

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME VII

KERALA

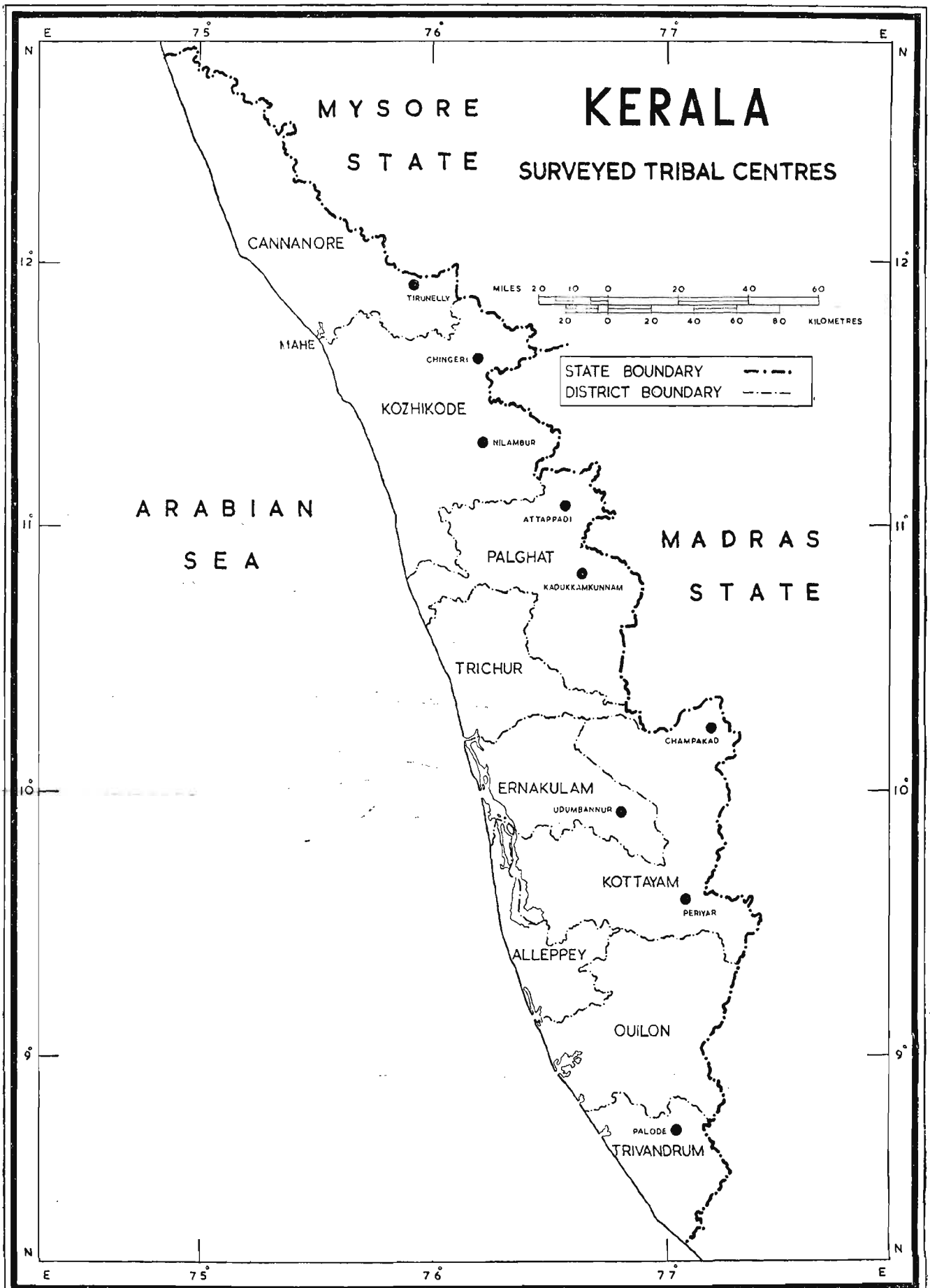
PART VI G

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

TRIBAL AREAS

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and
the Union Territory of Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands

1966


KERALA
SURVEYED TRIBAL CENTRES
MYSORE STATE
MADRAS STATE
ARABIAN SEA
CANNANORE
TIRUNELLY
MAHE
CHINGERI
KOZHIKODE
NILAMBUR
ATTAPPADI
PALGHAT
KADUKKAMKUNNAM
TRICHUR
CHAMPAKAD
ERNAKULAM
UDUMBANNUR
KOTTAYAM
PERIYAR
ALLEPPEY
OUILON
PALODE
TRIVANDRUM
MILES 20 10 0 20 40 60
20 0 20 40 60 80 KILOMETRES
STATE BOUNDARY
DISTRICT BOUNDARY
N
E
75°
76°
77°
12°
11°
10°
9°

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 personall 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, moveable and immoveable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical 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 statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for 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. In this part of the Census Report are included monographs on four tribal centres viz, Attappady and Kadukkamkunnam in Palghat district, Champakad in Kottayam district and Chingeri in Kozhikode district. These centres have been selected having regard to the concentration of Mudugas and Irulas in Attappady, of Hill Pulayas in Champakad, of Mullukurumas, Uralikurumas, Kattunaickans and Paniyas in Chingeri and of Paniyans, Mudugans and Konga Malayans in Kadukkamkunnam.

I was experiencing dearth of Investigators to do the survey of the tribal areas. When I mentioned about 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 T. A. 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 her. The entire credit of this publication goes to Dr. (Miss) George and to 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 goodwill 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 drawings, sketches and maps in these monographs have been done by Sarvashri K. Krishna Pillai, S. Krishna Pillai and S. Govindan Asari, Draughtsmen of my office. The negatives of the photographs of plates Nos. 6 to 10 relating to Irulas in Attappady are by courtesy of the Block Development Officer, T. D. Block, Attappady. I am grateful to him.

The blocks of plates Nos. 13 to 27, 31 and 32 were made at the Malayala Rajyam Process Studio, Quilon. The rest of the blocks were made at the Printers Blocks, Trivandrum. Both the above process studios have bestowed great care in securing the production of these blocks promptly and efficiently. The printing of a profusely illustrated book of this type with a large number of inset tables is an arduous task requiring a good deal of experience and diligence. The St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, Ernakulam under the able guidance of Rev. Fr. Vincent Mavely, D. C. L., D. Sc. has executed the work quite efficiently.

PREFACE

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

Trivandrum,
January 1, 1966

M. K. DEVASSY

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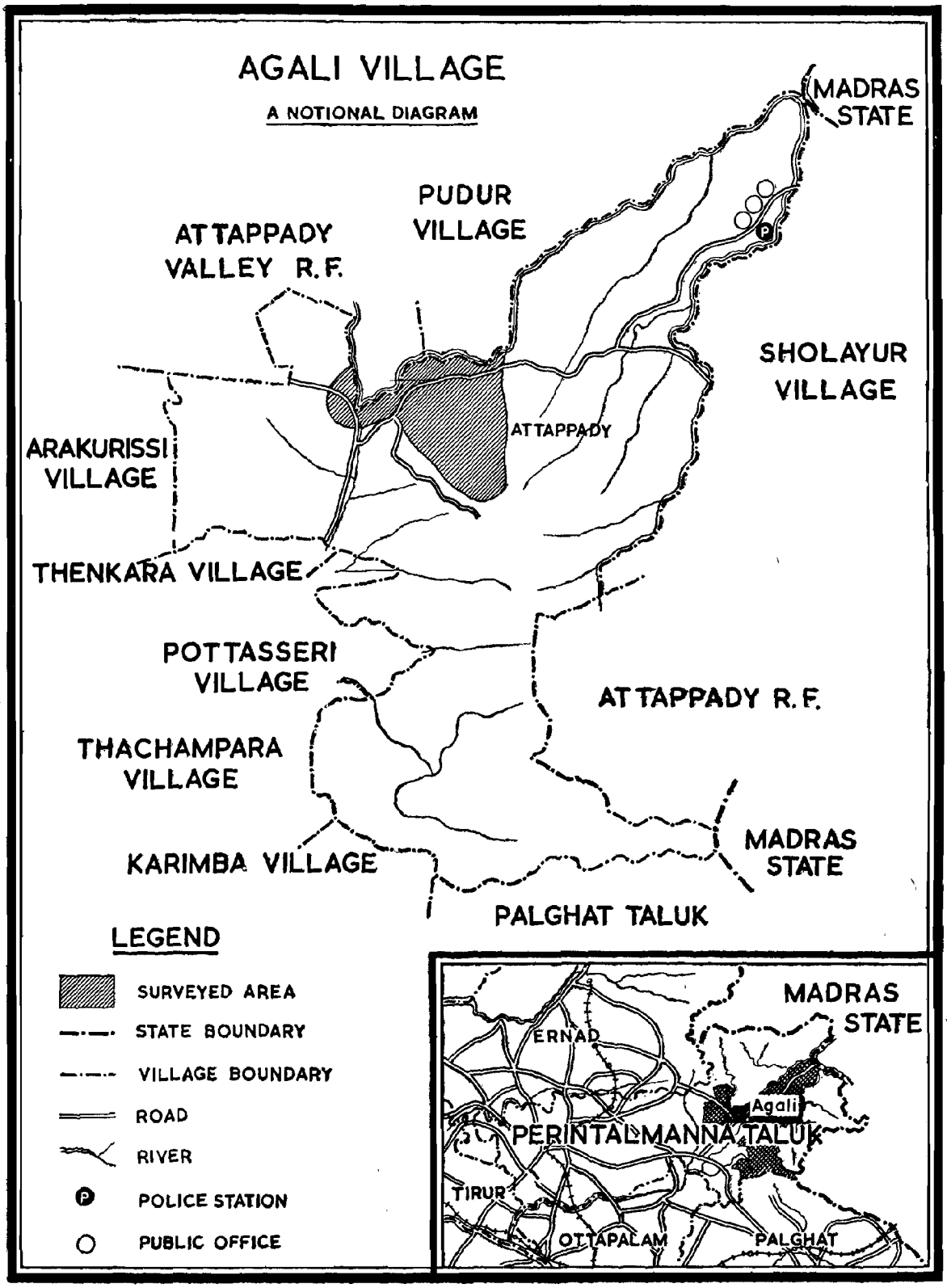
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ATTAPPADY


AGALI VILLAGE
A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM
MADRAS STATE
PUDUR VILLAGE
ATTAPPADY VALLEY R.F.
SHOLAYUR VILLAGE
ATTAPPADY
ARAKURISSI VILLAGE
THENKARA VILLAGE
POTTASSERI VILLAGE
ATTAPPADY R.F.
THACHAMPARA VILLAGE
MADRAS STATE
KARIMBA VILLAGE
PALGHAT TALUK
LEGEND
SURVEYED AREA
STATE BOUNDARY
VILLAGE BOUNDARY
ROAD
RIVER
POLICE STATION
PUBLIC OFFICE
MADRAS STATE
ERNAD
Agali
PERINTALMANNA TALUK
TIRUR
OTTAPALAM
PALGHAT

ATTAPPADY*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Attappady is one of the prominent forest regions of Kerala State. The glamorous green heritage of Attappady is impressively beautiful, while the long stretch of lofty mountains in its lap have an unassumed majesty of their own. Thick forests and lofty mountains have embraced almost the entire area of this region. Long, zigzag and interspersed strips of paddy fields between the hills and vast areas of orange, coffee and cardamom plantations have undeniably added to the green beauty of this locality. The vast forests here are the treasure-house of various varieties of useful woods like teak, rosewood, softwood etc. while they are, besides, the unexplorable home of numerous wild animals. The entrance to this region is a narrow road which winds its way up on the slopes of steep mountains. The acclivity of the ascent, the massive mountains and the thick forests on either side of the entrance unfailingly render the visitor quiet, but animated with a deep and unfrittered sense of appreciation of the flawless, inimitable and impersonal beauty of nature.

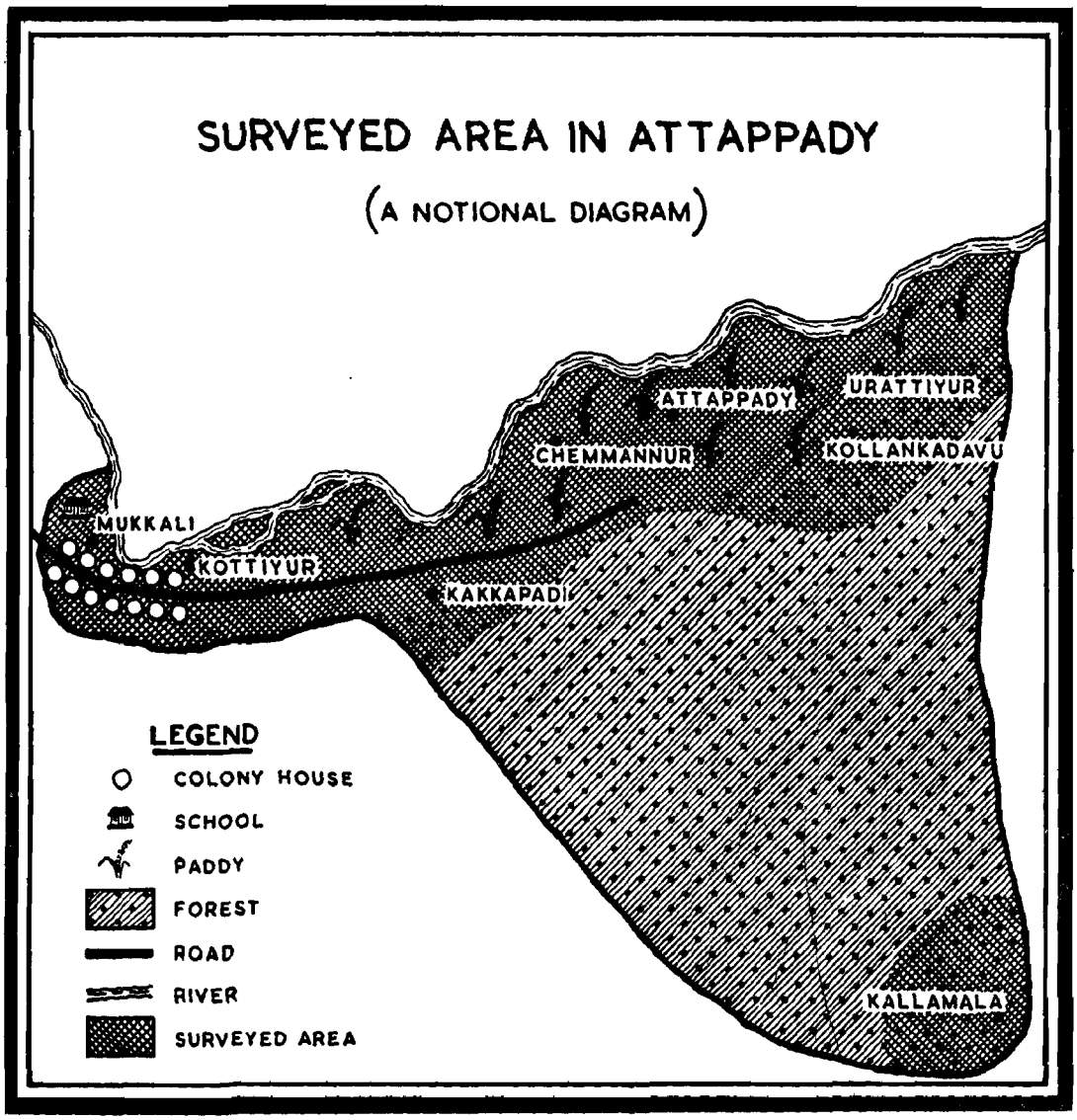
1.2 Understandably enough, human population is scarce in this region. According to statistics available, about 20,000 human lives are housed in this 211 sq. miles of vast forest region. Evidently this is one of the few places in this State with a notably low density of population. The tribal population here is glaringly preponderous in that it claims over 88 per cent of the total population in the area. This unique feature has made the region excellently suitable for selection in the context of a study of some of the tribal centres of the State. Further, as it has been gathered, these tribes were the oldest inhabitants of this region, and were the only inhabitants till recently.

The Surveyed Area

1.3 The area surveyed for purposes of this study consists of several settlements of hill tribes located in the Attappady valley. The localities of these settlements are Mukkali, Kottiyur, Kakkapadi, Chemmannur, Attappady, Urattiyur, Kollankadavu and Kallamala. These lie to the south of the Bhavani river. These settlements come within Agali village of the Perintalmanna taluk of the Palghat district. The number of households covered by the survey comes to 125. There is a Tribal Development Block, the only institution of its kind in this State, exclusively for this region. The head-quarters of this institution is at Agali, an important centre of this region. Besides this office in Agali there are the Panchayat Office, Village Office, Special Deputy Tahsildar's Office, Malaria Eradication Centre and a Government Hospital. The proposed Silent Valley Hydro-Electric Project is in this village. The village has no important commercial centre of its own. The nearest important commercial centre is Mannarghat which is about 29 miles away from Agali. This is also an important administration centre. Offices of the Public Works Department, banking and various other commercial institutions, cooperative societies etc., are situated at Mannarghat. There are no industrial centres either within the locality or

* The basic survey in this area conducted during the period from March to May 1963.

in the nearby region to which there is accessibility. Although Coimbatore, one of the famous industrial centres is adjacent to this region, there is no good road connecting these two places, except an unmetalled ghat road which is non-negotiable for a good part of the year. The nearest industrial centre is Palghat where there are various industrial units like Precision Tool Manufacturing Unit, spinning mills, machine tools manufacturing units etc.



1.4 Attappady has undeniably a distinguished position among all the tribal centres in this State by virtue of the fact that it has tribes with much of their traditions and culture in their pristine purity without their being marred or vitiated by the modernisation in social and cultural spheres as seen elsewhere.

The history of tribal immigration in Kerala dates back, it is believed, to the period prior to 15th century, and only during the second quarter of the 20th century had these tribes any measure of contact with the non-tribes. Even after the second quarter of the 20th century the rate of influx of population was considerably feeble because of the severity of the climate and also because of the popular apprehension of the possible assault on human lives by the numerous wild animals of the Attappady forests. Thus it has been the peculiar privilege of the tribal people here to live in their traditional way for centuries together in the blessed seclusion and isolation of the Attappady forest.

Physical Aspects

1.5 Attappady lies between 11°36′ - 11°43′ latitude and 76°08′ - 76°14′ longitude. It is a place of hills and dales, the height varying from 1,200′ to 3,000′ from mean sea level. The land here is everywhere slopy. Soil here is hard and red in colour except at certain places where there are black and very hard rocks.

1.6 Analytical data of the soil at Attappady as such are not available. Two samples of soils selected from Mannarghat which is about 29 miles away from Agali are given below. As to whether the soil in the two places are identical or not in nature and composition, no adequate information is available.

Table I

RESULTS OF SOIL ANALYSIS

Laboratory No. of soil	Organic Carbon %	Av. P. Kgs / Hectares	Av. K. Kgs / Hectares	pH.	T. S. S.
1	2	3	4	5	6
5699 / 63	1.00 (Medium)	Trace (Low)	80 (Low)	4.5 (Acidic)	0.0 (Normal)
5700 / 63	0.80 (Medium)	16 (Low)	148 (Medium)	5.3 (Acidic)	0.15 (Normal)

Av. P. = Available phosphorus
Av. K. = Available potassium
T. S. S. = Total soluble salts

Source: Information supplied by the Soil-Testing Centre, Trivandrum

A good part of the land here is still virgin forest land, in spite of the periodical increase both in the sphere and extent of agricultural activities.

1.7 Attappady is noted for the severity of its climate. Perhaps, the only agreeable season here is summer, between March and May. Moderately hot days and chilly nights are characteristic of this season. No extreme drought is experienced in this season nor any scarcity of water. The three rivers here are as important to this locality as the arteries to a human body. For a good number of people and especially for the tribes these rivers are the main source of drinking water.

1.8 Monsoon follows the summer season. The inclemency of the weather during this season is beyond description according to the local people. Torrential rains accompanied by startling lightnings and roaring thunders are characteristic of the monsoon season. In addition, it rains cats and dogs for days together and when it ceases temporarily, to resume

with more vigour and awfulness, massive mists fill the entire region. The biting cold of the season is apt to chill one to the marrow of the bones. The three rivers in the locality flood during the season inundating the banks. Strong tufts of bamboos and big trees are uprooted and carried away by the force of the current. Torrential incessant rains very often arrest communications to this place. Sometimes it causes massive floods all over the region and even landslides resulting in innumerable sufferings to the local people. In short, the severity of the monsoon is such that no one can stand the strain. The duration of the monsoon season is reported to be longer than that in the plains.

1.9 Details of rainfall and temperature are not available for Attappady. What are given here are those available for the nearest places, though they are far from similar to Attappady by virtue of both geographical and topographical conditions.

Table II

RAINFALL

Mannarghat

Year		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1951	I	..	3	2	10	11	24	18	16	10	16	15	1	126
	II	..	10.2	16.8	286.5	84.6	539.0	571.0	160.5	348.2	256.3	358.1	25.9	2657.1
1952	I	..	2	1	3	8	23	22	21	N A	13	4	3	100
	II	..	58.9	48.3	56.6	168.7	435.1	422.1	285.5	99.0	424.2	70.1	27.2	2094.7
1953	I	..	..	..	13	5	19	30	19	7	23	2	..	118
	II	..	2.0	2.0	221.5	82.3	353.8	896.6	342.4	97.5	418 3	5.1	..	2421.5
1954	I	3	..	3	9	10	22	25	22	13	26	4	3	135
	II	17.3	..	30.2	131.1	142.5	696.0	612.7	421.6	116.3	389.9	81.8	89.9	2729.3
1955	I	..	..	..	6	20	24	16	19	24	14	7	1	131
	II	..	..	3.6	138.9	597.9	596.9	191.3	213.9	479.8	512.6	245.1	13.7	2993.7
1956	I	2	..	..	9	13	25	20	15	14	21	16	..	133
	II	27.7	..	..	198.9	291.1	505.5	463.0	348.0	173.0	502.4	291.1	..	2800.7
1957	I	..	..	1	2	16	29	28	18	2	10	10	..	116
	II	..	..	11.4	37.6	391.4	960.4	720.6	245.9	12.7	158.0	218.9	..	2756.9
1958	I	..	1	4	13	20	17	22	26	5	21	9	..	141
	II	..	2.5	172.8	285.0	378.2	476.1	1002.0	416.5	149.5	336.6	268.5	..	3487.7
1959	I	..	..	..	9	12	21	28	22	19	6	12	3	132
	II	..	..	..	166.8	323.3	897.4	1184.3	390.7	375.8	124.4	297.1	42.4	3802.2
1960	I	..	..	2	15	19	22	21	14	..	11	16	..	120
	II	..	..	14.5	301.3	407.5	456.2	683.6	255.1	..	300.0	284.6	..	2702 8
1900 to 1950	(1)	0.6	0.4	2.1	6.3	8.9	22.2	24.9	19.1	12.0	15.1	8.3	1.9	121.8
	(2)	8.9	9.4	33.0	97.8	190.7	590.3	757.9	412.2	233.2	346.2	181.4	29.0	2890.0

I. No. of rainy days
(1) Mean No. of rainy days.
N A Not available

II. Total rainfall in millimetres
(2) Mean monthly total rainfall in millimetres.

Table III

TEMPERATURE AND HUMIDITY AT PALGHAT — 1960

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	33.4	22.4	35.0	20.8	66	37
February	35.5	22.7	38.0	18.8	57	27
March	36.8	24.6	38.6	22.8	69	39
April	35.4	24.5	39.2	21.3	76	60
May	31.7	24.1	37.6	21.0	83	81
June	29.4	23.2	31.7	20.8	88	81
July	28.7	22.7	32.6	20.8	92	85
August	29.3	23.0	30.9	21.7	88	75
September	29.3	22.8	31.7	21.4	89	77
October	31.1	23.0	34.2	21.6	84	73
November	30.8	22.5	33.2	19.4	80	74
December	32.1	21.8	33.5	18.3	72	55

Although of short duration, winter has its own way of harassing the inhabitants of this region. No one can brave this season without adequate protection to ward off the severe cold. Warmth of the sun is felt only at mid-day and only for a very short time. The water in the river will be too cold to be used as such. Hence, people use only hot water during this season. Nevertheless, it is generally admitted that, winter is far less severe than the intolerable monsoon.

The Flora and the Fauna

1.10 As has been indicated earlier Attappady is a region of deciduous forests interspersed with fields and plantations. The major occupation of a good majority of the people here is agriculture. The soil is commendably fertile and the place as a whole receives fairly good rainfall. By virtue of these favourable features, Attappady is affluent with vegetation. The forests here contain a variety of timber yielding trees like teak, rosewood and softwood. The Government Forest Department has embarked upon an extensive expansion of forestry, in order to increase the forest wealth of the State. They have planted and grown teak and softwood by now and an extensive plantation endeavour is in progress. The beautiful bamboo clumps which sprightly thrive in these forests here are inescapably impressive. Besides these forests, there are the vast orange groves, extensive coffee and cardamom estates, and rubber plantations of no lesser extent. The non-plantation crops cultivated here are mainly paddy, *chama*, ragi and *thuvara*, besides a variety of vegetables viz, *cheera*, brinjal, lady's finger, cucumber, plantains etc. and tubers like tapioca, jack trees, mango trees, papaya trees etc. are also found in this locality. Lemon grass and

cotton are cultivated on a small scale.

1.11 The plant selected for detailed study for the region is bamboo. According to J. S. Gamble,[1] there is scarcely any tribe of plants in the Indian forests of such great importance in forest economy as the bamboos, whether from the point of view of silviculture or from that of utilisation. The chief Indian bamboo is that of the deciduous forests, Dendrocalamus strictus; the chief species in Northern Bengal and Assam is Dendrocalamus hamittonii; in Eastern Bengal and Chittagong the most common kind is Melocanna - bambusoidis, in Burma, besides Dendrocalamus strictus; Bambasa polymarpha and Cephalostachyum pergracile are the chief associates of teak. In central and south India, the valleys produce magnificient clumps of the thorny Bambusa arundinacea.

1.12 As regards the wood structure, it resembles that of the palms, but the fibrovascular bundles are complicated. The culms of bamboos have smooth outer surface and are jointed at intervals, the nodes of these joints showing more or less prominent rings, and at the nodes the wood is solid. In the internodes the culms are hollow, the cavity being cylindrical. On the transverse section, a bamboo shows the form of a ring whose outer portion is hard, and made up of fibrovascular bundles with no or few pores, and a very little intervening parenchyma. Proceeding from the exterior towards the interior, the wood becomes softer, the bundles larger, and they consist usually of about four rounded masses of bast tissue surrounding smaller horny masses, which again enclose about three large pores arranged in a rough cross, with a fourth which is generally sub-divided. By degrees the bundles are separated by more and more parenchyma until the interior part of the ring consists of parenchyma only. The shapes and arrangements of the fibrovascular bundles are variable, so that specific characters based upon them seem impossible to obtain.

1.13 The nodes of bamboos bear calm-sheaths which will be found very interesting in form, and usually characteristic. The leaves are all grass-like, of various degrees of length and breadth. The flowers are irregular. In a few species they come annually, in most they come at long intervals, and then all the clumps in a locality flower together and seed and die.

1.14 The cultivation of bamboo is easy, it is done by seed or by offsets, in some cases by cuttings or layers. If the seed is good it germinates easily, and seedlings are easy to rear and easy to transplant in properly prepared ground but as flowering years for bamboo are rare, it is necessary to wait for seed and therefore propagation by offsets is quicker. In the case of those species which flower and seed both generally at long intervals, and occasionally sporadically, such as Dendrocalamus strictus and Hamittonii, the sporadic flowerings give very little of any fertile seed, so that it is necessary to wait for general flowerings, as with the rest. Offsets consist of usually a portion of an old culm with its roots, cut off above a joint at about 1 to 2 feet above the ground, and the shoots come from dormant beeds at the base of the culm. Such offsets are best taken and planted in the season of rest, so that the season of active generation, which usually begins in the early days of the rains may find them well in position and capable of taking root well. Offsets taken in the rainy season after new growth has started usually fail. Cuttings are usually made by planting one or more internodes, the lowest bearing root-beeds capable of growing, while layers, the more usual method of propogation with some species (e. g. Bambusa valgaris) are made by partly cutting a laying culm in the ground so that it may

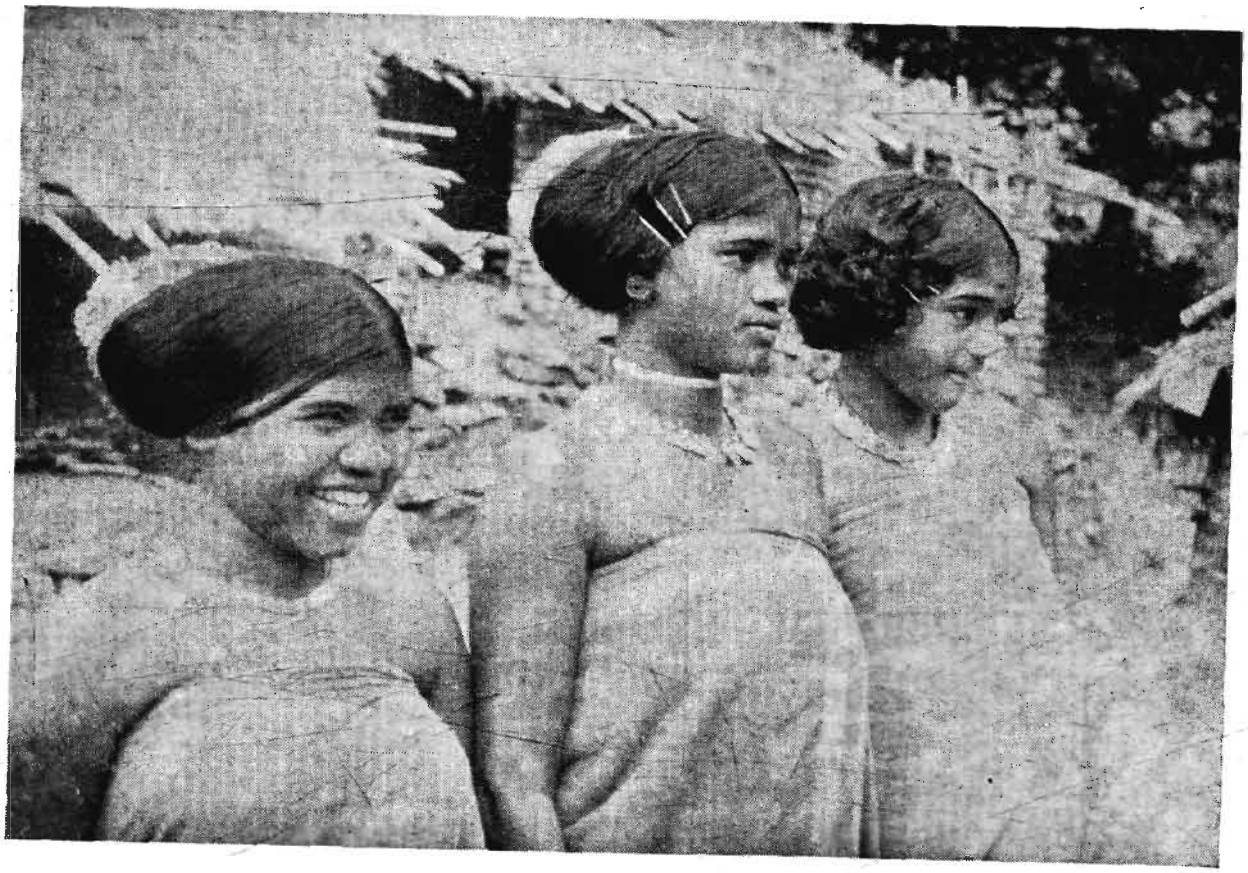
1. A Manual of Indian Timber by J. S. Gamble, page 743



Pl. 1 A VARIETY OF BAMBOO P. 6



Pl. 2 A KURUMBA MALE P. 14



Pl. 3 MUDUGA BELLES P. 14

take root at the nodes. When the shoots have appeared and are strong-growing the internodes are cut and the layers planted separately.

1.15 Regarding the various uses of bamboo T. F. Bourdillion[1] states, "its chief uses are to float heavy timber, to supply posts and rafters for temporary buildings and scaffolding poles for permanent buildings. It is very largely used for the manufacture of mats and *tattis*, two or three bamboos split down on one side and flattened out make very comfortable beds, and for other household purposes it is in daily use. The young thorny branches are much used for fencing, while the seed, when the bamboo has flowered, is a valuable food grain. A flowery substance called "Tabasheer" is often found as a deposit in the joints of this species. It is used medicinally."

1.16 The dense forest of Attappady abounds in numerous wild animals. Wild elephants, tigers, boars, wild cats and snakes are denizens in these forests, while bear and panther are also so, but few in number. Besides these there are a good number of deer, samburs and monkeys in this locality. Birds are remarkably few in number and are rarely seen. Excepting a few varieties of strange jungle birds and some wild fowls there are no other birds seen here. It is said that, of late, crows come in small groups and stay there during the summer season. But all leave the place positively before the monsoon starts. The rivers here are rich with a wide variety of fish both big and small. It is said the animal otter is also seen here.

1.17 Attappady has the wealth of a fairly good number of cattle. Batches of buffaloes, cows, bulls and goats grazing freely in the forest areas is a regular sight in this locality. People here are seen to grow fowls in large numbers. It deserves mention in this connection that the most encouraging factor in cattle growing here is the low cost of maintenance.

Size and Number of Households

1.18 The area of this locality is 211 sq. miles and the number of households is 4,880.

Residential Pattern

1.19 A major portion of this region is under the possession of a few land owners while the remaining (about 50,000 acres) is owned by the Government Forest Department so much so the inhabitants of this place, including the oldest tribal immigrants are only the tenants of these *jenmis*. As has been indicated earlier the density of population is remarkably low.

1.20 The residential pattern of non-tribals is not different from that found elsewhere in this State. Generally each has his separate plot of agricultural land and his house is often within this area, separated and isolated from the house of his immediate neighbour.

1.21 The residential pattern of the tribes here is entirely different from that of the non-tribals. In the past, these tribes lived and moved about within the core of the deep forests. According to them, they were nomadic agriculturists in the past. They used to settle down in groups close by their agricultural plots and to move in groups when they changed their venue of agricultural activities. Each of such groups was constituted of a number of households varying from 10 to 40 in number with a group leader and some of his associate dignitaries.

1.22 The traditional tribal gregariousness is found with these people even at this time. Nevertheless it is not without some minor changes. A few households are now found living separately in their own agricultural plots, away from their respective groups. However, according to them, the traditional bondage and sentimental attachment to their respective groups are still being cherished and that

1. The forest Trees of Travancore by T. F. Bourdillion, page 351

the shifting was effected for more convenience in their agricultural activities. The tribal settlements here are distinctly apart from one another and are found situated on hill tops, slopes of mountains and by the side of rivers. In each such settlement the huts are constructed close to one another and most of them will ordinarily be in a line. As it appears, there is particularly no rule observed by them regarding the direction towards which their huts should face or the position of a particular hut with respect to that of others in the group. In each of the huts in a settlement, ordinarily there is found only one household. In the past the people in one settlement used to have their agricultural plots around or close by their settlement and they never used to stay at a place for more than a year or two at a stretch. But now those privileges are not enjoyed by them. The local landlords have now curbed considerably the traditional privileges enjoyed by these tribes. If the landlords so choose, land will be allotted to the tribes for agriculture every year with so short a period as one agricultural season, as the term of tenure. At the end of the agricultural season the tribes have to vacate the land and await the landlord's pleasure to have a fresh allocation. Obviously these agricultural plots will be farther and farther from their settlements, as only fresh forest land is allotted to the tribe every year. In brief, the tribes' traditional pattern has undergone some minor changes. But it has been reported that those tribes who are living in the inaccessible interior parts of the forests still preserve their traditional residential pattern, since they are left free in the core of the forests without much interference from the landlords or others.

Communications

1.23 Communication facilities are indisputably scarce in this locality. Entry to this place can be made only through Mannarghat and by a narrow metalled road with several hair-pin bends and difficult acclivity. Lack of proper maintenance and necessary improvements has rendered this road even more difficult to be negotiated, especially during the monsoon season. This road is extended up to Agali about 24 miles farther from Mannarghat. The length of this road intercepted by Attappady is reported to be 20 miles. This is the most important means of communication in this locality. A good number of lorries and a few buses are regularly plying along this route causing heavy traffic. This road extends up to Coimbatore, but the portion between Agali and Coimbatore district area is not thoroughly communicable. Besides this, there is the Kalkandi-Ommala road, a diversion at the 14th mile of the above said road, stretching over five miles in length towards the east. The 14 mile long 'Silent Valley' road is not yet completed and its work is reported to be in progress. But for these three roads, there are no satisfactory means of communication in this locality. It is said that there are various footpaths through the interior of the forest, reaching almost every part of this locality, but they are hard and unnegotiable to many, except of course, to the hill tribes of this region. The rivers here are absolutely non-communicable during all seasons, because of their hard and dangerous course. The force of the current during monsoon is such that nobody, not even the tribes dare to cross the river during the season. Because of this difficulty communication to a considerable section of Attappady remains completely cut off during monsoon. In fact even the topography of this place renders it really difficult to establish facile and complete communication to the various parts of this locality.

Public Places and Places of Worship

1.24 The important institutions of the village are the Tribal Development Block, the Village Office, the Panchayat Office, the Special Deputy Tahsildars Office, the

Malaria Eradication Centre, a Government hospital and a primary school.

1.25 The population of this locality consists of tribes and non-tribals and among the non-tribals there are Hindus, Muslims and Christians. All of them have their own respective places of worship. The most important place of worship for the tribes is a lofty peak of the hill here. The peak which is the highest in the locality is believed by the tribes to be the abode of 'Lord Malleswara' and is named after him. According to the traditional practice of the tribes pious *pooja* is conducted here only once in the year and the ceremony is solemnized on the *Sivarathri* day. Only one sect namely 'Muduga' is entitled, by virtue of a traditional right, to ascend this peak and conduct the *pooja* ceremony. However all the tribes here have implicit faith and devotion to this God and they make pious offerings to Him. At the foot of this hill, but on the opposite side of the river there is another temple of Lord Malleswara. Idols representing Lord Siva and Goddess Parvathy are kept in this temple and worshipped. The annual festival in this temple also is on the *Sivarathri* day, when all the tribes in the locality throng in the premises of it, for offering prayers to their Lord. It is said that the non-tribal Hindus also have faith in the divine sanctity and holiness of these temples and they also worship in these shrines. There is yet another temple at Agali where, according to the belief of the Hindus here Goddess Kali is enshrined. Both the tribes and non-tribal Hindus worship in this temple

1.26 For the Muslim community they have one mosque at Agali while another one is proposed to be constructed soon, at Kallamala locality.

1.27 There are two Catholic churches, one at Mundapara and the other at Jellyppara. The one temporary prayer hall here, is of the Syrian (Jacobite) Christians.

Crematoria and Monuments

1.28 There are no public crematoria in this locality. Those who have the traditional custom of cremating the dead use the vast forest area for cremation.

1.29 No monuments of any sort are seen anywhere in this locality. According to the tribes, who are the earliest inhabitants of this locality, they have no such practice envisaged in their traditional obsequies.

Sources of water

1.30 The perennial sources of water here are the three rivers viz, the Bhavani, the Sirvany and the Vargar. Besides these, there are numerous water channels and water-ditches in the low areas in between hills. The water from these is used by a good number of people for all their needs including drinking. Deep-dug wells are the next recourse to the people to satisfy their water needs. But they are few in number. The tribes never drink from these wells as they have some age old objections to it. Thus they have always to resort to other sources for drinking water.

1.31 With these sources of water, Attappady never experiences any acute or widely felt scarcity of water. The rivers never go dry even during the hot summer and are thus immensely important and useful to the people. The numerous cattle are complacent of the existing water resources. In fact, groups of cattle drinking from the river, standing close and in line with each other, is really a captivating summer scene.

Welfare and Administrative Institutions

1.32 Attappady is within the jurisdiction of the District Welfare Officer, Palghat, whose office is at Palghat. The taluk Welfare Inspector whose office is situated at Mannarghat has this region along with Mannarghat included in his area of operation. These two institutions are under the administrative control of the State Harijan Welfare Department.

1.33 In addition to these institutions,

there is a Tribal Development Block exclusively for Attappady. Although this Block started functioning here from the latter half of 1962, its official inauguration was conducted only in the first week of May, 1963. This has been constituted under the Attappady Development Scheme and is under the administrative control of the Development Commissioner of the State. With a sizable financial allotment the block is expected to engage itself in manifold activities of development as formulated in the scheme. The chief functions of the block are, expansion and improvement of agriculture, development of animal husbandry, improvement of communications, promotion of industry, commerce and cooperation, housing and rehabilitation and above all social and cultural development. Along with these functions the block is so designed as to bestow special attention on the affairs of the tribes here and work for their effective amelioration in the social, cultural and economic spheres. The institution is expected to participate in the various developmental activities with the know-how and effective co-operation of the technical and administrative personnel who are attached to it. For effective field work such as, on-the-spot inspection and imparting of information and guidance, there are ten trained Gramsevaks attached to this Block. This region is thus obviously under the dual control of the local Harijan Welfare Institution and this tribal block with their advantages and disadvantages.

1.34 Another important welfare and administrative institution of long standing service in this centre is the office of a Special Deputy Tahsildar. Its chief function is to settle land disputes arising in the locality. The scope for land disputes in this area is great as most of the land is unsurveyed.

1.35 Attappady which extends over 211 sq. miles is divided into three revenue villages for administrative convenience — 1) Puthur 2) Agali and 3) Sholayar. Village Officers are mainly engaged in the collection of revenue. For the whole of this region there is a Panchayat which has been constituted only very recently. Being still in its infancy, less than one year old, this panchayat has not started any significant developmental activity.

1.36 Attappady was deemed, during the past, almost haunted by hideous malaria. This had considerably checked the influx of population to this place. But years of vigorous activity to eradicate this evil has borne fruit. There is a Malaria Control Office in this centre under the scheme of National Malaria Eradication Programme. This office, according to the local people, continues to work up to its goal and it succeeds in its attempt at preventing this disease. It is also situated at Agali.

1.37 A Government dispensary has been opened this year at Agali. This dispensary is really of very great use and service to the local population at Agali. But, its location causes considerable difficulty in the matter of access to people living in a major part of the area.

1.38 The centre has now four co-operative societies of which only one is now reported to be working in full swing.

1.39 As a pilot scheme Government have resettled twenty-five tribal families at Mukkali. They have been given adequate facilities for housing, agriculture, education and medicine and above all amenities for development of their own art and music.

1.40 For this area there is a squad of forest officials consisting of a forester, and a few forest guards. In addition to maintaining the Government forests here, they have to protect and promote the forest wealth of the region as per rules prevalent and effectively check indiscriminate deforestation tendencies if any among the people.

Markets

1.41 There are no recognised market

centres in Attappady. Small shopping centres are, however, seen at different localities of this region. Agali, Kukkumpalayam and Mukkali are some such shopping centres in this region. Marketing of agricultural commodities produced in this village is done at these centres in small measures. As has been indicated earlier the nearest market is at Mannarghat. It is a very important market centre, with respect to this region, as it is the only nearest market which offers large scale buying and selling facilities. In fact a major portion of the agricultural and other commodities produced in this area is disposed of at this market while a major portion of the requirements of various other commodities is bought from this market. The nearest cattle market to this region is at Perintalmanna.

History of Settlement of the Population

1.42 Attappady in the past was in the domain of the Calicut Zamorin. The entire region was then enshrouded in dense forests infested with wild animals, mosquitoes and leeches. Accessibility to this region was difficult, if not impossible. But this region with its fabulous forest wealth had only few parallels elsewhere in the Zamorin's domain. The region with its peculiar feature evidently kindled irresistible interests in the then Zamorin. Zamorin sought to glean the forest wealth of this region by deputing a few of his loyal orderlies entrusted with the administration and collection of forest produces. Muppil Nair, R. M. Palat and Iral Pat Raj were the chief deputees for this task. As has been indicated earlier the tribes were there even prior to the 15th century. The representatives of the Zamorin deployed these tribes to collect the various forest produces and submit to the royalty. They were, in return, granted the right of being the recognised occupants of the forest area and were further allowed to cultivate the forest land and earn their living. For this right of cultivation the tribes had to pay land revenue as fixed by the local representatives of the Zamorin.

1.43 After some years these representatives of the Zamorin became his feuars and were only bound to submit to the royalty the fixed fee duty in the form of forest produces and money collected as land revenue. The story goes that these agents during the later years managed to get the *jenmom* right of these lands transferred to them from the Zamorin. Thus those agents became the oldest *Jenmis* of this region and this right was inherited by their successors who later began to sell and transfer the right of possession of these lands on receipt of nominal monetary gratifications. Then there came in, a few small land holders and tenants. To assist these small land holders and tenants in their agricultural activities people from distant places were brought in with promises of considerable remuneration. During the initial stages these new immigrants had to face many difficulties. The adversities of the climate and the hideous ghost of Malaria rampaging the region and inflicting heavy tolls on human lives persuaded not a few to flee from the place. Nevertheless quite a few survived these initial adversities and gradually got acclimatised to the region. The rare privilege of cultivating vast areas of virgin fertile forest land and the immense lucre therefrom were irresistibly alluring to them despite the difficulties they had to encounter. All proved good in the long run and many thrived in the circumstances.

1.44 This worked as a bait of rare fortune to those people who were friends and relatives of the earlier immigrants to the place. Thus with the advent of the second quarter of the 20th century there had been a steady but feeble influx of population to this region. It is not correct to presume that all came in for cultivation. Some immigrated in search of labour while some others came in search of trade as well. A factual and reasonable analysis of the position at present prompts one to infer that a

majority of the Muslim population here have come in as merchants while a few as workersof the local landlords. The entire Christian population have immigrated to this place for purposes of cultivation. The other sections of the population might have immigrated mainly for labour, although a few of them are now found as agriculturists.

1.45 The influx of the population as had been stated before was remarkably tardy right from its inchoation. But even this rate of influx was arrested abruptly a few years after the beginning of the third quarter of the century by effective restrictions imposed by the land owners. This has entailed the preponderance of the tribal population in this region unlike the Wynad area.

Legends

1.46 The name Attappady was ascribed to this region because of one of its peculiar features. Till recently this region was grossly infested with blood sucking leeches, the Malayalam name for which is 'Atta'. 'Pady' is Malayalam for settlement. The menace caused by these leeches in this region, even now, especially during monsoon, is widely known and people even dread to face the risk of treading on this region. It was thus aptly termed 'Attappady'.

1.47 The tribes here narrate a story about their Lord Siva and the highest peak of mountain at Attappady. According to this, Lord Siva assisted by the tribes was once residing in these forests. The tribes were deeply impressed by the uncanny powers of Lord Siva. Siva came across Parvathy in her full bloom of youth with bewitching beauty. Enamoured of her radiant beauty Siva decided to marry Parvathy. He chose the highest peak as his habitat and the tribes constructed the rock house for him and his spouse. Since then this peak was called the Malleswara peak. According to the tribes here, there was a cave at the foot of the hills leading up to the top of this peak and this cave was regularly used by Siva and Parvathy to avoid the tedium of trekking the precipitous mountain terrain. The tribes here assert that the mouth of this cave is even now seen at 'Manalthazha Kundu', a locality near one of the tribal settlements.

1.48 A conflict of opinion among two of the tribes, Mudugas and Irulas is worth mentioning here. According to the Mudugas they were the earliest inhabitants of this region and only they had, therefore, the privilege of extending succour to Lord Siva. To substantiate this they cite their exclusive traditional right of ascending the peak and offering *pooja* to Lord Siva. By this they contend to establish that the Irulas were immigrants during the later years and they had no access to Lord Siva. According to Irulas, one of their oldest great grandfather accompanied Siva to the Attappady hills, rendering him all services as his loyal servant. Mudugas were later creations of Lord Siva, from lightning, to fetch him food and with this right they could ascend the peak and go near Lord Siva's abode. The Mudugas now claim this as their exclusive right. But this is questioned by the Irulas.

1.49 Later, the story goes, Lord Siva proceeded on a long tenure of 'Vanavasa' and lived in isolation. Parvathy was pregnant at the time when Siva left her and gave birth to a female child. By the time Siva returned, the child grew up into a lascivious girl of enchanting beauty. Siva when he saw her, was infatuated by her beauty and desired to posses her as his second wife. Parvathy knowing Siva's carnal desire for the girl apprised him of his colossal folly and the unholiness of his desire. But unfortunately Siva mistook his wife as playing a trick on him and grew more insistent and importunate. Parvathy felt offended and reduced herself to a diabolic degeneration from her divinity. In her fatal fury she plucked her tongue and threw it into the river, threw away her box of jewels, and fled

from the place. Crossing the river she escaped to heaven. Siva, realising his folly, proceeded in hot pursuit of Parvathy only to miss her for ever.

1.50 According to the tribes the extracted tongue of Parvathy got petrified and is still found in the river while the jewel box in its petrified form is still found at 'Petty Kallu' a locality of tribal settlement in the region. This locality is obviously named after this petrified box.

1.51 To cherish the glorious memories of their Lord, the tribes here offer *pooja* to him on *Sivarathri* day. During the course of the *pooja* idols of Lord Siva and goddess Parvathy are brought to the foot of the Malleswara peak and a solemn ceremony of marriage between the two idols is conducted with musical accompaniments. On the same day Mudugas ascend the arduous Malleswara peak and light torches at the top of the peak. The traditional religious disposition of the tribal folk is based upon this mythological story of the past. There is ample evidence to show that even the non-tribal people believed in these legends for long time past. It has been reported that, in accordance with the custom prevalent in the past, the various items viz, cocoanut, inter-twined thread for torches, ghee and money for the rituals on the *Sivarathri* day, are even now brought from the Zamorin's palace.

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL POSSESSIONS

Ethnic Composition

The population of Attappady consists of Hindus, Muslims and Christians with a preponderance of hill tribes. Among the Hindus, there are, Thiyas, Thandans, Nairs and Cherumakkal communities. The tribes in the area are Hindus. There are mainly two sects of Christians, Jacobites and Catholics.

2.2 As has been indicated earlier, the non-tribal population here consists of immigrants. They are mostly labourers and some are agriculturists. Only very few are traders. There are one or two big lairds too, among them.

2.3 The survey by virtue of its nature and design aims at a spotlighted study of the tribes. Therefore, in what follows emphasis is laid mainly on their conditions and way of life.

2.4 There are three different tribes at Attappady. They are Irulas, Mudugas and Kurumbas in the order of their numerical strength. Kurumbas are so few in number that they claim only less than 5 per cent of the total tribal population here according to the statistics available with the local welfare officials. Further, inhabiting as they do, the interior dense forest regions accessibility to them is ordinarily difficult. Kurumbas have, therefore, been left out from the detailed study.

Ethnographic Notes

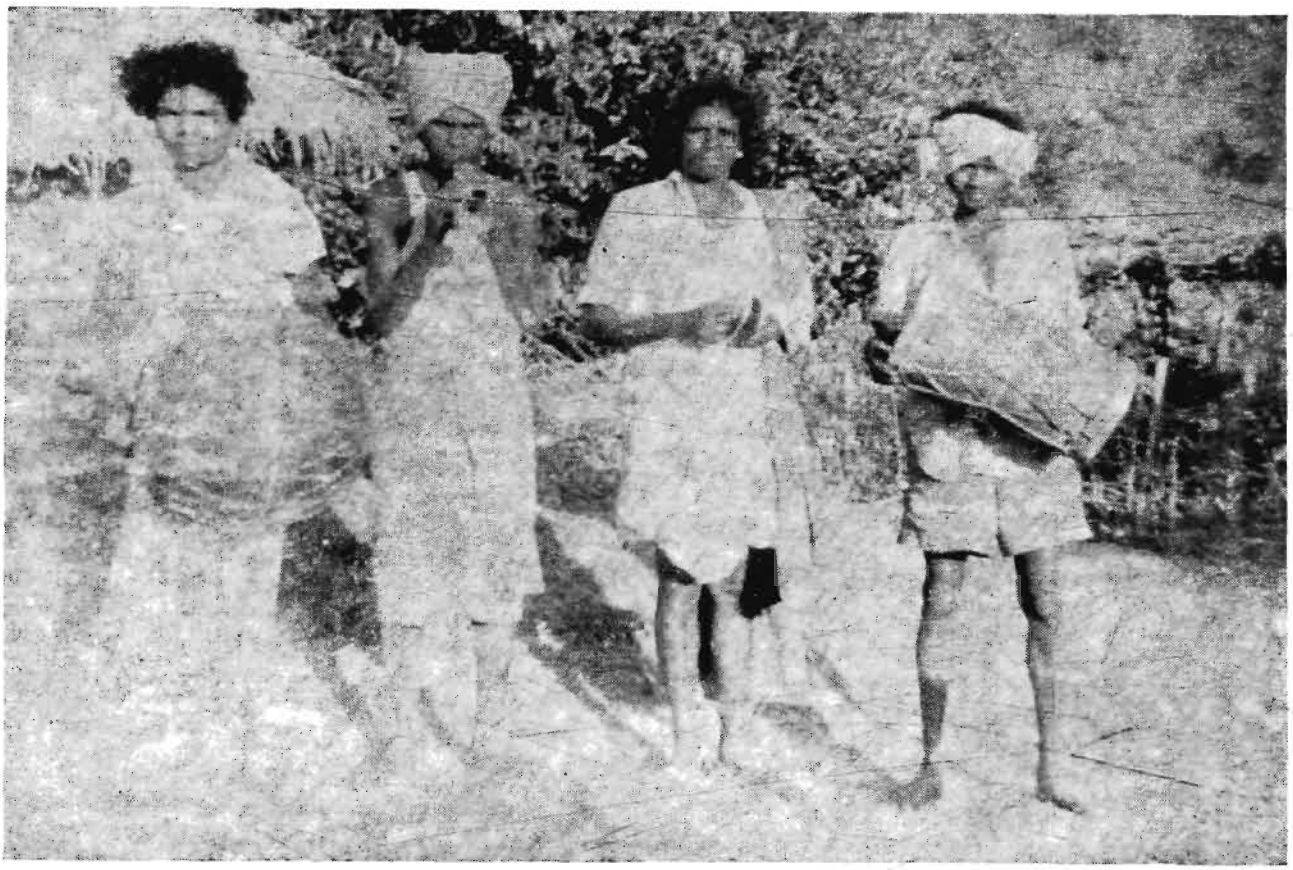
Mudugas

2.5 Mudugas are believed to be the earliest immigrants to this region. They are of Tamil origin and are believed to be immigrants from Coimbatore district. The purpose of their immigration was an ambitious plan of extensive agricultural activities in the fertile virgin soil of Attappady forests. The history of their immigration dates back to 15th century or even prior to that. The religion of these tribes is akin to Hinduism. They were, during the past, subjects of the Vijayanagar Hindu Empire. The Mudugas are worshippers of Lord Siva. *Saivism* (worship of Lord Siva) is considered to be older than *Vaishnavism* (worship of Lord Vishnu). As the Mudugas are still worshippers of Lord Siva and are oblivious of any influence of Vishnavism it can be reasonably presumed that they had emigrated from the plains even prior to the propagation of *Vaishnavism*. Further their immigration can hardly be associated with any dissolution or disturbance which had been the order of the days close to the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire, for, they have not even a vague notion about those, unlike in the case of Irulas. Moreover, there is historical evidence of the association of Mudugas with the Zamorin's dynasty at a time when there were no references or indication of the existence of Irulas in the region.

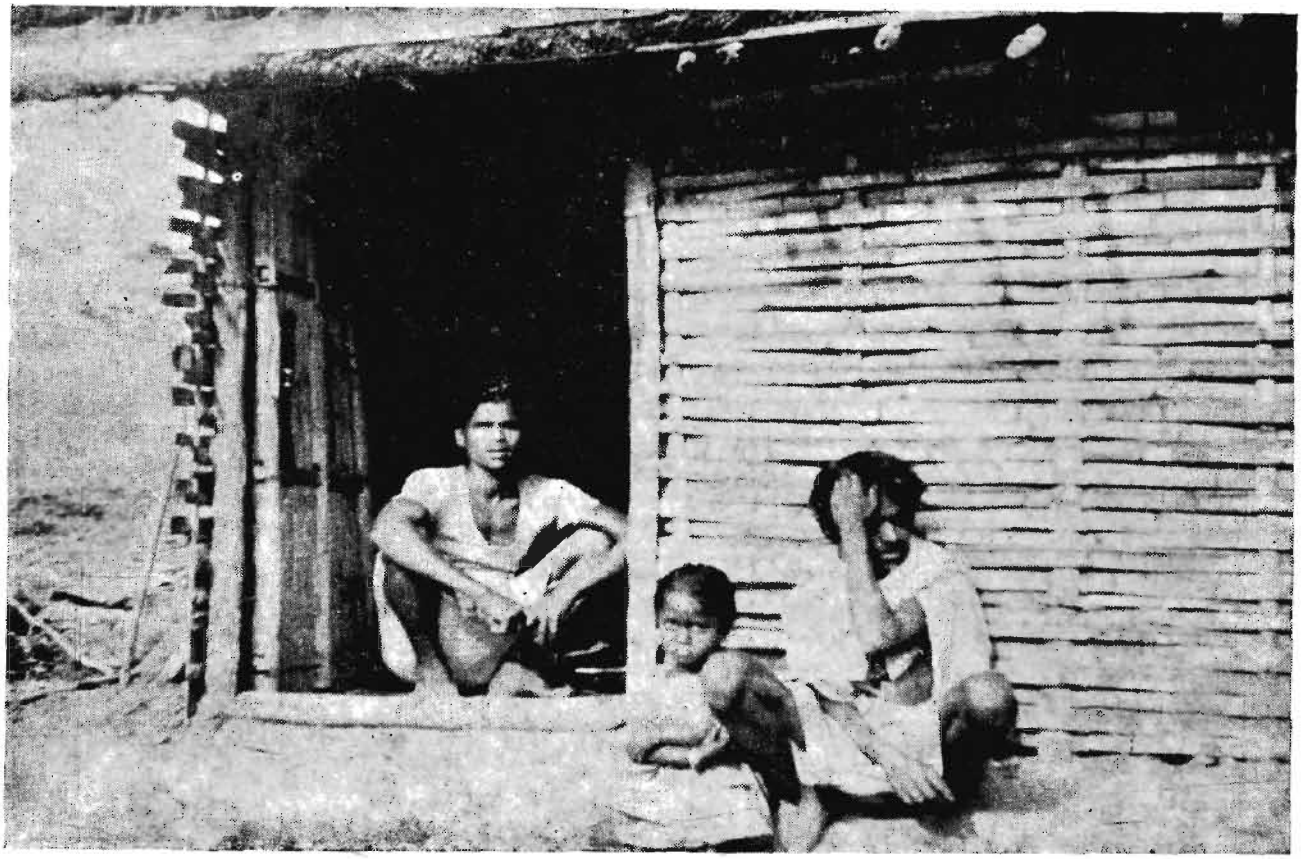
2.6 According to a story narrated by one of the elderly Mudugas the ancestors of the Mudugas were formerly in the north eastern part of this region under the leadership of one of their own kin. The name of this old leader was 'Kavai Moopan'; the term 'Moopan' being the title indicating group-leadership. The Mudugas were living in plenty at that time under the efficient and able guidance of their revered leader. The Muduga leader had in his possession enormous wealth including gold, jewels and other valuables The fabulous wealth of the Muduga leader had long time been an irresistible source of attraction to the



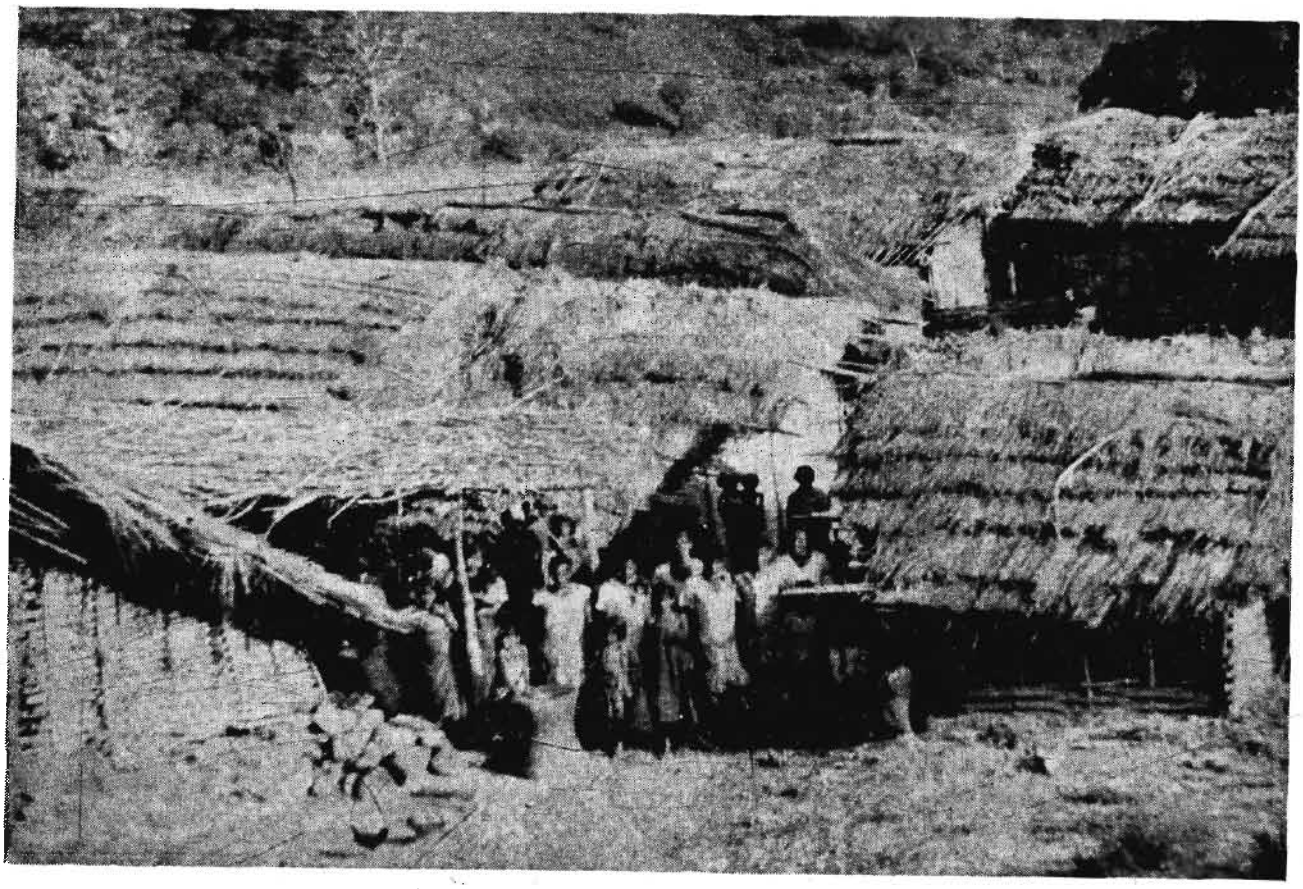
Pl. 4 A MUDUGA YOUNGSTER P., 14



Pl. 5 IRULAS ARE HIGHLY TALENTED IN MUSIC P. 21



Pl. 6 AN IRULA HUT P. 22



Pl. 7 A PRIMITIVE TRIBAL SETTLEMENT P. 23

then Zamorin and he made several infructuous attempts to take them. Later, under the guise of friendship the Zamorin extended an invitation to the Muduga leader, which the latter declined to accept. Dissatisfied with the cool indifference of the Muduga leader the Zamorin sought to capture him through chicanery. The Muduga leader was once ambushed and with shackled limbs was taken to "Karimpuzha Kovilakam" one of the local administrative offices of the Zamorin. But at an imminent threat of colossal destruction from the enraged wife of the Muduga leader with the help of wild tuskers of the jungle, the Zamorin had to release the Muduga leader unconditionally. But the Zamorin did not stop his pursuit and he managed to get two of the assistants of this Muduga leader bribed to perform the perfidious act of murdering the Muduga leader. The Muduga leader was entrapped and murdered in cold blood. At the news of the Muduga leader's death his wife committed suicide, leaving behind all their wealth which finally went to enrich the Zamorin's family.

2.7 To allay the confusion following the death of 'Kavai Moopan' and his wife and also to reduce the possibility of any concerted retaliatory attempts towards him by Mudugas, if left together, the Zamorin divided them into different groups or 'Kulams', each with a group leader. They were then ordered to occupy different localities of the forest and cultivate those areas. Further, each group was assigned the responsibility of collecting specified quantities of forest produces every year and submitting to the royalty. Thus the Mudugas were divided into groups and later as their population increased each group was again subdivided. However, most of them do not know the group to which they belong by hereditary tradition though a few elders can recollect the name of their group.

2.8 Although the story given above has to be taken with a grain of salt, it throws some light on their traditional group leadership and social structure and the various changes it has undergone during the past.

2.9 The language of these tribes is a curious mixture of Tamil and Malayalam slangs. Old and unintelligible, their language had never been influenced by modern elements or linguistic development. The growth of their language was not concomitant with that of the languages outside their circle and as years passed by, their language grew more and more exotic and different from others. Further, they did not develop any script for their language. Thus there had been no orderly growth of their language. This language had obviously its existence and growth in the realm of their conversation and had thus been blended with copious conversational slangs unintelligible to others.

2.10 The language of the Mudugas is more akin to Tamil than to Malayalam. And, therefore, they understand Tamil better than Malayalam. But the recent association with the non-tribal Malayalees here has helped to bring about a welcome change in their knowledge of Malayalam. Now most of them can understand and speak Malayalam, although with some accents and peculiarities of their own language. The process of change or adaptation is, however, tardy with the elders among them.

2.11 Mudugas live in groups, as in the past. Their huts are erected close to one another and there is no restriction as to the number of households in each group. In the past, in each group, there used to be a group leader called 'Moopan', who is the chief dignitary of the settlement. Two associate dignitaries would be in each group to assist him in the administration of his group. They were known by the appellation of 'Kuruthalai' and 'Bandari'. Internal administration, discipline and above all, security of the group were looked after by these two officials

under the guidance of the group leader. In addition to these three officials there was one 'Mannukkaran' to guide the agricultural activities of the group. 'Mannukkaran', according to their traditional practice should be a veteran agriculturist who should be capable of predicting the weather and determining the fertility and suitability of the soil beforehand. As per their custom it was he who should sow first and lead others in each item of their agricultural activities. Excepting the post of 'Mannukkaran' all others viz, 'Moopan', 'Kuruthalai' and 'Bandari' are hereditary and the law of descent is from father to son. For becoming the *Mannukkaran* one had to undergo a severe test of ability and capability. Now although the posts of dignitaries are prevalent and some of the aspects of their right and control over the people are retained, the system is devoid of its force and efficaciousness, which it had in the past. This is obviously because of the drastic change in their environments. Now each household is independent and has to support itself economically. There is now not much of the notion of a collective existence, collective responsibility and enterprise, collective interest and collective benefit as they had in the past. The change in the economic life in the village has constrained them to shed all their traditional practices which in the changing set-up are far from feasible.

2.12 Thus their traditional social organisation and internal structure of the individual group and above all their traditional sentiments of attachment and affinity to each other in the group, are getting dismantled by the ever changing environmental set-up

2.13 Most of the Mudugas are unskilled manual labourers. While a few have agriculture as their principal occupation, some others have it in small measure.

2.14 Mudugas are traditional worshippers of Lord Siva and their religion is similar, though not entirely, to Hinduism. While they are against polytheism, they are themselves, strictly speaking, not followers of monotheism. They worship what they call 'Kara Daivom' as their family deity which according to some is not different from Lord Siva, while others do not subscribe to this view. However, nobody is in a position here now to throw any light on the inchoation of the firm traditional adherence to the worship of this God, and the adoption of it as their family deity. They are idol worshippers. According to the Mudugas, at the top of the Malleswara peak there is an idol of Lord Siva. In the temple at the foot of the hills there is a conglomeration of numerous idols. Some of them are centuries old according to the tribes. The craftmanship seen in these idols is something commendable especially when it is viewed with reference to the era of its origin. The rituals and religious rites of these tribes are not significantly different from those of Hindus. They conduct *poojas* with lighted torches and offer flowers, cocoanuts, fruits etc. to the deity during the course of the *pooja*. Animal sacrifice was reported to be prevalent among them in the past but now, no such practice is in vogue. Apart from the circumstantial evidence the view that they are Hindus is corroborated by the quick answer from them that they are so when asked about the name of their religion. Not only these Mudugas were Hindus even from early times, perhaps the minute differences of their rituals and religious rites from those of the present day Hindus can be attributed to their isolated environmental set-up for centuries together in the past.

2.15 The dramatic changes that have occurred in the recent past in their social, economic and cultural aspects have effected little change in their religious practices and beliefs. Their well-being, security, health, happiness and in fact, every thing, is attributed to the benevolence

of their God. The recent landslide and the steady decline in their economic position are believed to be the manifestation of their Lord's wrath. They believe that even a slight departure from their traditional customs and way of life will entail their Lord's displeasure and there will be no way but to pay the penalty for it. It is, therefore, but natural to avoid the wrath of their Lord and live in devotion to their faith and religion.

2.16 Consanguineous marriages have been a traditional custom of Mudugas and the usual form of matrimonial alliance is between the children of brother and sister, as was prevalent in any matriarchal society.

2.17 But for a few children, Mudugas here are grossly illiterate. They can neither read nor write any language. This position of theirs can best be understood in the light of the fact that during the past they had no practice of imparting information or ideas through writing, as it was not a necessity. With this trend of life they never had sought to devise a script for the language, and thus the tendency to read and write has never been allowed to spring up in them. This has unfortunately become a characteristic trait with them. Their children are not studious by nature, nor do they enjoy any incentive from their home-quarters or near relations for developing an aptitude for study. A teacher's effort, however efficacious and extensive it might be, will have its own natural limits and with that it may fail at least as often as it may succeed to induce into the tribes' children an avidity towards education. Apart from this there are many other equally important difficulties which restrict the progress of spread of education among the tribes.

2.18 Mudugas possess a traditional taste for music and dancing. Not only they can sing but also they have a fine ear for music. Musical instruments they play, are of their own make. A pipe, a drum and tom-tom make a complete set of their musical instruments. Each settlement invariably has at least one such set. Their pipe when blown emits a sibilant musical timbre and the drum and tom-tom when beaten respond with a vibrant musical sound. While only a few among them are skilled in playing these musical instruments, all of them, irrespective of male or female, child or adult, are well versed in their group songs and group dances. When musical instruments are played by those skilled in the art, women, children and men go round them dancing and singing. The rhythmic movements with musical gestures, the occasional synchronized clapping of hands and shrill shrieking of women, all blended together to the tune of the music to make a perfect synthesis, make the function an irresistibly exhilarating feat of art. Their art is genuinely original and are entirely anent with the traditional tribal talents. The songs they sing are composed of fine musical notes and all are lyrical narration of the incidents of the past. The mythological story of Lord Siva, the pomp, power and grace of their ancient leader 'Kavai Moopan' and his tragic end, the concerted, thrilling adventures of the past in fighting the menacing wild animals of the jungle etc. etc. are the basic themes of their songs. Apart from the annual festival of the temple here, this is the sole item of entertainment for the Mudugas. There are no strict regulations regarding the regularity or periodicity of these artistic feats. The tribal songs and group dances are popularly appreciated even by the non-tribal population and are often encouraged with beseeching persuations and even monetary temptings.

