

# DEPRESSED CLASSES OF SOUTH KANARA

( A Socio-Economic Survey )

BY

R. G. KAKADE, M. A., LL. B., Ph. D.

MEMBER, SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

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TO

SRI. AMRITLAL VITHALDAS THAKKAR  
(Thakkar Bappa)

ON HIS 80TH BIRTHDAY

## FOREWORD

This book embodies the results of the socio-economic survey of 480 families of the Depressed Classes in South Kanara, carried out in 1945 by Dr. R. G. Kakade. The Servants of India Society had deputed Dr. Kakade, who is one of its members, to South Kanara to manage on its behalf the affairs of the Depressed Classes Mission at Mangalore. This provided him with an opportunity to undertake this survey. Dr. Kakade had, however, to carry out his survey under heavy handicaps. He was an utter stranger to the district and did not know the local languages. In consequence, the survey could not adequately cover all the Depressed Class communities all over the district. But this in no way detracts from the value of the pioneer factual enquiry conducted by him.

The report describes in great detail, and with the help of valuable statistical data, various social and economic disabilities under which the Depressed Classes of South Kanara labour. It unfolds a sad story of widespread illiteracy, abject poverty, bad housing and ruinous indebtedness. Dr. Kakade has thrown a flood of light on the appalling conditions under which the agrestic serfs (*Mulad Holeyus*) and the ghat labourers, among others, work and eke out a precarious living. Dr. Kakade analyses the causes of the pitiable condition of the depressed classes and attributes it more to economic than to social factors. He does not however content himself merely with a diagnosis of the disease, but suggests remedies for its cure. It is to be hoped that his concrete suggestions for the improvement of the condition of these down-trodden people will receive the consideration they deserve.

The Indian Constitution as passed by the Constituent Assembly provides for the abolition of untouchability (Art. 17) and prohibits discrimination in social and economic matters by one community against another (Art. 15). Dr. Kakade's report vividly brings out how great a leeway will have to be made up if this ideal is to take practical shape even in an advanced district like South Kanara. A well thought-out plan spread over a stated period and executed according to schedule, for ameliorating the condition of the Depressed Classes not only in South Kanara, but all over the country, is the only hopeful method of achieving real progress.

The lines of such a comprehensive and constructive effort are indicated in Dr. Kakade's report. If this method is adopted, periodical investigations, as provided in clause 301 (1) of the Indian Constitution, will have some meaning. They will enable us to review the progress made and lead on to the further steps necessary to increase the tempo of the ameliorative work for the uplift of the Depressed Classes.

18, Ferozshah Road  
New Delhi }  
November 22, 1949.

H. N. KUNZRU

## PREFACE

The movement for the elevation of the Depressed Classes originated in South Kanara towards the end of the last century. Essentially a part of social reform among the Hindus, it ebbed and flowed for about two decades according to the degree of support it could gather from the public in general and sympathetic officials in particular. In the 'twenties the movement assumed political colouring owing to its being included as an item in the political programme of the Indian National Congress. As a result, a large number of ardent Congressmen in the district of South Kanara started actively participating in the movement and doing uplift work of all kinds. The ameliorative work in the district by the Government of Madras was confined largely to educational field till the 'thirties. Mahatma Gandhi's fast in 1934 for resisting with his life the Communal Award of the British Government gave a sudden spurt to the movement. The issue of removing untouchability by and through throwing open Hindu temples to the Depressed Classes, now called Harijans, became for some time the cynosure for the public. The all India Harijan Sevak Sangh was formed in the same year for achieving the above objective and also for undertaking other ameliorative measures among the Harijans. A Harijan Sevak, a full-time worker, was appointed to work in South Kanara under the guidance and supervision of the District Harijan Sevak Sangh. A network of Taluka Sanghs was soon woven in the district. The years that followed witnessed hectic activities by all these Sanghs, to be slightly interrupted by war conditions. During the regime of Congress Government in the Madras Province a couple of important Acts were placed on the Statute Book for the abolition of untouchability in public places and some other ameliorative measures adopted for improving their general condition. The war years saw more or less the continuity of Government policy in this connection.

Against this background, I always felt during my stay in South Kanara that time had come for taking stock of the progress made by different agencies, official and non-official, in ameliorating the condition of the Depressed Classes in the district. It was felt that such an attempt, if made, would help one in passing under rapid review the measures taken, the difficulties encountered and the results finally achieved during a fairly long span of 50 years.

Knowledge of these and other cognate questions was thought to be highly useful for framing realistic policy in this connection for the future, both for officials and non-officials. Further, no socio-economic fact-finding surveys of the Depressed Classes in the district or in a contiguous region on the West Coast of the province were known to have been taken in the past, as are found for some Untouchable Communities in some regions of the Bombay Province. Also to make up this deficiency, I decided to take a socio-economic survey of the Depressed Classes in the district.

Such a survey being the first of its kind in South Kanara, I thought it desirable to cover almost all the Depressed Class communities not only from one taluka but throughout the district. Thus, though the area selected for the survey was very wide, the time to cover it with the help of interpreters was very short. Only 480 families belonging to various communities and living in about 93 villages and hamlets, could be approached within a period of about four months. As a result, the survey could not but be defused.

