	8	3 94
45-49	..	..	3	8	..	.	..	..	3	8	11	5 42
50-54	..	..	8	3	1	1	..	..	9	4	13	6.40
55-59	..	..	5	.	..	..	..	..	5	..	5	2.46
60 & over	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	1	4	5	2 46
Total	50	53	45	45	2	6	2	..	99	104	203	100.00
Percentage	24.63	26 11	22 17	22.17	0.98	2.96	0.98	..	48.76	51.24	100 00	
Grand Total	103		90		8		2		203			

M — Male F — Female T — Total.

Table XXXII

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS — PANIYANS

Marital status / Age-groups	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated		Total			Percentage (Totals)
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	T	
0 9	8	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	18	26	22.03
10-14	7	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	8	15	12 71
15-19	2	3	..	..	..	..	..		2	3	5	4.24
20-24	1	..	..	5	..	..	..	1	1	6	7	5 93
25-29	..	..	6	5	..	..	..	..	6	5	11	9 32
30-34	..	..	5	5	..	..	..	..	5	5	10	8 47
35-39	..	..	4	5	..	..	..	..	4	5	9	7 63
40-44	..	..	3	4	..	1	..	..	3	5	8	6 78
45 49	..	..	3	7	2	..	..	..	5	7	12	10 18
50-54	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	7		7	5 93
55-59	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	3	1	4	3 39
60 & over	.	..	1	.	..	3	..	..	1	3	4	3 39
Total	18	29	32	32	2	4	..	1	52	66	118	100 00
Percentage	15.25	24 57	27.12	27.12	1.70	3 39		0.85	44 07	55 93		10 00
Grand Total	47		64		6		1		118			

Table XXXIII

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS — THENKURUMANS

Marital status / Age-groups	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated		Total			Percentage (Totals)
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	T	
0-9	13	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	21	34	26.77
10-14	10	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	8	18	14.17
15 19	5	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	5	3	8	6 30
20 24	1	1	..	5	..	..	..	2	1	8	9	7 09
25-29	1	..	8	5	..	..	..	..	9	5	14	11 02
30-34	..	..	3	4	..	..	1	1	4	5	9	7.09
35-39	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	3	3	6	4 72
40-44	..	..	4	3	..	..	1	..	5	3	8	6 30
45 49	..	..	5	1	..	..	..	1	5	2	7	5 51
50-54	..	..	1	2	..	..	1	..	2	2	4	3 15
55-59	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	1.58
60 and over	..	..	4	2	..	2	..	..	4	4	8	6.30
Total	30	30	29	29	..	2	3	4	62	65	1.7	100 00
Percentage	23.62	23 62	22.83	22.83	..	1.58	2 37	3.15	48.82	51.18	100 00	..
Grand Total	60		58		2		7		127			

Table XXXIV

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS — VETTAKURUMANS

Marital status / Age-groups	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated		Total			Percentage (Totals)
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	T	
0-9	18	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	13	31	29 81
10-14	4	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	6	10	9.61
15-19	6		..	5	..	..	..	..	6	5	11	10.58
20-24	4	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	7	2	9	8 65
25-29	1	..	4	3	..	..	..	..	5	3	8	7.69
30-34	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..		4	4	3 85
35 39	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	3	3	6	5 77
40-44	..	..	2	5	..	..	..	..	2	5	7	6.73
45-49	..	..	6	1	..	..	..	..	6	1	7	6 73
50-54	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	1	3	4	3 85
55-59	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	2	1 92
60 and over	..	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	5	..	5	4 81
Total	33	19	24	25	1	2	..	..	58	46	104	100 00
Percentage	31 73	18.27	23.08	24.04	0.96	1.92	..	..	55.77	44.23	100 00	
Grand Total	52		49		3				104			

Present Age of Husband and Wife and Age at First Marriage

4.7 Tables XXXV to XXXVIII give the distribution of the present ages of the husband and wife (whether alive, dead or separated) for all their marriages or married relationships. A number of persons, among all the four tribes were not able to give details pertaining to their previous partners, now dead or divorced and such entries have been made under the head 'Not known' (N K)

4 8 The ages at first marriage of the husbands by their respective present ages have been given in tables XXXIX to XLII for the four different tribes. Similarly tables XLIII to XLVI relate to the distribution of the ages at first marriage of the wives by their respective present ages.

Table XXXV

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND BY PRESENT AGE OF WIFE — ADIYANS

Present age of wife	Present age of husband										Total
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 and over	N. K	
15-19	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
20-24	1	10	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
25-29	..	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	8
30-34	..	..	..	4	1	..	1	..	..	2	8
35-39	..	..	..	..	4	1	1	1	..	4	11
40-44	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	3
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	1	..	2	10
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	3
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
60 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	5
N. K.	..	3	2	5	2	1	4	2	1	2	22
Total	2	14	7	11	8	4	13	7	2	16	84

Table XXXVI

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND BY PRESENT AGE OF WIFE — PANIYANS

Present age of wife	Present age of husband										Total
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 and over	N K.	
15-19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	
20-24	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	5
25-29	..	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	8
30-34	..	..	1	3	1	..	..	..	..	1	6
35-39	..	..	1	..	2	1	.	1	..	4	9
40-44	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	2	7
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	2	..	3	10
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	1		1
60 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	.		..
N. K.	..	1	3	3	..	4	7	4	..	3	25
Total	..	7	8	7	3	7	15	7	1	16	71

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND BY PRESENT AGE OF WIFE

Table XXXVII

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND BY PRESENT AGE OF WIFE — THENKURUMANS

Persent age of wife	Present age of husband										
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 and over	N. K.	Total
15-19	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
20-24	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	7
25-29	..	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
30-34	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	1	4	8
35-39	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	3	6
40-44	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	4
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	3
50-54	..	..	..	..	1	..	.	1	..	1	3
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
60 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	4
N. K.	..	..	1	2	5	1	3	..	3	2	17
Total	..	9	5	5	9	6	5	1	7	15	62

Table XXXVIII

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND BY PRESENT AGE OF WIFE — VETTAKURUMANS

Present age of wife	Present age of husband										
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 and over	N. K.	Total
15-19	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
20-24	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
25-29	..	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	5
30 34	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	5
35-39	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	3
40-44	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	1	3	8
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	4
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	.	1	2
60 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.
N. K	..	1	..	..	..	4	1	1	2	..	9
Total	3	5	..	4	2	11	2	3	8	6	44

4.9. It can be seen from these tables that there is a general tendency among these tribal people - both males and females to get married at the early ages. The males usually get married before the age of 25 (Preferably between 20 and 23) and the females before the age of 18, normally after attaining puberty.

Table XXXIX

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF HUSBAND – ADIYANS

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage of husband																	Total
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	N. K.	
20-24	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
25-29	..	..	1	3	4	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
30-34	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
35-39	..	..	1	2	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
40-44	..	1	..	..	.	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	6
45-49	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
50-54	..	..	2	2	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	9
55-59	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
60 and over	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	15
Total	..	2	9	11	9	4	2	6	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	15	63

Table XL

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF HUSBAND — PANIYANS

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage of husband																	Total
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	N K.	
20-24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
25 29	..	1	1	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
30-34	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
35-39	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
40-44	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
45-49	2	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	5
50 54	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	8
55-59	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
60 and over	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	16
Total	2	3	4	6	5	5	5	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	16	51

Table XLI

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND
BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF HUSBAND — VETTAKURUMANS

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage of husband																	Total
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	N. K.	
20-24	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
25-29	..	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
30-34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35-39	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
40-44	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
45-49	..	1	..	..	..	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
50 54	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
60 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	4
N K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	6
Total	..	2	5	1	1	2	6	4	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	6	30

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

Table XLII

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND
BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF HUSBAND — THENKURUMANS

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage of husband																	
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	N. K.	Total
20–24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25–29	..	..	2	2	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
30–34	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
35–39	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
40–44	..	..	1	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
45–49	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
50–54	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
55–59	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
60 and over	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	4
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	15
Total	..	..	6	6	5	4	5	2	3	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	15	49

Table XLIII

PRESENT AGE OF WIFE BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF WIFE — ADIYANS

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage of wife									
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	25	N. K.	Total
15 19	..	..	1	1	..	..	.	..	..	2
20–24	..	..	1	5	4	1	1	..	..	1
25–29	..	..	1	2	2	1	..	..	..	6
30–34	..	..	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	7
35–39	..	..	..	3	1	1	1	1	..	7
40–44	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	3
45–49	..	..	2	2	3	..	1	..	..	8
50 54	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
55–59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 and over	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	4
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	21
Total	..	3	8	19	13	5	3	1	21	73

Table XLIV

PRESENT AGE OF WIFE BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF WIFE — PANIYANS

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage of wife									
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	N. K.	Total
15-19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20-24	..	..	..	2	2	1	..	..	..	5
25-29	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	1	5
30-34	..	..	..	1	2	2	..	..	..	5
35-39	..	..	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	5
40 44	..	..	..	2	..	2	1	..	..	5
45-49	..	..	4	1	1	1	..	..	..	7
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55-59	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
60 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	22
Total	..	..	5	9	10	7	1	..	23	55

Table XLV

PRESENT AGE OF WIFE BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF WIFE — VETTAKURUMANS

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage of wife									Total
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	N. K.	
15-19	..	1	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	5
20-24	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
25-29	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	4
30-34	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	4
35-39	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	3
40-44	..	..	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	5
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
50-54	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	4
55-59	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
60 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	9
Total	1	1	6	8	4	8	1	..	9	38

Table XLVI

PRESENT AGE OF WIFE BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF WIFE — THENKURUMANS

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage of wife									Total
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	N. K.	
15-19	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	3
20-24	..	..	..	2	3	1	..	..	..	6
25-29	..	..	..	2	2	1	..	..	..	5
30-34	..	..	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	5
35-39	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..		3
40-44	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..		3
45-49	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..		2
50-54	..	..	..	2		..	..	..	.	2
55-59	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	.	..	1
60 and over	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..		3
N K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	15
Total	..	..	3	15	12	3	..	..	15	48

Difference iu Age Between Husbands and Wives

4.10 Tables XLVII to LIV give the distribution of the difference in ages between the husbands and wives with respect to (a) the present age of the husband and (b) the present age of wife for the four different tribes surveyed It was found that the normal difference of ages in a large number of cases between the husbands and wives varied from 3 to 6 years. However a few cases of the wife being elder to her husband were noticed

DIFFERENCE IN AGE BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIVE

Table XLVII

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE BY THE PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND — ADIYANS

Difference between the ages of husband and wife	Present age of husband										
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 and over	N. K.	Total
0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	4
3	2	3	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	7
4	..	1	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	5
5	..	4	1	1	4	1	3	1	..	..	15
6	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	3
7	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
8	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	4
9	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2
11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
15	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
18	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
N. K.	..	3	2	5	2	1	4	2	1	16	36
Total	2	14	7	11	8	4	13	7	2	16	84

Table XLVIII

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE BY THE PRESENT AGE OF WIFE — ADIYANS

Difference between the ages of husband and wife	Present age of wife											
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 and over	N. K.	Total
0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	4
3	1	4	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	7
4	..	1	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	5
5	..	4	1	1	4	1	3	1	..	..	..	15
6	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
7	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
8	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	4
9	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
10	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	2
11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
15	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
18	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
20	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
N. K.	..	..	2	2	4	..	2	..	..	4	22	36
Total	2	12	8	8	11	3	10	3	..	5	22	84

Table XLIX

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE BY PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND — PANIYANS

Difference between the ages of husband and wife	Present age of husband										
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 and over	N. K.	Total
-6	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
0	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
2	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
3	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	4
4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
5	..	1	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	5
6	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	4
7	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	2
8	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	..	..	1	1	..	1	3	2	..	..	8
11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Above 20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
N. K.	..	1	3	3	..	4	7	4	..	16	38
Total	..	7	8	7	3	7	15	7	1	16	71

Table L

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE BY PRESENT AGE OF WIFE — PANIYANS

Difference between the ages of husband and wife	Present age of wife										
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 & over	N. K.	Total
-6	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
0	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
2	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3
3	..	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	4
4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
5	..	1	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	5
6	..	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	4
7	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	2
8	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	..	1	1	..	1	3	2	..	..	..	..	8
11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Above 20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
N. K.	..	..	3	1	4	2	3	..	..	..	25	38
Total	..	5	8	6	9	7	10	..	1	..	25	71

Table LI

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE BY PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND — THENKURUMANS

Difference between the ages of husband and wife	Present age of husband										
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 & over	N. K.	Total
-7	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
3	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	4
4	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
5	..	1	2	..	1	..	1	1	2	..	8
6	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
7	..	1	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	4
8	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3
9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	4
11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
13	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
32	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
N. K.	..	..	1	2	5	1	3	..	3	15	30
Total	..	9	5	5	9	6	5	1	7	15	62

Table LII

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE BY PRESENT AGE OF WIFE — THENKURUMANS

Difference between the ages of husband and wife	Present age of wife											
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 & over	N. K.	Total
-7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
3	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	4
4	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
5	..	1	2	..	1	..	1	1	1	1	..	8
6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
7	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
8	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	4
11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
13	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
32	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
N. K.	..	1	..	..	4	3	1	1	1	2	17	30
Total	3	7	6	3	8	6	3	3	3	3	17	62

Table LIII

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE BY PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND — VETTAKURUMANS

Difference between the ages of husband and wife	Present age of husband										Total
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 & over	N. K.	
-1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	2	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	5
6	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
7	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3
8	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	4
9	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	3
10	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
13	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
17	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	2
20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
N. K.	..	1	..	..	..	4	1	1	2	6	15
Total	3	5	..	4	2	11	2	3	8	6	44

Table LIV

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE BY PRESENT AGE OF WIFE — VETTAKURUMANS

Difference between the ages of husband and wife	Present age of wife											Total
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 & over	N. K.	
-1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	2	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	5
6	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
7	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
8	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	4
9	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
10	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
13	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
17	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
20	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
23	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
N. K.	..	..	1	1	..	3	..	..	1	..	9	15
Total	5	2	5	5	3	8	1	4	2	..	9	44

Relationship between husband and wife before marriage

4.11 Marriages taking place between blood relations (as for instance cross-cousins) were only a few and a good majority of the marriages take place (more than 80 per cent of the alliances) between persons having no relationship with each other where marriages were fixed up by the contracting parties themselves. However, there were certain instances in which the husband and wife were blood related before their marriages. A reference may be made to tables 55 to 58 for each of the tribes. Many cases of more than one married relationships for both males and females were noticed, especially among the Paniyans.

Table LV

RELATION BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE BEFORE MARRIAGE — ADIYANS

Present age of husband	Relationship (before marriage)											Grand total
	No relation	Blood relation				Other relation						
		e	f	q	Total	a	b	c	d	e	Total	
15-19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20-24	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
25-29	10	..	1	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
30-34	6	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
35-39	8	2	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
40-44	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
45-49	2	1	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
50-54	10	1	1	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
55-59	5	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
60 and over	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
N. K.	15	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Total	67	8	2	7	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	84

Table LVI

RELATION BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE BEFORE MARRIAGE — PANIYANS

Present age of husband	Relationship (before marriage)											Grand total
	No relation	Blood relation				Other relation						
		e	f	q	Total	a	b	c	d	e	Total	
15-19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20-24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25-29	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
30-34	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
35-39	6	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
40-44	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
45-49	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
50-54	12	..	2	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
55-59	6	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
60 and over	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
N. K.	15	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Total	64	3	2	2	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	71

Table LVII

RELATION BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE BEFORE MARRIAGE — THENKURUMANS

Present age of husband	Relationship (before marriage)											Grand total
	No relation	Blood relation					Other relation						
		a	e	f	q	Total	a	b	c	d	e	Total	
15-19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20-24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25-29	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
30-34	4	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
35-39	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
40-44	8	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
45-49	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
50-54	4	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
55-59	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
60 and over	5	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	7
N. K.	14	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Total	55	1	2	3	..	6	..	..	1	..	..	1	62

Table LVIII

RELATION BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE BEFORE MARRIAGE — VETTAKURUMANS

Present age of husband	Relation between husband and wife											Grand total
	No relation	Blood relation				Other relation						
		e	f	q	Total	a	b	c	d	e	Total	
15-19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20-24	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
25-29	4	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	....	5
30-34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35-39	2	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
40-44	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
45-49	7	4	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
50-54	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
55-59	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
60 and over	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
N. K.	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Total	35	6	2	1	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	44

Note: a — Married to his own sister's daughter
e — Married to his mother's own brother's daughter
f — Married to his father's own sister's daughter
q — Other blood relationships
c — Wife's sister

Medical Aid

4.12 As has been mentioned previously these tribes are no exception to the attack of the diseases. The principal diseases prevalent in Malabar in former times were Anaemia, general dropsy, malarial fever, dysentery and skin diseases. People from the country parts, even a few years back, were reluctant to go and live in Wynad, for fear of these diseases especially malarial fever and dysentery. "The deficiency of health services in these areas which are extensive and lacking in communications, with the population scattered over vast distances have been hardly provided with any medical assistance. Unhygienic environmental conditions, malnutrition, insanitary water supply, lack of proper protection against climate and some harmful social customs and practices are some of the known causes for the prevalance of diseases among the tribes" * The tribes have their own native and

* B. H. Metha — "Historical Background of Tribal Population — Indian Journal of Social Work" Vol. XIV, No. 3 (December 1953) page 241.

indigenous methods of treatment of diseases, with the herbs and roots available in the forests. A good number of deaths had occurred every year on account of diseases. The fight by the medical department and other agencies, to eradicate these dreadful diseases, has almost proved successful, and with the opening of hospitals and dispensaries in various parts, rendering medical aid, the number of deaths due to such diseases has been brought down considerably. Moreover the tribesmen have begun to believe the efficacy of modern medicines and drugs. Infant mortality which was once rather high among the tribes, has also been brought down.

4.13 There is a maternity centre at Karttikulam, where the services of a qualified fulltime midwife is available. A Government dispensary under the forest department functions at Begur, with a fulltime compounder, for rendering medical aid to the staff of the forest department. The doctor-in-charge of the hospital at Manantoddy visits this dispensary every Sunday. The Taluk headquarters hospital at Manantoddy is a sufficiently equipped one, with a male doctor, as well as a lady doctor. Here patients are also admitted.

Education

4.14 Though there are 6 schools (five lower primary and one upper primary school) in the village, imparting education to more than 1,000 children at the time of survey, only a small percentage of the tribal children are attending these schools. In spite of all facilities given for their education, "there is little indication that education has done them much good. The majority are lapsing into illiteracy. There is midday feeding in these schools, and financial aid is given by Government for the tribal children, but in spite of these arrangements, the fact is that the parents are averse to sending their children to schools, as their kids could be more usefully employed at home, specially during harvesting seasons, when both the parents go out for work, leaving the younger children to the care of the elder ones."* But in recent years the tribesmen's unwillingness to send their children to schools, is becoming less, due to their contact and dealings with the people of the plains, as well as their desire to give opportunities for the younger generation to lead a better and civilized life. The number of literates among these tribes now can be counted on one's fingers.

Family Structure and Inheritance

4.15 The family generally consists of the husband, his wife and their children. Among the tribes of this village, polygamy and polyandry are not very common, but reunion of widows, widowers and divorcees takes place. The grown-up sons and daughters as soon as they get married, shift to separate huts (mostly to closeby huts of the parents) and establish different households. In a few number of families the old joint family system is still followed. The family in such cases consists of the father and mother, married and unmarried sons and daughters. Table LIX gives the distribution of the types of families for each tribe.

*Dr. Ayyappan, A. — Report on the Socio-Economic conditions of the aboriginal tribes of the Province of Madras (1948) page 28

Table LIX

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Tribe	Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Total
Adiyans	24	7	7	38
Paniyans	27	5	1	33
Thenkurumans	29	2	2	33
Vettakurumans	19	3	1	23
Total	99	17	11	127

4.16 Simple family means, a family comprising of the husband, wife and their unmarried children. In the case of Thenkurumans out of the 29 simple families, 3 families consist of only one member. Intermediate family can be defined as one which comprises of the husband, wife, their unmarried children, unmarried and (or) dependent brothers, or sisters (and their children if any) of either the husband or wife or both. This may also include one of the parents of either the man or woman. Only about 14 per cent of the surveyed families belong to this group. Joint family is one in which, in addition to the members of an intermediate family, both the parents of either the man or woman, married brothers or sisters and their families and other dependents who live under the same roof. 8.6 per cent of the surveyed households come under this group.

4.17 Among the Adiyans and Vettakurumans different subsects of families exist, and marriage between members of the same family or 'Kudumbam' is not allowed. But no such system of 'Kudumbam' is said to exist among the Paniyans and Thenkurumans and marriage between any male and female of the tribe is allowed.

4.18 Among most of these tribes, marriage with one's paternal aunt's daughter or maternal uncle's daughter (otherwise called 'Murapennu') is allowed, (this was not prevalent among the Adiyans formerly) as also with one's wife's younger sister (usually after the death of the wife). Marriage with one's own sister's daughter and with one's own elder brother's widow does not take place It may also be mentioned that no relationship by marriage exists among members of the different tribes, but they live in complete co-operation and in peaceful harmony.

4.19 About the system of inheritance it is learnt that the patrilineal rule of succession of inheritance of properties (if any) is generally followed by most of these tribes in recent times. The system of matrilineal rule of succession was in vogue among some of the tribes in former times. The question of inheritance of property is not at all an important one with regard to these tribes, because as revealed by the socio-economic survey conducted in the locality, only 48 out of the 127 families were owning small areas of land, most of this being uncultivated waste lands. Thus the property, if any, of the father is divided among his sons and inherited by them.

Leisure and Recreation

4.20 There is not much of leisure time and recreation facilities in the Thirunelly desom. A library has been organised by the local caste people. The tribes are mostly illiterate. During leisure time and in off-seasons, when there is not enough work for them, they usually spend their time in fishing and hunting. The

Thenkurumans engage themselves in the collection of honey and wax and other forest produces.

4.21 There is no facility for recreation even for the educated and rich people, who have settled down here, from the plains. Libraries, sports and arts clubs and such organisations which help to promote good-will and mutual understanding and also to some extent help to develop one's character, have not yet detained deserving importance in this part of the village. Being mostly agriculturists these people can ill-afford to while away their time.

Religious Institutions

4.22 The important Hindu religious institutions in the village are Thirunelly temple and Trissilery temple. These two places of worship are considered to be most sacred and people from all parts of the country come to worship in these temples.

Temples

4.23 There is a mythological legend about the temple at Thirunelly. The Thirunelly temple (literally means the temple having the sacred Nelli tree) lies in a valley of the mountains to the south of the Brahmagiri peak. It is believed to have been dedicated by Lord Brahma to Lord Vishnu, known as "Thirunelly Perumal" and "Deva Devesan".

4.24 It is said that Brahma once came to the Brahmagiri hills, north of the place where the temple now stands, along with some other famous 'Rishis', for a yaga (or yagna) dedicated, to Lord Vishnu, to be completed in 100 years. At the termination of the yaga, there appeared before Him, a 'Nelli tree' (Phyllanthus emblica) on which was seen the image of Lord Vishnu, with four hands bedecked with numerous fine jewels and the body also adorned with precious ornaments. This image soon after its appearance, disappeared. Astonished by this act of the image Lord Brahma sat in deep meditation, as a result of which the image re-appeared and informed Lord Brahma that the image He saw was that of Lord Vishnu, who was attracted to this place on account of its serenity and excellence, and He ordered Lord Brahma to establish a Vishnu temple there. Accordingly Lord Brahma built a temple, consecrated Lord Vishnu there and entrusted it to two pious Brahmins for safe-keeping and maintenance.

4.25 It is believed that visits to and worship at this temple would discard the sins committed (for generations) and secure 'Moksha' or eternal bliss to the souls of the departed. Thousands of Hindus, visit the temple every year to offer prayers. This famous temple is also said to be popularly known as the "Benares of the South."

4.26 The temple is surrounded on all the four sides by lofty mountains; Brahmagiri hills on the north, Kuthrakode hills on the east, Narinarangu hills on the south, and Kottiyoor hills on the west.

4.27 For the safeguarding of the temple, four shrines have been built on the four sides (on the other sides of the above mountains). They are (1) Trissilery temple dedicated to Lord Siva, on the south (ii) Kottiyoor temple also dedicated to Lord Siva on the west (iii) Valliyoorkavu Bhagavathy temple on the east and (iv) the temple dedicated to Lord Subramonia said to exist on the other side of the Brahmagiri hills on the north (in the erstwhile Coorg State).

4.28 There is another small Siva temple inside a cave at 'Gunnika' on the west side of the Thirunelly temple. There are five holy water fountains near the temple. They are (a) Papanasini river, which flows through the west to the south (b) Varahathirtham flowing from the east to the south of the temple (This river and the Papanasini river join the Bavolly river), (c) Panchathirtham to the west of the temple where one can see a massive piece of stone on which 'sanku', 'chakram' 'gada', 'padmam' and 'padani' are carved.



Pl. 24

ADIYANS AT A RELIGIOUS FESTIVAL

(d) Gunnikathirtham, at Gunnika, in front of the temple, and (e) Irnavimochini (ഋണവിമോചിനി) thirtham on the right side of the Gunnika temple.

4.29 Some of the other important holy water fountains near the temple are Satavinnu, Sahasravinnu, Aakasaganga, Pakshi-Pathalam, Irshi Pathalam, Sabarithirtham and Kumbhi-thirtham.

4.30 There is a holy rock popularly called 'Pindappara' where offerings are made to the dead ancestors on important Hindu festival days.

4.31 The architecture of the temple is simple and are dating back to many years. A fortress which still remains incomplete and in a state of ruined condition is said to have been built around the temple in olden days. During his beseiges, Tippusultan of Mysore had made an attack on this temple, and still it is in dilapidated condition. The temple stands on a slightly elevated plain than its surroundings. Though the temple is situated amidst forests, in a distant corner, far away from cities and towns and without any proper facilities for communication, many people visit the temple on many important and festive days.

4.32 The temples at Thirunelly and Trissilery have separate Devaswoms, but they are managed by one executive officer, whose headquarters is at Thirunelly. These two Devaswoms are under the control of the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowment Board of the State. The Devaswom of the temple at Thirunelly has vast areas of paddy lands and other cultivable lands, given on lease to the local people. These people remit taxes to the government and pay the 'pattom' in kind to the Devaswom. The main source of income to the Devaswom is thus the 'pattom' obtained from the ryots, and amounts received from the pilgrims towards items of 'vazhipadu'.

4.33 The staff of the Devaswom and temple at Thirunelly consist of one Executive Officer, a clerk, the priest or 'pujari' and a few others for other items of work in the temple. The expenses towards their salaries are met from the Devaswom fund. Other items of expenditure namely for the conduct of festivals and similar functions are also being financed from this account.

Festivals

4.34 Apart from the festivity like marriage, there are only a few other community festive occasions celebrated in the village. The important festivals are 'Vishu', 'Puthari', 'Onam' and 'Sivarathri'. All ranks of people, who have settled down there from the plains, as well as the tribes observe these festive days.

4.35 The 'Vishu' falling on 1st of 'Medom' (April) every year is celebrated in the temple for 5 days, with feasting and 'pujas.' The expenses for this function are met by the rich land-owners and agriculturists in the localities and also from the temple funds.

4.36 'Puthari' is a festival in 'Thulam' (October-November) in the temple, celebrated by the agticulturists, when the crops of the year are harvested, and offerings are made to God. Feasting is done to all-both caste-people and tribes.

4.37 'Onam', a festival of Malayalis, is celebrated with great pomp by all classes of people in the locality, in the month of August-September. Other functions like 'Sivarathri' in the month of Kumbhom (February - March) and 'Vavu' in the months of Makaram and Karkatakam (January-February and July-August) are also celebrated by the people. Special 'pujas' and feasting are arranged for all these festivities.

4.38 The religious festival "Dampatta" (ಡಂಪತ್ತ) in the village which falls in the month of Medom (April - May) attracts large gatherings of the caste-people, as well as the tribes even from distant places. The festival is intended as an occasion to please the malevolent gods and goddesses like 'sattan' and 'Karimkali', by offerings

of the rich land-owners of the locality just before the next agricultural season commences, for a prosperous return of crops. Three or four persons, dressed in godly attire, dance and sing songs dedicated to the gods accompanied by drumbeating and finally give blessings to the people. Some new labour contracts with the tribes are established by the agriculturists during this festival. This festival is an occasion for the tribes for merrymaking, and they procure clothings and other items of necessity, from the shops which are temporarily set up at the place of the fair.

4.39 The majority of the population of the desom are Hindus. Christians and Muslims form only a minority. There is only one church in the desom at Tholpetty, where a few of the Christians meet for their prayers on sabbeth and holydays. There are three mosques in the desom, with attached burial grounds. The Muslim population in the localities usually assemble at these mosques for prayers.