Irulas

2.19 Irulas of Attappady are of Tamil origin and formerly occupants of Coimbatore district. The history of their mass migration dates back to the end of 16th century or the beginning of 17th century. The reason for their migration is

attributed, almost fairly reasonably, to the aftermath of the wide-spread war in the Vijayanagar Empire and the consequent chaos, dissolutionments, depredations and, above all, increasing insecurity to human lives. The ancestors of the Irulas were believed to have been forcibly thrown out from their original habitat by the invaders. They were subjected to arson, looting and large scale massacre during the course of the war. The Irulas fled from the place and took to the Attappady hills as a haven clad with tangled jungles and infested with numerous wild animals. Accessibility to this fierce forest region was by no means easy and the Irulas rested assured of no imminent danger to their lives. Tell-tale knowledge of the hideous past and the devastations of war is rare with the Irulas at present. Nevertheless none of them even now is an exception to some of the traits of customs and mental disposition which they had been forced to adopt during the past when the ghost of war was rampaging, causing innumerable hardships and miseries to human lives. To cite an example Irulas do not drink water from a well or a pool wherein the water is stagnant, no matter however pure and potable it is or even when they see others drinking from it. This is because of a popular age old beliet among them that stagnant water is poisonous and hence taboo for them. This blind belief in them is however not without adequate foundations. During the fierce war that broke out in the Vijayanagar empire, the enemy inflicted crushing defeat and great disaster on the people. To ensure a clean sweep of the opponents the enemy might have resorted to poisoning the water in the wells and pools thus causing a heavy toll on human lives. The panic stricken Irulas at this grave threat to their lives, as well as of their dear ones, had no recourse but to retreat, and they began retreating from place to place as the enemy advanced, finally to take asylum in the dense forests of Attappady. Although they confined themselves to the inaccessible core of the forests the fear of the tricks of the enemy was lingering in their minds and they totally abandoned using stagnant water. Thereafter they used only flowing water from rivers and channels of Attappady. This restriction lasted long with them and grew more rigid with passing years and finally took the form of a taboo.

2.20 To cite just another peculiarity in their customs, a particular group of Irulas here do not kill or relish the meat of a black coloured sheep. The legend behind this custom points towards a sentimental obligation of the tribes towards this animal in view of a timely help it was believed to have rendered to them. During the course of their retreat in their frenzied bid to dodge the devastating and deadly war, they took a night's bait on the bank of a river. They used to carry along with them all their movable properties, including their cattle. The cattle including some black coloured sheep, were let loose on the river bank to graze and drink water. The day-long, tiresome trotting with scarce food and drinks, caused them considerable fatigue and all of them reposed in the pleasant embrace of slumber. At the dead of night, while all were deep asleep, there arose a volley of bleating of these sheep, as if they smelt the nearness of the advancing enemy. The abrupt and collective bleating of the sheep in the stillness of the night, woke up the dozers, and all were virtually spurred out of the lethargy of their sweet slumber, to see the enemy at a stone's throw, making stealthy advances. The Irulas took to their heels and escaped by the skin of their teeth, from the fierce onslaught of the enemy. They believe that but for the bleatings of the black coloured sheep with them, they would have continued in their relishing slumber and would have fallen a prey to their enemies. Thereafter, they began to feel for this animal, for the timely help

and grew tender and kind towards it. Killing it or even troubling it was considered to be an act of perfidy and was hence forbidden among them. This tenderness and affectionate feeling for the animal has been inherited by their posterity

2.21 The above mentioned stories and some of the available historical evidence can be taken to support the version that the cause of migration of this tribe might have been the war against the Vijayanagar Empire, especially towards its fall.

2.22 The migration of the Irulas occurred only after the popularisation of *Vaishnavism* (worship of Lord Vishnu) unlike that of Mudugas. The Irulas even now refer to a temple at Coimbatore at a locality called Karaimadai, as their chief place of worship. The Shrine in this temple they refer to, is of Lord Vishnu, or 'Karaimada Rangan'. Nevertheless, the Irulas are at present worshippers of Lord Siva. Opinions regarding this change are diverse, and are mainly two. According to the Irulas, one of their oldest 'Karnavan' (ancestor) accompanied Lord Siva in his peregrination from 'Vadarajyam' to 'Thenrajyam'. Their ancestor by name Rangan was the solitary person who accompanied Lord Siva to the Attappady hills and who helped him in constructing his house atop the so called Malleswara peak. It is now said, that it was his influence on the later Irula immigrants, that changed their God of worship. Another opinion is that the Irula immigrants who came far later than the Mudugas, had only emulated the latter in the worship of Lord Siva. There is reason to believe that Irulas have sustained a spell of influence of the Mudugas during the past when they immigrated to this region. The arduous hilly region and the dense forests, abounding in numerous wild animals were so awe-inspiring to the Irulas that they might have robbed them of a sense of security even in these forests. In that precarious predicament, the Irulas were easily amenable even to a friendly gesture and presumably the friendly Mudugas might have inculcated into them the importance and unfailing efficaciousness of the worship of Lord Siva, who was once the omnipotent Lord of that jungle. After all the influence of environments on human character and faith is irresistible as well as undeniable.

2.23 To state succinctly about the origin and migration of Irulas, bearing in mind all the aforesaid facts, Irulas were former occupants of Coimbatore and later they immigrated to Attappady.

2.24 The word 'Irula' is said to be a derivation from the word 'Irul' which means 'darkness'. Irulas are generally pitch black in colour, while there are a few exceptions, especially with the younger generations. It might be specious reasoning to infer that they got their name because of their colour. In fact no one can pass a peremptory opinion in the matter with the existing knowledge of their past. Their hair is black and glossy with stain of oil. It is neither curly nor bristling uniformly, and rarely it goes gray even with advancing age. Irulas are generally of normal stature and they are fairly healthy. As they pay only scant attention to develop a good physique, none of them possesses a well shaped body. Their women are no exception to this. Further, their very way of life is itself an inhibition to any welcome development in the line.

2.25 The language of these Irulas is colloquial Tamil. While their language has close resemblance to that of Mudugas, there are certain marked differences between the two in the matter of terminology, style and pronunciation. This can be attibuted fairly reasonably to the difference in the period of migration of the two tribes (Mudugas were the earlier migrants). However, this cannot be the only reason, for the development and nurturing of the two languages in the conventional conversational phase peculiar

to each of these tribes are no less important to be left unreckoned. The language of Irulas is more akin to Tamil than that of Mudugas although both had their origin and root in Tamil. Because of this avowed affinity of their language to Tamil, Irulas can understand Tamil better than any other language. Malayalam is the next language in which they converse with Malayalees and that too with difficulty. In fact they even strain themselves to fall in line even with the ordinary conversational style of Malayalam. The association with the local Malayalam-speaking people is helping them considerably to get over this difficulty.

2.26 As in the case of Mudugas the language of Irulas has no script of its own and a great majority of the Irulas can neither read nor write any language. Thus their language remains grossly undeveloped and not modernised. The obvious reason is that they had practically no contact with outside world in the past for centuries together. It will be fairly germane to consider those reasons, which were already given in this report in connection with the language of Mudugas, when tracing the development of the language of these Irulas. There are no regional variations in their language within Attappady and their language is common to both men and women.

2.27 The traditional tribal gregariousness is still found with these Irulas. The settlements of these tribes are interspersed in this region. Each settlement consists of a set of households, the numerical strength of which ordinarily varies from 15 to 50. Their huts are erected close to one another while generally, in a group, each household has a hut of its own. In the past they were nomadic and they used to erect their huts near their agricultural plots. But now the system has considerably changed

2.28 In each settlement there used to be a group leader called 'Moopan', assisted by two dignitaries of lower rank, called 'Kuruthalai' and 'Bandari'. The offices of these dignitaries were hereditary and the law of descent was from father to son. Although these dignitaries are recognised even now they no longer command the force they once enjoyed with the people, and their traditional functions are no longer unavoidable. This has mainly been a collateral development of their traditional social pattern with the changes that took place in their economic position.

2.29 According to some of the Irulas, the Irula population is divided into different *Kulams* or 'Clans'. However, none is in a position now to throw any light on the time of origin or the principle behind the formation of these *Kulams* while most of the people among them do not know to which *Kulam* they actually belong. In the past, marriage between persons of the same *Kulam* was forbidden, as it was against their traditional marital rules. Presumably the persons in one *Kulam* are the descendants of one father, since the *Kulam* of a girl change to that of her husband at the time she marries him. Though in the past these customs were in force, they do not exist now in all rigidity.

2.30 A majority of the Irulas have as their principal means of livelihood, manual labour. A few have, however, agriculture as their major occupation with labour as a subsidiary means of livelihood.

2.31 As has been indicated earlier the Irulas here are worshippers of Lord Siva, even though they refer to a 'Vishnu' temple at 'Karamadai' in Coimbatore district as their chief place of worship. But practically the Irulas here have hardly any contact with that religious institution. To establish the origin and cause of their worshipping 'Lord Siva', the Irulas narrate a story which is more or less similar to that given by Mudugas, but with the exception that it was one of the Irulas viz, Rangan who accompanied Lord Siva in his peregrination and extended pious succour to him during his sojourn

at the arduous, Attappady hills. It is because of this that the Irulas claim that they are the legal and factual heirs to the right of worshipping Lord Siva and that Lord Siva is their own God and not that of Mudugas. According to the Irulas, in the past, Mudugas were assigned only the task of bringing food to the Lord and this did not entitle them to claim the entire right of worship of the Lord. In this connection it may be mentioned that only Mudugas are entitled to the Malleswara peak for conducting the *pooja* on the *Sivarathri* day. In short, there is no harmony in the views of Mudugas and Irulas on their God and the origin of worship by them. The temple at the foot of the hills but on the other side of the river, where Lord Siva is enshrined is under the control and possession of the Irulas. According to the Mudugas, these shrines were formerly at the foot of the hills where *poojas* were conducted by Mudugas, and were later stealthily shifted to the present site by an Irula. Thus this became an apple of discord between the two tribes and the local administration had to interfere with the matter to bury the hatchet, lest it should have ended in unnecessary bloodshed. Although the administration succeeded in supressing the internecine tendencies among them by oppressive duress, the discontentment and rivalry are still alive in the minds of the tribes.

2.32 Irulas claim that they are Hindus and in fact their religious rites are similar to those of Hindus. The rituals, oblations to their God etc. clearly indicate the semblance of their religion to Hinduism. Their faith on the benevolence of their God is adamant, while it is their avowed aim to have material prosperity, rather than anything else, by being devoted to their Lord.

2.33 Like the Mudugas Irulas also practise inbreeding and their traditional custom factually commands this. The spread of education among these Irulas is remarkably poor, in spite of the avid enterprises of the Government to enthuse these tribes towards it. Most of them except a few children who have had some schooling, do not know to read and write. The Irulas are favourable to sending their children to school. Nevertheless, they are not really bent upon doing so as they cannot overcome various incidental difficulties in their existing social and economic standards. Apart from these, they have their own characteristic inhibition to acquire education. Children are not studious as they are not persuaded to be otherwise. Often they are left to themselves to waste their time in play and puerile piffle. Some children work as shepherds and earn their livelihood while others go for petty work. The existing incentives for education can in no case compete with these avenues of employment for the children, or even their own characteristic indifference towards education. Thus the spread of education among them is remarkably slow, while the existing trend portends but a tardy rate of progress.

2.34 Irulas are highly talented in music and dance. Their dexterity in this art is almost profectitious while their enthusiasm towards it is exemplary.

2.35 Their traditional musical instruments are drum, tom-tom, pipe and conch. There are veterans among them noted for their innate talents to play these instruments, while almost every one among them is skilled in their traditional dance and music. When these instruments are played by those skilled men, women and children go round them singing and dancing. The synchronized clapping of hands, and occasional shouts of the participants of the dance blend together to the tune and temper of the music, to make it irresistibly frolicsome. The Irulas have devised dances of different *genre* and have composed several songs suitable to those. When through the pipe and the conch, the tune of these

songs are sung the dancers swing into appropriate action with no ambiguity of musical gestures or movements. The basic themes of their songs are incidents of the past, which have a grandeur and glory of their own. Heroic deeds, prowess, valour, endurance etc. are upheld and gloriously sung by them. Besides these classical dance performances they enact a dance-drama called Harichandra-Charitham, the story of Harischandra, a Hindu king, whose name is a synonym for honesty and truth in the Hindu mythology. Their dance drama has all the discipline and niceties of a modern drama; yet the scenes and settings are entirely of their own origination. The excellence of their skill in this art is inescapably explicit in the introduction of a jester in this drama to give the audience the privilege of a happy and amusive digression and respite from the monotony of concatenation of the theme in its various stages. In short the histrionic abilities of the Irulas are excellent and exemplary while their art is genuine and original. (In fact the President of the Nation has complimented some of them for genuine talents for folk-dance and music.) As in the case of the Mudugas, these are the items of entertainment for Irulas. Usually these are nocturnal entertainments for them. Asumptuous supper will inevitably be followed by these performances of art. Apart from the entertainment value, they are welcome sources of physical exercise also for them. Their artistic performances have won no small admiration, even from the non-tribal section of the population and this feature of it is in itself a source of encouragement to them.

House Types

2.36 The habitats of Mudugas and Irulas are similar in every respect. Their huts are erected on ground level or sometimes on a raised platform. The building materials are mainly bamboos and wooden poles. However, some of them build their huts with sunburnt bricks. The floor is covered with thick layers of mud and often kept smooth. The material of the walls is mainly bamboo. Bamboo strips interwoven firmly and compactly or bamboos crushed to undetachable strips are made use of to build walls. To make these adequately protective against the wild gusts of winds and the lashing in of rains these walls are plastered with mud, thus making their huts factually air tight excepting, of course, for the entrance door. The roof is made of bamboo strips and wooden poles and thatched with straw.

2.37 Their huts are so small that there is hardly any room to swing a cat. The roof of the hut is too low and the lowest edge of it virtually covers the entrance; the entrance itself is too small to let in any one with ease and one can only wriggle into the hut through it. The construction of the roof and the entrance in the aforesaid design is so meant as to ward off the bracing cold wind during the monsoons. The inner space of the hut is so little that there is an unhealthy congestion even for a household of normal size. Further, as they are so very particular of warding off wind, it is too much to expect them to construct ventilators for their huts. The result is that within the hut there is an obnoxious odour to which these tribes are wont even habitually. In most of the huts there are two compartments of which one is used as the kitchen. While some of the huts have no compartments, those with more than two compartments are practically nil. They little bother to lay any strict specification of the use of separate compartments, say as kitchen or bedroom. When cooking, the whole hut will be filled with suffocating smoke which often overflows to nag the next door neighbour. These tribes are not generally in the habit of keeping their huts clean and hygienic. Anything and everything will be kept inside the hut.

indiscriminately mixed up. The dirty drab clothes kept inside the hut and the decaying riff-raffs thrown around the hut give rise to a stench often apt to burn ones nostril. In short the whole hut and its surroundings are filthy and musty.

2.38 The tribes here seem to have an exaggerated notion of the advantages of gregariousness. In each settlement there will be several huts erected close to one another, with irregular shapes and with no order or rule as to the direction in which they should face. At times, two or three households together construct a long narrow hut which will be apportioned among them by different segments. The convenience and collective responsibility with which it is built are, no doubt, encouraging.

2.39 Under the housing scheme of the tribal block here some houses have been built for the tribes at different localities in this region. The Mukkali pilot scheme is the most prominent among these. Twenty-five houses have been constructed under this scheme to settle an equal number of tribal households. The houses are constructed in two rows facing one another. Although each house is factually separate from the adjacent one it is really too close to the other. With this striking feature it apparently looks like one of a traditional tribal settlements without the characteristic disorderliness and irregularity of stance of the individual house. The propinquity of these houses with each other, is, no doubt; not quite hygienic and salutary. Indeed, the traditional tendency of the tribes towards gregariousness should of necessity, be respected; but it is for mature scientific consideration, whether it should be recognised and emulated to the extent it has been done in the Mukkali tribal colony.

2.40 In certain other settlements Government have constructed oblong halls and have compartmentalised each to accommodate five to six households. While only a few households have what may be called their apartments in the halls, others have around those, their traditional kens creating congestion and contamination. This obviously is a most unhealthy predicament defeating the very objectives of such an expensive Government project.

2.41 The individual houses constructed by Government have high plinths. The flooring is of cement and in some houses it is a mixture of mud and cattle-dung. Walls are built of bricks and are stuccoed. The roof is tiled. Each building has two rooms; one is to be used as a kitchen while the other one as a bed room. The houses at Mukkali pilot scheme have a portico in addition to the two rooms. These houses are well ventilated and cosy though small in size and with low roof. The fact that it is very dissimilar to the traditional habit of the tribes is not quite a pleasant theme for them and sometimes they are heard remarking that these houses are too airy and hence uncomfortable. In fact in some localities the tribes have constructed extensions for these houses, using bamboo and straw and live in them comfortably, while in some other places they have conveniently shifted to their traditional huts leaving their Government-built house to their non-tribal friends, who indeed, show preference to live in, it. This is done by them often not out of magnanimity or monetary gratifications but out of sheer dislike for these new type of houses. Unfortunately some of these Government buildings are in a threatening condition, to collapse even at the slightest provocative wind. The characteristic nonchalance of the tribes to cleanliness and hygiene, remains unnegotiated and unabated, even in spite of the primness and cosiness of these freely obtained new good houses. They never keep their huts clean while they have sufficient incentives to do so. Everything will be kept littered in their huts. It gives one the impression that these tribes

are not wont even habitually to cleanliness when one sees the clean dazzlingly stuccoid walls of their houses indiscriminately plastered with the mixture of mud and cattle-dung. Perhaps, it is their innocent, intention, to make the new houses akin, at least in some respects, to their traditional huts.

Dress and Ornaments

2.42 The mode and materials of dress of the Mudugas and Irulas are more or less similar. The males ordinarily wear a dhoti round their waist to cover the lower part of their body and put on in addition a banian or shirt to cover the torso. While banian and shirt are equally popular among the youngsters as well as the aged the older ones use in addition, an upper cloth or towel over their shirt or banian. This is meant as an additional precaution for the senile ones against the adversities of climate. In the past there was a popular custom among some of the tribes that the members of a socially high community like themselves should never wear the dhoti in such a way as to cover the portion below their knees. But this custom grew feeble with years and now only a very few old Mudugas and Kurumbas observe this as a sort of prestige. It is said that Irulas had no such custom, though they were not, as a class, inferior in social status to any other.

2.43 The material of their dress is ordinarily cheap cotton. In fact their low economic position is the only factor which restrains them from possessing more costly materials of dress. They use white dhoti while they show a sort of preference to light coloured shirts.

2.44 The Muduga and Irula females are seen dressed alike. Not only their mode of dressing is alike but even the colour and the materials of their dress are also similar or at least without any considerable difference. They wear their *chela* over a loin cloth. With one end of the *chela* they cover the lower part of their body while, with the other end they drap their torso up to the armpit covering their breasts completely. With only so much of clothes on the upper part of their body a part of their chest below the neck, a part of their back below the nape, the whole of their neck and nape and the shoulders and the arms are left bare. They wear their *chela* even below the calf muscles such that only the insteps and feet are left bare. Their mode of dressing is quite secure while it undeniably helps to reveal in a pleasing way their physical beauty.

2.45 Both the Muduga and Irula women choose to be tawdrily draped. Saffron, deep blue and deep green are some of their favourite colours and invariably their *chela* will flaunt with one of these colours.

2.46 Apart from the colour of the dress and the mode of dressing nothing in this matter seems to engage the attention of these tribes. They have apparently an utter disregard for cleanliness. Most of the men and women appear in detestably soiled clothes. Men rarely wash their clothes and even this infrequent endeavour is no more than an eye-wash. Cleansing materials are very rarely used by them and when used, it will be in scarcely sufficient quantities. Women do not usually take away their *chela* from their body when they wash it, but they rub it with water, one end after another, still using a part of it to mask their nudity. How much cleaning can be done by this perfunctory washing is not beyond one's comprehension. Further their practice of washing clothes is not at least as frequent as their practice of washing themselves even though one set of dress is used by them continuously for days and nights. The fact, however, cannot be ignored that they do not have sufficient number of clothes frequently.

2.47 Mudugas and Irulas have their



Pl. 8 HOUSES CONSTRUCTED BY THE GOVERNMENT P. 23



Pl. 9 HOUSES CONSTRUCTED BY THE GOVERNMENT—ANOTHER PATTERN P. 23



Pl. 10 IRULA FEMALES P. 24

own method of bedecking themselves so as to make themselves attractive. The only restricting factor to their ever increasing quest for ornaments is their poor economic position. The ornaments of these tribes are of cheap materials viz , brass, beads, tin, aluminium, plastic and glass. Males wear rings and very rarely, ear ornaments. Their women wear rings, chains, ear ornaments and bangles. Although all are not possessing all of the above ornaments, most of them have at least some of these. Chain of beads with chequered colours is the most popular among them. These ornaments are bought from shops or from vendors. One of their most cherished ornaments is a chain of valuable coins. Eight-anna coins and four-anna coins are seen rivetted to a chain consisting of clips to grip the coins. The coins in the chain are symmetrically arranged in such a way that the bigger ones (eight-anna coins) come in the middle and the smaller ones (four-anna coins) towards either end. The silvery colour of the coins and the symmetry of its arrangement give the ornament an agreeable look. It, no doubt, adorns the neck of these swarthy tribal women. Perhaps, this is the costliest of their ornaments for, it consists of valuable coins and therefore only a few women possess it, while many aspire for it. As one male remarked, this is a costly mania with their women and it is sometimes the lot of the husbands to defer to their importunate spouses especially during the early period of their nuptial life. Besides these, some of them possess hair ornaments made of a 10 p. or 2 p. coin. Some of the elder women are seen wearing a kind of red coloured ornament in their dilated ear-lobes. This ornament has the shape of a hollow pipe with 1 cm. diameter and 1 cm. length. It is said this ornament is made of a palmyra leaf and is coloured with some red ink. Tattooing the forehead and arms is one of their favourite adornments and most of the women especially the elders have adorned their forehead and arms with tattoo.

2.48 Thus these tribal women are behind none in their avid desire to beautify and bedeck themselves and make them attractive, albeit they cannot fully afford to emulate their fortunate sisters in the various other afluent communities.

Household Goods

2.49 The tribes' household utensils are made of clay. The possibility of a few families possessing a few brass, copper and glass utensils cannot be ruled out. Their pronounced preference to clay utensils is not a matter of taste but of forced economy or austerity. At a time, a household will possess a few pots, plates and cups which will be just sufficient to cope with the size of the family. Some households buy glass utensils, as they are more or less cheap in the market, and keep them as their prized possessions. Almost every household possesses a mortar and pestle. It is, in fact, of daily use to them as the paddy, ragi, or *chama* usually obtained as wages has to be husked, or pulverised, as the case may be, before dusk every day, in order to prepare their supper.

2.50 All that they possess in the form of furniture are a few grass-mats. Each household invariably have a few of them. These grass-mats are of their own make and for them it is a comfortable and economic substitute for bed or any other type of upholstery. It is more useful to them when they entertain guests. Even a stranger will have the privilege of relaxing on a spruce grass mat, when he visits these tribal huts. The tribes' hospitality is proverbial and their bonafides in this is commendable.

Food and Drink

2.51 The tribes here had no scarcity of food materials in the past. The vast virgin forest areas used to respond remarkably, even to their unmethodical and unscientific agricultural activities. The various edible roots and fruits of the

forests were well within their reach and they used to enjoy them almost effortlessly. Apart from these, the most important diet of these tribes in the past was animal flesh. The Attappady forests with their ample games virtually met their demads in this matter. But, with the passing of years the tribes have been deprived of all these privileges. Their traditional right to cultivate and the unrestricted freedom of movement in the forests suffered serious set-back with the increasing restrictions imposed upon them by the landlords. Further, concerted attempts to rob the forests of their kids became the hobby of many among the wealthy non-tribes around here. Their frequent hunting for recreation, not only reduced the number of games in these forests, but also drove the remaining into the inaccessible cores of the forests. Obviously, this was much to the disadvantage of these tribes. Unfortunately, the economic standard of these tribes did not rise to make up the deficiency but instead it had steadily diminished with years. This feature had ostentatious repercussions on their regimen.

2.52 The Mudugas and Irulas have similar habits of diet. Although these two communities are traditionally non-vegetarian, now they have to remain complacent with some cheap vegetables. They can, in their existing position, hardly afford regular meat diet. The staple food of these tribes is paddy although ragi and *chama* are also consumed by them in good measures. While, some of the households cultivate these cereals others buy them from markets for their daily use. Although they use a variety of vegetables like cucumber, brinjal, bitter gourd, lady's finger, tuber crops etc. etc., the most common item for them is a kind of greens which abundantly grow in the forest. Often they have to satisfy themselves with vegetables which they obtain from these forests, as they can hardly afford to purchase other things from markets. Jack fruits, mangoes and gooseberry are gathered in plenty from forest during the season for cash.

2.53 Their methods of preparation of the various vegetable food items are not very different from those of the non-tribals. They prefer raw rice. Like others they prepare curries using spices like chillies, salt and tamarind. Cocoanut oil is used, subject to availability, for cooking. They make special items of food during their festive occasions. The tribes have a peculiar and an unsatiable liking for sweets, and sweetened rice is one of their most favourite special dishes.

2.54 The tribes here relish the meat of a variety of animals. The meat of pig, deer, jungle sheep, sheep and goat etc. is used for delicious dishes. But they never taste beef and meat of bison, as they consider them taboo as many other tribes in the State. The meat of wild and domestic fowls is one of their favourite non-vegetarian dishes and they have their own device of entrapping them from the forest regions.

2.55 As has been indicated earlier, in the existing plight of these tribes, they very rarely enjoy meat-diets. The scope for hunting was once plenty for them, but this has gradually slipped off their hands with the passing of years. Now these tribes have either to purchase these things from markets, which they can hardly afford, or secure them from some other sources. They, no doubt, enjoy a share of the spoils if they help, in their own way, a hunting endeavour of the fortunate non-tribals around here. In this the tribes' task will be to extend succour to the hunter by accompanying him in his nocturnal trips through the thick, tangled jungles, in the vigorous and furtive search of the games. Or, if it is a concerted enterprise, these tribes have to drive the animals off their jungle hide by tampering with the stillness of the forests by drum-beating, violent hallooing and boisterous screams. The share in the meat of hunted



Pl. 11 REED BASKETS — HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES USED BY THE TRIBES P. 25



Pl. 12 ANOTHER TYPE OF REED BASKET P. 25

animals is meagre in these days according to them. Nevertheless, it is for them still a recognised source of securing meat. They discard rotten and stinking meat as filthy and unusable. They get charity shares of the catch, often symbolic of the altruistic aspect of valour, if it is so sizable as to be shared. Despite all these, the tribes have expressed their deep discontentment on the utter penury of their much-loved meat diet. Fish is a favourite item of food for them. Unlike meat they have not placed any restriction on the use of fish. They relish all types of fish whether it is scaled or scaleless. For want of facilities only occasionally these tribes go for fishing. Their children are often seen making some inexperienced attempts at fishing in the river as part of their diurnal and day-long play. These efforts are reported to vary from partial success to total failure. Thus for most of the time they have to buy fish (dried salt-water fish) from the market. But unfortunately it is a bit costly and hence the tribes can hardly afford to use fish for every meal or at least every day.

2.56 Eggs make sumptuous food for these tribes. Some of the households are reported to possess a few fowls. They do not sell eggs except when driven by exigencies. The eggs are, ordinarily either used up by themselves or disposed of for hatching chicks, the latter being more popular.

2.57 The tribes drink tea and coffee. But tea, more than coffee, is much to their liking and hence it is the most common drink among them. Their liking for tea knows no bounds, so that one can easily extract any promise of service from them at the simple offer of a cup of tea. Their opinion of good tea is invariably based upon its sweetness.

2.58 These tribes are accustomed to taking intoxicating drinks. But alcoholic drinks are not openly available in this region and therefore they are virtually starving for it, much to their discontentment. No case of home brewing has been reported. It is said that these tribes have several other intoxicants which have partly replaced the use of liquor.

2.59 Despite all the aforesaid tastes and preferences of these tribes they have hardly a healthy regimen. Perhaps at no time in a day they enjoy a square meal. Further their food materials are not sufficiently nutritious. They pay only scant attention to the qualitative aspects of their food. It seems that a good number of these tribes, and particularly their children, are suffering from protien malnutrition and vitamin deficiency in spite of the several good vegetables they use. This might be partially due to the defective method of preparation of their food.

2.60 At day-break all of them ordinarily go out of their hut for the day's work. Those who have kept apart some victuals from previous night's supper will have it in the morning. But no one can ordinarily do without a cup of tea in the morning, no matter what other things they eat. They are not in the habit of preparing tea or coffee at home. It will be to their perfect satisfaction only if they drink it from the local tea shops. If they cannot afford they hesitate to buy some eatables also along with tea. With this they almost finish their breakfast. It is said that most of them do without a good meal for the rest of the day. Often they satisfy themselves with several cups of tea during day-time and if possible with a modicum of food bought from shops. Evidently this system is hardly salutary. Apart from the unhealthy aspects of this system, it has its reaction on their poor economic position. They hardly realise this, and even if they do, it is very difficult for them to refrain from the force of habit. The plight of the non-working children is all the more sympathetic. Many of them virtually starve during day-time in anxious expectation of the return of their parents in the evening.

The tribes love nothing nearly equal to their children. They, indeed, satisfy their starving children by taking some edibles at the time they reach home. They then make the purchases essential for the supper in a hurry and very nearly dash before nightfall to their huts, which will ordinarily be miles away from their work-spot. Thus they have hardly any time and patience to bestow any scrupulous regard to materials, their value and mode of preparation of their food and it is fairly understandable too.

2.61 To sum up, the peculiar regimen of these tribes is defective in many respects. As this is the greatest inhibition to a healthy amelioration of these tribes it should inevitably be eradicated. To change a habit effectively is not very easy; but proper incentives and adequate facilities can be hoped to bring about a gradual change. Healthy modifications to their entire food habits, and even food would be highly desirable.

Beliefs and Practices

Birth

2.62 Birth is an incident of auspiciousness and a matter of mirth. The tribes here pose no exception to the universal concept and notions about birth. They revel at the occurrence of birth and solicit their relatives and friends to share their joy and happiness on the occasion. The baby is deemed the symbol of love between the man and his wife and eventually it becomes the symbol of human love and kinship. Although these tribes share these universal beliefs and concepts they have their own peculiar practices.

2.63 Mudugas, as one of their traditional customs, celebrate the first pregnancy of every woman. The ceremony is conducted during the 7th month of the first pregnancy. This is obviously the manifestation of their happiness at the prospect of proliferation. The woman's parents ordinarily bear the cost of this celebration in which relatives and friends are feasted.

2.64 According to their custom the woman in labour is confined to a secluded part of the hut. Mother-in-law and other elder women act as *accoucheuse*. Every succour is extended to her during the prenatal and post-natal period of confinement. Parturition is followed by pollution and according to the tribal custom pollution lasts for six months. During this period of pollution members of the household cannot enter the huts of others while others do not take food or drinks from this household. Mother can move about the hut and attend to household duties after 21 days or after she recoups her health. It is said that men also avoid hazardous enterprises during the period of confinement of their wives.

2.65 Irulas have another custom connected with birth. They too celebrate the first pregnancy of every woman as a mark of their joy at the prospect of adding one more to their kin. Like the Mudugas, Irulas confine the woman in labour to a sequestered part of the hut and she is attended by her mother-in-law and other elder females at the time of parturition. Mother and baby will be kept fed and comfortable until the mother regains her normal health. Irulas, too, observe pollution for a period not short of six months. During this period the *menage* is virtually kept isolated, for, no member of it can enter other's huts, or no others can eat or drink from there. After a sufficient post-natal rest the mother resumes her household duties. Irula males also avoid, as a convention, hazardous enterprises during the period of confinement of their wives.

Marriage Customs

2.67 Marriage is deemed a basic social necessity for legal procreation or proliferation while it is at the same time, virtually a social and economic convenience. It promotes a sense of oneness or at least compactness, to which all the possessions, material and spiritual, of the incumbents are honestly dedicated.

Above all there is a joint responsibility and joint endeavour after marriage to attain the common end namely, happiness in life. The very life of these tribes bears ample evidence to substantiate this point of view. The two tribes have however different marriage rites, though their ultimate aim is one and the same.

2.68 Muduga girls are held nubile only after their attaining puberty. They have a traditional custom of inbreeding. A boy is united in wedlock to his maternal uncle's daughter or to his paternal aunt's daughter. The marriage rites of these Mudugas contain numerous etiquettes or *lex non scripta*. The initiative is always left to the male just for the reason that he is the buyer and protector of the girl. Of course buyers have the privilege of choice. Before the marriage question is mooted, divination is done so as to assess the suitability of the union. There are among them, certain persons who are skilled in the art of divining the future. After satisfying themselves, the boy's parents send an agent to the girl's parents to moot the marriage proposal. He explains his mission to the girl's parents and seeks their consent. If the proposal is acceptable to the girl's parents they fix the quantum of monetary gratification due to them, by giving off their daughter in marriage. The agent will no doubt identify himself with his duty of bargaining to reduce the bride-price to the barest minimum. Nevertheless this amount can never go below Rs. 25. It is not known how they have fixed the minimum of their bride-price at Rs. 25. No one here is capable of throwing any light on this age-old convention. If the conditions are acceptable to both parties, the boy's parents donate Rs. 1.25 to the 'Kara Daivam' (family deity) in the girl's parents' hut. This is virtually the registration of the marriage on the conditions already stipulated. An auspicious day for marriage is then fixed, with the consent of both parties. On the eve of the first day of the marriage celebration relatives of the bridegroom, his friends and the group leader of the settlement, go to the girl's house and stay there overnight. With due hospitality and regard the girl's parents feast them. The next day the girl is brought to the bridegroom's hut, her parents and their agent accompanying her. These tribes have a firm faith in omens. They always look for them and interpret in their own way. Only if they are satisfied and encouraged with good omens at the time of proceeding to girl's house they will proceed with the marriage rites. They will, if discouraged by alarming ill omens, postpone or even drop the marriage. The girl on her arrival at the bridegroom's hut is welcomed by his relatives and parents. The bridegroom links his little finger to that of the bride and leads her into his hut ceremoniously. At night the bridegroom and the bride observe a function of feasting each other in the privacy of the hut excepting for the presence of the girl's maternal uncle's daughter, generally married. The bridegroom and the bride sit face to face, and between them some cooked rice is served by the girl's maternal uncle's daughter on plantain leaf. The bridegroom takes a handful of rice to the bride's mouth when the girl's maternal uncle's daughter snatches it away and eats it herself. Only after this the bridegroom can feed the bride who later reciprocates the act. The significance of this act of snatching away the first proffered pinch of rice to the bride by the bridegroom is enshrouded in mystery. The invitees are feasted, and group dances and group songs are performed. Next morning a 'tali' — a chain of beads — is tied to the girl's neck in the presence of all assembled. Immediately after this the bridegroom has to pay the bride-price to the girl's parents. If agreed upon, this amount need be paid only by instalments, the first instalment being given immediately after the 'tali' tying ceremony. The girl's parents after this

assigns to her what they can give her as her share of their wealth, ordinarily some vessels, ornaments or cattle. The girl's parents return to their hut leaving behind the girl to the care and credit of her husband.

2.69 After the elapse of eight days the couple and the husband's agent and his wife pay a conventional courtesy call (*Murmani* in the tribe's vernacular) to the girl's parents, and present them with cooked rice and different varieties of curries. Next day they return, when the girl's parents present them with similar items of victuals. This is the last formality of the marriage function and the girl becomes the property of her husband who has bought her from her parents.

2.70 Irula girls are held nubile even before their attaining puberty. However, in this case, the consummation of the marriage is not permitted before the girl's attainment of puberty. The young couple live in their respective homes though wedded to each other, till the date of the girl's puberty. Like the Mudugas, Irulas too have the practice of inbreeding and the normal practice of a male is to marry his maternal uncle's daughter or his paternal aunt's daughter. The Irulas were theoretically exogamous when the concept of *Kulams* was alive in them. It is said, that now no one pays any heed to this system probably because many do not know to which *Kulam* they actually belong. Only after divining the suitability of the union, the parents of the bridegroom moot the marriage question through their agent to the girl's parents. A date is fixed according to the convenience of both parties for the first visit to the girl's hut by the boy's parents and their agent. While performing this visit the omens are watched and if there are ill omens they postpone the visit. The girl's parents welcome the boy's parents and their agent to their hut. They discuss the matter at length through their agents and if the conditions stipulated by the girl's parents are acceptable to the boy's parents, the latter donates Rs. 1.25 to the 'Kara Daivam' in the girl's hut. The date of marriage is also fixed. The first day and the last two days of the week are generally considered inauspicious for marriage functions. The first function of marriage is conducted at the girl's house. This function which starts in the morning is attended by the bridegroom's party including their group leader and the invitees and relatives of the girl's family. Feasting is the main item of the function. Group dances and group songs are also performed to entertain the guests. After staying overnight the bridegroom's party return with the girl accompanied by her parents, their agent and their group leader. On reaching the bridegroom's hut, the little fingers of the boy and girl are linked and the boy leads the girl into his hut. All are feasted and allowed to rest for the day and the following night. Next day the question of bride-price is raised by the girl's agent and after fixing a reasonable amount the bridegroom is made to pay the amount or a portion of it at that time itself. The payment is made to the girl's group leader who will hand over the sum to the girl's parents, after deducting whatever is due to him by way of his right. After this the boy ties a 'tali' (a chain of beads) round the girl's neck, in the presence of all, thereby binding her to him in wedlock. All are feasted after this. After a week, the couple visit the girl's father and present him with cooked rice and curries. The next day they return with similar present from the girl's father. If the girl is not sufficiently mature to enter into matrimony she will be retained at her hut.

2.71 It has been noted as a common custom for these tribes that they actually buy a girl from her parents to tie her in wedlock. However, the traditional custom of consanguineous marriage is always insisted upon. Excepting for this, perhaps, there is no other significant rule for their

marriage. As the tribes are not aware of their age, one pays no attention to one's spouse's age. In fact there are cases like an elderly woman and a young man and vice versa living in matrimony. Ostensibly this is not a wholesome practice. They divine the suitability of a betrothal by one of their superstitious methods. Since marriage is primarily a matter of buying a girl from her parents, more often her consent is not sought. The highest offer of money is irresistibly enticing to these tribes, above everything else. Moreover parents consider their female children a source of wealth, for, by giving them away in marriage, they gain money. This is evidently a dangerous trend as it will result in the union of the most unsuitable which eventually leads to disharmony and infidelity. As the payment of money to the girl's parents is an unavoidable prerequisite of marriage, many males postpone their marriage, expressing disgust over the inexorable and intransigent attitude of the girl's parents. This evidently gives unnecessary strain to their mind and physique, which is apt to entail many unpleasant after-effects including violation of traditional moral etiquettes. If one is wealthy, one can have more than one wife. Polygamy is not prohibited among them. Nevertheless recognised polygamy cases are few among them.

2.72 Where a divorce is effected one can claim back the amount one has paid to the girl's parents at the time of marriage. This is irrespective of the time at which one wants the divorce to be effected. Generally, they divorce only on barrenness or infidelity. However the marriage is terminable at one's will. Thus there is hardly any permanency in matrimony.

Death Rites

2.73 The tribes under reference seem to share all the common notions and feelings of the non-tribals concerning death. They have, however, different obsequies. They used to perform these functions in the past observing all punctilios. But their present economic position hardly encourages them to observe these functions in their traditional forms.

2.74 Mudugas impart the news of death to relatives and friends. All throng at the house of the deceased and express their condolence to the bereaved family. The relatives attend to the corpse. Oil is applied to the corpse and it is bathed in cold water. The big toes of the deceased are tied together. A pinch of turmeric and a four anna coin are put in the mouth of the corpse. This, according to the tribes, is to purify the soul from the mundane pollution and thus make it apt to be received at its destination — the domain of Lord Siva. It is then placed on a bier and covered with clothes brought by the brothers and brothers-in-law of the deceased. After this all burst into boisterous bewailings. If the deceased is a married male his wife's hair is shaved off. This is done only if she does not intend to remarry. The bier is decorated with flowers. Incenses are burnt to counteract the miasma from the corpse. Then, the people go round the corpse singing and dancing. This is apparently irrelevant and out of place, in a mood of melancholy, caused by the demise of one among themselves. However, they observe it as a traditional rite and for that matter, as a custom. The corpse is then carried to the burial spot. A pit 3' deep is dug in the north-south pose. Small bundles of 'kora' and 'chama' are thrown on to the corpse lowered into the pit with the head pointing south, apparently with the notion that the departing soul should be satisfied and liberated from all earthly wants. The spouse of the dead then throws three handfuls of sand on the corpse's lap and then the pit is completely filled with sand. The spouse then touches the burial ground with *darbha* (a kind of grass) uttering the name of the deceased. The *darbha* is then taken home and all return to the house of the deceased. Two vessels, one with

water and one with oil are then brought and a drop of oil is poured on to the water, using the blade of *darbha* uttering the name of the dead. Then for each of the deceased ancestors in the deceased's family a drop of oil is dripped on to the water uttering his or her name and every drop of oil thus dripped into the water is kept watched. When the first drop of oil poured in the name of the latest dead joins one of the drops allotted for a deceased ancestor it is believed that the soul of the deceased has joined the soul of that ancestor. Then the enjoined drops of oil is taken and applied to the forehead of the person who performs this rite. All who are watching with rapt attention burst into obstreperous laments soon after they know the result of this rite. They believe superstitiously, that the soul of the deceased ancestor is in a way contacted by this rite. A feasting follows this function. The rice served in this feast is slightly coloured with turmeric. This colouring of the rice served in the feast is reported to be for its purification which is deemed to be wholesome and hence necessary in the house where a death has taken place. All disperse after the feast. On the third day the burial spot is revisited and a stone is placed at the portion of the head of the corpse.

2.75 An annual function called *Chathamuttal* (feasting the soul of the departed) is performed ordinarily after the harvest of crops. This function is a collective enterprise. All Mudugas assemble at a particular settlement. The common burial ground for Mudugas is ceremoniously visited and the graves are dug out. Pieces of bones of the dead body interred here are picked out and put into a clean brass vessel. The brass vessel is decorated with various colours and its mouth covered with a gaudy silk piece. The vessel with the contents is taken to the settlement and is kept on a decorated platform, sheltered with a beautifully decorated, spacious, overhead pandal. For three days this is kept ceremoniously on the platform and the people spend their time in mirth, singing, dancing and sumptuous feasts. All these days *poojas* (rituals) are conducted in memory of the departed. During these three days a good number (almost equal to the number of their deceased ancestors) of fowls and goats are butchered and meat preparations made. Before using these preparations, a portion each, for every one of their deceased ancestors is kept separately on a piece of plantain leaf. This portion is not used later while the rest is served among themselves.

2.76 On the fourth day the vessel is taken to a place called Karikulam Koppa (within the forests) and the remains of the deceased are interred along with the vessel. The meat preparations kept apart are also buried along with this.

2.77 Mudugas observe pollution for three months following the death. It is their belief that the spirit of the dead ultimately goes to the domain of their Lord and enjoys eternal bliss there.

2.78 The Irulas here have notably different obsequies. The news of the death is spread among relatives and friends. The deceased's younger brother, or in the absence of any one like that, the eldest son, has the right over the corpse. The corpse is bathed in cold water and after that oil is applied. It is then bedecked with new clothes brought by the deceased's relatives. To purify the corpse they put crushed and moistened turmeric into its mouth. This, it is believed, will facilitate the eternal rest of the soul of the departed in the domain of their Lord. The Irulas here have some common burial grounds. After decorating the bier of the corpse the Irulas perform their group dances and group songs. The corpse is then carried to the burial place and interred with its head pointing southwards. The two poles of the bier are kept at the burial spot so as to identify later the plan of interment. All the belongings of the defunct are thrown into the grave, provided the burial

takes place not on a Friday. If the deceased has a wife, she has to divest herself of the 'tali' and all other ornaments till the death rites are over. When the interment ceremony is over the party returns to the house of the deceased after a purifying bath. All assembled are feasted. The bereaved family takes food without salt or chillies for the day. The next day the burial place is revisited by the members of the bereaved family and after a bath they take food with salt and chillies. Irulas observe pollution for six months. After this period they conduct a ceremony in honour of the deceased. One male and two females are selected to perform this rite. *Chama* is cooked without salt or chillies in a new pot and the three persons eat only this for the day. They observe some sort of a penance for the day. The next day the male butchers a goat and the two females after a bath prepare its meat along with the preparation of rice and ragi. The male visits the burial place and makes necessary arrangements there for the ceremony to follow, and returns to the hut after having a purifying bath. After the preparation of the food the following peculiar rite is performed by them. The male stands behind the two females who proffer three pinches of rice to the male. The male receives it and throws it backward. Then for each of the ancestors in the family, pinches of the prepared food are offered, and prayers are offered to join each other in the God's domain. The victuals are taken to the burial spot and left there. Irulas are afraid that the spirits of the dead will roam about and cause innumerable sufferings to the living. The offering of food etc. is their humble and pious attempt to please the spirit of the dead, by satisfying their desire for delicious food. The remains of the food are shared by all who take part in the function.

2.79 Exactly three days after this function, the Irulas here conduct a ceremony as per their traditional tribal obsequies. Relatives and friends who are invited to attend the function collect at the house of the deceased. On that day venison is cooked with condiments and spices to their taste and liking. *Chama* is cooked separately and kept for the function. Three bamboo tubes, each of one foot in length, with one end closed water tight, are brought for the function. One of these tubes is filled with castor oil, another with the cooked meat and the third with water. Then these victuals and water are taken to the burial spot. All throng at the burial place watching the function. A stone cleansed with water and cowdung is then placed at the burial spot. After this a modicum of meat and cooked *chama* is placed on a leaf near the stone in the name of each of the deceased in the family while a drop of oil is simultaneously poured on to the stone for each of them. When their memory is exhausted of all the deceased in the family the party returns to the hut. As they reach the hut it is conventional that all burst into lamentation. The invitees are then feasted with the remaining victuals. With this the last rite in death ceremony as envisaged in their traditional law regarding obsequies is over.

2.80 From the above descriptions, detailing the various beliefs and practices of these tribes concerning birth, marriage and death, it is fairly evident that there is a good deal of similarity in the views, practices and faith of Mudugas and Irulas. Both have consanguineous marriages according to their not too dissimilar traditional customs. They are one in their belief that parturition and death cause pollution and both of them observe it for as long a period as six months. It will not be entirely correct and convincing if it is said that they observe pollution in a sense of cleanliness; it is paradoxical, as they are habitually unclean and unhygienic; perhaps what prods them incessantly and almost irresistibly to adhere at least perfunctorily to their old beliefs and

practices is their traditional faith in the supernatural, and almost a morbid dread of the dead and the tortuous and fatal wrath of their Lord. This weakness characterised by their ignorance has virtually a chastising influence on them and by virtue of this they generally refuse to depart from their traditional customs and ways, in spite of causes for change. But the unmanageable economic implications of their various traditional customs and practices force in some change especially in their present plight. After all it is too much to expect them to remain static amidst the all-embracing economic and social changes that take place around them. The present tendency among them is to reduce the rigidities of their traditional faith and customs and adjust or adapt themselves to their environments to some extent. This is particularly marked in their observance of marriage and death ceremonies. But an unpleasant aspect of this otherwise welcome change in their beliefs and practices is that it is an imposition of their everchanging as well as enervating environments as against a happy and conscious adoption.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Economic Resources

As has been mentioned earlier Attappady extends over an area of 211 sq. miles. Almost the entire area of this village is under forests. One remakable feature of this region is that it is sparsely populated. The stringent and effective restriction offered by the land owners to any possibility of massive influx of population, is evidently the singular reason for the comparatively thin population. The land in the region is amply responsive to the plough, while the soil is fairly fertile. Yet, vast stretches of virgin lands remain uncultivated even though, the most important occupation of the people is agriculture. There is a tendency with the people here to bestow greater interest in agriculture. It is one of the salient features of this region that the land here is suitable to almost all food crops used by the villagers. For example paddy, *chama*, ragi and *thuvara* which are the most important cereals the people here consume, are being profitably cultivated here and in the matter of edible vegetables the village is affluent. The land here is cultivable only once in a year and it has been reported that the cultivating season is a bit lengthy, because of the peculiar climatic conditions of the region.

3.2 Deciduous and dense forests embrace almost the entire area of this region giving it an impressiveness of its own. Apart from the green glamour it gives to the village, it contributes manifestly to the economy of the village. The vast forests here have a treasure of various costly timber yielders including teak, rosewood, softwood, etc. Varieties of shrubs and plants are numerous, particularly the beautiful bamboo clumps, which are seen almost everywhere in these forests. Several tons of wood and bamboo poles are being cut and transported from here every day to different places for marketing. Collection of forest produces is also performed periodically. Besides contributing to the economy of the village these forests provide ample avenues of employment to the villagers here. In fact a good number of tribes as well as non-tribals are regularly engaged for work in this connection.

3.3 One of the noted features of Attappady forests is that they shelter numerous games. Hunting is a widely practiced gainsome enterprise of the non-tribal people from the neighbourhood of this locality.

3.4 In brief the land and forest here are the major economic resources of the village.

3.5 Attappady has really commendable cattle wealth. The forest offers a free and extensive grazing ground to the entire cattle population. The most encouraging factor in the matter of cattle growing here is the inexpensiveness of it. Villagers have hardly any current expenditure in this regard as the cattle can best look after themselves, if left entirely free. Further, the usefulness and importance of cattle are seen widely recognised, particularly, by the agricultural population. Presumably one allied important economic resource consists of the dairy products, which ensure a sure and steady source of income. The cattle population is reported to be progressively increasing. In short the villagers have found cattle growing a highly profitable enterprise.

3.6 There is no organised large scale poultry farm in this village. A majority

of the non-tribal families and some of the tribal households here have their own small individual poultry units. Yet, it is often not possible with this, to cater to the demands of poultry products of the entire population.

Factors Influencing Economic Life

Land Reforms and Land Improvements

3.7 Intending cultivators among them have often to invoke the sympathy and benevolence of the fortunate land owners to get a plot of land and that too, on very strict and seemingly unjustifiable stipulations. The cultivators have but to accept them without even attempting a bargain. With no fixity of tenure, which ordinarily lasts not more than an agricultural season, the poor cultivators get a plot of forest land, on a high rent. The clearance of the forest lands and preparing them suitable for sowing, call for arduous efforts. More often the yield for the season is not quite compensatory to this hard labour. The vacated land at the end of the agricultural season is automatically reclaimed by the land owner who either uses it fot his own cultivation or for leasing it on higher rents. Thus the poor tribes are denied the opportunities of enjoying fully the fruits of their arduous labour.

3.8 Of late the tendency with these land owners is not to lease out land even on these rigid and exacting conditions, because of an apprehension of concerted resistance to the hitherto easily accomplished eviction. This has undoubtedly divested these poor landless people of their meagre privileges and opportunities to continue their traditional practice of cultivation. This is undeniably a pitiable lot of these tribes and fortunately for them the tribal development authorities have proposed to initiate necessary measures to take steps for interfering in the matter and thus ensure equity and justice to the landless as well as to the land owners.

3.9 To cope with the increase in agricultural activities and the consequent increase in the requirements of agricultural fields, land reclamation is attempted and accomplished at a reasonably rapid pace. Nevertheless a major portion of this village is still shrouded by dense forests.

3.10 The very topographical features of this region are apt to cause soil erosion and as a matter of fact, this is at its ravaging posture. This is indisputably a menace to the scope of cultivation. Yet it remains unchecked and it shows an alarmingly rapid increase both in its sphere and intensity. Perhaps the only natural check to this disastrous soil erosion is the luxuriant and lush vegetation of this region. The forests here are thus the preservator of this place against the ravages of this natural evil. The land owners have not attempted to check this evil so far, not, indeed, due to lack of information but to lack of adequate incentives. Land improvement is primarily the task of the cultivators and not necessarily that of the land owner. But, as has been mentioned earlier most of the cultivators here are tenants in some way or other and as the usual term of tenure here is purely temporary, no one among them attempts the prevention of soil erosion earnestly or efficaciously. After all, in the existing condition any endeavour on the part of the tenants in this line might be but thankless task.

3.11 It is a well-known scientific fact that every time land is cultivated a certain measure of the fertility of it is used up and for this reason cultivation during all consecutive agricultural seasons for a sufficiently long period renders the land least fertile if not barren. The area here is cultivated, consecutively during all the agricultural seasons, while to cope up with the depression in the fertility of the soil, hardly any remedial measure is seen adopted. It has been reported that no sort of improved manure is in use, while in certain cases not even the conventional

old manures of cattle-dung and ash mixture are used. This is obviously an unhealthy dependence solely on the fertility of the soil which is depressing with every event of cultivation. The poor financial position of the agriculturists here has evidently a great bearing, more than anything else, on the aforesaid state of affairs.

3.12 In brief, land improvement endeavours are but meagre, if not nil, in this village because of more than one factor contributing to this.

Industrialisation and Trends of Urbanisation

3.13 Industrial activity in this village is seemingly scarce excepting some small units of carpentry, blacksmithy and weaving (mats and baskets). The persons involved in each of these units, often an individual or at the most a family, have mainly adopted it as a means of subsistence more than anything else. The artisans in carpentry and blacksmithy are reported to be often working as hired labourers as they have no sort of productive establishment of their own. These crafts are adopted by them as an occupation, in most cases traditional, and they have made apparently no significant contribution in raising the village to any level of industrial standard. Mat and basket weaving mentioned above are merely the leisure-hour enterprises of the tribes, particularly of their women. It is seen that some immigrants of Tamil origin consisting of not more than quarter of a dozen families are engaged in manufacturing mats and baskets using broad strips of bamboo. The baskets they manufacture can be used only for packing purposes and the small number they produce are sold out either in this village or in the nearby market centre, Mannarghat. They are seen producing yet another variety of baskets which are about a foot long and half a foot in diameter at one end, while an inch and a half in diameter at the other end which is closed. This type of baskets are used as a protective cope to the budding coffee plants, as a precaution against the ravages of insects or other small destructive creatures. These have reportedly a good market as there are coffee planters in the area. Mats and bamboo curtains (*thattis*) are also manufactured by them in small numbers which they sell out in the nearby market. Viewing generally, it can be easily seen that these crafts also remain factually unorganised and undeveloped without adequate incentives for progress and for that reason they have failed to attain the status of lucrative avocations, or means of subsistence for the people. Evidently this has hardly any significant role in making the village an industrial one.

3.14 A small brick manufacturing unit was started in this village recently. But unfortunately it had to be wound up not long after its inception as the manufactured bricks were found to be unduly brittle and hence unusable for building purposes. It has been found later that the raw materials used, clay or muddy sand collected from this region are technically defective and hence unsuitable. In effect this has brought about, almost prematurely the end of the industrial unit.

3.15 In the light of the aforesaid facts it is not difficult to infer that the village as such is very much industrially undeveloped. Though the raw materials for the existing industrial activities, except blacksmithy, are amply available in this village, the village still remains stagnant and undeveloped. Evidently this plight is precisely due to lack of incentives and effective encouragement, which would have been a fillip to the development and expansion of these crafts. However, it is heartening to note that the development programmes have contemplated giving effective encouragement to the existing crafts. It has been reported that proposals for organising

a village workshop for manufacturing agricultural implements, household equipments etc. are included in the development programmes. Attappady is a region gifted with luxuriant vegetation and for that reason the region is considered to be exceptionally favourable for bee-keeping industry. The hazardous task of collecting honey is yet confined, only to the tribes though, it is undeniably a lucrative enterprise. Unfortunately the interest and avidity of the tribes towards this enterprise is gradually fading out, because of the difficulties they have to face, while taking up this task. To deal with this situation, it has been reported that the development programmes have envisaged the supply of bee-hives, honey-extractors, and most important of all, technical knowledge to the intending entrepreneurs.

3.16 The most important of all activities in this line is obviously helping the poor craftsmen out of their parsimonious plight, which defies any improvement. The development authorities have rightly realised the importance and usefulness of making the craftsmen financially well placed and as has been reported they have made provision in the development programme for giving credit facilities and equipment grants to the artisans.

3.17 One of the major inhibitions to the development of this region is the isolation it suffers from the nearby developing regions. Lack of sufficient communication facilities is mainly the reason for this isolation. As has been stated earlier, one has to ascend an acclivity of nearly 3000 feet along a narrow, unnegotiable road zigzagging through the dense forests which apparently stand guard to the region. Communication facilities within the village are still worse. The region is industrially and commercially undeveloped and thoroughly backward and for this reason it lends little attraction to the people from other parts. Population is scarce in the village while a good part of the region still remains uninhabitable. The climatic condition of this place has also its not too insignificant contribution to the state of its thin population. The village has no power supply, without which no development is feasible and facile. The proposed Silent Valley Hydroelectric Project, which is still in the offing, is in this area. It can be fairly hoped that on completion of the hydel project the village will enjoy abundant power supply which will, if used properly, lead the village to several phases of industrial, commercial and agricultural development. It has been reported that the development scheme for the region consists of specific provisions for improving the communication facilities.

Improvement of Communication

3.18 As has been indicated earlier the development programmes for this region contain specific provision for improvement of communication facilities. There is at present only one road which though hard to negotiate, helps one to reach the region as well as to pass through it. Within the region there is besides the one mentioned above, a six-mile long road connecting Kakkapadi and Ommala. The work of the 14-mile long Silent Valley road starting from Mukkali has not yet been completed. It has been reported that a road connecting Goolikadavu and Nalkapathy and yet another one linking Doniyurkara to Kakkapadi-Ommala road are proposed in the current development programme. Besides the above mentioned, there is at present no specific proposal for improvement to the existing communication facilities.

Expansion of Marketing Facilities

3.19 As noted earlier there are no recognised market centres in this region. However, small shopping centres are seen at different localities. The most important and developed of all such shopping centres, is at Agali, which happens also

to be the headquarters of this village. The nearest market is at Mannarghat, which is about 29 miles farther from this region. The absence of a market is ostensibly a great draw-back to the area. Nevertheless, as has been reported by responsible development officials there is no proposal yet to establish a market centre here in the near future.

Sources of Finance

3.20 One of the chief functions of the Attappady tribal development Block is to give financial help by way of lumpsum grants and loans to the tribes. This Block disburses a considerable amount annually in this way. It has to be specially noted that these financial helps are given but to the tribes and not to all people in the village. Further, these loans and grants are given only periodically, for set purposes viz, agriculture, housing and industry, as per rules. Again the quantum of loans is always fixed by the authorities for each of these items. The number of persons or families who receive these loans or grants is too small, compared to the total number of persons or families in the region. This is because, the loans during a period have to be essentially limited according to the bulk of the total financial allotments for the period. As this is so, one has to depend on the discretion of the authorities for financial help.

3.21 Thus there are various limitations immanent in this financial source. These nagging limitations obviously cause discontent not only among the large number of non-recipients but also among the recipients of those loans. Nevertheless this is considered to be one of the chief financial sources for the tribes.

3.22 Besides this institution, there are some co-operative societies in this village which to a certain extent albeit meagre, cater to the credit needs of the villagers. One of these societies, which is said to be working in full swing is reported to have disbursed a good sum during last year by way of loans to its members.

3.23 Attappady has no private or professional money lenders. It has been reported that in the past the people here had a system of seeking financial help from itinerant merchants. These merchants used to levy exorbitant rates of interest and also compound interest for the loans they proffered to the villagers mainly the tribes. In this system the repayment of the principal and the compound interest accruing on it had to be effected in kind. The tribes here had had too much of the obnoxious and exacting character of this system and therefore of late they have deliberately abandoned the practice of resorting to this financial source. It is said that the system is hardly prevalent in this village at present.

Economic Activities and Nature of Change

Livelihood Classes and Trends of Change

3.24 It has been gathered that a majority of the people here are unskilled manual labourers, absorbed mainly in the field of agriculture. However, a good number of them have agricultural activities too. Excepting a few, most of them have adopted agriculture only as a subsidiary means of livelihood. The present trend of change is ostensibly not in favour of agriculture.

3.25 As has been indicated earlier industrial and commercial activities are scarce in this area. This being so, the people here have aparently no inclination to turn to these activities so as to secure a satisfactory or sufficient earning.

3.26 Most of the tribes have labour as their principal means of livelihood. Only a very few among them have agriculture as their major occupation. The tribes are not in any way technically skilled and therefore all of them are unskilled manual labourers. Mat weaving and basket weaving are leisure hour enterprises of the tribes and no one among them has taken recourse to this exclusively to eke out their living. In almost all cases the products are manufactured only to meet

their personal requirements as the surplus products do not often have a satisfactory market in the region.

3.27 The agricultural activities of the tribes albeit not very extensive or elaborate, have suffered serious set-backs during recent years, as the land owners here have grown increasingly hesitant to lease out their land to them. The main cause of this drastic step is, as has been reported, the apprehension on the part of the land owners that they will be adversely affected by the recent land legislations. This has in effect robbed the poor cultivating tribes of their old privileges and they now turn to embark exclusively on labour.

Ownership of Economic Resources and Trends of Change

3.28 There were only three *jenmis* originally in this region. These *jenmis* or some of their immediate descendants are reported to have sold out later, bits of their land, to their minions on nominal monetary gratifications. Thus there came into existence a few small land owners in addition to the original *jenmis*. Further fragmentation of the land had not taken place owing to many reasons. One of the main reasons was that the apportionment of the region according to inherited individual rights of the descendants of the old *jenmis* was not effected. Secondly the immigration to this place was efficaciously checked by the stubborn and stout resistance offered by the land owners. The third reason, perhaps not so important as the former two, was that as the entire area was shrouded by forest, the area came under the purview of certain forest rules, which in effect prevented large scale deforestation.

3.29 The present position is that the ownership of land, including its various resources is confined only to a few hands, while a large majority of the inhabitants are tenants in some form or other.

3.30 Unlike in the case of land, the ownership of live-stock wealth in this region is fairly sparse. There are big as well as small units of live-stock, often the big cultivators, possessing the bigger units. There are yet a good number of inhabitants of this region, mainly the tribes, who do not possess cattle or hen of their own. But of late, the tendency among the people is to possess and procure live-stock in increasing numbers. The main reason for this tendency is, the growing realisation of the usefulness of live-stock in many respects, especially in the field of agriculture. One of the factors which encourages this is the inexpensiveness of feeding live-stock in this area. The live-stock population has displayed a decidedly marked upward trend during recent years and it can be predicted fairly correctly, that the cattle population, will continue to show this increase without any hitch. The ownership of live-stock will also rest with a growingly wider circle of people in future than it is at present.

Occupation

3.31 The tribes live by the sweat of their brows. No sooner they come of age than they go for work sharing thereby the financial responsibilities of their family. This they do because of their prodding poverty.

3.32 It has been observed (see Table IV) that over 56 per cent of the surveyed Mudugas are workers. Excluding children below the age of 15, who are immature and are generally incapable of work, the percentage of workers among them is as high as 91. Taking males alone who are of 15 and above nearly 97 per cent of them are workers while the percentage of male workers in the age-group 15 to 59 is still higher. Muduga females stand in fair comparison with their males in the matter of the proportion of workers among them, which is slightly greater than 56. However the percentage of working women in the age-group 15 and above is slightly lesser (85.47 per cent) than that for their males in the corresponding age-group. This difference can

Table IV

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS
(Tribe — Mudugas)

Age-group	Workers		Non-workers		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
0-14	3	1	69	47	120
15-34	44	49	1	6	100
35-59	42	27	1	3	73
60 & over	4	..	1	4	9
Total	93	77	72	60	302

fairly be attributed to the popularly known fact that women grow weak and incapable of work far more than men as they grow senile. The fact that there are no working women among Mudugas in the age-group 60 and above confirms this observation.

3.33 It has been observed (see Table V) that over one half of the Irulas here are workers. In calculating this proportion even children below the age of 15 are not excluded, though they are generally not capable of work. Barring children of 14 and less the percentage of workers among

Table V

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS
(Tribe — Irulas)

Age-group	Workers		Non-workers		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
0-14	..	1	42	41	84
15-34	19	27	..	1	47
35-59	26	17	..	3	46
60 & over	5	..	1	..	6
Total	50	45	43	45	183

the rest of the Irulas is found to be very near 95 and in this they excel their neighbouring Mugudas. Among the Irula males the percentage of workers is nearly 54, while among males of 15 and above the percentage is 98. Only one half of Irula females are reported to be working at present. However, excluding children of 14 and less, the percentage of working women among Irulas is very near 92. In other words nearly all the Irula women who have come of age share along with their males the economic responsibilities involved in maintaining their households.

3.34 Table VI helps to compare the two tribes in respect of the percentage of workers belonging to each, in different age-groups. As it is evident from the table, the proportion of working people among Irula males is conspicuously higher than that among Muduga males in the age-group 15 and above.

Table VI

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUPS

Age-group	Males		Females	
	Mudugas	Irulas	Mudagas	Irulas
0–14	4.17	0.00	2.08	2.38
15–34	97.78	100.00	89.09	96.43
35–59	97.67	100.00	90.00	85.00
60 & over	80.00	83.33	0.00	0.00
Total	56.36	53.76	56.20	50.00

3.35 Irula males in the age-group 0–14 fall behind Muduga males in the same age-group in this respect. Regarding females of the two tribes it is seen that the percentage of working females up to age 34 is higher among Irulas than among Mudugas, while in the age-group 35 to 59 the position is just the opposite. Yet, it may be seen that Mudugas have a higher percentage of workers among them on the whole than the Irulas. This phenomenon is obviously owing to the preponderance of the population of Mudugas compared to that of Irulas in the different age-groups, which outweighs the apparent deficiency in the percentage of workers among them. Or in other words it is due to the non-homogeneity of the two tribes in the matter of their age composition.

Table VII

CLASSIFICATION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO THEIR PRINCIPAL AND SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS

(Tribe — Mudugas)

Age-group	Principal								Subsidiary								No Subsidiary Occupation	
	Labour		Agriculture		Others		Total		Labour		Agriculture		Others		Total			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0–14	3	1	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1
15–34	44	49	..	..	..	..	44	49	..	..	4	2	..	..	4	2	40	47
35–59	41	26	1	1	..	..	42	27	1	..	4	3	..	..	5	3	37	24
60 & over	3	..	1	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	3	..
Total	91	76	2	1	..	..	93	77	1	..	9	5	..	..	10	5	83	72

Table VIII

CLASSIFICATION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO THEIR PRINCIPAL AND SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS

(Tribe — Irulas)

Age-group	Principal								Subsidiary								No Subsidiary Occupation	
	Labour		Agriculture		Others		Total		Labour		Agriculture		Others		Total			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0–14	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
15–34	17	27	2	..	..	..	19	27	2	..	5	6	..	..	7	6	12	21
35–59	20	16	5	1	1*	..	26	17	4	..	6	5	..	1*	10	6	16	11
60 & over	3	..	2	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	3	..
Total	40	44	9	1	1	..	50	45	6	..	13	11	..	1	19	12	31	33

* Milk selling

3.36 Analysing the nature of occupation of Mudugas it has been found (see Table VII) that they have adopted both labour and agriculture as their principal occupation while a greater percentage (over 98 per cent) have labour as their major occupation.

3.37 The emphasis laid by Mudugas on agriculture is evidently feeble. Considering the subsidiary occupations of Mudugas it has been found that over 91 per cent of the workers have none at all, while the rest have either labour or agriculture; over 8 per cent of the workers have agriculture while only less than one per cent of workers have labour as their subsidiary occupation. Among Muduga male and female workers nearly 98 per cent of the males have labour as their principal occupation while the corresponding percentage for females is still higher (approximately 99). While slightly over two per cent of the male workers have agriculture as their principal occupation only a little over 1 per cent of the female workers have emulated them in this respect. Regarding subsidiary occupation a little less than 94 per cent of the female workers among the Mudugas have none at all while all the rest have agriculture, often extending succour to their cultivating consorts. While among the Muduga male workers a little over 89 per cent have no subsidiary occupation, nearly 10 per cent of them have agriculture, and a little over 1 per cent have labour.

3.38 The Irulas, who have a higher percentage of workers than the Mudugas in the age-group 15 and above, follow,

Table IX

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS BY SEX AND OCCUPATION

		Principal occupation			Subsidiary occupation			
Tribe		Labour	Agri-culture	Others	Labour	Agri-culture	Others	No Sub-sidiary occupation
	M	97.35	2.15	..	1.08	9.68	..	89.24
Mudugas	F	98.70	1.30	..	..	6.49	..	93.51
	T	98.24	1.76	..	0.59	8.24	..	91.17
	M	80.00	18.00	2.00	12.00	26.00	..	62.00
Irulas	F	97.78	2.22	..	..	24.45	2.22	73.33
	T	88.42	10.53	1.05	6.32	25.26	1.05	67.37

more or less the same pattern, in the nature of their occupation as that of the Mudugas. Irulas too have placed greater emphasis on labour, though not to the extent Mudugas have done, for, only a little over 88 per cent of the workers among them have labour as their principal occupation (see Table IX). But Irulas bestow slightly more importance than the Mudugas on agriculture; nearly 11 per cent of the workers among them have adopted agriculture as their principal occupation. This tendency of bestowing greater emphasis on labour displayed by the two tribes in the matter of their principal occupation, does not hold good in the case of their secondary occupations. The position is agriculture supercedes labour, in the case of subsidiary occupations of the tribes. It has been found that, while only a little over 6 per cent of the Irula workers have adopted labour, more than a quarter of their working population have taken up agriculture as their subsidiary occupation. Evidently the Irulas stand in great contrast with the Mudugas in these respects, the corresponding percentage for Mudugas being nearly one and slightly over 8 respectively. Among Irulas just two persons have reported an entirely different nature of occupation and that is milk

selling. One male among them has this as his principal occupation while a female has this as her subsidiary occupation. This case is grossly exceptional and hence extraneous. Also it may be seen that though a considerable number (over 67 per cent) of Irula workers have no subsidiary occupation, they are still better than the Muduga workers, for, the corresponding percentage for the latter is as high as 91. Considering Irula male and female workers separately it has been found that as high as 80 per cent of the working males and a little less than 98 per cent of the working females have adopted labour as their principal occupation. Nevertheless, Irula males and females whether deemed separately or otherwise are less suited to be labourers when compared to the Mudugas. But in the matter of agriculture, Irula males and femeles excel the Muduga males and females, either separately or collectively, the percentage of working Irula males having agriculture as their principal occupation being 18, corresponding to a little over 2 per cent for the Muduga male workers. Similarly, the percentage of Irula female workers having agriculture as their principal occupation is higher than that of the Muduga female workers. Regarding subsidiary occupations, as high as 62 per cent of the male workers and over 73 per cent of the female workers of Irulas have no subsidiary occupation at all. This position of Irulas is comparatively better than that of the Mudugas. It has been found that while there is no female worker among Irulas having labour as her subsidiary occupation 12 per cent of the male workers have adopted it. Again, while the percentage of Irula male workers having agriculture as their subsidiary occupation is 26, the corresponding percentage of the female workers is slightly over 24. This is so, because often the female members of the family extend their helping hands to the menage's cultivation.

3.39 In brief, the overall impression that has been gathered of the nature of occupation of the two tribes is that Irulas are far more industrious than the Mudugas and also that Irulas still live upon agriculture, to an extent greater than Mudugas.

Traditional Occupation and Trends of Changes

3.40 The Mudugas are reported to be traditional agriculturists. Hunting was an equally avid enterprise in the past. Mudugas are ardent and skilled cultivators, though the various modern techniques of agriculture are totally alien to them. They have their own traditional, yet unerring device of predicting the climate and the suitability of the soil to raise crops of their choice. In the past, the problem of manuring the agricultural fields was not in any way teasing them, for every year they used to shift the venue of their cultivation. The vast forest areas gave ample scope to the tribes changing demands every year, who always prefer to cultivate virgin lands. The wild games which were in plenty in these forests were hunted by these tribes. They had their own traditional weapons, including firearms, to hunt these animals, in the past. Evidently hunting, though avidly attempted and fructuously accomplished by them in the past, it was only next in importance to agriculture. They did not like to live entirely upon meat, while they can do without it, if necessary. With these privileges the Mudugas were living quite complacently with their traditional environments and practices, and truly in the past they were free from famishment and even any sort of scarcity in this respect.

