ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF TRIBALS IN TAMIL NADU SINCE THE COLONIAL RULE 1792 - 1991

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BY

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"Study the past if thou

wouldst know the present and

divine the future"

—— *Confucius.*

Dedicated to my *Anni* and *Annan*

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that I, **V. Saravanan**, have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis entitled, **Economic Transformation of Tribals in Tamil Nadu Since the Colonial Rule, 1792-1991"**, for the full period prescribed under Ph.D. ordinance of the university.

I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of research degree of any university.

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CONTENTS

i). Acknowledgments

ii). List of Tables

iii). List of Statements

iv). List of Appendices

v). List of Annexures

vi). List of Maps

CHAPTERS	Pages
I. Introduction.	1-15
II. Socio-Economic Conditions of the Tribals during the Pre-Colonial Period.	16-46
III. Tribal Population, Occupation and Forests during the 19th Century.	47-90
IV. Effects of Land Settlement in the Hill Areas during the 19th Century.	91-136
V. Tribal Population, Occupation and Forests during the 20th Century.	137-174
VI. Survey, Settlement and Agricultural Development in the Hill Areas during the 20th Century.	175-206
VII. Tribal Land Alienation and Migration.	207-248
VIII. Some Tribal Welfare Measures	249-274
IX. Conclusions	275-290
Bibliography.	291-309
Appendices	310-344
Annexures	345-348
Glossary	349-353

LIST OF TABLES

2.1	Details of Season and Returns of some Crops: Early 19th Century.	33
2.2	Rate of Assessment in Salem District: Pre-colonial Period.	36
3.1	Population Growth in Salem District: 1801-1901.	48
3.2	Population of Malaiyalis in the Salem District in the 19th Century.	51
3.3	Population Growth of Selected Hill Villages: 1871-1901.	55
3.4	Population Growth in Different Hill Villages: 1871-1901.	56
3.5	Structural Transformation in Salem District: 1871-1901.	59
3.6	Structural Transformation of Tribals: 1871-1901.	61
3.7	Occupational Transformation of the Tribals Within the Primary Sector: 1881-1901.	63
3.8	Quantity of Sandalwood in Salem District in 1839.	73
4.1	Revenue Collection in Different Hills of Salem District: 1792/93-1801/02.	95
4.2	Balances, Collections and Outstanding Balances in Salem District: 1802/3-1812/13.	97
4.3	Number of Muttahs Attached and Sold: 1802/03-1812/13.	98
4.4	Balance of the Land Revenue in Salem District: 1802/03-1818/19.	102
4.5	Amount of Demand, Collection and Balance in Hill Areas: 1802/03-1817/18.	104
4.6	Balance of Hill Revenue: 1818/19-1837/38.	106
4.7	Revenue Collection in Different Nadus of Shervaroy Hills: 1792/93-1801/02.	110
4.8	Revenue Demand and Collection in the Shervaroy Hills: 1819/20-1821/22.	111
4.9	*Muchilika* Particulars in the Shervaroy Hills.	112
4.10	Difference Between Annual Settlement and Permanent Settlement in Shervaroy Hills.	113
4.11	Revenue Demand and Collection in Temanoor Nadu: 1817/18-1820/21.	116

4.12 Amount of Arrears in Different Nadus of Kolli Hills: 1819. 118
4.13 Amount of Rent, Number of Renders and Securities in Namakkal Kolli Hills: 1828/29-1832/33. 120
4.14 Difference of Lease Settlement in Namakkal Kolli Hills: 1828/32-1833/38. 121
4.15 Dues of Rented Amount in Namakkal Kolli Hills. 121
4.16 Annual Leased Amount in Namakkal Kolli Hills: 1838/39-1841/42. 122
4.17 Land Rent in Pachamalai Hills: 1792/92-1801/02. 123
4.18 Outstanding Balance in Pachamalai Hills: 1802/03- 1814/15. 124
4.19 Revenue Collections in Periya-Kalroyan Hills: 1875/79. 130
5.1 Trends of Malaiyali Population in Tamil Nadu: 1901-1921. 137
5.2 Population in Salem District: 1901-1991. 139
5.3 Population of Hill Villages in Salem District: 1901-1991. 142
5.4 Trend of workers and Dependents/Non-workers in Salem District: 1901-1991. 145
5.5 Trend of Workers and Non-Workers in Hill Villages: 1961/1991. 146
5.6 Structural Transformation of Tribals and Malaiyalis in Tamil Nadu: 1961-1981. 149
5.7 Structural Transformation in Salem District: 1901-1991. 150
5.8 Structural Transformation of Tribals and Malaiyalis in Salem District: 1961-1981. 151
5.9 Structural Transformation in Hill Villages: 1951-1991. 152
5.10 Structural Transformation of Females in Salem District: 1901-1991. 155
5.11 Structural Transformation of Tribal Females: 1951-1991. 156
5.12 Occupational Transformation of Salem District: 1901/1991. 159
5.13 Occupational Transformation of Tribals: 1951/1991. 160
5.14 Trend of Female Working Force Within the Primary Sector in Salem District: 1901-1991. 163
5.15 Trend of Female Working Force in Primary Sector: 1951-1991. 164
6.1 Extent and Different Kinds of Soils in hills: 1904. 177

6.2 Soil Groups in Hill Villages of Salem District: 1904. 179

6.3 Soil Groups in Different Hills: 1936. 181

6.4 Soil Classification and Money Rates in Kalroyan Hills. 184

6.5 Survey and Settlement in China-Kalroyan Hills. 184

6.6 Sources of Irrigation in the Hill Areas of Salem District. 187

6.7 Sources of Irrigation in Major Hills of Salem District. 188

6.8 Size of Holdings and Sources of Irrigation in Hills. 189

6.9 Livestock in Different Hills of Salem District. 190

6.10 Size of Pattahs in Different Hills: 1904. 191

6.11 Trend of Land Holdings in Three Major Hills: 1971-1991. 193

6.12 Extend of Farm and Non-Farm Income in Different Hills. 194

6.13 Extent of Income in Different Crops: 1978. 196

6.14 Cropping Pattern in the Hill Areas of Salem District: 1904. 197

6.15 Irrigational Cropping Pattern in the Hill Areas. 202

6.16 Price Differences Between Hills and Plains: 1904. 202

6.17 Percentage of Marketed Goods in Different Crops: 1978. 203

7.1 Number of Settlers and Extent of Land Occupied in Salem District: Early 19th Century. 208

7.2 Details of Settlers in the hills of Salem District: Early 19th Century. 209

7.3 Income and Expenditure of the Different Hills in Salem District. 216

7.4 Extent of Indebtedness in Different Hills of Salem District. 218

7.5 Age and amount of Out-Standing Debts in the Hills of Salem District: 1977. 219

7.6 Sources of Indebtedness of Tribals in Different Hills of Salem District. 220

7.7 Purpose of Loans in Different Hills of Salem District: 1935. 222

7.8 Purposewise Utilisation of Credit in Different Hills of Salem District: 1978. 223

7.9 Sources of Mortgages in Different Hills. 226

7.10 Rental Amount of Toddy and Arrack Shops in Shervaroy Hills: 1896/97-1904/05. 228

7.11 Extent of Land Alienation in Different Hills of Salem District: 1905. 231
7.12 Number of Migrants of Hill Areas During 19th Century. 237
7.13 Rural-Urban Migration of Tribals in Salem District: 1961-1981. 240
7.14 Rural-Urban Migration of Malaiyalis in Salem District: 1961-1981. 241
7.15 Proportion of Malaiyalis to Total Tribals in Urban Areas of Salem District: 1961-1991. 242
7.16 Trend of Working and Non-Working Force of Urban Malaiyalis: 1961-1981. 242
7.17 Occupational Categories of Tribals and Malaiyalis in Salem District: 1961-1981. 243
8.1. Total Outlay and Expenditure for Tribal Development: 1976/77-1989/90. 257
8.2. Literacy Rate of the Selected Hill Villages: 1951-1991. 264
8.3. Members and Working Capital of the Kolli Hills Agricultural Co-operative Society. 265
8.4. Members and Working Capitals in the Shervaroy Hills Agricultural Co-operative Society. 266
8.5. Number and Amount of Advance in Kalroyan Hills Multi-Purpose Co-operative Society: 1969/70-1975/76. 268

List of Appendices

3.1 Details of the Hill Villages. 310
3.2 Structural Transformation in Different Hills: 1871-1901. 311
3.3 Occupational Transformation within Primary Sector in Different Hills: 1871-1901. 312
3.4 Wages in Salem District: 1873-1900. 313
4.1 Land Revenue, Collection and Remission in Salem District: 1818/19-1853/54. 314

4.2 Revenue Demand and Balance in the Different Nadus of Shervaroy Hills: 1822/23-1839/40. 315
4.3 Revenue from the Different Hill Villages of Kolli Hills: 1792/93-1801/02. 316
4.4 Revenue Demand and Balance of Kolli Hills: 1809-1915. 317
4.5 Revenue Demand, Collection and Balance in Attur Kolli Hills: 1820/21-1853/54. 318
4.6 Revenue Demand, Collection and Balance in Pachamalai: 1820-1854. 319
5.1 Population Growth in Different Hills: 1901-1991. 320
5.2 Structural Transformation of Tribals in Different Hills of Salem District: 1951-1991. 322
5.3 Structural Transformation of Female Tribals in Different Hills: 1951-1991. 325
5.4 Occupational Transformation within Primary Sector in the Hill Villages: 1951-1991. 328
5.5 Trend of Female Working Force in the Primary Sector of the Hill Villages in Salem District: 1951-1991. 331
6.1 Survey and Settlement of Chitteri Hills: 1899 334
6.2 Percentage of Soil Classification in Different Hills of Salem District: 1904. 335
6.3 Money Rate in Different Group of Soil in Hills: 1904. 336
6.4 Difference Between the Revenue and Survey Account in Different Hills: 1904 337
6.5 Difference Between Old and New Rate in Different Hills: 1936. 338
6.6 Changing Cropping Pattern of Hill Areas of Salem District: 1904-1991 339
7.1 Different Caste of Non-tribals in Different Hills of Salem District: 1871 340
7.2 Trends of Scheduled Caste Population in the Different Hills: 1961-1991 341
7.3 Extend of Land and Amount of Mortgages in Different Hills of Salem District: 1897-1901, 1905-1910 and 1928-1933. 342

7.4 Purpose of Land Mortgage in Different Hills of Salem District. 343
7.5 Number of Sales and Sale Value of Lands in Different Hills 344

List of Statements

1.1 Main Differences Between Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. 1

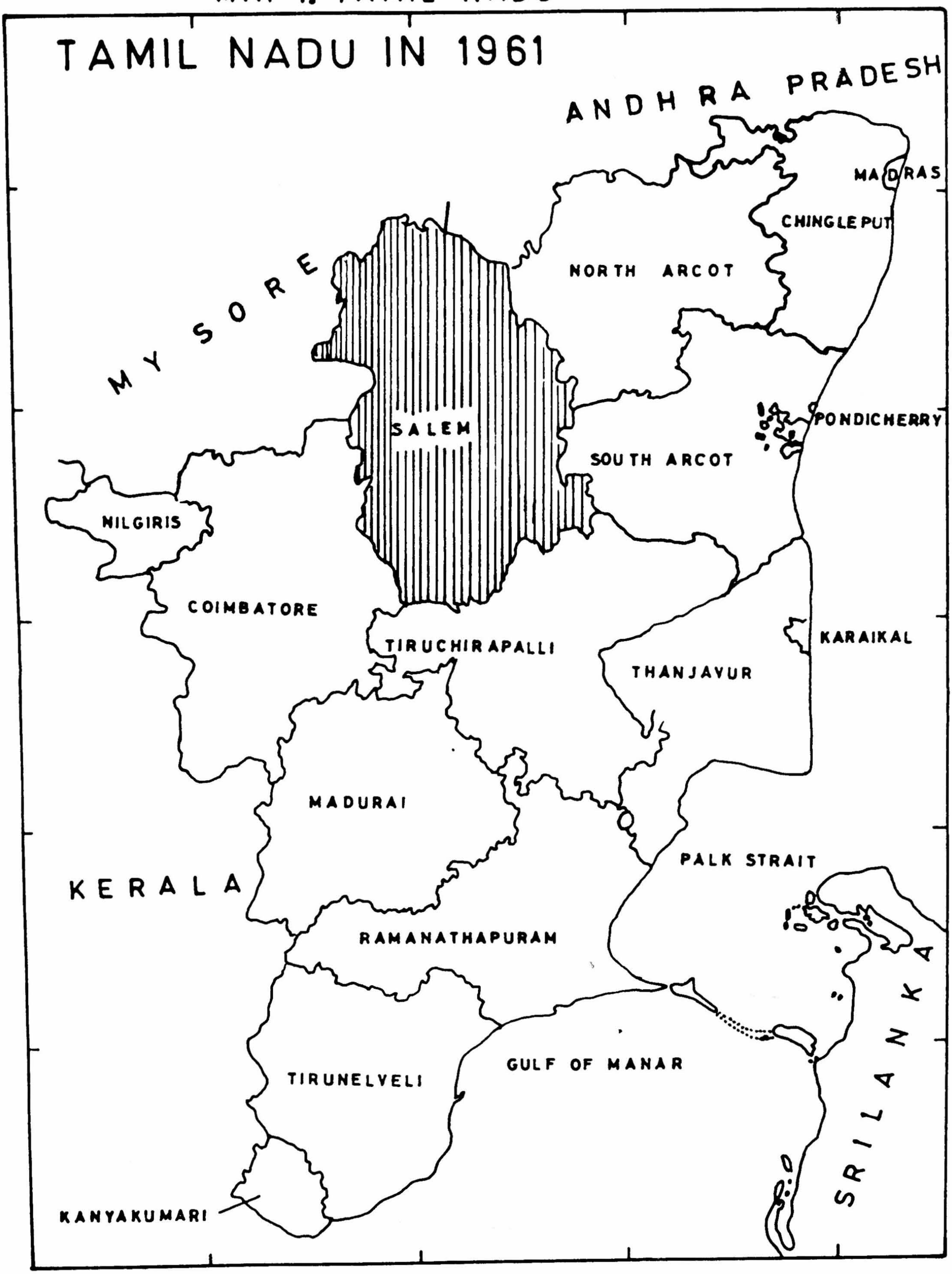
List of Annexures

1.1 The Details of Kongu Country 345
2.1 Details of Grain Measurement: 1800. 346
2.2 Details of Money Measurement: 1800 347
5.1 Government Order: 1993 348

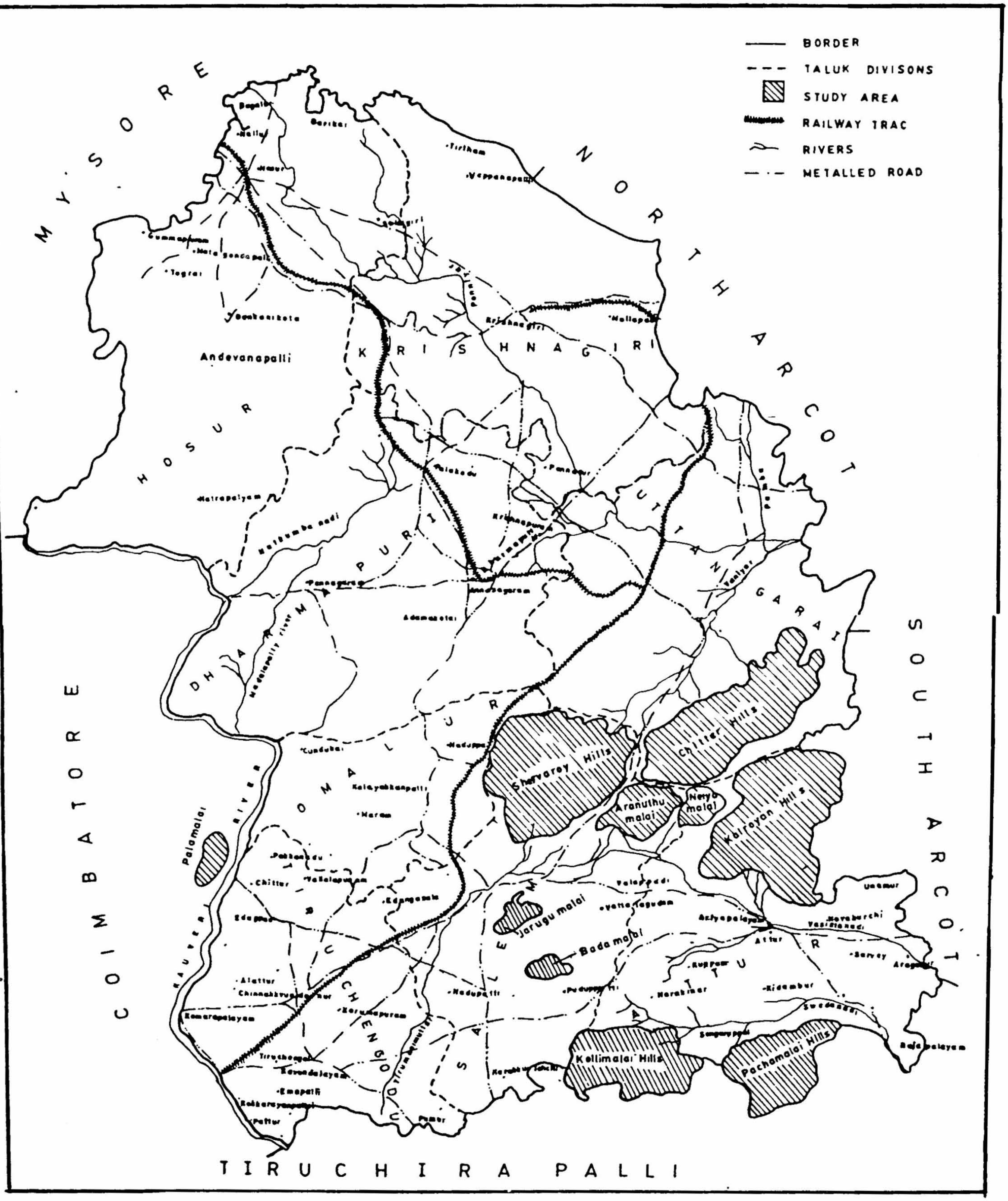
List of Maps

1.1. Map of Tamil Nadu vii
1.2. Different Hills of Salem District. viii
1.3 Geographical Divisions of Salem District ix

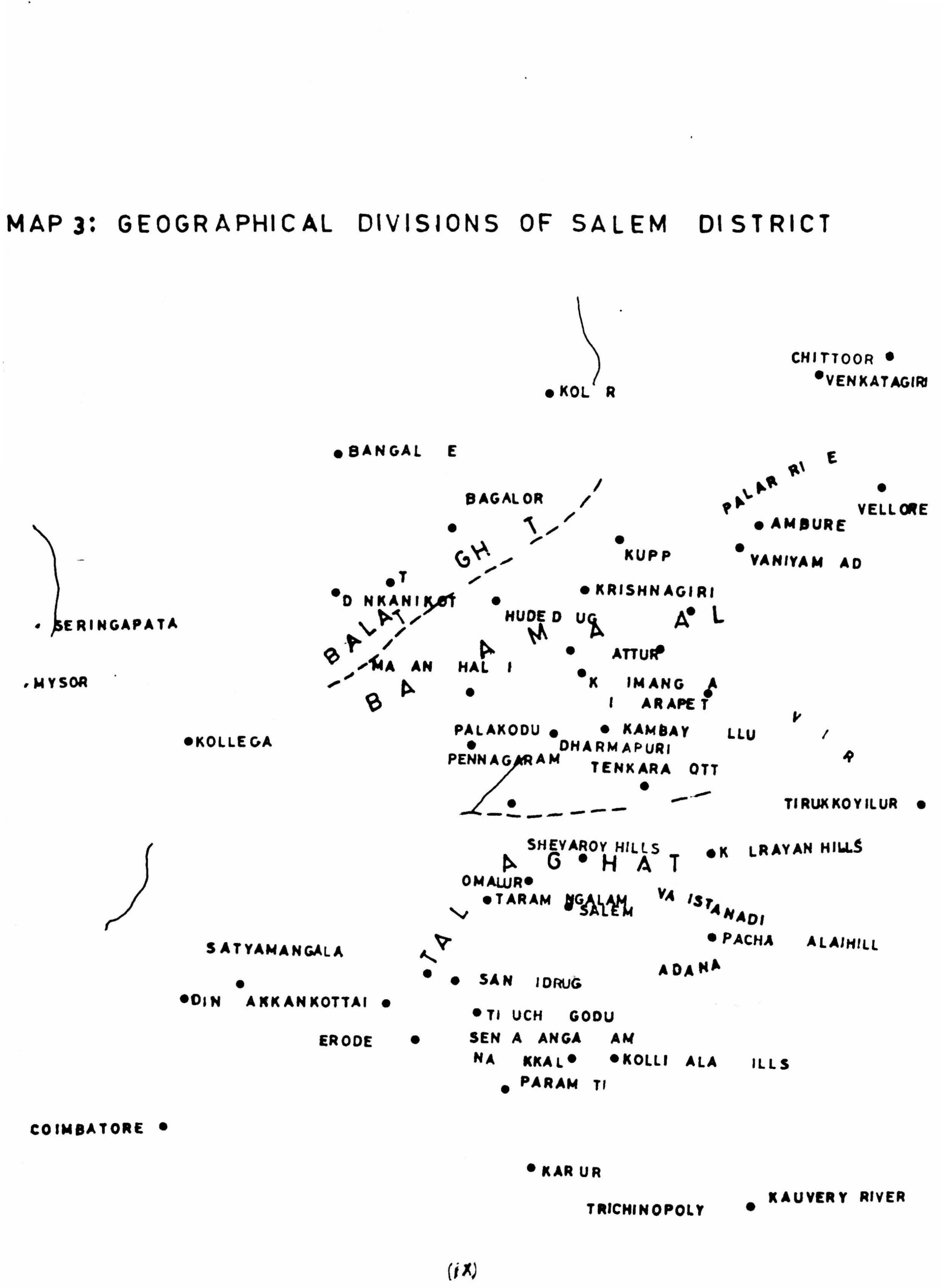
MAP 1. TAMIL NADU



MAP 2: SALEM DISTRICT - STUDY AREA



MAP 3: GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS OF SALEM DISTRICT



CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

1.1.1. The Problem

1.1.1 The Scheduled Tribes in India are economically, educationally, socially and politically more backward than the Scheduled Castes. Only 12.9% of the Scheduled Tribes came under occupational categories other than cultivators and agricultural labourers in 1981, whereas this proportion is as high as 23.61% among the Scheduled Castes *(Census of India 1981: Part II-B [ii]: xxxiii, and Part II-B [iii]: xxx).* The literacy rate of the former is only 16.35% while that of the later is 21.38% *(Census of India 1981: Part IV-A [i]: 4, and Part IV-A [iv]: 2).* There are many reasons that account for the imbalance between Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes (see Statement 1.1).

Statement: 1.1 Main Differences Between Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes
1. They are treated as untouchables by the superior Hindus.	They feel superior to many others in the Hindu Society.
2. They are economically dependent on the superior Hindu Castes.	They are economically not dependent on any others.
3. They live segregated in villages and are forced to live in squalid and unhealthy surroundings.	They live in isolated forests and hill villages but independently, and have never been segregated.
4. They have almost abandoned their original culture and have adopted the culture of other superior Hindu Castes.	They still follow their own culture.

5. They wish to join the mainstream.	They are not willing to join the mainstream.
6. Their administrative and judicial systems are controlled by the other superior Hindu Castes.	They are controlled mostly by them-selves and not by others.
7. Their problems are mainly from superior Hindu Castes	Their problem is of assimilation into the mainstream.

Sources: 1. Maddison, Angus (1971), p 132 and 2. Fuchs, Stephen (1981), pp. 3-4 and 53.

1.1.2 One major cause of this picture is that the Scheduled Castes had no history of isolation whereas the Scheduled Tribes were isolated (Beteille: 1969: 109). In other words, "...primitive tribes persisted in forests and hills without having more than casual contacts with the population of the open plains and the centres of civilisation" (Furer-Haimendorf: 1977: 1). Living in isolated forest dwellings, they followed an endless number of forest occupations varying from shifting cultivation to settled agriculture and adopted the traditional methods of production, which resulted in low productivity and little surplus. In other words, they had an inherently built in system of low level of living standards.

1.1.3 The tribals supplemented their subsistence living through the collection of forest products. Before the colonial intervention, there were no major interference by any native force with their customary use of forests and forest products (*Guha: 1983: 1940-460*). In other words, the tribals had "an ideal state, a self-contained unit" (Beteille: 1977: 8). The forest practices of the tribals were controlled by

the First Indian Forest Act of 1865. Consequently, the Madras Forest Act 1882 was formulated. Under this Act (Section-7), the clearing of land for cultivation and other purposes in the forest was prohibited. In addition, the 1882 Act imposed strict conditions on the use of forest products. Later, in 1894, the tribals were allowed to use the forest land with limited rights and privileges. After Independence, the Indian Government promulgated the National Forest Policy in 1952 which not only took away the limited privileges given by the colonial rulers but further eroded their rights to concessions *(Kulkarni: 1987: 2143-48,* Ramaiah: 1988: 34-36, Ghosh: 1987: 4). Since the first Forest Act the restrictions on the tribals' rights on forests have increased over the period.

1.1.4 The colonial rulers did not have any consistent policy for tribal upliftment. Of late, the Government of India has been formulating various schemes in different plan periods. Though there are many projects for the upliftment of tribals, their economic position has not changed much. In contrast, the tribals are revolting against the non-tribal and Government intervention, and they would like to retain their identity (Furer-Haimendorf: 1982: 36-37, 95, 126; *Balagopal: 1989: 1151-1153*; Prakash Reddy: 1987: 6-7).[1] The impact of welfare programmes in the tribal areas is that the "...wealth is being concentrated in the hands of a small minority, while the masses of the tribal people live in poverty and on the margin of society" (Ajit Singh: 1984: 120). In some cases, the welfare measures have aggravated their traditional position (Sayed Shafi: 1989: 11-13). For example, they were affected by the land alienation posed by the non-tribals (Verma: 1990: 76). Consequently, the tribals are revolting against non-tribal and Government intervention and they like to retain their identity. In this situation, the present study tries to

analyse the nature and extent of their occupational change and the economic effects since the beginning of the colonial rule.

1.1.2 The study Area

1.1.5 For this purpose, the Salem district is selected. In this study, Salem district means the present Salem and Dharmapuri districts of Tamil Nadu (see Map.1).[2] This district has the largest and major tribal concentration of tribals in Tamil Nadu. There are 5,74,194 persons of the Scheduled Tribes' categories in Tamil Nadu in 1991; of which, 1,83,810 persons or 32.01% of the total Scheduled Tribes are living in the Salem district (1,36,126 persons or 23.71% in Salem district and 47,684 persons or 8.3% in Dharmapuri district). In other words, about one-third of the Scheduled Tribes are found in this district of Tamil Nadu. The Malaiyalis are the major among the tribals of Tamil Nadu. According to the 1981 census, 40.18% of the tribals in Tamil Nadu are Malaiyalis. Again about 61.51% of the Malaiyalis are inhabiting in the Salem district.

1.1.6 In Salem district 1,68,518 persons or about 3.09% of their total population of 54,38,777 are Scheduled Tribes; of which, 76.34% are Malaiyalis. The other major tribals are Irular, Kurichchan, and Kuruman. They are mainly living in the plain areas of the present Dharmapuri district. Among these, only the Kuruman tribe has more than 500 people inhabiting the present Salem district. On the other hand, the Malaiyali tribes are inhabiting only in the hills and adjoining plain villages of Shervaroy hills, Kolli hills, Kalroyan hills, Chitteri hills, Pachamalai, Aranuthumalai, Palamalai, Bodamalai, Jambuthumalai, Jarugumalai, etc., (see Map.2).

1.1.7 Salem district had three natural tracts, viz., the Balaghat, the Baramahal[3] and the Talaghat. The tract comprising of Balaghat and Baramahal, forming the Northern taluks, had been constituted into the present Dharmapuri district *(History of Land: 1977: 327-28)*. The Southern taluks, known as Talaghat, is left as the present Salem district. Geographically, the Talaghat belongs to the ancient Kongu country (for details see Annexure 1.1). The Baramahal belongs to the ancient Tondaimandalam and the Balaghat belongs to Mysore (Richards: 1918: 44). So, the Salem district has never formed a political entity and consequently cannot claim a separate history of its own in the pre-colonial period.

1.1.8 The colonial British administration in Salem district was officially established on the 17th March 1792 through the peace treaty at Srirangapatanam between Tipu Sultan and the English Company *(Baramahal Records: Sec.XXI: 25)*. Under the treaty, half of the domain of Tipu was taken away. The whole of Talaghat except the Balaghat and a portion of Hosur in Baramahal came into the hands of the British. These conquered areas were known as 'Salem and Baramahal', and Captain Alexander Read was appointed as a "Superintendent and Collector of the Salem and Baramahal" on the 4th April 1792 by Lord Cornwallis *(Board Of Revenue [Mis]: No.2: Vol.134: 1792: Para 83)*. The headquarters of the collector was established at Tiruppatur. The district was divided into three administrative regions, viz., Southern, Central and Northern. Southern division comprised of Salem, Chinnagerry (Chennagiri), Belloor [Belur], Attur, Veeraganoor [Viraganur], Sendamangalam, Rauzeepoor [Rasipuram], Namakkal and Paramutty [Paramathi]; the Central division comprised of Womaloor [Omalur], Yerrapaudy [Idappadi], Nangapally [Nangavalli], Pennagra [Pennagaram], Dharmapuri, Tingrecotta (Tenkaraikottai), Sangry-droog [Sankagiri] and Trichengode; and the

Northern division had the Veerabudder-droog, Krishnagreey [Krishnagiri], Cumminelloor (Kambainellur), Coonatoor, Tripatoor [Tiruppatur], Vaniambaudy [Vaniambady], Cangoondy and Malpaudy *(Board Of Revenue [mis]: Vol.138: 4th April 1800: 63)*. The Northern division in charge of Captain Graham, had its headquarters at Krishnagiri; the Southern Division, under Captain Maclead had its headquarters at Salem; and the Central Division, in charge of Captain Munro, had its headquarters at Dharmapuri (Richards: 1918: Vol.I, P.I: 2-3). The Balaghat came under direct colonial rule in 1799 after the death of Tipu.

1.1.9 In 1808, 'Salem and Baramahal' districts together formed the new Salem district while the Cangoondy Zamindary was transferred to North Arcot district (Maclean: 1885: Vol.II: 121). From 1808 to 1820 and from 1830 to 1832, Dharmapuri was the headquarters of Salem district. Except these period, Salem district was the headquarters of the district. In 1885, some areas totaling about 124 square miles, were transferred from Salem to North Arcot and South Arcot districts. A portion of the Jawadhi hills was shifted from Salem to the North Arcot and South Arcot districts on 11th September 1885 (*B.P No. 4288: 10th May* 1892). In 1911, two taluks were transferred from Salem district —— Tiruppatur to North Arcot district and Namakkal to Tiruchirappalli district. Namakkal taluk was restored from Tiruchirappalli to Salem district in 1921. In 1931, about 137 square miles were transferred from Coimbatore district to Salem district. Kuppam area came from Chittoor district to Salem district in the same year. During 1951, a few villages were exchanged between Mysore and Madras. In 1961, a few villages were transferred from Krishnagiri taluk of Salem district to Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. In the year 1965, Salem district was bifurcated into Salem and Dharmapuri districts. Around 1975, sizable areas

of the Salem district were transferred into the new Erode district. In view of these shifts in area, the geographical area of Salem district is considered for general reference of the present study.

1.1.3 Period of Study

1.1.10 The study period is between 1792 and 1991 i.e., from the advent of British colonial administration in Salem district in 1792 to the present time. For this period, there is no research study available on the economic history of Salem district or on the tribals of the district. However, detailed sources of information are available since the colonial rule. Considering this, the present period of 1792 to 1991 is selected.

1.1.4 Review of Literature

1.1.11 Prior to Verrier Elwin (1958), a number of anthropologists and social workers had studied on the tribals. But their work, was more or less, that of fact collection. A philosophy for 'NEFA' (1958),[4] a pioneering work by Elwin, is a democratically oriented approach to the problems of the tribals. The Governmental efforts, which intend to adopt appropriate steps to integrate tribals into the mainstream, are reflected in several reports on tribal problems. Prominent among such reports are: 1. the Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes in the Madras Presidency (1948), 2. the Report of the Special Agency Development Officer, Government of Madras (1952), 3. the Report on Aboriginal and Hill Tribes of the Partially Excluded Areas in the Bombay Presidency (1947), 4. the Report of the Committee on Welfare of

Scheduled Tribes, Government of Madras (1976), and 5. the Report of the Commission of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1953-1987).

1.1.12 The 'Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks' or 'Elwin Committee' (1960), and 'Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission' or 'Dhaber Commission' (1962), reflected the problems and development of agriculture, shifting cultivation, forest, animal husbandry, health, cottage industry, rural housing, co-operatives, communication and education of the tribals.

1.1.13 A number of research studies are available in this field. Some of them focused on multi-dimensional problems while the rest concentrated on specific problems. Problems of the tribals were highlighted by Verma (1986) through a comparative study of the tribal and non-tribal areas. Some penetrating insights into the grass root level concerns of tribal belts of Andhra Pradesh were provided by Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf (1982).

1.1.14 The practice of podu[5], dry and wet cultivation, credit and marketing, consumption pattern and income and employment of tribals were analysed by Ramamani (1988). The problems of agriculture, forest and industrialisation in the tribal areas were critically discussed and several approaches to the multi-dimensional problems of tribals were indicated by Ramaiah (1981). The impact of diary development, agricultural research stations and adoption of hybrid seeds in the tribal areas were undertaken by Wagnmare and others (1988).

1.1.15 Some deficiencies in the functioning of shandies and marketing institutions in the tribal areas were brought to light by Krishna Rao (1988). Non-tribal immigration, land alienation and forest exploitation by outsiders were found to be the causes of unrest in the tribal community by Prakash Reddy (1981). The problems of land alienation, agricultural marketing and dry farming were dealt by Patel (1987). Land alienation in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh was critically examined by Janardhan Rao (1987).

1.1.16 The employment conditions of male and female tribal workers under industrial employment and the problems of adjustments in modern situations were discussed by Kabra (1987). The most comprehensive study of the various aspects of economic and physical exploitation of tribal women engaged in unskilled industrial labour force was exposed by Prasad (1988).

1.1.17 The poverty and indebtedness of the tribals was the focus of Ramaiah's work (1988). The root cause of exploitation and bondage was revealed by Vyas (1980). Ghosh (1987) underlined the need of laws to prevent various kinds of exploitation by family planning motivators, forest officers, contractors, police officers and Government employees.

1.1.18 The history of tribal development programmes for planning strategies and changes in the institutional framework were noted by Venkat Rao (1988). Basu (1987) presented a systematic account and evaluation of the different aspects of various tribal development programmes undertaken by the Government; and critically assessed the overall capability of the administrative system in the development plans.

The impact of the community development programme was studied by Ajit Singh who revealed that the majority of tribal population had not benefited through the development measures; and they still remain in the same state of poverty as they were before the introduction of the development measures (Ajit Singh: 1984: 118).

1.1.5 Work Done on Tribes of Tamil Nadu

1.1.19 There are not many studies on the tribal economy of Tamil Nadu. The existing studies are of an anthropological nature and were carried out in small tribal communities.[6] Tribal welfare in Salem district, the role of Government and other voluntary organizations was analysed by Ramanathan (1977). The socio-economic development of the tribals in Jawadhi-Elagiri Hills 1900-1984 was undertaken by Thangaprakasham (1985). The bonded labour problems of Kalroyan hills of South Arcot district was studied by Jothimurugan (1985). The impact of the Integrated Tribal Development Project of Kalroyan hills in Salem and South Arcot districts was assessed by Jothimurugan (1989). The socio-economic conditions of the tribals in Kalroyan hills of Salem district were brought out by Saravanan (1989). It may, however, be noted that these studies focused on selected problems, mostly on bonded labour, education and welfare of the tribals. No study analysed their economic history and changes in their developmental processes.

1.1.6 Gaps in Existing Knowledge

1.1.20 There has been no study that has traced tribal life in historical process, and specially their economic transformation. Existing

studies concentrate mainly on current problems of the tribals especially the temporary and apparent impact of the tribal welfare programmes in the hill areas. These studies fail to reveal their earlier economic status, occupational patterns, the Government policies and non-tribal intervention impinging on tribal rights on land and forests. It is imperative that we have to probe further to understand their earlier economic conditions and, consequent changes in occupational patterns due to the Government and non-tribal intervention. The present study is one such attempt made in this direction. It analyses the economic transformation of the tribals, particularly Malaiyalis, and their changing occupational patterns since the beginning of the colonial rule.

1.1.7 Objectives

1.1.21 The main objective of this study is to trace the changing occupational patterns of the tribals in Salem district between 1792 and 1991. In this connection it throws light on (i). their living and working conditions, forests, land tenure, tenancy and land alienation of the tribals, (ii). the trends in cropping pattern, income and expenditure and migration, and (iii). the state policy and welfare measures since the advent of colonialism.

1.1.8 Some Research Questions

1.1.22 The primary question of the study has been to understand that how structural transformation occurred in the tribal system over the period of 1792 to 1991. It also raises some other related queries, viz., (i). whether the conditions of tribals has improved or deteriorated

with respect to changes in occupation; (ii). what are the factors working against or for their occupational change; and (iii). had the tribals been better-off before the Government intervention? or did they improve themselves after the intervention?

1.1.9 Hypothesis

1.1.23 The main hypothesis of the study is that the economic conditions of the tribals have declined since the colonial intervention. The sub-hypotheses are: (i). the Government imposed many restrictions on their rights of land, forest and traditional systems. These restrictions nullified the expected welfare measures; (ii). the standard of living, sources of income and cropping pattern got worsened leading to mass poverty; and (iii). the Government welfare measures did not make any significant dent and did not produce any desirable positive impact in general as indicated by the declining standards of living of the tribals.

1.1.10 Methodology

a. Sources of Data

1.1.24 Data have been collected from a number of published and unpublished sources such as Proceedings of the Board of Revenue (1786-1863), Revenue Department (1774-1961), Public Department (1800-1951), Development Department (1921-1953), Petition Department (1815-1882), Government Orders- Revenue, Development, Public (Reforms), Public (Services), Public (Political); Salem Collectorate Records (1792-1860), Proceedings of the Special Commission (1802), Permanent Settlement Records (1800), Guide to the Salem District Records (1791-1835), Baramahal Records

(XXII Sections), Population Censuses of India (1871-1991), Village Statistics (1871-1991), Manuals of Salem, Trichirappalli, South Arcot and North Arcot districts. Gazetteers of Salem, Trichirappalli, South Arcot and North Arcot districts, Reports of the Material Conditions and Progress of Aboriginal Tribes and very Backward Communities, Reports of the Tribal Welfare Department, Madras; Reports on the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Annual Tribals Sub-plan, Integrated Tribal Development Projects —— Kalroyan hills, Shervaroy hills, Kolli hills, Pachamalai, Aranuthumalai, Bodamalai, Jarugumalai, Jambuthumalai, Palamalai and Chitteri hills.

1.1.25 Other sources include the Report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1951-1987), Commission for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, Five-Year Plans I-VII, Occasional Papers on Tribal Development, Report of the Working Group on Development of the Scheduled Tribes, Report of the Study Team on the Tribal Development Programmes, Report of the Committee on the Tribal Economy in Forest Areas, Progress of Education of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, Articles, Seminar Papers, Dissertation, Theses, Project reports, Monographs and Books.

b. Statistical Techniques

1.1.26 The data are analysed with the help of standard but simple statistical methods in tabulation and graphical interpretation.

1.1.11 Organisation of the Thesis

1.1.27 The study is organised into nine chapters. The problem and the study area are introduced in the chapter I. The chapter II analyses

the socio-economic conditions of the tribals during the pre-colonial period; the chapter III discusses the tribal population, occupation and their forests during the 19th century; the chapter IV deals with the effects of revenue settlement in the hill areas during the 19th century; the chapter V focuses on the tribal population, occupation and forests during the 20th century; the chapter VI provides an account of survey, settlement and agricultural development in the hill areas during the 20th century; the chapter VII concentrates on their land alienation and migration; the chapter VIII gives an account of some Government welfare measures, while the last chapter concludes the study. Appendices and annexures are arranged accordingly.

NOTES:

[1]According to Raghavaiah, from 1778 to 1947 there were nearly eighty cases of revolts among the Indian tribes (Natarajan: 1953: 261-266). "All the uprisings were defensive movements" (Furer-Haimendorf: 1982: 36). These uprisings were divided into three major periods. Upto 1857, the uprisings were basically in a crude form to secure some concessions from the rulers; between 1857 and 1900, against land revenue system, civil and criminal regulations and widespread famines; and till Independence economic struggles were directed against the non-tribal intruders —— money-lenders, traders, zamindars, and administrators who tried to exploit the tribal way of life (Srivastava: 1986: 5). After Independence, the notable insurgencies are Baster tribal movement, Naxalites of West Bengal, Srikakulam and Adilabad of Andhra Pradesh. These insurgencies are attributed to their economic deprivation, inhuman exploitation, oppression, misery and poverty (Prakash Reddy: 1987: 5-6).

[2] The name Salem appears to have been derived from "Sela" or Shalya", by which term the country around is referred to in the old inscriptions. According to Malaiyali tradition, the Sela Nadu is a corruption of Sera- or Chera- nadu which was so named because of the association of the Chera king with the Shervarayan hills. Salem is also said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit "Sailam" meaning "mountain" (Chokkappa: 1982: 9).

[3] Baramahal means twelve revenue divisions. In Hindi, 'bara' means twelve and 'mahal' means places, districts, divisions and purganas. According to tradition, Jagadeva Raya had 12 sons, to whom he assigned 12 administrative divisions. They are Krishnagiri, Jagadevagarh, Varanagarh, Kavalgarh, Maharagarh, Bajangagarh, Kotargurh, Triputuru, Vaniambadi, Ganganagarh, Sudarsangarh and Thattakallu (Richards: 1918: Vol.I: P.I: 3).

[4] It denotes North East Frontier Agency.

[5] shifting cultivation.

[6] Most of the studies concentrated on the Toda tribes of Nilgiri hills. The studies were focused on their cultural aspects. The studies are Harkness, H (1832); Shortt, J (1868); Breeks, J.W (1873); Marshall, W (1873); Rivers, W.H.R (1906) and Peter, P (1953-55).

CHAPTER II

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE TRIBALS DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

The discussion in this chapter is organised into four sections. The first section deals with the Malaiyali tribes origin, social and administrative system in the Salem district; the second section notes their population and occupational system till the end of the 18th century; the third section discusses the land settlement during the pre-colonial (pre-1792) period; and the fourth section concludes the chapter.

I

2.1.0 Origin of the Malaiyalis

2.1.1 Malaiyali means 'inhabitants of the hills'. In Tamil, malai means hill or mountain and yali means ruler or inhabitant. The Malaiyalis were not considered among the ancient hill tribes in Salem as the case of the Nilgiri tribes.[1] They are Tamil speaking people who migrated from the plains in comparatively recent times (Thurston: 1909: Vol.IV: 406). These people are distinct from the people of the plains, but quite different from the Malayalam speaking people of Kerala, although both are called by the same name (Buchanan: 1807: Vol.II: 197). The Malaiyalis are not so uncivilised like some other tribes in the Madras Presidency (Sherring: 1891: Vol.III: 140). They are not a carnivorous race like the tribes in Nilgiris (Thurston: 1909: Vol.IV: 6). They are not treated as untouchables either by the plains people or by the hill inhabitants. The Kotas[2] are treated as the untouchables by Todas (Thurston: 1909: Vol IV:

14). They are a "docile, quiet, if clannish and rather dirty race" (Wilkins: 1914-15: 407). The characteristic features of the Malaiyali tribes are not so uncivilised like other tribes in Tamil Nadu. They are Tamil speaking people who have settled in the hill areas.

2.1.2 The Malaiyali tribes are called by different names in different hill groups. They are known as 'Malaiyandi Vellallu' in the Baramahal Records *(Baramahal Records: Sec.III: 123)*[3]. In general, they are called as Malai Vellalar, Kongu Vellalar, Kanchimandalathar, Malaikkaran, Malai Kavundan, Mala Nayakkan, Malayala, Malaiyalan; Karaikat Vellalas, Karala Vellalas, Kanchimandala Vellalas, and Karalan *(Aiyappan: 1948: 140)*. All have 'Kavundan' as their second name, which is universally used while hailing them. Though they are called differently in different hills, they are not distinct from each other; and apparently they are merely ordinary Tamils migrated to the hills and developed some local customs peculiar to themselves *(Census of India 1901: Vol XV: P.I: 166)*. The same Vellala community people in Tamil Nadu migrated from plains and settled in the different hills of Salem district.

2.1.1 Different Versions of Malaiyalis Origin

2.1.3 Though the Malaiyalis are not ethnically distinct, there are different traditional versions about the origins. The Baramahal Records, did not give any information about the origin of the Malaiyalis, but merely gave a note: 'no tradition' *(Baramahal Records: Sec.III: 123)*. However, different manuals, gazetteers and reports agree on one version of their origin. Accordingly, Le Fanu said that the Malaiyalis originally belonged to the Vellala caste of cultivators and emigrated from the sacred city of Kanchipuram to the hills about ten generations ago, when Muhammadan

rule was established in Southern India. When they left Kanchipuram, they took with them, according to their story, three brothers; of whom the eldest came to the Shervaroy hills, the second to the Kollimalais and the youngest to the Pachamalais (Thurston: 1909: Vol.IV: 467). A slightly varied version of the legendary origin of the Malaiyalis was by F.R. Hemingway: "Their traditions are embodied in a collection of songs. The story goes that they are descended from a priest of Conjeeveram [Kanchipuram], who was the brother of the king, and having quarrelled with the latter, left the place, and entered this country with his three sons and daughters. The country was then ruled by Vedans and Vellalans, who resisted the new-comers. But 'the conch-shell belew and the quoit out' and the invaders won the day. They, then, spread themselves about the hills, the eldest son whose name was Sadayakavundan, selecting the Shervaroys in Salem, the second son the Pachaimalai and the youngest the Kollimalais" (Hamingway: 1907: 124).

2.1.4 An extended version was provided by Harold Staurt. Accordingly, "in 1132 A. D. some of the Vedars of Kangundi asked that wives should be given them by the Karaikkat Vellalas of Conjeeveram [Kanchipuram]. They were scornfully refused, and in anger kidnapped seven young Vellala maidens, whom they carried away to Kangundi. To recover them, seven Vellala men set out, with seven dogs, leaving instructions with their wives that, if the dogs returned alone, they should consider that they had perished, and should cause their funeral ceremonies to be performed. Arrived at the Palar, they found that river in flood, and crossed it with difficulty; but their dogs, after swimming half-way, turned back and returned to Conjeeveram [Kanchipuram]. These men, however, continued their journey, and killed the Vedars who had taken away their maidens, after which they went back to their homes, but found that they had been given up

as lost, their wives had become widows, their funeral ceremonies performed, and they were in consequence outcastes. Under these circumstances, they contracted marriages with some Vedar women, and returned to the Jawadis by way of Arni and Padaved, where they took to cultivation, and became the ancestors of the Malaiyali castes" (Staurt: 1895: 211-212).

2.1.5 A different version by Arthur Fredericks Cox is that "the Malaiyali deity Kariraman, finding himself uncomfortable at Kanchi [Kanchipuram], took up a new abode. Three of his followers, named Periannan, Naduvannan and Chinnanan started with their families to follow him from Kanchi [Kanchipuram], and came to Salem district, where they took different routes, Periannan going to the Shervaroys, Naduvannan to the Pachamalais and Anjure hills, and Chinnanan to Manjawadi" (Cox: 1880: 212).

2.1.6 F.J. Richards stated that "three brothers, by name Periannan, Naduvannan and Chinnanan went a hunting in a forest accompanied by three hunting hounds, and it came to rain so heavily for two days that they were not able to quit the forest. Their hounds, however, returned home, and their wives, seeing the dogs without their masters, concluded that their husbands had died in the jungles and accordingly, as all loyal widows should do, set fire to their houses and perished in the flames. On the third day the hunters returned to find their houses in ashes and their wives dead. The brave husbands there upon consoled themselves by marrying again, Periannan after choosing a Kaikolar girl settled on the Kalroyans; Naduvannan chose a Vedachi girl as his bride, and the Pachamalais as his residence; Chinnanan married a Devendra Pallan, and made his home on the Kollimalais" (Richards: 1918: Vol.I: P.I: 152-53).

2.1.7 Maclean accepted that the Malaiyalis originally emigrated from Kanchipuram about 600 years ago, on account of religious

persecution by Brahmins (Maclean: 1885: Vol.III: 462 and Wilkins: 1914-15: 407). Thurston argued from copper sasanam that the migration occurred at least as early as the beginning at the 16th century (Thurston: 1909: Vol.IV: 410). The inscriptions on stone at the Periya-Kalroyan hills of Salem district show that the Malaiyali inhabitants had been residing in the hills from the beginning of the 11th century *(Collector's letter to the B.R: 31st Oct.1867)*. From the above points one thing is clear: the Malaiyalis were not purely original inhabitants of the hills or not purely migrants from the plains but a mixture of both original and migrants.

2.1.8 Before the plains people invasion, there were some tribal communities such as Vedan and Beder living in the hills of Salem district *(Board Petition No.148 of 1871, Letter from the Conservator of Forest to the Government: 25th Oct.1867)*. This was proved by Francis (1906), who said that "the hills were inhabited by Vedans, and that the Malaiyalis killed the men, and wedded the women, and at marriages a gun is still fired in the air to represent the death of the Vedan husband" (Thurston: 1909: Vol.IV: 409). Ehrenfels, said that, "they adopt new ideas from neighbours or invaders without usually realizing that by so doing their former social system gets disintegrated" *(Ehrenfels: 1943: 75)*. It seems that the Malaiyalis as found at present are neither purely hill inhabitants nor migrated entirely from the plain areas; but both the streams are a mixed caste and their own new system in the hill areas was developed in the course of time.

2.1.2 Social Structure of Malaiyalis

2.1.9 There are three divisions or sub-castes recognised among the Malaiyalis, viz., Periya-Malaiyalis, Kolli-Malaiyalis and

Pacha-Malaiyalis. Those who live in the Shervaroy hills, Aranuthumalai in Salem taluk; Kalroyan hills of Attur taluk in Salem district and Chitteri hills of Harur taluk of present Dharmapuri district were called as Periya-Malaiyalis. Those that live in the Kolli hills of Namakkal and Attur taluks in Salem district were called as Kolli-Malaiyalis. And those who live in the Pachamalais of Salem and Trichirappalli district were called as the Pacha-Malaiyalis *(Aiyappan: 1948: 142)*. The Periya- Malaiyalis believed that the 'karalan' was the original caste name of the Malaiyalis before their split up into three sub-tribes *(Ehrenfels: 1943: 51-52)*. All these three divisions sometimes called themselves as Vellalas; the North Arcot Malaiyalis were called as Karaikat Vellalas; and the South Arcot Malaiyalis were as Karala Vellalas. And some Malaiyalis called themselves the Kanchimanala Vellalas *(Aiyappan: 1948: 142)*. The Malaiyalis were called by different group names according to their living places.

2.1.10 Each divisions of Malaiyalis had exogamous sub-divisions or kulams. The Pacha-Malaiyalis were sub-divided into Tanadi, Vandayan, Semburan, Navidaya, Kalla, Kikkidayan, Neviday, Kurichidaya and others (Hemingway: 1907: 124). The Kolli-Malaiyalis are divided into Kalavi, Sembolan, Selumbi, Kolappaudi, Ambalan, Valangai, Soludaiyan, Kunai-Pittan, Sakkiratti, etc. Some of the later divisions, regard each other as cousins but do not intermarry *(Aiyappan: 1948: 143)*. Each Malaiyali caste group was again divided into several small groups.

2.1.11 The guru occupied the highest rank among the Malaiyalis and played a prominent role in the tribal system[4] (Tamil Nadan: 1983: 2). The main functions of the guru was to appoint the headmen or pattakaran in the different nadus and settle the disputes between the nadus. The office of the guru was hereditary; if his son was minor his

brother would take that right. This can be understood from an old statement of 1841. The guru said, "As there is a God to the hill people, so am I a gooroo to them" and "the goorooship descended to me from my generation" *(Board of Revenue: Vol 1769: 23rd Sep 1841: 12105-12109)*. Till the advent of colonial rule, the Malaiyalis in different nadus were administered by their guru of Chitteri hills.

2.1.12 For administrative purposes, each hill group was divided into paliaputs/ jagirs[5]/ nadus[6] or estates[7]. Each estate was divided into nadus and each nadu consisted of many villages or hamlets. The Kolli hills of Namakkal was broadly classified into two estates, i.e., Shelloor or Moonoor estate; Soel or Gundur estate. The Shelloor estate consisted of the three nadus of Shelloor, Tinnanoor and Devanoor Nadu; and these nadus consisted of 14, 8 and 3 villages respectively. *(Board of Revenue [Mis]: Vol.29: 1800: 28)*. The Gundur estate consisted of four nadus of Gundur, Velappur or Tupoor, Ariyur and Valavandy; and these nadus comprised of 22, 40, 22 and 17 villages respectively. The Kolli hills of Attur taluk was classified into two estates of Anjoor or Pilla estate, Moonoor or Gundani estate. The Anjoor estate consisted of Pill or Bail Nadu, Tripuli Nadu, Sittur Nadu, Pirakarai Nadu and these nadus consist of 15, 10, 8, 6 and 11 villages respectively. The Moonoor estate comprised Gundani Nadu, Alathur Nadu and Edappuli Nadu, and these nadus had only 3, 5 and 1 villages respectively *(Board of Revenue [Mis]: Vol.29: 1800: 19-20)*. Overall, Kolli hills consisted of 15 nadus and 185 villages.

2.1.13 The Pachamalai consisted of three nadus, i.e., Atti Nadu, Tenbara Nadu and Ven Nadu. Of which, the first came under Salem district and the remaining two nadus belonged to Trichirappalli district. The Atti Nadu consisted of 28 villages *(Board of Revenue [Mis]: Vol.29:*

1800: 21). The early British Records (1800) showed that there were three major divisions- Mootoo Nadu, Salem Nadu, Moha Nadu in the Shervaroy hills. The Mootoo Nadu consisted of 14 villages, Salem Nadu consisted of 27 villages and Moha Nadu consisted of 24 villages *(Board of Revenue [Mis]: Vol.29: 1800: 4)*. In the later period (1820-1842), records shows that Shervaroy hills consisted of four nadus, i.e., Salem Nadu, Moha Nadu, Mootoo Nadu and Temanoor Nadu *(Board of Revenue: 1841: Vol.1769: 12100)*. Of these nadus, the last came under the Singaloor Muttah of Salem district. In the later period (1843) this small nadu joined with other three nadus and brought under the control of hill people. But Shortt (1870) says that, each nadu was sub-divided into 9 puttys and each putty comprised of 12 villages (Shortt: 1870: Vol.II: 75). But the present scholar did not find any division like this except Shortt's account.

2.1.14 The Kalroyan hills was divided into five jagirs, namely Periya-Kalroyan, Chinna-Kalroyan, Ariyakavundan, Kurumbakavundan and Jadayakavundan jagirs or Palaiyaputs. Of these, the first two jagirs came under the Salem district and the remaining belonged to the South Arcot district (Le Fanu: 1883: Vol.II: 73). The Periya-Kalroyan jagir was sub-divided into Keel Nadu and Mel Nadu and it consisted of 19 and 17 villages respectively. The Chinna-Kalroyan jagir was also divided into Vada Nadu and Ten Nadu and it comprised about 45 villages *(ITDP Kalroyan hills: 1976-77: 3-4)*. The Chitteri hills consisted of 10 villages. The smaller hills — Jarugumalai, Bodamalai, Palamalai, Jambuthumalai and Aranuthumalai did not have these divisions.

2.1.15 The Malaiyalis of Salem district had a well organised and traditional administrative system. Each nadu had a four-tier administrative set-up: pattakaran[8] or headman, maniakaran,[9] ur-kavundan or

moopan[10] and kangani[11]. The chieftain of each nadu was called pattakaran, and he had a extensive powers. He played the mediator's role between the tribals and guru, and was assisted by the maniakaran. The office of the pattakaran was hereditary and his appointment ceremony was conducted by the sacrifice of some animals and holding a grand feast *(Aiyappan: 1948: 143)*. The post of a pattakaran was hereditary; if his son was a minor, his brother was appointed by the chief guru. Any dispute related to the pattakarship, decision by guru was final. The pattakaran collected the money for the guru with the help of the maniakaran *(Board of Revenue: Vol.1769: 23rd Sept 1841: 12109)*. If any dispute couldn't be dealt by the ur-kavundan, the pattakaran's decision was final. The pattakaran was treated as the chief guest at reaping and marriage functions.

2.1.16 Every hill had one periya-pattakaran.[12] Among the pattakarans, one acted as a periya-pattakaran. In Namakkal-Kolli hills, every estate had one periya-pattakaran or Raja. The pattakaran of Shelloor Nadu in Moonoor estate was recognised as the Raja of three nadus. The pattakaran of Velappur Nadu in Gundur estate was recognised as the Raja for the four nadus *(Board of Revenue: No.79: 24th Mar.1905: 23)*. If disputes arose between any two or more nadus, the periya-pattakaran had to decide (Richards: 1918: Vol.I: P.I: 154). The periya-pattakaran or jagirdar exercised diverse functions, both religious and judicial, according to local laws; and the chief enjoyed the revenue of the state after giving a portion to the local deity. The post of periya-pattakaran or chief jagirdar was hereditary *(No. 4770 Revenue: 18th Nov.1871)*. The chief jagirdar decided the amount of tax to be collected from the tribals. The imposition of tax was not consistent, and the assessment was adjusted to the needs of the people, his own needs and the demand of the land *(Aiyappan: 1948: 143)*. The pattakaran appointed some persons to protect the properties of the tribals

especially from thieves, and to check the strangers in the hills[13] *(Captain Read's 4th Report 1800:)*. The pattakaran was almost a petty Raja; without his knowledge nothing would happen in the hills. All information about the hills flowed to the jagirdar *(Board of Revenue: Vol.1027: 18th July 1825: 6307-38)*. The tribals being administered by the pattakaran, were brought under the control of the plain rulers during the Vijayanagara Kingdom of Achyudhadheva Raya around 1532. The plain rulers collected the revenue through the periya-pattakaran *(Vidyasagar: 1985: 155)*. The tribals had a well administrative system during the pre-colonial rule.

2.1.17 The ur-kavundan administered the tribals directly with the help of the kanganies. Each and every transaction, viz., marriage, divorce, harvesting and festivals, were held in the presence of the ur-kavundan. When a dispute occurred between brothers, partition of property or divorce, the ur-kavundan summoned the panchayat. The panchayat consisted of the elected members of the clans or elected members of the family groups. The final decision of the panchayat was pronounced by the ur-kavundan after consulting the panchayat. The ur-kavundan imposed penalties according to the nature of the dispute (Richards: 1918: Vol.I: P.II: 154). The kangani not only assisted the ur-kavundan but also worked like a police. He collected information about the incidents in the hill villages and passed it on to the ur-kavundan; and the ur-kavundan took the necessary action. All the ur-kavundans were controlled by the pattakaran with the help of the maniakaran.

2.1.18 The tribal villages were very small and did not contain more than ten families each *(Baramahal Records: Sec.VI: 123* and *Public [Sundries]: Vol.121: 1792-99: 157)*. Almost all the tribal villages were located near the river or some source of water. Each village was surrounded

by a fence to keep in the village pigs from destroying the crops. Their houses were not built of mud walls but of tatties (mats) of split bamboo, and roofed with jungle grass (Richards: 1918: Vol.I: p.I: 108). And all the necessary materials were collected from the hills. Houses in the Kolli hills always had a loft[14] inside, approached by a ladder.

2.1.19 The Malaiyalis did not wear any dhoti[15] or shirt, but only a loin cloth and kambali[16] with which they wandered through the villages. The kambali, served the purpose of an overcoat, a rain coat and an umbrella (Ramaswamy: 1967: 145; and *G.O.No.1869 Public [Political] 14th Nov.1938: 10)*. The women never wore blouses or ravikkai;[17] at home or field, they left bare the upper part of the body (Richards: 1918: Vol.I: P.I: 160-161). While coming to the plain areas, they wore only kambali or blanket. The Malaiyalis were extremely mild and simple; at the same time, they were well built and strong. They are very active even well into their fifties. They love the truth, and would not tell lies *(Tamilarasu: 1974: Vol.V: 16)*. Their backwardness was only in regard to their dressing habits; they are very peace loving people.

2.1.20 Early marriages and widow remarriages are common among the Malaiyalis of Tamil Nadu. All marriages, betrothals, and divorces were held in the presence of the ur-kavundan. In the early period, when the husband died, even before removing the corpse the widow was remarried to another man and only then was the corpse disposed off *(ITDP Report -Kalroyan Hills: 1980-85: 20)*. The tribals did not want the widow to cross their paths. Because, they considered it inauspicious to have widow cross their paths. Even a lady of eighty years was not exempted from this rule. This progressive idea of widow remarriage was born of a superstitious[18] belief of the tribals (Le Fanu: 1883: Vol.II: 218). Sometimes, a young boy

married a women old enough to be his mother, the boy's father or father's brother performing as a husband to the bride and raising up progeny for his son. Her children were considered as belonging formerly to her ceremonial child husband *(Ehrenfels: 1943: 57)*. But this custom was denied by most of the living Malaiyalis. It might have been misinterpreted by the British writers.

2.1.21 Even though, the Malaiyalis celebrated pongal, adi and deepawali, the festivals of their chief god in the hills were popular among them. The yearly festivals of their chief god were held in different hills —— Arabalishwarar temple in Kolli-hills; Kariya Ramaswamy temple in Periya-Kalroyan hills and Kariyaramar temple at Shervaroy hills. All the hill people gathered and celebrated the festivals. For example, Lord Kariya Ramaswamy of the Periya-Kalroyan hills was the chief god of the Kalroyan hills. At the time of the festival, more than 10,000 people attended the temple daily *(G.O.No.996 Revenue [Mis] 22ndSept.1906)*. Though they celebrated the festivals like in the plains, their own festival was popular among the Malaiyalis.

2.1.22 The Malaiyalis like to keep their social identity; in fact, they would not like to join with mainstream. They thought that strangers would disturb their culture and traditions. To prevent the non-tribals from getting into the tribal system, they propagated that the fevers and cholera were prevalent in the hill areas of Salem district although no such epidemic prevailed *(G.O.No.2972: Revenue: 4thDec.1867)*. They did not like to mix with the new settlers. Whenever they saw a group of newcomers or strangers in their surroundings, they carried off the material of which their huts were made and commenced building them some miles farther within the hills *(Board of Revenue: Vol 1171: 27th Nov.1828:*

1234). The Malaiyalis did not like the plains people settlement in the hill areas. Even when some plain people settled in the hills, they did not mix with them.

2.1.23 Before colonial intervention in 1792, the Moonoor and Anjoor kombe[19] villages were part of the Kolli hills and controlled by the Malaiyali chieftains. During the colonial Read survey in 1793-1796, the kombe villages were surveyed and settled independently. But the tribals did not like to lose their kombes and wanted to retain them. And even though the Government reduced the land rent, the tribal headmen refused to pay the hill rent to the Government. Instead of granting them their earlier rights, the Government took it as a law and order problem *(Baramahal Records: Sec.VI: 123-24)*. They wanted their system to be undisturbed. Even though the inhabitants dressed in an 'uncivilised' fashion, they had full fledged administrative and cultural systems. They tried to retain their identity distinct from the outsiders. In fact, they maintained well disciplined and structured administrative, judicial and cultural systems.

II

2.2.0 Tribal Population and their Living Conditions

2.2.1 Since ancient times, the hilly regions of Tamil Nadu have been inhabited by the tribals. But there is no authentic account of the size of the tribal population in the hill areas until 1792. In 1793, population statistics were collected for the plains as well as the hill areas. But the reliability of the data can be questioned, because, till 1838, the Kalroyan hills did not come under direct colonial administration; and it continued to be an independent region. In the hill areas, no account

of population was maintained. The total population of an area was estimated, according to the revenue collected from there, i.e., the population of the hills was estimated merely a supposition. The hills which yield revenue were supposed to be inhabited *(Baramahal Records: Sec.XXI: 105)*. One of the major drawbacks of these estimates was that the rate of assessment was not identical within different hills and also within the same hills; they adopted many different rates of assessment. For example, in Jawadhi hills, 88 different rates for plough and 37 different rates for hoes, i.e., at total of 125 different rates prevailed *(Board of Revenue: Vol.2051: 7thDec.1846: 15445)*. The population statistics in the hill areas was an apparently crude estimation and not a realistic count during the pre-colonial rule.

2.2.2 In 1793, there were about 6,00,000 people in Salem district, of which 27,713 persons or 4.62% of the population lived in the hills. Of the hill inhabitants, 7,753 were in the Southern Division, 968 persons were in the Central Division and the remaining 18,992 persons in the Northern Division, which formed 27.98%, 3.49% and 68.51% respectively *(Baramahal Records: Sec.III: iii & iv)*. These figures were estimated on the basis of revenue collected in the area.

2.2.3 There were 25 taluks in Salem and Baramahal, of which 12 taluks had a hill population. Only 5 taluks, 3 from the Southern division and 2 from the Northern Division had more than 1,000 hill population. Of the remaining taluks, 5 taluks had an insignificant number of hill population, i.e., one percent each from the Southern and Central Divisions and 3% from the Northern Division, and the remaining 2 taluks had between 200 and 1000 in numbers.

2.2.4 The density of population per square mile in the hills was lower than that of the plains. There were 174 persons per square mile in the hill areas, and 3,159 persons in the plains. The hill population was not evenly spread, the Northern Division had the highest density of hill population, i.e., 99 persons per square mile, the Southern Division had 67 persons, and the lowest in the Central Division were only 8 persons; and it varied in different hills from 3 to 88 persons per square mile *(Baramahal Records: Sec.III: iii & iv)*. A very low density of population in the hills categorically shows that a large extent of land was not occupied at the time of colonial intervention and the tribals had a large extent of unoccupied land in their hills.

2.2.1 Occupation of the Tribals

2.2.5 In South India, every caste is usually associated with an occupation. Till recently, the caste of a man could be known by his occupation. This is called as "kula dharma". But, the inhabitants of the hills had no specific occupation (Simhadri: 1991: 1). The tribals drew their subsistence from the collection of forest-produce and traditional methods of agricultural cultivation.[20]

2.2.6 The agriculture was the primary occupation of the people in the Salem district and particularly in the hill areas at the end of the 18th century. There were two types of cultivation practiced in the district during the period, i.e., shifting cultivation and settled agriculture. Hill areas followed the shifting cultivation.

2.2.2 Shifting Cultivation

2.2.7 Shifting cultivation, called kottukadu[21] in Tamil, was practiced in the hilly areas of Salem district. The trees were cut down from the selected spot for three months commencing from 11th April in the middle of July, the cleared trees were burned, and by the end of July seeds were sown using hoes and with the help of hired labour (Buchanan: 1807: Vol II: 198). The main crops cultivated were kollu or horse-gram, thenai and kambu. Each of the crops was sown separately or mixed with a small quantity of cotton seed. The season for sowing thenai and kambu continued until the middle of September, then the season for sowing kollu or horse-gram started and continued till the end of the September (Buchanan: 1807: Vol.II: 198). After twenty five days of sowing, the crops were weeded. The next year, different grains were sown between the cotton. In the third year, new places were chosen for clearings. Generally, the tribals shifted to other places every 3 to 6 years *(National Commission on Agriculture: 1976: Part IX: 153)*. The cropping pattern of shifting cultivation varied in each year and they changed their cultivating places within the short period.

