



CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME IX

MADRAS

PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

22. PAPPANAICKENPATTI

P. K. NAMBIAR

ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, MADRAS

T. B. BHARATI

OF THE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE
DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS

1965



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[Census Report—Vol. No. IX will relate to Madras only.
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FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this sub-continent, 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 centralization on the one hand and decentralization on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole state in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive; the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast 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., fishermea, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers quarry-workers etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

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

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500-700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication, such as the district administrative head quarters 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 September, 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the Census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961), restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered and also because the 'Consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as inter-related processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land-reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December, 1961, when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

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

New Delhi

July 30, 1964.

A. MITRA,

Registrar General, India.

P R E F A C E

The preparation of Village Survey Monographs is one of the supplementary studies of 1961 Census. Sri A. Mitra, Registrar General has in his foreword given the reader a general background of the survey. Forty villages were chosen for the survey in Madras State and the monograph on Pappanaickenpatti is the twenty second of the series.

Pappanaickenpatti is a remote village located in a valley, at the foot of a series of hills in Salem district. It is essentially a village of Malayalees, a Scheduled Tribe of Salem district who are engaged in primitive agriculture. The gall-nut trade has attracted outsiders to the village. This impact has brought about substantial changes in the life of the Malayalees. The pattern of change will be of great interest to the reader.

P. K. NAMBIAR

LIST OF VILLAGES SELECTED FOR THE SURVEY

1. Ayyangarkulam*	...	Chingleput District
2. Sunnambukulam	...	"
3. Lakkinayakkanpatti	...	South Arcot District
4. Thadagam*	...	"
5. Arkavadi	...	"
6. Hasanamapettai	...	North Arcot District
7. Paravakkal	...	"
8. Arkasanahalli*	...	Salem District
9. Kanakagiri* *	...	"
10. Pappanaickenpatti**	...	"
11. Aladipatti*	...	"
12. Iswaramoorthipalayam*	...	"
13. Kumbalam	...	"
14. Nellithorai	...	Coimbatore District
15. Hallimoyar*	...	Nilgiris District
16. Kinnakorai	...	"
17. Vilpatti*	...	Madurai District
18. Sirumalai	...	"
19. Periyur	...	"
20. Thiruvallavanallur	...	"
21. Thenbaranadu*	...	Tiruchirappalli District
22. Thiruvellarai*	...	"
23. Ariyur	...	"
24. Kadambangudi*	...	Thanjavur District
25. Vilangulam	...	"
26. Kunnalur*	...	"
27. Kodiakkarai	...	"
28. Golwarpatti	...	Ramanathapuram District
29. Visavanoor*	...	"
30. Athangarai*	...	"
31. Ravanasa mudram*	...	Tirunelveli District
32. Pudukulam*	...	"
33. Alwarkarkulam	...	"
34. Kilakottai*	...	"
35. Odaimarichan	...	"
36. Kuvalaikanni	...	"
37. Koottumangalam*	...	Kanyakumari District
38. Kadathuchery*	...	"
39. Kottuthalazhamkulam*	...	"
40. Kadukkara*	...	"

*Already published

**The present volume (No. 22 of the series)

VILLAGE SURVEY REPORT
ON
PAPPANAICKENPATTI

<i>Field Study :</i>	S. M. PRABHAKARAN, B.COM (HONS.,) <i>Research Assistant.</i>
<i>Photographs :</i>	N. D. RAJAN, <i>Photographer.</i>
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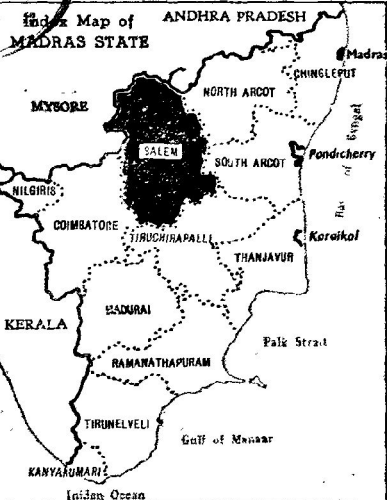
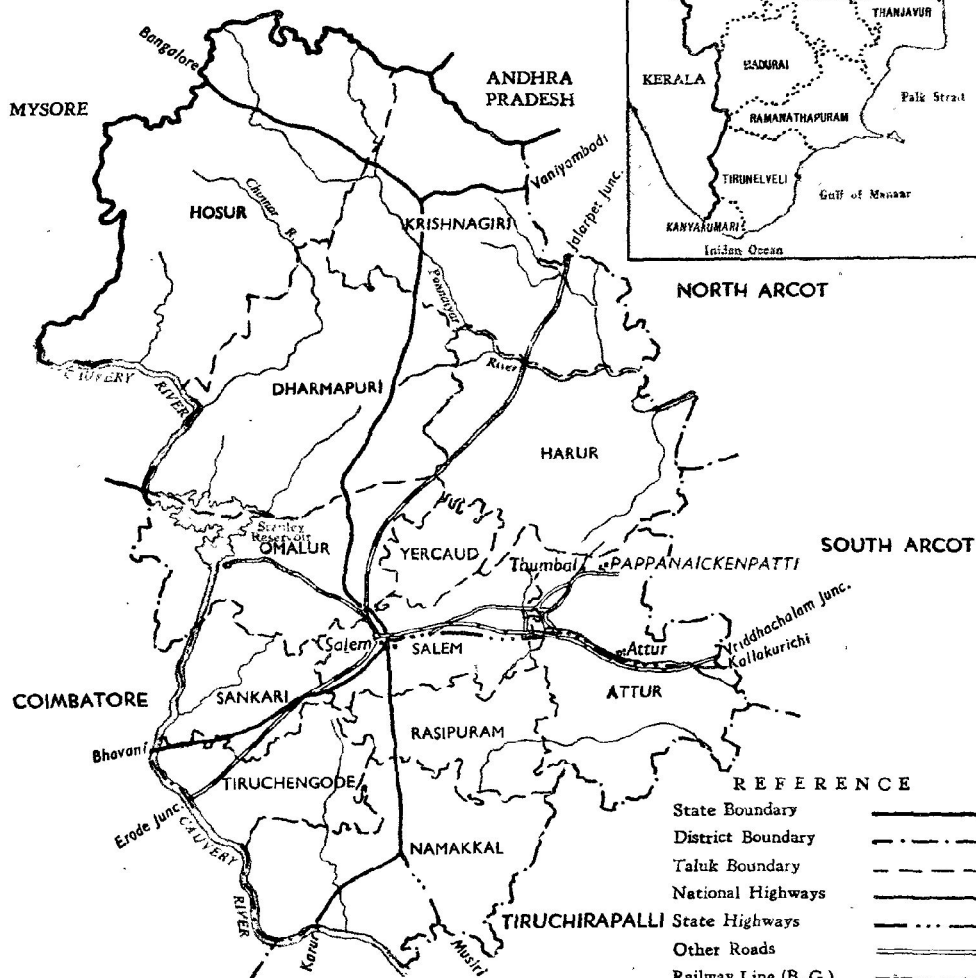
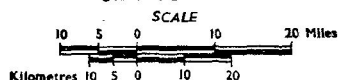
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LOCATION MAP OF PAPPANAICKENPATTI

ATTUR TALUK
SALEM DISTRICT



REFERENCE

State Boundary	—————
District Boundary	- - - - -
Taluk Boundary	- - - - -
National Highways	—————
State Highways	- . . . -
Other Roads	=====
Railway Line (B.G.)	—————
Railway Line (M.G.)	—————
River with Stream	~~~~~

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

IN OUR REPORT ON THENBARANADU, we have surveyed the condition of Malayalees, a Tamil-speaking Scheduled Tribe found largely in Salem, North Arcot and Tiruchirapalli districts. We found them in their primitive condition without much effective contact with civilisation and comparatively untouched by modern trends. We now propose to study another village in Attur taluk of Salem district called Pappanaickenpatti which is not located at a high altitude like Thenbaranadu, but which is found at the foot of a batch of hills in the district of Salem. The Malayalees form 79% of the population of this village. We selected this village for Socio-Economic Survey because we found that its tribal character was in the process of being disintegrated by the inroads made by civilisation. In this village Malayalees have come into intimate contact with non-tribals. Actually in the village the people reside in two distinct parts, a typical Malayalee settlement and a settlement formed by those persons who have come to the village in search of trade.

Location

2. Pappanaickenpatti is situated at a distance of 12 miles from Attur. But the Periakalrayan Hills lie between this village and Attur with the result that one has to travel a longer distance to reach the village. It is also connected by road to Salem. Buses run both from Salem and Attur to this village. To reach this village, one has to travel by a circuitous route along the foot of the Periakalrayan Hills on the western side and cover a distance of 28 miles. The condition of the road from Sirkar Valapadi is not quite good and a journey by bus will not be comfortable.

An Ex - Mittah village

3. This village formerly formed part of Shekkadipatti Mittah. Mittah is a modified form of Zamindari which was first introduced in Salem district in the early nineteenth century in which the right to collect revenue was sold by auction and right was conferred on the Mittadar. Shekkadipatti Mittah belonged jointly to four Mittadars. The village was surveyed, and taken over by Government on 1st May 1957 under the provisions of the Estates Abolition Act, 1957 and

settled. But the final notification, though a formal one, has not been published and thus the process of taking over is not technically complete. We do not, therefore, find the usual pair of Village Officers — the Headman and Karnam — in Pappanaickenpatti. An old Trione Officer, who is really old, is still attending to the combined functions of the Karnam and the Headman.

Hamlets

4. The village is an extensive one with an area of 5,262.82 acres of approximately 8.2 Square Miles. It has 352 households distributed in ten hamlets as detailed below :

Name of hamlet	No. of households	Predcminant community
1. Pappanaickenpatti (Main)	69	Malayalees & others
2. „ (New)	36	Malayalees
3. Elupuli	85	do.
4. Athuvalavu	49	do.
5. Peria Moolapadi	26	do.
6. Chianna Moolapadi	9	do.
7. Arasanatham	14	do.
8. Kattakadu	5	do.
9. Mettukadu	24	do.
10. Beemampalayam	35	Malayalees and Naickers.
	352	

While the main hamlet lies in the centre of the village, the rest of the hamlets are scattered at distances ranging from a furlong to three miles from Pappanaickenpatti. Of these, Moolapadi, Pappanaickenpatti and Beemampalayam can be reached by road. The other hamlets can be reached only by footpath. The main hamlet, Pappanaickenpatti, is divided into two parts — old and new. The former is occupied mostly by new-comers with shops and godowns. The latter is predominantly occupied by the tribals.

Among the rest of the hamlets, Elupuli, Athulavu and Beemampalayam have more than 30 households each. The remaining hamlets are small with 10 or 15 households.

Physical features

5. The lay of the land of the village is undulatory and surrounded on all sides by hills. The Kariakoil stream passing from east to west divides the village into two segments, north and south. This stream with its branches starting from both Periakalrayan and Chinnakalrayan Hills is a perennial source of water supply, but its water is not put to any irrigation use in the village. A few trees can be found standing on its banks indicating the serpentine course of the stream. During summer the cultivable lands which are dry generally present a barren appearance and the soil which is red will appear in sharp contrast to the greenness of the surrounding forests. Fauna of the village consists of the usual domestic cattle, stray dogs and a few jungle animals like tigers, boars, foxes and rabbits. Of these, tigers make an appearance once in a way and kill sheep or goat found grazing in the forest.

Climate and rainfall

6. The village is at an elevation of 1,400'. It gets an average rainfall of 40" out of which about 25" fall during north-east monsoon months of September to December. It also gets a few heavy falls of rain during the summer months of April and May and some showers during the south-west monsoon. Summer is comparatively hot in the village, due partly to the radiation from the adjacent hills which form a perfect setting to the village.

Trade in forest produce

7. The climate and rainfall determine the agricultural practices and crop pattern of the village. But importance of Pappanaickenpatti cannot be attributed

to its agricultural fertility or to the primitivity of the inhabitants. Its importance has to be gauged from its strategic location at the foot of the hills and on the route to the plains from the numerous hill villages on the Periakalrayan and Chinnakalrayan Hills in Attur and Kallakurichi taluk. All the produces collected or grown in these hills are brought by headloads or on the backs of animals like asses and bullocks and sold in the market at Pappanaickenpatti. The chief produce is gall-nut. The other items are jungle wood, charcoal, bamboo, honey and jack fruits. This lucrative trade has attracted a number of merchants to Pappanaickenpatti who have established themselves there with shops and await anxiously for the arrival of the tribals with their loads. They take the precaution of advancing money to the tribals which enables them to purchase their produce at cheap rates and then sell them at higher prices to the wholesale merchants at Salem and other places. The occasion of the visit of the hill-people to this market centre to sell away their produces is made use of by other petty merchants to sell tempting wares of glittering cheap ornaments, clothes, salt, spices, oil, agricultural implements etc. Thus it acts as a two-way commercial centre. The shandies are held twice a week on Wednesdays and Sundays. The season for gall-nut is from September to January. The village of Pappanaickenpatti, therefore, flourishes on the trade which takes place between tribals and non-tribals.

Village institutions

8. The village is served by a Village Panchayat with nine elected members. The Panchayat Office is located in a small rented building in old Pappanaickenpatti. With slender resources, the Panchayat is not able to do anything very useful either for the upkeep of the village or for its advancement on the developmental side. The panchayat is attached to the Peddanaickenpalayam Panchayat Union. The President of the Panchayat, by virtue of his office, becomes the member of the Panchayat Union. Peddanaickenpalayam is at a distance of about 20 miles from Pappanaickenpatti. Being a remote village in the union, the benefits sponsored by the Union are slow to reach it.

The Panchayat Union is running two schools, one at Pappanaickenpatti and another at Elupuli. The one at Pappanaickenpatti is a Higher Elementary School with classes upto Eighth Standard. It has got a recently constructed small pucca building of its own. The school building at Elupuli is a

HARUR TALUK

PAPPANAICKENPATTI VILLAGE

ATTUR TALUK

SALEM DISTRICT

(Not to Scale)

CHINNAKALRAYAN HILLS

NEYYAMALAI FOREST

THUMBAL

Chinnakalrayan Hills

Periya Moolappadi

Pillaiyar Kovil
Arasanatham

Mariamman Kovil

PAPPANAICKENPATTI
Panchayat Union
Ely. School

Pudappanaickanpatti

Athavalava

Eluppali

Panchayat Union
Ely. School

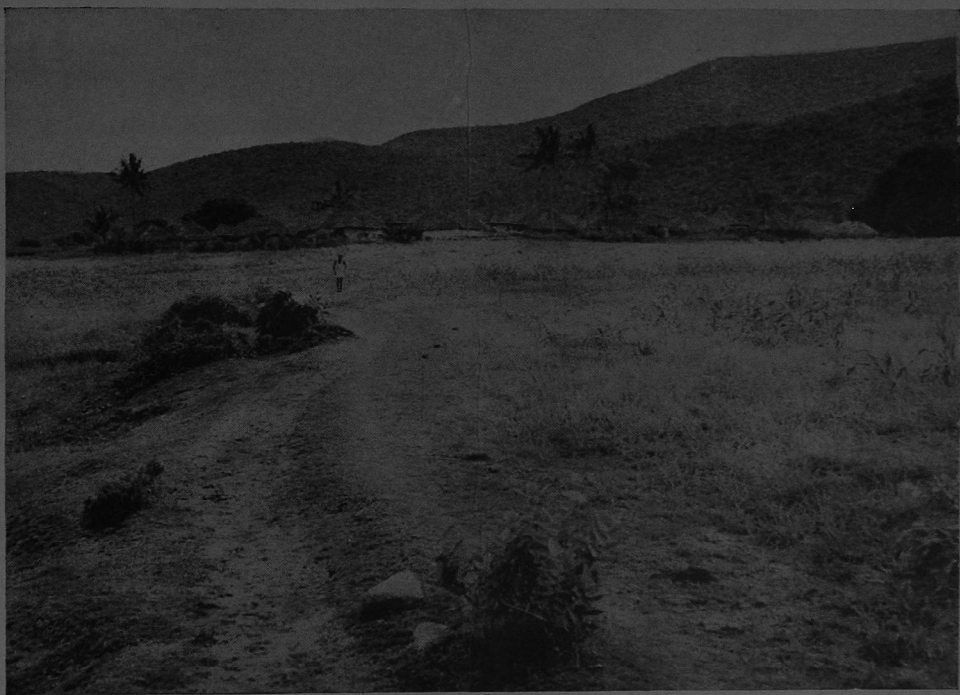
Mimbampalayam

Attur

PERIAKALRAYAN HILLS

REFERENCE

- Village Boundary
- Main Road
- Cart Track
- River
- Village Site
- Burial Ground
- Round Well
- Forest Area



A distant view of Elupuli Hamlet

thatched one. It cannot be said that these two schools could serve all the hamlets of Pappanaickenpatti village because some of the hamlets are more than one mile in distance from any of these two centres. Peria Moolapadi is one such hamlet.

The village has no Co-operative Society of its own. It has also no medical facilities within a radius of twenty-five miles. The village was formerly considered as a malarial one; but now due to D.D.T. spraying by National Malaria Eradication Project authorities, malaria is under control. The people look generally healthy.

We have already mentioned that the only way to reach the village is by a rugged metalled road.

This passes through the village of Thumbal in which there are some shops selling provisions, cloth etc. It also contains a few money lenders who advance money to the Malayalees with the expectation of getting it repaid with interest in the shape of gall-nut. The post office at Thumbal serves Pappanaickenpatti also.

None of the hamlets of Pappanaickenpatti has any temple worth describing. But in a lonely spot by the side of the forest, there is a small temple for the powerful deity of Seluva Narayanan. This is held very sacred by the Malayalees. It is having an annual festival in the month of Purattasi. The festival attracts a big crowd of pilgrims and petty merchants.

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL CULTURE

Ethnic composition

9. Table No. I gives the distribution of households in this village on the basis of community. Of the 352 households in Pappanaickenpatti village, 276 belong to the Scheduled Tribe, Malayalees. The next largest community is Golla Naickers. The Malayalees and the Golla Naickers are the original inhabitants of the village. Other communities came later in search of business or in pursuit of business or industry. The Vanniars came in search of agricultural labour. The Telugu Chettiars came with the bright prospects of enriching themselves by advancing money to the tribals. But all of them are not engaged in it. Some have taken to occupations of service nature like running a tea shop etc. The

Muslims were also attracted to this village by the gall-nut trade. The village Trione Officer also happens to be a Muslim. The Kavara Naidus were attracted by the prospects of petty trade. The other artisan castes like Vannan, Navithan, Asari etc. came with the prospects of employment opportunities. The solitary Brahman household is running a hotel. The Malayalees are predominant in the eastern part of the village while Golla Naickers live mostly in Beemampalayam on the western side. Table No. II summarises the Settlement History of various communities in the village. We shall confine our remarks regarding ethnographic details to four dominant communities of this village — Malayalees, Golla Naickers, Kavara Naidus and Vanniars.