Social Organisation

4.40 Families of one or more tribal sect may occupy the same locality, their huts being only at short distances apart. Members of different tribes do not have any relationships, and marriage between members of different tribes is not allowed. But they maintain cordial relationships and help each other when needed, except for personal spite in very few cases. It may also be said that these tribes are trust-worthy and sincere vassals, under the caste people. The latter employ these tribes for agricultural and other purposes paying wages in kind or in cash. Extra wages are paid to the labourers on festive and other special occasions.

Village Panchayat

4.41 The Thirunelly village is under the administrative control of the Thirunelly Panchayat board, with its headquarters at Karttikulam. The members of the executive committee—six in number at the time of the survey—were elected by the villagers. It was found that there was no member from the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes in the committee, at the time of the survey. The Executive Officer functions as the administrative head of the panchayat and is assisted by the Panchayat Assistant and a Bill Collector. The sources of income for the Panchayat are mainly from the taxes collected from the public (as for instance house tax, profession tax, and license fees), grant from the N. E. S. Block, and similar grants from the Government. Establishment charges, local development works, and maintenance charges are the main items of expenditure.

4.42 A few of the welfare organisations like a maternity centre at Karttikulam, and a library at Trissilery are run by the Panchayat Board. It is learnt that the Panchayat Board of the Thirunelly village has invested a good amount for Government loans.

Organisations

4.43 A unit of the "Bharathiya Adima Jathi Sevak Sangh" is the only organisation which devotes its attention to bringing up better standards for the tribes of Malabar. The Governor of Kerala is the President of the Sangh, and till recently Shri M. K. Jivendran, a former Member of Parliament was its working President. The sangh is running a school-"serve India Adivasi lower primary school" at Thirunelly under its management, where about 63 per cent of the pupils on rolls, at the time of the survey, were tribal children. There is no library or other organisations in the village, in which the Tribes participate.

4.44 It has already been mentioned that a library, privately organised by the local people at Thirunelly is functioning. It is run with the aid of subscription and donation funds collected from its members. Membership is open to all people of the locality. There is a small collection of books, including historicals, fictions and novels in Malayalam. A few dailies and weeklies are subscribed

for. Another library with a paid part-time librarian, and managed by the village panchayat is functioning at Trissilery. It is learnt that apart from these, no other organisations—social or educational—is functioning in the village.

Reform Measures

4.45 "The tribes had been for years long, leading an isolated life, deprived of public and social services"[1]. They are as a whole poor, but exploited by the rich land-owners. Being illiterate they are not in a position to understand and fully appreciate the various measures and legislations by which the Government is trying to solve their difficulties, with the object of providing them opportunities to lead better lives. "There is still a dearth of resources, personnel and leadership to organise and mobilise the local resources to meet their needs"[2].

4.46 An N.E.S. Block has been opened in the North Wynad taluk recently, with jurisdiction over the Thirunelly village also, and with its headquarters at Manantoddy. It is learnt that the activities of the Block have not been beneficial to the tribes so far, but it is expected that agricultural facilities for instance supply of seeds, manure and implements—could be provided to the tribes.

4.47 The Department of Harijan Welfare has laid out broad and ambitious programmes for the upliftment of these tribes. Housing grants, agricultural loans and lumpsum grants for the education of the tribal children are some of the important measures undertaken by the Department. In the field of education of the tribes, the Department has started a few training and training-cum production centres for the tribes in some of the craftsworks with rattan and bamboo. The students in these centres, receive their free tuition and monthly stipends of Rs. 25 each. Three residential basic schools have been opened in the North Wynad Taluk, at Manantoddy, Thalapuzha and Anjukunnu, where the students are given basic training for a period of five years, with specialisation in spinning. Boarding and lodging are free for these students. Reform measures in the other fields – for example, opening of co-operative societies—are expected to take shape in the near future.

Attitude towards Dowry System

4.48 The system of payment of dowry by cash either by the bride or bridegroom at marriages has been in existence among the tribes. Small amounts of money known as 'Bride-price' and a few clothings for the bride, as well as ornaments of little value, are handed over to the bride by the bridegrooms' parents, on the occasion of the marriage.

Family Planning

4.49 With regard to the idea of family planning, it may be said that the large number of children and a big family, is not a problem for these tribes who had been nomadic by nature, wandering about in the forests. But with the efflux of time and also with the creeping in of civilisation due to the migration of caste people in large numbers, into these localities, these tribes have felt a desire to have small families only, on account of their low income, which is hardly sufficient even for a limited family.

Untouchability

4.50 Most of these tribes are not aware of the prohibition of untouchability by law. They are now supplied meals

[1] Chatterji, B — Model Community Centres in Tribal Areas — Indian Journal of Social-work Vol. XIV, No 3 (Dec. 1953), Page 284.

[2] Ibid.

from the houses of the caste people and are not considered as outcastes. They also mix and mingle freely with the caste people, who no doubt are religious minded. It may also be noted that even though they are allowed to enter and worship in temples, these people seldom visit the holy temple at Thirunelly and Trissilery. This may be perhaps due to their respect and regard for the caste people, or fear to break an age-long custom.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1 From the foregoing account dealing with the origin, habits and habitats of the tribes living in the Thirunelly desom, a large number of interesting and noteworthy features can be drawn out as general remarks about these tribes.

5.2 These tribes are leading a low standard of life engaging themselves in agriculture labour or as coolies in estates. Yet certain aspects of life among them are markedly significant, as for instance their rejoicement during marriage festivals, the mirth and joy evinced during the harvest festivals and their friendly association with their neighbouring people. It gives the impression that though they are living away from the crowded cities they also possess the humane aspects of life.

Social Awareness

5.3 Close association with the caste people (namely Hindus, Christians and Muslims) who have migrated and settled in large numbers in the village, has made these tribes, to change over and adapt to new and better ways of life. It is therefore an agreeable feature to find that though practically illiterate and ignorant of wordly affairs, the modern tribesmen have started to learn, understand and appreciate the measures which government try to implement with the idea of uplifting their lives.

5.4 Groups of families of tribes living in a particular locality mutually help each other. They gather jointly at fire places during nights and exchange ideas. Not only families living close together mix intimately, but also these people get into contact with the caste people for whom they do work and with whom they get on peacefully and receive additional wages in kind or in cash during festive occasions like Onam and Vishu.

5.5 One of the important handicaps confronting the tribes for their development and better standards of living is their economic backwardness. The wages they get from agriculture labour and other occupations, enable them to lead only a hand to mouth existence. Distribution of cultivable revenue waste lands to these tribal families for agricultural purposes, and providing further facilities for agriculture will go a long way in encouraging them to cultivate these lands and earn their own living. Opening of more training centres, where instruction is imparted to these tribes on craftworks and giving subsidies to start new production centres will no doubt be much appreciated.

Village Industries

5.6 "The existing low potential of agriculture coupled with the present low level of supplementary employment is in no small measure the cause of destitution in the tribal areas"[1]. In the opinion of experts and commissions appointed by the Government to study the problems of the tribes, "Development of village and cottage industries and establishment of training-cum-production centres and financial aid for the tribes would help much to tackle the problem of destitution or subnormal standards of living of the tribals".[2] Other facilities such as those for marketing of goods produced, purchase of raw materials at reasonable prices,

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[1] Debar U. N. Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, Vol. I (1960-61), Page 160.

[2] Ibid Page 161.

and rendering of technical assistance should also be taken into consideration.

Vocational Training

5.7 The Department of Harijan Welfare has opened a few training-cum-production centres in weaving and rattan-works for the benefit of the tribes. A fixed number of trainees receive training for two years, in these centres. During the period of training, each student is given a monthly stipend and other facilities and free training. After the period of training, the successful candidates are given subsidy to start production centres and thus seek their own employment.

Education

5.8 Shri L. M. Srikant[1] in his annual report for 1960-61, on the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, has put forward the view that it will be highly desirable to introduce compulsory primary education for the tribal children of school going age. More number of schools at easy walking distance, with qulified teachers having adequate experience, a spirit of service and a properly orientated attitude toward tribal life, may be opened for this purpose. Provision of mid-day meals and supply of garments and books will surely attract more children to schools. Encouragement for starting night schools for illiterate adults, will also be very useful in giving some idea, about reading and writing the vernacular language.

Change of Habits

5.9 Inadequate supply of unpolluted drinking water is responsible for the spread of many intestinal diseases among the tribes. The practice of bathing, washing of clothes and of cattle in stagnant waters contribute largely to the spread of water-borne diseases. Their dirty habits, and unhygenic sorroundings add to their illhealth.

5.10 It was reported that most of the tribes at Thirunelly take their bath, only once in two or three days and seldom use soap or other materials for cleansing purposes. They rarely use oil before bath.

Extension of medical fecility

5.11 These tribes have their own traditional means of curing diseases. This often offers an impediment to the application of modern medicines and drugs, which are not readily and always available to them. In most cases the tribes will have to walk long distance through forests, to avail themselves of the medical facilities. It is suggested that mobile dispensaries, help much to provide medical aid to interior parts of the tribal settlements and demonstrate the efficacy of modern medicine. It is further learnt that a mobile medical unit is working in Wynad, under the auspices of the Department of Health Services. By the untiring efforts of the Government to eradicate diseases like smallpox and malaria, which were a permanent menace in Wynad, they have now been controlled and almost eradicated. Opening of more maternity centres will help to reduce maternal mortality during child-birth and also reduce the infant mortality.

General and Political

5.12 Poor communication facility in the village is keenly felt. Only the expansion of communication facilities will provide better scope for the industrialisation and in augmenting the marketing facilities needed for the urbanisation of the locality.

5.13 These tribes do not seem to take interest in any social or political activities, though they are said to have evinced keen interest in exercising their franchise at the last general elections. In their opinion some of the immediate and important requirements for them are housing grants, better facilities for procuring employment especially on permanent basis, easy availability of medical

[1] Srikanth L. M. — Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes - 1960 - 61, Part I, Page 16.

aid, expansion of communication facilities etc.

Conclusion

5.14 It may be concluded that the impact of civilization brought in by the caste people, has its effects on them and threre are signs of awakening among them. They have understood the principle of self-work and have felt a desire to lead a life similar to those around them. They take to agricultural labour in large numbers and are vividly conscious of the civilized world around them. As Shri L. M. Srikant has remarked, "this is no doubt a healthy sign of development—social and economic—among the tribes, who are feeling the urge for better ways of livelihood."[1] In fact, it may be hoped that in course of time with adequate amounts of money being effectively spent on implementation of schemes to promote the welfare of these tribes by the establishment of primary schools for children, training-cum-production centres for youths, giving adequate medical attention to the poor and the sick and introducing preventive measures to check contageous diseases will surely bring the tribes on a par with the caste people, who are their neighbours and masters.

[1] Srikanth L. M. — Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes – 1960-61 Part I Page 230.

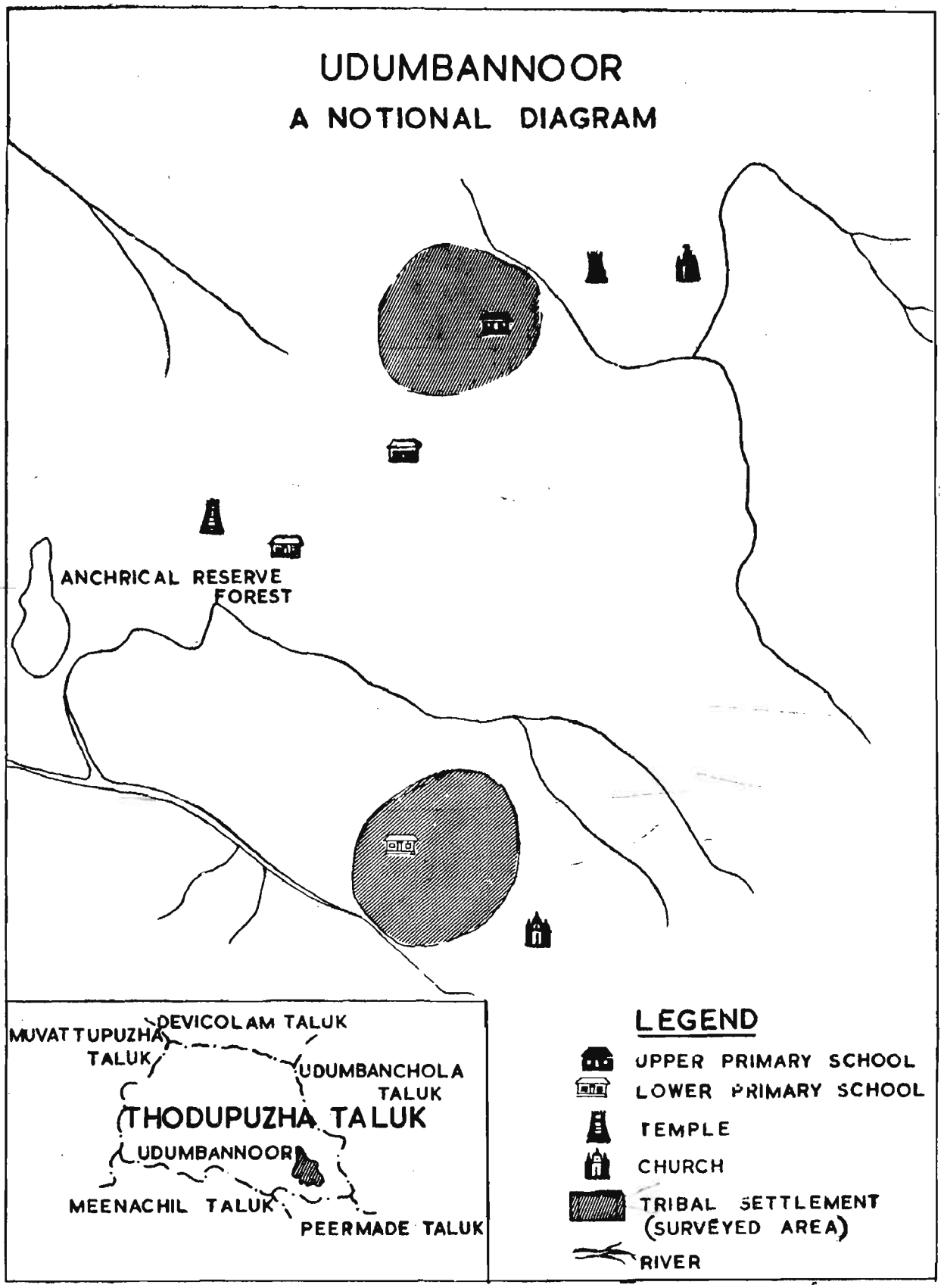
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UDUMPANNOOR

UDUMBANNOOR

A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM



UDUMPANNOOR

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Thodupuzha Reserve Forest, which is a portion of the Thodupuzha Forest Range, in Malayattur Forest Division is the abode of hill-tribes. This forest range covering an area of about 89 sq. miles is divided into ten reserve forests, of which Thodupuzha Reserve Forest has the largest area.

1.2 The Thodupuzha Reserve Forest is bounded by lofty mountains on the east; by Arakulam and Udumpannoor villages on the south and west respectively. It is bounded on the north by a portion of Kothamangalam Range and Muvattupuzha taluk. Veloor plantations, Kaliar teak plantations and Thenkodam plantations are the important plantation areas lying within and in close proximity to the Thodupuzha Reserve Forest. Apart from the teak plantations undertaken by the Forest department inside this reserve forest, plantations of teak and other trees have also been laid out in parts of the Thodupuzha Range. The Reserve forest consists mostly of hills and valleys covered by gigantic forest trees and other forms of thick vegetations.

The Tribes

1.3 Mala Arayans and Uralis are the two tribes inhabiting this reserve forest area. The Mala Arayans are generally dark but possess good features and are fairly tall. They generally crop their heads; the hair is black and it is often neatly combed. They are a civilized group. Being traditional agriculturists, these people enjoy vast acres of forest land on which they raise paddy, tapioca, pepper and cardamom. A large percentage of Mala Arayans have permanent houses and evince a keen interest in getting their children educated; they even send them to schools far away from their homes. The Uralis who were until recently nomadic, following the practice of shifting cultivation, have now begun to settle down permanently in various parts of the reserve forest. They are mostly dark complexioned, short in stature and are sturdy and robust. Their hair is black and curly. A few Urali families cultivate paddy, pepper and cardamom, but many of them earn their living by working as 'coolies'. Both these tribes have their own customs and manners and follow some Hindu beliefs and practices. The following chapters give a general account of these two tribes, their manners and customs, means of livelihood and other aspects of life.

1.4 The Mala Arayans and Uralis, though inhabitants of more or less adjacent areas, differ socially, culturally and educationally. Forest lands have been allotted to them for cultivation under the Hillmen's Regulation Act. The Mala Arayans, who have had frequent contacts with the people of the plains, have become aware of the exploitations they are subjected to. A detailed study of these two tribes with particular reference to the environmental conditions, social awareness, their economic dependence and above all, the trends of recent development it is hoped, would be an interesting and also useful for the formulation of schemes for the improvement of the tribes.

Location and Public Places

1.5 As has been mentioned, the Udumpannoor village lies on the western side

of the Thodupuzha Reserve Forest. The tribal settlements in the reserve forest area can be reached by foot from Udumpannoor. There is a kaccha road motorable for private vehicles (especially for jeeps) from Udumpannoor to a distance of about 3 or 4 miles. From there, for a distance of 3 miles there are only narrow foot-paths with many ups and downs, leading to the settlements.

1.6 Udumpannoor, the village headquarters, is a small hamlet at a distance of about 10 miles from Thodupuzha. The Udumpannoor village lies at a latitude between 9° 51′ and 9° 56′ above the equator line, and at a longitude between 76° 47′ and 76° 51′. A bus route from Thodupuzha terminates at this place and enroute this road cuts across private plantations. The village office, a branch Sub-post office and the Panchayat office are the main offices functioning at Udumpannoor. The nearest Telegraph and Telephone office is located at Thodupuzha. There are only a few houses, a few small hotels and some shops at Udumpannoor. Thodupuzha, the nearest town, is the headquarters of the Thodupuzha taluk and is in the Ernakulam district.

Rainfall and Climate

1.7 A statistical record regarding the rainfall and the number of rainy days for ten years from 1951 to 1961 and the mean monthly total rainfall from 1901 to 1950 has been given in Table I.

Table I

RAINFALL RECORDED AT KARIKODE CENTRE

Month		Year											
		1901-1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
January	A	1.4	1	1	1	2	..	2	..	1	..	1	3
	B	27.9	6.3	12.7	11.4	27.9	..	20.3	..	8.9	..	11.9	21.5
February	A	1.5	1	6	4	..	1	1	3	2	3	1	3
	B	31.5	52.1	109.2	59.7	..	3.8	14.0	41.9	36.8	58.4	5.1	19.2
March	A	4.9	5	2	5	7	6	3	9	8	2	5	2
	B	76.7	54.6	48.3	17.8	134.6	128.3	24.1	121.9	131.6	10.1	104.3	14.9
April	A	10.9	12	12	11	15	12	12	8	13	17	18	12
	B	188.5	224.8	284.5	207.0	350.5	141.0	180.3	107.9	319.7	303.8	304.7	234.5
May	A	15.2	8	19	3	14	22	16	17	18	21	24	19
	B	323.1	314.5	383.5	54.6	256.5	563.9	302.3	415.3	533.6	436.3	539.4	643.6
June	A	25.6	28	23	19	25	29	25	25	21	24	22	28
	B	760.0	1062.0	845.8	408.9	694.7	955.0	770.9	1047.7	580.1	812.5	417.3	961.6
July	A	27.2	21	26	28	26	24	20	29	23	28	25	27
	B	791.5	476.0	392.4	1188.0	603.3	514.3	439.4	1038.9	547.4	1122.6	740.9	890.0
August	A	24.0	24	29	16	24	24	21	25	29	24	18	26
	B	567.7	364.5	619.3	386.1	574.0	290.1	553.7	589.3	843.8	377.0	515.0	724.8
September	A	16.5	20	5	13	14	22	16	9	9	22	20	19
	B	317.7	846.8	151.0	167.6	227.3	539.0	230.1	105.4	60.9	721.9	509.9	392.4
October	A	18.0	NA	18	22	14	21	14	18	17	13	15	15
	B	413.5	NA	507.5	497.8	584.2	532.6	400.1	528.3	485.5	270.2	530.9	359.2
November	A	11.6	22	7	3	3	15	17	14	13	12	22	5
	B	250.9	563.9	174.2	19.1	59.7	264.7	223.5	175.3	403.4	350.8	431.1	179.5
December	A	3.2	..	3	..	6	1	2	2	1	2	5	1
	B	57.4	1.3	34.8	..	86.4	22.1	40.6	17.8	20.6	52.3	120.3	37.9
Annual	A	160.0	142	151	125	150	177	149	159	155	168	176	160
	B	3806.4	3966.8	3563.2	3018.0	3599.1	3954.8	3199.3	4189.7	3972.3	4515.9	4230.8	4479.1

A — Number of rainy days

B — Monthly rainfall in mm.

NA — Not available

These data have been collected at Karikode station, which is only four miles away from the surveyed area. Most of the annual rainfall is recorded during the months of June to October. The onset of the monsoon generally takes place in the first week of June and is preceded and accompanied by thunderstorms. June is, on an average, the rainy month of the year. From the table it is seen that the rainfall is variable from year to year, and in 1959 there was much more rain than that of the remaining years. The monsoon withdraws by the middle of November, and thereafter there is a marked difference in the weather conditions with clear skies and fluctuating temperatures.

1.8 The cold weather starts by the beginning of December. January is the coldest month of the year.

1.9 The climatological data of the surveyed area are not available. As the surveyed area is far away from Fort Cochin, the nearest mateorological station and as this is a hilly area, the statement of temperature and humidity of Fort Cochin will not be representative.

1.10 The lowest temperature is in December and January and even in these months there is a little rainfall. The hot season commences in March and lasts up to the end of May. April and May are the hottest months of the year. On account of its higher elevation the nights are, however, comparatively cool.

Soil

1.11 The soil of the area belongs to the group of forest and hill soils. These soils are rich in nitrogen but poor in bases due to leaching. The phosphate content is also very low. From the soil analysis it is seen that there are only traces of Phosphorous in the soil.

Table II

SOIL ANALYSIS

Laboratory No.	Organic Carbon %	Available phosphorous	Potassium	P. H.	T. S. S.
889/64	1.40 (Medium)	2 (Low)	28 (Low)	5.3 (Acidic)	0.0 (Normal)
594/64	1.43 (Medium)	Trace (Low)	40 (Low)	5.4 (Acidic)	0.0 (Normal)

Source: Soil Testing Centre, Trivandrum

These soils are strongly acidic in reaction. Plantation crops such as cardamom, rubber, teak etc., are extensively grown in this area. When these areas are cleared for cultivation purposes, soils gradually undergo laterization.

The Flora and the Fauna

1.12 The Thodupuzha Reserve Forest abounds in tall foliage trees which provide valuable timber. There are also a large number of wooddy climbers. One of the characteristic features of such

vegetation is that they provide an evergreen cover. Owing to increasing deforestation for providing open spaces, for building huts and laying out fields for agricultural purposes, a large number of different varieties of timber trees have disappeared, fruit trees such as jack and mango occupying their places. Almost all the perennial flowering plants, which occur at medium altitudes also flourish there. Plants of medicinal value also occur in these regions. Besides these the tribes cultivate paddy, pepper, cardamom etc.

1.13 Cardamom is one of the most important cash crops of Kerala and a major portion of cardamom plantations in India is also in Kerala. In the High Ranges in general and in the hill ranges of Kottayam and Ernakulam districts and also in Nelliyampathi and Wynad in particular, cardamom is cultivated on a large scale. Certain areas of Mysore, Madras and West Bengal also have been brought under the cultivation of cardamom. Among other cardamom growing countries Ceylon takes the first place. Cardamom grows best at altitudes between 2,000 and 5,000 feet above the sea level. It prefers places where large trees throw heavy shade and the annual rainfall ranges between 80 to 200 inches. Moist soil and shade are necessary for its growth. Steep mountain ranges and shadeless valleys are not suitable.

1.14 Generally seedlings are produced from seeds. New plants are also obtained by grafting buds in the roots of the fully-grown plants. The latter method is easier and cheaper than the former, and grafted plants grow easily and yield early. However for large scale cultivation this method of rearing seedlings obtaining by grafting is difficult; it also leads to the spread of plant diseases to areas free from them. In the long run the yield from grafted plants will be less than that from the plants obtained from seeds. The production of seedlings from cardamom seeds is a difficult process. Seeds are selected carefully from healthy plants of over five years growth and of good variety and sowed in beds three feet broad and six inches high. After the seeds are sowed fine soil is spread lightly over the bed; and green leaves and dry grass are also spread over the bed to protect it from the rain and from the heat of the sun. The shade will keep the soil moist and provide sufficient protection for the growing seedlings. The bed should be watered daily. In one square foot of bed about eighty seeds can be sowed.

1.15 The most suitable season for sowing is the period between December and March. The seeds will sprout within a month after sowing. The plants have to be separated from the bed after a year and replanted at six to eight feet apart. Two plants are set in one pit and if both the plants grow well, one of them is removed.

1.16 Usually cardamom blossoms during the months of April and May. However, in many cases these plants blossom in other months also and as a result, the crop will also be spread over several months of the year. The plants can be harvested after three years. On an average about 150 pounds of cardamom is obtained from an acre.

1.17 Cardamom plants are subject to attack by some pests and insects and the attack is worst during the rainy season. If sufficient precautions are not taken and proper applications of insecticides and pesticides are not made, the pests take a heavy toll.

1.18 The use of cardamom is on the increase. It enters into the manufacture of medicines, preparation of confectionaries and liquors. It is also used as a preservative in the preparation of pickles.

1.19 In this connection it may be mentioned that recently with the help of Indian Council of Agricultural Research, a Research Station has been established under the Department of Agriculture at Pambadumpara in Kottayam district, to

investigate and study the various aspects of cultivation of this cash crop. This Research centre supervises the work of the various units established by it at Pattadi, Pambadumpara, Udumbanchola, Vattiyar and Udumpannoor. These units supply good varieties of cardamom seedlings and offer technical advice on cardamom cultivation.

1.20 Paddy, pepper, rubber and lemongrass are the other important agricultural products of Thodupuzha taluk. The Forest department has cleared vast areas of forest land and started teak plantation. The tribes also cultivate paddy, pepper and cardamom which they usually sell (excepting paddy) to the local merchants at comparatively low prices. There is not much scope for any kind of industrial activity in the localities covered by the survey.

Physical Aspects

1.21 The land is undulating with many hillocks and valleys. Being forest area ying at a high altitude, the climatic conditions here, differ from those of adjacent regions.

1.22 Regarding the existence of animal life in this area, it may be stated that no account of the presence of wild animals such as tigers and panthers was brought to notice. Owing to deforestation and human occupation, only common small carnivora like wolves and jackals and reptiles like cobra and viper are met with. At higher altitudes, especially at Uppukunnu, Chelakad etc. stray cases of wild elephants causing damage to men and their properties were reported. There is plenty of birdlife in this area; all the tropical birds including the paradise flycatcher, the oriole, and the jack daw are found here.

Residential Pattern and Communication

1.23 In accordance with the Hillmen's Regulation Act, only hilltribes who had been living in the woodlands from very olden times are permitted to make settlements in the reserve forest areas. They now enjoy possession of forest lands but are not entitled to sell or exchange these lands. Moreover no people from the plains (excepting forest and other authorised authorities) are allowed access to the forest areas and engage themselves in any kind of transactions with the tribal people. But it is noticed that a few tribal families even engage people from the plains for agricultural and other work under them.

1.24 The tribesmen usually live in families in localities not far apart from each other. Some forty or fifty families (in some cases lesser or more) generally occupy a particular locality, constructing their huts and clearing forest lands for cultivation purposes. Inadequacy of communication facilities from Udumpannoor, to the tribal settlements, especially inside the reserve forest is keenly felt. There is no post office or even a hotel (excepting occasional mobile teashops) or stationery shops inside the reserve forest. But recently a post box has been kept at Peringassery (one of the tribal settlements) and letters are cleared from this box twice or thrice a week and delivery of letters is also made. A few shops have been opened by the local tribes for the sale of essential commodities.

Places of Worship

1.25 There are no important places of worship in the reserve forest area, excepting a few small temples, built by the tribes with deities of Sasta and other gods installed in them. There was no church or mosque in the localities surveyed, as it was reported that these tribes were all followers of Hinduism. However there are a few temples, churches and mosques at Thodupuzha – the nearest town - where people go for worship on festive and other occasions. There are no separate areas for the cremation of the dead, and tribes bury their dead in places distant from their homes. Excepting a few stones erected over the place of burial, no other monuments are seen in the burial yards.