2.2.8 The extent of one kuli[22] of kottukadu cultivation required one puddy[23] of cotton seed, five puddies of horse-gram and eight puddies of kambu or thenai. In the first year, it would produce 240 puddies of horse-gram and 260 puddies of kambu or thenai. In other words, the output was 48 times to the seed of horse-gram; and 33 times to the seed of kambu or thenai. In the second year, 160 puddies of horse-gram and 172 puddies of thenai or kambu was the output (Buchanan: 1807: Vol.II: 198). In the second year, the output declined. The output of horse-gram declined to 18 times while that of thenai and kambu by 11 times. In the second year, four tucus of cotton-wool were produced. One acre land produced about 6 bushels of

horse-gram, and $6\frac{1}{4}$ bushels of kambu or thenai in the first year. In the second year, 4 bushels of horse-gram, a little more than four of kambu, or thenai and about 32 pounds of cotton-wool were produced. The output of the kottukadu cultivation decreased year by year in the hill areas of Salem district.

2.2.9 The major dry food crops cultivated in the Salem district of the beginning of the 19th century were kambu, cholam, samai, varagu, panivaragu, tatapyru, mochaikottai, horse-gram, ellu, etc., and small quantities of wulunthu, pachapyru, kotaymuthu and cotton (Buchanan: 1807: Vol.II: 220-225). The dry crops were generally cultivated in mixed form. For example, the tatapyru and mochaikottai was cultivated with kambu, and cotton was cultivated with kambu, horse-gram or cholam at the beginning of the 19th century. The idea behind mixed crops was the security of yields (Buchanan: 1807: Vol.II: 220). They followed the same pattern every year.

2.2.10 Kambu was one of the major dry crops in the Salem district. There were two kinds, i.e., arsikambu and nadukambu. A bulla[24] of land required four bullas[25] of seed arsikambu. A good crop produce gave 72 fold or 288 bullas, which was at the rate of 6, 11/1000 bushels an acre (Buchanan: 1807: Vol.II: 219). The period of harvest for arsikambu was only three and half of months whereas the nadukambu required five months. The nadukambu gave less output than the arsikambu. When the same quantity of seed was applied in the same extent of land, the nadukambu produced only half of the output of arsikambu (Buchanan: 1807: Vol.II: 220). It means the arsikambu was better than the nadukambu in terms of reaping period as well as the quantity of output.

2.2.11 The output of mixed crops was determined by the

production of other crops. If one crop failed, the other crops were expected to cover the production loss. For example, a half puddy of tatapyru was sown in a bulla of land with kambu and tatapyru, it produced about 12 bullas. If kambu did well, one-fourth of the output of tatapyru was less (Buchanan: 1807: Vol.II: 220). If two bullas of mochaikottai sown in the one bulla land with kambu, the output was 20 bullas if the kambu grows badly. If the kambu grows well, the output of mochaikottai was only 12 bullas in a bulla land (Buchanan: 1807: Vol.II: 220). So, in the mixed crops cultivation one crops grown well the output of other crops will be less.

2.2.12 The next major crop was kollu. Its sowing period was from the middle of September to mid-October. Harvest was five months later. A bulla of land required 6 bullas of seed, and a crop produced was about 96 bullas. One acre required 1/8 bushel of seed and it produced two bushels (Buchanan: 1807: Vol.III: 221). The samai, varagu and panivaragu were cultivated to a considerable extent in Salem district (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Details of Season and Returns of Some Crops: Early 19th Century

Name of Crops	No.of Months required	Period of cultivation	Input per Bulla land	Output per Bulla land
Samai	5	Sept-Jan.	6 Bullas	3 Podies[26] or 288 Bullas
Varagu	7	Jun-Dec.	6 Bullas	192 Bullas
Thuvarai	7	Jun-Dec.	2 Bullas	40 Bullas
Car Ellu	3	Apr-Jul.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ Bullas	94 Bullas or 1 Podi
Vellay Ellu	4	Sept-Dec.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ Bullas	64 Bullas

Source: Buchanan: 1807: Vol.II: pp. 223-225.

2.2.13 Agricultural productivity was higher in the hill areas compared to the plains. For example, if 5 puddies of horse-gram seeds sown

in the hill areas, the output was 240 puddies (or about 48 times the quantity of seed used). While, for 24 puddies of same seed sown in the plain areas the output was only 384 puddies or about 16 times of the seed quantity. About 8 puddies of kambu or thenai seed sown in the hill areas would produce 260 puddies or $32\frac{1}{2}$ folds of seed, while in the plain areas arsikambu produced 72 fold and the nadukambu produced almost the same of the hill areas. The cotton crops output was also high in the hill areas.

2.2.14 At the beginning of the 19^{th} century, mixed crops were cultivated both in the hill areas and plains. Almost all crops were cultivated in the mixed form, more than 2 to 5 crops were raised simultaneously in same field (Shortt: 1870: 51). Weeding was also practiced in the hill areas. The output of the fresh lands in the hill areas was higher than in the plain areas. But the returns decreased over the period of continued cultivation of the same piece of land.

2.2.15 The economic activities of the tribals depended mainly on their own family members and they rarely depended on the services of others. The Malaiyali men, women and children were all engaged in agricultural activities. Felling jungle trees, procuring materials, building huts and grazing cattle were different kinds of work. When the main work was over, the women looked after the crops, i.e., weeding and protecting the crops, etc. While, the men generally loitered away their time in smoking, chatting, and sleeping (Shortt: 1870: 41). The tribal women played a major role in the process of agricultural production.

2.2.16 The labour requirements of the tribals were met mainly from their own family members and their relatives. The whole population depended for their subsistence on their own lands, and the labour market

was almost non-existent. Their requirements were very few and limited, except cloths and salt, they were not depended on others (Shortt: 1870: 40). The economic transactions of the tribals was almost self-reliance.

2.2.17 In the hill areas, the entire operations before reaping, was done by the family members of the Malaiyali *(G.O. 605: Revenue: 1905: 5)*. Only at harvesting time, did the cultivator use the help of other members of the village who were not paid for their services, but partook of the harvest feast (Thurston: 1909: Vol.IV: 435). Even at the peak season, the hiring of labour was very rare, if at all and wages were almost invariably paid in kind. They had a peculiar system, "some times the employer will have not only to pay out the whole of the harvest, but will also have to get something extra from home to satisfy the labourers" (Thurston: 1909: Vol.IV: 435). The cultivator could, in turn, earn a share of his neighbour's produce. The earlier tribal systems were more socially oriented and not much economically oriented. It resulted in the lower land values at the hill areas than in the plains of Salem and Baramahal. The value of land on the hills was almost one tenth that of the plains *(Baramahal Records: Sec.XXI: 106)*. The demand for the land in the hill areas was insignificant and it lead to low prices.

III

2.3.0 Settlement during the Pre-colonial Period

2.3.1 Since times immemorial, the rulers had the right to have a share in the produce of all cultivated lands[27] (Baden-Powell: 1978: 34). The share of produce of land revenue practices of farming continued till the early colonial period (Sayana: 1949: 28). During the pre-colonial

period, the revenue share of the produce varied for different kinds of crops (see Table 2.2). During the pre-colonial period, particularly during

Table 2.2 Share of Produce in Salem District: Pre-Colonial Period

(in percentages)

Description of land	Share of produce Ryot'	Govt.
Dry lands		
all crops were equally divided	50	50
Wet lands		
watered by Cauvery and other unning streams	40	60
watered by the interior river or large having filled every year	45	55
watered by small tanks having filled every other year	50	50
watered by tanks 3/4 and wells 1/4	55	45
watered by tanks 1/2 and wells 1/2	60	40
watered by tanks 1/4 and wells 3/4	63	37
watered by wells each 4 labourers	67	33
watered by well with 5 labourers	75	25
Plantations		
cocoa and areca nut palms before coming into full bearing	67	33
- do - in full bearing	50	50
sugarcane when the raiyats defray the expense of cultivation	67	33
- do - when circar furnish plants and ryots defray the exp. of cultivation	50	50
do when the circar defray expenses of cultivation	33	67

small gardens were never rented out in kind by circar.

Sources: Board of Revenue (Mis), Vol.139, Salem, 1800, p. 166. Colonel Read Report on the Original Settlement of Salem in 1791-1796, The Collectorate Press, Salem, 1868, p. 4.

the Hyder regime, different rates of the land revenue were collected from

the farmers. However, there was no decline in cultivation *(Minutes of B/R: Vol.257-B: 5th Jan.1818: Para 56)*. Colonel Read enumerated that there was no less than 66 different rates on dry land varying from 2 pagodas[28] 11 fanams[29] and 20 cash[30] to 2 fanams 65 cash and averaging pagodas 0-21-40 per acre, and no less than 51 different rates on wet lands varying from pagodas 6-18-10 to pagodas 0-11-20 and average pagodas 2-3-8 per acre *(Minutes of B/R: Vol 257-B: 5th Jan.1818: Para. 137)*. The revenue collectors of the different revenue divisions had collected the different rates of land revenue for wet and dry lands.

2.3.2 The headmen or amildar[31] of the village played a major role by mediating between the Government and the farmers. It was stated by Graham that "it must originate in the salutary effects to that system which shall place the inhabitants of each village under one person who as their head and as the immediate agent between them and Government, at the same time that he becomes responsible for their rents, as they fall due will have an intimate knowledge of the ability of each member of the community and adopt the periods of his own demands upon them accordingly" *(Letter from Graham to Read: No.XX: 24th Aug.1797)*. During the pre-colonial period, the headmen determined the amount of land revenue.

2.3.3 The headmen and the revenue servants informally collected more revenue from the cultivator than what they paid to the state. For example, in 1789, during Tipu's regime, the revenue servants collected bribes worth of 24,000 star pagodas which formed about 20% of the gross revenue and 23.5% of the net revenue. The middlemen or patels'[32] collected privately about 17,000 star pagodas for themselves, forming nearly 14% of the gross revenue and 16.5% of the net revenue. Of the balance of 51,000 star pagodas, only 10,000 star pagodas were the balance from the farmers

(Baramahal Records: Vol.I: 154). During the pre-colonial period, the corrupt revenue servants were responsible for the arrears of land revenue. The land revenue balances of the farmers were insignificant when compared to the balances of revenue servants to the Government. The cultivators were pressurised to pay higher rate of land-rent by the recognised agents of the rulers. In short, the Tipu land administration was characterised by heavy taxation, but inadequate revenue to the state, and administrative inefficiency (Mukherjee: 1962: 7). This led to the misery of the cultivators.

2.3.4 During the pre-colonial period the land revenue was collected without considering the economic conditions of the cultivators. The inhabitants were in poverty, and "...they were extracted by the price (tax) often for the war compensations and the paligars also extracted equally mistrusting the powers" *(Letter from Graham to Read: No.XX: 24thAug.1797)*. There was no stable land revenue system and it was determined by the rulers according to their requirements. Also, many additional taxes were imposed by each successive king. There was no security for the farmers and sometimes they fled to the mountains to escape the imposition of heavy taxes *(Letter from Graham to Read: No.XX: 24thAug.1797)*. The poor farmers had been facing a lot of problems. Either they had to dispose off land at low price or sell their cattle at half of the value or borrow money at an exorbitant rate of interest to pay the land-rent.

2.3.1 Revenue Settlement in the Hill Areas

2.3.5 In the tribal system, some revenue was collected for the maintenance of the temples and organizing festivals. The tax was annually

collected from married couples, and for others, certain amount at the time of marriage. This is stated in the Baramahal Records: "Annually from each married couple one sultan fanam to the guru or patriarch. At a wedding two sultan fanams to the temple at Trinomalai" [Tiruvannamalai] *(Baramahal Records: Sec.III: 134)*. The tribals did not pay any tax to the plain rulers. But, in the later period, the tribals were controlled by the powerful plain rulers who forced them to pay taxes. The revenue had been collected through the middlemen/ headmen of the villages. Over the period, the middlemen/ headmen inherited the tax collecting rights, irrespective of whoever ruled the plains.

2.3.6 In the pre-colonial period, the hills were rented to the highest-bidders. The bidders never surveyed the land before the assessment *(B.P.No.212: 8thJune 1906: 3)*. Generally, the highest-bidders were appointed as agents to collect the revenue from the hills. The agent collected huge amounts from the tribals. For example, between 1789 and 1792, the agent of the Shervaroy hills collected an extra amount of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 per annum *(Baramahal Records: Sec.VI: 90)*. About more than one fourth of the total demand was collected in excess by the agent. The plainsmen also cheated the tribals while purchasing their commodities. Around the last decade of the 18thcentury, a Malaiyali tribal from the Shervaroy hills brought 13 buffaloes and 10 sheep to the market in the plain areas for sale. The purchaser [non-tribal] accepted to pay the tax but he did not pay. The market lease holders forced the tribals to pay the tax *(Baramahal Records: Vol.VII: 152-53)*. The tribal complained to the police but he could not recover the money which he paid. The cheating activities by the non-tribals restricted the tribals to get into the mainstream. The earlier rulers did not nave a direct relation either with

the headman or with the tribals. The middlemen exploited the tribals in the name of revenue collection.

2.3.7 The land revenue in the hill areas was not collected either on the basis of the extent and quality of land, or on crops and water availability during the pre-colonial period. But the revenue was fixed on the basis of the number of ploughs and hoes which were used for the cultivation. For a field under shifting cultivation in the hill areas, the rent was one-fourth of what would be paid in the plains for a similar extent of dry-field (Buchanan: 1807: Vol.II: 195). The rate of assessment was not the same in the different hills of Salem district. Actually, the hill chieftains had collected many taxes —— plough tax, hoe-tax, widow-tax,[33] poll-tax, kavali-tax or tax on unmarried persons. These taxes were not collected in view of revenue but to maintain the discipline in the tribal system. Apart from these regular collections, the headmen or chief collected goods and services from the tribals on an ad hoc basis intended for festivals and other emergencies. Except Shervaroy hills, no hills had land revenue accounts for the pre-colonial period. The pre-colonial rulers neither had a constructive policy for the land settlement nor controlled the exploitation of the farmers by the agents. In short, the farmers did not have any protection during the pre-colonial period.

IV

2.4.0 Conclusions

2.4.1 The hill inhabitants are the mixed race of ancient hill inhabitants and comparatively recent migrants from Kanchipuram. They had a stable administrative system at different levels; they were

self-sufficient; and, they were well deciplined. In short, the economic history of the pre-colonial tribal society was politically autonomous, administratively well established, economically self-sufficient, and they more or less, had a self-sustaining community till the colonial intervention. In the hill areas, the land revenue was collected on the basis of the number of ploughs or hoes used for cultivation. Over the period, agents began extracting a high amount from the tribals.

NOTES:

[1]There are different opinions about the origin of hill inhabitants. During the Dravidian period, most of the hill areas of Tamil Nadu were not inhabited by any civilized people. At the time of Aryan invasion, the people from North Indian hills migrated and settled in the hill areas of Tamil Nadu. Kanakasabhai (1904) stated: "They were evidently natives of a mountainous region in the North of Bengal, and when settled in South India, they chose for their residence hilly tracts, such as the Kolli hills (in the Salem district), the Western Ghats, and the Nilgiris" (Kanakasabhai: 1904: 48). Some other literature says that the Tamil speaking people inhabited the hill areas during the ancient period. In the Sangam literature, they were called as "Malavar" (Natrinai: poem: 52). There were three distinct Tamil speaking people living in Tamil Nadu, i.e., the Aboriginals, the Dravidian Tamils and the Aryan migrants (Srinivas Aiyangar: 1986: 10-12).

[2]A name of the tribe living in the Nilgiri hills.

[3]The earliest records in the Salem district consisting of twenty two sections. These records give detailed information about the Salem district during the pre-colonial period.

[4]In the ancient period, the tribals had their own kingdom. It was stated by Srinivasa Aiyangar (1986: 56), "The hill and forest tribes had their own kings like Vali and Sugriva, the monkey chieftains of the Ramayana". For example, during the Sangam period, the Kolli hills was ruled by Val Vil Ori.

[5]A tenure common under the Mohamadan Government, in which the public revenue of a given tract of land were made over to a servant of the state. The Kalroyan hills were administered by the jagir only.

[6]A division of the country. A division of the hills also called as a nadu.

[7]The Kolli hills were divided into estates like the jagir of the Kalroyan hills.

[8]The headmen of the estate or hills. He is the chief administrative and judicial officer of the estates or nadus.

[9]A subordinate native revenue officer employed in the collection and management of the revenue under the pattakaran, by whom he is appointed, and to whom he is responsible. All moopans were controlled by the pattakaran with help of maniakaran only.

[10] The headmen of the hills.

[11]An inspector or watcher of the villages in the hill areas. He is employed under the moopan. He is the last subordinate revenue officer in the hill areas.

[12]The head among the pattakaran in every hills.

[13]Their role is like the traditional police namely the taliaris and the kavalkars in South India. The main duties were guarding houses and crops, assisting in the collection of revenue, keeping an eye on strangers and thieves and recovering stolen property. These traditional police activities were done by tribals themselves whereas in the plain areas by the lower-Hindu castes (Arnold: 1986: 17).

[14]In Tamil, it is called merkattu. In the hill areas, inside of the house one deck established about four or five feet height for sleeping. During the winter season they prepared fire under the deck to protect from the cold.

[15]A lower cloth of males.

[16]A coarse of woollen blanket.

[17]An upper cloth of ladies or blouse.

[18]The Malaiyalis had many superstitions which were apparently different from the others. Thurston (1909) said: "If they want rain, they pelt each other with balls of cow-dung, an image of pillaiyar (Ganēsa) is buried in a manure pit, and a pig is killed with a kind of spear. When the rain comes, the pillaiyar is dug up. If a man suffers from hemicrania, he sets free a red cock in honour of the sun on a Tuesday. A man who grinds his teeth in his sleep may be broken off the habit by eating some of the food offered to the village goddess, brought by stealth from her altar" (Thurston: 1909: Vol.IV: 434).

[19]A village located at the foot of the hills.

[20] The early Tamil literature gives a valuable account regarding the living conditions of the hill people. Even though there are controversies about the period of sangam literature (approximately three centuries before and after the Christian Era), it is one of the earliest sources of information on tribes in Tamil Nadu. It noted the hill inhabitants, their agriculture was the main sources of their subsistence. They also exchanged their products with the plain people (Kurunthogai: poem 100). During the period of drought or scarcity, their wants were realised by performing folk dances in the plain areas (Neelakanta Sastri: 1955: 132) and working as soldiers to the plain Kings (Neelakanta Sastri: 1955: 302).

They followed both settled and shifting cultivation. In the wet land they cultivated 'Ivanam' paddy (Kurunthogai: Poem 371). In the dry land they raised mainly thenai (Kurunthogai: Poems 133 and 198) and also pepper to some extent (Kurunthogai: Poem 288). They also cultivated bananas and jack-fruits (Natrinai: Poem 222). Apart from this, they collected large extent of honey (Kurunthogai: Poem 392). They followed multiple cropping pattern (Natrinai: Poem 108), and practiced weeding and removed insects from the crops (Kurunthogai: Poem 100). Animals were hunted and distributed among the villagers and groups (Kurunthogai: Poem 392). They paid revenue on the basis of extent of land, "but the share of the produce of agriculture is nowhere stated" (Neelakanta Sastri: 1955: 128).

Till recently, their forest collections occupied a significant part of the working days of the tribals. In the earlier stages, the hilly inhabitants subsisted mostly on natural products. There are four chief products available in the hilly regions —— bamboo-rice, jack-fruit, sweet potato and honey (Srinivas Iyengar: 1983: 3). The hill inhabitants "fed upon bamboo-rice and millet which alone their barren tracts were capable of yielding, as well as honey and yams which they collected from the forests, and they drank the pure waters of the mountain streams" (Senathi Raja: 1986: 12).

[21] The cultivation made with the help of stick or spade.

[22] A measurement of land. In Salem, it was equal to 24 square feet.

[23] This scale was used for both dry and liquid measures. One Puddy contained 100 cubic inches (for details see Annexure 2.1).

[24] It was a land and grain measurement. One bulla of land was equal to 3.82 acres. In Salem, there were two bullas, one equal to 8.6 acres and the other was 3.82 acres.

[25] It was a grain and land measurement. One bulla of grain was equal to two puddies and forty bullas were equal to one kandagam.

[26] One podi is equal to 65 lbs, or one cubic foot and 547 cubic inches.

[27] In the Dravidian period, one curious method of revenue prevailed, viz., that a portion of land in every village was allotted for the chief and it was cultivated by the slaves (Baden-Powell: 1978: 34). The land-tax was not a constant proportion over the period of ancient Hindu rulers. During the Gavutama period, the land-tax rate was between one sixth to one tenth, whereas, during the Vasista period, the proportion of land-tax was one sixth of the total produce. During the Manu period, the tax was eleven fifteenth part of the cattle and gold, and one sixth, one eighth and one twelfth portion of the crops (Dutt: 1985: 226). It might be raised to one fourth at the time of war and other emergency periods (Baden-Powell: 1978:

[28] A money measurement. One pagoda was equal to forty five fanams or 3600 cash (for details see Annexure 2.2).

[29] A money measurement. Eighty cash equals one fanam or 45 fanams equals one pagoda (for details see Annexure 2.2).

[30] This is the lowest money measurement. Eighty cash is equal to one fanam and fourty five fanams equal to one star pagoda. These measures were widely practiced in the Salem district during the early colonial rule.

[31] An officer appointed to collect the revenue of an estate or village which was attached by the Government.

[32] The headmen of a village, who has the general control and management of the village affairs; he is also the principal agent in the realisation of revenue and chief medium of communication with the officers of the Government. This term was used during the pre-colonial rule.

[33]It shows that the earlier practices of widow's remarriage, even before the dispose off corpose was disappeared in the hill areas of Salem district at the time time of the colonial intervention.

CHAPTER- III

TRIBAL POPULATION, OCCUPATION AND FORESTS DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

3.0.0 This chapter is consists of five sections. The first section focuses on the growth of Malaiyali tribal population; the second section analyses their structural and occupational transformation; the third section notes the trend of wages; the fourth section deals with their forests, while the last section is a conclusion to the chapter.

I

3.1.1 Population Growth in Salem District

3.1.1 The economic conditions and changing occupational trends cannot be understood without the help of demographic characteristics and trends. The growth rate of population is a general indicator of the economic conditions of the society. The growth rate of population in Salem district between 1801-1901 was about 258.88% (see Table 3.1). The growth rate of female population was higher than that of the male population in this period. However, some changes should be taken into account before drawing any conclusions from this data. In the year 1881, about 124 square miles of land from Salem district was transferred to the North and South Arcot districts and, because of this the apparent population growth rate was negative in the decade of 1871-1881. In addition, the famines of 1819-24, 1833-35, 1866, 1875-77 and 1891 took heavy tolls.

3.1.2 Between 1819 and 1820, cholera prevailed in the Salem district. In the year of 1818-19, about 13,000 men, women and children were affected by cholera. The severity of the cholera was stated by the

Table 3.1 Population Growth in Salem District: 1801-1901

Year	Total Population	Growth Rate%	Males	Growth Rate%	Females	Growth Rate%
1801	6,14,400	-	3,02,887	-	2,97,035	-
1811	5,95,452	3.08	-	-	-	-
1821	6,05,558	1.69	3,08,523	1.86	2,97,035	-4.65
1827	9,55,480	57.79	4,87,276	57.94	4,68,204	57.63
1830	8,22,107	-13.95	4,24,048	-12.98	3,98,059	-14.98
1836	9,05,190	10.11	4,61,401	8.81	4,43,789	11.48
1841	9,23,465	2.02	4,74,752	2.89	4,48,713	10.11
1851/2	11,95,377	29.44	6,09,872	28.46	5,85,505	30.48
1861/2	14,93,221	24.92	7,54,307	23.68	7,38,914	26.20
1871	19,66,995	31.73	9,75,502	29.32	9,91,498	34.18
1881	15,99,595	-18.68	7,78,483	-20.19	8,21,112	-17.18
1891	19,57,213	22.36	9,60,771	23.42	9,96,442	21.35
1901	22,04,974	12.66	10,85,532	12.99	11,19,442	12.34
1801/1901	-	258.88		258.39		259.36

Sources: Board of Revenue, 13th Aug.1802, Vol.323, p.1881.
Board of Revenue, 8th Jan.1810, No.50, Vol.506, pp. 283-86.
Board of Revenue, 7th Jun.1821, No.47, Vol.886, pp. 4624-32.
Board of Revenue, 15th Oct.1827, No.65, Vol.1121, p. 11967.
Board of Revenue, 18th Nov.1830, Nos.45 & 46, Vol.1265, p. 13699
Board of Revenue, 5th Dec.1836, No.82, Vol.1537, pp. 18133-36.
Board of Revenue, 28th Oct.1841, No.34, Vol.1775, p. 14542.
Reports on the Census of the Madras Presidency 1871, Vol.I, Government Gazette Press, Madras. p. 9
Imperial Census of 1881, Vol.II, Imperial Series, The Government Press, Madras, 1883, p. 2.
Census of India 1891, Vol.XIV, Madras, Government Press, Madras, 1893, p. 2.
Census of India 1901, Vol.XV-A, Madras, part II, Imperial Tables, Government Press, Madras. p. 2.

Collector: "The inhabitants were panic struck and not only did frequent instances occur of their accustomed funeral obsequies being unperformed but the dead bodies were thrown out without being burnt or buried" *(Board of Revenue: No. 38: Vol. 832: 16th Sept 1819: 8051 and Collectorate Records: Salem: Vol. 3171: 173).* The first famine of the 19th century was that of 1823-24. About one fourth of the population perished (Rajannan: 1992: 75). Salem district was severely affected by the famine of 1833-35. In 1834, about 65,522 persons, or nearly 90 persons per square mile, decreased *(Board of Revenue: No.37: Vol. 1429: 20th Nov 1834: 12671-72).* In addition, "the cholera made dreadful ravages in different parts of the district and that the number of individuals who died of this disease amounted to 14,214" *(Board of Revenue: Nos. 4-5: Vol. 1452: 25th May 1835: 5004-5).* The Government allotted 800 rupees to feed the poor from 1st June to 16th Sept.1833[1] *(Board of Revenue: Nos 21-22: Vol.1393: 16th Dec.1833: 15435).* Between 1846 and 1848, several causalities occurred due to the cholera appearing in Salem district. There was a large decrease in houses, and a diminution in the population, arising in part by emigration occasioned by the severity of the epidemic, besides a decrease among the cattle *(Board of Revenue: No.82: Vol.2067: 8th Feb.1847: 3006 and No.3: Vol.2158: 9th Oct. 1848: 14307).* But the exact figures are not available.

3.1.3 The great Madras Famine of 1876-77 had severely affected Salem district. Between 1871 and 1881, the general population decreased by about 19%; and the occupied houses decreased by 13% *(Imperial Census of 1881: Vol.I: 291).* In 1875, about 15,739 persons died due to cholera *(Board of Revenue: 15th June 1877).* Between August 1875 and March 1876, 11,366 deaths due to the cholera were reported particularly from Salem town and the Northern parts of the district. In one village namely Kanakumputty of Uttangari taluk, 55 deaths occurred in three days, out of a population of

202 *(Board of Revenue: No.111: 7th Dec.1876: 9954)*. In 1876-77, 45,162 persons died due to cholera in Salem district and it decreased to 8,002 between July to November 1877 (Maclean: 1885: Vol.II: 124). The seriousness of the famine was stated by Digby, "...many persons deliberately commit crimes in order to have a prolonged board at the expense of the Government" (Digby: 1878: Vol.I: 183). Both Government and private individuals provided rehabilitation measures.[2]

3.1.4 The famine of 1891 was not that much severe. The Sub-Collector stated that due to the famine, "...there has been no case of starvation, but some people, old, blind or crippled, complained of lack of food". "Even the Paraiah children did not emaciated and there has been no special increase of crime. Only a few cases of theft of fodders had occurred" *(G.O.No. 1003: Revenue: 24th Oct.1891)*. Due to this famine, the community of weavers were largely affected (Rajannan: 1992: 75). The growth rate of population in the hill villages was higher than that of the district population in general. Between 1871-1901, the Salem district population grew by 12.09% while the hill population grew by 29.83%. In fact, the famine did not affect the hills. In general, the hill villages had a positive population growth in all the decades as well as a population growth rate higher than that of the district as a whole.

3.1.2 Trends in Malaiyali Population Growth

3.1.5 The Malaiyalis lived at the foot and the top of the mountains *(Baramahal Records: Sec.III: 123)*. And, no information is available about the existence of other tribal communities in the hill areas. The caste-wise population data for the years of 1827 and 1836 categorically stated that no other tribal communities except a meagre

number of Lambodies lived in the Salem district *(Board of Revenue: Vol.1121: 15th Oct.1827: 11967, and Vol 1537: 5th Dec.1836: 18133-36)*. The population Census of 1871 noted that, "...in the mountainous tracts of Salem and bordering districts, we find tribes of hill people, who are cultivators and shepherds, the Malaiyalis or 'hill-men'" (*Census Report of 1871: Vol.I: 165)*. It seems that there had been few other tribals but Malaiyalis in the hills of Salem district.[3]

3.1.6. Salem is a district with the largest concentration of tribals in Tamil Nadu. Malaiyalis are a major group of tribals, and they lived mainly in the hills. The proportion of the Malaiyali population in

Table 3.2 Population of Malaiyalis in Salem District in the 19th Century.

Year (1)	Total Population of Salem District (2)	Malaiyalis (3)	Growth Rate % (4)	% of col. (3) in (2) (5)	Males (6)	Females (7)
1827	9,55,480	10,719	-	1.12	5,548	5,171
1836	9,05,190	19,605	82.89	2.17	10,332	9,273
1871	19,66,995	32,431	65.42	1.65	-	-
1881	15,99,595	44,000	35.67	2.75	22,072	21,928
1891	19,57,213	36,590	-16.84	1.87	-	-
1901	22,04,974	14,746	-59.69	0.67	7,381	7,380

Sources: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, No.65, 15th Oct. 1827, Vol. 1121. p.11967

Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, No.82, 5th Dec. 1836, Vol. 1537, pp. 18133-36.

Census of India 1871, Vol.II, Supplementary Tables. P. 83.

Census of India 1881, Taluqwar Statements, Salem district, The Government Press, 1883 p. 32.

Census of India 1891, Vol. XIV, Madras, Government Press, Madras,1893, p. 36.

Census of India 1901, Vol.XV-A, Madras, Part II, Imperial Tables, Government Press, Madras, 1902, p. 160.

Salem district was small and varied from decade to decade (see Table 3.2). The tribals were also affected to some extent by the frequent famines. In 1866, the hill areas of Salem district was affected by a famine. It was confidently hoped by Ellies, Member of the Councillors in the Madras Presidency under the Governorship of Robinson (1875-1878), that "...no deaths from starvation such as undoubtedly occasionally occurred in the more distant jungle tracts, and in the hill villages" (Dalyell: 1866: 96). Parts of the hill areas did not come under the colonial administration, and also the Malaiyalis were enumerated under different names in the same hills, and in different censuses during the 19th century. Till 1838, the Malaiyali inhabitants of the Kalroyan hills did not come under the colonial administration (*Longly, Letter to the Secretary, Board of Revenue 1871)*. In 1827 and 1836 the Malaiyali population of Kalroyan hills was not included in the Malaiyalis of Salem district.[4] Till 1827, the Jarugumalai hills also did not enter into the Government account[5] *(G.O.No.1190 [Mis, Confdl]: Revenue: 22nd Aug.1905: 15)*. Till the first decennial census of 1871, the account of hill population in Salem district was not a full-fledged account.

3.1.7 The Malaiyali tribes in Salem district were not enumerated either as Malaiyalis or as hill-men in the 1871 Census. They were enumerated under different names, i.e., 'other good caste', 'Vellalar', 'Idaiyans' and 'others'. The Malaiyalis in the Kolli hills of both Namakkal and Attur taluk were enumerated under the name of 'Vellalas', 'other good caste' and 'others' *(Census of 1871: Salem District: 160-61)*. The Malaiyalis of the Kalroyan hills of Salem district came under the category of 'Vellalar', 'other good caste', 'Idaiyan' and 'others' *(Census of 1871: Salem District: 148,150-51)*. The hill inhabitants of Aranuthumalai, Jambuthumalai and Shervaroy hills came under the 'Vellalar'

(Census of 1871: Salem District: 142-43). The inhabitants of Pachamalai, Jarugumalai, Bodamalai, Neiyamalai and Chitteri hills were brought under the category of 'other good caste' *(Census of 1871: Salem District: 140, 150-51, 290-91)*; and the inhabitants of Palamalai came under 'Vellalar' caste *(Census of 1871: Coimbatore District: 100-101)*. The 1871 Census did not specify the communities that came under the category of 'other good caste'. It was very vague as the major tribes were also mentioned under the category of 'others'. So, no hill tribes in Salem district were enumerated under the name of Malaiyalis or under any other single name. They were enumerated under different names in different hills and also in the same hills.

3.1.8 The hill inhabitants of Salem district were enumerated as Malaiyalis for the first time in the 1881 Census. The growth rate of Malaiyalis in Salem district during 1871-81 was 35.67%. During this decade, the general population of Salem district decreased to about 3,67,400 persons or nearly by 19% due to the great Madras Famine of 1876-1878 *(Census Report of 1881: Vol I: 291)*. As far as the hill areas of Salem district were concerned, there was no decrease of population. On the contrary, their population had increased (see Table 3.2). It means, the famine was not severe in the hill areas.

3.1.9 The Malaiyalis were enumerated under two different names, i.e., Karalan and Malaiyalan, in the 1891 Census *(Census Report of 1891: 305, Census of 1891: Imperial Tables: 358-77)*. The Malaiyalan hill inhabitants came under the group of 'forest and hill tribes' under the agricultural class. The Karalans came under the category of 'hunters and cultivators'. The word 'Karalan' means 'a ruler of clouds' and possibly refers to their being mountaineers *(Census Report of 1891: 305)*. The

Karalans were enumerated in nine sub-divisions, of which the important sub-divisions were: Kolli (Salem) 10,230 persons, Pachai (Salem) 4,791 persons and Periya (Salem) 8,612 persons *(Census Report Of 1891: 305)*. The Malaiyali population in Salem district during 1881-1891 grew by about -16.8% (see Table 3.2). There were two reasons: one was that about 124 square miles of area was transferred to the North and South Arcot districts *(History of Land Revenue: 1977: 331)*. The Jawadhi and Elagiri hills were transferred to the North Arcot district *(Board of Revenue: No 4288: 10th May 1892)*. Another reason was that the hill inhabitants were enumerated under different names. So, a large part of this declension was apparent and not real.

3.1.10 Some of the Malaiyalis were enumerated under the name of Karalan in 1901 Census also *(Census Report of 1901: 166)*. The growth rate of Malaiyalis was -59.6% during the decade of 1891-1901 (see Table 3.1). This was because, about 40,000 Malaiyalis were returned under Vellalas *(Census Report of 1901: 166)*. Since the Malaiyali tribes were enumerated under different names in different censuses, it is difficult to estimate their actual growth rate during the 19th century. After considering all these constraints, the present study is confined to 102 main villages[6] in different hills consisting of 385 hamlets to interpret their growth and occupational transformation of the tribals during the 19th century.

3.1.3 Malaiyali Population in the Hill Villages

3.1.11 The Malaiyali population in the hill villages increased by about 29.83% during the period of 1871-1901 (see Table 3.3). In spite of the famine in Salem district during the period of 1875-77, the population of the hill villages increased by about 6.14% between 1871-1881. It

indicates that the great Madras Famine did not affect the hill villages. Another reason is that the hill people did not totally depend upon

Table 3.3 Population Growth of the Selected Hill Villages: 1871-1901

Year	Hills Population	Growth rate
1871	39,953	-
1881	42,405	6.14
1891	46,803	10.37
1901	51,871	16.14
1871-1901		29.83

Sources: Census Statement of Population of 1871, Salem District, pp. 140-143, 148-151, 160-161, 290-292 and 311.

Census of India 1871, Coimbatore District, pp. 34-35.

Census of 1881, Village Statistics, Salem District, pp. 2-4, 34 and 54-62.

Census of 1881, Village Statistics, Coimbatore District, Government Press, 1883. p. 2.

Census of 1891, Taluqwar and Village Statistics. pp 12-15, 60-68, 70-78 and 97.

Census of 1891, Taluqwar and Village Statistics, Coimbatore District. p. 14.

Census of 1901, Village Statistics, Salem District, Government Press Madras, 1902, pp. 2-5, 56-62, 64-73 and 96.

Census of 1901, Village Statistics, Coimbatore District, p.2

agriculture but on their forest collections. If agriculture failed, they lived on forest produce. So, they were not much affected by the famines.

3.1.4 Growth Rate of Population in Different Hills

3.1.12 Even though the population growth rate in the hill villages was positive and higher than the general population in Salem district, the trend in specific villages was not even in all the hills (see

Table 3.4). The population in the hill villages grew at about 29.83% between 1871 and 1901. In all the major hills, the growth rate of population was high. For example, it was 44.64% in Attur-Kolli hills, 36.16% in Namakkal-Kolli hills, 36.16% in Kalroyan hills and 34.9% in Shervaroy hills. On the contrary, in the case of small hills, the growth rate of population was negative, particularly Pachamalai, Chitteri, Aranuthumalai and Sirumalai hills. One reason could be the migration of some inhabitants of the small hills to the plains in search of employment.

Table 3.4 Population Growth in Different Hill Villages: 1871-1901

Taluk	Hills Villages	Population							
		1871	1881	Growth Rate (1871-81)	1891	Growth Rate (1881-91)	1901	Growth Rate (1891-1901)	Growth Rate 1871-1901
Attur	Kolli hills	5,533	6,827	23.39	7,042	3.15	8,003	13.65	44.64
	Kalroyan hills	6,626	6,240	-5.83	7,628	22.24	9,151	19.97	38.11
	Pachamalai	2,166	2,021	-6.69	2,202	8.96	1,880	-14.62	-13.20
Namakkal	Kolli hills	9,296	10,965	17.95	12,279	11.98	12,657	3.08	36.16
Mettur	Palamalai	618	817	32.20	947	15.91	1,125	18.78	82.04
Yercaud	Shervaroy	10,745	10,513	-2.16	10,334	-1.70	14,388	41.14	34.90
Rasipuram	Bodamalai	773	746	-3.49	816	9.38	756	-7.35	-2.19
Harur	Chitteri	2,542	2,437	-4.13	2,332	-4.31	2,352	0.86	-7.47
Salem	Aranuthumalai	320	312	-	201	-	234	16.42	-26.87
	Sirumalai	229	-	-	153	-	179	16.99	-21.83
	Jambuthumalai	97	119	22.68	126	5.88	140	11.11	44.33
	Jarugumalai	154	155	0.65	154	-0.65	171	11.04	11.04
	All Kombe's	854	1,253	46.72	583	-52.99	835	41.77	-2.22
	Total	39,953	42,405	6.14	46,803	10.37	51,871	16.14	29.83

Sources: As in Table 3.3

3.1.13 The growth rate of population was negative for some hills particularly for the decade of 1871-1881. The population decreased by 5.83% in Kalroyan hills, 6.69% in the Pachamalai, 2.16% in the Shervaroy hills, 3.49% in the Bodamalai and 4.13% in the Chitteri hills (see Table 3.4). These hills were affected by the great Madras Famine between 1875-77, though it was meagre in number compared to the decrease of general population in the district.

3.1.14 The population increased positively in all the hills during the decade of 1881-91 except Shervaroy, Chitteri and Jarugumalai hills. The growth rate of population varied from 3.15% to 22.24%. More than half of the population had decreased in the kombe villages between 1881-91. This was due to the fact that some of the kombe villages were given the status of 'an independent revenue village'. In the last decade of 19th century only in two hills the population decreased. In the remaining hills, there was an increase. In the Shervaroy hills, population increased by 41.14%, but in the last decade (1891-1901) the hill population had decreased marginally.

3.1.15 The estimation of Malaiyali population is a difficult task both before and during the decennial censuses. They were enumerated under different heads and names in different censuses. The growth rate of population in the hill villages is significant in in large hills, and the rate was sometimes higher than that of the district in general.

II

3.2.0 Economic Transformation

3.2.1 The growth rate of population is a general indicator of the economic conditions of the society. The prosperity of the society

depends upon the speed of its economic transformation which is a many-faceted and comprehensive process of change (Heilbroner: 1977: 3-4). The comprehensive aspect of the economic transformation was used by D'Souza (1985). The growth in agriculture led to an expansion of activity in the non-agricultural sector; a major part of the agricultural inputs had to come from the non-agricultural sector; a large quantity of marketable surplus in the agricultural goods and the raw-material for the agro-based industries and increasing trade and manufacturing activities in the economy over the period could be understand as the economic transformation (D'Souza: 1985: 57-58). So, one can understand that the economic transformation is the expansion of the secondary and tertiary sectors as well as the development in the agricultural sector over the period.

3.2.2 The economic transformation over the period can be understood with the help of two important components — structural and occupational transformations. Structural transformation means the increasing proportion of the economically active population being engaged in the production of the wide array of industrial and service sectors, or a "...relative decline of the agricultural sector and increasingly dominant position of the secondary and tertiary sectors" *(Johnston: 1966: 279,* and *1970: 374).* In other words, it implies a transfer of the working force from the primary sector to the secondary and tertiary sectors and this structural transformation is an important precondition for both economic growth and development[7] since it is an integral part of the process of the economic transformation.[8]

3.2.3 There are two different opinions regarding the interpretation of the structural transformation.[9] Instead of the positive structural transformation, when the working force is transferred from the

secondary and tertiary sectors to the primary sector, the process is known as the structural retrogression. In the latter event, the economic conditions would deteriorate. But changing occupation within the secondary and tertiary sectors or between these two sectors would not make much change in their economic conditions. Without a structural transformation, changing their occupational position within the primary sector would not produce a major positive impact on the economy. Due to the occupational change in the primary sector, from the cultivators to the agricultural labourers and agricultural allied activities or vice-versa produce only the negative impact in their economy. So, the trend of occupational transformation within the primary sector is an important indicator for the internal economic transformation. In other words, the structural transformation indicates the economic transformation of the economy, whereas the structural retrogression and occupational degradation within the primary sector lead to negative economic transformation.

3.2.1 Structural Transformation in Salem District

Table 3.5 Structural Transformation of Salem District: 1871-1901

Year	Total population	Primary sector	%	Secondary sector	%	Tertiary sector	%
1871	5,78,574	4,26,056	74.25	71,020	12.38	76,758	13.38
1881	15,99,595	13,65,561	85.37	1.93,672	12.11	40,362	2.62
1891	19,62,591	14,35,277	73.13	3,72,575	18.98	153,187	7.81
1901	13,51,616	11,00,531	81.42	1,87,168	13.85	63,917	4.73

Sources: Census Statement of Population of 1871, Salem District, pp. 308-432

Imperial Census of 1881, Operations and Results in the Presidency of Madras, Vol.II, 1883, pp. 194-295.

Census of India 1891, Vol.XIV, Madras, Table I to XVIIC, British Territory, 1893. pp. 496-660.

Census of India 1901, Vol.XV-A, Madras, Part.II, Imperial Tables, Government Press, Madras. pp. 220-357.

3.2.4 The working force shifting from the primary sector to the others was not significant in the Salem district during the 19th century. The growing population depended mainly on the primary sector. The proportion of the working force in the primary sector had increased from 74.25% in 1871 to 81.42% in 1901 and the proportion decreased in the tertiary sector, while, the same in the secondary sector remained constant (see Table 3.5). A study by Washbrook (1976) and Baker (1984) showed that the economic conditions of the Madras Presidency had improved during the late 19th century, whereas, no significant structural transformation took place in the Salem district during the same period.

3.2.2 Structural Transformation of the Tribals

3.2.5 The economy of the Malaiyali tribes depended mainly on their agriculture and their forest collections before the colonial intervention. They came under the occupational category of 'cultivators' in 1836 *(Board of Revenue: Vol 1537: 10th Nov. 1836: 18133-36)*. Due to the intervention of the British settlers and other non-tribals, and forest policy, their occupational pattern was affected. This can be termed as their negative structural transformation.

3.2.6 An analysis of the structural transformation of the tribals on the basis of the data from the decennial censuses of the 19th century becomes problematic. The detailed occupational classifications were not available and their names and groups varied in different censuses. But an attempt is made to analyse the structural transformation of the hill villages. The primary sector consists of agriculture, i.e., cultivators, agricultural sub-tenants and agricultural labourers, and the secondary and tertiary sector consists of all non-agricultural activities, i.e., traders,

artisans, weavers, money-lenders, middlemen and others. The proportion of the working force in the primary sector decreased marginally between 1871 and 1891, while it increased in the secondary and service sectors (see Table 3.6). Whereas, between 1891 and 1901, the proportion of the working

Table 3.6 Structural Transformation of the Tribals: 1871-1901.

Year	Total Working Force	Primary Sector	%	Secondary and Tertiary Sectors	%
1871	13,960	13,491	96.64	469	3.36
1881		- Not available -			
1891	46,803	44,894	95.92	1,909	4.08
1901	51,871	30,963	59.69	20,908	40.31

Notes: a).1871 census, Village Statistics: 1.The male and female children under 10 years were not included in the occupational classification; 2. No account was available for the agricultural and allied activities. The data were available only for the cultivators and labourers. 3. There was no separate account available for the secondary and tertiary sectors.
b).1881 census, Village Statistics: 1. No occupational classification data were available for the villages.
c).1891 census, Village Statistics: 1. The occupational classifications were divided into four major categories- agriculturalist, traders, artisans and others. The agriculturalist categories were brought under the primary sector and the remaining three categories were came under the secondary and tertiary sectors. Because, the category of others did not give any hints what are the occupations came under that category.
d). 1901 census, Village Statistics: 1. The total population were broadly divided into two occupational categories, viz., agricultural and others. The first came under the primary sectors and the later brought into the secondary and service sectors.

Sources: Census Statement of Population of 1871 Salem District, pp. 311, 318, 320, 323-25 and 333.

Census of India 1871, Coimbatore district, pp. 162-163.

Census of 1891, Village Statistics, Salem District, pp. 12-15, 62-68 and 70-78.

Census of 1891, Taluqwar and Village Statistics, Coimbatore District, p. 14.

Census of 1901, Village Statistics, Salem District, Government Press, Madras 1902 pp. 2-5, 56-62, 64-73 and 96.

Census of 1901, Village Statistics, Coimbatore District, p. 2.

force in the primary sector decreased drastically and increased in other sectors. This change was apparent and not a real one. Because, the children might have been included in the category of others. In the tribal economy of the hill villages in Salem district, only simple structural transformations took place during the 19th century.

3.2.3 Structural Transformation in Different Hill Villages

3.2.7 The structural transformation was not to be found in the tribal economy and also in the district in general during the 19th century. This trend varied between the different hill villages of Salem district. The tribal economy in different hill villages depended on the primary sector till the end of the 19th century. In fact, the growing population was absorbed into it. About 96.64% of the total working force in 1871 was in the primary sector and this proportion decreased to 95.92% in 1891. In the Kalroyan hills, Shervaroy hills and some of the small hills the proportion of the working force in the primary sector decreased while in the remaining hills it increased (see Appendix-3.2). Whereas, during the period of 1891-1901, the proportion of the working force in the primary sector decreased and in the others sectors increased. In 1901 Census, children were included in the category of others. In the Shervaroy hills, only a marginal improvement in the secondary and service sectors activities is noticed. In the other hill villages, the proportion of the working force in the primary sector did not decrease during the 19th century.

3.2.4 Occupational Transformation of Tribals

3.2.8 The colonial Government did not execute any development measures for the structural transformation of the tribal economy, while the

forest department extended the reserve forest to the hill areas and restricted the traditional rights of the tribals. Consequently the tribal economy deteriorated. This can be assessed with the help of their occupational transformation within the primary sector.

Table 3.7 Occupational Transformation of Tribals within the Primary Sector: 1871-1901

Year	Total Working Force in the Primary Sector	Cultivators	%	Labourers	%
1871	13,491	10,738	79.59	2,753	20.41
1881	not available				
1891	42,906	30,726	71.61	12,180	28.39
1901	30,963	22,524	72.74	8,439	27.26

Notes: a) 1891 census, Village Statistics: 1. The primary sector activities were classified into three divisions, viz., landholders, labourers and other labourers. The last two were considered as a agricultural labourers. b) 1901 census, Village Statistics: 1. The primary sector activities were sub-divided into three divisions, viz., land owner, agricultural sub-tenants and agricultural labourers. Here, the first two sub-divisions were brought under the cultivators category.

Sources: Same as in the Table 3.6.

3.2.9 The proportion of the cultivators to the total working force in the primary sector decreased from 79.59% in 1871 to 72.74% in 1901, while the agricultural labourers and other labourers increased in the same period (see Table 3.7). This change in the occupational pattern can be attributed to the forest policy of the colonial Government. Before the establishment of the Forest Department, a tribal cultivator could clear the forest land and become the owner of the land. After the extension of the reserve forest into the hill areas, the privileges of the tribals on forest lands were restricted. And, the tribals' lands were alienated to the non-tribals. The Malaiyali cultivators became agricultural and other

labourers in their hill areas. The occupational transformation that took place in the tribal economy was negative. In other words, without the positive structural transformation in the tribal economy, their occupational status had degraded. In short, the economic transformation of the tribals was negative during the 19th century.

3.2.10 The proportion of the cultivators of the tribals in different hills decreased during the 19th century; and, the proportion of the agricultural labourers and other allied activities in the primary sector had increased. In the small hills, the decrease was more marked (see Appendix- 3.3). In a few hills, the proportion of the cultivators increased. For example, in the Kalroyan hills, the cultivators proportion increased from 73.25% in 1871 to 77.87% in 1901. The main reason was that the hill forest was under the control of the jagirdars and Government did not impose any restrictions on collection of the forest produce and also on clearing the forest for cultivation. The tribals were not shifted their occupation from the agricultural sector to the non-agricultural sectors during the 19th century, whereas their occupational position got deteriorated within the primary sector from cultivators to the agricultural and landless labourers.

III

3.3.0 Wages in Salem District in the 19th century

3.3.1 Due to the structural retrogression and negative occupational transformation the proportion of the agricultural labourers and other unskilled labourers in total population increased. At the end of the 18th century, the wage rate was found far unequal amongst the workers,

i.e., males, females and children, and, varied according to the skills of the workers. In 1794, the wages for male tank-diggers was 2 fanams per day or about 1-25-0 pagodas per month; for female diggers the wages were one fanam per day or about 3/4 pagoda per month; and for children 3/4 fanam per day or about 1/2 pagoda per month. Skilled workers got higher wages than the ordinary workers. For example, a carpenter received 4 fanams per day or 2-30-0 pagodas per month and the stone-cutters got 3 fanams per day or about two pagodas per month *(Baramahal Records: Sec.I: 183)*. In 1819, ordinary coolies got paid Rs.3-8-0[10] per month during the cholera rehabilitation measures *(Board of Revenue: No.38: 16thSept.1819)*. In 1833, the unskilled workers received one anna per day for rebuilding the annicut[11]. The bricklayers received between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 annas. For clearing wells, the wage rate was between one to two annas. For cutting down and removing prickly pear and bushels, men workers were paid one anna and women and children were paid 6 pies each per day *(Board of Revenue: No.28: Vol.1390: 25thNov.1833: 14814)*. The wage rate varied among the workers and also with sex, age and nature of operation.

3.3.2 The ordinary labourers employed on tanks, roads and other public works were paid in 1872 at 2 to 4 annas for men; 1 to 2 annas for women and 1-$1\frac{1}{2}$ for children. The rate varied according to demand but the average rate was two annas and six pies for men; one anna and four pies for women and one anna for children per day *(Board of Revenue: No.2179: 11thNov.1872)*. The ordinary labourers belonged mainly to the castes of Vellalar, Pullies, Pallans, Paraiahs and Reddies. Mohamadans were also employed but not extensively. Generally, women and children of the ryots were frequently employed as ordinary labourers. Unskilled adult labourers were paid 2 annas and 2/3 pies in 1859-60, 2 annas and 6 pies in 1874; between 2 to 3 annas and 6 pies in 1878 and 3 annas since 1883. The

unskilled women labour wage rate also increased from one anna and 4/7 pies in 1859-60; one anna and 4 pies in 1874; between one anna and one anna six pies in 1878 and one anna 6 pies since 1883. The child wage rate increased from one anna and 2/7 pies in 1859-60 to one anna in 1874; between one anna to one anna 6 pies in 1878 and one anna 3 pies since 1883 (Raghavaiyangar: 1893: Appendix CC). But Maclean said the customary wages for unskilled labour were 2 annas for men, one anna 6 pies for women (Maclean: 1885: Vol.II: 123). During the second half of the 19thcentury, the wage rate of the ordinary labourers was increased.

3.3.1 Agricultural Wages

3.3.3 The economic conditions of the agricultural labourers was better around 1800. This was because, the requirements of the agricultural labourers, i.e., food, dress and house, were provided by the employers (*Atchi Reddy: 1986: 309* and Chitra and Sivakumar: 1993: 20*)*. At the beginning of the 19thcentury "...the wages of both attached and casual labourers were generally paid in grain, apart from perquisites in the form of clothes and money" (Kumar: 1965: 144). It is very difficult to quantify the wages of agricultural labourers in monetary terms, because they were paid partly in cash and partly in kind. The wage rate also varied according to the work. Different rates were paid for ploughing, weeding, reaping, etc. They got one or two meals apart from wages (Richards: 1918: Vol.I: P.I: 245). According to Buchanan, day labourers at harvest time, whether men or women got daily one bulla and a half (rather more than 1/8 bushel) of kambu. At weeding, the daily wages were one bulla of kambu or about 7/12 of a bushel. A man working with a hatchet or pickaxe got one Gopally fanam (about 4 d) a day; carrying earth in baskets, or the like, he got 3/4 of Gopally fanam or 3 d; and porters, for carrying a load eight

urnavullies[12] or malabar hours journey got two Gopally fanams, or nearly 8 d (Buchanan: 1807: Vol.II: 217-218). There was no change in the wage rate during the early 19th century. Dharma Kumar says that "...during the first half of the century, when wages were generally paid in kind, and the rates in grain were stable" (Kumar: 1965: 145). Agricultural labourers lived totally well at the end of the 18th century.

3.3.4 There had been two kinds of agricultural labourers namely the 'ordinary' labourers and the 'extraordinary' labourers. An ordinary labourer was known as pannial,[13] who did all sundry works. For him, there were three modes of payment —— grain payment; cash payment and both grain and cash payment. If the pannial was paid in grain the total amount of grain was 22 to 40 measures of either cholam, or kambu or ragy. In addition, annual money payment of Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 was also given. If he was paid in cash, no grains would be supplied and Rs. 2 1/2 to 4 had been given to him monthly *(Board of Revenue: No.2179: 11th Nov.1872)*. The extraordinary labour was required for sowing, weeding and harvesting. The wage rate for these labourers was high. Women and children were also employed. The women labourers were paid between 1 1/4 annas to 2 annas in ready cash for transplanting and weeding. At harvest time, they were paid only in grains between 3 and 4 Madras measures per deem, two annas and 6 pies or 3 annas and four pies at commutation rate *(Board of Revenue: No.2179: 11th Nov.1872)*. Ordinary labourers received more wages than the ordinary agricultural labourers.

3.3.5 In 1870, the regular rate for hire of farm labourers was one pagoda for a year and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 kandagams[14] of ragy. The rate of daily wages ranged from $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas to 6 pies[15] for males and from one anna to 5 pies for females *(Board of Revenue: No.2179: 11th Nov.1872)*. The Collector

reported that the conditions of agricultural labourers improved over the period 1862-72. Their wages had increased from 2.5 rupees to 3.4 rupees during the period of 1873 to 1900 (Kumar: 1965: 163-64) [for details see Appendix-3.4].

3.3.2 Wages in the Hills

3.3.6 The Malaiyalis were never treated as slaves by plain people or by Malaiyalis themselves. Dharma Kumar stated that "No Malaiyalis or other tribes were treated as slaves" (Kumar: 1965: 53). To estimate the wage rate in the hill areas during the first half of the 19^{th} century is difficult. There are no wage account available for the hill areas during the same period. The wage data is available only for the Shervaroy hills. Even though the coffee estates were established around 1830, the earliest wage account is available only for the year of 1864. The wage rate for the plantation workers was 2 annas 4 pies per diem at the Shervaroy hills in 1864 *(Hamilton: 1862: 6)*. In 1870, for the coffee plantation works, the men workers earned from one anna eight pies to three annas; the women workers received one annas six pies; and the children under 12 years earned one anna (Shortt: 1870: 42). In times of labour scarcity, the workers got the high wage rates. In 1872, the wage rate in the Shervaroy hills was one rupee for 6 days (Raghavaiyangar: 1893: Appendix-CC). In other words, 2 annas 8 pies per day. The wage rate in the Shervaroy hills was almost equal to that of the plains. The unskilled labourers wage rate was 2 annas and $\frac{2}{3}$ pies for men; one anna and $\frac{4}{7}$ pies for women and one anna and $\frac{2}{7}$ pies for children during 1859-60 *(Board of Revenue: No 2179: 11^{th} Nov. 1872)*. So the wage rate in the hill areas did not vary much. The settlement report (1905) said that the wage rate was Rs. 1 to Rs. 1-2-0 for a six days work *(G.O.No.605 Revenue: 30^{th} June 1905: 13)*. It shows that the wage rate did

not change during 1862-1905 at the Shervaroy hills. In the Kolli hills, the wages paid were: 3 local measures of ragy for adult being the usual wage, or in rare instance, one anna per diem was paid in cash[16] *(G.O.No.605 Revenue: 30th June.1905: 25)*. The wages in the hill areas were paid in kind except in the Shervaroy hills where the coffee plantation existed. The money wage rate in the Shervaroy hills did not increase like the plain areas, were increased slightly during the 19th century.

IV

3.4.0 Forest Policy preceding the Forest Department

3.4.1 The economic conditions of the tribals were deteriorated during the 19th century due to the colonial forest policy. The colonial Government, brought the private tribal forest under its control with expecting a large revenue, and it also leased out Government forests to the private contractors of the plains. While, the colonial Government imposed several restrictions on the tribals. This section focuses the impact of the tribal economy due to the colonial forest policy.

3.4.2 The forest and forest produce have formed the backbone of the tribal economy since times immemorial. Since the pre-colonial period, the Madras Presidency had plenty of forest resources, and only a limited area was used for cultivation. It was stated by Cox that in the Madras Presidency the proportion of forest to cultivated land was probably higher than in most parts of the peninsula, because it escaped the invasion of the nomadic tribes whose flocks and herds destroyed vast areas of forest in Northern India. In the Madras Presidency, the forest was left unpopulated till 19th century. The destruction of forests in the Madras Presidency

started in the early part of the 19th century. Shifting cultivation was in practice among the tribals only in the northern part of the Madras Presidency; and, this practice was almost non-existent in the southern parts of the Madras Presidency (Cox: 1914-15: 717). Though the tribals lived on the hills in the southern parts of the Madras Presidency, they did not destroy the forest.

3.4.3 Salem district has one of the largest concentrations of forests in the Madras Presidency. The history of forest in Salem district before the colonial intervention is not widely known *(Venugopal: 1980: 21)*. Generally, during the pre-colonial period, the forests were under the administrative control of the kings or estatedars under whose jurisdiction the area came (Mishra: 1989: 65). There was no consistent forest policy during that time. Some of the forest items were exclusively controlled by the rulers. For example, the sole authority over the sandalwood trees belonged to Tipu Sultan. No private right over these trees was recognised *(Venugopal: 1980: 21)*. The regulation of the use of forest in the hill areas was mainly through the local customs *(Kulkarni: 1987: 2143)*. Generally, the forests were freely used by the tribals and other plain people without any hindrance for all purposes (Mishra: 1989: 66). It was stated by the Committee on Tribal Economy in Forest Areas that "the life of the tribes in the forest was without restrictions, they enjoyed right of exploitation of forest produce for their own benefit" (1967: 11). There was no restriction on clearing the forest for cultivation. "The land never was an issue of dispute or warfare and it did not evoke any kind of rivalry between members of the community" (Rohit: 1990: 70). So, the earlier economic life of the tribals in the hill areas was unrestricted and comfortable with the forests.

3.4.4 The colonial rulers neglected the forest during their early period *(Indhrani: 1982: 238)*. They did not have a concrete policy on the forest till the sixth decade of the 19th century. Till 1835, they levied a duty on wood cutting in the different parts, viz., Denkanekota and Namakkal of the Salem district. The trees were cut down without any constraint by the hill people as well as by the plain people. The Collector stated that "...the right of cutting wood has never been hitherto rented in this [Salem] district" *(Board of Revenue: Nos.32-34: 21st Nov.1835: Vol.1468: 10792)*. It was left to the common sense and economic interest of the people to protect their own forests.

3.4.5 Since 1835, the Government rented out some hills and jungles for cutting timber in the Salem district. They followed a separate renting system for the sandalwood and other forest products. In 1834, the forest of Kolli hills of Salem district was rented out for the exclusive right of cutting the timber and bamboos at Rs. 78 per annum. Generally, the lease was undertaken by the contractors from the plain areas and not by the tribals. The Collector proposed to increase the rate to Rs. 156 for the first five years of lease. The other woodlands in the Salem district were not under the renting system. During the second five years, the forest of the whole district was leased out to Rs. 500; in the next five years it was again increased to Rs. 1,000, and in the last 6 years the rent was to be at Rs. 1,500 per year; and if the lease was renewed, the rent was to be at Rs. 2000 per year during the whole term of the lease *(Board of Revenue: Nos.32-34: 21st Sept.1835: Vol.1468: 10794)*. In 1835, the Government granted permission to the Collector of Salem, "...for leasing the exclusive right of cutting fuel on Government waste land, in the Salem district, for a period of twenty one years, renewable, if approved of by the Court of Directors, for a further period of 20 years" *(Board of Revenue: Nos.32-34:*

21st Nov. 1835: Vol. 1468: 10792). It indicated that the tribals did not destroy the forest in the hill areas. The Government encouraged the traders and contractors to cut down the trees for a small amount. As a result, the unlimited rights of the tribals on the forest were restricted by the contractors.

3.4.6 Till 1836, the rights to cut down sandalwood were not rented out in the entire Salem district. Only in some parts of the district were rented out. For example., the sandalwood cutting rights in Denkanekota jungles were rented out for every three or four years, at considerable sums; Rs. 400 in 1821; Rs. 2,100 in 1822; Rs. 2,100 in 1823; Rs. 2,000 in 1832 and Rs. 2,000 in 1833 *(Board of Revenue: No. 24: 28th Mar. 1836: Vol. 1498: 5077)*. In the hill areas, only Rs. 280 per annum was received from sandalwood between 1820 and 1830 *(Board of Revenue: Nos. 51-52: 20th Aug. 1835: Vol. 1463: 8901)*. In the other parts of the district, sandalwood trees were cut down without restraint, by the people for the purpose of wood. These sandalwood trees were "...clandestinely sold to a considerable extent in bazaars of Salem, Namakkal and Attur" *(Board of Revenue: No. 24: 28th Mar. 1836: Vol. 1498: 5077)*. It indicates that the merchants and the plains people were responsible for the destruction of sandalwood.

3.4.7 To prohibit the cutting of the sandalwood, the Collector gave a proclamation on the 25th June 1835. The Collector gave a direct communication to all the principal merchants and also announced through beating of tom tom throughout the villages in the Salem taluk *(Board of Revenue: No. 38-39: 24th July 1837: Vol. 1553: 91)*. But, the merchants, who knew the prohibition, purchased about 18 mounds[17] of the sandalwood. The Collector imposed some penalty to avoid the clandestine sale of sandalwood

in future (*Board of Revenue: No.38-39: 24th July 1837: Vol.1553: 91)*. In the Tengrikota taluk, about 100 mounds of sandalwood seized by the Collector. To avoid all these illicit fellings, the Government proposed to rent out sandalwood in the Salem district. The Government appointed two persons to ascertain the quantity of sandalwood in the Salem, Attur and Namakkal taluks *(Board of Revenue: Nos.38-39: 26th May 1836: Vol.1505: 1467)*. The intention of the colonial Government was to get more revenue through leasing out the sandalwood felling rights.

3.4.8 It was reported that large number of sandalwood was found in the hills of Salem district; and only a few trees were cut down at Kolli

Table 3.8: Quantity of Sandalwood in Salem District: 1837

Hills	I st sort	II nd sort	III rd sort	Trees cut down & again shooting cut Trees	Young Trees	Total
Shervaroy's	1,190	4,373	5,365	-	2,081	13,009
Neiyamalai	1	15	4	-	-	20
Aranuthumalai	10	508	941	-	1,317	2,776
Pachamalai	2,575	3,145	2,830	-	2,942	11,492
Chitteri	316	1,535	2,603	41	-	4,495
Kollimalai (Namakkal)	240	888	6,201	92	6,065	13,486

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 11th Dec.1837, Vol. 1587, pp. 15047-56.

and Chitteri hills and in the remaining hills sandalwood was not felled (see Table 3.8). The tribals were not a cause for the destruction of the sandalwood trees in the hill areas.

3.4.9 A separate renting auction was publically invited by the Collector for cutting sandalwood in 1834 and also in 1835. Only two or

three persons made offers at the low amount. A Britisher known as Fisher had applied for the amount of Rs. 300 for the period of 15 years, but the Government refused the exclusive privilege of cutting sandalwood on the hills in Salem district for the period of 10 or 15 years *(Board of Revenue: Nos.51-52: 20thAug.1835: Vol.1463: 8904)*. The main aim of the colonial rulers was to get bulky and constant revenue from the forest.

3.4.10 A large number of valuable trees were cut down in the Salem forests for the construction of Madras Railway system. In 1859-60, seigniorage amounting to nearly Rs. 23,500 was realised on sleepers alone, and the number of sleepers supplied within the year of 1859-60 was about 2,45,743 (Richards: 1918: 248). The colonial Government did not take any action against the forest felling. In 1866-67, hundreds of thousands of trees were illicitly felled down by the cattle drivers. The Government was helpless because the magistrate refused to convict them for theft (Richards: 1918: 249). In 1870, the Conservator of Forests stated that the Government had only to look at the amount of timber taken free out of the Salem jungle alone, to see that no forest could possibly stand the drain of that nature (Richards: 1918: 249). In fact, the supply stated to have come from private forests was in reality cut on Government land, and that the forest officers had neither the establishment nor did prevent it *(Brandis: 1883: 40)*. Brandis,[18] recommended that the railway should be encouraged to extract the maximum private forest, once it exhausted, the Government forest may used for that *(Brandis: 1883: 51)*. In 1895, a contractor purchased 518 trees on the Kolli hills and 300 add trees on the Chitteri hills from the Malaiyali Pattadars at a nominal sum and much below their real value amounting an average of some annas per tree only *(G.O No.4209: Revenue [Mis]: 25thOct.1895)*. The Government did not take any measures to protect the forest but it also cut down the trees for the railways.

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3.4.11 The tribals in the hill areas were not responsible for the over-exploitation of forests. The exploitation of the forest for their personal uses did not make any major impact on the hill forests. The forest denudation was "...ascribed to the requirements of the thickly-inhabited country at their foot, as well as to the old established iron-smelting furnaces in that locality" *(Brandis: 1883: 175)*. The Government policies, contractors, and plainsmen were the major forest exploiters. For example, the Government leased out the forest wood cutting rights to the contractors from 1820 onwards. The people from the plains cut down the trees and sold them in the cities.

2133

3.4.12 Instead of prohibiting the forest fellings, the Government rented out the wood cutting rights to the contractors. It tried all steps to extract the revenue through forests. For example, during the period of 1875/76 to 1880/81, the revenue receipts from the forest were Rs. 61,132, while the expenses were only Rs. 22,702; and the remaining Rs. 38,430 was surplus in the Salem district *(Brandis: 1883: 188)*. From 1862/3 to 1880/81, Rs. 1,95,236 was derived only from sandalwood at the average of Rs. 10,270 per year *(Brandis: 1883: 187)*. In the Shervaroy hills about 10,000 acres of land on the hills taken by the planters due to the destruction of "...the fine old evergreen sholas[19] on these hills have been cleared, in order to make way for coffee" *(Brandis: 1883: 188)*. The greedy colonial commercial policy was the main cause for the destruction of forests during the period of the pre-Forest Department.