TABLE No. I

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

Religion and community	Sub-Caste/ Sub-Sect	Total No. of households	Total persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
HINDUS					
Malayalees		278	1,424	733	691
Gollas		30	145	71	74
Telugu Chettiar		11	67	37	30
Vanniar Gounder		8	36	17	19
Kusavan		6	32	16	16
Naidu	(Kavara)	5	23	11	12
Asari		3	6	3	3
Mudaliar		1	3	2	1
Vannan		1	6	3	3
Vellala Gounder		1	5	3	2
Brahmin	(Rao)	1	4	2	2
Ambattan		1	8	4	4
Chakkilian		1	5	3	2
Oddar		1	2	1	1
ISLAM					
Muslim		3	15	9	6
CHRISTIAN					
Christian		1	6	3	3
Total		352	1,787	918	869

ETHNIC COMPOSITION

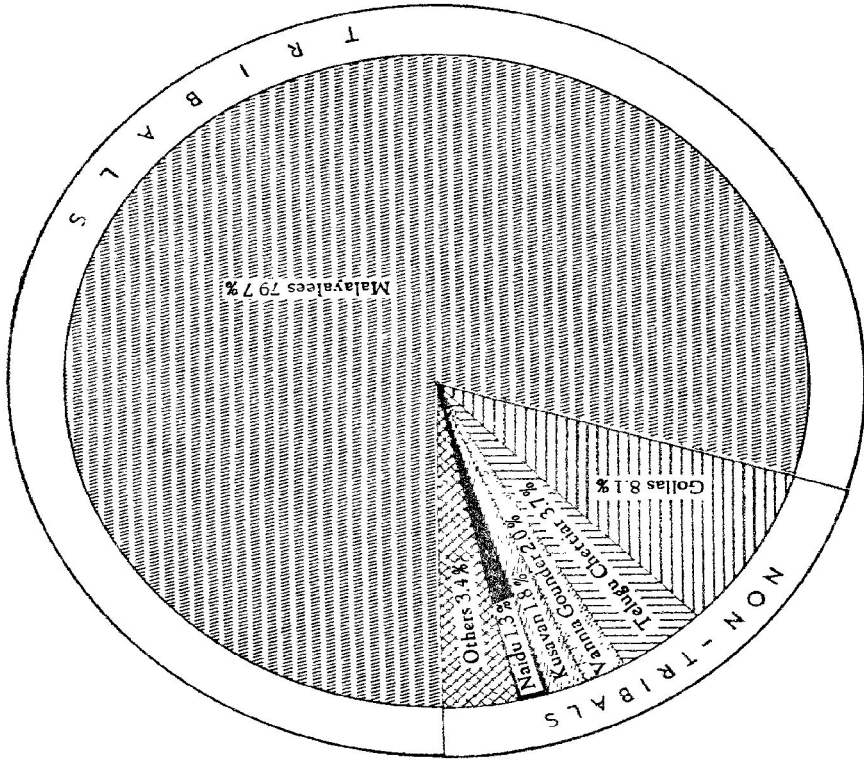


TABLE No. II
SETTLEMENT HISTORY

Caste/Tribe/Community	Total No. of house- holds	No. of households settled							Places from which the families have migrated	HHS.	
		Before 5 genera- tions	Between 4—5 generations	Between 2—3 generations	One generation	Present generation					Not known
						HHS.	M	F			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)			
Malayalees	278	275	...	...	...	3	6	5	Pollachi, Coimbatore District, Servarayan Hills, Kathuripatti.	1 1 1
Gollas	33	...	...	...	...	5	15	12	Panamadal, Attur Taluk, Salem District Sekidipathy Pulianguruchi Dharmapuri Ponnaianpatty	1 1 1 1 1
Telugu Chettiar	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vanniar Gounder	8	...	...	...	...	1	1	3	Edapady, Attur Taluk, Salem District.	1
Kusavan	6	...	...	...	...	1	3	2	Sekkadipatti, Salem District.	1
Kavara Naidu	5	...	...	...	...	1	2	3	Kalappanaickenpatti, Attur Taluk.	1
Asari	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vellala Gounder	1	...	...	...	...	1	3	2	Udayapatti, Salem District.	1
Brahmin (Rao)	1	...	...	...	...	1	2	2	Belur	1
Ambattan	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chakkilian	1	...	...	...	...	1	3	2	Edapady	1
Oddar	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muslim	3	...	...	...	...	2	8	5	Kaluthur, Perambalur Taluk, Tiruchirapalli.	1
Christian	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Thagarai.	1
Total	352	275	...	...	...	16	43	36		

The Malayalees

10. The term Malayalee is used to describe the tribal people found in the hills of Salem, Tiruchirappalli, North Arcot and South Arcot Districts. Perhaps they are so called because they live on *Malais* (hills). They speak Tamil. They are the most numerous and the least primitive of the Scheduled Tribes in Madras State. The Malayalees are divided into three endogamous sects called Peria Malayalees, Pachai Malayalees and Kolli Malayalees. Except for four or five households of Peria Malayalees all the rest in Pappanaickenpatti belong to the sect of Pachai Malayalees. We have described the original background of Malayalees in our report on Thenbaranadu and we do not propose to cover the same ground in this report.

Social hierarchy

11. The people of each sect among the Malayalees are well knit and each has a separate pattern of social hierarchy. The areas occupied by any one sect is divided as *Nadus* and each Nadu is divided into villages. The head of each village is called as *Ooran* or *Oor Goundan*. The head of a Nadu is called Nattan and the overall head of the entire sect living in various Nadus is called as *Peria Nattan* or *Guru*. The areas comprising Pappanaickenpatti is called Edapatti Nadu. The present Nattan of this Nadu is living in Pappanaickenpatti proper with a big family of two wives and five daughters. He is assisted in his official duties by a deputy called *Mantri* and his bearer called *Kolekaran*. Usually the Nattan presides over a council of elders and dispenses with justice, ceremonies, marriages, and decrees divorces. He can impose and collect small fines after hearing complaints of a social nature. The fines collected are used either for the common good of the village or for the celebration of the annual festival of the local deity.

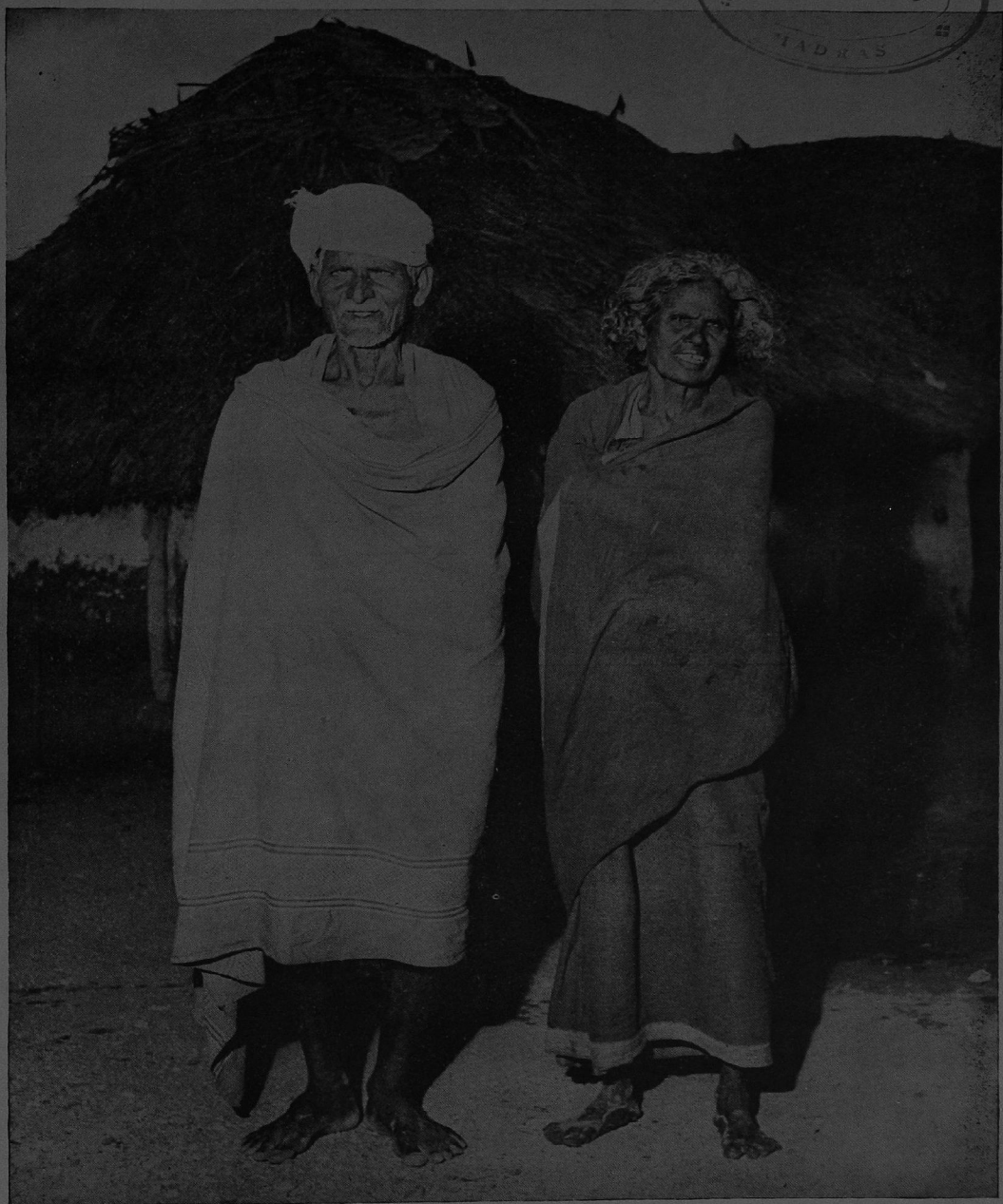
In Pappanaickenpatti, thirty years ago, the Nattan was very autocratic in his behaviour. Some Malayalees dissatisfied with him created another Nattan who is now called the Nattan of Karia Goundan Nadu. He exercises control over certain hamlets in this village. The difference of opinion as between the two Nattans has, however, subsided now, though the authority of the additional Nattan is still maintained. This shows that however powerful and hereditary a Nattan be, he should respect the feelings of the people who revere him while exercising his powers.

Religious practices

12. They generally worship the deities of both Saivite and Vaishnavite cults like the Hindus of the plains. They celebrate Hindu festivals and visit Kariaramankoil in Periyakalrayan and Chinna Tirupathi in Chinnakalrayan Hills. In the village they worship at the Seluva Narayanan temple, the deity of which is usually kept buried in a secret spot which is known to the Poojari of the temple called Nambi. The Nambi is expected to live an orthodox life and be a vegetarian. Like Hindus, they observe Thai Pongal and Adi eighteenth. Some of them observe Deepavali and Sivarathri. As agriculture is their main occupation, they give importance to the harvest by celebrating Thai Pongal. During this festival, the sons-in-law are invited with their wives and presented with new clothes. They utilise the labour of their daughters and sons-in-law for completing their agricultural operations. Usually the festivals are timed to suit agricultural operations.

Social ceremonies

13. Even in social functions they follow the people of the plains. When a girl attains maturity, she is kept in a separate house for a period ranging from seven to fifteen days and then taken back to the house after a ceremonial bath. They spend large sums on their marriage which is usually a four-day affair. They invite all their friends and relations in the entire Nadu and give them four feasts. This will normally mean heavy expenditure. But to see that the burden does not ruin any family, they have come to a working arrangement under which they fix the marriages of all marriageable boys and girls in a hamlet on a particular day, so that the cost of feeding is divided proportionately. In fixing marriages, the initiative is always taken by the boy's family. The boy's father has to pay a bride-price and present a saree at the time of betrothal. Though the traditional bride-price is a nominal amount, the actual amount now demanded is high, ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500, depending upon the status and appearance of the girl. It is usual to start the marriage ceremony on a Wednesday with a ceremony called Nalangu. On Thursday the bridegroom's party goes to the bride's house and a Thali is tied in the early hours of Friday morning. Marriage is celebrated in a pandhal specially put up in front of the bride's house. On Friday evening, the couple return to the groom's house. On Saturday which is the final day, the couple are taken round the village in a procession accompanied by music. On this day, the



Aged Malayalee couple



Malayalee belles



Some Malayalee women

groom's party gives a feast in the afternoon. The couple go to the river or some water point accompanied by other girls and making a lot of fun and frolic. Their marriage celebration is just like that of the Vellalas of the plains. The Nattan officiates over the ceremony and he hands over the Thali to the bridegroom who ties it on the neck of the bride. For officiating as the master of ceremonies, the Nattan is paid a fee of Rs. 1'25 out of which the Mantri is given 25 nP. and the Kolekaran another 25 nP. Child marriages do not take place nowadays. The marriages are arranged by the elders who take care to seek the consent of the bride and bridegroom.

Septs

14. The Pachai Malayalees are divided into a number of septs for purposes of contracting marriage alliances. They call these septs as '*Veedus*' meaning houses. Together the septs form two groups. If any male member of any one sept in one group wants to marry, he must necessarily seek a bride belonging to any sept coming under the other group. The septs coming under each group are considered as brother septs and any marriage alliance between a boy and a girl belonging to brother-septs is prohibited. Some of the sept names belonging to the two groups are as follows:

Group I	Group II
Adi Veedu	Perinji Veedu
Cheri Veedu	Koveri Veedu
Thumbudian veedu	{ Mathi Kettan Veedu Panna Veedu

Other social customs

15. The Pachai Malayalees do not have any totemistic tendencies, even though they practice exogamy. Polygamy is allowed, but is rare. Divorces take place for incompatibility and for adultery with someone outside the tribe. In the case of divorces which are called '*Muri*', they are signified by splitting a piece of straw or a piece of dried cowdung in the presence of the council of elders presided over by the Nattan. As soon as this signal is done, the men and women cease to be husband and wife. Where the application for divorce is from the wife, she has to return the cash portion of the bride-price received by her. As soon as it is returned, she is at liberty to marry any other man. The bride-price need not be returned, if the move for divorce comes from the husband.

The place of women

16. The women of the tribe usually enjoy a certain amount of licentious life. What is more the men of the tribe are known to have remarkable tolerance over the freedom of their women. They have still kept alive this freedom, but they object to any adultery with outsiders. Adultery within the tribe is never considered serious and when a complaint is made to the Nattan, it ends with a fine or corporal punishment unless either party decides on divorce. Adultery with a man outside the tribe is considered serious and the guilty woman is usually excommunicated. The Pacha Malayalees, however, treat Peria Malayalees as their own brethren although these two sects are endogamous. We have seen two or three cases in Pappanaickenpatti village itself in which Peria Malayalees are living with women of Pacha Malayalees sect. They do not practice polyandry, but it is reported that brothers in a family have much more freedom with any of the wives than is usually desirable. Remarriage of widows and divorces are permitted among Pachai Malayalees. This is in contrast with the custom prevailing in the other two sects of Malayalees. In the case of Peria Malayalees and Kolli Malayalees, such remarriage with tying of Thali is not permitted. These are considered more as concubinages than as marriages and the children born out of such concubinage are accepted as legal children. In the case of Pachai Malayalees, bride-price has to be paid even for a remarriage. The Nattan is the guardian of all divorced and widowed women and a heavy bride-price of Rs. 65 is collected by the Nattan and not by the father of the woman. Out of this amount collected, the Nattan can take Rs. 20 and distribute the balance to the common good fund of the various hamlets within the Nadu. Divorced women and widowed women who come under the guardianship of the Nattan are called as '*Nattu Ponnu*' in contra distinction to the name of '*Kattu Ponnu*' given to brides getting married for the first time.

Death customs

17. The Pachai Malayalees usually bury the dead. They place the body in a lying posture and head southwards. The body should face upwards, but the face should be slightly tilted towards east. Those who die of smallpox and leprosy are cremated. Pollution is observed for sixteen days after death.

Succession

18. Succession among the tribe is patrilineal. Most of them own lands, but they are not hard working. They are economical and frugal in their habits. They have contentment in life and love the simple ways of their ancestors. Gradually they are leasing the lands owned by them to outsiders who tempt them with loans and mortgages. In Pappanaickenpatti village, no ban is imposed against the sale of lands belonging to Malayalees to others. Such a ban fortunately exists in some other Malayalee villages of Salem district. In the absence of such a ban the lands now owned by the Malayalees are in due course slowly passing on to outsiders.

Kambalam

19. The Pachai Malayalees have an interesting custom called *Kambalam*. When any one is in need of a large force of labour for carrying out any agricultural operation, he can muster men within the tribe at the rate of one adult per family by inviting them for a feast. A pig is slain on this occasion. None can refuse to take part in this feast and everyone taking part in it must repay the obligation by giving the host of a day's labour. This old custom is even today practised by the Malayalees of this village. Being composed of a single homogeneous sect, there is large amount of co-operation in the life of the Malayalees. They join together and shoulder the responsibility for celebrating all social and religious functions. Any function in anyone's house is considered as a function of all the tribals. Economic disparity does not play any effective role in the social and cultural life of the tribals.

Adherence to social laws

20. Another notable feature of their life is the adherence to social laws. Any breach is taken notice of by the Caste Panchayat. The society maintains a caste fund of its own which is a collection of fines paid by the offenders of social laws and contributions given by each married couple. It is the custom to collect ten 'vallams' of grains and a goat or a pig for this fund from each newly married couple. This is utilised for organising the annual feast to all the tribals in the hamlet once a year. The fund is also used for meeting the common needs of the society like celebrating Mariamman festival. The fund generally consists of money, fowls and cattle and the Oor Goundan is the treasurer of this fund.

Golla Naickers

21. The Golla Naickers belong to a pastoral caste of Telugu origin. They speak a corrupt form of Telugu and they style themselves as Naickers in this village. They believe that they are the descendants of Lord Krishna. Their hereditary occupation is tending of sheep and cattle, but most of them have now taken to agriculture. In this village, out of 34 households of Gollas, nearly 30 are engaged in cultivation.

Origin

22. The Gollas are believed to be originally the people from the kingdom of Yadhavas who ruled parts of Andhra with their capital at Devagiri in the twelfth or thirteenth century. These Yadhavas were hostile to Hoysalas who during that period were also equally powerful. It is recorded in history that Singana, the powerful king of Yadhavas wanted to establish his supremacy over the Hoysalas. His Governor of the southern province, Vicana is said to have driven the Hoysalas from the parts of Salem district which were under the rule of the Hoysalas in the thirteenth century. The present Gollas are believed to be the camp followers and warriors of Vicana.

Sub-divisions

23. Among the Gollas, there are at least twelve endogamous sub-divisions. In parts of Salem district, about nine sects of Gollas have been traced. They are the following:—

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Pappa Gollas | (2) Erra Gollas |
| (3) Pokkisha Gollas | (4) Thoddi Gollas |
| (5) Kona Gollas | (6) Eda Gollas |
| (7) Mondi Gollas | (8) Manda Gollas |
| (9) Mukkathu Gollas | |

Among these, the Pokkisha Gollas are considered to be superior to others. It is said that since they served as custodians and as watchmen in the Government treasury they came to be called as Pokkisha Gollas. This sect of Pokkisha Gollas are found mostly concentrated in Attur taluk. The Erra Gollas are found in Namakkal and Krishnagiri Taluks, the Eda Gollas in Dharmapuri and Harur Taluks, Mondi Gollas in Dharmapuri and Manda Gollas in Omalur Taluk. Though these sects are originally endogamous,

there are some instances of marriages between the several sects. It is said that marriage alliances between the first three sects are more frequent now-a-days. They particularly try to avoid marrying in the other sects which are considered to be a little lower in status.

For purposes of marriage alliances, each sect is divided into several exogamous septs or Gothras. Sri Kuppuswami Naicken of this village was able to name only two Gothras found in the village and they are Pavadalu Gothra and Manuvada Gothra. Two other Gothras mentioned in the sect are Thirunamathari Gothra and Krishna Gothra. They are both Vaishnavites and Saivites. They worship Ellamma, Angamma and Padavettamma. They permit divorces and widow-marriages. Widowed and divorced women are also permitted to remarry. They observe pollution during child birth, puberty of girls and menstruation. They bury the dead.