Water Resources

1.26 There are many small streams in this area. The tribes fetch water from the above sources. Most of the males and females go to the streams or channels for bathing and washing clothes. These streamlets and channels are perennial. A few of the tribal families have even dug in the premises of their houses, wells which are often shared by the neighbouring families also. There are no rivers or tanks or ponds in the area. The Thodupuzha river rises from the mountains of this forest range and flows through Thodupuzha town, and later on joins the Muvattupuzha river.

1.27 About sanitation and drainage, it can be said that natural drainage facilities exist to some extent in these localities, as the land is undulating and slopy with many ups and downs. Public Health Department does not seem to function in this area. Details about the common diseases prevalent here and the nature of treatment have been dealt with in Chapter IV.

Institutions

1.28 The two Government lower primary schools at Peringassery and Poomala and two other tribal schools at Uppukunnu and Kotapram run by the Department of Harijan Welfare are the few educational institutions in the reserve area. There is a craft centre at Poomala (inside the forest area) under the Department of Harijan Welfare where training in arts and crafts, especially work with rattan and reeds, is given.

1.29 A co-operative society has been organised and registered under the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, though this has not started functioning, at the time of the survey. Another welfare scheme for these tribes undertaken by the Department of Harijan Welfare is the provision of grants amounting to Rs. 800 (recently enhanced to Rs. 1,000) to a few of the deserving families for construction of residential houses. In addition to this, agricultural loans are also granted by the Harijan Welfare Department.

1.30 A tribal social organisation named "Thiru-Cochi Vana Varga Maha Sabha" has been registered and is functioning with the aim of uplifting these tribes socially, culturally and educationally. Most of the Mala Arayans and a few of the Uralis are members of this organisation.

Markets

1.31 Despite the fact that these tribes are agriculturists, cultivating in addition to paddy and tapioca, other cash crops like pepper and cardamom, it is to be regretted that facilities for marketing these commodities are rather meagre. The nearest markets at Kanjar and Thodupuzha are a few miles away. Because of the lack of proper marketing facilities, most of these tribes, it was reported, sell off their produce at comparatively low prices to the nearby shop-owners and merchants, who, no doubt, take advantage of their helplessness.

1.32 The Thodupuzha Reserve Forest and the adjacent forests are supposed to be abodes of the hilltribes from time immemorial. The forests in these areas were not formerly accessible to ordinary people, owing to dense and thick forests, fear from wild animals and above all spread of infectious diseases. But the tribes had been leading a primitive life in these thick forests, consuming the wild roots and fruits and hunting animals and having practically no communion with the outside world. With gradual deforestation and consequent entry of people from the plains they have felt a desire to lead a better life.

Nearest Town

1.33 Thodupuzha, the taluk headquarters forms the nearest town and market place to serve the tribal settlements. Many of the tribal people visit this town frequently for purchases or on festive occasions and mingle with the people of the plains freely, and even taking food from the hotels. This town is connected

with many other important centres namely Palai, Kottayam and Muvattupuzha by good motorable roads, over which regular bus services operate. Some of the important offices and institutions at Thodupuzha are the taluk office, the magistrate's court, the forest range office, Salestax office, P. W. D. office, Post and Telegraphs office. Government hospital, high schools and other local offices of the State and Central Governments.

Settlement Pattern

1.34 There is no definite pattern about the settlement of the Mala Arayans or Uralis. The houses are scattered, each house having a small open space around it, which they keep neat and clean. They do not prefer to live in clusters and in close settlements In the case of Uralis, some of the families are found to have huts close to each other but generally they also have no definite settlement pattern or arrangement. There does not seem to exist any rigid system about the order, or location of the house, or the construction of the houses. Most of the families of Mala Arayans and Uralis have permanent homes. Narrow footpaths, sometimes winding and cutting across slopes connect the different parts of localities inside the reserve forest.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Introduction

The two important tribes inhabiting the surveyed localities are Mala Arayans and Uralis. The former, one of the civilised, cultured and educated classes of hilltribes of Kerala, are generally found inhabiting the woodlands of Thodupuzha and Meenachil taluks of the Ernakulam and Kottayam districts respectively. Peringassery, Moolakad, Naliyani, and Poochapra are a few of the more important settlements of this tribe. Though still classed as one of the Scheduled Tribes they have a few of the external features of tribes. They are not nomadic agriculturists but have permanent dwellings. They claim to be traditionally agriculturists and cultivation forms the main occupation and source of income to the majority of their families. They sometimes hire themselves as labourers to supplement their income. They mingle freely with outside people and in short, it may be said that the social and cultural developments of these people is mainly due to their frequent contacts with the caste people. Though most of the older members among them are illiterate, they realise the importance of education and it is no surprise to find that they do not hesitate to send their children — both boys and girls — even to distant schools for their education.

Origin and Tradition

2.2 It is claimed that the Mala Arayans of Thodupuzha forests have been living there from time immemorial and have become autochthonous. It is believed that the original homes of the Mala Arayans were Karimala and Chingampara in the Ranni reserve and in course of time, due to increase in population and dearth of sufficient means for livelihood, they had spread themselves in the various portions of the forests. Subsequently, they began clearing the jungles for purposes of cultivation. During the course of the survey, it was possible to ascertain that most of the Mala Arayan families surveyed or their ancestral people had their original abodes in the localities of the reserve forests of Thodupuzha, and a few had migrated from outside places after marriage and in search of means for livelihood. Having settled permanently there, they had no intention of migrating to other places.

2.3 The word 'Mala Arayan' literally means 'Lord of the hills'. There is a story about their origin, which traces their ancestry to the reunion of Ahalya with Gautama. The Mala Arayans are proud of being known as related to Lord Srirama, who had given life to the cursed Ahalya by reuniting her with her husband Gautama. They consider themselves superior to other tribes in social status.

2.4 It is stated that the 'Arayans' are classified into four broad groups — 'Mala Arayan' (those living in forests); 'Katal Arayan' (those engaged in fishing); 'Natta Arayan' and 'Ottarayan'. No sort of relationship by marriage was allowed among these sects in former times, but due to frequent mingling of the Mala Arayans with the Katal Arayans in recent times there are a few instances of marriage between these two sects.

2.5 The Uralis generally, nomadic by nature, seldom engaging themselves in full-time cultivation are found in the tribal settlements at Venniyani, Uppukunnu, Vattakanny etc. of the reserve forests of Thodupuzha, Arakulam and neighbouring

localities. They are still leading a primitive mode of life and are condemned to a hand-to-mouth existence. They usually construct their huts in the interior parts of the forests or on hillslopes and do not freely mingle with the fellow tribes — the Mala Arayans. They wander in the forests collecting edible fruits and roots during off-seasons. Though in possession of considerable cultivable land they do not seem to be good agriculturists and more over, they are to some extent exploited of their ignorance and illiteracy by outside people. Unlike the Mala Arayans who engage themselves as labourers to supplement their income, the Uralis seldom accept such work. There is a natural hesitation among them to send their children to schools, though they are provided with free noon-meals, and clothing.

2.6 The Uralis claim that they are one of the oldest tribes inhabiting the mountaineous forest areas of that part of the State. It is said that they were formerly dependents of the king of Madura and it was their duty in those days, to hold umbrellas over the king in State processions. During one of the visits of the king to Neriamangalam, which was then under his reign, the Uralis who had accompanied the king, were left there to rule the locality. The word 'Urali' can be split up as 'Ur' + 'Ali' — 'Ur' means locality and 'Ali' means to rule. It is claimed that they once belonged to a ruling class, but had subsequently been driven to the forests. It was reported by many families, covered during the course of the survey, that they had no intention of migrating to other localities.

Organisation

2.7 The clan system was prevalent among the Mala Arayans in olden days, and a Mala Arayan of one clan was forbidden from marrying a woman of his own clan. The five main clans called 'illoms' in existence among them of the Thodupuzha Reserve forest are — 'Puthanillom', 'Mala illom', 'Vala illom', 'Nellipalli illom' and 'Modalikad illom'. A child belongs to the mother's clan. But the present generation of Mala Arayans, do not attach much importance to these clan systems, and it may be said that many of them are practically ignorant of the conventions about their clan systems.

2.8 The Mala Arayans of one locality or settlement have a headman called 'Kanikkaran', who officiates as their chief and is responsible for maintenance of peace and order among his fellowmen. But at present the office of the Kanikkaran is only a mere shadow of his former self with little influence over his people.

2.9 The Uralis are divided into various clans. Among those of the Thodupuzha forests, there are five clans or 'kuttams', namely, 'Periyilakuttam'; 'Kodiyarukuttam'; 'Kanakuttam'; 'Onakuttam'; and 'Vettikuttam'. These clans are monogamous and a man is forbidden from taking a bride from the same clan. But nowadays this notion about the clan system has lost its rigidity and many are not aware of their own clans. The Urali clans are matrilinear.

2.10 The settlements of the Uralis called 'kudi' or 'kani' have a headman known as 'Kanikkaran'. In the tribal settlements at Thodupuzha forests, this headman also acts as the medicineman or 'plathy'. The Kanikkaran is responsible for the maintenance of peace and order among his fellow tribes of the 'kani' and he acts as the intermediary between his people and the forest authorities. But in recent years, it is reported, that the kanikkaran has almost lost his influence over his people. But his services are however, utilised for treating diseases among them.

Language

2.11 The mother-tongue of Mala Arayans is Malayalam and many are able to read and write this language, which is

the dominant one in the locality. A few youngsters who are studying in high school classes and in colleges are able to understand and speak in English also.

2.12 The Uralis speak an intermixture of Malayalam and Tamil. They are also able to understand Malayalam but most of them being illiterate, are not able to read and write.

Religion

2.13 Both the tribes — the Mala Arayans and Uralis — of the Thodupuzha reserve forests follow Hinduism and worship gods and goddesses. They also respect the soul of their departed ancestors and worship them on important occasions to avert the ill-will. The gods and goddesses commonly worshipped by them are 'Sasta', 'Bhagavathy,' 'Sarpam' and ancestor spirits, and malevolent gods like Kali, Pulianepilli, Arukola etc. Lord Sasta is considered to be the supreme protector of all the forest dwellers and goddess Bhagavathy protects them from the attack of epidemic diseases like small-pox, cholera etc. sacrifices and offerings are made to these gods in the form of cocoanuts, fruits, fowls, etc. on all festive occasions. The Mala Arayans especially worship 'Sarpam'. They have their own temples where idols of these gods have been installed. These tribes visit other temples also, outside their localities and in recent years a few even make pilgrimages to 'Sabarimala'.

Polygamy and Polyandry

2.14 The system of polygamy though not very common now, was reported to be prevalent among both the Mala Arayans and Uralis. A man usually married a second time, if the first wife did not bear children (generally with her consent) or became insane or died. Under such circumstances the two wives live together in the same hut under his protection. But due to wide contacts with civilized outside people they are now mostly monogamous. Divorce is generally effected by the consent of both parties and the divorcee is allowed to remarry. Remarriages of widows and widowers also take place in certain cases and many such instances were reported during the course of the survey.

2.15 A few cases of polyandry could be found among these people — the two husbands being brothers or cousins. The elder brother marries a woman and the younger brother also shares her.

House Types

2.16 The Mala Arayans generally construct their houses on plains or on hill slopes. Their houses or huts are mostly permanent ones with neat premises and hygienic surroundings. Most of the houses or huts are built with fair foundation normally elevated from the ground level. The houses are normally rectangular in shape and contain two or three (or sometimes more) rooms. The distribution of the number of rooms in the households, by the number of persons is given in the tables III A and III B.

Table III A

HOUSEHOLDS BY NO. OF ROOMS AND PERSONS OCCUPYING — MALA ARAYANS

No. of rooms	No. of persons in the household							
	1 person	2-3 persons	4-6 persons	7-9 persons	10-11 persons	12 persons and above	Total	Percentage
1 Room	1	5	8	1	1	..	16	9.52
2 Rooms	1	13	40	25	2	1	82	48.81
3 Rooms	..	8	12	22	3	2	47	27.98
4 Rooms	..	1	5	7	2	1	16	9.52
5 Rooms	..	..	1	3	1	..	5	2 98
6 and above	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	1.19
Total	2	27	66	60	9	4	168	100.00

Table III B

HOUSEHOLDS BY NO. OF ROOMS BY NO. OF PERSONS OCCUPYING — URALIS

No. of rooms	No. of persons in the household: 1 person	2-3 persons	4-6 persons	7-9 persons	10 persons and above	Total	Percentage
1	1	6	12	5	1	25	49.01
2	..	5	11	1	2	19	37.26
3	..	1	..	3	2	6	11.77
4 and above	..	..	..	1	..	1	1.96
Total	1	12	23	10	5	51	100 00

2.17 About 77 per cent of the 168 households surveyed had only two or three rooms and in 75 per cent of the families, there were 4 to 9 members.

2.18 The dwellings of the Uralis, built on hill slopes or on hill tops are generally small huts, comprising of one or two rooms or compartments separated by bamboo curtains (thatties). It was found that 44 out of the 51 Urali families surveyed were living in huts of one or two rooms only. The walls of these houses are made of mud or bricks (burnt or unburnt) and in some cases, of bamboo leaves or thatties. The roofs are thatched with dry grass or straw and in some cases they are tiled. In most of the homes, the floor is plastered with cowdung but in a few cases they are cemented also. The dwellings of the Mala Arayans are not crowded together but are at some distance from each other. It may be mentioned that the localities surveyed have been made almost free from the attack of wild animals due to deforestation and occupation by these people and consequently tree huts are not needed.

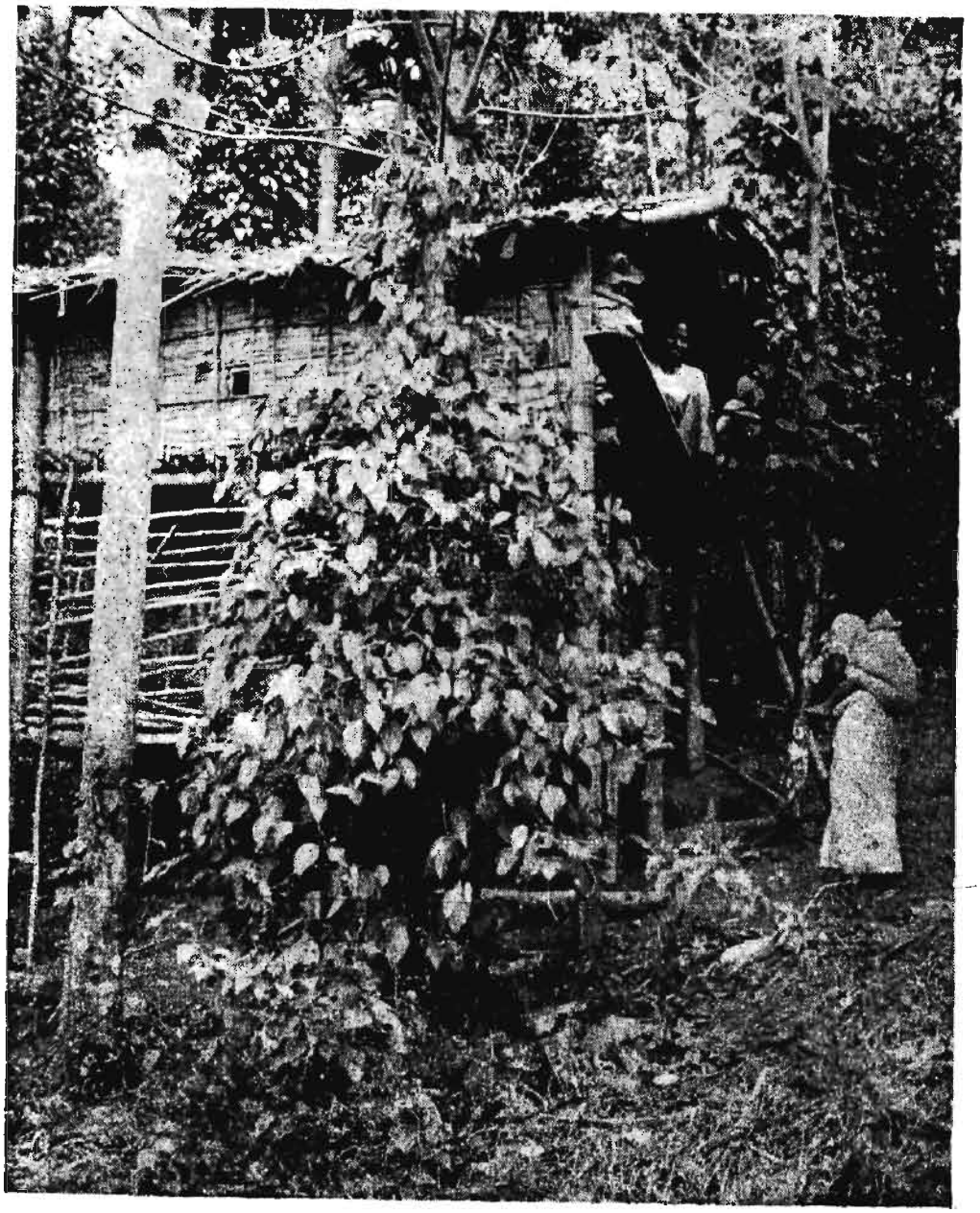
2.19 The walls are mostly made of bamboo thatties or reeds, and in a few cases, of mud to a height of about 2 to 3 feet, so as to form a parapet wall. The roof is thatched with wild grass or straw and the floor, generally on a level with the ground is plastered with cowdung or ordinary damp earth.

Table IV

DWELLINGS

	Name of the Tribe	Materials used for the construction of: Walls: Granite	Burnt bricks	Raw bricks or mud	Reeds or bamboo thatty	Wild grass or straw	Total	Roof: Tiled	Thatched	Grass, leaves or straw	Others*	Total	Flooring: Ordinary ground or mud	Cowdung plastered	Cemented or others	Total
1	Mala Arayans	14	31	58	51	14	168	43	38	85	2	168	9	127	32	168
2	Uralis	..	..	3	44	4	51	1	3	30	17	51	28	21	2	51
	Total	14	31	61	95	18	219	44	41	115	19	219	37	148	34	219

* Others include roof thatched with reeds or bamboo leaves.



Pl. 25 AN URALI HUT Page 246



Pl. 26 MEMBERS OF AN URALI FAMILY RETURNING HOME Page 247



Pl. 27 MALAYARAYAN WOMEN — ALSO SEE THE FLATTENED BAMBOO CURTAIN BEHIND

Page 247



Pl. 28 AN URALI OLD WOMAN WITH TYPICAL ORNAMENTS Page 247

2.20 Table IV gives details about the materials used for the construction of the walls, roof and flooring for the surveyed households of Mala Arayans and Uralis respectively. It can be seen that the majority of the dwellings of the Mala Arayans are permanent and strong ones with walls made of bricks or granite and roofs tiled or thatched. The floor in a few houses has been cemented. But most of the huts of the Uralis are small ones, with walls and roofing made of less strong materials with flooring in many cases being at ground level.

2.21 The Department of Harijan Welfare of the State Government has given housing grants amounting to Rs. 800 (recently enhanced to Rs. 1,000) to a few deserving tribal families. It was reported that 12 out of the 168 Mala Arayan families and 2 out of the 51 Urali families surveyed, had received such non-repayable aids from the department and had put up permanent buildings. A few rich Mala Arayan families had built their own permanent tiled houses.

2.22 Kerosene oil lamps are usually used for lighting purposes at night in their huts.

Dress and Ornaments

2.23 The Mala Arayans and Uralis are generally tall, healthy and dark in complexion. Though still living in forest areas and classified as one of the Scheduled Tribes, the Mala Arayans are in fact one of the civilised and educated classes of people. They dress neatly and take particular care and interest to keep themselves clean. The males usually wear a dhothy or 'thuvarthu' and baniyan at home and use a shirt also when going out. But an Urali male rarely uses shirts. At home the women wear dhothy and blouse and nowadays they have begun to wear saris also. The children wear dhothy or 'thuvarthu', school children use a shirt also. Uralis do not seem to attach much importance for special types of dresses on festive occasions. A reference may be made to Table XIV (A & B) wherein are given details of expenditure for purchase of dress items for the families surveyed.

2.24 The Mala Arayans and a few Uralis have started using footwear for protection of their feet from the thorns and stones in the forests. The Uralis mostly keep their hair cropped and well combed.

2.25 The Mala Arayans largely use ornaments made of gold and sliver. But the Uralis, like the Hill Pulayas of Champakad are seen using ornaments made mostly of beads, shells and brass, as it is not possible for them to purchase ornaments of gold and silver. The men seldom wear ornaments, but a few of the Mala Arayans use gold chains on the neck and ear-studs. The Mala Arayan women commonly wear necklaces, chains, bangles, earrings etc. made of gold or silver and the Urali females use elaborate necklaces of beads and shells, nose-screws of reeds or silver and bangles of aluminium or glass.

2.26 Table V gives some information regarding the number of families using ornaments and their approximate cost. It can be seen that there are a few Mala Arayan families among the surveyed ones, who could afford to purchase ornaments for more than Rs. 500. About 65% of the 138 Mala Arayan families using ornaments, had ornaments worth between Rs. 101 and Rs. 500; about 32% of such families had ornaments of value less than Rs. 100. Only about 76.5% of the Urali families were using ornaments; they were, but, not of much value.

Table V

ORNAMENTS

Particulars	Mala Arayans	Uralis
1. No. of families surveyed	168	51
2. No. of families using ornaments	138 (82.1%)	39 (76.5%)
3. Percentage of families possessing ornaments (against Col. 2) worth		
i. Less than Rs. 100	* 31.9	*94.9
ii. Between Rs. 100 and Rs. 500	*65.2	*5.1
iii. Above Rs. 500	2 9	..
4. No of families possessing no ornaments	30	12

* Percentages calculated to the total number of families possessing or using ornaments

It may be said that like other civilized people of the plains, the Mala Arayans also generally spend a small portion of their income for the purchase of ornaments.

Household Goods

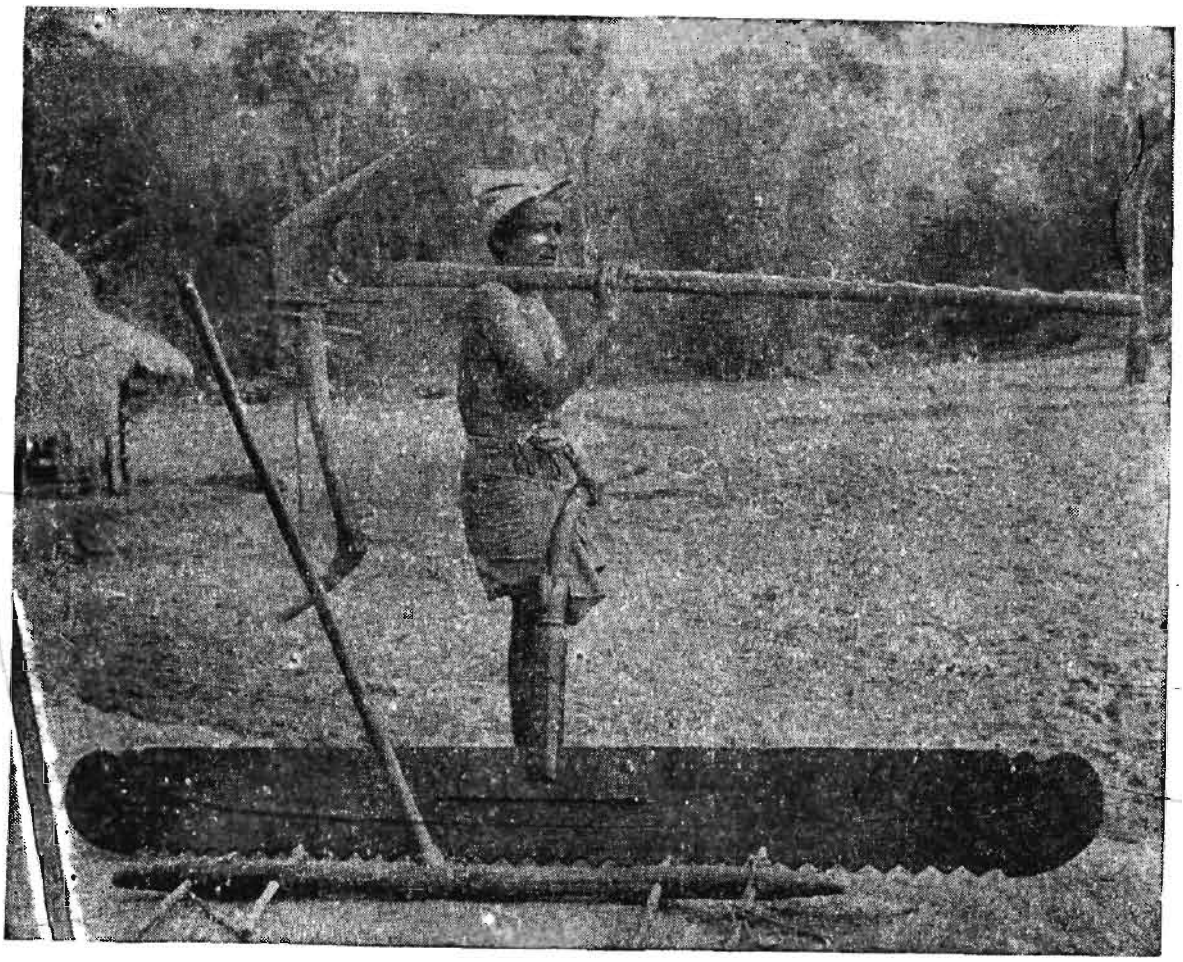
2.27 The families surveyed generally possessed domestic utensils made of bronze, brass, copper or aluminium. But bronze vessels are only rarely used by the Uralis. Ordinary earthern pots are very commonly used by both these tribes. 'Kindi', 'Montha', 'Vilakku', 'Kolambi' etc. are a few of the vessels made of bronze and widely used by them. It was noticed that most of the families were not able to give the average annual expenditure incurred by them on this account, which are bought as and when necessary from the local markets, by paying off in cash.

2.28 None of the households was found hiring any special utensils from outside during festive occasions, but used to borrow from neighbours.

2.29 Being mainly agriculturists, they largely use agricultural implements like sickles, spades and mortar and pestles. Some of the Mala Arayan families possess ploughs and working bulls also. They spend a small portion of their income for the purchase of these implements and for other agricultural requirements.

Food and Drink

2.30 The Mala Arayans and Uralis are mostly non-vegetarians and use fish, mutton, chicken and also the meat of 'Kezha' (Sambur), jungle squirrel, deer, etc. They do not use the meat of cows, oxen and buffaloes, as these domestic animals are considered to be sacred. The Mala Arayans take milk and use milk products and in the course of the survey, it was found that a number of families reared cows. The Uralis, who till recently were not using milk and its products, have now begun to take coffee or tea with milk available from local shops. They use all available varieties of fish, i. e., both fresh either caught from local streams and channels or bought from outside and dried fish. The Mala Arayans use vegetables on almost all days, and the Uralis use them mostly on festive occasions. The common vegetables grown by them are 'chembu' (colacasia), 'chena' (Amorphophalus), 'kachil' (Yam), 'drumstick' etc. They buy vegetables now and then from outside also. The Mala Arayans relish all kinds of pulses and grams like black, green and



Pl. 29 A MALAYARAYAN WITH AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS Page 248



Pl. 30 NEWLY WEDDED MALAYARAYAN COUPLE Page 249

horsegram and dhal also, but the Uralis do not use horsegram. Cocoanut oil bought from shops is used for cooking purposes.

2.31 The staple food of these tribal people are rice and tapioca and many families are agriculturists growing paddy and tapioca. Pudding and special dishes, according to their status are also prepared on festive occasions. The Mala Arayans, it was said, were taking food three times a day. In the morning before they set out for work, they have their breakfast consisting of coffee and tapioca. The noon-meal and supper at night consist of rice and curries and sometimes 'kanji'. Many of these people take coffee or tea in the evening also. But the Uralis generally take food, only twice a day. Coffee with tapioca or other roots or 'kanji' in the morning and boiled rice with curry or 'kanji' in the evening.

2.32 Unlike the Uralis who wander about in the forests in search of edible roots and fruits during leisure hours, the Mala Arayans seldom go out for this purpose, and in fact they consider it below their dignity to wander about in the forests.

2.33 The male among both Mala Arayans and Uralis though not habitual and regular, drinkers are addicted to intoxicants like toddy and arrack. Women do not generally take such drinks. Being reserve forest areas, they are not allowed to prepare the intoxicants but buy from outside shops, when they go out into the country parts. Both the males and females especially among the Uralis are so inveterate chewers of betel leaves, that they are prepared even to forgo their food for a day or two, but not chewing. The males, especially those among Mala Arayans *smoke cigarettes and 'beedies.' It is surprising* to note that many of the youth among the Mala Arayans always take with them match-boxes and some carry even cigarette lighters. They buy cigarettes and 'beedies' from outside shops.

Beliefs and Practices

2.34 Even though these tribal people live in nearby localities and follow the same religion and faith, they follow different customs and manners in regard to various ceremonies.