3.4.13 The people from the hills and plains used the forest produce without any restriction in the early colonial period. The Government leased out the forests for insignificant amount leading to destruction of the forest. One of the main causes for the destruction was

iron-smelting industry and the other was railway establishment. In short, before the formation of the Forest Department (1865), destruction of forest was mainly due to wrong Government policies. The tribals did not destroy the forest in any large scale.

3.4.1 Tribals and Forest Act

3.4.14 The destruction of forest was caused mainly by the non-tribals and colonial Government during the early period of the 19thcentury. Instead of restricting the non-tribals, the colonial Government imposed several conditions on the tribals through the Forest Act. The forest oriented tribal economy was disrupted and as a result, the economic conditions of the tribals deteriorated over the period.

3.4.15 The Forest Department was established in 1856 and the first Indian Forest Act came into effect in 1865. The Madras Forest Act, 1882 (Madras Act No.V of 1882)[20] was the first Forest Act in the Madras Presidency. This Act restricted the unlimited powers of the tribals on the forest. Under this Act, the tribals could claim only a right of way, water-courses, pasture and forest-produce (Section-10). These rights also were not, wholly or partly allowed by the Forest Department (Section-11). Furthermore, these rights were intermittently granted, and with quantitative restrictions (Section-12). Fresh clearings for cultivation or any other purposes were also restricted (Section-7). If prohibited items were used by the tribals, they were liable for imprisonment for a period of six months or a fine of about five-hundred rupees, or both (Section-21). The rights of grazing on the forest land were limited and liable for suspension (Section-22). If the tribals grazed their cattle in the closed land, they would be imprisoned for a month or fined rupees two-hundred or

both (Section-28). Apart from these restrictions, the tribals were forced to do the services for the Forest Department officers and police officers. In short, the Forest Department not only imposed restrictions on tribals and on their forest oriented economy but also forced them to do the free services for the Government officers.

3.4.2 Tribals and Reserve Forest

3.4.16 In 1872, the Forest Department came under the direct control of the Collector *(Indhrani: 1982: 96)*. The right to collect the minor forest produce used to be leased out by the Collector till 1883. Later, this right was transferred to the Forest Department *(Venugopal: 1980: 30)*. The first notification of forest reserve was published in 1883 and it covered an area of 5,50,614 acres (2,22,830.43 hectares) in Salem district *(Harikrishnan: 1977: 29)*. After the introduction of the reserve forest, the Government imposed many restrictions on the tribals.

3.4.17 The Forest Department extended the reserve in the Kalroyan hills without considering the interests of the hill inhabitants. For example, in the Periya-Kalroyan hills, "...the public worship and car[21] festival of Kariaswamy temple stopped by the inclusion of the temple and surrounding inam[22] land, within the reserve and forest extension" *(G.O.No.996: Revenue [Mis]: 22nd Aug.1906)*. Some extent of the inam lands of the jagirdars were also included in the reserve forest. It was stated by the jagirdar; "The reserve forests are demarcated without looking the interest of your memorialists nor consulting them, extend the forest, it results a lot of lands belonging to the memorialists, including inam lands, were taken in thereby putting your memorialists, to great hardships, loss and inconvenience" *(Petition No.442: Revenue: 1905)*. Also, the tribals

faced a lot of problems. In fact they did not celebrate the festival because the forest boundary runs a few chains from the Karia Ramaswamy temple and therefore, there was hardly any place for such a large gathering *(Petition No.442: Revenue: 1905)*. The Forest Department extended the reserve forest without looking into the convenience of the tribal people. This was one of the instances of how the Forest Department restricted the tribals' rights.

3.4.18 The Government came forward to reformulate the boundary line regarding the temple. But the Collector objected to the exclusion of the inam lands. He said that "even if the fields were cultivated, it is doubtful that the revenue would come to Government, instead of to the poligar, as ryots of poligar villages only would cultivate them" *(G.O.No.996: Revenue [Mis]: 22nd Aug.1906)*. The Collector stated categorically that no income for the Government, if jagirdar inams excluded from the reserve forest. The Government did not consider the problems of the tribals arising from the extension of the reserve forest in the hill areas.

3.4.19 The unrestricted rights of the tribals on forest which they enjoyed since times immemorial, were restricted by the forest department in different ways from time to time. For example, the Shervaroy hill inhabitants were allowed to cut only small quantities of firewood wood for housing and agricultural purposes; and it prohibited certain trees to cut down *(G.O.No.2027: Revenue: 14th Dec.1870)*. The Forest Department also imposed restrictions on the cutting at a maximum of three bandy-loads a month. If a person wished to take away wood from the hills, he was required to get the free pass from the tahsildar.[23] For the prohibited trees, three annas were collected per head-load *(G.O.No.2027: Revenue: 14th Dec.1870)*.

These regulations were opposed by the people of Shervaroy hills. It resulted in Government issuing an order in 1870 that the Malaiyalis "...can obtain free passes for firewood and timber for their own requirements on application to the deputy tahsildar on the Shervaroy hills" *(G.O.No.2027: Revenue: 14thDec.1870)*. Under this order, the hill inhabitants could collect the required materials without any limitation. The Kalroyan hill Malaiyalis were also asked to collect the free passes from the tahsildar for using the forest produce and for grazing their cattle. The Kalroyan hill jagirdars and inhabitants raised their voice against these restrictions. In response, the Government ordered in 1881 that "...the free use, with reasonable facilities, of the village jungle for procuring what they require for building purpose, for agricultural implements and for fuel; certain classes of trees of a superior description being reserved and payment required for their use for such purposes" *(G.O.No.150: Revenue: 18thJan.1881)*. The unlimited rights over the forest were also restricted by the extension of the reserve forest.

3.4.20 The economic problems of the tribals on forest started after the establishment of the Forest Department. The Forest Department extended the reserve forest without considering the problems of the tribal people. It also imposed many restrictions on the tribal people. For example, the tribals were not allowed to cultivate even the old ponakkadu[24] lands, and the temple surroundings were also brought under the reserve forest. In short, after establishment of the Forest Department, the traditional rights of the tribals on forest were totally restricted.

3.4.3 Private Tribal Forests and Forest Department

3.4.21 The Government forest as well as the private forests existed side by side in the Salem district. The private tribal forests

existed only in two hills, i.e., Jarugumalai and Kalroyan hills. In the Kalroyan hills, the whole forest was controlled by the jagirdars of the Chinna-Kalroyan and Periya-Kalroyan hills of Salem district and not by the Forest Department. These hill forests were never brought under the direct control of either by the Hindu rulers or by Tipu Sultan (Richards: 1918: Vol.I: Part I: 301). Even at the time of the colonial intervention, these hill forests were not brought under direct Government control. The colonial Government did not collect any revenue from the Kalroyan hills people nor did they receive any income through leasing out the forest area. In fact, the colonial rulers thought that the Kalroyan hills was ruled by separate rulers (Puckle: 1866: 13). It was substantiated by the Periya-Kalroyan jagir in 1838 "...he [jagirdar] and his ancestors have been the hereditary poligars[25] of the Malaiyalis of the Periya-Kalroyan hills. That they (jagirdars) exercised amongst them the functions of religious, justice according to their laws; that he has been ruling the land as a duly installed chief and has enjoyed the revenues of the state himself, giving a portion to the deity" *(Board Petition No.148 of 1871)*. Under the private tribal forests, the tribal people enjoyed the whole forest and forest produce without any constraints.

3.4.22 The jagirdar of Kalroyan hills had a right to collect revenue from the adjoining villages of the hills *(G.O.No.1028: Revenue: 10thJune 1871)*. It indicated that the whole hills and slopes of the mountain were controlled only by the jagirdars. The jagirdar did not pay any revenue to the colonial Government for possession of the forest. But, in the early 19thcentury, the rights over the slopes were handed over to the plain or kombe villages. The jagirdars of Kalroyan hills leased out the hill forests to the contractors of the plainsmen in 1863. The Periya-Kalroyan hills forest was leased out for twenty years at Rs. 100 per

annum and the Chinna-Kalroyan hills for five years at Rs. 120 per annum *(G.O.No.2972: Revenue: 14thDec.1867)*. These two jagir private forests were leased out to the same contractors. The contractors earned about Rs. 1,000 per annum by drastically cutting the timber and firewood on the hills *(Board of Revenue: No.2942: 10thNov.1869)*. From 1856 onwards, or immediately after the establishment of the Forest Department, the Government tried to bring these private forests under their control; the Government considered whatever evidences produced by the Malaiyali chieftain of the Kalroyan hills as forgery *(Board Petition No.148: 1871)*. In all possible ways the innocent tribal chieftain was threatened by the Government. But the jagirdars did not like to give their private forest to the Government on rent. The Collector's letter stated that "...enquires made, from time to time, during the last twenty years, I am quite sure the jagirdar is not willing to rent his estate to Government" *(Letter from Collector to Board of Revenue: 12thMar.1873)*. The private tribal forest owners were not interested in handing over their forests to the Government. But the Government forced them in different ways to have control over the forest.

3.4.23 Till the early half of the 19th century, the Kalroyan hills private forest was not disturbed by the colonial Government. During the period of first survey (1871-72) also the Kalroyan hills were not claimed by the survey department. The Collector's letter (1868) stated that "...the survey department placed their marks near the foot of the slopes, the opinion was entertained that, beyond these boundaries, towards the Kalroyan hills at least, the Government did not make any claim" *(G.O.No.2821: Revenue: 11thNov.1868)*. Not only the top of the hills was owned by the tribals, but the Government did not exercise any rights on the slopes of the hills.

3.4.24 After establishment of the Forest Department, the conservation of the forest was not highly emphasised. The Conservator of Forest intended to bring more forest land under the control of the Government. The Conservator had claimed that the slopes of the hill forests belonged to the Government, because, the lease agreements between the contractors and jagirdars did not mention the slopes of the Kalroyan hills. A copy of the lease contract obtained by the contractor from the Periya-Kalroyan jagirdars indicated that no such information existed regarding the slopes of the hills *(G.O.No.2821: Revenue: 11th Nov.1868)*. In the end, the Government managed to control the slopes of the hills. The Deputy Conservator of forests in 1867 stated that "...the timber growing on the slopes of the hills, belonged to Government" *(Board of Revenue: No.654: Revenue: 13th May 1880)*. But the private contractors went to the extent of cutting the forest areas controlled by the Government *(G.O.No.2160: Revenue: 14th Aug.1868)*. This sort of illicit fellings forced the Government to bring the jagirdars' land and their private forest also under its control. In 1867, the Government brought the jagirs' private forests for lease. After occupying the slopes of the hills, the Forest Department tried to bring the other private tribal forests in the hills under its control in the name of protection.

3.4.25 The private tribal forest owners did not like to lease out their forests to the colonial Government. But the Government forced them to accept the lease. In 1868, the Periya-Kalroyan jagirdar agreed to lease out their private forest to the Government at Rs. 1,500 per annum *(G.O.No.1028: Revenue: 1st Jun.1871)*. But, the contractors did not like to give up their agreement with the jagirdar because the lease had seventeen years to run and a contractor filed a suit against the colonial Government *(Board of Revenue: Nos.172-174: Revenue: 22nd Nov.1872)*. The suit was

compromised, and the Government purchased the private tribal forest rights from the contractors for Rs. 5,600. On the contrary, the Chinna-Kalroyan jagirdar did not like to meet the Government officers regarding the lease. In fact, the Government officers could not communicate with the jagirdars. The Government tried to communicate in different ways, i.e., through officers and contractors, to undertake their private forests on lease; but all the attempts failed *(Board of Revenue: Nos.219-220: 29thMay 1873)*. Finally, the Government sent two civil and two magistrate summons against the Chinna-Kalroyans' jagir. The jagirdar was arrested and brought under the custody of the magistrate *(Board of Revenue: Nos.219-220: 29thMay 1873)*. With this move, the Government brought these lands also under its control. The colonial Government paid Rs. 2,000 per annum *(G.O.No.77: Revenue: 14thJan.1875)*, and compensation of Rs. 12,500 was given to the contractor *(G.O.No.389: Revenue: 9thMar. 1875)*. The Forest Department did not consider the customary use of the forest by the tribals. The Government wanted to control the private tribal forests for its revenue and commercial exploitation.

3.4.26 The Government took control of these hills apparently to protect the hill forests from illicit felling by the contractors. But, the Government restricted even the old ponakkadu lands, wood for implements and grazing, etc. The Conservator of Forests also accepted that "...the felling of timber and bamboos by the Malaiyalis on the plateau for their own use cannot do any serious harm and that no restrictions are necessary so long as nothing is allowed to be brought down to the plains" *(Letter from Collector to the B/R: No.367: 16thNov.1880)*. The Government introduced the free pass system in 1881. Under this, the Malaiyalis had to collect the pass from the tahsildar and hand it over to the forest authorities. The Strokes, Acting Collector (1880) letter stated, "These process are probably

regarded by the Malaiyalis as inconvenient interference, and the rules must operate in practice as a considerable, if not complete restriction, on the freedom of helping themselves as, and how, they pleased which the Malaiyalis formerly enjoyed" *(Letter from Collector to the B/R: No.326: 20thOct 1880)*. After taking over the private tribal forests the Forest Department imposed many conditions on the customary use of the tribals of their private forest.

3.4.27 The Government prevented the tribals cattle grazing and threatened to attach the jagirdars' property and also restricted the ponakkadu cultivation *(G.O.No.1791: 24thNov 1880)*. Due to the many restrictions and inconvenience to the tribals and jagirdars, the Periya-Kalroyan jagirdar filed a suit against the Government to retain the estate. In his suit, he stated certain grievances, such as "...the constant interference by forest peons with the Malaiyalis, who cannot get wood for implements, & c., and are strictly prevented from clearing even old ponakkad lands; the insufficiency of the tract assigned to him rent free; the farming of the collection of the Kapilapodi[26] to outsiders; and the loss of dignity which he suffers as the chiefs of the other hill nadus will not now admit him to equally with them" *(Board of Revenue: No.919: 7thJuly 1880)*. In short, due to the restrictions on the customary use of the forest and loss of dignity, the jagirdars' wanted to retain their estates.

3.4.28 The Chinna-Kalroyan hill jagirdar also filed a suit against the Government. He stated that "...the document was not executed of his own free will, but was obtained from him under arrest; he was in custody under a magisterial warrant" and "...the estate is the ancestral and common property of themselves, and the pattagar who are members of an undivided family, and that the pattagar was not competent to alienate it

without their consent to the prejudice of the family and for illegal consideration" *(Board of Revenue: No.1015: 3rd Mar.1877)*. Obviously, the chieftains intended to retain their estates under their own control.

3.4.29 Actually, the Forest Department expected a large income from the forest of Kalroyan hills. But, they did not get the expected amount from the hills, and also the amount of balance was increased. For example, during 1876-77, in the Chinna-Kalroyan hills, the total demand made by the Government was Rs. 3,704-12-0; of which total collection was Rs. 2,279-0-2 or about 62%; and the remaining Rs. 1,425-11-10 or about 38.49% was the balance. The establishment charges was Rs. 272-14-9 or 7.37%; and the net revenue was Rs. 2,006-1-5 or about 54.14% *(Board of Revenue: No.4895: 1st Nov.1877)*. The net revenue from the Chinna-Kalroyan hills was negative during the period of 1877-78. The total revenue demand was Rs. 3,191-12-8, of which only Rs. 208-2-0 was a collection or about 6.52%; and the remaining Rs. 2,983-10-8 or about 93.48% was a balance. The establishment charge was more than the collections. It means the net revenue was -4.11%. *(Board of Revenue: No.4895:* 1st Nov.1877). Due to the loss incurred in the Chinna-Kalroyan hills private forests, the Forest Department intentionally returned them to their owners.

3.4.30 The Government wantedly returned the lease of the land and private tribal forests to the Kalroyan hill jagirs. The Collector stated that "...the lease will relieve us not only from this unprofitable speculation, but from further disputes arising on account of kapilapodi" *(Board of Revenue: No.4895: 1st Nov.1877)*. Since the land had been returned to the jagirs, the jagirdar revived old agreement with contractors, the contractors of the Chinna-Kalroyan executed a bond to the Government agreeing to repay Rs. 12,500 with interest at 6% per annum within nine

months *(Board of Revenue: No.4895: 1st Nov. 1877)*. Though the Periya-Kalroyan hills income was profitable, the colonial Government returned the land to the contractors on the ground that "...the court would hold that the lease was for the family advantage and can be upheld on that ground" *(Board of Revenue: No.654: 15th May 1880)*. It shows, the colonial Government expected the tribals would not react against them, whatever they did. The Government made use the ignorance of the tribals. Once the tribals reacted for their inconvenience, the Government returned some of their traditional rights.

3.4.31 The main aim of the colonial Government was neither to protect the forest from the illicit fellings nor to protect the tribals from the exploitation of contractors; but to extract more revenue through the direct control by the Government. Considering the revenue, the colonial Government tried to bring the forests under the control of the Government. For that, the Government followed all possible irregularities, viz., that the hill chieftains were brought under the control and custody, and caused divisions among the chieftains. Ultimately, the private tribal forest was brought under the full control of the Government for the lease. But, the Government did not realise the expected amount from the private forests and finally returned them to their jagirdars. Till recently, the forests were under the control of the jagirdars. In short, the main aim of the Forest Department was to collect more revenue from the forest, and they did not give much importance for the protection of forests during the 19th century.

3.4.32 The tribals in the hill areas availed an unlimited power on forest produce until the early 19th century. Despite their unrestricted use of the forests, did not destroy the forests. The main causes of destructions were the iron-smelting industry and contractors. After establishment of the Forest Department the unlimited powers of the tribals

on their forests were restricted and the Government imposed several conditions, and both monetary and non-monetary fines were imposed. The main aim of the Forest Department was to collect more revenue from the forest than the protection of the forest or tribals. The unlimited privileges of the tribals were reduced into concessions. In short, forest oriented tribal economy was destroyed by the colonial Government.

V

3.5.0 Conclusions

3.5.1 The tribal population in Salem district grew at a higher rate than that for the district as a whole. The tribals were not affected by recurring famine as much as the people of the plains were, as they lived off the forests too, as well as practiced shifting cultivation. After the Madras Forest Act in 1882 was promulgated the economic conditions of the tribals deteriorated. This Act, worked against the interests of the tribals as many restrictions were imposed on them using the forests as they had previously (for e.g., cattle grazing, etc.). The economic conditions of the tribals, consequently deteriorated. They were forced to become agricultural and landless labourers in the hill areas, instead of cultivators. And, wage rates stagnated during the 19^{th} century.

NOTES:

[1]The Government also spent a large amount for famine rehabilitation works, i.e., for irrigation, road (not trunk roads), and other works. Between 1835/36 and 1844/45, about Rs. 1,92,985-15-1 were spent for the public works. Of which, Rs. 1,34,604-9-0 or 69.75% for irrigation; Rs. 41,647-10-5 or 21.58% for roads and Rs. 16,736-11-8 or 8.67% for others *(Board of Revenue: No.39-40: Vol.2251: 15th Mar.1850: 11,463).*

[2]During the 1866 famine, a philanthropic person from Hosur taluk provided food for 221 persons daily from August to September 1866 at a cost of Rs. 964-10-9 *(G.O.No.236 [Press]: 21st Aprl. 1867).*

[3]Acting Collector stated that the Irula tribals also were found in the hills *(Census Report of 1871: Vol I: 58).* But, Edgar Thurston, noted that Irulas lived mostly in the hills of Nilgiris and plain areas of Chengalput district. And, he did not mention anything about the Irulas living in the Salem district (Thurston: 1909: Vol II: 382).

[4]The colonial rulers thought that the Kalroyan hills was not included in the listed areas of agreement in 1792. They had a opinion that the hill was an independent region.

[5]The colonial rulers thought that there were no permanent inhabitants on the hills.

[6]The 102 hill villages selected on the basis of the Government listed hill villages. In 1905, the settlement report of the hills listed out 100 hill villages *(G.O No. 605: Revenue: 30th June 1905: 53).* The resettlement report of the hills notified 113 hill villages *(G.O. No.1793: Revenue: 17th Aug.1936).* Both reports did not include the four villages in Kalroyan hills, one village in Neiyamalai and one village in Palamalai. The selected hill villages consists of major hills and <u>kombe</u> villages. It did not include some villages in the plain areas which was listed by the Government and it added some villages which was not included in the Government listed villages because these villages were located in the hills. So, the selected hill villages consists of main villages in the hills and some of the <u>kombe</u> villages. The villages of Kolli hills, Kalroyan hills, Pachamalai, Palamalai, Shervaroy hills, Bodamalai, Chitteri hills, Aranuthumalai, Sirumalai, Jarugumalai, Jambuthumalai, etc.,(for details see Appendix-3.1).

[7]The structural transformation is not only an important pre-requisite for the economic transformation but also for economic growth and development. See Kumar, Dharma (1983), Vol.II; Second Five-Year plan, p.13; BISR (1980), Chapter 5; Maccormic, B.J (1989), p. 82.

[8]See Kindleberger, Charles. P and Buruce, Harrick (1977), Chapter 5.

[9]The first school says that this structural transformation is simply a consequence of development of the increase in productivity and incomes in the various sectors of an economy that entails changes in the pattern of consumer demand and the composition of demand. The other school says that the structural transformation should be viewed not merely as a consequence of development but as a process that should be deliberately fostered by policy measures to accelerate development and to ensure that low-income pre-industrial societies will succeed in realizing their goals of achieving self-sustained economic growth *(Johnston: 1970: 374)*. Here, we can see the extent to which Government policies towards tribals changed the structural transformation of the economy. There are many barriers for economic transformation of the underdeveloped countries. They are the relative lack of capital, the presence of large numbers of unskilled workers, the discouragement to effective entrepreneurship, and a social structure that emphasizes tradition, particularism, and diffuse functional relationships (Kindleberger: 1977: 174). The barriers are much higher for the transformation of a tribal economy.

[10] The lowest money measurement. Twelve pies equals one anna, 16 annas or 172 pies equal to one Company Rupee.

[11]A dam made across a stream for maintaining or regulating irrigation.

[12]A time measurement. It equals 24 European minutes.

[13]Pannial is a labouring cultivator. Unlike a day labourer, they work for a year. The paraiahs and pallies were largely engaged in these activities.

[14]A dry grains measurement. It equals $7248\frac{8}{10}$ cubical inches. One kandagams contains $3,\frac{372}{1000}$ bushels. In other ways, 160 Puddies or 40 bullas equals one kandagam.

[15]This is a lowest money measurement. Twelve pies consists of one anna. Sixteen annas or 172 pies consists of one Company rupee.

[16]In the Kolli hills, the Malaiyali coolly works only for half a day either from 7 to 11 A.M or 11 A.M to 4 P.M. The later was more usual custom.

[17]One mound equals 25 lbs in the Madras Presidency.

[18]Brandis was the first Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India, and he was deputed as the Conservator of Forests to the Madras Presidency between 1881 and 1883. Before Brandis, there were three Conservators of Forests in the Madras Presidency. Dr. Cleghorn was appointed the first Conservator of Forest in the Madras Presidency in 1856, and he continued upto 1870, succeeded by Beddome till Dec.1881, and Walker was employed only a short period till Brandis.

[19]Grove or dense forest.

[20]At present the Act was renamed as the Tamil Nadu Forest Act, 1883.

[21]A harvesting festival. The Kalroyan tribes celebrated this festival at the Karia-Ramasamy temple.

[22]Grant of land with total or partial exemption of land revenue, usually in return for some form of service. In Salem district, the village servants had the inam. In the hill areas also, the headmen had the inam land for the service of revenue collection to Government.

[23]The lowest rank of executive officer in the revenue department in the districts or taluk revenue officer.

[24]A land in the hill areas capable of cultivation after long intervals with particular kinds of grain sown in holes dug with a spade.

[25]The owner of jagir is called as poligar.

[26]This kupilapodi is used for dying purposes. It is largely found in the Kalroyan hills. The Britishers planned to export if to England. The Collector latter stated that "The Kuplidye that is procurable amounts yearly to about 25 cundagams. More than this has, I am informed, been collected. It is very valuable dye, and has, I understand, been exhibited in England where a good price per pound has been obtained" *(G.O.No.2942: Revenue: 10thNov.1869).*

CHAPTER- IV

EFFECTS OF LAND SETTLEMENT IN THE HILL AREAS DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

4.0.0 This chapter consists of four sections. The first section analyses the settlement pattern during the colonial period; the second section focuses on the land settlement in the different hills of Salem district; the third section discusses settlement in the Kalroyan hills; and the fourth section concludes the chapter.

I

4.1.0 Revenue Settlement During the Colonial period

4.1.1 The total geographical area of 'Salem and Baramahal' was 6,448 square miles in 1792, of which 2,148 square miles were in the Southern Division, 2,021 square miles in the Central Division and 2,279 square miles in the Northern Division. The hill areas consisted of nearly one-fifth of the total geographical area of the district. The proportion of the hill areas vary in each division; one-fifth was in the Southern Division, one-eighth was in the Central and one-fourth in the Northern *(Baramahal Records: Sec.XXI: Vol.I: 104)*. The 'Salem and Baramahal' areas were controlled by the colonial rulers since 17th March 1792 under the Collectorship of Colonel Alexander Read. The immediate problem before Read was not only the restoration of peace and order, but also collection of the land revenue. The revenue settlement for the first year was made with the headmen of the villages. Read did not make any change except slight a reduction in the revenue demand. The revenue demand was reduced

particularly in the Namakkal and Paramathi taluks, because these taluks had suffered so much from the war; the revenue demand was made much below that of Tipu's. In the remaining taluks, the revenue demand was slightly higher than that of Tipu's, but the overall revenue demand in the district was lower than that of Tipu's. In short, the early colonial Government followed the same method of revenue collection as that of Tipu Sultan.

4.1.1 Read's Ryotwary Settlement

4.1.2 To save the farmers from irrational assessment, Read wanted to bring the revenue collection under the direct control of the Government. He proposed that "...a settlement to be made of these districts,[1] village by village, in lease for five years, as a measure the best for the increase of cultivation and for ensuring the welfare of their inhabitants that it is intended to found this settlement on a proper investigation of their affairs, as well to as certain the dues of the circar, under fair and moderate assessment, as to render the strictest justice to every class of the ryots, by an equalisation of their rents according to the circumstances of their lands and cultivation" *(Board of Revenue: Nos.28-30: Vol.69: 8th Aprl.1793: 1788).* To realise these objectives, the Government ordered a detailed agricultural survey in 1793.

4.1.3 Till the completion of the survey, the revenue had been collected through the headmen of the villages. The headmen were instructed by the Government not to collect more than the fixed assessment (Bradsha: 1893: 64). The agricultural survey was completed in 1797. In 1797/98, Read introduced the direct tax collection method, in other words, Ryotwary system. Under this system, the farmers need not have to pay any amount to anybody except the Government. But this system was not new for the Salem

district, as it had been practiced in different parts of the district during the pre-colonial period.[2] Due to Read's ryotwary system "...many landlords cancelled their engagement in lease and in grown up lands as they were unable to cultivate" (Beaglehole: 1966: 22 and 30). The general land revenue decreased by about 54,000 star pagodas in the year of 1797/98 over that of 1796/97.

4.1.4 During Read's settlement, the land revenue demand was not completely realised. For example, in 1797, about 4,380-38-42 star pagodas was due for collection, of which 745-10-30 star pagodas or about 17% from the Southern Division, 181-19-10 star pagodas or about 4.13% from the Central Division and 3,454-9-2 star pagodas or about 78.84% from the Northern Division. About one-fifth of the dues was only from the Northern Division *(Board of Revenue: Nos.14-15: Vol.179-A: 12thJune.1797: 3334)*. The shortfall in collection were mainly because of poverty, desertion, failure of crops, loss of cattle, want of rain and more land taken for cultivation than the cultivators could cultivate.

4.1.2 Read's Ryotwary Settlement in the Hill Areas

4.1.5 Except Kolli hills, Read's ryotwary settlement was not introduced in the hill areas of Salem district In the Kolli hills, the ryotwary settlement was implemented along with the plain villages. All other hills continued the practice of settling with the headmen of the hills. On the Kolli hills, every village was surveyed; and the land revenue was fixed individually. The total arable land in the Attur-Kolli hills was 2,733.6 acres and the total revenue demand was 850-43-35 star pagodas or about 2,978 Company rupees *(Board of Revenue: Nos.14-15: Vol.179-A: 12thJune 1797: 33-34)*. The average land-rent per acre was only 0-14-1 star

pagodas or 1-4-3 Company rupees. The total arable land with a small extent of fallow land in the Namakkal-Kolli hills was 6,804.13 acres, and the total revenue demand was 2,696-15-49 star pagodas or about 9,436 rupees *(Board of Revenue: Nos.14-15: Vol.179: 12th June 1797: 87-91)*. The average land-rent per acre was 0-17-71 star pagodas or 1-6-5 Company rupees. The rate of land-rent in the Namakkal-Kolli hills was higher than the Attur-Kolli hills. Prior to the introduction of the permanent settlement, land-rent of the punjai land in the plains was 0-21-59 star pagodas for the Central Division and 0-25-48 pagodas for the Southern Division *(Board of Revenue: No.75: Vol.629: 3rd Jan.1814: 854)*. The land-rent in the hill areas was therefore lower than that for the district in general since the beginning of the colonial period.

4.1.3 Read's Revenue Settlement in the Hills

4.1.6 Except Kolli-hills, other hills were settled with the headmen of the hills during Read's settlement. Between 1793 and 1796, the rent from the hills in Salem district was about 7,651-5-10 star pagodas per year (see Table 4.1). Of which, 1,804-23-63 star pagodas from the Southern Division, 209-31-40 star pagodas from the Central Division and 5,636-39-67 star pagodas from the Northern Division *(Baramahal Records: Sec.XI: 1-29)*. A higher amount of land-rent was drawn from the Northern Division.

4.1.7 The land revenue in different hills of Salem district except Jawadhi and Yelaghery hills had increased every year from 1792 to 1796/97.[3] The colonial Government forced the headmen to pay the high amount every year since 1792. In 1796/97, the land revenue in the hills was fixed permanently with the headmen and it continued till the permanent settlement. In the earlier period of the colonial Government, the tribals

were charged exorbitant rates. The tribal lands were not surveyed and settled individually but they were forced to pay the high amount every year. After the failure of the Read's settlement (1797/98) in the plains, the amount of land revenue was fixed permanently for the different hills of

Table 4.1 Revenue Collection in Different Hills of Salem District: 1792/93-1801/02 (in Star Pagodas)

Year	1792-93	1793-94	1794-95	1795-96	1796-97	1797/98 1801/02
Name of Hills						
Attur-Kolli hills	833 12 43	952 36 23	988 37 30	988 37 30	1057 7 35	1107 40
Namakkal-Kolli hills	1829 42 36	1829 12 9	1830 2 4	2030 7 30	2375 33 7	2627 00
Pachamalai	238 4 63	266 32 27	287 37 73	280 37 73	352 38 24	351 16
Shervaroy hills	1080 37 26	1180 21 35	1180 21 35	1265 - 75	1265 - 73	1265 -
Jawadee hills (approximatel)	4435 - -	5121 - -	5121 - -	5121 - -	5121 - -	5088 -
Yelagery hills (approximately)	335 - -	433 - -	433 - -	450 - -	470 - -	433 -
Bodamalai	65 30 65	75 30 72	87 8 35	87 8 33	91 18 19	91 18

Sources: Permanent Settlement Records, Salem, 11th Nov. 1800, pp. 4,6, 19-21 and 28-31.

Proceedings of the Special Commission, Vol. 4, April to May 1802, pp. 1251-55.

Proceedings of the Special Commission, Vol. 10, 1st Sept. 1802, pp. 1205-6.

Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 7th Dec. 1846, No.25, Vol. 2051, P. 15452.

Salem district in 1797/98. The main aim of the colonial Government was to extract as much revenue as possible from the hill inhabitants. The highest amount of the revenue demand between 1792 and 1797/98 was fixed permanently with the headmen and it continued till the permanent settlement in 1802/03.

4.1.4 Permanent Settlement

4.1.8 Due to the failure of the Read's Ryotwary settlement, the colonial Government introduced the permanent settlement system in Salem district in 1802/03. Under this system, each taluk was divided into a number of muttahs[4] and each muttah consisted of a number of villages. At the time of the permanent settlement, there were nine taluks in Salem district. These taluks were divided into 205 muttahs, of which 135 belonged to Salem Division and the remaining 70 muttahs belonged to the Baramahal Division. Each taluk was not divided evenly by the number of muttahs.[5] Of the muttahs, 9 belonged to the hill areas, one from Salem taluk, 3 from Attur taluk, 2 from Namakkal taluk and 3 from Krishnagiri taluk. The Collector's letter in 1813 stated that the permanent settlement of the hills in Salem district was "...nothing more than the amount they produced the year previous to the introduction of the permanent settlement" *(Board of Revenue: No.35: Vol.606: 25th Apr.1813: 4067)*. As the land revenue in the hills had been increased every year since the beginning of colonial period, the highest amount was fixed as permanent assessment. During the permanent settlement period (1802/03) the same amount was fixed for the hill areas. The remarkable difference was the introduction of the muttah system.

4.1.9 The original muttahs were sub-divided and formed into new muttahs over the period. In 1813, the number of muttahs were increased to 291; from 135 muttahs to 212 in Salem Division and from 70 to 79 in the Baramahal Division. But, the hill muttahs were not disturbed, because the hill muttahs had "...always been regular in their payments. My [Collector] experience in these districts would not justify me [Collector] in recommending any deviation from the mode hitherto observed" *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3156: 63)*. The non-payment by the muttahdars was the main

cause for the division of muttahs in the Salem district. In the hill areas, the high amount of the land-rent was paid without any balance. It means, the headmen of the hills caused all sorts of inconvenience for the tribals to attain the fixed land revenue.

4.1.10 The muttahdars could not pay their revenue regularly to the Government (see Table 4.2). The total balance of each fasly[6] from

Table 4.2 Balances, Collections and Outstanding Balances in Salem District: 1802/3-1812/13 (in Star Pagodas)

Year	Balance on the 12th July each Fasly	Amount since Collected on 30th Nov.1813	Balance Outstanding on 30th Nov. 1813	Interest Received on Account of Arrears in each fasly
1802-3	2,093 29 61	1,942 5 48	151 24 13	809 41 35
1803-4	15,143 31 33	13,685 32 16	1,459 44 7	665 3 24
1804-5	28,052 39 68	24,772 30 45	3,280 9 23	1,006 19 -
1805-6	33,857 33 76	89,375 17 1	4,481 17 33	3,029 35 12
1806-7	48,936 31 9	45,245 27 45	3,690 3 44	1,965 6 27
1807-8	35,098 34 50	32,175 45 60	2,912 10 70	2,357 36 47
1808-9	36,888 13 00	34,943 16 38	2,002 39 35	2,594 30 77
1809-10	77,168 26 53	60,501 14 8	11,957 15 45	2,042 7 9
1810-11	79,659 9 61	73,313 38 61	26,346 16 -	3,459 - 77
1811-12	82,799 6 32	59,031 1 56	23,767 4 56	9,093 16 44
1812-13	62,203 16 35	41,355 32 22	21,472 39 10	3,555 7 29
1803/13	5,17,790 27 69	4,16,267 28 79	1,01,732 16 71	84,454 30 49

Source: Collectorate Records, Salem, No.139, Vol.3166, 30th Dec.1813, pp.160-61.

1802/03 to 1812/13 was about 5,17,790-27-69 star pagodas, of which 4,16,267-28-79 star pagodas or 80.39% was collected upto 1812/13; the remaining 1,01,732-16-71 star pagodas or 19.65% of the total balance could

not be collected, and stood as a balance till 1812/13. Of the balance, 4,027-4-74 star pagodas or 3.96% was from the hills *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3166: 30th Dec.1813: 160-161)*. For the outstanding balance, a large amount of interest, 84,454-30-49 star pagodas was collected between 1802/3 and 1812/13.

4.1.11 As a result of huge amount of outstanding balances, many muttahs were attached for the arrears of revenue by the Government and sold by public auction every year since 1802/03. Some muttahs were purchased

Table 4.3 Numbers of Muttahs Attached and Sold: 1802/03-1812/13

Year	No. of Estates Attached for Arrears	No. of Estates Sold	No. of Estates Returned to the Proprietors	No.of Estates Brought under Government	
1	2	3	4	5	
1802-3	-	1	-	-	
1803-4	32	16	14	(unsold 2	
1804-5	52	10	42	-	
1805-6	56	14	37	(unsold 5	
1806-7	67	13	54	-	
1807-8	52	9	42	(unsold) 1	
1808-9	63	11	50	(unsold) 2	
1809-10	92	27	61	(unsold) 4	
1810-11	115	31	69	(unsold) 5	15
				(Govt. purchased) 10	
1811-12	114	11	89	(unsold) 12	20
				(Govt. purchased) 8	
1812-13	85	17	62	(Govt. purchased)	6
Total	728	160	520		55

Sources: Same as in Table 4.2

by the Government and the unsold muttahs were also brought under the Government management (see Table 4.3).

4.1.12 About 728 muttahs were attached between 1802/03 and 1812/13, of which, 160 muttahs were sold and the remaining 520 muttahs were returned to the proprietors (see Table 4.3). There were 55 muttahs brought under the control of the Government, in which 24 muttahs were purchased by the Government and the remaining 31 muttahs were unsold. Over the period, the colonial Government expected a large amount of money through the auctioning of muttahs. If the expected amounts were not realised by auction, the Government retained the estate under its direct control.

4.1.13 In the first decade of the permanent settlement (1802/3-1812/13), one-third of the muttahdars[7] could retain their property rights. The remaining muttahdars were thrown out due to their irregular and non-payment of the rent. Many muttahs were attached by the Government and sold in public auctions. Between 1803-13, 215 muttahs were sold, of which, 55 were brought under the Government (see Table 4.3). But the Collectorate records show that in the same period 195 muttahs exclusive of hill muttahs were sold. *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3166: 14thDec.1813: 147)*. The remaining 20 estates sold probably belonged to the hill areas during the period of 1802/03-1812/13. The hill muttahs were not divided for the arrears of revenue like the other muttahs in the plain areas. If the hill muttahdars could not pay their arrears, the muttahs were sold to other persons.

4.1.14 Many muttahs were used to be attached for the arrears of revenue every year by the Government, and some of the muttahs were brought under direct Government management. In the first decade of the permanent

settlement, i.e., 1802/03-1812/13, about 55 muttahs were brought under the Government; but in the later period, between 1814-15 and 1821-22, 154 muttahs were brought under the Government *(Board of Revenue: No 38: Vol.1470: 12thOct.1835: 11647)*. It was reported that the muttahs were brought under the Government management not only for the arrears of revenue but also to protect the farmers from exploitation. The Collector of Salem stated on 28th June 1823 that "...it would certainly add much to the happiness of the people, and security of their property, were they directly under the Collector instead of the muttahdars" *(Revenue [Cons]: Vol.33: 1824: 3564)*. The muttahdars collected the land revenue from the farmers and did not pay to the Government what they actually collected but always less than the collected amount. For example, in 1811 there were 25 muttahdars who defaulted with the total jummah[8] of 31,319-28-25 star pagodas. The cultivators paid 15,371-39-41 star pagodas or about 49% of the jummah but the muttahdars paid to the Government only 8,525-32-72 star pagodas or about 55% of the collected revenue. Village accountants collected about 10,828-27-76 star pagodas or 34.66% of the total jummah from the farmers. Only 5,119-5-65 star pagodas or 16.34% of the total jummah was dues from the farmers *(Board of Revenue: No.29: Vol.559: 23rdDec.1811: 12372)*. So, a large amount of balance was due to the non-payment of the collected revenue by the muttahdars. Only an insignificant amount of balance was from the farmers.

4.1.15 To restrict the defaulting muttahdars, the Government imposed hard conditions on them. Their assets were publicly auctioned, and sometimes they were imprisoned. For example, 3 muttahdars in 1804 and 4 muttahdars in 1806 were confined by the Government *(Board of Revenue: No.21: Vol.647: 25thJuly 1814: 8921)*. Their assets were sold in public auction by the authorities on account of their balances. In 1811, 11

defaulting muttahdars' estates and personal properties were sold. Inadequate to discharge their arrears, the collector moved to put them in a jail *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3162: 6th Nov.1811: 157)*. Till 1814, they were not released. The Government waited for ten years to recover the balances. They were ultimately released after verifying that there were no sources of recovery *(Board of Revenue: No.51: Vol.659: 15th Nov.1814: 13664)*. From 1813 to 1819, there were 29 defaulting muttahdars in the debtor jail[9] and they had no sources of paying the balance of rent *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3172: 57)*. In 1819, they were released on the recommendation of the Revenue Board *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3172: 171)*. These type of hard punishments to the muttahdars might have forced them to extract the land revenue forcefully from the farmers.

4.1.16 Not only were the muttahdars imprisoned, but the farmers were also imprisoned for failing to pay the arrears. For example, in 1810, the Denkanekota cultivators neglected their cultivation and protested against the high rate of land assessment, but the Government punished the ring leaders of the cultivators *(Board of Revenue: No.29: Vol.536: 4th Mar.1811: 1597)*. The colonial Government did not go into the real causes of the problem, but it was considered a law and order problem. The Collector stated that the ring leaders of the farmers should be punished to other farmers return to cultivation *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3163: Part.II: 96)*. The colonial Government controlled these types of agitation with the help of the military, but they could not crush their spirit of resistance because the underlying causes of the disturbances were left free to grow in every village and district (Chopra: 1979: Vol.III: 169). In 1817/18, many farmers protested against the heavy assessment which resulted in 19 farmers getting imprisoned *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3172: 52-54)*. The farmers had to pay whatever the amount imposed by the middlemen or the

Government.[10] If the farmers opposed the high rate of land revenue, they were punished brutally.

4.1.5 Balances of the Permanent Settlement

4.1.17 Since the permanent settlement of 1802/03, the revenue demand was not completely realised. Each year, the outstanding balance had increased. The balance was high in the plain areas during 1808/9-1810/11 because, the Denkanekota farmers did not pay, and protested against the

Table 4.4 Balance of Land Revenue in Salem District: 1802/03-1818/19.

(in Madras Rupees)

Year (1)	Total Balance (2)	Hills (3)	Plains (4)	% col.3 to 2 (5)
1802-03	5,109 14 9	519 11 3	4,590 3 6	10.16
1803-04	8,284 12 5	734 6 3	7,550 6 2	8.86
1804-05	15,684 13 3	435 7 5	15,249 5 10	2.77
1805-06	1,293 5 8	516 12 1	776 9 7	39.91
1806-07	8,895 1 4	560 9 11	8,334 7 5	6.29
1807-08	3,927 11 -	612 10 -	3,315 1 -	15.58
1808-09	32,465 9 7	1,872 2 2	30,593 7 5	5.77
1809-10	68,318 15 6	5,250 1 1	63,068 14 5	7.68
1810-11	48,131 11 1	12,525 13 5	35,605 13 8	26.02
1811-12	23,972 6 5	11,739 7 8	12,232 14 9	48.97
1812-13	11,227 5 6	10,010 14 5	1,216 7 1	89.16
1813-14	10,106 2 7	10,106 2 7	- - -	100.00
1814-15	12,715 11 3	11,916 13 11	798 13 4	93.72
1815-16	20,640 10 6	12,175 11 6	8,464 15 -	58.99
1816-17	19,121 - 7	12,199 - 8	6,921 15 11	63.79
1817-18	32,566 2 2	15,092 9 6	17,473 8 8	46.34
Total	3,22,461 5 7	1,06,268 5 10	2,16,192 15 9	32.96

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 14th Dec. 1820, No.30 Vol. 873, p. 10661.

high rate of assessment *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3163: Part II: 93-101).* Though there were only 9 hill muttahs in Salem district, the outstanding balance was high compared to the total balance of the remaining plain muttahs. From 1802/3 to 1809/10, about one-eighth or 12.13% of the total balance per annum was from the 9 hill muttahs. This rate increased between the period of 1810/11 and 1817/18; the average was about 58.55% of the total balance of the Salem district (see Table 4.4). The overall balance in the hill muttahs from 1802/03 to 1817/18 was 32.96% per annum. Of the balance in the hill areas, 14% was recoverable and the remaining percentages were unrecoverable. About 30% and 33% of the total balance were recoverable and irrecoverable respectively when compared to the plain muttahs. The hill villages had a large amount of outstanding balance during the 16 years (1802/3-1818/19) of permanent settlement. The main reason for such an outstanding balance was that the revenue demand fixed by the permanent settlement of 1802 was unreasonably high as the amount arrived at was a culmination of the annual increase from 1792.

4.1.6 Balances of the Permanent Settlement in the Hills

4.1.18 The amount of permanent settlement was fixed at Rs. 35,858-0-6 for the hill areas. The amount of balance of the hill muttahs was insignificant or about 3.66% per annum between 1802/3 and 1809/10, and it formed about 12.13% (see col [4] of Table 4.5). The insignificant amount of the balance to the total demand in the hill areas occupied a major proportion to the total balance of the district. The balance of the hill areas increased from 1810/11 to 1817/18 with the average of 33.38% to the total demand in the hill areas. This balance occupied 58.55% of the total balance of the district. The average balance of the hills to the total hills' demand between 1802/3 and 1817/18 was only 18.52% and it formed

32.96% to the total balance of the district. It means, large amount of the outstanding balance during the period of permanent settlement was mainly from the hill areas. There are two reasons for the large amount of the balance in the hill areas. One is that amount of the land settlement was high at the time of the permanent settlement. The second is that the

Table 4.5 Amount of Demand, Collection and Balance in Hill Areas: 1802/03-1817/18. (in Madras Rupees)

Year (1)	Collection (2)	Balance (3)	% of Balance to the Total Demand (4)
1802-3	35,338 5 3	519 11 3	1.45
1803-4	35,123 10 3	734 6 3	2.05
1804-5	35,425 9 1	435 7 5	1.21
1805-6	35,341 4 5	516 12 1	1.44
1806-7	35,297 6 7	560 9 11	1.56
1807-8	35,246 6 6	612 10 -	1.71
1808-9	33,985 14 4	1,872 2 2	5.22
1809-10	30,607 15 1	5,250 1 1	14.64
1810-11	23,333 3 1	12,525 13 5	34.93
1811-12	24,478 8 10	11,739 7 8	32.74
1812-13	25,847 2 1	10,010 14 5	27.92
1813-14	25,751 13 11	10,106 2 7	28.18
1814-15	23,941 2 7	11,916 13 11	33.23
1815-16	23,682 5 0	12,175 11 6	33.95
1816-17	23,658 15 10	12,199 - 8	34 02
1817-18	20,765 7 0	15,092 9 6	42.08
Total	4,67,460 2 2	1,06,268 5 10	18.52

Source: Board of Revenue, 14th Dec. 1820, No.30. Vol. 873, p. 10661.

headmen might not have paid the collected amount to the Government. The Collector's reports showed no outstanding balance from the hill areas

during the early period of the permanent settlement. The Maniakaran actually collected from the hill inhabitants and kept it for his mamool *(Collectorate Records: Vol. 3169: 14th Feb. 1816: 43-44)*. It seems that the headmen first took the collected amount for their maintenance, then only they paid to the Government.

4.1.19 Due to the large amount of outstanding balance, the annual system of settlement was reintroduced in the hill areas from 1818/19. Under this system, the muchilikas[11] had been exchanged between the Government and the headmen of the villages. The revenue demand of the hills was fixed according to the conditions of the year (see Appendix 4.1).

4.1.20 During the permanent settlement of 1802/03 to 1818/19, a high amount of land revenue was fixed for the hill areas. The actual collections from the hills were never equal to the permanent settlement revenue between 1818/19 and 1853/54. It was so not only in the hill areas but also in the district in general. Between 1821 and 1834, 18 muttahs of Salem taluk in Salem Division and 13 muttahs of Tengarekota taluk in Baramahal Division were taken for the comparison. The collection of revenue increased considerably in Salem district only for four years and the remaining years showed a great deficiency every year in both divisions *(Board of Revenue: No. 36: Vol.1506: 9th June 1836: 1893-94)*. The fixation of higher revenue demand was one of the major reasons for the large extent of the outstanding balance from the hills during that time. In 1832/35, the Great Famine struck the Salem district. Many of the ryots indeed as well as other inhabitants were reduced to the necessity of supporting life by gathering roots and herbs in the jungles, from the pernicious quality of which many are reported to have died. In addition to this cholera was prevalent, it appeared at intervals in different parts of the district, and

the mortality of the years has been very great *(Board of Revenue: No.38: Vol.*1445: *17th Mar.1835: 2817)*. And about 6,923 cultivators died. Land-rent remission was granted every year, but no separate account is available for the hills. The small fluctuations of the land revenue demand in the hill areas were mainly due to the migration and unfavourable climatic conditions.

4.1.21 Even though, the land revenue was determined year by year with headmen according to the circumstances, the amount of balance

Table 4.6 Balance of Hill Revenue: 1818/19 to 1837/38 (in Madras Rupees)

Year	Balance			Remarks
1818-19	2,442	3	7	
1819-20	468	6	6	
1820-21	745	8	-	Collection upto July 1827, 2,391-2-3
1821-22	1,121	1	-	Balance 11,062-3-6
1822-23	1,171	4	1	
1823-24	1,204	1	11	
1824-25	1,302	3	6	
1825-26	1,813	8	1	
1826-27	993	14	--	
1835-36	881	2	3	
1836-37	1,731	11	-	
1837-38	703	3	5	

Sources: Up to 1826-27, Board of Revenue, 5th Oct.1829, No.56, Vol.1208, pp. 10436-39, and
Board of Revenue, 19th Dec. 1839, Nos.48 and 49 Vol.1689, pp. 19533-40.

increased from the hill muttahs since 1818/19. Even after the annual settlement with the village headmen, the balance increased every year. But, compared to the period under the permanent settlement, the balance was low.

4.1.22 Only an insignificant amount of outstanding balance was in the hill areas under the management of village headmen since 1820. For the small amount of balance, the hills were brought under the amani[12] management in different periods between 1829/30 and 1853/54. A portion of the Attur-Kolli hills in 1828/29; Aranuthumalai in 1836/37; Namakkal-Kolli hills in 1840/41; Shervaroy hills in 1842/43; and the remaining portion of the Attur-Kolli hills in 1853/54 were taken over by the Government and brought under the amani management. The rights of the headmen and the guru (priest) were lost in the process. Under this system, the number of ploughs and hoes employed by each individual in each year were entered into the accounts with their names *(Board of Revenue: No.212: 8thJune 1906: 3)*. The land revenue was determined on the basis of the number of ploughs and hoes owned by each individual at the rate of 12 acres per plough and $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres per hoe. The rate was determined according to the circumstances. About 127 different rates for ploughs and 22 for hoes prevailed in the different hills of Salem district *(Board of Revenue: No.212: 8thJune 1906: 3)*. Actually the tribals occupied large extent of lands; in some villages three, four or five times more than the extent of land covered by the assessment. The average rate of assessment based on actual area occupied would however be only two or three annas per acre *(Board of Revenue: No.212: 8thJune: 1906: 4)*. This practice continued till the survey and settlement of the hill areas of Salem district in 1905.

4.1.7 Incidence of Land Rent

4.1.23 The average land rent in the previous year of the survey and settlement of 1871/72 in the Salem district was Rs. 1-10-15 per acre in general; Rs. 1-4-$7\frac{1}{2}$ for the dry lands and Rs. 6-0-1 for the wet lands *(Letter from the Director of Revenue Settlement to B/R: 22ndJan.1874)*. But

after the settlement, the land-rent was decreased to Rs. 1-7-9$\frac{1}{2}$ per acre in general; Rs. 1-2-3 for the dry lands and Rs. 5-8-11 for the wet land *(Letter from the Director of Revenue Settlement to B/R: 22nd Jan. 1874)*. It is apparent that the tax burden declined after the surveyed settlement. But, actually the tax burden was lower during the pre-survey settlement due to the fact that the people had occupied a larger area of land. In other words, the incidence per acre was low before the survey settlement, because, they actually cultivated a large extent of land and paid only for a small extent.

4.1.24 The land-rent per acre in the hills was less than the district in general both before and after the settlement. It varied from hill to hill. For example, in Shervaroy hills it was Rs. 0-14-8 *(Census of 1871: Salem: 12-14)*; Attur-Kolli hills Rs. 1-0-6 *(Census of 1871: Salem: 17-19)*; Namakkal-Kolli hills Rs. 1-1-2 *(Census of 1871: Salem: 27)*; Chitteri hills Rs. 0-9-6 *(Census of 1871: Salem: 114)* and palamalai Rs. 0-9-6 *(Census of 1871: Salem: 34-35)*. The land-rent for the dry land was lower than that of the district in general. Only a small extent of the wet land cultivation existed in the Kolli hills. The average land-rent for the wet land was Rs. 5-10- 0 per acre *(Census of 1871: Salem: 27)*. This rate was lower than that of the district in general in the previous year of the settlement and higher than that after the settlement. In short, both before and after the survey and settlement, the land-rent in the hill areas was lower than the district in general.

4.1.25 The land revenue incidence before settlement was Rs. 5-8-1$\frac{1}{2}$ per cultivator in general and it was increased to Rs. 5-11-5$\frac{1}{2}$ after the survey settlement. It shows that the tax burden on cultivators increased in Salem district after the survey settlement, whereas in the

hill areas this burden was very low per cultivator except in the Shervaroy hills. For example, Rs. 3-6-6 in the Namakkal-Kolli hills; Rs. 1-14-4 in the Attur-Kolli hills; Rs. 0-7-6 in the Chitteri hills and Rs. 0-2-2 in the Palamalai. The land revenue burden per cultivator was high in the large hills and low in the small hills. The rent per cultivator was high in the Namakkal-Kolli hills due to the availability of wet land. In fact, the land-rent per cultivator was higher than the district in general. The incidence of the land-rent per cultivator was very low in the hills when compared to the district in general.

4.1.26 During the Read's settlement, except the Kolli hills, were settled with the headmen of the hills. The Kolli hills were surveyed and settled along with plains. The rate of assessment in the Kolli hills was lower than the plains. During the permanent settlement, muttah system was introduced. Major hills were formed into a separate muttahs and the small hills were incorporated into the muttahs of the plains. Under the muttah system, a large amount of land revenue was outstanding in the hill areas. As a consequence of this, the Government settled the revenue with the headmen annually. The revenue was collected on the basis of the number of ploughs and hoes during the 19^{th} century. Finally, the hills were brought under the direct management of the Government between 1829/30 and 1853/54.

II

4.2.0 Land Settlement in Different Hills

4.2.1 The settlement of land revenue varied from hill to hill. In some hills, land revenue was collected on the basis of the extent of land, number of implements used for the cultivation; and in some other hills it was collected on the basis of the population and their status.

4.2.1 Settlement in Shervaroy Hills

4.2.2 After the colonial intervention, the earlier practice of renting system was replaced, and the hills were settled directly with the

Table 4.7 Revenue Collection in Different Nadus of Shervaroy Hills: 1792/93-1801/02 (In Madras Rupees)

Year	Salem Nadu	Moha Nadu	Mootoo Nadu	Total
1792-93	1,777 - -	1,276 1 -	729 3 5	3,782 14 -
1793-94	1,955 - 6	1,368 12 5	807 12 10	4,131 9 9
1794-95	1,955 - 6	1,368 12 5	807 12 10	4,131 9 9
1795-96	2,094 - 11	1,465 1 7	868 6 1	4,427 8 7
1796-97	2,094 - 11	1,465 1 7	868 6 1	4,427 8 7
1797-98	2,094 - 11	1,465 1 7	868 6 1	4,427 8 7
1798-99	2,094 - 11	1,465 1 7	868 6 1	4,427 8 7
1799-1800	2,094 - 11	1,465 1 7	868 6 1	4,427 8 7
1800-01	2,094 - 11	1,465 1 7	868 6 1	4,427 8 7
1801-02	2,094 - 11	1,465 1 7	868 6 1	4,427 8 7

Sources: Permanent Settlement Records, Salem, Vol.29, 11th Nov.1800, p.4
Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 23rd Sep.1841, No.18, Vol.1769, p.12130.

headmen of the hills *(Board of Revenue: No.22: Vol.1809: 16th June 1842: 7263)*. Only land revenue was collected from the hills and no other fees and taxes were collected (see Table 4.7)[13]. The revenue increased between 1792/93 to 1795/96. From 1795/96 onwards, there was no change in the leased renting system. Till the Read's settlement, the revenue used to be settled with the headmen every year. The Government fixed the land revenue permanently from 1795/96.

4.2.3 In the permanent settlement of 1802/3, the Collector proposed 1,265 star pagodas or 4,427 Company rupees for the settlement of

the Shervaroy hills *(Permanent Settlement Records: Vol.29: 11th Nov.1800: 4)*. A Special Commission proposed 1,101 star pagodas or 3,854 rupees for the permanent settlement *(Special* Commission: Vol.10: *1st Sept.1802: 1205)*. The headmen agreed to pay the same amount of rent paid during the previous six years from 1795/96 to 1800/1801 *(Board of Revenue: No.22: Vol.1809: 16th June 1842: 7261)*. Accordingly, Rs. 4,427-9-2 was fixed as a permanent settlement; of which, Rs. 2,094-0-11 for the Salem Nadu, Rs. 1,465-1-7 for the Moha Nadu and Rs. 868-6-1 for the Mootoo Nadu. At the time of permanent settlement, no muchilikas were exchanged between the headmen and the Government *(Board of Revenue: No.22: Vol.1809: 16th June 1842: 7261)*. Till 1809/10, the revenue was paid regularly by the headmen without any dues. From 1810/11 onwards, the amount of dues increased. Between 1810/11 and 1818/19, the total outstanding balance was Rs. 11,695-0-15, which formed about one-fourth (1,299-8-10) of the settlement amount per annum *(Board of Revenue: Nos.16-18: Vol.1769: 23rd Sept.1841: 12092)*. No separate account of the balance in each nadu of the Shervaroy hills is available

4.2.4 Due to the large amount of balance, the annual settlement of revenue was reintroduced in 1818/19. The outstanding balances between 1810/11 and 1818/19 were remitted. Under the new system, the land revenue

Table 4.8 Revenue Demand and Collection in the Shervaroy Hills: 1819/22 (in Madras Rupees)

Year	Demand	Collection	Remission granted
1819-20	3,061 10 -	2,561 9 -	500 1 -
1820-21	3,192 8 -	3,192 8 -	-
1821-22	3,192 8 -	3,192 8 -	-

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 23rd Sept. 1841, No. 18, Vol. 1769, p.12092.

had been fixed annually in the different nadus of the Shervaroy hills. In 1819/20, it was fixed at Rs. 3,061-0-10. It was about 30% less than the permanent settlement. Over assessment was a major reason for the large amount of outstanding balance during the permanent settlement (see Table 4.8). In view of the revenue collection during the period of 1820/21-1821/22, the Government had exchanged the muchilika's with the headmen during the year of 1822/23 (see Table 4.9). Under this agreement, the headmen of the each nadu agreed to pay the fixed amount regularly.

4.2.5 Each nadu of the Shervaroy hills were leased out to more than one person of the hill villages (see Table 4.9). The annual revenue

Table 4.9 Muchilika's Particulars in the Shervaroy Hills

Nadu	Name of the Pattadar	Date of Muchilika	Amount
Salem Nadu	Andee goundan and Shumba goundan	10th Feb. 1823	415 St. Ps. or 1,452 8 Rupees
Moha Nadu	Chokand goundan and Chinna goundan	12th Feb. 1823	310 St. Ps. or 1,085 Rupees
Mootoo Nadu	Mullia goundan and Andee goundan	4th Feb. 1823	187 1/2 St. Ps. or 654 Rupees

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 23rd Sept.1841, Vol. 1769, pp. 12127-29.

settlement in the Shervaroy hills was about 38.63% less than the amount of the permanent settlement (see Table 4.10). During the permanent settlement period, the land revenue was very high in Salem Nadu.

Table 4.10 Difference Between Annual Settlement and Permanent Settlement in Shervaroy Hills (in Madras Rupees)

Name of the Nadu	Amount of Permanent Settlement	Amount of Settlement in 1822/23	Amount less than Permanent Settlement	% of Col 4 to 3
1	2	3	4	5
Salem Nadu	2,094 - 11	1,452 8 -	641 8 11	44.15
Moha Nadu	1,465 1 7	1,085 - -	380 2 2	35.02
Mootoo Nadu	868 6 1	656 4 -	212 2 1	32.32
Total	4,427 9 2	3,193 12 -	1,233 13 2	38.63

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 23rd Sept.1841, Vol. 1769, PP. 12093.

4.2.6 About 4,831-12-0 rupees was the outstanding balance from the annual settlements of the Shervaroy hills between 1822/23 and 1839/40, which forms 8.4% of the total amount (see Appendix 4.2). Out of this, Rs. 576 or about 0.99% was from the Salem Nadu; Rs. 560-8-0 or about 0.87% was from the Moha Nadu and the remaining Rs. 3,695-6-0 or about 6.39% was from the Mootoo Nadu. About 76% of the dues in the Shervaroy hills was from the Mootoo Nadu. Upto 1833/34 the revenue dues from Salem and Moha Nadu were insignificant which formed about 3.6% and 4.6% of the total demand per annum respectively. There were no dues between 1833/34 and 1839/40. The land-rent remission was granted to the Shervaroy hills between 1822/23 and 1834/35; the average remission was Rs. 301- 0- 2. The remission varied between the nadus. For example, the average of Salem Nadu was Rs. 52-6-7; Moha Nadu was Rs. 50-15-3 and Mootoo Nadu was Rs. 312-9-5. These remittances were mainly availed by the Britishers and other settlers.

4.2.7 From 1834/35 to 1839/40, the outstanding balance was only from the Mootoo Nadu of the Shervaroy hills. About one-third or 32.62% of the total demand was the outstanding balance per annum between 1822/23 and 1834/35. The outstanding balance was mainly due to the British settlers. About Rs. 1,913 10 - or about 51.77% of the dues was to be paid by Cockburn, a former Collector of Salem (1820-1829) and Rs. 122 - 8 - 0 by other settlers. The hill inhabitants owed only Rs. 122 - 13 - *(Board of Revenue: Nos.16-18: Vol.*1769: *23rd Sept.1841: 12082-89)*. The pattadar[14] of Mootoo Nadu said that they paid only Rs. 280 before Cockburn administration. After Cockburn, they paid Rs. 420 and in the following years there was no cultivation in the villages, as a result they paid less *(Board of Revenue: Nos.16-18: Vol.1769: 23rd Sept.1841: 12103)*. The British settlers did not pay the land-rent to the Malaiyali headman. The colonial Government did not take any action against the British settlers for the non-payment of land revenue but it forced the tribal chief to pay the land-rent in time. The tribal chief could not pay the dues, ultimately, the traditional mark of the headmen was taken away by the colonial Government. The colonial Government disturbed the tribal administrative system.[15]

4.2.8 With a view to takeover the hills from the tribals, the Government offered to lease the Shervaroy hills in 1841/42. The plainsmen offered to pay more than what the tribals were paying. The tribal headmen did not accept the high amount proposed by the Government. Finally, the hills were brought under the direct management of the Government.

4.2.9 The headmen of the hills collected revenue at different rates from the Malaiyali tribes. In 1841/42, the rate of assessment varied from Rs. 2 to $10\frac{1}{2}$ per plough and Rs. 1/4 to 3 per hoe in the different nadus of the Shervaroy hills. The extent of the land estimation also varied

from $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres to 12 acres per plough and the assessment also varied from 9 annas to $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per acre *(Board of Revenue: No.46: Vol.1902: 1st Jan.1844: 2035)*. Even under the direct management of the Government, the land revenue was not collected uniformly in different villages. It shows that the intention of the colonial Government was to collect as much revenue as possible from the hills.

4.2.10 To avoid the different rates of assessment in the Shervaroy hills, the Tahsildar proposed the assessment on the basis of the extent of land *(Board of Revenue: No.46: Vol.1902: 1st Jan.1844: 2037)*. But the Board of Revenue did not accept the Tahsildars' recommendations. The Government decided that the land revenue of the Malaiyali inhabitants should be collected on the basis of the number of ploughs and hoes till the survey settlement *(Board of Revenue: No.53: Vol.1817: 8th Sept.1842: 10130)*. So, till the survey settlement of the hills in 1904/5, the same method of revenue collection was followed in the Shervaroy hills.

4.2.11 Apart from these three nadus, viz., Salem, Moha and Mootoo, a small portion of the Shervaroy hills called Temanoor Nadu was controlled by the plains people. During 1797/98, it was rented out for 40-2-0 star pagodas or about Rs. 140 *(Baramahal Records: Sec.XI: 121-128)*. At the time of the permanent settlement of 1802/3, it came under the Singapoor muttah. The amount of the settlement was not given separately for the Temanoor Nadu. In 1817/18, the Temanoor nadu was directly settled with the headmen. The revenue collections were made between 1817/18 and 1820/21 and show full realisations (see Table 4.11).

4.2.12 From 1820/21, the amount of demand Rs. 100 was continued till 1840/41 and there was no balance during this period. In 1840/41, the

Table 4.11 Revenue Demand and Collection in Temanoor Nadu: 1817/18-1820/21

(in Madras Rupees)

Year	Demand	Collection
1817-18	99	99
1818-19	99	99
1819-20	97	97
1820-21	100	100

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, No. 18, 23rd Sept. 1841, Vol. 1769, p.12100.

headmen of the hills offered Rs. 140. But, it was brought under the direct control of the Government along with the three nadus of Shervaroy hills.

4.2.2 Kolli Hills

4.2.13 The Kolli hills also was rented out to the highest-bidders before the colonial intervention. After the colonial intervention, the land revenue was settled in some parts of the hills annually and in some parts permanently with the headmen of the hills. In the Kolli hills, apart from the land revenue imposts, church beneficiaries were also collected in the remaining hills of Salem district only the land revenue was collected. The collection other than the land revenue was a very insignificant amount *(Baramahal Records: Sec.XI: 3780)*. Revenue from the different villages of the Kolli hills between 1792/93 and 1801/02 varied (see Appendix 4.3). Except in the Shelloor Nadu of the Namakkal-Kolli hills, the revenue increased till the permanent settlement. Till 1796/97, the hill revenue of the Attur-Kolli hills had changed every year (see Appendix 4.3). The hills were settled for a higher amount every year. On the contrary, in the Namakkal-Kolli hills, there was no change in

the amount of settlement. The headmen of the Namakkal-Kolli hills accepted to pay the same amount every year. In the same hills, there was a different set of revenue management. There were two reasons for this variations: one was to avoid the major fluctuation of the revenue in the unfertile areas and the other was that the colonial rulers expected to extract more revenue from fertile areas. From 1797/98, there were no fluctuations in the revenue from both the Attur and Namakkal-Kolli hills.

4.2.14 During the Read's settlement of 1792/97, both the Namakkal and Attur-Kolli hills were surveyed and settled *(Baramahal Records: Sec.II: 79-91)*. Under this survey, cultivable, fallow and cultivated waste lands were measured in each village and the rent for each one was fixed. All the hills were assessed in terms of the number of ploughs and hoes; but in the Attur and Namakkal-Kolli hills the ordinary paimash[16] rates were applied *(Board of Revenue: No.138: 14th Apr1.1904: 5; and No.55: Vol.1269: 20th Dec.1830: 1581-82)*. Land revenue was collected on the basis of the extent of the land cultivated.

4.2.15 In 1802/3, different nadus of the Kolli hills came under permanent settlement (see Appendix 4.4). An amount of 1801/02 was fixed under the permanent settlement. After the permanent settlement (1802/03), except in 1803/04, the land revenue was fully realised till 1809/10. In 1803/04, the arrears were just 25-5-71 star pagodas in the Anjoor hills of Attur taluk and 34-35-37 star pagodas in the Shelloor Nadu of Namakkal taluk. From 1809/10 onwards, the outstanding balance had increased in the nadus of the Kolli hills except the Moonoor hills of Attur taluk. From 1809/10 to 1814/15 about one-third or 31% of the land revenue assessment per year was outstanding in the Anjoor hills and it was about 28% and 20% in the Shelloor and Gundur estates of Namakkal taluk respectively.