Caste hierarchy

24. They have a caste hierarchy which is still in existence though not powerful as it was once. Their overall caste head is called *Guru* and he is said to be living somewhere near Salem. The *Guru* visits the villages in which his castemen are living once in a way and collects money and grains. The office of the *Guru* is a hereditary one. He decides on social disputes. The next in command to the *Guru* is the *Jathi Pillai* who is said to be living in Dindigul. He also visits the villages now and then and collects his tributes in cash and grain.

Birth customs

25. The child birth in this community usually takes place within the house or in the verandah with screens temporarily put up. Experienced elderly women help the delivering woman. On the seventeenth day after child birth, the mother and the child are given a bath and taken back to the house after cleaning the premises. On this day, they visit their family deity. They do not have any separate ceremony for naming the child. But in the second or third year, the child is taken to the temple of the family deity and head tonsured.

Marriage customs

26. According to their custom, the initiative for an alliance must come from the bridegroom's party. If the parents are satisfied with each other, a day is announced for betrothal and on this day, the traditional

bride-price and a saree have to be given by the bridegroom's party to the bride's parents. The traditional bride-price was only Rs. 13; but now this has gone upto Rs. 31. Formerly, they used to invite the *Jathi Pillai* also for this betrothal ceremony, but now because of the distance, they have discontinued the practice. The marriage among Gollars is a three day affair. On the day prior to marriage, the bride is taken to the temple in a procession and from there the party will proceed to the bride-groom's place. At the time of the *Muhurtham*, the bride and the groom are seated in a decorated *pandal* in which ceremonial pots, grind-stone etc. are kept. The marriage ceremony nowadays is officiated by a Brahmin. A screen is put up between the bride and bridegroom and a new basket is kept between them. The bride and the groom have to keep their right legs in the basket while tying the *Thali*. The shape of the *Thali* is like a small disc of the size of a four anna piece. After tying of the *Thali* there would be minor ceremonies and then feasting. The couple would return back to the bride's house on the third day and there would be also feasting.

Death customs

27. When any one dies, message is sent to the kith and kin through the village *Parayan*. The corpse will be laid in the centre of the house. After the arrival of all close relatives, the corpse would be taken out and placed in a cot in front of the house. It would be given a bath in cold water and oil, scents, sandal etc. applied. A new cloth will also be put over the corpse. It would then be carried in a bier to the burial ground. The dead body is buried in a lying posture with head towards south and the face slightly tilted towards east. Pollution is observed for three to sixteen days till *Karumathi*.

Kavara Naidus

28. Five households belong to this community. They have migrated to the village in the last ten years in pursuit of petty trades. Generally the members of this community are engaged in petty trades and are known as *pellars* of spices and bangles. They are industrious and frugal. They call themselves as *Naidus*. One *Sri Subbuswami Naidu* who came to this village five years back from Mohanur is now running a tea shop. His son works as a tailor in his father's shop and one unmarried daughter helps her father in the tea shop. They saved a substantial

amount within the last two years. He purchased the dry lands lying behind his shop, from the Nattan of Malayalees, measuring four acres. He is now well off and is in a position to buy more lands. This information is given to us by Sri Subbuswami himself. He is a typical Naidu of his castemen. The Kavara Naidus have their *Guru* who is a Brahmin at Tirukkailur. He visits important villages, where the castemen live in large numbers, once in 4 or 5 years and collects money from devotees. He elevates some elders of the caste by affixing *Mutrai*. Such persons are expected to lead a religious and pious life and free from family ties and duties. Those who have received the *Mutrai* are honoured by cremation while others are buried. The people of this caste were formerly paying a bride-price of Rs. 21. But this practice has been given up now. They have within them several exogamous septs or Kulams for marriage purpose. The four kulams to which the Kavara Naidus of this village belong are :

1. Bavadal Kulam (Coral Kulam)
2. Jirkalu „ (Jeeraga „)
3. Miriyalu „ (Pepper „)
4. Pall „ (Milk „)

The girls of this caste, on betrothal, tie a string of black beads which is thrown away after three or four days. Married women wear a lot of coral beads. These customs are peculiar to this caste.

Vannia Gounders

29. There are nine households of Vannia Gounders in this village. Though they claim to be the original inhabitants of the village, our enquiry shows that they have come to this village some fifty years ago. The Vanniars belong to a cultivating caste found predominantly in the districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and the northern taluks of Salem, Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur districts. In Tiruttani taluk of Chingleput district, they are known as Reddis. In other parts of Chingleput district, they are called Naickers. In North Arcot, South Arcot and Salem, they are known as Gounders. In Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur districts, they are known as Padayachis and Pallis. The Government of Madras have classified them as the most backward community. They are no doubt backward educationally and economically. They are cultivators and hard working. Their communal cohesiveness is a growth of recent origin. They are very frugal in living and

they do not spend much on marriages. They dress in a simple manner and live in simple huts. They allow divorces, remarriages and widow remarriages. Out of nine households, six are engaged in cultivation and three work as agricultural labourers. A detailed account of the customs and manners of Vanniars can be found in our Village Survey Reports of Iswaramoorthipalayam and Thadagam.

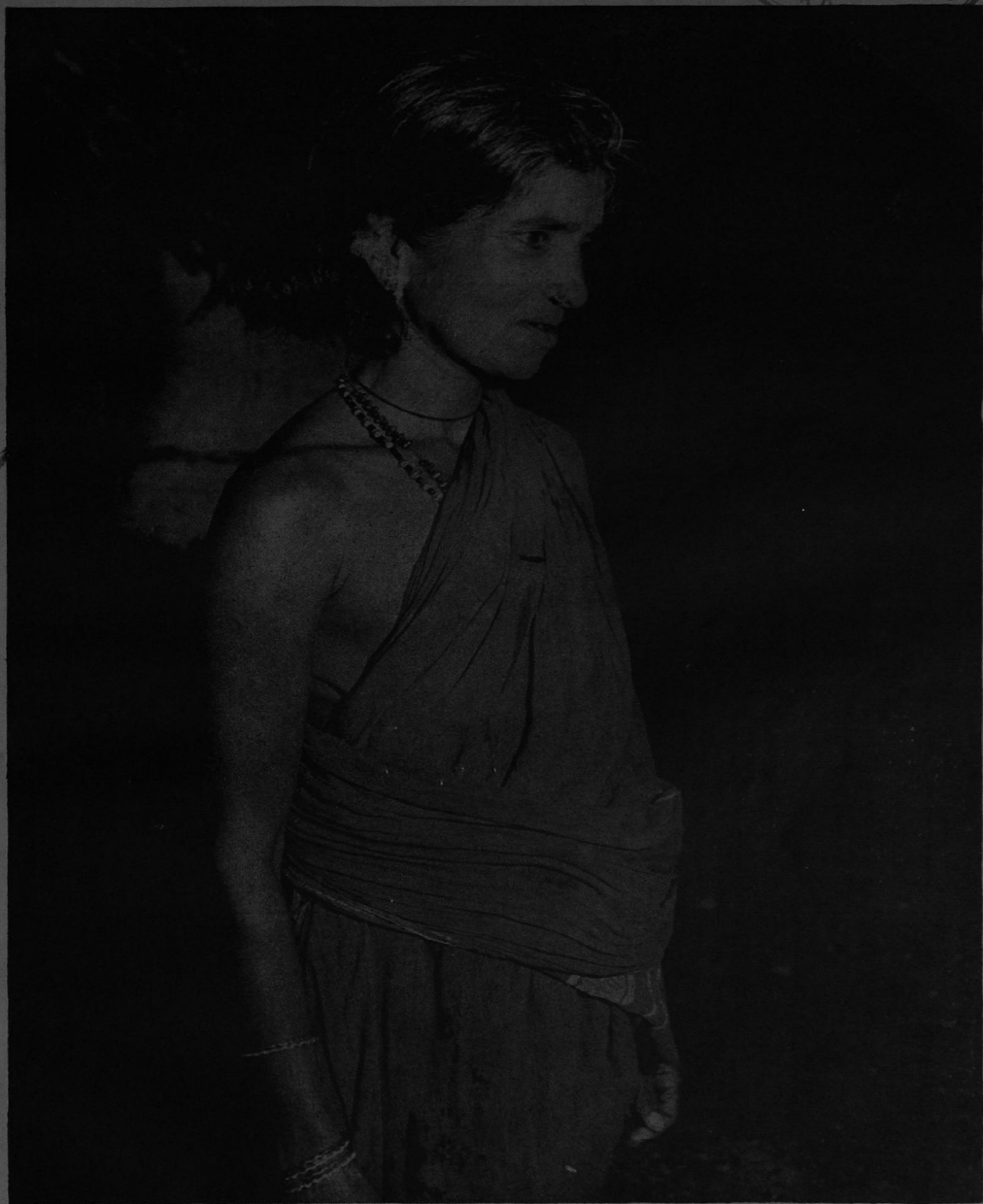
Appearance, dress and ornaments

30. The Pachai Malayalees are mostly medium in stature and well built. Their complexion varies from dark brown to black. Males of the older generation wear tufts with their foreheads shaved. Men belonging to the younger generation and boys resort to crops. The existence of barber saloon at Pappanaickenpatti itself has vastly aided the conversion of tufts into crops. Almost all grown up males have moustaches. The womenfolk part the hair in the middle and tie it into a loose knot at the back. Young girls have now taken to plaiting the hair.

The Gollas are generally tall with a good physique. They are mostly fair complexioned though some are black. In hair style they are no different from others in the locality. In contrast to the Gollas, the Vanniars appear lean and undernourished. About people of other communities in the village, no general description of their appearance could be given because they are varied and not representative of the community they belong.

In matter of dress, the Malayalees have nothing peculiar to the tribe. They dress like plains people. Men wear short dhoties and towels. Some wear half shirts or banians. Women wear coloured sarrees of eight yards length and loose fitting blouses. They have the fold of the saree at the back, and the pallav crossed over the left shoulder. This is in contrast to the way in which Kavara Naidu women wear the sarrees. The Kavara Naidu women put on the pallav of the saree on the right shoulder.

Regarding the ornaments, it is noticeable that the Pachai Malayalees of this village do not load their ears with too many jewels, as is done by the Malayalee women living in the hills. The following are the ornaments worn by the Malayalee women of Pappanaickenpatti.



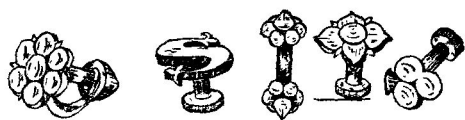
A Malayalee woman with her ornaments



A group of Malayalee women with their children.
Note their dressing pattern.



A village woman in her ornaments



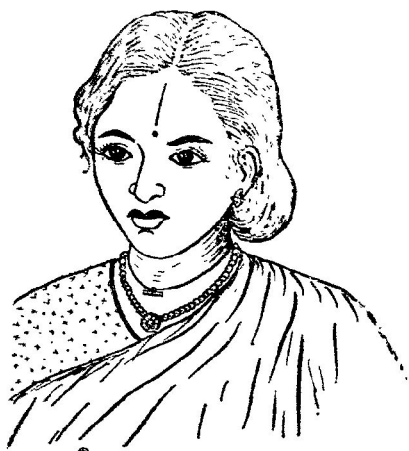
Ear ornaments : 1. Vellakkal Thodu ; 2. S. Thattu ;
3. Koppu ; 4. Thattu ; 5. Clover Thattu.



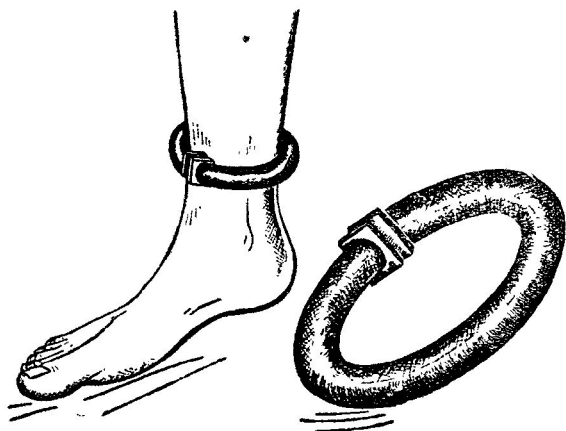
Nose ornaments—Mookkuthi ;

Ear „ —Koppu and Kammal.

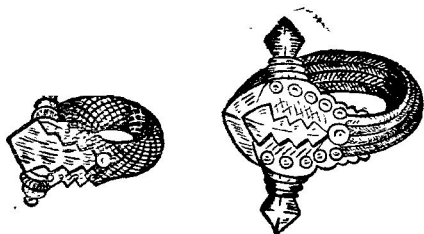
Ear ornaments worn by men—Kadukkan



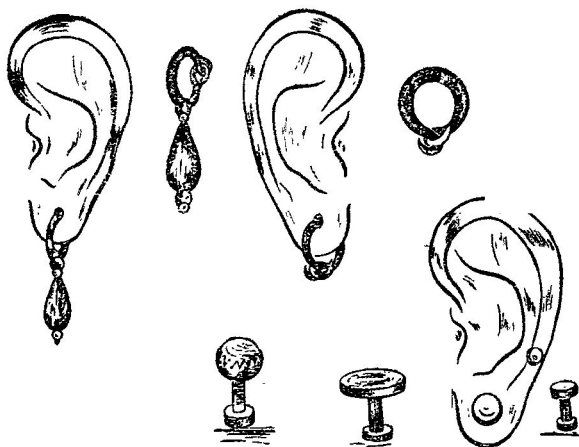
Ear ornaments



The silver Kappu worn on anklets



Different designs of Ananthamudichu

Ear ornaments: Thodu; Kambi for young boys;
Kadukkan for elder men.

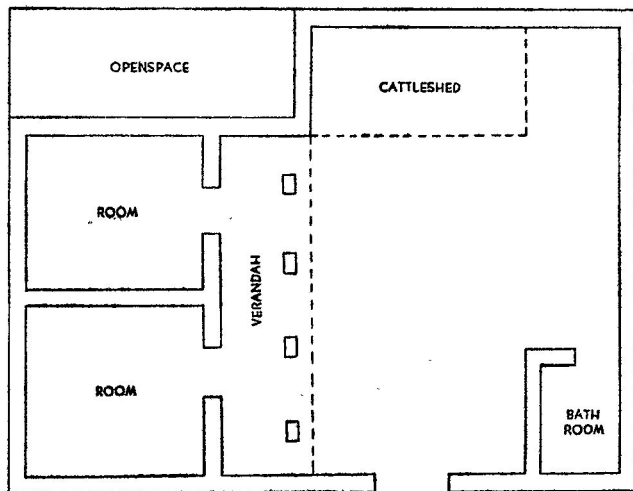
- Ears :

Kammai or Olai	}	Made of gold or brass
Koppu		
Kili Thalukku		
- Nose : Nose screws studded with stones. Gold or brass.
- Wrist : Silver or glass bangles.
- Neck : Attigai, Chain and Pasimani. Gold or brass.
- Ankles : Kolusu or anklets made of silver.

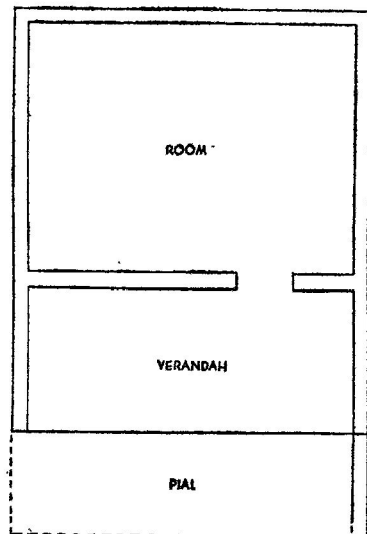
The Gollas, Telugu Chettiars, Kavara Naidus also wear most of these jewels. In addition they wear lot of *Corals* (Pavalam). This is perhaps a peculiar feature of all communities of Andhra origin. Most women of all castes are seen with tatoo marks. It has to be noted here that whereas the Kolli Malayalees are prohibited from having tatoo marks, there is no such ban among the Pachai Malayalees.

By appearance and dress the Muslims of the village are sharply distinguishable from the others. The

Muslim males are tall and slender. They put on coloured shirts and fez caps.



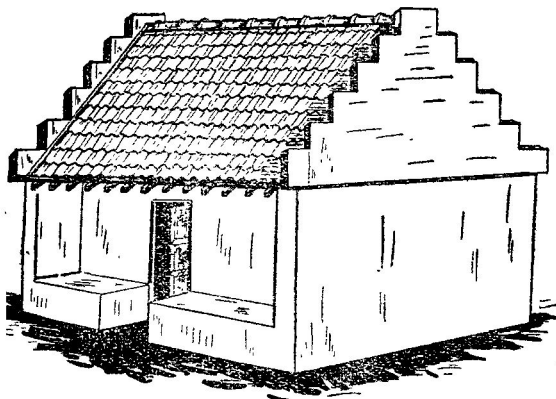
Ground plan of a Karala Gounder house



Ground plan of a hut

Residential pattern and housing

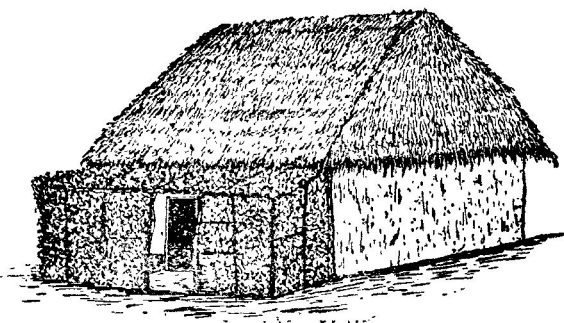
31. The hamlet of old Pappanaickenpatti which is occupied by non-tribals has developed itself in a linear manner on account of the construction of shops and godowns on either side of the road—more like the towns we find in the plains. The other hamlets occupied by Malayalees are built in rectangular clusters. This is in contrast to the shapeless irregular clusterings of the houses found in the hill villages occupied by the Malayalees. The streets are narrow, cutting at right angles. The width of the street is 8 to 10'. No vehicular traffic is expected to go along the streets. The houses on either side of a street face each other and the lane common to them is covered by a pandhal to its entire length and is intended to give shade to the houses. The houses are close to each other and householders do not have much privacy. The streets are generally kept clean.