Marriage

2.35 Among the Mala Arayans marriage is invariably conducted after the girl has attained puberty. The proposal for the marriage alliance is brought forward by the boy's parents and the alliance is fixed up after due consultations. The marriage is mostly conducted at the bride's house. 'Talikettu' (tying of the 'tali' on the bride's neck) and exchange of wedding costumes form the main rites of the ceremony. Later the couple attired in new clothes are seated and take food together. Chewing of portions of the *same betel leaf and spitting into the same* spittoon signify their union. A feast is then arranged for the guests. The system of giving dowry in cash or kind is not in practice among them.

2.36 The system of marriage prevalent among the Uralis in former times was by the exchange of sisters. A man could marry as many women as the number of sisters he had, and if a man had no sisters to give in exchange, he had to remain a bachelor. But this system is no longer observed by them now. The marriage ceremony among the Uralis is simple and interesting. The marriage takes place usually during day-time, at the bride's or bridegroom's residence as is convenient for both parties. The ceremony ends with the tying of 'tali' round the bride's neck and partaking the food served on a common leaf. The guests invited are entertained to a feast *after which all disperse. Soon after* marriage the couple are escorted to the boy's hut if the marriage takes place at the bride's hut. It is the custom among the Uralis for the husband to present a sickle 'Vettukathi' to his wife at the time

of their marriage which she keeps safe throughout their wedded life, and uses for agricultural purposes.

Death

2.37 The Mala Arayans and Uralis of the Thodupuzha Reserve Forests, bury the dead and do not cremate. When a person dies, among Mala Arayans, the news is carried to the close relatives and friends. The corpse is washed and covered with new clothes, specially bought for this occasion. Offerings are then made to the soul of the departed two or three times and then the body is lowered into the pit with the head towards south and legs towards north. Three handfuls of earth are then sprinkled on the body by the people assembled there, with eyes directed away from the corpse. The grave is then filled with earth. Usually two stones are erected, one at the head and the other at the foot. All then take a bath and disperse. The pollution connected with death lasts for 16 days, at the end of which the mourners assemble at the house of the dead and after a bath make offerings to the deceased. The guests disperse after a feast. These ceremonies are supervised by the local headman.

2.38 The dead bodies of those who meet with unnatural or premature deaths are also buried but without any ceremony. Their spirits are called 'Arukola'. These are supposed to be evil spirits and are propitiated on certain festive days, with prayers and offering of rice, cocoanut, and fowls.

2.39 On the death of a person of the Urali tribe, the news is sent to all the near relatives, who assemble at the house of the deceased. A grave is dug at a place not far off from the hut, to a depth of about 4 or 5 feet. The nephew or the son is the chief mourner, who washes the corpse and covers it, in new clothes. After some prayers and 'pujas' performed by the Kanikkaran, the corpse is taken to the grave on a reed mat. It is then lowered into the grave along with the mat, and another mat of bamboo or reeds is placed on the body so as to form a coffin. The body is placed in such a position, that the head faces the south and the legs the north. A pot of water or 'kanji' and a few personal belongings of deceased are kept in the grave, as offerings to the dead. The grave is then covered with earth so as to keep the corpse safe from wild animals.

2.40 Two stones are placed over the grave as identification marks of the burial spot. Pollution lasts for 16 days, at the end of which the members of the family take a bath and get purified by the sprinkling of oil and a few drops of cowdung mixed with water. Usually, a jack tree and a cocoanut tree growing near the grave are given as an offering to the dead, and the members of the family of the deceased do not use the jack fruits or cocoanuts from these trees. In many cases, 'pujas' and offerings are made to the dead on the anniversaries.

Puberty

2.41 Among these tribes girls who attain puberty and women during their monthly periods are not allowed to move freely, or even to see males. They fear that the women during this period are polluted and are inauspicious and any violation of the age-long practice, would bring them harm and misfortune. In some cases, the males do not even go for agricultural work during this period. Separate enclosures are provided in each house or hut in some cases at a small distance for the occupation of girls, who attain puberty and for women in menses, during their periods of pollution. The period of pollution varies from one tribe to another. The Mala Arayans observe pollution for a period of about 7 days on the attainment of puberty of a girl, but in recent years this period is being shortened. The Uralis observe pollution on this account for about 7 days. Food is cooked

by the girl herself or sometimes cooked food is served to her by elderly women. After the period of pollution she is bathed and escorted to the house or hut, and is purified. Guests are then entertained to a feast after which all disperse.

2.42 During the period of menses the women also keep aloof and live separately in the enclosure provided for the purpose. After this period she takes her bath and joins the family group. Separation between the sexes is an important feature during the period of puberty and menses and also during child-birth.

2.43 In places where there is fear of attack of wild animals, separate tree houses are provided for the above purposes.

Pregnancy and Child-birth

2.44 Generally no separate function or ceremony is attached to pregnancy and child-birth, both among the Mala Arayans and Uralis. Nevertheless a separate room or compartment is provided in the house or the hut for the purpose of child-birth. The women in labour is confined to that room and cooked food is served to her during the days of pollution, which is usually a week or ten days in the case of Mala Arayans, and about 3 to 4 weeks in the case of Uralis. She takes her bath at the end of the pollution period and joins the family. Elderly women of their own sect, usually assist the women in labour. Formerly the husband and other elder male members of the family did not go for agricultural labour, or attend any auspicious function and this custom is followed to some extent even in these days.

2.45 To avoid complications in labour, the Mala Arayans nowadays seek the help of qualified midwives and even doctors. Those living in the Thodupuzha forests, take advantage of the facilities available at the Government hospital at Thodupuzha or the Government dispensary at Arakulam. Because of the availability of timely medical aid, the number of deaths in child-birth has been minimised. The naming ceremony of the child usually takes place on some auspicious day, when the child is about a month old or in a quiet manner. It is fed with a little quantity of sweetened rice and if possible the close kith and kin are entertained to a feast.

2.46 As has been mentioned previously, separate clans exist among both the Mala Arayans and Uralis and a man of one clan has to marry a woman of a different clan only, of the same tribe — i. e. they observe endogamy. No marriage relationships take place between the Mala Arayans and Uralis. Marriages between cross-cousins (i. e. with one's paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter) are quite common among the Mala Arayans. Marriage with one's sister's daughter, or with elder brother's widow are not allowed, though a few cases of the latter type are reported to have taken place recently among the Mala Arayans. Marriage with one's wife's younger sister is a common practice among both these tribes. It may be said that the Uralis seem to maintain a higher standard of morality.

2.47 Divorces are not uncommon among them. A divorcee is allowed to remarry. Elopement of a girl or woman is a very rare occurrence and in such cases, they marry and live separately. Widow remarriages also take place.

2.48 In most details pertaining to marriages, child-birth, puberty of girls and menses in women, and disposal of the dead, the two tribal groups do not show marked difference. But it may also be noted that in various aspects, the Mala Arayans seem to have definitely progressed to a higher degree, than the Uralis. This is no doubt, due to their constant mingling with the people in the plains.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Introduction

The main occupation and source of income of both Mala Arayans and Uralis of the localities surveyed is agriculture. It is claimed that these tribal people are traditionally good at agricultural practices. Each family had been allotted a few acres of forest lands, where they cultivate the crops. Soon after occupying a particular area of land, they clear off the forests, dig up the soil, and burn the herbs and shrubs leaving the ash there itself to make the soil fertile and fit for cultivation. Shifting cultivation was usually practised by them in olden days and a few families even now follow this practice. A piece of land is put under cultivation for a period of two or three years and then they start cultivating on another plot. Rocky areas and huge forest trees (royal trees) render a portion of their lands—mostly in the case of lands belonging to Uralis who inhabit elevated and interior parts of the forest areas—unfit for cultivation.

Economic Resources and Land Holdings

3.2 The lands they possess and enjoy are entirely forest lands, allotted to them for cultivation purposes, as per the Forest Regulation Act of 1067 M. E. These lands are free of all taxes, but the cardamom estates allotted to them recently are nominally taxed.

3.3 The main crops cultivated by the tribal people are paddy, tapioca, pepper, cardamom, areca-nut, etc. Cashew nuts, cocoanuts, lemongrass and a few other minor crops are also cultivated by some of the families both among Mala Arayans and Uralis. Paddy is more commonly cultivated in drylands — preferably on hill slopes and on hill tops, where they generally live — and where proper irrigational facilities are not available. But in some places paddy is cultivated in wet lands also.

3.4 The extent of land in the forest area possessed and enjoyed by the tribal families surveyed, varied generally from 50 cents to 10 acres. A few families were seen to have owning lands, scattered in different parts of the forest area. It was reported that none of the surveyed families possessed any land outside the forest area.

Table VI A

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCES OF CULTIVATION OF LAND BY THE HOUSEHOLDS AND THEIR DISPOSAL — MALA ARAYANS

Agricultural produces	Area under cultivation (Acres)							Annual quantity produced							
	Less than 1	1 & 2	2 & 3	3 & 5	5 & 8	8 & above	Total	Up to 10	11 to 20	21 to 40	41 to 60	61 to 80	81 to 100	Above 100	Total
Paddy	4	29	12	10	2	..	57	20	44	54	28	6	6	1	159
Tapioca	10	34	9	1	..	..	54	57	43	24	10	2	3	..	139
Paddy and Tapioca	..	33	36	31	8	..	108	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pepper	5	37	58	47	13	2	162	71	65	26	2	..	..	..	164
Cardamom	1	4	11	17	5	..	38	8	4	6	2	3	..	1	24
Areca-nut	..	4	2	..	..	..	6	19	5	1	..	..	..	..	25
Lemon grass	1	6	1	1	1	..	10	1	5	3	1	..	..	1	11
Cashew-nut	..	2	1	..	..	..	3	9	2	..	..	..	..	..	11
Coffee	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	2	..	..	..	5
Others (Rubber)	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

	Total quantity consumed								Total quantity sold							
	Up to 10	11 to 20	21 to 40	41 to 60	61 to 80	81 to 100	Above 100	Total	Up to 10	11 to 20	21 to 40	41 to 60	61 to 80	81 to 100	Above 100	Total
	20	44	54	31	5	5	..	159	1	1	2	2	..	..	..	6
	59	46	25	6	1	..	..	137	1	8	3	4	1	..	..	17
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	71	65	26	2	..	..	..	164
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	4	6	2	3	..	1	24
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	5	1	..	..	..	..	25
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	3	1	..	..	1	11
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	2	..	..	..	..	..	11
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	2	..	..	..	5
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Note:— Units of Measurement

Paddy—Paras Tapioca—Thulam Coffee—Maunds

Areca-nut—Thulam Pepper—Thulam

Cashew-nut—Thulam

Cardamom—Thulam

Table VI B

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCES OF CULTIVATION OF LAND BY THE HOUSEHOLDS AND THEIR DISPOSAL — URALIS

Agricultural produces	Area under cultivation (Acres)							Annual quantity produced							
	Less than 1	1 & 2	2 & 3	3 & 5	5 & 8	8 & above	Total	Up to 10	11 to 20	21 to 40	41 to 60	61 to 80	81 to 100	Above 100	Total
Paddy	..	14	1	..	..	..	15	13	25	8	3	..	..	..	49
Tapioca	..	12	1	..	..	..	13	24	19	5	..	..	..	..	48
Paddy and Tapioca	..	6	13	13	1	..	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pepper	..	10	21	14	2	..	47	39	7	1	..	..	..	..	47
Cardamom	..	2	13	..	..	..	15	..	4	4	2	4	1	..	15
Areca-nut	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	12	2	..	..	..	..	..	14
Lemon grass	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cashew-nut	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Coffee	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3

Total quantity consumed								Total quantity sold							
Up to 10	11 to 20	21 to 40	41 to 60	61 to 80	81 to 100	Above 100	Total	Up to 10	11 to 20	21 to 40	41 to 60	61 to 80	81 to 100	Above 100	Total
13	25	8	3	..	..	..	49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24	19	5	..	..	..	..	48	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39	7	1	..	..	..	..	47
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	2	4	1	..	15
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	2	..	..	..	..	..	14
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3

3.5 A reference may be made to Table VI A wherein are given details of land-holding under each of the crops and the crop-yield. It can be seen from the Table that 57 out of the 168 Mala Arayan families surveyed were having paddy cultivation and 54 were cultivating tapioca. It may be said that tapioca is usually cultivated along with paddy and there is no separate plot of land, exclusively devoted to tapioca cultivation. There were 108 such families cultivating both paddy and tapioca together. Pepper, one of the main cash crops is cultivated by about 96% of the 168 surveyed families of Mala Arayans in small areas of land and along with other dry crops such as areca-nut, cashew-nut, jack trees etc. A few of the families were cultivating cardamom and lemon-grass also.

3.6 Figures relating to details of the land-holding of the surveyed families of Uralis in Table VI B show that 33 of the 51 families were cultivating paddy and tapioca in the same area. 15 families were cultivating paddy and 13 families tapioca in separate fields. Almost all the families were growing pepper; cardamom is cultivated only by a few of the families. Each family enjoys a few acres of land, but their ignorance of the cultivating practices and lack of proper facilities—for example irrigation, procurement of good seeds and manure—are few of the handicaps to their progress. Moreover frequent attacks by wild animals especially elephants in these interior parts of the forests where the Uralis live, causes much harm to men and property.

Livestock

3.7 The Mala Arayans of Thodupuzha forests have domesticated comparatively a large number of animals. Cows, calves, goats and fowls are largely found in the surveyed families. Dogs and cats are seen in almost all houses as pet animals. Dogs are used both for guarding their houses and for hunting. It may be noted that the Uralis were not in the habit of taking milk and its products and consequently their cattle wealth is poor.

3.8 Table VII A gives the number of domestic animals in the households surveyed and VII B the number of households with the domestic animals respectively. There were 83 cows, 79 calves, 42 bulls, and 78 goats in the 168 Mala Arayan households surveyed. Pet animals like dogs and cats numbered 174 and poultry numbered 615. About the number of households having domestic animals Table VII B it was found that there were cows in 68, calves in 65 and bulls in 20 households. Goats and poultry were reared by 28 and 125 households respectively. It was reported that 25 out of the 168 households, had no animals nor even poultry.

3.9 Of the 51 Urali households surveyed, there were 10 cows in 7 households and 11 goats in 5 households. Other animals (dogs and cats) numbered 48 in 27 households, and poultry numbered 145. 14 out of the 51 households had none of the animals.

Table VII A

NUMBER OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Name of the Tribe	No. of house-holds surveyed	Cows	Calves	Bulls	Sheep	Goats	* Other animals	Hens and fowls
Mala Arayans	168	83	79	42	1	78	174	615
Uralis	51	10	5	..	..	11	48	145
Total	219	93	84	42	1	89	222	760

* Other animals include dogs and cats.

Table VII - B

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS HAVING DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Name of the Tribe	No of house-holds surveyed	Cows	Calves	Bulls	Sheep	Goats	*Other animals	Hens and fowls	No. of households having none
Mala arayans	168	68	65	20	1	28	94	125	25
Uralis	51	7	5	..	..	5	27	32	14
Total	219	75	70	20	1	33	121	157	39

* Other animals include dogs and cats.

3.10 It is to be noted that in Table VII B the same households may have sometimes one or more varieties of domestic animals but in such cases the household has been taken differently for each of the different animals. One of the reasons for the Uralis not rearing sufficient number of cattle is their fear of attack by wild animals, which usually frequent the localities occupied by them.

Economic Life

3.11 As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, these tribal people enjoy the possession of a few acres of forest lands for their cultivation, allotted to them in accordance with the Forest Regulations framed for governing the hillmen and the safe management of forest lands. According to these regulations, later amended, the Hillmen residing in Government forests and reserves were under the control of the forest department. Each tribal settlement has its own headman who acted as an intermediary between his fellowmen and the forest authorities. They were entitled to cultivate forest lands free of all taxes and utilise the produce for their own well being, but no exchange or sale of such lands was allowed, nor any transactions with the outsiders without the permission of the forest authorities. The family members have the hereditary right to enjoy the forest lands. In this connection it is to be noted that the land reform acts and land improvement measures undertaken by the Government with a view to benefitting the lot of the poor agriculturists are not applicable to these reserve forests The land possessed and enjoyed by the head of the family is divided and transferred to his children, after his death, who in turn occupy it. The cardamom plantations which have recently been allotted to these tribal people - nearly 3 acres per family - have been taxed at a nominal

rate. To encourage large scale cultivation and good crop yield, the Department of Harijan Welfare are granting interest free loans for cultivation purposes, to a few deserving families.

Trends of Urbanisation

3.12 There does not exist sufficient resource nor any scope for any kind of industrial activity in these parts. It has been already said that the route from the forest area to the tribal settlements (in the forest area) is only a narrow foot-path sometimes cut through hill slopes and barely allowing one person to tread along at a time. It is learnt that according to the forest rules, construction of good and broad roads inside the reserve forest area is not allowed. The road upto and near the forest boundary from Udumpannoor – a distance of about 3 to 4 miles is a kaccha one, but motorable for private vehicles. Improvement of communication facilities in these parts will no doubt help to improve the present living conditions of these poor tribal people, in addition to finding better and profitable markets for their produces, which many of these people now sell off at comparatively low prices to local merchants who exploit their helplessness.

3.13 As mentioned earlier, the marketing facilities inside the reserve forest area are insufficient and meagre, and the tribal people in these areas make use of the public markets at Arakulam, Kanjar and Thodupuzha for disposing of their agricultural produce and in turn for purchase of their essential requirements. The items of necessity for their daily life namely condiments, rice and clothings are purchased from nearby shops or merchants. It is learnt that these merchants and shopkeepers sell these items to them on credit basis and also lend money at times, on condition that these people should sell their produce at the harvesting seasons to these merchants. Very often the poor tribal people especially the Uralis are exploited in these transactions. Expansion of marketing and communication facilities in the tribal localities, thus enabling them to sell off their produces at the prevailing market rates and to obtain in exchange items of necessity for them at proper prices, will, to some extent, help to build their economy and save them from the hands of the money lenders.

Economic Activities in the Village

3.14 Statistics relating to the grouping of the members of the families surveyed into 'working classes' or 'wage-earners' and 'non-earners' or 'dependents' are given in Table VIII for the two tribes.

Table VIII A

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS — MALA ARAYANS

Age-group	Non-workers			Workers			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-14	272	239	511	..	..	..	272	239	511
15-34	34	138	172	96	14	110	130	152	282
35-59	3	58	61	99	20	119	102	78	180
60 & above	9	16	25	13	2	15	22	18	40
Total	318	451	769	208	36	244	526	487	1013

Table VIII B

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS — URALIS

Age-group	Non-workers			Workers			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-14	63	69	132	..	..		63	69	132
15-34	5	23	28	56	36	92	61	59	120
35-59	.	2	2	19	19	38	19	21	40
60 & above		2	2	3	..	3	3	2	5
Total	68	96	164	78	55	133	146	151	297

3.15 It was found that about 24.0% of 1013 members in the 168 Mala Arayan families, and belonging to age-groups 15 and above, were returned as 'workers' or 'wage-earners'. About 20.4% of these workers comprised of men of ages above 15 and only 3.5% were women. Nearly 76.0% of the total members were classified as 'non-workers' (or 'non-wage earners' or 'dependents') of which men constituted about 31.5% (mostly of ages below 14) and women about 44.6%. It may be seen that among the Mala Arayans women seldom go out for work. Agricultural work forms the main occupation of the male members and some of them go in for cooly work also, to supplement their income. It may be said that about 43.5% of these in the age-group of less than 14, attend schools (as may be seen from table XXIXA).

3.16 In the case of Uralis, about 44.8% of the 297 members in the 51 families surveyed, belonging to all age-groups above 14, were returned as 'workers' or 'wage-earners' and the rest of them about 55.2% – comprising of both sexes were 'non-workers' or 'dependents'. Agricultural work, collection of forest produce, and in the case of a few basket or mat making with rattan and bamboo materials were found to be the main occupations.

Different Occupations

Agriculture

3.17 It has been pointed out earlier that the Mala Arayans and Uralis claim to be traditionally good agriculturists, this being their main occupation and source of income. They sometimes seek other subsidiary occupation during off-seasons and when they have no work, to supplement their income. Hunting and fishing, collection of edible fruits, roots and other forest produces are some of the minor occupations of the Uralis, though the Mala Arayans rarely go in for such work.

3.18 Each tribal family enjoys the possession of a few acres of land, which they cultivate with paddy, tapioca and a few other minor crops. Usually it was the practice among them to cultivate a piece of land for two or three years and then start cultivating a fresh plot. Due to lack of proper irrigational facilities in these parts, paddy is usually cultivated on both wet and dry lands, the latter preferably on hill-slopes. They plough the lands well, and make the soil fertile. Sowing of seeds, weeding, transplanting and such other items of work and harvesting are carried out at the proper seasons. A few of the Mala Arayans have their own bulls and ploughs for ploughing their fields.

The other agricultural implements commonly used by them are the spades, sickles, digging sticks etc. Many of them apply cowdung and ash to their lands.

3.19 Tapioca is generally grown along with paddy on hill slopes Other minor vegetable products like 'Chena' (amorphophallus) 'Chembu' (Colocasia) 'Kachil' (Yam) and plantains are also cultivated by most of the families. Some of the major cash crops grown by both the tribal sects are pepper, cardamom, cocoanuts, arecanuts, jack fruits and cashewnut. These products which earn for them a large portion of their income, is sold to outside merchants. A few of the Mala Arayan families grow lemon-grass and distil lemongrass oil.

3.20 In this connection, a reference may be made to Table VI wherein are given details of landholdings under each crop and the yield during last year, for the families covered for the survey. The quantity produced, consumed and disposed of last year for each of the crops has been shown in the Table. It could be seen that out of the 168 Mala Arayan families surveyed, 159 had grown paddy of different quantities, 64 families produced only less than 20 paras of paddy last year, 82 families obtained between 21 and 60 paras of paddy, and only 13 families obtained more than 60 paras. Similarly 139 families were growing tapioca. Excepting a few families who sold small quantities of tapioca all the other families were found to consume the entire harvest of paddy and tapioca and in fact it was reported that the quantity of paddy and tapioca produced was quite insufficient for their own domestic use and they had to purchase these from outside. Out of the 164 families cultivating pepper, 136 could produce upto 20 thulams of pepper, and the remaining 28 families between 21 to 60 thulams. All the families sold the entire quantity of pepper produced. Again 24 families had grown cardamom, 11 had cultivated lemon-grass and a few had planted areca-nut and cashewnut trees. All these products were sold to outside merchants.

3.21 With regard to Uralis, it was found (vide table VIB) that almost all families were growing paddy and tapioca, but only in small quantities, which hardly sufficed for their own requirements. About 92% of the 51 families had cultivated pepper but the production was meagre, compared to that produced by the Mala Arayans. Other crops raised by the Uralis were only in small quantities and included cardamom, areca-nut, and jack fruits.

3.22 Different crops have different favourable seasons for agricultural operations. The sowing of seeds for paddy cultivation is usually done in April and the harvesting done in September. Tapioca tubers are taken in January or February. Pepper is harvested in January. Areca-nut, cocoanut etc. are seasonal crops obtainable in every two or three months. Lemon-grass is cut in July and cardamom collected during August-September. A mixture of ordinary cowdung and ash is used as manure for the crops by many of the agriculturists. The common types of agricultural implements like sickles and spades and plough in the case of a few families having wet land cultivation (and mortar and pestle) are purchased from the nearby markets on payment by cash. The Department of Harijan Welfare provides facilities for agriculture to some of the deserving agricultural families, by granting loans and supplying good quality seeds and manure. It is learnt that some of the agriculturists among the Mala Arayans, even engage persons of their own tribe or from outside, for labour during agricultural seasons – especially for sowing and harvesting purposes.

Animal Husbandry, Fishing and Forestry

3.23 It has been pointed out at the beginning of the chapter that the cattle wealth of Mala Arayan household was

greater than that of the Urali. Cows, calves, bulls and sheep are the common domestic animals reared by these tribal people. Besides these, dogs and cats are also kept as pet animals by them. Dogs are used for hunting purposes and for guarding the houses. Poultry is common and in fact almost about 75% of the families surveyed, had hens and fowls in their households. Eggs and chicken are used by both the tribes. Bulls are used mainly for ploughing their fields.

3 24 Hunting and fishing are important subsidiary occupations of the Uralis, but the Mala Arayans seldom resort to such activities. All kinds of small birds like wild fowls and sparrows and small animals like wild squirrels, sambur, porcupine and wild pigs are hunted by them A few of the Uralis and Mala Arayans are licensed gunholders and others use ordinary methods of applying fire and smoke in the vicinity of their hide-outs Dogs are trained to chase animals and thus help them to hunt smaller animals. Pellet and bow are used for hunting small birds and the method of trapping is also employed.

3.25 Fishing is conducted in the local ponds and channels. All available varieties of fresh water fishes are consumed by these people. Fishing traps, and rod and line are the two fishing implements used. The method of poisoning the water to kill the fish is commonly employed by them.

3.26 Collection of forest produce like honey and wax, wild roots and fruits, and other produce like seeds of teak wood trees etc at the proper season is also a subsidiary occupation of these people especially of the Uralis. The seeds of these trees are handed over to the forest authorities at nominal rates. The Forest Department has converted large areas of reserve forests into plantation areas – of teakwood and other trees. The velloor plantations, the Thenkodam plantations, and the Kaliyar plantations are some of the important reserve forests, now successfully brought under plantations of mainly teakwood.

Village Industries

3.27 It was learnt that many of the Uralis – both males and females – are quite familiar with the art of mat-weaving and basket-making which are hereditary occupations; but nowadays they are really handicapped by the want of raw materials such as rattan and bamboo. Only a very few Mala Arayans are engaged actively in such work. Apart from the above types of craft, there does not seem to flourish any other kind of small scale industry in these parts of the surveyed localities. Absence of proper communication facilities non-availability of raw materials and lack of financial resources and other facilities are the three main factors for the absence of any type of industrial activity.

3.28 The department of Harijan Welfare has opened a craft centre at Poomala where the trainees (Tribals) are given training for a period of two years in craftwork with rattan. During the period of training, the trainees are given stipends, and after the period of training, the successful candidates are given subsidy to start industries on similar lines.

Commerce

3.29 There is no kind of commercial activity worth mentioning in the surveyed localities. However, pepper, cardamom, areca-nut, etc. are some of the agricultural produce cultivated by the tribal people and sold to outside merchants The nature of transaction and the time and season of the different activities connected with the produce of cultivation have been already mentioned.

Others

3.30 The Mala Arayans generally go for manual labour under the local agriculturists and others, and obtain daily wages



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which help them to supplement their income, when they do not have enough work of their own. In general it may be stated that, commercial activities, in the strict sense of the word, are not in vogue among the tribals under study.

Family Budget

3.31 While studying the socio-economic conditions, customs, manners and way of life of the tribal people, particular care was taken to collect details about the income, expenditure and indebtedness of a large number of families. It may be said that the economic and social conditions of the Uralis are deplorable. The Mala Arayans though more cultured and literate than the Uralis are not better off economically. Many of the families reported that it was difficult for them to make both ends meet with their meagre income. Frequent contacts with caste people from the plains, have created in them artificial desires which they seldom are able to satisfy. The Mala Arayans and Uralis both borrow money in cash or produce in kind from the local merchants. The latter who are illiterate, are easily liable to exploitation but the former do not allow themselves to be easily duped.

3.32 The families surveyed have been classified according to their income and expenditure (on food and dress items) and are given by means of Tables, for each of the two tribes.

Table IX A

INCOME BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD — MALA ARAYANS

Income-groups (Rs.)	Number of persons in the household													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 & above	Total	Percentage
Up to 250	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1.79
251-300	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1.19
301-350	..	..	1	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	2.98
351-400	..	2	8	6	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	11.31
401-450	..	..	2	2	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	11	6.55
451-500	..	..	1	3	6	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	12	7.14
501-550	..	1	2	1	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	9	5.36
551-600	..	..	3	1	2	4	4	3	1	..	..	..	18	10.71
601-700	..	..	2	4	3	4	4	4	2	..	..	..	23	13.69
701-800	..	1	..	2	..	1	4	1	3	1	..	..	13	7.74
801-900	..	..	..	1	1	1	5	6	2	2	..	..	18	10.71
901-1000	..	..	..	1	1	3	2	2	1	..	2	..	12	7.14
1001-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	4	2.38
1101-1200	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	5	2.98
1201-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	0.59
1301-1400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2	4	2.38
1401-1500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	3	1.79
1501-1600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1601-1700	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	1.19
1701-1800	..	.	.	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	0.59
Above 1800	1	.	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	3	1.79
Total	2	7	20	23	26	17	23	23	14	5	4	4	168	100.00
Percentage	1.19	4.17	11.90	13.69	15.48	10.12	13.69	13 69	8.33	2.98	2.38	2.38		

Income

3.33 A reference to Table IX A will show that 29 out of the 168 Mala Arayan families (about 17.3%) had annual income of only less than Rs. 400 last year; 86 families (about 51.2%) had income between Rs. 401 & 800 and 30 families (about 17.8%) had income above Rs. 800 but less than Rs. 1000. 17 families (about 10.1%) belonged to the income group of Rs. 1001 and Rs. 1500 and the remaining 6 families had income above Rs. 1500. It can be seen that about 47% of the 168 families had only small income i.e. below Rs. 600 per annum.