3.41 But of late the situation had sustained serious changes much to the disadvantage and disappointment of the Mudugas. The hunting inurements of these tribes have undergone a disastrous change. Nowadays they do not go hunting for reasons more than one already

referred to supra. The present position is that they allow themselves to be hired by the non-tribals for extending succour to them in their hunting adventures. The gain from this is often gratuitous and hence not to be counted upon as dependable or regular. They may enjoy sometimes a paltry share of the spoils and nothing else in return to the help they render to the hunting. Further, these tribes are reported to be short of efficient weapons, unlike the non-tribals and it has now become difficult if not impossible to hunt fruitfully with their traditional old weapons. In brief, the Mudugas have practically no hunting activities now and this evidently shows the drastic changes they have effected in their traditional occupation.

3.42 Besides being agriculturists and skilled hunters the Irulas were known to be labourers even from very early time. These Irulas were engaged at that time for jungle clearing, wood cutting etc. by the land owners. It will not, however, be fair to infer that the Irulas had labour as one of their traditional occupations, for, they were only attracted towards this by the fair monetary remuneration it fetches to them. Again, they were not bent upon considering labour as one of the means of livelihood, even in the past, but they resorted to it only occasionally when they so chose. Thus the traditional occupations of these Irulas were agriculture and hunting. Irulas were known to be skilled agriculturists and efficient hunters as they are even now. Yet their methods are old and to a certain extent, outmoded in the modern situation. As a matter of fact, they are particularly sticking on to their old ways in spite of opportunities for adopting modern methods.

3.43 As in the case of Mudugas, Irulas too have effected many changes in their traditional occupation. Only a few of the Irulas, have agricultural activities now, while almost all of them have abandoned the practice of hunting. The reasons for effecting this change are precisely the same as that indicated in the case of Mudugas. The present trend portends even more changes from their existing position in the matter of their traditional occupation. In fact the changes have been brought about per force by external influences, which they could hardly help. Both the Mudugas and Irulas deprecate these changes and they are plaintive about their present plight. While they are ardently against any more deteriorating changes in this matter, they are decidedly in favour of welcoming the old position, no matter what it costs them in the changed circumstances. The tribes are avidly desirous, albeit blindly, of a future situation identical with the past, when they will once again enjoy the peculiar privileges they had in the past, and live in plenty and plenitude.

Different Occupations

Agriculture

3.44 Agriculture, as has been indicated earlier, is the mainstay of a good number of people, except the tribes, in this region. With a fairly favourable climate the village has to its credit vast expanses of fertile soil including virgin soil. Again, the land is remarkably responsive to the plough. In brief, it may be stated that the village as a whole is favourably disposed for agriculture. As has been gathered from here agriculture is one of the lucrative and flourishing enterprises in this area, of course, for those who have facilities to take to it.

3.45 The tribes' agricultural activities as has been mentioned earlier, are meagre. Among the total Muduga households surveyed as few as 12 per cent of them have any agricultural activity. The extent of cultivated holdings of these households varies from 3 quarters of an acre to 2 acres. The average holding per cultivating family among the Mudugas is found to be roughly an acre and a half. The Irulas have a higher percentage (nearly 41 per

cent) of cultivating households among them than among the Mudugas. The extent of cultivated holdings among these households of Irulas varies from so low as three quarters of an acre to four and three-fourth of an acre. Evidently the variation of cultivated holdings among the Irulas is higher than that in the case of Mudugas, while both of them have the same lower limit of 75 cents in the matter of the extent of their cultivated holdings. The average cultivated holding per cultivating household of the Irulas is found to be roughly 2 acres, which is clearly greater than that of Mudugas.

3.46 Farming practices in this region is yet, not quite different from the traditional old ones. This is not only due to lack of facilities but also due to lack of information and incentive for a change. The tribal development block is reported to have included development of agriculture in its various action programmes. It has proposed to propagate improved methods of farming by large scale communication activities, such as holding training camps and establishing demonstration plots of agriculture. The institution has, in addition, proposed to encourage the formation of farmers' clubs to train personnel on improved methods of agriculture. The activities of the Block are mainly aimed at the development and welfare of the tribes. The crops cultivated are mainly paddy, ragi, tapioca, 'chama,' 'thuvara', sugarcane, cotton, orange, rubber, cardamom and different kinds of vegetables. A good portion of the paddy cultivated is called 'dry paddy', as the field of cultivation of this crop is dry land instead of wet land. Crops produced are generally of good quality which can compete in markets with those produced in any other locality of the State. The Tribal Development Block has proposed to supply improved seeds to the cultivators in order to improve the quality as well as the rate of yield of the different crops. The Development programmes also envisage propagation and popularisation of a variety of crops like groundnut, sesamum, tobacco, chicory, millets, soya beans, wheat and grapes. Some of the big land owners have started coffee cultivation recently, and as it is still in its inchoation nothing is specially known about the nature and rate of yield of the crops.

3.47 The agricultural activities of the tribes are confined to the cultivation of paddy, ragi, 'chama' and 'thuvara' mainly, while cultivation of certain kinds of vegetables is invariably with most of the cultivating households among them. As has been reported 70 per cent of the cultivating households among Mudugas and over 61 per cent of the cultivating households among Irulas have paddy cultivation. In the case of Mudugas the acreage under paddy varies from one half of an acre to two acres while in the case of Irulas, the corresponding variation is from so low as one fifth of an acre to one acre. Though the Mudugas (cultivators) here have reported a wide variation (from 12 to 128 *paras* per acre) in the rate of yield of paddy on an average, they produce slightly over 52 *paras* of paddy per acre. Similarly in the case of Irulas the variation reported in the rate of yield of paddy is as wide as from 16 to 140 *paras*. But the average yield of paddy as reported by the Irulas is 65 *paras* per acre which is nearly 26 per cent higher than that reported by the Mudugas. Obviously, the yield per acre of paddy reported by them is poor. The low yield is assertively attributed by them to the regular, and in some cases even wanton crop destruction wrought by certain wild animals in the forest.

3.48 Ragi cultivation is carried out by both these tribes with equal or even more enthusiasm. 70 per cent of the cultivating Muduga families and over 94 per cent of the cultivating Irula families have this. The acreage under ragi cultivation is reported to vary from 30 cents to an acre.

in the case of Mudugas and 25 cents to an acre in the case of Irulas. The average yield reported by Mudugas and Irulas in the case of ragi cultivation is 25 and 53 paras per acre respectively, while the widest variation in the yield per acre reported by Mudugas and Irulas here is 57 and 74 *paras* respectively. However, the highest yield viz. 90 *paras* per acre is secured by Irulas while the lowest yield viz. 10 *paras* per acre comes to the lot of Mudugas. Apparently the rate of yield of ragi in the case of Irulas, is more than double that of Mudugas.

3.49 While all the cultivating households among Irulas have 'chama' cultivation, only less than half the number of cultivating Muduga households do this. The extent of 'chama' cultivation is found to vary from 15 cents to four times that in the case of Mudugas and one half of an acre to three times that in the case of Irulas. The average yield of 'chama' per acre is slightly greater than 58 *paras* for Mudugas while the Irulas have 60 *paras* per acre. But the Irulas report the widest variation in the rate of yield of 'chama' than the Mudugas. The highest rate of yield of 'chama' reported by Irulas is 87 *paras* and the lowest 16 *paras* while the corresponding figures given by Mudugas are 67 and 12 respectively.

3.50 The next important crop cultivated by the tribes is what they call 'thuvara'. Nearly 89 per cent of the cultivating households among Irulas and one half of the cultivating households among Mudugas have this cultivation. This is one of the favourite pulses of the tribes. The extent of land under 'thuvara' cultivation is reported to vary from one quarter of an acre to one acre in the case of Mudugas and from 30 cents to an acre in the case of Irulas. The average yield per acre of this crop is 22 and 52 *paras* for Mudugas and Irulas respectively. But the yield per acre of this crop varies from 8 *paras* to 64 *paras* for Mudugas, while the corresponding variation for Irulas is from 8 to 100 *paras*. Evidently the variation in the rate of yield is wider in the case of cultivation by Irulas than it is with the Mudugas. Mention has to be made of the value of this crop's produce, as it is distinctly higher than that of any of the crop's produce dealt with earlier. To be more precise, it has to be stated that, the value that a measure of this crop fetches in the market is almost double that of the same measure of any of the other agricultural produce. Again, as per what has been reported by these tribes it has to be stated that the cost of cultivation of this particular crop is comparatively less than that of any other crop mentioned earlier, so much so, it can be fairly believed that, the tribes only boot themselves better by the cultivation of this crop, even though not all the cultivating households among them have, yet, embarked on this whole-heartedly.

3.51 The next important crop cultivated by the tribes is tapioca. But the emphasis laid by the tribes on the cultivation of this crop is rather feeble, compared to that they lay on the cultivation of other crops. Only 10 per cent of the cultivating Muduga families and nearly 28 per cent of the cultivating Irula families have adopted this. The extent of cultivation of this crop varies from one quarter of an acre to three quarters of an acre. The rate of yield of this crop is also found to vary considerably from 400 pounds to almost double that. But the average yield is 583 pounds per acre. The tribes have reported rampant crop destruction in tapioca cultivation caused by wild pigs, and the consequent decline of their interest in this matter.

3.52 Tools and equipments that are used here for agriculture are still of the old type. The old form of plough, spade etc. are still in popular use. The tribes have generally not many tools and equipments, to their credit. They still manage their agriculture with their trite spades and sickles. Even tilling the land is

generally done by them with their spades, for, most of them have hardly any other equipment. Recently the development authorities have gifted iron ploughs, sickles and weeders to a few of these tribal households. In addition some of the selected households have enjoyed the gift of a team of oxen each for agricultural purposes. The development programmes here are reported to include demonstration and popularisation of improved agricultural implements like iron ploughs, weeders, dusters, sprayers etc. among the tribal cultivators. Free supply of implements to tribes is also envisaged in the said programmes as part of the lumpsum grants or agriculture.

3.53 Agricultural techniques adopted both by the tribes as well as by the non-tribals here are still, of the old type peculiar to them. No trend of modernisation is visible in this matter at present. The tribes practise mixed sowing and mixed cropping without any change in spite of the advice and persuation given to them at various levels against them. In fact the entire process of agriculture, that is, from sowing down to harvesting, is still done by the tribes in their traditional old way. So also is the case with the non-tribes here. Modern trends of mechanisation in tilling, sowing, weeding, manuring, harvesting etc. are totally absent in the present system. Irrigation of agricultural fields is effected only in the natural way rather than using any artificial device like lift irrigation. Again, in the case of manures, no modern trend is discernible in the present position. The farm yard manures are still the only manures they use here. The method of dewatering the field before the commencement of the agricultural operations is still, the old one viz. construction of canals and water channels so as to flush out water from the fields. The topography of the place is particularly favourable to the cultivators in this. Hence, the problem is not so important so as to necessitate a change.

3.54 Attappady has actually no labour shortage, particularly in the field of agriculture. Almost the entire tribal population augmented with a good number of the non-tribals constitute the labour force. Availability of labour in such an abundant measure has led it to the miserable state of being cheap in this region. Generally labourers are engaged only on daily wages and on no other condition. As labour is easily available, there is practically no organisational venture of converging and cnnsolidating the manpower resources, so as to be utilised effectively and frugally. At present no trend of change is visible in the existing system, as far as this matter is concerned, and as it has been gathered, no venture to this end is either envisaged or suggested in any of the development programmes or others of the kind. The tribes do most of their agricultural activities themselves, as they can hardly afford to engage labourers for the same. Often cultivation, in the case of these tribes, is virtually attended by all the members of the family except, of course, the young children and those invalidated by convalescence. Practice of extending mutual succour, though prevalent among them, has not unfortunately developed itself into a popular working arrangement. After all, the agricultural activity of most of the tribal households is so nominal that it can be easily managed by each of the household itself. The system displays no discernible trend of change at present.

3.55 The various sources of finance have already been dealt with in this chapter. As has been mentioned earlier the chief source of finance is the Tribal Development Block. The other sources of finance are some of the co-operative societies which have so far recorded but poor or negligible service to the people. The development programme reportedly includes financial fillips of various *genre* for the promotion of agriculture. Mention

has already been made of the lopsided nature of the development programme, for all its activities are primarily aimed at the amelioration of the tribes.

3.56 As has been gathered, a lion's share of the expenditure towards agriculture, is for labour as every one of the periodical operations has to be got done by hired labourers. Purchase of seeds, manures, implements etc. are reported to be relatively less costly, when compared to tilling, sowing, weeding and harvesting, notwithstanding the fact that labour is cheap. Again as the mode and techniques of agricultural activities have hardly undergone any substantial change, the nature of expenditure in connection with the various operations in agriculture has also not changed relatively; and as at present there is little chance of any serious change in the existing situation. The tribal households cultivate their fields more cheaply without engaging outside labour. It is one of their explicitly tenacious concern to reduce the expenditure on agriculture to the barest minimum. Yet, a few items such as purchase of implements, purchase of seeds, and miscellaneous requirements inevitably demand their monetary attention though the commitments of the tribes on these are not of a significantly high order. In other words only 45 per cent of the cultivating Muduga families and 50 per cent of the cultivating Irula families have any expenditure on agriculture. On an average the cultivating families among Mudugas spend nearly a rupee for purchase and repair of agricultural implements, while the average expenditure for them on purchase of seeds is slightly more than half a rupee a year. The cultivating Muduga families have no other sort of expenditure in this line. Among the cultivating Irulas the average expenditure on purchase and repair of implements is hardly one and three quarters of a rupee while their average expenditure on purchase of seeds is Rs. 3 a year. The cultivating Irulas have reported, in addition, an average annual expenditure of Rs. 2.67 on miscellaneous items. As the development programmes envisage the free supply of agricultural implements and seeds, the expenditure on these on the part of these tribal cutivators can only tend to decrease in future.

3.57 It has been gathered that a good portion of the agricultural produce of food crops, is consumed by the cultivators themselves. The crop produces like rubber, cardamom etc. are generally sold out after preliminary processing. As a matter of fact most of the cultivators here show preference to raise food crops rather than raising cash crops, mainly because of their own personal requirements of the former for day to day consumption. The tribes also show the same tendency of preference of crops and rates of consumption of agricultural produces. According to the Muduga cultivators nearly two-third of the gross produce of paddy and nearly 96 per cent of the gross produce of ragi are consumed by themselves, while the rate of consumption of *chama*, *thuvara* and tapioca, as reported by them, is 86 per cent, 65 per cent and 100 per cent respectively of the gross produce. The Irulas sell collectively only an insignificant part of their total produce of paddy, as the rate of consumption of paddy is as high as over 97 per cent of the gross production. The rates of consumption of the crops like *chama*, ragi and *thuvara* are approximately 91 per cent, 72 per cent and 60 per cent of the gross produce respectively, while that for tapioca is as high as the entire produce itself.

3.58 As can be noticed from the aforesaid details of utilisation of the agricultural produces, the quantity of agricultural produces available for marketing is very small in proportion to the gross production. Excepting a few big agriculturists, all are small agriculturists

who have normally not much to sell individually from their annual agricultural produces. The nearest market centre, Mannarghat, is about 29 miles off this place. An individual cultivator does not ordinarily venture to transport his small quantity of agricultural produce to such a distant market. The relative increase in the value of the produce at the 29 mile distant market, will be hardly sufficient to compensate the transport charges. This is not true in the case of big agriculturists who have large quantities of produces to sell. Often selling of large quantities of agricultural produces in the local market is not adequately lucrative and hence admittedly inadvisable. So they have to take it to places where it will fetch a satisfactory price. Yet, excepting the big agriculturists here, all the cultivators including the tribes are in a way constrained to sell their agricultural produces in the local markets or rather shopping centres. This is being done periodically, as and when the different crops are harvested. It also deserves mention that none of these small cultivators ordinarily sell agricultural produces because of surplus production; instead, they sell them because of the sheer necessity for money for purchasing other essential requirements of life.

3.59 The agricultural season is more or less the same although with slight difference for the different crops cultivated here. The period of agricultural operation is said to be from June to November. On the advent of the monsoon, the cultivators commence their agricultural activities. Jungle clearing and tilling the land is ordinarily done just at the commencement of the rains and sowing is certainly completed before the season of frequent and heavy rains. Harvesting of crops is not generally done earlier than October, and it lasts up to the end of November. The intermediary operations of replanting, weeding, manuring etc. are done conveniently before October. It is said that though tribes commence their agricultural operations at the same time as the non-tribals do, they begin harvesting their crops, well before the others even think of attempting it. It is said that this has almost become a habit, with the tribes, perhaps forced by the scarcity of food-grains.

Animal Husbandry, Fishing and Forestry

3.60 There is at present, particularly no trend of change in the existing system of animal husbandry. What the villagers resort to here is their traditional old method. No sort of scientific change in these methods has had any play in this matter. The development programmes have virtually included this as one of the activities and proposes to distribute improved variety of poultry, stud bucks, cockerels, breeding bulls and rams for the use of the villagers. Purchase of pedigree bulls, rams, etc. has, therefore, been provided for. In addition the programme also includes activities for popularisation of the cultivation of fodder crops. The imparting of information regarding balanced feeds, both for poultry and cattle is also envisaged. Veterinary dispensaries are proposed to be started in some localities in the region in order to ensure regular medical facilities to the live-stock throughout the area.

3.61 Fishing facilities are admittedly scarce. Excepting the three rivers there is no other area where the villagers can fish. But fishing can be performed in these rivers only during summer season and even then, at certain places where the rivers are shallow. The tribal children are seen including fishing also as part of their day-time hobby during the summer season. They have no equipments of any sort, except their own pieces of cloths or rags which they hold against the current, often unskilfully, to entrap fish. Apart from this, occasionally during the summer season, fishing engages the attention of some of the tribes, as well as the non-tribals. The non-tribals are generally well

equipped for fishing unlike the tribes, in that, they are in possession of fishing nets and the like. The tribes have often to resort to their traditional methods of bunding and poisoning, though the use of fishing traps and hooks are not dispensed with entirely. Excepting these occasional attempts of the villagers there are no organised and systematic endeavours at fishing. This is obviously more due to the limited scope of it, rather than the lack of interest on the part of the people towards this.

3.62 Of the large chunk of forest area in the village, a major portion consists of private forests and the rest of Government forests coming to only a few thousand acres (77,000 acres). It bas been gathered that no activities of forestry are at present carried out in the vast private forest areas, while a small portion of the Government forests is set apart for this activity. Government is extending gradually this area of activity year by year. Plantation of teak and softwood is done according to plan and particular attention is said to be bestowed on this by a squad of forest officials. To pay vigilant and round the year attention, the plantation areas are given on lease to tribes as well as to the non-tribals for a term of one year at a stretch. The lessees have to pay a nominal rent but the tribes are exempted from these. In addition, the lessees are expected to do the weeding twice a year without any claims of remuneration.

3.63 The season of activity is reported to be October to December for jungle clearing, April-May for plantations and of course the whole year for the proper care of the plants.

3.64 Collection of forest produces is also effected here under the auspices of the Forest Department. The prevalent practice is to sell out in auction the forest produces for a particular term, ordinarily not exceeding an year. In this case the buyer has the right to collect the forest produces from the forest throughout his stipulated term.

Village Industries

3.65 As has been indicated under industrialisation and trend of urbanisation the village is very backward in the matter of industry. The quantum of industrial activity in this village is simply that of a few household traditional occupations of smithy, carpentry and craft. There are no establishments or institutions of any sort where this is being carried out in a collective or organised way. But these still remain as individual choices as means of livelihood, often by virtue of one's traditional practice. For example carpentry and smithy often depend upon inherited skill and an avocation, though in modern times, it can be otherwise too. Carpentry is, in fact, taught to a set of tribal and caste students under the programme of development, chalked out by the Government. Regarding craft, the tribes have it only as their leisure hour avocation, more for their own personal use, than for anything else. This has not been adopted by any of the tribal households till this time as a means of livelihood. Obviously, this had led to the non-development of this craft. Fortunately, for those who are still in this there is no scarcity of raw materials viz, bamboo and timber. For smithy, raw materials have to be brought from distant markets. Tools and equipments, which are so far in use among the people here, are still of the old models without any changes. There is at present no effort on the part of the artisans to adopt suitable modern changes in this.

3.66 Obviously in the existing industrial activity, the techniques are still the old ones, with practically no modern innovation. This is mainly due to the lack of technical information or knowledge. But in the existing situation, no modern change can be easily effected nor will it be encouragingly useful, because of the insufficient or scarce scope of it as a whole. Source of the skill of the artisans

is indisputably their own tradition and the technical knowledge on their part is obviously profectitious. This is true of those people who are engaged in the aforesaid small industrial activities. No other method is prevalent here and no trend of change is discernible in the matter for the present.

3.67 There are indeed many factors contributing to this undeveloped status of industrial activities in the area. One of the important factors is obviously lack of proper monetary encouragement. There is at present no sort of financial fillips for any of the industrial activities. No effort is so far spent either for its effective organisation or for its individual development. The existing nature of encouragement for the people engaged is the prospect of becoming hired labourers, but unfortunately even this is not regularly enjoyed by the tribes.

Commerce

3.68 There are several small commercial establishments at various localities in Attappady. Though these commercial establishments are seen scattered throughout the area, there is conspicuous concentration at certain localities, and the largest concentration happens to be at Agali. With all this, however, the number of commercial establishments is admittedly disproportionate to the area or population of the region. But the number of such establishments is gradually on the increase. One peculiar feature of all the establishments excepting a very few of them is that they are small both in their sphere and nature of activities. What they undertake with much avidity and interest is merely the selling of certain essential commodities. In addition most of these institutions occasionally indulge also in buying from the villagers, if the terms of transactions are favourable to them. There is a cooperative marketing depot where items like agricultural commodities, provisions, oil etc. are sold at relatively low price. This institution being a cooperative institution renders financial help to its members in addition to selling activities. Agricultural commodities are also bought by this institution, at prevailing market price. There is no other institution of this kind in this village. Thus these establishments here have both the functions of buying and selling of certain commodities in their own way. This feature of these institutions is being maintained without any modification or improvement in the sphere and nature of activities.

3.69 The commodities dealt with by these institutions are mainly cereals, pulses and other agricultural produces, provisions etc. A major portion of these commodities except, of course, a good part of the vegetables, is brought from the nearest market centre viz, Mannarghat, while the rest is collected from the area itself. The shopkeepers sometimes employ agents to collect agricultural produces locally at cheap prices. Though there are particularly no storage facilities in this area, storing of agricultural commodities on small scales is being done by individual shopkeepers in their own way.

3.70 Nature of transactions here is predominantly on cash basis. However, small deals of barter are reported to be in force even now in nugatory measures. But this is ostensibly on the decrease and the present trend is to perform commercial deals only on the basis of cash. System of advance payment by local merchants was said to be in vogue in this area some years back. But the system gradually lost its popularity among the villagers, with the realisation on their part of its rapacious nature.

3.71 Commercial activities are uniformly busy throughout the year. Yet it is not quite without some periodical fluctuations. The harvesting season generally accounts for comparatively busier commercial activities than in normal

times. Monsoon season records the lowest, because of the hindrance to frequent human movement. In fact during the monsoon season, a section of the population remain completely sequestered from the rest because of the unnegotiable water current in the Bhavani river.

Other Occupations

3.72 Apart from the aforesaid occupations, labour is a means of livelihood for the villagers. In fact, a majority of the people eke out an earning through the labour. Both the tribes as well as non-tribals, constitute this section of workers. All of them are unskilled manual labourers and in fact skilled labour is not much in demand in this industrially undeveloped region. A good majority of the labourers are absorbed in work connected with agriculture while comparatively very few are engaged in other types of work like wood cutting, transportation etc. It has been indicated earlier that over 98 per cent of the working Mudugas and over 88 per cent of the working Irulas have labour as their principal occupation, while a few persons among these tribes have adopted labour as their subsidiary occupation. Labour is particularly attractive to the tribes, because of its immediately remunerative nature which the tribes need and welcome whole-heartedly. Again, though every type of labour is seasonal here, taking as a whole this is not so seasonal as any other single avocation here.

Indebtedness

3.73 None of the tribal households has reported any indebtedness on their part during the period. However, it would not be fair or reasonable to presume that these tribes are absolutely free from debt. The system of loans though not very frequent or regular does exist among the tribes. But the loans are limited to paltry or meagre sums from neighbours or friends or even shopkeepers. Those loans are usually repaid within a day or two, from the date on which they have them unless of course there is any special reason for not doing so. As this is the case, practically no one among them is found to be in a position to furnish the required particulars of these loans.

3.74 It has to be observed that the tribes here are helped by Government with sufficiently large sums of grants and other things like seeds, manures, lives-tock etc. Therefore, most of the tribes look forward for these helps, even if it means long waiting, instead of going after loans from others. Further, there is not much scope for them here to enjoy loans of reasonable amounts, with sufficiently long periods for repayment. This in itself, is obviously a formidable obstacle to indebtedness among the tribes.

Income and Expenditure

3.75 Tables X and XI classify the Irula and Muduga households according to income and size. Table X shows that the annual income of the Irula households varies from less than Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,200. It is observed as a general pattern that the larger the size of the household, the greater will be its annual income. This is understandable enough, for households with more members will have more number of workers also. It may be seen that a majority of the households (over 68 per cent) lie in the income group Rs. 451 to 700, or in a slightly more widened limit viz, Rs. 451 to Rs. 800, there are over 76 per cent of the households. Also it may be seen that households with income below Rs. 451 and above Rs. 1,000 claim only a small percentage of the total and they are but nearly 5 per cent and nearly 14 per cent respectively. Further 80 per cent of the households with income of Rs. 451 to Rs. 700 have 3 to 5 members while nearly 67 per cent of the households with income above Rs. 700 are of size 6 to 8 members. All the households with annual income of less than Rs. 451 are of size not more than two. This evidently confirms the existence of a positive relationship between

the income and size of the Irula households.

3.76 Similarly it can be seen from Table XI that the annual income of the Muduga households vary as widely as from Rs. 201 to Rs. 1,000. Nevertheless, similar to the case of Irulas a majority of the households (nearly 77 per cent) lie in the income group of Rs. 451 to Rs. 700. In a wider limit viz, Rs. 351 to Rs. 750, there are as many as nearly 89 per cent of the total number of households. Again households with annual income below Rs. 451 and above Rs. 750 constitute nearly 10 per cent each of the total. As in the case of Irulas, it is seen that there is apparently a positive relationship between the size of the household and its income in the case of Mudugas also. Over 74 per cent of the households with annual income of Rs. 451 to 700 are of size 2 to 4 while nearly 82 per cent of the households with annual income above Rs. 700 are of size 5 to 7. Obviously the relationship between annual income and size of the household in the case of Mudugas is not the same albeit similar, as that in the case of Irulas.

Table X

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND INCOME GROUP

(Tribe - Irulas)

Income group	No. of households with								Total No. of households
	1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	
Rs									
400 & less	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
401–450	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
451–500	1	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	6
501–550	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	3
551–600	..	2	6	..	3	..	..	..	11
601–650	..	1	..	3	2	..	..	..	6
651–700	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	4
701–750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
751–800	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	3
801–850	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
851–900	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
901–950	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
951–1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001–1050	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	4
1051–1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
1101–1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1151–1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1

Table XI

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND INCOME GROUP

(Tribe - Mudugas)

Income group	No. of households with								Total No. of house-holds
	1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members & more	
Rs.									
200 & less	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
201-250	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
251-300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
300-350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
351-400	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
401-450	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
451-500	..	5	..	..	..	1	..	..	6
501-550	..	9	5	2	..	..	..	..	16
551-600	..	3	6	7	1	1	..	..	18
601-650	..	1	..	4	4	3	..	..	12
651-700	..	..	1	3	3	2	1	..	10
701-750	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	3
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
801-850	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2
851-900	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	3

Table

PATTERN OF ANNUAL

(Tribe —

Number of households in the

Income group	(On food) Rs. 300 & less	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	Rs. 851 & above	(On dress) Rs. 20 & less	Rs. 21 – 30	Rs. 31 – 40	Rs. 41 – 50	Rs. 51 – 60	Rs. 61 – 70	Rs. 71 – 80	Rs. 81 – 90
Rs. 400 & less	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 401–450	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 451–500	..	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 501–550	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 551–600	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	5	..	..	..	..
Rs. 601–650	..	..	..	1	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	..	..	..	..
Rs. 651–700	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..
Rs. 701–750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 751–800	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..
Rs. 801–850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Rs. 851–900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Rs. 901–950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Rs. 951–1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 1001–1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
Rs. 1051–1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Rs. 1101–1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 1151–1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	2	1	5	15	4	6	2	1	..	1	3	2	2	1	1	17	10	7	2	2	4

XII

EXPENDITURE

Irulas)

annual expenditure range of

(On domestic utensils)							(On ornaments)								
Rs. 2	Rs. 3	Rs. 4	Rs. 5	Rs. 6	Rs. 7	Rs. 8	NIL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Income group
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 400 & less
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 401–450
1	2	3	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 451–500
1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 501–550
..	3	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	3	7	1	..	..	..	Rs. 551–600
..	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	Rs. 601–650
..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	Rs. 651–700
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 701–750
..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	Rs 751–800
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	Rs. 801–850
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	Rs 851–900
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 901–950
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 951–1000
..	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	Rs. 1001–1050
..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	Rs. 1051–1100
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 1101–1150
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	Rs. 1151–1200
4	10	12	11	4	2	1	3	3	12	20	3	2	..	1	Total

Table

PATTERN OF ANNUAL

(Tribe —

Number of households in the

Income group	On food										On dress							
	Rs. 300 & less	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 & above	Rs. 20 & less	Rs. 21 – 30	Rs. 31 – 40	Rs. 41 – 50	Rs. 51 – 60	Rs. 61 – 70	Rs. 71 – 80	Rs. 81 – 90
Rs. 400 & less	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 401–450	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 451–500	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	4	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 501–550	..	..	7	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	14	1	..	..	..	..
Rs. 551–600	..	..	..	10	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	9	..	..	..	..
Rs. 601–650	..	..	..	..	8	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	7	2	..	..	..
Rs. 651–700	..	..	..	..	..	9	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	6	2	..	..	..
Rs. 701–750	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..
Rs. 751–800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
Rs. 801–850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Rs. 851–900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Rs. 901–950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 951–1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2
Total	3	5	13	19	16	14	3	2	3	3	3	3	37	24	9	1	2	2

XIII

EXPENDITURE

Mudugas)

annual expenditure range of

On domestic utensils						On ornaments							
Rs. 2	Rs. 3	Rs. 4	Rs. 5	Rs. 6	Rs. 7	Nil	Rs. 1	Rs. 2	Rs. 3	Rs. 4	Rs. 5	Rs. 6	Income group
3	1	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 400 & less
..	4	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	Rs. 401–450
..	4	2	..	..	..	2	2	1	..	1	..	..	Rs. 451–500
..	6	3	6	1	..	..	..	7	4	3	1	1	Rs. 501–550
..	5	6	4	3	..	..	3	6	4	2	2	1	Rs. 551–600
..	4	8	..	..	..	1	2	1	8	..	..	..	Rs. 601–650
..	1	7	1	..	1	1	1	4	3	1	..	..	Rs. 651–700
..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	Rs. 701–750
..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	Rs. 751–800
..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	Rs. 801–850
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 851–900
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rs. 901–950
..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	Rs. 951–1000
3	25	31	14	7	1	11	9	23	23	10	3	2	Total

3.77 Tables XII and XIII show the pattern of expenditure, by income for Irulas and Mudugas respectively. Apparently for both the tribes food items claim a lion's share of their income. The expenditure on dress is next in magnitude to that on food. Other items of expenditure dealt with are those on domestic utensils and ornaments. The domestic utensils are generally made of clay which are comparatively cheap also. Obviously they satisfy themselves with these clay utensils, as they can hardly afford to have costlier types of utensils. The expenditure on ornaments is noticeably meagre. As has been indicated earlier the tribes have hardly any costly ornaments. Another item of expenditure recorded is medical expenses. According to what has been gathered, only less than 10 per cent of the Irula households and less than 15 per cent of Muduga households have any expenditure on this. Also, this is the least expensive of all items for both Irulas and Mudugas.

Table XIV

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Tribe	Average annual income Rs.	Expenditure					
		Food	Dress	Domestic utensils	Medical attention	Orna-ments	Others
Irula	662.05	509.61	47.50	4.18	0.14	2.64	97.98
	(100.00)	(76.97)	(7.17)	(0.64)	(0.02)	(0.40)	(14.80)
Muduga	594.84	463.20	42.35	3.71	0.46	2.33	82.80
	(100.00)	(77.87)	(7.12)	(0.62)	(0.08)	(0.39)	(13.92)

(Figures in brackets show percentage of income spent on the item)

3.78 Table XIV gives the average annual income and expenditure on various items for both the tribes. The average annual income of the Irulas is slightly higher than that of Mudugas. This can be explained with reference to the occupational status of the two tribes here. Both the tribes show a sort of similarity, in the nature of their expenditure. This may be seen by comparing the percentage of annual income on each item of expenditure, for both the tribes. Medical expenses are, as has been indicated earlier, meagre as that item claims only less than 0.1 per cent of the annual income. Similarly, only less than a percentage of the annual income is spent by both the tribes on ornaments. Other items of expenditure include miscellaneous items and agriculture.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

4.1 The present chapter deals with the distribution pattern, namely sex and age groups and other demographic features of the families surveyed and some of the aspects of their social and cultural life. The *Mudugas and Irulas are regarded as* the oldest inhabitants of the forests of Attappady. Being almost illiterate, it was found that these people were not able to give either their own ages or those of their family members and such other relevant particulars with accuracy. Moreover, there seemed to be a natural hesitation among them to give out correct information as to the number of marriages taken place and the details of children born living and dead. In spite of these limitations the particulars have been gathered with as much accuracy as *possible.*

Demographic Characteristics

Age and Sex

4.2 125 tribal households were surveyed in the localities, covering 81 families of Mudugas and 44 families of Irulas. Table XV gives the age-sex distribution of the tribes surveyed.

Table XV

AGE — SEX DISTRIBUTION

Age group	Tribe and sex					
	Mudugas			Irulas		
	T	M	F	T	M	F
0–4	47 (15.6)	28	19	32 (17.5)	16	16
5–9	44 (14.6)	20	24	34 (18.6)	17	17
10–14	29 (9.6)	24	5	18 (9.8)	9	9
15–19	10 (3.3)	7	3	5 (2.7)	4	1
20–24	19 (6.3)	2	17	6 (3.3)	1	5
25–29	30 (9.9)	15	15	13 (7.1)	5	8
30–34	41 (13.6)	21	20	23 (12.6)	9	14

Table XV *(Concld.)*

AGE — SEX DISTRIBUTION

Age group	Tribe and sex					
	Mudugas			Irulas		
	T	M	F	T	M	F
35–39	28 (9.3)	19	9	16 (8.7)	10	6
40–44	14 (4.6)	11	3	10 (5.5)	7	3
45–49	15 (5.0)	5	10	6 (3.3)	4	2
50–54	8 (2.6)	4	4	5 (2.7)	2	3
55–59	8 (2.6)	4	4	9 (4.9)	3	6
60 & over	9 (3.0)	5	4	6 (3.3)	6	..
All ages	302 (100.0)	165 (54.6)	137 (45.4)	183 (100.0)	93 (50.8)	90 (49.2)

The figures within the brackets give the percentages to the total.

T — Total, M — Male, F — Female.

4.3 There were 302 members in the various age-groups in the 81 families of Mudugas surveyed, giving the average family size as 3.7. 54.6% of the total members were males and the remaining 45.4% were females (giving a sex-ratio of 830 females/1000 males).

4.4 The 44 Irula families surveyed had a total of 183 members, giving the average family size 4.2. The males formed 50.8% and the females 49.2%. The sex-ratio of females per 1,000 males was found to be 968. It may be noted that in the case of Irulas the sexwise break-up in each age-group is more or less similar, but with regard to Mudugas these differ much, almost in all lower and middle age-groups. The age-group 0–14 accounts for about 39.7% and 45.9% of the Mudugas and Irulas respectively, covered by the survey.

Births and Deaths

4.5 It may be mentioned that the figures relating to births and deaths in the case of the families surveyed could not be gathered as they were not able to furnish these details.

Marital Status

4.6 In the following table (Table XVI) are given details of the marital status of the members of the families surveyed and classified according to sex and age-groups.

Table XVI

MARITAL STATUS BY AGE AND SEX

(a) Mudugas:

Age-groups	Total			Sex and marital status: un-married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
	T	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	91	48	43	48	43	..	..	..	..	..	..
10-14	29	24	5	24	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-19	10	7	3	7	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
20-24	19	2	17	2	..	..	16	..	1	..	..
25-29	30	15	15	..	..	14	15	..	..	1	..
30-34	41	21	20	..	..	18	20	3	..	..	..
35-39	28	19	9	..	.	18	8	1	1	..	..
40-44	14	11	3	..	..	10	3	1	..	..	..
45-49	15	5	10	..	..	5	7	..	3	..	..
50-54	8	4	4	..	..	3	3	1	1	..	..
55-59	8	4	4	..	..	4	2	..	2	..	..
60 & over	9	5	4	..	..	3	1	2	3	..	..
All ages:	302	165	137	81	50	75	76	8	11	1	..
	(100.0)	(54.6)	(45.4)	(26.8)	(16.6)	(24.8)	(25.2)	(2.7)	(3.6)	(0.3)	..

(b) Irulas:

Age-groups	Total			Sex and marital status: un-married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
	T	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	66	33	33	33	33	..	..	..	..	..	..
10-14	18	9	9	9	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-19	5	4	1	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
20-24	6	1	5	1	..	..	4	..	1	..	..
25-29	13	5	8	1	..	4	7	..	..	..	1
30-34	23	9	14	..	..	8	14	..	..	1	..
35-39	16	10	6	..	..	10	5	..	1	..	..
40-44	10	7	3	..	..	7	3	..	..	..	..
45-49	6	4	2	..	..	4	2	..	..	..	..
50-54	5	2	3	..	..	2	2	..	1	..	..
55-59	9	3	6	..	..	2	4	1	2	..	..
60 & over	6	6	..	..	..	4	..	2	..	..	..
All ages	183	93	90	48	43	41	41	3	5	1	1
	(100.0)	(50.8)	(49.2)	(26.2)	(23.5)	(22.4)	(22.4)	(1.6)	(2.7)	(0.6)	(0.6)

The figures in brackets give the percentages.

T — Total M — Male F — Female

4.7 43.4% of the total number of Mudugas (mostly belonging to age-groups below 14 years) were returned as 'unmarried'; 50% were 'married', the remaining either 'widowed', 'divorced or separated'. Similarly in the case of Irulas, about 49.7% were reported to be 'unmarried', 44.8% were 'married', and the rest of them were either 'widowed,' or 'divorced or separated'. (See Table XVII).

Table XVII

MARITAL STATUS

Tribe	Total: No. of families surveyed	Total: No. of persons	No. of persons: Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Divorced or separated
Mudugas	81	302	131	151	19	1
		(100.0)	(43 4)	(50,0)	(6.3)	(0.3)
Irulas	44	183	91	82	8	2
		(100.0)	(49.7)	(44.8)	(4.3)	(1.2)

The figures in brackets denote the percentage to the total

4.8 It would be found from the foregoing tables that only a very small percentage of the members remain widowed or divorced. Many members of both sexes belonging to this category usually get remarried or reunited with other partners.

Age at Marriage

4.9 Tables XVIII and XIX below give the distribution of the age at first marriage, according to cohorts, for the husbands and wives respectively.

Table XVIII

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF THE HUSBAND ACCORDING TO HUSBAND'S BIRTH COHORTS

(a) Mudugas:

Birth cohorts of the husbands	Age at first marriage of husband (years): 22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Total	Average age at marriage for each cohort
1903 & before	1	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	5	23.8
1904 — 1908	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	4	24.5
1909 — 1913	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	4	24.3
1914 — 1918	..	2	1	..	1	.	..	..	..	4	24.0
1919 — 1923	1	2	1	1	3	1	1	..	1	11	25.5
1924 — 1928	2	4	3	5	3	1	1	..	..	19	24.5
1929 — 1933	1	1	4	9	3	2	1	..	..	21	25.1
1934 — 1938	..	..	1	7	7	..	..	..	..	15	25.4

Number of cases for which age at first marriage was not ascertained – 17

Table XVIII *(Concld.)*

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF THE HUSBAND ACCORDING TO HUSBAND'S BIRTH COHORTS

(b) Irulas:

Birth cohort of the husband	Age at first marriage of husband (years)									Total	Average age at marriage for each cohort
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		
1903 & before	..	..	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	6	24.7
1904 — 1908	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	24.3
1909 — 1913	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	25.0
1914 — 1918	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	4	26.0
1919 — 1923	..	..	..	1	5	1	..	..	..	7	26.0
1924 — 1928	1	..	..	6	..	2	1	..	..	10	25.4
1929 — 1933	..	..	1	1	4	2	1	..	..	9	26.1
1934 — 1938	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	4	25.3

Number of cases for which age at first marriage was not ascertained – 8

Table XIX

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF WIFE, ACCORDING TO BIRTH COHORTS

(a) Mudugas:

Birth cohorts of wives	Age at first marriage of wife (years)								Total	Average age at marriage for each cohort
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23 & over		
1903 & before	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	19.0
1904 — 1908	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	3	18.7
1909 — 1913	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	4	18.5
1914 — 1918	..	2	1	3	3	1	..	..	10	19.0
1919 — 1923	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3	20.0
1924 — 1928	..	..	1	3	3	2	..	..	9	19.5
1929 — 1933	..	..	3	5	4	6	2	..	20	20.0
1934 — 1938	..	..	..	..	9	6	1	..	16	20.5
1939 — 1943	..	..	1	5	10	..	..	..	16	20.5
1944 — 1948	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	19.0

Number of cases for which age at first marriage was not assertained – 19

Table XIX *(Concld.)*

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF WIFE, ACCORDING TO BIRTH COHORTS

(b) Irulas:

Birth cohorts of wives	Age at first marriage of wife (years)									Average age at marriage for each cohort
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23 & over	Total	
1903 & before	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1904 — 1908	..	..	1	..	4	..	..	..	5	19.6
1909 — 1913	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	3	18.3
1914 — 1918	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	20.0
1919 — 1923	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	3	20.3
1924 — 1928	..	..	..	1	1	4	..	..	6	20.5
1929 — 1933	..	..	..	..	3	8	3	..	14	21.0
1934 — 1938	..	..	..	..	2	5	1	..	8	20.9
1939 — 1943	..	..	..	..	2	3	..	..	5	20.6
1944 — 1948	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Number of cases for which age at first marriage was not ascertained – 9

4.10 The age of the woman at marriage has some significance on the fertility rates and it is believed that early marriage of women is one of the causes for the greater number of children begotton. In the tables above, it may be noted that in the case of more than one marriage, only the first married relationship has been taken into account. There is a general tendency among the males to get married between the ages of 23 and 26 (that is round about the age of 25 years) and among the females between 18 and 21 (at about 20) as may be seen from the tables. It may be observed from the above table (Table XVIII) that there is no appreciable difference in the average age at first marriage of the males of different birth cohorts, (though there is a slight increase for later cohorts) among the Mudugas as well as Irulas. However, in the case of Irulas, the average age at first marriage of males is slightly higher than that among the Mudugas. It can also be seen that invariably all the males among both the tribes enter into marital relationship before the age of 30 years, but usually after 22 years.

4.11 In the case of females (See table XIX), among the Mudugas the average age at first marriage does not vary much for the different birth cohorts of the wives. In the case of Irulas also, the variation among the different birth cohorts is not appreciable. But however, the average age at first marriage for cohorts among the Irula females is slightly higher than the corresponding figure for Muduga females. There seems to be slight fluctuations (but however an increasing tendency) in the average age at first marriage among the Muduga and Irula females. In all the cases for which the ages could be ascertained it was found that the age at first marriage was after 15 years (after 17 only in the case of Irulas) and by the age of 22 years.

4.12 There were a few cases, where the husband or wife could not furnish any detail regarding the age of their previous

partners and such entries have been classified as 'Not ascertained' and given underneath the corresponding table.

Relationship before Marriage

4.13 A noteworthy feature among these tribal people is that marriage of a male with his paternal aunt's daughter or maternal uncle's daughter is preferred and only in the absence of such a marriageable cousin, marriage from outside (but generally among other blood relations) takes place. Formerly marriages, in almost all cases, were being arranged by the parents. But changes are gradually coming in for this old custom among them, and some of the married relationships, it is said, in recent times are established by mutual agreement between the contracting parties. A reference may be made to the table (Table XX) below, wherein have been given the details of relationship that existed before marriage, between the husband and wife, classified according to birth cohorts of the husbands.

Table XX

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HUSBAND AND WIFE (BEFORE MARRIAGE) ACCORDING TO HUSBAND'S COHORTS

(a) Mudugas

Birth cohort of husband	No relationship	Relationship before marriage												
		Blood relation						Other relationship						
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Total	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	Total	Total
1903 & before	..	5	..	1	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
1904 — 1908	..	2	4	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
1909 — 13	..	4	..	..	.	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
1914 — 18	1	2	3		..	..	5	..		..	..	..	..	6
1919 — 23	1	5	6	1	..	1	13	..	1	..	..	..	1	15
1924 — 28	..	15	5	1	..	.	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
1929 — 33	.	9	11	1	..	..	21	..	.	..	..	..	..	21
1934 — 38	1	8	5	..	..	1	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
N. A.	1	7	8	.	..	1	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
All	4	57	42	4	..	4	107	..	1	..	..	..	1	112

N. A. — Not ascertained.

Table XX *(Concld.)*

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HUSBAND AND WIFE (BEFORE MARRIAGE) ACCORDING TO HUSBAND'S COHORTS

(b) Irulas

Birth cohort of husband	No relationship	Relationship before marriage: Blood relation (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Total	Other relationship (6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	Total	Total
1903 & before	1	1	5	..	..	1	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
1904 — 1908	..	1	2	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
1909 — 13	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
1914 — 18	1	3	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
1919 — 23	..	2	7	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
1924 — 28	..	2	6	..	1	1	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
1929 — 33	1	4	3	1	..	1	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
1934 — 38	..	1	3	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
N. A.	1	3	4	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
All	3	19	30	1	1	4	55	..	..	..	..	..	..	58

N. A. — Not ascertained.

Blood relation

1. Maternal uncle's daughter.
2. Paternal aunt's daughter.
3. Mother's step-brother's daughter.
4. Father's step-sister's daughter.

(Mother and her brother in '3' and father and his sister in '4' having only one parent in common).

5. Other sorts of blood relationship.

Other relationship

6. Elder brother's widow
7. Younger brother's widow
8. Wife's sister
9. Daughter-in-law
10. Mother-in-law.

Difference in ages of Husband and Wife

4.14 As mentioned previously these people are not aware of their own ages nor those of their family members. Hence it was not possible to extract, correct details about their ages at marriage and such allied information.

4.15 In a good number of cases, the difference in ages could not be gathered. Such cases arise mostly when the wife happens to be slightly older than her husband and hence reluctant to disclose this fact.

4.16 The normal difference between the ages of husband and wife was found to vary from 4 to 7 years. There is not any appreciable difference between the tribes in this respect.

4.17 The tables below give the difference in ages between the husband and wife classified according to (i) the birth cohort of the husband (Table XXI) and (ii) the birth cohort of the wife. (Table XXII).

Table XXI

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE ACCORDING TO HUSBAND'S COHORT

(a) Mudugas

Birth cohort of husband	Difference in age (years)																	
	-5	-4	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	14	18	22	N. A.	Total
1903 & before	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	3	6
1904 — 1908	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	6
1909 — 1913	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5
1914 — 1918	..	..	1	..	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6
1919 — 1923	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	2	1	..	1	1	..	..	4	15
1924 — 1928	..	..	..	..	..	2	8	5	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	21
1929 — 1933	..	..	..	..	..	2	7	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	21
1934 — 1938	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	5	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	15

No. of cases for which cohorts not ascertained – 17

(b) Irulas

Birth cohort of husband	Difference in age (years)												
	-2	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	16	N. A.	Total
1903 — before	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	3	7
1904 — 1908	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	3
1909 — 1913	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
1914 — 1918	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	5
1919 — 1923	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	1	..	..	2	9
1924 — 1928	1	..	1	..	..	4	2	1	1	..	..	..	10
1929 — 1933	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	3	1	..	..	2	10
1934 — 1938	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	4

No. of cases for which cohorts not ascertained – 8
N. A. — Not ascertained

ATTAPPADY

Table XXII

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AGES OF HUSBAND AND WIFE ACCORDING TO WIFE'S BIRTH COHORT

(a) Mudugas

Birth cohort of wife	Difference in age (years)																	
	-5	-4	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	14	18	22	N.A.	Total
1903 & before	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	3
1904 - 1908	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
1909 - 1913	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4
1914 - 1918	1	1	1	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	15
1919 - 1923	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4
1924 - 1928	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	3	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	10
1929 - 1933	..	..	..	..	..	1	9	5	..	..	3	..	1	..	..	1	..	20
1934 - 1938	..	..	..	..	..	2	6	3	3	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	17
1939 - 1943	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	5	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	16
1944 - 1948	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

No. of cases for which cohort not ascertained - 19

(b) Irulas

Birth cohort of wife	Difference in age (years)												
	-2	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	16	N.A.	Total
1903 & before	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1904 - 1908	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	2	6
1909 - 1913	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	3
1914 - 1918	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
1919 - 1923	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	3
1924 - 1928	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	1	..	..	2	7
1929 - 1933	..	..	1	..	..	5	2	4	1	..	1	1	15
1934 - 1938	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	1	..	..	1	8
1939 - 1943	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	1	5
1944 - 1948	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

No. of cases for which cohorts not ascertained - 9

N A. - Not ascertained

Medical Care and Personal hygiene

4.18 Some of the common types of diseases prevalent among these people of Attappady are anaemia (general weakness) chest pain, stomach diseases (such as diarrhoea, dysentery), ague (malaria fever) and some of the common skin diseases. Malaria was a very commonly prevalent disease in the Attappady valley, until a few years ago and it is said that any person who had stayed there for some period in those times would become a malarial patient. But, thanks to the untiring efforts of the Government, this disease has almost been rooted out. Malnutrition, lack of proper food and the unhygienic environmental conditions are the main factors for the spread of diseases among them. The peculiar climatic conditions of the place, the non-availability of good drinking water and inadequate means of protection from natural calamities and, added to these, the poor communication facilities are some other important factors which make them susceptible to the attack and spread of diseases. Proper medical assistance was not provided to them till a few years back and these native tribes were quite reluctant to resort to outside medical help. They have their own crude and native methods of treatment of diseases with the herbs and roots of plants which are easily available in those parts of the forests and this proved to be of no avail in many cases. Witchcraft was also resorted to as another means of treatment by a few of these tribal people. But by efflux of time, with the gradually increasing contacts with the educated people who have settled there from outside and as a result of their untiring efforts in persuading them, and above all with the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries in the localities, the tribal people have begun to feel the efficacy of modern medicines and drugs. It is a matter of mention that at present many of them do not hesitate to approach qualified doctors and compounders for any ailment and apply the medicines and drugs prescribed.

4.19 There is a medical dispensary at Mukkali under the department of Harijan Welfare and a qualified doctor (who is in charge of the hospital at Agali) visits this dispensary on two or three days a week. There is a full-time nurse-cum-compounder here. The hospital at Agali recently opened under the Health Services Department provides all facilities for the treatment of both outpatients and inpatients. There is another dispensary at Sholayar under the medical department. It is to be regretted that the mobile medical unit at Attappady is not functioning now according to the local people. The mobile medical unit, with a qualified and trained medical man is much beneficial towards the cause of treatment especially among the tribes living in remote interior parts, and for whom it is difficult to approach hospitals and dispensaries located at distant places, because of lack in communication facilities and hard economic conditions.

Education

4.20 Being themselves illiterate, the tribal people have a natural hesitancy in sending their children to schools and educating them. Literacy among them is very low and in spite of the introduction of schools in the localities for the education of their children and provision of other facilities, these poor people do not seem to realise the necessity and importance of educating their wards. When both the parents go out for work, especially during the harvesting seasons, the young kids are left at home to the care of the elder children and this seems to be the main motivation inducing the parents not to send their children to schools.

4.21 There are nine lower primary schools and one upper primary school in the whole of the Attappady valley — three under the education department and others under the department of Harijan Welfare — imparting education to about

900 students, of which about 60 per cent were reported to be tribal children. The pupils in these schools are supplied free mid-day meals and small amounts of grants for purchase of books. But in spite of these facilities and provisions, they do not seem to take favourably to education and achieve in full the benefits of the various safeguards implemented for their welfare.

4.22 Craft institutions where the tribes receive training in certain craftworks have also been started in the village, by the department of Harijan Welfare. Rattan works, carpentry, bamboo mat weaving and weaving are the craftworks of specialisation in the four crafts centres. The students receiving training in these centres are given a monthly stipend of Rs. 25 each in addition to free tuition. After the successful completion of the training they are provided with the subsidy and other aids for starting new production centres. It was reported that 2 persons among Mudugas from the age-group 15-19 and one in the age-group 30-34 were trainees (at the time of the survey) in the craft schools. Similarly in the case of Irulas, of the 183 persons, covered by the survey one belonging to the age-group 10-14 and another 15-19 were trainees in the craft schools. It was found that of the total 255 Mudugas belonging to the age-groups of 5 and above, 4 were studying in Standard I, one in Standard II and 5 (ages 10-19) in Standard IV. Two persons from the age-group 30-34 claimed to be literate though they had not attended any school. In the case of Irulas, of the 151 persons of all ages above 4 years, 3 (aged 5-9) were pupils of I Standard one (age 5-9) in II Standard, 4 (age-group 10-14) in IV Standard, and 3 (age-groups 10-19) in V Standard.

Migration

4.23 As has been mentioned previously these tribes have generally permanent residential localities or settlements with semi-permanent thatched huts with walls made of bamboo *thattis*. A few of the families occupy permanent tiled houses, built for them by the Government. There is a natural hesitation among them to leave one's settlement and migrate to another in a distant locality except on some definite purpose. But, shifting of residence to other settlements in this place is not quite uncommon. However, cases of immigration or emigration as such were not reported. All the families surveyed had reported that they had originated in that place and had ever since then settled permanently in these parts.

Family Structure and Inheritance

4.24 The family generally consists of the father, mother and their unmarried children. Joint family systems comprising more than one married couple are also rarely found in some cases. The grown-up sons and daughters on getting married and are in a position to maintain a family of their own, shift to a nearby hut and establish a separate household, very often in the same locality or in close proximity to it. The following table gives the family structure of the surveyed families.

Table XXIII

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Name of the tribe	No. of families in each type of family			
	Total	Simple	Intermediate	Joint
Mudugas	81	70	8	3
	(100.00%)	(86.4%)	(9.9%)	(3.7%)
Irulas	44	38	4	2
	(100.00%)	(86.4%)	(9.1%)	(4.5%)

Note:- 1. Simple family consists of the husband, wife and their unmarried children.

2. Intermediate family consists of the husband, wife, unmarried or dependent children, unmarried or dependent (divorced or widowed) brothers, sisters (and their children if any) of the husband or wife or both. This may include one of the parents of either the husband and/or wife.

3. Joint family is one in which, in addition to the members of an intermediate family both the parents of either the husband or wife, married brothers or sisters and their families and other dependants live under the same roof. (In other words, joint family consists of more than one married couple).

4.25 A few cases had been reported of tribal marriages having taken place in recent years with persons belonging to other castes mainly, Gowdas and Chettis, who have settled down at Attappady, but further details on this are lacking and are not available. But no relationship exists by marriage between members of the different tribes, though they are found to have settlements in close proximities. They have social connections and contacts, and help each other in times of necessity.

4.26 Regarding family size it was found that of the 81 Muduga families 2 had only one member, 36 had 2 or 3 members, 39 had 4 to 6 members and the remaining 4 families had 7 members. In the case of Irulas, there was only one member in 2 of the 44 families, 2 or 3 members in 17 families, 4 to 6 members in 19 families and the remaining 6 families had 7 or 8 members. Invariably their huts had one or two rooms and in a very few cases 3 compartments, each separated by bamboo screens. The following table gives the distribution of families according to size.

Table XXIV

FAMILY SIZE

Tribe	Total	Number of members							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 & above
Mudugas	81	2	23	13	18	11	10	4	..
Irulas	44	2	5	12	6	10	3	5	1

4.27 The system of inheritance in vogue among them is *Makkathayam* (patrilineal descent) and the belongings of the father are inherited by his sons, after his demise.

Leisure and Recreation

4.28 The tribals in Attappady have not much of leisure time for any recreational activities after their day's hard work and generally idle away their time by gossiping. There is no library, sports club or arts club in Attappady, excepting the one started in 1961, by name 'The Attappady Young Men's Association', at Kukkumpalayam, under the auspices of the Mannarghat Block (which is described elsewhere in this chapter).

4.29 People from country parts who have now permanently settled down in this part are mostly engaged either in agricultural work or in business and they seldom can afford to find time for any type of recreational activities. A few of these literate persons obtain newspapers and weeklies from the nearby agents. The tribal people as well as those settled there in the valley occasionally visit the theatres and other places of entertainments in Mannarghat and also do the necessary shopping.

Religious institutions in the village

4.30 The majority of the people in the Attappady valley belong to the tribal class. Others viz., other Hindus, Muslims

and Christians who have settled in different localities in the valley form only slightly less than half of the total population. The valley can very well be ascribed as a tribal area predominated by the tribals. They are said to follow Hinduism and worship all Hindu gods and goddesses. Offerings are made on important and festive days.

4.31 The only important and well-known religious institution in Attappady, worshipped by the tribes of the locality is the Malleswaran temple, dedicated to Lord Siva situated at the top of a hill, where Lord Siva (Malleswaran) is supposed to dwell. Every year many of the tribes (Muduga males only) go for worship to this temple on the *Sivarathri* day observing certain *Vritham* (fast). There is another temple of Malleswaran on the plains at Chemmannur (a tribal locality) where a few deities, either carved on stones or made out of mud, depicting the figures of Subramanian, Ganapathy, Sarpam, Nandi (Bull) and Lord Siva and Parvathy have been installed on a raised platform, at the foot of a tree. Apart from these deities installed there, there are a few more deities of other Hindu gods and goddesses that have been given by the public of the locality. A *poojari* (an Irula) has been entrusted with the work of conducting the daily *poojas* in this temple – also called *kavu* or 'Malleswaran Kotta'. A few oil lamps are lighted in the *kavu* every day and offerings are made to the deities on important religious and festive occasions. The tribal people visit this place of worship and give offerings to the gods, but the females usually do not get on to the raised platform.

4.32 It is a custom among the tribal people that the Muduga males alone go to the Malleswaran peak for worship on *Sivarathri* days – the most important of the festive days, observing certain *Vritham* (fast) and the Irulas have to content themselves with worshipping the Lord at the Malleswaran Kotta on the plains. The Mudugas going to the peak for worship take with them offerings of flowers, fruits, oil, camphor, grains, ghee and other incense and observe complete fasting for the day, till the *poojas* and offerings are made to the Lord. They then prepare their food and eat while at the peak. Those, who are not able to go to the peak take their food only after seeing the lighted torch (said to be visible at the peak), lighted at the end of *poojas* and offerings by those who go to the top of the peak. The Zamorin of Kozhikode who was once ruling over this land, sends his contributions of offerings to the Lord – namely longcloths, oil, ghee, flowers, fruits and other items, which are taken to the top of the peak by the Mudugas for offering to the Lord. This is one of the age-long customs in practice among them, to some extent even to these days. During one of his wanderings through the forest regions Lord Siva is believed to have alighted for rest at the foot of a shady tree at the place known as 'Chemmannur', where a temple of Malleswaran has been established. This place of worship where the Mudugas and the Irulas assemble for worship on certain festive occasions like 'Sivarathri', and 'Karthika' has no proper building, but has a few deities in the form of idols made of mud installed on a raised altar at the foot of the tree.

4.33 Apart from the contributions from the local people and the tribals, made on the festive and other religious occasions there is neither any fund set apart for the maintenance of the temple nor any grant availed of, from other sources. However, a few of the rich land owners of the locality are said to show some interest in the upkeep and maintenance of the temple and contribute a share towards the expenditure involved on festive occasions. There is no body or committee formed for the management of the temple at Chemmannur but a *poojari*

(a tribal) has been entrusted with the work of maintaining the temple and performing *poojas* if any and receiving offerings to the Lord brought by the local people. These tribes also worship 'Kara Deivam' who is supposed to protect them from all evils and calamities and is the saviour of their tribe. Small idols of the God 'Kara Deivam' are kept by some of the households in each settlement and worshipped by all those in the settlement especially before the sowing of seeds and other important festivities. There is no temple of 'Kara Deivam', though he is worshipped by all the tribes.

4.34 The Irulas worship goddesses such as 'Kali', 'Mariamman' and 'Bhagavathi' who are supposed to haunt the forests and protect them from evils and attack of epidemics like smallpox. There is a Bhadrakaliamman temple at Kukkumpalayam; a Mariamman temple at Agali and a Bhagavathi temple at Mannarghat where these people go for worship on certain days, and give offerings.

4.35 Apart from those described above there does not seem to exist any other Hindu temple or place of worship in Attappady, worth mentioning. There are two Catholic churches in the valley - one at Mundanpara, and the other at Jellypara and an *Asramom* for Jacobites at Cheenkara. The Christians in the village who, it was learnt, form only a small percentage, assemble at these churches on religious and festive days for worship. Burial grounds are also attached to these churches. It may be mentioned that the Muslim population in the village is slightly more than that of Hindus or Christians. There is a mosque at Agali and another mosque is coming up at Kallamala. Burial grounds have also been provided in both these places.

Festivities

4.36 Certain community festivals are celebrated by them — the important ones being 'Sivarathri' in the month of *Kumbhom*, (February–March) 'Karthikavilakku' in *Vrischigom* (November–December) and 'Vishu' in *Medom* (April).

4.37 These tribal people observe certain religious rites for a short period (about 15 days) preceding the 'Sivarathri' day, and on this day assemble and perform special *poojas* and offerings to the God. Delicious additional dishes are prepared in their huts and they enjoy themselves with feasting, music and dancing. Temporary shops and markets are set up for a few days near these places of worship by the merchants and hawkers and the tribal people procure for themselves items of dress and other necessaries, ornaments of brass and beads, bangles etc. This festival lasting for a few days is the most important community festival widely enjoyed and participated by the tribals as well as the caste people. Some of the Muduga males go to the Malleswaran peak for worship, with offerings of cocoanuts, fruits, ghee, camphor etc. and items sent for the purpose by the Zamorin of Kozhikode, on the 'Sivarathri' day. They claim that they alone are sanctified and allowed to go uphill, as carriers of food and other items to the Lord, and that the Irulas have to content themselves with worshipping the Lord at the temple at Chemmannur.

4.38 *Karthikavilakku* on the *Karthika* day in *Vrischigom* (November-December) *Vishu* on the 1st of *Medom* (April) are also celebrated by them with much rejoicing and feasting. *Onam* in the month of *Chingom* (August–September) and *Mattupongal* in *Makaram* (January) are also observed by them.

4.39 There can be seen a few idols of warriors with bow and arrow in their hands, carved on stones, kept at the foot of a tree at Kallamala which the Mudugas in the locality are reported to worship. The tribals are said to give offerings of milk, sweetened rice, fruits etc. to these idols on festive days like *Vishu*. It is reported that such images or idols carved on stones, which were worshipped by

them in olden times are recently installed in other places also in Attappady.

Village Organisation

4.40 It is learnt that there are 116 different tribal settlements in the Attappaddy region—each settlement called an *Ooru* in Malayalam - being inhabited by the tribes of Attappady. Each settlement (*Ooru*) has a headman known as 'Moopan' who is chosen by the inhabitants of the settlement and may be described as their chief in all social and religious matters. In former days he exercised great powers and influence among his fellow tribesmen of the *Ooru* and also acted as the connecting link between his people and the forest and other Government authorities. The Moopan in each settlement acted as mediator, arbitrator and also judge with the power to inflict proper punishments. The Moopan was assisted by two of his fellow-tribesmen the 'Kuruthalai' and the 'Bhandari' (who are also chosen by the people in each of the settlements), in discharging his duties and functions, and they officiate as the Moopan during his absence. But in recent years, the Moopan as well as the 'Kuruthalai' and 'Bhandari' have lost much of their importance and influence and are only mere shadows of their former selves, though these different personalities exist even now.

4.41 The 'Mannukkaran' is another popular personality among the tribes of each settlement. The title is conferred upon one of the tribesmen who has good knowledge of agricultural practices and knows the fertility conditions of the soil. During agricultural seasons, he is the first to sow the seeds and he performs certain rites and offerings to 'Kara Deivam' for a successful and plentiful crop yield. But he has now lost his popularity, especially when many among these tribes are only labourers, owning no land at all. Tribal councils which are said to have been prevalent among these tribes in former times to carry out the administration and maintain peace and order, are not in existence in these days.

4.42 There is an organisation by name 'Karshaka Munnetta Sangham' privately organised (not a registered organisation) with memberships open to all sections of the people of the village. It was learnt that a few tribals had also joined as members of this organisation, and its secretary is an agriculturist, settled down there. Excepting this simple organisation there does not seem to exist any other organisation for the uplift and social welfare of these down-trodden and economically backward tribal people.

Inter-hamlet Relationship

4.43 As already pointed out, these tribes live in groups of families – generally 15 to 20 families in a hamlet or settlement. They may generally be related to each other but it may also happen that a few families which had come to the particular hamlet from other settlements in this part, after marriage or in search of livelihood are not related in any way. Families belonging to the same tribal sect only are found in a settlement. Though members of one tribe do not establish any marriage relationship with those of the other tribe, they help each other in case of any necessity and live in complete co-operation and in a cordial atmosphere, under more or less common social and environmental conditions.

4.44 Apart from these tribal people who form slightly more than half the population in Attappady, the other people who have settled down in the valley from outside are mostly Muslims, Christians and Hindus comprising Nairs, Ezhuvas, Chettis and Cherumakkal (Harijans) and a few others. These people are mostly agriculturists owning a few acres of land or are engaged in business, and who often employ the tribes for manual labour. Normally no marriage relationship is established by these people with the tribes but they get on friendly with them. It was, however, found that a few Chettis and Gowdas who have settled down for a

fairly long time have established marriage relationships with some of the tribal families (mostly Irulas).

4.45 It is a matter of gratification to notice that there is really a harmonious social association among the tribes in the valley and the caste people.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

4.46 The Attappady valley now comprising three villages Agali, Sholayur and Pudur—is an extensive area covering about 211 sq. miles, a good portion of which is forest area both Government and privately owned. The village office is under the village officer (Adhikari as he is called) who is assisted by the village assistant 'Menon' and the village peon (Kolkaran). The village officer formerly had wide judicial and executive powers. Apart from the collection of taxes and land revenues, he was empowered to sit in judgement and pronounce verdict on disputes among the villagers; but at present he has been deprived of most of such powers.

4.47 The village panchayat – Agali Panchayat – covering the three revenue villages with headquarters at Agali was constituted only recently. As the elections to the Panchayat Committee had not been over (at the time of the survey) the Panchayat Officer was carrying on with the administrative and executive work of the Pachayat.

4.48 It is learnt that the Panchayat has not so far taken up any local developmental works, during the last 2 years of its existence. Schemes have, however, been proposed for sinking of a few public wells and construction or repair of roads for the benefit of the public. The main sources of income for the Panchayat are taxes collected from the public (for example house tax, Profession tax and licence fees), grant from the N.E.S. Block and similar grants from the Government. The main items of expenditure are by way of establishment charges, local development works and maintenance works. There is no welfare or other organisations like a library or maternity centre working under this Panchayat.

Voluntary Organisations

4.49 The Attappady valley covering a very large area of land has a comparatively small population – the density of population being less than 100 persons per sq. mile. The majority of the population are the tribal people (most of whom are illiterate) living under the stress of hard and peculiar climatic conditions prevailing there. There is no voluntary organisation like the 'Kerala Adimajathi Seva Sangh' working among the tribal people of Wynad functioning among these tribes of Attappady. The 'Attappady Young men's Association' organised under the auspices of the Mannarghat N. E. S. Block and functioning at Kukkumpalayam is the only important literary and cultural organisation worth mentioning in the valley. There is a library and sports and arts club attached to this association and about 150 persons belonging to all castes (the tribes form about 30 per cent of this) have joined as regular members. The subscription fee from the members form the main source of income of this association and the Mannarghat Block has given Rs. 100 as library grant for purchase of books and periodicals of interest and Rs. 200 for the purchase of a radio set for the benefit of the public. A few dailies and weeklies are subscribed for, and novels and other books are issued to the members for reading. A committee has been formed for the purpose of carrying on with the daily administration and control of the association, and a Secretary has been nominated. There is a good permanent building for the association. Sports and athletic activities are encouraged and promoted among the young men and facilities are provided for. Tournaments are at times conducted and prizes distributed to winners. The local people are seen to take much interest and participate in the activities.

4.50 A 'Kalasamithi' (drama troupe)

has been organised under the auspices of this association and a Malayalam drama was staged by the members of the 'Kalasamathi' which was enjoyed and widely appreciated by the audience. It may be hoped that more facilities and means of encouragement made for the active participation of the people at large in the activities of such social and cultural organisations would help to promote the cultural and artistic talents inherent in them.

4.51 A social education centre for the education and literary advancement of mainly the tribal people in the localities is being organised at Kukkumpalayam under the auspices of and with the grant-in-aid from the Tribal Development Block, Attappady. A few Malayalam dailies and magazines are procured. Evening classes are conducted in the centre and the young and the old assemble there. Newspapers and small stories from books are read out and explained to them. Many people who had not received any education while they were young, were found to be eagerly looking forward to others to impart education and training to them as well as to their children. Those persons who are literate and are able to read and write visit the reading room almost regularly for reading newspapers etc. and take part in active discussions on the social life and also on politics. It may be observed here that social and adult education centres, libraries and similar organisations will go a long way promoting uplift of the tribes here.

Reform measures and attitude towards them

4.52 Various measures of reform aiming at the social, educational and economic advancement of these depressed and illiterate tribes have been introduced by the Government through the various departments. The tribes who are mostly illiterate and had little contact with the outside world till a few years back were subjected to exploitation by others. Natural calamities such as extreme climatic conditions and diseases, unhygienic environments and attack of wild animals had brought loss of lives and property to these people. Lack of proper resources, their ignorance about modern techniques of agricultural practices, economic backwardness and their state of landlessness add to their poor standard of living.

4.53 The Attappady Tribal Development Block – the only one of its kind in the State – sponsored by the Development Department of the State Government is functioning from April 1962 with its headquarters at Agali, under the administrative control of the Block Development Officer and having jurisdiction over the entire Attappady valley. It may be pointed out in this connection that "the special projects of multipurpose Tribal Blocks were initiated in 1956 by the Ministry of Home Affairs (of the Central Government) in co-operation with the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation with special attention to be given on settled cultivation by the tribal people, irrigation, agriculture, housing, drinking water facilities, communications, education, medical and public health needs and tribal arts and crafts in the undeveloped tribal areas in the country and thereby the development of their economic resources".[1]

4.54 It is learnt that a preliminary socio-economic survey of the Attappady valley was carried out by the Tribal Block authorities before the commencement of the developmental activities of the Block, to make an assessment of the potentialities and resources and its utilisation by the inhabitants. There was not much of activities worth mentioning by the Block during the last financial year — the first

1. Shrikant L. M. — Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes — 1960-61, page 257

year of its activity. Nevertheless facilities for agriculturists such as supply of pump sets for irrigation, sanctioning of minor irrigation loans for sinking of wells and construction of bunds and irrigation canals benefiting about 400 acres of agricultural lands were extended. During the year a veterinary dispensary was opened at Agali under the Block.

4.55 Various schemes for the improvement of condition of the people of the valley with particular emphasis to the tribals, in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation and industries have been charted by the Block authorities for execution in the current year's budget (1963-64). The importance of social education has been stressed in the welfare schemes chalked out for the social and cultural development of the tribal people. Opening of social education centres, formation of *Kalasamithis* (arts clubs) organisation and encouragement of the traditional tribal folk dances and songs are some of the schemes helping to spread social and adult education among the illiterate classes with particular attention to the tribals. Other important proposed activities of the Block include providing rural housing facilities, medical aid, and expansion of communication facilities in Attappady.