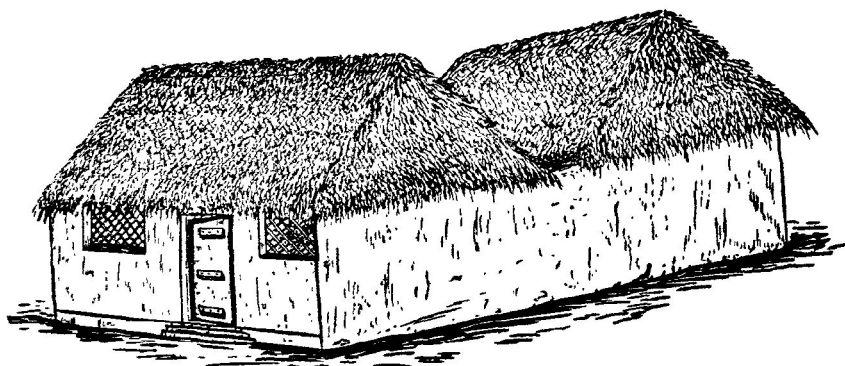
The tiled house of a Karala Gounder

The Malayalees previously believed that tiled roofs should not be put up by them as it would excite the wrath of God. As such, the Malayalee houses are generally small huts with thatched roof

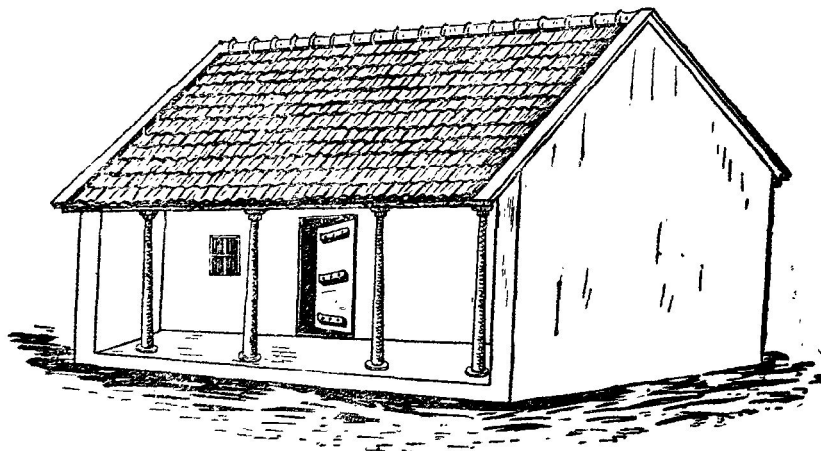
and mud walls. For the roofing, a kind of grass which grows wild in forest is used. Also in the past they erected walls by plastering bamboo 'Thatties' with mud. Now they have begun erecting mud walls without bamboos. The weight of the roof is supported by four wooden poles located at four corners. Normally a hut will be 18' x 15'. It will have only one room with a small covered verandah in front. This room serves all purposes like cooking, living, eating and sleeping. During non-rainy days, they prefer to sleep on the pials. Beneath the pials one or two small cavities are made for keeping fowls reared by them.



A typical thatched hut in the village



A double roofed thatched hut of Karala Gounder



The typical tiled house in the village



A typical hut of the Malayalees



Malayalee huts

A Malayate hut in Elupuli hamlet.
See the weigh of the roof resting on wooden poles at the corners.



The houses belonging to other communities are similar in size and design, but the materials used depend on the economic status of the owners. Some use bricks and some plaster the walls and floors with cement. Many of them use Mangalore tiles. As already indicated, these non-tribals have migrated to the village in recent times for commerce and have brought with them their own designs for buildings. These designs are now copied by some Malayalees. This will explain why there are one or two Malayalee houses with Mangalore tiles. Their sentimental objection to tiled houses which we can see in other Malayalee settlements in Salem district has begun to disappear in this village. From Table No. III it can be seen that 94% of the total households reside in

houses with single room. Four per cent have houses with two or more rooms. The average size of a household is 5.1. In a few cases more than one married couple live in a house. The size of the house does not depend on the size of the family. The Malayalees do not engage any skilled labourer for the construction of their houses. They get the help of relatives and friends whom they feed during the period of construction. With their help, they are able to construct all their houses. The materials required for the construction of a hut are one wooden door, six wooden poles, two headloads of bamboos and five or six headloads of wild grass. The cost of construction will not normally exceed Rs. 100.

TABLE No. III

Households by number of rooms and by number of persons occupying

Caste/Tribe/ Community				Households with no regular room		Households with one room		Households with two rooms		Households with three rooms		Households with four rooms or more	
	Total No. of households	Total No. of rooms	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members
Malayalees	278	284	1,424	...	...	273	1,388	4	27	1	9	...	...
Gollas	30	44	145	...	...	21	89	5	25	3	19	1	12
Telugu Chettiar	11	16	67	...	...	8	39	2	9	...	...	1	19
Vanniar Gounder	8	9	36	...	...	7	31	1	5	...	...	...	...
Kusavan	6	7	32	...	...	5	26	1	6	...	...	...	...
Naidu	5	7	23	...	...	3	14	2	9	...	...	...	...
Asari	3	3	6	...	...	3	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar	1	1	3	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan	1	1	6	...	...	1	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vellala Gounder	1	1	5	...	...	1	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	1	1	4	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ambattan	1	1	8	...	...	1	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chakkilian	1	1	5	...	...	1	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
Oddar	1	1	2	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muslim	3	5	15	...	...	2	4	...	...	1	11	...	...
Christian	1	1	6	...	...	1	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	352	383	1,787	...	...	330	1,636	15	81	5	39	2	31

Health and sanitation

32. The layout in the village site is helpful in the maintenance of better sanitary conditions in all the hamlets. The streets are neatly swept and kept clean. Each housewife cleans the open portion surrounding her house. Drain water does not collect and stagnate in the streets as far as Malayalee settlements are

concerned. But in contrast to this, non-tribal hamlets of Old Pappanaickenpatti and Beemampalayam give a dirty appearance and their streets are full of rubbish. They are normally never swept and drain water is permitted to stagnate. In environmental sanitation, Malayalees are better than the non-tribals. Though there is a Panchayat in the village, sufficient attention has not been paid to public health.

DOMESTIC UTENSILS

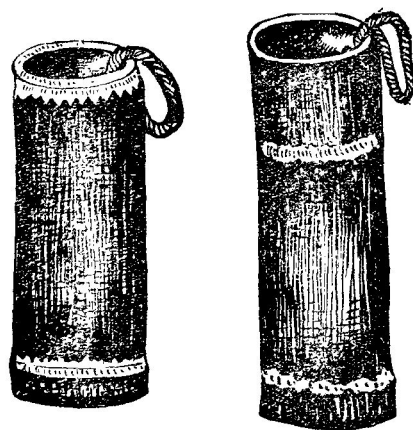
Domestic utensils



The mud pot—a common ware in every house



Domestic utensils : Tumbler and chombu



The bamboo containers used for keeping milk



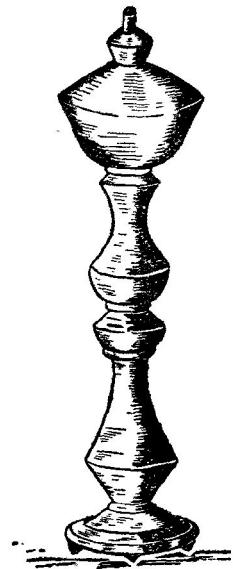
Inside a Malayalee hut



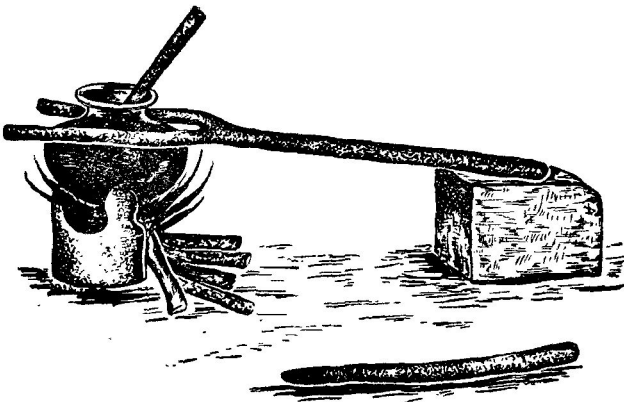
Different types of granaries



Domestic utensils

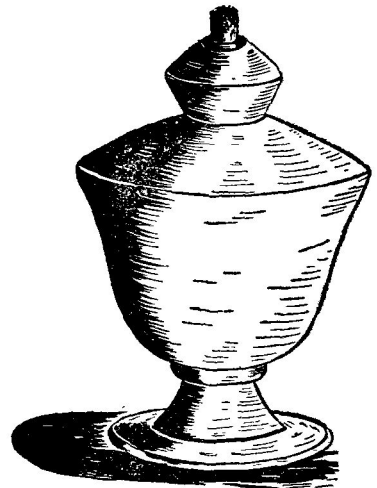


A pedestal brass lamp



The culinary articles used in the preparation of gruel

The Malayalees have developed certain standard of tidiness. Both inside and outside their houses, they keep the vessels and other household articles arranged neatly. They store grains in big baskets measuring about 8' in height and 3' in diameter.



A brass lamp commonly found in the house

This basket locally known as *Thombai* is affixed to the ground and has a capacity of 15 to 20 bags. They whitewash their walls once a year at the time of Pongal and the floors are smeared with cowdung every week.

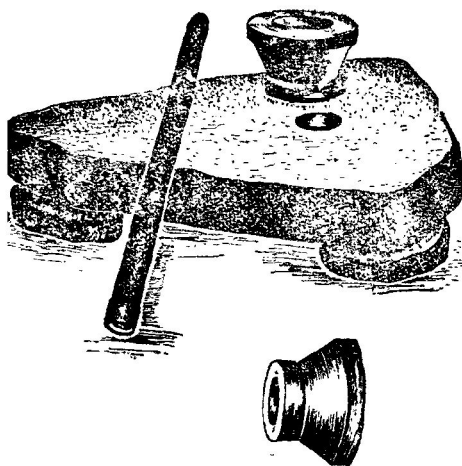
The villagers generally take bath once a week either in the streets by the side of their house or near the public well. They also go to the stream flowing by the side of their village. They wash their clothes. They use soft stones for cleaning their body. The use of soap has just begun. The people appear generally healthy. This village was malaria infested. But due to the efforts of N.M.E.P. malaria has been controlled to a large extent. Cholera has also become rare. The Malayalees have an inherent antipathy for vaccination against small-pox and this disease attacks them. They have a peculiar method of dealing with patients suffering from small-pox. Immediately on attack, they segregate the patients to a temporary shed constructed at a distance and allow the patients to remain in it until they are completely cured or till they die. They do not have any contact with the suffering patients. Food is supplied to them by placing it at a distance and the patient has to collect it afterwards.

For child birth, they do not attend any maternity centre. Assisted by experienced women in the village, delivery takes place in their own houses. For small ailments, they have their indigenous herbs and medicines. They will go to the hospital at Attur or Salem, if they find that the situation cannot be controlled by local medicine.

Rural sanitation can be improved only by the prevention of soil pollution, by indiscriminate defecation and the provision of adequate and safe water supply for villages. There is no latrine in the whole village. Even if the Panchayat were to construct a few latrines, they would never be put to proper use by the public. In rural parts, dry type latrines can never be a success. They prove a source of nuisance and generate fowl smell. Before the scavenger can visit these places on his daily round, the pigs will swallow half the night soil and throw the other half all round the place. The people are also not inclined to use latrines. They prefer open fields and edges of paths and streams.

Drinking water

33. The position regarding drinking water supply is much better, thanks to the large sums of money spent by the Government on Local Development and Rural Water Supply Schemes. Three drinking water wells have been constructed for Pappanaickenpatti village, one each in Pappanaickenpatti, Elupuli and

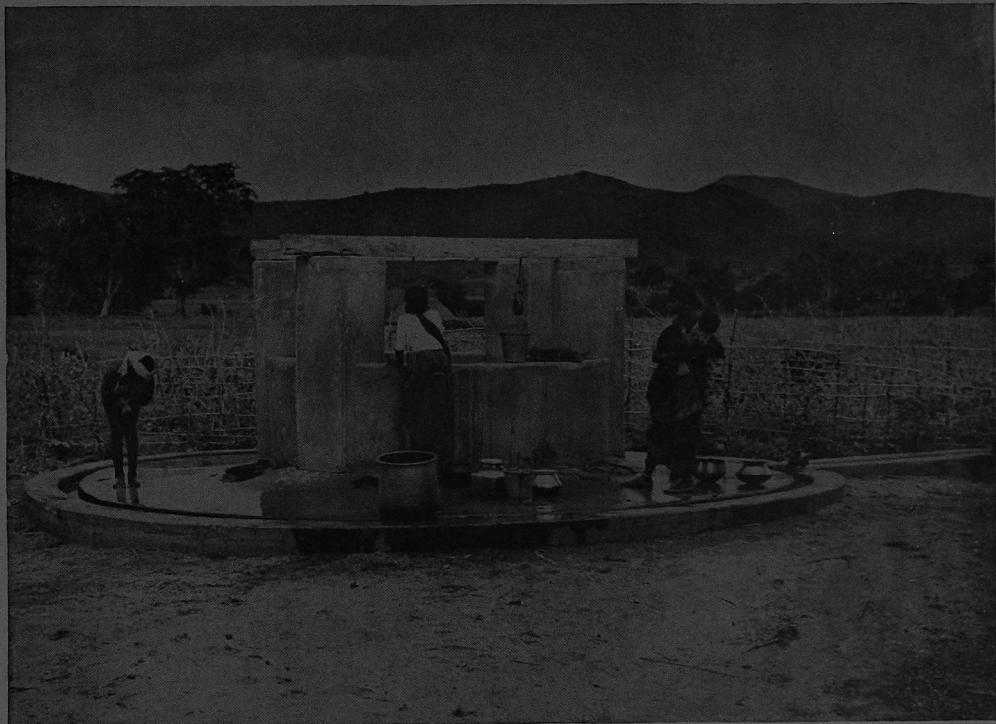


The wooden mortar and pestle. Grains are pounded by placing the 'Ural' or the mortar on a heavy stone slab.

Athuvalasu. One more is under construction in Moolapadi. The Panchayat has a proposal to sink one well each in other hamlets. In spite of the provision of such wells, the villagers prefer to take water from the stream. According to them, water in the stream has more potability. They do not seem to be unaware of the possibility of their contracting water borne diseases from the wells in the streams. They still seem not to be worried about continuing their unhealthy traditional methods of living.

Food habits

34. In Pappanaickenpatti, millets are grown in most of the areas. A small quantity of rice is also grown in a few fields. The staple food of the villagers is millet. Out of 352 households, 7 only take rice; 109 take a mixed diet of rice and millet and 236 have exclusively a millet diet. From Table No. IV we find that 82% of the household take three meals a day. The first meal is taken in the morning in the form of cold rice or gruel before going to the fields for work. At noon they take cooked millet with some sauce prepared out of pulses or green leaves as a side dish. They take plenty of butter-milk. For the night, they have a substantial meal of millet, freshly cooked. The existence of a large number of hotels and tea shops in Pappanaickenpatti has encouraged the villagers to drink tea in the morning instead of taking their usual gruel. The Chettiers and Muslims



A drinking water well provided in a Malayalee village

who consider themselves economically superior to other communities take rice as their main food. They take tiffin and coffee for the breakfast. From the

nutritive point of view, though the quantity consumed is adequate, their diet which consists mainly of cereals cannot be said to be of good value.

TABLE No. IV
Diet and food habits

Caste/ Tribe/ Community	Total No. of house- holds	No. of vege- tarian house- holds	No. of Non- vege- tarian house- holds	Households taking			Frequency of meals		
				Rice only	Rice and Mill- lets	Mill- lets only	One meal a day	Two meals a day	Three meals a day
Malayalees	278	...	278	1	69	208	...	57	221
Gollas	30	...	30	1	12	17	...	1	29
Telugu Chettiar	11	...	11	2	7	2	...	...	11
Vanniar Gounder	8	...	8	...	2	6	...	1	7
Kusavan	6	...	6	...	4	2	...	2	4
Naidu	5	...	5	...	4	1	...	...	5
Asari	3	...	3	...	1	2	...	1	2
Mudaliar	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1
Vannan	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1
Vellala Gounder	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1
Brahmin	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
Ambattan	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1
Chakkilian	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1
Oddar	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1
Muslim	3	...	3	2	1	...	...	...	3
Christian	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1
Total	352	1	351	8	105	239	...	62	290

From Table No. V, it can also be seen that except for a solitary Brahmin family, all households take non-vegetarian food like mutton, pork and fowl. Fish is rarely taken. Though fowls are reared in many households, intake of chicken and eggs is limited. Non-vegetarian food is taken only very rarely. The Malayalees are particularly fond of pork and relish it

better than mutton. On important occasions like marriages, pigs are slaughtered by them and eaten. They do not eat beef, nor do they eat meat on auspicious days like Mondays, Fridays and Saturdays. Many Malayalees are strict to vegetarianism in the month of Purattasi.

TABLE No. V

Prohibited foods and drinks

Caste/Tribe/ Community	No. of households reporting as prohibited	No. that did not report any food to be prohibited	No. that did not report any drink to be prohibited
	Meat		
Malayaloes	...	278	278
Gollas	...	30	30
Telugu Chettiar	...	11	11
Vanniar Gounder	...	8	8
Kusavan	...	6	6
Naidu	...	5	5
Asari	...	3	3
Mudaliar	...	1	1
Vannan	...	1	1
Vellala Gounder	...	1	1
Brahmin	1	...	1
Ambattian	...	1	1
Chakkilian	...	1	1
Oddar	...	1	1
Muslim	...	3	3
Christian	...	1	1
Total	1	351	352

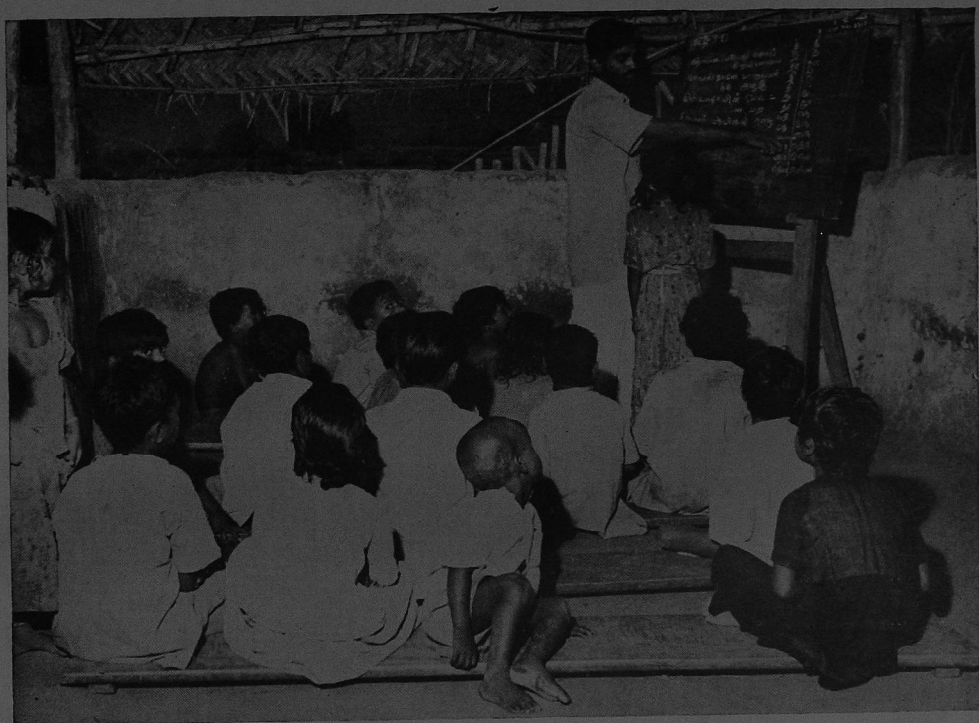
The total number of consumption units comprised in the village is 1,483. Based on the existing levels of consumption of cereals in Attur taluk, we find that the total consumption in this village will work out to 63 tons of rice and 269 tons of millets. Production in the village is 8 tons of rice and 553 tons of millets. It will be, therefore, seen that it is a deficit as far as rice is concerned to the extent of 55 tons annually

and surplus as far as millet is concerned to the extent of 284 tons.

Literacy and Education

35. Total literacy is indicated in the following table:

Year	Population			Literates			Percentage of literates to corresponding population		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1951	666	602	1,268	33	1	34	4.9	0.2	2.7
1961	918	868	1,787	135	27	162	14.7	3.1	9.1



An Elementary School for Malayalees at Elupuli

It will be seen that literacy has increased from 2.7% in 1951 to 9.1% in 1961. Compared with the State percentage, the rate of increase in the percentage of literacy is not marked. But Salem district has generally a low percentage of literacy which is 13% and the literacy standard cannot be said to be low when compared to this figure. The percentage of literacy is much lower in the case of females than males, both in

1951 and 1961. From Table No. VI, it can be seen that 59 per cent of the total literates belong to the age group 5-14. The percentage of literacy has obviously increased during the last decade. This has been achieved by the establishment of two Elementary Schools in the village five years ago. 71 per cent of the literates have no educational standard while others come under the group 'Primary'. One male has passed Matric.