3.34 The average annual income of the families surveyed, was found to be Rs. 730. Income, in the above analysis includes, income from occupation and other sources.

3.35 In the case of Uralis, it was found that 20 out of the 51 families surveyed (i. e. 39. 3%) had annual income of less than Rs. 400. 24 families (i. e. about 47.1%) had income between Rs. 401 and 800. Four families belonged to the income group of Rs. 801 to 1000 and three other families had income above Rs. 1000 last year. Thus about 68.6% of the 51 families had income less than Rs. 600.

Table IX B

INCOME BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD — URALIS

Income groups (Rs.)	Number of persons in the household													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 and above	Total	Percentage
Up to 250	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1.96
251-300	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3.92
301-350	..	..	2	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	11.77
351-400	..	3	2	1	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	21.57
401-450	..	..	1	2	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	13.73
451-500	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3.92
501-550	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	5.88
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	3	5.88
601-700	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	7.84
701-800	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	2	..	..	..	5	9.81
801-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2	3.92
901-1000	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3.92
1001-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1101-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301-1400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	2	3.92
1401-1500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1.96
Total	1	4	8	5	5	13	4	3	3	1	1	3	51	100.00
Percentage	1.96	7.84	15.69	9.81	9.81	25.49	7.84	5.88	5.88	1.96	1.96	5.88	100.00	100.00

3.36 The average income of the 51 Urali families during the last year, was found to be about Rs. 566. The Table X below, gives a comparison of the two tribes classified according to their income groups.

Table X

INCOME GROUPS

Income groups (Rs.)	Mala Arayans		Uralis	
	No. of families in the group	Percentage	No. of families in the group	Percentage
Upto 250	3	1.8	1	2.0
251-300	2	1.2	2	3 9
301-350	5	3.0	6	11 8
351-400	19	11.3	11	21.6
401-450	11	6.5	7	13.7
451-500	12	7.1	2	3.9
501-550	9	5.4	3	5.9
551-600	18	10.7	3	5.9
601-700	23	13.7	4	7 8
701-800	13	7.7	5	9.8
801-900	18	10.7	2	3.9
901-1000	12	7.1	2	3.9
1001-1100	4	2.4	.	..
1101-1200	5	3.0	..	..
1201-1300	1	0.6	..	..
1301-1400	4	2.4	2	3.9
1401-1500	3	1.8	1	2.0
Above 1500	6	3.6	.	..
Total	168	100.00	51	100.00

UDUMPANNOOR

Table XI A

EXPENDITURE (ON FOOD ITEMS)
BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD — MALA ARAYANS

Expenditure (Rs)	Number of persons in the household													Per-cent-age
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 & above	Total	
Up to 200	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1.79
201-250	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.59
251-300	..	2	9	6	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	12.50
301-350	..	1	4	3	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	8.94
351-400	1	..	1	3	6	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	14	8.33
401-450	..	1	4	4	2	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	17	10.12
451-500	..	..	1	1	4	5	3	1	1	..	..	..	16	9.53
501-550	..	..	..	3	2	3	5	3	1	..	..	..	17	10.12
551-600	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	2	3	2	..	..	10	5.95
601-700	..	..	..	..	1	3	8	6	3	1	..	..	22	13.10
701-800	..	..	..	1	1	2	3	2	1	..	2	..	12	7.14
801-900	..	..	..	.	..	1	..	2	2	..	..	1	6	3.57
901-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	2	1.19
1001-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	1	..	5	2.98
1101-1200	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	1	..	1	2	4	2.38
1201-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301-1400	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	0.59
1401-1500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	0.59
1501-1600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Above 1600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	0.59
Total	2	7	20	23	26	17	23	23	14	5	4	4	168	100.00
Percentage	1.19	4.17	11.90	13.69	15.48	10.12	13.69	13.69	8.33	2.98	2.38	2.38	100 00	

Table XI B

EXPENDITURE (ON FOOD ITEMS)
BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD — URALIS

Expenditure (Rs.)	Number of persons in the household													Percentage
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 & above	Total	
Up to 200	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	1	1.96
201-250	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	2	3.92
251-300	..	3	4	2	2	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	37.25
301-350	..	..	1	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	11.77
351-400	..	..	2	..	1	..	2		..	..	..	..	5	9.81
401-450	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1.96
451-500	..	.	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	4	7.84
501-550	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	.	..	..	..	3	5.88
551-600	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	3.92
601-700	..	..	..	..	1	..	.	..	2	..	1	1	5	9.81
701-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
901-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	3	5.88
Total	1	4	8	5	5	13	4	3	3	1	1	3	51	100.00
Percentage	1.96	7.84	15.69	9.81	9.81	25.49	7.84	5.88	5.88	1.96	1.96	5.88	100.00	

Expenditure on Food

3.37 It was learnt that a major part of their income was being spent on food items, as can be seen from Table XI. All items of daily requirements such as condiments, oil etc. have to be purchased from outside. Though paddy and tapioca are grown by many of the families, it has to be said that these do not suffice for their requirements for the year and at times they have to purchase even rice and tapioca from outside.

3.38 It was reported that 54 out of the 168 Mala Arayan families (i. e. about 32.2%) had an annual expenditure of only less than Rs. 400 on items of food; and 94 families (i. e. about 56%) had expenditure between Rs. 401 and 800;8 and 11 families each (i.e. about 4.8% and 6.5%) could spend between Rs. 801 and 1000 and between Rs. 1001 and Rs. 1500 respectively. Only one family was reported to spend above Rs. 1500 per year.

3.39 The average annual expenditure of the Mala Arayan families on items of food was Rs. 548.49 which is about 75.1% of their average annual income.

3.40 Of the 51 Urali families surveyed, 33 (i. e. about 64. 7%.) could afford to spend only less than Rs 400 per annum on food items. 15 families (i. e. about 29.4%) had expenditure between Rs. 401 and 800 and the remaining 3 families were spending above Rs. 800 but less than

Rs. 1100. Thus a large majority of the families (about 84.3%) belonged to the expenditure group of less than Rs. 600 per year.

3.41 The average expenditure on food items of these families for the last year was given to be Rs. 422.18 which is about 74.6% of their average income. It may be added in this context that these tribes do not keep any definite accounts about their income or details of expenditure. Their income and expenditure do vary every month, and in the above analysis income and expenditure figures have been extracted as much correctly as possible.

3.42 The percentages of families of both these tribes, falling under each expenditure group, have been given in Table XII below, for the households surveyed.

Table XII

EXPENDITURE GROUPS (ON FOOD ITEMS)

Expenditure group (Rs.) on food items	Mala Arayans		Uralis	
	No. of families in the group	Percentage	No. of families in the group	Percentage
Up to 200	3	1.8	1	2.0
201 — 250	1	0.6	2	3.9
251 — 300	21	12.5	19	37.2
301 — 350	15	8.9	6	11.8
351 — 400	14	8.3	5	9.8
401 — 450	17	10.1	1	2.0
451 — 500	16	9.5	4	7.8
501 — 550	17	10.1	3	5.9
551 — 600	10	6.0	2	3.9
601 — 700	22	13.1	5	9.8
701 — 800	12	7.1	..	..
801 — 900	6	3.6	..	..
901 — 1000	2	1.2	..	..
1001 — 1100	5	3.0	3	5.9
1101 — 1200	4	2.4	..	..
Above 1200	3	1.8	..	..
Total	168	100.0	51	100.0

3.43 It could be seen from Tables X and XII that the Mala Arayan families fall scattered over large ranges of income groups varying from Rs. 301 to 1000 per annum, whereas the majority of the Urali families lie spread out only in smaller groups ranging from Rs. 301 to 800. With regard to expenditure groups also, about 90.4% of the Mala Arayan families are found to spend between Rs. 251 and 1000 whereas in the case of Uralis, about 94% of the families had spent up to Rs. 700 only, last year.

3.44 A reference, in this connection, may be made to Table XIII A and B wherein are given in the classification of expenditure on food items based on their income.

Table XIII A

INCOME GROUPS BY EXPENDITURE ON FOOD ITEMS — MALA ARAYANS

Expenditure on food	Income group: Upto 250	251 to 300	301 to 350	351 to 400	401 to 450	451 to 500	501 to 550	551 to 600	601 to 700	701 to 800
Up to 200	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
201-250	..	1	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
251-300	..	1	5	14	1	..	..	.	.	..
301-350	..	..	..	4	7	2	1	..	1	..
351-400	..	..	..	1	3	7	1	1	..	..
401-450	..	.	..	..	..	3	6	5	1	2
451-500	.	..	..	..	..	..	1	10	5	.
501-550	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	13	2
551-600	.	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4
601-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
701-800	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
901-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1101-1200	..		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.
1301-1400	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1401-1500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1501-1600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Above 1600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	3	2	5	19	11	12	9	18	23	13

Income group: 801 to 900	901 to 1000	1001 to 1100	1101 to 1200	1201 to 1300	1301 to 1400	1401 to 1500	1501 to 1600	1601 to 1700	1701 to 1800	Above 1800	Total
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..	1
.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	14
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
.	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
2	1	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	10
14	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
2	8	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
..	..	..	..	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	5
..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	4
..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	1	1
..		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
18	12	4	5	1	4	3	..	2	1	3	168

Table XIII B

INCOME GROUPS BY EXPENDITURE ON FOOD ITEMS — URALIS

Expenditure on food	Income group: Up to 250	251 to 300	301 to 350	351 to 400	401 to 450	451 to 500	501 to 550	551 to 600	601 to 700	701 to 800	801 to 900	901 to 1000	1001 to 1100	1101 to 1200	1201 to 1300	1301 to 1400	1401 to 1500	1501 to 1600	Total
Up to 200	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
201-250	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
251-300	..	..	6	11	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
301-350	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
351-400	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
401-450	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
451-500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
501-550	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
601-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
701-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
901-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	3
1101 1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301-1400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1401-1500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1501-1600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Above 1600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	2	6	11	7	2	3	3	4	5	2	2	..	..	..	2	1	..	51

Expenditure on Dress

3.45. As already described in the Chapter II, the Mala Arayans mostly dress themselves in clean clothes and are found to spend more money for the purchase of dress and clothings. But on the other hand, the Uralis are found not to attach much importance to dress and are generally shabbily dressed, some wearing even worn-out and torn-out cloths.

3.46. The expenditure on purchase of dress items, during an year, classified according to income groups, has been given separately for each of the two tribes in Table XIV A and B. In the case of Mala Arayans, 76 out of the 168 families (about 45.2%) were spending less than Rs. 50 per year on this account.

Table XIV A

INCOME BY EXPENDITURE ON DRESS ITEMS—MALA ARAYANS

Expenditure on dress	Income group: Upto 250	251 to 300	301 to 350	351 to 400	401 to 450	451 to 500	501 to 550	551 to 600	601 to 700	701 to 800
Upto 20	2	1	.	3	.	..	..	..	..	..
21-30	1	1	4	9	2	1	2	1	1	..
31-40		..		3	4	4	5	3	2	3
41-50	..	..	1	3	4	5	..	1	6	.
51-60	.	..	..	1	..	..	1	4	1	1
61-70	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	3	2	1
71-80	..	..	..	..	.	1	..	..	3	2
81-90	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	3	1
91-100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	3
101-110	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
111-120	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
121-130	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
131-140	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
141-150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
151-160		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
161-170	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
171-180	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
181-190	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
191-200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
200 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	3	2	5	19	11	12	9	18	23	13

Income group: 801 to 900	901 to 1000	1001 to 1100	1101 to 1200	1201 to 1300	1301 to 1400	1401 to 1500	1501 to 1600	1601 to 1700	1701 to 1800	Above 1800	Total	Percentage
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	7	4.17
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	13.10
..		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24	14.29
1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	13.69
1	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	5.36
..	.	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	5.95
2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	7.14
5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	9 52
3	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	7 74
2	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	4.17
2	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	5	2.98
2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	7	4.17
..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	1.79
..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	4	2.38
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	0.59
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.59
..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	1.19
..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.59
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0.59
18	12	4	5	1	4	3	..	2	1	3	168	100.00

Table XIV B

INCOME BY EXPENDITURE ON DRESS ITEMS — URALIS

Expenditure on dress	Income group: Up to 250	251 to 300	301 to 350	351 to 400	401 to 450	451 to 500	501 to 550	551 to 600	601 to 700
Up to 20	1	..	..	..	..	..	.	.	.
21-30	..	2	4	6	2		..	.	.
31-40	..	..	2	3	4	2	1	..	2
41-50	.	..	.	2	..	..	.	1	.
51-60	..	.	..	.	1		2	2	2
61-70	.	.	..		.	..	.	.	..
71-80	.	.	..	..	.	..	.	..	
81-90	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
91-100	..	..	.	.	..	..	..	.	..
101-110	..	..	..	.	..	..	.		.
111-120	..	..	..	..	..	.		..	..
121 1?0	.	..	..	..	..	.	.	.	
131-140	.	..	..	..	..	.	.	.	..
141-150	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	.	.
151-160	..	..	..	..	.	.	.	..	..
161-170	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	2	6	11	7	2	3	3	4

Income group: 701 to 800	801 to 900	901 to 1000	1001 to 1100	1101 to 1200	1201 to 1300	1301 to 1400	1401 to 1500	1501 to 1600	Total	Percentage
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		1	1.96
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	14	27.45
..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	14	27.45
1	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	4	7.84
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	15.69
4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	9.81
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1.96
..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3.92
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..
.	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	.	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1.96
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1.96
5	2	2	..	..	..	2	1	..	51	100.00

3.47. 60 families (*i. e.* 35.7%) spent between Rs. 51 & 100, 26 families (i. e. nearly 15.5%) belonged to the expenditure group of Rs. 101 to 150 and the remaining 6 families could afford to spend more than Rs. 150, on this account. The average annual expenditure on purchase of clothings for the families surveyed was found to be Rs. 70.45, which is about 9.65% of their average annual income.

3.48. With regard to Uralis, 33 out of the 51 families (i. e. 64 7%) spent only less than Rs. 50, last year on dress items and 14 families (nearly 27.5%) had an expenditure between Rs. 51 & 100. Only 4 families could spend more than Rs. 100 (but less than 170). The average annual expenditure for these families for purchase of clothings was found to be Rs. 49.96 (nearly Rs. 50) i. e. about 8.83% of their average annual income.

3.49. It may be added in this connection that none of the families weave cloth for their own requirements, but they purchase from outside. The table XV below, gives a comparison of the expenditure for the purchase of clothings between the two tribes.

Table XV

EXPENDITURE GROUPS ON DRESS ITEMS

Expenditure groups on dress items Rs.	Mala Arayans		Uralis	
	No. of families in the group	Percentage	No. of families in the group	Percentage
Up to 20	7	4.2	1	2.0
21 — 40	46	27.4	28	54.9
41 — 60	32	19 0	12	23.5
61 — 80	22	13.1	5	9.8
81 — 100	29	17.3	1	2.0
101 — 120	12	7.1	2	3.9
121 — 150	14	8,3	..	..
Above 150	6	3.6	2	3.9
Total	168	100.0	51	100,0

3.50. Thus, whereas about 65.1% of the Mala Arayan families belong to the group of Rs. 21 to 150 (widely scattered) practically the majority of the Urali families come under the group of Rs. 21 to 80.

Expenditure on Other Items

3.51 Expenditure on medical treatment is not an unimportant factor, as far as the present generation of these tribes are concerned. Unlike their ancestral people, who solely believed that diseases were contracted by the displeasure of the gods and that witchcraft could relieve them of their diseases, the present day people - especially Mala Arayans - have begun to loose faith in these practices and get medical aid from outside. It was found that the average expenditure for medical treatment was Rs. 16.33 in the case of the Mala Arayans, and Rs. 11.33

in the case of the Uralis – i. e. about 2.2% and 2% respectively of their average annual income.

3.52. The other items of expenditure include mainly expenditure for the purchase of domestic utensils, ornaments of gold and silver (or of beads and brass) and purchase and repairs of agricultural implements. For smoking and chewing which are quite commonly practised by them irrespective of age and sex – they spend a small portion of their income. Table XVI gives a summary picture of the average income of Mala Arayan and Urali families and their expenditure pattern on different needs.

Table XVI

AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Item	Mala Arayans		Uralis	
	Average	Percentage	Average	Percentage
Annual income	730.00	100.00	565.94	100.00
Expenditure on food items	548.49	75.14	422.18	74.60
Expenditure on dress items	70.45	9.65	49.96	8.83
Expenditure for treatment	16.33	2.24	11.33	2 00
Purchase of household items, ornaments, agricultural implements etc.	19 57	2.68	12.62	2.23
Other items	75.16	10.29	69.85	12.34

Indebtedness

3 53. Borrowing in cash or in kind was found to be very usual among both these tribes. More than 70% of the surveyed families among both these tribal people, reported of debts of varying amounts, which were to be repaid by them. Most of the amounts given as debts, was not in fact, a real debt amount, but amounts due to the local merchants and shop keepers for purchases made under credit basis. They purchase provisions and other items of necessity on a verbal condition that they would sell their agricultural produces like pepper and cardamom to these merchants at the proper seasons and at proper prices. The amount of money as per the account books maintained by the shop keepers, at a particular time is referred to as the debt amount, which in fact cannot really be taken as a debt. False accounts are usually maintained by the merchants and the poor tribal people who are illiterate and helpless are forced by circumstances to buy things at a slightly higher price.

Table XVII A

INDEBTEDNESS — MALA ARAYANS

Income Rs.	No. of families in the group	No. of families in debt	Percentage 3/2	Purposes	No. of families in the debt group: Up to 50
1	2	3	4	5	6
Up to 250	3	1	33·33	House construction, repairs	..
251-300	2	1	50·00	To clear previous debts	..
301-350	5	5	100·00		
351-400	19	16	84.21	Treatment	3
401-450	11	10	90·91	Family maintenance	13
451-500	12	9	75·00		
501-550	9	9	100·00	Agricultural purposes	..
551-600	18	16	88·89	Ceremonies	..
601-700	23	15	65·22		
701–800	13	7	53·85		
801–900	18	11	61·11	Total	16
901-1000	12	11	91·67		
1001–1100	4	4	100·00	Percentage	12·50
1101-1200	5	2	40·00		
1201-1300	1	1	100·00		
1301–1400	4	3	75·00		
1401-1500	3	1	33·33		
1501-1600	..	.	..		
1601–1700	2	2	100·00		
1701-1800	1	1	100·00		
Above 1800	3	3	100·00		
Total	168	128	76·19		

families in the debt group

51 to 100	101 to 200	201 to 300	301 to 400	401 to 500	501 to 1000	Above 1000	Total	Percentage
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	3	1	..	1	..	1	7	5·47
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	0·78
4	4	5	1	..	..	..	17	13·28
27	41	13	1	..	..	..	95	74·22
..	5	2	..	..	..	..	7	5·47
..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	0·78
32	54	22	2	1	..	1	128	100·00
25·00	42·19	17·19	1·56	0·78	..	0·78	100·00	

Note:- 12 families of Mala Arayans had received housing grants from the Government Rs. 800 which is non-repayable.

One family of Mala Arayans had received agricultural loan of Rs. 450 which is from the department of Harijan Welfare and which is also non-repayable.

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Table XVII B

INDEBTEDNESS — URALIS

Income Rs.	No. of families in the group	No of families in debt	Percentage 3/2	Purposes	No. of Up to 50
1	2	3	4	5	6
Up to 250	1	1	100·00	House construction & repairs	..
251-300	2	2	100·00		
301-350	6	3	50·00	To clear previous debts	1
351-400	10	7	70·00		
401-450	8	6	75·00	Treatment	..
451-500	2	1	50·00		
501-550	3	2	66·67	Family maintenance	15
551-600	3	2	66·67		
601-700	4	4	100·00	Agricultural purposes	1
701-800	5	3	60·00		
801-900	2	1	50·00		
901-1000	2	2	100·00	Ceremonies	1
1001-1100	..	..	..	Others	..
1101-1200	..	..	..	Total	18
1201-1300	..	..	..		
1301-1400	2	1	50·00		
1401-1500	1	1	100·00	Percentage	50·00
Total	51	36	70·89		

families in the debt group											
51 to 100	101 to 200	201 to 300	301 to 400	401 to 500	501 to 600	601 to 700	701 to 800	801 to 1000	Above 1000	Total	Percentage
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2·78
..	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	13·89
2	6	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	26	72·22
..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	8·33
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2·78
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	10	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	36	100·00
5·56	27·76	5·56	5·56	5·56	..	..	..	..	..	..	100·00

Note:- Two families of Uralis had received grants Rs 800 from the Government which is non-repayable.

3.54 A reference may be made to Table XVII-A and B wherein are given the number of families in debt and the purposes for which the debts had been incurred. In all, 128 out of 168 Mala Arayan families (i. e. 76.2%), and 36 out of the 51 Urali families (about 70·6%) belonging to all income groups, had debts of varying amounts, up to Rs. 500 (excepting one Mala Arayan family having a debt of above Rs. 1000). The purposes for which the debts had been incurred were for-

i. Construction and repairs of houses,
ii. to clear off previous outstanding debts,
iii. for medical aid,
iv. for family maintenance,
v. agricultural purposes, and
vi. marriages and other ceremonials.

3.55 The distribution of families under each category of debt groups has been given in Tables XVIII and XIX. It can be seen that a large majority of the families have only small amounts of debts (less than Rs. 300).

3 56 From Table XIX it is observed that "family maintenance" is one of the most important factors for incurring debts.

Table XVIII

DEBT AMOUNTS

Debt amount Rs.	Mala Arayans		Uralis	
	No. of families in the group	Percentage	No. of families in the group	Percentage
Up to 50	16	12.5	18	50·0
51-100	32	25.0	2	5·6
101-200	54	42.2	10	27·8
201-300	22	17.2	2	5·6
301-400	2	1.5	2	5·5
401-500	1	0.8	2	5·5
501-1000	..	..	..	..
Above 1000	1	0.8	..	..
Total	128	100.0	36	100.0

Table XIX

INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSES

Purposes for which the debts had been incurred	Mala Arayans		Uralis	
	No. of families	Percentage	No. of families	Percentage
i. House construction, repairs etc.	7	5·5	..	..
ii. To clear off previous outstanding debts	1	0·8	1	2·8
iii. Treatment purposes	17	13·2	5	13·9
iv. Family maintenance	95	74·2	26	72·2
v. Agricultural purposes	7	5 5	3	8·3
vi. Marriages and other ceremonials	1	0·8	1	2·8
Total	128	100·0	36	100·0

3.57 It may be noted that in Tables XVIII and XIX, only those families that were in debts have been taken into consideration, while calculating the percentages. Most of the borrowed amounts would however be repaid after the next harvest.

3.58 In this connection, it may be added that 12 of the 168 Mala Arayan families and 2 out of the 51 Urali families had received from the State Government, non-repayable housing grants, and one Mala Arayan family had obtained agricultural loan of Rs. 450 repayable in convenient instalments.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Introduction

4.1 Here, a few of the important aspects of the social and cultural life of the tribal people of the Thodupuzha range with some information relating to the demographic features are discussed. The data obtained about the family composition, family size and the marital status by sex and age-groups of the members of the families surveyed have been classified and given in Tables XX to XXII, for each of the two tribes.

Table XX A

AGE-GROUPS (SEX-WISE) — MALA ARAYANS

Sex	Age-group 0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 & above	Total	Percentage
Male	100	83	89	40	28	32	30	58	44	22	526	51·92
Female	96	92	51	45	41	37	29	49	29	18	487	48·08
Total	196	175	140	85	69	69	59	107	73	40	1013	100·00
Percentage	19·36	17·28	13·82	8·39	6·81	6·81	5·82	10·56	7·20	3·95	100·00	

Table XX B

AGE-GROUPS (SEX-WISE) — URALIS

Sex	Age-group 0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 & above	Total	Percentage
Male	23	24	15	21	13	16	11	11	9	3	146	49·16
Female	34	20	15	19	17	16	7	9	12	2	151	50·84
Total	57	44	30	40	30	32	18	20	21	5	297	100·00
Percentage	19·2	14·8	10·1	13·4	10·1	10·8	6·1	6·7	7·1	1·7	100·00	

Table XXI

FAMILY SIZE — MALA ARAYANS & URALIS

No. of members in the family

Tribe		1	2 or 3	4 or 5	6 or 7	8 or 9	10 & above	Total
Mala Arayans	No. of families	2	27	49	40	37	13	168
	Percentage	1·2	16·1	29·2	23 8	22·0	7·7	100·0
Uralis	No. of families	1	12	10	17	6	5	51
	Percentage	1·96	23·53	19·61	33·33	11·77	9·80	100·00

Table XXII A

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS — MALA ARAYANS

Age-group	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
0-9	183	188	..	..	..	..	..	..	183	188	371
10-14	89	51	..	..	..	..	..	..	89	51	140
15-19	39	37	1	8	..	..	..	..	40	45	85
20-24	15	4	10	36	1	..	2	1	28	41	69
25-29	4	..	27	35	..	1	1	1	32	37	69
30-34	1	..	29	26	..	1	..	2	30	29	59
35-39	1	..	29	34	..	..	..	1	30	35	65
40-44	..	..	26	10	1	4	1	..	28	14	42
45-49	..	..	25	12	..	2	1	..	26	14	40
50-54	..	..	4	4	1	4	..	..	5	8	13
55-59	1	..	10	4	1	3	1	..	13	7	20
60 & above	..	..	11	6	11	12	..	..	22	18	40
Total	333	280	172	175	15	27	6	5	526	487	1013
	613		347		42		11				

Table XXII B

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS — URALIS

Age group	Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
0-9	47	54	..	..	..	..	..	..	47	54	101
10-14	14	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	16	30
15-19	20	11	..	9	..	..	..	..	20	20	40
20-24	2	1	10	16	..	..	1	..	13	17	30
25-29	..	..	15	13	1	..	2	1	18	14	32
30-34	..	..	11	7	..	..	..	..	11	7	18
35-39	..	..	6	4	..	1	..	..	6	5	11
40-44	..	..	5	3	..	1	..	..	5	4	9
45-49	..	..	2	5	..	..	..	..	2	5	7
50-54	..	..	3	1	1	1	..	..	4	2	6
55-59	..	..	3	2	..	3	..	..	3	5	8
60 and above	..	..	2	..	1	2	..	..	3	2	5
Total	83	82	57	60	3	8	3	1	146	151	297

Demographic Features

4.2 The 168 families surveyed among the Mala Arayans consisted of 1013 members of which 51.9% were males and 48.1% females, giving the sex-ratio as 926 (females per 100 males) and the average family size as 6. It can be seen from Table XXA that about 50.5% of the sample population, comprised persons aged upto 14 years. In the age-group 15-29, females out-numbered the males, but in other age-groups males exceeded females in numerical strength. From table XXI it is noted that there were 4 to 7 members in 53% of the 168 households and about 30% of the households had eight or more inmates.

4.3 Table XXIIA gives the marital status of the Mala Arayans classified according to sex and age-groups. Of the 1013 members, 613 (i. e. 60.5%) were reported to be 'unmarried'. (Out of this 613 members, 511 belonged to the age-groups upto 14). About 34.3% of the total members were 'married', and 5.2% were either 'widowed' or 'divorced'.

4.4 The distribution of the present ages of husband and wife, for each of their marriages or married relationships which had taken place among Mala Arayans is given in Table XXIII A.

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Table XXIII A

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND AND WIFE — MALA ARAYANS

Present age of husband	Present age of wife											
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 & above	N. K.	Total
20-24	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
25-29	1	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
30-34	..	2	14	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
35-39	..	..	3	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
40-44	..	..	1	6	11	2	..	..	..	..	3	23
45-49	..	..	2	2	6	4	3	..	..	..	..	17
50-54	..	..	..	..	1	3	4	..	..	..	1	9
55-59	..	..	..	..	1	..	6	2	..	..	1	10
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	4	5	1	12
N. K.	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	5
Total	5	9	24	17	21	10	16	2	4	5	6	119

Table XXIII B

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND AND WIFE — URALIS

Present age of husband	Present age of wife											
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 & above	N. K.	Total
20-24	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
25-29	2	4	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
30-34	..	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
35-39	..	1	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
40-44	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
45-49	..	..	..	..	7	4	..	..	..	..	1	12
50 54	..	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	5
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	2	1	..	..	6
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	2
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	3
Total	4	7	13	10	8	9	3	2	1	1	3	61

4.5 The sample used for the study of the consanguineous marriages is a different one, because it was conducted after one year of the village monograph study.