4.56 The Block advisory committee has been constituted with the District Collector as its Chairman and with one or two tribals among its members, to review periodically the progress of activities of the Block and to chalk out programmes for future.

4.57 The Department of Harijan Welfare of the State Government has laid down several schemes for the welfare and betterment of the tribal people. A colony of 25 houses has been built for the amelioration and rehabilitation of 25 tribal families (Mudugas) at Mukkali in 1961 as a pilot scheme. Government have acquired about 125 acres of land for distribution to these 25 families for agricultural purposes. Facilities for agriculture (supply of working bulls, ploughs, seeds and implements) have also been provided. But lack of proper irrigation facilities for raising crops has been reported as a serious handicap which, added to their ignorance about the modern techniques and cultivating practices, stands in the way of utilising the resources.

4.58 There is a dispensary in the colony premises. A lower primary school has been opened for the benefit of the tribal children. Nine tribal students were receiving training in craft works with rattan at the craft centre. There is a community hall were meetings and social gatherings are held. This tribal colony at Mukkali where some tribal families have been rehabilitated in new permanent houses and provided with all facilities for livelihood and other aids is, no doubt, an important and praiseworthy step in improving the living conditions of these people. Such colonisation and rehabilitation schemes benefiting more of these people would always be appreciated.

Cooperative Societies

4.59 Four multipurpose co-operative societies were started in 1961 in the Attappady Block area - one at Kukkumpalayam, a second at Mukkali, the third at Pudur and the fourth at Sholayar by the Department of Harijan Welfare. It was learnt that at the time of the survey there was no paid secretary for the latter three societies and the activities were, therefore, not worth mentioning. A great majority of the members of the societies at Mukkali and Kukkumpalayam are tribals.

4.60 There is a paid Secretary for the multipurpose co-operative society at Kukkumpalayam and an honorary President nominated by the Regional Deputy Registrar of Cooperative Societies. This society has jurisdiction from Kukkumpalayam to Agali, covering about 18 tribal settlements. The Department of Harijan Welfare has sanctioned a grant

of Rs. 10,000 and another grant of Rs. 15,000 for building construction. The society has at present no permanent building and is housed in a rented building. An amount of Rs. 2,871 had been collected so far as share capital. The administration of the society is vested in a committee of seven directors elected from among the members, and the Gramasevak of the locality is nominated as an ex-officio director. It was learnt that (at the time of the survey) two of the committee members had resigned. Three of the remaining directors were tribals.

4.61 As mentioned earlier this society has been functioning satisfactorily for the last two years since its opening and has released loans for agricultural purposes for some of the tribal families (holding membership in the society) on personal security, the loan amount being repayable in convenient instalments. More than Rs. 5,000 had been disbursed as loans at the time of the survey. The tribals are reported to evince keen interest and extend their full co-operation in the activities of the society. It may be pointed out in this connection that the activities of these co-operative societies may be further extended so as to arrange for purchase of the agricultural produces, if any, from the tribals and for the sale of foodstuffs and other items of necessity to them at reasonable market prices. These societies, can go a long way towards the welfare of these tribal people.

4.62 The other schemes being implemented for the benefit of the tribes are mainly in the form of grants for house construction to deserving tribal families in the various localities and providing agricultural loans for purchase of seeds, ploughing materials and implements.

4.63 The tribal people though illiterate and are by nature lazy are found to evince much interest and extent their full co-operation in the various activities of the Block and other agencies working for their welfare and reformation. Their enthusiasm and desire to lead a better, settled and civilized way of life, engaging themselves in fruitful and profitable occupations like agriculture and small industrial activities, no doubt bear testimony to their effective attitude and co-operation towards the various schemes and measures undertaken by the Government and other agencies.

Bride-price

4.64 As observed supra, it is a custom among both Mudugas and Irulas that the bridegroom has to pay a stipulated amount to the bride's parents at the time of the marriage. This is called 'bride-price' or 'Pariyam'. When the bridegroom is not in a position to pay the entire amount at the time of marriage, a portion is paid then and the balance in subsequent instalments. If the payment has not been completed before the death of any of the partners to the marriage the dead body cannot be removed from the hut unless and until the amount of bride-price (decided upon at the time of marriage) is fully settled by the concerned parties. In the case of a wife deserting her husband, the bride-price she had received would have to be returned to him. The amount of bride-price varies according to the economic standard and status of the contracting parties. In former times, it was enough to give only small amounts, but nowadays an amount of Rs. 25 has been fixed as the minimum bride-price. In the opinion of the tribes, payment of small amount of money as bride-price, is a good and a traditionally practised custom, which is to some extent essential for the welfare of their society and for the lasting of the marriage tie.

Attitude towards family planning

4.65 There does not seem to function among the tribal people of Attappady any unit of the Government or other agencies to educate them on family planning. It is learnt that these tribals are quite aware that it is essential to limit the size of the family mainly because of their low income

and increasing wants. Usually the children are properly spaced, that is having a difference of about 3 years or in some cases more. According to them, they do not wish to have another child until the youngest one is able to walk. Naturally this is possible only when the child is at least 2 to 3 years old. Self restraint is the commonly practised method among them as they are mostly ignorant of other methods or techniques adopted for family planning.

Untouchability

4.66 In India, untouchability in any form has been declared as an offence by an act of Parliament, and any breach or violation of this rule is punishable. It may be mentioned that the practice of untouchability is fast fading in almost all parts of our country. It is heartening to know that these tribes are now quite aware of the fact of prohibition of untouchability by law. They mix and move with the caste people freely. They buy rice, provisions, oil and other items, from the local shops run by the caste people. There does not seem to be any sort of restriction on their entering temples and other places of worship. People of other castes, it was learnt, visit their temples on festive occasions. Tribal children receive their education in schools together with other children.

4.67 The different sects of tribal people mingle freely with each other but do not commonly visit the other's hut or enter into marriage relationship. Each tribal sect consider themselves to have superior social status than the other.

4.68 Their capacity to cure diseases is commendable though primitive but the present younger generation is not much interested in this and are mostly unaware of the methods.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

A brief description of the customs and manners, beliefs and practices, ways of life, economic resources and the social and cultural outlook of the tribal population of the Attappady valley has been given in the foregoing chapters. The Attappady valley located at a height of about 1,200 to 3,000 feet and adjoining the eastern boundary of Kerala State was very thinly populated until a few decades back, mainly because of the thick and dense forests, peculiar climatic conditions and the prevalence of certain diseases like malaria. Lack of communication facilities and proper living conditions were also acute. The tribes whose means of livelihood mainly depended on the produces of these forests were formerly leading an uncivilized and hand-to-mouth existence with practically little contact with the world outside. Their enonomic backwardness, illiteracy and the lack of proper communication facilities were all responsible for the isolated life they had to lead in the past. But by efflux of time and with the migration of the people from the plains to these highlands, the tribes have been influenced to a great extent and they have felt a desire to lead better ways of life. Opening of educational and other institutions for the tribal children, provision for better communication facilities, organisation of co-operative societies and other welfare organisations, hospitals, financial aid for agricultural purposes and construction of dwelling houses are some of the important schemes earmarked for the betterment and welfare of the tribal people by the Government and other agencies. It is a matter for gratification that the tribal people have begun to appreciate the welfare measures undertaken for their benefit.

5.2 People of the same tribes living in different localities or settlements help each other and gather together on all social and religious occasions. The tribal woman holds an important position in tribal life. She wields great influence on her husband and acts to some extent as a co-worker and partner, enjoying equal status and freedom as her husband. Her freedom to seek separation or divorce from her husband if she is illtreated, and to seek a fresh alliance (this, in the case of widows also) is quite commonly observed among tribals. The existence of *Mahila Samajams* or women's organisations that are said to have prevailed among the tribals of Attappady in former times illustrates the high position of women in society.

5.3 The Mudugas and Irulas, in general, are not keeping their dwellings and environments neat and tidy. Many among them belonging to younger age-groups are not familiar with the old methods of making fire with 'chuk-muk' or flint and steel. They use safety matches and kerosene oil lamps for lighting purposes and these are available from the local shops. It was reported that most of these people take their bath only once or twice a week, and they do not generally keep their dress and clothings neatly washed.

5.4 It is a pity that these tribes do not utilise to the full the facilities and privileges afforded for the education of their children. The recommendation of Shri L. M. Shrikant in his annual report for 1960-61 on Scheduled Castes and Tribes that at least primary education may be made compulsory for the children of

school-going age deserves notice. Opening of more schools in the various localities of the tribal areas, with well qualified teachers who really take interest in the tribal customs and life, would be highly useful. The tribal customs and manners as well as their traditional music and dancing may well form part of the curriculum. Provision for mid-day meals, clothings and free supply of books and other items will, no doubt, attract more children to schools.[1]

5.5 Distribution of forest and other cultivable private lands to these landless tribes for cultivating paddy and other food crops, financial aid, supply of agricultural implements, seeds and manure, providing irrigational facilities, field demonstrations regarding modern techniques and cultivating methods etc., would help them to improve their economic status. Opening of multipurpose credit co-operatives would enable them to procure proper prices for their produce and in return to buy other items of necessity like provisions and clothing at reasonable market prices.

5.6 The tribal people evince some interest in politics, especially in exercising their franchise during the general and other elections. Some of their important requirements, in their opinion, are,

i. lands for cultivation, financial aid and agricultural facilities;
ii. scope for better employment means; and
iii. construction of dwelling houses

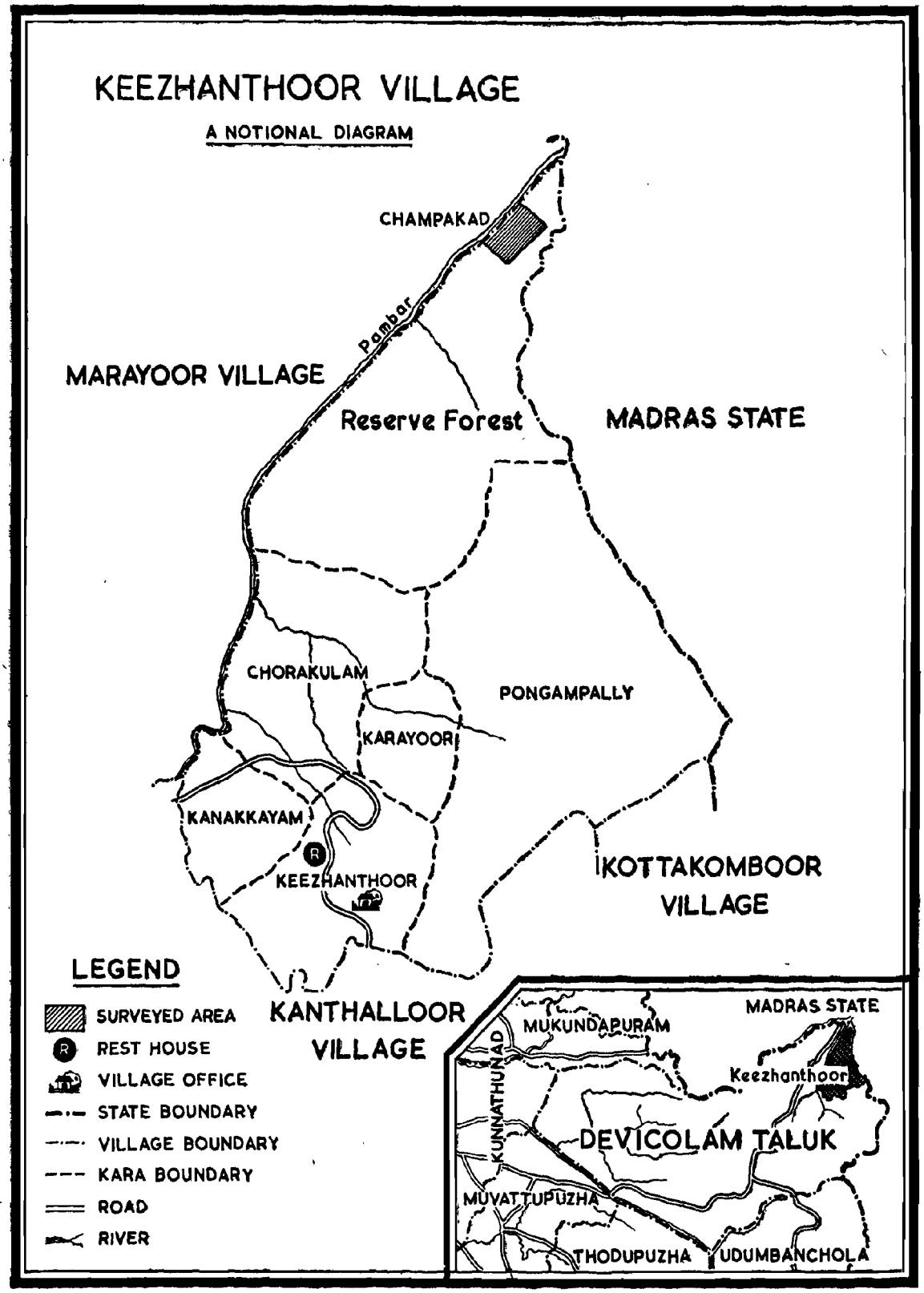
5.7 The Attappady Tribal Development Block (with head-quarters at Agali) has been set up with the main objective of putting up an intensive effort in raising their level in the spheres of economic development, education, health, housing and communications, including agriculture, animal husbandry and industry. The tribals are quite aware of these activities, and have begun to feel the urge to make use of the facilities provided and march forward. Sincerity and earnestness on the part of the officials in this field and efficiency of administration are important factors that can accelerate the activities and functioning of the Block and other agencies. It is equally necessary that the efforts to promote their economic and social level should be such that the best of their old ones — their customs, beliefs and practices in vogue — do not vanish in the excitement of the new and that the moral and cultural foundations of their society are safeguarded.

5.8 As already mentioned supra the hill tribes of this area used to cultivate the land they could lay their hands upon with the permission of the Zamorin of Kozhikode and in return they used to pay a royalty, a prefixed quantity of various forest produces and also a small amount of money to him. The system underwent a change in subsequent years when the Zamorin authorised his representatives to collect the revenues direct from the tribes. Later the *jenmom* rights of these lands were disposed of by the Zamorin and his assignees who are the landlords at present often deny the right of permanency to the tribes cultivating the land. According to the Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1963 the private forests are exempted from the provisions relating to tenancies. It is only just and proper that the tribes who have cultivated the land are given the right of fixity of tenure and fixation of fair rent even where such lands are located in private forests.

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1. Shrikant L. M. — Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes — 1960–61 Chapter XI
   Dhebar U. N. — Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission - 1960 — 61, Chapter 18

CHAMPAKAD


KEEZHANTHOOR VILLAGE
A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM
CHAMPAKAD
Pambar
MARAYOOR VILLAGE
Reserve Forest
MADRAS STATE
CHORAKULAM
PONGAMPALLY
KARAYOOR
KANAKKAYAM
R
KEEZHANTHOOR
KOTTAKOMBOOR VILLAGE
KANTHALLOOR VILLAGE
LEGEND
SURVEYED AREA
REST HOUSE
VILLAGE OFFICE
STATE BOUNDARY
VILLAGE BOUNDARY
KARA BOUNDARY
ROAD
RIVER
MADRAS STATE
MUKUNDAPURAM
KUNNATHUNAD
Keezhanthoor
DEVICOLAM TALUK
MUVATTUPUZHA
THODUPUZHA
UDUMBANCHOLA

CHAMPAKAD *

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

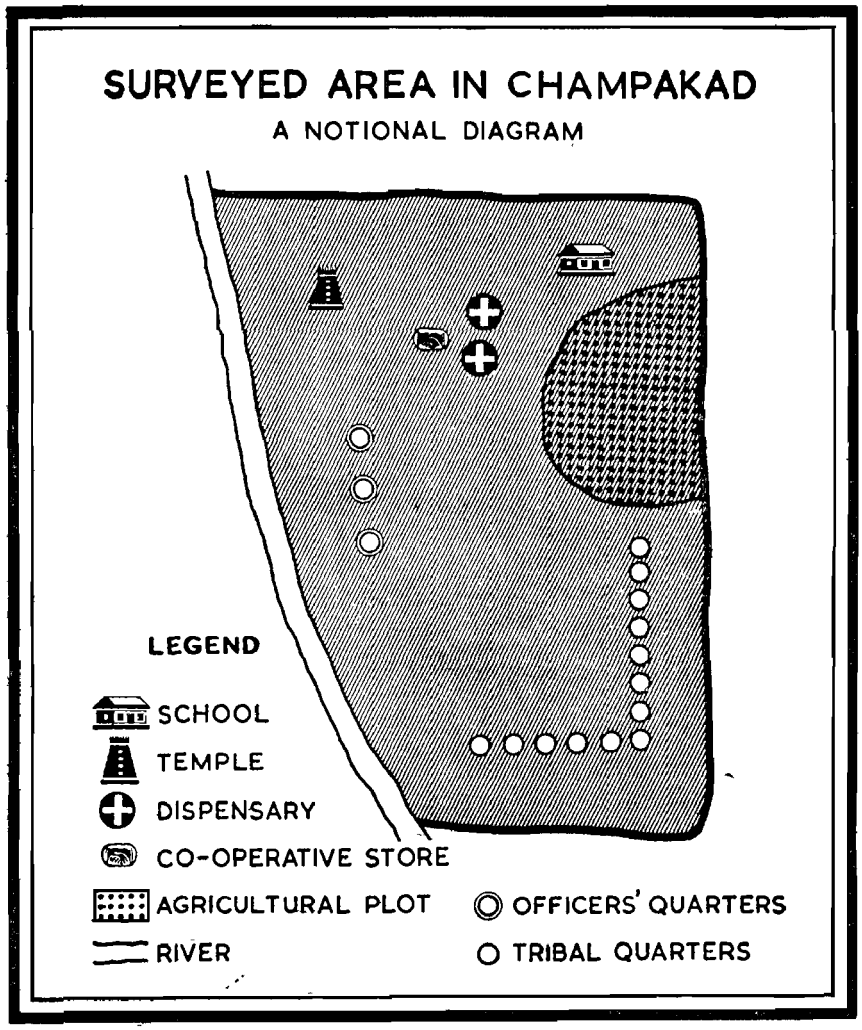
Champakad, one of the three pilot tribal areas, to be demarcated and allocated to the Hill Pulayas as recommended by the Committee[1] appointed by the Government of Travancore-Cochin to enquire into the conditions of Hill Tribes is situated about 2 miles from Chinnar, a small locality adjoining the boundary of Kerala State, on the east. This piece of forest area is at an elevation of about 1,500 feet from the mean sea level. With the deforestation and successful establishment of large scale plantations of tea and cardamom in the High Ranges of Kerala and the consequent and gradual inflow of people from the plains into these areas as plantation employees, the tribal people who till recently were leading a contented forest life in selected localities were forced to quit their abodes and take shelter elsewhere. This acute problem of homelessness for the many tribal families, led to the setting up of a Committee by the Government to report on the condition of the Hill tribes "suggesting measures for their amelioration and improvement in their condition in all respects". About 25 families belonging to the tribe 'Hill Pulayas' are rehabilitated at Champakad in accordance with the pilot schemes for rehabilitation of tribes based on the recommendations of this Committee. A detailed study of the ways of life of these tribal people, who have been subjected to a resettlement pattern, organised by an outside agency, namely, the Government, is likely to contribute much towards our understanding of the changing lives of these tribes. Moreover, the scheme "concerns areas of land which are not at the moment revenue producing but which can be made productive through the efforts of the tribal people themselves".

Location

1.2 The Champakad tribal reserve (about 1,200 acres in extent) is situated in the Keezhanthoor village of Devicolam taluk of the Kottayam district to the south-west of Chinnar Chowkai, on the south bank of the river Pambar, east of Marayur and north of Kanthalloor. Excepting for a lower primary school, a medical dispensary and a co-operative store there is no other office of public service at Champakad. There is not even a panshop or hotel in the colony premises at Champakad and one has to go to Marayur 8 miles away for any kind of purchase. The nearest Post Office is also at Marayur. Munnar is the nearest town located at a height of about 5,500 feet above mean sea level and is about 38 miles west of Champakad. There are quite a large number of tea plantations at Munnar which is also one of the highest hill stations in Kerala State. Chinnar is a small locality at the extreme eastern boundary of Kerala State and except for the checking stations of the Forest, Excise, and Prohibition Departments and a Travellers' Bungalow and the limited number of men working in these offices, there could not be seen even a pan-shop or a hotel at Chinnar.

* The basic survey was conducted during May 1961

1. Preliminary report of the Committee enquiring into the condition of the Scheduled Hill Tribes in Travancore-Cochin (1955-56)



Physical Aspects and Soil

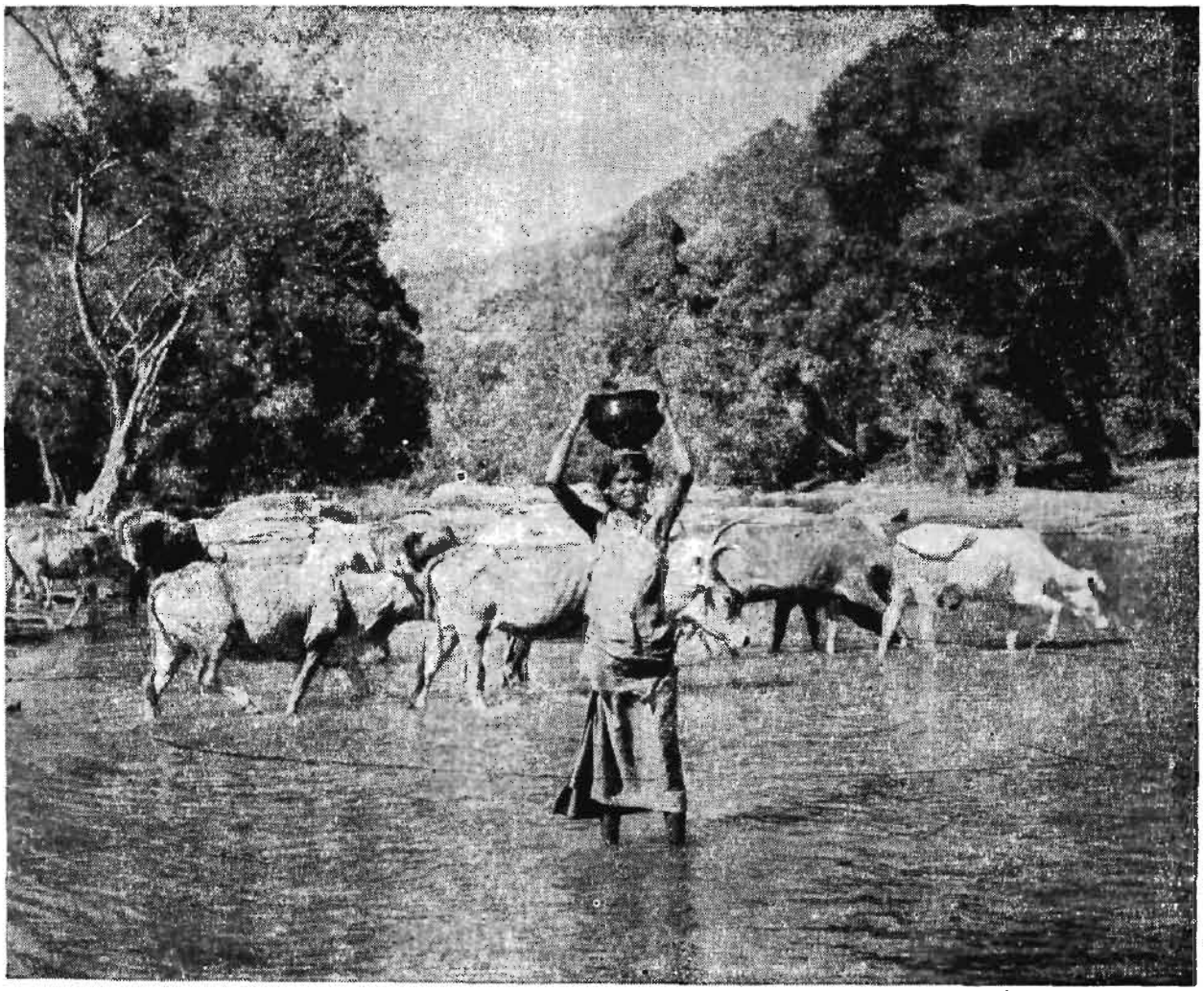
1.3 Champakad is located on the eastern slopes of the western ghats descending from a height of more than 6,000 feet. This region is situated at a height of about 1,500 feet from mean sea level. The surveyed area at Champakad and nearby localities, is characterised by small undulating surfaces lacking in irrigational facilities. The Pambar river, flowing nearby the colony, is the only important source of water for these people, almost during all seasons of the year.

Soil

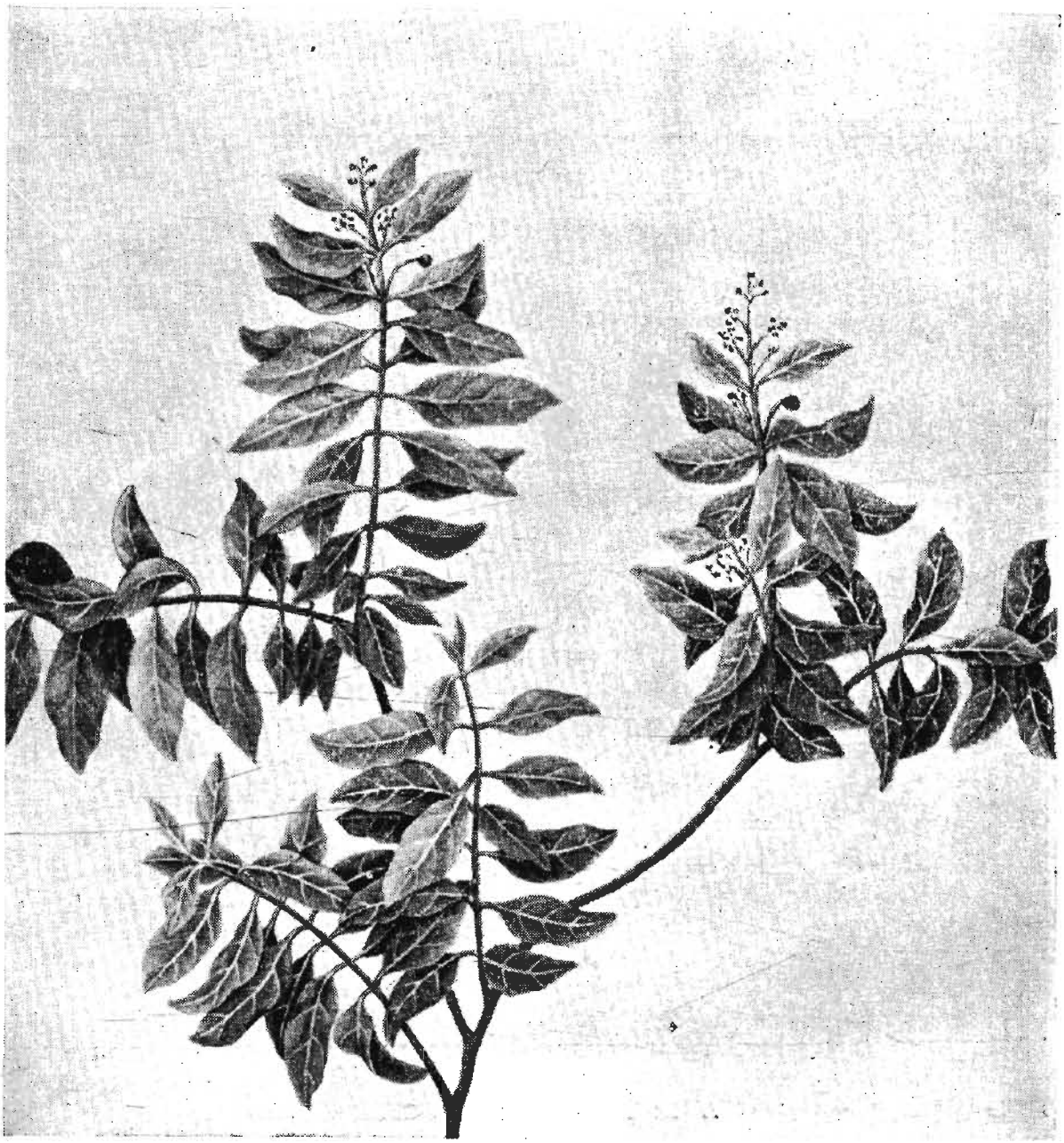
1.4 No analytical data of the soil at Champakad as such are available and hence a detailed discussion of the soil conditions at the place of survey cannot be made here. It is, however, reported that the soil here is lateritic and forest soils and is of low fertility.

Climate and Rainfall

1.5 The data on rainfall at Champakad are not available and Marayur situated 8 miles west of Champakad, is the nearest place for which such data are available



Pl. 13 A DAY DAWNS AT CHAMPAKAD P. 85



Pl. 14 SANDALWOOD P. 88

and hence given. The table (Table I) below gives the data on rainfall in millimetres and the number of rainy days in each month, for the decennial period 1951-60 and also the mean monthly rainfall and mean number of rainy days in each month for the period of 1915–50.

Table I

RAINFALL

Year		January	February	March	April	May	June	July
1951	I	1	..	6	7	6	19	14
	II	3 8	..	30 5	105.2	132.1	246.1	453 4
1952	I	..	4	..	2	2	..	..
	II	0 5	48.3	..	14.0	30.5	3 8	7 6
1953	I	..	3	..	7	3	10	14
	II	..	10 4	..	62.5	27.9	137.2	190 0
1954	I	4	..	3	6	4	6	10
	II	35 3	..	28.7	35.6	47.5	49.0	74.7
1955	I	4	..	2	5	8	10	.
	II	46 5	..	18.5	65.0	181.4	287.5	.
1956	I	2	..	..	7	5	11	7
	II	17.8	..	..	47.0	229.9	423.9	56 1
1957	I	..	1	1	3	11	8	9
	II	..	3.8	8.6	73.7	209.5	83.1	137.2
1958	I	..	1	4	5	8	7	8
	II	..	7.6	20.3	48.8	207.6	113.7	172.7
1959	I	2	2	..	5	8	20	21
	II	43.2	25.4	..	78.8	129.4	492.8	264.3
1960	I	2	..	..	7	4	2	17
	II	44.5	..	..	114 1	81.3	10.2	304.6
1915 to	(1)	3.1	1.0	1.5	5.1	7.0	9 8	12.4
1950	(2)	54.6	8 9	22.3	70.6	95.5	135.1	185.4

Year		August	September	October	November	December	Annual
1951	I	10	11	8	19	.	101
	II	61.0	101.6	77 5	130.8	NA	1,342.0
1952	I	..	..	6	3	10	27
	II	..	9.1	50.0	45 7	100.3	309.8
1953	I	8	3	11	10	4	73
	II	97.3	31.5	125.5	93.0	42.2	817.5
1954	I	9	1	15	5	11	74
	II	41.7	3.1	305.1	99.3	198.1	918.1
1955	I	2	12	8	15	7	73
	II	23.4	236.0	146.6	248.4	160.5	1,413.8
1956	I	6	9	13	14	3	77
	II	29.2	171.5	97.0	354.3	48.3	1,475.0
1957	I	8	1	10	12	7	71
	II	99.6	12.7	179.1	184.1	87.6	1,079.0
1958	I	18	2	6	5	..	64
	II	233.4	12.7	69.0	89.5	..	975.3
1959	I	3	12	15	15	4	107
	II	22.8	112.8	251.5	202.1	109.2	1,732.3
1960	I	7	5	13	16	6	79
	II	116.8	42.4	208.6	246.7	63.4	1,232.6
1915 to	(1)	10.1	8.3	12.9	12.3	6.1	89.6
1950	(2)	128 8	106.4	221.5	219.5	100.3	1,348.9

I No. of rainy days
II Total rainfall in millimetres
(1) Mean number of rainy days
(2) Mean monthly total rainfall in millimetres
NA Not available

1.6 It may be seen from the table, that the average annual rainfall for the period 1951–60 was about 1,130 millimetres. In general, the rainfall at Marayur was irregular and subject to much variation. Of the 10 years for which data are recorded, June and July were the wettest months in 3 years and another 3 years respectively. The month November recorded the next heaviest rainfall for 4 years. As is clear from the table, the months January, February and March had recorded the lowest incidence of rain. Considering the figures of average rainfall from 1915–50, the months October and November had the maximum rainfall, followed next by the south-west monsoon extending from June to August.

1.7 The climate at Champakad is in general very hot, especially during the summer, generally extending from the end of February or early in March till the onset of the monsoon. During the hot seasons, hot dry wind blows about the region rendering the climate uncongenial to health. Had it not been for the nearby never dry Pambar river life, especially human life, during the summer season, would have been practically impossible.

The Flora and the Fauna

1.8 Since this area has an elevation of about 1,500 feet, both bushes and shrubs as well as evergreen forest trees grow luxuriantly here. The bushes and shrubs which are found in waste lands afford a natural abode to the small carnivorous animals like wolves and jackals, while the thick forest areas provide healthy resorts for wild beasts like bison, elephant and panther. Amidst the bushy shrubs, a large number of thorny mimosa plants, which are adapted to areas where water is scarce, can also be seen. Wild flowering plants, which grow here, produce flowers almost throughout the year. On either side of the road, leading from Munnar to Champakad (en route to Udumalpet in Madras State), could be seen vast stretches of tea and coffee estates with a sprinkling of quarters for workmen, and factories for processing the produces. A large number of spreading foliage trees have also been specially planted in the estates, which provide shade for the young plants.

Sandalwood

1.9 The plant selected for detailed study in this region is the sandalwood *Santalum album* (Linn) — which belongs to the order of 'Santalaceae' and known in Malayalam and Tamil as 'Santhanam'. While giving a description of sandalwood Gamble[1] says that "the bark is dark-grey merely black, rough, with short vertical cracks inner substance dark red. Wood hard, very close-grained and oily; sapwood white, scentless; heartwood yellowish-brown; strongly scented. Annual rings distinctly marked by more numerous and slightly larger pores in the springwood. Pores small, numerous, evenly distributed. Medullary rays short, fine, numerous, uniform and equidistant"; and he gives as an average, W = 60 pounds P = 876. (P is the coefficient of transverse strength).

1.10 The following botanical description about the sandalwood tree and leaves is given by Bourdillon[2]. "Trees with opposite coriaceous leaves. Flowers bisexual in axillary or terminal panicles. Perianth-segments usually 4 (sometimes 5), stamens 4 or 5 alternating with 4 rounded scales. Drupe globose ..... Leaves $1\frac{1}{2}'' - 3''$ by $1'' - 1\frac{1}{2}''$ opposite, ovate or ovate lanceolate, acute, tapering to base, thin, glabrous and shining above, glaucous beneath. Petiole $\frac{1}{2}'' - \frac{3}{4}''$. Flowers $\frac{1}{4}''$ across, straw-coloured, turning to reddish-purple, in panicled cymes $1'' - 3''$ long. Drupe blackish-purple $\frac{1}{2}''$ diam .....

"A small evergreen tree found, apparently wild, in Anjenaad Valley in north

1. A Manual of Indian Timbers by J. S. Gamble, page 585
2. The forest Trees of Travancore by T. F. Bourdillon, pages 274–277

Travancore, naturalised and well established both on the hills and in the low country in gardens and waste land elsewhere. Height 30 feet diam. 8″. Occurs in the dry region of Mysore, Coorg, Coimbatore, the Nilgiris and a few other localities but absent from Ceylon.

"Flowers and fruits all the year round."

1.11 Bourdillon continues: "The sandalwood tree gives the best scented wood, were grown between 2,000 feet and 3,500 feet elevation with a rainfall of, from 20 to 50 inches and it is generally admitted that the drier the climate the better the wood. Mysore is its natural home. The tree grows freely in the gardens of Travancore, even at sea level, but the heartwood has no scent. The only places in the State, where it would pay to grow the tree, are the Anjanaad Valley (where a few sandalwood reserves have already been selected) or the drier parts of the cardamom hills below 3,500 feet and on the eastern slopes above Shenkottah and Panagudi. An attempt was made about 20 years ago to grow sandal by opening a plantation of about 50 acres near Quilon, but it was doomed to failure from the first, for, the soil was unsuitable, the elevation was low and the climate wet; and if the trees had grown, they would have been scentless, so that the plantation was very properly abandoned after a few years. It thrives best on a fairly deep red soil with or without stones, but as it cannot endure overhead shade or the drip from larger trees, it will not grow in evergreen forests; neither will it thrive alone; but requires the accompaniment of other trees or shrubs for the following reasons.

1.12 "The sandalwood tree is a root-parasite. Its seed germinates in the shade of some bush and for a time, the small plant obtains its nutriment direct from the soil, but in a few years, its roots begin to attach themselves to the roots of other trees, shrubs or reeds by suckers (haustoria) and from that time, probably the whole of the mineral constituents of the soil are drawn from these other plants. If the plants on which it is feeding is killed, the sandalwood tree loses all its leaves for a time, but then makes a new root connection with some other plant and revives. The number of species upon which the sandal has been found to prey is considerable, and includes the 'Casuarina', 'Lantana' and many common trees and shrubs.

1.13 "Many attempts have been made in other countries to grow sandal in plantations, in places where it is indigenous, but they have all failed, because the mistake was made of planting the tree alone, and keeping the ground free of weeds, so that the sandal plants were unable to find any other plants, on which to feed. According to Rama Rao[1] 'the best way to raise this valuable tree is to allow the land to be cleared and cropped by villagers, and then to sow the sandal seed among the bushes and weeds, which spring up after abandonment. No clear weeding should be attempted, but if the grass and shrubs threaten to choke the small plants, they may be cut back, so as to allow the sandal, free light and air'."

1.14 While describing the rate of growth of sandalwood, Bourdillon adds that "although in Travancore, this tree never attains a height of more than 30 feet or a girth above 2 feet, it has been observed to grow to a height of 60 feet and a girth of 6 feet in a climate more favourable to it. The rate of growth according to Gamble, varies from 3.5 to 9.2 rings per inch of radius, and he quotes Lushington that an average increase of 8″ girth in 10 years has been taken for working plans; so that at 40 years the girth would be 32 inches at 4½ feet from the ground, and this would be the minimum

1. Rama Rao, M. Indian Forester XXX, page 361

size felled."

1.15 Speaking about the diseases of the tree, Bourdillon says: "This valuable tree suffers from the attacks of many enemies. Goats eat the leaves, cattle and even human beings consume the bark and the stem is riddled by the bores of a moth 'Zenzera Coffee'. During the past few years, a terrible disease known as 'spike' has attacked the sandal tree over large areas in Mysore and Coorg. Further, the trees throw out an excessive number of branches, and produce leaves in place of flowers. The disease is not due to 'fungus', but is caused by the excessive production of starch in all its tissues. At the same time, the root ends and haustoria die. To sum up, Butler[1] in his report on the 'spike' disease says, "Spike is a nutritronial disease characterised by a forced carbon-assimilation, and a consequent train of modifications in the form of the tree. It may be due to the circulation of a poison in the sap". No remedy seems to have been found for the disease though the Mysore Government has offered a handsome reward for it. Fortunately 'spike' does not appear to affect the value of the wood, though it kills the tree."

1·16 In the following paragraph Bourdillon gives a note on the species of sandalwood. "The Sandalwood of Commerce, is the product of various species of the genera 'santalum' and 'Fusanus', which both belong to the order 'Santalaceae'. There are about 20 species of 'santalum' known, of which the most important is the Indian tree. Other species occur in Tahiti, the Sandwhich Islands, Figi, and New Caledonia. Several species of 'Fusanus' are found in West Australia. Before the middle of the 18th century, India was the only country, which exported sandalwood, but since its discovery in the islands of the Pacific, the largest quantities have been procured from there. Owing to the unrestricted fellings carried on there, the supply of sandalwood from the islands of the Pacific is said to be almost exhausted, so that the sandal of India is likely to become more and more valuable as time goes on."[2]

Uses of Sandalwood

1.17 Among the many uses of sandalwood, Bourdillon mentions: "Sandalwood is used in India, for the manufacture of boxes, cabinets and articles of furniture. A paste made from the wood is very much used by the higher castes, and from the roots and waste scraps, a very valuable oil is extracted which is used both in medicine and perfumery."

1.18 Major Drury[3] gives the following note on the uses of sandalwood. "This tree yields the sandalwood of commerce, which is usually cut into billets and disposed of in that state. It is burnt to perfume temples and dwelling houses. Reduced to powder it enters into a composition for marking the forehead. The powder is supposed to possess sedative and cooling properties and on that account is prescribed in fever and gonorrhoea. In cases of thirst it is taken in cocoanut water and the natives use it in bathing, to cool the body. The Mohamedans extract a precious oil from the moist yellow part of the wood, which they value as a perfume. The same tree yields both the white and yellow sandalwood, the last being the inner part of the tree and is very hard and fragrant, especially near the root. The powdered wood mixed with butter is applied to the head in headaches. Internally it is given in fevers and bilious affections and externally in prickly heat and cutaneous eruptions."

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1. Butler – Indian Forester XXIX – Appendix
2. Bourdillon, T. F. Indian Forester XX – 322
3. The Useful Plants of India by Major Drury, page 393

Red Sandalwood

1.19 Major Drury[1] has mentioned about another variety of sandalwood known as 'Red Sandalwood' (Pterocarpus Santalinus', Linn). A brief description and uses of Red Sandalwood as given by Major Drury is reproduced below:

1.20 "The wood is dark red with black veins, close, capable of good polish and sinking in water. It is known in commerce as 'Red Sandalwood', which is used chiefly by dyers and colour manufacturers. Also employed to colour several official preparations such as the compound tincture of lavender etc. This deep red colouring matter is apparently of a resinuous nature. It forms beautifully coloured precipitates with many metallic solutions. It also yields a kind of dragon's blood. The wood, powdered and mixed with oil is used for bathing and purifying the skin. Also given internally in haemorrhages in powders ground up with milk and externally is mixed with honey in cases of scabies. Also in certain cases of ophthalmia and sore eyes beaten up into a paste and applied to the eyes."

1.21 Speaking about the items of fauna in this region, reptiles abound in the bushy areas, and non-migrating birds of all varieties are seen both in the open air as well as in the interior of the reserve forests. The crickets, glow-worms and different varieties of coloured beetles are found in large numbers in the bushy localities. Elephants, which frequent the colony premises at times, do much damage to the properties and crops cultivated if any, by these people.

Administration and Residential Pattern

1.22 The tribal area at Champakad is under the administrative control of a Special Officer of the Department of Harijan Welfare whose headquarters is at Devicolam. There is an Executive Assistant, stationed at Champakad, who looks after the day to day administration pertaining to the area. A compounder and a school teacher are the other Government servants in the colony. No commercial or industrial activity, could be noticed in the colony, as evidently there are no facilities or resources for these.

1.23 This area with ups and downs and covered by bushy vegetation of shrubs and trees, was formerly barren wasteland and lacking in irrigation. Elephants and other wild animals were plenty in number causing much damage and even death of men and loss of properties. Out of the 1,200 acres of land 'notified as Tribal Reserve Area' about 20 acres have been completely deforested, and the outer boundary of this area has been fenced with barbed wire for protection against the attack of wild animals. This area has been allotted to about 25 families of Hill Pulayas. The Department of Harijan Welfare of the State Government has put up about 15 houses, each house to accommodate two families. These houses of granite walls and tiled roofs have been constructed in a single row. Twenty-three tribal families were occupying this colony at the time of the survey. Apart from the tribal residences, three or four houses are provided as quarters for the Executive Assistant, Compounder-cum-Medical Attender, and for the teacher. A medical dispensary, a co-operative store (shop) to supply food grains and other items of necessity required by these tribal families and a school for the tribal children have also been provided for in the tribal colony. A lift irrigation scheme, with a reservoir and a pump for the supply of good drinking water from the nearby river as well as water for the irrigation purposes of the lands allotted to the tribal families, had been recommended in the preliminary report of the committee.

Source of Water

1.24 The colony has been located near

1. The Useful Plants of India by Major Drury, page 370

the bank of the Pambar river which provides the main source of water supply. There will be a good flow of water throughout the year in this river.

Communications

1.25 As regards the transport facilities, it may be said that the tribal colony is within easy approach by walking a few furlongs from the main highway connecting Munnar and Udumalpet (in Madras State). There is regular bus service between these stations. The Champakad colony is at a distance of about 38 miles from Munnar and about 19 miles from Udumalpet. There is no other road, worth mentioning, inside the colony premises excepting a few narrow footpaths caused by the frequent treading of these people. The communication facilities here are quite meagre. There is not even a post office, and most of these tribals are illiterate. The few letters and other mail items intended for the people in the colony (including the officials in the colony) from other places are carried through regular bus services plying between Munnar and Udumalpet. There is a tribal messenger who receives these items from the bus, at the main highway and delivers to the people.

Places of Worship

1.26 There is a small temple in the premises of the colony where the tribal people have installed their deity 'Katlaparanima' at the foot of a tree, which they worship on festive occasions. They go for worship at the temple at Marayur also. Except for the small temple mentioned there is no other place of worship—temple, church or mosque—in the tribal area at Champakad.

Marketing Facilities

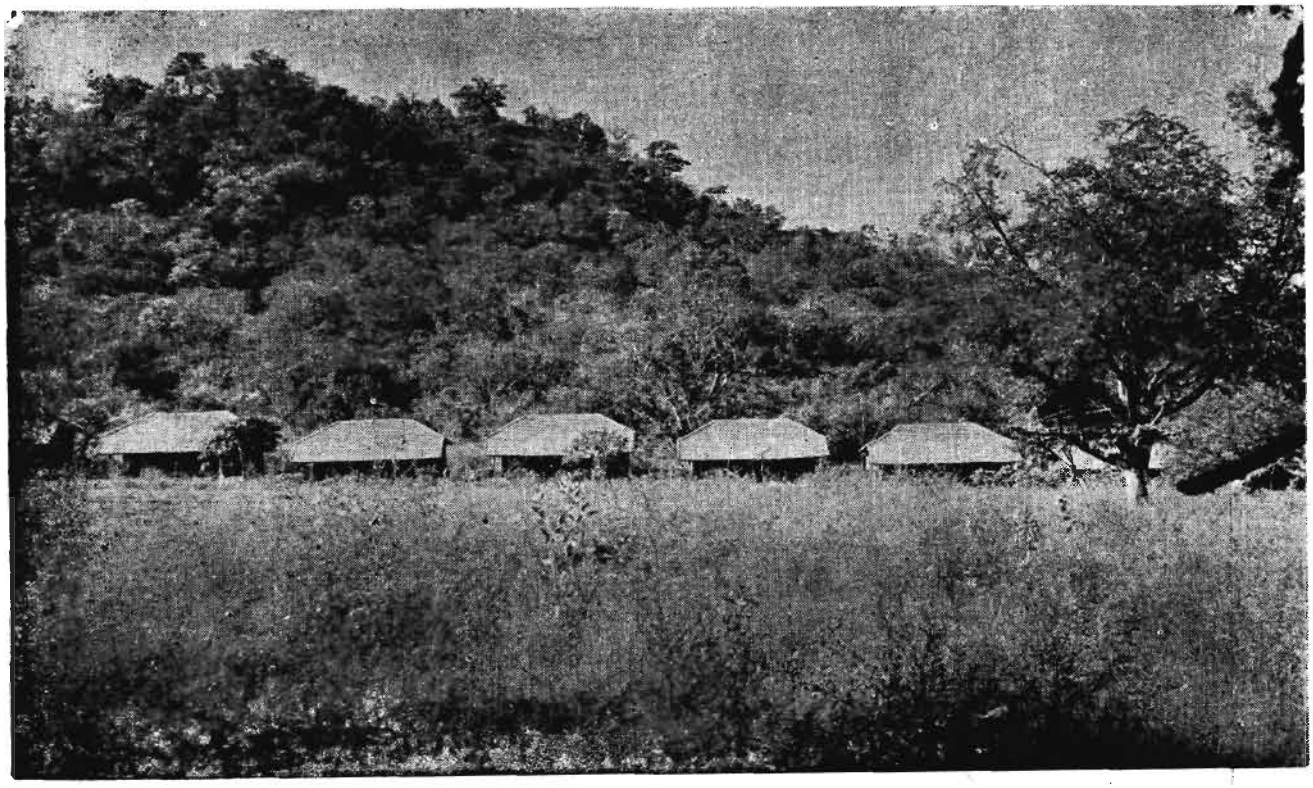
1.27 There is no public market at Champakad. The problem of marketing facilities for these tribal people is not seriously felt, since the co-operative store in their colony supplies items they require. Moreover they do not produce any commodity, requiring facilities of marketing. The nearest market for them is at Marayur though this itself is a small one.

Health, Sanitation and Drainage

1.28 It was reported that there is a Health Assistant at Marayur to look after the health and sanitation facilities of the people at Champakad also. However, it is learnt that no arrangements for the village sanitation and drainage for the people in the tribal colony at Champakad has been made. They do not use any kind of latrines. The Tribes use the water in the nearby river for all domestic purposes including drinking. A dispensary has been started in the colony. The health and hygienic conditions of the tribal people in general are very poor.

History of the Settlement

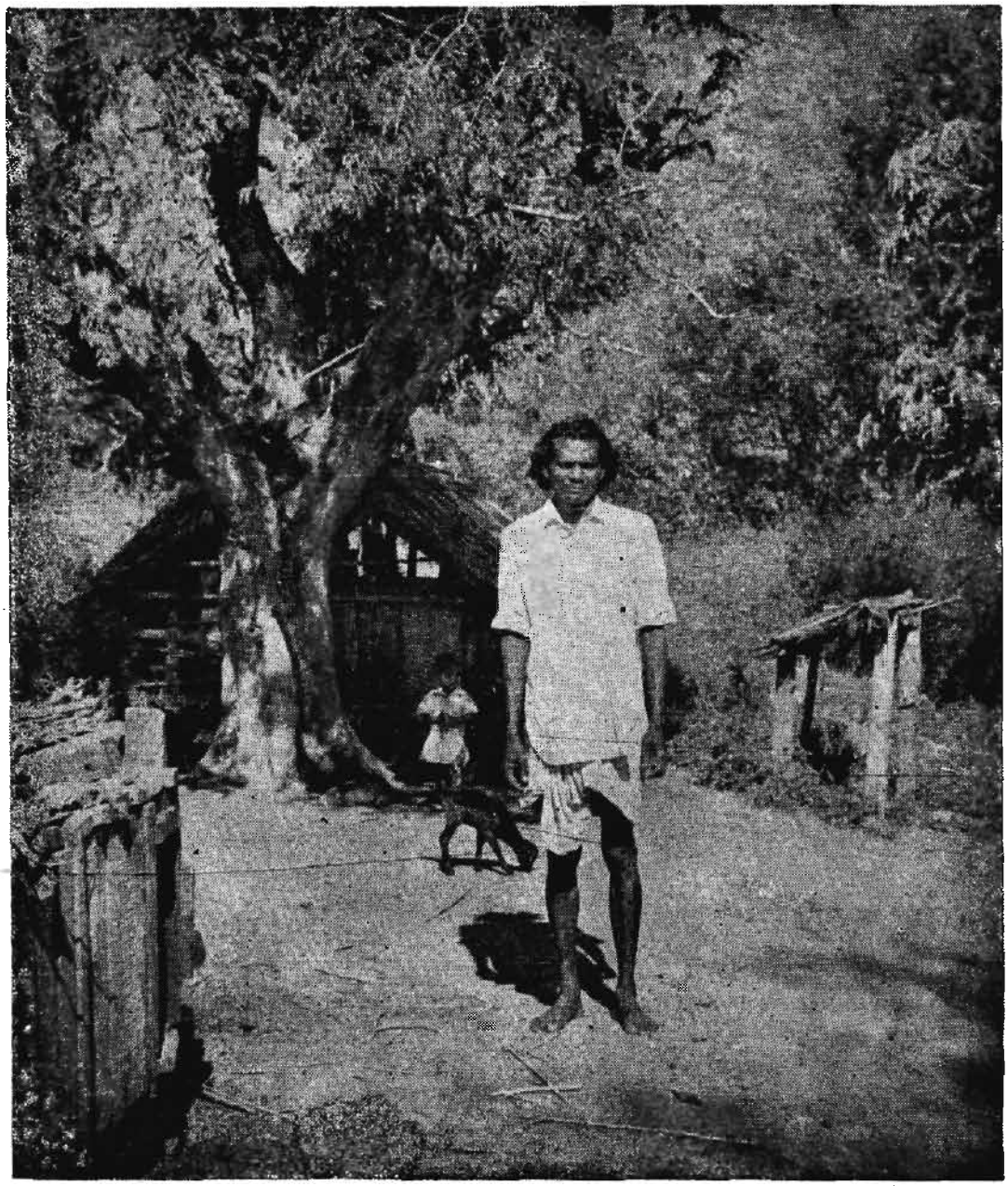
1.29 It has been briefly mentioned at the beginning that the tribal families of Hill Pulayas have been rehabilitated in the Champakad reserve area, on the recommendation of an expert committee. As such this area is almost a specific locality for colonising a portion of the Hill Pulaya population who were forced to leave forest areas—their natural habitat—which were deforested for plantation purposes by the people of the plains. There does not seem to be any legend prevailing among them, concerning this locality.



Pl. 15 TRIBAL COLONY AT CHAMPAKAD P. 91



Pl 16 HILL PULAYA GROUP P. 93



Pl. 17 HILL PULAYA MALE P. 93

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

The People

The Hill Pulayas, also referred to as Kurumba Pulayas are a set of sub-standard hill tribes living scattered in the forest areas in and around Champakad and Anjanaad Valley of Devicolam taluk in Kerala, and in the neighbouring places in Madras State. Almost half-starved and economically low in status they are backward in many respects. In the field of education also they are no better placed. Being not conversant with the agricultural practices by tradition, they go for work as daily labourers. They generally do jobs like earthwork in connection with road maintenance, felling of trees and other work connected with forests. Herding of cattle belonging to other people in the neighbouring localities for a nominal fee is another occupation of theirs. Lack of proper resources of food, limited field of employment, meagre income and uncongenial climatic conditions have deprived them of their health and rendered many of them anaemic. They are generally tall in stature and dark in complexion.

2.2 Though a few acres of land have been allotted to them for agricultural purposes, the necessary irrigational and other facilities originally recommended by the committee have not so far been brought into effect. The damages to crops, houses and people by rogue elephants have also scared them very much.

Origin

2.3 Regarding the origin of Hill Pulayas no authentic record is available, but it is believed that they had migrated many years back from Madura to the Anjanaad Valleys, and had then settled at Palampetty, Kottapally, Pongapally, Peradipally, Champakad and in parts of the Marayur village in Devicolam taluk. This presumption that they have migrated from the Tamil speaking localities is supported to some extent by the language they speak which is a crude form of Tamil.

2.4 The Hill Pulayas are divided into three endogamous sects such as Kurumba Pulayas, (engaged mainly in herding cattle) Karavazhi Pulayas and Pampa Pulayas. Kurumba Pulayas consider themselves superior in social status to the other two sects.

Language

2.5 The mother tongue of the Hill Pulayas is a crude form of Tamil. Due to the influence of the other people in the localities who speak Malayalam, these tribals are now able to understand this language and a few are able to speak this language also. The medium of instruction in the primary school in the colony is Malayalam and the present generation of school-going children are able to read, write and speak this language.

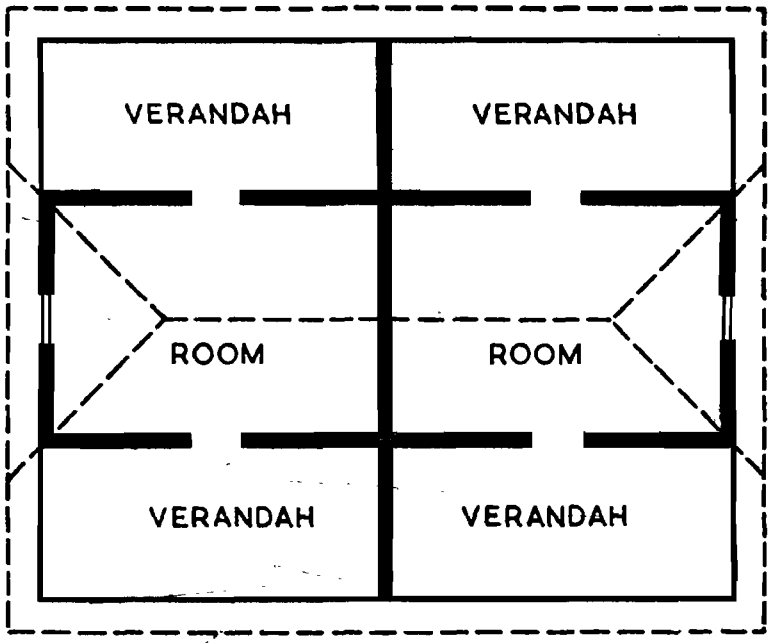
Religion

2.6 The Hill Pulayas of Champakad are Hindus in their beliefs and practices. Besides the Hindu gods and goddesses usually worshipped they also worship forest deities, such as Kannimarsamy and Karuppusamy, who are supposed to protect them from evils. Kali, Mariamma and Sapplamma are some of the malevolent gods they worship. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the gods and goddesses on festive occasions to propitiate them. 'Pongal' (cooked rice), plantains, betel, fowls and sheep are the items usually offered to these gods. An elder male member of the colony chosen by the Special Officer, looks after matters

pertaining to religious and social functions and he functions as the leader in the colony.

House Types

2.7 As mentioned previously, about 15 residential houses have been provided (in two rows) for about 25 families of Hill Pulayas. Each house is designed to accommodate two families. The walls of these houses are of granite as a protection against wild elephants and strong winds. The roofing is tiled and the floor is plastered with cow-dung. Each family occupies a fairly big room of size about 20 feet by 15 feet. There is an open verandah in the front and a small verandah on the back. A corner portion of the room is used as kitchen. Only one window and two doors are provided for the room.



GROUND PLAN OF A COLONY HOUSE

2.8 The houses and their premises are not maintained neatly. The only room which they use for cooking as well as sleeping is sometimes shared by the sheep and goats also during the nights.

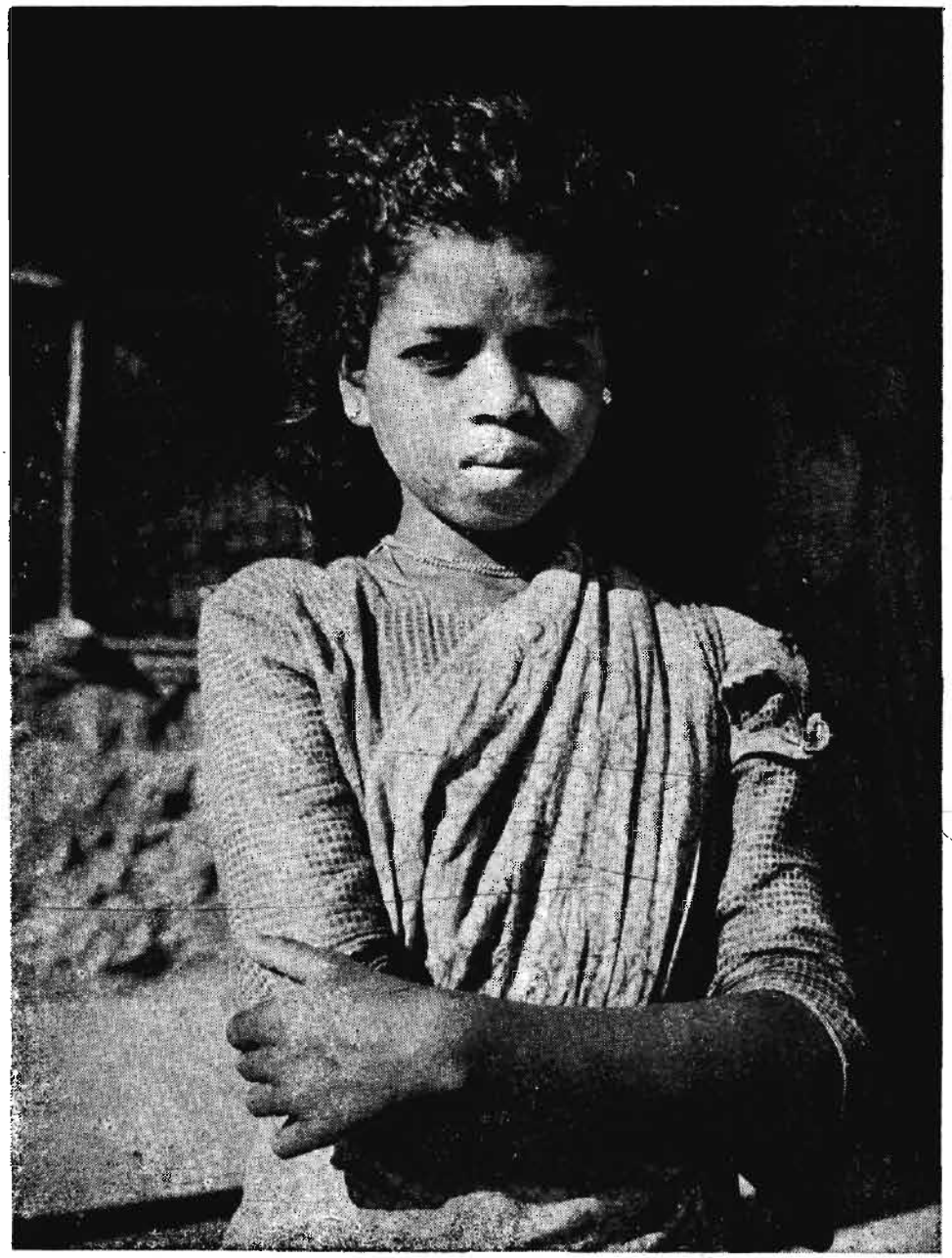
Dress and Ornaments

2.9 The males usually wear a dhoti and an upper cloth, or shirt if they can afford one. The women put on a *chela* which is about six yards long, wound round the waist and carried over the upper part of the body with a knot in the region of the right shoulder. It is noticed that the elderly women do not use blouse, though the younger generation have started using it. They usually carry their young babies on their back, in a sort of cloth-cradle, when going out. In this connection, it may be said that they are usually found to wear worn out and soiled cloths. They do not seem to wash the cloths even once a week though they are accustomed to take bath once in two or three days. At times they even purchase second-hand clothes which are available at cheap prices as reported by them.

2.10 Ornaments made of gold and



Pl. 18 HILL PULAYA—THE YOUNG AND THE OLD P. 93



Pl. 19 HILL PULAYA BELLE P. 93

silver are rarely worn by them. Men usually wear ear-rings which are mostly made of brass. The ornaments commonly used by women are, bangles made of brass or aluminium, and necklaces made of beads or shells. Ear-rings are also used by them. Generally, the ornaments which they use, are not costly ones, as they cannot afford to. During the course of the survey, it was found that members of three out of the twenty-three families were not using any type of ornament. The expenditure on items of ornaments is also very small.

Household Goods

2.11 The common types of domestic utensils used by them are earthenware pots and small vessels like 'kindi' and 'montha' made of brass or copper. A few of the families, however, possess big copper vessels to fetch water from the nearby river. Recently, cheap quality vessels and plates of aluminium are also seen used by them. They buy these vessels and clay pots from the local merchants at Marayur on cash payment. They do not hire special utensils on festive and other occasions, but manage with what they possess.

2.12 Only two or three members in the colony were found using footwears. They have been provided with some of the agricultural implements namely spades, sickles, ploughs etc. They use safety matches purchased from outside for making fire and do not use the old methods of making fire with flint and steel or by rubbing stones. Kitchen fire is generally used for purpose of lighting the house during night. Small kerosene oil lamps are also used by them.

Food and Drink

2.13 Rice, ragi and *cholam* form the staple food of the Hill Pulayas. They are non-vegetarians and use all kinds of fish, and flesh of small birds and animals like fowls, rats, ibex and samburs. But the flesh of cows, oxen and buffaloes are not consumed, these animals being considered sacred. They go in for fresh as well as dried fish. Eggs are consumed by them, if available. Vegetables like *colocasia*, plantains etc. are rarely grown and used by them. Wild roots and edible fruits (which have now become rare due to partial deforestation) are also used, if and when available. They drink black coffee or tea prepared in their houses, and when they go out they enter hotels or tea shops. Pulses and grams are also used.

2.14 Most of the families, it was reported, were taking meals only twice a day—one in the morning and one at night. The breakfast usually consists of black coffee, and sometimes cooked wild roots. In some cases 'kanji' forms the food in the morning. They take their meal in the evening or at night, which consists of cooked rice, ragi or *cholam* and 'curry'. Malnutrition and inadequate feeding owing to poor resources have rendered many of them poor in health and pessimistic in outlook.

2.15 Most of the elder male members are addicted to toddy and arrack, available from the local merchants. Chewing is very common among the male and female members, even from their young ages. Smoking is another vice practised by a good number of males even from teen ages. They spend a small portion of their income on these items.

Customs and Manners

2.16 Like other tribes, the Hill Pulayas of Champakad have also their old beliefs and practices, and own customs and manners, connected with birth, puberty, marriage and death. These have been described in the following paragraphs.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

2.17 No noteworthy ceremony is generally correlated with pregnancy and childbirth, which takes place usually in a small compartment of the hut got ready for the purpose. Elderly women assist the women in labour. Medical aid from the dispensary in the colony premises is sought in these days in case of any

difficulty. The pollution connected with the childbirth lasts for a period of about a month, at the end of which, the mother bathes and joins the family circle. The naming ceremony of the child is generally conducted at the end of the pollution period but no function is associated with this. The names common among them are, Aundi, Chapli, Mani, Kuppan, etc. for males; and Kuppi, Sapplamma, Aundichy etc. for females. During the period of pollution connected with childbirth, death of a person and attainment of maturity of a girl, they do not associate themselves in any auspicious and religious functions and do not visit temples and other important places. Beating of drums and dancing and singing, generally at night, in front of fireplaces accompany almost all such occasions

Puberty and Menstruation

2.18 The Hill Pulayas of Champakad give much importance to the observance of pollution and the segregation of a girl who attains puberty. She is lodged in a separate room during the period of pollution lasting for about 15 to 30 days and during this period she is not allowed to move about freely or see men. Cooked food is served to her during this period. At the end of the pollution period she is taken to the nearby river accompanied by close relatives singing and dancing and with drum-beating, where she takes her bath. She is purified by the sprinkling of cow-dung water, and puts on 'Tilak' on her forehead. The girl returns home, dressed in new clothes and with a pot of water from the river carried on her head. She is accompanied by those who had escorted her to the river and receives their blessings. Singing, dancing and merry making accompanied by loud tom tom beating of the drums are still prevalent among these tribes during night times on such festive occasions. Usually the girl's marriage is also settled, on the day the pollution ends, though this is not always the case.

During the monthly period of pollution—generally lasting for 5 or 6 days—the woman in menses keeps out of her hut and at the end of this period she joins the family after a bath.

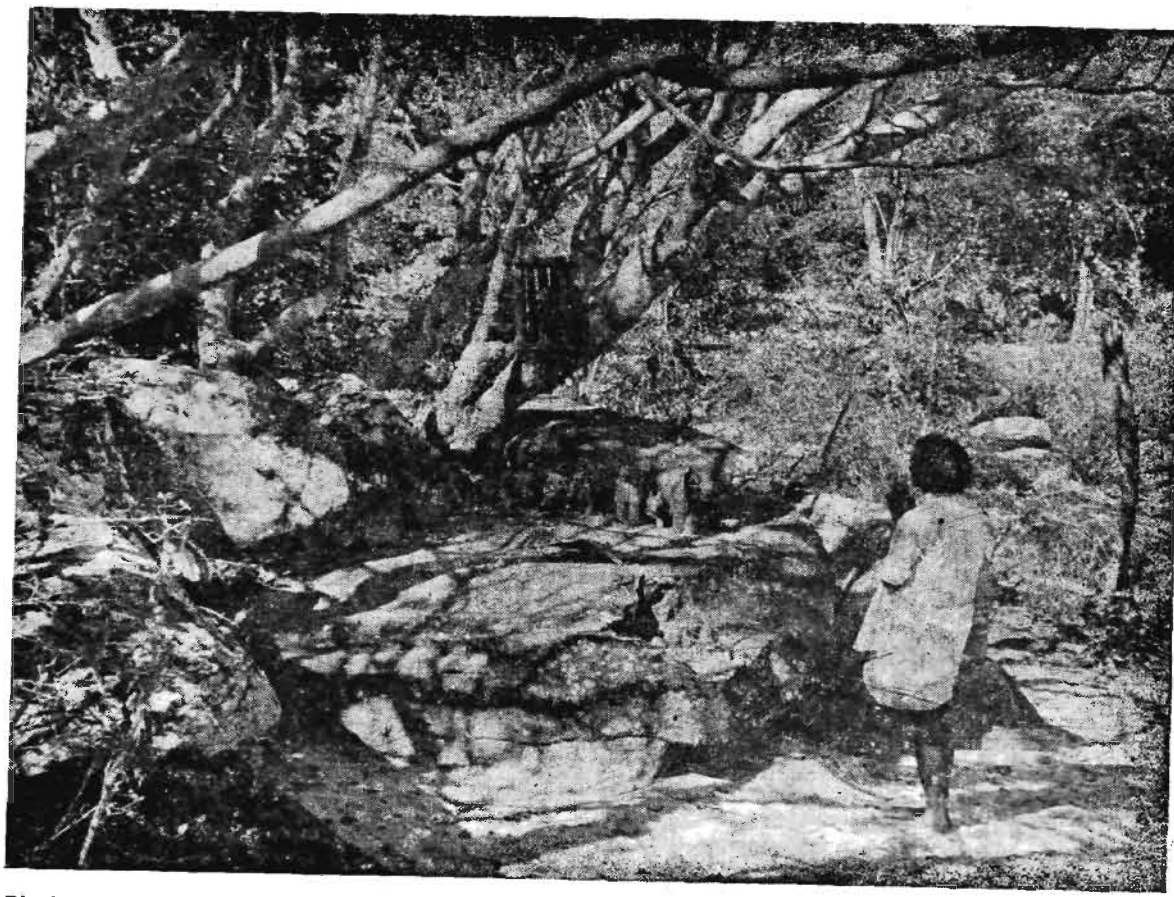
Marriage

2.19 The proposal for marriage, is generally initiated from the boy's side and marriages are fixed with the consent of both parties. Usually marriage takes place only after the girl has attained puberty. The function takes place at the bride's residence, and is accompanied by dancing and drum-beating. The system of payment of small amounts of money as bride-price is in vogue among this tribe and in addition to this the bridegroom presents the bride with wedding clothes and ornaments according to his status and ability. The important item of the marriage ceremony consists of the tying of the 'Tali' (string made of beads) round the bride's neck and presentation of clothes. The couple are then seated in front of a leaf served with food and they share the food served on the common leaf. Feasting, followed by music and dance marks the termination of the marriage function. When the bride is taken to the husband's hut after the marriage, the party is accompanied by persons who sing and beat drums throughout the entire way and the music and dance is continued for some more time even after entering the hut.