TABLE No. VI

Literacy

Caste/ Tribe/ Comm- unity	Age-groups	Total population			Illiterate		Literate without educational standard		Primary or Basic		Matric or Higher Secondary		Above Matri- culation	
		*P.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Village														
Total	All ages	1,787	918	869	792	845	83	22	42	2	1	...	...	...
	0 — 4	283	137	146	137	146	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5 — 9	262	132	130	86	118	44	12	2	...	...	...	...	...
	10—14	172	99	73	72	66	14	6	13	1	...	...	...	...
	15—19	131	71	60	65	59	2	...	4	1	...	...	...	...
	20—24	119	60	59	49	59	2	...	8	...	1	...	...	...
	25—29	182	89	93	81	92	5	1	3	...	...	...	...	...
	30—34	123	65	58	64	57	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35—44	232	127	105	112	104	6	1	9	...	...	...	...	...
	45—59	207	99	108	88	107	4	1	3	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	76	39	37	38	37	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* P = Persons ; M = Males ; F = Females.

This village is served by two Elementary Schools, one at Pappanaickenpatti and the other at Elupuli, both maintained by Peddanaickenpalayam Panchayat Union. The school at Pappanickenpatti is housed in a pucca building constructed recently. It is manned

by two teachers; one is a Secondary Grade trained teacher and the other is untrained. The students are 74 males and 11 females. The building was constructed by the Block and the cost of it was shared as follows;

Government grant	...	Rs. 2,646
District Board contribution		Rs. 1,000
Cash contribution		Rs. 1,500
Labour		Rs. 146
Total		Rs. 5,292

The children of the hamlets of Moolapadi, Kattakadu, Arasanatham and Mettukadu are not able to attend any school. The school at Elupuli is, however, popularised with the children belonging to Elupuli, Athuvalasu and Beemampalayam. It is housed in a temporary thatched shed and manned by a single teacher. The students are taught upto Vth Class, the total number of students being $27+7=34$. After completing Vth Class, they have to go to Pappannaickenpatti for VI th Class. As there are no schools with higher class in the village, they go to Attur or Salem in search of higher education. The total number of

children of school going age is 433 consisting of 231 males and 202 females. 76 males (33 per cent) and 17 females (8 per cent) attend schools. Poor enrolment of children in schools is said to be due to the following reasons.

The villagers do not appreciate the value of education and some of them think that they cannot afford to educate them. These children are needed at home to help their parents to earn paltry sums of money and supplement the family income. No school is located in some of the hamlets and the children between 5—10 find it difficult to go long distances in search of education. The scheme of midday meals has been extended to the schools in this village. It is likely to have a beneficial effect on children belonging to the hamlet in which the school is located. Still the economic condition of the Malayalees will always require their children to be engaged in assisting their parents for supplementing their income. The position can be improved only if schools are opened in more hamlets and mid-day meals provided.

CHAPTER III

POPULATION TRENDS

Growth of population :

36. Pappanaickenpatti has recorded an increase of population of 41 per cent during the decade 1951-61. The following are the population figures for the village :

(1951)			(1961)		
Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
666	602	1,268	918	869	1,787

The abnormal increase of 41 per cent is striking as against the increase of 11.7 per cent for the State and 9.9 per cent for the district. We shall examine what the reason is for this sudden spurt in population increase in the village.

Vital statistics

37. According to the vital statistics maintained for the village by Trione Officer, the following are the number of births and deaths during the last eight years.

Year	Births	Deaths	Natural increase
1953	10	5	5
1954	34	10	24
1955	30	15	15
1956	17	7	10
1957	12	9	3
1958	12	2	10
1959	10	6	4
1960	35	9	26
	160	63	97

The birth rate according to this works out to 15.8 per 1,000 per year, and the death rate to 6.2 per 1,000 per year. It could be seen that both the birth rate and the death rate are very low when compared to the birth and death rates for the district. The low birth and death rates noticed in Pappanaickenpatti is not believable. This may be because of the failure to record all births and deaths. The Trione Officer is not generally living within the village and there appears to be large number

of cases of failure to record births and deaths, as otherwise such low rates could not be accounted for. The low birth rate especially is not explainable in view of the fact that the health conditions in the village have improved vastly subsequent to the eradication of Malaria.

Age structure

38. The percentage distribution of persons in broad age-groups is as follows :—

Age groups	Pappanaickenpatti	Salem District	State
0-14	40.1	39.1	37.5
15-34	31.1	33.3	33.9
35-59	24.6	21.9	23.0
60+	4.2	5.7	5.6

It could be seen that in the village there is a high percentage of persons in the age group 0-14. This would indicate more number of births in recent years and more survival from infantile mortalities. The child-women ratio, which is defined by the number of children below 5 years per 1,000 women of the age-group 15-44 is 755 for the village as against 670 for Salem district and 607 for the State rural. The high child-woman ratio is indicative of larger number of births in the last five years. Therefore there is reason to believe that the recordings in the birth register are not satisfactory. The percentage distribution in the age group 60 and above in the village is only 4.2. The low figure in this age group is indicative of lower expectation of life. The low figure in the age group 60+ may also be due to swelling of the population in the economically active age groups of 15-34 and 35-59.

Density

39. The present density of population in Pappanaickenpatti is 212 per Square Mile while it was 155 in 1951. The area should be considered as thinly populated even now, when we find that the density in rural areas of Attur taluk is 415 and that in Salem district 459.

Sex ratio

40. The sex-ratio in the village has decreased from 904 to 870 during the decade. The present sex ratio among the Malayalees is 943 which can be considered to be normal. But when we take the village as a whole, the sex ratio should be considered as abnormally low and this is due to the fact that a larger number of men who have come to the village in pursuit of trade and other occupations are living here without their families.

Marital status

41. From Table No. VII, we find that marriages are generally contracted after 20 in the case of males and 15 in the case of females. Out of 403 married males only ten are found in the age group 15-19 and out of 412 married females seven are found in the age group 10-14. The widows out-number widowers. The existence of a large number of widowed and divorced persons in the age-groups below 14 is surprising, because the social customs of the tribes and most

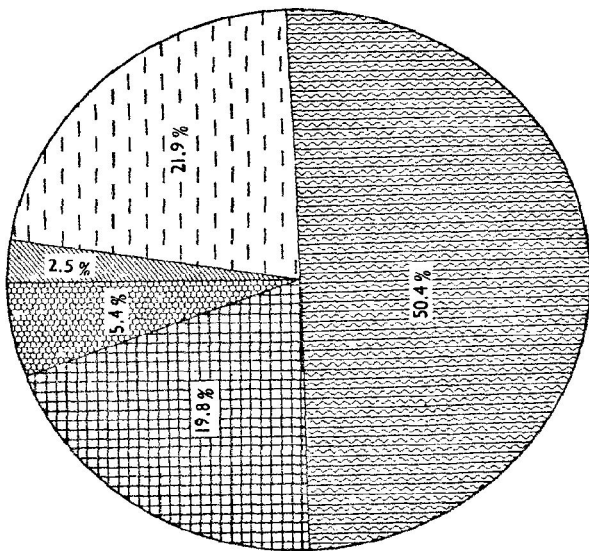
TABLE No. VII

Age and marital status

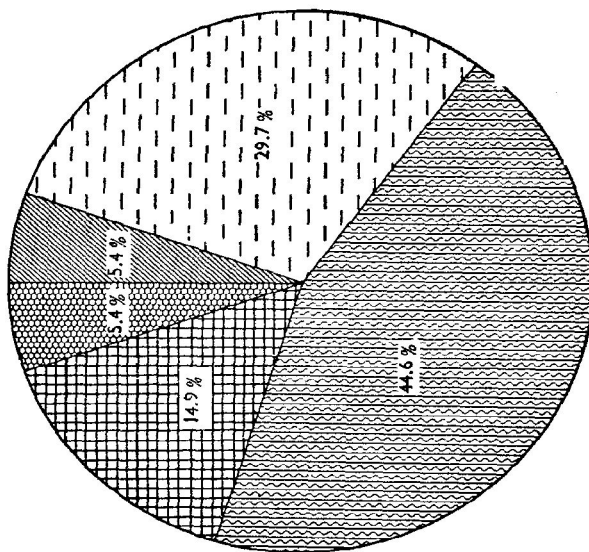
Caste/ Tribe/ Community	Age- group	Total population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated		Unspecified status	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Village	All ages	1,787	918	869	477	364	401	402	30	99	10	4	...	...
Total	0 — 4	283	137	146	137	146	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5 — 9	262	132	130	132	130	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10—14	172	99	73	99	67	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—19	131	71	60	64	17	7	41	...	1	...	1	...	...
	20—24	119	60	59	23	2	33	57	...	...	4	...	...	...
	25—29	182	89	93	14	2	68	85	3	5	4	1	...	...
	30—34	123	65	58	3	...	60	54	...	2	2	2	...	...
	35—44	232	127	105	4	...	117	93	6	12	...	...	...	...
	45—59	207	99	108	1	...	90	57	8	51	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	76	39	37	...	...	26	9	13	28	...	...	...	...

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

TRIBALS



NON-TRIBALS



LEGEND

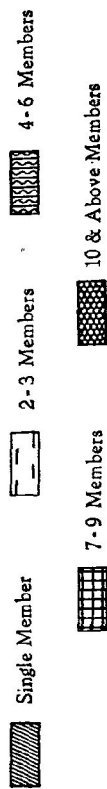


Table No. VIII

Size of households

Caste/Tribe/ Community	No. of house- holds	Single member			2-3 members			4-6 members			7-9 members			10 members & over		
		Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females
Malayalees	278	7	2	5	61	74	78	140	359	326	55	224	191	15	74	91
Gollas	30	3	1	2	7	10	10	13	33	29	5	18	20	2	9	13
Telugu Chettiar	11	...	...	...	3	4	4	5	13	12	2	10	5	1	10	9
Vanniar Gounder	8	...	...	...	2	2	4	5	12	11	1	3	4	...	...	...
Kusavan	6	...	...	...	2	3	3	2	5	6	2	8	7	...	...	...
Naidu	5	...	...	...	2	3	3	3	8	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asari	3	1	1	...	2	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar	1	...	...	...	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vellala Gounder	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ambattan	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	4	...	...	...
Chakkilian	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Oddar	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muslim	3	...	...	...	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	7	4
Christian	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	352	11	4	7	83	103	109	173	444	405	66	267	231	19	100	117

castes living in Pappanaickenpatti permit remarriages and widow marriages. Normally one would expect young divorced or widowed persons to remarry. But the chances of their remarrying at a late age are slender. In the case of Pachai Malayalees it could be seen that there are only three widows in the age group below 34 and the balance of 72 widows are in the age groups above 35. As regards divorced and separated persons, they are found in various age groups, but these may be

the cases where they are waiting for suitable alternative spouses.

Size of household

42. From Table No. VIII it is seen that 49 per cent of the households belong to medium-sized family of 4-6 members and 24 per cent of the households to the large-sized family of 7 or more members. Smaller-sized families come to about 27 per cent. Unlike as in other tribes in the State, it is not customary among

the Malayalees to make the newly married couple to live separately soon after marriage. The average size of a household in the various chief communities of Pappanaickenpatti is as follows :

Pachai Malayalees	...	5.1
Gollas	...	4.8
Telugu Chettians	...	6.1
Vanniars	...	4.5
Kusavan	...	5.3
Kavara Naidus	...	4.6

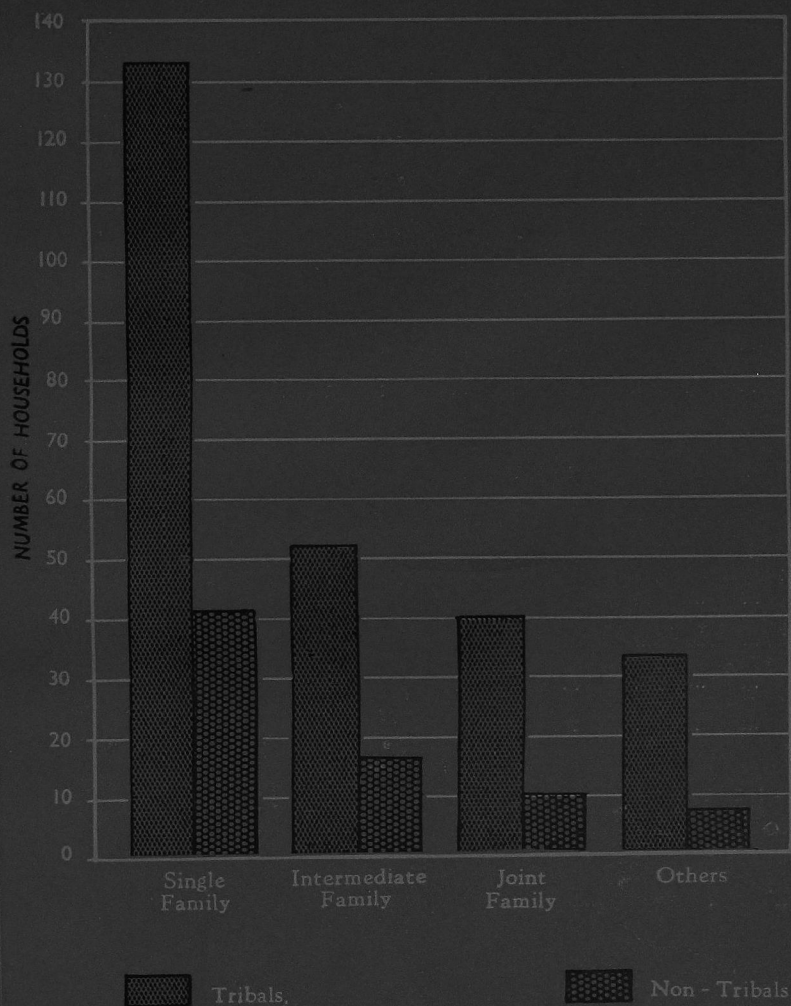
It is seen that the average size of a Telugu Chettiar household is large because of a high composition of children in their families.

Table No. IX gives a picture of the types of the families in the various communities. Simple nucleated families in the village form 49.4 per cent of the households. Intermediate type of families in which one or two relatives live along with a married couple forms 19.3 per cent. The joint type forms 19.9 per cent and the "others" 14.4 per cent. Among the Malayalees the joint type forms 21.6 per cent which should be considered as unusual among most other tribes.

Table No. IX
Types of families

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total No. of households	Types of families			
		Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
Malayalees	278	133	52	60	33
Gollas	30	16	5	5	4
Telugu Chettiar	11	4	5	1	1
Vanniar Gounder	8	6	1	...	1
Kusavan	6	3	2	1	...
Naidu	5	4	...	1	...
Asari	3	2	...	...	1
Mudaliar	1	1	...	...	...
Vannan	1	1	...	...	...
Vellala Gounder	1	1	...	...	...
Brahmin (Rao)	1	...	...	1	...
Ambattan	1	...	1	...	...
Chakkilian	1	...	1	...	...
Oddar	1	1	...	...	...
Muslim	3	2	...	1	...
Christian	1	...	1	...	...
Total	352	174	68	70	40

TYPES OF FAMILIES



Village working force

43. Table No. X indicates the working and non-working forces of the village population. The workers in the village form 53·4 per cent of the population of the village. This when compared to the district rural figure of 53·7 per cent should be considered as normal. But when compared to the State rural figures of 49·6 per cent this should be considered as high. The slightly high percentage of workers in the total population of the village is due to greater participation of women in the village working force.

Let us see what the relative per household contributions to the working force, by women and

children are. The per household contribution to the village working force expressed in terms of number of workers is as follows :

Per household contribution to working force.

Community	By adult males	By adult females	By children	Total
Malayalees	1·53	1·10	0·19	2·82
Gollas	1·30	0·97	0·17	2·44
Telugu Chettiars	1·36	0·64	0	2·00
Vanniars	1·38	0·75	0·25	2·38
Kusavans	1·50	1·17	0·50	3·17
Muslims	1·67	0	0	1·67

Table No. X**Workers and non-workers by sex and broad age-groups**

Age-groups	Total population			Workers			Non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	1,787	918	869	954	566	388	833	352	481
0 — 4	283	137	146	...	...	...	283	137	146
5 — 9	262	132	130	3	1	2	259	131	128
10—14	172	99	73	62	38	24	110	61	49
15—19	131	71	60	102	61	41	29	10	19
20—24	119	60	59	106	59	47	13	1	12
25—29	182	89	93	158	87	71	24	2	22
30—34	123	65	58	102	65	37	21	...	21
35—44	232	127	105	204	126	78	28	1	27
45—59	207	99	108	165	97	68	42	2	40
60 and over	76	39	37	52	32	20	24	7	17

It could be seen that the per-household contribution of labour to the working force is the highest in the case of Kusavans and the lowest in the case of Muslims. Contribution by children to the per-house-

hold working force is the greatest in the case of Kusavans and the least in the case of Telugu Chettiars and Muslims. In the case of females, it is the highest in the case of kusavans and the least in the case of Muslims.

Non-workers

44. It is seen from Table XI that the total number of non-workers comes to 47 per cent of the total population. The percentage for the Salem district is 46.3. The number of male non-workers to total non-workers works out to 42 per cent and the corresponding figure for the rural areas of Salem district is 39 per cent. This shows that there is lesser

proportion of female non-workers in the village. Thus there is greater participation of women in some occupation or other than in the remaining areas of the district. It can also be seen that 75 per cent of the total non-working population are below the age of 14. This shows that the people start working mostly after attaining the age of 15 and above. As we have already seen, most of the students do not go to school. It means they are dependents on their parents and thus a load on the economy of the village.

Table No. XI**Non-workers by sex, broad age-groups and nature of activity**

Age-groups	Total Non-workers			Full time students or children attending school		Persons engaged only in household duties		Dependents, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled		Others		General volume of persons unemployed	
	* P.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
All ages	833	352	481	79	16	...	141	273	323	...	1	...	...
0 — 4	283	137	146	...	...	...	...	137	146	...	...	...	...
5 — 9	259	131	128	50	12	...	2	81	114	...	...	...	...
10—14	110	61	49	26	4	...	11	35	34	...	...	...	...
15—19	29	10	19	3	...	...	17	7	2	...	...	...	...
20—24	13	1	12	...	...	...	12	1	...	...	...	...	...
25—29	24	2	22	...	...	...	20	2	2	...	...	...	...
30—34	21	...	21	...	...	...	21	...	...	...	...	...	...
35—44	28	1	27	...	...	...	25	1	1	...	...	...	...
45—59	42	2	40	...	...	...	29	2	10	...	1	...	...
60 and over	24	7	17	...	...	...	3	7	14	...	...	...	...

* P : = Persons, M : = Males, F : = Females.

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE ECONOMY

Occupational pattern

45. Salem is comparatively a backward district in Madras State. Pappanaickenpatti is more backward in that district. The backwardness is rendered all the more striking because the people are primitive and the area undeveloped. The village is peopled chiefly by Malayalees and Gollas who are economically and

educationally undeveloped; neither are they as hard-working as the Vellala Gounders found in Salem and Coimbatore districts. The inhabitants of this village mainly depend on their living on dry cultivation and manual transport of minor forest produces. The occupational classification of households in the village is given in Table No. XII.