Table 4.12 Amount of Arrears in Different Nadus of Kolli Hills: 1819

(in Madras Rupees)

Hills areas	Amount of Balance	Collected upto end of December 1818	Balance on 1st January 1819
Attur Kolli Hills			
Anjoor	1,557 1 3	260 15 5	1,296 1 10
Moonoor	93 1 11	- - -	93 1 11
Namakkal Kolli Hills			
Shelloor	1,535 9 10	43 8 -	1,492 2 9
Gundur	3,333 2 11	8 - -	2,225 2 11

Source: Collectorate Records, Salem, Vol. 3172, pp. 12-13.

4.2.16 In the Kolli hills of Salem district the revenue was fully realised upto 1809/10 and the arrears mounted between 1809/10 and 1817/18 (see Table 4.12). As a result the Government reverted to the annual settlement with the headman of the hills in 1818/19.

4.2.3 Attur- Kolli Hills

4.2.17 In Moonoor and Anjoor hills revenue was settled every year from 1819/19. The revenue was realised every year barring insignificant amounts of dues in some years. During the period from 1820/21 to 1853/54, revenue from both the hills was never equal to the amount under permanent settlement (see Appendix 4.5). It shows that a high rate of assessment was made during the permanent settlement. In 1829/30, the Anjoor hills were brought under the direct management of the Government. There was no balance in the Anjoor hills, the overassessment of the headman might be a reason for the direct management.

4.2.18 Till 1823/24, the Moonoor hills was settled annually with the headman. In 1824/25, a part of the Moonoor hills was brought

under the amani management and the remaining Moonoor hills was settled permanently with the headman, and this was continued till 1853/54. The Malaiyalis did not like to continue under the renting system, even though the Government reduced the amount from Rs. 813-6-6 in 1820/21 to Rs. 700 in 1852/53. Because the renters levied more then their due; the revenue payable by them in 8 kists[17] was collected in 4 kists, and they suffered great hardships under the renting system *(Board of Revenue: No.44: Vol.2447: 30th Nov.1854: 16175)*. The renters made the assessment irrespective of the land holding and circumstance of the ryots. Moreover, rent was collected from them whether the land in their possession was cultivated or not *(Board of Revenue: No.44: Vol.2447: 30th Nov.1854: 16175)*. As a result, "...some Malaiyalis of the above [Moonoor] hills absconded" *(Board of Revenue: No.26: Vol.2507: 2nd Jan.1856: 7475)*. Hence, the remaining portion of the Moonoor hills were brought under the direct management of the Government. The over assessment of the headman was forced the tribals to protest against the renting system.

4.2.4 Namakkal- Kolli Hills

4.2.19 From 1819/20 onwards, the revenue demand of the Namakkal-Kolli hills had been fixed annually. The average collection of the Namakkal-Kolli hills from 1819/20 to 1827/28 was Rs. 7,347 *(Board of Revenue: Nos.30-31: Vol.1389: 18th Nov.1833: 14536)*. It was about 26% less when compared to the permanent settlement amount of Rs. 9,264-8-0. The Government proposed the lease system in order to avoid fluctuating revenue from the annual revenue settlement. From 1828/29 to 1832/33, these hills were leased for the annual sum of Rs. 9,066.

Table 4.13 Amount of Rent, Number of Renters and Securities in Namakkal-Kolli Hills: 1828/29 to 1832/33.

Muttahs	Nadus	Average Rent	No. of Renters	No. of Security Persons
Gundur	Gundur	1,703 11 0	3	2
	Velappur	2,009 9 4	1	3
	Aryoor	1,935 10 4	5	2
	Valavanthi	1,111 7 4	4	6
Total		6,760 6 10	13	13
Shelloor	Shelloor	1,195 - -	3	4
	Thavanoor	430 - -	1	3
	Tinnanoor	681 - 5	2	3
Total		2,306 - 5	6	10
Grand total		9,066 7 3	19	23

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, Nos. 30-31, 18th Nov. 1833, Vol. 1389, p.14536.

4.2.20 Each nadu of the Namakkal-Kolli hills was leased out to more than one person and some nadus to as many as five persons. For each nadu more than one security persons was taken for the security of the rents (see Table 4.13). The first five-years of lease period expired in 1832/33 and the Government ordered for the next five-years from 1833/34 to 1837/38 at the rate of Rs. 9,340-9-3 *(Board of Revenue: No.33: Vol.1429: 20th Nov.1834: 822)*. The table 4.14 shows difference in the lease money between the first five years from 1828/29 to 1832/33 and the next five-years from 1833/34 to 1837/38 in the different nadus of Namakkal-Kolli hills (see Table 4.14). The renters offered Rs. 274-2-0 more when compared to the first five-years (1828/29-1832/33). In the Moonoor hills, there was no change in the leased amount but in the Gundur hills the renters offered

Table 4.14 Difference of Lease Settlement in Namakkal-Kolli Hills: 1828 to 1838. (in Madras Rupees)

Muttah	Villages	Settlement in 1828/29 to 1832/33	Settlement in 1833/34 to 1837/38	Differences
Gundur	Gundur	1,703 11 10	1,703 11 10	- - -
	Valavanthi	1,111 7 4	1,190 8 8	(+)79. - 8
	Velappur	2,009 9 4	2,100 - -	(+)90 6 8
	Aryoor	1,935 10 4	2,040 - -	(+)104 5 8
Total		6,760 6 10	7,034 3 10	(+)273 13 -
Shelloor	Shelloor	1,195 - -	1,195 - -	- - -
	Devanoor	430 - -	430 - -	- - -
	Tinnanoor	681 - 5	681 5 5	(+) - 5 -
Total		2,306 - 3	2,306 5 5	(+) - 5 5
Grand Total		9,066 7 3	9,340 9 3	(+)274 2 -

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 20th Nov.1834, No. 37, Vol. 1429, p. 12769.

more amount during the period of 1833/34 to 1837/38. However, the whole lease of amount was not realised.

4.2.21 The leased amount was not realised during the period of 1835/36- 1837/38 (see Table 4.15). Due to the arrears in the second years

Table 4.15 Dues of Rented Amount in Namakkal-Kolli Hills: 1835-38.

Year	Rent of Amount	Balance	%
1835-36	9,340 9 3	359 14 13	3.85
1836-37	9,340 9 3	639 7 -	6.84
1837-38	9,340 9 3	519 9 5	5.56

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 19th Dec. 1839, Nos. 48-49, Vol.1689, pp. 19533-34.

years (1833/34-1837/38), the Government leased out annually from 1838/39 (see Table 4.16).

Table 4.16 Annual Lease Amount in Namakkal-Kolli Hills: 1838/1842.

Year	Rented amount
1838-39	8341 14 8
1839-40	8051 - -
1841-42	6875 6 10

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 5th Jan.1843, No. 26, Vol.1841, p. 250.

The revenue decreased from 1838/39 in consequence of a succession of bad years and desertion of several ryots *(Board of Revenue: No.28: Vol.1722: 15th Oct.1840: 13644)*. At the same time, the renters also collected more revenue from the ryots. It was stated that, "...the ryots on account of the short period of rent were harassed by those holding the same" *(Board of Revenue: No.26: Vol.1841: 5th Jan.1843: 251)*. Considering these facts the hills were brought under the amani management of the Government in 1842/43.

4.2.5 Pachamalai Hills

4.2.29 The Pachamalai hills of Salem district was also rented to the highest-bidders before the colonial intervention. But, the colonial rulers discontinued the method and directly settled with the headmen (see Table 4.17). The revenue was increased from 238-4-53 star pagodas in 1792/93 to 398-9-58 star pagodas in 1798-99, which forms the growth rate of 60.73% (see Table 4.17). The headmen/middlemen were forced to agree for an increasing amount of revenue every year. It automatically leads to high tax burden on the Malaiyalis. At the time of the Read's settlement, some kombe[18]

villages, viz., Kolakkamedu and Kottakadu, were settled individually *(Baramahal Records: Sec.II: 79-82)*. During the permanent settlement

Table 4.17 Land Rent in Pachamalai Hills: 1792/1802.

Year	Revenue Settlement	
	In Pagodas	In Rupees (approximately)
1792-93	238 4 53	833 - -
1793-94	266 32 27	934 - -
1794-95	287 37 73	1,004 - -
1795-96	280 37 73	980 - -
1796-97	352 38 24	1,235 - -
1797-98	351 36 50	1,229 12 8
1798-1802	398 9 58	1,393 12 1

Sources: Permanent Settlement Records, Salem, Vol. 29, 11th Nov.1800, p. 21.

Proceedings of the Special Commission, Vol. 10, 1st Sept.1802, p. 1206.

(1802/03), it was settled for Rs. 1,393-12-1 or 398-9-58 star pagodas. But, the full assessment were never realised and every year a large amount of outstanding balance increased (see Table 4.18).

4.2.23 More than one-third of the revenue demand was outstanding in 1803/4 and it had increased to more than two-thirds of the demand in 1814/15. The average outstanding balance between 1802/03 and 1814/15 was about 50% of the total revenue demand. The huge amount of outstanding balance was due to the over assessment every year. Due to the increasing arrears, the hills were directly settled with the headmen since 1818/19. The Government fixed the revenue year by year with the headmen. The muchilikas were exchanged between the Government and the headmen.

Table 4.18 Outstanding Balance in Pachamalai Hills 1802/1815. (in Star Pagodas)

Year	Amount of Permanent Settlement	Balance	% (approximately)
1802-3	398 9 58	The renter absconded	
1803-4	398 9 58	148 21 73	37.19
1804-5	398 9 58	146 40 58	36.93
1805-6	398 9 58	124 19 66	31.16
1806-7	398 9 58	147 29 -	37.19
1807 8	398 9 58	160 8 -	40.20
1808-9	398 9 58	175 1 48	43.97
1809-10	398 9 58	186 34 32	46.98
1810-11	398 9 58	201 1 41	50.50
1811-12	398 9 58	260 4 65	65.33
1812-13	398 9 58	246 34 8	62.06
1813-14	398 9 58	282 28 -	71.11
1814-15	398 9 58	287 38 68	72.11
Total	4,778 26 56	2,367 36 59	49.54

Source: Collectorate Records, Salem, No. 130, Vol. 3168, pp.175-184.

4.2.24 The annual settlement of 1820/21 was about 32.63% less than the amount of permanent settlement. Overassessment during the permanent settlement was the main cause for the balances in the Pachamalai hills. From 1819/20 onwards the annual revenue settlement was more rational in the sense it took local circumstances into consideration. Consequently, the revenue arrears were insignificant (Appendix 4.6). However, the headmen collected a larger amount from the hill inhabitants. Hence, the Pachamalai hills were brought under the direct management of the Government in 1829/30. Under this system, the revenue was collected directly from the farmers by the Government officers. The rates levied were 12 annas per

kuli[19] of hoed land and Rs. 1-4-0 of ploughed land (Richards: 1918: Vol.I: Part I: 418). The same system had continued till the survey settlement in 1904/05.

4.3.6 Jarugumalai Hills

4.2.25 The Jarugumalai hills were not surveyed during the Colonel Read's settlement due to the adverse climate. Though were settled for the sum of 24-8-55 star pagodas or about Rs. 84 *(Reads' Report: 4thAprl.1800: para 248)*. The Jarugumalai hills, rather surprisingly, escaped the notice of 1802 permanent settlement. The colonial administration might have thought that there was no cultivation on the hills or the tract did not come to the notice of the rulers. Till 1827, the hills did not appear in the records of Salem muttah. But, the Salem muttahdar had collected land revenue and leased out the forest produce. "By the influence of muttahdar and the laxity or connivance of the local officers, a claim to have been setup to them" *(G.O.No.1190 [Mis,Confdl]: Aug.1905: 15)*. From 1827 to 1867 about 40 years, it was a part of Salem muttah. In 1867, it disappeared from the revenue records of the Salem muttah. In 1887, the Government negotiated with the muttahdar of Salem the owner of the hill, to gain control of the hills under the Government forest management. But the muttahdar did not accept the proposal and filed a suit against the Government. In 1910, suit was withdrawn when a compromise was struck between the muttahdar of Salem and the Government. The Government paid Rs. 20,000 to the lawful heirs of the muttahdar *(G.O.No.3143 [Confdl]: Revenue: 22ndSept.1910: 12)*. There is no account of revenue collection leave alone the method of collection from 1866 upto the survey settlement of 1904/5.

4.3.7 Aranuthumalai Hills

4.2.26 During the pre-colonial period,the revenue of the Aranuthumalai hills was settled along with the plains. It was not surveyed by the Read's Ryotwary settlement, and the settlement was made with the headmen of the hills. In 1795/96, about Rs. 863-11-10 were received as assessment and it was increased to Rs. 1,021 in 1796/97 *(Board of Revenue: No.77: Vol.1686: 2nd Dec.1839: 18447-48)*. Plough formed the basis of the assessment. The records of 1795/96 show 73 ploughs in the hills and the same number in 1796/97 as well. But the assessment increased from Rs. 863 11 10 to Rs. 1,021. It shows that the revenue collection was fluctuated year to year. The Read's report said that about Rs. 1,151 were collected during the period of pre-permanent settlement *(Read's Report: 4th Apr.1800: Para.248)*. The permanent settlement of 1802 brought Aranuthumalai hills under the adjoining Anupoor Muttah. No separate account was available for the hills regarding the revenue collection and outstanding balance if any. It was brought under the Government management during the time of M.N. Cockburn.

4.2.27 From 1822/23 to 1836/37, the hill's assessment was fixed at Rs. 1,060 but, except in the first year of 1822/23, the full amount was never realised. In 1836/37, the total outstanding balance was nearly Rs. 6,000 or about 43.5% of the total demand between 1823/24 and 1836/37. In 1835/36, attempts were made to collect the long outstanding balance. As a result many Malaiyali ryots fled from the hills (Le Fanu: 1883: 44). In 1836/37 only Rs. 151-0-8 or 14.25% of the total revenue demand was collected and the remaining 85.75% was due *(Board of Revenue: Nos.48-49: Vol.1689: 19th Dec.1839: 19335)*. In 1837/38, it was brought under the direct control of the Government and was fixed at Rs. 517-10-10 per annum, and no

survey was made. During the Gleig administration (1838/45), the rate was fixed at Rs. 1-4-11 per acre (Le Fanu: 1883: 44), which continued till the survey and settlement of 1905.

4.2.28 The land revenue collection increased every year from the inception of colonial administration to the Read's ryotwary settlement. The land-rent of the different hills was constant from the Read's settlement to the end of the permanent settlement in 1819. Then the land revenue was fixed annually, and some hills were also leased out. But this amount was lower than that of the permanent settlement. There was some outstanding balance every year and it was mainly due to the British settlers and non-tribals. Even though, the tribals paid regularly without arrears, the Government tried to assume direct control of the hills in different ways. For example, in the Shervaroy hills it fixed a high rent. The headmen refused to pay; finally, the hills were brought under the Government management. The Attur-Kolli hills and Pachamalai hills were brought under the Government management on the pretext that the headmen collected more than the assessed amount. In the Namakkal-Kolli hills, the Government fixed a high rent every years, and finally brought them under Government control. What emerges clearly from the above analysis is that the colonial Government had decided, come what may, to administer tribal lands directly. Stripping tribal headmen of their rights and privileges was not definitely due to the outstanding balances in the collection of the revenue as we have shown above. A direct result of this take over was a further erosion of tribal autonomy and a further penetration of the colonial administration into the hills.

4.3.0 Settlement in Kalroyan Hills

4.3.1 The Kalroyan hill inhabitants was recognised by the Achyuthadeva Raya in 1532 A.D (Rajannan: 1992: 4). That part there are no records showing whether there were any formal land/forest grants ever made either by the colonial rulers or by any other former rulers in/of Kalroyan hills *(Report on the Board Petition No.148: 1871)*. The Kalroyan hills was neither surveyed nor assessed either by the Read's settlement (1792/97) or by the permanent settlement (1802/03) or by the annual settlement since 1819/20. Except the Kalroyan hills, all the other hills of Salem district were brought under the direct management of the colonial Government between 1829/30 and 1853-54.

4.3.2 The Kalroyan hill inhabitants did not pay any land revenue during the pre-colonial period; and they paid certain fees to their chiefs "...for maintenance of a proper state and dignity and from a portion of these fees he [jagirdar] was bound to keep up the ceremonies of the temples, sacred to the Tirular[20] deities" *(Report on Board Petition No.148)*. They did not pay any tax to the colonial Government or Hindu rulers (Richards: 1918: Vol.I: Part I: 301) and they had been left entirely to themselves *(G.O.No.1028: Revenue: 10th June 1871)*. There was no revenue account for the Kalroyan hills in the records. The Government collected lease from the lease-holders who had the exclusive rights to purchase goods and articles from the Kalroyan hills. In other words, the only mode of drawing revenue from the Kalroyan hill inhabitants was by selling the exclusive privilege of buying up their products. *(Baramahal Records:*

Sec.VII: 44). In short, the colonial Government did not collect revenue from the Kalroyan hills.

4.3.3 The jagirdar of Kalroyan hills had collected many taxes, viz., taxes on ploughs, hoes, poll-tax, tree-tax and forest rent. several Government reports said that the existence of the hills came to the notice of the colonial Government only in 1838.[21] But this was not true as Col. Read had known about the hills and he thought that the hills "assumed independence" *(Colonel Read Report: 4th Aprl.1800: para 247)*. The hills "...were never surveyed owing to their unhealthy climate and they were not included in the jamabandi[22] [jummabundy] returns, nor is any information to be gathered regarding them in the records" *(Papers on Inam Settlement: 1948: 240-47)*. We learn from the Inam Commission report (1838), that the jagirdars collected Rs. 1-2-0 per plough and 10 annas per hoe. They also imposed some kaval[23] fees. Thereby it resulted cess incidence on ploughs had increased to Rs.2-4-0, and Rs. 1-4-0 per hoe. The poll-tax was Rs. 2-4-0 on each married couple and Rs. 1-2-0 on each widower; and unmarried children and widows went unassessed (Richards: 1918: Vol. I: Part II: 302). The taxes collected by the jagirs was kept for the maintenance and celebrating the festivals and they did not pay any tax to the colonial Government.

4.3.4 The Inam Commission of 1838 which brought Kalroyan hills jagirdars under the colonial administration fixed the revenue demand at Rs. 1,680. Of which, one-fourth or Rs. 420 was to be kept by the jagirdars for the temple expenses and the remaining Rs. 1,260 or three-fourths was also to be kept by them, a concession for the obligation of protecting the Government forest from the smugglers and illicit traders (Richards: 1918: Vol.I: Part II: 302). In 1841, the total revenue of the Periya-Kalroyan

hills was Rs. 972 collected on ploughs and hoes, tax on bamboo-cutters and rent on tamarind; and Rs. 372 was collected for the Devastanams and Kaliammal. In 1838, the revenue collection of the Periya-Kalroyan hills was Rs. 600; in 1841 it had increased to Rs. 972 and the pattadar stated in 1867 that his income was Rs. 1,100 per annum *(No.654: Revenue: 13th May 1900)*. In 1869/70, the revenue collection increased to Rs. 2,614, of which,

Table 4.19 Revenue Collections in Periya-Kalroyan Hills: 1875/1879.

Year	Land Revenue including Tree Tax	Forest	Total	Average
1875-76	1,952	970	2,922	
1976-77	1,494	498	1,992	
1877-78	1,525	947	2,472	2532
1878-79	1,397	1,344	2,741	

Source: Proceeding of the Board of Revenue, 13th May 1880, No.654, p.2759.

Rs. 536 was from forest and Rs. 2,078 was from the land revenue *(Board of Revenue: Nos.63-64: 4th Feb.1875)*. The revenue collection of the Periya-Kalroyan hills decreased between 1875/76 and 1876/79 (see Table 4.19).

4.3.5 The revenue collections in the Periya-Kalroyan hills was not constant but fluctuated every year. The revenue from the Chinna-Kalroyan hills was estimated as Rs. 2,213 in 1869/70 of which, Rs. 1,513 from the land revenue and Rs. 700 from the forest *(Board of Revenue: Nos.63-64: 4th Feb.1875)*. A sizable revenue was derived from forest resources.

4.3.6 The colonial Government tried to bring tribal lands under its direct management several times, not to protect the Malaiyali

inhabitants but to prevent illicit fellings from the Government forest. However, the evidences show that jagirdar did not like to give in to the colonial Government. The Collector's letter (1873) stated that "...from enquires made, from time to time, during the last 20 years, I am quite sure the jagirdar is not willing to rent his estate to Government, all endeavors made both by myself and my predecessor to communicate with the jagirdar having failed" *(Letter from the Collector to the Secretary to the B/R dt.12th Mar.1873)*. The jagirdar wanted to hold their rights with themselves and they did not like to lease out land to the Government.

4.3.7 In 1863, the Periya-Kalroyan hills forest was leased out to the contractors for twenty years at an average of Rs. 100 per year. A little later, the Chinna-Kalroyan hills was leased out for five years at an average of Rs. 120 per annum *(Board of Revenue: Nos.172-174: 22nd Nov.1872)*. In 1867, the colonial Government tried to obtain permanent leases of the Kalroyan hills to secure the unity of forest management. The Periya-Kalroyan jagirdar agreed to the rent proposed by the Government an amount of Rs. 1,500 per annum under certain conditions, about 90 acres of rent-free land in three villages of Sulankurichi, Kovilputhur and Oduvankurichi *(Board of Revenue: No.3517: 4th Dec.1874)*. The Periya-Kalroyan hills was brought under Government control on 20th December 1869 and the former forest lease holder was paid a lump sum compensation of Rs. 5,600 *(Board of Revenue: No.2942: 10th Nov.1869)*. A large amount of revenue was obtained from the forest products in the Periya-Kalroyan hills. For example, from April to December in 1870, Rs. 561-15-6 were received. Of which, Rs. 106-6-0 from timber, Rs. 136 from bamboos, Rs. 13-14-0 from firewood, Rs. 68-14-0 from charcoal, Rs. 170 from tamarind and kuplidye *(Board of Revenue: No.2191: 1871: 3932)*. The Government brought the forest

lands under its control with the expectation of receiving a large amount of revenue.

4.3.8 The jagirdar of Chinna-Kalroyan were reluctant to accept the permanent lease proposed by the Government; the jagirdar did not meet the Government officers for a long time *(Board of Revenue: Nos.172-74: 22nd Nov.1872)*. But he was arrested and forced to execute the lease under the custody of a magisterial warrant *(Board of Revenue: No.1015: 3rd Mar.1877)*. In 1874, the Chinna- Kalroyan hills was leased out to the Government at Rs. 2,000 per annum *(G.O.No.77: Revenue: 14th Jan.1875)*. The compensation of Rs. 12,500 was paid to the former renter *(G.O.No.389: Revenue: 9th Mar.1875)*. But, only for a short period, these hills were under the control of the colonial Government. The Periya-Kalroyan jagirdar had certain grievances, viz., the constant interference by forest peons with the Malaiyalis, who could not get wood for implements and were strictly prevented from clearing even old ponakkadu[24] land; the insufficiency of the tract assigned to him rent-free; and the loss of dignity which he suffered as the chiefs of the other hill nadus would not admit him equally with them *(Board of Revenue:.No.919: 7thJuly 1880)*. Also the forest officers prevented the cattle from grazing on the hills and threatened to attach petitioners' property and put them to all sorts of inconvenience *(No.4770: Revenue: 18th Nov.1871)*. The jagirdar of Chinna-Kalroyan hills also filed a suit against the colonial Government. He stated that the lease document was not executed of his own free will, but was obtained from him under arrest, while he was in the custody under magisterial warrant *(Board of Revenue: No.1015: 3rd Mar.1977: 2957)*. Finally, the jagirdars of Kalroyan hills retained their rights in 1881.

4.3.9 The inhabitants of the Kalroyan hills had a self administrative and economic system till 1838. Even later, they did not pay anything to the colonial Government. The hill jagirdars collected rent not on the basis of the extent of land holdings, but on the basis of the members and number of implements used for cultivation. It was kept by themselves to celebrate festivals and face situations of scarcities. The colonial Government expected a large amount from the Kalroyan hills and got it leased from the contractors. Then the Government imposed many restrictions on tribals and also it did not received the expected amount. Ultimately, the jagirdars retained their hills.

IV

4.4.0 Conclusions

4.4.1 Immediately after the colonial intervention, except the Kolli hills, all other hills were settled with headmen. The Kolli hills were surveyed and settled like other plain villages. The rate of land-rent in the hills were lower than that of the district in general. In the remaining hills, rent was fixed on the basis of the number of implements used for the cultivation. During the permanent settlement a large amount of dues were from the hill areas; that the hills were brought under the direct control of the Government and settled annually with the headmen. The annual land revenue settlement had always been lower than that under the permanent settlement. Actually, the colonial Government tried to restrict the rights of tribal headmen. Even though, the hill inhabitants paid without any balance, the Government brought the hills into its direct management on one plea or other. It indicated that the intention of the colonial Government was to restrict or control the traditional tribal system through all possible means.

NOTES:

[1]The revenue divisions or taluks were noted as districts during the early colonial records.

[2]From 1747 to 1768 the <u>amildars</u> of Attur, Sendamangalam, Namakkal and Paramathi directly settled the land revenue with the individual land holders *(Baramahal Records: Sec.VI: 61).*

[3]The present study do not concentrate on the details of the land settlement pattern in the Jawadhi and Yelaghery hills. Because these hills were located North Arcot district.

[4]It was a sub-division of the district or a large estate. It consisted of many villages; and it was also called '<u>mitta</u>'.

[5]They were 18 <u>muttahs</u> in Salem, 17 <u>muttahs</u> in Attur, 16 <u>muttahs</u> in Rasipuram, 31 <u>muttahs</u> in Namakkal, 19 <u>muttahs</u> in Paramathi, 20 <u>muttahs</u> in Sankary-Droog, 15 <u>muttahs</u> in Womalur, 37 <u>muttahs</u> in Krishnagiri, and 33 <u>muttahs</u> in Dharmapuri Taluk.

[6]This is a harvest year, otherwise called as Husbandman's and Hindu year. The <u>fasly</u> year was originally instituted by Akbar in 1556 A.D. to have a uniform year for revenue purposes throughout his empire. In Madras Presidency, the <u>fasly</u> year started on the 1st July and ended with 30th June. At present, the <u>fasly</u> year is only used for the revenue demands. The <u>fasly</u> year was started 590 years after the Christian era. If we deduce 590 years from the Christian era we will get the <u>fasly</u> year.

[7] Owner of the <u>muttahs.</u>

[8] The total amount of rent or revenue payable by a cultivator or a <u>muttahdar</u>, mainly the land revenue.

[9]In 1813, 23 houses had been built in the Fort at Salem to imprison of revenue defaulters. The defaulters were not kept in the jail for the whole imprisonment period. The court ordered that "...the company's defaulters should be allowed to go out from the Jail every morning from 6 till 9 o'clock and to take their victuals within the Fort, also to let them out from 5 till 8 o'clock in the evening and then return to the Jail because there are no wells nor necessary places, nor washing places, no places to eat in or a place for a well in the Jail" *(Board of Revenue: No.24: Vol.606: 2nd April 1813: 3805-08).*

[10]The village headmen always collected high amounts from the farmers. "The collector of Salem recommended to the Government to dismiss the 9 curnums who have been more or less concerned on the frauds therein reported" *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3166: 39).*

[11]The counter-part of lease convergent on the part of the proprietors or cultivators of land agreeing to the rates of assessment imposed by the Government.

[12]To collect the revenue directly from the cultivators by the officers of the Government upon the removal or suspension of an intermediate claimant.

[13]The honey collecting rights for the five rocks in the Shervaroy hills were rented out by the Government *(G.O.No.526: Revenue: 13th April 1870).*

[14]A lease-holder, generally the headman of the hill villages.

[15]A village Munsiff of the Moha Nadu was dismissed by the Deputy Collector of Salem on 31st Aug. 1897. The main charges against him were: the Munsiff failed to report a case of theft to the police and sub-Magistrate and he made an illegal search in a house beyond his jurisdiction. Two thefts occurred in the two adjoining places of the same village. Of which, one person directly reported to the police station and the other person informed to the Munsiff. The Munsiff complained, but the station house officer asked him to proceed to Sembanatham to get information regarding theft. He did not search any house. But the British planters and his enemy alleged that the Munsiff made search activities at some houses *(G.O.No.789[Mis]: Revenue: 19th Mar.1900).* So, it clearly indicated that the Britishers would not like to reside under the tribal administration. They tried to remove the hereditary rights of the tribals in all possible ways.

[16]An old native survey of lands.

[17]It denotes the portion of the annual assessment to be paid at specified periods in the course of the year. This periodical payment was called kists.

[18]The villages located at the foot of the hills. Generally, these villages mixed with both hill and plains people.

[19] A measure of one square of land. It varied from place to place. In Salem district, one kuli means 24 square feet.

[20] Name of the God in the Kalroyan hills.

[21]Letter from G.J.Longly, Collector of Salem to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, dated 31st Oct.1871, No.3146, Salem.

[22]This is a settlement of the amount of revenue assessed upon an estate, a village; a statement exhibiting the particulars of the public revenue; its amount, and how assessed. In other words, annual settlement of revenue with the cultivators or ryotwary settlement.

[23] The duty of the village watch.

[24] In the hill areas, a land is cultivated after long intervals with particular kinds of grain sown in holes dug with a spade.

CHAPTER- V

TRIBAL POPULATION, OCCUPATION AND FORESTS DURING THE 20TH CENTURY

5.0.0 This chapter consists of five sections. The first section brings out the trend in the growth of tribal population; the second section analyses the structural transformation of the tribals; the third section discusses their occupational transformation; the fourth section focuses on the forest policy while the fifth section concludes this chapter.

I

5.1.1 Malaiyali Tribes in Tamil Nadu

5.1.1 The Malaiyali tribes lived not only in the present Tamil Nadu region but also in the adjacent areas of the Madras Presidency. In 1901 census, three Malaiyali tribes were enumerated in the Godavari

Table 5.1 Trends of Malaiyali Population in Tamil Nadu: 1901-1921.

Year	Total Malaiyali Population	Growth rate	Males	Growth rate	Females	Growth rate
1901	45,942	-	23,227	-	22,715	-
1911	63,487	38.18	31,395	35.17	32,092	41.28
1921	62,056	-2.25	30,833	-1.79	31,223	-2.68

Sources: Census of India, 1901, Vol.XV. of Madras, Part II, Imperial Tables, Government Press, Madras, 1902, p.157.
Census of India 1911, Vol.XII, Madras, Part II, Imperial and Provincial Tables, Government Press, Madras, 1912, p.113
Census of India 1921, Vol.XIII, Madras, Part II, Imperial and Provincial Tables, Government Press, Madras, 1922, p.114.

district *(Census of India 1901: Vol.XV-A: Part II: 160).* In 1911, about 1,486 Malaiyalis lived outside the Madras Presidency *(Census of India 1911: Vol.I: Part II: 210,235).* The Malaiyali tribal population increased between 1901-1911 by about 38.18% (see Table 5.1). Of which, the females growth rate was higher than the males. The proportion of the females to total Malaiyali population was high in the years between 1911 and 1921. In 1911-1921, the Malaiyali population decreased by about 2.25%, and the decline was high among the females. The Malaiyali tribes in the South Arcot and Coimbatore districts were not separately enumerated in 1921 census *(Census of India 1961: Vol.IX: Part V-A(i): 26).* It seems that most of the hill areas were affected by the famine during the first two decades of this century. Consequently, the total Malaiyali population of Tamil Nadu decreased.

5.1.2 In 1931 census, there were no separate data for the tribals in general and Malaiyalis in particular. The Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes came under the category of 'depressed class' *(Census of India 1931: Vol.XIV: Part I: 397).* Separate data were available only for the primitive tribes; the Malaiyalis did not come under this category. In 1931 census, about 2.84% of the total population came under the category of 'primitive tribes' *(Census of India 1961: Vol.IX: Part V-A(i): 24).* In 1941 census, the enumeration did not take place individually, but the estimation was made for the total 'Scheduled Castes', 'Scheduled Tribes' and 'Anglo-Indians'. There was no tabulation for all the individual castes and tribes. Separate tables were furnished only for a few selected individual tribes *(Paper No.4: 1951: 1).* It was estimated that about 1.13% of the total population of the Madras Province came under the category of 'tribes' *(Census of 1961: Vol.IX: Part IV-A (i): 24).* From 1951 census onwards, the separate category of primitive tribes were dropped. The tribals were

enumerated under the category of 'Scheduled Tribes' *(Census of 1961: Vol.IX: Part IV-A (i): 24)*. And, the same continued till 1991.

5.1.2 Population of Salem District

5.1.3 The population of Salem district increased from 22,04,974 in 1901 to 63,24,978 in 1991 which forms growth rate of 186.85%. Till 1931, the proportion of the female population was higher than the male population. From 1951 onwards, this trend was reversed and continued till 1991. The growth rate of male population was contineously higher than the

Table 5.2 Population of Salem District: 1901-1991

Year	Total Population	Growth rate	Males	%	Growth rate	Females	%	Growth rate
1901	22,04,974	-	10,85,532	49.23	-	11,19,442	50.77	-
1911	17,66,680	-19.88	8,76,950	49.64	-19.21	8,89,730	50.36	-20.52
1921	21,12,034	19.55	10,51,025	49.76	19.85	10,61,009	50.24	19.15
1931	24,33,972	15.24	12,11,743	49.78	15.29	12,22,229	50.22	15.19
1951	33,71,769	38.53	16,91,003	50.15	39.55	16,80,776	49.85	37.52
1961	38,04,108	12.82	19,23,885	50.57	13.77	18,80,223	49.43	11.87
1971	46,70,391	22.77	23,76,603	50.89	23.53	22,93,778	49.11	21.99
1981	54,38,777	16.45	27,85,244	51.21	17.19	26,73,593	48.79	16.56
1991	63,24,978	16.29	32,62,588	51.58	17.14	30,62,390	48.42	14.54
1901-1991		186.85			200.6			173.53

Sources: Census of India 1901, Vol.XV-A, Madras, Part-II, Imperial Tables, Govt. Press, Madras.p.2.

Census of India 1911, Vol.XII, Madras, Part-II, Imperial and Provincial Tables, Govt.Press, Madras. p.2.

Census of India 1921, Vol.XIII, Madras, Part-II, Imperial and Provincial Tables, Govt.Press, Madras. p.2.

Census of India 1931, Vol.XII, Madras, Part-II, Imperial and Provincial Tables, Govt.Press, Madras. p.2.

Census Hand Book, Salem District, Govt.Press, 1953. pp.25-26.

Census of India 1961, Vol.IX, Madras, Part II-B(i), General Economic Tables, 1964, pp.38-41.

Census of India 1971, Series-19, Tamil Nadu, Part X-B, District Census Hand Book, Salem. 1972. p.2-5.

District Census Hand Book, Dharmapuri, Part-X (A&B), pp.1-5.

Census of India 1981, Series-20, Tamil Nadu, Part XIII-B, District Census Hand Book, Salem. pp.18-24.

Census of India 1971, Series-19, Tamil Nadu, Part X-B, District Census Hand Book, Dharmapuri, pp.70-75.

Census of India 1991, Final Population Tables, Paper-I of 1992, Vol.2, p.65.

female population between 1901 and 1991 (see Table 5.2). The growth rate of population decreased during the decade 1901-1911 due to the transfer of two taluks, one each to Trichirappalli and North Arcot districts. The prevalence of famine in the district was also responsible for the decrease of population during of 1901 to 1911.

5.1.3 Malaiyali Tribes in the Censuses

5.1.4 Analysis of the growth of Malaiyali tribal population in the Salem district continued to be problematic even during the present century. In addition to those of the last century, there arose some additional problems. They were not enumerated by the same name in different decades, and the geographical areas of the district changed often. For example, the Census Reports of 1911 and 1921 did not give any information about the hill inhabitants, by which name they were enumerated in the different hills *(Census of India 1911: Vol.XII: Part I: 164-170;* and, *1921: Vol.XIII: Part I: 152-160)*. According to the 1911 census, 28,596 persons were Malaiyalis in Salem district, of which, 14,189 were males and 14,407 were females *(Census of India 1911: Vol.XII: Part II: 116)*. The Malaiyali population enumerated in Salem district decreased nearly by one-half as per

the 1901 census, because, the Tiruppatur taluk was transferred to the North Arcot district. In 1921, the Malaiyali population increased to 29,636 persons, of which 14,744 were males and 14,892 were females *(Census of India 1921: Vol.XIII: Part II: 122)*. The growth rate between 1911 to 1921 was about 3.63% for males and 3.36% for females. In 1911 and 1921, the proportions of the females was higher than the males even though the growth rate of the males was high. In 1931 census, only 697 persons were enumerated as tribes in the Salem district *(Census of India 1951: Vol.III: Part II: 149)*. Between 1931 and 1961, no detailed census account was available for the Malaiyali tribes in Salem district. The census report did not give any account under which the hill inhabitants were enumerated. In 1931 census, no separate account was available for the Malaiyali tribes. Considering all these constraints, the population growth was assessed for the selected hill villages (for names of villages see Appendix 3.1).

5.1.4 Population of the Hill Villages

5.1.5 The Malaiyali tribal population in the hill villages was almost constant during the first two decades of the twentieth century, mainly because, the hill villages were badly affected by the famine *(G.O.No.2332 [Mis]: Revenue: 24thOct.1925)*. From 1921 onwards the Malaiyali population began to increase (see Table 5.3). The proportion of the males and females to the total Malaiyali population was almost constant over the period. The population of males was always slightly higher than that of the females in the hill areas. The growth rate of population in the hill villages was about 113.78% between the period of 1901 and 1991 (see Table 5.3). The growth rate of the males was high during these period. But the different in the rate was not constant between males and females. For example, in 1901-11 the males recorded less negative growth than the

females. In 1911-21, the female growth rate was negative and that of males was positive. The average growth rate of Malaiyali population was 0.08% between 1901 and 1921. In other words, the population was almost constant in this period. There are many factors responsible for this. Many people

Table 5.3 Population of Hill Villages in Salem District: 1901-1991.

Year	Population	Growth rate	Males	%	Growth rate	Females	%	Growth rate
1901	51,871	-	26,271	50.65	-	25,600	49.35	-
1911	51,851	-4.04	26,128	50.39	-0.54	25,723	49.61	0.48
1921	51,910	-11.00	26,251	50.57	0.47	25,659	49.43	-0.25
1931	54,830	5.63	27,701	50.52	5.52	27,129	49.48	5.73
1951	57,825	5.46	29,480	50.98	6.42	28,345	49.02	4.48
1961	69,923	20.92	35,860	51.28	21.64	34,063	48.72	20.17
1971	84,866	21.37	43,502	51.26	21.31	41,364	48.74	21.43
1981	95,015	14.71	48,244	50.78	13.76	46,771	49.22	15.71
1991	1,10,892	16.71	56,547	50.99	17.21	54,345	49.01	16.19
1901-91		113.78			115.24			112.29

Source: Same as in the Appendix 5.1.

died due to the fever, malaria, cholera and small-pox, and many hill inhabitants migrated to the plains for want of subsistence between 1901-1921 *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 17-45)*. Natural calamities were mainly responsible for the decrease of population in the hill villages.

5.1.6 During 1901 to 1921, famines occurred in the hill areas of Salem district and the Government did not take any relief measures.[1] Robertson, the Collector and Magistrate (1907) letter stated that "...the programme of famine relief works for aboriginal tribes in this district for 1906-07 is nil" *(B.P.No.134: Revenue: 30thApr1.1907)*. Particularly, in the

second decade of this century the Malaiyalis were severely affected by the famine. The stoppage of ponalkadu cultivation in the year of 1918 which was a famine year, was rather unfortunate for the Malaiyalis. In any other year, they might not have felt the imposition of the restrictions so much *(B.P.No.2332: Revenue: 24thOct.1925)*. The Malaiyali population decreased in the Shervaroy, Jarugumalai, Bodamalai and Aranuthumalai hills. From 1921 onwards, there has been no major natural calamities till now. Their population increased from 51,910 in 1921 to 1,10,892 in 1991. There was no major fluctuation in the growth rate among the males and females over the same period. The growth rate of the hill population had always been lower than the growth rate of the general population in Salem district. Between 1901-1991, the growth rate of population for the hills was 111.78% and for Salem district, 186.85%. The growth rate of male population was continuously higher than the female population both in the hills and the district in general during these period, but the later was higher than the former. Even though, for some decades, the female population growth rate was higher than that of males in the hills, there was no change in the district rate in general.

5.1.5 Population growth in Different Hills

5.1.7 The average growth rate of Malaiyali tribal population increased progressively in the different hills during 1901 to 1991, though, the tribal population decreased in some hills (see Appendix 5.1). The population decreased for various reasons. For example, the population in the Namakkal-Kolli hills, Palamalai and Shervaroy hills decreased between 1901 and 1911 due to cholera, small-pox, malaria, fever and other epidemics *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 17, 26, 45)*. Between 1911 to 1921, the population of Attur and Namakkal-Kolli hills, Bodamalai, Aranuthumalai,

Sirumalai, Jambuthumalai, Jarugumalai decreased due to severe famine *(G.O.No.2332 [Mis]: Revenue: 24thOct.1925)*. Another reason for the decrease in the Attur-Kolli hills was that one Pelappadi Nadu was not enumerated in the 1921 census *(Census of 1921: Village Statistics: Salem: 2-5)*. During the decade of 1921-31, there were 109 deaths from cholera and 10 from small-pox in the Kolli hills *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 26)*. During the first three decades, the population decreased due to the natural calamities and widely prevalent diseases. The Malaiyali population decreased in the Chitteri hills due to the exclusion of the kombe villages from the main village. The population decreased in the small hills mainly due to migration for the want of subsistence. But in the large hills, the population decreased due to natural calamities and diseases. The deaths were widely controlled in all the hills after Independence, since the Government checked malaria, cholera and other epidemics. During the colonial period, the population decline was due to epidemic diseases and natural calamities. After Independence, diseases were checked but the hills were not protected by the famine relief measures. In short, the population of hills grew at a lower rate than the general population in Salem district during the twentieth century, while the hill population growth rate was higher than the general population during the 19thcentury.

II

5.2.1 Economic Participation in Salem District

5.2.1 Though the population of Salem district increased from 22,04,974 in 1901 to 63,24,978 in 1991, the rate of participation in economic activities decreased and the number of dependents increased (see Table 5.4). In 1901, about 61.3% of the total population was engaged in

Table 5.4 Trend of Workers and Dependents/Non-Workers in Salem District: 1901-1991

Year	Total Population	Actual Workers	%	Dependents	%
1901	22,04,974	13,51,616	61.30	8,53,358	38.70
1911	17,66,680	9,85,701	46.67	7,80,979	53.33
1921	21,12,034	9,22,565	43.68	11,89,469	56.32
1931	24,33,972	13,40,318	55.07	10,93,654	44.93
1951	33,71,769	9,39,894	27.88	24,31,875	72.12
1961	38,04,108	19,52,046	51.31	18,52,062	48.68
1971	46,70,391	17,93,157	38.40	28,77,234	61.60
1981	54,38,777	24,00,058	44.13	29,00,706	53.34
1991	63,24,978	30,74,866	48.61	32,50,112	51.38

Sources: Census of India 1901, Vol.XV-A, Madras, Part-II, Imperial Tables, Govt. Press, Madras. pp.220-357.

Census of India 1911, Vol.XII, Madras, Part-II, Imperial and Provincial Tables, Govt.Press, Madras. pp.140-213.

Census of India 1921, Vol.XIII, Madras, Part-II, Imperial and Provincial Tables, Govt.Press, Madras. pp.140-236.

Census of India 1931, Vol.XII, Madras, Part-II, Imperial and Provincial Tables, Govt.Press, Madras. pp.116-254.

Census of India 1951, Vol.III, Madras and Coorg, Part-II-A, Tables, Govt. Press, 1953, pp.104-113.

Census of India 1961, Vol.IX, Madras, Part II-B(i), General Economic Tables, 1964, pp.38-41.

Census of India 1971, Series-19, Tamil Nadu, Part X-B, District Census Hand Book, Salem. 1972. p.2-5.

District Census Hand Book, Dharmapuri, Part-X (A&B), pp.1-5.

Census of India 1981, Series-20, Tamil Nadu, Part XIII-B, District Census Hand Book, Salem. pp.18-24.

Census of India 1971, Series-19, Tamil Nadu, Part X-B, District Census Hand Book, Dharmapuri, pp.70-75.

Census of India 1991, Final Population Tables, Paper-I of 1992, Vol.2.

economic activities and this declined to 48.61% in 1991. It shows that the growing population in Salem district largely depended on the others. In

1991, more than half the population are dependents.

5.2.2 Economic Participation of the Tribals

5.2.2 Though the growth rate of tribal population was low, the participation rate in the economic activities was high among the tribals. The high rate of participation in the economic activities was often checked due to the extension of the reserve forests, non-tribal settlements, and

Table 5.5 Trend of Workers and Non-Workers in Hill Villages: 1961-1991

Year	Total Population	Workers					
		Total	%	Males	%	Females	%
1961	69,923	44,644	63.84	24,059	34.40	20,585	29.44
1971	84,866	40,930	48.22	28,162	33.18	12,768	15.04
1981	95,015	55,944	58.88	31,052	32.68	24,892	26.20
1991	1,10,892	61,663	56.01	34,371	31.00	27,292	24.61

Year	Non-Workers					
	Total	%	Males	%	Females	%
1961	25,279	36.15	11,801	16.18	13,478	19.27
1971	43,934	51.77	15,341	18.08	28,593	33.69
1981	39,071	41.13	17,192	18.10	21,879	23.03
1991	49,230	44.31	22,175	20.00	27,055	24.40

Source: Same as in Appendix 5.1.

land alienations in the hill areas. Consequently, the economically independent tribals became dependent on others. This can be understood with the help of trend of workers and non-workers in the hill villages of Salem district. Till 1961, no village-level occupation data are available.

5.2.3 The proportion of the working force decreased from 63.84% to 56.01% in the period 1961 to 1991; consequently, the non-workers increased from 36.15% to 44.31% in the same period (see Table 5.5). The economic activities did not grow with population, and ultimately a large numbers came under the category of non-workers. The male working force of the hill areas had always been higher than the female working force. Men were largely engaged in economic activities, and women also were involved but less than the former; consequently, the category of non-working females were higher than the non-working males. The participation rate in economic activity of the hill people had always been higher than others in Salem district. Between 1961 and 1991, the economic participation of the hill population was 7-10% higher than that of the population of the Salem district as a whole.

5.2.3 Structural Transformation

5.2.4 The economic transformation could be assessed with the help of changing proportion of the working force from the primary sector to the secondary and tertiary sectors. The industrial occupational structure could be broadly classified into three sectors, i.e., primary or agricultural sector, secondary or industrial sector and tertiary or service sector. The primary sector consists of cultivators, agricultural labourers, working force in mining and quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities. The industrial sector consists of working force in the manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs, construction, power and light utilities, while the service sector included the working force in the trade and commerce, transport, storage and communication and other services, finance, real estate, personal business, domestic, professional and Government services.

These categories of working force differ with each other in respect of the nature of raw materials employed, the productive operations performed and the final produce delivered.

5.2.5 Even though, the nature of occupation differed in each sector, sometimes scholars have included some of the occupations in the other sectors, according to the nature of the country. For example, the working force in the mining and quarrying was included in the category of secondary sector by Simon Kuznets, "...because of the large scale of its productive units close connection with manufacturing" (Kuznets: 1966: 87). But, here it is included in the primary sector, because the hill inhabitants were not employed in the large scale mining and quarrying activities. The working force in communication and transportation were included sometimes in the secondary sector and sometimes in the service sector. For example, it comes under the secondary sector in the industrially developed countries while in others it comes under the service sector (Kuznets: 1966: 84-87). In the present study, communication and transportation come under the service sector, their primacy lies in a very general service to people at large.

5.2.3 Structural Transformation of Tribals in Tamil Nadu

5.2.6 The structural transformation of the tribals could not be analysed for the colonial period of this century, because the data of occupational classification were not available for the tribals in general and even at the village level. In the 1951 census, the occupational classification data are available in the village statistics, but not for the tribals in general. From 1961 onwards, this data are available both for the tribals and for each village. So, the trend of structural

transformation of the tribals in Tamil Nadu and for the major tribals is analysed for the period 1961-1981 (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Structural Transformation of Tribals and Malaiyalis in Tamil Nadu: 1961-1981.

Year	Total Workers	Primary Sector	%	Secondary Sector	%	Tertiary Sector	%
Tribals							
1961	1,43,060	1,23,346	86.22	3,756	2.63	15,958	11.15
1971	1,37,295	1,27,771	93.06	2,924	2.13	6,600	4.81
1981	2,38,843	2,14,744	89.91	10,251	4.29	13,848	5.80
Malaiyalis							
1961	78,771	76,526	97.15	115	0.15	2,130	2.70
1971	70,892	70,001	98.74	142	0.20	749	1.06
1981	1,19,501	1,18,001	98.74	251	0.21	1,249	1.05

Source: Census of India 1961, Vol.19, Madras, Part V-A(i), Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Superintendent of Census Operations, Madras, 1964. pp. 218-221 and 242-45.
Census of India 1971, Series 19, Tamil Nadu, Part V-A, pp. 224-25 and 238-39.
Census of India 1981, Series 20, Tamil Nadu, Part IX (II), Special Tables for Scheduled Tribes, pp. 8-23.

5.2.7 In Tamil Nadu, with regard to the general tribes, the dependents on the primary sector increased from 86.22% in 1961 to 89.91% in 1981. The secondary sector activities increased from 2.63% to 4.29% over the same period. While, the working force in the service sector decreased from 11.15% in 1961 to 5.8% in 1981 (see Table 5.6). Only a insignificant proportion of the working force shifted to the secondary sector. But, the Malaiyali tribes in general (in Tamil Nadu) were engaged almost all in the primary sector activities (see table 5.6). And, there was not much change in the secondary sector, while the tertiary sector decreased. Consequently,

the proportion of the working force in the primary sector increased from 97.15% to 98.74% between 1961 and 1981. Till recently, there was no major structural transformation both in the economy of the Malaiyali tribes and tribals in general.

5.2.4 Structural Transformation in Salem District

5.2.8 The structural transformation was evident in the district in general between the period 1901-1991. The proportion of the working force in the primary sector decreased from 81.42% in 1901 to 70.91% in 1991. The working force in the service sector increased from 4.73% to 14.62% during the same period (see Table 5.7). But there was almost no

Table 5.7 Structural Transformation in Salem District: 1901-1991.

Year	Total Workers	Primary Sector	%	Secondary Sector	%	Tertiary Sector	%
1901	13,51,616	11,00,531	81.42	1,87,168	13.85	63,917	4.73
1911	9,85,701	8,09,574	82.13	1,16,807	11.85	59,320	6.02
1921	9,22,565	7,43,704	80.61	95,207	10.32	83,654	9.06
1931	13,40,318	8,56,541	63.91	1,15,329	8.60	3,68,268	27.48
1951	9,39,894	6,72,000	71.49	1,36,761	14.55	1,31,133	13.19
1961	19,52,046	13,46,869	68.99	2,90,332	14.87	3,14,845	16.13
1971	17,93,157	12,84,437	71,63	2,65,354	14.79	2,43,366	13.57
1981	25,40,071	17,91,098	70.51	——— 7,48,073 ——		29.49 ———	
1991	30,74,866	21,80,532	70.91	4,44,639	14.46	4,49,695	14.62

Source: Same as in Table 5.4

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change in the secondary sector. These changes categorically shows that the structural transformation took place in Salem district during the 20th century.

5.2.5 Structural Transformation of Tribals in Salem District

5.2.9 In Salem district there was no structural transformation both in the economy of tribals in general and Malaiyali tribes in particular. The proportion of the working force in the primary sector increased between 1961 and 1981. The increasing proportion of the primary

Table 5.8 Structural Transformation of Tribals and Malaiyalis in Salem District: 1961-1981.

Year	Total Workers	Primary Sector	%	Secondary Sector	%	Tertiary Sector	%
Tribals							
1961	62,464	60,349	96.61	192	0.36	1,923	3.08
1971	57,346	56,183	97.97	376	0.66	787	1.37
1981	94,964	92,153	97.04	958	1.01	1,868	1.97
Malaiyalis							
1961	57,829	56,297	97.35	43	0.07	1,489	2.57
1971	50,817	50,256	98.90	124	0.24	437	0.86
1981	76,136	75,244	98.83	179	0.24	713	0.94

Source: Same as in Table 5.6

sector for the Malaiyalis was higher than that of the general tribes (see Table 5.8). In other words, the Government development measures did not bring about any structural transformation in the tribal economy in general, and almost nil in the economy of the Malaiyalis in Salem district; whereas positive structural transformation took place in the district as a whole.

5.2.6 Structural Transformation of Hill Villages

5.2.10 In 1951, about 92.95% of the total working force was recorded in the primary sector activities, while the rest were under the

service sector. No one was recorded under the secondary sector activities. It showed that during the first half of the 20th century or during the colonial period, there was no positive structural transformation in the tribal economy. The total working force decreased in 1961, 1971 and 1981

Table 5.9 Structural Transformation in Hill Villages: 1951-1991.

Year	Total Workers	Primary Sector	%	Secondary Sector	%	Tertiary Sector	%
1951	57,821	53,740	92.94	-	-	4,081	7.06
1961	44,644	42,048	94.18	641	1.44	1,959	4.38
1971	40,930	38,033	92.92	937	2.29	1,970	4.81
1981	55,944	43,444(1977)	79.14(5.32)	———	14,476	20.55	——
1991	61,763	57,640(2724)	93.32(9.41)	622	1.01	3,501	5.67

Note: In 1951 census, the primary sector consists of all agricultural sectors, viz., cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents, cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents, cultivating labourers and their dependents and non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural-rent receivers,their dependents and production other than cultivation. The tertiary sector consists of commerce, transport and other services and miscellaneous sources. There is separate account for industrial sector activities. In the 1981 census, no separate data were available for the agricultural sector except cultivators and agricultural labourers and the remaining all came under one category. Marginal workers (shown in the bracket) were included in the primary sector. In 1991 census too marginal workers were brought under the category of primary sector.

Source: Same as in Appendix 5.1.

but the proportion of the working force in the primary sector did not decrease significantly. At the same time, the proportion of working force in the secondary and tertiary sectors increased marginally from 1.44% in 1961 to 2.29% in 1971 and 4.38% in 1961 to 4.91% in 1971 respectively (see Table 5.9). In the 1981 census, industrial occupational data were not given

for each of the occupational activities in the village statistics. Except for cultivators and agricultural labourers, no separate occupational data were available. The agricultural and allied activities and mining and quarrying were included in the category of others. It resulted that the proportion of the working force in the primary sector decreased to 79.14%. In the 1991 census, the proportion of the working force in the primary sector increased when compared to that of 1951, 1971 and 1981 censuses, and the proportion of the service sector also increased, as against, the proportion, which decreased in the industrial sector.

5.2.11 The growing working force in the hill villages depended mainly on the primary sector. In 1951, the working force in the primary sector was about 92.95% and it increased to 93.32% in 1991. It evidenced that no structural transformation had took place in the hill areas of Salem district. The secondary sector decreased both in number of its workers as well as their proportion to total workers. In 1961, about 1.44% of the working force were engaged in secondary sector activities and this reduced to 1.01% in 1991. The household and other industrial activities decreased considerably. But, in the service sector, the proportion increased by about 4.38% in 1961 to 5.67% in 1991 (see Table 5.9). The proportion of the working force decreased in the secondary sector and increased in the primary and service sectors. Consequently, till now, no major structural transformation has occurred in the tribal economy of the selected hill villages. In other words, the tribal economy was deteriorated over the period.

5.2.7 Structural Transformation in Different Hills

5.2.12 Even though, there was no positive structural transformation in the hill areas in general, the trend was not even for all

the hills (see Appendix 5.2). Till 1951, almost all the Malaiyalis of the different hills except Shervaroy hills, were employed in the primary sector, while only a few persons or less than one percent of the total working force was employed in the secondary and tertiary sectors. In all the small hills, i.e., Pachamalai, Bodamalai, Chitteri, Sirumalai, Jambuthumalai, Jarugumalai and kombe villages, there was no secondary and tertiary sector activities. All the inhabitants were engaged in the agricultural sector. By 1951, good communication facilities were established only in the Shervaroy hills, and consequently a large number of non-tribals settled in the Shervaroy hills; and about one fifth of the working force shifted to the service sector.

5.2.13 Between 1951 and 1991, the proportion of the population involved in primary sector activities decreased slightly in all the hills except in the Shervaroy hills. The main reason for the small decrease was the establishment of communication and transport facilities as well as Integrated Tribal Development Projects (hereafter ITDP). But in the Shervaroy hills, the primary sector activities increased from 80.15% in 1951 to 85.6% by 1991. The proportion of the industrial activities decreased, and the service sector activities increased slightly. The number of total working force of the primary sector increased every year, even though the proportion decreased slightly in the agricultural sector.

5.2.8 Structural Transformation of Females in Salem District

5.2.14 Some degree of structural transformation took place in the Salem district as a whole between 1901 and 1991. In contrary no structural transformation took place for the females in Salem district during the same period. The proportion of the total working force of the

tribal females in the primary sector was almost constant during 1901 to 1991 while it decreased in the secondary sector and increased in the

Table 5.10 Structural Transformation of Females in Salem District: 1901-1991.

Year	Total Female Workers	Primary Sector	%	Secondary Sector	%	Tertiary Sector	%
1901	6,27,142	5,35,998	85.47	74,136	11.82	17,008	2.71
1911	4,15,674	3,60,387	86.69	37,814	9.09	17,473	4.20
1921	2,92,136	2,43,388	83.31	24,343	8.33	24,405	8.35
1931	6,33,826	2,99,795	47.29	24,268	3.83	3,09,763	48.87
1951	2,05,415	1,51,327	73.67	26,280	12.79	27,808	13.54
1961	7,48,271	5,49,664	73.46	91,120	12.18	1,07,487	14.36
1971	3,88,359	3,11,416	80.19	43,293	11.15	33,650	8.66
1981	8,44,264	7,09,239	84.01	1,35,025	15.99		
1991	11,31,792	9,69,146	85.63	88,218	7.79	74,428	6.58

Source: Same as in Table 5.4

tertiary sector (see Table 5.10). This indicates that the growing population of females shifted from the secondary to the service sector.

5.2.9 Structural Transformation of Females in Hill Villages

5.2.15 The proportion of total female working force in the hill areas decreased during 1951 to 1991. But, their participation rate in the primary sector increased from 92.13% to 94.88% between 1951 and 1991. In the secondary sector, only an insignificant number of women participated, though their percentage increased from 0.01 in 1951 to 0.38 in 1991. In 1951, about 7.86% of the female working force were employed in the service sector, and it decreased to 3.09% in 1971, and again their proportion increased to 4.73% in 1991 (see Table 5.11). But, their overall

participation decreased. It indicates no shift of the female working force from primary sector to the secondary and tertiary sectors. In other words, the Government welfare measures, both during the colonial period and after

Table 5.11 Structural Transformation of Tribal Females: 1951-1991

Year	Total Female Workers	Primary Sector	%	Secondary Sector	%	Tertiary Sector	%
1951	28,336	26,107	92.13	3	0.01	2,226	7.86
1961	20,585	19,833	93.30	76	0.08	676	3.61
1971	12,768	12,218	95.69	155	1.21	395	3.09
1981	24,892	20,112	80.80	4,780	19.20	-	-
1991	27,292	25,895	94.88	105	0.38	1,292	4.73

Note: In 1981 Census, except cultivators, agricultural labourers, marginal workers all others came under one category.

Source: Same as in Appendix 5.1.

Independence, did not produce any positive impact or structural transformation among the tribal females. In contrast, the growing female population in the district as a whole shifted from the secondary to tertiary sector.

5.2.10 Structural Transformation of Females in Different Hills

5.2.16 No major structural transformation is evident among the tribal female working force in the different hills of Salem district between 1951 and 1991. Tribal women continued to be engaged in primary sector activities till 1991. Only an inconsiderable number of tribal women were employed in other than primary sectors in the different hills. In the Attur-Kolli hills, the percentage of female working force in the primary

sector increased from 98.97% in 1951 to 99.21% in 1991. But the percentage of female workers in the service sector decreased from 1.03% in 1951 to 0.77% in 1991. And, only one person was employed in the secondary sector (see Appendix 5.3). In the Kalroyan hills, the female working force in the primary sector, decreased from 99.86% in 1951 to 96.19% in 1991. At the same time the proportion of females in the service sector increased from 0.12% in 1951 to 3.77% in 1991. In all the small hills, no female workers were ever involved in the secondary sector. In 1951, all the female workers were involved in the primary sector activities and this proportion decreased marginally to 98.75% in 1991. Simultaneously, the service sector working force was increased. In the Namakkal-Kolli hills, 0.71% was involved in the service sector in 1951 and this proportion increased to 2.45% in 1991 and less than half percent was employed in the industrial activities in 1991 and the remaining 97.07% was in primary sector. In Palamalai too, the female working force in the service sector increased from 0.54% to 3.98% between 1951 and 1991. Till 1981, the participation in the secondary activities was nil. In 1991, only 1.25% were employed in that sector. The tribal female working force were not employed in the secondary sector activities till recently, in the different hills. Only marginal fluctuations from the primary sector to the service sector and vice-versa. There has been no remarkable change in the structural transformation of the female tribals in the different hills. In fact, to some extent, the status of the tribal female working force was degraded into that of marginal labourers.[2]

5.2.17 The Shervaroy hill inhabitants shifted their economic activities from the primary sector to the service sector and some to the secondary sector too. In 1951, about 22.04% were employed in the service sector and the remaining work force in the primary sector but this

proportion decreased every decade. In 1991, only 10.66% was engaged in the tertiary sector, as against the percentage increase in the primary sector from 77.97% to 88.56% in 1991. In Bodamalai, Chitteri, Aranuthumalai, Sirumalai, Jambuthumalai, Jarugumalai and kombe villages, no one was engaged in secondary sector activities and till 1981, almost all were concentrated only in the primary sector activities. Only an insignificant number were involved in the service sector. And over a period of time, even this proportion declined.

5.2.18 The tribals both men and women, widely participated in the economic activities, but the proportion of men was always higher than that of women. The tribals are mainly involved in primary sector activities for their survival. During 1901 to 1991, the structural transformation of the tribals is insignificant in general and females in particular. The proportion of their working force increased in the primary sector indicating their economic stagnation and degradation.

III

5.3.0 Occupational Transformation

5.3.1 Though, the working force did not shift largely from the primary to secondary and tertiary sectors, we could not rule out some economic changes in the occupations of the tribals. It can be assessed with the help of occupational transformation within the primary sector. Shifting the working force from one occupation to an other occupation within the secondary or service sector, or secondary to service sector is an indication of positive economic change. In contrary, shifting the working

force within the primary sector from cultivators to agricultural labourers and agricultural and allied activities or vice versa shows their economic deterioration.

5.3.1 Occupational Transformation in Salem District

5.3.2 Some degree of structural transformation occurred in Salem district between 1901 and 1991. But within the primary sector, the occupational position got deteriorated during the same period. The proportion of the cultivators in the primary sector decreased from 71.25%

Table 5.12 Occupational Transformation of Salem District: 1901-1991

Year	Total Primary Workers	Cultivator	%	Agri. Labourers	%	Agri.& Allied Activities	%
1901	11,00,531	7,84,095	71.25	2,89,732	26.33	26,704	2.43
1911	8,09,574	5,81,701	71.85	2,12,619	26.26	15,254	1.88
1921	7,43,704	3,16,015	42.49	4,14,878	55.78	12,811	1.72
1931	8,56,541	4,59,878	53.69	3,69,037	43.08	27,626	3.22
1951	9,39,894	4,93,685	73.47	1,61,754	24.07	16,561	2.46
1961	13,46,869	10,67,768	79.28	2,50,440	18.59	28,661	2.13
1971	12,84,437	7,60,322	59.19	4,92,074	38.31	32,041	2.49
1981	17,91,098	9,46,043	53.82	7,05,042	39.36	140013	7.82
1991	21,80,532	9,62,213	44.12	9,78,351	44.87	239968	11.01

Source: Same as in Table 5.4

to 44.12% between 1901 and 1991. And the agricultural labourers and workers in allied activities increased by about 18% and 8% respectively during the same period (see Table 5.12). It denotes the occupational transformation within the primary sector was negative in the Salem district.

5.3.2 Occupational Transformation of Tribals

5.3.3 About 80.55% of the working force in the primary sector was cultivators and the remaining 4.85% was agricultural labourers and 14.59% was engaged in agricultural and allied activities in 1951. The proportion of the cultivators to the total working force in the primary sector decreased from 80.55% in 1951 to 63.21% in 1991. At the same time,

Table 5.13 Occupational Transformation of Tribals: 1951-1991

Year	Total Primary Workers	Cultivator	%	Agri. Labourers	%	Agri.& Allied Activities	%
1951	53,740	43,288	80.55	2,608	4.85	7,844	14.59
1961	42,048	33,667	80.07	3,440	8.80	4,991	11.75
1971	38,028	23,903	62.86	6,174	16.23	7,951	20.91
1981	41,467	34,049	82.11	7,418	17.89	-	-
1991	54,816	34,642	63.21	14,054	25.64	6,120	11.16

Source: Same as in Table Appendix 5.1.

the proportion of the agricultural labourers increased in every census. In 1951, only 4.85% was agricultural labourers, but in 1991, it increased by about 20% (see Table 5.13). The participation of the working force in agricultural and allied activities also decreased by about 14.59% to 11.16% in this period. And the proportion of the working force in the primary sector was almost constant. But within the primary sector, the proportion of the cultivators decreased to a great extent, and increased in the agricultural labourers. It categorically showed that over the period (1951-1991) the economic conditions of the Malaiyali tribals declined or more and more Malaiyali tribals occupational position became degraded into the labourers and other non-cultivating activities in the primary sector.

In short, the economic transformation of the tribals in Salem district was negative during the 20th century particularly after Independence.

5.3.4 The Government welfare measures did not bring about any major development in the tribal economy. There was no positive structural transformation in the tribal economy. In contrast, many of the tribal cultivators were reduced to agricultural and landless labourers. In short, the Government policies and various developmental measures did more harm than good to the economy of tribals.

5.3.3 Occupational Transformation in Different Hills

5.3.5 The trend of occupational transformation within the primary sector is varied among the different hills of Salem district. The proportion of cultivators to the total working force in the primary sector continued to decrease in all the hills till 1981 (see Appendix 5.4). And the proportion of agricultural labourers increased in all the hills during the same period, as also the marginal workers, and workers in agricultural and allied activities. Some Malaiyalis of the Shervaroy hills neglected their cultivation due to competition from the coffee estates. The wage rate increased between 1905 and 1935. In 1904, the maximum daily wage rate was three annas. In 1935, the wage rate for the full day's work was five annas for men; four annas for women; and one to three annas for children *(G.O.No.2299 [Mis, Confdl), Revenue: 28th Sept.1935: 44).* In 1991, the proportion of cultivators increased in the Attur-Kolli hills, Sirumalai and Aranuthumalai. Simultaneously, the proportion of the agricultural labourers had decreased. This positive change in the tribals life is apparent and not a real one. Because, in the one hand the Forest Department extended the reserve forest and on the other hand the grew population involved in the

category of cultivators and forced to sub-divided their land holdings. Consequently, their income was decreased.