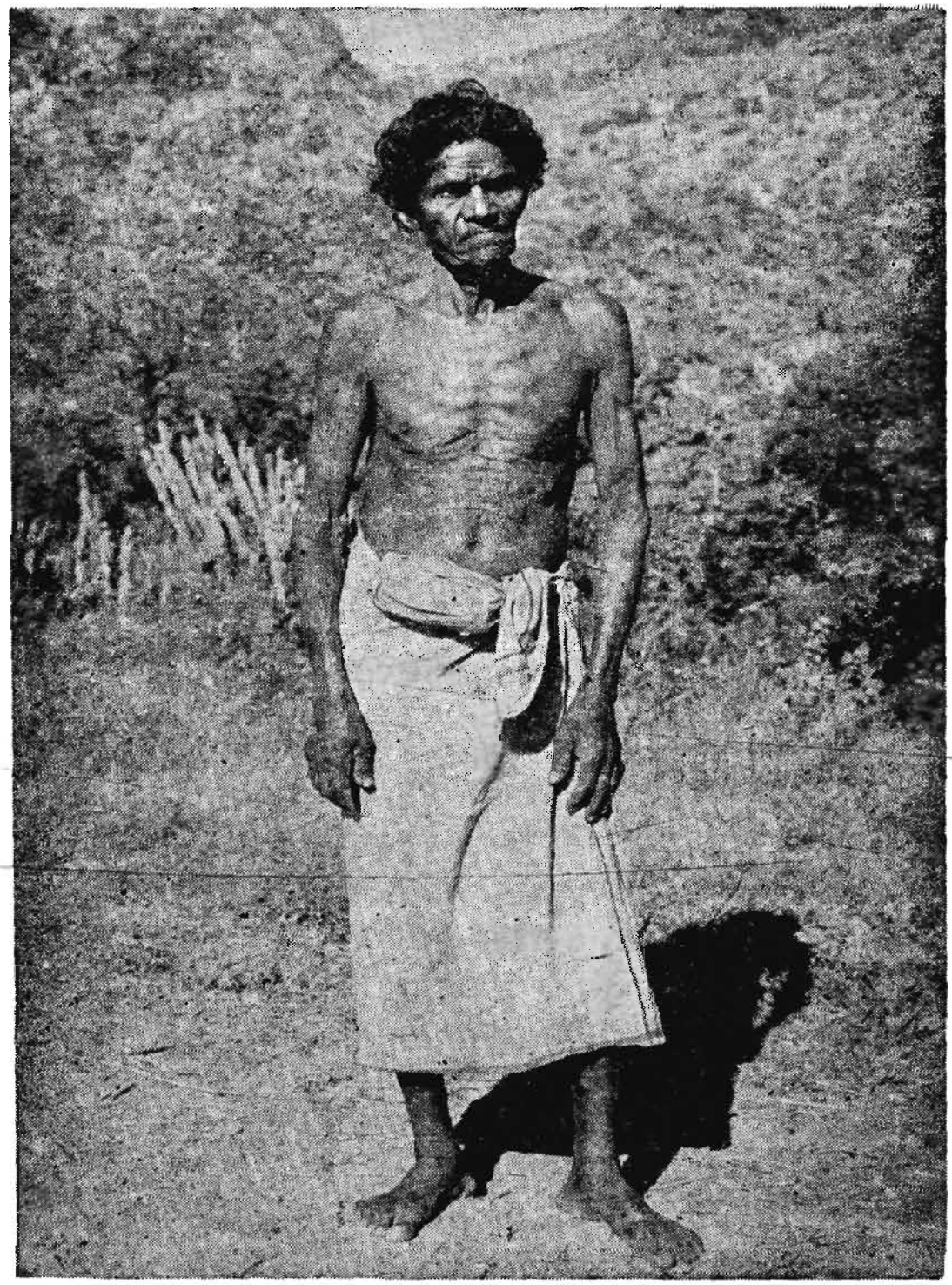
2.20 The systems of polygamy and polyandry are not commonly observed among the Hill Pulayas of Champakad. But polygamy may be resorted to in particular cases generally with the consent of the first wife when she is proved sterile or becomes insane. Sororate is popular and one case of levirate was reported. It was given to understand that the Hill Pulayas observe endogamy in marriage. The marriages between cross-cousins are quite common. Only in the absence of a proper marriageable cousin, marriage with an outside girl is arranged. As mentioned above, marriages are



Pl. 20 HILL PULAYA FEMALES P. 93



Pl 21 DEITY AND DEVOTEE P. 93



Pl. 22 HILL PULAYA—LEADER OF THE COLONY P. 94

generally conducted only after the girl attains puberty, even though the alliance might have been fixed sufficiently early. Payment of bride-price, at the time of the marriage, is an essential custom among them, amounting to about Rs. 10 or so. Unlike the Adiyans, Paniyans and Kurumans of North Wynad, among whom both parties are free to sever the connections it was noticed that, the Hill Pulayas have their marriage relationship more substantial. However, widows, widowers and parties have divorced are permitted to marry again and such marriages are conducted without much pomp.

Death

2.21 On hearing the news of the death of a person, the relatives congregate at the hut where the death had occurred, to offer their mournings and last respects to the departed. The corpse is bathed with oil and turmeric water and covered with new clothes and other personal belongings by the mourners. The kith and kin then throw a handful of paddy and rice on the corpse and circle around it two or three times. It is then taken to the burial ground and lowered into the grave already dug to a depth of about 3 or 4 ft. in the north to south direction. A mat is spread on the dead body and the grave is covered with earth. The head of the corpse is placed southwards. Water and rice are placed in a vessel near the head, as food and drink to the departed one. Two or three stones are erected to mark the place of burial in most of the cases. The death pollution lasts for about 6 days, at the end of which they get purified after a bath, and a feasting is arranged for the guests. The chief mourner is the eldest son, who inherits the property if any, of the dead parent. No annual function connected with the death of a person is conducted. In the case of premature death, the body is buried in a quiet manner. The dead ancestors are worshipped as their protectors.

The Hill Pulayas bury the dead and do not cremate. There is a burial ground in the colony premises not far away from their houses.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Economic Resources

In addition to providing residential houses for about 25 tribal families, in the tribal area at Champakad, the Department of Harijan Welfare has also cleared a few acres of forest land and allotted this area to the families for cultivation of paddy and other grain crops. It has been recommended by the committee set up by the Government that a reservoir tank with an overall capacity of about 30,000 gallons should be constructed. The committee has also recommended that a motor and pump set should be erected for pumping and storing water in the reservoir from the nearby river. This project when executed will provide facilities for irrigation of the reclaimed area, as well as for supply of drinking water. But it was observed that till the end of the present survey, this work had not so far been taken up for execution. On account of this, the deforested area fenced with barbed wire has not yet been brought under any intensive and useful cultivation. The extensive area of land with bushy shrubs and forests in and around their colony is utilised mainly for grazing the cattle by a few of the families, who possess cattle and sheep, or are engaged in this occupation of grazing cattle belonging to others on remuneration.

3.2 A co-operative shop was functioning in the colony premises at the time of the survey from where rice and condiments, seeds and manure and other items of daily requirements could be obtained at moderate prices. But this has since been closed down.

Livestock

3.3 Some of the families rear cattle and poultry. Of the 23 households, only 3 owned cows (10 each). One of these house-holds had, in addition to its own cows, a large number of cows to be looked after for others. A fourth household had the responsibility of looking after 25 cows. These cattle belonged to some of the families living a few miles away. Two households had calves numbering 5. There were altogether 30 sheep and 33 goats owned by the 23 households. Thirteen households had poultry. Dogs and cats were the other domestic animals found in almost all households. They let off the cattle for grazing in the early hours of the day, and drive them back home only late in the evening. The animals wander into the distant forests for grazing. Separate sheds for cows and sheep are not available in the locality but they are sheltered in the open verandahs of the houses of these people. They keep dogs mainly for purposes of hunting small birds and animals. Details of livestock, are given in the following tables.

Table II (a)

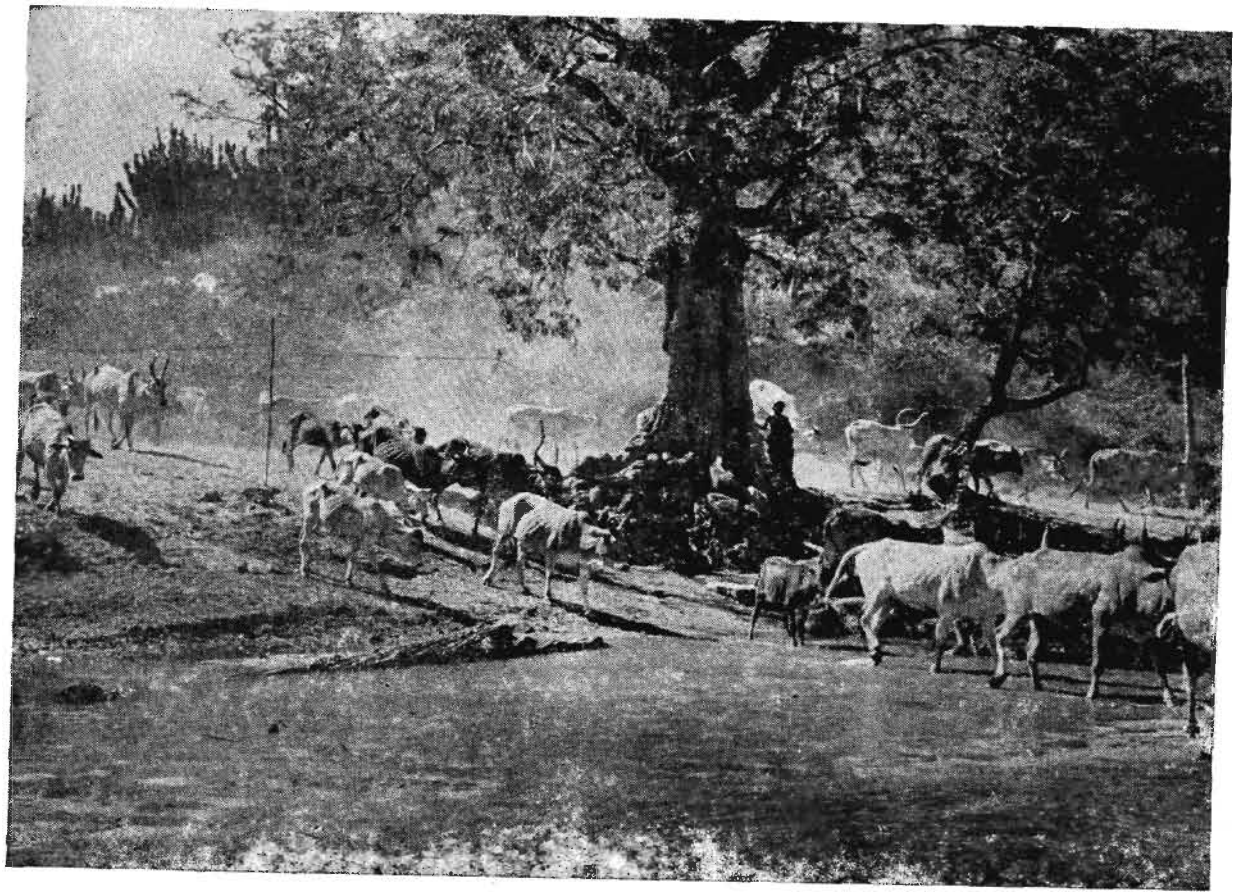
NUMBER OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS IN THE HOUSEHOLDS

No. of house-holds surveyed	Cows	Calves	Bulls	He-buffa-loes	She-buffa-loes	Goats	Sheep	Other animals *	Poultry
23	30	5	2	..	..	30	33	23	30

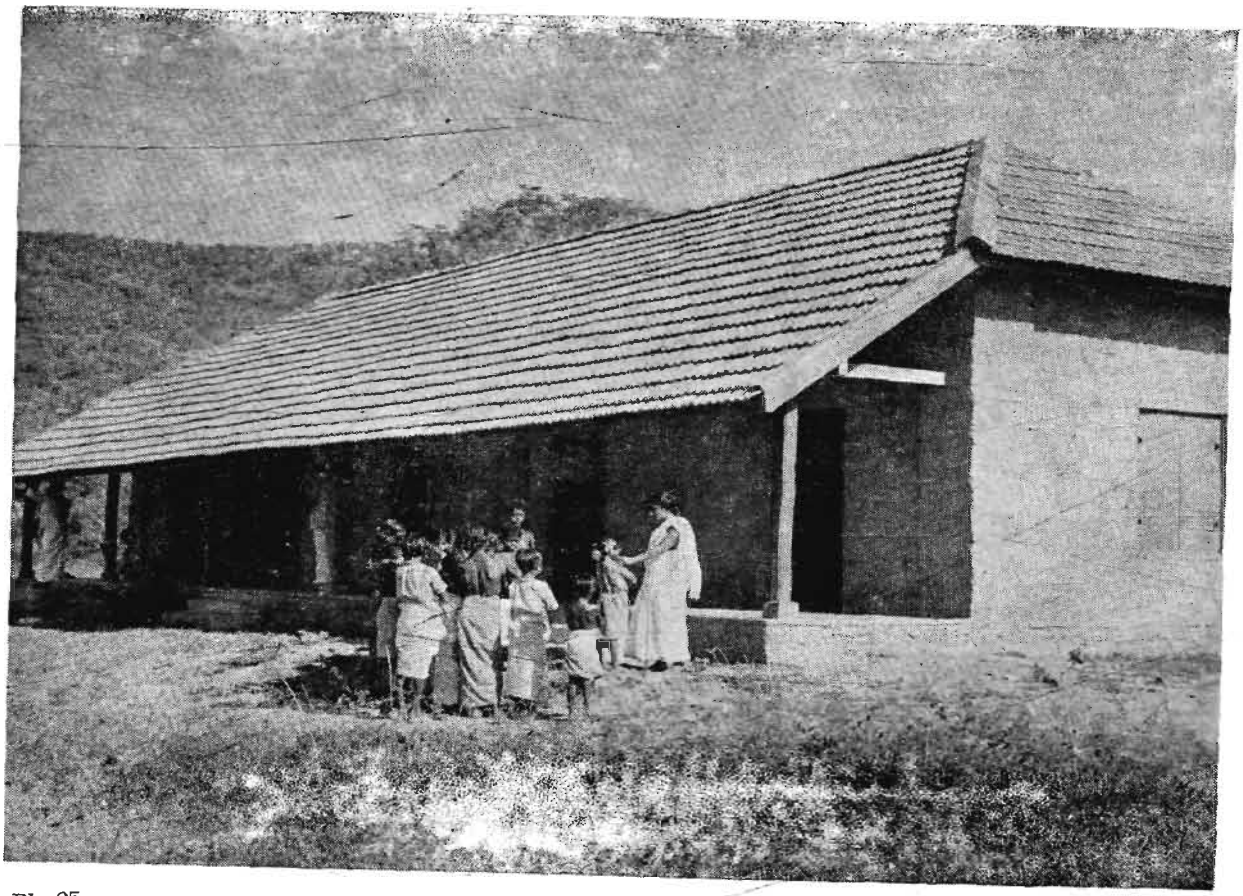
* Other animals include dogs and cats



Pl. 23 BEAD NECKLACE IS A COMMON ORNAMENT AMONG HILL PULAYAS P. 95



Pl. 24 CATTLE GRAZING P. 100



Pl. 25 SCHOOL IN THE COLONY PREMISES P. 108

Table II (b)

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS HAVING DOMESTIC ANIMALS

No. of households surveyed	No. of households having								
	Cows	Calves	Bulls	He-buffaloes	She-buffaloes	Goats	Sheep	Other animals *	Poultry
23	3	2	1	..	..	8	11	14	13

* Other animals include dogs and cats

Economic Life and Activities

3.4 The entire tribal area at Champakad was formerly reserve forest area but is now under the control and management of the Department of Harijan Welfare, for settling the tribal families.[1] But it was learnt that steps for the improvement of the land for cultivation has not so far been taken.

3.5 There are at present no facilities for any kind of industrial activities in this region. These tribes are not engaged in any kind of household industries or craft-works.

3.6 There were 108 members (55 males and 53 females) belonging to all age-groups in the 23 families in the colony, at the time of the survey. Considering the age-group 15-59 as the working age-group, it was found that almost all the males in that age-group do some work or other to earn a livelihood (gainfully employed) while among the females in that age-group only 10 out of 23 were reported as workers. The table below gives the distribution of the members as workers and non-workers according to sex and age-groups.

Table III

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUP

Age-group	Total			Workers			Non-workers		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
0–4	46 (42.6)	20	26	1	..	1	45	20	25
15-34	40 (37.0)	23	17	30	22	8	10	1	9
35–59	16 (14.8)	10	6	12	10	2	4	..	4
60 and over	6 (5.6)	2	4	1	..	1	5	2	3
All ages	108	55	53	44	32	12	64	23	41

T = Total M = Male F = Female

The figures within brackets give the corresponding percentages

1 The rehabilitation scheme in this area was started by the Department of Harijan Welfare though the lands were forest lands not yet transferred to this Department. 110 acres of forest lands at Champakad are proposed to be transferred to the Revenue Department for settling the Hill Pulayas. This area is inclusive of the land where the Harijan Welfare Department has actually implemented the schemes

Agriculture

3.7 A probe into the history of the past occupation of the Hill Pulayas at Champakad reveals that they were living mostly on certain wild roots and fruits, hunting animals like wild rats, sambur, varanus and procuring large quantities of insect larvae and collecting other products from the forests, though they claim to be nomadic agriculturists by tradition, cultivating parts of forest lands. They are not good at cultivating practices, in spite of the fact that vast areas of forest lands were available. They claim to have been cultivating crops like ragi and *cholam* even from former times but judging from what they get in the colony premises at Champakad they do not seem to have acquired much efficiency in this occupation. Several factors can be said to be responsible for this lack of irrigational facilities, their ignorance of modern cultivating methods and the ravage of wild animals, especially elephants, are the most important among them.

3.8 The households depend mostly on outside sources for their food. Essential commodities are purchased from shops which are located about 8 miles from the colony (Marayur). The table below gives details of cultivation and the quantity produced last year in the case of the families doing cultivation. Out of the 23 families in the colony (covered by the survey) 7 families were cultivating *cholam* on plots of land of area less than half an acre (each), and 2 families had undertaken cultivation of ragi. The small quantities of *cholam* and ragi thus grown were consumed by these families. The cultivators are supplied with seeds and agricultural implements such as spades, pick-axes, ploughs and bulls, by the Government. The rest of the families are not engaged in any cultivation.

Table IV

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCES OF CULTIVATION, 1961–62

No. of households

	cultivating		producing				consuming			
Crop	Up to 50 cents	Above 50 cents	Up to 5 padis	6-20 padis	21–40 padis	Above 40 padis	Up to 5 padis	6-20 padis	21–40 padis	Above 40 padis
Cholam	7	..	..	2	1	1	..	2	1	1
Ragi	2	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..
Thina & other pulses *	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

* Cultivated along with *cholam* or ragi

Cattle Grazing

3.9 Some of the families in the colony are engaged in grazing cattle belonging to others in the neighbouring places, and in the neighbouring State of Madras. These people get only a nominal income out of this profession. They go out into the forests with the cattle and while in the forests they also collect edible items for themselves.

Fishing and Hunting

3.10 Fishing is one of the common occupations for most of the Hill Pulaya males. All the different varieties of fish available in the nearby rivers and channels are caught. Rod and line and fishing traps, are the main fishing implements commonly used by them. Poisoning the waters with some indigenous produces and thereby killing the fish is another method adopted by them. Small birds and animals like wild fowls, sambur and wild rats are also hunted and consumed. They make use of dogs as well as methods of trapping in hunting these birds and animals. They do not generally sell the fish caught or the animals hunted, but use them for their domestic purposes.

Manual Labour

3.11 The different occupations mentioned do not enable them to earn a living and they resort to physical labour generally as coolies, and this is an important source of income for them. In recent times the males as well as the females go for manual labour; mainly for road work and forest work, under the contractors and forest authorities and earn their daily wages. Some of the male members are engaged in felling bamboos from the nearby forests and in the gathering of lemon-grass for others. Collection of honey, wax and certain medicinal fruits and seeds form the secondary occupations for these people, while engaged in grazing cattle and in off-seasons when they have no regular means of employment and source of income.

Family Budget

3.12 The standard of life of the Hill Pulayas at Champakad is very low, with a bare hand-to-mouth existence. Theirs is a life of poverty and misery with practically inadequate food and clothing. "They are living as far below the subsistence level as is humanly possible", with an unsteady and meagre income which they earn from general labour and cattle grazing. Due to want of even the barest requirements for a hand-to-mouth existence, the tribes at Champakad have lost almost all hopes of bettering their prospects. This miserable plight of theirs is further worsened by the want of any proper avenues for any kind of industrial activities and craftworks, or commercial enterprises in the locality.

Income

3.13 While collecting details about the socio-economic aspects of the 23 tribal families settled in the colony at the time of the survey special emphasis was stressed to elucidate the income and expenditure pattern of these families. Table V gives the distribution of the annual income of the households to the number of members.

3.14 The income from all sources, for the families surveyed is low and is generally indicative of the poor economic conditions under which these families have to live. Seven families (30.4%) have an annual income below Rs. 450. Nine families (39.1%) belong to the income group of Rs. 451 to Rs. 600, three families (13.1%) belong to the income group of Rs. 601 to Rs. 750 and four families (17.4%) have incomes above Rs. 750 but below Rs. 850. Three families have 7 or 8 members but the income is very low and less than Rs. 500 per annum. Another three families with 7 to 9 members have income between Rs. 751 & 850. The average annual income of the families is found to be Rs. 561.

Table V

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLDS

Annual income group	Households with 1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	9 members	10 members and above	Total	Percentage
Rs. 251-300	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4.35
Rs. 301-350	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4.35
Rs. 351-400	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	4	17.38
Rs. 401-450	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	4.35
Rs. 451-500	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	3	13.04
Rs. 501-550	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	8.70
Rs. 551-600	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	17.38
Rs. 601-650	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	4.35
Rs. 651-700	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4.35
Rs. 701-750	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4.35
Rs. 751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	8.70
Rs. 801-850	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	8.70
Rs. 851 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	2	5	7	3	..	3	2	1	..	23	100.00

Expenditure Pattern

3.15 It could be observed from the table given below that a lion's share of the income is spent on items of food. About 74% of the 23 families belong to the expenditure groups of Rs. 301 to Rs. 550 per annum and the remaining 6 families incur an annual expenditure of more than Rs. 650 but below Rs. 800. Incidentally no family reported of an expenditure between Rs. 551 and Rs. 650 thus leaving out a gap there. 12 out of the 23 families having 3 to 5 members spend annually amounts less than Rs. 550 though there are another 3 families with 3 to 5 members in the expenditure group of Rs. 651 to 800. The average annual expenditure on food items is found to be Rs. 510 i.e., about 90.9% of the average annual income.

Table VI

EXPENDITURE ON FOOD BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLDS

Annual Expenditure group (Rs.)	Households with 1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	9 members	10 members and above	Total	Percentage
251-300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
301-350	..	..	1	1	1	..	2	..	..	..	5	21.76
351-400	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	3	13.04
401-450	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	13.04
451-500	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	17.38
501-550	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	8.70
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
651-700	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4.35
701-750	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	4	17.38
751-800	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4.35
801 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	2	5	7	3	..	3	2	1	..	23	100.00

Expenditure on Dress

3.16 Only a small percentage of income is spent on purchase of clothings. Like a few other tribes, the Hill Pulayas also move about wearing only dirty and worn-out clothes, seldom washing them. The males wear a dhoty and a shawl or a shirt and the women wear a 'chela' with or without blouse. They do not have any looms of their own but have to purchase them. It was stated by some of them that they used to purchase second-hand clothes at cheap prices. The table below gives the pattern of expenditure on dress items, according to income groups.

Table VII

EXPENDITURE ON DRESS ACCORDING TO INCOME GROUPS

Income groups Rs.	No. of households spending: up to Rs. 20	Rs. 21-30	Rs. 31-40	Rs. 41-50	Rs. 51 & above	Total	Percentage
251–300	1	..	..	..	..	1	4.35
301–350	1	..	..	..	..	1	4.35
351–400	2	2	..	..	..	4	17.38
401–450	..	1	..	..	..	1	4.35
451–500	.	3	..	..	..	3	13.04
501–550	.	2	..	..	..	2	8.70
551–600	..	3	1	..	..	4	17.38
601–650	..	..	1	..	..	1	4.35
651–700	.	..	..	1	..	1	4.35
701–750	.	.	1	..	..	1	4.35
751-800		..	..	..	2	2	8.70
801–850	..	..	1	..	1	2	8.70
851 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	4	11	4	1	3	23	100.00
	(17.4)	(47.8)	(17.4)	(4.4)	(13. 0)	(100.0)	

(The figures in brackets give the percentages)

Nearly 65 per cent of the households spend only less than Rs. 30 a year for purchase of clothings and only about 35 per cent spend above Rs. 30. The average annual expenditure on this account was about Rs. 33.50 i.e. about 6 per cent of the average annual income.

Other Items

3.17 Purchase of domestic utensils and ornaments, chewing and smoking are some of the other items of expenditure for which small amounts are being spent, and these account for about 3.1 per cent of their average annual income. There is a dispensary in the colony premises equipped with modern medicines, and there is a trained compounder, to render free and timely medical assistance to the tribes in this colony.

Indebtedness

3.18 Only a small percentage (about 22 per cent) of the 23 families at Champakad are reported to be debtors. One of the reasons for not incurring debt, may probably be attributed to the fact that there are no proper sources for getting loans. Four of these 5 debtor families had borrowed only less than Rs. 25 each. The table below gives the details of the families in debt.

CHAMPAKAD

Table VIII

INDEBTEDNESS

(a) Indebtedness by income groups

Annual income groups (Rs.)	No. of house-holds in the group	No. of house-holds in debt	Percentage
201–300	1	..	..
301–400	5	3	60
401–500	4	..	..
501–600	6	2	33
601–700	2	..	..
708–800	3	..	..
801–900	2	..	..
Total	23	5	22

(b) Indebtedness by causes

Causes	Amount of debt	
	Up to Rs. 25	Rs. 26-50
Cultivation	..	..
Family Maintenance	4	1
Others	..	..
Total	4	1

3.19 The purpose of incurring debts was mainly for meeting family expenditure when they had no adequate source of income to save themselves from starvation. Some of the families resort to borrowing money from outside merchants on condition that they will repay the amount in kind by selling 'Kadukka' and other produces, at the proper seasons. However in these transactions, these people are exploited to a great extent by the lenders.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Age and Sex Composition

During the course of the survey detailed information regarding the age and composition of the members of the households, the civil conditions of the members, and other relevant demographic data, were collected. They were not able to give even their correct ages, details of births and deaths and other relevant particulars. In many cases age had to be estimated.

Table IX

DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS BY AGE AND SEX

		Age-group											
Sex	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-59	60 & over
Male	55 (50.9%)	7	7	6	6	5	10	2	1	2	4	3	2
Female	53 (49.1%)	8	9	9	2	7	4	4	2	3	1	..	4
Total Persons	108 (100.0%)	15	16	15	8	12	14	6	3	5	5	3	6

4.2 Table IX gives the distribution of the 108 members of the 23 households, sex-wise and in broad age-groups. The males constitute 50.9 per cent and the remaining 49.1 per cent are females. Nearly 42.6 per cent of the members are children (of both sexes) below the age of 15 years and 37 per cent constitute those in the middle age-groups of 20-44. The sex-ratio comes to be 964 females per 1,000 males. Nothing definite can be said about the age pattern of sex-ratio because the number in each age-group is small. The average family size is 4.7. There are 2 or 3 members in 7 out of the 23 households, 4 to 6 members in 10 households and 7 to 9 members in the remaining 6 households, as given in the following table.

Table X

FAMILY SIZE AND COMPOSITION

Total No. of households	No. of households with			
	Single member	2 or 3 members	4-6 members	7-9 members
23	..	7	10	6
(100%)	..	(30.4%)	(43.5%)	(26.1%)

Marital Status

4.3 Classifying the data, according to the marital status of the members based on age-groups (as given in Table XI below), it is found that nearly 56.5 per cent of the members (of ages below 30) are unmarried and 38.8 per cent married. Only a very small percentage of the persons (of either sex) are widowed. There is no case of divorced or separated persons. Excepting one female all the persons of either sex belonging to all ages up to 19 are unmarried. There is none above 30 remaining unmarried.

Table XI

MARITAL STATUS ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX

	Total			Unmarried		Married		Widowed		Divorced	
groups	T	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0–9	31	14	17	14	17	..	..	..	..	..	..
10–14	15	6	9	6	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-19	8	6	2	6	1	..	1	..	..	..	.
20–24	12	5	7	5	1	..	6	..	..	..	..
25–29	14	10	4	1	1	9	3	..	..	..	..
30–34	6	2	4	..	..	2	4	..	..	..	..
35–39	3	1	2	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..
40-44	5	2	3	..	..	2	2	..	1	..	..
45–49	5	4	1	..	..	2	1	2	..	..	..
50 59	3	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
60 & over	6	2	4	..	..	2	2	..	2	..	..
All ages	108 (100.0)	55 (50.9)	53 (49.1)	32 (29.6)	29 (26.9)	21 (19.4)	21 (19.4)	2 (1.9)	3 (2.8)	..	..

T = Total M = Male F = Female

The figures within brackets give the percentages of the total

Births and Deaths

4 4 The data on births and deaths relating to Champakad could not be gathered authentically, as they could not furnish such information.

Age at First Marriage

4.5 Tables XII and XIII give the distribution of 27 married males and 33 married females according to age at first marriage and birth cohorts. (The inconsistency regarding the number of married males and married females of Table XI with Tables XII and XIII can be explained as follows. In Tables XII and XIII the dead and alive married males and females have been considered. According to Table XI there are only 23 married widowed males and 24 females, but in Table XIII there are 27 married males which include the age of 4 dead male members, and from Table XIII it can be seen that 9 dead female members are also included).

Table XII

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF HUSBAND ACCORDING TO HUSBAND'S BIRTH COHORTS

(27 males)

Birth cohort of husband	Age at first marriage of husband (years)								Total	Average age at marriage for each cohort
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		
1902 & before	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	21.3
1903–1907	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	24.5
1908–1912	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	25.0
1913–1917	..	1	1	2	1	..	1	..	6	23.2
1918–1922	..	1	1	..	1	.	..	..	3	22.3
1923–1927	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	23.5
1928–1932	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	1	5	24.6
1933–1937	..	..	1	1	3	..	..	..	5	23.4

Table XIII

AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF WIFE ACCORDING TO WIFE'S BIRTH COHORT

(33 Females)

Birth cohort of wife	Age at first marriage of wife (years)											Total	Average age at marriage for each cohort
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		
1902 & before	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	17.0
1903-1907	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	18.0
1908-1912	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	19.0
1913-1917	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	20.0
1918-1922	..	6	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	18.4
1923-1927	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	20.5
1928-1932	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	20.7
1933-1937	..	..	2	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	5	20.6
1938-1942	..	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	18.8

4.6 The males in most of the cases get married at ages 22 to 25. Excepting the case of one woman who got married only at the age of 27, all the other marriages reported, had taken place before the age of 22. In most of the cases the age at first marriage varies between 18 and 20. No detailed analysis of the trend in age at marriage is possible because of the small number of observations.

Relationship before marriage

4.7 Among this tribe, most of the marriages take place between cross-cousins. In other words, a Hill Pulaya male generally marries his meternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter, if there can be found a girl of marriageable age for him. Generally, only in the absence of such a proper marriageable cross-cousin, marriages from outside take place. The table below (Table XIV) gives the pattern of relationship that existed before marriage between the husband and wife of the 33 ever married cases reported, classified according to husband's birth cohorts.

Table XIV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE BEFORE MARRIAGE

Birth cohort of husband	No relationship	Relationship before marriage: Blood relation 1	2	3	4	5	Total	Other relationship 6	7	8	9	10	Total	Total
1902 & before	2	..	4	..		..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
1903–1907	1	1	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
1908–1912	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
1913–1917	1	1	4	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	.	..	..	7
1918–1922	..	1	2	..	..	..	3	..	1	..	..	.	1	4
1923–1927	1	1	.	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	.	..	2
1928–1932	..	4	..	.	1	..	5		..	.	.	.	..	5
1933–1937	..	3	2	..	..	..	5	.	..	..	.	..	..	5
All	5	11	12	1	2	1	27	..	1	..	..	..	1	33

1. Maternal uncle's daughter
2. Paternal aunt's daughter
3. Mother's step brother's daughter
4. Father's step sister's daughter (step brother or step sister used in the sense that only one parent is common to both)
5. Other sort of blood relation
6. Elder brother's widow
7. Younger brother's widow
8. Wife's sister
9. Daughter-in-law
10. Mother-in-law

4.8 Referring to the difference between ages of the husband and wife, it may be said that normally the difference in their ages was found to vary from 2 to 5 years. There were a few cases where the difference in ages varied by more than 15 years. It may in this connetion be stated that in general, the husband is older than the wife.

Education

4.9 The Hill Pulayas at Champakad have a very low standard of education. A permanent building to accommodate the lower primary school has been put up by the Department of Harijan Welfare in the colony premises for educating the tribal children. A full-time teacher is in charge of the school, and a residential house has been provided for the teacher. Free supply of mid-day meals to the children, text books and clothings are some of the steps taken to encourage the tribal people to send their children to the school. But in spite of these, it is seen that the parents do not show much interest and enthusiasm in sending their children to the school, as these children can be more useful to look after their younger ones when both the parents go out for work. Moreover, the children themselves do not seem to evince sufficient interest in getting themselves educated, though facilities have been provided for them.

4.10 About 75 per cent of the total members aged 54 and above are illiterate. 22 out of 31 children in the age-group 5–14 in the colony are on the rolls of the school, attending standards I and II. There is no pupil studying in standards III and IV in that school. There is one male member (in the age-group 30–34) who has returned as literate in the sense that he is able to read and write Tamil language, though he had not attended any school.

Medical Care

4.11 Some of the common diseases which the Hill Pulayas contract are typhoid, small-pox, malaria, dysentery and certain skin diseases. A medical dispensary with the services of a full-time compounder, had been started in the colony premises to render free and timely medical aid to the tribal people. The dispensary has been housed in a permanent building. But at the time of the survey, it was noticed that this dispensary was not functioning and the people had to seek other means for treatment of diseases. Unclean habits, unhygienic environments, and malnutrition have rendered the Hill tribes of the area unhealthy and easily susceptible to the attack of diseases. Their old indigenous methods of treatment by witchcraft and by pleasing their gods are however still practised to some extent by a few among them.

Family Structure and Inheritance

4.12 The properties of the father, if any, are generally inherited by the sons. The question of division of the properties is not a difficult one confronting them, since they do not possess any valuable properties, worth mentioning. The family generally comprises of the husband, the wife and their children. The grown-up sons and daughters soon after getting married generally shift themselves to a nearby hut or form a separate household in their parents' house. However, the old system of joint family life is not quite out of place. The following table gives the family composition and structure of the 23 families in the colony, classified as (1) simple, (2) intermediate and (3) joint families. The simple family consists of the husband, the wife and their unmarried sons and daughters. The intermediate family includes besides the simple family one of the parents of either the husband or wife, and also their nephews and nieces or brothers and sisters who are unmarried and are dependants. The joint family includes more than one married couple, besides other members.

Table XV

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Total No. of families	Type of families		
	Simple	Intermediate	Joint
23	19	2	2
(100.0%)	(82.6%)	(8.7%)	(8.7%)

Leisure and Recreation

4.13 There is not much scope for any recreational facilities for Hill tribes at Champakad during leisure hours. They usually go in search of edible roots and fruits in the forests, while engaged in grazing cattle. Some of them take to fishing in the nearby river and a few go for hunting small birds and animals using small traps. There is a temporary theatre at Marayur where some of these people occasionally go for films.

4.14 They enjoy themselves generally during nights, with their old traditional forms of dances and music. Drums and sticks and small pipes are some of the important instruments used by them. The tom-tom beating of the drums, and the blowing of pipes, etc. no doubt produce loud noises. Singing and dancing in rythm to the beating of drums and blowing of pipes and added to it, the occasional shoutings and blowing by the dancers are considered an important

part of their tribal folk dance. These items of folk dances and songs are more or less common for most of the festive occasions; namely marriage and puberty of a girl. Mostly all of both sexes and of all ages take part in these tribal music and dances, which are commonly prevalent among them.

Religious Institutions

4.15 The Hill Pulayas in the colony, have a small temple near their houses, where idols of stones in the form of gods have been installed at the foot of a tree and are worshipped by them on important religious and festive days. Offerings are made to these gods on festive and religious occasions to propitiate them. Fruits, rice, camphor, betel-nuts, 'bathis' etc. form the important items offered to the gods. Except for this temple, there does not exist any other religious institution in the colony premises. There is a temple at Marayur, about 8 miles away from the colony, where a few of the tribal people go for worship on certain festive days and make offerings. The spirits of their dead ancestors are held in high esteem and are worshipped as protectors.

4.16 As these people are closely associated with the Tamilians in the neighbouring State of Madras, their customs and manners and beliefs and practices are closely similar to those of neighbouring Tamilians. Some of the main festivals they celebrate are 'Deepavali' in the month of *Thulam* (October-November), 'Thaipongal' and 'Mattupongal' in *Makaram* (January-February) and 'Vishu' in April. Offerings are made to their gods and they rejoice themselves with singing and dancing. Extra items of food are prepared and if possible new clothings are purchased on these occasions. On the 'Mattupongal' days, domestic animals like cows and oxen are bathed and fed specially, and are worshipped.

Social Organisation

4.17 The Champakad Tribal Scheme has only partly been implemented and only 23 families had been rehabilitated in this area at the time of the survey. The Officer of the Harijan Welfare Department stationed here, nominates one of the elder Hill Pulaya members as the leader. It is the duty of the leader to maintain peace in the colony and also to act as the intermediary between the Executive Assistant of the Department and the tribal families in the colony in carrying out the welfare and other schemes.

4.18 In olden days, the leader among the tribal people was virtually their supreme authority; he exercised great powers over his people. Among some of the tribes, the leader was also the wizard-cum-medicine man, who was believed to have control over the spirits and gods. His help and advice were being sought on many occasions and when disputes between his tribal fellowmen arose, he used to sit in judgement and his fellowmen were bound to accept his verdict. But now due to the influence of people from country parts, with whom these tribals have come into contact, the tribal chief has lost his special powers and privileges and he acts as their guide only in religious and social matters. There is no organisation of any type in this region.

The Pilot Scheme

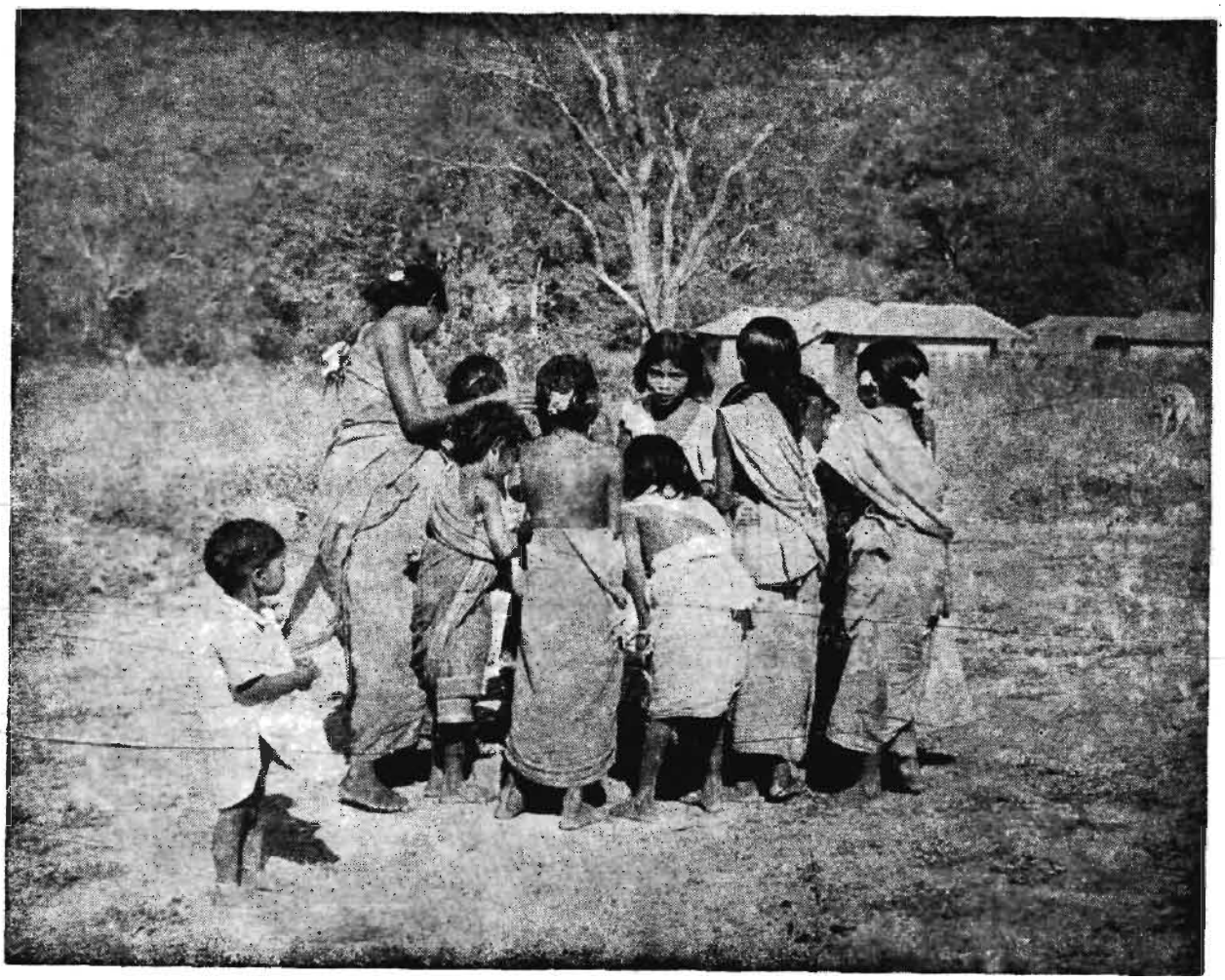
4.19 As has already been stated, the tribal area at Champakad is under the administrative control of the Tribal Special Officer, whose headquarters is at Devicolam and an Executive Assistant stationed at Champakad is in charge of the day-to-day administration of the scheme. A compounder-cum-medical attender, the school-teacher and the co-operative store-keeper are the other Government servants stationed in the colony who assist the Executive Assistant in their respective capacities.

Organizations

4.20 No voluntary service organisations like the one that exists in Malabar ('Kerala Adimajathi Sevak Sangh') or the



Pl. 26 DRUM BEATING — AN ENTERTAINMENT AMONG HILL PULAYAS P. 109



Pl. 27 FOLK DANCE P. 110

one working among the Malayarayans of the Thodupuzha Reserve Forests, have been formed at Champakad for the benefit and betterment of the standard of living of the Hill Pulayas. Most of the people being illiterate and lazy, there seems to exist no necessity for a library, recreation or arts clubs or similar organisations which may help to elevate the social and cultural standard of the tribal people.

4.21 As mentioned at the very outset, Champakad is an out-of-the-way place and the tribal people in the colony have to walk about 8 miles for reaching even the nearest shops for purchasing their daily requirements. The ignorance of the tribes is exploited by the shop-keepers and other people.

Reform Measures

4.22 The system of payment of bride-price by the bride-groom at the time of the marriage prevails as an essential custom among the Hill Pulayas. Small amounts of money are paid as bride-price and this amount, according to them, is about Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 varying according to one's ability. Wedding costumes and necklaces (of beads or shells) are also presented to the bride at the time of marriage. There is no effort on the part of the Government or other agencies to change this practice.

4.23 Their poverty-striken and miserable conditions, lack of proper source of income, and added to those the difficulty of bringing up more number of children, have led them to feel the urge to have only a limited family. According to them they are not aware of any family planning measures and there are no sources from which they could obtain details pertaining to this aspect.

4.24 Most of the Hill Pulayas are aware of the fact that untouchability has been prohibited by law. Except the tribal families rehabilitated in the colony and a few officials of the Harijan Welfare Department, there are only a few outsiders with whom these tribal people have to come into contact, and mingle freely. They visit the tea-shops and hotels at Marayur and other places and take coffee and meals along with others and are not treated as untouchables.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

A close and detailed survey of the socio-economic conditions of the 23 families of Hill Pulayas rehabilitated at Champakad gives some evidence that these tribal people are practically illiterate and blissfully ignorant of the modern developments of the outside world, so much so they mainly depend on the facilities given by the Government. The Hill Pulayas show hardly any desire to lead a hygienic life. Their costume is often soiled. Almost all of them are half-starved. They have been driven to this state on account of the absence of industrial and commercial activities and the inadequate facilities for agriculture. The male members and adult females are sometimes employed as general workers by contractors for road work. They get only a meagre remuneration for a day's work, which is quite inadequate even for a hand-to-mouth existence.

5.2 It has to be admitted that this rehabilitation scheme at Champakad for the Hill Pulayas initiated by the Government is a noteworthy step for the amelioration of this set of economically depressed class of people. Yet there are certain drawbacks in this, which may be outlined in brief, in this connection. Lack of irrigation facilities has been acutely felt here, since there are no other means of irrigating the lands for purposes of cultivation. Facilities for agriculture in the form of supply of seeds, manure, agricultural implements and bulls have been provided to them by the Government. Intensive training in the field of agriculture may be of much benefit to these people.

5.3 Financial aid for the families for cultivation, during the first few years, would also be viewed with favour by the tribal population of the area.

5.4 The Committee set up by Government had also suggested construction of two permanent concrete bridges across the Pambar river. This work has not so far been executed. It may be mentioned here that the tribal colony and the highway connecting Munnar and Udumalpet lie on either side of the Pambar river and naturally one has to cross the river to reach the tribal colony. This river, it was reported, would be almost full and swollen, during the monsoon season and as such it would be highly difficult to cross the river. During this season the colony stands isolated. The tribal people have put up logs of wood across the river; but this has not proved to be a successful and permanent arrangement. The construction of a bridge across the Pambar river near the colony is therefore highly useful to facilitate free communication with outside.

5.5 In the field of education, Government have started a primary school in the colony premises for the education of the tribal children. But in spite of the fact that mid-day meals, books etc., are supplied free to these pupils in the school, there seems to be not much of enthusiasm among the children to attend the school. The parents of these children are found to be equally indifferent to this. Opening of nursery school for young children, and provision of opportunities for extra-curricular activities in the school would help a great deal in attracting tribal children. Facilities for adult education can help to spread literacy among these people. Training in small cottage industries — namely basket making, mat weaving and such items of work in which the tribal people may engage themselves as means for earning will also benefit

them. But in spite of these, as long as their ideas remain obscure and clouded, these people will view life pessimistically and are likely to be resigned to their lot in life.

5.6 As already mentioned in earlier chapters, the Department of Harijan Welfare, had opened a Co-operative Store where rice and other items of necessity were obtainable at fair prices. But this has ceased to function now bringing in great difficulties to these tribal people — they have to go to Marayur, about 8 miles away often on foot, to purchase these items.

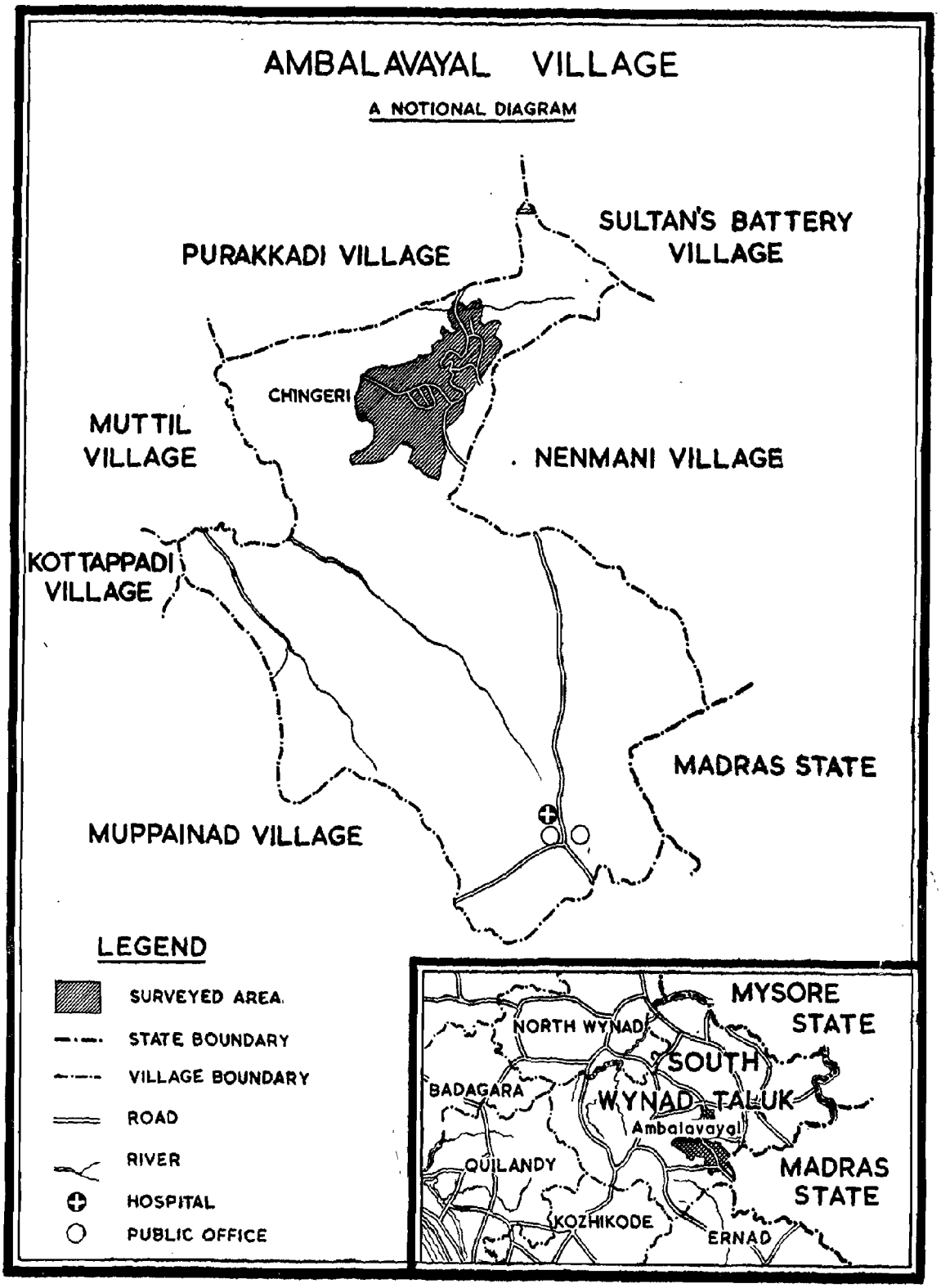
5.7 A medical dispensary which was started in the colony at its start has also ceased to function effectively by now according to these people.

5.8 Though these people have been colonised here, there are no suitable avenues for employment for them.

5.9 They do not seem to have made much progress in their economic conditions which are still very backward. They still have in them their old customs, beliefs and practices which are characteristic of their tradition. It can be added, in this connection, tireless efforts have to be put in, in all fields—agriculture, public health, education, etc. — for the complete amelioration of these people.

5.10 However, it may not be quite out of place to conclude that even though the Champakad pilot scheme has many drawbacks of its own, it is a model that will serve well for any such future enterprise on the part of the Government.

CHINGERI


AMBALAVAYAL VILLAGE
A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM
PURAKKADI VILLAGE
SULTAN'S BATTERY VILLAGE
CHINGERI
MUTTIL VILLAGE
NENMANI VILLAGE
KOTTAPPADI VILLAGE
MADRAS STATE
MUPPAINAD VILLAGE
LEGEND
SURVEYED AREA
STATE BOUNDARY
VILLAGE BOUNDARY
ROAD
RIVER
HOSPITAL
PUBLIC OFFICE
MYSORE STATE
NORTH WYNAD
SOUTH WYNAD TALUK
BADAGARA
Ambalavayal
QUILANDY
KOZHIKODE
ERNAD
MADRAS STATE

CHINGERI*

CHAPTER I

GENERAL

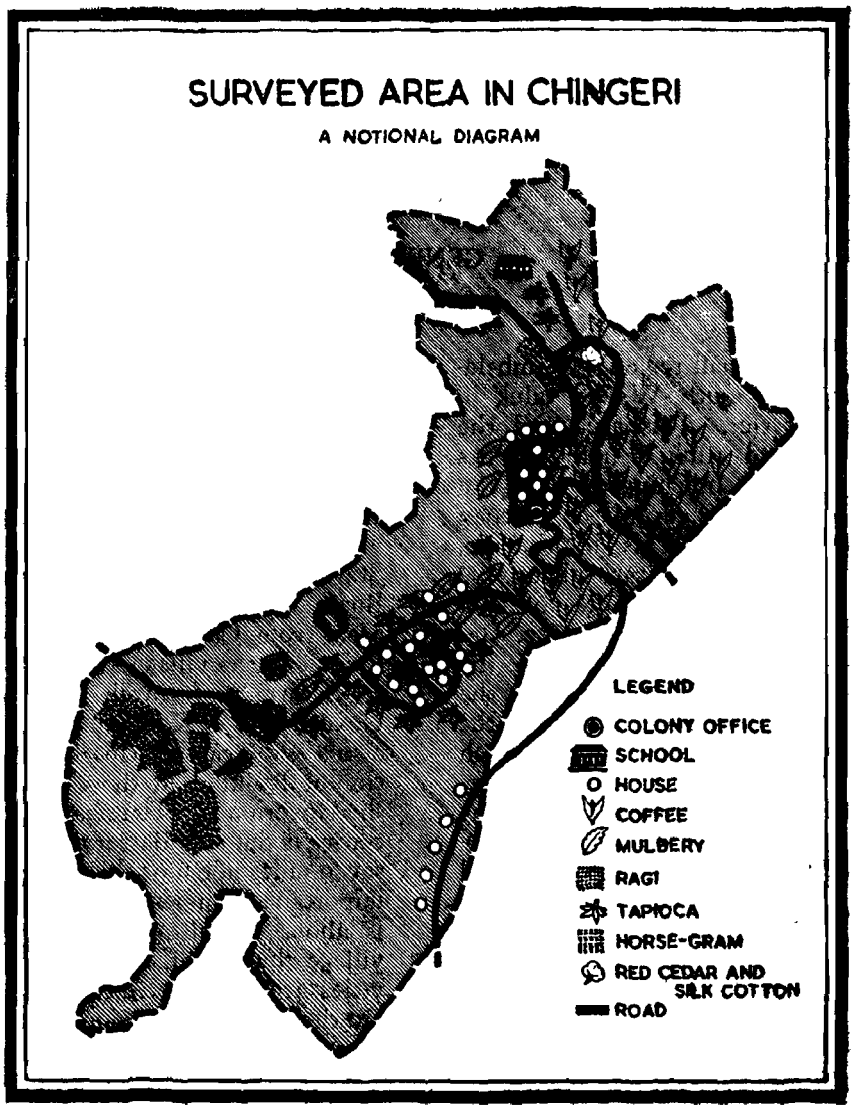
Introduction

Chingeri is a small region in Ambalavayal village of South Wynad taluk in Kozhikode district. This area and the whole of Wynad taluk is noted for its tribal population. In Chingeri, there is a tribal colony established by the Harijan Welfare Department. This, in principle, was intended to rehabilitate about 100 tribal families in about 540 acres of land, specially obtained for the purpose. Besides, this is the headquarters of the Wynad colonisation scheme. Almost the entire area of Chingeri is included in the said scheme. This scheme, although primarily intended for colonising ex-servicemen, has eventually helped in settling a number of tribal families too. According to the figures supplied from the concerned office, the number of tribal families who have been settled thus is 209.

Location

1.2 Geographically the location of Chingeri can be given to be between latitudes 11° 30′ and 11° 45′ north and between 76° and 76° 30′ east longitudes. The area lies on the north-eastern side of the district headquarters, Calicut. It is about 23 miles north-east of the taluk headquarters, Vythiri. The place is 2,800 above the mean sea level and is considered to be class II ghat region in the State. About 16 miles north-east, beyond the village, is the frontier of the Mysore State, and Mysore city is 75 miles away. Buses are regularly plying through this area from Calicut to Mysore and vice versa. In the village there is an agricultural farm, a research unit run by the Government of Kerala. Besides, there is also a silk farm, perhaps the only institution of its kind in the State, owned by the Government. The nearest commercial centre is Sultan's Battery, which is about seven miles north of this place. The next important commercial centre, Kalpetta, is about 17 miles south. Within this village industrial and commercial activities are scarce. Agricultural products are the major items of commerce, coffee claiming a good share.

* The basic survey in this area was conducted during April 1962.



Physical Aspects

1.3 The place is full of ups and downs, and numerous rocky and green clad lofty hills. Wet area in this village claims a fair proportion. Both the wet and dry lands are commendably fertile.

1.4 With copious rains and moderate dryness, the climate is good for cultivation. As there are no rainfall details available for Chingeri particularly, those for Vythiri, which happens to be the nearest place where these details are recorded, are noted below. It is not suggested, however, that the conditions at these two places are identical in this respect.

Table I

RAINFALL

Year		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1951	I	..	..	.	8	11	29	24	20	16	13	9	1	131
	II	..	..	1.8	146.1	207.8	989.1	1,192.8	355.6	368.5	189.5	72.4	10.4	3,534.0
1952	I	..	5	2	12	12	28	30	31	7	10	2	5	144
	II	.	43.7	39.4	106.7	112.5	890.3	1,012.4	724.9	61.2	653.3	5.3	76.5	3,726.2
1953	I	3	2	..	17	7	24	28	25	8	22	3	1	140
	II	17.5	49.8	0.3	199.4	49.5	745.7	1,603.8	1,119.9	75.2	360.2	6.9	4.1	4,232.3
1954	I	..	1	3	6	6	28	26	22	20	16	2	3	133
	II	2.5	7.1	71.6	77.2	65.3	1,377.7	1,288.0	899.2	304.0	272.5	20.8	24.4	4,410.3
1955	I	1	..	3	10	18	27	26	25	24	21	4	1	160
	II	2.5	..	32.8	151.4	674.1	1,126.7	429 5	470.7	516.1	545.1	58.4	3.8	4,011.1
1956	I	..	2	..	10	15	27	26	19	10	14	10	..	133
	II	0.3	25.1	.	143.3	481.1	1,175.8	1,167.4	632.7	138.7	348.7	10.7	..	4,123.8
1957	I	..	..	..	6	16	26	25	21	1	14	10	1	120
	II	..	..	..	69.9	301.5	1,133.6	1,384.3	542.5	27.2	404.6	238.8	7.6	4,110.0
1958	I	..	2	..	8	14	18	29	27	9	11	11	1	130
	II	..	50.5	..	136.3	157.6	936.1	1,755.2	791.8	189.7	171.2	244.3	7.6	4,440.3
1959	I	..	1	..	7	20	21	30	24	22	12	7	4	148
	II	..	6.1	..	89 4	361 6	1,245.4	2,633.5	738.8	498.1	121.4	165.1	91.4	5,950.8
1960	I	..	..	3	15	18	29	26	18	19	7	9	..	144
	II	..	..	46.4	181.4	537.1	675.0	1,528.5	436.9	307.1	106.8	94.0	..	3,913.2
1900 to 1950	(1)	0.8	0 7	2.3	8.2	10.3	24.1	27.9	24.0	16.8	14.4	8.0	2.3	139.8
	(2)	9.9	9.4	24.6	105.4	195.1	1,023.6	1,499.4	778.5	322.6	297.9	137.7	31.0	4,435.1

I No. of rainy days

II Total rainfall in millimetres

1 Mean No. of rainy days

2 Mean monthly total rainfall in millimetres

The Flora and the Fauna

1.5 With a fairly good climate and fertile soil, Chingeri is gifted with abundant vegetable growths. The forests abound in teak, rose-wood and other costly varieties of timber trees. Mulbery, paddy, ragi, tapioca and other tuber crops, pepper, plantains, coffee and ginger are among other crops grown in the village.

1.6 The plant selected for detailed description for this region is ragi. The book, "Field Crops of India" by A. K. Yegna Narayana Iyer (1958, pages 59 to 61), gives the following description of ragi.

"Ragi known botanically as 'Eleusine coracana' belongs to the natural order gramineae, as is a member of a group of grasses which have flattened stems and round nodes. They are dwarfish in habit, tiller profusely and bear at the end of the culms, earheads which consist of a whorl of finger-like spikes 2 or more (up to 6 or 8) in number in which the spikelets are arranged closely on both sides of a slender rachis, 2″ - 4″ in length. The spikelets contain from 3–8 seeds which are very small, often minute in size. The seeds show prominently from between the glumes in the cultivated varieties, whereas in the wild species E. Indica and E. oegyptiaca the grains are smaller still and are well enclosed in the glumes and pales. The ragi flower is invariably self-fertilised.

"The root system of the ragi plant consists of a remarkably large number of strong slendour fibrous roots which radiate from the base of the plant all round it. The roots are not much branched but make up the number of primary roots themselves. They permeate and hold the soil so firmly that it needs a very strong man to pull out a fully grown ragi plant by its roots. The roots are apparently able to absorb moisture very thoroughly and efficiently from the soil, as the plants are able to live through very severe drought when the soil moisture is very low and revive surprisingly after a shower of rain. The roots cannot be called deep or wide-spreading and are generally not more than a foot in depth or 18″ in spread.

"The plants tiller profusely and have further the peculiarity of sending out branches at each node, one after the other, especially if it happens to grow somewhat prostrate and with wide spacing; a trampling down of the plant will have this effect and a very large number of bearing stems with earheads formed successively and therefore in all stages of development can be seen on such plants. This tendency sometimes leads to the presence of a number of immature earheads even at the time of the harvest.

"The varieties of ragi under cultivation differ in the season or condition for which they are suitable, in their period of maturity, in the habit of growth, in the size, shape and colour of the earheads, in the size and colour of the grain, in their yielding capacity and the quality of the grain. As regards seasons and conditions, two types are sharply distinguished — those belonging to the 'kar' ragi and those belonging to the 'Hain' ragi tracts, and those suited for irrigated cultivation and those for dry cultivation.

"In regard to maturity, the varieties may be distinguished as early, medium, and late-maturing, the period ranging from 4–5½ months. In habit of growth some have a dwarfish-habit while others grow tall and up to about 4′ in height. In respect of earheads, they are broadly of two types, those in which the spikes are curved inwards and have a compact appearance and those in which the spikes are straight and the earheads have an open appearance. There is also a special type in which the spikes are branched, short and thick somewhat like a coxcomb. In both these types there are those which are green in colour and those which are deep violet almost dark in colour. In these latter, the purple or violet colour is seen in the nodes and to some extent in the leaf margins. Varieties may therefore be classified as those with violet open, violet closed, green open, green closed, violet coxcomb or green coxcomb earheads and again according as they are early or late or suited to 'kar' and 'Hain' and so on. Among the open earheads more conspicuously, and in the closed earheads less conspicuously, varieties differ in the length of the spikes, some being as short as 2″ and others quite 4″ in length. The spikes are well filled or portions of the rachis are blank.

"As regards yield, the open types are as a rule higher yielding than the corresponding compact types, and the long



Pl. 28 RAGI P. 118



Pl. 29 A MULLUKURUMA GROUP P. 124



Pl. 30 ANOTHER MULLUKURUMA GROUP P. 124

duration varieties are better than the short duration varieties. The open types with the long spikes are however liable to shed and to be brittle, the spikes breaking during the harvesting, carting and stacking.

"Varieties differ in the colour of grains and in their sizes. A deep brown colour is the predominant colour of most varieties, but shades of this colour ranging from orange red at one end and very deep brown, almost black at the other, are met with, which are varietal characteristics even making allowance for the fact that on storage and on account of rain the colour tends to deepen and change. A distinct type is a white ragi in which the husk is also white. There are like variations in the size of the grain although, this is so only within very narrow limits. Differences in quality of the grain are also recognised, though to some extent opinions differ in respect of them. Some are considered better in taste, others are said to give more or less pudding from the same weight of flour, and still others are said to yield a pudding of poor consistency, pudding which cannot be kept overnight and used and so on. These are all probably correct and due to variations in the composition of grain, though few investigations have been made to test their correctness and to find out the reason. Reference may be made however to some work on the comparative values of the proteins in brown ragi and in white ragi, in which it was found that the growth promoting value of the proteins of white ragi is much higher than that of the proteins of brown ragi and the digestibility coefficient of the former also likewise much higher than that of the latter.

"Ragi as a food grain is ground into flour and then used, cooked either as a pudding or as a porridge. For making into flour the whole grain is used with husk and all; the inclusion of the husks accounts for the greatest food value of the ragi grain and for its coarseness as compared with rice. The chemical composition of ragi grain and straw is as below:

	Water	Albuminoids	Fats	Carbohydrates	Fibre	Ash
Red grain	13.1	7.1	1.3	76.3	..	2.3 (Aykroyd)
do.	13.2	7.3	1.5	73.2	2.5	2.3 (Church)
do.	9.4	5.4	1.4	78.5	2.5	2.9 (Leather)
Ragi straw	14.6	1.9	0.48	49.1	28.9	5.24 (Wood)

"It has been found that the protein of ragi is of the type known as biologically complete as in the case of milk. The ragi grain can be matted and used as a nourishing form of food. For this purpose the grain is first soaked in water from 36 to 48 hours and removed and spread out on the floor and allowed to germinate over a period of 7 days. After germination the grain is dried in the sun and then roasted over a low fire and ground into flour.

"In trials on the use of various grains used by themselves for comparing their growth promoting properties it has been found that the grains ranked in the following descending order, viz. sajje (Pennisetum typhoideum), jola, ragi and polished rice. Not only is ragi considered as a very nourishing and sustaining food but it is also recommended as a specially suitable food for diabetic patients who are advised to exclude rice and eat ragi in preference."

1.7 It is simple logic that a place with abundance of vegetative growth can hardly be short of livestock. In fact the

cattle population of this village is reported to be fairly good. A majority of the people are agriculturists and the necessity of breeding cattle is no doubt widely felt. by them. This has been an additional cause for the accrescent rise in the cattle population in the area. Fortunately for them, there had been no spread of cattle diseases during the past several years, so as to cause a hitch in the uniform rate of increase of the cattle wealth. Further, breeding cattle has never been an expensive item for the agriculturists, who get plenty of cow-dung manure for agricultural purposes from cattle breeding. Only second in importance is the milk and milk products. It is said that most of the cows and buffaloes here have only a very poor yield of milk. This is presumably because least attention is being paid to cattle diet. Those who take proper care in feeding are rewarded amply by milk. To such families, it is a source of income too. The difficulty is that most of the agriculturists prefer to feed the cattle only inexpensively.

1.8 But of late, the agriculturists have begun to feel some difficulty in respect of grazing facilities. The number of cattle has increased considerably. Apart from this, agricultural activities are so widely spread, consequent on an unchecked immigration and the increase in population that hardly any free grazing ground is left for the cattle. Cattle cannot also be let loose, as it will trespass into the agricultural plots of others and destroy cultivation. Thus, the lack of sequestered pastures is growingly felt by the cattle-owners here. Some of them have even set apart a portion of their landholdings as grazing ground for their cattle.

1.9 Forests of Chingeri are naturally not devoid of their kids. It is said that there are bears and tigers in the forest. Nevertheless, the existence of these animals even in the immediate proximity is not a standing menace to the cattle population here, except in the case of fowls. In fact, poultry farming even in small units had been rendered difficult by the numerous, cunning, jungle foxes. Some of the wild animals like wild boars, cause great havoc to agriculture.

Residential Pattern

1.10 Almost the entire area of Chingeri, excepting a few holdings, is included in the area allotted to the colonisation scheme. About 540 acres of land of this village is set apart exclusively for the tribal colony.

1.11 According to the rules of the colonisation scheme, which was primarily intended for rehabilitating ex-service men, each settler would be given land not exceeding 10 acres for cultivation. But the ownership of the land is retained by the Government. Many who had been settled here had left later, leaving the land allotted to them. Before 1944 and later, there had been a continuous influx of people to this place, from all other parts of the State. Those immigrants encroached the land bit by bit and began to cultivate the same. Some of those encroachers had later left the area after selling the right of possession to some new immigrants. All those immigrants had, in addition, occupied, albeit, illegally, as much land as they could. Now, roughly, there are over 2,000 encroachers in the colonisation area, according to information gathered from the colonisation office. Government are levying prohibitory tax for unauthorised occupation from these encroachers.

1.12 But the settlement pattern of the tribes here is different. The tribal gregariousness is everywhere prominent. Except in the tribal colony set up by Government, the tribes live in isolated groups and there is hardly any measure of intermingling among them. In each group of Mullukurumas there will ordinarily be 15 to 20 households. Uraly Kurumas also live in close proximity to each other with comparatively less group strength. The settlement pattern of

Paniyas display no exception to this general trend. Within the tribal colony Paniyas, Kattu Naickans and Uraly Kurumas live next door to each other, but even in this, as far as possible, each tribe has tried to cluster in isolated parts. This intermingled life pattern of settlement is against their traditional practice.

1.13 Persons who are working in the Government Departments and who are not natives of this village live in the residential quarters constructed by Government. Most of these residential quarters are situated in an exclusive region of this village.

Communications

1.14 The village has only meagre communication facilities. Excepting a road which is adjacent to the eastern border of this village, there are no communication facilities to the interior. Accessibility to these parts is attained through narrow lanes, hill tracks, long lines of bunds of the paddy fields and the like. In many places these lanes are crossed by channels and at many other places are rocky and untractable. These naturally render transport difficult and confined to headloads. The market centre in the area is at its north-eastern corner. Lack of transport facilities coupled with the location of the market in a corner render the marketing of agricultural produces doubly difficult.

Places of Public Worship

1.15 Population of Chingeri consists of Hindus, Christians, tribes and a few Muslims. There is a famous 'Kali' temple in this village for the Hindus and tribes. It is said that this was the only temple, which was not tampered with by Tippu Sultan during his invasion of Malabar. Excepting this, there is no temple or place of worship for Hindus in this area. Curiously enough, there are no churches or mosques in this locality. The nearest place where there are churches and mosques, is Sultan's Battery, and this is about 7 miles away from here. Recently, a Christian prayer hall has been temporarily established in this place, by a Christian sect called "7th day Mission". There is no crematorium in this village. Christians and Muslims have their burial grounds attached to their places of worship. Others have the forest land, or other unoccupied plots, for this purpose. No monument is seen anywhere in this village.

Water Resources

1.16 The perennial sources of drinking water are deep wells. For agricultural purposes there are certain canals and water channels. However during the summer season the scarcity of water is acutely felt. Drinking-water facilities are scarce in the interior regions of this village. People have to resort to small ponds or pits, in the low valleys of hills. The water obtained from these sources is impure; but they have to be content with it for want of any other source. During the summer season agricultural fields remain uncultivable owing to drought. The situation gets itself eased during the rainy season. For the tribal colony a water tank has been constructed, wherein water is collected through the feeble stream of water flowing from the adjacent lofty places and hills. Water from this tank is distributed in some parts of the colony through pipes. While this source of water is inadequate to meet the demands of the tribes settled in the colony, the water obtained from it is grossly impure. No process of purification is being done before distribution of this water. Besides, the tribes have allegedly their own way of contaminating this available source of water, by bathing or washing clothes in it, unnoticed by the authorities. Development of an adequate source of water in the tribal colony is a matter of great need and import.

Public Institutions

1.17 Two of the important administrative institutions of this village are the panchayat and the village offices.

Developmental activities of the Panchayat are but in the offing as it is newly constituted. The headquarters of the Wynad Colonisation Scheme is in this village. The jurisdiction of this office extends over an area of 33,802 acres comprising the villages Sultan's Battery, Ambalavayal and Nenmeni. The main functions of this institution are administration of the colonisation area, rehabilitation of the landless ex-service men, issuing agricultural grants to persons settled, reclamation of land, improvement of agriculture and promotion of co-operative spirit among the people with the aim of co-operation in farming, industry and commerce. This colonisation scheme was started in 1948. For this acquisition of 9,802 acres of private "pattayam" land, besides 24,000 acres of land owned by Government, was effected during 1944. The scheme was primarily financed by the P. W. S. R. (Post-war service reconstruction) Fund, while the expenditure for maintaining the administrative office establishments was borne by Government. Now it is financed by both the Government and S. P. W. R. (State Post-War Reconstruction) Fund. According to the figures reported by the colonisation office, 2,940 households have so far been settled in the colonisation area under this scheme. Out of this total 2,940 households, 1,917 are ex-servicemen and 209 are aboriginals, while the rest are constituted of ex-I. N. A., ex-tappers, landless civilians, political sufferers and local residents with 3, 5, 6, 1 and 799 respectively in number. Under this scheme ex-servicemen colonists are given grants at the rate of Rs. 2,250 for land reclamation, agricultural operation, house construction and domestic expenses. Besides this, interest free crop loans at the rate of Rs. 250 are given to the agriculturists who are settled here. Under the scheme a paddy-husking co-operative society and a clay-workers' society have been organised. In addition, co-operative farming, which is now only under experimental stage, is also encouraged among the cultivators here.