Table No. XII

Occupational classification of households

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total No. of house- holds	Number of households engaged in																
		Cultivation only	Agricultural labour- er only	Business only	Industry only	Cultivation & Agri- cultural labourer	Cultivation and others	Agricultural labour- er and others	Others & Agt. labourer.	Cultivation & Industry	Business & Industry.	Business and others	Business & Agt. labourer	Business & Cultivation	Cultivation & Business	Cultivation, Indus- try & Business	ulti v. ion, Agt. labourer & others	Others only
Malayalees	278	74	1	...	...	64	62	2	13	...	...	1	...	...	...	9	...
Gollas	30	21	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Telugu Chettiar	11	2	...	4	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
Vanniar Gounder	8	4	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Kusavan	6	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Naidu (Kavara)	5	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Asari	3	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Vellala Gounder	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin (Rao)	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ambattan	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Chakkilian	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Oddar	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Muslim	3	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Christian	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total	352	105	1	9	5	67	65	2	16	1	1	1	1	1	2	...	9	66

Table No. XIII gives a broad classification of workers by industry, business, and cultivation.

A detailed account of the occupations and the workers engaged in each is given in Table No. XIV.

Table No. XIII

Workers classified by sex, age-groups and industry, business and cultivation belonging to the household

Age-groups	Total Workers			Workers engaged in							
				Household industry		Household business		Household cultivation		Others	
	P.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
All Ages	954	566	388	8	1	16	6	382	156	160	225
0-4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...
10-14	62	38	24	1	...	...	...	26	17	11	7
15-19	102	61	41	1	...	1	...	32	19	27	22
20-24	106	59	47	1	...	2	1	41	9	15	37
25-29	158	87	71	1	...	...	...	62	20	24	51
30-34	102	65	37	1	...	3	...	46	7	15	30
35-44	204	126	78	1	...	7	3	77	28	41	47
45-59	165	97	68	2	1	3	1	72	40	20	26
60 & over	52	32	20	...	...	...	1	25	14	7	5

Table No. XIV

Workers classified by sex, age-groups and occupations.

Age-groups	Cultivator			Agricultural Labourer			Cooly			Sales-man			Business		
	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.
All ages	534	378	156	113	28	85	262	125	137	2	2	...	11	8	3
0-4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	43	26	17	10	5	5	8	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	51	32	19	14	7	7	34	20	14	1	1	...	...	...	...
20-24	49	40	9	17	6	11	34	9	25	1	1	...	1	1	...
25-29	79	59	20	25	4	21	49	19	30	...	...	...	...	...	...
30-34	53	46	7	15	2	13	29	13	16	...	...	...	1	1	...
35-44	105	77	28	25	2	23	60	36	24	...	...	...	7	5	2
45-59	112	72	40	6	1	5	37	16	21	...	...	...	1	1	...
60 & over	39	25	14	1	1	...	11	6	5	...	...	...	1	...	1

Table No. XIV (contd.)

Age-groups	Potter			Dhoby			Barber			Comb-making			Blacksmith		
	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.
All ages	3	2	1	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	2	2	...
0-4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20-24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25-29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
30-34	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
35-44	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
45-59	2	1	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
50 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Among 954 workers, 538 constituting 56.4 per cent are engaged in agriculture. The percentage of workers is, however, less than the corresponding percentage of agricultural workers in the rural areas of Attur taluk which is 80 per cent. The reason for this lower percentage can be found in the fact that some persons are engaged in the manual transport of minor forest produce and in trade involving these produces. Nearly 268 workers are engaged in collecting and carrying in head-loads the forest produces to the marketing centre at Pappanaickenpatti. The transport work is, however, not considered to be the monopoly of the people of Pappanaickenpatti. The Malayalees living in Peria Kalrayan and Chinna Kalrayan Hills are also participants in this occupation and they even claim a preferential right in the matter of collection. Unfortunately this occupation cannot last throughout the year. Collection of forest produce is seasonal. It is also arduous. They have to start early in the morning, get engaged in collection throughout the day and return late in the afternoon. They earn wages varying from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 depending on the quality and quantity of the produce collected. On many occasions their work is limited to carrying the collected produce in heavy head-loads from distant

places to the hills, but in this they have to face competition from men who employ donkeys as beasts of burden. One peculiarity observed in this village is that they carry the load however weighty they may be on the head, while in other hilly areas the tribal people find it easier to carry the loads on their backs.

The chief produce brought from the hills is gall-nut. The adjoining hills belong to private Jagirdars who enjoy undisputed ownership over everything in the areas owned by them. They have much more right than is conferred on a Zamindar. These Jagirs could not be taken over by the Government under the provisions of Estate Abolition Act. The Jagirdars follow their archaic ways reminiscent of fifteenth century feudalism in the matter of collecting tolls and taxes. They also own the forests to which the provision of the utilisation of Private Forest Act do not apply. They permit indiscriminate denudation of the forests in their Jagirs. They lease out the right of collecting the minor produces to contractors who permit collection and transport of gall-nuts and other minor produces on payment of certain fee, approximating 75 nP. per headload. Charcoal is also carried in

gunny bags and marketed at Pappanaickenpatti. We will now discuss the main occupations of the people.

Agriculture

46. Although Pappanaickenpatti owes its importance because of gall-nut trade, economy of the residents of the village is based on agriculture. Out of 352 households, 245 are engaged in personal cultivation. Four have leased out their lands and subsist on the amounts received from the lessee. The geographical extent of the village is 5262·82 acres. When it was with the Mittadar, it included some forest areas surrounding the cultivable lands. After the Government took over, the forest areas were transferred to the Forest Department and the remaining areas included in the revenue village. The present geographical extent comprises of the following lands.

1. Dry cultivable private lands	1,649·90	Acres
2. Inam dry private lands	6·33	"
3. Government assessed waste lands for cultivation	135·07	"
4. Government unassessed waste lands	183·11	"
5. Poramboke or communal lands	3,288·41	"
Total	5,262·82	"

Only 38 per cent of the total lands are under cultivation. This compares unfavourably with the figure of 66·8 per cent for Salem district. We tried to examine why the major portions of the land were left as waste. Most of these lands are either rocky or of hard soil and the land cannot be reclaimed without enormous cost. About 200 acres are under encroachment and are cultivated in patches. The remaining extent is used as pastoral lands. But the growth of grass in these is poor. Table No. XV shows the number of households possessing lands and their extent of possession in the village.

Table No. XV

Households owning or possessing land

Name of Interest on land	Number of households and extent of land									
	No land	5 Cents and below	6-10 Cents	11-20 Cents	21-30 Cents	51 Cents to 1 Acre	1·01-2·49 Acres	2·50-4·99 Acres	5 to 9·9 Acres	10 and above
1. Land owned	2	12	46	92	72	28
2. Land held direct from Government under a tenure less substantial than ownership
3. Land held from private persons or institutions
4. Land given out to private persons or institutions	1	...	...
5. Land owned and taken on lease
6. Land held from Government and taken on lease
7. No land	96	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

N. B: All households belonging to Asari, Dhoby, Vellala Gounder, Brahmin, Oddar, Christian are having no land.

The average size of a holding is 4.80 acres which may compare favourably with the State average of 4.9 acres. But we have to consider that the lands are dry and infertile and as such, the average holding of this size is uneconomical. The net sown area per head of agricultural population works out to 2.95 acres. This can be considered as good when compared with the district figures of 0.68 acres for Salem and 0.71 acres for Madras State.

The following statement shows the distribution of holding in the village:

	Single patta	Joint	Total	Extent	
				Acres.	Cents.
Less than 1 acre	39	4	43	18	69
Between 1 and 5 acres	177	24	201	607	53
„ 5 and 10 „	43	15	58	320	49
„ 10 and 15 „	17	8	25	315	81
„ 15 and 20 „	3	3	6	101	94
Above 20 acres	10	1	11	285	44
	289	55	344	1,649	90

Fifty per cent of the total land-owners own 38 per cent of the lands while 4 per cent own 18 per cent of the land. The distribution of holdings may appear uneven. But it does not differ from the State of ownership in the districts. No wet land is found in the village. A few dry lands are irrigated by wells while the bulk of the area is rainfed. Kariakoil river which is perennial one flows in the village. It is not diverted for any irrigational purpose. In dry lands the ryots raise mostly food crops. The crops raised in the last four years are as follows:

Crops	1957	1958	1959	1961
Paddy	14.05	7.00	16.95	10.80
Cholam	728.94	716.40	923.36	985.13
Varagu	537.10	541.18	367.46	816.95
Thinai	41.67	282.07	194.74	9.36
Ragi	104.45	74.45	81.38	32.30
Samai	4.25	4.00	6.00	...
Bengal Gram	5.62	0.85	0.18	4.27
Chillies	...	...	...	1.67
Tapioca	...	...	...	3.00
Horse Gram	53.25	...	39.63	...
Mochai (beans)	21.14	21.43	20.98	5.81
Plantains	...	...	...	0.20
Brinjals	...	...	...	0.10
Castor	...	...	...	4.65

A tendency is seen for a switch-over from food crops to commercial crops in many parts of Salem and Coimbatore district resulting in greater realisation of gross value of output but the ryots of Pappanaickenpatti have not shown any such tendency. The reasons for this may be the absence of marketing facility and the possibility of destruction of commercial crops like groundnut by any wild animals. The gross value of output per acre in this village is about Rs. 120 against Rs. 147.9 for Salem district and Rs. 182.8 for the State.

Agricultural practices

47. The ryots raise only one crop in the dry rainfed lands. They plough the lands four times during the months of June and July. Very little manure is added. Sowing is done in July or August. They remove the weeds in September. They harvest the crop at the end of December. In the garden lands irrigated by wells which number 24, two crops are raised. The first crop which is usually paddy is sown in September and harvested in January. Immediately an irrigated millet crop is raised. Even in garden lands, ryots do not raise any commercial crop. Near Attur most of the owners who have garden lands raise tapioca and supply them to the factories located nearby manufacturing sago. The people of Pappanaickenpatti could also raise tapioca; but according to them, the cost of transportation from Pappanaickenpatti to Attur would make the venture uneconomical. In this village, the number of irrigation wells is 24. Of late, people have learnt the advantage of sinkrig wells. The cost of one well is about Rs. 1,500. It irrigates nearly two acres. Water can be found at a depth of about 30'. As electricity has not reached the village, water has to be baled by the traditional method using bullocks. A pair of bullocks will cost about Rs. 1,000. So the cost involved in converting a rain-fed land into a well irrigated land, is about Rs 2,500 which is not within the reach of an ordinary ryot in the village. He can do this only with help from the Government. But according to the villagers, getting a loan from Government is a great task and almost an impossible one. This delay has acted detrimentally to the interests of the ryots. They say that they are not in a position either to utilise the river water or to tap sub-soil water, available in plenty in the village.

Primitive cultivation

48. In agriculture, primitive, age-old implements like wooden ploughs, hoes and sickles are in use. No modern implement is used. They do not have the capacity to buy them nor do they have any trust in them. The small-size of the holdings will make it difficult to depart from the traditional methods of agriculture. None in the village can afford to own and use a tractor much less a harvester. But there are simple ways by which a cultivator can improve his agriculture. He can sink wells, fit them up with pumpsets and work them with oil engines until electricity is introduced. They can bund up their land scientifically along contour lines and prevent soil erosion in these undulatory lands. There is vast scope for improving the fertility of the soil by dumping compost manure, the manufacture of which can be done easily because of the availability of green leaves in the forest all round. The nitrogen content of the soil can be improved by systematic rotation by penning the cattle in different parts of the land in a systematic manner. Use of improved seeds, dusting with insecticides at the proper time, weeding and heavy fencing are likely to pay good returns. There is considerable scope for improvement in agriculture, but the role of the Panchayat Union Commissioner formerly called Block Development Officer and his Extension Officer charged specially with the duty of development of agriculture has not yet been felt by the people. The village is located far away from the Block Headquarters, and the funds available with them get exhausted by the time they reach the village. For effecting radical changes proper climate has to be created among the people.

Marketing

49. We have already seen that no commercial crop is produced in the village. It is, however, surplus to the extent of 284 tons of millet. Though the producers have to sell the surplus foodgrains after reserving a sufficient quantity for their consumption and for the next year's seed requirements, circumstances are not favourable in their getting a proper price in the market. They generally take loans before the harvest on the promise that they would repay them immediately after harvest. The lender would be standing close by when the grains are threshed. He is prepared to accept repayment of the loan in grains, but he will give only a low rate for the grains, lower than the prevailing rate, and take away a larger quan-

tity in satisfaction of the loan with interest which is normally at a high rate. After satisfying the money-lenders, the producer has to satisfy the village artisans like barber, dhobi, blacksmith and village Talayari to whom he had to pay in the shape of grains for the services rendered by them for the whole year. The farmer is thus left without much surplus and he does not have a problem of marketing. Whenever he has to incur any unusual item of expenditure like marriage or death in the house, he is compelled to take the reserve and sell it. This again compels him to borrow money or grains during the lean months. He is never allowed to start a year with his entire produce at his disposal.

Livestock

50. Under Indian conditions of small holdings and unmechanized farming animal husbandry plays a very important part in agriculture. The cattle wealth is as important to him as his land. The farmers of Pappanaickenpatti have not apparently realised the important role in which cattle wealth can play in his economy. While he is eager to get the maximum work from the draught animals and even from the cows and to get the maximum milk from the milch animals, he does not give adequate attention to the dumb animals in return. He leaves them to feed on whatever fodder that is available and to breed in whatever casual manner they like. Because of his neglect to feed them properly and to breed them by selection, he is now left with a herd of poor stock with an emaciated look. Their toiling capacity as well as their yielding capacity have dwindled. Our survey reveals the existence of the following cattle (Table No. XVI) in Pappanaickenpatti village.

The type of cattle seen in Pappanaickenpatti is more a liability than a help in agriculture. The average yield of a milch animal is about 2 lbs. per cow and about 3 lbs. per she-buffalo. The yields are comparatively low. Lactation periods are short. Whatever milk is produced in the village is bought by the tea shops in Pappanaickenpatti at favourable prices. The dairy industry with such low yielding milch animals is thus a liability rather than an asset. The presence of too many useless and decredit cattle is to a certain extent responsible for their general deterioration in their quality. In contrast to the maintenance of bulls and cows, rearing of sheep and goats can be considered as remunerative. The village is surrounded by reserved forest areas. The Forest Officials issue passes for grazing sheep but not goats. Even in unreserved

Table No. XVI

Livestock statistics

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Bulls		Goat/sheep		Pig		Buffalo		Cows		Calves	
	No. of house- holds owning	Total No.	No. of house- holds owning	Total No.	No. of house- holds owning	Total No.	No. of house- holds owning	Total No.	No. of house- holds owning	Total No.	No. of house- holds owning	Total No.
Malayalees	93	304	61	544	1	1	1	2	194	1,069	13	42
Gollas	16	47	5	55	...	...	4	6	12	51	2	2
Telugu Chettiar	3	12	1	3	...	...	...	...	4	15	...	...
Vanniar	2	20	1	10	...	...	...	...	2	4	...	...
Asari	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu	5	9	...	...	...	...	2	2	3	10	...	...
Kusavan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	12	...	...
Mudaliar	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	2	...	...
Vannan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vellala Gounder	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ambattan	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chakkilian	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Oddar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muslim	1	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	11	...	...
Christian	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	120	397	69	616	1	1	8	11	220	1,174	15	44

and communal poramboke lands which in fact are more extensive than the cultivated lands in the village, there is considerable scope for pasture with so much facility for grazing and so much leisure for the people. One would normally be inclined to think that this is a field in which the agriculturists could derive a substantial subsidiary income. On enquiry, it is learnt that sheep do not thrive in the village. Casualties during the rainy season are many. The breed of sheep found in the village does not give any wool. They are believed to give less manure than goats and are not as prolific as goats. The villagers believe that only the rearing of goats is remunerative and not the sheep. But in that they meet with obstacles. Reserved forest areas are closed to goats and unreserves are not sufficient for these hungry animals. On the slightest pretext the Forest Officials book the villagers for goat browsing within forest margins. So no household maintains more than two or three goats and they have to be careful in grazing them lest they should enter in the forest area. The net result of these restrictions, however justified they may be, from the wider point of view regarding the preservation of forests, the villagers are not inclined to take to sheep-rearing as a source of profitable subsidiary occupation. They sincerely feel that Government officials do not encourage them in rearing goats.

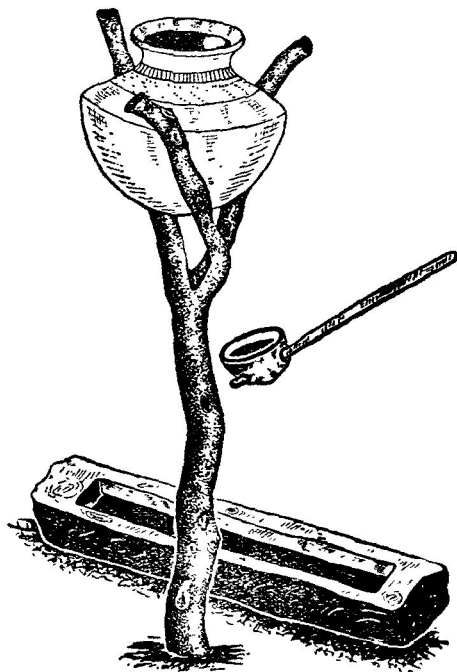
Village industries

51. There is no village industry in the village except one carpenter who is engaged in manufacturing wooden combs. He does it on a small scale. His workshop is under a tree. He does not employ anyone to help him and his turnover is about Rs. 40 per mensem. His raw material is some light wood which he cuts from the forest. He chips the logs into thin plates of the size of 4" x 3". He uses his tools to draw out the teeth on either side of the longer edges to convert the wooden chips into combs. The cost of a comb is one anna. His daily output is about 20 combs. He sells them locally and they are purchased by the Malayalees who come down from the hills.

Apart from the above, there are two other blacksmiths who run servicing smithies. They manu-

facture iron shoes to the draught animals, iron pointers to the wooden ploughs and iron tyres to the bullock carts. They are usually paid once in a year by way of grains at the time of harvest.

And lastly there is the village potter who manufactures the usual household earthen pots with his primitive country wheel. He sells the manufactured articles locally to the local people and to the people coming down from the hills on shandy days.



Utensils for feeding pigs

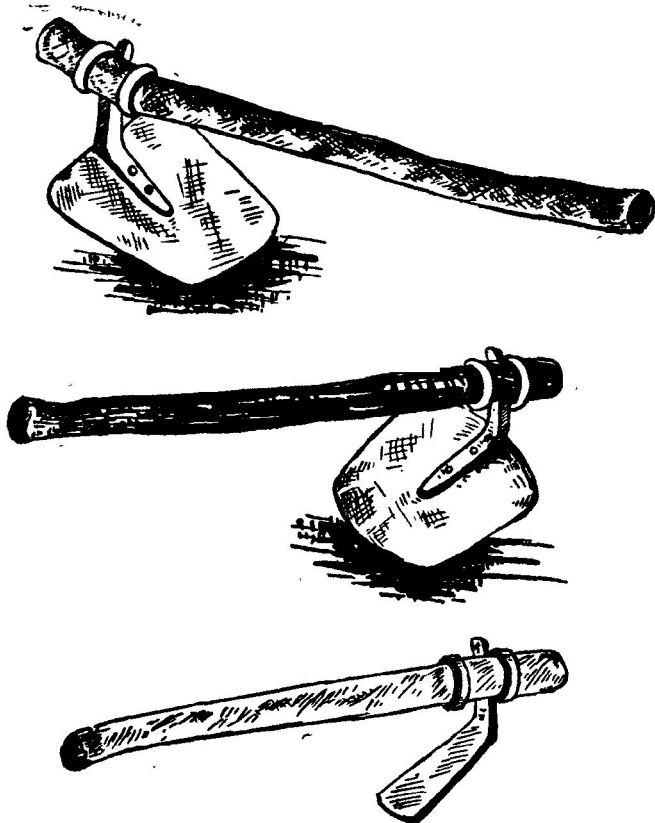
Trade and commerce

52. Table No. XVII shows the number of households engaged in various trades. Six out of 12 families engaged in business run tea shops or hotels. As the village attracts a large number of persons interested in gall-nut trade, the tea shops and hotels thrive well. The Malayalees who come down to sell their produces and

the merchants of Salem who come down to this village for the purchase of gall-nuts and charcoal are prepared to spend a few annas (the people in this village reckon money in terms of rupees and annas and not in terms of rupees and naye paise) for a cup of refreshing tea and a few edibles. When ready money is not available, tea shop owners are prepared to extend credit because they are sure of collecting the dues during the season in the shape of gall-nuts. Besides the hotel business,

the only other trade in which people are engaged is the running of provision shops. Even in this the business will not flourish unless credit is allowed.