4.6 The Mala Arayans were able to give their ages as well as that of their family members, and in a few cases of their family members who were dead or separated from the family. However a few cases were noticed in which the ages could not be ascertained, and these have been included under the head 'N. K.' (age not specified). The males generally get married at the ages of 20 to 25 and the females between the ages 16 to 20 as could be seen from Tables XXIV A and XXV A.

Table XXIV A

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF HUSBAND BY HIS PRESENT AGE — MALA ARAYANS

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage of husband															
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30 & above	N. K.	Total
20-24	..	..	..	2	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
25-29	..	..	1	1	1	2	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
30-34	1	2	2	..	..	3	4	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
35-39	1	..	1	1	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	9
40-44	..	1	..	1	2	3	2	2	1	2	..	..	..	2	..	16
45-49	..	..	1	1	..	2	2	..	2	..	1	..	..	4	..	13
50-54	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	6
55-59	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	5
60 & above	..	..	..	2	1	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	7
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	5
Total	2	3	6	9	7	14	13	6	10	3	3	2	..	7	5	90

Table XXIV B

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF HUSBAND BY HIS PRESENT AGE — URALIS

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage of husband																	
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	N. K.	Total
20-24	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
25-29	..	2	2	2	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
30-34	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	6
35-39	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
40-44	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
45-49	3	..	..	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
55-59	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	5
60 & above	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
Total	5	5	3	3	6	5	4	6	2	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	3	47

Table XXV A

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF WIFE BY HER PRESENT AGE — MALA ARAYANS

Age at first marriage of wife

Present age of wife	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30 & above	N.K.	To-tal
15-19	..	..	..	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
20-24	..	..	..	1	2	..	1	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
25-29	..	1	1	1	1	7	4	2	3	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
30-34	..	2	..	..	3	4	..	2	2	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
35-39	..	..	1	3	2	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	20
40-44	1	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
45-49	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	3	2	3	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	14
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	5
Total	1	3	2	6	12	24	11	14	14	5	4	3	2	..	1	..	..	1	2	5	110

Table XXV B

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF WIFE BY HER PRESENT AGE — URALIS

Age at first marriage of wife

Present age of wife	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Age not specified	Total
15-19	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
20-24	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
25-29	..	..	1	..	3	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
30-34	..	1	1	1	3	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
35-39	..	1	1	1	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	8
40-44	1	1	2	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
45-49	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
50-54	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
55-59	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Age not specified	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
Total	1	5	6	11	14	3	3	6	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	3	54

4.7 Marriage with marriageable cross-cousins was a common practice among these tribes and as it is available from Table XXVI A about 22% of the cases of marriages were with their own relations. The difference in ages between the husband and wife, normally varied from 3 to 6 years as can be seen from Tables XXVII A and XXVIII A.

Table XXVI A

BLOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH AGE OF HUSBAND — MALA ARAYANS

Age of husband	Relationship								Relatives Total	Grand Total
	e	f	m	n	q	Total	C	Others		
20-24	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	5	6
25-29	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	8	9
30-34	2	..	2	..	..	4	..	1	12	17
35-39	1	1	1	1	..	4	..	..	7	11
40-44	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	23
45-49	2	..	2	..	..	4	1	..	12	17
50-54	1	..	1	1	1	4	2	..	3	9
55-59	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	9	10
60 & above	1	..	..	2	..	3	1	..	8	12
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	5
Total	7	2	7	5	1	22	4	1	92	119

Others — Brother's wife's sister

Table XXVI B

RELATION BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE (BEFORE MARRIAGE) — URALIS

Present age of husband	No. of relation	Blood relationship							Total relation-ship	Grand Total
		a	e	f	m	n	Total	c & others		
20-24	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	2
25-29	8	..	1	..	..	2	3	..	3	11
30-34	5	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	2	7
35-39	3	..	1	2	1	1	5	1	6	9
40-44	1	..	2	..	1	..	3	..	3	4
45-49	8	..	2	1	..	..	3	1	4	12
50-54	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
55-59	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	6
60 & above	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	2	2
Age not specified	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	3
Total	38	..	8	4	3	5	20	3	23	61

Note:- a — married to his own sister's daughter
e — married to his mother's own brother's daughter
f — married to his father's own sister's daughter

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Table XXVII A

PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE — MALA ARAYANS

Difference in age

Present age of husband	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
20-24	..	1	1	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
25-29	..	1	3	..	3	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
30-34	..	..	2	4	3	2	4	1	1	..	..	..	..
35-39	..	..	..	2	1	1	3	1	1	..	2	..	..
40-44	..	..	1	3	1	4	2	1	3	1	1	1	2
45-49	..	..	1	2	2	..	1	1	..	..	4	1	1
50-54	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	1	1
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	3	1
60 & above	..	..	..	2	1	2	1	..	1	1	..	..	..
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	2	9	13	14	12	12	6	8	4	8	6	5

(contd.)

Difference in age

13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Above 20	N. K.	Total
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	23
1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	17
..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	9
..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	10
..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	12
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	5
1	..	..	2	2	2	..	2	..	11	119

Table XXVII B

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE BY PRESENT AGE OF HUSBAND — URALIS

Present age of husband	Difference in age																				Age not specified	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
20-24	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
25-29	..	1	1	5	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
30-34	..	..	..	1	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
35-39	..	..	..	..	2	2	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
40-44	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
45-49	..	1	1	..	1	1	2	1	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	12
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	5
55-59	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Age not specified	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
Total	1	2	3	8	7	5	5	8	2	6	1	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	1	..	6	61

Table XXVIII A

PRESENT AGE OF WIFE AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AGE OF WIFE AND HUSBAND — MALA ARAYANS

Present age of wife	Difference in age																				Above 20	N.K.	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20			
15-19	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
20-24	1	3	..	2	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
25-29	1	2	4	4	2	5	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	24
30-34	..	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	17
35-39	..	1	2	1	4	2	..	2	..	4	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	21
40-44	..	..	3	1	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	10
45-49	..	2	1	2	1	1	..	1	1	..	3	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	16
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
55-59	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	4
60 & above	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	6
Total	2	9	13	14	12	12	6	8	4	8	6	5	1	..	..	2	2	2	..	2	..	11	119

Table XXVIII B

DIFFERENCE IN AGES BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE BY PRESENT AGE OF WIFE — URALIS

Present age of wife	Difference in ages																					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	N.K.	
15-19	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
20-24	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
25-29	..	1	1	4	2	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
30-34	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	3	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	10
35-39	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
40-44	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	9
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
50-54	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
55-59	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
N. K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
Total	1	2	3	8	7	5	5	8	2	6	1	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	1	..	6	61

4.8 There were 297 members, comprising 146 males (49·2%) and 151 females (50·8%) in the 51 Urali households surveyed. The average family size was found to be 5.8. Of the 297 members, 34% belonged to the ages below 9 years, and only 1.7% were aged 60 and above. Table XX B gives the distribution of Uralis according to sex and age-groups. It can be seen that the number of males and females in each age-group is fairly equally distributed in almost all age-groups. There were 4 to 6 members in 23 of the 51 households. Classifying the members according to their marital status, based on age-group and sex, as given in Table XXII B it is found that 165 persons (55·6%) including 131 in the age-groups up to 14, were returned as 'unmarried', and about 39·4% were married. Only 15 persons (i. e. 5%) were widowed or divorced.

4.9 The present ages of the husband and wife, for each married relationship is given in Table XXVI B. A large number of the couples belong to the younger generations or lower age-groups. There is a tendency among them to marry at early ages, generally between 20 and 25 for boys, and 15 to 18 for girls, as could be seen from Tables XXIV B and XXV B. A number of marriages had taken place between marriageable cousins as can be seen from Table XXVI B. In the case of married couples of the families surveyed, it was observed that the normal difference in age between the husband and wife was 3 to 8 years. Tables XXVII B and XXVIII B give the difference between the ages of husband and wife, with the present age of husband and with that of the wife respectively.

Medical Attention

4.10 The tribes of the forests of Thodupuzha are susceptible to a variety of diseases such as typhoid, dysentery, malaria, small-pox and cholera. The mortality rate on this account is also not small. Being primitive folk (especially the Uralis) who preferred the interior parts of the forests, they had from very olden days, their own crude ways of treatment of diseases. A person suffering from any disease was believed to be possessed by evil spirits and was therefore treated by the 'plathy'. This mode of curing diseases seldom proved to be effective. Among the Uralis of Thodupuzha Range, the Kanikkaran (or the headman) acts as the medicineman or 'plathy' as he is called, and he exercises witchcraft. It is believed that he obtains this power from Heaven. But by lapse of time and due to contacts with people from outside in recent years, their belief in the efficacy of witchcraft for curing diseases is fast declining. But now, as soon as a person falls sick, these tribes — especially the Mala Arayans — take the patient to the nearest hospital or dispensary or medical practitioner for consultation, and do not hesitate to take in the medicines prescribed. However, they try the application of witchcraft for diseases which they believe to be caused by evil spirits. In case any difficulty arises in child-birth, they seek the help and advice of qualified midwives and doctors.

4.11 There is a Government hospital at Thodupuzha, where facilities are available for medical consultation and for supply of medicines. There is another Government dispensary at Arakulam. A mobile dispensary functions at Udumpannoor for three days in a week. Moreover the services of qualified private medical practitioners, both in indegenous and modern medicines are also available to these tribes.

4.12 It was found that the average expenditure for medical treatment for the surveyed families were Rs. 16.33 and Rs. 11.33 respectively for Mala Arayans and Uralis which accounts to 2.2 per cent and 2·0 per cent respectively of their average annual income.

Education

4.13 As already mentioned in previous paragraphs the Mala Arayans of the localities surveyed are much more civilized, cultured and educated than their fellow tribesmen — the Uralis — who have no education in the sense in which we use the word. A fairly high percentage of the males and children, among the Mala Arayans, are literate in the sense that they are able to read and write Malayalam language, even though they might not have attended any school. Many among them regularly read Malayalam newspapers and magazines available in the local shops and library, and a few subscribe to the Malayalam dailies. They evince keen interest in getting their children educated by sending them to educational institutions far away from their residential localities. But there is a natural hesitation among the Uralis, even though all facilities have been provided for their education.

4.14 There are two Government lower primary schools in the areas surveyed — one at Peringassery and the other at Poochapra in addition to two other tribal schools run by the department of Harijan Welfare at Uppukunnu and Kolapram. In the former two schools, the majority of the students were Mala Arayan children. A number of pupils attending middle school classes and high school classes, have to go to schools located a few miles away outside the forest area. The number of Urali children studying in these schools is comparatively small. There is a craft institution at Poomala, located in a permanent building — an industrial training centre — under the department of Harijan Welfare, where instruction is given in crafts such as mat-weaving and basket-making with rattan

and reeds. A full-time qualified craft-instructor and a part-time welfare worker-cum-instructor have been appointed. It was learnt that ten students were undergoing training in this institution for a period of two years, all of them being Mala Arayans. Each student is given a monthly stipend of Rs. 25. Free supply of midday meals and other school requisites are given to the tribal children in the primary schools. There are five other lower primary schools and one more craft centre at different places in the Thodupuzha taluk, under the department of Harijan Welfare. Statistics of educational standards of the Mala Arayans and Uralis covered under the survey, have been given in Table XXIX A and B respectively.

Table XXIX A

LITERACY — MALA ARAYANS

Age group	Literacy							
	Illiterate	Literate but without educational standards	Primary classes	Middle school classes	High school classes	Above High school classes	Technical education	Total
0-4	196	..	..	..	..	..	..	196
5-9	80	..	95	..	..	..	..	175
10-14	13	..	104	21	2	..	..	140
15-19	25	3	18	23	15	1	..	85
20-24	30	15	11	10	2	1	..	69
25-29	39	17	5	5	1	..	2	69
30-34	37	20	1	1	..	..	..	59
35-39	46	18	1	..	..	..	..	65
40-44	30	12	..	..	..	..	..	42
45-49	28	11	1	..	..	..	..	40
50-59	29	4	..	..	..	..	..	33
60 & above	36	4	..	..	..	..	..	40
Total	589	104	236	60	20	2	2	1013

Table XXIX B

LITERACY — URALIS

Age-group	Literacy								
	Illiterate	Literate without educational standard	Standard I	Standard II	Standard III	Standard IV	Standard V	Above standard V	Total
0-4	57	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	57
5-9	22	..	16	5	..	..	1	.	44
10-14	10	..	4	8	7	..	1	..	30
15-19	31	4	..	1	2	2	..	..	40
20-24	25	1	..	..	..	4	..	..	30
25-29	29	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	32
30-34	17	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
35-39	10	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
40-44	8	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
45-49	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
50-59	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
60 & above	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Total	235	10	20	14	9	7	2	..	297

4.15 Of the 1013 members (in the 168 Mala Arayan families) of both sexes, and of all age-groups, 196 belonged to the age-group of 0-4 years. 393 persons (48.1 per cent) of the remaining 817 persons were returned as illiterates. 104 persons in all age-groups were literate in the sense that they were able to read and write Malayalam, though they had no school education. 236 persons (18.9 per cent) had only primary school education or were studying in primary school classes. 60 persons of all age-groups (7.3 per cent) had studied upto middle school classes or were studying. 20 persons (2.5 per cent) had either studied or were now studying in high school classes. Two persons, belonging to the age-group 15-24, had passed the S. S. L. C. examination and two others in the age-group 25-29 had undergone technical education — motor car driving and courses in automobile engineering.

4.16 In the case of Uralis, of the 297 persons in the 51 families surveyed, 62 persons claimed to be literate in the sense that they were able just to read and write Malayalam or had studied in schools upto different standards or were studying. It may be noted that none of them had received education beyond V standard. The number of persons studying in each standard or had studied is given in Table XXIX B.

Immigration

4.17 Regarding immigration and emigration, it was learnt that the Mala Arayans and Uralis of these localities had their ancestral settlings there, and have been there from time immemorial. The Mala Arayans are generally permanent settlers in certain localities, with

permanent or semi-permanent buildings and agricultural lands. In recent years a few Katal Arayans, it was reported, had established marriage relationships with the Mala Arayans and had subsequently immigrated to the forest areas in search of means of employment and livelihood. The Uralis who are generally nomadic, shift from one place to another, inside forest areas in search of proper abodes.

Family Structure

4.18 In former times the people of one tribe were living in groups of families, close to each other, mainly to avoid the wild animals, which may attack solitary houses. Joint family system was preferred for this reason and all the more, being primitive and having little contact with the outside world, they had fewer wants and necessities. Collection of forest produce, namely wild roots and edible fruits and hunting were their occupations. Tree-houses were quite common in these parts. But by efflux of time, civilized people from outside, began to enter forest areas and got into frequent contacts with the tribal people, and this roused a desire among them to lead a better life. A rise in population also compelled these people to occupy other portions of the forest and to start cultivation of the neighbouring area. Joint family system was found to be out of place, and simple family system became more popular. During the course of the survey it was noticed that many of the families were simple units consisting generally of the husband and wife and their unmarried and dependent children. Very few cases of joint family were recognised among both Mala Arayans and Uralis. The general practice among them was, for the grown up son or daughter, soon after marriage, to shift to a new abode and establish their own households and start cultivating lands.

4.19 Table XXX gives the family structure of the surveyed households, of Mala Arayans and Uralis, classified into three types; i. e. simple, intermediate and joint families.

Table XXX

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Type of families in the household

Tribe	Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Total
1. Mala Arayans	112	38	18	168
2. Uralis	35	9	7	51
Total	147	47	25	219

4.20 The simple family consists of the husband, wife and their unmarried and dependent children. The intermediate family comprises of the husband, wife, their dependent children, dependent brothers or sisters (and their children if any) and/or one of the parents of the husband and/or wife. The joint family includes in addition to the members of an intermediate family, both the parents, of the husband or wife and married brothers or sisters with their families if any. In short, joint family consists of more than one married couple.

Leisure and Recreation

4.21 Being mostly agriculturists, engaged in cultivating one or more crops like paddy, tapioca, pepper and cardamom, the Mala Arayans and Uralis generally do not find much leisure during the different agricultural seasons, lasting for about eight to nine months in the year. Collection of the agricultural produce and their processing, and preparation for the next agricultural season, engage these people for the remaining one or two months. However some of them take to fishing, hunting and collection of some of the minor forest produce like honey, wax, seeds of teak-wood and venga trees, which they usually hand over to the forest authorities. They seem to evince interest in social activities, beneficial for the welfare of their community and also are in touch with current politics.

4.22 Group dances and group songs were in former times very prevalent among these people, as among the tribes in other places. But the present generation of Mala Arayans and Uralis, rarely take part in similar amusements. It was learnt that these tribes — especially Mala Arayans — who frequent the nearest towns of Thodupuzha and Muvattupuzha visit the cinema theatres and other places of entertainment. Sports, athletic activities and games (both indoor and outdoor, like playing cards and volley-ball) are becoming popular among the Mala Arayans. Those who are literate, make use of the facilities in the local library and reading room, where newspapers and books are available. But, in spite of these facilities, the Uralis do not evince much interest, but while away their time by sitting idle in their huts or wandering in the forests, collecting wild roots and edible fruits.

Religious Institutions in the Village

Temples

4.23 As previously mentioned, the tribes — Mala Arayans and Uralis — are the only inhabitants of the reserve forest areas of the Thodupuzha Reserve. These people follow Hinduism and worship all hindu gods and goddesses. Ayyappan, Lord Siva, Sarpam, Bhagavathy, and a few malevolent gods like 'Arukola' and 'Kali' are the more important gods and goddesses commonly worshipped by them. There does not seem to exist any important temple or other site of worship worth mentioning in the surveyed localities. However by the untiring efforts of a few believers in god among the Mala Arayans, a few places of worship, where idols of the gods have been installed are coming up in the localities. They believe in god and have the tendency to worship god in many forms is on the increase. They give offerings and sacrifices to the gods on certain festive and religious occasions.

4.24 There is a Bhagavathy temple (chelakkattu Bhagavathy as they call) at Peringassery Mala Arayan settlement. Idols of other gods like Ayyappan, Sarpam and Bhadrakali have also been installed in the premises of this temple. It may be mentioned that there is no permanent building or roofing at the above place of worship, though an enclosure has been put up. *Poojas* and offerings are made at this temple by an elderly Mala Araya of the locality. It is said that an idol of goddess Bhagavathy was found lying in the vicinity of the present temple originally and this idol was installed at the place with due rites. There is a proposal to build a permanent building for the temple and for conducting regular Poojas and offerings and also 'bhajans'. Lack of finance and of other facilities are reasons that stand in the way for the further development of these religious institutions. There is another small temple dedicated to Lord Siva and Parvathy, close to the Bhagavathy temple at Peringassery, where on important festive days, *Poojas* are performed.

4.25 As regards the Uralis, there is a temple of Nediyettu Ayyappan and

another Devi temple at Methotty, one of the tribal settlements in the Thodupuzha range. It may be said that here also there is no building or other type of sheds for these places of worship, but a few idols, of Lord Ayyappan and Devi have been installed on a raised platform at the foot of a tree where the tribal people go for worship on important and festive days. These people though worshipping other gods also do not go to the temples of the Mala Arayans at Peringassery and vice versa.

4.26 The Management and control of the above temples, built and maintained by the tribes themselves, are vested on a committee of members headed by the kanikkaran or headman of the locality. These temples or places of worship have no dealings with the Devaswom Board or other agencies and receive no financial grant from any other source. The main revenue is from the collections and contributions from the local tribes who are themselves generally not in affluent circumstances.

4.27 Ayyappan, the Lord of the Hills is supposed to protect them as they are living in forest and hilly areas, from all evils and to guide them to prosperity. Goddess Bhagavathy is believed to have supreme control of all dangerous and epidemic diseases such as small-pox and the like and protects them from all such evils. It is believed that any act of violation of their traditional customs or misconduct against the gods would invite peril and destruction. Dead ancestors, evil spirits like 'Arukola' and goddess Kali are also held in high esteem and feared, and worshipped by them. *Poojas*, offerings and sacrifices are made to propitiate and please the gods and for their blessings and guidance.

4.28 These tribes follow Hinduism. It may, in this connection, be pointed out that the tribes – mostly Mala Arayans who frequently visit Thodupuzha and parts of that country go to the temples there and offer worship. Many of them visit the famous 'Sabarimala' temple, every year observing the fasts and observances.

Festivals

4.29 Some of the main festivals observed by these tribes are 'Onam' in the month of Chingom (August-September), 'Vishu' in Medom (April), 'Vavu' in January, August and November (corresponding to Makaram, Karkatakam and Thulam respectively) and 'Sankranthi' and also the 16th day after the death of one's relation. 'Deepavali' in Thulam (October-November) is observed as a religious festival by a few of these people in recent years. *Poojas* to the gods and goddesses are performed on these festive occasions to obtain their blessings and for future prosperity. The 'serpant god' is propitiated by the Mala Arayans on festive days, in order to beget sufficient progeny and ensure prosperity for the family. The expenses in connection with the festivals and communal ceremonies are generally shared by the families concerned, according to their ability and status. It is to be noted that apart from the festivities and occasions mentioned above, the Mala Arayans celebrate a few other ceremonies also, connected with the agricultural and harvesting operations with offerings and sacrifices to their gods and ancestors.

4.30 The Uralis, mostly illiterate and in the grip of poverty and scarcity, seldom conduct *Poojas* to gods on such seasons

Village Organisation

4.31 The Uralis generally occupy the higher elevations of the mountains, while the Mala Arayans build their habitations in the lower ranges. Each tribal settlement or group of families, living in a particular locality has a headman or 'Kanikkaran' as they call him, selected by the forest authorities, who officiates as the chief of the locality. In former times, he was virtually their leader and guide, and he sat in judgement in any disputes

among his fellow-tribesmen. He had great influence and authority among the people of the locality. There were tribal councils or assembly headed by the Kanikkaran and assisted by a few tribal chieftains, that carried out the administration of the tribal locality and was responsible for the maintenance of peace and order there. The Kanikkaran was in fact a liaison officer between the tribal people and the forest authorities and thus enjoyed great privileges. As per the Hillmen's Regulation Act in the erstwhile state of Travancore, the hilltribes were held responsible for the protection of the reserve forests and for handing over the forest produce to the forest department, through the agency of the Kanikkaran. Among the Uralis, the Kanikkaran was also the medicineman or 'plathy', who could cure all kinds of diseases among his people and practised witchcraft also. He is believed to gain the power of exercising witchcraft from heaven when he is asleep and he does not disclose this to others under any circumstances. But at present the conditions have much changed and with the creeping in civilization and education among the tribal people — more so in the case of Mala Arayans — the office of the Kanikkaran has become a mere shadow of its former self with practically no command or influence over his fellowmen. However this office is a hereditary one passing from father to the son.

4.32 Each tribal settlement or locality is occupied by a few families of the same tribe their huts (or houses as the case may be) set a little apart from one another. Among the Mala Arayans and Uralis different systems of families ('illom' or 'kuttam' respectively, as they are called) exist, and a member of one family or 'illom' among the Mala Arayans is not allowed to have married relationships with a woman of the same 'illom' and in the case of Uralis also, this system is followed. The Mala Arayans and Uralis occupying nearby localities or settlements live in an atmosphere of peace and mutual understanding, but they do not establish any sort of social, religious or marital relationships. However members of the same tribe though living in distant localities establish relationships. A few of the rich agricultural families among the Mala Arayans employ others – even people from the country parts – for labour in connection with agriculture at the appropriate seasons.

Administration

4.33 The localities surveyed during the present survey are in the reserve forest areas, directly under the administrative control of the forest officials. It may be mentioned in this context that for convenience of administration the Malayattur forest division under the Divisional Forest Officer, covering a vast area of Government reserve forests, has been divided into forest ranges each under a Range Office, and in turn each range consists of a few forest sections. The forester who is in charge of a section is assisted in his duties by the forest guards. The hillmen were allowed to clear off jungles, cultivate the land and utilise the produce for themselves, free of any tax, and also for the collection of forest produces to be handed over to the departmental authorities, people from country parts are not allowed to migrate to the forest lands for settling or for agricultural purposes. But in recent years, there have been changes, and frequent contacts with outside people which has made these tribes more civilized and educated.

4.34 There does not exist a panchayat or any organisation at the village level in the reserve areas covered by the survey, nor any welfare society.

Voluntary Organisations

4.35 Voluntary organisations help considerably to implement the welfare schemes for educational, social and economic development. A tribal organisation by name 'Thiru-Cochi Vana Varga

Mahasabha' has been formed (registered in 1953-54) and is functioning with its headquarters at Thodupuzha, with a President and a Secretary elected from among the tribal members of the organisation. At the time of the survey there were more than 120 life members and a number of ordinary members on rolls, from both the tribes – namely the Mala Arayans and Uralis. The main objective of the organisation is to help to elevate the standard of living of the tribes – socially, economically, educationally and culturally and to establish cordial relationships among the various groups. It may be said that the above organisation is purely a social one, with no political motives attached to it. It is learnt that another organisation by name "Mala Araya Maha Sabha" with memberships open exclusively for the Mala Arayans is also functioning there, with the object of improving their living conditions. (It was learnt that steps were being taken for the merger of this organisation with the former one). The Uralis who are no doubt, both economically and educationally more backward than the Mala Arayans, seem to be dissatisfied by the activities of the above organisation and it was learnt that they were trying to form another organisation for themselves, known as "Kerala Tribal Association" at Methotty.

4.36 There is a small library and reading room housed in a thatched hut at Peringassery, organised on the initiative of the local people and functioning properly. The department of Harijan Welfare gives grants to this library for purchase of newspapers and a few periodicals. There is an elected president and a part-time paid librarian who is in charge of the library. There are more than 150 books in the library, and a few popular daily newspapers and weeklies are subscribed for. Many of the tribes who are able to read, come to the reading room daily and also borrow books. Membership is open to all people of the locality. There is no source of finance by way of membership fee or such other items but only the grant from the welfare department (in addition to the supply of a few items of furniture). It could be noticed that this library, though a very small one with jurisdiction over the nearby localities only, has influenced the local people to a large extent and they evince keen interest in reading the papers and books to get first-hand information about the outside world.

4.37 There is no sports or arts club or similar organisation. The lack of social education centres which would help to educate the elderly people during leisure hours is keenly felt.

Reform Measures

4.38 Though classed as one of the scheduled hill-tribes, the Mala Arayans are civilized and cultured and have realised the need for education. They are a progressed class of people in all walks of life, unlike the Uralis who are mostly illiterate and follow some of the old tribal ways of life. The various departments of the Government as well as other agencies have undertaken measures for the reform and welfare of these economically depressed classes. Exploitation of these poor classes, by outsiders and moneylenders who had taken advantage of their ignorance and helplessness have almost been curbed.

4.39 Construction of houses for the tribal families, and schools for the education of their children, providing loans and other fecilities for agriculture, and medical aid are some of the important measures undertaken by the department of Harijan Welfare for the betterment of the living conditions of the tribes of these localities. There are two tribal lower primary schools in the localities surveyed, run by the department of Harijan Welfare, where tribal pupils, in large numbers receive their education. Free mid-day meal is provided to the pupils in the schools. Training in craft-work (with rattan) is

imparted to a few tribal students in the craft centre functioning at Poomala, under the welfare department, and each trainee is given a monthly stipend of Rs. 25 during the period of training. The department is also running a cosmopolitan hostel for boys, at Kudayathur (a suburban locality near Thodupuzha) where the majority of the boarders are tribal pupils. The starting of cooperative societies and granting subsidy to technically qualified persons in craft-work for starting of new training and training-cum-production centres are also a few of the other activities undertaken by the department.

Cooperative Society

4.40 A cooperative society has been registered, with its headquarters at Peringassery and with jurisdiction over the tribal localities of Moolakad, Peringassery, Chelakad, Uppukunnu and Venniyani in the reserve forest areas of the Thodupuzha taluk. The name of the society is the "Peringassery Vanamkudi Multipurpose Cooperative Society Ltd., No. K. 54". The main objectives and purposes of this society, as specified in the bylaws are:

i To inculcate a sense of cooperation and independent way of living among its members and to introduce reform measures for their betterment and well being,

ii providing agricultural and other implements and facilities, and to advise them on recent methods and developments in the field of agriculture and small-scale industries,

iii providing loans and other facilities for their useful purposes like agriculture, animal husbandry and industrial activities, and

iv to open a provision store for sale of commodities and other essential items to the tribal people and to collect from them their produces of cultivation at the prevailing market prices.

4.41 The capital investment will be, in terms of shares to the value of Rs. 2,500 and membership to the society is open to all the tribal residents of the localities within its jurisdiction. The administrative control of the society is vested in a committee of seven members elected from among the members of the society and include the president - (cum treasurer) and the secretary. But it was learnt that this society had not started functioning (at the time of the survey) though it was registered and had a number of members. It is hoped that this society when organised properly will serve the needs of the tribes in the localities and save them from the clutches of the moneylenders and exploiters and thereby better their economic and social conditions.