1.18 There is a Primary Health Unit and a Family Planning Clinic attached to this, in this village. For the tribal colony there is an Ayurvedic Dispensary exclusively for the use of the tribes.

1.19 The tribal colony was established during early 1958 by the Harijan Welfare Department under the name "The Chingeri Extension Scheme". The object of starting this scheme was to rehabilitate 100 tribal families, and thus contribute, in its own way, to the tribal amelioration and also to experimentalise the appositeness and feasibility of such a plan. About 540 acres of land were allotted for the scheme. Over 60 acres of this area are now under coffee plantation. According to the scheme, all these 540 acres will be distributed among the tribal households in the colony, after coffee plantation. Effort is reported to be on way to achieve this end. A tribal multi-purpose co-operative society was also organised during the same year, and a grant of Rs. 5,745 was given to it. Membership to this was allowed only to tribes. Of the hundred houses proposed to be constructed under the scheme, the construction of 75 was entrusted with the society, while that of the rest was entrusted with a private party. Owing to many factors, most of these 100 houses have not been completed even to this time. Many, which were partially completed, got dilapidated in the torrential rains. A good number of those completed were also found to be of defective construction in an expert study conducted by the authorities. The houses are constructed in such close proximity that all the houses and their immediate surroundings together have not taken up more than 10 acres. Even most of the completed houses are left unoccupied. The colony, at its start, was completely occupied by the tribes. But unfortunately many of them left the colony for some reason or other. In the existing

conditions, the resettling of the tribes factually poses a great problem to the authorities. The colony grows feeble and feeble in strength, and it has now barely 24 households.

1.20 The co-operative society started with good intentions failed miserably to achieve its objectives. Many of its members have permanently left the place, while many of the rest possess hardly any interest in its renovation. A good number of people who are defaulters of the membership fee, even dread to hear anything about the society, and they conveniently evade it.

Market

1.21 There is only one small marketing centre in this village. The nearest recognised markets are at Chulliyode and Sultan's Battery, 6 and 7 miles away respectively, from this place. The only cattle market near this region is at Chulliyode.

History of Settlement of the Population

1.22 Wynad was considered to be the most unhealthy place for human habitation even as late as 1940. Malaria was rampant taking a heavy toll of human lives. During those days communication facilities were practically nil. One had no other alternative except to walk up this ghat section. But with the eradication programme of malaria and the improvement of communication, there was a gradual flow of people into Wynad. Formerly, there were vast areas of coffee estates and insufficient number of estate workers, most of whom were tribes. Therefore, during that time, immigrants had enough employment opportunities and, more particularly, there was plenty of unoccupied virgin land. This, they began to occupy and cultivate. That this was amply lucrative and proportionately less arduous was, no doubt, an attractive feature of it. Consequently, there was an influx of people, which lasted for many years. This resulted in the reclamation of a vast area of Wynad taluk for cultivation which was, till that time, left fallow. Apart from the attractiveness of the land and its easy availability, the employment opportunities in this place really invited many more to it. Presumably, at the time of inception of the colonisation scheme, at least portions of the Government land acquired for the purpose were under illegal occupation of the immigrants. Most of these people transferred their possessions to new immigrants at fascinatingly cheaper rates. Those who bought the land from the encroachers began to feel that they had a sort of right and claim over the land, even though they did not deem that they fully enjoyed the ownership right. This feeling instilled in them a greater spirit of adventure that they began establishing themselves stably in the place. It is said that now there are over 2,000 families of squatters.

1.23 Besides these encroaching immigrants, there were the legal immigrants who were invited and settled in this place under the colonisation scheme. It has been reported that 2,940 households with different caste and religious alignment and from different parts of Kerala, have been settled here.

1.24 The tribal colony, at its start, accommodated over 70 households. These tribes were either settlers of this village or those wandering in search of labour. A new gentry tiled house, and the promise of daily labour at competitive rates of wages, naturally attracted many during its start. But, later, most of them, when they found that they were without work for many days in the colony's coffee estate, left the place in search of labour and many among them never returned. It is said that the settlers of the colony felt some difficulty in getting work in the neighbouring coffee estates or agricultural fields as the landowners gave these people only last preference. This really constrained many to leave the colony habitat. Some of them have even set up separate huts near the colony, and stay there refusing to occupy the colony buildings. However, a few households who have got permanent work in the neighbouring estates are staying in the colony now.

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL POSSESSIONS

The object of the survey is a study of the socio-economic conditions of the tribes, and hence, in what follows, attention is mainly confined to the tribes.

Ethnic Composition and Brief Note on Each Group

2.2 There are four different tribes in this locality: Mullukurumas, Uralikurumas, Kattunaickens and Paniyas.

2.3 Mullukurumas were the permanent settlers of this village even from a long past. Details regarding their origin traditional occupation, migration etc. are not authentically known, not even to themselves at this stage. However, there is uncorroborated story about this which is given below. Mullukurumas were, formerly, the inhabitants of the forest areas. Their main occupation was hunting. Their present weapons and their dexterity in hunting are amply suggestive of this. They were agriculturists too at that time, and they used to shift from place to place almost every year. Unfortunately, at that time, they had an encounter with the troops of "Kottayam Raja" in which they had to court a defeat and were taken slaves, in spite of their valorous defence. As time passed by, they became skilled agriculturists, and much of the animosity and tension caused by their defeat and subserviance to the Raja disappeared. The successive generations were free but implicitly loyal to the royal family.

2.4 Their religion is, more or less, Hinduism. They worship Hindu gods and goddesses enshrined in the locality. It is said that one of their great ancestors died at a place called 'Kalimala'. According to them, he was the mightiest of all and one with irrefragable, uncanny powers. Therefore, these tribes were full of admiration for him. Even now the Mullukurumas worship him as a god. The chief function of this god, it is believed, is to protect them from the evil spirits and bring them prosperity and happiness. Though their religion teaches them a moral code of conduct material prosperity is their chief aim of being religious. They are more well-disciplined than most of the other tribes, and they dourly adhere to their customs, manners and faith. These Mullukurumas consider themselves superior to Uralikurumas, Paniyas and Kattunaickans, and inferior only to a sect called Kurichyars. Uralikurumas, Paniyas and Kattunaickans have willynilly accepted the superiority of Mullukurumas. This is more on economic grounds than perhaps, any religious, caste or other reasons.

2.5 Language of these tribes people is basically Malayalam with a good number of Tamil and Canarese words. Their pronunciation has a peculiar accent, which renders their language unintelligible to strangers. They know only this language and have no special dialect for parlance among themselves.

Mullukurumas

2.6 Mullukurumas here are one of the very old inhabitants of this village and these people are now found to be the least wandering. Formerly, they enjoyed extensive plots of fertile land of their choice as the vast stretches of unoccupied land were at their disposal. But with the influx of people to Wynad and the starting of the colonisation scheme, a drastic cut in those privileges became inevitable. Now they have to confine their agricultural activities to certain limited plots,

which are, often obtained through the munificence and sympathy of the local village officials. At present, most of these tribes are agriculturists. Hunting is still a pleasure for them. Some of these Mullukurumas go for work to nearby estates and agricultural fields on daily wages.

2.7 The traditional tribal gregariousness is yet very prominent among these Mullukurumas. In one settlement there will ordinarily be a number of houses constructed in such close proximity that rarely it will be without an appearance of conjestion.

2.8 Literacy among these tribes is very low. But there is among them, a nascent interest and zeal for education This will undoubtedly help a great deal in improving the standard of literacy in course of time.

2.9 Mullukurumas are generally of good health and are of rosy complexion. Their women can be easily identified because of their peculiar dress.

2.10 Temperamentally, these are, generally, peace-loving, simple, blunt and outspoken, but their existing environments have taught many of them many bitter lessons to be otherwise too. For them the rule of descent is to sons.[1]

Uralikurumas

2 11 Uralikurumas also were formerly the inhabitants of forest area. According to their claim Uralikurumas and Mullukurumas are descendants of two brothers. But this opinion has hardly any confirmation from the Mullukurumas. There are certain things common to these two sects mainly their religious affiliation and faith. Curly hair and black skin are common features of Uralikurumas.

2.12 Traditional occupation of these tribes is agriculture. In the past, while they were living in the forest area, hunting was also one of their major occupations.[2] But now, owing to many factors, especially the environmental changes, almost all of them have abandoned hunting.

2.13 Uralikurumas also live in groups. Ordinarily there will be 5 to 10 households in a settlement. But this tendency of gregariousness, among them, is gradually on the decline.

2.14 Besides the Hindu gods and goddesses whom they worship, they have their traditional tribal gods also. "Kali Mala Daivam" is their supreme god. According to these tribes, he was one of their ancestors who duped them through chicanery. These people were once made to eat bison's meat – which was taboo for them – without their knowledge. Revealing this, he drove these people away from Kalimala. Later, after feeling remorse for the people he promised compassionately every protection and help to them. None of the stories they narrate seem entirely reliable.

2.15 Although these people speak Malayalam, the language in which they converse with each other is known only to themselves. It is a mixture of Canarese, Tamil and a few Malayalam words. Their peculiar pronunciations render it all the more difficult to understand.

2.16 Formerly they were nomadic agriculturists. Now most of them have settled permanently in some place or other and are regular employees in some coffee estates or other agricultural fields.

2.17 Uralikurumas are economically more backward than Mullukurumas. Most of them are mere labourers, and have no land or items of wealth. It deserves mention that they are gifted with an inherent talent for handicrafts. Males weave mats and baskets while women are good at potmaking. They lead a very simple life. They are good-natured and amiable. According to their tribal laws, the nephews of the deceased ordinarily

1 For identical views, see Tribes of Kerala by A. A. D. Luiz, page 199.

2 Ibid, page 240

inherit his belongings, but sometimes half is given to his sons.

Kattunaickans

2.18 Kattunaickans are very few in this region. Only eleven families could be contacted here. All of them are residing in the tribal colony. They are dark-complexioned with black, curly hair.

2.19 These people are of very obscure origin. But it can be presumed that they are emigrants from Mysore forest as their language is akin to Canarese. Their way of dressing, especially that of women, and their liking towards gaudy dresses are suggestive of their affinity with the tribes of Mysore. According to them there are different sects among them, viz, Malanaickan, Kattunaickan and Panninaickan. It is said that they are distinguishable too by some of their features.

2.20 As has been indicated earlier, their language is akin to Canarese. Their pronunciation is unintelligible to strangers. However, they are conversant with Malayalam better than the Uralikurumas.

2.21 Their religion has some similarity with Hinduism. Their supreme god is, as they call it Maladaivam who is a jungle god. The gods and goddesses they worship are 'Kuttichathan', 'Gulikan' and 'Mariamma'. To obviate the spell of disaster caused by evil spirits, they invoke their jungle god.

2.22 In the tribal colony Kattunaickans live in an isolated part. This is obviously indicative of their traditional preference to live in isolated groups, as is the case with many other tribes in this state.

2.23 The traditional occupation of these tribes is hunting. They are skilled hunters and they are still found with their hunting weapons. But, those living in the colony have already abandoned this profession. Cultivation was essentially one of their major occupations during the past. But now almost every one of them has ceased to be a cultivator. All of them are mere labourers now working for daily wages in some coffee estate or other agricultural fields.

2.24 Kattunaickans are generally of black complexion. They are economically very backward. Education has not spread among them to any measure.

Paniyas

2.25 Paniyas were among the old inhabitants of Wynad. No authentic details regarding their origin and migration are available. Many of these Paniyas were wandering in the Wynad forest area in the past, when there was only sparse human habitation. Formerly they used to shift bag and baggage from one place to another ordinarily at the end of every agricultural term. Shifting cultivators as they were, they used to leave one place of cultivation, only to secure another plot of fresh and fertile field for the next year's cultivation. With the establishment of coffee estates a good number of them have been absorbed as labourers in them. It is said that the encroachers forcibly occupied sizeable chunks of land of the area, with the result that the privilege of shifting cultivation enjoyed by the tribes had to die out. This has practically rendered the Paniyas lazy and easy-going.

2.26 Traditional occupation of these Paniyas is obviously agriculture.[1] As they were shifting from one place to another, they did not have any permanent cultivation. If otherwise, it would have been really helpful for the economic development of these people.

2.27 The religious faiths and persuations of the Paniyas are similar to those of Hindus. They are also worshippers of "Kuttichathan" and "Gulikan". Paniyas are highly superstitious. This basic element of irrationality in them is well woven to the texture of their attitude and outlook.

2.28 The language of Paniyas is largely

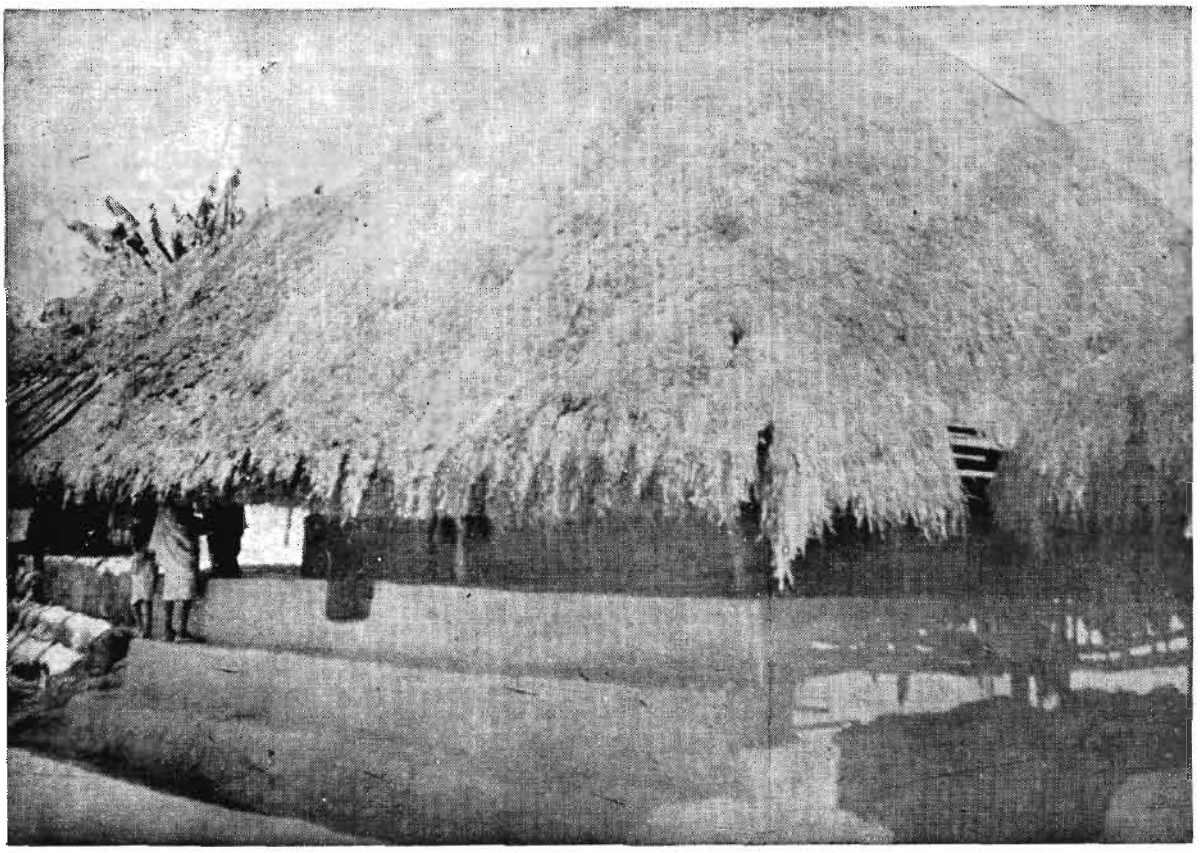
1 For similar views see Tribes of Kerala by A. A. D. Luiz, page 219



Pl. 31 PANIYA GROUP P. 126



Pl. 32 PANIYA FEMALES P. 125



Pl. 33 MULLUKURUMA HUT P. 127



Pl. 34 CATTLE PEN P. 134

Malayalam. But with the peculiarity in pronunciation, the irregular infiltration of Tamil words, and ellipses, their language appears to be totally strange to us. But these tribes are conversant with routine, conversational Malayalam. The extent of literacy among them is extremely poor in spite of every encouragement given to them, both by the Government and by the local landlords.

2.29 Paniyas even now uphold their traditional tribal gregariousness. They live in groups, each consisting of 5 to 6 households.

2.30 At the present stage all the Paniyas here, without any single exception, are mere agrestic serfs. They have to live on the sparse and inadequate income obtained through their toil. Formerly they were agriculturists. But no one among them holds a single piece of land now under regular cultivation. Economically backward, these Paniyas lead a care-free life. Apparently they do not have any concern for their future

2.31 Paniyas found here are, generally, not healthy and most of them are anaemic. This can be ascribed to their unwholesome regimen.

2.32 According to their tribal law, the descent is to their sons.

House Type

2.33 As has been indicated earlier, Mullukurumas live in groups. In each settlement the houses remain clustered, with no particular order in the direction to which it should face. The huts of Mullukurumas are fairly clean in appearance, and all are of the same pattern which is clearly distinguishable from those of other tribes. These huts are erected on high plinths. Sun-burnt bricks are used for erecting thick walls. Roof is thatched with several layers of straw. Ordinarily there will be no compartments inside a hut, as it is a bit expensive to construct intermediary walls separating the hut into compartments. The floor and walls are plastered with a fine mixture of cow-dung and mud. Over this plaster on the walls lines are drawn in red or white or other colours to give them an elegant appearance. There will be no ceiling for the hut. The one major defect with their huts is that they are not properly ventilated. Again, the lower ends of the roofs are too low to let in fresh air, or to let out the contaminated air inside, freely. Generally their huts are spacious and each is with a verandah in front. The huts of Uralikurumas are comparatively small and congested. In the matter of cleanliness and order, they are far behind those of the Mullukurumas. Rarely, huts are seen built on high plinths. Walls are often made of reeds or bamboo sticks and reed leaves or cocoanut leaves or even straw. Roof is thatched with straw. Ground is plastered with a mixture of mud and cattle dung. In most of the huts, the floor is left uncared for with patches here and there. There are no compartments inside the hut, nor any ceiling. The huts are too small for the families with no room even to swing a cat. Ordinarily, there is only one entrance to the hut, with no window or other means of ventilation. The construction of the hut is such that the roof is very low, making the air-space within the hut too inadequate for the household. But, fortunately enough, the walls and sometimes even the roof will have some patches, which serve well in the matter of ventilation.

2.34 The huts of Paniyas are similar to those of Uralikurumas. Paniyas often show a preference to settle down in the out-lands of some agricultural fields, preferably at the lowest level. Cleanliness is next to nil in their huts aud surroundings. Domestic utensils, firewood, matbeddings, etc. are kept promiscuously inside the huts.

2.35 As all the Kattunaickens are residing in the tribal colony here, no idea could be gathered about their traditional form of hut.

2.36 The houses constructed in the

colony are small. All these houses are built on high plinths with an average plinth area of about 340 sq. feet. Walls are built with burnt bricks and plastered with lime. The roof is tiled. There are no ceilings. The floor is laid with cement in most of the houses. Each house is separated into compartments, one bed room and the other kitchen. The house is properly ventilated. Except for the fact that it is too small to accommodate a family of at least five members, it is a cosy, small building.

Dress and Ornaments

2.37 The dress of Mullukurumas is very simple. Men ordinarily wear a dhoti round their loins. Rarely do they put on shirt or banian. Women wear one dhoti round the waist. With another which they wear on the left shoulder, they cover their breast. They never wear blouse. One glaring peculiarity of these women is that they never use any coloured clothes. Unlike the other tribes, they prefer to be clad in white.

2.38 Uralikuruma males ordinarily wear dhoti. When they go for work or go out of their locality they wear shirt or banian. Their women besides wearing dhoti round their loins tie a piece of cloth round the torso above their breasts so as to cover the body up to the armpit. They do not wear blouse, as is their traditional custom. Uralikuruma women are ordinarily seen clad in white dress while rarely do they wear coloured cloths also. Young boys wear shirt and shorts while young female children wear frock or *pavada* and blouse.

2.39 Kattunaickan males are simple-dressed. They usually wear only dhoti. But occasionally they wear shirt or banian. Their women wear long *chela* often of gaudy colours. With a single *chela* they fully cover themselves upto the neck. It is said that the young women, of late, have taken to the use of blouses. Male children are ordinarily satisfied with pieces of clothes. They wear shirt and shorts also. Young girls either wear frock or *pavada* or dhoti.

2.40 Dress of Paniya males is similar to that of Uralikuruma males. Their women wear dhoti and in addition, they cover their whole torso with another cloth, tied above their breasts. This mode of dress of Paniya women, by itself does not make any difference from the mode of dress of Uralikuruma women. But every Paniya woman, almost without any exception, wears a black or red strip of cloth like a ribbon, round her waist, over the clothes. This is a distinguishing feature of the dress of Paniya women and they can be easily identified by this. This is worn not only as an ornament, but also to hold the clothes they have worn tight to the body. Male children wear pieces of dhotis or shirts and shorts. Paniya female children are also most often seen in their traditional dress. However, they appear in blouse and *pavada* or frocks occasionally.

2.41 Mullukuruma females wear brass, silver and rarely, gold ornaments. Necklaces, ear ornaments, nasal ornaments, bangles and rings are favourite items of ornaments. Those who can afford costly ornaments made of silver or gold, invariably wear them. Mullukuruma females are often satisfied with ear ornaments and rings. Almost every woman, regardless of age, possesses at least an ornamental thread round her neck.

2.42 Uralikuruma women are also avid to possess as much ornaments as they can, and in whatever form they are available. Ordinarily they have ear ornaments, nasal ornaments, bangles and rings. Males wear ear ornaments and rings. In most of the cases the material used for these ornaments is brass. Rarely do they possess gold or silver ornaments, as they can hardly afford them.

2.43 The ornaments of Kattunaickan and Paniya females are similar to those of Uralikuruma females. Paniya women are so mad after bedecking themselves that they

purchase colourful plastic or other attractive ornaments.

2.44 It is easy to observe that the hankering of the tribes for bedecking themselves remains grossly unsatiated for want of sufficient financial resources. It has been observed that Mullukurumas spend on an average nearly 8 per cent of the annual income on dress. But it may be mentioned that their expenditure on dress increases as the income increases. Similarly, for them, the expenditure on ornaments shows wide variations. On an average less than 0.5 per cent of their annual income is spent on ornaments. The corresponding figures of expenditure on dress for Kattunaickans, Paniyas and Uralikurumas are 7.03 per cent, 6.60 per cent and 6.44 per cent respectively. Obviously, there is no considerable variation in the percentage of average expenditure on dress for them. There is also no significant factor contributing to much variation. The average annual expenditure on ornaments expressed in percentage to the average annual income for Kattunaickans, Paniyas and Uralikurumas comes to 0.28 per cent, 0.35 per cent and 0.33 per cent respectively. Evidently there is not much difference in these for the three tribes. These low rates indicate that the tribes can ill afford ornaments.

Household Goods

2.45 The household utensils of these tribes are, mainly, made of clay. These tribes can hardly afford costly domestic utensils. However, some Mullukuruma families possess brass, copper and bronze utensils. Uralikurumas have baskets and mats of their own make. Pots are also manufactured by some of them for their use. Expenditure on domestic utensils for Mullukurumas claims about 0.7 per cent of their average annual income, while for Kattunaickans, Paniyas and Uralikurumas they are 0.51 per cent, 0.65 per cent and 0.61 per cent respectively

Food and Drink

2.46 There are only two main meals a day for Mullukurumas. The chief meal is in the evening consisting of rice, and as far as possible, elaborate side-dishes. The other is that at noon, when they have rice *kanjee* with some simple side-dishes. Ordinarily they do not have any meal after this and before supper. They have supper as early as possible sometimes even at dusk. In the morning they have, generally, coffee, or sometimes, but rarely *kanjee*.

2.47 Mullukurumas are non-vegetarians. They relish meat of pig, squirrel, wild fowl, wild goat, rabbit and deer besides mutton and chicken. Beef and meat of bison are traditionally taboo for them. Besides these, they take all edible vegetables which are available here. Wild roots and fruits are however, rare now. The scope of hunting wild games is much less. Fish and eggs are rarely used, as they are somewhat costly. For Mullukurumas, there will be no acute scarcity of food, as all of them are agriculturists. But they have often a deficit budget. Intoxicants are used by some, subject to financial capacity. Food items claim the lion's share of their income. A little less than 80 per cent of their income is spent on food. The expenditure on food shows a steadily increasing tendency as the income increases.

2.48 Just as in the case of Mullukurumas, Uralikurumas also have their principal meal in the evening. For supper they have rice and their favourite side-dishes. In the morning they take some rice *kanjee* while at noon they will be satisfied with some light food. Coffee and tea are their favourite drinks.

2.49 Uralikurumas are also non-vegetarians. They relish meat of pig, deer, rabbit, wild goat and 'udumbu' besides mutton, chicken, fish and eggs. But now as the non-vegetarian dishes are dear they often do without it. They have almost abandoned their hunting habit now and therefore, there is no chance of getting a wild game. As this is so they are

constrained to remain satisfied with vegetables. They use all edible vegetables. But as they are not cultivators themselves scarcity is felt even for these vegetables for, they can spare only a small portion of their poor income for this. Nowadays, no one regularly collects wild roots and fruits from the forest. Dried fish is almost a regular item for them now, as it can be easily purchased from nearby shops. Beef and meat of bison are not relished by them as they are taboo.

2.50 Intoxicants are taken by some who are used to it. But, as their financial position is not good, they have to restrict it to the barest minimum.

2.51 Uralikurumas spend a little over 84 per cent of their annual income exclusively for food items. This is slightly higher than that for Mullukurumas.

2.52 Kattunaickans have some light food in the morning and rice *kanjee* at noon. In the evening, they have rice. They are, like the other two tribes, non-vegetarians. But, for the present, they live content with some dried fish as the only non-vegetarian item. Wild game is hardly obtainable to them as they do not go for hunting in these days. As in the case of Uralikurumas, Kattunaickans can hardly afford sumptuous vegetarian meals always. Some of them take intoxicants as and when they can afford. They spend over 86 per cent of their income for food.

2.53 Paniyas are the least regular in their dietary habits. It is said that whatever they have on a day will be consumed on the same day itself. They do not bother themselves to save for the future. In the morning they satisfy themselves with some light food, coffee etc. from nearby shops, as nothing might have been ordinarily spared from the previous night's supper. At noon they have rice *kanjee* from the land owners, for whom they work. If this is not obtainable, as in the case of those working in coffee estates, they will be satisfied with some light food like miscellaneous preparations from shops. Ordinarily they have rice for supper. It is said that most of the Paniyas go with one meal a day, and the rest satisfy themselves with miscellaneous food items of their choice. Paniyas do like to have intoxicants but most of them can ill-afford them.

2.54 They spend nearly 84 per cent of their income on food.

Medical Care

2.55 Medical care costs all these tribes but a paltry portion of their annual income. While several families have reported no expenditure on this item, some of them have. The expenditure on this item for Mullukurumas, Kattunaickans, Uralikurumas and Paniyas are 0.16 per cent, 0.19 per cent, 0.14 per cent and 0.16 per cent respectively, of their annual income.

Beliefs and Practices

Birth

2.56 The avid tendency for prolificity is something fundamental in all living organisms. It is the basic and prime motive of life, the attainment of which is no doubt exhilarating—so much so—birth is always a happy event. The belief of these tribes regarding birth is in no way different from the above. Several tribal parents have reported 10 to 15 births in their household even while they have come but half way through their reproductive period. This has, ostensibly, a telling effect on their health and economy. Nevertheless, a large number of children are still deemed to be the abundant benevolence and blessings of their gods.

2.57 All these tribes observe pollution preceded by birth. Mullukurumas keep the mother and baby in a nearby hut or verandah while Uralikurumas lodge even the woman in labour in a seclusion shed. Paniyas and Kattunaickans also construct a separate hut to keep the mother and baby in it till the pollution is over. It is said that Mullukurumas observe pollution

for nearly a month and for the first 9 days it will be very rigorously observed; mother and baby have to bathe three times a day during this period. The delivery is attended to by elderly females. The father can touch the baby only after a month according to their custom. Uralikurumas have more rigorous rules in this matter. The mother and baby have to remain in the seclusion shed for over 40 days. No male, and for that matter not even the father of the child, is allowed to see the mother or the child during this period. Pollution lasts for over 40 days. The child is breast-fed and sometimes even after the next delivery. Paniyas and Kattunaickans also observe pollution preceded by birth for over 30 days. While Kattunaickans are still observing their conventions strictly, Paniyas have conveniently shed much of them.

2.58 In general, the true spirit of these rigorous conventions has not so far gone home to the tribes. Essentially, all these are meant to ensure cleanliness and hygiene. But even in their day to day life most of these tribes appear to have conveniently neglected these salutary principles. Mullukurumas are, however, the cleanliest of the lot.

Marriage

2.59 Tribal people consider marriage solemn. It is besides, an event of happiness and exultation for all of them, and not merely for the couple. The customs of marriage vary with different tribes. A common feature among all tribes is that women fetch money (bride-price) in marriage. Nubile girls are supposed to be sold to the bridegrooms on receipt of a cash payment which is ordinarily fixed after much bargaining.

2.60 Among the Mullukurumas, the marriage question is mooted by the relatives, usually elder brothers of the prospective bridegroom, with due consent of their group leader. Four customary visits are made to the brides parents, donating to them 'pan' and provisions, and in the fourth the matter will be fixed. At the time of marriage a nominal sum, ordinarilly Rs. 5½, is paid by the bridegroom as 'kanam', presumably to register the marriage. A 'tali', (marriage badge) brought by the bridegroom, is tied round the bride's neck, on the previous day of the marriage, by her uncle. The ceremony of marriage is, simply, handing over clothes, brought by the bridegroom, to the bride while both are seated on a mat inside the hut. This function is attended only by women. Feasting follows the function. The bride is brought to the house of the bridegroom on the day of marriage itself. On the third day, the couple pay a visit to the bride's house with sweets, and return to the bridegroom's house only on the fifth day. Ordinarily the newly married couple will soon set up a separate hut.

2.61 The marriage customs of Uralikurumas are, relatively, simple. First of all consent is sought from the bride's parents. The bride-price to be paid to the bride's parents will be fixed next, although the payment is effected only two weeks after marriage. The ceremony of marriage consists of the tying of a 'tali' round the neck of the bride and presenting her with new clothes. The bride is taken to the bridegroom's hut on the day of marriage itself, after a feasting following the marriage. A couple of weeks later the married couple go the bride's hut presenting the bride's parents with pan, provisions and rice. The girl is then taken back finally, to the bridegroom's residential place.

2.62 Kattunaickans also have similar customs. Paying bride-price to the bride's parents is invariably a prerequisite of the marriage. Ceremony of marriage consists of tying a 'tali' round the neck of the bride. Presentation of clothes and ornaments follows. Feasting and entertainment items are invariably present. Marriage is conducted, ordinarily, at night.

2.63 Among the Paniyas the proposal

for marriage is initiated by the bridegroom's relatives. The marriage is fixed after detailed enquiries into the character of the bridegroom. Meanwhile, the bride-price is also fixed after necessary bargainings. Group leaders of both parties take part in the function. The ceremony of marriage consists of presenting clothes and ornaments to the bride, and eating from the same plantain leaf by the couple at the feasting function. The bride is brought to the bridegroom's hut, on the same day of marriage, by the bridegroom.

2.64 These tribes do not tolerate polygamy or polyandry and levirate or sororate systems.

2.65 According to the traditional law of Mullukurumas they cannot marry from their relations. Therefore, there is no consanguineous marital relationship among them.

2.66 But the convention among Uralikurumas is just the opposite. As far as possible they will try to breed in and in, the first preference being given to maternal uncle's daughter.

2.67 Paniyas show no preference to consanguineous marriages though they have no traditional objection to this. Of the total, about 10 per cent of the marriages are consanguineous. All these are marriages between first cousins.

2.68 Kattunaickans also have an accepted rule to marry their uncle's daughter whenever possible. According to them they can choose others only if they do not have such relations. All the marriages reported here are consanguineous marriages, uncle's daughter being held in wedlock.

Death Rites

2.69 Death is viewed with grief and horror. Understandably it evokes sympathy in all, no matter friends or foes, to the bereaved. Each tribe has peculiar obsequies.

2.70 Mullukurumas, on the event of a death, spread the news to their relatives and friends. All throng at the house of the deceased. The corpse is washed in cold and soapy (using soapnuts) water. It is then covered with a new cloth and taken to the place of burial. A pit, of about 6' death, is dug in the north-south posture. Three poles (of a particular tree called 'Thanni') are placed across at the bottom of the pit and the corpse is laid on it, with the head of the corpse pointing southward. The personal belongings, namely bow and arrow, knife, etc. of the deceased are thrown into the pit. The pit is then filled with earth and the corpse is thus interred. Cremation is not in practice among them. Three stones are placed on the burial place; one at the head, another at the foot and the third one in the middle. All bathe and return home and arrange for a feast. They observe pollution for 5 to 9 days, and during this period they never visit temples or take fish or meat. On the third day of pollution, the spirit of the dead is feasted in what they call the "chathamuttu" ceremony. They have no separate burial ground, and, therefore, they bury the corpse either in the midst of the forests or in any of the unoccupied plots near their locality.

2.71 Uralikurumas wash the corpse in cold water anointed with turmeric. Later they apply oil to the corpse. After washing the corpse again it is bedecked with new clothes and is laid on a bier to be carried to the burial ground. According to them, they have, on top of the hills, certain selected plots where they bury the corpse. A pit is dug in the east-west posture. The corpse is taken round the pit seven times before it is lowered into it. Also before lowering the corpse into the pit, their group leader places some rice and oil on its breast while others go round the pit, throwing rice into it, seven times. The corpse is then lowered into the pit and earth is thrown in to fill the pit. Thorns are placed at the burial place lest the evil spirits should dig out the corpse and eat it. A stone is

placed at the burial place and all return to the house of the dead. On the day of burial some rice is cooked separately and placed in their hut, all the inmates waiting outside it. It is their belief that the spirit of the dead will actually come and touch this cooked rice which is confirmed later, by the finger-prints on it. If the fingerprints are seen they believe that, the spirit has been satisfied with the death ceremony. If the cooked rice is not touched by the spirit, i.e., if there are no fingerprints, they believe, they have incurred the wrath of the spirit, the immediate consequence being another death in the family. Pollution is observed for nine days. On the ninth day, all assemble and pray to their deceased great ancestor to call the spirit of the dead, and subject it to him. All are then entertained at a feast. They do not practice cremation, and they do not believe in the existence of heaven or hell.

2.72 Kattunaickans have also their own traditional obsequies. The sad news of death is spread among the relatives and friends. All of them throng at the house of the deceased. The corpse is washed in cold water and bedecked in new clothes. The place of burial is the forest area nearby. The corpse is laid in the grave with its head southwards. A stone is placed on the grave after filling it with earth. They observe pollution for seven days. Feasting is invariably a part of the ceremony. The spirit of the dead is entertained at a feast on the termination of the pollution by a ceremony called *Chathamuttu*.

2.73 The obsequies of Paniyas are similar to those of Kattunaickans. The corpse is shaved and washed with water mixed with turmeric. It is then wrapped in new clothes. The corpse is buried with its head southward. No monument is erected on the place of burial. Pollution is observed for 7 days, which ends in a ceremonial feasting of the spirit of the dead.

2.74 The tribes are, characteristically, dour in their beliefs. Their traditional laws or conventions are imposed on them. The difficulty is that no one has ever ventured to catch the spirit of these regulations. They are grossly ignorant and almost bluntly refuse to adopt any change warranted by the change of environments. If anybody shows a tendency to depart from the traditional laws it will be ruthlessly construed as calculated contumaciousness. Such a person, therefore, avoids others, fearing scathing criticism leading up to practial ostracism. Their marriage system requires many modern changes. The practice of selling girls, ignoring the views of the girl regarding her marriage, has resulted in many bitter experiences. But the tribes have hardly understood them that way. But any reform is possible only if they are sufficiently edified.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Economic Resources

As has been indicated earlier, most of the land in this village is either part of the Wynad colonisation area or the tribal extension scheme area. There are, however, a few private holdings the extent of which is very limited. They are temporary holdings assigned to certain families purely for cultivation.

3.2 A small portion of the village is under the forest area. The Chingeri forests, like many other forests, contain many valuable items of timber yielding varieties like teak, rosewood etc. This forest area is also under the administration and control of the colonisation authorities. The collection of forest produces is not done here, as it is not found to be a profitable item. Forest rules are very rigid, and no one is legally allowed to encroach, in any way, on the forests. However, the tribes occasionally go and collect firewood and bamboo poles from the forest and sell them in the market without the knowledge of the authorities.

3.3 The land is extremely fertile. A good number of people have agriculture as their major occupation. The economic life in this village is largely maintained and governed by the agricultural activities of the people. The revenue authorities have distributed a good portion of the land to the agriculturists, purely for the purpose of cultivation, and a nominal tax is being levied from them for occupying the land. Those holding the land under this arrangement have no right, however, over the trees or other valuables of the land. This system, obviously, has helped many to throw their full weight on agriculture. As a result, agricultural activities here are accrescent, the production being on the increase consequently. But the steady increase in agricultural production is being offset by the increase in population. With the fertility of the land coupled with favourable climatic conditions, agriculture has been a profitable enterprise in the village.

3.4 The tribes, excepting Mullukurumas and a few Uralikurumas have no land, nor any cultivation of their own. Those who have no land nor any cultivation, are engaged in agricultural operations as wage-earners. The extensive coffee cultivation and other crop cultivations require and engage a good many of these people and help them maintain a not-too-bad economic standard, as at present.

3.5 Chingeri has really an enviable wealth of livestock. It is but natural that this village, with a preponderant agricultural population, has a good livestock population too. Cattle are used here for agricultural operations and milching. Besides, cattle dung is the main item of manure used for cultivation here. These obviously, encourage cattle rearing.

3.6 The livestock wealth of Paniyas and Kattunaickans here is nil. A few of the Uralikurumas have taken to poultry and goat rearing. Most of the Mullukuruma families possess cattle. Some of them own the cattle while the rest maintain them for others. Cattle breeding is done mainly for manure. Milch cattles are, however, not rare in this locality. The milk requirement of the whole village is met from within.

3.7 Industrial activities in this village are insignificant. In fact, there is not even a single organised industrial unit

here. In some Uralikuruma households, women are seen engaged in pottery. The pots they make are entirely handmade. Uralikuruma males are good weavers of baskets and mats, using bamboo strips. These mats and baskets are sold for reasonable price in the village. Nevertheless, it is not widely practised owing to scarcity of raw materials and lack of proper organisation.

3.8 Commercial activities in this village are scarce. The only available commodities in this village are agricultural produces. There is no public market, or any other suitable place for selling these. Further, as has been indicated earlier, transportation facilities are practically nil. Bringing agricultural produces from the interior parts of the village for marketing is an unprofitable task. Hence they are mostly disposed of in the village itself.

3.9 It is believed that, in Wynad taluk to which Chingeri belongs there are ores of iron, sulphur and gold. So far no attempt has been made to explore the ores in a scientific manner.

Factors Influencing Economic Life

Land Reforms

3.10 The recent land reforms, enacted by the Government, have practically no effect on the economy of the village as the entire land under occupation with the exception of a few holdings is owned by the Government.

Land Improvement

3.11 Land improvement will, no doubt, favourably affect the economy of a village which has got a preponderant agricultural population. Efforts in this direction were first put forth by the squatters. Later, when the colonisation scheme was set up, efforts for land improvement increased rapidly. The settled families were given grants for reclamation and improvement of land. Also, with the unchecked influx of people to this part, the pressure on land increased considerably and, of necessity, the available land had to be improved for lucrative cultivation. Vast areas of land are still left uncultivated. The development of this land is a matter which might engage the attention of Government. It has, however, to be pointed out that the tribes mostly remain wageearners and do not cultivate land for themselves.

Industrialisation and Trends of Urbanisation

3.12 There is hardly any industrialisation effort in this village at present. Nearby this village a 'Silk farm', an industrial establishment for rearing silk worms, is functioning under the control of the Government. At present this industrial establishment has only a nominal existence, employing at the most a dozen persons, and is said to be run at a loss. Perhaps the improvement of this farm might prove successful. The tribes still cling to their traditional techniques of production and do not seem to show any progress on modern lines. The newly constituted Panchayat, which has a major role in this, is yet to embark on a variety of developmental activities.

Improvement of Communication and Expansion of Marketing Facilities

3.13 Improvement of communication and expansion of marketing facilities appear to remain unattempted in this village. Any development is possible in this village if only want of communication and marketing facilities is removed.

Source of Finance

3.14 Credit facility in this village is scarce. The only available source is Government. There is no recognised private institution, catering to the credit needs of agriculturists in an adequate measure. Crop loans and short term loans are envisaged by the colonisation scheme. But many do not have availed of them probably due to procedural difficulties. Some individuals here are reported to be money lenders, but none, professionally. These persons charge exorbitant rates of interest–60% and sometimes even more. For the tribes, the land owners

give loans on condition that they will work for them. Usually this loan—a sum of Rs. 10 for a male and Rs. 5 for a female—is given on the 'Vishu Day'. This will be recovered piecemeal from them later when they work for the landlords. In fact, the capacity, for borrowing and repaying is poor in the case of tribes. Therefore, nobody, except the land owners, would be willing to give them loans. Mullukurumas take loans from merchants and some usurious money lenders, on the condition that the entire yield of certain specified crops would be given to them. Want of proper and easy credit facilities is one of the serious drawbacks of this village.

Economic Activities and Nature of Change

Livelihood Classes

3.15 The tribes here excepting Mullukurumas are generally poor labourers. They work on daily wages of Rs. 1.37 and below. Mullukurumas are generally agriculturists and they are comparatively better off than the Paniyas or Uralikurumas. At times, Mullukurumas also go for work on daily wages. This tendency is seen only among the younger people who have no extensive agricultural activities. The remuneration obtained for work in the coffe estates is competitive and attractive too; for a day's work a man will get Rs. 1.37 to Rs. 1.44 while a woman will get Re. 1 to Rs. 1.12. The Paniyas are, reportedly labourers. They have hardly any agricultural or industrial activity of their own. All of them are unskilled manual labourers, and are engaged in agricultural work. Some of them are however, reported to be engaged regularly for work in the coffee estates in this region. Kattunaickans who are also labourers, have practically no agricultural activities of their own. Most of them work in the local coffee estates on daily wages. Uralikurumas, though generally agricultural labourers have other activities too. A few households have reported agricultural activities though in most of such cases the activities will be but nominal. However, they are better than their neighbouring Paniya and Naickan friends in this respect. Besides this agricultural activity some households have reported mat—weaving and basket—making, using bamboo and reed. But at present, this activity is comparatively less intense owing to acute shortage of raw material. Generally males are engaged in this type of work. Another activity of the Uralikurumas is pot—making. Clay for this is obtained locally. Pot-making is altogether a female prerogative, even traditionally. The Uralikuruma females make good and durable pots according to their own design and techniques.

3.16 The present tendency among all these tribes is to turn to wage earners. Day labour is the least exacting item of work, according to them, and the most attractive in that one can earn his wages in cash the same day which the tribes generally need and welcome. Other items of work, especially agriculture, require initial investment of money as well as labour, with no prospect of immediate returns. The tribal people can hardly afford this and hence they turn to labour on daily wages.

Ownership of Economic Resources

3.17 As has been indicated in detail, the ownership of land in this village is mainly with the Government. However, there are here a few—some of whom are tribes—who own land. But, now most of the area here is under the occupation of squatters.

3.18 Some of the tribal households are reported to own small plots of land in this village. But these plots together form only a modicum of the total area now under their possession. The rest of the area is Government land for the occupation of which prohibitory tax is paid. A majority of the Mullukurumas and a few Uralikurumas are holding land on the above said term. This area, according to them, is regularly cultivated

and through this they earn their subsistence. It has been reported that the average land holding per cultivating Mullukuruma family is as large as 3.54 acres. But sizable variations in the individual holdings can be noticed from the data reported. It varies from 8.75 acres down to 80 cents. Among the Uralikurumas, only 24% have any land and, that too, not in sizable extents. The average holding for one such family comes to only 0.70 acres. Paniyas have, in general, no land holdings. However, three families are seen making use of bits of land, for cultivation, obtained through the benevolence of their landlords.

3.19 Particularly no trend of change is discernible in the matter of ownership of holding of land. There has been actually no factor which encouraged any change. Eviction of the squatters is deffered indefinitely.

3.20 Forest here is entirely under the ownership and surveillance of the Government, particularly of the colonisation scheme. No one, no matter whether he is a tribe or non-tribal, has legally any access to it. Incidentally it may be stated that several cases of violation of forest rules have, by now, been registered here. In short, the existence of the forest has in no way helped the economic development of the village. No trend of change in this is evident at present.

3.21 Industrial activities are very few in this village. Although pot-making and mat-weaving are known only to the tribes, there is absolutely no conscious or organized monopoly on the production or sale of the products of these trades. This is mainly due to the absence of incentives for organisation and collective development. The persistence of old pattern is obviously not deliberate, but, it is apparently owing to the difficulty to break through, in the existing circumstances, the deep rooted habits.

Occupation

3.22 The following tables give the classification of Mullukurumas according to work.

Table II

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS

(Tribe: Mullukurumas)

Age-group	Total		Workers			Non-workers		
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
0–14	38	46	..	1	1	38	45	83
15–34	35	22	28	2	30	7	20	27
35–59	21	20	21	7	28	..	13	13
60 and over	5	2	4	..	4	1	2	3
Total	99	90	53	10	63	46	80	126

Table III

CLASSIFICATION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO THEIR PRIMARY AND SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS

(Tribe: Mullukurumas)

Age-group	Total workers	Principal occupation		Subsidiary occupation		No subsidiary occupation
		Agriculture	Casual-labour	Agriculture	Casual labour	
0-14	1	..	1	..	..	1
15-34	30	22	8	6	14	10
35-59	28	16	12	3	9	16
60 and over	4	3	1	..	1	3
Total	63	41	22	9	24	30

3.23 It could be seen from Table II that exactly 1/3 of the whole of Mullukurumas are workers. Barring children below age 15 who are generally incapable of working the percentage of workers is found to be a little over 59. Understandably enough, among men there are a larger percentage of workers than among women; for while over 86% of the men above 14 years of age are workers, only a little over 20% of the women in the same age-group do any gainful work. Most of the Mullukuruma women remain attending to their domestic duties or helping their husbands in the fields. Agriculture is the principal occupation of a large percentage (over 65%) of the workers. The percentage of workers, who are casual labourers, is but just near 35. Again, a little less than half of the total workers have no subsidiary occupation at all. Ostensibly, most of them, in the group, are women. Out of the rest over 27% have agriculture as their subsidiary occupation, while the rest have casual labour.

Table IV

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS

(Tribe: Uralikurumas)

Age-group	Total		Non-workers			Workers		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
0-14	30	24	47	25	22	7	5	2
15-34	22	18	..	..	..	40	22	18
35-59	17	16	5	..	5	28	17	11
60 and over	1	1	1	..	1	1	1	..
Total	70	59	53	25	28	76	45	31

Table V

CLASSIFICATION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO THEIR PRINCIPAL AND SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS

(Tribe: Uralikurumas)

Age-group	Total workers	Principal occupation				Subsidiary occupation			No subsidiary occupation
		Casual labour	pottery	Mat & basket weaving	Others	Mat & Basket weaving	Agriculture	Casual labour	
0-14	7	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	7
15-34	40	38	1	1	..	3	10	1	26
35-59	28	24	3	..	1	9	3	..	17
60 and over	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Total	76	68	4	3	1	12	13	1	51

Now, according to the figures reported (Table IV), nearly 59% of the total Uralikurumas are workers. Barring those below the age 15, who are generally incapable of work, the percentage of workers to the remaining total is as high as 92. Apparently, the Uralikurumas are more active and painstaking than Mullukurumas. Unskilled casual labour is the principal occupation of over 89% of these workers. A little over 5% of the women have pot-making as their principal occupation, while, very near 4% of the workers have weaving (mats and baskets).

3.24 It has been observed that over 65% of these workers have no subsidiary occupation at all. Among the subsidiary occupations of these tribes, the two important items are agriculture and mat weaving. A little over 17% have agriculture, while nearly 15% have mat and basket weaving as their subsidiary occupations. There is no other item of subsidiary occupation which has any significant role in supplementing their income.

3.25 Paniyas in the past were nomadic agriculturists. But in the course of time, which recorded many changes in the forest rules, these Paniyas were rendered landless. The only means of livelihood for them now is working for the local agriculturists, lest they should face famishment. Apart from the environmental influence, their indifference and shortsightedness have reduced them to this peculiar plight.

Table VI

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS

Tribe: Paniya

Age-group	Workers			Non-workers			Total	
	T	M	F	T	M	F	M	F
0–14	1	1	..	72	26	46	27	46
15–34	68	29	39	3	1	2	30	41
35–59	51	31	20	1	..	1	31	21
60 and over	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1
Total	120	61	59	77	27	50	88	109

As seen from Table VI nearly 61% of the Paniyas are workers. Excluding children below age 15, the percentage of workers is found to be as high as 96 Considering males and females of age 15 and above, it has been found that, over 98% of the males and nearly 94% of the females are workers.

3.26 All the Paniyas interviewed here have returned manual labour as their principal occupation. Most .of these Paniyas are preferred for work in paddy fields. The rate of wages for conventional agricultural work is comparatively low. Moreover, most of the payments for such work are made in kind. Paniyas, with their peculiar liking for paddy, will, no doubt, prefer it even in the face of acute pecuniary difficulties. They are, however, forced to sell, sometimes. the paddy, which they get as wages, at cheaper rates, to some merchants.

3.27 Three Paniya families have returned agriculture as subsidiary occupation. But, as a matter of fact, no interest is being bestowed on this on the excuse that they do not have sufficient space and also they have no fiscal capability to invest on agriculture.

3.28 A few Paniya males are also reported to possess the skill of making an umbrella-like cover (used for protection from rain) using slender bamboo sticks. But, this has not fully developed nor has this so far become a proper or regular means of earning for them.

Table VII

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS

Tribe: Kattunaickan

Age-group	Workers			Non-workers			Total	
	T	M	F	T	M	F	M	F
0–14	2	1	1	15	9	6	10	7
15–34	11	6	5	..	..	..	6	5
35–59	20	10	10	..	..	..	10	10
60 and over	..	..	..	2	1	1	1	1
Total	33	17	16	17	10	7	27	23

3.29 Among the Kattunaickans 66% are workers. Excluding children below age 15, it has been found that nearly 94% of them are workers. Considering males and females separately who are of age 15 and above over 94% of the males and nearly 94% of the females are workers.

3.30 The principal occupation of Kattunaickans here is reported to be manual labour. A single family is reported to have agricultural activities while just another one is reported to be skilled in mat and basket weaving.

3.31 Most of the residents in this tribal colony are working in the colony's coffee estates. When the work in the colony comes to a close, they go in search of work elsewhere. Often, it is very difficult for them to get work elsewhere for, irregular as they are, they enjoy but the least preference.

3.32 It need hardly be stressed that all the tribes here have seen very great changes in their environments and life. During the past they led a care-free and vivacious life in the forest, almost smug, in their own way, with their environments. But now, their life has been reduced to one of trials and tribulations. The unimpeded freedom of Mullukurumas in the past, to occupy any land and cultivate it, no longer exists. But with the influx of people to this area this has ceased to exist any longer. Even now these tribes are plaintive about the high-handedness showed by the squatters in pugnaciously grabbing their land. Paniyas have been reduced to mere landless labourers, and now their economic destiny is tied up to the munificence, if any of their landlords. Although the avenues of employment in this village are comparatively better by virtue of the vast coffee estates and agricultural fields, often some of the tribes find it difficult to keep themselves engaged throughout the year, unless they allow themselves to be regularly attached to those estates and agricultural fields.

Description of Different Occupations

i) Agriculture

3.33 The tribes here have still their primitive practice of farming, in spite of the many modern changes that have taken place in this sphere. They are neither convinced nor aware of the advantages of the modern farming methods. There has been no change in the nature of produces here as there is hardly any scope or facility, in the existing circumstances, for different experimental operations. Tools and equipments are still of the old type. Hand-ploughs, and sometimes even spades, are used for loosening the soil. The age-old system of sowing, weeding and harvesting is still practised with hardly any change. The tribal people never use modern manures in the place of cattle manure and ash.

3.34 There is no problem for these tribes to organise manpower for agricultural operations. Each of them is working in his agricultural plot as far as possible, single handed. Labourers are engaged only very rarely as the tribes cannot afford to pay them. Driven by necessity at times they engage labourers for ploughing and harvesting. Agricultural operations of the tribes are generally, of low financial requirements as the tribes do almost all these themselves. Most of them preserve seeds even when they go half-starving. But at times, when they suffer severe losses in agriculture owing to crop failure or devastating flood they have no course but to borrow in cash or kind from the local landlords. Repayment of these loans is often at a loss because of the exorbitant rates of interest and the exacting conditions stipulated by the lenders. A major portion of their agricultural produce is used by the tribes themselves while, only a small percentage is sold in order to meet the cash requirements. As there are no adequate facilities for marketing the agricultural produces at competitive rates, agriculturists suffer a great deal of disadvantages in this

matter. The lack of transportation facilities is, no doubt, a great impediment in their way.

3.35 Agricultural operations here start before the advent of monsoon. There is in this village only one cultivation a year. Crops like *chama*, ragi and paddy are cultivated adopting the method of shifting cultivation. Permanent crops like pepper, coffee etc. are harvested during the months of March and April.

3.36 Mention has to be made that the aforesaid facts are only concerning the tribes and their cultivation. The pattern of agricultural operations of the wealthy landlords here is not without some modern improvements. For some of them use modern implements for ploughing and weeding while in addition to the conventional manures, they use chemical manures also.

3.37 It has been reported that as much as 10 out of 11 Mullukuruma families here do some cultivation or other. The most important crops, cultivated by them are paddy, tapioca and other tuber crops, coffee, pepper, ragi, ginger and *chama*. Paddy and tapioca cultivation are, almost, common for all the cultivating families. According to the figures reported, the average yield of paddy per acre is a little over 93 paras during the last year's cultivation. Similarly the average production per acre of tapioca and other tuber crops was reported to be nearly 561 lb. The percentage of paddy and tapioca sold is very low. Only less than 1/3 of the total production of paddy is sold; over 26% of the agriculturists have not sold any measure of paddy at all. Over 84% of the agriculturists do not sell tapioca, while a little over 10% of the total production is sold by the rest. Cultivation of coffee is undertaken by 70% of the agriculturists here, while nearly 78% of the total production is sold. The average yield per acre of coffee (raw) is nearly 275 pounds. Cultivation of pepper is more widespread than that of coffee. This is obviously because this yields a better income. Ragi, ginger, and *chama* are cultivated by only a few families. None of these crop-produces are sold by any of these families. Most of the families here have small cultivations of plantains, ladies finger, brinjal etc., all for their own use.

3.38 Out of the total 29 Uralikuruma families, only 7 have any agricultural activity. Paddy, tapioca and other tuber crops, ginger, coffee etc. are cultivated by them. The average yield of tapioca is, reportedly, 586 lb. per acre. Among the cultivating families, only one is reported to have paddy cultivation, while there are 5 families having coffee cultivation, and all have ginger cultivation. All these cultivations are on a minor scale. Excepting ginger, they do not sell any of the agricultural produces.

3.39 Agricultural activities among Paniyas and Kattunaickans are negligibly small. While there are 3 Paniya families with some cultivation, there is only one among Kattunaickans.

ii) Fishing, Animal Husbandry and Forestry

3.40 There are no people engaged in fishing in this village. There is no trend of change in this aspect as the physical and natural conditions of this village are not suitable for this. Animal husbandry is still in this traditional old form, without any modern changes. As it appears, there is no effort on any one's part for development of animal husbandry. No activity of forestry is yet seen in this village, and there is, at present, no trend of change in the position.

iii) Village Industries

3.41 As has been indicated earlier, industrial activities in this village are scarce. There is not even a single organised industrial unit in this village. For the silk farm, adjacent to this village, there is an area spreading over 10 acres of mulberry plantation.

3.42 Industrial activities, worth the name, in this village, are only those of

the tribes. They are mat and basket weaving, and pottery. The raw material used for basket and mat weaving is either reed or bamboo. This is obtained from the forest, or other Government land here. Of late, the scarcity of raw material has badly affected this cottage industry. The numerous bamboo tufts in the locality have withered and that almost simultaneously. Reed is now hardly obtainable from the local forests. This unfortunate natural adversity has imposed a serious set-back on this cottage industry. It is now easy to predict that this activity will come to a close in the near future, for want of raw materials.

3.43 Now, less than one half of the total number of families of Uralikurumas are engaged in weaving mats and baskets, this being only their subsidiary occupation. The average production in a year, per family, is 44.3 articles, and each is priced Re. 0.37, on an average. Only a little over 2 % of their average annual income is constituted by this. Obviously they will soon be forced to abandon this activity at the present rate. All that they use in the form of tools for this are a strong, large knife, to cut down the bamboo and reed, and a small one for cutting them into thin long strips. Obviously, they do not require any modern change in the matter of tools, as they are quite satisfied with their traditional tools. The technique of weaving is simple, and the source of design is entirely tribal talents. The transmission of skill is characteristic of the tribes; that is, from parents to sons, or, more generally from elders to youngsters, through close, practical acquaintance. There need be no source of finance in this item of cottage industry as it does not demand capital investment. Further, at present, there is not even a system of advance payment by any one ordering production and supply. Ordinarily they sell the articles produced in markets. But, it is not rare that they take the articles from house to house and sell them. The utility of the products is undeniable, and the articles are virtually in growing demand as the regular supply has suffered a hitch owing to the scarcity of raw material. As it seems now, these activities are regulated according to the availability of raw material. There is particularly no inkling of an impending change in the present system which has been in vogue for some time.

3.44 The second item of cottage industry is pottery. This is exclusively done by the Uralikuruma females. Only four families are engaged in this at present. This is not an organised cottage industry here. The products are pots and other domestic utensils of clay, designed and produced by women. The pots they make are comparatively heavier and durable than many which are made using hand-wheel and other machines. Obviously, the cost of these will be high. The raw material used for this is fine clay which is obtainable from certain localities in the village. The scarcity of this is, however, growingly felt as the sources of its supply are limited. These sources are under the ownership of the landlords, and the tribal people have to pay in terms of finished articles if they want to get the raw material. It is said that the terms stipulated by these landlords are often very exacting. Because of all these restrictions, the production is reported to be low. Tribes here are in no need of any tool for manufacturing these, as they do everything with their hands. The techniques are simple; the design is altogether of the tribal talents. The skill is acquired by practice. This item of industry also does not require any capital investment. Ordinarily, these articles are sold to Mullakuruma families and to the local landlords. The payment in such cases is, often, in kind. One great disadvantage with these articles is that they cannot compete with the similar articles in the market in the matter of price. Therefore, the supply will be according

to demand or, at least, not much exceeding the demand. There is practically no restriction as to the time of production of these, but just before certain festive occasions, such as *Onam* etc. the production is boosted both in the interest of the producer and the demand of the season. There is particularly no trend of change in the status quo of this cottage industry, in this village.

(iv) Commerce

3.45 Commercial activities here are limited to the bear needs of the village. Barring a few shops at a corner of the village, there are no commercial establishments here. The things available for commerce are mainly agricultural produces agriculture being the only item of enterprise of a good majority of the people. Agriculturists can bring these items only piecemeal to the market, as there is hardly any transportation facility. Sometimes, agricultural produces are disposed of, even before they are ripe by receiving advance payment from local merchants or landlords. Often the transaction is made in cash, or at least on the basis of cash. But the tribes sometimes resort to barter especially when disposing of their baskets or pots. The season immediately after harvest is seemingly busy with commercial activities. There is no trend of improvement in the commercial activities here.

Indebtedness and Trends of Changes

3.46 There is no credit institution or established professional money lender, in this village. Those who are in need of loans have to approach the local landlords or private money lenders and seek their help.

3.47 Paniyas, Uralikurumas and Kattunaickans who are working for the landlords are generally poor in their borrowing and repaying capacity. Their income is meagre, and they cut their coat according to their cloth. But they are usually short of money to celebrate their festive occasions. The 'Vishu' day is an important festive occasion for them. In order to celebrate this, they take loans from their landlords. The terms of this loan are such that, in addition to repaying the entire loan, the recipients (tribes) have to work for them till the same day next year. This system has in effect, become an inextricable loop, skilfully designed by the landlords, to entice and ensnare these poor tribes. Besides this, the small shop-owners in the locality advance food articles, clothes etc. to the tribes on the condition that they repay these either in kind, or in cash. This is a regular source of exploitation of these illiterate, poor tribes. For one thing, they cannot keep proper accounts of all these. Another is that the repayment in kind (usually paddy) is accepted by these shop owners only at a low rate of value.

3.48 Most of the Mullukurumas have their lean period in about the middle of the agricultural season. The only source of help at this time is the local landlord or the private money lender or the merchant. During the lean months the Mullukurumas are only too willing to accept loans how hard or exacting the terms may be. The money lenders, besides charging exorbitant rates of interest, stipulate that the mode of repayment should be in paddy at a fixed price which will be awfully lower than the market rates. Mullukurumas accept the terms albeit fully conscious of the greediness of the money lenders and their helpless fall as an easy prey to it. At the time of repayment of the loans they almost become penniless, and there will then be no other alternative except to approach the money lenders again for fresh loans. Thus they are in an economic vicious circle.

3.49 The tribes were unable to report figures regarding their loans correctly, owing to lack of memory. Two cases of loans were, however, reported which show that 40 to 50% interest are levied on the loans taken by them. Besides cash

loans, kind loans (especially seeds) are also taken by these tribes at exorbitant rates of interest.

3.50 This sordid system of exploitation of the tribes has been in vogue for years. No trend of a change in the matter is discernible at present.

Income and Expenditure

3.51 Of the four different tribes found here the Mullukurumas are maintaining a better standard of life in the matter of food, dress and ornaments. The lowest of the lot are Paniyas, while Uralikurumas and Kattunaickans are maintaining a slightly better standard of life.

3.52 The main source of income for most of the Mullukurumas is agriculture, while that for others is manual labour. Agriculture has its own advantage over others, in spite of the many drawbacks it has got at present. Agriculture is risky in that it is not uniformly gainsome or reassuring. Labour ensures, though meagre, a stable and sure income. It is free from responsibilities of any sort, while a permanent assignment of it is always promising of a steady, and somewhat sizable, income. Also, the wage rates are increasing year by year, though, no doubt, it can never catch up with the case of increase in the cost of living. However, opportunities of regular employment are few, and, therefore, some of them have to go without any work for some period, especially during the non-agricultural seasons. Payment of wages in kind and the system of bonded labour, no doubt, keep these tribes in penury and helplessness.

3.53 Those tribes who are working in the coffee estates are better paid, and they are assured of work all round the year. A male member gets Rs. 1.25 to Rs. 1.37, while a female member gets Re. 1 to Rs. 1.12. Boys and girls are also engaged for work in these coffee estates, and each is being paid 75 p. to 88 p. as wages per day. Those who work with the local landlords are generally poorly paid. A noon meal, and a measure of paddy worth 75 p. for a male and 56 p. for a female are all that they get in the form of wages for a day's toil. Boys and girls are not generally engaged for work by these landlords and even if they are engaged they are entitled for not more than a noon-meal in the form of wages.

3.54 Agriculture is, apparently, tending to be less profitable if not a loss, for the tribes here. Lack of good manure, seeds and knowledge of modern techniques, often results in low yield. These are great impediments to the economic development of those who are agriculturists.

3.55 A detailed classification of the households, according to their annual income has been made for each of these tribes to facilitate a comprehensive study.

Table VIII

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND INCOME GROUP

(Tribe: Mullukuruma)

Income group Rs.	No. of households with: 2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	9 members	10 members	11 members and over	Total No. of households
200 and less	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
201-250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
251-300	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Table VIII (*Contd.*)

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND INCOME GROUP

Tribe: Mullukuruma

Income group Rs.	No. of households with 2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	9 members	10 members	11 members and over	Total No. of households
301- 350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
351- 400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401- 450	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
451- 500	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
501- 550	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
551- 600	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
601- 650	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
651- 700	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
701- 750	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
751- 800	..	..	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	5
801- 850	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
851- 900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
901- 950	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
951-1000	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
1251-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301 and more	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	5	2	2	7	7	4	1	1	3	1	33

3.56 In the case of Mullukurumas the annual income as reported by the families, vary from Rs. 200 and less to Rs. 1,604. Generally speaking, the income of the household is related to the family size. It is seen from Table VII that a little over 21% of the households get an annual income of Rs. 500 and less. These households have on an average 4 members or less. Again, nearly 55% of the households fall in the income group of Rs. 501 to Rs. 1,000. This, obviously, is the largest group, for those households with annual income above Rs. 1,000 constitute only 24% of the total. Analysing the size of these families, it is seen that no family has over eight members. There is only just one of the size of eight. 89% of these households are of size 4 and above, but less than 8. Also, it is seen that half of the households having an annual income above Rs. 1000 are of size 10 or more, while that household with the maximum reported income consists of 13 members.

Table IX

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND INCOME GROUP

(Tribe: Uralikuruma)

Income group Rs.	No. of households with						
	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	Total No. of households
450 and less	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
451- 500	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
501- 550	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
551- 600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
601- 650	..	4	..	1	..	..	5
651- 700	..	1	..	1	1	..	3
701- 750	..	..	1	1	1	..	3
751- 800	..	1	2	1	2	..	6
801- 850	..	1	..	2	..	..	3
851- 900	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
901- 950	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1251-1300	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Total	1	9	3	8	8	..	29

3.57 The lowest income per annum reported by the Uralikurumas (see Table IX) is not lower than Rs. 451 while the highest is not higher than Rs. 1,300. More than 86% of the households lie in the income group Rs. 501—1,000 while only 12% of the households have income above Rs. 1,000. Among the Uralikurumas there is not even a single household with more than 6 members. The household with the highest income has only 5 members.

Table X

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND INCOME GROUP

(Tribe: Paniya)

Income group Rs	No. of households with 2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	Total No. of households
250 and less	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
251- 300	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
301- 350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
351- 400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401- 450	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
451- 500	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	3
501- 550	1	3	1	..	..	..	..	5
551- 600	1	3	3	1	1	..	..	9
601- 650	4	7	1	..	4	..	..	16
651- 700	1	..	1	..	2	1	1	6
701- 750	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
751- 800	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	2
801- 850	..	3	..	..	..	1	1	5
851- 900	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
901- 950	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1251-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301-1350	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	10	16	9	2	11	2	3	53

3.58 For Paniyas the lowest income reported is not lower than Rs. 251 while the highest is not higher than Rs. 1,350. it has been found that there is only one family with income above Rs. 950 while the maximum concentration amounting to nearly 89% of the total is in the income group Rs. 501—950.

Table XI

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND INCOME GROUP

(Tribe : Kattunaickan)

Income group Rs.	No. of households with 1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	Total No. of households
550 and less	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..
551- 600	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
601- 650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
651- 700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
701- 750	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
751- 800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801- 850	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..
851- 900	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	3
901- 950	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	3
951-1000	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Total	..	1	2	3	2	2	1	11

3.59 The total number of Kattunaickan families interviewed here is only 11, and, therefore, generalisation of any phenomina observed among them should only be done cautiously. The annual income of no household is less than Rs. 551 while the highest income reported is not higher than Rs.1,050. Obviously a greater number of families (90%) lie within the income group Rs. 551 to Rs. 1,000. The tendency for increase of the income as the size of the household increases is apparent here also.

3.60 The table below gives a comparative study of the income and size of households of the different tribes.

Table XII

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS (EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGE) BY SIZE AND INCOME GROUP

Income group	Tribe	Percentage of households with 3 members and less	4 to 7 members	8 members and more
Rs. 500 and less	Mullukuruma	85.71	14.29	..
	Uralikuruma	100.00	..	..
	Paniya	60.00	40.00	..
	Kattunaickan	..	..	..
Rs. 501 to 1000	Mullukuruma	5.56	88.89	5.55
	Uralikuruma	36.00	64.00	..
	Paniya	48.94	44.68	6.38
	Kattunaickan	30.00	70.00	..
Rs 1001 and more	Mullukuruma	..	37.50	62.50
	Uralikuruma	..	100.00	..
	Paniya	..	100.00	..
	Kattunaickan	..	100.00	..

3.61 Tables below indicate the annual income of the tribes and the nature of expenditure.

Table XIII

PATTERN OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ON FOOD

(*Tribe* : Mullukuruma)

Income group Rs.	No. of households in the expenditure range of																				Total No. of households
	150 and less	151-200	201-250	251-300	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	951-1000	1001 and more		
200 & less	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		1
201- 250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
251- 300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
301- 350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
351- 400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
401- 450	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		3
451- 500	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		3
501- 550	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
551- 600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		1
601- 650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		1
651- 700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		1
701- 750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		3
751- 800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		5
801- 850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		2
851- 900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
901- 950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..		2
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..		3
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..		2
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..		2
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..		1
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—		..
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
1251 and more	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1		1

Table XIV

PATTERN OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ON FOOD

(Tribe : Paniya)

Income group Rs.	Number of households in the expenditure range of																	Total No. of house-holds
	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	Rs. 851-900	Rs. 901-950	Rs. 951-1000	Rs. 1001-1050	
250 & less	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
251-300	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
301-350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
351-400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	:	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401-450	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
451-500	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
501-550	..	..	..	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	3	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
701-750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
851-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1251-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301-1350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1

Table XV

PATTERN OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ON FOOD

(Tribe: Uralikuruma)

Income group Rs.	Number of households in the expenditure range of														Total No. of house-holds
	Rs.400 and less	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	Rs. 851-900	Rs. 901-950	Rs. 951-1000	Rs. 1001-1050	
450 and less	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
451-500	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
501-550	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
601-650	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
651-700	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
701-750	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
851-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1251-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1

Table XVI

PATTERN OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ON FOOD

(Tribe : Kattunaickan)

Income group Rs.	Number of households in the expenditure range of										Total No. of house-holds
	Rs. 450 & less	Rs. 451-500	Rs. 501-550	Rs. 551-600	Rs. 601-650	Rs. 651-700	Rs 701-750	Rs. 751-800	Rs. 801-850	Rs. 851-900	
550 & less	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
551-600	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
701-750	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	3
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1

Table

PATTERN OF ANNUAL

(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	91-100	101-110	111-120	121 and above	3 and less	4	5	6	7	8	9 and more
200 & less	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
201- 250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
251- 300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
301- 350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
351- 400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401- 450	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
451- 500	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..
501- 550	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
551- 600	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
601- 650	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
651- 700	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
701- 750	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..
751- 800	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	1	..	..
801- 850	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
851- 900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
901- 950	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
1251 & more	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	1	1	6	2	7	7	2	2	1	1	2	1	5	4	9	4	7	3	1

XVII

EXPENDITURE ON DRESS ETC.

Mullukuruma)

the annual expenditure range of

On ornaments Rs.								On medical attention Rs.					
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 and more	0	1	2	3	4	Income group Rs.
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	200 & less
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	201- 250
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	251- 300
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	301- 350
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	351- 400
..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	401- 450
..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	451- 500
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	501- 550
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	551- 600
..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	601- 650
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	651- 700
..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	701- 750
..	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	4	1	..	..	751- 800
..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	801- 850
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	851- 900
..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	901- 950
..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	951-1000
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	1001-1050
..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1051-1100
..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1101-1150
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1151-1200
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	1201-1250
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1251 & more.
1	2	14	6	4	1	3	2	1	23	7	1	1	Total

Table

PATTERN OF ANNUAL

(Tribe :

Number of household in the

Income group Rs.	On dress Rs.							On domestic utensils Rs.						
	20 & less	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71 & more	3 & less	4	5	6	7	8	9
250 & less	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
251-300	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
301-350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
351-400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
401-450	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
451-500	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
501-550	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	..
551-600	..	2	5	1	..	..	..	3	4	1	..	..	..	..
601-650	..	2	2	10	2	..	..	5	3	2	2	3	1	..
651-700	..	..	..	5	1	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..
701-750	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
751-800	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	2	1	1	1	..	..
851-900	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
901-950	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	.	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1251-1300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1301-1350	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Total	2	8	13	18	10	..	1	20	17	6	3	4	2	..