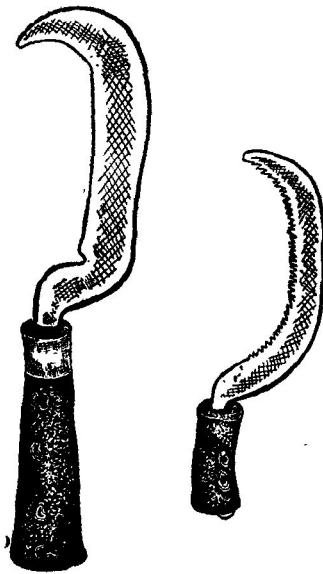
The list of businesses which we have compiled for Pappanaickenpatti do not include the two most important items—gall-nut trade and charcoal. The reason is that people residing in the village are not directly engaged in them though they appreciably change the economy of the village. The gall-nuts grow



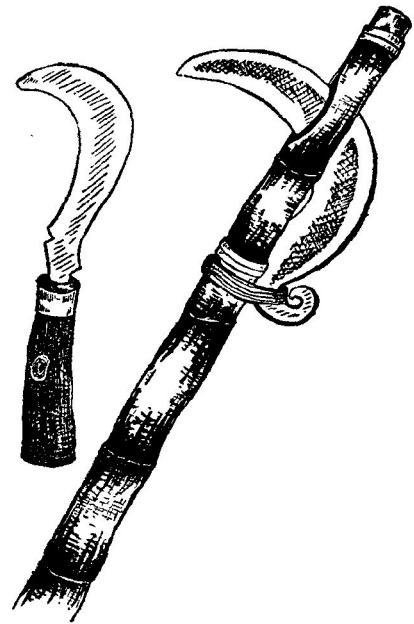
Agricultural implements

wild in the hills. They are useful in the tanning industry and in the manufacture of dyes. The Jagirdars lease out the rights to collect gall-nuts in their jagirs. The contractor who takes out the lease permits collection and transport in headloads to individuals on payment of a certain fee which is fixed as 12 annas per headload. The Peria Malayalees who live on the hills bring gall-nuts in headloads to Pappanaickenpatti on Sundays and Wednesdays. The gall nut merchants of Salem and Belur who are generally Muslims visit Pappanaickenpatti on these days. They have established shop-cum-godowns in the village. They buy the gall-nuts by

volume and do quality sorting. The best nuts are hard, not easily breakable by hand and dull yellow in colour. The medium quality nuts are less hard and grey in colour. The last grade nuts crumble at the slightest pressure by the fingers and they are black in colour. These sorted nuts are sold by weight to the wholesale merchants at Salem, Vaniyambadi and other places. The prices of gall nuts brought by the Peria Malayalees will depend upon the mixture of the three sorts. There is always a lot of bargaining about the price and the quality. But the power of bargaining of the Malayalees is limited because the merchants would



Agricultural implements:
Koduval and Sickle



Aruval and Chalakkathi

have already advanced money to the Malayalees for the produce. It is usually found that the Malayalees cannot market their produce to their best advantage.

The charcoal trade is also in a flourishing condition because the forest areas in the hills are under the control of the Jagirdars and not under the control of the Forest Department. The Jagirdars lease out the right to make charcoal in the forest. There is indiscriminate recourse to the manufacture of charcoal. They char the trees, convert them into charcoal and transport them in gunny bags in headloads. The cost of transporting a bag to the village on headload is one rupee. From depots at Pappanaickenpatti, they are sent to Salem, Madras and other places by lorries. Daily about 150 bags are despatched from this village.

The people of Pappanaickenpatti play only a minor role in these two vital trades. They are employed in

the gall-nut shops and charcoal depots as assistants. They get employment by way of transport of these products from the hills on headloads. Thus their idle manpower is utilised to some extent. But these trades have brought some adverse effects on the people of the village. The existence of tea shops has encouraged many villagers to become tea addicts. Thus a portion of their slender income is spent in these tea shops. They also prefer to run after the Muslim traders to earn a rupee than toil in their fields. To that extent agriculture is neglected. Another impact of this trade in this village is that the Muslim traders of Salem are inclined to set up a subsidiary family in the village by taking Malayalee women as concubines. A few instances of this type has been noticed by us. A few Peria Malayalees who used to frequent the village for transporting gall-nut from the hills have also settled in the village taking Pachai Malayalees women as concubines.

Table No. XVII

Trade or business

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Business			Salesman			Idly selling			Tea shop		
	No. of house- holds	Commo- dities	Average profit Rs.	No. of house- holds	Commodities	Average profit Rs.	No. of house- holds	Commodities	Average profit Rs.	No. of house- holds	Commodities	Average profit Rs.
Malayalee	1	...	50	1*	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gollas	1	...	25	...	...	...	1	...	25	...	...	...
Telugu Chettiar	1	...	200	...	...	...	1	...	not known	3	...	36.66

* Business cum sales man household.

Table No. XVII (contd.)

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Hotel and gallnut selling			Business (Provision)			Shop			Hotel Proprietor		
	No. of house- holds	Commodities	Average profit Rs.	No. of house- holds	Commodities	Average profit Rs.	No. of house- holds	Commodities	Average profit Rs.	No. of house- holds	Commodities	Average profit Rs.
Kavara (Naidu)	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	25	1	...	not known
Vellala Gounder	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	50	...	...	...
Brahmin	1	...	not known	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	200
Muslim	...	...	...	2	1	50	...	...	...	...	...	...

1 not known

Income and expenditure pattern

53. Table No. XVIII shows the distribution of income groups among household by occupation. It is seen that 9.9 per cent of the households belong to the income group Rs. 0-25, 71.0 per cent to the group Rs. 25-50, 9.9 per cent to the group Rs. 51-75 and 6.8 per cent to the group Rs. 76-100. Only 10 families belong to the income group of Rs. 101 and above and they are mostly cultivating families owning more than 10 acres. As the lands are rainfed and as commercial crops are not raised, the net income derived from these lands is not appreciable. That is why the richest persons in the village cannot be considered to be rich when compared with the people owning the same extent of land in other villages. As regards the group of income

less than Rs. 25, we find them mostly among daily coolies. They earn a rupee for doing agricultural operations or for transporting on heads the minor forest produces. They cannot get employment on all days in the month. Employment is seasonal. During off season, they have to trek into the forest and bring for sale dried twigs for fuel purposes. We must caution our readers not to place too much reliance on the data on income collected by us though we took pains to collect as accurate an answer as possible. It is very difficult to find out the exact income of an agriculturist. Firstly, it depends on the gross yield which varies according to the uncertainties of rain and climate. Secondly, it depends on the prevailing prices of produces at the time of harvest. Thirdly, the ryots

Table No. XVIII

Monthly income per household by source and occupation

Occupation of the household	Monthly income per household in the range of				
	Rs. 25 or less	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 101 & over
Hotel proprietor	...	3	...	...	1
Idly selling	1	1	...	...	...
Petition writer	...	1	...	...	...
Business	2	2	...	1	2
Cultivation	7	179	31	22	7
Lease cultivation	1	1	...	...	...
Agricultural Labourer	...	1	2	...	...
Tailor	...	1	...	...	...
Blacksmith	...	2	...	...	...
Potter	1	...	...	...	...
Comb making	...	1	...	...	...
Cooly	19	56	1	1	...
Hotel servant	1	...	...	...	...
Barber	...	1	...	...	...
Dhoby	1	1	...	...	...
Rent receiver	1	...	...	...	...
Total	34	250	34	24	10

are inclined to tell us the net yield brought home after paying the village artisans for the various services rendered by them throughout the year and after meeting the harvest expenses. They do not usually take into account the value of fodder which they will get from the stalks of millet crops. They are also likely to forget the income they would be deriving by the sale of goat or the proceeds of milk and vegetables. Under such circumstances, the figures returned as income can only be taken as approximate. It is, therefore, inadvisable to compare these figures with the national per capita income figures or with the reported income levels in the State. But one can, however, depend upon these for comparative purposes within the village. Firstly, it is found that wealth in the village is not very unevenly distributed. Income disparities are not wide and no complex of rich and poor is created. No class hatred between rich and poor is known though the poor people are contented with what they get except for the outsiders who have

migrated to the village for a living. Others lack the spirit to earn more and improve their economic condition. The needs of the unsophisticated people in this village are limited to food and cloth. They have not learnt the extravagance of urban life. Except the initial cost of constructing a hut which they build once in 10 years they do not pay anything as house rent. As far as food is concerned, they produce their requirements of cereals. The food that is taken by them is simple and frugal and bereft of all protective items which will cause bewilderment among nutritional experts as to make them wonder how they can survive and look healthy in spite of the deficiencies described in text books on Nutrition. The bulk of the expenditure on food is cereals. Only a small portion is spent on salt, chillies and pulses. They cannot spend much on these items or on oil and spices because they are spending upto 74.3 of their income on food (vide Table No. XIX). What is left is hardly sufficient for the purchase of clothes

Table No. XIX

Average monthly expenditure per household by income groups and occupations

Item of expenditure	All households			Percentage	No. of households with monthly income of									
	No. of households	Average expenditure per household	Percentage of expenditure on food/Misc. items total		Rs. 25 or less		Rs. 26—50		Rs. 51—75		Rs. 76—100		101 and over	
					No. of households	Average expenditure	No. of households	Average expenditure	No. of households	Average expenditure	No. of households	Average expenditure	No. of households	Average expenditure
Food	352	35.10	12,354.00	74.25	34	17.24	250	29.87	34	50.88	24	63.75	10	104.03
Clothing	352	5.48	1,930.00	11.60	34	1.94	250	4.18	34	9.26	24	12.50	10	20.50
Lighting	350	2.05	716.00	4.30	32	1.06	250	1.79	34	2.88	24	3.71	10	4.80
Fuel	3	4.00	12.00	0.07	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2.00	2	5.00
Luxuries (Pan, Smoking etc.)	349	3.28	1,146.00	6.89	32	1.94	250	2.63	33	5.12	21	6.25	10	10.80
Others	71	6.76	480.00	2.89	9	1.44	32	4.13	12	4.25	11	11.55	7	22.43
Total	352	47.27	16,638.00	100.00	34	22.38	250	38.99	34	69.49	24	91.59	10	156.80

and kerosene. From Table No. XIX it is seen that lower the income group, lower is the percentage spent on items other than food. In spite of frugality, the villagers do not have any saving habit. With Malayalees it is much worse. Except for the agriculturists, others will not go out for work if they have something to eat for the day. The agriculturists lack a spirit to produce more by putting some extra effort. People do not have the veracity to save even for a marriage in their house which will become inevitable. They prefer to borrow on such occasions and ruin themselves.

Indebtedness

54. Table No. XX shows indebtedness among the various income groups. The Table No. XXI shows indebtedness of the people by causes. It is seen from the above tables about 30% of the loans borrowed are for productive purposes like purchase of land and cultivation. About 40% of the total loans borrowed are for purposes of marriage etc., and 28% to satisfy ordinary loans. This shows that 70 per cent of the loans are borrowed for non-productive purposes which will keep the villagers under

Table No. XX

Indebtedness

Income group	Indebtedness by income group*				
	Total No. of households	No. of households in debt	Percentage of col. 3 to 2	Total indebtedness	Average indebtedness
Rs. 25 or below	34	13	38.24	2,025	155.77
Rs. 26 to 50	250	181	72.40	47,595	262.96
Rs. 51 to 75	34	28	82.35	13,750	491.08
Rs. 76 to 100	24	19	79.17	9,300	489.47
Rs. 101 and over	10	8	80.00	13,400	1,675.00
Total	352	249	70.74	86,070	345.66

perpetual indebtedness. Though the rate of interest charged by the money lenders is high, the villagers prefer them because they are arranged quickly. The villagers do not realise that borrowing for non-productive purposes ultimately leads them to part with their lands. Within a period of twelve months proceeding the survey, the Malayalees of this village have parted with their lands to the extent of 40 acres. This has been going on year after year. At one time the entire cultivable land belonged to the Malayalees and Golla Naickers. Today 219 acres are owned by people other than Malayalees and Golla Naickers. It is also seen that the indebtedness of the lower income group is much more than that of the higher income group.

The people are not unaware of the facilities given by the Government by way of grant of loans for developmental purposes at cheap rates and repayable in easy instalments. They know that loans can

be had for sinking wells for installation of pump-sets and for purchase of bulls. Actually a few loans have been taken by the villagers, but their proportion from the Governmental source is low compared to the loans taken from private persons. The following reasons are ascribed for this state of affairs:

1. Getting a loan from the Government involves delays and unnecessary formalities.
2. The land value fixed by the Government officials is low and does not come upto the market value of security.
3. When the Government took over the Mitta village they failed to register the holding separately and even in the matter of joint registry many omissions were discovered. Pattas were not issued to many ryots. The absence of individual separate registry stands as a great barrier for the grant of loans.
4. As the present Trione Officer does not know survey, he cannot help in effecting separate registry.

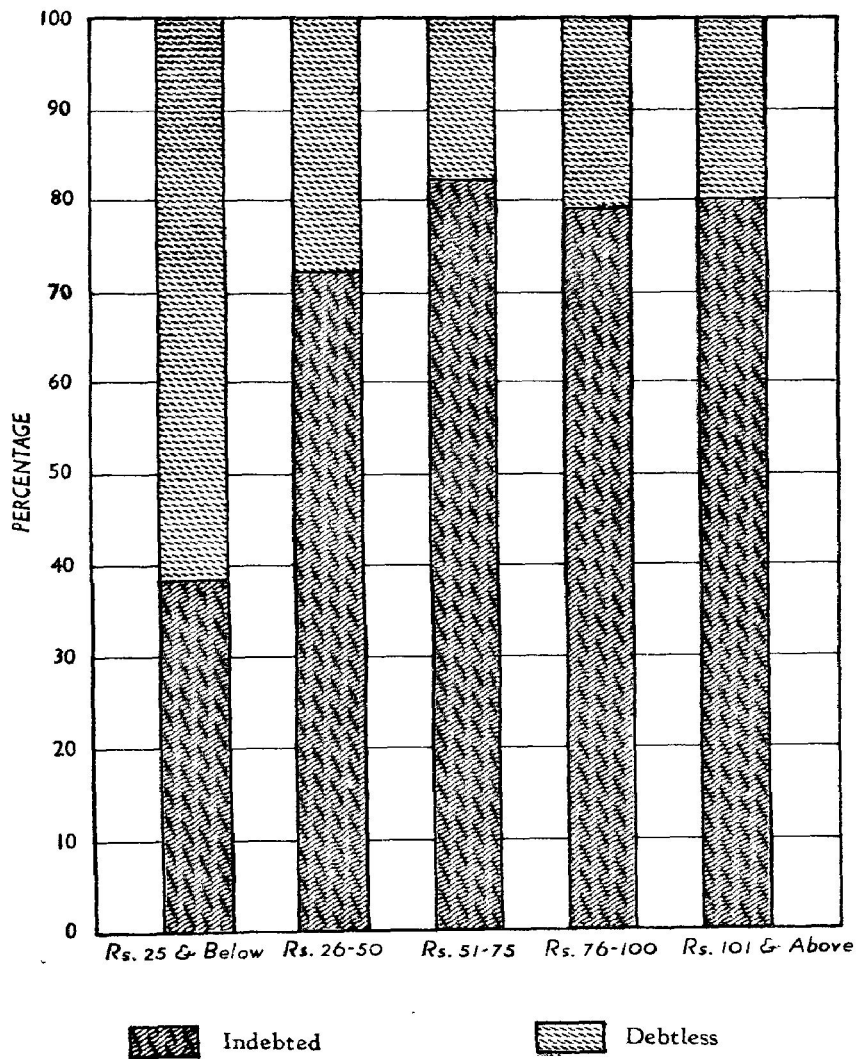
Table No. XXI
Indebtedness by causes

Cause	Indebtedness by cause of debt		
	Amount of debt	No. of families in debt	Proportion of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt (Percentage)
(a) Purchase of land	7,350	11	8.54
(b) House construction of repairs to existing building	8,000	2	9.30
(c) Marriage	24,660	81	28.65
(d) Funerals	...	...	...
(e) To give dowry	...	...	...
(f) To clear outstanding debts	4,200	10	4.88
(g) Sickness	...	...	...
(h) Ordinary wants (Family maintenance):	18,480	92	21.47
(i) Household cultivation	9,750	25	11.33
(j) Industry run by the household	...	...	...
(k) Business run by the household	1,500	1	1.74
(l) Family maintenance and marriage	6,150	22	7.15
(m) Well and family expenditure	400	1	0.46
(n) Family maintenance and purchase of cows	150	1	0.17
(o) Marriage and well expenditure	1,000	1	1.16
(p) Agricultural implements and marriage	1,000	1	1.16
(q) Family maintenance and marriage	2,700	4	3.14
(r) Cause not known	530	3	0.62
(s) Court expense	200	1	0.23
Total	86,070	256	100.00

No Co-operative Society is working in the village but a few of the villagers are members of the adjoining Thumbal Co-operative Society which is also said to be under liquidation. The bulk of the credit needs are therefore met by the private money lenders who are unscrupulous and who charge high rates of interest and deduct the interest in advance. They also collect a sheep or a goat for the grant

of loan. It is said that no private money lender will give any loan without this tip. The Malayalees on the other hand are compelled by custom and tradition to spend a lot during marriages and on feasts and ceremonies. It is usually their practice to spend beyond their means, with a view to maintain their social status.

INDEBTEDNESS



CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Social change

55. The usual place of abode of the tribe of Malayalees is on the hills. But here we meet them on the plains, even though it is on the foot of the hills. It must be long since they came down from the hills and got settled here. They have frequent daily contacts with the people of other communities of the plains. They must have been subject to a process of acculturation. Though they have tried to keep aloof by fixing up their village sites separately, the changes happening to them are inevitable. Though they had a powerful tribal hierarchy to keep a watch over the social life of the members it cannot exercise its functions so effectively as in the hills, where one cannot defy the society and live separately. Here in Pappanaickenpatti such a defiance and living separately is possible because there are other caste people living close by. How else are we then to interpret the incidence of a few Malayalee women choosing to live with Muslims and others! The hierarchy here is weak. It is afraid of exercising its powers rigidly lest there are more cases of defiance. Already, it is split up and there are two Nattans. If this hierarchy has not by now died out altogether, it is because of the general conservatism of the tribals in trying to keep up the traditional customs and manners of the people as long as it is possible.