Not being conversant with any one of the local languages of the district, I had to rely upon some friends to act as interpreters in the course of the survey. I cannot adequately express my sincere thanks to all of them who helped me in diverse ways in completing the survey. Though they are too numerous to be mentioned here, I feel impelled to place on record the names of few of them, such as, Mr. S. R. Mundkur (nephew of Mr. M. S. Ekambara Rao) Mr. K. Koti; Mr. U. Ramchandra; Mr. B. M. Kudubi, B. A., L. T. (Coondapur); Miss P. Nagu; Mr. K. K. P. Ram Pothawal (Karkal); Mr. N. Basappa; Mr. M. K. Babu Shetty (Kasargod); Mr. U. Sukanas Acharya, B. Sc., L. T. and Mr. J. Wamana, Mr. V. S. Kudva, Managing Director, Canara Public Conveyance Company, gave me a free pass to go any time anywhere on the routes plied by the Company in the district and also arranged for the priority for my interpreters, for which act of kindness I am extremely thankful to him and the C. P. C. Co. The District Labour Officer and his Department readily extended to me whatever help I needed during my survey work, for which I must put on record my deep sense of appreciation. But for the cooperation and help that I did receive, this survey, I am quite aware, would not have been completed.

I cannot adequately express in words my gratitude to Prof. D. R. Gadgil, Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, for going through the manuscript and also for making valua-

ble suggestions on certain matters. Though some of his suggestions have been incorporated in this book, responsibility for the views expressed therein is entirely mine. My thanks are also due to Mr. N. V. Sovani, Assistant Director, Gokhale Institute, for his esteemed help in editing the manuscript finally for the press. Mr. D. V. Deodhar, formerly Assistant Statistician in the Gokhale Institute, checked the tabular statements in the report for which help I am thankful to him also.

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, President, Servants of India Society, has laid me under deep obligation by agreeing to write a foreword to this book, in spite of his numerous pressing engagements and preoccupations. I also owe grateful thanks to the Servants of India Society for publishing this report as one of its publications.

Servants of India Society, }  
 Poona 4. }  
 November 23, 1949.

R. G. KAKADE

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## CHAPTER I

### A. Geographical and Social Background

The district of South Kanara is situated on the Western Coast of India, half way between Bombay and Cape Camorin and forms the northernmost district of the Madras Presidency. It is bounded on the north by North Canara (Bombay Province), on the east by Mysore State and Coorg, on the south by Malabar and on the west by the Arabian Sea. It is about 150 miles in length and its width varies from 20 to 50 miles. It is a broken low table-land which spreads from the Western Ghats of Mysore and Coorg to the sea. Several passes cross the ghats and connect the district with the Deccan plateau.

The district is divided into six talukas. Four of them, viz., Coondapur, Udipi, Mangalore and Kasargod, are situated along the seaboard from north to south. The remaining two talukas-Karkal and Puttur are in the interior. The Amin Divi Islands, forming the northern portion of the Laccadive group and running parallel to the Coast-line at a distance of about 200 miles, are also attached to the district.

The average annual rainfall of South Kanara comes to 154 inches, but it exceeds 200 inches in the interior sub-ghat regions. The district is essentially a forest district. The slopes of the ghats from north to south are clothed with dense forests of magnificent timber and abounding in wild beasts. Generally, heavy forest begins 20 to 30 miles from the coast. Even on the plains a large portion of Karkal and Puttur talukas is covered with heavy forest, and jungle is to be found everywhere on waste lands. The collection of minor forest produce, such as, honey, beeswax, *shigekai* (or soapnut), myrobalan etc., affords employment to large number of poor people and yields much forest revenue.

On the slopes of the Deccan plateau, where conditions are very favourable, exist large number of plantations of coffee, tea and rubber in Mysore, Coorg and Wynad. These plantations, the most malaria-ridden, required thousands of labourers which were not locally available in sufficiently large numbers. They, therefore, provided a field for employment to the poor people in South Kanara.

Agriculture is the pre-eminent occupation in so far as it supports more than 70 per cent of the population of the district. It is practised in the plains close to the coast, and the bottoms of the innumerable valleys of rich alluvial soil, which wind among laterite hills and plateaus from the ghats to the sea. The staple crop of the district is paddy, of which two, or even three, crops are grown every year on a large portion of the well-watered low-lying lands. Next in importance comes coconut, of which there are extensive plantations all along the coast-line and the arecanut which is grown more inland and especially in the shaded valleys on the slopes of the ghats, or the spurs which run down from them in all directions. The semi-forest products of pepper and cardamoms are grown amongst arecanut plantations, the latter only in damp shady places in some parts of Kasargod and Puttur talukas. Grams, beans, hemp, ragi, sugarcane, tobacco and cotton are also grown in the district, but not in considerable quantities. Cashewnut trees, a wild growth, are found thriving in forests, but especially on the slopes of low table-lands of laterite and in waste lands in the vicinity of the coast. Among the fruits, jack, mangoes, bananas and pine-apples are plentiful.

Besides the normal, *kumari*<sup>1</sup> and *hakka!*<sup>2</sup> are the systems of shifting cultivation followed in the district. While *kumari* is practised in Kasargod and Puttur talukas only, the *hakka!* is carried on everywhere throughout the district, even in the neighbourhood of the coast.