XVIII

EXPENDITURE ON DRESS ETC.

Paniya)

annual expenditure range of

On ornaments Rs							On medical attention Rs.					Income group Rs.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	0	1	2	3	4	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	250 & less
1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	.	..	..	..	251- 300
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	301- 350
..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	.	..	..	..	351- 400
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	401- 450
..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	.	451- 500
..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	501- 550
..	2	6	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	551- 600
..	3	4	5	3	1	..	1	15	..	..	..	601- 650
..	1	5	.	..	..	..	..	5	..	1	..	651- 700
..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	701- 750
..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	751- 800
..	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	5	..	..	..	801- 850
.	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	851- 900
..	..	.	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	901- 950
..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	951-1000
..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	1001-1050
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	.	1051-1100
..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	1101-1150
..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	1151-1200
..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1201-1250
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1251-1300
..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1301-1350
1	11	25	8	4	3	..	3	46	2	1	..	Total

Table

PATTERN OF ANNUAL

(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*	91–*100*	3 and *less*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	8 and *more*
450 & less	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
451-500	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
501-550	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
601-650	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	2	..	..
651-700	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..
701-750	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..
751-800	..	..	..	1	5	..	..	..	..	1	3	1	1	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..
851-900	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
1051-1100	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
1101-1150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1151-1200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1201-1250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1251-1300	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
1301-1350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1351-1400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	2	4	10	10	3	..	..	..	7	8	5	7	1	1

XIX

EXPENDITURE ON DRESS ETC.

Uralikuruma)

the annual expenditure range of

On ornaments Rs.								On medical attention Rs.					
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	1	2	3	4	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	450 & less
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	451–500
..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	501–550
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	551–600
..	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	601–650
..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	651–700
1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	701–750
..	2	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	751–800
..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	801–850
..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	851–900
..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	901–950
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	951-1000
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1001-1050
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1051-1100
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1101–1150
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1151–1200
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1201–1250
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1251–1300
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1301-1350
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1351–1400
1	6	11	5	5	..	..	1	..	27	2	..	..	Total

Table

PATTERN OF ANNUAL

(Tribe :

Number of households in the

Income group	On dress Rs.								On domestic utensils Rs.			
	20 & less	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	3 & less	4	5	6
550 & less	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
551-600	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
701-750	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	2	1	..
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	2	1	..
951-1000	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..
1001-1050	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
Total	..	1	..	1	2	4	3	..	..	6	5	..

XX

EXPENDITURE ON DRESS ETC.

Kattunaickan)

annual expenditure range of

On ornaments Rs.					On medical attention Rs.						
0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4	5	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	550 & less
..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	551-600
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	601-650
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	651-700
..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	701-750
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	751-800
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	801-850
..	1	1	1	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	851-900
..	..	2	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	901-950
..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	951-1000
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1001-1050
..	1	5	4	1	..	7	3	1	..	..	Total

Table XXI

AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Tribe	Average annual income (Rs.)	Percentage of expenditure to average annual income					
		Food	Dress	Domestic utensils	Medical attention	Orna-ments	Miscellane-ous items
Mullukuruma	806.30	79.51	7.85	0.69	0.16	0.42	11.37
Uralikuruma	755.59	84.08	6.44	0.61	0.14	0 33	8.40
Kattunaickan	875.91	86.27	7.03	0.51	0.19	0.28	5.72
Paniyan	642.23	83.83	6.60	0.65	0.16	0.35	8.41

3.62 From the tables above, it will be seen that the Kattunaickans have the highest average annual income. This should be viewed with caution in view of the limited number of families interviewed. A major proportion of the income is exclusively used for food by all the tribes except Mullukurumas who spend only a lesser percentage for food. But it has to be borne in mind that Mullukurumas are agriculturists, and have therefore food items at cheaper value. Dress is the second major item of expenditure. It is discernible from the table above that Mullukurumas spend a greater percentage of their income for dress than any other tribe. This, viewed with the fact that they have a high average annual income, corroborates the view that Mullukurumas are better attentive to dress and better dressed, too. The same feature is seen in respect of domestic utensils and ornaments. The expenditure on medical attention for them is not lower than that for Paniyas and Uralikurumas. Mullukurumas spend 11.37% of their total annual income on miscellaneous items. Of this, 1.92% is expenditure on agriculture exclusively, and the rest (9.45%) is for others. This expenditure on other items is, obviously, greater than that devoted by each of the other tribes for the same purpose. In brief, according to the facts available Mullukurumas are maintaining a better standard of life than all the other tribes.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Age and Sex Distribution

The tribal people here claim ignorance of their age. Therefore, it has been a compelling necessity to estimate their ages. Though these estimates are somewhat crude diligent enquiry has been made on every item of details useful in this connexion at the time of interview, and due weight has been attached to each.

Table XXII

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUP

(Tribe: Mullukuruma)

Sex	Age-group										
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 & over	Total
Male	13	14	11	12	9	8	6	8	13	5	99
Female	11	17	18	2	10	7	3	7	13	2	90

4.2 It has been observed from table XXII that nearly 13% of the total population of Mullukurumas here are children below the age of 5, while nearly 32% of the population are between 5 and 14 years of age. Thus, well over 50% of the total population are adults. Regarding the sex distribution of the population, it is seen that for every 11 males there are 10 females, or in other words, for every 100 males there are 91 females. In the age-group 0-4, over 54% are males, while in the age-group 5 to 14, the proportion of males is hardly 42 per 100. The sex distribution of those above the age of 14 is 72 females for every 100 males.

Table XXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUP

(Tribe: Uralikuruma)

Sex	Age-group										
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 & over	Total
Male	4	12	14	8	4	4	6	9	8	1	70
Female	13	6	5	4	2	9	3	8	8	1	59

4.3 Among the Uralikurumas a little over 13% of the population is below 5 years, and those between the ages 5 and 14 claim nearly 29 per cent. The rest are adults above age 14. The sex-ratio of Uralikurumas is found to be 84 females per 100 males. There is female preponderance only in the age-groups 0-4 and 25-29.

Table XXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUP

(Tribe : Paniya)

Sex	Age-group										Total
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 & over	
Male	12	9	6	5	5	13	7	10	21	..	88
Female	22	10	14	11	14	9	7	13	8	1	109

4.4 The Paniyas here have a preponderant female population. Of those in the age-group 0-4, who claim a little over 17 per cent of the total population, nearly 65 per cent are females. In the age-group 5-14, which accounts for nearly 20 per cent of the total, over 61 per cent are females. Among the adults, i. e. those above 14 years of age, over 50 per cent are females. In general, for every 100 Paniya males there are 124 females.

Table XXV

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUP

(Tribe : Kattunaickan)

Sex	Age-group										Total
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-59	60 & over	
Male	6	2	2	3	1	2	..	4	6	..	26
Female	2	2	4	3	2	..	..	9	1	..	23

4.5 Owing to the paucity of a fairly good number of Kattunaickans, the impression that can be gathered from the existing data can hardly be generalised. The sex-ratio for Kattunaickans is found to be 88 females for every 100 males.

Age and Marital Status

4.6 The distribution of Mullukurumas by age and marital status is given in the following tables.

Table XXVI

MARITAL STATUS

(Tribe : Mullukuruma)

Age group	Unmarried		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	27	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	28
10-14	11	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	18
15-19	11	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	12	2
20-24	3	..	5	10	..	..	1	..	9	10
25-29	..	..	8	7	..	..	..	..	8	7
30-34	..	..	3	3	..	..	3	..	6	3
35-39	..	..	4	3	..	..	..	..	4	3
40-44	..	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	4	4
45-49	..	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	4	4
50-54	..	..	3	6	..	1	..	..	3	7
55-59	..	..	6	2	..	..	..	..	6	2
60 +	..	..	3	2	2	..	..	..	5	2

Table XXVII

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

(Tribe : Mullukuruma)

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage										Average age at first marriage
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	N A	
20-24	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	22
25-29	..	..	..	1	3	4	..	..	..	..	24
30-34	..	..	..	..	1	3	1	1	..	..	25
35-39	..	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	25
40-44	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	1	25
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	..	26
50-54	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	24
55-59	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	1	1	25
60 +	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	1	..	26
Total	1	1	1	4	5	20	6	1	3	4	

Table XXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIED FEMALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe : Mullukuruma)

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage							Average age at first marriage
	18	19	20	21	22	23	N.A.	
20-24	..	1	2	3	4	..	..	21
25-29	..	..	1	3	1	1	1	21
30-34	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	21
35-39	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	22
40-44	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	21
45-49	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	22
50-54	..	..	1	..	3	..	3	22
55-59	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	22
60 +	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	21
Total	..	2	7	10	14	5	4	

4.7 Among the Mullukurumas nearly 53 per cent are never married. Of these 52 per cent are males while the rest are females and 97 per cent of them are below age 20. Among the ever married which is 47 per cent of the total over 92 per cent still live in matrimony, while nearly 5 per cent (all males) are divorced. The rest are widowed, with male and female in 2: 1 proportion.

4.8 From table XXVI it can be seen that most of the Mullukuruma males marry only after 24 years of age. The tendency of late marriage is more prominent among the older generation for, 90 per cent of the males, who are now of age 40 and above, had married only after they attained 25 years of age. But, all have got married before they attained the age 29. It has been observed that among those, who are below 40 years of age, over 45 per cent have got married before 25. In detail, nearly 23 per cent had married at the age 24, while nearly 14 per cent married at the age of 23, and 4 per cent each got married at the age 22 and 21. This appears to suggest that there is a tendency among the younger generations to get married earlier. This is explainable too in their present situation, for unlike in the past, as soon as the males become economically independent, they tend to marry, and in this, consideration of mature age for marriage, or the observance of all traditional formalities of marriage etc. does not hold much sway. For females, the earliest marriage reported was at the age of 19. Most of the women (nearly 82 per cent) have married between the ages 20 and 22, while all of them have got married not later than 23 years of age. It is of interest to know that the greatest difference in the age of husbands and wives still living in matrimony is 6 years while the least is 2 years. It has been observed that a little over 83 per cent of the couples are having a difference of 3 to 5 years between their ages.

4.9 As has already been indicated, Mullukurumas do not, as a rule, have inbreeding.

Table XXIX

MARITAL STATUS

(Tribe: Uralikuruma)

Age-group	Unmarried		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	16	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	19
10-14	14	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	5
15-19	8	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	4
20-24	4	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	4	2
25-29	..	..	4	9	..	..	..	..	4	9
30-34	..	..	6	3	..	..	..	..	6	3
35-39	..	..	2	7	..	1	..	..	2	8
40-44	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	7	..
45-49	..	..	1	4	..	2	..	..	1	6
50-54	..	..	5	2	..	..	..	..	5	2
55-59	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
60 & Over	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1

Table XXX

DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIED MALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Uralikuruma)

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage									Average age at first marriage
	20 & less	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	N.A.	
20-24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25-29	1 (18)	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	21
30-34	..	..	..	1	1	1	3	..	..	25
35-39	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	23
40-44	1	..	..	1	2	2	1	..	..	25
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	25
50-54	..	..	..	2	1	1	1	..	..	24
55-59	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	25
60 & over	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	24
Total	2	..	3	5	6	5	5	1	1	

Table XXXI

DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIED FEMALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Uralikuruma)

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage							Average age at first marriage
	17	18	19	20	21	22	N.A.	
15-19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20-24	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	19
25-29	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	20
30-34	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	19
35-39	..	..	3	3	1	1	..	20
40-44	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45-49	..	2	2	2	..	..	..	19
50-54	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	20
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 & over	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	18
Total	1	7	9	9	2	2	1	

4.10 Among the Uralikurumas over 54 per cent are never married. The proportion of males and females in this group is 3: 2. Over 94 per cent of this group are below the age of 20, while the rest who are 20 and above are all males. Among the ever married nearly 95 per cent live still in matrimony while the rest are widows.

4.11 The earliest age at marriage for males is reported to be 18 while the latest is 27. Ordinarily a majority of the males get married between ages 23 and 25. Uralikuruma women are considered nubile even at the age of 17. Most of them (over 83 per cent) get married between 18 and 20. The latest age at which marriage is reported is 22. This is however, with a low frequency.

4.12 The difference between the age of the husband and the age of wife shows amazing variation from 1 year to more than 10 years. But generally the difference does not exceed 4 or 5 years.

4.13 As has been indicated earlier Uralikuruma as far as possible, marry only their uncle's (maternal) daughter. Here all the marriages recorded are of that type.

Table XXXII

MARITAL STATUS

(Tribe: Paniya)

Age-group	Unmarried		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-9	21	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	32
10-14	6	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	14
15-19	5	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	11
20-24	3	1	2	12	..	..	..	1	5	14
25-29	..	..	11	8	1	1	1	..	13	9
30-34	..		7	7	..	..	..	..	7	7
35-39	..	..	7	6	..	..	..	..	7	6
40-44	..	..	3	7	..	..	..	..	3	7
45-49	..	..	11	4	1	..	..	..	12	4
50-54	..	..	5	4	..	..	..	..	5	4
55-59	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	4	..
60 & over	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1

Table XXXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIED MALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Paniya)

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage										Average age at first marriage
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28 & over	N.A.	
20-24	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
25-29	1	1	1	3	4	3	..	..	..	..	23
30-34	..	..	1	2	..	2	..	1	1 (31)	..	25
35-39	..	..	..	1	1	3	2	..	..	..	25
40-44	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	25
45-49	..	..	1	2	1	5	2	1	..	..	25
50-54	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	25
55-52	..	..	..	..	1	1	...	..	..	2	25
60 & over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	2	3	10	9	16	6	3	1	2	

Table XXXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIED FEMALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe : Paniya)

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage									Average age at first marriage
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	N.A.	
15-19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20-24	1	2	2	3	3	1	..	..	..	20
25-29	..	1	..	2	3	..	..	1	2	21
30-34	..	..	..	4	1	1	1	..	..	21
35-39	..	2	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	19
40-44	..	2	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	20
45-49	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	20
50-54	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	20
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 & over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Total	1	7	5	18	9	4	1	1	4	

N.A = Not ascertained

Table XXXV

DETAILS OF MARRIAGE

(Tribe: Paniya)

Total No.	No rela ion	Consanguineous relation
60	54	6

4.14 Among the Paniyas, over 47 per cent are never married. Females in this group are more than males Of this group, nearly 96 per cent are below 20 years of age. Among the ever married, over 92 per cent still live in matrimony, while nearly 6 per cent are widowed and the rest are divorced.

4.15 The earliest age at which Paniya males marry is 20 and the latest is 31 with low frequency. It has been observed that nearly 69 per cent of the males marry between the ages of 23 and 25. Also, it is seen from the table that for those, now below 35 years of age, the latest age at marriage is 31. The earliest age (namely 20) at marriage is also reported from this group. It appears to suggest that there is a tendency for the younger generation (males) to marry earlier. Paniya females are considered to be nubile at the age 17. The latest age at first marriage reported is 24. Also it has been observed that nearly 85% get married between the age of 18 and 21. For those, below the age of 35, there is a vide variation in the age at first marriage, viz. from 17 to 24. This might obviously correspond to the tendency for early marriage, as noted above.

4.16 The difference between the age of

husband and age of wife is reported to be varying from 1 to 12, perhaps the greatest ever found among all the tribes here. But in a majority of the cases (over 78 per cent) the difference in age is found to be 3 to 5.

4.17 Paniyas show no preference for inbreeding although they have no objection to it, as a rule. Out of a total of 60 marriages only 10 per cent are consanguineous marriages.

Table XXXVI

MARITAL STATUS

(Tribe : Kattunaickan)

	Unmarried		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Total	
Age group	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-14	10	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	7
15-19	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
20-24	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	2
25-29	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
30-34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35-39	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	1	3
40-44	..	..	3	6	..	..	..	..	3	6
45-49	..	..	5	1	..	..	..	..	5	1
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55-59	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
60 & over	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	15	11	11	11	..	1	..	..	26	23

Table XXXVII

DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIED MALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe : Kattunaickan)

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage										Average age at first marriage
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	N.A.	
20-24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25-29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	27
30-34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35-39	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
40-44	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	24
45-49	..	..	..	..	1	2	1	1	..	..	25
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
60 & over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	1	..	..	1	2	3	1	2	..	1	

N.A. Not available

Table XXXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF EVER MARRIED FEMALES ACCORDING TO AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

(Tribe : Kattunaickan)

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage					Average age at first marriage
	18	19	20	21	22	
15-19	..	..	..	..	..	..
20-24	..	..	..	..	1	22
25-29	..	..	..	..	..	..
30-34	..	..	..	..	..	..
35-39	..	1	1	1	..	20
40-44	..	..	3	1	2	21
45-49	..	..	..	..	1	22
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 & over	..	..	1	..	..	20
Total	..	1	5	2	4	

4.18 Among the Kattunaickans, slightly over 53% are never married. Of the rest all but one live in matrimony, the single exception being a widow. Ordinarily Kattunaickan males marry between the age 24 and 25, while most of their women get married between 20 and 22 years of age. All the matrimonial alliances among them are, reportedly, consanguineous. First preference in marriage is ordinarily given to maternal uncle's daughter.

Health and Sanitation

4.19 The health of the tribes here in general is not satisfactory. Most of them are suffering from one disease or another. Further, preventive measures are hardly known to the tribes. Their unhealthy sorroundings and unwholesome ways of life are primarily the cause of their ill health. Cleanliness and hygiene are often set at nought by them, not necessarily because of their ignorance but, largely because of their indifference.

4.20 The common diseases identified among them are fever, bowel complaints and anaemia. Besides, smallpox, chickenpox, itches etc. are also not uncommon among them. There is no doubt that a good number of these tribes are suffering from some unidentified ailments too. It is not generally their practice to resort to medical help, at the beginning stage of a disease. Instead, they adopt their conventional conjurement methods as a course of treatment which, more often than not, prove infructuous. It is a popular belief among the tribes that every disease is a symptom of the wrath or displeasure of their gods. Naturally, their first attempt is to allay the wrath of their gods by incantation or conjurement and, thus, extricate themselves from the strangle-hold of diseases. It will not be fair to discuss the merits or demerits of a perfect and unstinted faith, if any, the tribal people have in this. Some of them, however, have begun to distrust, and disapprove of, the efficacy of their age old conjurement practices.

4.21 The tribal people are generally

found to be indifferent to seek help from hospitals or other medical institutions. Further, even when one persuades them to do so the failure on their part to adhere strictly to the medical advice is really baffling one's bonafides. In this village there is a Government hospital, and in the tribal colony there is an Ayurvedic dispensary exclusively for the use of the tribes. Though this dispensary has, reportedly, many drawbacks of its own, it will be of great help to the tribes here if they properly make use of it. Unfortunately the avid interest, displayed by the hospital authorities, in these tribes, is often misconstrued and undervalued by them. This problem as such is really serious, and has to be dealt with deftly.

4.22 A very sincere effort to collect and study the death statistics has miserably failed owing to the inability on the part of these tribes to report relevant facts fairly correctly.

Education

4.23 The general trend of education among the tribes is hardly gratifying, in spite of the great stress in the development programmes on the importance of education. Paniyas, Uralikurumans and Kattunaickans have practically no education except in the case of one or two persons among them. They display a kind of indifference to education mostly due to lack of aptitude. Among the Mullukurumas the trend is much better. Some of the households really make consious efforts to get their children educated. Some of them have even sent their children to Kalpetta, a place about 15 miles away from here, for high school education. Others, including Paniyas, Uralikurumas and Kattunaickans, have genuine difficulties in sending their children for studies. One among many, is that they have no schools nearby their hamlet, and therefore, it is difficult for them to send their young children to schools located miles away from their hamlets. In fact, many of these tribes have expressed their disappointment for not having sufficient facilities for educating their children. Again, many, including those who had sent their children, expressed difficulty in meeting the expenses, although meagre, in connexion with their children's studies in that the facilities given by the Government are inadequate. This is, obviously, anomalous to the Government's avowed policy of helping the tribal students for their studies. It will only be pragmatic to investigate, and eradicate defects, if any, in the method of implementation of the Government's education policy. Another reason, as stated by them, for some not sending their children, especially Paniyas, Uralikurumas and Kattunaickans, is that children, who are of school going age, have to take care of the younger children in the household when both parents go for their day's work. These reasons apart, the one that those who have had some education have to remain without any change in their social or economic position is really disheartening and distressing. One such case has actually been observed existing under the very nose of the welfare authorities.

4.24 The tribal colony here has a craft instruction centre. The children of the tribes from different localities in the village, have been selected for this study, and each is being given a stipend of Rs. 25 per mensem. The strength of this institution is about 25. Instruction on carpentry is being given to the pupils of this institution. It is not known whether the selection of students to this course has been made after fully assessing their talents and interests towards carpentry. As far as it is known, carpentry is a strange and uninteresting item of craft for the tribes here. Many other crafts, towards which these tribes have some traditional taste, and even talent, are not given any importance, or, at least not as much as carpentry. So far, the tribal colony has been without a school. It has been gathered that from next year

onwards a lower primary school will be started under the Chingeri Extension Scheme, particularly for the benefit of the tribal children in the region. A building has already been built for this. It is worth mentioning that the location of this school is such that the tribes living in the interior areas of the village have practically no accessibility to it. It could have been more effective if the school was erected somewhere in the middle of the Chingeri extension Scheme area so that the difficulty for accessibility would not have assumed such a great magnitude as it has at present.

4.25 Generally speaking, the tribal students here are lacking in adequate incentives and effective persuation for education. Lack of aptitude coupled with an unfavourable environmental position is more than a great obstacle in the spread of education. Want of a studious atmosphere at home is, no doubt an added impediment to the smooth spread of education among these tribes.

Table XXXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE

Tribe	Number of households with											
	1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	9 members	10 members	11 members & more	Total
Mullukuruma	.	5	2	2	7	7	4	1	1	3	1	33
Uralikuruma	..	1	9	3	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	29
Paniya	..	10	16	9	2	11	2	3	..	..	..	53
Kattunaickan	.	1	2	3	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	11

Family Structure

4.26 The table above gives the present family size of the households of the four tribes here.

4.27 Mullukurumas during their period of stay in the forest moved together in groups of two or more families. At that time there were joint cultivation, joint hunting and almost everything on a co-operative basis. Later, their group existence disintegrated, and each family, consisting of several households, began to exist separately. The possessions of a family were, however, common and everything was shared by the members on a co-operative basis. Even now this trait of behaviour is in vogue among them. In each Mullukuruma settlement there will ordinarily be some 3 to 11 households, all related to each other and in some of these settlements, even now, there is the system of joint possession and joint effort. Ordinarily according to the custom of these tribes, each household will have a separate hut.

4.28 Yield from crops is shared among these households, giving due weight to the size of each. The present trend is towards an independent set up, with separate holdings and an entirely selfsufficient position. This is mainly due to the changing nature of the means of livelihood of these people.

4.29 The average household size of Mullukurumas is found to be six. Of the

four tribes here, Mullukurumas have the greatest family size. Marriage is the only means by which they establish relationship amoung different families.

4.30 According to their traditional tribal law, women have no claim over the assets or liabilities of a family. They are, as a rule, given away in marriage, thereby fetching income to the family. But in some groups, every female member inherits a share of the family wealth. Thus, the rule of descent, broadly speaking, is to the sons and daughters. A peculiar custom prevalent among some groups here is that if a man dies before his children attain age, all his possessions will be inherited by his brothers.

4.31 Uralikurumas also had a social structure similar to that of the Mullukurumas in the past; but their relationship might have been more compact, as they used to choose their mate from among relatives. The Uralikurumas had also their gregariousness which they uphold, albeit in a lesser extent, even now It is customary for them to have a separate hut for a household consisting of the husband, wife and their unmarried children. The average household size of Uralikuruma is found to be slightly greater than 4.

4.32 Uralikurumas are a set of people who hold the intra family relationship in high esteem Their hospitality and regard even for their distant relatives manifest the strength as well as warmth of their relationship. The present tendency among them, however, is more towards an independent household set-up. According to the traditional tribal conventions of Uralikurumas, females are not generally entitled to any claim on the family property. After the death of a person, his properties are ordinarily inherited by his nephews; but, sometimes, half of it may be given over to his sons. This system of inheritance by nephews is fast changing and nowadays sons are considered to be the heirs of their parents' wealth.

4.33 A Paniya household ordinarily consists of a husband, wife and their children, and, sometimes, there may be some of their near relatives. Even if they had a joint family set-up in the past, there is hardly any trace of it with them now. Presumably, this might have been due to the substantial change they have sustained in their economic and occupational position. Now each household is self-dependent in its own way. The average size of Paniya households is found to be nearly four. Paniyas have not abandoned their tribal gregariousness entirely, even at this stage. Sometimes, households belonging to families having the same house name are also found in the same settlement. Frequent courtesy calls, invitation for betrothals or death ceremonies etc. keep their relationship and feelings warm.

4.34 Paniyas bequeath their properties to their sons. Women are ordinarily given away in marriage with monetary gain for the household.

4.35 Kattunaickans also had a joint family system, with the eldest male member as their head, during their stay in the forest. Nevertheless within the same joint family a unit of a husband, wife and their children constituted a separate entity in certain respects. Later, with the increasing contact with the people in the plains, by their extensive nomadicity and vast changes in their economic and occupational position the joint family system has given way to independent household units consisting of a husband, wife and their children. The average household size of Kattunaickans is slightly greater than four. The warmth of relationship among members of the erstwhile joint family is still retained by them in their own way especially by choosing their mates from it and making the relationship among them more firm and compact.

4.36 Kattunaickans bequeath their property to the nephews, though sometimes,

a share is given to their children. This practice is changing and the sons are now being considered to have the right of inheritance.

Leisure and Recreation

4.37 Recreational facilities in this village are scarce. Barring a small sports club which is exclusively for the use of Government officials working here, there is no club or other institution where people in this village can spend their leisure hours. As the majority of people in this village are agriculturists, they have ample leisure hours during certain seasons.

4.38 As regards the tribes, most of them have hardly any leisure. Their day's toil will come to a close only at the fag end of the day. The immediate, ineluctable urge is for food and sleep, and they yield to it. Formerly, the tribes had their own entertainments in group dances, group songs, etc. But, now, most of them do not have any such entertainments. Even a happy get together is hardly attained by them. But, during certain festive occasions, they meet and have some entertainments of their own liking. It is said that these meetings are, however, quite infrequent these days, and the tribes themselves now miss many attractive and colourful aspects of these. One reason for this as stated by them is that there is now hardly any skilled personnel in these tribal arts because those who were skilled in these arts during the past passed away without transmitting the skill and knowledge to their descendants. The second reason is that they have had many changes in their environments and method of life, and, in their present state of affairs, every one is striving hard to earn one's sparse subsistance, even at the neglect of all social and recreational essentialities.

Religious Institutions

4.39 The village has still a very old Kali temple which, according to the people here, has survived the destruction by Tippu Sultan and his troops during the invasion of Malabar. No architectural importance is attached to this temple. It is under private management, the source of finance for its maintenance being donations from the public as well as its own assets. This temple is popular in the whole of this village as well as the surrounding ones. The annual festival of the temple has virtually become a festival for all the people in this village, irrespective of their caste or religious affiliations.

4.40 As has been indicated earlier, excepting a recently constructed temporary prayer hall, there is no Christian religious institution in this village. The nearest one is 7 miles away, at Sultan's Battery. Similarly, the nearest mosque for Muslims is at Sultan's Battery.

4.41 The regular Hindu and Christian festivals viz., Onam, Vishu, Christmas etc. are observed by the respective communities.

4.42 There has not been any substantial change in the religious beliefs and practices of the different people here. But, in general, with the ever changing environments of life in this modern world, it is only natural, and hence comprehensible, if some people shed some of the rigidities of religious dogmas and its various punctilios. However no major change is likely in the immediate future.

Village Organisation

4.43 So far, there has been no organisation in this village on the basis of occupation, income or hamlet. For the village as a whole, there is a Panchayat which mobilises the public for the economic and social reconstruction of the village. There are different organisations based upon different political ideologies, each posing itself as competent to deal with any issue pertaining to the people or to the village. The interhamlet relationship and intercaste relationship are cordial as there are no causes for disruption or tension.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation in the Village

4.44 The only democratic institution in this village is the Village Panchayat. Other democratic institutions like the co-operative society etc. have but nominal existence. The representation in the Panchayat is through election based on adult franchise. Provision for minority groups – Scheduled Castes and Tribes – has been made as envisaged in the set rules for these institutions. The Panchayat has an executive officer in addition to the elected gubernatorial body.

4.45 Functioning of the village panchayat is only in its offing, as it has been constituted only recently. The panchayat is entitled to levy approved taxes from the villagers; and this is the main source of finance for this organisation.

4.46 There are no traditional organisations, like the caste panchayats or regional hunt councils etc. in this village. The village panchayat as such can have no feature of any such institution or ideological group.

Voluntary Organisations

4.47 There are no clubs, libraries etc. in this village. A *Mahila Samaj* (Ladies' forum) had been organised here some time back. Objectives of this organisation were social service and promotion of artistic talents for spinning, drawing etc. It was financed by its members and the liberal public. It is said that this organisation at its start, had shown exemplary avidity to attain its objectives. But in the course of time, it grew feeble in the matter of its strength, activities and influences, and now, it is said, it has only a nominal existence. Barring a few political organisations, there is no organisation worth mention here.

Reform Measures Introduced

4.48 The village has a family planning clinic attached to the local Government hospital. Most of the people in this village have practically no idea about family planning while almost all of them have felt the need for limiting the size of their family. Even, some tribal households have expressed their willingness to know about family planning and adopt apposite techniques in order to limit the size of their family. The said clinic is doing everything in its capacity to propagate family planning by approaching individual households and distributing contraceptives to those who want them. There are no facilities for sterilisation operations in the clinic. The jurisdiction of the clinic is also pretty large. A person who wants a sterilisation operation has to travel all the way from here to Calicut. Since there is no arrangement for an initial financial help many are often disappointed and they perforce put off the sterilisation indefinitely. This has, obviously impeded the progress of wide spread adoption of family planning by the villagers.

4.49 There is no institution, Governmental or non-Governmental, which bestows special effort or interest on regulation of bride-price or removal of untouchability. The practice of bride-price is still rampant among some sections of the people here. The tribes still carry on with bride-price as a traditional custom of marriage.

Other Aspects of Social and Cultural Life

4.50 The villagers here live amicably, except in political front, in spite of their different religious, caste or other affiliations. There is no prominent element of disruption or unnecessary and unlawful emulation in any field other than politics, among the villagers here. Cultural and social developmental activities are scarce in this village presumably because the general standard of the people of this village is not upto that level.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The tribes here are peculiar in their own way, and are to a large extent, sequestered from others. Their social awareness is the lowest compared to that of others. Being totally ignorant and alien to the many changes that take place in the world this is not strange at all. It can however, fairly be inferred that the people in this village are improving in this respect with the progress of literacy and all out efforts for social and cultural development.

5.2 Community life is, generally speaking, amicable and happy, and is without any violent and dour tendencies of disruption, dissolution and antagonism. Further, it is fairly compact with the incumbants' faiths, interests and preferences. The recognition and respect for each other's interest have, no doubt, a unifying influence.

5.3 The village is not specially distinct or unique in any of its characteristics. It is but mediocre in standard economically and socially. No doubt, it can rise considerably over others if there is rapid industrial, commercial and agricultural development. As it is, it has now no particularly gregarious position by any of its economic and social features.

5.4 The following suggestions are offered which may be considered in the context of amelioration of the tribes in this region.

The Coffee Estate

5.5 Work in the colony's coffee estate can last round the year if the development and expansion activities envisaged in the scheme are implemented in time. It is essential that all avoidable delay in sanctioning the expenditure is eliminated and the local authorities enabled to take up the operations in the appropriate season. The administrative snarls, entailing untimely or late allocation of funds and belated sanctions to utilise them are to be routed out if any improvement in the matter is desired.

Health

5.6 The tribal people in general are habitually not clean. They bathe only occasionally, with interval sometimes exceeding even a week. The tribes especially Paniyas, Uralikurumas and Kattunaickans, are always seen dressed in despicably shabby costume. The surroundings of their huts are never kept clean, while within the huts the condition is wholly unsatisfactory. The practice of constructing small huts, with hardly any ventilation facilities, is undeniably unwholesome. Their unclean surroundings and unclean habits, no doubt offer a hot bed for disease causing bacteria to proliferate. Perhaps, the wellknown axiom 'prevention is better than cure' is unheard of by them. To secure better conditions in this respect it would be desirable to appoint welfare workers in each tribal settlement with specific assignment of work. Talented and conscientious workers are to be preferred to the unqualified and uninterested. In addition, social service groups may be organised among the tribes, which should volunteer to undertake the task of periodical cleaning of the tribal settlements. Perhaps, this will be a constructive method to instil in the tribes a spirit and sense of cleanliness.

5.7 The age old convention of conjurement as a method of treatment can in no case help to achieve a radical cure of their diseases. This should be superseded by modern methods of treatments. It

might not be easy to popularise this system among them, but it can carry conviction to the tribes and win them over when the efficacy of modern medicines is proved to them. An assignment of health visitors to each tribal settlement, with instruction to visit each household frequently and study its health problems will go a long way in educating the tribes in this respect. It would be also useful to maintain a record of health particulars regularly for each household.

5.8 The dietary habits of the tribes require healthy modifications. An irregular and unbalanced diet, will hamper health more than anything else. Many of the tribes, especially Paniyas and Uralikurumas do not have a regular system of diet. The habit of taking food in immoderate quantities, and at irregular intervals, has to be discouraged. Again, the tribes do not pay any heed to the quality of the food they take. The call of stomach is attended to by them with the available, or obtainable, items of food. The health visitors can undertake the task of inculcating in them the need of a wholesome dietary habit.

Bride-price

5.9 According to the custom prevalent among the tribes girls are in a sense sold in marriage after much of hagglings for the price they command. A father selects the bridegroom for his daughter not by taking into account the boy's health, age, sexual compatibility or other salient features, but by the quantum of money he is prepared to pay as bride-price. The opinion of the girl is ordinarily not sought before fixing the marriage. Even if they assess the suitability of the union by a study of the physiognomy of the boy and the girl it need not always be free from personal equations or prejudices. Their system may, thus, unite in matrimony the most unsuitable.

5.10 The deterioration in human standards and ethics can be radically checked only with the eradication of evil elements promoting it. The practice of marrying girls on consideration of monetary gratification alone, should be discouraged effectively. The tribal people should be convinced, gradually, of the unfeasibility and undesirability of their present system. A girl's opinion should essentially be deemed by them as of the first and foremost importance in the matter of her marriage. An intensive, regular social education programme for the tribes will help them a great deal to adopt a more prudent practice in this matter.

Economic Uplift

5.11 Economic emancipation of the tribes is an important item of amelioration. Most of the tribes here are in an age old economic thraldom. Excepting the Mullukurumas, most of them are landless labourers. They earn their meagre income through the sweat of their brows. But, even in this poor plight, they are subjected to exploitation, and a sort of persecution, by the local landlords and merchants. The system of bonded labour and meagre wage rates is detrimental to the economic progress of these tribal communities. Landlords who act in defiance of the existing statutory provisions regarding minimum wages should be brought to book. Payment of wages in kind should be discouraged effectively as it is more often than not, a means of exploitation of these tribes. The system of advancing petty sums to tribes, on illegal rates of interests and the taxing stipulations of the mode of repayment of loans, should be severely dealt with, and persons who indulge in this kind of exploitation of the tribes should be dealt with severely.

5.12 Frugality and thrift should be popularised among the tribes. Enough facilities, as well as incentives, should be given to the tribes in these matters. Though they do not have much to save from their petty income, it is really possible for them to spare small sums of money in some periods of the year, when

they have more work and more earnings. It is said that some of the Paniyas and Uralikurumas are so idle that they work only when driven to threats of famishment etc. This idleness is plainly a deterant to their economic emancipation. A systematic and regular work habit has to be adopted by them in order to extricate themselves from their present economic cobweb. The incentives and facilities for thrift can be given to them by establishing co-operative societies with this function. Incidentally, the spirit of co-operation if inculcated in them will do a great deal for themselves in all facets of their uplift.

5.13 Industrial and commercial activities may be increased with general advantage to the people of this village.

Educational Advancement

5.14 Obviously, the aforesaid are aimed at the material prosperity of the tribes. But, what are basically essential are the spiritual and psychological changes in that they can only provide a firm and favourable premise for substantial material development. Education in proper form and measure will undoubtedly bring in a leaven in the desired line. While everyone working at tribal development has emphatically stressed the importance of education it will not be out of place to investigate how much progress has been attained so far and whether that attained is commensurate with the huge quantities of money, and energy spent on this accord. Further, it is very important that we assess our basic understanding of the problem we are tackling.

5.15 It is of paramount importance to create among the tribes proper attitude towards education. The importance and usefulness of education have to be brought home to the tribes by persistent efforts. Adverse environmental influence should be obviated and proper incentives should be given to the tribes for education. Giving stipends to tribal students is certainly not the only thing that should be done to achieve the end. Even this requires a good deal of elimination of avoidable delays in the payment of stipends. The tribal children hardly have a studious atmosphere in their home quarters. The establishment of residential schools for the tribal children is likely to provide a studious atmosphere to their children. Each tribal student should enjoy individual attention and care, while each one should be directed to proceed and progress in the line of one's innate interests and talents. Nursery schools, if started, will go a long way in attracting young children. Elder children may by this be relieved of their task of taking care of the younger ones when both parents go for work. The difficulty, presently felt in many tribal settlements, owing to lack of educational facilities has to be reduced to the minimum. It need hardly be said that enough number of schools should be established in order to meet the requirements of the tribes.

5.16 The most important of all is to give the impression to the tribes that all their efforts towards attaining education are really reassuring. Every care should be taken to see that those tribal children, who come out after their education, are provided with suitable jobs, preferably in the Government Welfare department. It would be more pragmatic and expedient to employ qualified tribes themselves in the welfare activities sponsored by Government.

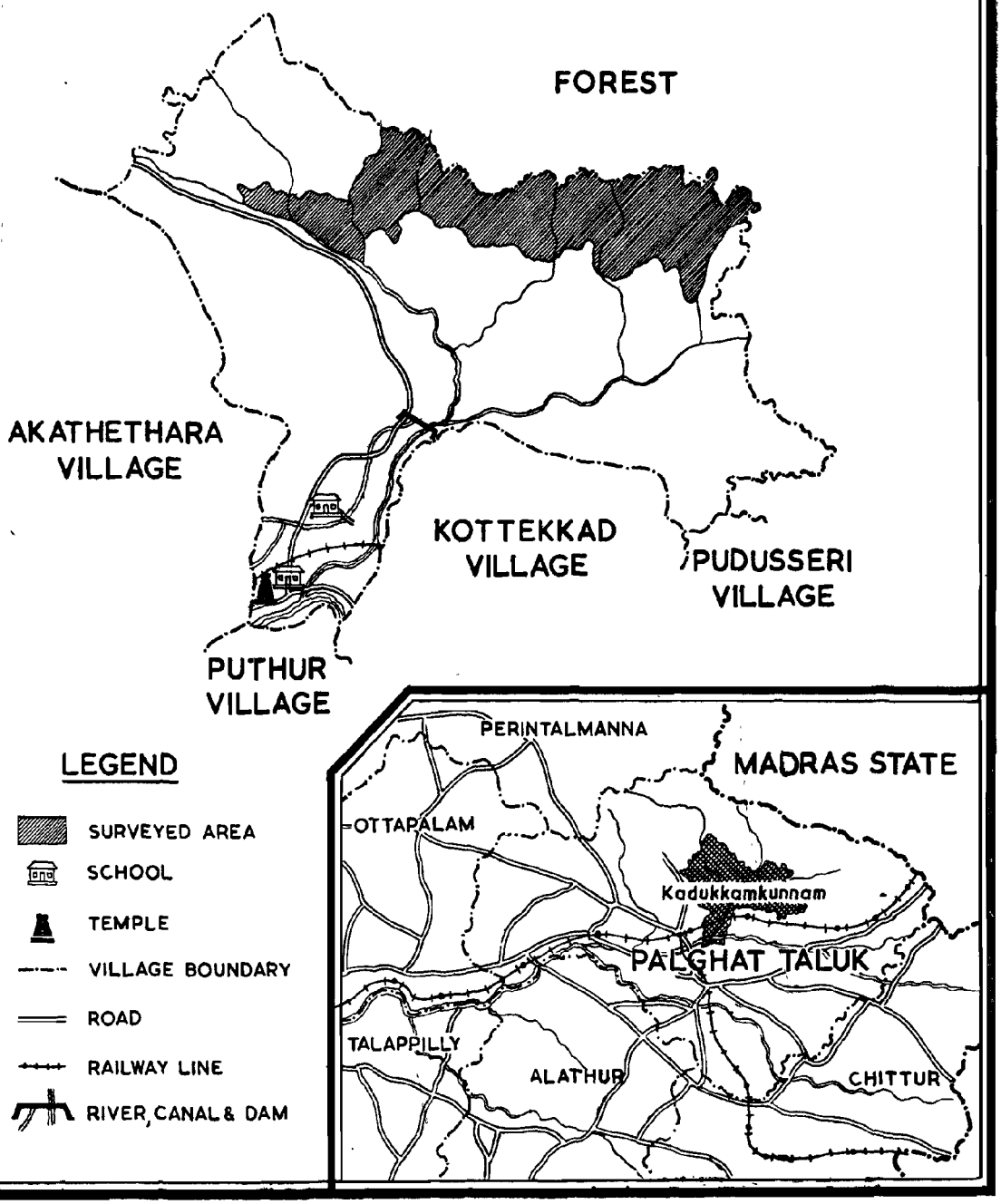
5.17 The importance of spreading education among the tribes is not a thing to be underrated. It provides, above all the basic norms of development in human standards. It is indisputable that material prosperity is transient while spiritual and ethical prosperity are unobliteratable and everlasting.

5.18 The late Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru once said that the quantum of development should not be measured in terms of a few hospitals or schools opened for the tribes, while of course all those were essential, but on how much human character had been evolved. Evolution of human character may best be the watchword and touchstone of the amelioration of this human sect.

KADUKKAMKUNNAM

KADUKKAMKUNNAM VILLAGE

A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM



KADUKKAMKUNNAM *

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Kadukkamkunnam which forms the subject matter of study in this monograph is a village in Palghat taluk of Palghat district now renamed as Malampuzha I village.[1] A medium sized, multi-caste village, Kadukkamkunnam covers an area of 11,658.98 acres of surveyed land and approximately 12,000 acres of unsurveyed land. Of the latter about 3,000 acres constitute reserve forests under the control of the State Forest Department. Situated about five miles to the east of the Olavakkot railway station, the headquarters of Olavakkot Railway Division, the village is accessible by a good motorable road. Palghat, the headquarters of Palghat district is only just seven miles from the Malampuzha dam. The village is bounded on the north by the Coimbatore district of the Madras State, on the south by Malampuzha II and Puthur villages, on the west by the Akathethara and Kalladikode villages and on the east by Pudusseri and Malampuzha II villages.

1.2 The famous Malampuzha project damming the water of the Malampuzha river, a perennial stream having its source on the western ghats, is located in this village. This idyllic dam which could well be called the 'Vrindavan' of Kerala is a tourist centre of great popularity attracting innumerable tourists all round the year. This mighty dam would seem to separate a world from the other; a world of many coloured roses and hibiscus; of golden lilies and velvety lawns; of fountains shooting forth tiny drops into immense lotuses; of winding paths, magnificent meadows and peeping mounts; rich gardens and majestic bungalows; of nature's bounties and man's achievements; all symbols of prosperity on the right; and a world of low huts, a seething mass of squalor and ignorance, far from the rays of civilization and the mounting waves of modernism — the world of the hill tribes beyond the placid expanse of the reservoir — on the left. The tribes of Paniyans, Mudugans and Konga Malayans inhabiting the latter live in a world of their own. In their beliefs, practices, and mode of life they mark a striking contrast to the rest of the population.

1.3 Their sub-human existence opening up a multitude of problems calls for close investigation and sympathetic approach. The area inhabited by these tribes has, therefore, been selected for an intensive survey.

The Surveyed Area

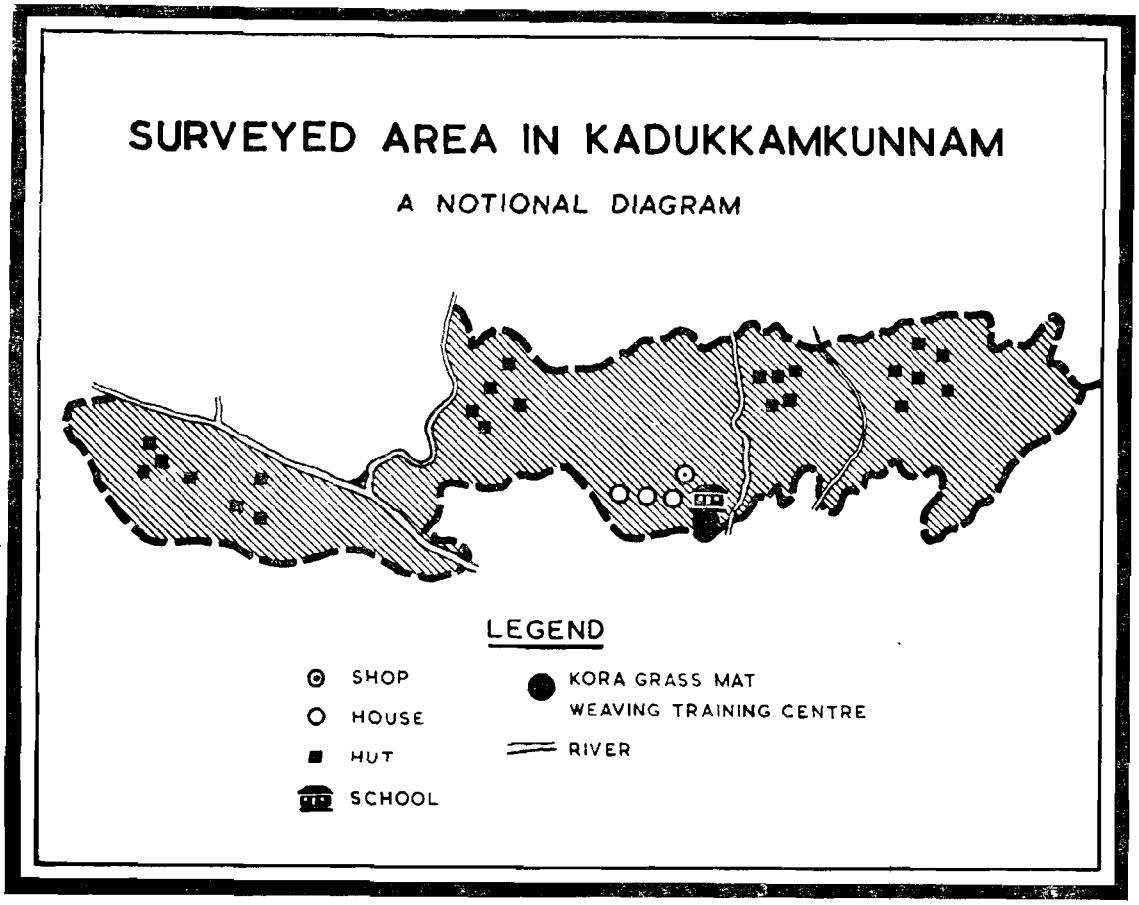
1.4 The abode of the tribes is

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* The basic Survey in this area was conducted during April-May 1962

1 At the time of the 1961 Census Kadukkamkunnam was a village in the Palghat taluk of Palghat district. There has since been some changes in the village set-up consequent on the reorganisation of certain villages in the Malabar area — vide Government of Kerala Notification II No. 11964/63/RD dated 28-10-1964. Subsequent to the notification some more changes have taken place, and at the time of the survey, the Kadukkamkunnam village constituted the Malampuzha I village

surrounded by the Malampuzha reservoir and the unsurveyed forest area. A good portion of the surveyed area is paddy fields owned by local *jenmis* who employ the tribes for their cultivation. The land is very fertile. A notional diagram of the surveyed area is given below.



The Soil

1.5 The soils of this area come under the classification of forest and hill soils. It is characterised by a surface layer of organic matter. Highly rich in nitrogen, it is often poor in bases due to heavy leaching. The phosphate content is also very low. It is rather strongly acidic in reaction. Plantation crops like rubber thrive in the soil.

Climate and Rainfall

1.6 During the dry season the climate is very hot, but during the rains there may be room for consolation. The hot weather starts by February and terminates with the setting in of the rains in May. The rain continues till the month of November. From November to February a strong east or land wind blows through the extensive historic Palghat gap. By

this wind the weather conditions become unpleasant and unhealthy. The nearest station, where the temperature, humidity and rainfall are recorded is Palghat. Since the climatic conditions of the surveyed village are also almost similar to Palghat, the statistics relating to temperature, humidity and rainfall collected at the Palghat station have been given in tables I and II below.

Table I

TEMPERATURE AND HUMIDITY

Palghat – 1960

Month	Temperature (°C)				Humidity in percentage	
	Mean maximum temperature	Mean minimum temperature	Highest maximum temperature recorded	Lowest minimum temperatu-re recorded	Mean relative humidity in percentage at 0830 hours I. S. T.	Mean relative humidity in percentage at 1730 hours I. S. T.
January	33.4	22.4	35.0	20.8	66	37
February	35.5	22.7	38.0	18.8	57	27
March	36.8	24.6	38.6	22.8	69	39
April	35.4	24.5	39.2	21.3	76	60
May	31.7	24.1	37.6	21.0	83	81
June	29.4	23.2	31.7	20.8	88	81
July	28.7	22.7	32.6	20.8	92	85
August	29.3	23.0	30.9	21.7	88	75
September	29.3	22.8	31.7	21.4	89	77
October	31.1	23.0	34.2	21.6	84	73
November	30.8	22.5	33.2	19.4	80	74
December	32.1	21.8	33.5	18.3	72	55

1.7 In March, the hottest month of the year, the mean maximum temperature was 36.8°c in the year 1960. The highest temperature recorded in 1960 as 39.2°c which occurred in the month of April. It can be noted that Palghat is the hottest part of Kerala in summer. The mean maximum temperature ranges from 28.7°c to 36.8°c while the mean minimum temperature ranges from 21.8°c to 24.6°c. From the table it is clear that the hot season sets in during February and increases in intensity to the end of May.

KADUKKAMKUNNAM

Table II

RAINFALL

Year		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1951	I	..	..	..	8	6	25	17	18	8	13	6	..	101
	II	..	..	..	101.7	68.3	485.4	435.9	167.4	164.1	191.5	83.6	..	1,797.9
1952	I	1	3	1	2	6	22	24	20	2	9	3	2	95
	II	6.1	42.2	8.9	17.3	57.7	279.7	548.1	324.4	15.7	100.3	34.0	73.4	1,507.8
1953	I	..	2	..	7	3	18	22	22	5	12	4	..	95
	II	..	8.1	1.8	112.3	92 7	193.0	626.1	286 3	79.5	332.7	32.8	1.0	1,765.3
1954	I	1	..	6	5	5	21	23	19	14	15	1	3	113
	II	7.9	..	55.1	123.7	96 3	517.0	512.1	302.0	114.3	280.9	9.1	43 7	2,062.3
1955	I	..	..	..	5	15	24	13	19	14	13	5	..	108
	II	..	..	..	90.9	493.1	560.8	164.3	290.8	164.1	255.3	74.9	2.8	2,099.2
1956	I	1	..	..	5	11	20	22	15	14	15	8	..	111
	II	23.6	..	..	68.8	123 2	464 6	455.9	287.0	99.1	267.5	105.9	..	1,895.6
1957	I	..	1	2	2	10	23	24	18	..	10	9	..	99
	II	..	4.1	25.4	32.3	364.1	390.3	524.5	242.9	4.2	160.0	153.4	..	1,901.2
1958	I	..	..	3	9	13	15	21	21	8	14	10	1	115
	II	..	0.8	29.3	170.5	241.2	327.9	637.2	406.1	68.7	175.2	212.5	5.0	2,274.4
1959	I	..	..	..	6	8	19	27	19	21	12	7	2	121
	II	..	..	..	125.5	87.5	570.2	981.1	238.0	336.9	319.4	208.2	39.6	2,907.1
1960	I	..	..	3	7	17	20	19	13	18	14	10	2	117
	II	..	..	51 8	124.3	223. 4	351.2	577.2	196.0	208.3	345.4	205.2	18.4	2,371.2
1942 to 1950	(1)	4	6	1.3	3.5	5 9	19.6	24.1	17.4	10.9	11.6	6.2	1.5	103.0
	(2)	10.9	10.9	23.1	60.2	132.3	428.5	605.3	33.8	194.7	209.5	115.8	30.2	2,115.2

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

1.8 By an analytical study of the monthly rainfall and the number of rainy days for the decennial period 1951 to 1960 it can be seen that nearly 60 per cent of the annual rainfall is recorded during the months of June, July and August. The average annual rainfall was 2,058.2 millimetres. In three years January, February and March have been the driest months having no rains. In June the average rainfall was 414.2 mm. whereas in July it was 546.2 mm. The north-east monsoon starts by the month of September.

The Flora and the Fauna

1.9 The extensive Chenath Nayar Reserve Forest is very near the surveyed area. This reserve forest and the surroundings contain valuable trees. The principal trees are teak, rosewood, white teak and *Iynee* (Artocarpus hirsuta) and a lot of others. The Forest Department has started teak plantation by clearing the forest area. The main grass varieties are the bamboo and kora grass which grow in the thickets in the Emoor Amman Devaswom land as well as in the forest area.

1.10 The kora grass belongs to the family of cyperaceae, which generally grows in marshy places on the slopes of hills and by the banks of rivers and channels. The raw grass is triangular in shape and is normally three to five feet long. It is cut and collected soon after the rainy season. It is cut into longitudinal strips by a sharp edged knife which is either independently handled or fixed on a wooden block and the pith inside is removed after which it is again split into thinner pieces according to the required fineness and dried in the sun for about three days.[1] Thus the kora grass plant gives employment to a good number of people. Mat weaving with this grass is one of the cottage industries in the State.

1.11 The soil is very fertile and suitable for rubber plantation. Elaka Rubber Estate is in the surveyed village. Besides



KORA GRASS

1 Census of India 1961, Kerala, Part VII A — Selected Crafts of Kerala

these, trees like cocoanut, palmyrah, jack, mango etc. are also raised here. Timber is exported from this village in large quantities.

1.12 Though reserve forest is very near to the village, there is no trouble of the wild animals except boars, deer, wild squirrels etc. Snakes of all varieties could be seen in the surveyed area.

1.13 Domestic animals such as cows, oxen, sheep etc. are reared by a few families mainly for agriculture. Since the water spread area of the Malampuzha dam is very near the Devaswom land fishing is done in the area, the common varieties of fish available being *Moya, Kurunthala*, silabia etc. In short its flora and fauna and surrounding hill areas provide a natural setting.

Residential Pattern

1.14 There are approximately seven hundred houses in the village, of which seventy are unoccupied as per the latest numbering carried out by the Panchayat. Out of these a number of houses are staff quarters of the Public Works Department. There are only about 100 households of tribes. 19 houses constructed by the Department of Harijan Welfare for the hill tribes of this village, are also included in this number.

1.15 The tribes of this village live not in clusters, but each family is put up in a separate landlord's land. In the case of non-tribal population each family has a separate compound in which a house is located. Near the Malampuzha dam P.W.D. quarters are constructed on either side of the roads forming streets. The nature, number of rooms, and the materials used for the tribal huts will be dealt with in later chapters.

Communications

1.16 The communication facilities in this village are almost quite sufficient except in the tribal areas. Most of the localities in the tribal areas are connected only by narrow footpaths while all the other parts of the village can be reached by roads. In order to reach Malampuzha there is regular transport service from Palghat. The road is also tarred.

1.17 The post office at Malampuzha provides telegraph and telephone facilities. The tribes of this village seldom make use of these facilities. Ever since the water was stored in the Malampuzha reservoir the tribal people have been isolated from the rest of the village; yet they have to depend upon the country-part for purchasing their daily needs. A ferry has to be crossed over the reservoir to reach the tribal centre from the other parts of the village. The sick and the wounded have to be carried by others through narrow footpaths and in the ferry to be taken to the hospitals, or else the doctors have to be summoned to the patient's house which is quite difficult and impracticable even during day-time. The village is provided with electricity.

Important Public Offices

1.18 The important offices of the village are the following:-

1. Executive Engineer's Office Malampuzha Project
2. District Poultry Farm Office
3. Fishery Inspector's Office
4. Office of the Junior Engineer, Public Health
5. Post and Telegraph Office
6. Panchayat Office
7. Village Office
8. Police Station
9. Malampuzha Government Hospital
10. Malampuzha dam Information Office

Schools

1.19 There is an upper primary school near the Malampuzha P.W.D. quarters. It is to be noted that there is no student from the tribal communities in the school. The Harijan Welfare Department has started a craft centre in the village near the Anakkal tribal colony, where the kora grass mat-weaving training is imparted to ten tribal people and there is also a primary school with three standards.

1.20 The Malampuzha Recreation Club had been organised and founded by the staff of the Government offices of the village, which is intended exclusively for the Malampuzha office staff. In order to give facilities to the tourists there are two Government houses namely the Malampuzha House and the Malampuzha Tourists' Bungalow.

Places of Public Entertainments

1.21 As regards places of public entertainments it may be noted that .though Malampuzha village is famous for its parks and beautiful surroundings, the local people do not seem to be interested in enjoying their benefits as much as they should. The Malampuzha Recreation Club is exclusively for the use of the office staff of Malampuzha. There was no public theatre in Malampuzha at the time of the survey and the people of the village have to go to Palghat and Olavakkode for films. Only nowadays the tribal people have begun to go for films.

Places of Public Worship

1.22 The important temples of this village are

1. Hemambika temple, which is situated near the dam, dedicated to goddess Jeladurga.
2. Thirumanakkod Siva temple.
3. Sree Kurumbakavu.
4. Sasthan Kallekulangara.

These are the four temples in the surveyed area. Hemambika temple is the family temple of the Akathethara Rajahs. The land and the movable properties are under the control of a trust. There is neither a church nor a mosque in the village.

1.23 There is a public crematorium at Mattumontha, which is used by the villagers. There is no other public burial ground.

1.24 There is no public market in the village. Occasionally fish is sold from the Malampuzha reservoir. To get other necessaries of life the villagers have to travel at least two to three miles.

Sources of Water

1.25 There is a good water supply system at the Malampuzha dam premises. The other households of the village use well water which is good for drinking and other purposes. A good number of people take their bath from the Malampuzha channel. The two main channels, the left bank and the right bank channels have been completed in all respects. Since the tribes of this village settle around the dam reservoir they take water from the reservoir for drinking and other purposes. At the Anakallu Tribal Colony a public well has been constructed for the tribes of the colony by the Department of Harijan Welfare.

Origin of Tribes

1.26 In the good old days the village was under the reign of the Akathethara Rajahs (Palghat Rajahs). The palace of the Rajahs is situated in the adjacent village but there is no palace old or new that belongs to the Akathethara Rajahs in this village.

1.27 In the village there are three hill tribes. They are Paniyans, Mudugans and Konga Malayans. It is believed and claimed that these tribes who were born in the mountains and plains of the village called the Hemambika Devaswom land were brought up by the Palghat Rajahs. They were eking their livelihood by paddy cultivation inside the mountain valleys. It is these sturdy and muscular tribes that worked hard at the sweat of their brow fighting against nature and wild animals and converted all the Devaswom land into the cultivable and fertile lands of today. The tribes of this village cannot throw any light on their origin and the places from where they were brought. The local tradition, however, goes that the Palghat Rajahs in the old days allowed the tribes to cultivate the Devaswom land exclusively for themselves for nothing in return. But with the fall of the Akathethara Rajahs, the relations of the Rajahs exploiting the ignorance and simplicity of

these tribes, started selling them as slaves to the adjacent landlord for a nominal price. Any attempt on their part to escape the sub human slavery would be promptly attended by harassment, oppression, forced starvation and even physical tortures. Thus they had to live as if they were in the stone ages. With the starting of the Malampuzha Project at least the inhuman system of slave trade has come to an end. Even now the people on the wrong side of sixty remember the slave trade and its consequences. Though the hill tribes are no more slaves it is doubtful whether they have left their slavish mentality. They still depend upon their landlord and stay in their fields looking after their cultivation. This is the story of their early settlement. The landlords of this village keep them in the dark about the true state of affairs regarding the rates of wages in other places.

1.28 A few families of the Konga Malayans migrated to this village from the Walayar Reserve Forest of the Palghat District, but it took place more than 10 years back. The reasons for the migration was in search of employment and the ryots were prepared to take them as agricultural labourers in the nearby Rubber Estate.

1.29 Though these tribes originated in this village, they are nomadic in nature, shifting from one place to another in the village itself for better employment. Even the families who are provided with Government quarters leave them temporarily and settle in the work spot and settle there until the work is over.

1.30 During this survey it is learned that due to the dearth of employment opportunities a few tribal families of this village emigrated to Attapadi Hills.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

The Paniyans

Paniyans are habitants of Palghat, Kozhikode and Cannanore districts. They are also seen in Mysore and Madras States. In other districts of Kerala there is no Paniyan family settlement. The word 'Paniyan' means labourer, and they believe and claim that their original occupation was agriculture and it is seen that they are agricultural labourers. Among them there are no clans and social gradations. Regarding the origin and early home of the tribe Paniyans in this village, no information could be elicited during the survey. Edgar Thurston in his 'Castes and Tribes of Southern India'[1] says that a common belief based on their general appearance prevails among the European Planting Community that "the Paniyans are of African origin and descended from ancestors who were wrecked on the Malabar coast. This theory however breaks down on investigation". He continues "The Nayar Jenmies (landlords) say that when surprised in the act of some mischief or alarmed, the Paniyan calls out 'Ippi, Ippi' as he runs away and they believe this to have been the name of the country whence they came originally, but they are ignorant as to where Ippimala, as they call it, is situated". During the present survey, however, we were not able to get any information regarding the origin of the term 'Ippi', from the *jenmis* (landlords). The Paniyans are dark skinned with curly or wavy hair. The Paniyan language is a debased Malayalam mixed with Tamil words and their pronunciation is very curious, so that their conversation will be unintelligible both to a Malayali and to a Tamilian. But almost all the Paniyans of the surveyed village can converse in Malayalam with ease. They worship the goddess Elaya Bhagavathi, Emoori Amman (Hemambika Devi), Idividi Amma and Ayyappan. Emoori Amman (Hemambika Devi) is the family deity of the Akathethara Rajahs. Elaya Bhagavathi is supposed to be the sister of Emoori Amman. Besides these they believe and adore the malevolent gods namely Karimala Neeli, Kottakadu Pisachu etc. Though they worship the gods and goddesses they are having only crude ideas regarding religion.

2.2 Though inter caste marriages with other tribes were forbidden, nowadays there are a number of cases of marriages between Paniyans and Konga Malayans. Marriage between a Paniyan and an Irula girl was also reported during the survey. Paniyans claim that they are superior to Mudugans in social gradations. Therefore Mudugans are not allowed to interdine with the Paniyans.

The Mudugans

2.3 Another tribe of this locality is Mudugan. They are also inhabitants of Palghat district. According to Edgar Thurston the Muduvans of Devicolam taluk and the high ranges and the Mudugans of Palghat Taluk belong to the same tribe[2]. But it is very difficult to accept this theory, because there is much difference in their appearance, customs and conventions and even in the dressing style. Objection to Edgar Thurston's

(1) Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. VI Pages 57—58.

(2) Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. V Page 87

notion has been raised by A.A.D. Luiz in his book 'Tribes of Kerala'[1]. The Mudugans of the surveyed village do not carry their children on their back as the Muthuvans of Travancore. They are also ignorant about their origin and early history. They believe that their forefathers were brought by the Rajahs of Palghat from the Attappadi and Walayar forests of the Palghat district. Like Paniyans of this village, Mudugans also have no clan or other systems among them. The status and position of the families in the society depends upon their economic conditions.

2.4 Similar to Paniyans, Mudugans also have an unintelligible dialect; it is a combination of Malayalam and Tamil. But they can speak fluently pure Malayalam also They are generally very lazy and lead a wandering life in the adjacent forest area even without food for two or three days. Though some of the families are provided with Government quarters they decline to stay there for a long time. They collect hill produces like honey, wax etc. for sale.

2.5 They are being considered as inferior to Paniyans and Konga Malayans of the surveyed area. Therefore they generally do not come in contact with the other two tribes Though institution of the 'Mooppan' was existing before, during the survey it was noticed that there is no office of the 'Mooppan' now. Disputes are settled by a group of old men of their community. Like Paniyans, Mudugans also use Hindu names and worship Hindu gods and goddesses. They are rather afraid of the malevolent god 'Kayaran'; therefore they worship him.

The Konga Malayans

2.6 There are a few families of the Konga Malayans in the surveyed village. They are generally seen in the Walayar forests of Palghat district and it is believed that these tribes immigrated to this place from the Coimbatore forests of the Madras State. The Malayans are divided into two sub-divisions namely (1) Konga Malayans and (2) Nattu Malayans.

2.7 According to the officers of the Forest Department there is no significant difference in their religious and social observances. The customs and manners are all alike except their form of marriage; which is rather unique among the Konga Malayans.

2.8 The Konga Malayans speak Tamil while the other two tribes of this village use their own languages with peculiar intonations. They believe that they hailed from the forests of Coimbatore and that their females are descendants of Surpanaka, sister of Ravana. Among the Konga Malayans of Malampuzha village, there is no clan system. They observe the Makkathayam rule. As mentioned earlier the Paniyans and Konga Malayans have got close contact. Intermarriage, interdining etc. are allowed among them.

House Types

2.9 The dwellings of the hill tribes of the village Malampuzha I are on low foundations and are called *'chalas'* or *'Kudis'*. They are generally rectangular in shape and on an average they are about fifteen feet by ten to twelve feet and contain one or two rooms

2.10 Majority of the huts are temporary sheds. Some of the huts are partitioned into two rooms, bedroom and a kitchen by means of bamboo mats or dwarf walls. The walls of the huts are also made of bamboo mats or palmyra leaves and in a few cases walls of mud to a height of 2 to 3 feet. The roofs of the huts are either bamboo and hay or bamboo and palmyra leaves. A few houses of the surveyed area have tiled roofs.

(2) Tribes of Kerala by A. A. D. Luiz, page 193



Pl. 35 PANIYA GROUP P. 189



Pl. 36 A PANIYA COUPLE P. 189



Pl. 37 ANOTHER PANIYA COUPLE P. 189



Pl. 38 MUDUGA GROUP P. 189

Table III

MATERIALS USED FOR WALLS, ROOFS AND FLOOR

Community	Materials of Wall: Bamboo and hay	Bamboo and palmyra	Mud	Bricks	No wall	Total	Roof: Bamboo and hay	Bamboo and palmyra	Tiles	Total	Floor: Cow-dung	Gravelled floor	Total
Paniyans	5	10	10	7	15	47	26	14	7	47	25	22	47
Mudugans	6	2	5	5	7	25	16	4	5	25	7	18	25
Konga Malayans	2	5	8	..	4	19	11	8	..	19	6	13	19
Total	13	17	23	12	26	91	53	26	12	91	38	53	91

2.11 The above table gives the information regarding the materials of construction of walls, roofs and flooring. Considering the surveyed households as a whole the walls of about 33 per cent of the sample households are of bamboo leaves or hay or palmyra leaves, of 25.3 per cent of mud and 13.2 per cent of bricks. The roofs of 86.8 per cent of the houses are thatched with bamboo leaves or hay or palmyra leaves and of 13.2 per cent tiled. The tiled houses were constructed by Government. The floor of 56 huts are unplastered or gravelled. The remaining 35 are plastered with cow-dung. The tribes of the surveyed village do not pay much importance to keep the huts and its surroundings neat and tidy. The huts are not huddled together. They are put up in their *jenmis'* land.

2.12 On the basis of the housing scheme for hill tribes the Department of Harijan Welfare has constructed 16 houses in the tribal area at a cost of Rs. 800 each. Some more houses were under construction during the survey period. Out of these 16 houses only 12 are occupied by the tribal families. The amount of the grant-in-aid has been recently enhanced to Rs. 1,000 which is non-repayable.

2.13 Table 4 gives the distribution of households according to the number of rooms and number of persons living.

Table IV

HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS AND NUMBER OF PERSONS RESIDING

Number of persons	Paniyans: 1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	Mudugans: 1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	Konga Malayans: 1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms
1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
2	3	1	..	7	..	..	3	..	..
3	7	2	..	2	..	1	4	1	..
4	9	4	1	5	1	1	3	1	..
5	8	2	2	2	..	..	3	1	..
6	..	1	1	..	1	2	..	2	..
7	3	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..
8	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
9	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
Total	30	10	7	17	3	5	14	5	..

2.14 Of the 47 Paniyan households surveyed 63.8 per cent are living in single room tenements, 21.3 per cent in two room tenements and the rest in three room tenements.

2.15 Of the 25 Mudugan households surveyed it is noticed that 68 per cent have single room tenements, 12 per cent have two room tenements and 20 per cent three room tenements. In the case of Konga Malayans out of 19 households surveyed 73.7 per cent are residing in single room tenements and the remaining 26.3 per cent in two room tenements. Thus the largest group of tenements are having only one room. Nearly 68 per cent of the total households are put up in this category of huts.

Table V

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

No. of households with					
1 member	2 or 3 members	4 or 5 members	6 or 7 members	8 or 9 members	Total
1	31	43	13	3	91

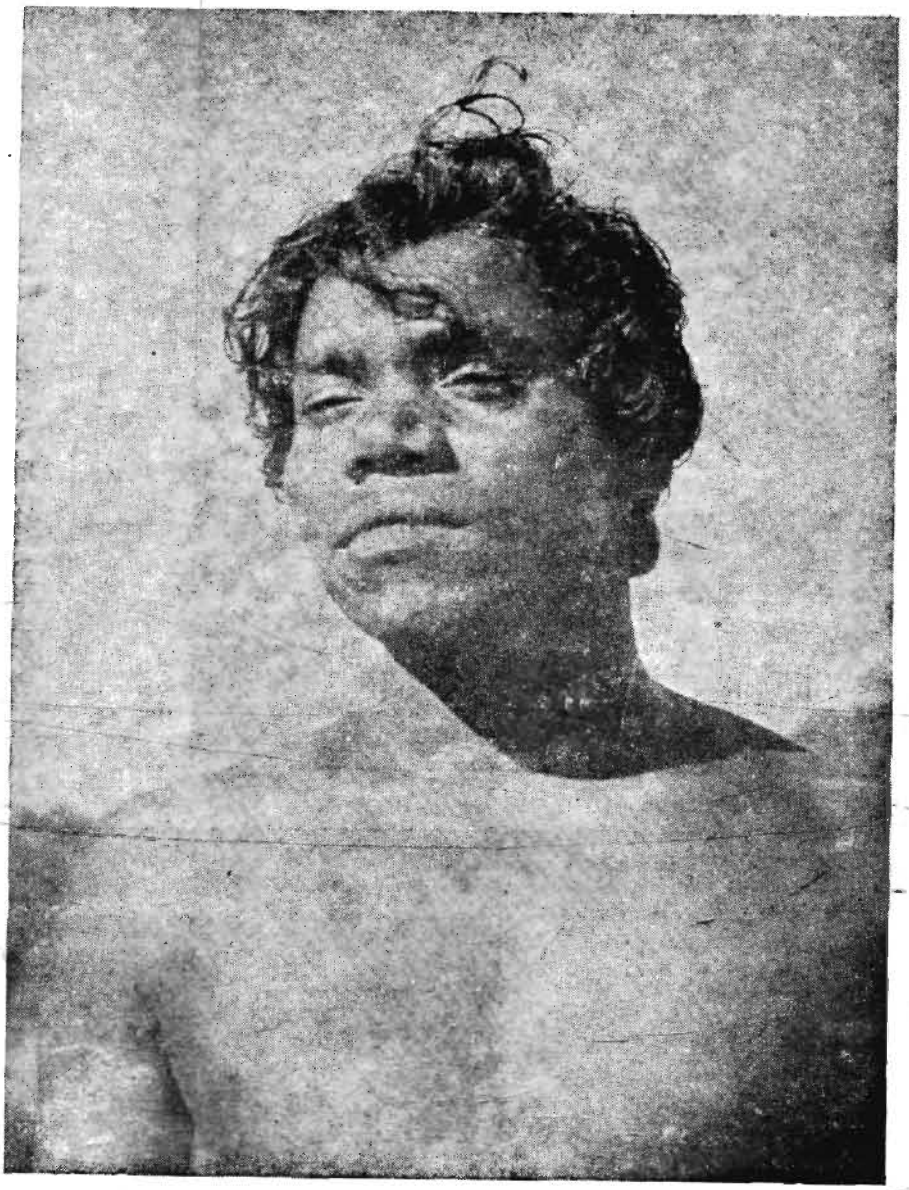
2.16 The table above presents data regarding the size and composition of the 91 households surveyed. Households of 4 or 5 members are more than the other groups in the sample. Nearly 50 per cent of the total households come under this group. Households with 2 or 3 members come next with about 34.1 per cent of the total. Households with 6 or 7 members form 14.3 per cent of the total. Those with 8 or 9 members or single member households are very few. The average number of persons per household taking the surveyed sample as a whole is about 4.2.