5.3.6 Tribal involvement in agricultural and allied activities was insignificant in all the hills except Shervaroys. The proportion of workers involved in agricultural and allied activities in the Shervaroy hills was about 40% in 1991 mainly because of the coffee plantation. Even this meagre proportion decreased in some hills. But in Kalroyans, Namakkal-Kolli hills, Palamalai and Bodamalai, this proportion increased, and in the remaining hills there was no allied activities. The increasing trend in this sector indicated negative economic transformation. The classification of marginal workers was introduced in 1981. Except for Chitteri hills, Attur-Kolli hills, and Palamalai, the number of marginal workers increased in 1991. The restriction on tribals on using the forest and forest produce led to a decrease in the proportion engaged in agricultural and allied activities and became marginal labourers.

5.3.7 The proportion of cultivators in all the hills continued to decrease till 1981 and, while that of agricultural labourers increased (see Appendix-5.4). In some hills, the proportion of agricultural and allied activities increased over the period. Here, we can observe the economic conditions of the tribals degraded in all the hills from cultivators to the agricultural labourers, agricultural and allied activities and marginal labourers. The same trend continued till 1991. But, in some hills, i.e., Attur-Kolli hills, Sirumalai and Aranuthumalai the proportion of cultivators increased due to the shift from the agricultural labourers, agricultural and allied activities and the marginal workers. Many tribal inhabitants were promoted as cultivators and they were not only economically but also socially upgraded. But actually, the growing

population in the cultivators category leads to small and marginal holdings. There was no structural transformation but within the primary sector the cultivators were degraded into agricultural labourers and and allied activities.

5.3.4 Occupational Transformation of Females in Salem District

5.3.8 The occupational position in the primary sector got degraded in the Salem district as a whole between 1901-1991, and it was high among the females. The proportion of female cultivators decreased in Salem district from 67.35% in 1901 to 28.06% in 1991. In contrast, the

Table 5.14 Trend of Female Working Force Within the Primary Sector in Salem District: 1901-1991.

Year	Total Primary Workers	Culti-vators	%	Agri-Labourers	%	Others	%
1901	5,35,998	3,60,997	67.35	1,70,258	31.76	4,743	0.88
1911	3,60,387	2,38,862	66.28	1,16,912	32.44	4,613	1.28
1921	2,43,388	1,02,985	42.31	1,37,404	56.45	2,999	1.23
1931	3,02,245	95,300	31.53	2,00,389	66.30	6,556	2.17
1951	1,51,327	87,793	58.02	56,634	37.42	6,900	4.56
1961	5,49,664	4,18,293	76.09	1,22,430	22.27	8,941	1.63
1971	3,11,416	1,13,023	36.29	1,89,804	60.95	8,589	2.76
1981	6,59,449	2,30,479	34.95	3,54,332	53.73	74,638	11.32
1991	9,69,146	2,71,912	28.06	4,93,021	50.87	2,04,213	21.07

Source: Same as in the Table 5.4

proportion of female labourers involved in agricultural and allied activities increased from 31.76% and 0.88% in 1951 to 50.87% and 21.07% in 1991 respectively (see Table 5.14). Female cultivators in the primary sector were degraded as agricultural labourers, marginal labourers and

labourers in allied activities. The economic position of the females in Salem district deteriorated during the 20th century.

5.3.5 Occupational Transformation of Tribal Females

5.3.9 The economic activities of the Malaiyali women were mainly concentrated in the primary sector. Government welfare measures and concessions did not produce any major change in their economic status. In 1951, more than four-fifths of the Malaiyali female working force in the primary sector was cultivators, 5.1% was agricultural labourers and the remaining 13.68% was in other allied activities. The living standards of

Table 5.15 Trend of Tribal Female Working Force Within Primary Sector: 1951-1991.

Year	Total Primary Workers	Culti-vators	%	Agri-Labourers	%	Others	%
1951	26,109	21,206	81.22	1,332	5.10	3,571	13.68
1961	19,833	15,699	79.63	1,763	8.89	2,371	11.95
1971	12,218	5,893	48.23	2,864	23.44	3,461	28.33
1981	20,112	12,816	63.73	4,508	22.41	2,788	13.86
1991	25,895	12,118	46.80	8,172	31.56	3,605	21.12

Source: Same as in Appendix 5.1

the working force in the primary sector was tolerable. The proportion of female cultivators decreased from 81.22% in 1951 to 46.8% in 1991. Also, their proportion decreased in agricultural and allied activities from 13.68% to 11.38% during the same period. While, in the category of agricultural labourers this ratio increased from about 5.1% in 1951 to 31.56% in 1991 (see Table 5.15). And, their proportion of the marginal workers in the primary sector was about 11.38% in 1991. The Malaiyali

female cultivators and agricultural allied activities decreased their agricultural labourers and marginal labourers increased. The occupational status of the Malaiyali women in the primary sector deteriorated over the period in the hill areas of Salem district.

5.3.10 The proportion of the female cultivators in the hill areas decreased largely but less than that in district as a whole. The proportion of tribal agricultural female labourers also increased but at a lower rate than in the district in general. The female working force in agricultural and allied activities in the hills decreased while at the same time it increased in the district in general. The proportion of female workers engaged in agricultural and allied activities decreased in the hill areas due to the extension of the reserve forest and the restriction of their rights on the forest and forest-produce. The proportion of female cultivators decreased annually between 1951 to 1991 with a consequent increase in agricultural and marginal labourers. Though, the proportion of the tribal female cultivators decreased over the period, still the proportion of the female cultivators was high in the hill areas when compared with that of the district in general. The proportion of the female tribal cultivators in the primary sector decreased certainly from 81.22% to 46.8% between the period of 1951-1991, whereas gradually decreased in the district in general.

5.3.6 Occupational Transformation of Females in Different Hills

5.3.11 The trend of occupational transformation of the tribal females within the primary sector deteriorated. This trend was not even among the different hills (see Appendix 5.5). The occupational transformation of the tribal female working force in the primary sector

declined from the cultivators to the other activities, i.e. agricultural labourers, agricultural and allied activities and marginal labourers. The female working force increased between 1951 and 1991. In fact, the growing female working force was predominantly as agricultural and marginal labourers. The impact varied from one hill to another. For example, in the Attur-Kolli hills, the proportion of female cultivators decreased marginally from 88.06% to 85.31% and the agricultural labourers also decreased from 11.8% to 10.66% between 1951 and 1991. The proportion of marginal labourers increased only about 4%. There was no change in the proportion of female cultivators during the period. In contrast, female workers were degraded into the category of agricultural and marginal labourers in other hills. For example, in the Kalroyan hills the proportions of the female cultivators decreased by about 61% from 93.91% in 1951 and further to 32.97% in 1991. In the same period, the proportion of female agricultural and marginal labourers increased about by 45% and 15% respectively. The main reason is till 1960s, the Kalroyan hills was under the autonomous control of the jagirdars. In Pachamalai too, the proportion of female cultivators decreased by about 33% and they become agricultural labourers. In Namakkal-Kolli hills, about 29% of the cultivators shifted into the agricultural and marginal labourers to about 15% and 14% respectively. In Palamalai hills, the cultivators proportion decreased from 85.38% in 1951 to 17.03% in 1991. And, the agricultural labourers increased about 62.5% and the marginal workers increased by about 8%. The economic conditions of the tribal females in different hills were degraded mainly after Independence.

5.3.12 In the Shervaroy hills, a large proportion of the female working force in the primary sector were employed in agricultural and allied activities. In 1951, about 47.21% of the female working force were

engaged in agricultural and allied activities and this proportion decreased to about 42.05% in 1991. The number of cultivators also decreased from 51.73% to 29.65% in the same period. Meanwhile, the proportion of agricultural labourers increased from 1.06% to 25.98% and the marginal labourers increased by about 2.33%. The agricultural and allied activities was a major sources of occupation for female workers as they were mainly involved in the coffee plantation works.

5.3.13 In Bodamalai, Chitteri hills, Aranuthumalai, Sirumalai, Jambuthumalai, Jarugumalai and the kombe villages, the proportion of cultivators decreased significantly while that of agricultural and marginal labourers increased. The extent of the transformation in each and every hills varied and there are other factors involved. For example, in the Attur-Kolli hills, the proportions of female cultivators and agricultural labourers were almost constant. In the Aranuthumalai hills, the cultivators proportion increased and the agricultural labourer decreased over the period. But, in the Shervaroy hills the cultivators decreased and the agricultural labourers increased and majority of the female working force engaged in the agricultural and allied activities from 1951 to 1991. The proportion of the female cultivators was insignificantly decreased into the agricultural labourers and marginal labourers in the hills of Kalroyans, Namakkal-Kollimalais, Pachamalais, Palamalai, Bodamalai, Chitteri, Sirumalai, Jambuthumalai, Jarugumalai and kombe villages. Except in one or two hills, the female cultivators degraded into agricultural labourers and marginal labourers over the period. Due to the occupational transformation of the tribal female working force, their economic status was declined into the agricultural and marginal labourers.

5.4.0 Forest Policy and Tribals

5.4.1 The limited welfare measures during the colonial period and the various strategies for tribal development after the Independence also did not lead to any major structural transformation in the tribal economy. Instead, the economic status of the tribals deteriorated over the period. The main reason is that the Forest Department imposed many restrictions including the extension of the reserve forest in the hill areas during the twentieth century. In continuation of the Madras Forest Act 1882 the Forest Department imposed a number of restrictions on the tribals. The forest hill village system, introduced in 1914-15, is one example. Under this, 1. no goats should be maintained by them, 2. cattle of foreign origin and plain people would not be admitted to their villages, 3. the concerned village or villages should protect the blocks allotted to their care, particularly the sandalwood trees, from theft or other damages, 4. the boundary lines and foot-paths were always to be kept clear by the respective villagers, 5. the villagers had to supply labour for all departmental operations in their respective blocks and for carrying the saman of touring officers, for which low payment was made, 6. in case of bad protection the deposit was be forfeited in whole or in part, according to the degree of protection offended, 7. notice for contempt against the regulation was issued to Malaiyalis promptly at all forest offenses committed by outsiders in their respective blocks, and 8. the Malaiyalis received free of charge from their blocks on small timber, bamboos and fuel for trees some time and agricultural works (Adolphus: 1932: 19). To use the forest produce, the Forest Department imposed several conditions on the tribals under the forest village system.

5.4.2 The forest village system, though introduced in 1914-15, was applied to the Chitteri hills during 1915-16, in Namakkal-kolli hills in 1917 and in Aranuthumalai during 1920-21 *(G.O.No.1753: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 10)*. Under this system in the Namakkal-Kolli hills, three annas per cow unit was collected for the protection of forest from the fire, theft of forest produce, etc. The amount was returned at the end of the year, according to the degree of protection. In general, the amount was not returned by the officers or agents. In 1919, the Conservator of Forests proposed to enhance the grazing fee to 6 annas on account of large amount of grazing. In 1921, this fee was again raised to 9 annas per cow unit to maintain the uniform rate in the district as a whole. The Collector accepted the fee enhancement and refused to entertain this to other than the Malaiyalis *(G.O No.1139 [Mis]: Development: 27thJun.1921)*. The same practices were followed in the Chitteri and Aranuthumalai hills *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 9)*. Under this system, the rights of the tribals on forest were reduced into concessions. In other words, the tribals were able to use the forest produce, graze their cattle and they were responsible for protecting the forest from theft, fire, etc. Despite these restrictions, the colonial Government had increased the extent of grazing land from 1,22,786 acres of class iv forest out of 1,23,823 acre and 25,458 acres of all vth class forest were opened for grazing in 1921 *(G.O.No.2283 [Mis]: Development: 14thDec.1921)*. This system failed, because, "...except in the case of hamlets situated in the border of the reserves, there was no demand for grazing" *(G.O.No.1139 [Mis]: Development: 27thJun.1921)*. Due to the high rate of grazing fee and other conditions the tribals were forced to restrict the use of forest in the hill areas.

5.4.3 Since 1933, the number of cattle for grazing was also restricted in order to prevent the stealthy importation of cattle from

plains. If the numbers increased above the prescribed limit, the Malaiyalis were to pay an extra amount and that amount was to be refunded later *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 10)*. In two reserves on Kolli hills, viz., Gundur and Ariyur, free grazing was permitted for a limited number of cow-units, i.e., 491 and 217 respectively *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 10)*. In one of the two panchayat forests on the Jarugumalai, Malaiyalis were given a concession of grazing their cattle on the payment of fees at half rate *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 9)*. In respect of the remaining reserves in these hills, viz., Kolli hills and Jarugumalai and in respects of all the reserves on the Bodamalai, Pachamalai and Shervaroy hill Malaiyalis had to take permits for grazing at nine annas for a cow-unit, except in the reserves situated in the Namakkal taluk where the rate was at six annas *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 10)*. This rate was too high for the tribals as stated by the settlement officer: "...the inability of the Malaiyalıs to pay the grazing fee formed the main item of representation and some relief may be necessary" *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 10)*. Not only did the Forest Department impose many restrictions but it also cleverly imposed more burdens on the limited rights of the tribals on the forest.

5.4.4 On the one hand, the Government maintained that the tribals were the main cause for the deforestation, and on the other hand, the Government encouraged the non-tribals to cultivate the forest lands. For example, in 1925, there were 15 coffee estates situated in the reserve forest of Shervaroy hills consisting of 3,613.48 acres. The Government also extended the lease period for these estates *(G.O.No.1505 [Mis]: Revenue: 29thSept. 1925)*. It shows that to satisfy the requirements of the non-tribals particularly of the British settlers, all the rules and regulations of the Forest Department were compromised.

5.4.1 Forest Act and Tribals

5.4.5 In addition to the Madras Forest Act (1882), some more restrictions were imposed on the tribals during the twentieth century. The tribals' use of timber for housing and other agricultural implements was restricted under the Tamil Nadu Hill Areas (Preservation of Trees) Act, 1955. Under this Act Section 3 (2), "...no person shall cut or otherwise damage, or cause to be cut or damaged, the branch of any trees". These restrictions were applicable even on the steeper slopes of the hills (section-4[1]). Any offender of Section 3 or 4 of this Act was liable for punishment with imprisonment to one year or fined to five-thousand rupees or both (section-7). After Independence, the tribal rights to cut down the trees even for the basic necessities was further restricted.

5.4.6 The Madras Forest (Amendment) Act 1979 increased the penalty for offenses committed under the Madras Forest Act (1882). For example, the penalty for using prohibited forest items was raised from six months to three years imprisonment or Rs. 500 to Rs. 10,000 or both. For the first offense, the imprisonment period was not less than one year and the fine amount not less than Rs. 3000. For subsequent offenses, the term of imprisonment was not less than two years or shall not be less than Rs. 5000 under the Madras Forest (Amendment) Act 1979. The fine amount and the period of imprisonment were also raised like the above for the pasturage land which was given in Madras Forest Act 1882 Section 26. With increasing the penalty amount and the term of imprisonment the tribals were restricted the use of forest produce. In short, on the one hand the Forest Department restricted right of the tribals on forests, on the other hand, the welfare measures did not make any structural transformation; and no law was enacted to restrict the alienation of tribals land. Consequently, the occupational

position of the tribals deteriorated and their economic conditions declined over the period.

5.4.2 Government and Private Forests

5.4.7 The Government gave the rights over the lease to the Kalroyan hills jagirdar in 1881, while the forest lease was retained by the former contractors. After this lease, the Kalroyan hills forest was kept under the control of the contractors for about eight decades. The Periya-Kalroyan hills comprising two nadus were taken over by the Government on 15-04-1965 under the Tamil Nadu Inam Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwary) Act of 26/1963. The jagirdar of Periya-Kalroyan filed a suit against the Government for encroachment. Finally, the suit was compromised and the compensation was paid to the jagirdar on 13-02-1973. From 1973 onwards, the entire private forests and estates of Periya-Kalroyan hills came under the undisputed possession of the Government.

5.4.8 Also, the Chinna-Kalroyan hills was taken over by the Government on 24-06-1966 under the same Act. During this time, the Chinna-Kalroyan hills were controlled by six persons from the plain areas. They collected the revenue and sold the forest on behalf of the jagirdars and paid lump sum to the jagirdars. The main aim of the contractors was to cut the trees from the jagir lands. The contractors challenged the Government intervention and claimed compensation. The Government noted that the land contractors collected thalaikattu kanthayam (poll-tax) at the rate of Rs. 3 per married persons; Rs. 2 per unmarried persons and Rs. 1.25 per plough. Apart from these, they got income from the forest produce at the rate of 10 paise per head-load, 1 anna and 6 paise per donkey-load and

2 annas per bull-load. The Government accepted to pay at the rate of Rs. 3,519.55 basic per annum. But the land-holders claimed that they had received Rs. 6,500 as a poll-tax, Rs. 6,500 as a toll-gate; and Rs. 500 as a sale of bamboos and other forest produce. So far, no decisions were made in the case. At present, the suit had been pending at the High Court of Madras.[3]

5.4.9 Under the Madras Forest Act 1882, many restrictions were imposed on pasturage of cattle and forest produce during the twentieth century. The Act was amendmented later to impose further restrictions on the limited rights of the tribals. Reserve forests were extended to the hill areas. Consequently, the forest oriented tribal economy was completely destroyed. Finally, the rights of the tribals became concessions.

V

5.5.0 Conclusions

5.5.1 During the 20th century, the male population of the tribals had always been higher than the females in the Salem district and the growth rate of the males was higher than the females. The growth rate of tribal population had always been lower than that of the general population of the district. But the tribals, both men and women, actively participated in economic activities. Their participation rate was higher than that of the district in general. Most of them were mainly in primary sector activities. There was not much positive structural transformation in the tribal economy. In fact, their economic conditions worsened. Under the Madras Forest Act of 1882, many restrictions were imposed on the tribals during the twentieth century. In addition, the Madras Forest (Amendment)

Act 1979 further tightened the restrictions. Due to the non-tribal intervention and official forest policy they became mostly landless labourers and dependents on the allied activities carried on largely by the migrants from the plains. In short, no positive economic transformation was recorded in the tribal economy, and they were largely degraded from the cultivators to the agricultural labourers. Even though the Government implemented many development schemes, the net impact on the tribal economy was negative. In other words, the tribals were economically worse-off than before.

NOTES:

[1]The famine relief programmes for the aboriginal tribes were undertaken separately in the districts of Ganjam, Coimbatore and Vizagapattanam Agency areas only and not for Salem district (*G.O.No.1277[Mis]: Revenue: 3rd June 1920; G.O.No.1795[Mis]: Revenue: 7th Aug.1921; G.O.No.1177[Mis]: Revenue: 2nd Aug.1924; G.O.No. 1034: Revenue: 3rd July 1925; G.O.No.937: Revenue: 9th June 1926; G.O.No.958: Revenue: 20th May 1927; and G.O.No.965 [Mis]: Revenue: 2nd May 1928.* The famine relief measures in Salem district did not give separate account for the hill areas (*G.O.No.1794 [Mis]: Revenue: 7th Aug.1921; G.O.No.1150: Revenue: 30th July 1924; G.O.No.911: Revenue: 18th June 1925; G.O.No.896: Revenue: 2nd June 1926; G.O.No.1616 [Mis]: Revenue: 18th Aug.1927; and G.O.No.1565 [Mis]: Revenue: 16th July 1928).*

[2]According to 1981 census, "Marginal workers were those who worked any time at all in the year preceding the enumeration but did not work for a major part of the year i.e, those who worked for less than 183 days (or six months)".

[3] All the information was collected from the Director of Survey and Settlement; and they asked the scholar not to put the file and G.O Numbers of the record. The information between 1965-1992 regarding the Kalroyan hills was from the above office. The Government Order is enclosed in the Annexure 5.1.

CHAPTER-VI

SURVEY, SETTLEMENT AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HILL AREAS DURING THE 20TH CENTURY

6.0.0 This chapter consists of five sections. The first section analyses the first survey and settlement in the hill areas; the second section focuses on the resettlement in the hill areas; the third section discusses the settlement in the Kalroyan hills; the fourth section deals with the agricultural development; and the fifth section concludes the chapter.

I

6.1.0 Origin of the Survey Settlement in Hill Areas

6.1.1 Except for the hill villages and a few villages in the plains of Salem district, survey activities began in 1859, and the settlement was introduced in 1872 (Maclean: 1885: Vol.I: iii). In the southern taluks, there were 772 villages. Of which, 666 ryotwary villages were surveyed and assessed. The remaining 89 hill villages and 17 plain villages were not surveyed. The 89 hill villages were excluded from the survey due to the "...unhealthiness of climate, difficulty of approach and other causes".[1] But the assessment was collected for the unsurveyed hill villages also; it was Rs. 21,500. And for the plain villages it was Rs. 19,660 *(Papers Relating to the Survey and Settlement :1879: No.LXV: 19)*. In the northern taluks of Salem district, 268 hill villages were excluded from the survey and settlement, because the colonial Government thought that in

the jungle tracts a survey was impossible and there was nothing to gain by making the attempt.[2] After the transfer of the northern hill villages to the North and South Arcot districts during the year of 1885, only 164 unsurveyed villages remained in the Salem district. Of which, 5 villages fell entirely within the reserved forests and the rest 7 villages did not have the ryotwary ayacut.[3] Of the remaining 152 villages, 12 villages were settled in 1892/93 and 31 villages, consisting of 10 hill villages in the Chitteri hills were settled in 1899/1900 and the remaining 109 hill villages, excluding the Kalroyan hills and Jarugumalai, were settled in 1904/05 *(G.O.No.2299 [Mis,Confdl]: Revenue: 28th Sept.1935: 3)*. Jarugumalai was settled in 1916-17. Therefore, till the 20thcentury, the hill villages were not surveyed and settled like the plain villages.

6.1.2 The survey was completed for the hitherto unsettled hill villages of the Salem district between 1896 and 1900. Prior to this survey, there was no accurate measurement of land holdings. The settlement was therefore generally "...'in gross' and on a 'very indefinite proportion of the produce" *(Board of Revenue: No.138: 14thApr. 1904: 5)*. The ten hill villages of the Chitteri hills were settled in 1899/1900. In the Chitteri hills more than 85% of the land cultivated by the ryots was brought into the settlement account in 1899-1900 (see Appendix 6.1). The extent of land under the survey account increased by about 150%, of the old revenue account. After the survey and settlement in the Chitteri hills, the incidence of the average assessment decreased from annas 6-5 to annas 5-6. Actually, the incidence of the land revenue increased due to the survey settlement. Before the survey and settlement, the tribals paid nominal revenue only for a small extent of land which they actually cultivated a large extent of undeclared land.

6.1.3 In 1904, the Government proposed to settle the hill

villages of Salem district which included the Chitteri hills which was already settled in 1899/1900. But, the Special Settlement Officer of Salem (1903) said that the Malaiyalis had found it less easy to accommodate themselves to the change in demand, difficulties had been experienced in making the collections in the hill villages (Chitteri hills) since the settlement. He further said that "...it is inadvisable to make any enhancement in the assessment of these [Chitteri hill] villages of the present time" *(Board of Revenue: No.138: 14th Apr.1904: 4)*. However, the earlier three 'sort' settlement system continued in the Chitteri hills and while a different method was adopted, for the settlement of other hills in 1905.

6.1.1 Soil Classifications

6.1.4 For the settlement, the soil of the hills in the Salem district was broadly classified into two categories, viz., red-loams (VII class) and red-sands (VIII class). In the surveyed area of the 99 villages

Table 6.1 Extent of Different Kinds of Soils in the Hills: 1904.

Description of Land	Class	First Sort	Second Sort	Third Sort	Fourth Sort	Fifth Sort
		Acs	Acs	Acs	Acs	Acs
Dry Occupied	7th	9,996.79	11,627.28	8,010.04	3,025.37	362.39
	8th	897.29	3,116.62	2,232.48	491.68	199.40
Dry Unoccupied	7th	139.12	757.57	3,694.49	16,074.28	25,399.98
	8th	14.75	520.63	1,528.99	622.45	1,753.63
Wet Occupied	7th	463.98	797.11	218.48	91.49	2.11
	8th	-	-	-	19.95	9.38
Wet Unoccupied	7th	19.25	13.20	14.34	17.81	2.12
	8th	-	-	-	5.81	0.54

Source: G. O. No. 605, Revenue, 30th June 1905, p. 3.

the soil was classified into five 'sorts' (see Table 6.1). The hill areas

of Salem district had fertile soils. About 91.6% of the soils in the hill areas were red-loam and the remaining 9.4% was red-sand (see Appendix 6.2). Of the red-loam soils, about 75% belonged to the occupied dry and wet lands came under the first three 'sorts' and the remaining 25% of the land came under the fourth and fifth sorts. While about 80% of the unoccupied dry lands came under the fourth and fifth 'sorts' of red-loam category. Almost all the fertile lands were occupied in the hill areas and a very low quality of lands were left unoccupied by the tribals.

6.1.5 During the first survey and settlement of 1872 three 'sorts' were introduced in the Salem district. Under this system, the soil was classified into different groups, i.e., the lowest dry group was the third and the lowest wet group was the fifth *(G.O.No.744: Revenue: 12th Aug.1905: 3)*. But in 1904/05, five 'sorts' were introduced in the hill areas while the same three 'sorts' system continued in the remaining parts of the Salem district. Considering the disadvantages of the hill areas, i.e., lack of communication and marketing, the fourth and fifth groups for the dry land and the sixth group for the wet lands were created. This classifications were made not only on the basis of the availability of communication and marketing facilities but on the extent of excess land brought into the survey account. Though, no hill villages came under the first two groups; they mainly came under the fourth, fifth, and sixth groups (see Table 6.2).

6.1.6 Only two villages came under the third group, because both the villages were located in the plain areas and had good communication and marketing facilities. The Shervaroy hills and Aranuthumalai hills were brought under the fourth group, because these hills were prosperous, progressing and the value of land was as much the

same as in the remote villages of the plains *(G.O.No.605: Revenue: 30th June 1905: 57)*. In the Kolli hills a large extent of land was brought into the survey account,[4] almost double of the revenue account.[5] Considering the extent of land in the survey, the Kolli hills were brought into the fifth group. The Pachamalai and Bodamalai hills did not have good soils and accessibility; it was listed under the sixth group. The Kolli hills only had irrigational facilities and the wet lands came under the sixth group. After classification of the soil groups in the different hills, the

Table 6.2 Soil Groups in Hill Villages of Salem District: 1905

Hills	III Group	IV Group	V Group	VI Group	Total Villages
Shervaroy hills	1	64	-	-	65
Aranuthumalai	-	7	-	-	7
Kolli hills (Namakkal)	-	-	7	-	7
Kolli hills (Attur)	-	-	9	-	9
Pachamalais	-	-	-	1	1
Bodamalai	-	-	-	4	4
Kombai villages	-	3	1	-	4
Plain villages	1	2	-	-	3
Chitteri hills	-	10	-	-	10
Total	2	86	17	5	110

Sources: G. O. No. 744, Revenue, 12th Aug.1905, p.3, B. P. No. 56, Revenue, 13th Feb. 1899, (Press), p. 8.

economic condition of the tracts and a detailed comparison with the assessment was determined after a careful consideration of the soil and assessment of the adjoining resettled tracts of the plains (see Appendix 6.3). Under the survey settlement, a large extent of lands were brought under the surveyed account and new rates were formulated. (see Appendix 6.4). It seems that the hill villages were settled not only on the basis of the availability of facilities, but also on the basis of the extent of land

brought under the survey account.

6.1.7 About 16,855.12 acres or about 65.82% of land (more than the revenue account), was identified under the survey. Prior to the survey the ryots paid only a meagre amount of land-rent or about two-thirds or three, four, five and sometime ten times more land than their pattahs showed. In the pre-survey period, the extent of occupied land was estimated on the basis of the Karnum's account, and consequently the revenue figures were for the most part imaginary or substantially lower *(G.O.No.79: Revenue: 24th Mar.1905: 6)*. Under this method, the tribals enjoyed more land at nominal payment. But, after the survey, the growth rate of the extent of land was higher than the growth rate of assessment. The growth rate of the land was about 66% but the assessment was only about 16.11% (see Appendix 6.4). Due to the survey settlement, the burden on the tribals increased and also restricted the extent of cultivation in the hill areas.

6.1.8 Before the survey settlement, more land was occupied by the tribals than the land for which assessment was actually paid to the Government. Till the survey, the land assessment was determined on the basis of the number of ploughs and hoes used for the cultivation. The tribals cultivated more land than the Government estimated per plough or hoe. So, naturally the incidence of the tax was low. Though the colonial Government fixed a high amount for the ploughs or hoes, the tribals did not feel any hardship. During the survey, a large extent of land was brought into the survey and the colonial Government fixed the land assessment on the basis of the extent of the land. The tax incidence of the survey assessment per acre was low. The tribals paid a low amount of land-rent before the survey and settlement, whereas after the settlement they had to pay an increased amount of rent for the same area of cultivated land. In short, the survey and settlement increased the incidence of tax on the

tribals.

II

6.2.0 Resettlement in the Hill Areas

6.2.1 The revenue settlement period of thirty years in the hills expired at the end of 1934/35, and was extended to 1935/36 to synchronise with the district in general. The resettlement of the hill villages was started in 1936/37. The same classification, viz., three 'sorts' in the Chitteri hills and five 'sorts' in the other hill tracts was followed. The sixth group was removed. The Bodamalai and Pachamalai hills were brought under the fifth group; and the remaining hills continued in the same group as in the 1904/5 settlement. The Jarugumalai hill was first settled in 1916/17 and was brought under the sixth group. It was resettled in 1936 along with other hills and was brought under the fifth group (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Soil Groups in Different Hills in the Resettlement: 1936

Hills	III Group	IV Group	V Group	Total
Shervaroy hills	1	64	-	65
Aranuthumalai	-	7	-	7
Namakkal Kollimalais	-	-	7	7
Attur Kollimalais	-	-	9	9
Pachamalais	-	-	1	1
Bodamalais	-	-	4	4
Kombai villages	-	3	1	4
Plain villages	1	2	-	3
Chitteri hills	-	10	-	10
Jarugumalai	-	1	-	1
Total	2	87	22	111

Source: G.O.No.1793, Revenue, 17th Aug.1936. p 8.

6.2.2 Considering the social and economic conditions of the tracts, i.e., after a detailed comparison of the existing assessment with the plain villages and making liberal concessions for the hills on the basis of a disadvantages situation, the revenue assessment was revised. Revenue settlement of the hill villages was not based on productivity per acre, or the changing prices of commodities in the hill areas. And, land-rent was increased from Rs. 6-4-0 per acre to Rs. 12-8-0 on the basis of increased sale value of land in the tract ranging from 43.75% to 156.25% for the five years ending with fasli 1342 (1932/33) over the figures of the first five years of the settlement *(G.O.No.1157 [Mis]: Revenue: 25th May 1936)*. But, there was no change in the money rate of the last settlement (1904/05) for Aranuthumalai, Jarugumalai and Pachamalai. In the Kolli hills and the 'village green' of the Shervaroys, the enhancement of money rate was at 12.5% or two annas for the rupee and 6.25% in the Chitteri hills (see Appendix 6.5).

6.2.3 The 12% enhancement of land revenue was imposed in all the hills except the Chitteri hills. The tax incidence was high in the Kolli hills and Shervaroy hills. Although, there was no remarkable improvement in communications, education, marketing and credit, the rate of assessment was increased. The colonial Government also ordered that there should be no separate assessment for the hill areas from the next revenue settlement. The order stated that "...these hill villages are to be taken up for next resettlement along with the plain villages and a uniform percentage may, with advantage be adopted for both the tracts" *(G.O.No.1157 [Mis]: Revenue: 25th May.1936)*. The main aim of the colonial Government was to extract increased revenues from the hills people.

6.2.4 Land assessment rates increased in the hill areas after

the survey and settlement in 1905. These rates were further increased during the resettlement period. The colonial Government justified the increases on the count that infrastructure facilities had developed in the hill areas. But actually, no such improvements in the hill areas were evident during this period (see Chapter VIII, section II). The Government also decided that hereafter the revenue settlement of the hill villages was to take place along with the plain areas. Consequently, the survey and settlement increased the burden on the hill inhabitants. The colonial Government did not consider the hill areas separately for the revenue settlement. In short, the colonial Government did not sympathise with the tribal isolation, their underdevelopment and other problems; its main aim was to extract as much revenue as possible.

III

6.3.0 Settlement in the Kalroyan Hills

6.3.1 The Kalroyan hills was not brought under the survey and settlement during the hill villages settlement in 1904/05, or during the resettlement of the hill villages in 1935-36. The Kalroyan hills was taken over by the Government in 1965 under the Tamil Nadu Inam Estates (Abolition and conversion into Ryotwary) Act of 6/1963. The Settlement Officer of Attur revealed in 1950 that the jagirdar had paid no amount to the Government.[6] Till 1965, no revenue was paid by the jagirdar or by the hill inhabitants of the Kalroyan hills. The Kalroyan hills was surveyed only in 1971.

6.3.2 Till 1965, the status quo of Kalroyan hills jagir was not disturbed by the Government, and tax of collected three rupees was

collected from married persons, two rupees from unmarried persons and 1.25 rupees per plough. The jagirdars also received income from forest produce at the rate of six paise per head-load, nine paise per donkey-load and twelve paise per bull-load *(Settlement Report: Chinna-Kalroyan Hills: 1974)*. The Kalroyan hills was brought under the Ryotwary system in 1966. Immediately the Government imposed 0.31 paise per acre as land revenue. The hills were surveyed and settled in 1971. The Chinna-Kalroyan hills with the fertile soils came under the fourth dry group, and the Periya-Kalroyan hills came under the fifth group (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Soil Classification and Money Rates in Kalroyan Hills: 1977

Class VII	Class VIII	Chinna-Kalroyan Group IV	Periya-Kalroyan Group V
1	1	1.00	0.87
2	2	0.62	0.56
3	3	0.50	0.37
4	4	0.31	0.31
5	5	0.25	0.25

Source: Kalroyan Hills Settlement Reports- 1977.

6.3.3 A large extent of the Chinna-Kalroyan hills was brought under the soil classifications of the seventh class in the survey (see Table 6.4). The abolition of the Kalroyan Hills Inam was challenged by the

Table 6.5 Survey and Settlement in the Chinna-Kalroyan Hills

Soil classification	Extent (Hectares)	Assessment
Class VII Group 3	3,367 02 5	4,186 25
Class VIII Group 4	1,068 34 5	821 95
Total	4,435 37 0	5,008 20

Source: Chinna Kalroyan Hills Settlement Reports.

pattahdars, and all its five pattahdars were from the plain areas. The hill jagirdars sold the tax collecting rights to the others. The Government proposed to pay at the rate of Rs. 3,519.55 as a basic annual sum, but the pattahdars of Chinna-Kalroyan hills claimed Rs. 13,500 as a basic annual sum. The dispute is in the High Court, and till date (1994) no decision has been made.

IV

6.4.0 Agricultural Development in the Hills

6.4.1 It is difficult to estimate agricultural growth in the hill areas for the 19thcentury, as no data are available about the extent of cultivation, size of holdings, number of cattle, or cropping pattern. Land revenue in this period was collected on the basis of the number of implements used for cultivation. The extent of cultivation per plough or hoe varied from one hill to another, and within hill. So, the extent of cultivation, size of holdings and cropping pattern could not be analysed in the hill areas for the 19thcentury.

6.4.1 Rain Fall in the Hills

6.4.2 Agriculture in the hill areas was heavily dependant on the monsoon. The south-west monsoon gave more rain than the north-east monsoon. South-west monsoon was between June and September; and more rain was in September. North-east monsoon was between October and December, and more rain was in October. Thus Salem district got much of its rain during the months of September and October. The lowest rainfall in Salem district

was during the Winter, i.e., between December and March. Generally, in this period, there were light rains. Summer started in March and continued till June. During this season, there was not much rain, and the end of the season, i.e., in May, there were often sudden cloudbursts. The westerly winds set in April and continued upto June.

6.4.3 Rainfall in the hill areas was more steady than in the plains. Between 1870 and 1899, the average rainfall in Salem district was 31.85 inches, but in the Shervaroy hills it was 62.84 inches, i.e., almost double that in the plains *(Rainfall Statistics 1870-1899: 2,* and *40)*. The Southern portion of the Shervaroy hills received large amount of rainfall from the South-west monsoon than the northern portion. In contrary to that, during the North-east monsoon, the northern portion derived more rain than the southern portion *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17th Aug.1936: 6)*. Comparable rainfall statistics in this period for other hills are not available.

6.4.2 Irrigational Facilities in the Hill Areas

6.4.4 Except Kolli hills, no other hills had any irrigational facilities. In 1839/40, only 233 acres of land were irrigated, and in 1852/53 it increased to 359 acres in the Kolli hills *(Board of Revenue: No.26: Vol.1841: 5th Jan.1843: 390 and No.76: Vol.2452: 11th July 1855: 11377)*. In 1904, 1,602.5 acres of land in the Kolli hills were classified as wet land *(G.O.No.305: Revenue: 30th June 1905: 47)*. After Independence, the irrigation facilities were extended to all hill areas. According to the World Agricultural Census of Tamil Nadu 1970-71, about 1,011.95 hectares or 5.07% of total cropped area came under irrigational facilities (see Table 6.6). It seems that the irrigational facilities were marginally extended in the different hills in recent years.

6.4.5 According to World Agricultural Census (1970-71), only some lands were irrigated by canals (0.56%) and tanks (2.83%). These sources existed only in the present Dharmapuri district and no such facilities existed in the hill areas of present Salem district. Irrigation by well is common in the hills of present Dharmapuri district constituting about 471.02 hectares; it is meagre in Salem district (6.27 hectares). In contrast, the other sources of irrigation are large in the hills of present

Table 6.6 Sources of Irrigation in Hill Areas of Salem district: 1970-71

Year	Total Cropped Area	Canals	%	Tanks	%	Wells	%	Others	%
1970-71	11,011.95	5.72	0.56	28.63	2.83	483.38	47.77	494.22	48.84

Sources: World Agricultural Census 1970-71, Salem district, 1975, p.257.
World Agricultural Census 1970-71, Dharmapuri district, 1980, pp. 46-51.

Salem district (489.1 hectares); and a small extent in the Dharmapuri hills (5.12 hectares). The main sources of other irrigational facilities in the hill areas were small streams and wells.

6.4.6 The Kalroyan hills of Salem district was developed with irrigational facilities through annicuts[7] and wells during the Sub-Plan period. About 345 hectares of land in 1980 was irrigated by annicuts and wells. In the Chinna-Kalroyan hills, about 92 hectares were irrigated through 105 wells and 17 oil-engines. About 8 hectares of land was irrigated by private annicuts put up on the jungle streams; particularly in Keelnadu of Periya-Kalroyan hills. About 245 hectares was irrigated under

annicuts and no irrigational wells were there in both Melnadu and Keelnadu of Periya-Kalroyan hills *(ITDP-Report: 1980-85: Kalroyan hills)*. Diverting the natural streams for cultivation was an important source in the hill areas of Salem district.

6.4.7 After Independence, irrigational facilities were extended to the hill areas by wells and other sources (see Table 6.8). The Kalroyan hills had large irrigational facilities. About 898 hectares or 16.74% of its total cropped area had irrigational facilities. Of which, 400 hectares

Table 6.7 Sources of Irrigation in Major Hills of Salem District: 1990-91.

(in hectares)

Hills	Total Cultivated Area	Total Irrigated Area	%	Tanks	% of col.5 to col.2	Wells	% of col.7 to col.2	Other Sources	% of col.9 to 2
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Yercaud	8,928	11	1.2	-	-	11	0.12	-	-
Kolli hills	11,609	500	4.3	439	0.87	61	12.20	-	-
Kalroyan hills	5,364	898	16.7	447	49.78	51	5.67	400	44.5

Source: Basic Statistics of Salem District, Dept. of Agriculture, Salem District, 1990-91. Annexure-125.

or 44.5% were under stream sources, 5.67% were under wells and 49.78% were under tanks. In 1986-87, one dam was constructed at the cost of Rs. 8.66 crores, at the foot of the Kalroyan hills, and mainly irrigated to the non-tribals. In fact, the tribals of two kombe villages were evacuated on the occasion of constructing this dam.

6.4.8 In the Kolli hills, most of the land holders are

non-tribals and they utilised the irrigational sources, mainly tanks. These tanks was located in the plain areas and the non-tribals benefited. In the Shervaroy hills also, only 11 hectares or 0.12% of the cropped area were irrigated by wells. Even now, only some of the cultivated land on the hills is irrigated by wells, and there is no canal. The tanks were located mostly at the foot of the hills and therefore benefited the non-tribals.

6.4.3 Size of Land holdings and Source of Irrigation

6.4.9 The small irrigational facilities were used by the small and marginal farmers. About two-thirds of the irrigational sources had been

Table 6.8 Size of Holdings and Sources of Irrigation in Hill Areas: 1971

(in hectares)

Size	Canals	%	Tanks	%	Wells	%	Others	%
0 –.5	2.75	48.8	1.52	5.31	35.28	7.30	56.99	11.53
.5 -1	-	-	10.83	37.83	94.56	19.56	54.38	11.00
1 -2	-	-	3.14	10.96	104.02	21.52	105.05	21.26
2 -3	2.97	51.92	3.45	12.05	75.46	15.61	90.84	18.38
Total	5.72	100	18.94	66.15	309.32	63.99	307.26	62.17
3 & above	-	-	9.69	33.85	174.06	36.01	186.96	38.03
Grand Total	5.72	100	28.63	100	483.38	100	494.22	100

Sources: As in Table 6.6

used by the small and marginal farmers and the rest were by the large scale farmers (see Table 6.8).

6.4.4 Livestock in the Hill Areas

6.4.10 A large number of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and poultices were raised in the hill areas of Salem district. Most of them were traditional breeds. Heads of cattle increased from 44,072 in 1915 to 46,682 in 1930 (see Table 6.9). There was an increase in cattle in all the hills, except for Jarugumalai. At the same time, except in the Chitteri and Bodamalai hills, the number of sheep and goats had decreased. One cause was that the village forest system was introduced in the different hills during

Table 6.9 Livestock in Different Hills of Salem District: 1915 and 1930

Hills	Cattle		Sheep & Goats	
	1915	1930	1915	1930
Chitteri hills	7,458	7,860	1,005	1,102
Aranuthumalai	2,443	2,825	1,142	434
Bodamalai	1,318	1,416	333	492
Kolli hills	18,409	18,905	8,135	7,061
Pachamalai	2,280	2,976	1,715	980
Shervaroy	11,612	12,209	4,664	4,212
Jarugumalai	552	491	-	-

Source: G. O. No.1793: Revenue: 17th Aug.1936. p.90.

this period. Under this system, goats were prohibited to enter the forest areas and also charges were imposed on sheep. Due to this restriction by the Forest Department the livestock resources were decreased.

6.4.11 In the Kalroyan hills too, a large number of livestock were raised. In 1977-78, 14,116 cattle and 14,970 sheep and goats, 8,075 pigs and 7,210 fowls were enumerated. Later there was a marked decline in the different hills. In 1991, there are 3,165 cattle in the Kolli hills,

653 in Shervaroy hills, and 219 in Kalroyan hills. Except in the Kolli hills, the sheep and goats, decreased. In the Shervaroy hills, the number of goats and sheep were 677, Kalroyan hills 725 and in the Kolli hills, the number of pigs and fowls very small. In the Kalroyan hills 45 and 620 and in the Shervaroy hills 70 and 599 pigs and fowls respectively in 1991. In the Kolli hills, there are 33,340 pigs and 13,825 fowls existed in 1991. Cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and fowls were raised largely in every hill, and it decreased in almost all the hills. Even now, the Kolli hills has a one of the largest heads of livestock in the Salem district. It shows that the Malaiyalis depended chiefly on cattle for their livelihood and large extent of their income was derived by selling the animals and their produce.

6.4.5 Size of Land holdings in the Hill Areas

6.4.12 Till the survey settlement, the size of land holdings was determined mainly by the requirement of the family. The characteristic feature of the tribal economy was to maintain its basic subsistence, and

Table 6.10 Size of Pattahs in Different Hills: 1904

Hills	Total Pattahs	No. of Pattahs less than Rs.10	%	No. of Pattahs above Rs.10	%
Shervaroy hills	1,680	1,469	87.50	211	12.50
Aranuthumalai	143	103	72.00	340	27.97
Kolli hills	4,185	3,937	94.07	28	5.93
Pachamalai	192	186	96.88	6	3.12
Total	6,200	5,695	87.62	505	12.38

Source: G. O. No.605, Revenue, 30th June 1905, pp.14,48,26,32.38.

not to trade. Naturally, they cultivated only for their basic requirements. As their wants were limited, most of the tribals in the hill areas of Salem district had a small land holdings. The size of the land holdings can be deduced with the amount of rent paid (see Table 6.10). About 88% of the pattah holders were assessed at less than Rs. 10, and only 12% of holders paid a rent of above Rs. 10. In the Pachamalai, about 97% of the pattah holders paid at the rate of less than Rs. 10. In the Kolli hills also 94.07% of the holders paid at the rate of less than Rs. 10. Most of the tribals in the hill areas had small holdings of land at the beginning of the 20^{th} century.

6.4.13 The number of land holders increased in each hill area of Salem district between 1904 and 1930 and 1991. In the Kolli hills, the number of pattah holders was 4,185 in 1904; 5,380 in 1930, and it was 8,993 in 1991. However, the number of operational holdings was only 2,595. Under this estimation, a joint pattah was considered as one operational holding. The number of holdings in Shervaroy hills increased over the years from 1,680 pattahs in 1904, 2,158 in 1930, 2,609 in 1971 and 2,133 in 1991. There are two reasons for the increasing number of holdings in the hills. One is, increasing population of both tribals and non-tribals; the other is extension of the reserve forest in the hill areas. The increasing population could be sustained only by expanding the tribals' land holdings into hitherto unoccupied lands.However, the extension of reserve forest was a major restriction. Consequently, the same holding got progressively divided into small holdings.

6.4.6 Small Land Holdings

6.4.14 The increasing number of land holders in the hill areas

indicates a decreasing size of land holdings. According to the World Agricultural Census (1970-71) there were 8,810 operational holdings in the hill areas of Salem district. About 7,329 operational holders or 83.19% of the land holders had a land less than 3 hectares. Of which, 41.47% (3680) of holdings were less than one hectare each. Another study by Institute of Techno-Economic Studies [hereafter ITES] (1978) shows that the average per capita land-holdings for the tribals in Salem district was 0.91 acres or 0.37 hectares. In the Kolli hills the average was 0.65 acres, Shervaroy hills- 0.62 acres, Kalroyan hills- 1.31 acres, Aranuthumalai- 0.84 acres, Pachamalai- 1.2 acres and Chitteri hills- 0.83 acres. The number of small and marginal holdings in the hill areas increased largely in recent years (see Table 6.11).

Table 6.11 Trend of Land Holdings in Three Major Hills: 1971-1991

(in Hectares)

Hills	Year	Total holdings	No.of small holdings	%	No. of marginal holdings	%
Kolli hills	1971	2,596	1,150	44.29	943	36.33
	1991	8,999	2,025	24.99	6,078	67.54
Shervaroy hills	1971	2,609	1,066	40.86	898	34.42
	1991	2,133	280	13.95	1,727	80.96
Kalroyan hills	1991	4,380	1,284	32.58	2,657	60.66

Sources: World Agricultural Census 1970-71, Salem District, 1975, pp.60 and 238.

Basic Statistics of Salem District, Dept.of Agriculture, Salem District, 1990-91. Annexure- 126.

6.4.15 The number of large farmers decreased and a number of small farmers was reduced to marginal farmers in the hill areas of Salem district (see Table 6.12). In the Shervaroy hills, the small and marginal

farmers increased from 75.28% in 1971 to 94.09% in 1991. While, the marginal farmers forms 34.42% in 1971 and this proportion increased to 80.96% in 1991. In the Kalroyan hills, a study by Saravanan (1989) estimated that about 78% of the tribals had less than 6 acres and 6% of the tribals did not have any land. At the same period, a study by Jothimurugan (1989) found out that 85% of the tribals had a land holdings of less than 6 acres. In 1991, about 90% of the lands are under the category of small and marginal farmers. A large number of land holders in the hill areas are small and marginal farmers. The marginal farmers increased during the last two decades. The main cause for this trend was that there was no possibility to extend the area of cultivation due to the extension of the reserve forest and non-tribal settlement despite the growing population of the tribals.

6.4.7 Sources of Income in the Hill Areas

6.4.16 Income of the tribals was mainly from their farms (own cultivation and forest produce). About two-thirds of the income of tribals was from their farms and the remaining was from their non-farms

Table 6.12 Extent of Farm and Non-Farm Income in Different Hills: 1978

Hills	Per Capita Farm Income		Per Capita Non-Farm Income	
	Rupees	%	Rupees	%
Kolli hills	284.82	48.80	299.12	51.20
Yercaud	277.01	48.30	296.55	51.70
Kalroyan hills	595.45	83.90	134.04	16.10
Aranuthumalai	577.16	80.20	142.71	19.80
Pachamalai	592.70	78.20	165.24	21.80
Chitteri hills	766.16	60.40	239.83	39.60
Average	515.55	66.63	212.92	33.37

Source: Indebtedness of Scheduled Tribes in Tamil Nadu (1978) Institute for

Techno-Economic Studies, Madras. pp.40-41.

(agricultural wages, non-agricultural wages and other income due to leasing out of land or garden, etc). More than one-half of the income of the tribals was from non-farm sources in Kolli and Shervaroy hills. In the Shervaroy hills, during the beginning of the 20th century, about 2,505 permanent coolies and 3,054 temporary labourers were engaged in the estate activities. Of which, 15% to 20% were local Malaiyalis *(G.O.No.605: Revenue: 30th June.1905: 13)*. Working on the coffee estates and other fruit farms were the main sources of the non-farm income.

6.4.17 In the Kolli hills, the main sources of non-farm income were pine-apple, tamarind, banana and jack-fruits. In Kalroyan, Aranuthumalai and Pachamalai, about 80% of their income was from the farms; and in the Chitteri hills too, about 60% of income was from farm sources. In short, wherever land holdings were small as in the Kolli hills and Shervaroy hills, the tribals hired their labour in other economic activities; and where the main income was from their own cultivation, as in the other hills, the income from non-farm employment was meagre *(ITES: 1978: 42)*. Malaiyalis were largely engaged in farm activities except in the Shervaroy hills. At present, the Malaiyalis derive their income mainly from their farms.

6.4.8 Farm Income in the Hill Areas

6.4.18 The farm income was derived from food grains, cash-crops such as plantation crops, fruits and forest products (see Table 6.13). About 61.42% of the farm income was from food crops in the hill areas. The proportions were low in the Kolli hills and Shervaroy hills, which were about 47% and 44% respectively. In the Kalroyan, Aranuthumalai, Pachamalai

and Chitteri hills, the percentages were 69%, 69%, 79% and 60.5% respectively (see Table 6.13). Even though, a large extent of cash crops were cultivated in these hills, food crops occupied the prime position. In the Kolli hills and Shervaroy hills, the plantations, fruits and vegetables provided a large income, next to the food crops. The income from forest products was very high in the Kalroyan hills. Because, till 1976, no road facilities were available, the tribals used the forest produce without any

Table 6.13 Extent of Income in Different Crops: 1978

Crops	Kolli hills	Shervaroy hills	Kalroyan hills	Aranuthu-malai	Pacha-malai	Chitteri hills	Average
Food crops	47.0	44.0	69.0	69.0	79.0	60.5	61.42
Cash crops	3.0	4.0	15.0	20.0	16.0	30.5	14.75
Plantation	16.0	37.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	0.6	9.60
Fruits & vegetables	33.8	14.5	3.8	3.0	1.5	2.2	9.80
Forest products	0.2	0.5	11.2	6.0	2.5	6.2	4.43

Source: Indebtedness of Scheduled Tribes in Tamil Nadu (1978), Institute for Techno-Economic Studies, Madras. p. 43.

restriction. Till the Sub-Plan, the development measures of the tribals did not produce a remarkable change in their cropping pattern. In contrast, the sources of income from the forest decreased. In other words, the development measures did not bring about positive economic transformation of the tribals but restricted their major source of income.

6.4.9 Major Crops in the Hill Areas

6.4.19 The main crops cultivated in the hill areas of Salem district during the 19thcentury were: ragy or kevaroo, thinay, varagu, cholam, kambu, panivaragu and dry-paddy; pulses - mochaikotay, thovarai,

tatapyru, kaddalay, and avarai, and condiments - mustard, chilies, onion and garlic (Shortt: 1870: 51, *G.O.No.2299: Revenue: [Mis, Confdl]: 28th Sept.1935: 6)*.

Table 6.14 Cropping Pattern in the Hill Areas of Salem District: 1904

(In Percentage)

Products	Chitteri-hills	Aranuthu-malai	Boda-malai	Kolli-malai	Sherva-royas	Pacha-malai	Jarugu-malai	Ave-rage
Rice	3.19	0.09	0.18	15.23	3.20	10.81	-	4.67
Cholam	2.71	0.17	0.53	0.18	5.26	-	11.66	2.93
Kambu	6.43	1.25	-	1.30	0.01	5.36	16.67	4.43
Ragy	51.51	62.28	31.50	38.85	41.67	43.19	40.00	42.86
Varagu	11.68	-	- -	1.28	3.24	24.66	-	5.84
Samai	7.38	0.98	18.05	13.92	15.00	13.45	-	9.83
Other cereals	2.60	32.20	26.73	16.29	19.71	2.00	12.92	16.06
Total	85.5	96.97	76.99	87.05	88.09	90.47	81.25	86.62
Horse gram	4.83	0.27	11.33	0.64	-	1.52	8.33	3.85
Other pulses	4.89	2.14	8.50	5.24	0.01	0.24	1.67	3.24
Total	9.72	2.41	19.83	5.88	0.01	1.76	10.00	7.09
Ground nut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other seeds	3.35	0.44	2.12	3.34	-	7.61	8.33	3.6
Total	3.35	0.44	2.12	3.34	-	7.61	8.33	3.6
Other crops	1.43	0.18	1.06	3.73	11.9	0.16	0.42	2.7
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: G. O. No. 1793, Revenue, 17th Aug.1936.

6.4.20 In the hill areas of the Salem district foodgrains were largely cultivated till the beginning of the 20th century. About 86.62% of the total cropped area came under food grains; 7.09% was under pulses; 3.6% under oil-seeds and only 2.7% under other crops, i.e., coffee, tobacco, fruits and vegetables (see Table 6.14). The major food grain items cultivated in the hill areas were: ragy (42.86%), varagu (5.84%), samai (9.83%), other cereals - thinay, panivaragu, etc., (16.06%); the other food grains cultivated, in small extent were: paddy (4.6%), cholam (2.93%) and kambu (4.43)%). In short, the hill areas were largely cultivated with major food grains intended mainly for consumption.

6.4.21 About 7.09% of the total cropped area was cultivated with pulses; more than half of the pulses' cultivated were kollu or horse-gram . Mochaikotay, thovarai, tatapyru and other beans was cropped in the rest of the area. Only 3.6% of total cropped area came under the cultivation of oil seeds. No ground nuts and coconuts were cultivated. Only 2.7% of the land was cultivated by other crops, like coffee and tobacco. Of these, coffee was cultivated to some extent in the Shervaroy hills, mainly by the British settlers and other plains people.

6.4.22 The hill inhabitants did not sow a single crop at a time. Except samai, wheat and sometimes ragy, almost all the crops were invariably cultivated in a mixed form. Widely, the tribals scattered six or seven kinds of grain seeds in the same field. For example, mustard, millet, ragy, castor, samai, doll, mochaikotay, avarai, were cultivated indiscriminately in a single field *(G.O.No.605: Revenue: 30th June 1905: 6)*. The practice of cultivating mixed crops continued till the beginning of the twentieth century.

6.4.10 Changing Cropping Pattern in Hill Areas

6.4.23 The shift from cultivating foodgrains to the commercial crops or non-foodgrains was one of the indicators of the economic transformation. The proportion of foodgrains to total cropped area decreased in all the hills (see Appendix 6.6). In the Shervaroy hills, it decreased from 88.0% in 1904 to 19.39% in 1991; in the Kolli hills, from 87.05% in 1904 to 45.84% in 1991, and in the Kalroyan hills from 86% in 1976/77 to 29.33% in 1991. The changing cropping pattern was not even in all the hills. For example, in the Shervaroy hills, the proportion decreased gradually to 88.09% in 1904, 68.32% in 1933, 34.04% in 1971 and 19.39% in 1991. The reason for these gradual changes are that the transportation was introduced in the hills at the beginning of this century. Due to the introduction of the commercial crops by the British settlers and other non-tribals, the tribals also extended some extent of commercial cultivation in their lands. A large extent of land occupied by the non-tribals also responsible for this change. But in the other hills, the changing cropping pattern started very recently. For example. In the Kolli hills, 87.73% in 1971 and it decreased to 45.84% in 1991. In the Kalroyan hills, till 1976-77, these was no change in the cropping pattern. The proportion decreased certainly to 29.33% in 1991. The communication facilities were improved by 1976 and due to the Government welfare measures, non-availability of land or land due to the extension of forest reserve, the tribals are forced to cultivate commercial crops.

6.4.24 The area under foodgrains cultivation decreased drastically and the cultivation of some crops even disappeared in the different hills over the period. In all the hills, ragy occupied the

largest cultivated area but this too has decreased remarkably. In the Shervaroy hills, 41.67% of the cultivated land was occupied for ragy in 1904; it decreased to 23.74% in 1933; and further to 8.79% in 1991. In the Kolli hills, this proportion decreased from 38.85% in 1904 to 12.59% in 1991. In contrast, in the Kalroyan hills, the proportion marginally increased, from 16.15% in 1976-77 to 17.85% in 1991. Another major crop in the hill areas was samai. The proportion of land cultivating samai decreased in all the hills except Kolli hills. In the Shervaroy hills, the proportion of samai cultivating areas decreased from 15% in 1904 to 5.65% in 1991. In the Kalroyan hills too, the ratio deceased from 19.25% in 1976 to 2.75% in 1991. But in the Kolli hills, this proportion increased from 13.92% in 1904 to 16.18% in 1991. The area cultivated by varagu increased from 1904 to 1933 in the Shervaroy and Kolli hills but it was no longer cultivated in 1991. In the Kalroyan hills, about 20% of land was under varagu cultivation in 1976-77 but in 1991, varagu was no longer cultivated. The number of foodgrains cultivated in the hill areas during the 19thcentury came down drastically and some others disappeared entirely especially after the Sub-Plan was introduced.

6.4.25 Cultivation of other crops such as cholam, kambu, thinay, panivaragu decreased in all the hills over the period, and in 1991 this cultivation disappeared in the hill area, except for a small portion of land in the Shervaroy hills (see Appendix 6.6). Except for the Kolli hills, the paddy cultivating area decreased but not remarkably. In the Shervaroy hills it was about 3.20% in 1904 and 2.48% in 1991. In the Kolli hills, the proportion increased from 15.23% in 1904 to 17.07% in 1991. Except Kolli hills, pulse cultivation decreased. In the Shervaroy hills. land cultivated by pulses was 9.16% in 1933 and declined to 4.61% in 1991. In the Kalroyan hills, it was 5.66% in 1976-77 and completely disappeared

thereafter. In the Kolli hills too, the proportion decreased from 5.88% in 1904 to 2% in 1971 but it increased to 8.9% in 1991. But, in total, the importance of pulse cultivation decreased. There was an insignificant extent of land cultivated by oil seeds and its cultivation too almost disappeared over the period.

6.4.26 The proportion of land under commercial crops land to the total cropped areas increased in all the hills. In the Shervaroy hills, it was 11.90% in 1904 and it increased to 75.94% in 1991. Of which, the cultivation of coffee alone increased remarkably from 10.68% in 1904 to 43.43% in 1991. Fruit and vegetable cultivation also increased over the last twenty years. In the Kolli hills, only 9.36% of the land was cultivated with non-food grains in 1971 and it has increased to 45.26% in 1991. About 32.86% of land was cultivated with pineapple. In the Kalroyan hills, only 7.92% of land was cultivated with non-food crops in 1976 and it increased to 70.67% in 1991. Of which, fruits. spices and vegetables are the major and important commercial crops (see Appendix 6.6). After the Sub-Plan, the extent of commercial crops increased in the different hills of Salem district.

6.4.11 Irrigated Cropping Pattern in the Hill Areas

6.4.27 Of the area under foodgrains, about 72% of the total irrigated land was raised with paddy; and 10.06% with ragy and others. About, 85.44% of the total irrigated land was used for food grains; 7.6% for other food crops and 6.96% of the land was under non-food grains i.e., horsegram, blackgram, castor, avarai, etc (see Table 6.15). The irrigational facilities were used mainly for the cultivation of foodgrains.

Table 6.15 Irrigated Cropping Pattern in Hill Areas: 1971. (in Hectares)

Crops	Cropped Area	%
Rice	1268.63	71.92
Cholam	17.04	0.97
Kambu	22.00	1.25
Ragy & Others	173.46	10.06
Pulses	22.04	1.25
Total food grains	1507.17	85.44
Other food crops	134.10	7.60
Total Non-food crops	122.71	6.96
Total cropped area	1763.98	100.00

Sources: World Agricultural Census 1970-71 (1975), Salem district The Director of Agricultural Census, Madras, pp. 258-59.

World Agricultural Census 1970-71 (1980), Dharmapuri District, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras, pp. 46-51.

6.4.12 Marketing Facilities

6.4.28 The tribals depended mainly on the non- institutional sources for marketing. A study by ITES (1978) found out that only 26.6% of the total production was marketed and about 78.97% of the families in the

Table 6.16 Price Differences Between Hills and Plains: 1904

Crops	Price in the Hills			Price in the Market			Difference		
	Rs.	As	Ps	Rs.	As.	Ps	Rs.	As.	Ps
Ragy	3	3	0	3	12	0	0	12	0
Samai	2	12	0	3	8	0	0	12	0
Millet	2	12	0	3	8	0	0	12	0
Mochai	5	0	0	5	9	0	0	9	0
Wheat	2	0	0	2	9	0	0	9	0
Mustard	9	0	0	9	12	0	0	12	0

Source: G.O.No.605: Revenue: 30th June 1905: p.3.

different hills of Salem district depended on shandies;[8] 25% of the families sold their output to middlemen and only 2.03% of the families sold to the co-operative society. About 97.7% of the families marketed their products only through the non-institutional sources, i.e., shandies and middlemen (ITES: 1978: 41). The tribals marketed only small quantities of their output, and largely non-food crops to the non-institutional sources. The prices of the products in the hill areas was always lower than the market price of the plain areas. In the Kolli hills about 9 to 12 annas per kandagam was lower than that of the market prices in the plain areas (Table 6.16). They could not get market price for their small quantity of marketed goods till recently, due to the unavailability of institutional marketing facilities.

6.4.13 Marketed Goods in the Hill Areas

6.4.29 Only small quantities of food crops were marketed by tribals, 10.4% of food grains, 26.5% of pulses, 29.3% of vegetables. On the

Table 6.17 Percentages of Marketed Goods in Different Crops: 1978

Products	% of Marketed Crops to total Production
Food grains	10.4
Pulses	26.5
Fruits	78.7
Spices	58.4
Cash crops	75.3
Vegetables	29.3
Forest produce	86.5
Average	26.6

Source: Marketing Facilities in Tribal Areas in Tamil Nadu (1978),

Institute for Techno-Economic Studies, Madras. p.28.

contrary, a large amount of non-food crops was marketed, i.e. 78.7% of fruits, 58.4% of spices; 75.3% of cash crops and 86.5% of forest-produce (see Table 6.17). The tribals cultivated their land mainly for their subsistence and therefore they marketed only a small quantity of their produce, mainly non-food crops, till recently.

6.4.30 Till recently, minor food grains were mainly cultivated in the hill areas of Salem district. And only a small extent of land was cultivated with non-foodgrains. After the Sub-Plan (1978-79), the cropping pattern changed from food crops to cash crops. Till recently, only a small part of wet cultivation was practiced in the Kolli-hills. After the Sub-Plan, the irrigational facilities were extended to all the hills. The irrigated lands were mainly cultivated with paddy. The hill inhabitants marketed the non-foodgrains. A majority of the farmers were small and marginal holders at the beginning of the 20^{th} century, and this proportion further increased after Independence. Even then, the tribals continued to depend on their farms only. In short, till the Sub-Plan there was no remarkable development in agriculture but their holding size decreased. After the Sub-Plan both number of land holdings increased and the cropping pattern changed.

V

6.5.0 Conclusions

6.5.1 Prior to the survey and settlement of land revenue, the hill inhabitants cultivated a large tract of land. They paid on the basis of the number of implements used for cultivation and not on the basis of

the area of land cultivated. After the survey and settlement, they were compelled to pay on the basis of the area of land cultivated. Land rights were restricted and the revenue incidence increased. During the resettlement of land, the land revenue increased again. The main aim of the Government seems to have been extracting the highest possible amount of revenue from the hill inhabitants. In short, the settlement in the hill areas resulted in increased burden on the tribals both economically and psychologically mainly due to the restrictions on their powers on land and forest. Till recently, the tribals predominantly cultivated foodgrains. The cropping pattern changed after the Sub-Plan of 1978-79. Over the years of 1978/79-1991 the size of holdings decreased considerably.

NOTES:

[1]Letter from R.K. Puckle, Deputy Director of Revenue Settlement, to R.E. Master, Officiating Director of Revenue Settlement, Dated 26th Oct.1865, Suramangalam. No.90

[2]Letter from the R.K. Puckle, Deputy Director of Revenue Settlement to R.E. Master, Officiating Director of Revenue Settlement, Dated 13th Aprl. 1866, No.26. Suramangalam.

[3]An account of the total land belonging to the village, including houses, and particulars of its distribution and condition, to be kept by the accountant.

[4]The land was surveyed. The land revenue was fixed on the basis of the quality and actual extent of land.

[5]Without survey, the village headmen maintained accounts about the approximate extent of lands and the land revenue was collected based on the account.

[6] This is taken from the Periya-Kalroyan hills Settlement Records. The Government instructed the scholar not to mention the file numbers.

[7] A dam on a stream for maintaining or regulating irrigation.

[8] A market place, generally, held once a week.

CHAPTER-VII

TRIBAL LAND ALIENATION AND MIGRATION

7.0.0 This chapter consists of six sections. The first section focuses on the external causes of land alienation; the second section analyses the internal economic causes for the land alienation; the third section shows the extent of land alienated in the different hills; the fourth section notes the effects of land alienation; the fifth section gives an account of the measures undertaken by the colonial as well as Indian Government against the tribal land alienation; the last section concludes the chapter.

I

7.1.0 Land Alienation of Tribal Lands and Non-Tribals

7.1.0 The expanding British colonial Government eventually brought even the autonomous and remote hill people of Salem district under its fold by the end of 19^{th} century. The process of colonial Government's slow and increasing control of the tribals and their resources, looked at from the tribal's point of view, was nothing but an irreversible adverse consequences that were to manifest much later. One of such manifestations was the non-tribal settlements in the hills of Salem district. There were two main reasons for the tribal land alienation. One was the extension of the reserve forests, another was the settlement of the non-tribals. The first was indirect which not only demarcated but also restrict one which figures prominently in our discussion.

7.1.1 Non-Tribal Settlers in the Hill Areas

7.1.1 In the early colonial period the migrants in Salem district were insignificant and mainly from the neighbouring districts (see Table 7.1). The Collector of Salem stated that the new settlers were in the habit of returning to their native country after one or two years *(Board of Revenue: No.56: Vol.2117: 21thDec.1848: 18921)*. Generally, the settlers stayed only for a few years and they returned to their native places and it did not create any problem of land alienation.

Table 7.1 Number of Settlers and Extent of Land Occupied in Salem District: Early 19th Century.

Years	Numbers	From the Districts of	Extent of land Occupied	Revenue from the Lands
			Acres	Rs As Ps
1834	63	-	387 9 11	1,081 4 6
1835	182	South Arcot, Mysore, Trichy, Coimbatore	132 23 4	261 8 -
1836	52	Neighbouring districts	114 11 -	261 7 6
1837	65	Neighbouring districts	-	582 13 8
1840	145	Chittoor, South Arcot, Trichy	373 3 8	487 8 3
1842	2	-	1 25 7	9 7 1
1848	13	North Arcot	-	69 - -
1856	-		-	940 - -

Sources: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 20th Nov.1834, No. 37, Vol. 1429, p. 12670.
——— 20th Oct.1835, No. 38, Vol. 1470, pp. 17698-99.
——— 5th Dec.1836, No. 82, Vol. 1539, p. 17981.
——— 8th Dec. 1837, No. 56, Vol. 1589, p. 16646.
——— 15th Oct.1840, No. 28, Vol. 1722,pp. 13748-49.
——— 5th Jan.1843, No. 26, Vol. 1841, p. 272.
——— 30th Oct.1843, No. 58, Vol. 1886, p. 16435.
——— 2nd Jan. 1856, No. 27, Vol. 2508, p. 227.