Cultivation is carried on chiefly by means of hired labourers, some of whom are agrestic serfs; while some others are bound to

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1 "*Kumari* is the name given to cultivation which takes place on forest clearings. A hill-side is always selected, on the slopes of which a space is cleared at the end of the year. The wood is left to dry till the following March or April and then burnt. In most localities the seed is sown in the ashes on the fall of the first rain without the soil being touched by implement of any kind, but in the taluka of Kasargod the land is ploughed. The only further operations are weeding and fencing. A small crop is taken off the ground in the second year and some time in the third year, after which the spot is deserted until the jungle is sufficiently high to tempt the *kumari* cutter to renew the process." The crops grown in *kumari* are an inferior kind of paddy, ragi, cotton, tur, gingelly, castor seeds, gram, chillies and vegetables of different sorts

2 "The cultivation of ordinary dry grain crops on land prepared by clearing brushwood or scrub jungle or grass is termed *hakka!* to distinguish it from *kumari*. The crops and methods are the same as in *kumari* except that more tillage is required and where there is no brushwood, burnt earth or ash manure has to be brought and spread."

their masters by a debt. The landowners are mainly Brahmins, Bunts, Jains and Christians. Billavas, toddy-tappers, were also there in the list. The Bunts, however, constitute the landowning and cultivating class *par excellence*, both on account of their numerical preponderance in that capacity and their almost complete abstention from all other professions and occupations. Havig or Haiga Brahmins and Chitpavan Brahmins have devoted themselves mainly to the raising of arecanut plantations. They and the Jains entirely depended upon the services of hired labourers.

Industries support less than 10 per cent of the population in the district. The organised industries, such as, tile and brick-making, pottery, coffee-curing, cotton weaving, coir-making, printing etc. are largely localised in Mangalore town, which is the largest town and the headquarters of the district. The other two unorganised but important industries are toddy-drawing and catching and curing of fish. Fish are abundant in all the rivers of South Kanara, which run upto about 15 lbs. in weight in the larger rivers. Both these industries are carried on all over the district and provide a means of subsistence to thousands of people.

The population is very dense in a tract running parallel to the coast-line and extending into the interior from 5 to 25 miles. Beyond this tract, towards the east, malaria prevails in a ravaging form, sapping the vitality and wasting work-days of the poor agricultural classes. The density of population per square mile comes to 177 in Puttur as against 964 for Mangalore taluka. As a result of the sparse population and of the attraction of the estates in the ghats, shortage of labour was felt in the interior parts of Karkal, Puttur and Kasargod talukas, especially in busy seasons.

According to the 1941 census, the population of South Kanara was 15.24 lakhs. 73 per cent of these are Hindus, 14 per cent Muslims, 9 per cent Indian Christians and a little less than one per cent Jains and the remaining tribal. The Muslims were found largely in Kasargod and Mangalore talukas, a large majority of them being Maplas or Mapillas. Mangalore, Kallianpur (near Udipi) and Puttur are the big centres of the Indian Christians, most of whom are Roman Catholics. But the Christians are found scattered all over the district, perhaps very thinly in Kasargod taluka. Numerically the Billavas were the largest community among the Hindus. The worship or propitiation of tutelary deities and 'bhutas' or demons, usually the spirits of deceased persons, domina-

ted the religion of indogenous Hindu communities in the district. The influence of Brahmanism is very powerful, with its too numerous and hardened castes and sub-castes distinctions. Udipi and Subramanyam (Puttur taluka) are the strongholds of Brahmanism and orthodoxy in the district, the former being the original seat or *matha* of Madhwacharya who preached the Vaishnavite philosophy of *dvaita* or dualism in the thirteenth century A. D. The seat or *matha* of Shankaracharya, the well-known preacher of *advaita* (non-dual) philosophy of the seventh century, is located at Sringeri in Mysore State near the borders of the Udipi taluka. All this has helped to maintain the sway of Brahmanism, the influence of which is still so great and powerful that it has pervaded in a very subtle manner, even the non-Hindu religions like Christianity and Jainism. Though Jainism differed from orthodox Hinduism in respect of several essential tenets, Jains agreed implicitly with the Hindus on other points, such as, division of castes. Karkal and Mudbidri towns are still the strongholds of the Jains. Gauda and Konkani Saraswat Brahmins, the Bunts, the Jains and the Indian Christians are the most important and self-conscious communities of South Kanara. Among them all, they influence and control the economic and social life of the district.

South Kanara is a multi-lingual district. It is really a Tulunad. Besides Tulu, the chief spoken languages are—apart from the European tongues and the Hindi-Hindustani—Kanarese, Konkani and Malayalam. Konkani was the language of the Saraswat Brahmins and the Indian Christians. Though Kanarese is the official language and is understood all over, it is the dominant language in parts of the district north of Udipi. Malayalam was found in a similar position in Kasargod taluka or towards the south of Kumbla in Mangalore taluka.

90 per cent of the total population in South Kanara lives in what are known as 'West Coast villages', which are entirely different from those in any other part of the Presidency. Except for a few bazaars, the houses are not built in regular or irregular streets. But almost each house, even the humblest, stands in its own little compound or garden. The village here is an administrative unit and may cover a wide area containing a great number of isolated homesteads. It is this peculiarity coupled with the luxurious vegetation of the West Coast, which gives the whole of the district the appearance of a beautiful garden. 60 per cent of the urban population lives in Mangalore alone.