4.42 Though there is no hospital or dispensary in the localities covered by the survey, there are hospitals and dispensaries at Thodupuzha and Kanjar where facilities for treatment have been provided at all times. The tribes in case of any sickness, visit these dispensaries and also other private medical practitioners.

Dowry System

4.43 It was reported that among the Mala Arayans and Uralis, there do not exist the rigid customs, even from olden times, of payment of a stipulated amount of money as dowry, either by the bride's or the bridegroom's parents to the other party. However small amount of money, items of clothings and ornaments of gold or silver (or even cheap materials) are presented to the bride by the groom's parents on the marriage day. Among the Uralis the marriage custom, as mentioned in previous chapter, was by exchange of sisters, but by efflux of time, this custom has almost been given up, and no system of payment of dowry by cash or kind exists. According to the tribes, the system of payment of dowry was not a good and healthy practice and should not be encouraged, more so because of their

poor economic conditions.

Family Planning

4.44 As regards the big size of the family with many children, it was not a problem for them in former times, as they had plenty of resources. But in recent years large families have become a problem for them as the resources are limited and they find it difficult to educate and feed the children. Thus civilization and their growing desires and wants, have inculcated in them a desire to limit their family size, so as to enable them to lead better lives. But they are quite unaware of the methods and devices for planning their families and it may be said that there does not function among them any unit of the Government or other agencies for imparting information about the necessity and benefits of family planning and the methods and devices in use for the same, either by discussions, exhibitions or film shows.

Untouchability

4.45 The Mala Arayans and Uralis are both aware of the fact that untouchability has been prohibited by law, and that any violation of the law would lead to severe punishments. They visit the nearby towns frequently and take food and drink from the hotels there and buy items of necessity from shops run by the caste-people. They are not treated as untouchables and move freely with all types of people. Their children receive education along with those of the rich in schools and colleges. Most of the tribes are religious-minded and visit the temples and other shrines for offering worship, and participate actively in the local festivals and fairs. There is however a natural hesitancy among the Uralis, to mingle freely with other people, even the Mala Arayans. They are to some extent, still in the old primitive stages and follow the tribal customs and traditions. The Uralis and Mala Arayans, though inhabiting adjacent localities, do not have close relationship with each other and in fact the latter consider themselves to be superior to the former, and move on the same level as the caste people.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Introduction

5.1 From the socio-economic survey conducted, it has been possible to get some detailed information about the customs and manners, means of livelihood and other aspects of the life of the hill-tribes — namely the Mala Arayans and the Uralis. Though grouped under the class of hill-tribes, the Mala Arayans, it may be said, have now practically become modernised in the sense that they have almost discarded the ancient customs of their forefathers. Many of the younger generation are not even aware of the existence of clan system among them. They are good at agriculture and cultivate in addition to paddy and tapioca, some cash crops like pepper, cardamom and lemongrass. In short, it can be said that this tribe has felt the need for civilization. On the other hand the contacts with the outside people and the impact of civilization have not brought about much change in the Uralis, who are still nomadic to a certain extent, in the sense that they seldom have permanent dwellings and sufficient means for livelihood. They have their own crude and indegenous methods for treatment of diseases, and also other primitive customs.

5.2 The Mala Arayans have generally permanent houses or huts and rarely lead a nomadic life. They evince great interest in keeping themselves, their dwellings and environments neat and tidy, unlike their fellowtribesmen — the Uralis. They generally dress themselves in clean clothes and in the same manner as those living in the plains. There is mutual understanding and cooperation among these tribes in all social and religious matters and they maintain a peaceful atmosphere.

Social Awareness

5.3 Frequent contacts with the civilized people from the plains have inculcated among these tribes — especially the Mala Arayans — a desire to lead a civilized mode of life. Many of them are conversant with the improved methods of cultivation. They try to avail themselves of the help and assistance rendered by the department of Harijan Welfare, and the N. E. S. Block, in obtaining grants for construction of houses and for agricultural purposes. The Uralis, though said to be traditionally agriculturists, rarely engage themselves in fulltime agriculture. But in recent times pepper and cardamom are cultivated by some of the families. In spite of their efforts at the cultivation of the cash crops, it is a pity that they are not able to obtain a good market to dispose of the produce at reasonable market prices.

5.4 It has to be appreciated that the Mala Arayans though themselves not much educated in schools, take much interest in the education of their children. A few of the tribal pupils even go to distant places for attending high school classes and colleges, taking advantage of the facilities for higher education. Of course, these tribal children are provided facilities like free tuition and monetary help. The Mala Arayans generally evince keen interest in reading newspapers and keeping themselves well-informed of the political and other current developments. It was noticed that a few persons even subscribe for one or two Malayalam dailies and weeklies. But, it is a pity that

most of the Uralis though living in the neighbouring areas, are themselves uneducated and there is a natural hesitation among them to send their children to schools in adjacent localities, even, in spite of encouragement like free supply of mid-day meals, text books etc. It is a matter of gratification that the Mala Arayans utilise to the full extent the concessions and privileges afforded by the Government and other agencies and are rarely exploited by outsiders. The Uralis still in the clutches of their old traditional customs and beliefs are not moving with the times.

5.5 It is no matter to say that these tribes have given up using flint and steel or 'chukmuk' for producing fire, but are using safety matches, and a few of those who are smokers, even carry with them modern cigarette lighters. During the night in most of the houses kerosene oil lamps are lit and a few Mala Arayans have even petromax lights. Many use torches when leaving their abodes after dusk. The Mala Arayans generally use soap or 'eencha' while taking bath. Some of them bathe even two times a day in summer seasons. Gingely oil or cocoanut oil is applied to the body before bath. But the Uralis usually take bath once in two or three days and sometime only once a week. They are seldom found using oil or soap or other cleansing materials.

5.6 The Mala Arayans take a keen interest in social work such as construction of better roads and irrigational channels for agricultural purposes for the benefit and welfare of the community. Some of them take part in political activities also, especially during times of general elections and are eager to exercise their franchise.

Suggestions

5.7 It is hoped that opening of social education and adult education centres, more libraries, sports and arts clubs and other recreation centres like 'Kalasamithis' in the tribal localities would go a long way to help them in promoting education and preserving their artistic heritage. In the field of agriculture, supply of quality types of seeds and manures, providing irrigational facilities and agricultural implements, and demonstration and popularisation of the modern methods of cultivation, may, of course, help them to secure better crops. The starting of multipurpose cooperative societies which help them to sell their produce and to buy essential things at reasonable market prices and provide loans and other facilities, would improve their economic conditions.

5.8 The communication facilities inside the reserve forest area are quite meagre. Most of the tribal localities are connected by narrow foot paths, sometimes by the side of the hill-slopes, barely allowing one person to tread at a time. Lack of availability of medical aid, coupled with poor means of communication in the tribal localities is one of the main reasons for the comparatively high mortality rate and maternal mortality among these people. Mobile dispensary units and other facilities for treatment of diseases may be provided for them. There is a postal clearing box in one or two of the tribal localities and clearance and delivery of letters is made twice or thrice a week. In the opinion of the tribes, some of the important requirements of the people in the areas surveyed are:

i improvement of communication facilities;
ii opening of more number of upgraded institutions for education;
iii better agricultural seeds, implements etc. and loans; and
iv better scope for permanent and full-time employment for them.

5.9 It may be concluded that, the contact with the people of the plains have really helped them to become civilized, and created in them a desire to lead improved ways of life. But at the same

time it has "destroyed the complex web of customs and institutions which made up tribal life. Control of the hill-tribes by the forest department tended to the diminution of the influence and importance of the village chieftains who are only shadows of their former selves".*

However, it may be aspired that in course of time, these tribes may cast off their old and forlorn customs and practices and lead a life almost on a par with those inhabiting the plains, sparing no pains to achieve their aims and objects.

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* Travancore Tribes & Castes (1941 edition) by Shri L. A. Krishna Iyer, Vol III, page 153.

Reference: Krishna Iyer L. A. — Travancore Tribes & Castes (1941 Edition).

APPENDIX

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF THE TRIBES IN KERALA

VILLAGE SCHEDULE

Name :

1. By what name does this tribe call itself?
2. What is the name or names by which this tribe is called by other people in this locality?

Population :

1. Number and distribution of population (locality-wise)
2. Population in (a) 1951
   (b) 1931

Settlement Pattern :

1. What is the existing pattern of the Village? What elements should be present to make the Village good?
2. Number of huts in a settlement and their arrangements
3. Does any regular pattern exist in the order of the house — i.e., is there any custom that the village should face a certain direction, or the headman's houses be in a certain fixed position etc.?
4. Are their permanent settlements? Or, shifting camping grounds?
5. What are the district and separate groups (tribes, castes) that live with them in their settlements?
6. Are there separate, district, parts in the village? If so, what are these parts called and what are the features that divide one part from another?

Social Organisation :

1. Village Government officials and Village council
2. Any larger organisation beyond the village? Is the jajman, jajman of other villages also?
3. (a) Is the tribe divided into clans, so that men of one clan are forbidden to marry within the clan, but should marry outside of their own clan into another clan?
   (b) Does the land or any land belong to the clan?
   (c) Is there any Chieftain of the clan?
   (d) Is there any clan council?
   (e) Is the clan associated with any hereditary mark, emblem or badge, consisting of a figure or representation of some animal, or even a plant or other natural object, after which it is named or known? If so, what is the name applied to the mark, emblem, badge, animal, plant or object (known in anthropological language as totem?)
   (f) Should a person adhere to the totem of his clan marry another person of a different totem clan?
   (g) Give complete list of clans with their totemic associations.
4. Is the tribe divided into two halves for the purpose of marriages. i e., a person of one half cannot marry within that half but must marry into the other half?
5. Are their segments within the tribe with special economic, social or ritual roles?
6. Is the tribe divided into high and low classes?
7. Social relations with other tribes and castes in the region. Do they employ Hindu priests (Brahman, Vaishnava, Jaugama etc) barbers or washermen in their social rites?

Rites of Marriage & Death :

1. Marriage
   (a) Rules of preference in marriage. Is marriage with the following kinds of relatives allowed?
      (i) With mother's brother's daughter (mother and her brother being of the same womb)?
      (ii) with father's sister's daughter (father and his sister being of the same womb)?

(iii) with own sister's daughter (sister being of the same womb)?

(iv) with own elder brother's widow?

(v) with wife's younger sister (wife and her sister being of the same womb)?

(vi) both father or mother's mother's sister (their sister being of the same womb as the father's mother or mother's mother)?

(vii) with wife's widowed mother (mother being wife's own mother and not step-mother)?

(viii) with mother's brother's widow (mother and her brother being of the same womb)?

(b) Normal age of marriage for

(i) the bride,

(ii) the bride-groom

c) Essentials of marriage rites (describe fully)

2. Funeral customs :

(a) Treatment of the corpse

(i) Is any mutilation made, such as severance or fracture of any limb?

(ii) Is it annointed with turmeric, oil etc.?

(iii) Is it bathed in warm or cold water etc.?

(b) Disposal of the corpse

Is it buried, cremated or exposed? The posture of the corpse at the time of burial – the direction of the head

(c) Any stone or wooden memorials erected? Details of their construction

(d) Rites of ceremonial purification of near relatives after death

(e) Is the soul of the departed called back? When does it go after death? Any concept of heaven or hell? Or rebirth (in human or animal form)

Annual Cycle of Festivals

1. *Catalogue* of all festivals following the English Calendar

2. Describe the main features of each

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

1. **Location**

1.1 Name of District

1.2 Name of Taluk

1.3 Name of Village

1.4 Name of Kara/Locality

2. **Composition of the Household**

Sl. No.	Name	Race	Sex	Relationship to the head	Age	Marital status	Occupation	
							Principal	Subsidiary
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3.1 Has this household or the ancestral one *originated in this locality or immigrated* to this locality ?

3.2 If immigrated to this place, state,

(a) How many years ago ?

(b) Place from which migrated ?

(c) Cause of migration or immigration

3.3 Does this household intend to migrate from the present locality in future or at a specific time?

3.4 If so (a) the cause of migration
- (i) Nomadic nature of the race
- (ii) Agricultural facilities
- (iii) Dearth of food materials such as fruits, roots, fish, meat etc.
- (iv) Climatic conditions
- (v) Other reasons (specify)

(b) Does this household move alone, or

(c) Move along with the group

4. **Language**

4.1 Language in which the members of the household talk among themselves

4.2 Language in which they talk to others

4.3 Language of the dominant neighbours

5. **Habitat**

5.1 State whether the household lives in huts or in caves

5.2 If in huts, state whether the hut is erected on:
1) Plains
2) Hill slopes
3) Hill tops
4) Low valleys
5) Top of trees
6) Jungles
7) Near rivers etc.

5.3 Basement, size and shape of the hut
(a) Length,
(b) Breadth,
(c) Height,
(d) Shape:
1) Rectangular
2) Square
3) Circular
4) Any other form (specify)

(e) Whether built on high plints

(f) Whether built on stilts or platforms

(g) Any other basement (specify)

5.4 State whether there are separate compartments inside the hut

5.5 If yes, state:
1) Whether there is any separate compartment (bed room) for the married couple
2) Separate kitchen
3) Prayer hall

5.6 Building materials for:
1) Wall
2) Roof
3) Floor

5.7 How do they make fire in their huts
1) Matches
2) Other method (describe)

5.8 How do they light their hut during night time

6. **Diet**

6.1 State how many times do they take food during a day time. (Specify time and type of food commonly taken)

6.2 What is the staple food? If cereal — name of cereal. If any other substance like fruits, roots, etc. mention the name

6.3 What are the other items of food commonly taken:

1) Pulses: (a)
(b)

2) Vegetables: (a)
(b)

3) Meat: (a)
(b)
(c)
(d)

(Indicate specifically what are the birds and animals whose flesh is taken and relished as meat in their order of priority)

4) Fish: (a)
(b)

(c) Is there any restriction about scaled or scale-less fish?

5) Eggs: (a)
(b)

6) Is flesh of dead animals or dead birds prohibited as meat?

7) What kinds of flesh are prohibited as meat?

8) What are the wild roots and fruits taken?

6.4 What is the comn on drink of the members of the household?
1) Tea
2) Coffee
3)
4)

6.5 Is any member of the household addicted to taking intoxicants. (State whether elder members of either sex only or all members of the household take drinks)?

6.6 If yes, state how they prepare the intoxicants

6.7 What fat or oil is commonly used for cooking and state how they get it ?

6.8 What are the food materials they buy from outside shops or markets ?

6.9 Are special preparations made on ceremonial occasions

6.10 What are the items usually prepared on such occasions

6.11 How many such festive or ceremonial occasions are there in a year ?

6.12 What are the other occasions they celebrate :

1) Marriage
2) Birth of Child
3)
4)

6.13 Average annual expenditure on items of food

(Enumerate the items)

(a)
(b)

7. Domestic Utensils Possessed by the Household

7.1

No.	Description and usage in brief	Material				
		Clay	Brass	Bronze	Copper	Wooden
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7.2 Does the household hire special utensils or such, during festive occasions ?

7.3 Does the household purchase these utensils from markets / from local merchants ?

7.4 If from markets, state whether they get these things by paying for it in cash or in exchanging of the commodities they bring, to the market ?

7.5 Average annual expenditure in these item ?

8. Dress, Ornaments and Footwears

Males Females Children

8.1 Usual form of dress they wear

8.2 Dress worn on festive occasions

8.3 Dress when they go out of their locality

8.4 Any other type of dress worn on special occasions (Specify)

8.5 Footwears used

8.6 Are ornaments used

8.7 If yes, describe the ornaments they use, specifying the material of the ornaments

8.8 Average annual expenditure on ornaments

8.9 Approximate cost of ornaments used by the members of the household

8.10 Do they use soap or any other cleansing material (specify) to wash their clothes ?

8.11 Do they wash themselves daily if not specify the period ? (Ex. once in two days etc.)

8.12 Do they apply oil, fat or any other thing to their body before bath? If so state what fat, oil or other things they commonly use ?

8.13 Does the household weave their clothes for themselves or purchase from outside?

8.14 If weaving

1) Describe the type of clothes they weave
2) Brief description of the equipments they have
3) How many members of the household are engaged in weaving

Fully Partially

4) Do they sell clothes, if yes

Type	Quantity	Rate Rs.	Value Rs.

8.15 Do they stitch their clothes by themselves

8.16 If buying from outside, average annual expenditure on clothes

9. Livestock

	Nos.
Cows	
Calves	
Bulls	
Buffaloes	
She buffaloes	
Goats	
Sheep	
Ducks	
Fowls	
Any other animals	

10. Education

10.1 Does any member of the household know to read and write ?

10.2 If yes

Language known	Age of the member	Schools or other such institutions in which they have studied or are studying now
1	2	3

10.3 If no whether they wish to send their children to schools ?

10.4 If yes, do they wish to get any kind of help from the Government ? (Specify what kind of help they want)

10.5 If they do not wish so why ? (Record their explanation)

11. Medical Attention

11.1 Do they resort to medical help in case of illness, if so state the type of illness for which they resort to medical help ?

11.2 If the person who render medical attention is one among themselves or from other community ?

11.3 What are the common type of diseases which affect them ?

11.4 Expenditure incurred if any, on this during the year ?

12. Social Organisation

12.1 Does the household with the neighbouring ones constitute a group or clan with a group leader ?

12.2 Name of the group leader

12.3 Whether members of the household attend the meetings of the clan

12.4 State how many times in a month they have such group meetings and how many times members of the household attend it

No. of meetings	Nos. attended

12.5 Is there any outside organisation or Government to which they have allegiance?

13. Religion

13.1 a) What is the religion of the household ?

1 b) What is the notion of the household about the supreme being if any ? if so what is the name and beliefs concerning her ?

13.2 Does the household worship idols ?

13.3 What are the names of benevolent gods, their functions, images, if any, they worship ? (State in order or importance)

13.4 Malevolent spirits or gods they worship, names and functions

13.5 Does the household believe in 'Mantra' If so do they engage priests

13.6 Does the household believe in sorcery, if so, do they engage medicinemen and witches ? What are their functions ?

13.7 State what are the items commonly used in rituals:

1) Vermillion
2) Grains (specify)
3) Grassblades
4) Others (specify)

13.8 State the names of animals, birds, reptiles, fruits, vegetables etc. commonly offered in sacrifice

14. Amusements

14.1 What are the different types of amusements in which members of the household take part or attend

1) Group dances

2) Group songs
3)
4)

14.2 Musical instruments or such possessed by the household

15. Marriage and Dowry

15.1 Does the household observe endogamy or exogamy

15.2 Is dowry usually given in the community of the household

15.3 If so what is the usual rate prevalent among them

15.4 Whether the household has given any dowry

15.5 Amount received

15.6 Is the dowry system good or bad (Record the opinion of the head of the household)

15.7 State whether it is on the increase or decrease

16. Occupational Particulars

16.1 Is there any traditional occupation for the household, if so, state how it is being continued, if given up state the cause

16.2 Does the household cultivate land. if yes, details of cultivation during the year

Crops cultivated	Area	Time of sowing	Time of harvesting	Manures applied	Yield	Qnty. sold during the year	Rate	Value
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)

16.3 Do they preserve the seeds, or purchase from others?

16.4 Agricultural implements possessed by the household

1) Digging stick
2) Plough
3) Clod breaker
4) Sickle
5) Motor and pestle
6) Spade
7) Others (specify)

(Describe the above)

16.5 Whether members of the household go for fishing. If yes

16.6 Fishing implements they possess

1) Fishing traps
2) Fishing nets
3) Bow and arrow
4) Poisoning
5) Rod and line
6) Others (specify) (Describe each of the items)

16.7 Whether the members of the household go for hunting

16.8 If yes, State how many times in a month do they go for hunting

16.9 What are the birds and animals usually hunted?

Birds	Animals
1)	1)
2)	2)

16.10 Hunting inplements:

1) Axe
2) Spear
3) Bow and arrow
4) Club
5) Boomerang
6)

17. Crafts

17.1 What are the main crafts

1) Mat weaving
2) Basket weaving
3) Carving
4)

17.2 Do they sell any of these products. If so give details?

APPENDIX — *Contd.*

Description of the thing sold in the year	Quantity sold	Rate	Value	Value of raw materials they have purchased
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

17.3 Do they produce the various types of implements by themselves. If so, state:
(a) What are the implements commonly produced ?
(b) How do they collect raw materials ?

17.4 If not do they purchase these implements from outside shops or markets ?

17.5 If yes, what are the items commonly purchased ?

17.6 Is there any economic exchange with other communities.

17.7 Expenditure on agriculture, hunting & c.

Purchase and repair of implements	Purchase of raw materials	Purchase of seeds	Others (specify)
Rs.	Rs	Rs.	Rs.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

Do they employ others for: assisting them in:
1) Agriculture
2) Fishing
3) Hunting
4) Collection of forest produces
5) Others (specify)

17.8 If so, the terms on which they employ others.

17.9 Is the household running any business (other than those mentioned earlier).
If so,
a) How many members of the household are engaged in the business,
b) Nature of the business.
c) Income out of this during the year.

18. What are the main forest produces they collect

Forest produces	Time of collection	Time of selling	Unit	Quantity sold during the year	Rate Rs.	Value Rs.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)

19. Occupations income (during the year....)
20. Any other source of income, (specify source, viz. by way of interest or repayment of loans given etc.)
21. Is the annual income of the household sufficient to cover the expenditure
22. How is the expenditure not covered by the income, met
23. Is the household in debt. If yes.

23 1 Details of cash loan:

Amount of loan	Purpose	Conditions stipulated	Date	Rate of interest if any	Credit agency	Mode of repayment	Amount repaid during the year
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)

23.2 Details of kind loan:

Quantity	Purpose	Conditions stipulated	Credit agency	Date	Rate of interest	Mode of repayment	Quantity repaid during the year
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)

24 Details of births and deaths

24.1

					Details of children born		
Present age of mother	Age at marriage	No.	Year in which born	Sex	Whether alive or not	If dead year of death	Cause of death
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)

24.2 Details of deaths occurred during the last 10 years (other than those mentioned in 24.1)

No.	Sex	Age at death	Year of death	Cause of death
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

25. General

25.1 Does any member of the household work for social uplift. if so how many. (Give nature of work)?

25.2 Does any member of the household take active part in politics?

25.3 Has the household taken advantage of any item of national extension service or community project, if so, give details?

25.4 Has any member of the household joined a co-operative society? If so, what is the nature of the society?

25.5 Do they go for marketing, if so

a) Name of the market?

b) What is the distance to the nearest market?

c) What is the mode of transport?

25.6 What kind of help do they actually need for the upliftment, of their race? (Describe the nature and type of help they require after hearing their opinion)

26. Family note:

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of the Village
Serial No. of the Household

I Family Deity

1. Does the household worship a family deity
2. If so, what is the name of deity or object of special worship

II Awareness of untouchability Offences

1. Is the head of the household aware of the prohibition of untouchability under law?

III Awareness of changes in the Hindu Laws of Succession and adoption

1. Is the head of the household aware of the changes in:
   (a) The Hindu Adoption Act
   (b) The Hindu Succession Act
2. If the answer is 'Yes' is he able to describe the changes?

IV Change of Ownership of land

1. Has the household suffered loss of land after the death of the previous head of the household?
2. Has the household gained any land after the death of the previous head of household?

V Industry and Tools

1. Has the household purchased any new tools during the last ten years?
   (a) for use in Industry?
   (b) for use in Agriculture?

VI Land Reforms

1. Has the household derived or is likely to derive any benefit by the following Legislations and if so to what extent?
   1. The Kanam Tenancy Act, 1955 (XXV of 1955)
   2. The Travancore-Cochin Prevention of Eviction of Kudikidappukars Act, 1955 (XIII of 1955)
      (Repealed by the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act)
   3. The Edavagai Rights Acquisition Act, 1955 (XXVII of 1955)
   4. The Kerala Stay of Eviction Proceedings Act, 1957 (1 of 1957) — Repealed by the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act)
   5. The Kerala Compensation for Tenants' Improvements Act. (1958) (XXX of 1958)
   6. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Act 1960 (4 of 1961)
   7. The Jenmikaram Payment Abolition Act 1960 (Act III of 1961)
2. If the answer is 'yes', describe the benefits

VII Co-operation

1. Has any of the members of the household joined a co-operative society
2. If the answer is 'yes' name and nature of the society
3. If the answer is 'no' state the reasons for not joining in any of the societies

VIII General

1. Does the household possess mosquito curtain

FORM TO BE FILLED UP IN THE ENQUIRY INTO THE ATTITUDE ON FAMILY PLANNING

Sl. No. of the household	First Couple	Second Couple	Third Couple	Fourth Couple
Name of persons interviewed Age Sex If the husband or wife is in the same household furnish details Duration of present marriage				
No. of living children Are you aware of family planning programmes ? Are you in favour of family planning ?				
If you are in favour of family planning should it be achieved in your opinion (a) by self restraint only ? (b) or by contraceptives only ? (c) or by both ? (d) or by sterilization ?				
What is the ideal size of the family according to you ?				

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GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS

Achankettu — The descent of Muttukani among Kanikkar from father to son

Adiyan — Means slave. The name also denotes a tribe whose members were formerly working as slaves under others

Amsom — A term used to denote a revenue village in the Malabar area

Arukola — A malevolent God worshipped by Uralis and Malayarayans

Ayiravally — The Goddess worshipped by Kanikkars

Balikarma — Offerings to the deceased

Bavoly — A stream in North Wynad

Beedi — Locally made country cigarette

Bhagavathy — A Hindu Goddess

Bhoomidevi — The Goddess Earth

Chathamuttal — Feasting the spirits of the deceased

Chela — A kind of fast coloured saree

Chettapattu — A peculiar type of song sung in honour of Gods and Goddesses by Kanikkar tribe

Chingom — A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in August–September

Chit (Chitti) — *Chit (Chitti)* or *Kuri* means a transaction by which one or more persons called the foreman or foremen enter into an agreement with a number of persons that every one of the contracting parties shall subscribe a certain amount of money or quantity of grains by periodical instalments for a certain definite period and that each in his turn as determined by lot or by auction or in such manner as may be provided for in the *Viampu* shall be entitled to the prize amount.

Chithira — A celebration made by the Paniyas in the month of August

Chukmuk — The indigenous way of making fire by flint and steel

Desom — A term denoting the subdivision of a village or *amsom* in Malabar area

Devaswom — Temples and temple properties

Edangazhi — A local measure equivalent to 1.31 litres in former Travancore and with slight variations in capacity in former Malabar and Cochin areas

Eeta — Reed, *Orychlandra travancorica*

Eetti — Bombay rosewood, *Dalbergia latifolia*

Hadi — Term used to denote a hut of Thenkurumans

Ilayapattom — A dignitary among Mannan tribe who helped the *Kani* or headman

Illoms — Clans

Jenmi — Holder of *jenmom* right

Jenmom — Complete ownership of land equivalent to fee simple

Kali — A Goddess

Kani — A popular name used to refer the tribe Kanikkaran. This term is also suffixed with the name of male Kanikkaran

Kanji	Rice gruel
Karanavan	Head of family; hereditary predecessor
Karkatakam	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in July-August
Karkataka Vavu	New moon day in Karkatakam
Karmikkaran	An official among Adiyan tribe who has to perform definite duties for the ceremonies connected with death
Karthika	The third constellation, Pleiades; third day of the lunar month
Kathukuthu Kalyanam	Ear boring ceremony
Kolekali	Stick dance common among Kanikkars and Malayarayans
Kudumbam	The clan or subsect among Adiyans
Kulam	The clan or subsect among Vettakurumans
Kumbhom	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in February-March
Kurava	A chorus of shout by women announcing an auspicious event
Makaram	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in January-February
Makkathayam	The system of inheritance whereby the children of the deceased inherit his properties
Mantra	A hymn or prayer to God, Muttered by *plathi* or medicineman of Kanikkar tribe
Marumakkathayam	Matriarchal system of inheritance
Medom	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in April-May
Montha	A metal goblet
Moopan	A headman among Adiyan tribe of one locality
Muhurtham	The auspicious day and time fixed for marriage etc., usually in consultation with astrologers
Murapennu	Customary bride-to-be of a person (A girl-cousin or niece in some cases whom a person is, by custom, required to marry in certain communities)
Muttillom	A clan of Kanikkar tribe
Nattumoopan	The headman among Adiyans for a group of settlements
Onam	The popular festival of Kerala celebrated in the month of *Chingom*, the season for the chief harvest, commemorating the golden age of Mahabali, a legendary ruler of Kerala who is supposed to revisit Kerala on that day
Padi	Hut of Thenkurumans
Pandal	Tent or temporary shed
Pansupari	A combination of chewing materials like betal, arecanut and other spices
Para	A large bushel, generally 13.1 litres in capacity
Pattayam	Document given to land holders by Government after a settlement, specifying the boundaries, area etc.
Pattom	Lease, rent
Pavada	Skirt, a girl's garment
Plathi	Medicine man among Urali and Kanikkaran
Pooja	A worship in the prescribed form
Poojari	A Hindu priest
Ramzan	A Muslim festival
Sankranthi	*Samkramam* (Passage of the sun from one sign to another) day

Sivarathri	A night assigned for the worship of Lord Siva in the month of *Kumbhom*, observed as an important Hindu religious festival
Thali	Marriage badge tied round the neck of the girl at the time of her marriage
Thalikettu	Tying the *thali*
Thatty	Bamboo screen
Thulam	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in October–November
Vavu	Change of the moon, either full moon or new moon (full moon is *Velutha-vavu* and new moon is *Karuthavavu*
Vazhipadu	Offering given by devotees in cash and kind
Vishu	The Hindu festival held on the first day of *Medom* which is the astronomical new year's day

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LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

(as on 17 February 1964)

AGARTALA—Laxmi Bhandar Books & Scientific Sales (Rest.)