7.1.2 Some of the migrants settled in the hill areas. Only a few outsiders from the other districts settled in the hill areas of Salem district, mainly in the Jawadhi hills. The settlers were mainly from the North Arcot, South Arcot, Mysore and Chittoor (see Table 7.2). There is no account of settlers from the Salem district itself. Generally, the settlers cultivated the unoccupied or uncultivated lands. They left after a short period to their native places. So, in the early 19th century the migrants

Table 7.2 Details of Settlers in Hills of Salem District: Early 19th Century. (in Madras Rupees)

Year	Numbers	Settled in	From which Districts	Revenue from the Occupied Lands
1834	-	-	-	46 - 4
1835	-	Jawadhi hills	South Arcot, Mysore	261 8 -
1836	-	Jawadhi hills	-	69 - -
1840	15	Jawadhi hills	Chittoor, South Arcot	58 8 -
1848	13	Jawadhi hills	North Arcot	69 - -

Sources: As in Table 7.1.

were very small in number and the land they occupied was insignificant in quantity. And also they were not settlers in any serious sense so as to pose a threat to the tribals in the hill areas of Salem district.

7.1.2 British Settlers in Hill Areas

7.1.3 The coming of the British settlers into Shervaroy hills was the actual beginning of the problem of land alienation. In the early 19th century, the British settlers took land in the Shervaroy hills mainly for their housing and not for agricultural purposes *(Board of Revenue:*

No.54: Vol.2151: 7th Sept.1848: 21739). Later, the British settlers applied for land in the Shervaroy hills for coffee cultivation. For example, in 1825, Cockburn, the Collector of Salem, applied for the grant of about 95 cawnies,[1] 3 grounds and 100 square feet of land. Of this, 31 acres belonged to the Malaiyali cultivators, while the remaining portion of land was unoccupied *(Board of Revenue: Nos.54-55: Vol.1012: 24th Feb.1825: 1689-90)*. But the Government refused to grant all the lands applied for *(Board of Revenue: No.10: Vol.1014: 17th Mar.1825: 2218-19)*. Most of the lands in the forests were declared as the public lands and no one was supposed to have an individual right over these lands. As a consequence, the Government assigned the maximum extent of land per individual at twenty cawnies *(Board of Revenue: Nos.31-31: Vol.1046: 19th Dec. 1825: 12158)*.

7.1.4 The land was granted to the British settlers for coffee cultivation under the Government order of the 7th April 1833 *(Board of Revenue: No.58: Vol.1886: 30th Oct.1843: 1641)*. Coffee cultivation was introduced during Cockburn's period (1820-1829). The lease was of twenty one years. Most of land put under coffee cultivation was taken from the tribals; in addition, the British settlers tried to use some unoccupied lands. The colonial Government granted some concessions to improve coffee cultivation: (i). the land was given rent-free for the first five years, (ii). the land-rent was low, i.e., rupees one per acre per annum for the rest of the lease period *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17th Aug.1936: 42)*. In short, the colonial Government paved the way for the tribal land alienation by encouraging the British coffee planters.

7.1.5 The colonial Government claimed that the Malaiyalis were consulted, and got their assent before the land was taken for coffee cultivation *(Board of Revenue: No.70: Vol.2005: 5th Jan.1846: 170-71)*.

Actually, the Malaiyalis were not aware of all the formalities entered into by the colonial Government. Till 1841, there had not been a Government policy on coffee cultivation. As a result "...most of the old planters, obtained their lands from the Malaiyalis and received pattahs for them prior to the circulation of the Government rules" *(Board of Revenue: Vol.2310: 11thDec.1851: 16470)*. In 1842, the Government ordered that the land should not be taken by settlers in such localities as to inconvenience the ancient inhabitants or, lands which the latter might be willing and would be eager to occupy (Richards: 1918: Vol.I: P.II: 47). Under this Act, certain areas of land were reserved to the Malaiyalis. But the planters tried to obtain the reserved land also from the Malaiyalis whenever they found the lands fertile and conveniently located.

7.1.6 It was not the British planters alone who had taken away the lands of the tribals; the colonial administrators, i.e., Collectors and Judges, had taken the tribal lands forcefully. It was stated that Cockburn, Collector of Salem, took land by force of power and authority, and seized upon and appropriated to himself all the best lands of the chief village of the Mootoo Nadu, and expelled the proprietors thereof; and Mr. Neave, Judge of Salem, got possession of between 400 or 500 acres more within the three years of 1838-41 under not very dissimilar circumstances *(Board of Revenue: No.7: Vol.1838: 15thDec.1842: 16685)*. The colonial administration not only encouraged the private British planters to settle in the hill areas but also could not prevent its officers in misusing their power to occupy the tribal lands in the Shervaroy hills for their private interests.

7.1.7 In order to grab the tribal lands, the British planters created many problems for the Malaiyali inhabitants. For example, in 1864 one British planter tried to obtain the Malaiyali lands in the village of

Pattapadi and Kurdyoor, but they refused to sell. The planter attempted to drive them out by annoying them in every possible way, and pressed the other planters to do likewise. The planter had closed down every public path of Malaiyalis running through his land and also shot their cattle. The British planters also used colonial officers to threaten the Malaiyalis to obtain their land *(Letter from Arbuthnott: 23rd May 1866: No.84)*. The ignorant tribals were badly disturbed by the British planters, and the colonial administrators were always favourable to the planters and they were never seriously concerned about the plight of the tribals.

7.1.3 Non-Tribals in the Hill Areas

7.1.8 The extent of land alienation in the hill areas can be understood with the help of the size of non-tribals settled in the hills. In the early 19th century, the number of non-tribals in the hill areas was an insignificant. After the settlement of the Britishers in the hill areas, the non-tribals also migrated. Till 1871 census, there was no separate data for the non-tribals of the hills.About 4,079 persons or about 10.21% of the total population in the hill areas in 1871 were non-tribals. Of which, 2,656 persons or about 65.11% were Pariahs (see Appendix 7.1). Formerly they were bonded labourers in the plains. "In times prior to colonial rule the whole of the Pariah community, without exception, were the slaves of the superior castes" *(Census Report of 1871: Vol.I: 169)*. We can safely believe that a majority of them had been in such a position. In the later period, they fled to the hill areas to escape from the age old traditional systems. Only 7 persons or about 0.17% were Chetties; 26 persons or about 0.64% were Mohammadans and the remaining 1,388 persons or about 34% belonged to the other backward castes. The backward castes consisted mainly Vanniar, Vellalar, Ambattan and Vannan. These people migrated to the hill

areas to take advantage of the low prices of land. In general, non-tribal settlers were not found in the small hills, such as Bodamalai, Jarugumalai, Aranuthumalai, Jambuthumalai, Sirumalai and also in the Kombe villages. The non-tribals largely settled in the Shervaroy hills, Namakkal-Kolli hills, Attur-Kolli hills, Kalroyan hills and Chitteri hills and their percentages to the total population were respectively 21.30, 10.37, 9.14, 4.5 and 1.57 (see Appendix 7.1). In the large hills the problem of land alienation began during the late 19thcentury.

7.1.9 In the Shervaroy hills, 1,943 persons or about 85% of the non-tribal inhabitants were Pariahs; six were Chetties; 22 Mohammadans who introduced the usurious rate of interest and the remaining 318 persons belonged to the other castes. Of the others, about 100 persons including children belonged to the European stock (Shortt: 1870: part.II: 7). In the Namakkal-Kolli hills, a majority of the non-tribals belonged to the Pariahs, and they comprised of 74.53%, and the remaining except one Chetty belonged to the other castes. In the Attur-Kolli hills, only 53 persons or 9.23% were Pariahs and the remaining persons except one Mohammadan were of the other castes. In the Kalroyan hills, except 18 Pariahs or 6.04% and 3 Mohammadans all belonged to the other castes. In the Chitteri hills, only 5 were Pariahs and the remaining belonged to the other castes.

7.1.10 About two-thirds of the non-tribal inhabitants in the hill areas belonged to the Pariah castes. The ratio of the Pariahs to the total non-tribals was high in the Shervaroy hills (84.88%), and Namakkal-Kolli hills (74.53%). The Chetties lived only in the Shervaroy hills, (6 persons), Namakkal-Kolli hills (1 person), and the Mohammadans, who introduced the varakanthu lending system also were concentrated in the Shervaroy hills (22 persons), Kalroyan hills (3 persons) and one person in

the Attur-Kolli hills. Money-lenders (Mohammadans) were only in the Shervaroy and Kalroyan hills. No other hills were exploited by these middlemen and the money-lenders. So, in the late 19th century, the tribal lands were alienated mainly to the Pariahs and other backward castes and not to the money-lenders and traders. And also, the land alienation existed only in the larger hills and no such problems were felt in the smaller hills.

7.1.4 Population of Scheduled Caste in Hill Areas

7.1.11 Considerable number of Pariahs [a Scheduled Caste under the Constitution of the Republic in India] lived in the hill areas in 1871. The size of Scheduled Caste population in the different hills increased between 1961 and 1991 (see Appendix 7.2). A large number of Scheduled Castes population, i.e., 4,769 or about 14.67% in 1991 census, was returned from the Shervaroy hills. Though the proportion of the Scheduled Caste population decreased, their numbers increased during the three decades of 1961 to 1991. In the Namakkal-Kolli hills, about 3.39% of the total population were of Scheduled Caste people. Their proportion as well as the number increased. In the Attur-Kolli hills and Kalroyan hills, the Scheduled Caste population occupied less than one percent but the proportions as well as their numbers increased over the period. In the Pachamalai hills, the number of Scheduled Castes and their proportion decreased and in the remaining hills only a few Scheduled Caste people are found. Due to the lack of fertile land and other facilities the small hills were not attract the plains people. The Scheduled Caste population increased in every hill village between 1961 and 1991 and it played a significant role in the alienation of tribal lands.

7.1.12 Before the colonial intervention, the non-tribals did not settle in the hill areas mainly due to their fear of malaria. After the British intervention, some non-tribals settled in the hill areas but it did not lead to any significant alienation of tribal land. The greedy initiative of the British planters gave an initial thrust to the problem of land alienation in the hills, and what more to an everlasting one as non-tribals followed suit.

II

2.0.0 Economic Causes of Land Alienation

7.2.1 The chief characteristic feature of the tribal economy was subsistence. Until the non-tribal intrusion into the hills it was only an "internally subsistence economy". Haimendorf (1982) says: "As long as they lived in their ancestral habitat, protected from outside world by hills and forests, they produced food grains and reared animals almost exclusively for their own consumption" (Furer-Haimendorf: 1982: 97). The Collector letter showed in 1917 that "...so long as these hills [Salem district] were cut-off from regular communication with the plains, these people did not suffer very much from their condition" *(B.P.No. 60: 18thMar.1918: 386).* After the settlement of the non-tribals and the extension of communication facilities, the subsistence economy of the tribals got commercialised and it led to the tribal land alienation.

7.2.1 Income and Expenditure

7.2.2 Data related to their income and expenditure are not available for the colonial period. In general, the tribals spent more than

their income. A study by ITES (1978) shows except in the Aranuthumalai hills, the average family expenditure was higher than their income (see Table 7.3). This proportion was very high in the Shervaroy hills. The average income deficit for all the hills was Rs. 669.55 or above 15.3% of their income. It led to indebtedness among the tribals.

Table 7.3 Income and Expenditure of the Different Hills in Salem District.

Hills	Per Annum Average Family		Surplus/Deficit	
	Income	Expenditure		
Kolli hills	3,180.27	4,041	(-)	857.73
Shervaroy hills	3,842.80	5,508	(-)	1,665.20
Kalroyan hills	5,866.72	5,961	(-)	94.28
Aranuthumalai	4,996.75	4,947	(+)	49.75
Pachamalai	4,503.11	4,823	(-)	319.89
Chitteri hills	3,868.06	4,998	(-)	1,129.94
Total	4,376.29	5,046	(-)	669.55

Source: Institute for Tecno-Economic Studies (1978), Indebtedness of Scheduled Tribals in Tamil Nadu, Madras. p.67

7.2.3 After the settlement of non-tribals into the hill areas, their traditional lending and borrowing system disappeared. Loans on interest were introduced by the non-tribals particularly by Mohammadans and Chetties. Under this system, the tribals were exploited widely, often, the debts descent from father to son and passed on even to the third generation *(Report of Study Team: 1969: 58)*. In short, "...most of tribal families are born in debt, live in debt and die in debt; amongst all the problems the tribal face, indebtedness is a major cause of their exploitation" *(Report of SCs and STs: VII Report: 1965: 15)*. The money-lenders extracted the income of tribals in the form of interest till they lose their lands.

7.2.4 The money-lenders and traders were the main causes for the tribal lands alienation in the hill areas during the late 19thcentury. They charged a high rate of interest for their loan. For example, in the Shervaroy hills the Mohammadans collected a very high rate of interest. "If a man purchases 2 annas worth of ragy on credit, he engages to pay 3 annas for it next week. If he could not pay then he will have to pay 4 annas the week after. The dealers are never in a hurry for cash payment" *(G.O.No.605: Revenue: 30thJune 1905: 15)*. Finally, the lenders came for mortgage on the land as the security for the debt. The traders role was something different. Before the harvest time, the traders advanced certain amount on the guarantee of selling their (tribals) commodities only to the traders. The Malaiyalis never realised the market price for their products and always the traders paid less than the market price. "The petty traders generally a Crafty Comati, went into the hills with tempting provisions and a few trinkets, and these were his means of barter. The hill simpletons were cheated, right and left, the Chetty manager to make them out in debt, and kept them so, he screwed out of them double or triple the value of what the supplies" *(G.O.No.1107: Revenue: 1stSept.1874)*. In short, the middlemen and traders were responsible for the tribal land alienation during the late 19thcentury.

7.2.2 Indebtedness among the Tribals

7.2.5 In general, expenditure of the tribals was found to be higher than their income. On an average the discrepancy was about 15.3%. To meet the extra expenditure they resorted borrowing from the non-tribal money-lenders. A study by ITES (1978) shows that More than 92% of the tribal families were indebted (see Table 7.4) In the Kolli hills all the tribal families were invariably indebted and, only in the Kalroyan hills

Table 7.4 Extent of Indebtedness in Different Hills of Salem District.

(in Rupees)

Hills	% of Indebted Families	Average per Indebted Family
Kolli hills	100.00	2,085
Shervaroy hills	90.00	3,487
Kalroyan hills	83.64	1,276
Aranuthumalai	94.12	2,706
Pachamalai	94.12	1,492
Chitteri hills	94.00	3,681
Total	92.65	2,454

Source: Institute for Tecno-Economic Studies (1978), Indebtedness of Scheduled Tribes in Tamil Nadu, Madras. p. 77.

the proportion of indebted families were less. While the average debt per family was Rs. 2,454, it was high in the Chitteri hills and rather low in the Kalroyan hills. In short, almost all the tribal families were found to be invariably indebted in the hill areas of Salem district.

7.2.3 Extent of Indebtedness

7.2.6 The Committee of Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Blocks (1960: 131) estimated the average indebtedness around Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 2,500. In 1969, the Study Team on Tribal Development estimated the average indebtedness at Rs. 2,000 in the Kolli hills *(Report of Study Team: 1969: 59)*. A survey by the Reserve Bank of India (1962) estimated that 68.3% of the households were indebted in the Salem district hill areas *(Report of Study Team: 1969: 58)*. All the studies without exception show that most of the tribal families were indebted and, moreover, the amount of the debt was also high in the hill areas.

7.2.7 Once the tribals borrowed money, they were not able to return in due time; consequently, the debts were outstanding for a long time. About three-fourths of the debt was outstanding for one to five years (see Table 7.5).

Table 7.5 Age and amount of Outstanding debts in the Hills of Salem District 1977

Duration of Pending Debt	Amount in Lakhs	Percentages
Up to one year	2.18	22.1
1 to 5 years	6.01	60.9
6 to 10 years	1.47	14.9
Above 10 years	0.21	1.8

Source: Institute for Tecno-Economic Studies (1978), Indebtedness of the Tribals in Tamil Nadu, Madras. p. 115.

7.2.4 Sources of Indebtedness

7.2.8 The tribals were not provided with the required level of institutional credit facilities even after Independence. Study by ITES (1978: 98) estimated that the sources of indebtedness were 13% from the banks; 19.85% from the Co-operative society; 45.1% from the money-lenders; 2.5 from the traders and petty shop-keepers and 19.6% from neighbours. The main sources of credit were non-institutional (see Table 7.6). About 65.57% of the tribal households were indebted. About 89% of their loans were from money-lenders, 5.46% from the landlords, and 5.55% from the traders, indicating that the main source of the indebtedness was non-institutional. The institutional credit agencies provided loans on the basis of the security. For example, the tribals of Periya-Kalroyan hills were not eligible for loan facilities till 1976-77 because "...their lands were not

Table 7.6 Sources of Indebtedness of Tribals in Different Hills of Salem District in the early 1980.

Hills	Total No. of Tribal Households	Indebted Households					
		Money-lenders	%	Land-lords	%	Traders	%
Chitteri hills	1,620	1,143	92.85	27	2.19	61	4.95
Pachamalai	1,761	1,097	81.99	92	6.87	149	11.14
Aranuthumalai	488	398	100	-	-	-	-
Kalroyan hills	3,972	2,423	91.82	198	7.50	18	0.68
Kolli hills	5,974	3,241	84.42	295	7.68	303	7.89
Shervaroy hills	9,031	5,029	90.94	206	8.00	301	5.44
Total	22,846	13,331	88.99	818	5.46	832	5.55

Source: Tribal Sub plan 1985-90, p. 75.

given pattahs" *(ITDP Report: Kalroyan hills: 1976-77: 29)*. Generally, the tribals would not like to mortgage to the Government credit institutions because they were suspicious of their complex procedures as well as restrictions.

7.2.5 Indebtedness and the Rate of Interest

7.2.9 The interest rate was determined depending on the nature of the security shown. If a person offered the land as a security, the interest rate would be less, generally 12% per mensem. Sometimes, the interest rate varied upto 15% to 18%. If borrowing was on the basis of the security bond, the rate of interest was generally 18% to 24%. The degree of urgency for credit also decided the rate of interest. In such cases the rate of interest would vary from 36% to 40%, while the common rate was 25% *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 8)*. The interest was also paid in grains at 100 vallams (400 local measures or 200 Madras measures) per year

for Rs. 100. If the price of grains was low, the lenders claimed cash payment *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 7th Aug.1936: 8)*. The tribal borrowers were exploited in two ways. Firstly, the tribals could not get the market price for their products from traders and secondly they had to pay a high rate of interest to the money-lenders.

7.2.10 The usurious advance system known as the varakanthu[2] had prevailed in the Shervaroy hills. This system was introduced by the Mohammadans in 1870s. In 1871, there were 22 such Mohammadans in the Shervaroy hills *(Census of 1871: Salem: 1874: 48-51)*. They charged interest at 6 pies per week per rupee and this worked out to be around 162.5% per annum. Formerly, even one anna per week was being charged and interest at this rate came to be around 325% per annum. Some tribals borrowed from the Mohammadan money lenders and fled to the urban centers after sometime to avoid the debt payment *(G.O.No.2299: Revenue [Mis,Confdl]: 28th Sept.1935: 8)*. Largely due to the unpayable rates of interest that were prevalent in the hill.

7.2.6 Purpose of Loans

7.2.11 At the high rate of interest also, the tribals borrowed money mainly for unproductive purposes. Data from 1930s shows that more than half (52.87%) of the loans were spent unproductively, viz., family and marriage expenses, payment of old debts, litigation expenses, etc. The rest was spent on productive purposes such as purchase of land and cultivation expenses (see Table 7.7). Except in the Kolli hills, all other hills, the Malaiyalis mainly borrowed for the unproductive expenses. Money borrowed from the Co-operative societies were not always utilised in full for the

purpose for which the loans were obtained *(G.O.No.2060: Revenue [Mis,Confdl]: 21st Sept.1936: 36)*.

Table 7.7 Purpose of Loans in Different Hills of Salem District: 1935.

(in percentages)

Purposes	Kolli hills	Shervaroys	Pachamalai	Jarugumalai	Bodamalai	Average
Productive						
Purchase of lands	64.04	4.34	36.20	50.00	14.93	39.90
Cultivation expenses	1.95	2.81	-	-	13.33	3.62
Purchase of cattle	1.45	-	-	-	5.33	1.36
House building	0.44	8.03	-	-	-	1.69
For lending money to others	1.20	1.00	-	-	-	0.44
Payment of Kists	-	-	0.61	-	-	0.12
Total Productive	69.08	46.18	36.81	50.00	32.59	47.13
Non-productive						
Family expenses	11.85	2.21	21.78	-	26.40	12.45
Marriage expenses	8.66	12.45	41.41	7.69	29.34	19.91
Payment of prior debts	7.21	29.92	-	38.46	10.67	17.25
Litigation	3.20	9.24	-	-	-	2.49
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	3.85	-	0.77
Total Non-productive	30.92	53.82	63.19	50.00	64.41	52.87

Source: G. O. No. 2299, Revenue, (Mis, Confdl.) 28th Sep. 1935.

7.2.12 Data in 1977 shows the the tribals continued to spend about three-fourths of the borrowed money for non-productive purposes (see Table 7.8). In the Kolli hills, about 87.3% was spent for the non-productive purposes, and in the remaining hills, i.e., Shervaroy, Kalroyans, Aranuthumalai, Pachamalai and Chitteri hills it was 68.4%, 79.8%, 69.7%, 70.4% and 60.9% respectively.

Table 7.8 Purpose wise Utilisation of Credit in Different Hills of Salem District 1977.

(Percentages)

Purposes	Kolli hills	Sher-varoy	kalro-yan	Arunuthu--malai	Pacha-malai	Chitteri	Average
Productive:							
Land	7.1	9.2	7.5	-	-	9.6	5.57
Livestock	2.7	0.8	9.2	4.6	2.1	5.3	4.12
Agri-implements, digging of wells	1.6	4.2	2.1	0.2	-	12.5	3.43
Buying goods etc.,	1.3	17.4	1.4	25.5	27.5	11.7	14.13
Total	12.7	31.6	20.2	30.3	29.6	39.1	27.25
Non-productive:							
Marriage	7.6	12.4	20.2	9.4	15.1	6.2	11.82
Medical	3.4	0.3	1.5	-	2.1	8.6	2.65
Family expenses	61.3	30.6	44.9	48.8	48.6	36.6	45.13
Repaying old debts	9.1	4.6	3.4	4.6	2.1	3.6	4.57
Miscella-neous	5.9	20.5	9.8	6.9	2.5	5.9	8.58
Total	87.3	68.4	79.8	69.7	70.4	60.9	72.75

Source: Institute for Techno-economic Studies (1978), Indebtedness of Scheduled Tribes in Tamil Nadu, Madras. pp.227-29.

7.2.7 Indebtedness and Extent of Mortgage

7.2.13 If the tribals could not get the credit, they resorted to mortgage their lands. Between 1897-1901, there were no land mortgage transactions in the small hills of Salem district. Either the lenders did not come forward to sanction loans on the mortgage in the small hills or the Malaiyalis would not come forward to mortgage their lands. The first sounds more appropriate as these small hills were not easily accessible. Many mortgage transactions took place in the Shervaroy and Kolli hills during this period. In the Shervaroy hills, 125 land mortgage transactions took place for the amount of Rs. 18,296 and 753.76 acres of land was

mortgaged. The average mortgage value per acre was about Rs. 24.27 and the average amount per transactions was about Rs. 146.37.

7.2.14 In the Kolli hills, 194 transactions were held for the amount of Rs. 16,614-4-0 and 453.65 acres of land was under mortgage. The average amount of lending per acre was about Rs. 36.9 and the average amount per transaction was about Rs. 85.64 (see Appendix 7.3). The Malaiyalis mortgaged their land even to borrow small amount of money, and the mortgage value per acre was also very small. In the Shervaroy hills, the mortgage value per acre as well as the average debt through land mortgage was higher than in the other hills thanks to the greedy and competing presence of the planters and other non-tribals who were eager appropriate tribal lands.

7.2.15 At the beginning of the twentieth century the land mortgage transactions in all the hills except the Aranuthumalai had increased. In 1905/6-1909/10, only a few land mortgage transactions were held in all the hills except the Kolli hills. Even in the Shervaroy hills only seven transactions were held for the amount of Rs. 740 and only 36 acres of land brought under this account. In the Kolli hills, 280 transactions for the amount of Rs. 21,766 and 1,268 acres of land under this transactions were held. During this period, the mortgage amount per acre was only Rs. 20.55 and Rs. 17.16 for the Shervaroys and Kolli hills respectively. In the Bodamalai and Jarugumalai hills the amount of mortgage per acre was high, but in the Chitteri and Pachamalai the amount of mortgage per acre was Rs. 8.25 and Rs. 15.46 respectively.

7.2.16 During 1928/29 - 1932/33, the land mortgage transactions in the smaller hills were only a few but the amount involved were high. In

the Shervaroy hills, the number of transaction had increased. The mortgage amount per acre and per member also increased. But in the Kolli hills, the number of transactions decreased but the average amount per acre and per transactions increased. Only a few tribals got more amount by the mortgage. The mortgage amount never exceed more than Rs. 300 in these hills. When lands were given as security they almost always ended in dispossession and alienation *(B.P.No.60: 18thMar.1918)*. The amount of mortgage per acre and per member had increased in the different hills in course of time. Leading to a vicious circle of increasing indebtedness and increasing inability to pay on the part of tribals.

7.2.8 Sources of Mortgage Credit

7.2.17 There is a clear correlation between the sources of mortgage lending and the eventual alienation of the tribal lands mortgaged. In the Shervaroy hills, 125 mortgage transactions were recorded during the period of 1897-1901. Of which, 40 from Chetties, 7 from Mohammadans, 61 from others and 17 from the Malaiyalis. A substantial number of mortgage transactions were made with money-lenders and traders (see Table 7.9). In 1905/06-1909/10, about 307 mortgage transactions were held in the different hills. Of which, 210 persons or about 68.4% of the mortgage lending sources from the agriculturists and 95 persons or about 30.94% from the traders and only two or about 0.65% from the other sources. During this period, except two mortgages (one from Shervaroys and another from Jarugumalai) all the transactions were done with the agriculturists and traders. The number of mortgage transactions were high in the Kolli hills. No hills had the institutional mortgage lending facilities. The mortgage lending by the agriculturists and traders was clearly motivated as vindicated by the subsequent land transfers from the tribals.

Table 7.9 Sources of Mortgages in Different Hills:

Hills	Period	No.of Trans-actions	Lenders		
			Agriculturalists	Traders	Others
Kolli hills	1905/6-1909/10	280	190	90	-
	1928/9-1932/33	230	175	22	33
Shervaroy's	1905/6-1905/10	7	3	3	1
	1928/9-1932/33	29	21	3	5
Pachamalai	1905/6-1909/10	9	9	-	-
	1928/9-1932/33	1	1	-	-
Chitteri	1905/6-1909/10	1	-	1	-
	1928/9-1932/33	2	2	-	-
Bodamalai	1905/6-1909/10	7	7	-	-
	1928/9-1932/33	5	5	-	-
Jarugumalai	1905/6-1909/10	3	1	1	1
	1928/9-1932/33	1	-	1	-

Sources: G. O. No. 1793, Revenue, 17th Aug. 1936, p. 12,23,29,47,52.

7.2.18 During the period of 1928/29-1932/33, the number of mortgage transactions decreased to 265. Of which 204 or about 76.98% were with the agriculturists, 26 or about 9.81% were with the traders and 35 or about 13.21% were with the others. The other sources may be the institutional mortgaging facilities. These facilities existed only in the Kolli and Shervaroy hills. The above table shows that the agriculturists gave the loans on the basis of mortgage mainly for taking the tribal land in future. In the year of 1928/29-1932/33 also the number of mortgage transactions was high in the Kolli hills. There were 230 transactions. Of which, 175 or about 76.09% were by the agriculturists; 22 or 9.57% were by the traders; and 33 or 14.35 % were by others. In contrary to that the number of mortgage transactions increased in the Shervaroy hills and they were mainly with the agriculturists. Due to the availability of the fertile land in the Kolli hills a large number of the agriculturist the loans on

the basis of the land mortgage. The number of mortgage transactions decreased in the Kolli hills due to the agricultural co-operative credit societies. In Shervaroy hills, Agricultural Co-operative Credit Society did not give loans to the tribals between 1927/28 and 1932/33 in view of collecting earlier loans. As a result, the mortgage transactions with agriculturists increased *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 8* and *47)*. The agriculturalist and traders provided land mortgage loans to the tribals with an eye on their lands.

7.2.9 Purpose of Land Mortgage

7.2.19 The use the mortgage loans were put to determined the ability of the tribals to repay the loans and reclaim the mortgaged land. About 76% of the land-mortgage loans were used for the non-productive purposes and the remaining 24% were used for the productive purposes between the period of 1905/6-1909/10 and 1928/29-1932/33 (see Appendix 7.4). All the land mortgage loans in the category of productive purposes were used mainly for the purchase of new lands. In the unproductive purposes, 2.5% were used for the marriage expenses; 40.8% for discharge of the old debts; 31.8% for the family expenses and 0.9% for the other miscellaneous expenses. The Malaiyalis used the land mortgage amount mainly for the unproductive purposes. So, the result was that they could not repay the loans in time and finally, they were forced to dispose of their land.

7.2.20 The data from the years 1905/6 to 1909/10 shows that only 17% of land mortgage loans were used for productive purposes and the remaining 83% were used for unproductive purposes. In the first category almost all mortgage loans were used for the purchase of lands. In the second category 36%, 40.8%, 4.8%, and 1.4% were used for the discharge of

old debts, family expenses, marriage and other purposes respectively. Records from the years 1928/29 to 1932/33 shows that 31% of mortgage loans were spent for the productive purposes and the remaining 69% were for the unproductive purposes, i.e., mainly to discharge the old debts and to meet the family expenses. This period recorded a 14% increase in the category of productive spending compared to the previous one. Its insignificance is evident as it did not make any difference to the by now established pattern of debt trap and the consequent land alienation.

7.2.10 Tribals and Drinking Habits

7.2.21 Drinking habit of the Malaiyalis was also one of the main causes for their indebtedness and land alienation. Both men and women were habitual drinkers. Generally, the drinks were brewed by themselves. And, the Government also introduced arrack and toddy shops in the hill

Table 7.10 Rental Amount of Three Toddy and Four Arrack Shops in Shervaroy Hills: 1896/97-1904/05

Year	Rental of Toddy Shops per Month Rs A P	Rental of Arrack Shops per Month Rs. A P	Total Rs. A P
1896-97	221 4 0	469 0 0	690 4 0
1897-98	275 0 0	758 8 0	1,033 8 0
1898-99	254 0 0	667 0 0	921 0 0
1899-1900	222 0 0	535 0 0	757 0 0
1900-01	371 0 0	489 0 0	860 0 0
1901-02	323 0 0	489 0 0	812 0 0
1902-03	392 0 0	399 0 0	791 0 0
1903-04	412 0 0	468 0 0	880 0 0
1904-05	395 0 0	455 0 0	850 0 0

Source: G. O. No. 605, Revenue, 30th June 1905, p. 16.

areas. The scale of drinking can be understood with the help of rental data an arrack and toddy shops in the hill areas (see Table 7.10). They consumed large amount of arrack drinks than that of the toddy during 1896-1900 (see Table 7.10). This trend had changed in the following years. For example, the rental rate per month for toddy shop was Rs. 221-4-0 in 1896-97 and it increased to Rs. 395-0-0 in 1904-1905, as against the rental rate of the arrack shop which decreased from Rs. 469 to Rs. 455. Though the overall rental amount had increased from Rs. 690-4-0 to Rs. 850 in the same period. Drinking habit was greatly encouraged by the money-lenders by providing loans for that purpose *(G.O.No.605: Revenue: 30thJune 1905: 15)*. An increasing consumption of and an increasing expenditure on arrack and toddy might also have been responsible for the high indebtedness which finally led to the alienation of their land.

7.2.22 Drinking habit as such was found in the other hills also. But the scale was low as can be inferred from the rental amount an arrack and toddy shops. Indeed, the bidders did not come forward to take part in the auction. Because, the other hills did not have the communication facilities as in the Shervaroy hills, resulting the low amount of the renting rate. There were four arrack shops in Namakkal-Kolli hills, i.e., Ariyur, Velappur, Valavandy and Gundur respectively paying an average monthly rent of Rs. 4-13-0, Rs. 4-12-0, Rs. 3-1-0 and Rs. 4-14-0 respectively over a period of 1899-1904. All the rented arrack shops were held by the Malaiyali tribals only. And it is said to be that the profit was not high. There were no toddy shops *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug. 1936: 8, 48)*. In the Attur-Kolli hills, only one arrack shop in Bail Nadu was owned by a Malaiyali. The average annual rental for the two years of this shop 1902-1904 was of only Rs. 12-6-0 *(G.O..No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 27)*. Even the small amount spent on the drinks was

responsible for some land alienations in the different hill areas of Salem district.

7.2.23 The reason for Malaiyali indebtedness and the consequences there of could be put briefly in the following manner. The non-tribals introduced new attractions to the tribals. The tribals could not meet their new wants within their income. Consequently, they borrowed money from the lenders at exorbitant rates of interest and spent the amount mainly for the unproductive proposes. The tribals also spent considerable amounts on drinking.The main creditors were professional money-lenders, landlords and traders. The credit the tribals could avail was mainly from the non-institutional sources; a combination of high rates of interest and unproductive use of the credit crippled their ability to repay loans, ultimately resulting in the alienation of lands.

III

7.3.0 The Extent of Land Alienation in the Different Hills

7.3.1 The tribal lands were alienated to the planters, i.e., the Britishers and the plains people. And some extent of land transferred among the tribal themselves.[3] About 6.58% of the land was occupied by the non-tribals, particularly planters and sowcars. In the Shervaroy hills, about 1,417.08 acres or 11.7% of lands were alienated; of which, 918.11 acres or 64.79% of the lands were under the ownership of planters (see Table 7.11). In the Attur-Kolli hills, about 584.66 acres or 6.13% of the total occupied land in the hills were alienated by the non-tribals mainly for their agricultural purposes. In the Namakkal-Kolli hills, about 289.26 acres or about 2.29% of the total land was occupied by the non-tribals. Of

Table 7.11 Extent of Land Alienation in Different Hills of Salem District: 1905

(in acres)

Hills (1)	Total occupied land (2)	Occupied by non-tribals (3)	% (4)	Planters & sowercars (5)	% of col. (5) to (3) (6)
Shervaroy hills	12,079.74	1,417.08	11.70	918.11	64.79
Aranuthu malai	1,562.20	0.34	0.02	-	-
Namakkal-kolli hills	12,617.66	289.26	2.29	277.59	95.97
Attur-Kolli hills	9,541.71	584.66	6.13	-	-
Jarugu malai	186.37	76.97	41.29	-	-
Total	35,987.68	2,368.33	6.58	1195.70	50.49

Sources: G.O.No. 605, Revenue, 30th June 1905, pp 15,19,27,33
G.O.No. 1130, Revenue, 18th May 1916

which, 95.97% was alienated by the sowcars. In the Aranuthumalai hills, only 0.34 acres were under the ownership of the non-tribals. In the Jarugumalai, about 41% of the total land was occupied by the non-tribals.

7.3.2 In Pachamalai, Bodamalai, Jambuthumalai, there was no land alienation till the beginning of the 20th century. In the Pachamalai, in 1925, about 300 acres of land had got into the hands of the non-tribals as a result of failure to repay loans *(No. 2332 [Mis]: Revenue: 24th Oct. 1925: 3)*. And it increased to 447.25 acres or 181.15 hectares in 1976-77 *(ITDP-Report: Pachamalai: 1976-77: 47)*. Around 1970s, 1,047.35 acres or 419.32 hectares in the Kalroyan hills were occupied by the non-tribals *(ITDP-Report: Kalroyan hills: 1976-77: 22, 135)*. The Sub-Registrar of Peddanaickan Palayam (1987) said that the transfer of lands from tribals to non-tribals increased and the transfers among the tribals were very few. He further stated that a large extent of land

transferred from the tribals to non-tribals had taken place in the areas with developed communication and transport facilities (Jothimurugan: 1989: 156).

7.3.3 The common method of clearing debts by Malaiyalis has been through the disposition of their lands. The ratio of the debt with the land transfer their land. About 15.47% of debts were cleared by alienation of lands. The ratio in the Chitteri hills was of 24.2%; Aranuthumalai 24.2% ; Kalroyan hills 21.1% ; Shervaroy hills 9.1% ; Pachamalai 8.1% and Kolli hills 6.1% *(ITES: 1978: 133)*. In words, one-fourth of the debt was cleared by disposing of their lands.

7.3.1 Land Alienation through sale

7.3.4 A great deal of was alienated through sale of lands by the tribals to non-tribals. Tribal lands were to become increasingly attractive to the non-tribals with the development of transport and communications, with introduction of crops for which hills were favourable, fertility of the land and most importantly, lower prices at which they could be bought. Appendix 7.5 pertaining to the period between 1897 to 1933, clearly shows increasing the number of sale transactions in the hills compared to the plains and also the price differences between agricultural land in the hills and outside. Further, it shows a steady increase in the sale value of the land in the hills.

7.3.2 Extent of Coffee Cultivation

7.3.5 Coffee cultivation in the hill areas led to a large extent of tribal land alienation. Colonel Read introduced coffee plantation

in the Jawadhi hills around 1795, but it did not succeed *(Papers Relating to Coffee Districts: 1859: 1)*. Around 1830, coffee plantation work was started in the Shervaroy hills. About 10 Europeans were engaged in the coffee cultivation in the Shervaroy hills at the end of the first half of the 19th century *(Papers Relating to Coffee Districts: 1859: 1)*. In 1885, the number of coffee plantations increased to nearly 300 (Maclean: 1885: Vol.II: 124). Around 1880, there were 286 coffee plantations and they covered about 9,680 acres; of which, 3,588 acres or about 37.07% was cultivated with mature plants; 1,196 acres or 12.36% was of immature plants and the remaining 4,896 acres or 50.58% were not planted (Le Fanu: 1883: Vol.II: 21). The coffee plantations mainly belonged to the Britishers and other non-tribals and the tribal cultivation of coffee was insignificant. In 1970-71, about 3,771.61 hectares or 9,319.65 acres were under the coffee cultivation. Large extent of coffee cultivation by the non-tribals alienated the tribal lands over the period.

7.3.3 Revenue Collection through Appropriation of Lands

7.3.6 A sizable land of the tribals in the hill areas of Salem district was appropriated by the Government against the payment of tax arrears. For example., in the Bail Nadu village of Kolli hills, about 4.19 acres of land assessed at Rs. 1-5-0 was brought under the control of the Government for the arrears of revenue in 1914 *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 27)*. In 1925, about 7.46 acres of land in the Selambai village in the Chitteri hills was brought into the sale at the assessment rate of Rs. 5-10-0 *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 27)*. In the Shervaroy hills, about 20.20 acres of land at the assessment of Rs. 18-1-0 were sold for the arrears of revenue to the private individuals in 1921. The amount realised was Rs. 13-15-0 only. In 1927 about 10.22 acres of land

at the assessment of Rs. 8-15-0 sold to the private individuals by the Government *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17th Aug. 1936: 80)*. The same assessment rate as above was realised. During the period of 1912 to 1933, about 59.41 acres of land bearing an assessment of Rs. 52-7-0 were brought into by the Government. Out of the 59.41 acres, 30.07 acres had either been resold or reassigned subsequently. The remaining land sales by the Government was said to be the result of registered holders who had died intestate, or had left the village without putting in applications for relinquishment or transferring their rights to others *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17th Aug. 1936: 46)*. Thus, the extent of land sold to recover the arrears also contributed to the alienation of tribal land, though, in a small way.

IV

7.4.0 Land Alienation and its Effects: Migration

7.4.1 The population of India was not much mobile but attached to its villages (Zachariah: 1964: 258-59). This attachment was greater among the hill people. Whatever little migration there was among the hill people was due to the natural calamities. The colonial intervention with all its distress consequence for the tribals especially the extension of reserve forest and the non-tribal settlers lead to the tribal migration out of their original habitat.

7.4.2 There were two main reasons for the migration in Salem district during the early colonial period; over-assessment of the land revenue, and unfavourable seasons. In the early stages of the colonial period, some people migrated to other districts to avoid the heavy revenue demands upon them *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3160: 44)*. In 1797, about

407-36-44 star pagodas or about Rs. 1,428 was the balance due to the desertions of the ryots. Of which, 382-11-4 star pagodas was from the northern division, 91-39-37 star pagodas was from the southern division, and 33-31-3 star pagodas was from the central division. Migration from Northern Division was due to over-assessment *(Board of Revenue: Nos.14-15: 12thJun.1797: Vol.179-A: 3334)*. However, there was no account available to denote the number of migrants. In 1798 as well about 274-35-63 star pagodas were balance of dues due to desertions *(Board of Revenue: Nos.24-25: 27thSept.1798: Vol.210-B: 7125)*. Sometimes, the ryots fled to the inaccessible hills from the aggressive tax collections of the rulers *(Baramahal Records: 1889: 1)*. Every year, some people left their lands either due to unfavorable seasons or over assessment.

7.4.3 During the unfavourable seasons, they "...have carried the fruits of their labour where it has been in demand" *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3160: 43-44)*, and mainly within the Tamil linguistic region *(Guilmoto: 1993: 111)*. Without considering the adverse nature of the season, the tax had been collected. Consequently, many cultivators migrated. In 1814, due to the high rent and the unfavorable season, half of the punjai lands and three-fourths of the nunjai lands were left uncultivated in the Balaghat *(Board of Revenue: No.48: 14thNov.1814: Vol.659: 13662-63)*. The collection was about 10% to 15% more than the assessment in the Paramathi taluk in 1818 *(Board of Revenue: No.36: 16thAprl.1818: Vol.789: 47304)*. Thus a heavy assessment and unfavourable seasons forced the people to migrate in the early period. The migrants were mainly the poor ryots and agricultural labourers.

7.4.4 Migration was not predominant in the all regions of the Salem district during the 19th century. It occurred in the regions that

were struck by the natural calamities. Most of the migrants were from the Namakkal, Hosur, Rasipuram, Denkanekota, Paramathi and Attur taluks. The migrants moved mainly to the neighbouring districts, viz., Trichy, Coimbatore, Mysore, Chittoor, North Arcot and South Arcot. Some people migrated to other parts of India, such as Banaras or abroad, i.e., Ceylon and Malaysia. The Collector of Salem stated in 1847, that "...the cultivating ryots of this district are not in the habit of emigrating to any distant country or to the West Indies for employment" *(Board of Revenue: 17thJune 1847: Vol.2085: 8462)*. "The migrants were in fact, mainly landless labourers whose working conditions in the original environment very close to the servitude" *(Guilmoto: 1993: 117)*. The poor farmers, and landless labourers had migrated during the 19thcentury.

7.4.5 · The early emigrants were mainly from the poorest sections of the population, particularly agricultural and landless labourers. They were largely from Namakkal, Salem and Tiruppatur taluks. But the Collector stated that the emigration to Ceylon was only from the Namakkal taluk and no such emigration took place in any of the other taluks *(Board of Revenue: 17thJune 1847: Vol 2085: 8463)*. It is difficult to say which castes migrated into the other districts as well as to other countries. Dharma Kumar (1965) stated that "The evidence regarding the caste or class of the emigrants is too uncertain a basis for trying to estimate how many of them belonged to each category" (Kumar: 1965: 139). But Guilmoto said that most of the emigrants belonged to the lower castes *(Guilmoto: 1993: 116)*.

7.4.1 Migration of the Tribals

7.4.6 Migration within the hills was mainly in search of fertile lands. During the pre-colonial period, no major migration or

increase of population had taken place in the hill areas of Salem district *(Collectorate Records: Vol.3160: 40)*. The initial forays of non-tribal settlers including British planters caused tribal migration within the hills, as they still had a chance, in terms of space to avoid the strangers. In the Shervaroy hills, "...parties of gentlemen were frequently in the habit of going there, the villages in question being contiguous to the place of encampment several families had carried off the material of which there huts are composed and had commenced building some miles farther within the hills" *(Board of Revenue: Nos 48-49: 27th Nov.1828: Vol.1171: 12311)*. This type of migration was not common in the other hills of Salem district.

7.4.7 A few hill inhabitants migrated to the other districts as well as to other countries during the early 19th century (see Table 7.12).

Table 7.12 Number of Migrants of Hill Areas During 19th Century (in Rupees)

Year	No. of Persons Migrated	Migration to	Migration from	Amount of loss to Government
1835	-	Chittoor	Jawadhi hills	40 - -
1836	-	-	-	520 8 4
1837	-	Chittoor,S.A.	Jawadhi hills	531 - -
1839	-	-	Aranuthumalai	601 - -
1840	-	-	Jawadhi hills	91 - -
1841	-	Chittoor	Jawadhi hills	242 - 12
		Cuddalore		
1848	10	Ceylon,	Kolli hills	6 2 5
	4 others		(Namakkal)	
	29	Chittoor,	Jawadhi hills	120 6 5
		Virudachalam		
1850	1	Ceylon	Kolli hills	1 8 -
			(Namakkal)	
1855	20	Chittoor	Jawadhi hills	112 8 -

Sources: Board of Revenue: 12th Oct.1835, No.38. Vol.1470, pp.11728-29; 5th Oct.1836, No.82. Vol.1539, 18th Dec.1837, No.56 Vol.1589. p.16645;

15th Oct. 1840, No.28, Vol.1722; pp. 13750-51. 28th Oct.1841, No.34, Vol.1775, p.14676; 14576.6th Mar. 1848, No.23, Vol.2122, p.3464; 21st Dec. 1848, No.56, Vol.2117, pp.18921-5; 28th Jan. 1850, No.54, Vol.2227, p.1741; 2nd Jan. 1856, No.26, Vol.2507, p.89.

The migrants were mainly from the Jawadhi hills 1839, the Aranuthumalai hill inhabitants migrated due to the high rate of assessment. Apart from this, no other hill tribals were migrated during these periods. The hill tribals also emigrated during 1848 and 1850 from the Namakkal-Kolli hills (see Table 7.12). No other hill tribals were emigrated during the period. So, both migration and emigration of the tribals from the hill areas was very limited in the earlier 19th century.

7.4.8 In the late 19th Century, migration to the other countries increased. Some of the inhabitants migrated on their own accord while some others were recruited by duly licensed agents. In 1875, about 651 persons emigrated to Mauritious from Attur and Namakkal taluks. They were not recruited, but proceeded of their own accord *(Board of Revenue: No.111: 30th July 1875: 6308).* In 1876, about 30 persons emigrated to the Mauritious from Namakkal, Salem and Tiruppatur. They were recruited by the duly licensed agents *(Board of Revenue: No.111: 7th Dec.1876: 9975).* Due to the high wages in the other countries some people migrated at even their own risk.

7.4.9 During the early twentieth century, some of the hill inhabitants migrated from the Salem district. About 800 land owners from the Pachamalai hills migrated as coolies to the estates of the Anamalai, Ceylone, Malaysia and elsewhere *(G.O.No.1599: Revenue: 14th Oct.1925).* About 10 families from Pachamalai hills migrated to the Shervaroy hills attracted of higher wages poverty *(G.O.No.605: Revenue: 309th June 1905: 27).* "The

Malaiyalis should have it believed that, owing to their poverty, they are migrating in large numbers to Candy, Colombo, Cochin, the Nilgiris and Shervaroys to work as coolies" *(G.O. No. 605: Revenue: 30thJune 1905: 27).* So, in the early period of the twentieth century limited migration is recorded from the hill areas of Salem district.

7.4.10 Migration of population from rural to rural areas was about 91.48% in 1961. It was about 97.1% for Scheduled Castes and 97.38% for Scheduled Tribes. The Scheduled Tribes migration from rural to rural areas was higher that of the others. Of the tribals, 99.35% of the Malaiyalis migration was from rural to rural areas. The rural-urban migration of the tribals was lower than that of the others. Only 2.62% of the tribals migrated from the rural to urban areas. The rural-urban migration of the Malaiyalis was only 0.65%. No Malaiyalis migration from the urban-urban as well as urban to rural areas *(Census of India 1961: Vol.IX: Part V-A[i]: 78-80).* The tribals in general and the Malaiyalis in particular migrated within the hills even they lost their land.

7.4.11 In 1961, majority of the tribals in Tamil Nadu or 85.67% were born within the district, 9.32% were from the neighbouring districts and the remaining from the other States of India and outside *(Census of India 1961: Vol.IX: Part V-A[i]: 83).* The tribal migration was mainly within the district and little from the adjoining district. Also, the tribals migrated for shorter periods than the Scheduled Castes and the general population *(Census of India 1961: Vol.IX: Part V-A[i]: 89).* But the tribals migrated from one place to another within their hills more frequently than the Scheduled Castes and general population.

7.4.2 Rural-Urban Migration of Tribals in Salem District

7.4.12 Migration of tribals from one village to another did not affect their economic position. But, rural-urban migration lead to their occupational transformation, and also it provided facilities for their development. In 1961, only 39 persons or about 0.03% of the tribals in Salem district lived in the urban areas. Of which, about two-thirds were males and the remaining were females. This proportion increased to 1.39% in 1981 but, in 1991 it decreased to 1.24%.Over the period, the female rural-urban migration increased remarkably from 35.9% in 1961 to 47.45% in

Table 7.13 Rural-Urban Migration of Tribals in Salem District: 1961-1991

Year	Total Tribals	In Urban Areas	%	Males	%	Females	%
1961	1,00,512	39	0.03	25	64.10	14	35.90
1971	1,24,506	921	0.74	468	50.81	453	49.19
1981	1,68,518	2,339	1.39	1,202	51.39	1,137	48.61
1991	1,83,810	2,276	1.24	1,196	52.55	1,080	47.45

Sources: Census of India 1961, Vol.IX, Madras, Part V A(1), Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, Superintendent of Census operations, Madras, 1964, pp. 252-53:

Census of India 1971, Series 19, Tamil Nadu, Part V-A, Special Table for Schedule Caste and Scheduled Tribes, 1977 pp. 230-31, 242-45.

Census of India 1981, Series 20, Tamil Nadu, Part IX-A, Special Tables for Scheduled Tribes, pp.96-107.

Census of India 1991, Final Population of Tamil Nadu, Director of Census operations, Tamil Nadu, 1993.

1991 (see Table 7.13). In short, the migration of the tribals increased to the urban areas in Salem district and the rate of female migration was higher than the general tribals.

7.4.3 Rural-Urban Migration of Malaiyalis in Salem District

7.4.13 The number of rural-urban migrants of the Malaiyali tribes between 1961 and 1981 was very low in the Salem district (see Table 7.14). Only six Malaiyalis lived in the urban areas of Salem district in 1961. Of which, five were males and one was a female (see Table 7.14).

Table 7.14 Rural-Urban Migration of Malaiyalis in Salem District: 1961-1981.

Year	Total Malaiyalis	In Urban Areas	%	Males	%	Females	%
1961	92,730	6	0.01	5	83.33	1	16.67
1971	1,08,102	18	0.02	17	94.44	1	5.56
1981	1,08,394	224	0.21	124	55.36	100	44.64

Source: Same as in the Table 7.13 except 1991 census.

The rural-urban migration of the Malaiyalis was low in general and the Malaiyali females in particular than that of the other tribals of Salem district.

7.4.4 Malaiyalis and Other Tribes in Urban Areas

7.4.14 Only six Malaiyalis were recorded in the urban areas of Salem district during the year of 1961. In 1971, 18 persons or 1.95% of the total urban tribals were Malaiyalis. But in 1981, the proportion increased to 9.58%. Though 70% of the tribals were Malaiyalis in the district, the rural-urban migration was low when compared to that of the remaining 30% of the tribals in Salem district (see Table 7.15). About 90% of the tribal migrants to the urban areas in Salem district was only from the 30% of the

Table 7.15 Proportion of Malaiyalis to total Tribes in Urban Areas of Salem District: 1961-1981.

Year	Total Tribes in the Urban areas of Salem	Total Malaiyalis in the Urban areas of Salem	Percentage
1961	39	6	15.38
1971	921	18	1.95
1981	2,339	224	9.58

Source: Same as in Table 7.13

non-Malaiyali tribes. The Malaiyalis are still found largely in the rural areas.

7.4.5 Occupation of the Malaiyali Migrants

7.4.15 Only a few Malaiyali tribals migrated to the urban areas between 1961 and 1981. There are many reasons for this small number of migration. This can be understood broadly with the help of the trend of workers and non-workers in the urban areas (see Table 7.16). In 1971, only one Malaiyalis migrated to the urban area as a worker. In 1981 the numbers

Table 7.16 Trend of Working and Non-Working Force of Urban Malaiyalis: 1961-1981

Year	Total Malaiyalis	Workers						Non-workers					
		Total	%	Males	%	Females	%	Total	%	Males	%	Females	%
1961	6	2	33.34	1	16.67	1	16.67	4	66.67	4	66.67	-	-
1971	18	1	5.56	1	5.56	-	-	17	94.45	16	88.89	1	5.56
1981	224	63	23.21	52	23.21	11	4.91	161	71.87	72	32.14	89	39.73

Sources: Same as in the Table 7.13

of workers had increased to 52, even though the proportion did not increase remarkably. The urban migrants were mainly non-workers (see Table 7.16). Of

the total Malaiyalis in Salem district in 1981, only 4.91% of the females were workers and the remaining were non-workers or dependents. So, of the workers, male proportion was high and the female proportion was low, but in the non-workers it was vice-versa.

7.4.6 Occupational Status of Migrants

7.4.16 The tribal migrants in the urban areas of Salem district were involved in the trade and other services. In 1961 only two Malaiyalis involved in the trade and commercial activities. In 1971, the migrants were involved mainly in primary and service sector activities (see Table 7.17).

Table 7.17 Occupational Categories of Tribals and Malaiyalis in Salem District: 1961-1981.

	Total Tribes			Malaiyalis		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
I*	-	96	210	-	-	1
II*	1	54	48	-	-	1
III*	-	2	3	-	-	2
IV*	-	-	1	-	-	-
V-A*	-	10	16	-	-	-
V-B*	-	27	76	-	-	7
VI*	-	22	39	-	-	-
VII*	4	29	95	2	-	20
VIII*	-	31	58	-	1	14
IX*	20	31	154	-	-	14
Marginal	-	-	9	-	-	3

* The Industrial occupational categories according to the census.

Source: Same as in the Table 7.13.

Only one Malaiyali was employed in transport and communication. By 1981, the growing tribal migrants were largely under the category of cultivators

in the primary sector and in the secondary sector, other than household industry and construction, and in all the activities of service sector, while the Malaiyalis were mainly involved in the service sector.

7.4.17 The Malaiyalis did not migrate either to urban areas or abroad till recently. The proportion of their migration was low when compared to that of the Scheduled Castes and many other tribals in Salem district. In fact, the Malaiyali migration started after 1970's only. In 1981, only 224 Malaiyalis were in the urban areas of Salem district, of which most of them were dependent/non-workers. The Salem district has more than 40% of the total Malaiyali in Tamil Nadu and about 70% of the tribals in Salem district are Malaiyalis. The non-Malaiyali tribes in Salem district migrated more than the Malaiyalis, and they were mainly engaged in the primary sector activities. In contrast, the Malaiyalis were mainly involved in the activities of service sector.

7.4.18 During the first half of the 19thcentury, only a very small number of persons migrated from the hill areas particularly from the Jawadhi hills. Even after losing their lands the Malaiyalis did not migrate to the other places. They were strongly attached to their own hill villages. So, the extent of migration due to the land alienation was very insignificant in the hill areas of Salem district. The rural-urban tribal migration started after Independence, and particularly in the 1960s. Even now, the proportion of the urban tribal population is low. The effects of tribal' land alienation did not make any major impact on their migration.

7.5.1 Tribal Land Alienation and Colonial Government Measures

7.5.1 The colonial Government did not make any legislation to stop the tribal land alienation during the first half of the 19thcentury. To protect the tribals from the planters, the 'village green' system was introduced in the Shervaroy hills in 1866. Under this system, a certain portion of waste land was demarcated around each village for cultivation of the Malaiyalis exclusively. But, no restriction was imposed against the sale of lands within the 'village green' by the Malaiyalis to the outsiders. Subsequently, most of the 'village green' lands had actually been transferred to outsiders by the Malaiyalis. In 13 villages, about 40% of the lands under the 'village green' had been transferred to the outsiders *(G.O.No.714: 7thMar. 1910: 2)*. In 1871, the 'village green' areas were extended further *(G.O.No.262: Revenue: 19thJan.1871)*. The 'village green' apparently a protective measure in actual practice severely restricted the cultivation of Malaiyalis. Moreover, under the increasing pressure from non-tribals the Malaiyalis slowly lost even there reserved areas in the course of time.

7.5.2 A sizable extent of 'village green' areas were purchased by the non-tribals. To restrict these practices, the Government Order No.714 in 1910. Under this order, the future assignments to Malaiyalis of village green on the Shervaroys should be made on the condition that the land should not be transferred to the 'non-Malaiyalis' without the Collector's sanction; and that "...if the land is so transferred without such sanction, or is attached by any legal process, it shall be liable to resumption by the Collector without payment of any compensation whatever"

(G.O.No.714: Revenue: 7th Mar.1910). Similar orders were also proposed for the Jarugumalai, Pachamalai and Kolli hills *(B.P.No.60: 8th Mar.1918: 56)*. By this order, a limited area was demarcated for the tribals and the remaining areas were opened for the non-tribals.

7.5.3 As the Malaiyali cultivators demanded more lands for cultivation, the Government ordered to extend the areas of 'village green' in the Shervaroy hills in 1916. The Collector stated that the extension of 'village green' was possible only in the 46 villages consisting of 2,397 acres *(G.O.No.2451: Legislative Council: 14th Oct.1920)*. Of the remaining 22 villages, only 14 villages had unassessed lands and the rest did not have any scope for extension. Of the 14 villages about 201.57 acres were transferred to the 'village green' *(G.O.No.2997 [Mis]: Revenue: 15th Dec. 1921)*. In the Kombuthukki village, about 1,261 acres extension of the 'village green' was possible but "...the villagers do not require them as they believe that ghosts haunt them" *(G.O.No.2997 [Mis]: Revenue: 15th Dec.1921)*. Though a large extent of lands were available, the colonial Government allowed only a limited extent of the land to the tribals in the name of protection, and in view of encouraging coffee cultivation to the British settlers and outsiders.

7.5.4 To prevent the land alienation in the other hills, i.e., Pachamalai and Kolli hills, the Collector notified that assignments of land on these hills, in future, was restricted to the Malaiyalis *(G.O.No.1749: Revenue: 16th June.1917)*. According to the notification, assignment of lands in certain villages at the foot of the Kolli hills in the Attur taluk of Salem district would be restricted to the Malaiyalis and would be subjected to the condition that the lands should not be transferred to the non-Malaiyalis except with the express sanction of the Divisional officers.

If any land granted subsequent to the date of notification was transferred to the non-Malaiyalis without such sanction, it should be liable to resumption by the Government without payment of compensation *(G.O.No.1858 [Mis]: Revenue: 7thAug.1919)*. Then the Government passed the Revenue Board Standing Orders (hereafter BSOs) Nos.15-40, to implement the above notification. These orders applied only to the Malaiyalis and Sholaga tribes in Tamil Nadu.

7.5.2 Post-Colonial Government's Measures

7.5.5 After Independence, the Tamil Nadu Government did not enact any act to protect the tribal land alienation to the non-tribals. While legislation to prevent the alienation of tribal lands is conspicuously absent, the execution has been half-hearted within the inadequate legal framework created by the British colonial Government.According to the BSOs, about 110.15 hectares or 272.18 acres in the Semmanatham village and 78.35 hectares or 193.6 acres in the Vellakkadai village of the Shervaroy hills had been resumed in 1966 and 1969 respectively *(ITDP-Report: Yercaud: 1976-77: 135)*. In the five villages of Pachamalai, about 181.15 hectares or 447.62 acres were alienated by the non-tribals *(ITDP-Report: Pachamalai: 1976-77: 47)*. The BSOs could not restrict the sale of <u>pattah</u> lands owned by the tribals to the non-tribals.

VI

7.6.0 Conclusions

7.6.1 The problem of land alienation in the Salem district was the creation of the coffee planters. Subsequently, the non- tribals began

to settle in the hill areas. After the non-tribal settlement, the tribals imitated the non-tribals consumption patterns. But they could not meet the expenditure with their income; ultimately they mortgaged their land. Loans were spent for unproductive purposes. Finally, their land was disposed of and they became landless labourers. Due to the non-tribal settlement or tribal land alienation, the Malaiyali tribes did not migrate to the plain/urban areas and they were attached to their hill areas. To save the tribal lands the colonial Government framed laws but they indirectly helped the non-tribals. After Independence also no separate law to protect the tribals land in Tamil Nadu is enacted.

NOTES:

[1]It was a denomination of the land measure in the Madras Presidency. One cawnie is equal to 1.322 acres or 24 manais. One manai equal to 2400 square feet. So, one cawnie is equal to 57,000 square feet.

[2]kanthu means a fixed term of payment or installment. varakanthu means, if a person borrowed certain amount, every week he has to pay a part of the initial amount plus interest. This type of lending was practiced mainly by the Mohammadan money lenders.

[3] The tribal lands were transferred in the hill areas not only to the non-tribals but also to some extent to the other tribals. A study by Techno-Economic Studies (1978), surveyed 278 tribal families in the different hills of Salem district. Of which, 50 families or 17.99% had transferred lands (ITES: 1978: 131). The extent of land transfer was varied from hills to hills. For example, in the Chitteri hills it was 25.25%; Aranuthumalai 23.5%; Shervaroy hills 18.31%; Kalroyan hills 16.3%, Kolli hills 13.4% and Pachamalai 17.6%. About 167.26 acres were transferred, of which a large extent from the Kalroyan hills was of 46.75 acres; 40.35 acres in the chitteri hills; 33.35 acres in the Shervaroy hills; 24.31 in the Kolli hills; 19.5 in the Aranuthumalai and 3.00 acres in the Pachamalai hills *(ITES: 1978: 133)*. A sizable extent of land was transferred by the tribals themselves.

CHAPTER-VIII

SOME TRIBAL WELFARE MEASURES

8.0.0 This chapter consists of three sections. The first section introduces the tribal policies since the colonial intervention; the second section analyses the welfare measures of the colonial and post-colonial Government; and the third section concludes the chapter.

I

8.1.0 Welfare Measures

8.1.1 The main objective of planning in India is to improve the standards of living of the people *(First Five-Year Plan: 1952: 1)*. One of the major concerns of Indian planning was the welfare and development of the weaker sections *(Seventh Five-Year plan: 1985: Vol.II: 329)*. The Government formulated several welfare measures to improve the economic conditions of the people, particularly that of the tribals. And, it gave priority for the development of their communications, health, credit and educational facilities. Apart from the Government, some non-Governmental agencies also worked for the welfare of the tribals.

8.1.2 The term welfare measures has been used in different meaning,[1] though, all these terms envisaged the well-being of the people (Goel: 1988: 30). In India, there are two terms, i.e., 'social services' [welfare measures] and 'social welfare services' [social welfare measures] that have been used to connote welfare measures. Welfare measures attempt to provide the basic needs of the people, i.e., health, education, credit

and marketing, transportation, etc., whereas, social welfare measures concentrate on the services to the underprivileged groups, i.e., women, children, widows, handicapped, backward classes, etc (Madan: 1987: 506 and Gazetteer of India: 1978: Vol.IV: 633). The classification of these two terms are hardly relevant to the welfare measures in the context of Scheduled Tribes. Because, the basic development of the tribal areas comes under the term social welfare measures (Gore: 1974: 150).

8.1.3 Human welfare depends on many different goods and services (Myrdal: 1968: Vol.I: 538). There are eight major indicators to assess the standard of living, i.e., food and nutrition, clothing, housing, health facilities, educational facilities, information media, energy consumption and transportation (Myrdal: 1968: Vol.I: 538). The present chapter attempts to assess the trend of living standards of the tribals by some important indicators such as communication, education, credit and marketing, and medical facilities. These indicators played a prominent role in the isolated nature of the tribals and for their economic transformation.

8.1.1 Welfare Measures of the Colonial Government

8.1.4 The tribals were practically ignored by the successive Hindu and Mohammadan rulers; and the colonial rulers did not differ much in this respect (Thakkar: 1941: 7). The main aim of the colonial rulers was to collect the revenue from tribals through middlemen and contractors. The highest-bidder was given the rights of collecting revenue from the tribals. There was no direct contact between the rulers and the tribals. The highest-bidder had naturally collected more revenue from the tribals; and they never formulated any welfare measures for them. The colonial

Government knew little about its aboriginal subjects, had never formulated a consistent policy directed towards their betterment, and had done very little with that specific object in view (Aiyappan: 1948: 31). And the establishment of colonial rule "...did more harm than good" (Elwin: 1963: 14). In other words, "...the problem was absolutely neglected, and what was emphasized was the preservation of law and order in the tribal areas and not the development of the tribals" (Shrikant: 1955: 481). It seems that the tribals, on their part, could never demand a better treatment than this.

8.1.5 The Hindu rulers, by following the policy of non-intervention, did not disturb the tribal system. They conducted all their transactions through the tribal chieftains. But, this traditional system was intentionally destroyed by the colonial rulers between 1829-30 and 1854-55. The colonial rulers fixed certain amount of revenue demand for each hill group irrespective of the conditions of people and natural calamities. If the chieftain failed to pay up, the colonial rulers adopted brutal actions by their divide and rule policy. Raghavaiah says that, "...the Britishers set up one Rajah against the other in a bid to bring the area under direct rule" (Raghavaiah: 1972: 2-3). By using various techniques, the colonial rulers brought the hills under the direct control of the Government, which was called amani management. This direct rule affected the age-old tribal administrative and judicial systems.

8.1.6 The colonial Government did not give any special attention for the development of the hill inhabitants. Till 1937, only the Pachamalai inhabitants were recognised as the 'Jungle Tribes'. Later, in 1938, the hill inhabitants of Kalroyan, Yelagiri, Jawadhi, Chitteri, Kolli, Aranuthumalai were also recognised as 'Jungle Tribes' *(G.O.No.1719: Public*

[Services]: 17th Oct.1938: 1). It indicates that the colonial rulers did not give any attention for the development of the Malaiyali tribes in Tamil Nadu.

8.1.7 Till 1938, the hill inhabitants were treated merely as 'revenue bearing souls'. There were no welfare measures undertaken by the Government of Madras. In order to undertake the welfare measures of tribals in the Madras Presidency, the colonial Government ordered an inquiry in 1937 "... to ascertain the needs of these tribes and communities and measures necessary for the welfare", and in a separate communication to the Salem Collector, the Government ordered that the report should be prepared only for the Malaiyali inhabitants of the Salem district *(G.O.No.5: Public [Reforms]: 18th Jan.1937)*. The report was to cover education, communication, medical and the different forms of exploitation by outsiders. In a response to the Government order, Salem Collector's report dated on 29th April 1942 said that, "...there has been no appreciable change in the economic and social condition of the Malaiyalis in the Salem district during the year 1941-42. Poverty, want of education and inherent indolence arising out of the unhealthy localities they live in are responsible for this state of affairs. Improvement of communications in hill tracts, the opening of more schools and dispensaries are needed urgently" *(G.O.No.2884: Public: 16th Sept.1942)*. Though the colonial Government had collected some information on the tribals, it did not execute any developmental activities based on the report.