As a result of the peculiar geographical and social conditions described above and owing perhaps to the historical and cultural contacts with Malabar, the land where caste distinctions were so hardened and refined to notorious perfection, untouchability still prevails in a severe form throughout the district of South Kanara. The chapters that follow will reveal the miserable story of the untouchable communities, which are known as the Depressed Classes, in South Kanara excluding the Amin Divi Islands.

## **B. The Depressed Classes**

A rigid demarcation or definition of the term 'depressed' is very difficult, almost impossible. Among the many circumstances that go to produce the depressed state, untouchability is prominent. The expression 'Depressed Classes' was thus taken to mean and includes communities or castes whose contact was regarded as polluting the higher castes.

It was not possible to ascertain the growth or decline in the population of the Depressed classes in South Kanara from 1871 onwards when the first census was taken in India. For, these classes were not shown separately from the Hindus. It was in 1901 that the Caste Glossary was first prepared, drawing up the accounts of Hindu castes as classified into a series of groups according to the amount of pollution which they were supposed to carry. But since then there was found to be much fluidity in the names of the Depressed Castes. For instance, the Holeyas of South Kanara agitated to get their name changed to Panchama. It was in 1919 that their agitation bore fruit and they offered their thanks to Lord Pentland and the Madras Government for giving them the name of Panchama. But within a decade or so the new name lost its charm. The names Adi-Karnatak and Adi-Dravida have since caught the fancy of the Depressed Classes. Communities or castes which could not find place in the Caste Glossary of 1901 and in the subsequent reports of the Anthropological Survey, seemed to have come into existence in 1945. The groups which were mentioned by E. Thurston as sub-castes of the Holeyas had stratified into regular castes among the untouchables, which considered themselves higher in status than the Holeyas. The idea that change of name would obliterate the stigma of centuries perhaps led the Depressed Classes to give up their old names and adopt new inoffensive and generic names like Panchama, Adi-Dravida, Adi-Karnatak, Harijan etc. The idea had proved vain and had been instrumental in adding some

more names to the existing ones. This tendency to change names has unfortunately resulted in the diminution of true population of the communities concerned. To illustrate, the Census of 1901 returned the population of the Holeyas to be 1,17,763. But the Census of 1921 recorded it as 75,565. Even after making an allowance for conversion and emigration, it was not conceivable that the population of the Holeyas decreased by about 36 per cent within a period of 20 years. This difference could only be explained by saying that the missing numbers had disappeared under other names not tabulated. From 1935 onwards, the new expression—Scheduled Castes—came into vogue. The Scheduled Castes are the castes which are included in Provincial Schedules of Backward Castes prepared under the Government of India Act, 1935. The new expression has much wider denotation than the former Depressed Classes which included only untouchable communities or castes. The new Scheduled Castes included some backward touchable castes, like Kudubi in South Kanara, and hill tribes as well. It is not known what considerations prompted leaders of the Depressed Classes to make a demand for the Schedules in the present form. What ever that may be, it might be said that the new change had added to the existing confusion, instead of clearing it. For, the available statistics, meagre though they are, still remained incomparable.

According to the 1941 Census, the district of South Kanara had a Scheduled Castes population of 98 356. This population was scattered, in varying strength, all over the district. To show how it was scattered in different talukas Table No. 1 is prepared from the 'Village statistics—South Kanara District, 1943'.

Of all the talukas, Puttur had the largest population of the Scheduled Castes which formed 13 per cent of the total population for the taluka. Kasargod taluka stood second in regard to numbers and third in regard to per centage to the total population. The per centage of Scheduled Castes population to the total population in Karkal was next to that of Puttur. The talukas of Mangalore and Udipi were on par so far as per centage of the Scheduled Castes population was concerned. Even though the taluka of Coondapur had the smallest Scheduled Castes population, its per centage to the total was higher than Mangalore and Udipi. On turning to the frequency distribution of population, it would be seen that 131 villages out of 806 in the district had a Scheduled Castes population of between 26 and 50 persons. This worked out to over 16 per

TABLE NO. 1—DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGES ACCORDING TO SCHEDULED CASTES POPULATION

Population	Coondapur	Karkal	Kasargod	Mangalore	Puttur	Udipi	Total
25 & Below	17	3	8	34	14	15	91
26—50	22	13	15	43	15	23	131
51—75	19	21	6	24	19	20	109
76-100	13	11	16	26	21	25	112
101-125	17	20	20	20	14	11	102
126-150	7	11	6	6	16	7	53
151-175	1	8	4	9	18	2	42
176-200	4	5	5	5	14	2	35
201-250	3	6	8	4	24	6	51
251-300	3	5	7	3	13	3	34
301-350	...	3	3	...	7	...	13
351-400	...	...	2	1	3	...	6
401-450	...	...	5	...	2	1	8
451-500	...	...	3	...	1	...	4
501 & over	...	...	7	4	3	1	15
Total	106	106	115	179	184	116	806
Total Population	1,59,240	1,53,479	3,42,301	3,91,271	2,20,701	2,50,347	15,17,339
S. C. Population	8,510	12,485	21,421	16,504	28,851	10,585	98,356
% of S. C. to Total	5.3 %	8.1 %	6.2 %	4.2 %	13 %	4.2 %	6.5 %