AGRA—

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

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

AHMEDABAD—

1 Balgovind Kuber Dass & Co., Gandhi Road (Reg.)
2 Chandra Kant Chiman Lal Vora, Gandhi Road (Reg.)
3 New Order Book Co., Ellis Bridge .. .. (Reg.)
4 Mahajan Bros. Opp. Khadia Police Gate .. (Rest.)
5 Sastu Kitab Ghar, Near Relief Talkies, Patthar Kuva, Relief Road .. .. (Reg.)

AJMER—

1 Book-land, 663, Madar Gate .. .. (Reg.)
2 Rajputana Book House, Station Road .. (Reg.)
3 Law Book House, 271, Hathi Bhata .. (Reg.)
4 Vija Bros., Kutchery Road .. .. (Rest.)
5 Krishna Bros., Kutchery Road .. .. (Rest.)

ALIGARH—'Friends' Book House, Muslim University Market .. .. (Reg.)

ALLAHABAD—

1 Superintendent, Printing & Stationery, U. P.
2 Kitabistan, 17-A, Kamla Nehru Road .. (Reg.)
3 Law Book Co., Sardar Patel Marg, P. Box 4 (Reg.)
4 Ram Narain Lal Beni Modho, 2-A Katra Road (Reg.)
5 Universal Book Co., 20, M. G. Road .. .. (Reg.)
6 The University Book Agency (of Lahore), Elgin Road .. .. (Reg.)
7 Wadhwa & Co., 23, M. G. Marg .. .. (Rest.)
8 Bharat Law House, 15 Mahatma Gandhi Marg (Rest.)
9 Ram Narain Lal Beni Prashad, 2-A, Katra Road (Rest.)

AMBALA—

1 English Book Depot, Ambala Cantt. .. .. (Reg.)
2 Seth Law House, 8719, Railway Road, Ambala Cantt. .. .. (Rest.)

AMRITSAR—

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

ANAND—

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

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

BANGALORE—

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

BAREILLY—Agarwal Brothers, Bara Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

BARODA—

1 Shri Chandrakant Mohan Lal Shah, Raopura .. (Rest.)
2 Good Companions Booksellers, Publishers & Sub-Agent .. .. (Rest.)
3 New Medical Book House, 540, Madan Zampa Road (Rest.)

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

BELGHARIA—Granthlok, Antiquarian Booksellers & Publishers (24-Parganas), 5/1 Amica Mukherjee Road .. .. (Reg.)

BHAGALPUR—Paper Stationery Stores, D.N. Singh Road .. .. (Reg.)

BHOPAL—

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

BHUBANESWAR—Ekamra Vidyabhaban, Eastern Tower, Room No. 3 .. .. (Rest.)

BIJAPUR—Shri D. V. Deshpande, Recognised Law Booksellers, Prop. Vinod Book Depot., Near Shiralshetti Chowk .. .. (Rest.)

BIKANER—Bhandani Bros. .. .. (Rest.)

BILASPUR—Sharma Book Stall, Sadar Bazar .. (Rest.)

BOMBAY—

1 Supdt. Printing and Stationery, Queens Road
2 Charles Lambert and Co., 101, Mahatma Gandhi Road (Reg.)
3 Co-operator's Book Depot, 5/32 Ahmed Sailor Bldg., Dadar .. .. (Reg.)
4 Current Book House, Maruti Lane, Raghunath Dadaji St. .. .. (Reg.)
5 Current Technical Literature Co. P. Ltd, India House, 1st Floor .. .. (Reg.)
6 International Book House Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, M.G. Road .. .. (Reg.)
7 Lakkani Book Depot, Girgaum .. .. (Reg.)
8 Elpees Agencies, 24, Bhangwadi, Kalbadevi .. (Reg.)
9 P.P.H. Book Stall, 190-B Khetwadi Main Road (Reg.)
10 New Book Co., 188-190, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road (Reg.)
11 Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road .. (Reg.)
12 Sunder Das Gian Chand, 601, Girgaum Road Near Princess Street .. .. (Reg.)
13 D.B. Taraporewala Sons and Co. (P) Ltd., 210, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road .. .. .. (Reg.)
14 Thacker and Co., Rampart Row .. .. (Reg.)
15 N.M. Tripathi Private Ltd., Princess Street .. (Reg.)
16 The Kothari Book Depot, King Edward Road (Reg.)
17 P.H. Rama Krishna and Sons, 147, Rajaram Bhuvan, Shivaji Park Road No. 5 .. .. (Rest.)
18 C. Jamnadas and Co., Booksellers, 146-C. Princess St. (Reg.)
19 Indo Nath and Co., A-6, Daulat Nagar Borivli .. (Reg.)
20 Minerva Book Shop, Shop No. 1/80, N. Subhas Road (Reg.)
21 Academic Book Co., Association Building, Girgaum Road .. .. (Rest.)
22 Dominion Publishers, 23, Bell Building, Sir P.M. Road .. .. (Rest.)
23 Bombay National History Society 91, Walkeshwar Road .. .. (Rest.)
24 Dowamadeo and Co. 16, Naziria Building, Ballard Estate .. .. (Rest.)
25 Asian Trading Co. 310, the Miraball, P.B. 1505 (Rest.)

CALCUTTA—

1 Chatterjee and Co., 3/1, Bacharam Chatterjee Lane (Reg.)
2 Dass Gupta and Co. Ltd., 54/3, College Street .. (Reg.)
3 Hindu Library, 69 A, Bolaram De Street .. (Reg.)
4 S.K. Lahiri and Co. Private Ltd., College Street (Reg.)
5 M.C. Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street .. .. (Reg.)
6 W. Newman and Co. Ltd., 3, Old Court House Street .. .. (Reg.)
7 Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 17, Park Street (Reg.)
8 R. Chambray and Co. Ltd., Kent House, P. 33, Mission Road Extension .. .. (Reg.)
9 S.C. Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd., I.C. College Square .. .. (Reg.)
10 Thacker Spink and Co., (1933) P. Ltd., 3, Esplanade East .. .. (Reg.)
11 Firma K.L. Mukhopadhaya 6/1A, Banchha Ram Akrar Lane .. .. (Reg.)
12 K.K. Roy, P. Box No. 10210, Calcutta-19 .. (Rest.)
13 Sm. P.D. Upadhyay, 77 Muktaram Babu Street (Rest.)
14 Universal Book Dist, 8/2, Hastings Street .. (Rest.)
15 Modern Book Depot, 9, Chowrinhee Centre .. (Rest.)
16 Soor and Co., 125, Canning Street .. .. (Reg.)

17 S. Bhattacharjee, 49, Dharamtala Street .. (Rest.)
18 Mukherjee Library, 10, Sarba Khan Road .. (Reg.)
19 Current Literature Co., 208, Mahatma Gandhi Road (Reg.)
20 The Book Depository, 4/1, Madan Street (1st Floor) (Rest.)
21 Scientific Book Agency, Netaji Subhas Road .. (Rest.)
22 Reliance Trading Co., 17/1, Banku Bihari Ghose Lane, District Howrah .. .. (Rest.)
23 Indian Book Dist. Co., 6512, Mahatma Gandhi Road (Rest.)

CALICUT—Touring Book Stall .. .. .. (Rest.)

CHANDIGARH—

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

CHHINDWARA—The Verma Book Depot .. .. (Rest.)

COCHIN—Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Palliarakav Road (Reg.)

CUTTACK—

1 Press Officer, Orissa Sectt.
2 Cuttack Law Times .. .. (Reg.)
3 Prabhat K. Mahapatra, Mangalabag, P.B. 35 (Reg.)
4 D.P. Sur & Sons, Mangalabag .. .. .. (Rest.)
5 Utkal Stores, Balu Bazar .. .. .. (Rest.)

DEHRA DUN—

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

DELHI—

1 J.M. Jaina & Brothers, Mori Gate .. .. (Reg.)
2 Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmere Gate .. .. (Reg.)
3 Federal Law Book Depot, Kashmere Gate .. (Reg.)
4 Bahri Bros., 188, Lajpat Rai Market .. .. (Reg.)
5 Bawa Harkishan Dass Bedi (Vijaya General Agencies) P.B. 2027, Ahata Kedara, Chamalian Road (Reg.)
6 Book-well 4, Sant Narankari Colony, P.B. 1565 (Reg.)
7 Imperial Publishing Co., 3, Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj (Reg.)
8 Metropolitan Book Co., 1, Faiz Bazar .. (Reg.)
9 Publication Centre, Subzimandi .. .. .. (Reg.)
10 Youngman & Co., Nai Sarak .. .. .. (Reg.)
11 Indian Army Book Depot, 3, Daryaganj .. (Reg.)
12 All India Educational Supply Co., Shri Ram Buildings, Jawahar Nagar .. .. .. (Rest.)
13 Dhanwant Medical & Law Book House, 1522, Lajpat Rai Market .. .. (Rest.)
14 University Book House, 15, U.B. Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar .. .. (Rest.)
15 Law Literature House, 2646, Balimaran .. (Rest.)
16 Summer Brothers, P.O. Birla Lines .. .. (Rest.)
17 Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16, Netaji Subhash Marg .. .. (Reg.)
18 B. Nath & Bros., 3808, Charkhawalan (Chowri Bazar) .. .. (Rest.)
19 Rajkamal Prakashan P. Ltd., 8, Faiz Bazar .. (Reg.)
20 Premier Book Co., Printers, Publishers & Booksellers, Nai Sarak .. .. (Rest.)
21 Universal Book Traders 80, Gokhale Market .. (Rest.)
22 Tech. & Commercial Book Coy. 75, Gokhale Market (Rest.)
23 Saini Law Publishing Co., 1416 Chabiganj, Kashmere Gate .. .. (Rest.)
24 G.M. Ahuja, Booksellers & Stationers, 309, Nehru Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
25 Sat Narain & Sons, 3141, Mohd. Ali Bazar, Mori Gate .. .. (Reg.)
26 Kitab Mahal (wholesale Div.) P. Ltd., 28, Faiz Bazar (Reg.)
27 Hindi Sahitya Sansar, Nai Sarak .. .. (Rest.)
28 Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Oriental Booksellers & Publishers, P.B. 1165, Nai Sarak .. .. (Rest.)
29 K.L. Seth, Suppliers of Law, Commercial Tech. Books, Shanti Nagar, Ganeshpura .. .. (Rest.)
30 Adarsh Publishing Service, 5A/10, Ansari Road (Rest.)

DHANBAD—

1 Ismag Co-operative Stores Ltd., P.O. Indian School of Mines .. .. (Reg.)
2 New Sketch Press, Post Box 26 .. .. (Rest.)

DHARWAR—

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

ERNAKULAM—

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

FEROZEPUR—English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road (Reg.)

GAUHATI—Mokshada Pustakalaya .. .. .. (Reg.)

GAYA—Sahitya Sadan, Gautham Budha Marg .. (Reg.)

GHAZIABAD—Jayana Book Agency .. .. (Rest.)

GORAKHPUR—
Vishwa Vidyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road (Reg.)

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

GUNTUR—Book Lovers Private Ltd., Kadriguda Chowrasta .. .. (Reg.)

GWALIOR—

1 Supdt. Printing & Stationery, M.B.
2 Loyal Book Dept, Patankar Bazar, Laskhar .. (Reg.)
3 M.C. Daftari, Prop. M.B. Jain & Bros., Booksellers Sarafa, Laskhar .. .. .. (Rest.)

HUBLI—Pervaje's Book House, Koppikar Road .. (Reg.)

HYDERABAD—

1 Director, Govt. Press
2 The Swaraj Book Depot, Lakdikapul .. (Reg.)
3 Book Lovers Private Ltd. .. .. .. (Rest.)
4 Labour Law Publications, 873, Sultan Bazar .. (Rest.)

IMPHAL—Tikendra & Sons, Bookseller .. .. (Rest.)

INDORE—

1 Wadhawa & Co., 56, M.G. Road .. .. (Reg.)
2 Swarup Brothers, Khajuri Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
3 Madhya Pradesh Book Centre, 41, Ahilya Pura (Rest.)
4 Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace .. (Rest.)
5 Navyug Sahitya Sadan, Publishers & Booksellers, 10, Khajuri Bazar .. .. (Rest.)

JABALPUR—

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

JAIPUR—

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

JAMNAGAR—Swedeshi Vastu Bhandar .. .. (Reg.)

JAMSHEDPUR—

1 Amar Kitab Ghar, Diagonal Road, P.B. 78 .. (Reg.)
2 Gupta Stores, Dhatkidih .. .. .. (Reg.)
3 Sanyal Bros., Booksellers & News Agents Bistapur Market .. .. (Rest.)

JAWALAPUR—Sahyog Book Depot .. .. (Rest.)

JHUNJHUNU—

1 Shashi Kumar Sarat Chand .. .. .. (Rest.)
2 Kapram Prakashan Prasaran, 1/90, Namdha Niwas Azad Marg .. .. (R.)

JODHPUR—

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

JULLUNDUR—
1 Hazooria Bros., Mai Hiran Gate .. .. (Rest.)
2 Jain General House, Bazar Bansanwala .. (Reg.)
3 University Publishers, Railway Road .. .. (Rest.)

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

KARUR—Shri V. Nagaraja Rao, 26, Srinivasapuram (Rest.)

KODARMA—The Bhagwati Press, P.O. Jhumri Tilaiya, Dt. Hazaribagh .. .. .. (Reg.)

KOLHAPUR—Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road .. .. (Rest.)

KOTA—Kota Book Depot .. .. (Rest.)

KUMTA—S.V. Kamat, Booksellers & Stationers (N. Kanara) .. .. (Reg.)

LUCKNOW—
1 Soochna Sahitya Depot (State Book Depot)
2 Balkrishna Book Co. Ltd., Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
3 British Book Depot, 84, Hazratganj .. .. (Reg.)
4 Ram Advani, Hazratganj, P.B. 154 .. .. (Reg.)
5 Universal Publishers (P.) Ltd., Hazratganj .. (Reg.)
6 Eastern Book Co., Lalbagh Road .. .. (Reg.)
7 Civil & Military Educational Stores, 106/B, Sadar Bazar .. .. (Rest.)
8 Acquarium Supply Co., 213, Faizabad Road .. (Rest.)
9 Law Book Mart, Amin-Ud-Daula Park .. (Rest.)

LUDHIANA—
1 Lyall Book Depot, Chaura Bazar .. .. (Reg.)
2 Mohindra Brothers, Katcheri Road .. .. (Rest.)
3 Nanda Stationery Bhandar, Pustak Bazar .. (Rest.)
4 The Pharmacy News, Pindi Street .. .. (Rest.)

MADRAS—
1 Supdt., Govt. Press, Mount Road
2 Account Test Institute, P.O. 760, Egmore .. (Reg.)
3 C. Subbiah Chetty & Co., Triplicane .. .. (Reg.)
4 K. Krishnamurty, Post Box 384 .. .. (Reg.)
5 Presidency Book Supplies, 8, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane .. .. (Reg.)
6 P. Vardhachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street (Reg.)
7 Palani Parchuram, 3, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane (Reg.)
8 NCBH Private Ltd., 199, Mount Road .. (Rest.)
9 V. Sadanand, The Personal Bookshop, 10, Congress Building, 111, Mount Road .. .. .. (Rest.)

MUDURAI—
1 Oriental Book House, 258. West Masi Street .. (Reg.)
2 Vivekananda Press, 48, West Masi Street .. (Reg.)

MANDYA SUGAR TOWN—
K. N. Narimhe Gowda & Sons .. .. .. (Rest.)

MANGALORE—U.R. Shenoye Sons, Car Street, P. Box 128 .. .. (Reg.)

MANJESHWAR—Mukenda Krishna Nayak .. (Rest.)

MATHURA—Rath & Co., Tilohi Building, Bengali Ghat (Rest.)

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

MONGHYR—Anusandhan, Minerva Press Building (Rest.)

MUSSOORIE—
1 Cambridge Book Depot, The Mal .. .. (Rest.)
2 Hind Traders .. .. (Rest.)

MUZAFFARNAGAR—
1 Mittal & Co., 85-C, New Mandi .. .. (Rest.)
2 B.S. Jain & Co., 71, Abupura .. .. .. (Rest.)

MUZAFFARPUR—
1 Scientific & Educational Supply Syndicate .. (Reg.)
2 Legal Corner Tikmanio House, Amgola Road (Rest.)
3 Tirhut Book Depot .. .. (Rest.)

MYSORE—
1 H. Venkataramiah & Sons, New Statue Circle .. (Reg.)
2 Peoples Book House, Opp. Jagan Mohan Palace (Reg.)
3 Geeta Book House, Booksellers & Publishers, Krishnamurthipuram .. .. (Rest.)
4 News Paper House, Lansdowne Building .. (Rest.)
5 Indian Mercantile Corporation, Toy Palace, Ramvilas .. .. (Rest.)

NADIAD—R.S. Desay, Station Road .. .. (Rest.)

NAGPUR—
1 Supdt., Govt. Press & Book Depot
2 Western Book Depot, Residency Road .. (Reg.)
3 The Asstt. Secretary, Mineral Industry Association, Mineral House.. .. .. .. (Rest.)

NAINITAL—Coural Book Depot, Bara Bazar .. (Rest.)

NANDED—
1 Book Centre, College Law General Books, Station Road .. .. (Rest.)
2 Hindustan General Stores, Paper & Stationery Merchants, P.B. No. 51 .. .. (Rest.)
3 Sanjoy Book Agency, Vazirabad .. .. (Rest.)

NEW DELHI—
1 Amrit Book Co. Connaught Circus .. .. (Reg.)
2 Bhawani & Sons, 8-F, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
3 Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
4 Empire Book Depot, 278, Aliganj .. .. (Reg.)
5 English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus P.O.B. 328 .. .. (Reg.)
6 Faqir Chand & Sons, 15-A, Khan Market .. (Reg.)
7 Jain Book Agency, C-9, Prem House, Connaught Place .. .. (Reg.)
8 Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House (Reg.)
9 Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore) 16/B, Connaught Place .. .. (Reg.)
10 Sikh Publishing House, 7-C, Connaught Place (Reg.)
11 Suneja Book Centre, 24/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
12 United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus .. .. (Reg.)
13 Jayana Book Depot, Chhaparwala Kuan, Karol Bagh .. .. (Reg.)
14 Navayug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, Dev Nagar .. .. (Reg.)
15 Saraswati Book Depot, 15, Lady Harding Road (Reg.)
16 The Secretary, Indian Met. Society, Lodi Road (Reg.)
17 New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals Sty. & Novelles, P.B. 96, Connaught Place .. (Reg.)
18 Mehra Brothers, 50-G, Kalkaji .. .. (Reg.)
19 Luxmi Book Stores, 42, Janpath .. .. (Rest.)
20 Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath .. .. (Rest.)
21 People Publishing House (P.) Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road .. .. (Reg.)
22 R.K. Publishers, 23, Beadon Pura, Karol Bagh (Rest.)
23 Sharma Bros, 17, New Market, Moti Nagar .. (Reg.)
24 Aapki Dukan, 5/5777, Dev Nagar .. (Rest.)
25 Sarvodaya Service, 66A-1, Rohtak Road, P.B. 2521 (Rest.)
26 H. Chandson, P.B. No. 3034 .. .. .. (Rest.)
27 The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India, 23-B/2, Rohtak Road . (Rest.)
28 Standard Booksellers & Stationers, Palam Enclave (Rest.)
29 Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Regarpura .. (Rest.)
30 Sant Ram Booksellers, 16, New Municipal Market, Lody Colony .. .. (Rest.)

PANJIM—
1 Singhals Book House, P.O. B. 70, Near the Church (Rest.)
2 Sagoon Gaydev Dhoud, Booksellers, 5-7 Rua, 3 Idc Jameria .. .. (Rest.)

PATHANKOT—The Krishna Book Depot, Main Bazar (Rest.)

PATIALA—
1 Supdt., Bhupendra State Press
2 Jain & Co., 17, Shah Nashin Bazar .. .. (Reg.)

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

PITHORAGARH—Maniram Punetha & Sons .. (Rest.)

PONDICHERRY—
M/s. Honesty Book House, 9 Rue Duplix .. (R.)
POONA—
1 Deccan Book Stall, Deccan Gymkhana .. (Reg.)
2 Imperial Book Depot, 266, M.G. Road .. (Reg.)
3 International Book Service, Deccan Gymkhana (Reg.)
4 Raka Book Agency, Opp. Natus Chawl, Near Appa Balwant Chowk .. .. (Reg.)
5 Utility Book Depot, 1339, Shivaji Nagar .. (Rest.)
PUDUKOTTAI—Shri P.N. Swaminathan Sivam & Co., East Main Road .. .. (Rest.)
RAJKOT—Mohan Lal Dossabhai Shah, Booksellers and Sub-Agents .. .. (Reg.)
RANCHI—
1 Crown Book Depot, Upper Bazar .. .. .. (Reg.)
2 Pustak Mahal Upper Bazar .. .. .. (Rest.)
REWA—Supdt., Govt. State Emporium V.P.
ROURKELA—The Rourkela Review .. .. .. (Rest.)
SAHARANPUR—Chandra Bharata Pustak Bhandar, Court Road .. .. (Rest.)
SECUNDERABAD—Hindustan Diary Publishers, Market Street .. .. (Reg.)
SILCHAR—Shri. Nishitto Sen Nazirpatti .. .. (Rest.)
SIMLA—
1 Supdt. Himachal Pradesh Govt.
2 Minerva Book Shop, The Mall .. .. .. (Reg.)
3 The New Book Depot, 79, The Mall .. .. (Reg.)
SINNAR—Shri N.N. Jakhadi, Agent, Times of India Sinnar (Nasik) .. .. (Rest.)
SHILLONG—
1 The Officer-in-Charge, Assam Govt. B.D.
2 Chapla Bookstall, P.B. No. 1 .. .. (Rest.)
SONEPAT—United Book Agency .. .. .. (Reg.)
SRINAGAR—The Kashmir Bookshop, Residency Road (Reg.)
SURAT—Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road .. (Reg.)
TIRUCHIRAPALLI—
1 Kalpana Publishers, Wosiur .. .. .. (Reg.)
2 S. Krishnaswami & Co., 35, Subhash Chander Bose Road .. .. (Reg.)
3 Palaniappa Bros. .. .. (Rest.)
TRIVANDRUM—
1 International Book Depot, Main Road .. .. (Reg.)
2 Reddiar Press & Book Depot, P.B No. 4 .. (Rest.)
TUTICORIN—Shri K. Thiagarajan, 10-C, French Chapal Road .. .. (Rest.)
UDAIPUR—
1 Jagdish & Co, Inside Surajapole .. .. .. (Rest.)
2 Book Centre, Maharana, Bhopal Consumers, Co-op. Society Ltd. .. .. (Rest.)
UJJAIN—Manak Chand Book Depot, Sati Gate .. (Rest.)
VARANASI—
1 Students Friends & Co., Lanka .. .. .. (Rest.)
2 Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Gopal Mandir Road, P B. 8 .. .. (Reg.)
3 Glob Book Centre .. .. (Rest.)
4 Kohinoor Stores, University Road, Lanka .. (Reg.)
5 B.H.U. Book Depot .. .. (Rest.)
VELLORE—A. Venkatasubhan, Law Booksellers .. (Reg.)
VIJAYAWADA—The Book & Review Centre, Eluru Road, Governpet .. .. (Rest.)
VISAKHAPATNAM—
1 Gupta Brothers, Vizia Building .. .. .. (Reg.)
2 Book Centre, 11/97, Main Road .. .. .. (Reg.)
3 The Secy., Andhra University, General Co-op. Stores Ltd. .. .. (Rest.)
VIZIANAGARAM—Sarda & Co. .. .. .. (Rest.)
WARDHA—Swarajeya Bhandar, Bhorji Market .. .. (Reg.)

For Local Sale

1 Govt. of India Kitab Mahal, Janpath, Opp. India Coffee House, New Delhi
2 Govt. of India Book Depot, 8 Hastings Street, Calcutta
3 High Commissioner for India in London, India House, London, W C. 2.

Railway Bookstall holders

1 S/S. A.H. Wheeler & Co. 15, Elgin Road, Allahabad
2 Gahlot Bros., K.E.M. Road, Bikaner
3 Higginbothams & Co. Ltd., Mount Road, Madras
4 M. Gulab Singh Sons Private Ltd., Mathura Road, New Delhi

Foreign

1 S/S. Education Enterprise Private Ltd., Kathumandu (Nepal)
2 S/S. Aktie Bologat, C.E. Fritzes Kungl, Hovobokhandel, Fredsgation-2, Box 1656, Stockholm-16 (Sweden)
3 Reise-und Verkehrsverlag Stuttgart, Post 730, Gutenbergstra 21, Stuttgart No. 11245, Stuttgart den (Germany West)
4 Shri Iswar Subramanyam 452, Reversite Driv Apt. 6, New York, 27 NWY
5 The Proprietor, Book Centre, Lakshmi Mansions, 49, The Mall, Lahore (Pakistan).

On S. and R. Basis

1 The Head Clerk, Govt. Book Depot, Ahmedabad
2 The Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Kapileswar Road, Belgaum
3 The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Dhar
4 The Asstt. Director, Footwear Extension Centre, Polo Ground No. 1. Jodhpur
5 The O. I/C., Extension Centre, Club Road, Muzaffarpur
6 The Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, Govt. of India, Ministry of Mines & Fuel, Nagpur
7 The Asstt. Director, Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad (Gujarat)
8 The Head Clerk, Photozincographic Press, 5, Finance Road, Poona
9 Govt. Printing & Stationery, Rajkot
10 The O. I/C. Extension Centre, Industrial Estate, Kokar, Ranchi
11 The Director, S.I.S.I. Industrial Extension Centre, Udhna, Surat
12 The Registrar of Companies, Narayani Building, 27 Erabourne Road, Calcutta-1
13 The Registrar of Companies, Kerala, 50 Feet Road, Ernakulam
14 The Registrar of Companies, H. No. 3-5-83, Hyderguda, Hyderabad
15 Registrar of Companies, Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Shillong
16 Registrar of Companies, Sunlight Insurance Building, Ajmeri Gate Extension, New Delhi
17 Registrar of Companies, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, Link Road, Jullundur City
18 Registrar of Companies, Bihar, Jamal Road, Patna-1
19 Registrar of Companies, Raj & Ajmeri Shri Kamta Prasad House, 1st Floor, 'C' Scheme, Ashok Marg, Jaipur
20 The Registrar of Companies, Andhra Bank Building, 6 Linghi Chetty Street P.B. 1530, Madras
21 The Registrar of Companies, Mahatma Gandhi Road, West Cott. Bldg. P.B. 334, Kanpur
22 The Registrar of Companies, Everst 100, Marine Drive, Bombay
23 The Registrar of Companies, 162, Brigade Road, Bangalore
24 The Registrar of Companies, Gwalior
25 Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Bhuli Road, Dhanbad
26 Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Cuttack Chandi, Cuttack
27 The Registrar of Companies, Gujarat State, Gujarat Samachar Building, Ahmedabad
28 Publication Division, Sale Depot, North Block, New Delhi
29 The Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, New Delhi
30 The O I/C., University Employment Bureau, Lucknow
31 O. I/C S.I S.I. Extension Centre, Malda
32 O. I/C. S.I.S.I. Extension Centre, Habra, Tabaluria, 24-Parganas
33 O. I/C., S.I.S I. Model Carpentry Workshop, Piyali Nagar P.O. Burnipur
34 O. I/C., S.I.S.I. Chrontanning Extension Centre, Tangra 33, North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46
35 O. I/C., S.I.S.I. Extension Centre (Footwear), Calcutta
36 Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Hyderabad
37 Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Krishna Distt. (A.P.)
38 Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Jhabua
39 Dy. Director in-charge, S.I.S.I., C/o Chief Civil Admn., Goa, Panjim
40 The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur
41 The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Gopal Bhavan, Mornia
42 The O. I/C., State Information Centre, Hyderabad
43 The Registrar of Companies, Pondicherry
44 The Asstt. Director of Publicity and Information, Vidhana Saubha (P.B. 271), Bangalore