8.1.8 Meanwhile, in 1946, A.M. Somasundaram of Dakshina Bharata Adivas Seva Sangh, Musulipatnam appealed to the colonial Government to form an 'Aboriginal Tribal Enquiry Committee' to formulate policies and developmental measures *(G.O.No.2222 [Mis]: Public [Political]:*

17th Oct. 1946: 3). The Government, in a response to his appeal, constituted a committee under the chairmanship of Vanmelakanti Raghavaiah. The Committee, after making thorough visits, prepared a detailed report on their economic and social conditions, customs, habits, mode of worship, marriage and rules, etc *(G.O.No.2516 [Mis]: Public [Political]: 19th Nov. 1946: 77-79)*. The colonial Government continued its policy of non-intervention, and no welfare measures of a practical nature was undertaken for the development of the tribals.

8.1.2 Welfare Measures of the Indian Government

8.1.9 After Independence, the Indian Government started new strategies for tribal development. There were three approaches for tribal development, i.e., complete isolation, complete assimilation and the policy of integrating them into the mainstream (Mazumdar: 1955: 23). The policy of development and integration was accepted by the Government. It should be noted here that Jawaharlal Nehru, who formulated the general directions of tribal development said: "We must approach as a liberating force. We must let them feel that we come to give and not to take something away from them" (Nehru: 1952: 5). Based on these foundations, the tribal development policy was formulated with two main objectives: (i). protection and promotion of tribals' interests through legal and administrative support, and (ii). implementation of developmental schemes to raise their level of living *(SCs and STs Commission Report: 1986-87: 361)*. The Government gave a number of constitutional guarantees under the fifth and sixth Schedules to their culture and socio-economic development.[2] But, the Working Group of the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1984: 11) stated that "...the fifth and sixth schedules of the constitution have remained largely unoperational". The constitutional privileges for the Scheduled Tribals did not reach them.

8.1.10 Notwithstanding the policy decision, the Government did not introduce any special scheme for tribal development in the First Five-Year Plan, except for some tribal concentrated areas. Since the Second-Five Year Plan, the Government has been implementing some special schemes for the tribal development.[3] However, the schemes implemented during the first four Five-Year Plans did not result in any significant impact in the economic development of tribals.

8.1.11 The new intensive tribal development strategy known as "Tribal Sub-Plan" was started in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Under the 'Sub-Plan', Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP) were started.[4] The plan consists of three components. They are (i). Integrated Tribal Development projects for the tribal areas with 50% or more Scheduled Tribal population, (ii). Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) for pockets having a total population of 10,000 in which the Scheduled Tribal population is 50% or more, and (iii). Projects for Primitive Tribal Groups *(SCs and STs Commission Report: 1987: 27). The* financial resources for the 'Tribal Sub-Plan' were drawn from the (i). State plans, (ii). Special Central Assistance of the Ministry of Welfare (iii). central and centrally sponsored programme, and (iv). Institutional Finance *(SCs and STs Report-1986/87: 361)*. In the first four Five-Year Plans, a meagre amount was allocated for the tribal development. This trend changed since the Fifth Five-Year Plan.[5] Even though a large amount had been spent for the development of the tribals since the Fifth Five-Year Plan, it did not achieve the expected results. About 80% to 90% of the funds were spent on maintenance of the administrative structure. The remaining 10% to 20% reached the tribals *(Bhowmik: 1988: 1007)*. Ajit Singh (1984: 118) says that the majority of tribal population had not benefited through the development measures as they were still in the same state of poverty. And, only a small

section of the tribal elites had benefited by the developmental measures *(Narayan: 1984: 25-27)*. The developmental schemes of the tribals failed because the planners did not understand their requirements *(Bhowmik: 1988: 1007)*. Lack of moral responsibility by the Government employees to implement the development schemes was also a crucial factor.

8.1.3 Tribal Development in Tamil Nadu

8.1.12 Till 1949, there was no separate department for the welfare of the tribals and all welfare measures were looked after by the Commissioner of Labour. In 1949, the Department of Adi-Dravidar and Tribal Welfare was established on the recommendations of the Ministry of Adi-Dravidar Welfare in 1947 *(Performance Budget 1989-90: 1)*. In 1976, the 'Directorate of Harijan and Tribal Welfare' was established following the recommendations of the 'Committee on Welfare of Scheduled Tribes' under the Chairmanship of V. Karthikeyan *(G.O.No.338 [Mis]: Social Welfare: 11th May 1976)*. This has been the chief body in the Government to formulate and implement the welfare programmes for the tribals of Tamil Nadu.

8.1.13 In Tamil Nadu, no separate schemes for the tribal development were implemented during the first two Five-Year Plans. Only limited welfare measures were implemented by the Government through the Community Development Programmes. The Malaiyalis were not brought under the Scheduled Tribes by 1950-51, and they got some ameliorative work undertaken by the Harijan Welfare Department in the category of 'other eligible communities' *(Administrative Report- Harijan Welfare: 1952: 23)*. In 1961, two separate block development offices were established in the hill areas, viz., Shervaroy and Kolli hills. In 1963, they were converted into Tribal

Development Blocks. But, intensive welfare measures were initiated only from 1978 onwards.

8.1.14 The strategy of 'Tribal Sub-plan' in Tamil Nadu was initiated during the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Under this plan, nine ITDP areas were identified in five districts of Tamil Nadu *(Seventh Five-Year Plan: 1985: 437)*. All the ITDP areas were located on the North and North-Western parts of the Tamil Nadu. The size of the 'Tribal Sub-plan' was increased steadily from Rs. 101.82 lakhs in 1976-77 to Rs. 761.57 lakhs in 1985-86 *(Seventh Five-Year Plan: 1985: 422)*. Since the 'Tribal Sub-Plan' was initiated, allocation for tribal development has been large.

8.1.4 Tribal Development in Salem district

8.1.15 The 'Tribal Sub-plan' was implemented in Salem district in 1976-77. Under this plan, six ITDPs were identified, viz., Yercaud, Kolli, Kalroyan, Pachamalai, Aranuthumalai and Chitteri hills *(Tribal Welfare: 1990: 1)*. The Chitteri hills came under the present Dharmapuri district and the remaining ITDP areas were retained in Salem district. In 1988-89, the Palamalai hills was identified as an ITDP area. Apart from this, a cluster plan was prepared for the Jambuthumalai, Jarugumalai and Bodamalai in 1990 *(Tribal Welfare: 1990: 4)*. At the beginning of the 'Tribal Sub-Plan', it concentrated mainly on the large hill areas and over the time, the development measures were extended to the small hill areas.

8.1.16 Since the introduction of the 'Tribal Sub-plan' the Government has been spending considerable amounts of money for the development of the hill areas in Salem district. The total outlay for the tribal development in Salem district was Rs. 15.59 lakhs in 1976-77, and it

was increased to Rs. 461.24 lakhs in 1989-90 (see Table 8.1). However, till 1982-83, a sizable amount of the outlay remained unspent. The

Table 8.1 Total Outlay and Expenditure for Tribal Development: 1976/77-1989/90

(Rupees in lakhs)

Year	Outlay	Expenditure
1976-77	15.59	10.30
1977-78	45.60	30.02
1978-79	60.38	58.00
1979-80	57.87	43.80
1980-81	70.54	56.29
1981-82	92.67	70.80
1982-83	155.65	136.45
1983-84	162.34	157.90
1984-85	191.40	180.36
1985-86	242.50	240.40
1986-87	364.00	374.00
1987-88	294.00	293.00
1988-89	341.00	341.00
1989-90	461.24	--

Source: Tribal Welfare, Salem District - Short Notes, 1990, p.2.

administrators did not show much interest in preparing the plans for tribal development. From 1982-83 onwards, the plan outlays were increased, and almost all the allocation was spent in the same year.

8.1.17 The colonial Government did not have a consistent policy for tribal development during the 19th century. Some attempts were made during the 20th century, but it failed to make any impact on the tribal economy. After Independence, the Indian Government gave constitutional safeguards, concessions, and formulated several developmental measures.

After the Sub-plan, the financial allotment and the developmental measures increased considerably.

II

8.2.1 Communication Facilities

8.2.1 Lack of communication facilities in the hill areas was one of the reasons for non-development of the tribals. Till the colonial intervention, the mode of communication for the hills was by foot-paths only. After the colonial intervention, some hills, and particularly Shervaroy hills, developed bridle-paths and pack-bullock facilities. There were three ways to the Shervaroy hills. One was from Denishpet, the other one was from Bommidi and the third one was from Salem, which was widely used by explorers and visitors *(ITDP-Report: Yercaud: 1976-77: 2-3)*. There was no road to the Kalroyan hills. There were three cattle and horse-paths from Thumbal, Ramanaicken Palayam and Mulluvadi (Le Fanu: 1883: Vol II: 73). There were four popular foot-paths to the Kolli hills from Thammampatty, Koppampatty, Namagiripettai and Sendamangalam. These four ways could not be used by the pack-bullocks. The Collector informed the Government in 1866 that "...they had no road or even foot-paths fit for loaded cattle" *(G.O.No.1284: Revenue: 31st May.1866)*. The Government, in a response to the Collector's submission, ordered to lay a bridle-path from the summit of the Kolli hills to its foot near Sendamangalam in Namakkal taluk. Aranuthumalai hills were accessible by the two bridle-paths, one from Pulutikuttai and the other from Kombun. All the other hills Pachamalai, Bodamalai, Jarugumalai, Jambuthumalai, Chitteri hills, Palamalai and Neiyamalai were accessible by foot-paths over different terrain.

8.2.2 After the colonial intervention, bridle-path and pack-bullock facilities were developed in some of the hills. They were established in the western parts of the Shervaroy hills, which had a concentration of Britishers; while no such facilities and not even a good foot-path was given to the eastern parts of the Shervaroy hills, where only tribals lived.

8.2.3 During the present century, the colonial Government did improve communication facilities in the different hills of Salem district. In the Shervaroy hills, a new-Ghat road for wheeled traffic was laid during 1902-1903. The remaining two-bridle paths were modified for easy transportation. In the western parts of the hills, roads were laid into different villages. In addition, many coffee planters constructed private roads. But the eastern parts did not have any communication facilities except foot-paths, which were untractable for even pack-bullocks *(G.O.No.605: Revenue: 30th June 1905: 10)*. In 1913-14, five bridle-paths were opened in the Kolli hills. The length of these bridles was about 31 miles. These bridle-paths were not modified for wheeled traffic and pack-bullocks *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17th Aug.1936: 26)*. In 1929-31, $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles of unmetalled roads was laid on the Kolli hills. In Aranuthumalai, only one tract was accessible to pack-bullocks and asses *(G.O.No.605: Revenue: 30th June.1905: 18)*. Thus a limited extent of the communication facilities were established during the colonial period mainly for the semi-tribal areas. No remarkable communication facilities were established for the fully tribal villages in the hills.

8.2.4 After Independence, the Indian Government gave some attention to the establishment of communication facilities in the hill areas. During the pre-Sub-Plan period (1978), the Government did not give

much importance to improving communication facilities. Improvements to communication facilities were started in the hill areas only during the Sub-Plan period. In 1975-76, road facilities were established in the Kalroyan hills, and in 1980-81, in the Chitteri hills. At present, all the hills are connected except for the small hills.

8.2.2 Education

8.2.5 In olden times, educational system was meant for learning the religious scriptures and character-building (Lal: 1987: 51). Even to learn this, lower caste people and tribals were not freely allowed. The pre-colonial rulers did not make any effort to give educational facilities to the weaker sections, and particularly to tribals (Lal: 1987: 51). The tribals were denied to avail the education in olden days.

8.2.6 There were limited educational facilities for the Malaiyali tribals in the Madras Presidency during the 19th century.[6] It is difficult to estimate the literacy rate of the tribals at the district level, because the Malaiyali tribals were called by different names during the colonial period (see section one of Chapter three and five). Information regarding literacy rate of tribals was not found in all the censuses, particularly at the district level. But, some data were available at the village level for Salem district hills especially in the 1881 census. They were not found in the 1871 census. In 1881, 756 persons of the selected villages were literates. This constituted about 1.78% of the total tribal population of the hill villages of Salem district. However, the 1881 census did not give any gender classification.

8.2.7 At the beginning of the 20th century, there was no Government school in the hill areas of Salem district. Two Panchayat Union Schools and one District Board School were established in the Kolli hills by the colonial Government during the first quarter of the 20th century *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17th Aug.1936: 26)*. The Strict Baptist Mission Society of London established a station in Valavanthi Nadu at the Kolli hills in 1910 *(G.O.No.189: Revenue: 24th Jan.1921)*. It established schools in all nadus of the Kolli hills between 1915 and 1930 *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17th Aug.1936: 26)*. Even the Shervaroy hills (where the Britishers lived), did not have any extensive educational facilities. In 1941, six District-Board Elementary Schools were inaugurated in the Shervaroy hills, of which four schools were in the Yercaud town and the other two were outside *(G.O.No.2028: Public [Political]: 17th Sept.1941: 6)*. In the Palamalai, one private school provided educational facilities for the tribals. The remaining hills did not have modern educational facilities during the colonial regime.

8.2.8 The reason so few schools to be establishment in the tribal areas was the prevalence of the malaria; the teachers outside of the hills did not like to work under these circumstances *(G.O.No.1869: Public [Political]: 14th Nov.1938)*. The few schools that were established could not make any major impact on the Malaiyalis. For example, in the Kolli hills, "...a local fund school was established in Valapur Nadu in 1891, but the first teacher died within three or four months, the second teacher though survived for nine years lost most of his children, the third died within a year, and the fourth fell ill within a month and absconded, and the school was then closed" *(G.O.No.605: Revenue: 30th June 1905: 24)*. Despite these problems, the colonial Government tried to give education to the Malaiyalis. The Government provided a stipend of Rs. 6 per month to the

tribal students on the assumption that they would study in the plain areas and work as teachers in the hills. The Government relaxed the age restriction also for the same reason *(G.O.No.1957 [Mis]: Development: 8th Aug.1939)*. But these measures did not give any positive results to solve the teachers' problem in the hills. It resulted in Government trying yet another solution for this constant problem by providing boarding and other facilities including training after the third form of the educational system *(G.O.No.1402 [Mis]: Development: 10th Apr.1950)*. These small measures by the colonial Government did not make any impact on the tribals. In 1951 census, there were 2,596 literates (about 4.4%) in a total population of the selected villages (57,819).

8.2.9 After Independence too, the Indian Government did not give much importance to tribal education in the hill areas. Till 1978, i.e., pre-Sub-Plan period, only a limited number of schools functioned in the hills of Salem district. In the Kolli hills, 50 Panchayat Union Elementary Schools and one Government Tribal Residential School (hereafter GTR) high school were established during the pre-Sub-Plan period *(ITDP-Report: Kolli hills: 1976-77: 16)*. In the Kalroyan hills, four schools were established, of which, two schools were administered by the Panchayat Union and the remaining two schools were maintained by the Harijan Welfare Department (Jothimurugan: 1989: 16). No schools were established in the other hills, i.e., Pachamalai, Aranuthumalai, Chitteri, Neiyamalai, Palamalai, Jarugumalai and Jambuthumalai. Even in the Shervaroy hills, no school was established during the period but the District-Board School was brought under the Panchayat Union control. During the pre-Sub-plan period, only a few schools existed in the hill areas of Salem district.

8.2.10 From 1976 onwards, every year some schools were established in the different hill areas of Salem district. In 1989, there were 57 primary schools in the hill areas of which, 49 were of primary schools in the ITDP areas and the remaining 8 were of primary schools in the non-ITDP areas; 8 GTR primary schools, of which, 6 from the ITDP areas and the remaining two in the non-ITDP areas, and 8 middle schools were existed in the hill areas of Salem district *(Performance Budget-1989-90: 1989: 17)*. In 1990, there were about 60 primary GTR schools, 8 GTR middle school, 2 GTR high school and 2 GTR higher secondary schools *(Tribal Welfare: 1990: Salem: 2)*. It shows that during the Sub-Plan period not only the school facilities have been increased but also the number of residential schools went up.

8.2.11 Due to increased school facilities, the literacy rate increased in the hill areas (see Table 8.2). Literacy rate increased considerably during the post-Independence period. In 1951, only 4.49% of tribals were literates, of which, 3.33% were males and the remaining 1.16% were females. In 1971, it had increased to 15.75% in general, and 10.77% and 4.37% of males and females respectively. The growth rate between 1951 and 1991 was 28.5% in general; 30.92% and 26.42% for males and females respectively (see Table 8.2). The literacy rate was remarkable during the Sub-Plan period. In 1991, the percentage of literacy rate had gone upto 24.05% in general and 15.48% and 8.57% of males and females respectively. In the last one decade (1982-1992), the literacy rate increased in the hill areas. The Tamil Nadu Government introduced the Nutritious Noon Meals Scheme on first July 1982, for the age-group of children 2 to 10. This scheme was further extended to the age-group of children below 15 years in September 1983. At present, about 90 lakhs children have benefited by this scheme. Malhotra's first hand observation shows that "...the working of

Nutritious Noon Meal Scheme in Tamil Nadu revealed that school attendance and enrollment have dramatically improved" *(The Southern Economist: Vol.XXI: Nov.1 1982: 5)*. Not only did enrollment increased, but the dropout rate decreased. It was stated by the Governor of Tamil Nadu (1987), "the Nutritious Noon Meal scheme continues to make a positive impact on the enrollment and reduce the dropout rate at the primary school level has drastically come down from 40% in 1977-78 to 23% in 1984-85" (*The Hindu: Madras: 1st Mar.1987*). This impact was higher in the hill areas than in the

Table 8.2 Literacy Rate of the Selected Hill Villages: 1951-1991

Year	Total Population	Literates	%	Males	%	Females	%
1951	57,819	2,596	4.49	1,924	3.33	672	1.16
1961	69,209	6,626	9.57	5,140	7.42	1,486	2.10
1971	83,979	12,740	15.75	9,045	10.77	3,695	4.39
1981	91,781	11,194	18.73	11,640	12.68	5,554	6.05
1991	1,10,892	26,664	24.05	17,163	15.48	9,501	8.57

Sources: Villagewise Statistics of Salem and Dharmapuri Districts from 1951 to 1991.

plain areas.[7] The growth rate from 1971 to 1991 was 65.49% and 69.57% for males and 51.21% for females. It evidently shows that the literacy rate increased remarkably during the Sub-Plan period.

8.2.12 There were no Government educational institutions in the hill areas of Salem district during the 19th century. Some schools were established during the 20th century particularly in the Shervaroy and Kolli hills. Though, the Government took several measures to appoint teachers for the schools, these schemes failed. In short, there was no remarkable improvement in tribal education. Most of the hills did not have any

educational facilities during the colonial period. After Independence, the growth rate of education increased especially during the Sub-Plan period. This progress was mainly due to the increasing educational institutions and boarding school facilities.

8.2.3 Credit Facilities

8.2.13 Till the end of the 19th century, there were no institutional credit facilities available to the tribals of Salem district. The only source of credit was from the non-tribals, particularly the Chetties and Mohammadans. They gave credit to the tribals on several conditions. Firstly, they charged a high rate of interest and higher than the market rate, and, secondly they purchased the commodities of tribals at a low price. In general, they behaved like money-lender-cum-traders.

8.2.14 To protect the tribals from the clutches of money-lenders, the Government opened five Agricultural Co-operative Societies in the Kolli hills and eight in the Shervaroy hills during

Table 8.3 Members and Working Capital of the Kolli Hills Agricultural Co-operative Society: 1922-23 to 1932-33

Year	Number of Members	Agriculturist	Working Capital
1922-23	136	-	1,194
1923-24	136	132	9,404
1932-33	116	109	6,152

Source: G.O.No.1793, 17th Aug. 1936, p.28 and 29

1921-22. Only a few tribals became members of the Agricultural Co-operative Society, and the working capital was also small. In 1923-24, the average working capital was only about Rs. 70. During 1932-33, the members as well

as the working capital considerably decreased (see Table 8.3). The Malaiyalis did not have a good opinion on the Co-operative Society and they never returned the borrowed money in time. The money, the tribals borrowed, was spent mostly on unproductive activities. The Co-operative Society, on its part, lent a meagre amount. The report of the Agricultural Co-operative Societies showed that the Malaiyalis did not make use of the Co-operative Societies to their best advantage. They were irregular in repaying the credit. So, the societies did not extend any fresh loans to the tribals, and restricted themselves to recover the loan *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17th Aug.1936: 29)*. Ultimately, the Co-operative Societies did not perform their duties.

8.2.15 In the Shervaroy hills, the number of members and the amount of working capital had increased about 25% and 71% respectively during 1922 to 1933. The Co-operative Society had extended its help mainly to the agriculturists and gave a little amount to non-agriculturists. Even though, the Co-operative society gave considerable loans to the Malaiyalis,

Table 8.4 Members and Working Capital in the Shervaroy Hills Agricultural Co-operative Society: 1922-23 to 32-33.

Year	No.of Members	Agriculturist	Working capital
1922-23	321	318	1,166
1932-33	438	433	9,828

Source: G.O.No.1793, 17th Aug. 1936, P.47.

the Society could not survive, as the Report show: "No amount was borrowed during the last five years (1928-33) and this is presumably due to the fact that the Malaiyalis are unable to act up to the rules of the societies in

regard to the repayment of the loans" *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17th Aug.1936: 47)*. The institutional sponsored credit facilities were available only to the Shervaroy and Kolli hills and it helped only a insignificant number of the Malaiyalis and gave a meagre amount to them. The tribals were not properly informed of the credit facilities. The traders and middlemen made propaganda "...as not to become members in co-operative societies, saying that the societies would take away their lands and other properties by law if they failed to repay the loans in time" *(ITDP-Report: Yercaud: 1976-77: 25)*. Moreover, stringent rules and regulations of the Co-operative Societies, as well as the lack of capital and information towards the tribals were the main causes for the failure of institutional based credit facilities in the hill areas.

8.2.16 After Independence, the Government provided small credit facilities through the Agricultural Co-operative Societies. The Shervaroy hills, Agricultural Co-operative Societies provided credit mainly for coffee and banana cultivators. In 1973-74, 255 members benefited, of which 231 were coffee cultivators; 3, banana; 2, ground-nut, and 19 gall-nut and in 1974-75, 269 members benefited, of which, 174 and 95 were coffee and banana cultivators respectively *(ITDP-Report: Yercaud: 1976-77: 106)*. In 1991/92, there are 7,942 members in the Large-scale Agricultural Multi-Purpose Co-operative Society (hereafter LAMP), of which 6,780 are tribals and the remaining 1,262 are non-tribals *(LAMP Society Notes: Yercaud: 1992: 2)*. The majority of the coffee plants are owned by non-tribals. So, naturally most of the benefits go to the non-tribals.

8.2.17 The Multi-Purpose Co-operative Society was established in 1969 at Karumanthurai in the Kalroyan hills. Only a few tribals availed of the credit facilities, and the per capita loans was also low. From

1969-70 to 1975-76, the average advance per member was only Rs. 141.6 (see Table 8.5). In 1962, another Multi-Purpose Co-operative Society was established at Valavanthi Nadu of Kolli hills and a Co-operative Marketing Society was also established in 1975 *(ITDP-Reports: 1976-77: Kolli hills: 83)*. Credit facilities available in the Kalroyan hills, Shervaroy hills and Kolli hills were meagre and the remaining hills did not have even these facilities. Neither did they have marketing facilities in the credit

Table 8.5 Number and Amount of Advance in Kalroyan Hills Multi-Purpose Co-operative Societies: 1969/70-1975/76 (in Rupees)

Year	No.of Loans	Amount
1969-70	123	35,600
1970-71	30	14,575
1971-72	298	1,07,752
1972-73	250	1,35,507
1973-74	208	1,48,510
1974-75	105	92,950
1975-76	199	1,76,870
Total	1,213	1,71,767

Source: ITDP Report, Kalroyan Hills, 1976-77, p.68.

institutions. To overcome these barriers, a Large-Scale Agricultural Multi-Purpose Co-operative Society was established on the recommendation of the A.K. Bawa Committee (1971). It provided production as well as consumption credit, marketing for agricultural and minor forest produce, and distributed agricultural inputs and consumer goods *(SCs and STs Commission Reports: 1986-87)*. There are 18 LAMP societies in Tamil Nadu, of which two are located in the non-ITDP areas (one in primitive tribes area in Nilgiris and the another one in Sathiyamangalam). Of the remaining 16, 8

were located in Salem district. These LAMP Societies were established between 1976 and 1987 - four in Yercaud, Kolli hills, Chinna- Kalroyan hills and Chitteri hills in 1976-77; one in Aranuthumalai in 1977-78; and three in Pachamalai, Periya-Kalroyan hills and Kolli hills Powerkadu in 1986-87 *(Performance Budget 1989-90: 49)*. There were 19 Co-operative Societies namely, Hill Tribes Co-operative Marketing Societies, Forest Labour Contact Co-operative Societies and Multi-Purpose Co-operative Marketing Societies, set up exclusively for the tribals in Salem district *(Tribal Sub-Plan 1991-92: Salem: 209* and *215)*. During the Sub-plan period, the credit facilities extended to the all fields.

8.2.18 Most of the hill tribes in the Salem district were covered by the LAMP Societies. In 1990, 16,630 families were covered by the LAMP societies while the number of families in these locations were 24,099. Of which, 19,405 were tribals and the remaining 4,694 were non-tribals. The total members of the LAMP Societies were about 27,704, of which, 25,199 were tribals and 2,505 were non-tribals and the share capital was about 55.45 lakhs *(Tribal Sub-Plan: 1990-91: 119)*. The LAMP societies are widely used by the tribals to avail of loans, input and consumer goods as well as the marketing of their products.[8]

8.2.19 No credit facilities existed in the hill areas during the 19th century. In the 20th century however the institutional credit facilities were established in the Kolli and Shervaroy hills. But these schemes failed due to the lack of capital and lot of rules and regulations. And even these credit facilities were not extended to the other hills. So, till Independence, the money-lenders was the main source of credit for the hill inhabitants. During the pre-Sub-Plan period, the extent of credit facilities was very small, and there was no marketing facilities. After the

establishment of LAMP Societies, borrowing and marketing facilities as well as the awareness of the tribals increased.

8.2.4 Medical Facilities

8.2.20 There were no medical facilities in the hill areas of Salem district during the colonial period. They followed only traditional method of curing. If someone fell ill, they would send for a pujari, and occult would be performed. The widely prevalent diseases of the tribal areas were anemia, jaundice, rickets, hook-worm, round-worm, fungal infection, sexually transmitted disease, leprosy and tuberculosis. Contagious diseases often spread to the tribal areas because of unprotected water supply and lack of resistance of the tribals due to low nutritional standards.

8.2.21 Christian Missionaries provided medical facilities during the third decade of the 20th century in the Kolli hills. The average attendance of the dispensary was said to be 35. The disease treated were mostly fever and venereals *(G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17thAug.1936: 26)*. During the pre-Sub-Plan period, there were no Government medical facilities for the tribals in the hill areas. The only existing medical services in the hills were provided by the Christian Missionaries. In the Chitteri hills, a lady by name Emiles maintained one medical center from 1952 to 1968. In the Kalroyan hills, a lady by name Brand provided medical facilities from 1959 onwards. Till the Sub-plan period, only Missionaries provided some health care facilities in the few places of the hills.[9] After the Sub-plan, some extent medical facilities were established.

8.3.0 Conclusions

8.3.1 No major welfare measures were undertaken by the colonial Government during the 19th century. In the 20th century, the colonial Government paid little attention to the welfare of the tribals, but provided some facilities to the semi-tribal areas and the Britishers inhabited hills. The Christian Missionaries worked for the welfare of tribals in certain areas but with a view to convert them into Christianity. After Independence, the Indian Government provided many constitutional safeguards as well as development measures. Even then, during the pre-Sub-Plan period, there was not much development of the tribals. It was only after the ITDP was initiated in 1978 were communication, education, medical and credit facilities extended to the hill areas.

NOTES:

[1]Called variously as 'social development programmes', 'social programmes', 'social measures', 'social action', 'social services', 'social welfare', etc. *(Gore: 1974: 149-150).*

[2]This intention was to improve the tribal education and economic interests (Article-46), special provision for the appointment of a minister to look after the tribal interests exclusively (Article-164), separate special administration of scheduled areas and tribal areas (Article-244), grants for tribals from the union to certain states (Article 235), reservation of seats for tribes in the Lok Sabha (Article -330) and in the Legislative Assemblies of states (Article-332), reservation of seats and special representation (Article 334), special claims to service and posts (Article-335), special officers for tribals (Article-338), administrative control of the center over the scheduled Areas and welfare of the tribes (Article 339) and special provision for Nagaland (Article-371-A). An exclusive for Scheduled Tribes (Article 342). In addition to constitutional measures, the President had proclaimed several orders,based on socio-political necessities.

[3]There are some schemes implemented for the development of the tribals such as 43 Multi-Purpose Tribal Development Blocks in 1959, Tribal Development Blocks in 1968, Pilot Project Tribal Development during 1972, Tribal Area Development Programme in 1972, and Hill Area Development Programme of 1975.

[4] During the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, 65% of tribals were covered under the ITDPs. This Sub-Plan concept was continued into the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Five-year Plans. The Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) for tribals and Micro Projects for primitive tribes were introduced in the Sixth Five-Year Plan and it covered 75% of the total tribal populations *(SCs and STs Commission Report: 1986-87: 361)*. At the end of 1989-90, 191 ITDPs, 263 projects under MADP, 5 clusters and 74 Primitive Tribal Groups were functioned *(Annual Plan for 1989-90: 326)*. At the end of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, 17 States and two Union Territories were brought under this Sub-plan. It had covered, 27 districts fully, and 97 districts partially; and blockwise, 633 blocks fully and 280 pockets were partially covered during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period *(Report of Working Group-1985-90: 1984: 73)*. In addition, during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, clusters having a total population of 5000, of which 50% or more Scheduled Tribes concentrated areas, were identified under the Sub-Plan *(SCs and STs Report-1986/87: 361)*.

[5]See the budget allocation for the development from the First to Seventh Five-Year Plans

Budget Allocation of Tribal Development: I to VII Plans (in Rupees crores)

Plan	Total Plan Outlay	Tribal Development Programmes	Percentage
First Plan*	1,960	19.93	1.0
Second Plan*	4,672	42.92	0.9
Third Plan*	8,577	50.53	0.6
Annual Plans (1966-69)	6,756	32.32	0.6
Fourth plan	15,902	75.00	3.01
Fifth Plan (1974-79)	39,322	1,102.00	3.6
Sixth Plan	1,10,821	5,468.46	4.93
Seventh Plan	1,80,000	10,500.00	6.25

*Expenditure + includes institutional finance of Rs.800 crores.

Sources: Report of the Commission for SCs and STs, 28th Report, 1986-87. p.362.

Verma, R.C (1990) Indian Tribes Through the Ages, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, p.180.

[6]In 1891, there were about 47,082 Malaiyali tribes in the Madras Presidency, of which, 512 (1.09%) Malaiyalis were literates; and the female literates were only 21. *(Census of India 1891: Vol.XV: 33)*. In 1911, there were 63,483 Malaiyalis in the Madras Presidency, of which 4,168 (6.56%) persons were literates. Of the literates, 78 (0.12%) persons were females *(Census of India 1911: 1912: Vol.XII: 80)*. According to 1921 census, out of 62,056 Malaiyalis, 5,213 or 8.4% were literates. The female literacy rate was only 0.35% *(Census of India 1921: 1922: Vol.XIII: Part II: 77)*. An increased literacy rate revealed the efforts of Christian Missionaries.

[7]A study by Saravanan (1987) found that about 46% of the parents send their children to the schools because of the Nutritious Noon Meal Scheme and 83% of them opined that the attendance due to the Nutritious Noon Meal Scheme *(Saravanan: 1987: 38-39)*.

[8]About 60% of the hill inhabitants availed themselves of the credit facilities only from Government sources (Saravanan: 1989: 58). The LAMP Societies maintained many fair-price shops throughout the hills. In 1990-91, 91 fair price shops are in the hill areas of Salem district. Of which, 20 shops are in Yercaud, 6 in Chinna-kalroyan, 4 in Periya-Kalroyan, 19 in Kolli hills, 5 in Pachamalai and 17 in Aranuthumalai hills *(Tribal Sub-Plan: 1991: Salem: 269)*.

[9]In 1976-77, a Siddha Medical Dispensary and a Maternity and Child Welfare centre were established at Karumanthurai in Kalroyan hills *(ITDP-Reports: 1976-77: Kalroyan Hills: 105)*. About 21 sub-centers for health care have been maintained by the Danida in the different hill areas of Salem and South Arcot districts *(Tribal Sub-Plan 1990-91: 78)*. In 1990-91, there were 7 primary health centers and 8 sub-centres in the hill areas of Salem district itself. Of the seven, 2 were in Yercaud with 3 sub-centers, one in Aranuthumalai with one sub-center; one in Pachamalai with two sub-centers; one in Kalroyan hills with 2 sub-centers and two centers in the Kolli hills *(Tribal Sub-Plan 1991-92: 243)*. Apart from these, one Siddha Dispensary one Siddha Mobile Medical unit and one Homeopathy Dispensary is situated in the Kolli hills *(Tribal Welfare: 1990: Salem: 3)*.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

9.0.0 An attempt is made in this study to analyse the economic transformation of the tribal economy in the context of institutional changes due to the intervention of the colonial rule. This chapter is organised into three sections. The first section provides a brief review of the economic history of the Madras Presidency; the second section gives the major findings of the present study; and the third section summed-up the study.

I

9.1.1 Economic Transformation of Madras Presidency

9.1.1 The existing literature on the economic history of the Madras Presidency provides mixed results for the 18th and 19th centuries. It was noted that at the end of 18th century or till the colonial intervention, the village economy of the Madras Presidency was self-sustaining. Most of the resources were controlled by the village itself. The village autonomy was described by Rajayyan, "Left free in the administration of local affairs by the princes in the past, the village communities played a key role in polity and society" (Rajayyan: 1971: 43). There was no individual property right over the land. Irschick says: "...there was no particular piece of land associated with any particular individual or family. Instead, land was redistributed either every year or 'every five, six or ten years' " *(Irschick: 1989: 472)*. Consequently, the kaniatchikarars did not pay any tax to the Rajas or Government according to

the number of cultivators or the number of villages in the kaniatchi *(Irschick: 1989: 473 and Shah: 1985: PE-67)*. In other words, the kanatchikarar paid certain fixed amount to the rulers and they collected revenue in terms of a share in the agricultural produce. In the tribal areas as well, the whole resources were controlled by the chieftains (pattakaran); no individual had exclusive right on the land; and the chieftains paid only a certain fixed amount to the rulers. In short, till the colonial intervention the self-sustaining economy was the norm in the tribal areas as it was in the rest of the Madras Presidency.

9.1.2 During the 18thcentury, a widely prevalent system was that the village resources were controlled by the headmen (kaniatchikarars) as conclusively argued in the context of Tondaimandalam in Tamil Nadu (Chitra and Sivakumar:1993). The resources consisted of 'treasure trove' and properties deposited in land and not claimed by others, rocks, minerals, all land yielding produce, rivers and wells, all produce from cultivable land, grazing grounds, temples, etc. (Chitra and Sivakumar: 1993: 12 and *Irschick: 1989: 483-84)*. Due to the expansion of population over the period, the payirkaran's right for the cultivating land could have been emerged. Under this system, various servicing groups existed. Of which, Ambattan (Barber), Vannan, (Washerman), Karuman (Smith), Tachchan (Carpenter), Talayari (Village peon), Vettiyan (Funeral Attendant and watchman) were the essential components of most of the villages. Some of them had manyam lands (revenue free lands) and some others had fixed shares of the village output for their maintenance (Chitra and Sivakumar: 1993: 13). The landless agricultural labourers were subordinate to everybody else the society. For the agricultural labourers, the master provided food and all other expenses such as clothing, marriages and funerals and other

contingencies (Chitra and Sivakumar: 1993: 20). In short, till the colonial intervention the characteristic features of the village economy was a certain level of prosperity, and absence of absolute poverty. In the hill areas, there was no other caste people lived among the tribals. All services were provided by the tribals themselves. Absolute dependency of the servicing groups was almost non-existing in the tribal system while it was common in the plains of the Madras Presidency.

9.1.3. Washbrook (1976) observes that the agrarian conditions of the Madras Presidency improved between 1850 and 1876. "The grain prices began to raise slowly, government revenue demand were progressively lightened, road transport facilities were improved, large irrigation works completed, new cash crops were introduced and cultivation extended" (Washbrook: 1976: 66). Further it was observed that between 1876 and 1920, the agrarian economy recovered from the great Madras famine and slow growth was recorded till the great depression (Washbrook: 1976: 67). Though, the agrarian economy improved in general, the conditions of the small and landless farmers deteriorated, due to the lack of capital, credit and marketing facilities, raw-materials for cultivation and social conventions (Washbrook: 1976: 69). Having enough resources, the large farmers were not affected by the famines. They provided credit to the small and marginal farmers; they utilised the labour services by providing maximum subsistence level; the used non-village based credit and marketing facilities; and their cash crops were largely marketed in the urban areas through the improved transport facilities (Washbrook: 1976: 68-84). These developments in the Madras presidency led to wide inequalities and the large farmers exploited the small farmers and landless labourers. In short, it was a

case of economic dependence of the mass of the rural population on the tiny elite of rich peasants.

9.1.4 A similar conclusion is arrived at by Baker (1984) who argues that the agrarian economy has improved during the late 19th century due to the minimum facilities provided by the Government and increasing demand for the commercial crops. Baker further argues that the early 20thcentury witnessed a general decline of the agrarian economy. He attributes this general decline to the pausing of appropriate land for cultivation and scarcity of important agricultural inputs like water and fertilizers as evidenced in the falling agricultural production as well as low level of productivity. The decline in the availability of food was further accentuated by the choice made by the large farmers to produce cash crops. The same period witnessed two features that were to become characteristic of the rural economy. Firstly, a surplus in agricultural that was not absorbed in agricultural production. Secondly, a social structure characterised by an ever increasing disparity with all powerful large farmers an top and the powerless agricultural labour at the bottom. To top it all, in the aftermath of the Great Depression, the colonial Government's policy discouraged the reinvestment of agrarian capital in the agrarian sector and actively encouraged the transfer of investment from rural to urban areas. The cash crop farming and processing, the factory and the artisan industry had emerged as the major source of wealth in the society. The dominant position of the large farmers gets further bolstered after the independence as shown by Baker.The Indian Government provided irrigation, credit, inputs for agricultural production. It led to the townsmen returning to invest in the production of valuable cash crops such as cotton and sugar. The small farmers were not protected; whereas, the

large farmers utilised all the improvements. And, they exploited the small and landless farmers (Baker: 1984: 522-23). The development measures were largely used by the large farmers and they dominated in the agrarian economy of Tamil Nadu (Baker: 1984: 520-533). The large farmers mainly from dominant castes had cornered the developmental measures. Once the recession started, they shifted to other unexploited areas or from rural to urban. The profit oriented business, either agricultural or industrial were mainly undertaken by the large farmers. The small farmers followed the same occupations and their conditions deteriorated. The hills were literally away from all these developments and remained largely unaffected.

9.1.5 The view that during the colonial period, the economy was dominated and controlled by the large farmers was shared by Robert Bruce who points out that "...grain lending, and to a lesser extent money-lending placed a considerable amount of economic and political power in the hands of a minority of rich ryots" *(Bruce: 1979: 165)*. The large farmers also had access to credit facilities to invest in commercial ventures. The credit facilities were provided mainly by a particular community known as the Nattukottai Chettiyars *(Rudner: 1989: 417-458)*. In fact, it was a caste based banking system.They provided credit facilities mainly for the commercial activities and not for the agricultural purposes. Some of the Dubashes or mediators between the Company and Indians also provided credit facilities (for details see Iyer: 1992: 201-216). Some of the Dubashes gave loans even to the Tanjore Rajas *(Neiled-Basu: 1984: 1-31)*. In short, during the colonial period, no institutional credit facilities existed; only some caste people involved in the money-lending business; they mainly provided for the commercial activities and some extent to the large farmers. The small farmers were largely affected by the lack of credit facilities. In

the hill areas, no credit facilities were available. Some Mohammadans provided small amounts of loan with a view to alienate their lands, and purchase their commodities at low prices.

9.1.6 The subsistence economy of the villages was administered by the village headmen like Kaniatchikarars during the pre-colonial period. Munro says about the village headmen: "...whoever rules the province, they rule the village" (Sarada Raju: 1941: 16). And, he acted as the Munsiff, the magistrate and head of the police (Washbrook: 1976: 152). "The settlement of disputes being left entirely to the villagers themselves and the heads of castes and clans" (Raghavaiyangar: 1893: 23). The headmen played a crucial role between the people and the Government. Baker said that the "... village officers had long since become intermediaries between government and the village, mediating the demands and desires of both parties and levying some sort of fee on both parties for his service" *(Baker: 1979: 28)*. The revenue village had two principal officers, i.e., the headman or maniakaran and the accountant or karnam. And, there were number of assistants, i.e., watchman, irrigation overseers, crop inspectors, runners and general dogsbodies, collectively known as village menials *(Baker: 1979: 26-27)*. Till the colonial intervention, the village economy was controlled by the village headman. In the hill areas also almost the same system of village administration prevailed.

9.1.7 After the colonial intervention, the self-sufficient subsistence economy was disturbed. There was a change in the role of the headman of the village. The Britishers controlled the kaniatchikarars, the dependents naturally came under the control *(Irschick: 1989: 462)*. In order to extract more revenue, the colonial Government intended to settle the

land revenue at the village level instead of with kaniatchikarars *(Irschick: 1989: 473)*. The payment was fixed in cash; tax was imposed on non-agricultural production and the tax estimates was based on prices that were higher than the market price (Chitra and Sivakumar: 1993: 53). The powers of headmen decreased. During the permanent settlement period, the headmen lost their duties as Government revenue officers and the position of karnam got strengthened *(Baker: 1979: 28)*. Until the survey settlement, the Government relied upon the karnams for the revenue collection. After the settlement, the Government strengthened the power of the village headmen. And he became the Munsiff (Village Magistrate) and became the official head of the village police. In the hill areas, the earlier tribal headman system was replaced by the Government officers during the first half of the 19thcentury.

9.1.8 During the 20th century, though the headmen retained their administrative powers, they had lost much of their status and prestige *(Baker: 1979: 36)*. The headmen lost their inam lands and fees collected from the other villages; they were paid salary by the Government. Their power was restricted and the number of village menials were reduced. The tahsildar got the new disciplinary power over the headmen and to take independent action in the matter of revenue *(Baker: 1979: 37)*. After Independence their rights were assumed by the elected members (Baker: 1984: 530). In short, the controlling authority of village economy was restricted and the traditional administrative set-up was replaced by the elected members of the society. The administrative set-up in the hill villages was also rearranged like that in the plains.

9.1.9 The economic historians of South India did not give any account of the tribal economic history. Although the pioneering and detailed work by Dharma Kumar (1965) focused on the economic history of the agricultural labourer castes in southern India, it did not give any account of the tribal agricultural labourers. It pointed out in general that the proportion of the agricultural labourers to the total working force and total agricultural working force increased during the period of 1871-1901 (Kumar: 1965: 172-173). However, realising the obvious omission in the earlier study, in the introduction to the reprint (1992), she gave a bird's-eye view account for the tribal population and stated that the tribal cultivators became agricultural labourers due to the forest policy, non-tribal settlement, growing population in the hill areas and the ineffective law to restrict the tribal land alienation (Kumar: 1992: xxxv-vi). Though she had not conducted any intensive study, her conclusion that the tribal agricultural labourers increased during the colonial period and also after Independence can serve well as working hypothesis for further research. The present study has found in the hill areas the proportion of the agricultural labourers to the total working force in the primary sector increased from 20.41% in 1871 to 27.21% in 1901.

9.1.10 The prevalent view among the economic historians that the agricultural labourers were better off during the pre-colonial period is as well researched and authenticated as the view that their condition determined after the colonial intervention. One of the detailed analyses of the wage rates of the agricultural labourers in the Madras Presidency during the pre-colonial and the colonial period by Atchi Reddy (1986) observed that "Around 1800 the agricultural labourers in South India were getting from their employers enough food to eat, suitable dresses to

protect from climatic conditions and a tolerable house for their families to live in" *(Atchi Reddy: 1986: 309)*. He confirms that after the colonial intervention, "the economic conditions of the labouring classes had deteriorated between 1800 and 1844; Wages of rural labourers had risen upto 1875, kept mostly stable upto 1890 and began to decline after 1891-92; the wages trend was stagnant between 1910 and 1974 and began to rise after 1976 which continues into 1985" *(Atchi Reddy: 1986: 342)*. Though the agricultural labourers increased in number in the hill areas between 1871-1901, their wage rate was constant. Even though the wage rate was low in the Salem district when compared with other districts, it increased during the period of 1875-1907 *(Atchi Reddy: 1986: Appendix- 343-349;* Dharma Kumar: 1992: 163). On the other hand, the wage rate in the hill areas did not increase significantly between 1865 and 1905 unlike the Salem and other districts of the Presidency. It may be suggested that the changing levels of wage rates may be linked to the levels of commercialisation and the cropping pattern. A recent study points out that the cropping pattern has witnessed a change from the cultivation of food grains to the commercial crops in Tamil Nadu as a whole during the first half of the twentieth century whereas, in the hill areas the cropping pattern has undergone no change (Nair and Dhas: 1991: 120-158).

9.1.11 Some of the studies observed the decline of the agrarian economy in the Madras Presidency, but they differed on the causes of the decline in the 19^{th} century. R.C.Dutt attributed the decline to the uncertainties of assessment as well as the over-assessment of land revenue (Dutt: 1976: 171). For Nilmani Mukherjee the over-assessment was not at all a cause for the decline. Moreover, he provides evidence to show, by citing some places where agriculture flourished, that it was due to the moderate

assessment (Nilmani Mukherjee: 1962: xvi). In contrast, Bandopadhyay says that the process of the development of the agrarian economy in some districts of Tamil Nadu was not due to the moderate assessment but due to increased factors of production (Bandopadhyay: 1992: 268). The present study clearly points out that the revenue assessment had increased in the hill areas since the colonial period. The agrarian economy in the hill areas was therefore affected adversely by the over-assessment. There was no evidence of increased factors of production in the hill areas in the early 19thcentury. In fact there was an ample scope as there was a lot of unexploited land in the hill areas before the establishment of the forest department under the auspices of the British Indian Government.

9.1.12 The available evidence clearly suggests that the extent of dry, wet and garden cultivation varied in the different districts of Tamil Nadu during the early 19thcentury. If there was a decline of a single type of cultivation in the specific area, the other type of cultivation made up for the difference. The extent of both dry and wet cultivation increased in the Salem district till 1842-43 due to the extension of the cultivation in the waste or marginally waste lands and not in regularly settled areas paying full revenue to the Government (Bandopadhyay: 1992: 126). In the hill areas, the extension of the land for cultivation was not restricted during the early 19thcentury; it was restricted only after the establishment of the Forest Department.

9.1.13 Several studies of economic history concluded that the economic conditions of the Madras Presidency were better during the pre-colonial period than in the early part of the 19thcentury. After the intervention, economic conditions in general deteriorated. The colonial

commercial policy restricted the earlier traditional administrative and judicial structures as well as the self-subsistence economy of the tribals. No welfare measures were undertaken by the early colonial rulers. The pre-colonial rulers at least did not disturb the tribal system, and the uses of forest-produce were not prohibited. After the colonial intervention, many restrictions were imposed on cultivation as well as the uses of the forest-produce.

II

9.2.0 Economic Transformation of the Tribal Economy

9.2.1 The studies on the economic aspects of the tribals have been mostly generalisations on broad aspects. Most of the studies were conducted by anthropologists and archaeologists who narrativised only the social and cultural aspects of the tribals. Notwithstanding the growing literature on the tribal economy in general, specific studies are of recent origin, particularly after Independence. Again these studies are by and large concerned with the impact of the tribal welfare measures initiated after the Independence and conclude that their economy did not improve remarkably. In fact, there is no study which gives a comprehensive account of the transformation of the tribal economy in historical perspective, particularly with regard to the Madras Presidency. This study attempts to fill this gap.

9.2.2 The tribal agrarian economy consisted of a simple non-mechanical technology, with little or no innovation, geared to subsistence rather than increase capital assets, and with a low level of

differentiation of economic roles of people in production (Polyani: 1944: 41). They lived with an unreducible minimum subsistence (Sahlins: 1971: 46). In short, the tribal economy functions to satisfy their material requirements with the help of primitive techniques and a limited control over the nature.

9.2.3 The internal self-sufficiency was the characteristic feature of the tribal economy. With this, they followed separate political, administrative and judicial systems. They had distinct systems completely isolated from the mainstream. The dawn of the colonial Government annihilated their political, administrative and judicial systems; restricted the tribal rights on forest and forest produce, and also encouraged the non-tribals to settle in the hills. Consequently, the tribals lost their traditional systems and could not adapt to the modern systems.

9.2.4 From the times immemorial the tribals lived in the hill areas of Salem district. The ancient anthologies say that the hills were ruled by benevolent rulers. For example, the Kolli hills was ruled by the Val Vil Ori during the sangam period. Later, around the 13th century, some people from the Kanchipuram migrated and settled in the different hill areas of Salem district. So, the present hill people are neither original inhabitants nor migrants, but mixture of the two. They are called Malaiyalis. In Tamil, malai means hills or mountains, yali means ruler or inhabitants; and the Malaiyalis means 'hill inhabitants'.

9.2.5 During the pre-colonial period the tribals were politically autonomous, administratively well established, economically

more or less self-sufficient and they continued with their old culture. The Brand Christian Missionary of London worked about fourteen years at the Kalroyan hills, and they could convert no more than 12 tribal families into Christianity (Ramaswami: 1967: 731). They had a well established administrative system. Each hill was divided into a number of nadus, and each nadu into many villages. Each nadu had a four-tier administrative system, i.e., Pattakaran, Maniakaran, Ur-kavundan and Gangani. The guru was the highest spiritual authority of the tribal system. No external forces ever threatened the tribal system. The well established administrative and judicial systems had undergone fundamental changes during the colonial rule.

9.2.6 The self-sustaining tribal economy depended mainly on agriculture and forest produce. There was no restriction on both agricultural cultivation and collection of forest-produce. They practiced the shifting cultivation. In fact, their requirements were limited and they maintained their economic independence. But, after the establishment of the forest department, the shifting cultivation and collections of the forest-produce were restricted. Thus, one of the mainstays of the tribal economy was taken away from them by the colonial rulers.

9.2.7 There was not only no positive structural transformation in the tribal economy, but on the contrary their occupational position slowly got subordinated to that of non-tribals who over a period of time came to control, dominate and administer either directly or indirectly their institutions, their resources and their lives. There was a negative occupational transformation in the tribal economy. The proportion of the tribal cultivators decreased in general and that of the women in

particular, while the tribal agricultural labourers increased. The tribal women agricultural labourers increased at a higher rate than the average rate in the district.

9.2.8 The forest policy of the colonial Government restricted the sources of the tribal subsistence through the forest produce and shifting cultivation. And after Independence, the Government further extended the reserve forest affecting the livelihood of the tribal population. The rights of the tribals on forest became concessions. Until Independence, the main crops in the hill areas continued to be foodgrains. But, after the Sub-plan period (1978-79), the importance of foodgrains cultivation decreased due to the commercialisation. And the area under commercial crops increased.

9.2.9 The problem of land alienation in the hill areas first began with the British settlers and latter plain people also settled there. Subsequently, lack of institutional credit facilities led to the indebtedness of the tribals and as a consequence the tribal lands was alienated to money-lenders. The former played a major role during the 19^{th} century and the latter was the main cause during the 20^{th} century.

9.2.10 The migration of the tribals was not significant in numbers during the 19^{th} century. Even the small percentage of migration was due to the natural calamities and over-assessment of land revenue. The rural-urban migration started only after Independence, particularly after the Sub-plan period.

9.3.0 Study Summed-up

9.3.1 At the time of colonial intervention, the tribals in Tamil Nadu were economically self-sufficient; administratively well established; politically autonomous and more or less they were isolated but self-sustaining communities. After the colonial intervention, the conditions of their economy deteriorated due to the restrictions on their traditional cultivation and forest collections. Their administrative and political set-up was undermined and replaced. In short, economically independent tribals' got deteriorated and were reduced to dependency.

9.3.2 There was no major positive structural transformation in the tribal economy of Salem district of Tamil Nadu in the colonial period. Further their economic conditions had declined. Cultivators declined and agricultural labourers increased. The welfare measures since Independence could not arrest their occupational degradation. It helped the non-tribal settlement resulting in tribal land alienation. Due to the extension of the reserve forest and the forest policy the land holding size deteriorated. Though, there is a positive change in the cropping pattern and the educational facilities in the recent years, their general economic deterioration continued unabated.

9.3.3 The present study concludes that the economic conditions of the tribals in Tamil Nadu deteriorated during the colonial period, and the welfare measures of the Indian Government also did not produce any major positive impact on the tribal economy. The study restricted itself to

understand their economic transformation. And, it could not give the importance for their cultural, social and political development. The study suggests further scope for interdisciplinary studies intended to throw light on the exact causes of their socio-economic and political backwardness.

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Appendix-3.1

Details of the Hill Villages

I. Kolli hills in Attur Taluk

There are 8 main villages and one 'Kombe' village: 1. Pail Nadu, 2. Edappuli Nadu, 3.Sittur Nadu, 4. Perakarai Nadu, 5. Alattur Nadu, 6. Gundani Nadu, 7. Pelappadi Nadu, 8. Tirupuli Nadu; and Adakkam Pudukombai, a Kombe village. Every main village consists of many hamlets.

II. Kalroyan hills of Attur Taluk

There are 4 main villages and one village in adjoining hills: 1.Periya-Kalroyan Kil Nadu, 2. Periya-Kalroyan Mel Nadu, 3. Chinna-Kalroyan Vadakku Nadu, 4. Chinna-Kalroyan Therkku Nadu, and one village in Neiyamalai.

III. Pachamalai hill in Attur Taluk

Only one main village that is called Pachamalai

IV. Kollimalai in Namakkal Taluk

There are 7 main villages: 1. Velappur Nadu, 2. Kundur Nadu, 3. Ariyur Nadu, 4. Valavanthi Nadu, 5. Selur Nadu, 6. Tinnanoor Nadu and 7. Devanur Nadu.

V. Palamalai hill in Mettur Taluk

There is only one main village, i.e., Palamalai.

VI Shervaroy hills in Yercaud Taluk

There are 65 main villages.

VII. Bodamalai hills in Rasipuram Taluk

There are three main villages: 1. Melur, 2. Kilur, and 3. Gidamalai.

VIII.Hill villages of Salem Taluk

There are 10 hill villages: 1. Aranuthumalai, 2. Sirumalai, 3. Jarugumalai, 4. Jambuthumalai, 5. Aladipatti 6. Chinna Velampatty, 7. Periya Velampatty, 8. Pelappadi 9. Pallikadu and 10. Puliyandi kombe.

IX. Chitteri Hills in Harur Taluk

There is only one main village, i.e., Chitteri.

Appendix- 3.2

Structural Transformation in Different Hills: 1871-1901

Taluk	Hills	Total Working Force			Primary Sector			Percentages			Secondary and Tertiary Sectors			Percentages		
		1871	1891	1901	1871	1891	1901	1871	1891	1901	1871	1891	1901	1871	1891	1901
Attur	Kolli hills	2,231	7,042	8,003	2,184	6,968	5,705	97.89	98.95	71.29	47	74	2,298	2.11	1.05	28.71
	Kalroyan hills	2,321	7,628	9,151	2,314	7,389	5,826	99.70	96.87	63.67	7	239	3,325	0.3	3.13	36.33
	Pacha malai	795	2,202	1,880	780	2,173	1,176	98.31	98.68	62.55	15	29	704	1.89	1.32	37.45
Namakkal	Kolli hills	3,658	12,279	12,657	3,593	12,115	8,839	98.22	98.66	69.83	65	164	3,818	1.78	1.34	30.17
Mettur	Pala malai	169	947	1,125	156	911	774	92.31	96.20	68.80	13	36	351	7.69	3.8	31.2
Yercaud	Shervaroy hills	3,016	10,334	14,388	2,717	9,095	5,687	90.09	88.01	39.53	299	1.239	8,701	9.91	11.99	60.47
Rasipu-ram	Bodamalai	228	816	756	227	794	538	99.56	97.30	71.16	1	22	218	0.44	2.7	28.84
Harur	Chitteri hills	823	2,332	2,352	810	2,275	1,508	98.49	97.56	64.12	13	57	844	1.58	2.44	35.88
Salem	Aranuthu malai	58	201	234	57	200	135	98.27	99.50	57.69	1	1	99	1.72	0.5	42.31
	Sirumalai	118	153	179	118	147	122	100.00	96.08	68.16	-	6	57	-	3.92	31.84
	Jambuthu malai	48	126	140	40	126	73	83.34	100.00	52.14	8	-	67	16.67	-	47.86
	Jarugu malai	67	154	171	67	132	99	100.00	85.71	57.89	-	22	92	-	14.29	42.11
	All kombe villages	428	583	835	428	581	481	100.00	99.66	57.60	-	2	354	-	0.34	42.39
	Total	13,960	44,794	30,963	13,491	42,906	30,963	96.64	95.79	59.68	469	1888	20,908	3.36	4.21	40.31

Sources: Same as in Table 3.6.

Appendix- 3.3

Occupational Transformation Within the Primary Sector in Different Hills: 1871-1901.

Taluk Hills	Total Working Force in the Primary Sector			Cultivators			Percentages			Labourers			Percentages		
	1871	1891	1901	1871	1891	1901	1871	1891	1901	1871	1891	1901	1871	1891	1901
Attur															
Kolli hills	2,184	6,968	5,705	2,113	4,826	3,830	96.75	69.46	67.13	71	2,142	1,875	3.25	30.74	32.87
Kalroyan hills	2,314	7,389	5,826	1,695	5,775	4,537	73.25	78.16	77.87	619	1,614	1,289	26.75	21.84	22.12
Pachamalai	780	2,173	1,176	753	1,752	1,047	96.54	80.63	89.03	27	421	129	3.46	19.37	10.97
Namakkal															
Kolli hills	3,593	12,115	8,839	2,664	9,226	6,192	74.14	76.15	70.05	929	2,889	2,647	25.86	23.85	29.95
Mettur															
Palamalais	156	911	774	123	701	523	78.85	76.95	67.57	33	210	251	21.15	23.05	32.43
Yercaud															
Shervaroy's	2,714	9,095	5,687	1,860	5,027	4,255	68.46	55.27	74.81	857	4,068	1,432	31.54	44.73	25.18
Rasipuram															
Bodamalais	227	794	538	186	667	416	81.94	84.01	77.32	41	127	122	18.06	15.99	22.68
Harur															
Chitteri hills	810	2,275	1,508	756	1,891	1,057	93.33	83.12	69.89	54	384	454	6.67	16.88	30.11
Salem															
Aranuthumalais	57	200	135	53	147	95	92.98	73.50	70.37	4	53	40	7.02	26.50	29.63
Sirumalais	118	147	122	70	111	101	59.32	75.51	82.79	48	36	21	40.68	24.49	17.21
Jambuthumalais	40	126	73	35	37	41	87.50	27.37	56.16	5	89	32	12.50	70.63	43.83
Jarugumalais	67	132	99	62	117	85	92.54	88.64	85.86	5	15	14	7.46	11.36	14.14
All Kombe's	428	581	481	368	449	354	85.98	77.28	73.59	60	132	127	14.02	22.72	26.40
Total	13,491	42,239	30,963	10,738	30,726	22,254	79.59	72.75	72.74	2,753	11,510	8,439	20.41	28.39	27.26

Sources: Same as in the Table 3.7

Appendix- 3.4

Wages in Salem District: 1873-1900

Year	Average monthly wages of agri-labourers at the end of each year(Rupees per month)	Annual wages in grains of Agri.labour(in seers of common rice)
1873	2.5	506
1874	2.5	425
1875	2.5	485
1876	2.5	376
1877	2.5	209
1878	2.5	251
1879	3	371
1880	2.5	376
1881	2.25	423
1882	2.25	421
1883	2	384
1884	2.33	408
1885	2.67	394
1886	2.33	386
1887	3 to 5	529-882
1888	4	683
1889	3.67	589
1890	2.62	404
1891	2.62	338
1892	2.92	340
1893	3.06	369
1894	3.06	429
1895	3.21	462
1896	3.32	510
1897	3.37	431
1898	3.31	378
1899	3.31	468
1900	3.44	383

Source: Kumar, Dharma (1965), pp.163-64.

Appendix-4.1

Land Revenue, Collection and Remission in Salem District: 1818/19-1853/54

(in Madras Rupees)

Year	Total Settlement of the Year	From the Hills	%	Actual Collection	Remission Grants
1818-19	17,70,514 5 2	24,467 3 -	1.38	17,46,094 10 -	24,419 11 2
1819-20	17,58,062 6 3	27,984 12 -	1.59	17,31,994 15 2	26,067 7 1
1820-21	17,82,950 - 2	26,328 5 -	1.48	17,49,225 4 2	33,724 12 -
1821-22	16,18,362 10 -	27,304 9 7	1.69	16,11,268 5 6	7,094 4 6
1822-23	17,08,935 6 8	26,434 12 -	1.55	16,95,295 6 11	13,729 15 9
1823-24	16,85,195 12 7	26,228 13 2	1.56	16,77,221 8 7	7,974 4 -
1824-25	17,48,946 9 10	27,373 3 3	1.57	17,38,420 12 9	10,525 13 1
1825-26	17,99,011 5 8	29,398 5 6	1.63	17,86,814 3 7	12,197 2 1
1826-27	18,04,684 14 7	29,752 10 --	1.65	17,91,428 - 4	13,256 14 3
1827-28	17,70,275 13 4	29,062 14 10	1.64	17,57,431 14 10	12,843 14 6
1828-29	17,15,520 3 6	28,820 2 9	1.68	17,03,118 4 9	12,331 14 9
1829-30	16,81,879 14 8	25,498 12 4	1.52	16,76,076 12 9	5,803 1 11
1830-31	17,19,165 4 -	29,528 12 1	1.72	17,11,348 10 5	7,816 9 7
1831-32	16,75,497 13 13	25,498 13 4	1.52	16,59,914 - 8	15,583 12 7
1832-33	14,08,714 5 9	28,092 4 10	1.99	13,87,757 9 -	20,956 12 9
1833-34	15,38,728 10 5	32,089 1 1	2.09	15,07,635 2 8	31,093 7 9
1834-35	16,09,925 3 2	32,662 10 6	2.03	15,96,799 15 -	12,965 3 2
1835-36	16,44,713 12 11	31,358 3 -	1.91	16,38,957 7 5	5,598 8 5
1836-37	16,19,495 5 8	30,596 14 15	1.89	16,06,487 2 4	12,850 11 9
1837-38	16,33,008 9 8	30,384 12 8	1.86	16,28,450 - 4	4,398 13 10
1838-39	16,79,416 11 6	30,411 5 10	1.81	16,76,900 5 8	2,356 10 4
1839-40	17,50,436 3 1	30,364 4 8	1.73	17,47,293 8 2	2,982 15 5
1840-41	17,65,617 4 8	29,369 14 4	1.66	17,61,621 10 1	3,920 7 4
1841-42	18,05,444 9 11	31,202 3 4	1.73	18,03,041 2 10	2,328 3 10
1842-43	17,68,700 5 11	32,650 8 11	1.85	17,63,747 15 9	29,972 8 9
1843-44	17,66,759 14 2	29,060 15 11	1.64	17,61,282 12 10	4,886 13 7
1844-45	17,23,184 10 4	28,505 9 5	1.65	17,10,100 5 4	6,084 5 -
1845-46	16,80,116 14 6	28,296 14 6	1.68	16,63,987 9 7	16,129 4 11
1846-47	17,32,920 12 3	29,716 14 1	1.71	17,19,110 15 11	13,809 12 4
1847-48	17,74,664 2 2	30,164 9 1	1.69	17,68,670 - 2	5,994 4 8
1848-49	18,14,231 3 7	28,783 2 4	1.59	18,08,349 14 8	5,874 1 6
1849-50	17,23,191 2 7	30,117 8 6	1.74	17,09,482 5 5	13,685 6 1
1850-51	17,75,354 9 10	30,425 1 3	1.71	17,65,432 12 5	5,768 14 5
1851-52	17,63,984 15 3	30,079 7 9	1.71	17,56,480 14 4	3,250 4 10
1852-53	17,77,984 7 11	28,246 14 -	1.59	17,72,594 3 3	--
1853-54	--	28,208 2 11	--	-	--

Sources: Board of Revenue, 5th Nov. 1846, No. 40, Vol. 2046, pp. 13976-79, and 11th July 1855, No.76, Vol. 2482, p. 11334.

Annual Settlement Reports of Salem District from 1819/20-1853/54.

Appendix- 4.2

Revenue Demand and Balance in the Different Nadus of Shervaroy Hills: 1822/23-1839/40 (in Madras Rupees)

Year	Salem Nadu		Moha Nadu		Mootoo Nadu		Total			
	Jummabundy	Amount Remitted	Jummabundy	Amount Remitted	Jummabundy	Amount Remitted*	Jummabundy	Amount Remitted	Arrears to be Adjusted	Total
1822-23	1,452 8 -	-	1,085 - -	--	654 4 -	39 10 -	3,193 12 -	39 10 -	-	39 10 -
1823-24	1,452 8 -	56 8 -	1,085 - -	52 8 -	654 4 -	236 4 -	3,193 12 -	344 12 -	-	344 12 -
1824-25	1,452 8 -	52 8 -	1,085 - -	52.8 -	654 4 -	236 4 -	3,193 12 -	341 4 -	-	341 4 -
1825-26	1,452 8 -	52 8 -	1,085 - -	49 - -	654 4 -	236 4 -	3,193 12 -	337 12 -	-	337 12 -
1826-27	1,452 8 -	52 8 -	1,085 - -	56 - -	654 4 -	236 4 -	3,193 12 -	344 12 -	-	344 12 -
1827-28	1,452 8 -	52 8 -	1,085 - -	53 - -	654 4 -	237 4 -	3,193 12 -	342 12 -	-	342 12 -
1828-29	1,452 8 -	52 8 -	1,085 - -	52 8 -	654 4 -	237 4 -	3,193 12 -	342 4 -	-	342 4 -
1829-30	1,452 8 -	51 8 -	1,085 - -	49 - -	654 4 -	236 4 -	3,193 12 -	336 12 -	-	336 12 -
1830-31	1,452 8 -	51 8 -	1,085 - -	49 - -	654 4 -	236 4 -	3,193 12 -	336 12 -	-	336 12 -
1831-32	1,452 8 -	51 8 -	1,085 - -	49 - -	654 4 -	236 4 -	3,193 12 -	336 12 -	-	336 12 -
1832-33	1,452 8	51 8 -	1,085 - -	49 - -	654 4 -	236 4	3,193 12 -	336 12 -	-	336 12 -
1833-34	1,452 8	51 8 -	1,085 - -	49 - -	654 4 -	236 4 -	3,193 12 -	336 12 -	-	336 12 -
1834-35	1,452 8 -	-	1,085 - -	-	654 4 -	136 4	3,193 12 -	136 4 -	-	136 4 -
1835-36	1,452 8 -	-	1,085 - -	-	654 4	183 12 -	3,193 12 -	-	183 12 -	183 12 -
1836-37	1,452 8 -	-	1,085 - -	-	654 4 -	183 12 -	3,193 12 -	-	183 12 -	183 12 -
1837-38	1,452 8 -	-	1,085 - -	-	654 4 -	183 12 -	3,193 12 -	-	183 12 -	183 12 -
1838-39	1,452 8	-	1,085 - -	-	654 4 -	183 12 -	3,193 12 -	-	183 12 -	183 12 -
1839-40	1,452 8 -	-	1,085 - -	-	654 4 -	183 12 -	3,193 12 -	-	183 12 -	183 12 -
Total	26,145 - -	576 - -	19,530 - -	560 8 -	11,812 8 -	3,695 6 -	57,487	3,913 - -	918 12 -	4,831 12 -

Note: * From 1835-36 onwards the arrears of the Mootoo Nadu was adjusted.