cent, the highest of all the groups. Nearly one third of these villages were from Mangalore taluka alone, accounting for about 25 per cent of the total villages in the taluka. Broadly speaking, 54.5 or 67.6 per cent of the total villages had a Scheduled Castes population of 125 persons or about 20-25 families. This applied to about 82 per cent of the villages in Coondapur, Udipi and Mangalore talukas. Only 45 per cent, the lowest of all, villages in Puttur answered that description. The remaining two talukas, viz. Karkal and Kasargod lagged behind the total per centage in this respect, with 56 per cent and 64 per cent respectively. On proceeding further in the descending order, it would be seen that about 22 per cent of the total villages recorded Scheduled Castes population of between 125 and 250 persons or about 25-50 families, and the remaining about 11 per cent had more than that. The three northern coastal talukas viz. Coondapur, Udipi and Mangalore, recorded 13-14 per cent of their villages as having 25-50 Scheduled Castes families. As against this nearly 40 per cent of the villages in Puttur taluka fell in this group. Another interior taluka, Karkal, returned 28 per cent of its villages with that much population, while Kasargod was nearer to other coastal talukas than the interior talukas in this respect. It was found that about one fourth of the villages in Kasargod, as against 16 per cent in Puttur, contained more than 50 families of the Scheduled Castes. All this meant that while the Scheduled Castes population was scattered in small bits in the three northern coastal talukas, it lived in greater strength in comparatively larger number of villages of Kasargod and Puttur talukas. Karkal showed neither tendency in a remarkable degree. Further, it meant that more than half the Scheduled Castes population lived away from the seaboard, in the malaria-ridden tract.

The population of the Scheduled Castes taken alone might fail to give any precise idea about their proportion to the total population in rural areas. Table No. 2 is, therefore, compiled to show the frequency distribution of the ratios of the Scheduled Castes population to the total population in all the villages in the district.

The present table read along with Table No. 1 showed what difference did the ratio of Scheduled Castes population to the total population in villages make. The greatest number of villages, viz. 293, recorded between 1 per cent and 5 per cent Scheduled Castes population. This formed about 36 per cent of the total number of villages in the district. The talukas of Kasargod, Mangalore and Udipi had their greatest number of villages in this group, accounting for 38.1 per cent, 57.5 per cent and 63.7 per cent of their



respective totals. The greatest number shifted to the next group of 5 per cent to 10 per cent in the case of Coondapur and Karkal talukas. But it worked at 45 per cent and 40 per cent of their respective totals. In the case of Puttur taluka the mode shifted still lower down to the group of 10 per cent to 15 per cent, recording only 27.7 per cent of the total number of villages in the taluka. Udipi and Puttur were the two extremes, one recording the highest and the other lowest per cent of villages which contained 1 per cent to 5 per cent Scheduled

TABLE NO. 2—THE RATIO OF SCHEDULED CASTES  
TO THE TOTAL POPULATION IN VILLAGES

S. No.	% of Scheduled Castes to the Total Population	Coondapur	Karkal	Kasargod	Mangalore	Puttur	Udipi	Total
1	No Population	2	...	5	1	1	...	9
2	Below 1%	6	1	6	8	...	5	26
3	1% to 5%	39	18	44	103	15	74	293
4	5% to 10%	48	43	36	54	44	32	257
5	10% to 15%	8	27	12	8	51	3	109
6	15% to 20%	2	14	10	2	43	1	72
7	20% to 30%	1	1	2	3	29	1	37
8	30% to 40%	...	2	...	...	...	...	2
9	40% to 50%	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
	Total	106	106	115	179	184	116	806

Castes population. Mangalore almost closely followed Udipi in this respect, the other talukas hovering round the total per centage. On either side of the peak for the district as well as the talukas, the size of the groups went on diminishing, in some cases very jerkily. The next position of concentration was in the group of 5 per cent to 10 per cent, in all the cases except Coondapur and Karkal talukas. Excepting Puttur, in all the talukas and the district, the mode lay in either of these two groups. In more than four fifths of the villages in Coondapur, Udipi and Mangalore talukas the proportion of Scheduled Castes to the total population was between 1 per cent and 10 per cent. Less than one third of the villages in Puttur had that much proportion of population in them. 69 per cent

and 57 per cent villages in Kasargod and Karkal talukas respectively answered that description. 41 per cent and 67 per cent of the villages in Karkal and Puttur talukas respectively recorded more than 10 per cent Scheduled Castes population in them, as against less than 10 per cent villages in the northern three coastal talukas and less than 20 per cent in Kasargod. Out of 37 villages in the district which had 20 per cent to 30 per cent Scheduled Castes population, 29 belonged to Puttur taluka alone.

The distribution of Scheduled Castes population in villages and urban areas and the proportion of their strength to the total population in each village and town determined the extent to which civic rights, even if they were guaranteed, could be enjoyed by them. The smaller the proportion of their population, the more difficult it was for them to assert their rights. Scattered population also made adoption of ameliorative measures rather difficult. Assuming that there were no powerful factors to counteract it, the position of the Scheduled Castes in Karkal, Puttur, and to some extent Kasargod, was such as to enable them to assert their civic rights. In Coondapur, Udipi and Mangalore the position was not hopeful from this point of view, as the Scheduled Castes population was scattered in large number of villages and there too in a very small proportion in each village.