Dress and Ornaments

2.17 The Paniyans are better clad than the other tribes of the locality. Their usual dress while at home consists of dhoti and an upper cloth for males and females. Nowadays, however, young women have begun to wear dhotis and blouses. When they go out of their locality males put on shirt and dhoti while females wear saree and blouse. Due to the frequent contacts with the people of the plains they dress neatly while going out.

2.18 The Mudugans of the locality also wear the same type of dress as that of Paniyans, but they are not paying so much attention and care to be neat and tidy. The Konga Malayan ladies use coloured *chelas* (sarees) of about eight yards length costing about five to seven rupees. The outer end of the *chelas* passes over the body, so as to cover their breasts. Even if the *chela* is worn out, however they manage to use it again. Being coloured, the sarees are used for longer periods without washing. Young womenfolk of Konga Malayans have also begun to use jackets and *chelas* (sarees). The clothing of men consists of dhotis and shirts when they go out and at home they use dirty and worn out dhotis and shawls.

2.19 The average annual expenditure on dress of a Paniyan household is found to be only 7.4 per cent of the average annual income and that of the Mudugan families 7.7 per cent of the average annual income. The Konga Malayan average household also spends 7.0 per cent of the average annual income on dress. Though the amount spent on dress is more or less the same in the case of both



Pl. 39 MUDUGA MALE P. 189



(Left)
Pl. 40 MUDUGA FEMALE
P. 189

(Below)
Pl. 41 KONGA MALAYAN FEMALES P. 190



the above tribes, the Paniyans look as if they are spending more for this item. This may be due to their neatness compared to other two tribes.

2.20 The young male members have begun wearing footwears, nowadays. But their percentage is low.

Ornaments

2.21 The tribes of this village are also fond of ornaments. Men use ear-rings of silver or brass; women wear ear-rings of brass or beads. They use necklaces of beads of different colours. Paniyans and Mudugans have less ornaments than Konga Malayans of this village. The ornaments consists of long strings of beads tied round the neck. Young women wear glass bangles on their arms and steel rings on their fingers and often on their toes also. They have now begun using gold studs and chains.

Table VI

ORNAMENTS

	Paniyans	Mudugans	Konga Malayans
Total No. of households in the community	47	25	19
Total No. of households using ornaments	25	14	11
Total No. of households using ornaments of value less than Rs 10	18	8	11
Total No. of households using ornaments up to the value of Rs. 25	5	4	..
Total No. of households using ornaments up to the value of Rs. 50	2	2	..
Total No. of households using no ornaments	22	11	8

2.22 It was found that out of the 91 households surveyed members of 41 households were not using any kind of ornaments at all. The remaining 50 households have ornaments of little value. Of the 50 households possessing ornaments, 37 (i. e., 76 per cent) have ornaments of the value of less than Rs. 10 and 9 households are having ornaments of the value of Rs. 10-25. Only four households have ornaments of the value of more than Rs. 25 but less than Rs. 50.

Household Goods

2.23 The common utensils used for domestic purposes by the tribal families of the surveyed village are made of clay, aluminium, and wood. (Wood is used only for spoons). A few households possess copper vessels for fetching water. Cooking is mainly done in the earthenware utensils; but such utensils are also scanty. In order to store things like condiments, paddy etc. they use earthen pots and bamboo tubes which are neatly kept for this purpose. An interesting mode of preserving condiments etc. is to bury old pots up to the neck inside the house and keep the desired stores in them. This method helps them to keep things safely.

2.24 The hearth consists of stones placed in such a manner as to form a triangle. They prepare such hearths even outside the huts and prepare their meals there. They use undressed granite stones for grinding the condiments. Almost all the households possess wooden mortar and pestle. Thus the utensils possessed by them do no cost much and the annual expenditure incurred on these items is but very little. They make cash purchases of these items from the neighbouring markets.

Food and Drink

2.25 The largest item in the expenditure schedule is food absorbing on an average 80 to 84 per cent of the average household income. Most of the tribes of this village are non-vegetarians and use chicken, mutton, fish and meats of other animals like sambur, deer, squirrel etc. They abstain from taking the meat of cow, ox, buffaloe and bison; also the flesh of dead animals or dead birds is taboo.

2.26 Since there is ample chance of getting fish from the Malampuzha reservoir, the tribes of this village freely use all available varieties of fish, both dried and fresh.

2.27 Their staple food is rice. Majority of the tribes are agricultural labourers. They are working for the local landlords. They get two to four measures of paddy daily if there is work such as ploughing, sowing and weeding etc. Their preparation is of a peculiar type. They boil their grain, then roast it, remove the husk using the wooden mortar and pestle and prepare their gruel for night within the limited time. The balance of the supper will be kept for the breakfast. Only on festive occasions they boil the grains properly and dry in the sun. Most of the families of the surveyed village follow this method. With regard to their curries the tribes purchase vegetable and necessary condiments only on festive days.

2.28 The Paniyans and the Mudugans use mainly cocoanut oil for their curries, while the Konga Malayans use more of gingily oil than cocoanut oil due to their association with Tamilians. There is no restriction in taking pulses and grams like black gram, green gram and dhal, but they relish them only occasionally.

2.29 Majority of the surveyed families take meals only twice a day, morning and evening. At noon they are provided with meals by their masters if there is work. In the morning before they set out for work they take the balance rice preserved from the supper, and wild roots. Their supper consists of rice and curry or *Kanji* and curry.

2.30 When they get time after their agricultural work they collect all edible roots and fruits from the nearby forest area. The *chavali* root, which is the only abundantly available root, is their main stay when they are out of employment to keep out of starvation. It is learnt that this root has an adverse effect on human health. The other edible roots used by them are *Nootha, Nanji* etc.

2.31 Only very few people take coffee or tea as a drink in the morning. When they go out to the country parts they use coffee and tea.

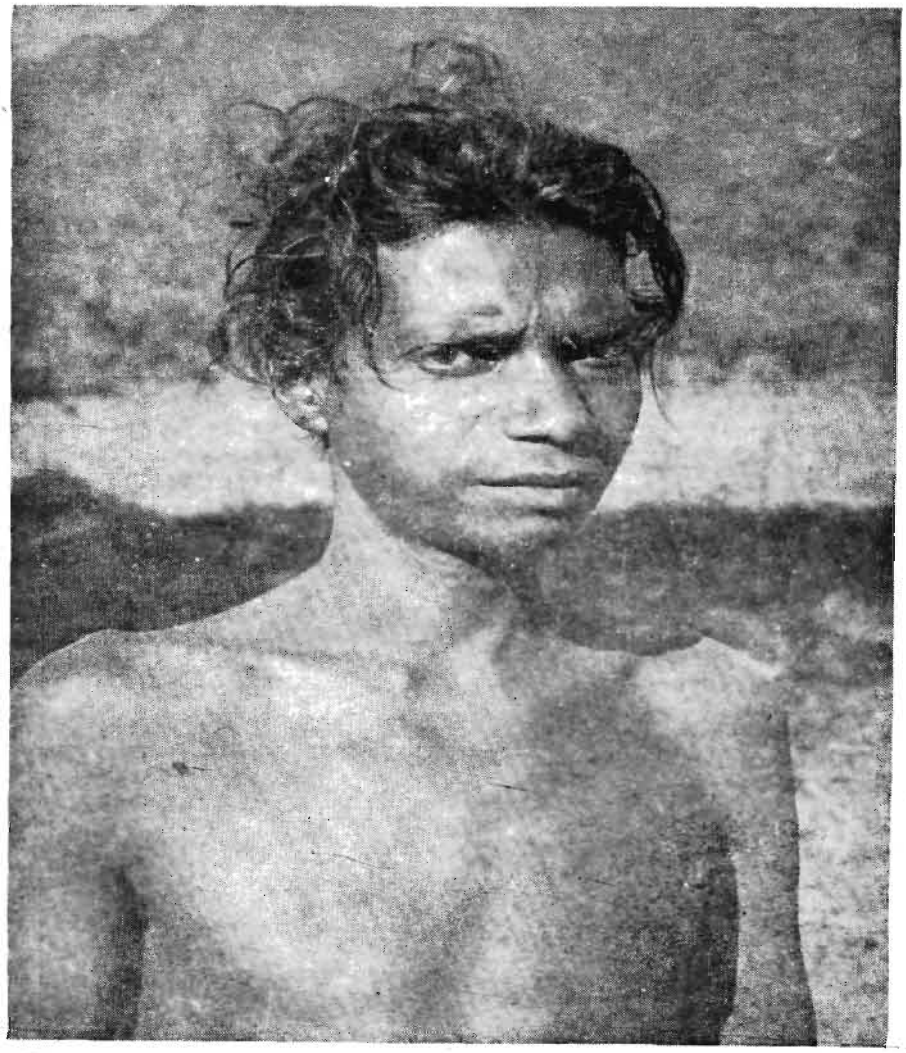
2.32 Most of the tribes are addicted to alcoholic drinks, often illicit due to prohibition in the area. They begin to chew and smoke even at the teen-ages. Females also chew at this age.

Marriage Customs

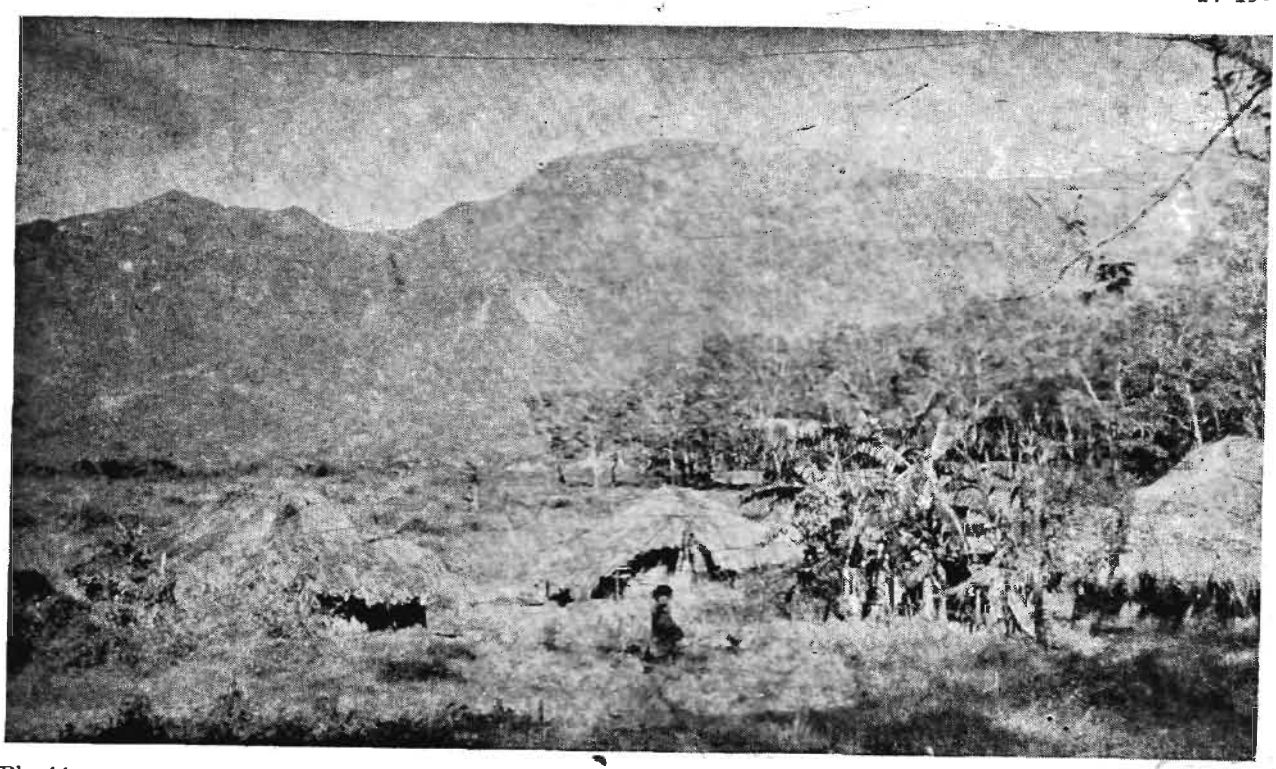
2.33 At present the marriage customs of the three tribes of the surveyed village are alike except for minor variations. In former times the bridegroom among the Mudugans was selected on the basis of services rendered to the bride's father. Before marriage he had to help his prospective father-in-law for about one year in cultivation and other kinds of work. During this period he was not allowed to live with his prospective wife. There were however a few exceptional cases. If during this period the prospective bridegroom died and the girl was in the family way before marriage, it was obligatory among them that the deceased's brother or his first cousin should tie the *tali* (the marriage badge) on her neck and take her to the deceased's family and recognise the child as one of that family. It is only after the *tali* is thus tied that they bury the deceased. This custom has almost died out. Nowadays no bridegroom is willing to marry on the basis of service. Formerly Sunday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday were considered



Pl. 42 KONGAMALAYAN FAMILY P. 190



Pl. 43 KONGA MALAYAN MALE P. 190



Pl. 44 TRIBAL HUTS P. 190

auspicious for marriage and betrothal, among the Mudugans. This custom is also becoming obsolete and they do not care for the particular days.

2.34 Among the Mudugans a man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister's daughter or sister's daughter, but marrying sister's daughter rarely takes place. A girl is generally married after puberty. One case has, however, been noticed during this survey in which marriage took place before puberty. The proposal for marriage is brought by the maternal uncle or elder brother. The alliance is settled after fixing the bride-price or *pariyam* an amount which the bridegroom has to pay to the bride's parents. This amount depends upon the social status of the family. On the day of the marriage the bridegroom and the party go to the bride's hut with the *tali*, new clothes, the bride-price and pansupari. Usually drums are beaten and pipes are played as the party goes in procession. After the marriage the assembled guests are feasted. Elder men, generally, give proper instructions to make the function a success. Then the bride is escorted to the bridegroom's hut.

2.35 Among the Paniyans of the village one usually marries his cross-cousin. The marriage question is mooted with the girl's parents by the close relatives or friends of the boy. If the girl's parents agree to the proposal, the consent of his other relatives is obtained. The date of marriage and the *pariyam* amount are then fixed. On the fixed day, the bridegroom proceeds to the bride's hut accompanied by his relatives and friends. After the *talikettu* ceremony he presents new clothes to the bride and also one to his mother-in-law. The *pariyam* amount varies according to the social status of the family.Generally instructions are given by an old man of the family.

2.36 A feast is held at which the Paniyan women dance to the music of the drum and pipe. The old man pours water on the head and feet of the young couple to cement the marriage alliance. Nowadays instead of pouring water he sprinkles water on their head and feet. In olden days the parents had the privilege to demand the daughter back if he was insincere and disloyal to them; but now this is not possible. After the marriage function the bride is escorted to the bridegroom's hut after a feast for the invited guests. The bride is received by the relatives of the bridegroom in the latter's house. There they are seated in a special place and given rice balls by his sister. This is known as *Kayyil pidippikkuka*. This is also done to cement the marriage alliance. Throughout this function there will be drum beating.

2.37 In the case of Konga Malayans also the customs and manners observed in the marriage are almost the same as in the case of the Paniyans. There will be dance and drum beating throughout the functions, even on the way when the couple return to the bridegroom's house. Like Paniyans they also present new clothes to the bridegroom and mother-in-law. The bride is received in the bridegroom's hut by his sister and close relatives. Before she enters the hut, she takes her bath. Then the newly wedded couple are feasted by the bridegroom's sister. Before they begin to eat they put a ball of rice in their laps and then it is thrown away. In the case of marriage of widows and widowers such elaborate functions are dispensed with.

Polyandry and Polygamy

3.38 Monogamy is the general rule among the tribes of this village, though polygamy is also allowed among them. Either party is at liberty to divorce the other whenever he or she likes to do so. Usually they divorce the existing wife before marrying another one. The divorced wife or husband is allowed to take another mate. If the wife takes initiative to get divorced then the husband will demand the *pariyam* amount. At present

there is no caste panchayat of elders to punish them or to expel them from the community. During the present survey only one case of polygamy was brought to notice and that was from Konga Malayans. A large number of divorced cases could be gathered during the survey. They attach no importance to divorce and to take back. Levirate and sororate are also common among them.

Puberty Customs and Menstruation

2.39 When a girl attains puberty all contacts with her are tabooed. This is so in the case of all the tribes of the village. But unlike some other communities they do not provide separate seclusion sheds. Girls on attaining puberty are segregated and confined to a separate room in the same hut. Old women or girls of their same age attend on them. In the case of Paniyans the girl remains in the seclusion shed for 10 days and takes bath daily in hot water. On the 11th day she bathes in hot water and a new cloth is worn. Turmeric, oil etc., are used in bath to purify her.

2.40 Among Mudugans pollution lasts for 7 days. On the 8th day she takes bath and joins the family. A Konga Malayan girl at puberty remains in the secluded room for 7 days and on the 8th day by dusk comes out of seclusion, when drums are beaten and pipes played. Though feasting is not usual for this function, some of the families conduct feasts also.

2.41 The women in menses are not kept in the seclusion sheds. They stay in a corner of the hut, but are debarred from attending any work like cooking during this period. Pollution lasts for 3 to 5 days and on the 5th day she bathes and joins the family.

Pregnancy and Child-birth

2.42 Generally no particular ceremony is attached to pregnancy and child-birth among the tribal population of the village. A separate room is constructed in the family hut for delivery. Paniyans observe pollution for 10 days for male children and 15 days for female children. The ceremonies like rice-giving, naming the child, etc; are generally done on the 10th and the 15th day for male and female children respectively. Perforating the ears are also compulsory and is done on a convenient day by the maternal uncle of the child.

2.43 Among Mudugans and Konga Malayans also the polluted women occupy a corner of the hut. The number of days of pollution varies. In the case of Mudugans they consider mothers after child-birth as unclean for 20 days, while among the Konga Malayans this is done only for 15 days. The naming ceremony and rice giving ceremony are performed at the end of the pollution days.

2.44 The ceremony of perforating the ears and nose of the infant are also performed on a convenient day. This is generally done by the father or uncle of the child. A lighted lamp is placed before the child. No feasting is conducted on that day.

Funeral Customs

2.45 When a person dies, his relatives and friends are informed and they assemble at the hut of the deceased. The dead body is placed in the south to north position. The corpse is washed and dressed in new clothes bought for this purpose and a lighted lamp is placed by the side of the head of the deceased.

2.46 There is no significant difference in the funeral customs of the three tribes. A grave is dug by his relatives not far away from the hut The length of the grave is six feet and depth four feet. The corpse is carried to the burial ground in a mat made of bamboo and reeds. The bottom and the sides of the grave are lined with reeds and bamboos. The relatives carry the dead body to the grave and after going round the grave three times, place it in the grave. The personal possessions of the deceased are then placed in the pit. Besides these things his or her

favourite food and curries, chewing materials, beedis and even illicit liquors if he was addicted to drinking are also put in the grave. In order to make it to look like a coffin, Mudugans cover the corpse with bamboo and mats. The Paniyans and Konga Malayans cover it with green leaves of bushes. The grave is then filled with earth by the son of the deceased. In the absence of son, this is done by the nephew. A lighted lamp and water in an earthen pot are placed on the ground. In the case of Paniyans and Konga Malayans some paddy and raw rice are thrown around the burial place. All the members of the family of the deceased take bath after the burial. Among the Konga Malayans folk-dancing and singing to the tune of the drum beating are performed at the grave side. They observe pollution for 15 days and on the 16th day the *poojari* (one elder man) of the tribe prepares three balls of cooked raw rice and perform some *poojas* at the grave in order to facilitate the entry of the deceased in the world of the spirits in a sacred condition. A feasting is conducted on the day on which pollution ends.

2.47 Paniyans observe pollution for 10 days on the death of a male member and 15 days in the case of a female member. On the day on which pollution ends they prepare all the fovourite food and curries of the deceased and offer the same at the grave. They also conduct a feast if purse permits. Mudugans celebrate the funeral festival on the 10th day which is the last day of the pollution. This ceremony is known as the *Kanji cheer* for the repose of the soul of the deceased. Generally they spend a lot of money for this function. Besides the above mentioned functions the members of the family of the deceased and close relatives sing a song on the last day of the pollution, which is known as *Parakozhichil* song to avoid the troubles to the spirit of the deceased.

2.48 The dead bodies of those who met with unnatural or premature death are buried without ceremonies. The son of the deceased is the chief mourner.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

The tribal population of the surveyed village earn their livelihood as dependents of the local landlords. They claim that their traditional occupation was agriculture and as observed in Chapter I supra, in good old days the ancient Rajahs of Palghat parted with the mountain parts in their favour for nothing in return. They were allowed to cultivate and live in it. But now the majority of them are bound to work for their landlords, in return for the loans advanced to them by the landlords. They generally do all the agricultural operations like ploughing, sowing, weeding, harvesting, etc. Only a very few families possess land and cultivate for themselves. Table VII gives the number of households engaged in various occupations.

Table VII

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO AGE AND DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS

		Principal Occupation					Subsidiary Occupation				
Community	Age group	Agricultural labour	Estate work	Bamboo cutting	Others	Total	Agricultural labour	Estate work	Bamboo cutting	Others	Total
paniyans	15-34	47	6	3	1	57	2	4	6	7	19
	35-59	39	3	2	1	45	1	3	11	7	22
	60 & above	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	1
	Total	89	9	5	2	105	3	7	17	15	42
Mudugans	15-34	16	7	3	3	29	..	..	4	7	11
	35-59	10	3	1	1	15	1	..	1	4	6
	60 & above	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	1	1
	Total	27	10	4	5	46	1	..	5	12	18
Konga Malayans	15-34	12	3	1	..	16	..	..	3	4	7
	35-59	15	2	5	..	22	2	..	5	3	10
	60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Total	27	5	6	..	38	2	..	8	7	17

3.2 The survey has revealed that 11 families had paddy cultivation during the last year, some of them having cultivated land in the Malampuzha reservoir without the permission of the concerned authorities and others having encroached upon the Emoori Amman Devaswom land. No tribal families have been allowed to encroach upon the nearest reserve forest area.

Live-stock

3.3 The domestic animals possessed by the tribes of the surveyed village are only a few in number. They usually rear dogs and poultry. They consider dogs as their good friends and feed them well even if they themselves are half fed. These dogs are used for hunting and searching small animals like squirrel etc. and to guard their huts. Being agriculturists they possess buffaloes, she-baffaloes, and oxen for ploughing. They purchase them when they are very young and foster them for their use. Very rarely they possess cows and calves. Besides their own cattle and poultry they graze the cattle of others for wages. It is usually done by children and females. They are also bound to look after the cows of the *jenmis* except when they yield milk.

Table VIII

LIVE-STOCK

Tribe	No. of house-holds surveyed	Cows	Cal-ves	Bulls	He-Buf-fal-oes	She Buf-fal-oes	Sheep	Other ani-mals	Fowls
Paniyans	47	1	1	2	17	..	30	44	123
Mudugans	25	..	1	..	6	2	17	26	66
Konga Malayans	19	—	..	..	2	..	16	12	33

3.4 The above table gives the number of cows, buffaloes, she-baffaloes etc. in the surveyed households. It shows how poor their cattle wealth is. The following table sets out the number of households having one or more of these. It was also noticed that 29 households had none of these animals or even poultry.

KADUKKAMKUNNAM

Table IX

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS HAVING LIVE-STOCK

Tribe	No of house-holds surveyed	Cows	Cal-ves	Bu-lls	He-buf-fal-oes	She-buf-fal-oes	Sheep	Ot-her ani-mals	Fowls	No live-stock
Paniyans	47	1	1	1	6	..	12	22	20	17
Mudugans	25	..	1	..	3	1	5	14	14	8
Konga Malayans	19	..	..	..	1	..	7	7	7	4

3.5 As has been mentioned the tribal communities of the village are agricultural serfs. They build their huts in their landlord's land. Living as they do under stark ignorance of the land reforms, they are in a world of their own wedded to time-old customs.

3.6 It is worthy to note that a few families are provided with agricultural loans which amount to Rs. 300 for the purchase of bulls, seeds, etc.

Improvement of Communications

3.7 The existing facilities for communications cannot be considered sufficient so far as the surveyed locality is concerned. The Post and Telegraph Office provides telegraph and telephone facilities. The village, except the tribal settlements, has been provided with electricity. Elival, Anakal, Karadichola etc. are the main tribal settlements in the Emoori Amman Devaswom land. These settlements are not easily accessible. It is learnt that there is a proposal to construct a road from the Malampuzha dam to these settlements. With the completion of this road these settlements would be linked with the Malampuzha-Palghat Road.

3.8 At present there is no ferry system to cross the water spread area. Usually the tribal population wait for the country boats of the landlords or 'Pandis'. The nearest railway station is Olavakkode, about five miles away

Expansion of Marketing Facilities

3.9 The tribal people of this locality were used to get paddy as wages. The landlords of the locality even now give a few measures of paddy for agricultural operations. Payment in money for agricultural labour in the tribal area has been of recent origin. For other occupations, for example bamboo cutting, collection of forest produces, estate labour etc., they get wages in terms of money. Marketing as an institution was very rare in olden days in the tribal areas. Now they get rice, condiments and other necessaries of life from the local merchants. In the surveyed village there is no market place. One has to go to Olavakkode or Akathethara to get fish and other vegetables.

3.10 In the tribal settlements there is a small shop owned by a non-tribal person. If one can afford to go to the nearest market the purchases can be made more cheaply.

3.11 Table X summarises the information regarding the workers and non-workers in the household sample population classified by sex and broad age-groups.

Table X

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS

Tribe	Age-group	Workers			Non-workers			Total		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Paniyans	0–14	..	..	..	39	33	72	39	33	72
	15–34	32	25	57	7	13	20	39	38	77
	35–59	27	18	45	..	5	5	27	23	50
	60 & above	3	..	3	4	1	5	7	1	8
	Total	62	43	105	50	52	102	112	95	207
Mudugans	0–14	..	..	..	18	17	35	18	17	35
	15–34	18	11	29	2	10	12	20	21	41
	35–59	7	8	15	..	3	3	7	11	18
	60 & above	2	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	2
	Total	27	19	46	20	30	50	47	49	96
Konga	0–14	..	..	..	16	9	25	16	9	25
Malayans	15–34	8	8	16	4	5	9	12	13	25
	35–59	14	8	22	..	2	2	14	10	24
	60 & above	..	..	..	1	2	3	1	2	3
	Total	22	16	38	21	18	39	43	34	77

3.12 Among Paniyans almost all the males and females are engaged in agricultural operations and other works; the percentage of earners being about 50.7 and of non-earners 49.3. The majority of the households coming to 62 per cent of the total have one adult male earner and one adult female earner. The percentage of households with one adult male earner is 10.64 while with 2 adult male earners and one adult female earner the percentage is about 17. Taking the case of households with 2 adult male earners and 2 adult female earners, as well as with more than 3 adult male earners, it is seen that the percentages are 6.38 and 4.25 respectively.

3.13 Classified by age-groups there are 57 earners in the age-group of 15-34, and 45 earners in the age-group of 35–59. In the age-group of 60 and above there are 3 earners and 5 non-earners.

3.14 In the case of Mudugans there are 47.9 per cent of workers and 52.1 per cent of non-workers. The workers are either full time workers or part time. Female members generally do work up to noon time, when they go to their huts to prepare meals. 48.0 per cent households have 2 earning members each, 32.0 per cent households have only one earning member each and 20.0 per cent have more than 2 earning members each. In the age-group 15-34, there are 29 workers and in 35–59 there are 15 workers.

3.15 Among Konga Malayans 49.3 per cent are workers and 50.7 per cent are non-workers. About 58 per cent of the

total households have one male and one female earning member each. Out of 38 workers 16 are females. It is seen that there are 16 workers in the age-group of 15–34 and 22 belong to the age-group of 35–59.

3.16 The tribal workers are skilled manual labourers. Though there are a large number of workers, the income they get is very meagre.

3.17 Out of the 189 workers 143 (75.7 per cent) are agricultural labourers, 24 (12.7 per cent) are workers in the nearby rubber estate and the remaining are engaged in bamboo cutting etc. Only six households had agricultural labour as subsidiary occupation. Agricultural labour is of a seasonal character and hence they have to look up to other work for their subsistance during the off-seasons.

3.18 As regards the wages an agricultural male labourer gets 2 to 4 measures of paddy per day and a female gets 1 to 3 measures of paddy or its worth in money. After the harvest the tribes lead a life of plenty and do not attend to any work for some time.

Description of the Different Occupations

Agriculture

3.19 The soil in the surveyed area is very fertile and suitable for raising paddy. Not only the entire area of wet land is under paddy cultivation but paddy is the only cultivation in this area. Generally two crops are raised, one in April and the other in September. The preparation for the September crop starts on the *Vishu* day, which marks the commencement of the contract between the landlord and the labourer. If the contract is concluded the labourers are bound to do agricultural operations of the landlords up to the next *Vishu*. On the said day the landlord gives an amount in advance, a few measures of paddy and a little quantity of oil to the labourers. In case they violate the contract and do not attend to their work these poor tribes are put to troubles by them. Generally, if any labourer violates the contract the other landlords do not engage him for their work. Sometimes the landlords do not hesitate to give even physical tortures. Cases are not rare even nowadays to substantiate this statement. Besides attending to agricultural operations they also guard the store room of the landlords. Though some of the families are provided with Government quarters, during the agricultural seasons they shift to the lands of the landlords.

3.20 As mentioned above, about 11 households had their own cultivation during last year. Some of them raised two crops and others only one crop. A few families are provided with implements and seeds from the Department of Harijan Welfare; while others purchase from the local landlords. Major portion of the paddy they get is sold to the persons who have given money in advance. Though they do not apply any manure, the land is so fertile that they get a good yield.

3.21 The agricultural implements used in the village are the age old ones such as ploughs, drawn by bullocks and buffaloes, sickles, etc. When the corners of the fields cannot be reached by the ploughs, then the spade comes in handy. The seeds are either broadcast or dropped in furrows made by the plough. The tribes purchase seeds from the landlords for their own cultivation. These poor tribes look after the cultivation and guard against thieves, birds and cattles. They do not apply any type of manure for their cultivation, while the *jenmis* use cow-dung, ash and green manure.

Animal Husbandry, Fishing and Forestry

3.22 An account of the cattle wealth of the tribal population in this area has already been given supra. In the olden days the tribes never sold eggs as it was considered sinful. Now however they sell eggs but only rarely. They generally incubate eggs and look after the chicks but only a small percentage is saved from the kite, fox etc. Hens and cocks are

sacrificed to gods and goddesses.

3.23 As observed earlier the tribes go for fishing from the Malampuzha reservoir where fish are reared. Some types of herbs, bark and fruits are beaten into a pulp and put in the water whereupon fish begin to float on the surface of water unconscious. Recently they have begun to use rod and hook. Fishing is mainly done for their domestic use and not for sale.

3.24 Most of the tribes of this village are lazy. During the off-seasons they resort to the collection of forest produces like honey, honey wax and *cheeyaka* (a particular medicine) and nuts etc. A portion of the honey collected is consumed by them and the balance sold. Mudugans are experts in the collection of honey and wax. Very rarely Konga Malayans collect honey and wax.

Village Industries

3.25 In the surveyed village there are no industries worth mentioning. Crafts like basket making and mat weaving are unknown among these tribes; but they make umbrellas of Palmyra leaves during the rainy season. Recently a craft centre has been started by the Department of Harijan Welfare to impart instruction in mat weaving with kora grass to ten tribal students. A stipend of Rs. 25 is paid to each student who attends this course.

Commerce

3.26 Paddy is the main agricultural produce of the surveyed village. A good portion of the Emoori Amman Devaswom land is under paddy cultivation. The landlords give 'Pattom' to the Devaswom Land Trust. The Elaka Rubber Estate is in the surveyed village. Nearly five hundred acres of land is under the control of the estate. Tapping and processing are done by the non-tribal people. 13 per cent of the population are engaged in estate work. The tribes are employed for clearing forests, sowing rubber seeds and planting rubber plants. Both males and females are given work. The male is paid Rs. 1.37 per day and the woman something less.

Bamboo Cutting

3.27 Though the village economy basically is agricultural, some of the workers are engaged in bamboo cutting and cattle grazing. Of the total workers in the sample about 8 per cent including both males and females are engaged in bamboo cutting. This work, however, does not give them full time employment. In and around the village there are plenty of bamboo trees. From this work they earn about Rs. 2 to 4 per day.

3.28 Bamboo twigs are used for fencing the compound walls. Whenever they cut a bundle of twigs they have to pay a small amount to the contractor. They sell the bundle in the houses of the nearest village or in the markets. For cutting the bamboo they use a special type of knife.

Family Budget

3.29 Details regarding the occupational income and expenditure were collected from 91 households. Particulars of debts incurred by them were also noted. It was difficult to elicit the information regarding their income and expenditure for each item since they live without any plan and their memory power was hardly sufficient to remember even the expenditure and income for a week.

Income

3.30 Table XI gives the distribution of families based on the number of members and income groups.

Table XI

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND INCOME GROUPS

No. of households with

Income group Rs.	1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	9 members	Total
1. PANIYANS										
201–250	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
251–300	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
301–350	..	..	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	6
351–400	..	..	..	2	3	1	..	..	..	6
401–450	..	..	3	3	2	..	..	..	..	8
451–500	..	1	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	5
501–550	..	..	..	3	1	..	1	..	..	5
551–600	..	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	4
601–650	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
651–700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
701–750	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
751–800	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
801–850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851–900	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
901–950	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
Total	..	4	9	14	12	2	5	..	1	47
2. MUDUGANS										
150 and below	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
151–200	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
201–250	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
251–300	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
301–350	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
351–400	..	1	..	4	2	1	..	..	..	8
401–450	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
451–500	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
501–550	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
551–600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
601–650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
651–700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
701–750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	1	7	3	7	2	3	1	..	1	25
3. KONGA MALAYANS										
201–250	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
251–300	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
301–350	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
351–400	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
401–450	..	..	1	3	2	..	..	..	..	6
451–500	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
501–550	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
551–600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
601–650	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
651–700	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
701–750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
751–800	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2
Total	..	3	5	4	4	2	..	1	..	19

3.31 It may be seen that 10.6 per cent of the total Paniyan households are in the income group of Rs. 300 or below, about 53 per cent in the income group of Rs. 301 to Rs. 500, 25.5 per cent in the income group of Rs. 501 to Rs. 700 and the remaining in the income group of Rs. 701 to Rs. 950 per annum. Thus more than 72 per cent of the households fall in the income groups between Rs. 301 and Rs. 600 per annum. The average income of the Paniyan households covered by the survey is found to be Rs. 488 per annum.

3.32 In the case of Mudugans it can be seen that the largest concentration of households is in the income group of Rs 351 to Rs. 400 per annum. About 32 per cent of the total households are in the groups between Rs 401 and Rs. 750. The average annual income of the households surveyed is Rs. 399.

3.33 In the case of Konga Malayans of the village it can be noticed that about 32 per cent of the total households belong to the income group of less than Rs. 401 per annum and the same percentage of families belong to the group of Rs. 401-450. The remaining households have an annual income of below Rs. 801 but above Rs. 450. Thus a good percentage of the households are having only small incomes. The average annual income is Rs. 472.80.

Expenditure

3.34 Information regarding the expenditure on food items of the households surveyed is classified by the number of members in each household. The largest item in the expenditure schedule is food, absorbing the lion share of the income.

3.35 Of the 47 Paniyan households surveyed more than one-third spend only up to Rs. 350 for food items. 36.17 per cent have an expenditure for food items between Rs. 351 and Rs. 450. 21.28 per cent households belong to the group of Rs. 451-600 and the remaining 8.51 per cent households spend between Rs. 601 and Rs. 750 per annum. Thus the maximum number of households are concentrated in the range of Rs. 351-450. The average expenditure of the households for items of food is Rs. 404 ie. 84.0 per cent of their average income.

Table XII

EXPENDITURE ON FOOD BY NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN THE HOUSEHOLD

1 PANIYANS

Annual Expenditure group Rs.	Households with 1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	9 members	Total
201–250	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
251–300	..	1	4	2	1	..	..	..	..	8
301–350	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	4
351–400	..	1	1	4	4	1	..	..	..	11
401–450	..	..	..	3	2	..	1	..	..	6
451–500	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	3
501–550	..	..	..	3	1	..	1	..	..	5
551–600	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	2
601–650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
651–700	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
701–750	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	3
Total	..	4	9	14	12	2	5	..	1	47

Table XII – *Concld.*

EXPENDITURE ON FOOD BY NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN THE HOUSEHOLD – *concld.*

Annual Expenditure group Rs.	Households with 1 member	2 members	3 members	4 members	5 members	6 members	7 members	8 members	9 members	Total
2. MUDUGANS										
150 or less	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
151–200	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
201–250	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
251-300	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	5
301-350	..	2	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	5
351-400	..	2	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	7
401-450	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
451-500	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
501-550	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..
551-600	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	1	7	3	7	2	3	1	..	1	25
3. KONGA MALAYANS										
151-200	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
201–250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
251-300	..	2	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	2
301-350	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	3
351-400	..	..	2	3	1	..	..	..	..	6
401–450	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
451-500	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
501-550	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	3
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	..	3	5	4	4	2	..	1	..	19

3.36 Mudugans spend annually about 82.4 per cent of their average income on food alone. In other words on an average they spend Rs. 329 on food items. Table XII shows that the expenditure on food per annum of 20 per cent of the total Mudugan households comes up to Rs. 250 and 40 per cent comes to between Rs. 251 and 350. 28 per cent households spend Rs. 351–400 and the remaining 12 per cent Rs. 401 to Rs. 700.

3.37 Of the 19 Konga Malayan households it is seen that about 33 per cent spend Rs. 351–400 on food items. There is only one household spending more than Rs. 600 per annum. The average expenditure of the households on food comes to be Rs. 396 i. e. 83.8 per cent of their average income.

3.38 The data on the expenditure on dress are classified into various groups based on the income of each household

and shown in table XIII.

Table XIII

EXPENDITURE ON DRESS BY INCOME GROUPS

Annual Income Group Rs.	No. of households spending: Rs. 10-15	Rs. 16-20	Rs. 21-25	Rs. 26-30	Rs. 31-35	Rs. 36-40	Rs. 41-45	Rs. 46-50	Rs. 51-55	Rs. 56 and above	Total
1. PANIYANS											
201-250	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
251-300	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
301-350	..	..	1	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	6
351-400	..	..	..	1	4	1	..	..	..	..	6
401-450	..	..	2	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	8
451-500	..	..	1	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	5
501-550	..	..	..	1	1	2	..	1	..	..	5
551-600	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	4
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	2
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
701-750	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
801-850	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
851-900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
901-950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
Total	..	3	5	13	7	8	5	3	1	2	47
2. MUDUGANS											
150 or less	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
151-200	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
201-250	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
251-300	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
301-350	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3
351 400	..	..	..	..	4	2	1	1	..	..	8
401-450	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
451-500	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	2
501-550	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	3
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
601-650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
701-750	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Total	1	1	2	2	8	4	4	2	1	..	25
3. KONGA MALAYANS											
201-250	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
251-300	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
301-350	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
351-400	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
401-450	..	..	..	1	3	2	..	..	..	..	6
451-500	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
501-550	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
551-600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
601-650	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
651-700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
701-750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
751-800	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
Total	..	1	..	5	6	3	2	2	..	..	19

3.39 The average annual expenditure on dress of the different communities is found to be as follows:-

Paniyans	Rs.	36.20
Mudugans	Rs.	31.00
Konga Malayans	Rs.	34.60

3.40 These work out about 7.4, 7.7 and 7.3 per cent of the average annual income of each of the above communities respectively.

3.41 The expenditure on medical treatment is low, the average expenditure per family being about 1.8 per cent for Paniyans, 0.5 per cent for Mudugans and 0.4 per cent for Konga Malayans of their average annual income

3.42 The expenditure on ornaments, utensils etc. is practically nil. The remaining income is mainly devoted for buying chewing materials, bidis and for entertainments.

3.43 They have no interest in keeping a portion of their income for future and according to their opinion the income they get is hardly sufficient for daily life. On further enquiry it is reported that some of the households are in debt to their landlords.

Indebtedness

3.44 As mentioned earlier on the *Vishu* day they get an amount of money, a few measures of paddy and a little quantity of oil from the landlords of the villages and it is generally considered as a debt. These earnings of the tribals are never adjusted towards the loans and consequently they are perpetually in debt. The landlord gives easy credit when it is needed most as ultimately it is to their own advantage that the labourers are kept indebted to them. The following table gives the extent of indebtedness among them.

Table XIV

INDEBTEDNESS

(a) Indebtedness by income groups

Income Group Rs.	Total No. of house-holds	No. of house-holds in debt	% of col. 3 col. 2
1	2	3	4
	1. PANIYANS		
201-250	1	1	100.0
251-300	4	2	50.0
301-350	6	2	33.3
351-400	6	3	50.0
401-450	8	4	50.0
451-500	5	3	60.0
501-550	5	4	80.0
551-600	4	3	75.0
601-650	2	..	..
651-700	1	..	..
701-750	1	..	..
751-800	1	1	100.0
801-850	..	..	..
851-900	1	..	..
901-950	2	..	..
Total	47	23	48.9

(b) Indebtedness by Causes

Causes	Amount of debt: Rs. 15 or below	Rs. 16-20	Rs. 21-25	Rs. 26-30	Rs. 31-40	Rs. 41-50	Rs. 51 & above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Family maintenance	5	2	1	5	..	5	2
Marriage	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Medical	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Total	5	3	1	5	..	5	4

Table XIV - *Concld.*

(a) Indebtedness by income groups

Income Group Rs.	Total No. of households	No. of households in debt	% of col. 3 col. 2
	2. MUDUGANS		
150 or less	1	..	..
151-200	2	1	50.0
201-250	1	..	..
251-300	2	..	..
301-350	3	1	33 3
351-400	8	2	25.0
401-450	2	..	..
451-500	2	..	..
501-550	3	..	..
551-600	..	..	..
601-650	..	..	..
651-700	..	..	..
701-750	1	1	100.0
Total	25	5	20.0
	3. KONGA MALAYANS		
201-250	1	1	100.0
251-300	1	..	..
301-350	2	1	50.0
351-400	2	1	50 0
401-450	6	3	50.0
451-500	1	1	100.0
501-550	2	1	50.0
551-600	..	..	..
601-650	1	1	100 0
651-700	1	1	100.0
701-750	..	..	..
751-800	2	2	100.0
Total	19	12	63.2

(b) Indebtedness by Causes
Amount of debt

Causes	Rs. 15 & less	Rs. 20-50	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 101-150
Family maintenance	1	1	..	2
Marriage	..	1	..	..
Total	1	2	..	2

Causes	Rs. 15 or less	Rs. 16-30	Rs. 31-50	Rs. 51-75
Family maintenance	5	2	2	1
Others	..	..	2	..
Total	5	2	4	1

3.45 Out of the 47 Paniyan households nearly 50 per cent are in debt. Of them 42.55 per cent of the total households had borrowed to meet ordinary wants, one household for marriage and the remaining for medical purposes. Among Mudugans only 20.00 per cent and among Konga Malayans 63.16 per cent of the total families are in debt. The debts were incurred to meet ordinary wants. Only one family of the Mudugans borrowed for marriage purposes.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

The total number of members of the 47 Paniyan households comes to 207 giving an average household size of 4.4. Males constitute 54.1 per cent of the total and females 45.9 per cent. In the 25 Mudugan households there are 96 members of whom 49.0 per cent are males and about 51 per cent females, the average size being 4. 43 males and 34 females form the population of 19 Konga Malayan households. The average size of a household is only 4. The following table gives the age and sex-wise break-up of the 3 tribes.

Table XV

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE, SEX AND COMMUNITY

Age-Group	Paniyan			Mudugan			Konga Malayan		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
0- 4	16	15	31	7	5	12	6	4	10
5- 9	14	9	23	6	6	12	6	2	8
10-14	9	9	18	5	6	11	4	3	7
15-19	12	7	19	3	7	10	2	3	5
20-24	10	10	20	5	8	13	4	4	8
25-29	8	12	20	5	4	9	4	3	7
30-34	9	9	18	7	2	9	2	3	5
35-39	9	5	14	1	5	6	4	6	10
40-44	6	4	10	2	2	4	4	2	6
45-49	3	8	11	2	2	4	3	..	3
50-54	6	2	8	1	2	3	..	..	..
55-59	3	4	7	1	..	1	3	2	5
60 & above	7	1	8	2	..	2	1	2	3
Total	112	95	207	47	49	96	43	34	77

Marital Status

4.2 The marital status of the members of the households by sex and age-groups is given in the following table.

Table XVI

MARITAL STATUS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUPS

Age-group	Unmarried			Married			Widowed			Divorced or separated			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
	1. PANIYANS														
0- 4	16	15	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	15	31
5- 9	14	9	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	9	23
10-14	9	9	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	9	18
15-19	12	5	17	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	7	19
20-24	3	..	3	6	9	15	1	..	1	..	1	1	10	10	20
25-29	2	..	2	6	12	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	12	20
30-34	..	..	..	9	9	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	9	18
35-39	..	..	..	8	4	12	..	1	1	1	..	1	9	5	14
40-44	..	..	..	6	4	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	4	10
45-49	..	1	1	3	6	9	..	1	1	..	..	..	3	8	11
50-54	..	..	..	6	1	7	..	1	1	..	..	..	6	2	8
55-59	..	..	..	2	3	5	1	1	2	..	..	..	3	4	7
60-64	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
65-69	1	..	1	3	..	3	..	1	1	..	..	..	4	1	5
70 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	2
Total	57	39	96	50	50	100	4	5	9	1	1	2	112	95	207
	2. MUDUGANS														
0- 4	7	5	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	5	12
5- 9	6	6	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	6	12
10-14	5	5	10	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	6	11
15-19	3	3	6	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	7	10
20-24	..	..	..	5	7	12	..	..	..	..	1	1	5	8	13
25-29	..	..	..	5	4	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	4	9
30-34	..	..	..	7	2	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	2	9
35-39	..	..	..	1	5	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	6
40-44	..	..	..	2	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	4
45-49	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	2	2	4
50-54	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	2	1	2	3
55-59	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
60 & above	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	2
Total	21	19	40	25	25	50	1	2	3	..	3	3	47	49	96

Contd.

3. KONGA MALAYANS

Age-group	Unmarried			Married			Widowed			Divorced or separated			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0- 4	6	4	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	4	10
5- 9	6	2	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	2	8
10-14	4	3	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	3	7
15-19	2	1	3	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	5
20-24	2	1	3	2	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	8
25-29	1	..	1	3	3	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	3	7
30-34	..	..	..	2	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	5
35-39	..	..	..	4	6	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	6	10
40-44	..	..	..	4	2	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	2	6
45-49	..	..	..	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	3
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55-59	..	..	..	2	2	4	1	..	1	..	..	..	3	2	5
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	..	..	..	1	2	3
Total	21	11	32	20	21	41	2	2	4	..	..	..	43	34	77

4.3 About 48 per cent of the total members of Paniyans are married and 46 per cent unmarried. Up to the age of 14, all the Paniyan males and females are unmarried. There are fifty married couples. Only 9 out of 207 members are widows or widowers striking a percentage of 4.35. The rest of them are either divorced or separated. In the case of Mudugans 41.7 per cent of the members are unmarried and 52.08 per cent consisting of 25 males and 25 females are married. Only 3 of them are widowed and another 3 divorced. As regards the Konga Malayans it can be seen that 41.56 per cent of them are reported unmarried constituting 21 males and 11 females. Here the number of females is low compared to males. 53.25 per cent of the members are married consisting of 20 males and 21 females. The remaining are widowed. There is no case of separation or divorce reported.

4.4 Though polygamy is not prevalent among the three tribes, one such case is reported by the Konga Malayans.

4.5 Many cases of divorce and fresh marriage were noticed both at the instance of males and females during the survey. When there is marital maladjustment or disharmony between the husband and wife, either mental or physical, they divorce their partner. Both of them are at liberty to divorce and to take another partner. Thus it is seen that they usually divorce the existing wife for petty reasons and marry another one. There is no caste council to question them on this matter.

4.6 There were 49 marriages in 25 Mudugan households. Instances are not few where the tribes had three or four marriages with women who had previous marriages which had been dissolved by divorce or separation. Similarly 47 Paniyan households had 96 marriages. On an average they had two marriages. Only 28 marriages were recorded from the 19 Konga Malayan households.

4.7 The table below gives the distribution of the present ages of the husband and wife (whether alive, dead or separated) for all their marriages.

Table XVII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRESENT AGES OF THE WIFE AND HUSBAND

Present age of husband	Present age of wife												
	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 & above	not known	Total
1. PANIYANS													
20-24	..	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
25-29	..	..	4	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
30-34	..	..	3	9	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	15
35-39	..	..	1	3	6	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	14
40-44	..	..	..	1	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	2	9
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	1	6
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	7	..	..	..	..	8
55-59	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	3	1	..	..	1	6
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	1	4	9
Not known	..	..	..	1	3	3	1	2	2	2	..	..	14
Total	..	2	12	19	14	10	6	12	4	5	1	11	96
2. MUDUGANS													
20-24	1	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
25-29	..	..	6	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
30-34	..	..	3	8	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	14
35-39	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
40-44	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	3	7
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	3
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	2
Not known	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	4
Total	1	4	10	9	5	6	4	2	2	..	1	5	49
3. KONGA MALAYANS													
20-24	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
25-29	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
30-34	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
35-39	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
40-44	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	4
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
Not known	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	..	2	3	6	3	7	2	..	..	4	..	1	28

4.8 A study of the difference in age between husband and wife has revealed that the maximum was 17 in the case of Paniyans, while it was 14 in the case of Mudugans. The maximum difference in ages between the Konga Malayan husband and wife was 10. It was found that there were certain cases where the age of wife was greater than that of the husband.

4.9 The age at first marriage has great significance in studies on fertility and it is generally believed that early marriage is a contributory factor to a large family size. Among the tribes of the surveyed area marriages are generally conducted only after attaining puberty and when one is past 15 years of age However one case of marriage was noticed at the age of 14.

4.10 The age at first marriage of the husband and wife by their respective present ages have been given in tables XVIII and XIX for the three tribes.

Table XVIII

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

Present age of husband	Age at first marriage																		
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	35	36	Not known	Total
	1 PANIYANS																		
20-24	..	..	..	..	2	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
25-29	..	..	..	2	..		3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
30-34	..	..	..	..	1	1	4	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
35-39	1	..	1	1	..	2	1	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	11
40-44	..	..	.	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	.	6
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	3
50-54	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	6
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	4
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	4
Not known	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	14
Total	1	..	1	3	5	6	12	4	7	2	4	1	3	2	3	2	2	14	52
	2. MUDUGANS																		
20-24	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
25-29	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
30-34	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
35-39	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
40-44	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
55-59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Not known	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
Total	..	..	..	..	3	1	7	3	8	3	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	34

3. KONGA MALAYANS

Present age of husband	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	Not known	Total
20–24	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
25–29	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
30–34	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
35–39	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	4
40–44	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	4
45–49	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	3
50–54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55–59	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
60 & above	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2
Not known	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	1	..	4	5	1	3	2	3	2	1	1	23

Table XIX

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

1. PANIYANS

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage													not known	Total
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26		
15–19	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
20–24	..	1	1	..	3	1	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
25–29	..	..	1	1	3	3	1	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	15
30–34	..	2	1	2	3	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	11
35–39	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	8
40–44	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	5
45–49	..	..	1	2	1	1	3	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	10
50–54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
55–59	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Not known	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	10
Total	..	3	5	8	13	9	9	9	6	5	1	1	..	10	79

2. MUDUGANS

10–14	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
15–19	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
20–24	..	..	..	..	3	3	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	9
25–29	..	1	..	1	1	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
30–34	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
35–39	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
40–44	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4
45–49	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
50–54	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
55–59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 & above	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Not known	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	:	..	..	..	4	4
Total	1	2	2	5	8	8	8	1	..	2	..	..	..	5	42

3. KONGA MALAYANS

Present age of wife	Age at first marriage												
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Not known	Total
15-19	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
20-24	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	3
25-29	..	1	..	1	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	6
30-34	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3
35-39	..	..	1	2	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	6
40-44	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
45-49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50-54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55-59	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	4
60 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Not known	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	1	3	2	5	1	5	3	3	2	1	..	1	27

4.11 The usual age at marriage among them is between 20 and 25 for males and between 15 and 20 for females.

4.12 Generally Paniyans of this village marry their 'murapennu' (Uncle's daughter) and it could be gathered that more than two-thirds of the husbands and wives belong to one or other consanguineous group. During the course of the survey details regarding the relationship of husband and wife before marriage was also collected. The results are given in the following table.

Table XX

RELATIONSHIP BY AGE OF HUSBANDS

Present age of husband	Blood relationship						Other relationship			No relation	Total
	a	e	f	i	m	n	a'	e'	Others		
	1. PANIYANS										
20-24	..	2	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	6
25-29	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	9
30-34	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	10	15
35-39	1	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	9	14
40-44	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	4	9
45-49	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	4	6
50-54	..	..	3	2	..	1	..	..	..	2	8
55-59	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	6
60 & above	..	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	4	9
Net known	1	3	..	2	2	1	..	1	..	4	14
Total	4	15	10	7	4	2	1	6	1	46	96

Others: Sister's husband's sister.

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
i. Married to his step-sister's daughter
m. Married to his mother's step brother's daughter
n. Married to his father's step sister's daughter
a' Elder brother's widow
e' Wife's sister

2. MUDUGANS

Age of husband	Blood relation a	e	f	i	m	n	Other relation e'	No relation	Total
20–24	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	3	6
25–29	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	5	8
30–34	..	3	1	..	2	1	1	6	14
35–39	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
40–44	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	3
45–49	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
50–54	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	5	7
55–59	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	3
60 & above	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Not known	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	4
Total	4	9	6	1	5	2	1	21	49

3 KONGA MALAYANS

20–24	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	2
25–29	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	3	5
30–34	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	4
35–39	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4
40–44	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	4
45–49	1	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	4
50–54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55–59	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
60 & above	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Not known	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total	3	9	3	..	..	2	1	10	28

Medical Care

4.13 Since the tribes of the village are living under conditions of poverty and poor sanitation they are susceptible to diseases. During the present survey it is seen that a number of persons are suffering from T. B. Therefore the young generation are more likely to become infected because of the close contact in the house. Typhoid, smallpox, chickenpox etc. are the other popular diseases among them. Another type of disease very common among them is a type of swelling in their stomachs which takes a heavy toll every year. Children get skin diseases also.

4.14 Though there is a Government hospital and maternity centre in the village very rarely they go to these centres for treatment. They believe in the mischief of evil spirits, in causing diseases and therefore resort to witchcraft for cure.

Literacy

4.15 Unlike among the generality of the population of Kerala, the percentage of literacy among scheduled tribes is poor and the tribal people of this village are no exception to this.

4.16 As already observed in the first Chapter there are enough facilities for the education of the children of the tribal population here so far as the primary standards are concerned. Further mid-day meals and financial aid for the purchase of books and towels are also provided to the tribal children. In spite of these facilities, the children of these tribes do not take as kindly to literacy studies as those of the country people. Only a few tribal children are attending the classes regularly. In some schools

there are no tribal children at all. The number of students from the Mudugan community can be counted on one's fingers. Their general attitude is that what is good for their parents who are illiterates and yet did not lose anything is good enough for them also. Thus they are lost deep in the hardened mud of ignorance and illiteracy.

Structure and Intra-family Relationship

4.17 The tribes of the surveyed village do not generally follow the joint family system. The grown-up sons and daughters shift immediately after their marriage to a separate hut near their parent's hut. Hence joint families are fewer among them than among others.

4.18 A survey of the structure of families with reference to concepts of (a) simple family consisting of husband, wife, and unmarried children (b) intermediate family consisting of married couple, unmarried brothers, sisters and one of the parents and (c) joint family consisting of married couple, with married sons and daughters or brothers and sisters has yielded the following results.

Table XXI

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Tribe	Total No of households	Type of family in the household		
		Simple	Intermediate	Joint
Paniyans	47	36	6	5
Mudugans	25	21	3	1
Konga Malayans	19	15	3	1
Total	91	72	12	7

Inheritance

4.19 In most cases the head of the surveyed household is a male member but both males and females of the family are earning members. Usually the tribes of the village observe *Makkathayam* from father to children. The property and belongings of the family are divided among the children of the deceased but to the exclusion of the daughters already married.

Leisure and Recreation

4.20 Though the village is very famous for its public gardens, parks, and beautiful scenery, the residence of the village do not make proper use of them. At the time of the survey even the playground attached to the Malampuzha Recreation Club was not being regularly used. The people of this village occasionally go for films at Palghat and Olavakkode. The tribes also go for films but not as often as others. Being illiterates they spend their time more in gossiping. Some of the members go for fishing during leisure hours.

Fairs and Festivals

4.21 The residence of the village including the tribes regularly take part in the annual festival of the Hemambika temple. The tribes of this village being highly festival minded keep in touch with the festivals in all other local temples also and both males and females attend them.

4.22 Like all others of the village the Mudugans and Paniyans also celebrate *Onam* in September, *Vavu* in August and *Vishu* in May. The Konga Malayans do not attach much importance in celebrating *Onam*, while they celebrate *Karkataka Vavu* and *Sankaranthi*, *Vishu*, *Deepavali* etc. On the *Karkataka sankaranthi* day they pay obeisance to their deceased elders by performing *poojas*. Besides marriage, puberty customs, death etc. the tribes celebrate Kathukuthu kalyanam (ear boring ceremony) also. The ear-boring is generally done in the third or fourth year, by the uncle of the child or an elder man of the tribe. The mother

brings the child newly bathed and places it in the uncle's lap. He pierces first the right ear and then the left ear. A particular kind of thorn is used to keep the hole. After a few days metallic ear rings are used. During *Onam*, *Vavu* and *Vishu* days they prepare more food and vegetable curries. A few measures of paddy, a little quantity of oil and a small sum of money, which the tribes are given by their employers on the *Vishu* day also help them in the celebration of *Vishu*.

4.23 In order to propitiate *Bhoomi Devi* the tribes offer a *pongal* after the harvest. This is done in the front yard of their huts. A hearth is made by using three stones and they prepare rice by using raw rice. A lighted lamp is placed near the hearth. Among Konga Malayans there will be drum beating throughout this function.

Village Organisations

4.24 No caste council is in existence at the time of the survey among the tribes of this village. Members of the community meet in social functions like marriage, death etc. where the elders of the community preside over the functions and give instructions. At present there is no office of the headman or *Moopan* among them though the institution of the headman was in existence till a few years back.

4.25 The tribes of this area have started an organisation by name 'Malampuzha Adhivasi Union'. Its president is a tribal member, while its secretary is a non-tribal. Almost all households except a few Mudugan families have enrolled themselves as members of this union. The main objective of the union is the social, cultural and economic uplift of the tribal population of the area. The union has already represented their grievances before the various officials.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

4.26 The whole of the village and a portion of the neighbouring village come under the Malampuzha panchayat. Its office is near the Malampuzha dam. The members are elected on adult franchise. The maintenance and construction of roads lanes etc., village sanitation and public health activities are attended to by the panchayat. One of the tribal members has been elected as a panchayat member. It is hoped that in course of time the panchayat will help to improve the conditions in the tribal area of the village.

4.27 The maintenance of the parks etc. are done by the P. W. D. and the Tourists Department.

Reform Measures Introduced by Government and Various Agencies

4.28 In reviewing the position of the reform measures introduced by the Department of Harijan Welfare for the Welfare of the tribal people of the village it is noteworthy as already mentioned that about 12 families have been provided with quarters by the government and a few more houses were under construction. The house construction loan is not repayable. It has been enhanced to Rs. 1,000 from Rs. 800 recently. A few families have also got the agricultural loan to purchase bulls, agricultural implements, seeds, etc. The Department has also started a craft centre where ten tribal students are taught Kora grass mat-weaving and given stipends of Rs. 25 per mensem per head.

Attitude to Family Planning

4.29 Leading as they do a planless life, the idea of limiting the family according to one's own income has not been recognised as a burning problem with the tribes of this area. Their attitude to family planning is one of supreme indifference.

Dowry

4.30 Generally the bridegroom gives a small amount, known as *Pariyam* to the bride's parents at the time of marriage. This amount varies according to the social status of the family. Nowadays due to the contact of the country people the system of giving ornaments by the bride's parents to the bride has begun.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters of this monograph give a peep into the ways and means of life and the customs and manners of the tribal people of the village, with special reference to the surveyed area. Though the hill tribes of this village have contact with the people of the plains who call them all 'Malayar', their method of living and out look have not been much influenced by this. The social relation among the different hill tribes is not free from communal distinctions and gradations. Paniyans and Konga Malayans view Mudugans as inferior to them in the social status and do not take part in their functions. The Paniyans and Konga Malayans however intermarry and interdine.

5.2 A good percentage of the heads of the households are aware of the statutory prohibition of untouchability and its penalisation. The legislation has succeeded in eradicating to a certain extent untouchability and unapproachability among them. Until a few years ago the hill tribes were not only denied free entry into the hotels and other shops but were also asked to keep a distance from them. But now their position has considerably improved in this respect. They consider that the services of a social worker by name Shri C. M. Sundaran who is the Secretary of the Adhivasi Union, Malampuzha have helped them in the assertion of their statutory rights.

5.3 Although caste panchayat was prevalent among these people in the olden days it has ceased to exist now. One of the tribal people has been elected as the member of the Malampuzha Panchayat from the surveyed area. The custom of rendering service to the prospective father-in-law which was prevalent among the tribal people is unknown among them now. A few cases of inter-caste marriages between Paniyans and Konga Malayans are also reported.

5.4 The tribal population, traditionally agricultural labourers, are tied up to the landlords. All the members of the tribal families - men and women - are fully engaged in agricultural operations during the agricultural season. It is an irony of fate that they who labour so much to make others prosperous should often be ill-fed. The tribes are practically out of employment during the off seasons and life for them during the period is really hard being unable to earn anything. During the harvesting period, however they go lavish and due to lack of saving mentality whatever they get is spent recklessly.

5.5 Apart from being a centre of paddy production there is no significant economic activity in the surveyed village. The impact of tourism in the village is bound to result changes in the occupational pattern of the residents of the village.

5.6 The tribals seldom evince interest in keeping themselves as well as their huts and surroundings clean and tidy. Even the use of country kerosene lamps with naked flame is a luxury to them. Generally they use the light of the flame from the hearth to prepare and take meals during night time. The old practice of using bamboo-fire — the materials used in making bamboo fire are two pieces of bamboo splinters about a foot in length and a piece of cloth to make fire - has almost disappeared and is being replaced by safety matches. At times they use

soap and oil for bathing.

5.7 As regards their fascination to any amusement it may be said that in the olden days Paniyans were accustomed to dance during the harvesting period; but nowadays only group songs are sung on festive occasions. The main musical instruments they use are ordinary drum and pipes. Konga Malayans dance and sing on all their social functions like marriage, death, etc.

5.8 These tribes have much faith in the efficacy of witchcraft and any person who falls sick is first subjected to the influence of witchcraft. Though there is much facility in the village for treatment they have not yet begun to consult medical practitioners. During the survey, however, it was reported that a few of the tribal women had approached the nearest hospital for delivery purposes.

5.9 Speaking about the marketing facilities for selling off their produces and for their purchasing things they need for their day to day life, they have to go to the next village, which is about 3 miles away.

5.10 Some of the urgent and important requirements of the tribes of the surveyed village, in their opinion, are providing better communication facilities and grant-in-aids from the Government for the construction of houses and providing better opportunities for permanent employment for them. Due to the lack of communication facilities these tribes are almost cut off from the plains while practically for everything, like purchase of necessaries, receiving wages from the landlords under whom they work, taking the sick or pregnant women for safe delivery to hospitals and hundreds of such purposes, they have to depend upon the plains. It was represented that even postal articles addressed to hill tribes are not delivered to them direct but left at some place easily accessible to the postal staff.

5.11 Thus some means of communications for easy accessibility of these tribal areas would go a long way to improve their lot.

5.12 As mentioned supra, great difficulty is experienced by the tribes to get items of daily necessaries for want of shops in their localities. A co-operative store would perhaps help them in getting over this difficulty.

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 houses — 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) If 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 rate 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 common 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 items ?

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 cloths, 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 ?

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 Rs.	Purchase of raw materials Rs.	Purchase of seeds Rs.	Others (specify) 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

Present age of mother	Age at marriage	No.	Year in which born	Sex	Details of children born: Whether alive or not	Details of children born: If dead year of death	Details of children born: 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 TOBE FILLED UP IN THE ENQUIRY IN TO 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

Adhikari	Village Officer in the Malabar area
Asramom	Hermitage
Atta	Leech
Bandari	One of the two dignitaries of a Muduga settlement below the *Moopan*. This is hereditary
Bathi	A thin splinter coated with sandal paste emitting fragrant smoke when burnt
Bhagavathi	A goddess
Bhoomidevi	The goddess Earth
Chala	Hut
Chama	*Panicum miliaceum*, a cereal
Chathamuttal	An offering to the manes of the deceased ancestors
Chathamuttu	See *chathamuttal*
Chavali	A kind of edible root
Cheera	Eatable leaves, especially *Chenopodium album*
Cheeyaka	*Mimosa abstergens*,, a medicinal tree
Chela	A kind of saree
Chingom	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in August-September
Cholam	Great millet, *Sorghum vulgare*
Darbha	*Poa cynosuroides*, a kind of long grass
Deepavali	A row of lights; the lamp-feast at the new moon of October
Devaswom	Temples and temple properties
Ganapathi	A Hindu god
Gulikan	A demon god worshipped by some classes of Hindus; Also son of Saturn
Irul	Darkness
Iynee	*Artocarpus hirsutus*, a tree
Jenmi	Holder of a *jenmom* right
Jenmom	Complete ownership of land equivalent to fee simple
Kadukka	Inknut, *Terminalia chebula*
Kalasamithi	Arts club
Kali	A goddess
Kanji	See Rice *Kanjee*
Kanjicheer	A ceremony observed by some hill tribes on the 10th day of the death of a person for the repose of the soul of the deceased
Kannimaraswamy	A god of the Hill Pulayas
Kara Daivam	A family deity of the Mudugas
Karanavan	Head of family; hereditary predecessor
Karkatakam	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in July-August
Karkatakavavu	New moon day in *Karkatakam*
Karthika	The third constellation, Pleiades; Third day of the lunar month
Karthika vilakku	A festival celebrated by a section of the Hindus on the *Karthika* day in *Vrischigom*
Karuppusamy	A god of the Hill Pulayas
Kathukuthu Kalyanam	Ear boring ceremony
Kavu	Small Hindu temple
Kayaran	A malevolent god worshipped by Mudugans
Kayyilpidippikkuka	The concluding item of the ceremonies in a Paniya marriage when the groom

	and the bride are fed with rice balls by the groom's sister
Kindi	A goblet, generally of bell-metal, with a spout
Kora	Ragee
Kudi	Hut
Kumbhom	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in February-March
Kurunthala	A fish
Kuruthalai	See *Bandari*
Kuttichathan	A demon-god
Mahila samajam	Women's association
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
Maladaivam	The supreme god of the Kattunaicken tribe
Malleswaran	Lord Siva
Mannukkaran	A dignitary of a Muduga settlement to give advice on agricultural operations
Mariamma	An inferior deity worshipped by some classes of Hindus
Mariamman	See Mariamma
Mattupongal	A day set apart for feasting the cattle as part of the harvest festival held in *Makaram*
Medom	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in April-May
Montha	A metal goblet
Moopan	A hereditary leader of a Muduga settlement
Moya	A fish
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)
Murmani	A tribal custom of the couple paying a visit to the girl's parents with conventional presents, eight days after the marriage
Nandi	Bull, Lord Siva's conveyance
Nanji	An edible root consumed by the hill tribes
Nootha	An edible root consumed by the hill tribes
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
Ooru	Tribal settlement in Attappady
Pandal	Tent or temporary shed
Pandi	Country boat
Pansupari	Chewing materials (betel, arecanut, lime etc)
Parakozhichil	A song sung on the last day of the death pollution as part of the funeral obsequies among certain hill tribes
Para	A large bushel, generally 13.1 litres in capacity
Pariyam	Bride-price
Pattayam	Document given to landholders by Government after a settlement, specifying the boundaries, area etc.
Pattom	Lease, rent
Pavada	Skirt, a girl's garment
Pooja	A worship in the prescribed form

Poojari	A Hindu priest
Rice *kanjee*	Rice gruel
Samkramam	Passage of the sun from one sign to another
Sankranthi	*Samkramam* day
Sarpam	Serpent
Sivarathri	A night assigned for the worship of Lord Siva in the month of *Kumbhom* (February-March) observed as an important Hindu religious festival
Tali	Marriage badge tied round the neck of the girl at the time of her marriage
Talikettu	Tying the *tali*
Tattu	Bamboo screen
Thaipongal	The harvest festival held on the first day of the month of *Thai (Makaram); Mattupongal* is held on the following day
Thanni	*Terminalia bellerica*, a tree
Thulam	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in October-November
Thuvara	*Cajanus indicus*, a lentil
Tilak	An ornamental mark on the forehead
Udumbu	Iguana
Vanavasa	Secluded life in the forests
Vavu	Change of the moon, either full moon or new moon (Full moon is *Velutha vavu*; and new moon *Karutha vavu*)
Vishu	The Hindu festival held on the first day of *Medom* which is the astronomical new year's day
Vrischigom	A month of the Malayalam almanac falling in November–December
Vritham	Voluntary act of penance or continence; or vow

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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.) L d., Hazratganj .. .. .. (Reg.)

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.)

MADURAI—

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, Chhippi 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 Krishnamurthi-puram .. .. (Rest.)
4 News Paper House, Lansdowne Building .. .. (Rest.)
5 Indian Mercentile 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, Bookesllers, 5-7 Rua, 3 Ide 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. Natu's 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 Reddear 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—Swarajya 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

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Foreign

1 S/S. Education Enterprise Private Ltd., Kathumandu (Nepal)
2 S/S. Aktie Bologat, C. E. Fritzes Kungl, Hovobokhandel, Fredsgatioa-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 Mansons, 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. & Ajmer; 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, Everest 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 Incharge, 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