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 23rd September 1841, No.18, Vol.1769, p.12131.

Appendix- 4.3

Revenue from the Different Villages of Kolli-Hills: 1792/93-1801/02
Attur - Kolli hills
(in Star Pagodas)

Villages	1792-93	1793-94	1794-95	1795-96	1796-97	1797-98 1801-02
Anjoor or Bail Estate						
Bail nadu	310 25 3	348 20 40	360 15 40	360 15 40	281 12 23	292 31 54
Edappuli nadu	70 39 6	89 35 33	95 8 55	98 8 55	124 6 25	140 2 53
Sittur nadu	126 23 24	145 20 52	152 5 52	152 5 52	158 21 27	165 - 52
Pirakarai nadu	122 16 3	139 17 20	144 35 39	144 35 39	100 34 41	78 19 73
Tripuli nadu	90 37 66	115 19 6	122 4 62	122 4 62	205 37 14	201 - 6
Total	721 6 22	838 23 46	874 25 8	874 25 8	870 21 50	877 9 78
Moonoor or Kundani Estate						
kundani nadu	57 13 72	62 4 13	62 4 13	70 25 11	90 4 37	90 4 37
Alattur nadu	11 19 9	14 44 40	14 44 40	14 44 40	76 - -	91 22 65
Pelappadi nadu	33 18 20	37 8 49	37 8 49	37 8 49	40 5 54	49 3 53
Total	102 6 21	114 12 22	114 12 22	114 12 22	186 30 65	230 30 75
Namakkal - Kolli Hills						
Moonoor or Selur Estate						
Selur nadu	487 40 21	487 30 24	487 30 12	487 29 75	330 26 28	369 21 79
Tinnanoor nadu	278 14 68	278 14 68	278 40 48	278 40 3	187 39 39	194 26 1
Devanur nadu	102 15 4	102 15 4	102 15 4	102 15 4	116 41 65	151 17 34
Total	858 25 13	858 15 16	858 40 64	858 40 2	635 19 52	715 20 37
Gundoor or Ariyur Estate						
Gundoor nadu	221 27 16	221 17 16	221 17 16	221 27 16	487 22 32	486 35 18
Velappu nadu	247 25 47	247 25 47	247 27 49	247 27 65	526 7 26	574 7 42
Ariyur nadu	306 11 43	306 11 38	306 11 22	506 11 68	459 4 21	533 1 66
Vala vanthy	185 32 41	185 32 16	185 30 34	185 30 39	267 26 36	327 25 19
Total	961 6 69	960 41 37	961 5 64	1116 7 28	1740 15 35	1921 21 65

* 1 Star Pagodas equal to three and half Company rupees.

Sources: Permanent Settlement Records, Salem; B/R[Mis] Vol. 29 11th November 1800, pp. 19-20 and 28-31.

Proceedings of the Special Commission, Vol. 10, 1st September 1802, pp. 2806.

Appendix- 4.4

Revenue Demand and Balance of Kolli Hills: 1809/1815.

(in Star Pagodas)

Year	Attur Kolli Hills											
	Anjoor						Moonoor					
	Permenant Settlement			Balance		%	Permenant Settlement			Balance		%
1809-10	877	9	8	6	2 48	0.68	230	30	58	-	- -	-
1810-11	877	9	8	459	43 42	52.45	230	30	58	-	- -	-
1811-12	877	9	8	203	5 67	23.15	230	30	58	-	- -	-
1812-13	877	9	8	330	19 25	37.63	230	30	58	-	- -	-
1813-14	877	9	8	310	1 74	35.35	230	30	58	-	- -	-
1814-15	877	9	8	326	26 12	37.17	230	30	58	5	32 12	2.61
Total	5,263	9	48	1,636	9 28	31.08	1,384	4	28	5	32 12	0.36

Year	Namakkal Kolli Hills											
	Selur						Gundur					
	Permenant Settlement			Balance		%	Permenant Settlement			Balance		%
1809-10	715	20	34	148	32 18	20.83	1931	24	65	193	15 24	9.99
1810-11	715	20	34	216	38 37	30.35	1931	24	65	384	44 11	19.94
1811-12	715	20	34	232	4 32	32.45	1931	24	65	413	13 77	21.39
1812-13	715	20	34	221	9 17	30.91	1931	24	65	445	24 65	23.05
1813-14	715	20	34	183	30 8	25.73	1931	24	65	447	11 77	23.15
1814-15	715	20	34	200	9 17	27.91	1931	24	65	452	34 41	23.46
Total	4,290	34	44	1,202	34 29	28.03	11,589	13	70	2,337	9 55	20.17

Source: Collectorate Records, Salem, No.130, Vol.3169, pp. 175-84.

Appendix- 4.5

Revenue Demand, Collection and Balance in Attur Kolli Hills: 1820/21-1853/54.

(in Madras Rupees)

Year	Anjoor Hills									Moonoor Hills								
	Demand			Collection			Balance			Under rent Demand			Under rent Collection			Under rent Balance		
1820-21	3,070	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	807	6	5	807	6	5	-	-	-
1821-22	2,252	12	5	2,252	12	5	-	-	-	883	6	6	883	6	6	-	-	-
1822-23	2,360	2	4	2,360	2	4	-	-	-	872	10	2	872	10	2	-	-	-
1823-24	2,641	7	8	2,641	7	8	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1824-25	2,637	13	4	2,637	13	4	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1825-26	2,812	7	4	2,812	7	4	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1826 27	3,036	15	2	3,036	15	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	813	6	6	-	-	-
1827-28	3,025	7	1	3,025	7	1	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1828-29	2,776	11	8	2,776	11	8	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1829-30	2,865	4	11	2,865	4	11	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1830-31	2,848	12	6	2,848	12	6	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1831-32	2,752	4	5	2,752	4	5	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1832-33	2,258	11	11	2,256	3	11	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1833-34	2,981	6	9	2,981	6	9	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1834-35	3,157	4	8	3,157	4	8	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1835-36	3,190	3	10	3,190	3	10	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1836-37	3,131	7	2	3,131	7	2	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1837-38	3,291	12	9	3,291	12	9	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1838-39	496	8	9	3,496	8	9	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1839-40	3,520	-	7	3,520	-	7	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1840-41	3,522	4	11	3,522	4	11	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1841-42	3,170	9	11	3,170	9	11	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1842-43	3,397	15	9	3,397	15	9	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1843-44	3,341	14	7	3,341	14	7	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1844-45	3,312	1	4	3,312	1	4	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1845-46	3,435	5	2	3,435	5	2	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1846-47	3,496	1	11	3,489	13	7	6	4	4	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1847-48	3,574	4	3	3,574	4	3	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1848-49	3,548	2	1	3,544	14	7	2	3	6	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1849-50	3,421	15	2	3,421	15	2	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1850-51	3,449	11	8	3,449	11	8	-	-	-	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1851-52	3,442	-	2	3,440	7	1	1	9	1	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1852-53	3,407	7	4	3,405	6	2	2	1	2	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-
1853-54	3,271	1	11	3,263	5	7	7	12	4	813	6	6	813	6	6	-	-	-

Year	Moonoor Hills																	
	Under amani Demand			Under amani Collection			Under amani Balance			Under amani Demand			Under amani Collection			Under amani Balance		
1820-21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1821-22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1822-23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1823-24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1824-25	58	13	3	58	13	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1825-26	48	9	2	41	1	2	7	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1826 27	37	6	10	37	6	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1827-28	30	11	6	30	11	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1828-29	32	12	4	32	12	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1829-30	30	7	3	30	7	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1830-31	35	11	3	35	11	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1831-32	40	14	6	40	14	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1832-33	28	6	1	28	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1833-34	40	1	5	40	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1834-35	44	11	3	44	11	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1835-36	44	-	6	44	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1836-37	41	12	8	41	12	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1837-38	49	4	7	49	4	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1838-39	50	4	5	50	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1839-40	43	9	1	43	9	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1840-41	38	12	8	38	12	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1841-42	32	14	1	32	14	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1842-43	24	1	3	24	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1843-44	23	4	2	23	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1844-45	20	4	6	20	4	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1845-46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1846-47	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1847-48	17	3	2	17	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1848-49	22	-	2	22	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1849-50	26	13	2	26	13	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1850-51	26	13	2	26	13	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1851-52	33	9	10	33	9	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1852-53	34	6	8	34	6	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1853-54	37	2	8	37	2	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 30th Nov.1854, No.44, Vol.2447, pp.16179-80.

Appendix- 4.6

Revenue Demand, Collection and Balance in Pachamalai: 1820-1854.

(in Madras Rupees)

Year	Demand	Collection	Balance
1820-21	551 13 5	551 13 5	- - -
1821-22	574 5 4	574 5 4	- - -
1822-23	544 7 6	544 7 6	- - -
1823-24	543 13 -	537 1 -	6 12 -
1824-25	580 14 5	580 14 5	- - -
1825-26	553 9 9	553 9 9	- - -
1826-27	652 1 3	652 1 3	- - -
1827-28	607 10 10	607 10 10	- - -
1828-29	582 6 -	582 6 -	- - -
1829-30	610 8 4	610 8 4	- - -
1830-31	701 6 1	701 6 1	- - -
1831-32	695 13 8	695 13 8	- - -
1832-33	582 6 2	554 1 1	28 5 1
1833-34	674 7 2	663 - 6	11 6 8
1834-35	798 - 9	798 - 9	- - -
1835-36	867 6 8	867 6 8	- - -
1836-37	705 3 3	705 3 3	- - -
1837-38	818 2 2	818 2 2	- - -
1838-39	864 6 7	864 6 7	- - -
1839-40	1,000 13 -	1,000 13 -	- - -
1840-41	1,166 9 11	1,166 9 11	- - -
1841-42	1,124 9 5	1,124 9 5	- - -
1842-43	1,156 5 -	1,156 5 -	- - -
1843-44	1,045 8 2	1,045 8 2	- - -
1844-45	1,019 7 9	1,019 7 9	- - -
1845-46	1,099 7 6	1,099 7 6	- - -
1846-47	859 12 2	859 12 2	- - -
1847-48	979 15 1	979 15 1	- - -
1848-49	907 13 6	907 13 6	- - -
1849-50	829 9 10	829 9 10	- - -
1850-51	758 12 2	758 12 2	- - -
1851-52	857 10 13	857 10 13	- - -
1852-53	679 11 2	679 11 2	- - -
1853-54	522 15 6	522 15 6	- - -

Source: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 30th Nov.1854, No. 44, Vol.2447, pp.16179-80.

Appendix- 5.1

Population Growth in the Different Hills: 1901-1991

Taluk & Hills		1901	1911	@	1921	@	1931	@	1951	@	1961	@	1971	@	1981	@	1991	@	1901-91
Attur	Kolli hills	8003	8242	2.99	7556	8.32	7374	-2.41	7229	-1.97	8140	12.60	9318	14.47	10301	10.55	12752	23.79	59.34
	Kal royan	9151	9831	7.43	10826	10.12	9379	-13.37	9887	5.92	13121	32.71	14818	12.93	18747	26.52	24234	29.27	164.82
	Pacha malai	1880	2027	7.82	2249	10.95	2624	16.67	2284	-12.96	3163	38.49	2904	-8.19	3694	27.20	4045	9.5	115.16
Namakkal	Kolli malai	12657	12368	-2.80	12174	-1.57	12347	1.42	11708	-5.18	12880	10.01	15718	22.03	18198	15.78	21136	16.14	66.99
Mettur	Pala malai	1125	1095	-2.67	899	17.90	1065	18.46	1149	7.89	1436	24.98	2185	52.16	2679	22.61	3745	39.79	232.89
Yercaud	Sherva roy	14388	13632	-5.25	12896	5.77	16902	31.57	19739	16.78	23753	20.34	30816	29.75	32746	6.26	32500	-0.75	125.88
Rasipuram	Boda malai	756	672	11.11	646	-3.87	-	-	753	16.56	717	-4.78	610	-14.92	1234	102.30	1457	18.07	92.72
Harur	Chitteri	2352	2246	4.51	2684	19.50	3204	19.37	3049	-4.84	4192	37.49	5527	31.85	3490	-36.85	6782	94.33	188.35
Salem	Aranuthu malai	234	251	7.26	235	-6.37	285	21.28	294	3.16	373	26.87	499	33.78	556	11.42	716	22.78	205.98
	Siru malai	179	191	6.70	156	-18.32	99	-36.54	115	16.16	166	44.35	224	34.94	355	58.48	476	34.08	165.92
	Jumbuthu malai	140	163	16.43	142	-12.88	148	4.23	130	-12.16	183	40.77	202	10.38	167	17.33	226	35.33	61.43
	Jarugu malai	171	178	4.09	163	-8.43	228	39.88	314	37.75	407	29.62	524	28.75	643	22.71	588	-8.55	243.86
	All Kombe's	835	955	14.37	1334	39.69	1175	-11.92	1174	-0.09	1392	18.57	1521	9.27	2205	44.97	2235	1.36	167.66

Note:@ Growth Rate

Sources: See next page.

Sources: Census of 1901, Village Statistics, Salem District, Government Press, Madras, 1902. pp. 64-73, 56-62, 2-5, 96.

Census of 1901, Village Statistics, Coimbatore District, Government Press, Madras, 1902, p. 2

Census of 1911, Village Statistics, Salem District, Govt. Press, Madras, 1911, pp. 4-8, 20-28, 46-55, 76.

Census of 1911, Village Statistics, Coimbatore District, Government Press, Madras, 1911, p. 11.

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Census of 1991, Village Primary Census Abstract, Salem District, Mettur Taluk. pp. 1-2, Yercaud Taluk. pp. 1-8, Namakkal Taluk. pp. 1-2, Attur Taluk. pp. 1-5, 18-19, Rasipuram Taluk. pp. 1-2, 13-14, Salem Taluk. pp. 9-10, 13-16, 21-22.

Census of 1991, Village Primary Census Abstract, Dharmapuri District, Harur Taluk, pp. 89-90, 94-95.

Appendix- 5.2

Structural Transfortion of Tribals in Different Hills of Salem District: 1951-1991.

Taluk	Hills/ Years	Total Workers	Primary Sector	%	Secondry Sector	%	Tertiary Sector	%
Attur	Kolli hills							
	1951	7,225	7,158	99.10	2	-	65	0.90
	1961	5,837	5,748	98.47	3	0.04	86	1.47
	1971	4,459	4,401	98.70	2	0.04	64	1.21
	1981	7,309	7,296	99.38	—— 45 ——		1.03——	
	1991	8,042	7,940	98.74	6	0.08	96	3.58
	Kalroyan hills							
	1951	9,887	9,865	99.78	4	0.04	18	0.18
	1961	8,801	8,673	98.62	29	0.33	98	1.11
	1971	7,124	7,081	99.36	1	0.06	41	0.62
	1981	10,581	10,350	97.82	— 230 ——		2.17 ——	
	1991	12,128	11,681	96.31	22	0.18	425	3.50
	Pachamalai							
	1951	2,284	2,284	100.00	-	-	-	-
	1961	1,893	1,838	99.74	-	-	5	0.26
	1971	1,622	1,616	99.63	-	-	6	0.37
	1981	2,467	2,447	99.19	—— 16 ——		0.65 ——	
	1991	2,272	2,241	98.63	-	-	31	1.36
Namakkal	Kolli hills							
	1951	11,708	11,649	99.50	-	-	59	0.50
	1961	9,217	9,159	99.37	5	0.05	53	0.57
	1971	7,779	7,466	95.98	63	0.81	249	3.20
	1981	10,990	10,588	96.35	—— 402 ——		3.66——	
	1991	12,673	12,097	95.45	97	0.77	479	3.79
Mettur	Palamalai							
	1951	1,149	1,144	99.56	-	-	5	0.44
	1961	920	916	99.57	-	-	4	0.43
	1971	838	830	99.04	1	0.12	7	0.84
	1981	1,384	1,074	99.28	—— 10——		0.72 ——	
	1991	2,087	1,838	88.07	122	5.85	127	6.08

Cont...d

Taluk	Hills/ Years	Total Workers	Primary Sector	%	Secondry Sector	%	Tertiary Sector	%
Yercaud	Shervaroy hills							
	1951	19,739	15,822	80.15	-	-	3,917	19.84
	1961	13,584	11,447	84.26	599	4.40	1,538	11.32
	1971	15,159	12,722	83.92	862	5.68	1,574	10.38
	1981	17,824	7,104	39.86	-	10720	——	60.14 ——
	1991	17,869	15,294	85.60	269	1.52	2,306	12.9
Rasipuram	Bodamalai							
	1951	753	752	99.87	-	-	1	0.13
	1961	446	446	100.00	-	-	-	-
	1971	249	246	98.79	-	-	3	1.20
	1981	654	650	99.37	——	4	——	0.61 ——
	1991	582	566	97.25	-	-	16	2.75
Harur	Chitteri hills							
	1951	3,049	3,049	100.00	-	-	-	-
	1961	2,581	2,461	95.34	3	0.11	117	4.53
	1971	2,475	2,454	99.15	6	0.24	9	0.61
	1981	2,305	2,258	97.96	-	—— 47 ——		2.04 ——
	1991	3,666	3,626	98.91	2	0.06	15	1.04
Salem	Aranuthumalai							
	1951	294	293	99.66	-	-	1	0.34
	1961	178	158	88.76	-	-	20	11.23
	1971	128	124	96.88	1	0.78	3	2.34
	1981	318	310	97.48	-	—— 8 ——		2.52 ——
	1991	459	435	94.77	2	0.44	22	4.79
	Sirumalai							
	1951	115	115	100.00	-	-	-	-
	1961	77	69	89.61	-	-	8	10.39
	1971	63	63	100.00	-	-	-	-
	1981	232	231	99.56	-——	1	———	0.43 ——
	1991	197	193	97.97	-	-	4	2.03

Cont...d

Taluk	Hills/ Years	Total Workers	Primary Sector	%	Secondry Sector	%	Tertiary Sector	%
	Jambuthumalai							
	1951	130	123	94.62	-	-	7	5.38
	1961	133	133	100.00	-	-	-	-
	1971	85	85	100.00	-	-	-	-
	1981	95	94	98.94	-	-	-	-
	1991	157	157	100.00	1	1.05	-	-
	Jarugumalai							
	1951	314	313	99.68	-	-	1	0.32
	1961	281	276	98.23	-	-	5	1.78
	1971	292	291	99.66	-	-	1	0.34
	1981	289	281	99.31	-	-	2	0.69
	1991	343	340	99.13	-	-	3	0.87
	All Kombe villages							
	1951	1,174	1,173	99.91	-	-	1	0.09
	1961	696	668	95.98	2	0.28	25	3.59
	1971	654	649	98.78	1	0.15	7	1.07
	1981	1,496	1,483	99.13	-	-	13	0.87
	1991	1,188	1,029	95.29	2	0.17	54	4.54

Source: Same as in Appendix- 5.1

Appendix- 5.3

Structural Transformation of the Female Tribals in the Different Hills: 1951-1991.

Hills/ Year	Total Workers	Primary Sector	%	Seconday Sector	%	Tertiary Sector	%	Marginal Workers	%
Attur-Kolli hills									
1951	3,512	3,474	98.97	-	-	36	1.03	-	-
1961	2,743	2,712	98.87	-	-	31	1.13	-	-
1971	1,198	1,192	99.50	-	-	6	0.50	-	-
1981	3,555	3,518	98.96	-	9	0.25		28	0.79
1991	3,754	3,574	95.21	1	0.03	29	0.77	150	3.99
Kalroyan hills									
1951	4,934	4,827	99.86	1	0.02	6	0.12	-	-
1961	4,066	4,043	99.43	2	0.05	21	0.52	-	-
1971	2,082	2,080	99.90	-	-	2	0.10	-	-
1981	4,403	3,539	80.38	-	47	1.07		817	18.56
1991	5,067	4,123	81.37	2	0.04	191	3.37	751	14.82
Pachamalai									
1951	1,069	1,069	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961	797	794	99.62	-	-	3	0.38	-	-
1971	525	524	99.81	-	-	1	0.19	-	-
1981	1,143	1,136	99.39	-	4	0.35		3	0.26
1991	962	949	98.60	-	-	12	1.25	1	0.10
Namakkal-Kolli hills									
1951	5,784	5,743	99.29	-	-	41	0.71	-	-
1961	4,513	4,505	99.82	1	0.02	7	0.16	-	-
1971	2,341	2,290	98.08	14	0.60	31	1.32	-	-
1981	4,992	3,661	73.34	-	71	1.42		1260	25.24
1991	5,994	5,000	83.42	29	0.48	147	2.45	818	13.65
Mettur-Palamalai									
1951	557	554	99.46	-	-	3	0.54	-	-
1961	440	439	99.77	-	-	1	0.23	-	-
1971	111	111	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	548	547	99.82	-	1	0.18		-	-
1991	880	768	87.27	11	1.25	35	3.98	16	7.50

Cont...d

Hills/ Year	Total Workers	Primary Sector	%	Seconday Sector	%	Tertiary Sector	%	Marginal Workers	%
Yercaud	Shervaroy								
1951	9,678	7,545	77.97	-	-	2133	22.00	-	-
1961	6,111	5,513	90.21	72	1.18	526	8.61	-	-
1971	558	5,091	91.15	139	2.49	355	6.36	-	-
1981	7,715	2,649	34.34	-	——	4633	60.05	433	5.61
1991	7,914	6,846	86.50	-	0.77	844	10.66	163	2.06
Rasipuram	Bodamalai								
1951	395	395	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961	228	228	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971	53	53	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	269	176	65.43	-	——	1	0.37	92	34.20
1991	145	142	97.93	-	-	3	2.07	-	-
Harur	Chitteri								
1951	1,502	150	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961	1,173	1,114	94.97	-	-	59	5.23	-	-
1971	59	91	99.66	-	-	2	0.44	-	-
1981	1,071	939	87.68	-	——	10	0.93	122	11.39
1991	1,585	973	61.39	-	-	7	0.44	605	38.17
Salem	Aranuthumalai								
1951	152	152	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961	55	43	78.18	-	-	12	21.82	-	-
1971	2	2	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	161	160	99.38		——	1	0.62	-	-
1991	220	213	96.82	1	0.45	6	2.73	-	-
	Sirumalai								
1951	57	57	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961	16	13	81.25	-	-	3	18.75	-	-
1971	3	3	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	109	109	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1991	31	28	90.32	-	-	3	9.68	-	-

Cont...d

Hills/ Year	Total Workers	Primary Sector	%	Seconday Sector	%	Tertiary Sector	%	Marginal Workers	%
	Jambuthumalai								
1951	67	60	89.55	-	-	7	10.45	-	-
1961	66	66	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971	16	16	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	48	16	33.33	-	-	-	-	32	66.67
1991	71	71	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Jarugumalai								
1951	160	160	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961	145	144	99.31	-	-	1	0.69	-	-
1971	135	135	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	127	126	99.21	-	-	2	1.13	-	-
1991	177	175	98.87	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Kombe villlages								
1951	569	569	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961	232	219	94.40	1	0.43	12	5.17	-	-
1971	124	124	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	751	748	99.60	-	-	3	0.40	-	-
1991	492	376	76.42	-	-	13	2.64	103	20.93

Source: Same as in Appendix- 5.1.

Appendix- 5.4

Occupational Transformation the Within Primary Sector in the Hill Villages: 1951-1991.

Hills/ Year	Total Workers	Culti- vators	%	Agri. Labourers	%	Agri & allied Activities	%	Marginal Workers	%
Attur-Kolli hills									
1951	7,158	6,385	89.2	763	10.69	8	0.11	-	-
1961	5,748	4,854	84.45	878	15.27	16	0.28	-	-
1971	4,401	2,954	67.12	1,154	26.22	293	6.66	-	-
1981	7,266	5,997	82.53	1,237	17.02	-	-	32	0.44
1991	7,940	7,293	91.85	493	6.21	3	0.04	151	1.90
Kalroyan hills									
1951	9,865	9,289	94.19	572	5.80	1	0.01	-	-
1961	8,659	8,411	97.13	241	2.78	7	0.08	-	-
1971	7,081	6,107	86.24	974	13.76	-	-	-	-
1981	10,350	7,747	74.85	1,743	16.84	-	-	860	8.31
1991	11,681	6,717	57.50	4,179	35.78	12	0.1	773	6.62
Pachamalai									
1951	2,284	2,215	96.98	69	3.02	-	-	-	-
1961	1,888	1,733	91.79	148	7.84	7	0.07	-	-
1971	1,616	1,291	79.89	325	20.11	-	-	-	-
1981	2,451	2,346	95.72	101	4.12	-	-	4	0.16
1991	2,241	1,694	75.59	544	24.27	2	0.09	1	0.04
Namakkal-Kolli hills									
1951	11,649	11,005	94.47	643	5.52	1	0.01	-	-
1961	9,159	8,013	87.49	1,145	12.50	1	0.01	-	-
1971	7,466	6,052	81.06	1,281	17.16	133	1.78	-	-
1981	10,588	7,643	72.19	1,612	15.22	-	1,333	12.59	
1991	12,097	9,375	77.55	1,850	15.29	20	0.17	852	7.04
Mettur-Palamalai									
1951	1,144	981	85.75	156	13.64	7	0.61	-	-
1961	916	838	91.48	78	8.52	-	-	-	-
1971	830	508	61.20	322	38.80	-	-	-	-
1981	1,374	905	65.87	469	34.13	-	-	-	-
1991	1,838	784	42.66	966	52.56	18	0.98	70	3.81

Cont...d

Hills/ Year	Total Workers	Culti-vators	%	Agri. Labourers	%	Agri & allied Activities	%	Marginal Workers	%
Yercaud-Shervaroy									
1951	15,822	7,835	49.52	160	1.01	7,827	49.47	-	-
1961	11,447	5,893	51.48	704	6.15	4,850	42.37	-	-
1971	12,722	4,181	32.86	1,016	7.99	7,525	59.15	-	-
1981	7,104	5,492	77.31	1,139	16.03	-	-	473	6.66
1991	15,294	5,285	34.56	3,777	24.70	6,064	39.65	168	1.10
Rasipuram Bodamalai									
1951	752	736	97.87	16	2.13	-	-	-	-
1961	446	446	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971	246	33	13.41	213	86.59	-	-	-	-
1981	650	481	74.00	59	9.08	-	-	110	16.92
1991	568	431	75.88	135	23.77	2	0.35	-	-
Harur-Chitteri									
1951	3,049	3,015	98.88	34	1.12	-	-	-	-
1961	2,661	2,411	97.97	46	1.87	4	0.16	-	-
1971	2,454	1,907	77.71	547	22.29	-	-	-	-
1981	2,258	1,559	69.04	565	25.02	-	-	134	5.93
1991	3,626	1,870	51.57	1,149	31.69	1	0.03	606	16.71
Salem-Aranuthumalai									
1951	293	253	86.35	40	13.65	-	-	-	-
1961	158	89	56.30	47	29.75	22	13.92	-	-
1971	126	118	93.65	6	6.35	-	-	-	-
1981	310	150	48.39	160	56.10	-	-	-	-
1991	435	404	92.81	31	7.13	-	-	-	-
Sirumalai									
1951	115	101	87.83	14	12.17	-	-	-	-
1961	69	49	71.01	15	21.74	-	-	-	-
1971	63	60	95.24	3	4.76	-	-	-	-
1981	231	159	68.83	72	31.17	-	-	-	-
1991	119	117	98.32	7	1.68	-	-	-	-

Cont...d

Hills/ Year	Total Workers	Culti- vators	%	Agri. Labourers	%	Agri & allied Activities	%	Marginal Workers	%
	Jambuthumalai								
1951	123	121	98.37	2	1.63	-	-	-	-
1961	133	95	71.43	38	28.57	-	-	-	-
1971	85	85	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	94	36	38.30	26	27.66	-	-	32	34.04
1991	157	45	28.66	112	71.34	-	-	-	-
	Jarugumalai								
1951	313	266	84.98	47	15.02	-	-	-	-
1961	276	270	97.83	6	2.17	-	-	-	-
1971	291	274	94.16	17	5.84	-	-	-	-
1981	287	147	51.92	137	47.74	-	-	1	0.35
1991	340	138	40.59	202	59.41	-	-	-	-
	All kombe villages								
1951	1,173	1,085	92.50	88	5.67	-	-	-	-
1961	668	565	84.58	88	13.17	15	2.25	-	-
1971	649	333	51.31	316	48.69	-	-	-	-
1981	1,483	1,385	93.39	98	6.61	-	-	-	-
1991	1,132	489	43.20	540	47.70	-	-	103	9.10

Note: In 1981 Census, no separate data available for the agricultural and allied activities and mining & quarrying, and it was included in the category of 'all others'. Here primary sector data used only for the cultivators and agricultural labourers.

Source: Same as in Appendix- 5.1

Appendix- 5.5

Trend of Female Working Force in the Primary Sector of the Hill Villages in Salem District: 1951-1991.

Hills/ Year	Total Female Workers	Culti- vators	%	Agri. Labourers	%	Agri. Allied	%	Marginal Labourers	%
Attur- Kolli hills									
1951	3,476	3,061	88.06	411	11.80	4	0.12	-	-
1961	2,712	2,222	81.93	486	17.92	4	0.15	-	-
1971	1,192	263	22.06	834	69.97	95	7.97	-	-
1981	3,546	2,634	74.28	884	24.93	-	-	28	0.79
1991	3,724	3,177	85.31	397	10.66	-	-	150	4.03
Kalroyan hills									
1951	4,827	4,533	93.91	293	6.07	1	0.02	-	-
1961	4,043	3,905	96.59	127	3.14	11	0.27	-	-
1971	2,080	1,854	89.13	226	10.87	-	-	-	-
1981	4,356	2,768	63.54	771	17.70	-	-	817	18.76
1991	4,874	1,607	32.97	2516	51.62	-	-	751	15.41
Pachamalai									
1951	1,069	1,052	98.41	17	1.59	-	-	-	-
1961	794	742	93.45	51	6.42	1	0.13	-	-
1971	524	412	78.63	112	21.37	-	-	-	-
1981	1,139	1,060	93.06	76	6.67	-	-	3	0.26
1991	950	617	64.95	332	34.95	-	-	1	0.11
Namakkal-Kolli hills									
1951	5,743	5,413	94.25	330	5.75	-	-	-	-
1961	4,505	3,956	87.81	549	12.19	-	-	-	-
1971	2,296	1,655	72.08	603	26.26	38	1.66	-	-
1981	4,921	2,567	52.16	1,094	22.23	-	-	1,260	25.60
1991	5,818	3,797	65.26	1,202	20.66	1	0.01	818	14.06
Mettur	Palamalai								
1951	554	473	85.35	77	13.95	4	0.72	-	-
1961	439	394	89.75	45	10.25	-	-	-	-
1971	111	17	15.32	94	84.68	-	-	-	-
1981	547	262	47.9	285	52.10	-	-	-	-
1991	834	142	17.03	626	-	-	-	66	7.91

Cont...d

Hills/ Year	Total Female Workers	Culti-vators	%	Agri. Labourers	%	Agri. Allied	%	Marginal Labourers	%
Shervaroy Hills									
1951	7,545	3,903	51.73	80	1.06	3,562	47.21	-	-
1961	5,513	2,802	30.83	367	6.66	2,344	42.52	-	-
1971	5,091	1,246	24.47	517	10.16	3,328	65.37	-	-
1981	3,082	2,128	67.42	521	16.90	-	-	433	14.05
1991	7,009	8,078	29.65	1821	25.98	2,947	42.05	163	2.33
Rasipuram	Bodamalai								
1951	395	389	97.97	8	2.03	-	-	-	-
1961	228	228	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971	53	-	-	53	100	-	-	-	-
1981	268	133	49.63	43	16.04	-	-	92	34.33
1991	142	18	12.68	124	87.32	-	-	-	-
Harur	Chitteri								
1951	1,502	1,484	98.80	18	1.20	-	-	-	-
1961	1,114	1,093	98.11	21	1.89	-	-	-	-
1971	591	297	90.25	294	49.72	-	-	-	-
1981	1,061	40	44.29	469	43.79	-	-	122	11.39
1991	1,578	389	24.65	584	37.01	-	-	605	38.34
Salem	Aranuthumalai								
1951	152	129	84.87	23	15.13	-	-	-	-
1961	43	2	4.65	31	72.09	10	23.26	-	-
1971	2	2	100.	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	160	-	-	160	100.	-	-	-	-
1991	213	194	91.08	19	8.92	-	-	-	-
	Sirumalai								
1951	57	52	91.23	5	8.77	-	-	-	-
1961	13	1	7.69	1	84.62	-	7.69	-	-
1971	3	3	100.	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	109	69	63.30	40	36.70	-	-	-	-
1991	28	-	-	28	100	-	-	-	-

Cont...d

Hills/ Year	Total Female Workers	Culti-vators	%	Agri. Labourers	%	Agri. Allied	%	Marginal Labourers	%
	Jambuthumalai								
1951	60	59	98.33	1	1.67	-	-	-	-
1961	66	40	60.61	26	39.39	-	-	-	-
1971	16	16	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	16	-	-	16	100	-	-	32	31.07
1991	103	21	20.39	50	49.54	-	-	-	-
	Jarugumalai								
1951	160	134	83.75	26	16.25	-	-	-	-
1961	144	141	97.92	3	2.08	-	-	-	-
1971	135	122	90.37	13	9.63	-	-	-	-
1981	127	47	37.01	79	62.20	-	-	1	0.79
1991	175	67	38.29	108	61.71	-	-	-	-
	All Kombe villages								
1951	569	526	92.44	43	7.56	-	-	-	-
1961	219	173	79.00	46	21.00	-	-	-	-
1971	124	6	4.84	118	95.16	-	-	-	-
1981	748	678	90.64	70	9.36	-	-	-	-
1991	479	11	2.30	345	76.20	-	-	103	21.50

Source: Same as in Appendix- 5.1 .

Appendix- 6.1

Survey and Settlement of Chitteri Hills: 1899

(in Rupees)

Villages	As per Revenue Account						As per Settlement			
	Extent		Assement	Average			Extent		Assessment	
1	2		3	4			5		6	
	Acs	cents	Rs	Ans.	Rs	Ans.Ps	Acs	Cents	Rs	Ans
Avalur	97	32	52	2	-	8 7	80	88	60	11
Kattripatty	221	75	91	15	-	6 8	282	98	194	1
Karappadi	49	18	8	-	-	2 7	50	90	20	9
Kambalai	90	64	30	8	-	5 4	97	58	33	10
Suriyakadai	35	99	23	12	-	10 7	66	19	38	2
Chitteri	626	47	359	2	-	9 2	1,646	47	1,159	7
Mangadai	10	5	3	8	-	5 8	12	20	6	2
Selambai	96	89	65	2	-	10 9	98	22	70	15
Tekkanampatty	46	57	16	9	-	5 -	33	73	25	15
Kolambinatham	-	-	-	-	-	- -	-	-	-	-
Total	1,274	86	650	10	-	6 5	2,369	15	1,628	14

Source: Board Proceedings (Rev.Sett., L.Rds. and Agri.): No.56, 13th February 1899 (Press).

Appendix- 6.2

Percentage of Soil Classification in Different Hills of Salem District: 1904.

Soil Classification 7th Class	%	Soil Classification 8th Class	%	Total 7th & 8th Class	%
I. Occupied Dry Lands:					
7 - 1	25.0	8 - 1	2.3	7-1 + 8-1	27.3
7 - 2	29.1	8 - 2	7.8	7-2 + 8-2	36.9
7 - 3	20.0	8 - 3	5.6	7-3 + 8-3	25.6
7 - 4	7.6	8 - 4	1.2	7-4 + 8-4	8.8
7 - 5	0.9	8 - 5	0.5	7-5 + 8-5	1.4
Total	82.6		17.4		100.0
II Uuoccupied Dry Lands:					
7 - 1	0.3	8 - 1	-	7-1 + 8-1	6.3
7 - 2	1.5	8 - 2	1.0	7-2 + 8-2	2.5
7 - 3	7.3	8 - 3	3.0	7-3 + 8-3	10.3
7 - 4	31.8	8 - 4	1.2	7-4 + 8-4	33.0
7 - 5	50.3	8 - 5	3.6	7-5 + 8-5	53.9
Total	91.2		8.8		100.0
III Occupied Wed Lands:					
7 - 1	28.9	8 - 1	-	7-1 + 8-1	28.9
7 - 2	49.8	8 - 2	-	7-2 + 8-2	49.8
7 - 3	13.7	8 - 3	-	7-3 + 8-3	13.7
7 - 4	5.6	8 - 4	1.3	7-4 + 8-4	6.9
7 - 5	0.1	8 - 5	0.6	7-5 + 8-5	0.7
Total	98.1		1.9		100.0
IV Unoccupied Wed Lands: nil					
Average	90.6		9.4		100.0

Source: G. O. No. 605, Revenue, 30th June 1905, p.3.

Appendix-6.3

Money Rate in Different Group of Soils in Hills: 1904

I Dry Lands:

Soil		II Group			III Group			IV Group			V Group			VI Group		
VII	VIII	Taram	Rate		Taram	Rate		Taram	Rate		Taram	Rate		Taram	Rate	
			Rs	a		Rs	a		Rs	a		Rs	a		Rs	a
1	1	5	2	0	6	1	6	7	1	2	8	0	14	9	0	9
2	2	6	1	6	7	1	2	8	0	14	9	0	9	11	0	6
3	3	7	1	2	8	0	14	9	0	9	11	0	6	12	0	5
4	4	9	0	9	10	0	7	11	0	6	12	0	5	13	0	4
5	5	10	0	7	12	0	5	13	0	4	14	0	4	14	0	3

II Wet Lands:

VII	VIII	VI Group	
		Rs	a
1	-	3	6
2	1	2	12
3	2	2	4
4	3	1	12
5	4	1	6
-	5	1	0

Source: G. O. No. 605, Revenue, 30th June 1905, pp. 3 & 57-58.

Appendix- 6.4

Difference Between the Revenue and Survey Account in Different Hills: 1904

Hills	As per Revenue Account Extent	Assessment			As per survey account Extent	Assessment			Present incident		
	Acs	Rs	As	Ps	Acs	Rs	As	Ps	Rs	As	Ps
Dry Lands:											
Shervaroy hills	9,685.57	9,681	7	2	12,079.74	11,072	15	0	1	0	0
Aranuthumalai	987.68	1,115	4	1	1,562.20	1,228	11	0	1	2	1
Bodamalai	463.84	292	11	5	1,009.67	337	15	5	0	10	0
Kollimalai (Namakkal)	6,046.25	6,470	8	0	11,526.50	7,113	15	8	1	1	1
Kollimalai (Attur)	4,519.58	4,530	6	5	9,030.37	4,991	3	11	1	0	0
Pachaigaindan Patty	18.58	54	1	8	110.26	63	13	2	0	10	6
Pachaimalai	1,030.36	943	12	0	3,021.54	1,093	9	0	0	14	8
Veppadi	495.81	416	7	3	653.12	451	14	4	0	13	5
Puluthikuttai	302.03	287	6	2	361.87	262	10	7	0	15	2
Villiyam patty	328.74	231	3	3	400.18	324	2	8	0	11	3
Malayalapatty	179.61	134	5	0	200.89	139	8	0	0	11	11
Palamalai	806.37	470	11	0	1,204.27	698	2	7	0	9	4
Total	24,927.42	24,628	3	6	41,163.61	27,778	9	4			
Wet Lands:											
Kollimalais	983.47	3,127	9	11	1,602.50	4,450	3	0			
Total	25,910.89	27,755	13	4	42,766.01	32,228	12	4			

Sources: G. O. No. 605, Revenue, 30th June 1905, p. 52.

G. O. No. 102, Revenue, 10th Jan.1910, pp. 28-83.

Appendix- 6.5

Difference Between the Old and New Rate in Different Hills: 1936

Kolli Hills and Shervaroy Hills (Dry Lands)

Soil Classification			Group III					Group IV					Group V	
VII	VIII	Taram	Old rate		New rate		Taram	Old rate		New rate		Taram	Old rate	
			Rs	a	Rs	a		Rs	a	Rs	a		Rs	a
1	1	6	1	6	1	9	7	1	2	1	4	8	0	14
2	2	7	1	2	1	4	8	0	14	1	0	9	0	9
3	3	8	0	14	1	0	9	0	9	0	10	11	0	6
4	4	10	0	7	0	8	11	0	6	0	7	12	0	5
5	5	12	0	5	0	5	12	0	5	0	5	13	0	4

II. Wet Lands in Kolli Hills:

Class -			Group IV			
VII	VIII	Taram	Old rate		New rate	
			Rs	a	Rs	a
1	1	12	3	6	3	12
2	2	13	2	12	3	2
3	3	14	2	4	2	8
4	4	15	1	12	2	0
5	5	16	1	6	1	9

Source: G. O. No. 1793, 17th August 1936, Revenue, pp. 8-9.

Appendix- 6.6

Changing Cropping Pattern in the Hill Areas of Salem District: 1904-1991.

Products	Shervaroy Hills				Kolli hills				Kalroyan hills	
	1904	1933	1971	1991	1904	1933	1971	1991	1976	1991
Rice	3.20	2.29	1.92	2.48	15.23	20.61	36.36	17.07	13.39	8.72
Cholam	5.26	5.97	3.27	1.81	0.18	1.51	0.16	-	15.34	-
Kambu	0.01	0.02	0.01	-	1.30	0.72	-	-	0.14	-
Ragi	41.67	23.74	-	8.79	38.85	28.88	-	12.59	16.15	17.85
Varagu	3.24	13.27	-	-	1.28	4.62	-	-	20.11	-
	79.62	60.04	28.84	15.10	70.34	63.63	51.21	28.77	57.23	20.31
Samai	15.00	16.36		5.65	13.92	20.78	-	16.18	19.25	2.76
Other cereals	19.71	6.67	-	0.66	16.29	9.35	-	-	1.72	
Total	88.09	68.32	34.04	19.39	87.05	86.47	87.73	45.84	86.1	29.33
Horse gram	-	0.41	-	-	0.64	1.62	-	-	-	-
Other pulses	0.01	8.75	-	4.61	5.24	2.73	2.00	8.9	5.66	-
Total	0.01	9.16	4.81	4.61	5.88	4.35	2.00	8.9	5.66	-
Groundnut	-	1.74	-	-	-	0.30	-	-	-	-
Other oil seeds	-	1.03	0.86	-	3.34	2.86	0.82	-	0.32	-
Total	-	2.77	0.86	-	3.34	3.16	0.82	-	0.32	-
Coffee	10.68	16.83	50.79	43.43	-	-	1.1	-	-	-
Spices	-	2.92	-	4.34	-	-	-	2.13	-	14.27
Fruits	-	-	-	18.72	-	-	-	32.86	-	27.16
Vegetables	-	-	-	9.45	-	-	-	-	0.05	10.34
Others	1.22	2.92	9.49	-	3.75	6.02	8.35	10.27	7.87	13.46
Total	11.90	20.67	60.28	75.94	3.75	6.02	9.36	45.26	7.92	70.67
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: G.O.No.605, Revenue, 30th June 1905; World Agriculturl Census, 1970; G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17th August 1936; and Status Report of Salem District, Vol.1, Salem. 1989.

Appendix-7.1

Different Caste of Non-Tribals in Different Hills of Salem District: 1871.

Hills	Total Population	Non-Tribals	%	Paraiahs	%	Chetties	%	Moha-madans	%	Others	%
Kalroyan hills	6,626	298	4.50	18	6.04	-	-	3	1.01	276	92.6
Pachamalai	2,166	13	0.60	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	100.0
Attur Kolli hills	5,533	574	10.37	53	9.23	-	-	1	0.17	520	90.5
Namakkal -do	9,296	852	9.16	635	94.53	1	0.12	-	-	216	25.3
Shervaroy hills	10,745	2,289	21.30	1,943	84.88	6	0.26	22	0.96	318	13.8
Chitteri hills	2,542	40	1.57	5	12.5	-	-	-	-	35	87.5
Palamalai	618	8	1.29	2	25.0	-	-	-	-	6	75.0
Bodamalai	773	2	0.26	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	100.0
Jarugu-malai	154	1	0.65	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0
Aranuthu-malai	320	1	0.31	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0
Sirumalai	229	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jambuthu-malai	97	1	1.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0
All Kombe's	854	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	39,953	4,079	10.21	2,656	65.11	7	0.17	26	0.64	1,389	34.0

Sources: Census Statement of Population of 1871, Salem District, pp.142-143,148-151,160-161,290-291.

Census of India 1871, Coimbatore District, pp. 100-101.

Appendix- 7.2

Trend of Scheduled Caste Population in the Different Hills: 1961-1991

Hills	Years	Total Population	SC Population	Percentage
Shervaroys	1961	23,753	4,491	18.91
	1971	30,816	5,244	17.02
	1981	32,746	4,705	14.37
	1991	32,500	4,769	14.67
Attur-Kolli hills	1961	9,140	52	0.64
	1971	9,318	78	0.84
	1981	10,301	95	0.92
	1991	12,752	123	0.96
Namakkal-Kolli hills	1961	12,880	312	2.42
	1971	15,718	507	3.23
	1981	18,198	644	3.54
	1991	21,136	716	3.39
Pachamalai	1961	3,163	2	0.66
	1971	2,904	-	-
	1981	3,694	7	0.19
	1991	4,045	7	0.17
Kalroyan hills	1961	13,121	56	0.43
	1971	14,818	31	0.21
	1981	18,747	87	0.46
	1991	24,234	112	0.46

Sources: Census of India 1961, Vol.IX, Madras Part XXI. District Census Hand Book, Salem, Vol.II, 1965.
Census of India 1961, Series 19, Tamil Nadu, Part XB District Census Handbook, Salem, 1972.
District Census Handbook, Salem District,1981.
Census of India 1991, Village and Primary Census Abstract Salem District.

Appendix- 7.3

Extent of Land and Amount of Mortgages in the Different Hills of Salem District: 1897-1901, 1905-10 and 1928-33.

(in Rupees)

Hills	No.of Trans -actions	Extent of Land Involved	Mortgage Amount	Average per Acre	Average per Member
Shervaroy hills					
1897-1901	125	753.76	18,296 8 0	24.27	146.37
1905/6-1909/10	7	36.00	740 - -	20.55	105.71
1928/9-1932/33	26	116.00	5,025 - -	43.32	193.27
Kollihills					
1897-1901	194	453.65	16,614 4 0	36.59	85.64
1905/6-1909/10	280	1,268.00	21,766 - -	17.16	77.74
1928/29-1932/33	230	742.00	34,408 - -	46.37	149.60
Chitteri hills					
1897-1901	-	-	- - -	-	-
1905/6-1909/10	1	7.56	66 - -	8.25	66.00
1928/9-1932/33	2	18.39	200 - -	11.11	100.00
Pachamalai					
1897-1901	-	-	- - -	-	-
1905/6-1909/10	9	84.00	1,299 - -	15.46	144.30
1928/9-1932/33	1	6.00	100 - -	16.66	100.00
Bodamalai					
1897-1901	-	-	- - -	-	-
1905/6-1909/10	7	14.00	522 - -	37.29	74.57
1928/29-1932/33	5	22.00	1,000 - -	45.45	200.00
Jarugumalai					
1897-1909	-	-	- - -	-	-
1905/6-1909/10	3	29.00	725 - -	25.00	241.67
1928/29-1932/33	1	6.00	150 - -	25.00	150.00

Note: No mortgage transactions in the Aranuthumalai hills for the three periods.

Sources: G.O.No.605: Revenue: 30th June 1905, p.15,27 and 32.
G.O.No.1793: Revenue: 17th Aug. 1936. P.12,23,29,47 and 52.

Appendix- 7.4

Purpose of Land Mortgage in Different Hills of Salem District.

(in percent)

Name of the Hills	Productive				Non-productive			
	Agri. Improv -ement	Payment of Kist	Purchase of New Lands	Educ- ation	Marriage Expenses	Discharge of Prior Debts	Family Expen -ses	Misc lane
Shervaroy hills								
1905/6-1909/10	-	-	16	-	14	40		30
1928/29-1932/33	-	-	13	-	-	82		5
Kolli hills								
1905/6-1909/10	-	-	7	1	-	75		17
1928/9-1932/33	3	-	14	-	1	71		9
Bodamalai								
1905/6-1909/10	-	-	61	–	10	-		29
1928/9-1932/33	-	-	25	-	-	75		-
Jarugumalai								
1916/7-1920/21	-	-	-	-	-	65		28
1928/9-1932/33	-	-	100	-	–	–		-
Chitteri hills								
1905/6-1909/10	-	-	-	-	-	-		100
1928/9-1932/33	-	-	-	-	-	-		100
Average 1905/6-1909/10	-	-	16.8	0.02	4.8	36		40.8
1928/9-1932/33	0.6	-	30.4	-	0.2	45.6		22.8
Average for two periods	0.3	-	23.6	0.1	2.5	40.8		31.8

Source: G. O. No. 1793, Revenue, 17th August 1936, pp. 12, 23, 29, 47 and 52.

Appendix- 7.5

Number of Sale and Sale Value of Lands in Different Hills

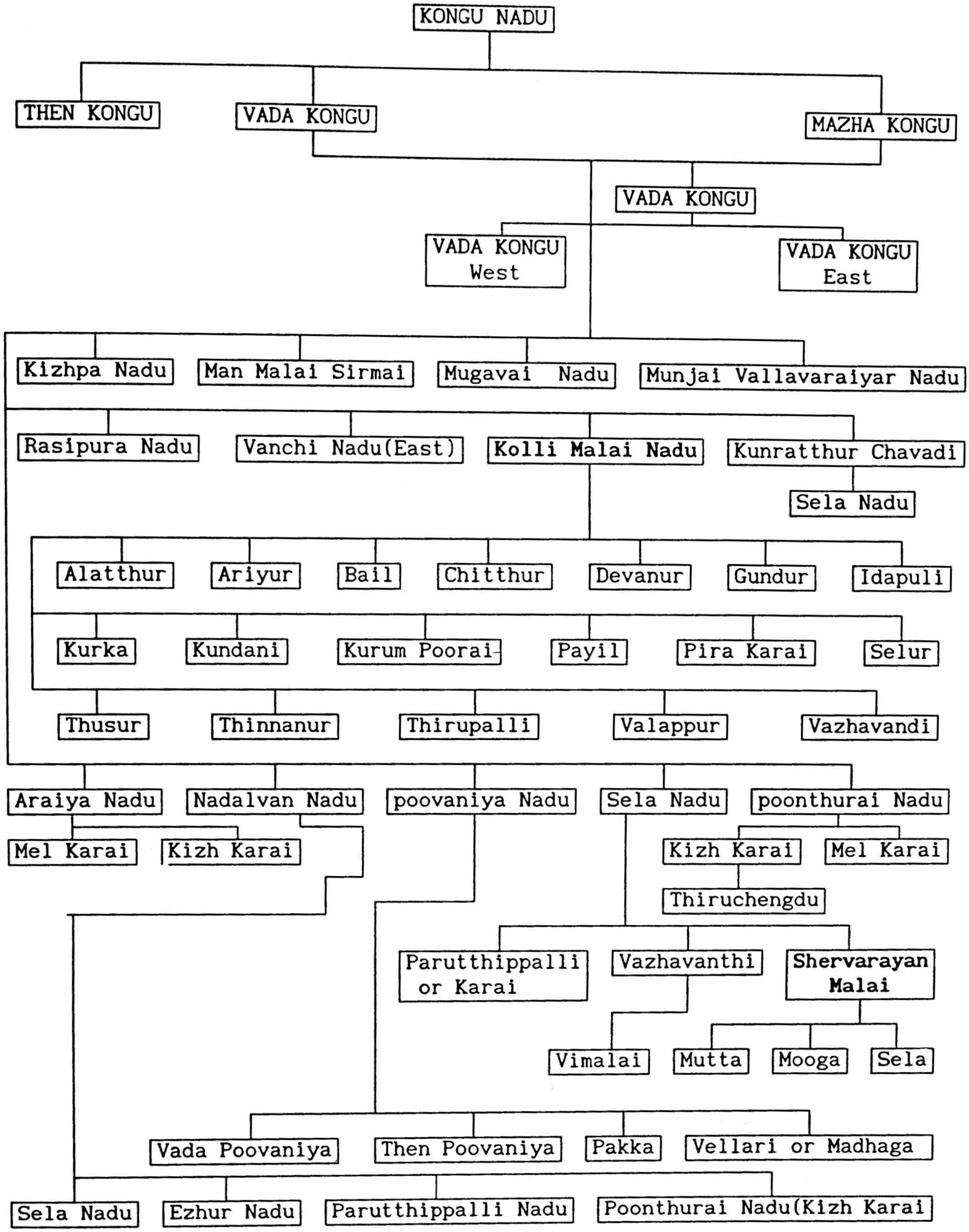
Hills/Years	No. of Village	No. of Trans -actions	Price per Acre	No. of plain Villages	No.of sale Transactions	Price per Acre
Shervaroy hills						
1897-1901	65	190	18 13 2	5	13	19 4 3
1905-1910	6	31	19 - -	-	-	- - -
1928-1933	6	38	38 - -	-	-	- - -
Namakkal Kolli hills						
1897-1901(dry)	3	103	55 - -	6	154	96 - -
1897-1901(wet)	3	75	253 - -	6	12	323 - -
Attur Kolli hills						
1897-1901(dry)	3	38	68 1 -	4	58	30 9 8
1905-1910(dry)	4	151	31 - -	-	-	- - -
1928-1933(dry)	4	203	54 12 -	-	-	- - -
1905-1910(wet)	4	62	115 4 -	-	-	- - -
1928-1933(wet)	4	127	319 4 -	-	-	- - -
Pachamalai						
1905-1910	1	4	20 7 -	-	-	- - -
1928-1933	1	4	29 5 -	-	-	- - -
Jarugumalai						
1905-1914	1	23	13 4 7	-	-	- - -
1928-1933	1	10	26 2 -	-	-	- - -

Sources: G. O. No. 605, Revenue, 30th June 1905, p. 14, 19, 27, 32 and 38.

G. O. No. 1793, Revenue, 17th Aug. 1936, p. 12, 21, 27 and 35.

G. O. No. 1130, Revenue, 18th May 1916, p. 6.

Annexure-1.1



Source: Rajannan (1992), p.135.

Annexure- 2.1

GRAIN MEASURES: 1800

1 Rupee													
24	1 Krishnageery Seer												
72	3	1 Company Seer											
$77\frac{3}{5}$	$3\frac{7}{30}$	$1\frac{1}{15}$	1 English Tward										
108	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{17}{48}$	1 Krishnageery Purry									
110	$4\frac{7}{52}$	$1\frac{19}{36}$	$1\frac{4}{12}$	$1\frac{1}{55}$	1 Salem Purry								
116	$4\frac{5}{6}$	$1\frac{11}{13}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{7}{27}$	$1\frac{3}{25}$	1 Sankredroog Purry							
232	$9\frac{3}{4}$	$3\frac{2}{9}$	3	$4\frac{9}{27}$	$2\frac{6}{55}$	2	1 Sankredroog Bullah						
330	$13\frac{3}{4}$	$4\frac{7}{12}$	$4\frac{1}{4}$	$3\frac{1}{18}$	3	$2\frac{49}{58}$	$1\frac{4}{9}$	1 Salem Bullah					
336	14	$4\frac{2}{3}$	$4\frac{2}{3}$	$3\frac{1}{7}$	$3\frac{3}{55}$	$2\frac{26}{29}$	$1\frac{12}{29}$	$1\frac{1}{58}$	1 Dharmapury Bullah.				
432	18	6	$5\frac{5}{12}$	4	$3\frac{8}{58}$	$3\frac{21}{29}$	$1\frac{25}{29}$	$1\frac{17}{35}$	$1\frac{2}{7}$	1 Krishnageery Bullah			
672	28	$9\frac{1}{3}$	$9\frac{1}{3}$	$6\frac{2}{9}$	$6\frac{3}{35}$	$5\frac{25}{27}$	$2\frac{26}{24}$	$2\frac{2}{55}$	$2\frac{11}{14}$	$1\frac{8}{9}$	1 Dharmapury Croe.		
768	32	$10\frac{2}{3}$	$9\frac{27}{97}$	$7\frac{1}{9}$	7	$6\frac{8}{29}$	$3\frac{8}{29}$	$2\frac{22}{52}$	$2\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{7}{9}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$	1 Krishnagreey Croe	
864	36	12	$10\frac{10}{12}$	8	$7\frac{47}{53}$	$7\frac{13}{29}$	$3\frac{21}{29}$	$2\frac{34}{55}$	$2\frac{4}{7}$	2	$1\frac{2}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{5}$	1 Krishnagreey Joam/ Madras Bushel
2477	$103\frac{1}{4}$	$34\frac{5}{12}$	32	23	$22\frac{1}{3}$	$21\frac{1}{3}$	$10\frac{2}{3}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{5}{13}$	$5\frac{3}{4}$	$3\frac{2}{3}$	$3\frac{7}{17}$	$6\frac{7}{8}$ 1 English Bushel
9280	$386\frac{3}{4}$	$128\frac{7}{9}$	120	$85\frac{26}{27}$	$84\frac{10}{17}$	80	40	$28\frac{3}{27}$	$21\frac{1}{9}$	$21\frac{13}{27}$	$13\frac{17}{21}$	$13\frac{2}{21}$	$10\frac{20}{29}$ $3\frac{3}{4}$ 1 Sankredroog Cundy
13200	556	$183\frac{1}{3}$	170	$122\frac{2}{9}$	120	$113\frac{27}{29}$	$56\frac{26}{29}$	40	$34\frac{2}{7}$	$30\frac{5}{9}$	$19\frac{9}{19}$	$17\frac{3}{16}$	$15\frac{9}{10}$ $5\frac{1}{3}$ $1\frac{3}{4}$ 1 Salem Cundy
13440	560	$186\frac{2}{3}$	$186\frac{2}{3}$	$124\frac{4}{9}$	$122\frac{3}{4}$	$115\frac{5}{26}$	$56\frac{7}{4}$	$40\frac{7}{27}$	36	$31\frac{1}{9}$	20	$17\frac{1}{2}$	$15\frac{5}{9}$ $5\frac{7}{6}$ $1\frac{5}{11}$ $1\frac{1}{35}$ 1 Dharmapury Cundy
17280	720	240	$216\frac{2}{3}$	160	$157\frac{5}{57}$	149	$74\frac{1}{2}$	$52\frac{1}{27}$	$41\frac{3}{4}$	40	$25\frac{1}{7}$	$22\frac{1}{2}$	20 7 $1\frac{1}{7}$ $1\frac{3}{10}$ $1\frac{3}{4}$ 1 Krishnagreey Cundy

Source: Captain Read's General Report on Salem, 4th April 1800, p.84

Annexure- 2.2

MONEY: 1800

There were about 500 different coins being current in the ceded districts but the following were the only ones used in accounts.

1 Mylee or Campany Cash									
$8\frac{1}{3}$	1 Anna or 16th part of a Gopally Fanam								
$18\frac{3}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$	1 Anna or 16th part of a Cantary Fanam							
80	$9\frac{3}{4}$	$4\frac{1}{4}$	1 Mylee or Silver Fanam						
130	16	$7\frac{1}{9}$	$1\frac{5}{8}$	1 Gopally Fanam					
300	37	16	$3\frac{3}{4}$	$2\frac{5}{6}$	1 Cantary Fanam				
986	$121\frac{1}{2}$	52	$12\frac{5}{16}$	$7\frac{5}{8}$	$3\frac{1}{4}$	1 Company's Rupee			
1086	$133\frac{7}{8}$	58	$13\frac{9}{16}$	$8\frac{1}{3}$	$3\frac{3}{8}$	$1\frac{1}{9}$	1 Pondicherry Rupee.		
1300	160	$75\frac{2}{3}$	$16\frac{1}{4}$	10	$4\frac{4}{9}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{5}$	1 Gopally Chuchrum	
3000	369	160	$37\frac{1}{2}$	$23\frac{1}{13}$	10	3	$2\frac{4}{5}$	$2\frac{5}{16}$	Cantari Chuchrum
3600	443	192	45	28	12	$3\frac{13}{20}$	$3\frac{3}{10}$	$2\frac{4}{5}$	$1\frac{1}{5}$ Star Pagoda

Source: Captain Read's General Report on Salem, 4th April 1800, p.86

Annexure-

Revenue Department,
Fort St.George,
Madras.600 009.

LETTER NO.95658/SSI(1)/92-2, DATED: 1.2.1993.

From

Thiru A.Balraj, I.A.S.,
Special Commissioner and Secretary
to Government.

To

Thiru V.Saravanan,M.A.M.Phil.,
Research Scholar,
Department of Economics,
University of Hyderabad,
Hyderabad.500 134.

Sir,

Sub: Permission to peruse Settlement Records for Research Scholar - Regarding.

Ref: Your letter dated 9.12.1992.

I am directed to inform you that the Government have examined the request contained in your letter cited and permit you to peruse the settlement records other than confidential records,relating to Kalrayan Hills and to take relevant information for your research work without marking file numbers and the date of references.

2. I am directed to request you to contact the Commissioner of Survey and Settlement for further instructions in this regard.

Yours faithfully,

for Special Commissioner & Secretary
to Government.

sl/1.2.

Copy to: The Commissioner of Survey and Settlement,
Madras.5.(with reference to Lr.No.23378/92
dated 22.1.93)

GLOSSARY

adi	a festival which was celebrated at month of Adi.
amani	lands and other sources of revenue held and managed directly by the Government.
amildar	an officer appointed to collect revenue of an estate which has been attached by the Government.
anna	the lowest money measurement. 12 pies equal to 1 anna, 16 annas or 172 pies equal to Company rupees.
annan	elder brother.
anni	wife of elder brother.
annicut	a dam made across a stream for maintaining or regulating irrigation.
avarai	*dolicos lablab*, a kind of bean.
ayacut	an account of the total land holding to a village and particulars of its distribution and condition, to be kept by an village accountant.
baramahal	12 revenue divisions.
bulla	it was a land and grain measurement. One bulla of land was equal to 3.82 acres. One bulla of grain was equal to two puddies or forty bullas were equal to one kandagam.
car	harvesting season.
cash	it was a lowest money measurement. 80 cash is equal one fanam and 45 fanams equal to 1 Star pagoda.
cawni	a land measurement. It is equal to 1.322 acres or 57,600 square feet.
cholam	halcus sorghum, great millet.
circar	Government.
company rupees	equal to 16 annas or 172 pies.
deepawali	a festival of lights.
devastanam	sacred place or temple.
dhoti	a low cloth of males.
ellu	*sesamum*, sesame

fanam	a money measurement, 80 cash equal to one fanam; 45 fanams equal to one star pagoda.
fasly	this is a crop year starting on the 1st July and ending with the 30th June.
guru (gooroo)	spiritual leader.
inam	grant of land with total or partial exemption of land revenue, usually in return for some form of service.
ivanam	a kind of mountain paddy; a kind of paddy cultivated in the hills.
jagir	a tenure common under the Mohammadan Government, in which the public revenues of a given tract of land were made over to a servant of the state, together with the power requisite to enable him to collect and appropriate such revenue, and administer the general Government of the district.
jagirdar	owner of the jagir.
jummah	the total amount of rent or revenue payable by a cultivator or a muttahdar towards the land revenue.
jummabundy	annual settlement of village revenue accounts.
kaliammal	a name of popular Goddess.
kambali	a coarse woollen blanket.
kambu	*holcus spicatus*, bulrush millet.
kandagam	a dry grain measurement. One kandagam equal to 40 bullas. or 160 puddies, or $7248\frac{8}{10}$ cubical inches.
kandayam	tax, land tax; fixed portion of tax payable at a certain time.
kangani	an inspector/watcher of crops.
kaniatchi	ancient form of land control in Tondaimandalam.
kaniat--chikarar	land controller in Tondaimandalam.
kanthu	a stipulated or fixed term of payment, an installment.
kapilapodi	forest product, it is used for dying purposes.
karnum	village accountant.
kaval	duty of the village watch.

kevir(ragy) *cynosurus corocanus*, finger millet.

kists the periodical payment of annual assessment.

kollu *dolichos biflorus*, horsegram.

kombe a village located at the foot of the hills.

kotamuthu *ricinus palmachristi.*

kota a name of the tribe.

kottukadu the cultivation made with the help of stick or spade.

kuli a measurement of land. In Salem, it was equal to 24 square feet.

kurichan a name of the tribe.

kuruman a name of the tribe.

malaiyali a name of the tribe.

mamool a customary collection.

maniak a ran a subordinate native revenue officer employed in the collection and management of the revenue under the native pattakkaran, by whom he is appointed, and to whom he is responsible. In other words, he is a kind of head peon, who in convergent with the heads of villages, superintends collection, cultivation, the reaping, and selling of a crop, when the revenue is paid in kind, and settle the petty disputes.

mochaikottai *dolicus lablab*, a kind of bean.

moopan the headman of the class, who presides over ploughmen and shepherds.

mounds A measure of weight of general use in India. One mound equal to 25 lbs in the Madras Presidency.

muchilika a counter part of lease conversant on the part of the proprietor's or cultivator's document agreeing to the rates of assessment imposed by the Government.

muttah a large estate including several villages, sub-division of the district/taluk. It was created in the early 19th century.

muttahdar owner of the muttah.

nadu a division of the country or province or hills.

nunjai wet cultivation (land), land admitting of artificial irrigation.

pachapyru	*phaseolus mungo*, black gram.
pagodas	one pagoda was equal to fourty-five fanams or 3600 cash
paimash	an old native survey of lands.
paliyaput	lands in the possession of a Paliyakarar.
panchayat	local court of arbitration or council of administration.
panivaragu	*paspalum pilosum*, common millet.
pannial	a labouring cultivator. Unlike a day labourers, they work for a year.
paraiah	a scheduled caste person.
patel	the headman of a village, who has the general control and management of the village affairs; he is also the principal agent in the realisation of the revenue and the chief medium of communication with the officers of the Government.
pattah	land deed or ownership rights of land.
pattahdar	holders of the land deed.
pattakarship	a lease holder.
Payirkarar	individuals possessing only cultivating rights over land.
podi (Pothy)	A grain measure. one podi equal to 65 lbs or one cubic foot and 547 cubic inches.
pongal	a harvesting festival.
ponakkadu	lands cleared, cultivated for a few years and abondoned, covered with a press growth of jungle. In other words, a land in the hill areas, capable of cultivation after long intervals with particular kinds of grain sown in holes dug with a spade.
pounds	weighing measure through the hand.
puddy	dry and liquid measures. One puddy contains capacity of 100 cubic inches.
pujari	a priest among the sudras in small temples.
punjai	dry cultivation; land not admitting of artificial irrigation.
putty	A division of village; smaller sub-division of a estate.
ravikai	upper cloth of ladies.
ryotwary	method of land revenue directly collected from the cultivators.

saman — furniture, goods, apparatus.

samai — *panicum milire*, little millet.

sasanam — a written deed of any kind.

shandy — a market place, generally held once a week.

sholas — grove or dense forests.

sowcar — banker, moneylender.

tacus — a measurement of cotton.

tahsildar — taluk revenue officer; lowest rank of executive officer in the revenue department in the district.

taluk — administrative division of a district.

tatapyru (caramany) — *dolichos catsjang*, a kind of bean.

tattai — a matted screen.

thalaikatt--ukantham — Poll tax, tax collected from every person.

thenai — *panicum italicum*, italian millet.

tirular — name of the God in the Kalroyan hills.

todas — a pastoral tribe.

tovary — *cytisus cajan*, dholl.

ur-kavundan — the headmen of the village.

urnalivully — time measurement. One urnalivully equal to 24 European minutes.

varagu — *paspalum frumentacum*, kodo millet.

varakkanthu — if a person borrow certain amount, every week he has to pay a part of initial amount and interest.

vedan — hill inhabitant.

vulunthu — *phaseolus minioo*, green gram.

zamin — an estate.

zamindar — holder of the estate, particularly under the permanent settlement of 1802-03.