Out of the Scheduled Castes in South Kanara the following Depressed Class communities were listed: (1) Baira or Byagara (2) Baithada, (3) Bakuda, (4) Godda, (5) Kāradhī, (6) Kaipuda, (7) Koraga, (8) Madiga, (9) Maila, (10) Manisaru, (11) Mari Holeyā, (12) Mera, (13) Muguara or Mogera, (14) Mundala, (15) Nalkeyava or Nalke, (16) Parava, (17) Piliya, (18) Polaya, (19) Pombada, (20) Ranivay or Raneyar, (21) Samagar, (22) Thoti or Toti and (23) Kudi and Periangal Vettuvan. There were no such communities known as Panchama, Adi Dravida or Adi Karnatak. They were more generic than specific caste titles, and so were not included in the list.

Some of the above castes were not mutually completely exclusive. Residence in different parts of the same district had caused a section of a caste to gradually so differ from the parent stock that it became a new caste. Instances of this are the Karadhīs, Manisaru and the Mailas who were Mari Holeyas but were known by different caste names. Intermarriages were not as common as interdining among them. Change of occupation was also instrumental in bringing about a new caste. The Upparas and the

Mundalas were a case in point. The original difference between the two had slowly disappeared and even the Upparas were no longer connected with the salt making. Interdining between them was universal and intermarriages, though in few cases, were also taking place. The Upparas were found only in Udipi and Coondapur talukas.

In grouping the Depressed Castes, the criteria of interdining and intermarrying were applied. But no attempt was made to arrange them in order of their social precedence or status. Castes and sub-castes in which intermarriages took place or could take place according to popular notions were clubbed together and were given in alphabetical order.<sup>1</sup> Interdining was not common among illiterate people of the different castes. Caste prejudice was more pronounced among the communities under survey than among Brahmins. The castes that were given to beef-eating were regarded as inferior. The following castes were generally known as beef-eating:—(1) Baira, (2) Karadhi, (3) Koraga, (4) Madiga, (5) Maila, (6) Manisa, (7) Mari Holeyas, (8) Raneyar and (9) Thoti. It may be noted here that in the Caste Glossary prepared by W. Francis, Superintendent of Census Operations, Madras, the Koragas were found in the group of non-beef-eaters. The names of the Madigas and the Mari Holeyas were mentioned in group X of beef-eaters.<sup>2</sup> All the Depressed Castes, whether beef-eating or not, belonged to the group of castes which pollute even without touching.

Though the Depressed Classes of South Kanara were Hindus by religion, to none of them except the Samagars, Brahmins acted as *Purohits* at the religious ceremonies of the caste. For, these castes were essentially *Bhuta* or demon worshippers and did not follow the traditional Hindu religion. The worship of *Bhutas* was a mixture of ancestor and devil propitiation. Excepting those who are supposed to guard village boundaries, all the demons were malevolent spirits of deceased celebrities who inspired terror by causing sickness and misfortune. They had, therefore, to be propitiated by offerings involving the shedding of blood, mostly of fowls. The *Bhuta* worship of South Kanara is of four kinds, viz. *Kola*, *bandi*, *nema* and *agelu-tambila*.<sup>3</sup> Every village had its own

1 The Parva and Pombada castes were not covered in the survey.

2 Census of India, Vol. XV Madras, Part I Report, 1921, p. 139.

3 For details cf. Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Thurston, Vol. V pp. 141-145 and 146-149. Also Devil worship of the Taluvas by E. Brunell A. C.

*Bhutasthanam* or demon temple in which a man of the Billava caste officiated as priest or *pujari*. Some Communities had their own special *Bhutas* in addition to others.

Excepting a few castes which were possibly not local, all the Depressed Class communities followed what is known as *Aliya Santana* rule of inheritance. Under this rule, the property of a family is vested in the female line and descends from mother to daughter as in *Marumakattayam* law of inheritance in Malabar. But 'as titles and dignities are vested in the males, and the management of the property is also usually exercised by a brother, the line of descent is ordinarily taken to be from the deceased holder to his sister's son.' Decent of the ancestral property from father to the son was known as *Makkal Santana* rule of inheritance.

Marriage was known by different names in different communities, for instance, *Badthana* among the Meras, *porathavu* among the Mari Holeyas etc. Child marriages were very rare among them. Widows were allowed to remarry but the custom of Levirate i. e. marrying late husband's younger brother was not generally found. The essential element of the marriage ceremony was *dhare* or pouring water over the joined hands of the bride. Dedication of unmarried girls to Gods was unknown among the Depressed Castes in South Kanara. Divorce was permitted. Polygamy was allowed but was not generally practised. Polyandry was not heard of in 1945 among the communities under survey. In cases of adultery, the erring woman had to perform a purificatory ceremony called *gudi suddha*. When a man was excommunicated for sexual license he had to undergo a ceremony called *yelu Halli sudodu* or 'burning seven villages' in order to re-enter the caste.

As in the case of the Barits, the huts of some Depressed Class people were known by different names, such as *Pattas*, *Kelus*, etc.

The body of a dead Depressed Class person was usually buried. In some cases it was cremated, depending largely upon the economic condition of the bereaved family. The death ceremonies (*bojia*) were performed in the manner and on days laid down by custom of each community.