A decade back the village had no bus facilities. It was populated mostly by tribals. The trading communities had not then arrived in the village. Marketing of gall-nuts was then mostly in Thumbal which is before reaching Pappanaickenpatti. The Malayalees were then in a position to preserve caste cohesiveness even though they were then more primitive. The roads from Salem and Attur were improved and buses introduced with the benign intention of improving the lot of the tribals. But actually, the tribals were not so much in need of transport facilities to go to Salem and other places. Their wants were few and the opening up of the communication facilities did not go to benefit them. On the other hand, this facility brought in its wake, a variety of other people to settle down at Pappanaickenpatti. There were the gall-nut merchants,

the money-lenders, the provision shop-keepers, the tea-shop keepers, barbers, dhobies, and others. Their presence weakened the cohesiveness of the Malayalees and altered their ways, dresses and habits. The Malayalees found that money can be earned in a comparatively easier way by serving these people than by working in the fields or by engaging in transport of gall-nuts and charcoal from the hills. The status of the Malayalees has gone down to that of sub-servants. The Muslim gall-nut merchants and the Telugu Chettiar money-lenders call the *Aye Malayans* meaning primitive people from the hills. Though by absolute majority, they have got elected a Malayalee as President of the Panchayat, neither he nor the Nattar of the tribe is given any precedence in the matter of receiving village honours. The social dominance of the Malayalees in the village is slowly slipping away from them to the newly come communities of Telugu Chettiars, Muslims and Kavara Naidus. This is aided by the economic superiority of these communities. Even the agricultural lands are changing hands, from that of the Malayalees to others. It is rather difficult to say how long this drift will go on. The main cause for the drift is that when the village was made accessible to the outsiders by the opening of roads and introduction of buses, the local inhabitants of the village were not prepared for that. So the influx of the outsiders marked the beginning of their degeneration.

Village institutions

56. The village is administered by a recently constituted Panchayat affiliated to the Peddanaickenpalayam Panchayat Union. As the Panchayat Raj was ushered to this village only recently, the people do not know the duties and powers of the Panchayat members. There was no competition in the election of members. It is learnt that the existing members were elected unanimously, but when it came to the election of the President of the Panchayat, there was competition between the Malayalees and non-tribals. As Malayalees were in majority, they won the election. At present the Panchayat consists of 9 members and they belong to the following communities :

Malayalees	...	6
Chettiars	...	2
Naicker	...	1

As the village does not have an appreciable number of Scheduled Caste, no one from this category was elected. The relationship between the members is harmonious. The Panchayat Office is now housed in a temporary hut. It derives its income from the house tax, lease of daily market, profession tax, vehicle tax, surcharge on stamp duties etc. It also gets grant from Government for the execution of various works. It prepares every year a budget of revenues and expenditure. The Schematic Budget for 1962-63 is as given below :

**Schematic Budget for Pappanaickenpatti
Panchayat for 1962-63.**

Income :	Rs.	nP.
1. Local Cess	296	00
2. Stamp Duty Surcharge	1,405	00
3. House Tax	409	00
4. Vehicle Tax	12	00
5. Profession Tax	10	00
6. Licence fees etc.	70	00
7. Shandi lease	...	
8. Entertainment Tax share.	112	00
9. Miscellaneous revenue from poramboke lands	50	00
10. Grants from Government for sinking drinking water wells.	2,000	00
11. Matching grant from Government towards house Tax etc.	409	00
Total	4,773	00

Expenditure :	Rs.	nP.
1. Establishment	220	00
2. Road maintenance	200	00
3. Street lighting	160	00
4. Maintenance of wells	50	00
5. Sinking of new wells	2,000	00
6. Tree planting	50	00
7. Midday meals to school children	344	00
8. Travelling expense	25	00
9. Maintenance of a radio	100	00
10. Other expenses	1624	00
Total	4,773	00

From the budget statement, it can be seen that the meagre income it derives is just sufficient for the Panchayat to carry out its day-to-day affairs and not to embark any developmental activities. The remedy lies in the Panchayat indulging in more taxation. It is doubtful whether the members who are now are bold enough to face the unpopularity which will result from the imposition of any tax. Even the collection of tolls in the daily markets is objected to by the people because the Panchayat does not have any place set apart for the daily market.

Developmental activity

57. Being a backward village inhabited predominantly by tribals, one should normally expect to find some activity taking place under one of its schemes in Five Year Plans. One should also expect some improvement in the lot of the tribals. With all the generous grants made for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes are there any indications that this will be attained at least by 1970, the target year fixed in the constitution for the grant of concessions for backward classes? It would be therefore of interest to the reader to find out what the people say about the things done and left undone. Firstly, the greatest reform done to this village was the taking over of the Mittah by the Government and the conferring of ryotwari right on the tenant. Though it has been conceded that it is a basic reform, the people of the village still continue to feel that this has landed them with the following disadvantages.

(a) The land tax has nearly been doubled. They are not aware that this is because of the increase in surcharge collected with land revenue.

(b) Their grazing facilities have been curtailed because of the handing over the Mittah forest areas to the Forest Department.

(c) Improper registry of lands and failure to issue pattahs to individuals have resulted in difficulties in getting Government loans.

The second reform is the introduction of houses to this otherwise inaccessible remote village. According to the people this has opened a path to the outsiders who have come to exploit the people of the village. Thirdly, a new Panchayat has been constituted for the village. According to them, this has resulted in the imposition of more taxes and elevation of certain villagers as members and Chairman thereby creating the possibility of a faction in an

otherwise quiet village. The Panchayat has not done anything useful so far. Fortunately two schools are being run by the Panchayat Union. Many hamlets do not have schools and 78.6% of the school going children have yet to be covered. In contrast to this, the villagers cite the following as important items on which action has not been taken in spite of their representation.

1. Investigation of a scheme to utilise the waters of Karia Koil stream.
2. Creation of separate Service Co-operative Society for the village and thereby saving them from the clutches of private money-lenders.
3. Starting of a few tribal Welfare Schemes to improve their lot economically and educationally.
4. Making electricity available to the village. It is beyond the scope of this survey to comment on these points.

Religious activities

58. Table No. 1. would show that except for one Christian household and three Muslim households, the rest are all Hindus. The Christians and Muslims have no place of worship in the village and they are not also permanent residents of the village. The Hindus who include in their fold the Malayalee tribe, do not have any temples for the usual Hindu pantheon.

There is only one small, temple, in the village for Seluva Narayanan. This, however, is held very sacred by the Malayalees. This is situated in a lonely spot by the side of the forest. This is not visited except on the annual festival week. Actually the deity of the temple is kept concealed in an unknown place and is dug out by the Nambi who performs the Pooja of the temple, only just prior to the annual festival. The Nambi belongs to the Peria Malayalee sect and he lives in the Kalrayan Hills. By virtue of his office as Poojari he is bound to be a vegetarian. Most Malayalees also observe vegetarianism during the month of Purattasi in which the festival falls.

The festival is essentially one for the Malayalees. In this the Pachai Malayalees play a prominent role but the Peria Malayalees also come and worship. The festival is initiated on a Friday by the Nattan in whose presence the Nambi unearths the deity, gives a bath to it and mounts it on a small Chapram. The deity is taken round all the hamlets for a week. During this tour, collections in the shape of money, grains, pulses etc. are made. The actual festival falls on a Saturday. The Malayalees assemble in large numbers, go round the temple and worship the deity. There would be common cooking and all these assembled are fed sumptuously. During the night there would be folk dances and therukkoothus in which epics like Ramayana, Mahabharatha etc., are enacted. The people spend a gala day. The celebrations come to a close on the next day when turmeric water would be sprinkled on each other in a jovial manner and the deity taken away by the Nambi to be buried in an unknown spot.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

59. The following facts emerged as a result of the survey of this village.

It is a remote village located at the foot of the hills and at the blind end of a valley. It is predominated by a not too-primitive tribal people. They practice primitive agriculture. The village has gained importance because of the gall-nut trade which has attracted an influx of people from outside. The opening of bus routes to the village has helped outsiders to exploit the local people and the villagers have not made use of it to go outside in search of better employment and better education. No attention has been devoted for developing the village in accordance with the lines indicated under the Five Year Plans. The culture of the Malayalees is

disintegrating by the impact with outsiders. The village affords a typical example as to how an area opened to outsiders can become important and buzzing with life without the local people materially participating and benefiting from such activities. By reconciling to a subservient role to which they are subjected to by the money of the outsiders and by the attractive vices of modern civilization, the self-reliance and love of the land so dear to the farmers of India have deteriorated among the people. The communal solidarity of the Malayalees is breaking down by the impact of this civilization. Neither educationally nor economically competent to withstand such pressure, the Malayalees are likely to be dominated by the non-tribals who have now settled down in this village.

APPENDIX I

CENSUS 1961—SOCIO ECONOMIC SURVEY

Household Schedule

Name of Village :

L. C. No.

Name of Taluk/District in which
it is situated.

I. Approximate dimensions of the house :

Number of rooms in the house :

Number of households residing in the house.

II. COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD :

Name	Age	Relationship to head	Marital status	Age at marriage	Literacy education	Occupation		Income	
						Primary	Secondary.	Primary	Secondary.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1.	Head								
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10.									

III. DURATION OF RESIDENCE :

- Does the family previously belong to this village?
- If not, from where did they migrate to this village? (Give name of village, town, taluk and district.)
- When and why did they migrate ?

IV. LANGUAGE

1st member	2nd member	3rd member	4th member	5th member
---------------	---------------	---------------	---------------	---------------

What languages can each member of the family:-

- (a) Read, write and speak.
- (b) Speak only.
- (c) Examination passed in language under (a)

V. DIET:

- (a) How many times do they take meals in a day?
- (b) What are the main constituents of their food?
- (c) How many times a week do they consume non-vegetarian food?
- (d) Is any article of food forbidden? If so, which and why?
- (e) Do the members of the family chew pan regularly?
- (f) What are the oils and fats commonly used for cooking?
- (g) What types of utensils are used for cooking and household use?
 - (a) Earthenware.
 - (b) Aluminium ware.
 - (c) Copper.
 - (d) Brass.

VI. DRESS

- (a) What are the types of dresses usually worn by:
 - (1) Males.
 - (2) Females
- (b) Is there any special dress for festival occasions?
- (c) What types of ornaments are worn?

VII. LIVESTOCK AND POULTRY:

- (a) Does the household own any cattle? (Give numbers and types.)
- (b) What other domesticated animals does the household keep in? (The numbers and types to be specified)

VIII. MARRIAGE:

- (a) Has any inter-communal marriages taken place in your family?
- (b) What is the expenditure on marriage?
- (c) Is dowry given? If so, is it in cash or in kind?
- (d) Is the family in debt on account of this?

IX. RELIGION:

- (a) To what religion does the family belong?
- (b) What are the principal deities worshipped?
- (c) What is the expenditure incurred by the family on important religious festivals?

X. LAND AND CULTIVATION:

- (a) Extent of land owned (Acres and cents).
- (b) Is it inherited or acquired?
- (c) Does the family possess for itself agricultural implements? (Numbers and types to be specified).
- (d) Are these of the improved or traditional pattern?

(e) What is the type of cultivation adopted ?

(i) Improved, (ii) Traditional.

(f) How do you market your surplus produce ?

(g) Do you have a vegetable garden in your house?

XI. FURNITURE AND PERSONAL BELONGINGS:

(a) What items of furniture are generally in use ?

(b) Are they of local manufacture or imported from outside ?

XII. GENERAL :

(a) Do all children between 6—16 attend school regularly ?

(b) If they do not, how do they occupy themselves ?

(c) What is the general range of household expenditure per mensem for the family ?

(d) What are the main items of household expenditure and their proportion to the total ?

1. Clothing.

2. Food.

3. Fuel.

4. Lighting

5. Luxuries (pan, smoking, etc.)

6. Others not specified.

- (e) What is the outstanding debt?
- (f) Source from which money is generally borrowed :
 - Co-operative Society — Rate
 - Private money lenders — „
 - Government agencies — „
- (g) Who is responsible for clearing the debts of a deceased person?
- (h) Does the family members wear shoes?
- (i) If so, are they of local manufacture or imported from outside the village?

XIII. SANITATION :

- (a) Is the house equipped with a bath-room?
- (b) Where does the household deposit its rubbish?
- (c) Is the house neatly and cleanly arranged?
- (d) Do the children urinate or defecate near the house?

APPENDIX II
CENSUS 1961—SOCIO ECONOMIC SURVEY
Village Schedule

1. Name of village:
2. District/Taluk :
3. Area :
4. No. of households :
5. Distance from nearest town :
6. Distance from nearest Railway Station :
7. Distance from main road :
8. Is it connected by bus ?
9. (a) Is there a Post Office/Telegraph Office in the village ?

(b) If not, which is the nearest Post/Telegraph Office and distance at which situated ?
10. Is the village covered by the Community Development Programme ?
11. Is there a Panchayat in the village ?
12. Total population of the village—1951 & 1961
(& 1941 & 1931, if available)
13. Is the village electrified ?
14. Give the number of births and deaths during the past ten years :

I. HOUSING :

- (a) What are the common types of house ?
(Give a brief description about type of roof, wall, flooring etc.)
- (b) Are houses owned or rented ?
- (c) Are the house-sites sufficient for the population ?

- (d) Do members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes live separately from the others or is there any progress towards their living together ?
- (e) What is the arrangement of houses in the village ?

II. LITERACY & EDUCATION :

- (a) Is there any school in the village ? (Specify whether it is Elementary, Higher Elementary, High School and also whether it is a Night or Day school)
- (b) What is the highest class upto which education is imparted ?
- (c) Who runs the school ?
- (d) Specify the number of students and teachers in each.
- (e) Is there a reading room, library in the village ?
- (f) Election—Is it held regularly ?
- (g) Income of Panchayat
- (h) Duties of Panchayat.

III HEALTH & SANITATION :

- (a) Common diseases of the village.
- (b) Is native or indigenous medicine practised ?
If so, by how many ?
- (c) Give your impression of cleanliness. (Inside and outside the houses)
- (d) Are there any latrines in the village ?
- (e) If there is no latrine, where do the villagers go to answer their calls of nature ?
- (f) What is the source of drinking water ?
- (g) What are the drainage facilities available in the village ? Is it adequate ?
- (h) Do villagers send their clothes to the washerman for cleaning ?
- (i) How often do they bathe and what do they use for body cleaning ?

- (j) Was the village affected by epidemics recently like Cholera, Malaria, Smallpox etc. ?
- (k) What measures were taken to control their outbreak ?
- (l) When did the last cases of epidemics occur ?
- (m) What diseases are commonly prevalent in this village ?
- (n) Which is the nearest hospital ?
- (o) Is there a Primary Health Centre in the village ?
- (p) Does it have a Maternity Ward ?
- (q) Where does delivery take place ? At home or in the hospital ?
- (r) Are there any midwives in the area ?

IV. SOCIAL LIFE :

- (a) Do the villagers mix freely with each other on all occasions ?
- (b) Is widow remarriage allowed ?
- (c) What is the system of inheritance among the villagers ?
- (d) What are the essential ceremonies that a man undergoes from birth to death ?
- (e) What are the essential ceremonies that a woman undergoes from birth to death ?
- (f) How is the body disposed of after death ?
- (g) What is the expenditure incurred on these funeral rites ?

V. AGRICULTURE :

- (a) Total cultivable area :
- (b) Principal crops grown with their area for ten years :
- (c) Have the villagers taken improved methods of cultivation ?
- (d) What are the sources of irrigation prevalent in the village ?

- (e) Are there any disused tanks in the village ?
Has any steps been taken to renovate them ?
- (f) Number of pumpsets and irrigation wells :
- (g) Do people hire out ploughs etc. ?
- (h) What are the usual hire charges ?
- (i) Is there mutual co-operation in agricultural practices ?
- (j) Are chemical fertilisers used ?
- (k) Has there been any crop diseases and pests in the village, during the last three years ?
- (l) State steps taken to solve the problem ?
- (m) Is there any industrial establishment like flour mill, rice mill etc. in the village ?

VI. MARRIAGE :

- (a) At what age are marriages contracted ?
- (b) Write a note on the marriage ceremonies
- (c) Is polyandry or polygamy practised ?
- (d) Is divorce granted ? If so, by whom and for what reasons ?

VII. RELIGIOUS PRACTICES :

- (a) No. of temples/mosques/churches in the village :
- (b) Do villagers ever join in common worship ?
- (c) What are the main fairs and festivals celebrated ?
- (d) How ancient is the festival ? Mention the local legend about the village and the fair or festival ?
- (e) Does this attract people from nearby villages ?
- (f) Mention the name of the diety :
- (g) What is the duration of the festival ?
- (h) Is any shandy conducted during the festival either in the village itself or in the outskirts ?
- (i) Are communal feasts or free kitchens organised during the festival ?

VIII. CO-OPERATION :

- (a) Is there a Co-operative Society ? What is the nature ? (Credit, Marketing etc.)

- (b) Total share capital :
- (c) Number of members :
- (d) Total dues outstanding as on date :
- (e) Is there scope for development of co-operative activities ?

IX. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES :

- (a) What are the recreational facilities available ?
- (b) Do all villagers participate in these activities ?
- (c) Is there any play ground in the village ?
Mention area of play ground :
- (d) Is there any Club for sports or recreation ?
What sports are played and what amenities are provided in the club ?

X. LIVESTOCK :

- (a) Total number of livestock in the village as per 1956 Livestock Census :
- (b) Are there any improved breeds of cattle in the village ?
- (c) Average milk yield—buffalo/cow
- (d) Which is the nearest Veterinary Hospital ?
- (e) Is there a cattle pound in the village ?
- (f) Is animal transport used ?

XI. GENERAL :

- (a) Do villagers tattoo their bodies ?
- (b) Do villagers favour female education ?
- (c) Do the children get sufficient quantities of milk ?
- (d) Number of street lights (Kerosene or electric lamps to be specified)
- (e) Are there any craftsmen in the village ?

XII. Is any legend attached to the origin of the village ?

XIII. Are there any ancient monuments or places of architectural value in the place ? If so, describe them.

APPENDIX III

GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS

<i>Local Terms</i>	<i>Phonetic Transcription</i>	<i>English Equivalents</i>
Guru or Periya Nattan } ...	Guru or Periya Nāṭṭān } ...	The overall head of the entire Malayalee sect.
Jathi Pillai ...	Jāti Piḷḷai ...	A caste official among Gollas
Kambalam ...	Kambaḷam ...	A traditional practice among Malayalees, of contributing a day's labour by one adult per family if any one is in need of large labour force.
Karumathi ...	Karumādi ...	Sixteenth day obsequies, after the burial of a dead person.
Kattu Ponnu ...	Kāṭṭu Poṇṇu ...	The bride getting married for the first time
Kolakaran ...	Koḷḷekāran ...	The bearer to the head of a Nadu
Malai ...	Malai ...	Hill
Mantri ...	Maṇḍiri ...	Assistant to the Nattan
Muri ...	Muri ...	Divorce
Muṭrai ...	Muttirai ...	The symbol affixed by the caste head among Kavara Naidu to elevate a person's status in society
Nadu ...	Nāḍu ...	A territorial division occupied by a sect of Malayalees
Nattan ...	Nāṭṭān ...	The head of a Nadu
Nattu Ponnu ...	Nāṭṭu Poṇṇu ...	The divorced and widowed Malayalee women, who are in the guardianship of the Nattan.
Ooran or Oor } ...	Ūrān or ūr } ...	The head of a village.
Goundan ...	Kauṇḍan ...	
Pavalam ...	Pavaḷam ...	Coral
Thatti ...	Taṭṭi ...	Bamboo matting
Thombai ...	Tombai ...	Large mud-clad baskets used for storing grains
Veedu ...	Viḍu ...	House.

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