Besides those given after the names of the days-like Aitha, Soma or Thomā, Budha, Guruva, Shukra—Fakira, Koraga, Tukra, Babbu, Chandra, Surya, Angara were some of the names commonly found among males. Chandre, Angare, Mahire, Bagi, Ponnu, Kargi, Puddati were some of the names of females. But these names were becoming uncommon so far as the younger generation was concerned.

Notes on individual communities are given separately in Appendix.

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## CHAPTER II

### The Social and Economic Conditions.

#### SECTION I

The socio-economic survey of the Depressed Classes of South Kanara was conducted in the year 1945. The work was commenced towards the end of April and completed by the end of October, with a break of two and a half months in the middle on account of the heavy rains. The talukas of Coondapur, Udipi, Karkal and Puttur were surveyed before the monsoon started and the remaining two, viz. Kasargod and Mangalore, from September onwards.

A departure was made from the normal procedure while conducting the survey. Instead of the 'house schedule', a linear tabular form was adopted for collecting information of each sample family regarding age, sex, civic condition, literacy, income, family composition, housing, members of the family staying outside and indebtedness. Information regarding occupation or occupations followed and income earned during the previous month by each earner was collected on a separate form. So far as the collection of relevant information was concerned, the experiment proved successful. Further, it made for a saving in time involved both in noting and tabulating information in the usual procedure. As against this, the experiment revealed certain inherent disadvantages. Specific information on certain points could not be collected for each individual member of the sample family. For instance, though the age composition of a sample family could be obtained in a general way, ages of individual members could not be noted. The collected data could not be cast or re-cast in a manner different from the one originally fixed upon. Thus, a certain amount of rigidity resulted from the very beginning, which comes in the usual procedure after the tabulation was done. In order to avoid wrong entries, great care had, therefore, to be exercised and the entire work had to be done single-handed through all its stages.

The information was collected through interpreters in Kanarese, Tulu and Malayalam. In getting information practically no difficulty was experienced, except the ignorance of the head of a family. He did not know ages of the members of his family. The latter had, therefore, to be ascertained in relation to important events that had occurred in the locality in the past. The ages were

thus mere approximations. Similarly, annual income of each earner was estimated after taking into account probable working days and occupation or occupations he or she normally followed in a year.

In view of the diffused population of the Depressed Classes and their isolated homesteads, it was not possible to visit very small villages in considerable numbers. Though they were not entirely left out, it was decided to visit some of those villages which had more than 150 persons of the Depressed Classes in them. After taking into consideration the distribution of the estimated population of different communities in different talukas, their size and their accessibility, the number of families to be surveyed in a given locality was determined and was distributed in a suitable way among the different communities. The sample families were selected by convenience, without any bias. In this manner, 480 families were surveyed from all the talukas of the district, Amin Divi Islands being excluded from the survey. Table No. 3 sets out the distribution of villages visited and the families and population of the Depressed Classes surveyed, according to talukas.

TABLE NO. 3—NUMBER OF FAMILIES SURVEYED FROM DIFFERENT VILLAGES BY TALUKAS

S. No.	TALUKA	No. of Villages		No. of families surveyed	S. C. Population	
		Visited	Total		Coverage.	Total (1941)
1	Coondapur	10	106	48	264	8,510
2	Karkal	11	106	56	291	12,485
3	Kasargod	21	115	100	562	21,421
4	Mangalore	13	179	88	431	16,504
5	Puttur	25	184	128	706	28,851
6	Udipi	12	116	60	363	10,585
	Total	92	806	480	2,617	98,356

38 more villages, not found in Village Statistics, were also visited.

It will be seen from the table that 92 out of 806 villages and towns mentioned in the "Village statistics for South Kanara" were visited in course of the survey. Thus the villages actually visited

were more than 11 per cent of the total number. As against this, the population surveyed came to only 2.6 per cent of the total Depressed Class population of the district. The disparity between the two percentages was due to the fact that too many villages were visited for the number of families surveyed. The factors that determined the selection of samples were also responsible for the disparity. Table No. 4 gives the distribution of sample families by communities and talukas.

TABLE No. 4—DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES AND TALUKAS

S. No.	Communities	Coondapur	Narkal	Kasargod	Mangalore	Puttur	Udipi	Total
1	Baira	...	...	...	...	4	...	4
2	Baithada & Bakuda	8	...	4	4	...	...	16
3	Godda	...	...	...	5	...	...	5
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mugyara	...	16	46	15	50	...	127
5	Karadhi, Maila, Manisa, Mari Holeyá	...	24	5	...	72	...	101
6	Koraga	7	10	7	12	1	8	45
7	Madiga	...	...	14	...	...	...	14
8	Mundala & Uppára	30	...	...	40	...	52	122
9	Nalkeyava	...	1	3	3	1	...	8
10	Piliya-Polaya	...	...	5	...	...	...	5
11	Raneyar	...	5	...	...	...	...	5
12	Samagar	3	...	...	...	...	...	3
13	Thoti	...	...	2	9	...	...	11
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	...	...	14	...	...	...	14
	Total	48	56	100	88	128	60	480

The table shows that the Kaipuda-Meras, the Mari Holeyas, the Koragas and the Mundalas were, numerically speaking, the important or major communities in South Kanara and accounted



for over 82 per cent of the total Depressed Class population of the district. It is, therefore, proposed to restrict comments to those communities only even though the available data about the minor communities, whose sample is rather small, will be presented in appropriate tabular statements. Again, except perhaps the Koragas, no other communities were found scattered in large numbers in all the talukas of the district, while some communities were found in one or two talukas only. The Vettuvan and the Piliya-Polaya communities illustrated the latter point.

## SECTION II

**Size of sample families:**—Table No. 5 is compiled to show the classification of the sample families by number of members in them and by communities.

The total average size of the families came to 5.43 persons. But 58 per cent of the sample families were found to be smaller than the total average. About 5 per cent families were of double the total average size, which might be considered as a high percentage for the communities engaged mainly in coolie work. The Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, and the Mundalas had families of larger size than that of the total; while the Kaipuda-Meras and the Koragas more or less conformed to the average. Table No. 6 presents the relation between the size and composition of the families.

It will be seen from the table that most of the communities which were found to have families of larger size than the total average, had joint households. Nearly two-thirds of the Mundala families were joint households, with the result that about 42 per cent of the families contained more than 6 members. The same was true in regard to the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas. In this connection, the Kaipuda-Meras and the Koragas called for special attention. Though 62 per cent of their families were joint households, the average size of their families was just about normal. This could be traced to the nomadic habits of the Koragas. No obvious reason could be found to explain the phenomenon in the case of the Kaipuda-Meras. Generally speaking, communities in which natural families predominated included more families of smaller size than the total average. 191 or about 39 per cent of the sample families were found to be natural ones.

The analysis of 281 or 59 per cent joint households revealed interesting facts. 184 of them could be described as 'joint and un-

TABLE NO. 5—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES AND NUMBER OF PERSONS

S. No.	Communities	Number of Members												Total families	Total population	Average size of families	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11-15	16-20				21 and over
1	Baira	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	4	29	7.25
2	Baithada-Bakuda	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	16	75	4.68
3	Godda	...	...	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	25	5.00
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mogera	1	10	17	22	26	18	17	8	2	2	4	...	...	127	671	5.28
5	Karadhi, Manisar, Mari Holey, Maila	3	7	9	16	22	11	14	8	2	4	4	1	...	101	568	5.62
6	Koraga	1	1	6	13	4	12	2	1	1	1	3	...	...	45	240	5.33
7	Madiga	...	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	...	1	2	...	...	14	85	6.07
8	Mundala-Uppara	2	13	16	20	20	9	13	9	8	4	6	2	...	122	689	5.64
9	Nalkeyava	...	...	1	...	2	3	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	8	47	5.87
10	Piliya-Poloya	...	...	...	1	1	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	5	28	5.60
11	Raneyar	...	1	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	21	4.20
12	Samagar	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	13	4.33
13	Thoti	...	...	...	4	2	2	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	11	65	5.90
14	Vettuvan K. and P.	...	3	4	...	3	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	14	61	4.35
	<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>2,617</b>	<b>5.43</b>

TABLE NO. 6—SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF SURVEYED FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES

	Baira	Bairhada Bakuda	Godda	Kaipuda- Mera	Muguara	Karadbi- Maila	Manisa- Holeya	Koraga	Madiga	Mundala Uppara	Nalkeyava	Piliya-Poloya	Raneyar	Samagar	Tboti	Vettuyan	Total
<b>I One Member families</b>	...	1	...	1		3		1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
<b>II Multi-Member families</b>																	
(a) Natural families																	
(i) husband and wife	...	...	...	6		7		1	2	10	...	...	1	1	...	2	30
(ii) husband, wife & /or children	...	5	1	41		38		18	5	33	3	1	1	2	5	8	161
Total of (a)	...	5	1	47		45		19	7	43	3	1	2	3	5	10	191
(b) Joint households																	
(i) husband, wife, children and parents and natural families with adult male children	2	3	2	39		17		10	1	20	2	...	1	...	3	2	102
(ii) Brothers with or without families	1	2	1	8		13		5	1	11	1	...	2	...	...	1	46
(iii) Brothers with parents	1	2	...	8		10		1	2	10	1	1	...	...	...	...	36
(iv) One or more sisters staying alone or with family	...	...	...	4		1		3	...	8	1	2	...	...	1	...	20
(v) One or more daughters staying alone or with families	...	1	1	8		3		2	1	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	24
(vi) Son-in-law staying	...	...	...	1		3		...	1	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	14
(vii) Wife's relations staying	...	1	...	5		1		1	...	6	...	1	...	...	2	1	18
(viii) Any other	...	1	...	6		5		3	1	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	21
Total of (b)	4	10	4	79		53		25	7	77	5	4	3	...	6	4	281
Total of (a) & (b)	4	15	5	126		98		44	14	120	8	5	5	3	11	14	472
Grand Total of I & II	4	16	5	127		101		45	14	122	8	5	5	3	11	14	480

divided' families. 58 or about 20 per cent of the joint households were composed of one or more married sisters or daughters with or without their families. More than half of these were found in the Mundala community alone, the per centage to the total joint households in the community being 33. The Kaipuda-Meras and the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas followed with 16 and 13 per cent respectively. 18 joint households included some relation or other of the house-wife. One-third of these were accounted for by the Mundalas. On dividing further the sub-head 'Any other' it was found that 8 households included either a paternal or maternal aunt, 7 deceased brothers' wives and one uncle of the head of the family. The remaining five joint households were composed of sisters, married or widowed. Among the economic and social causes that brought about joint households a special reference needs be made to the seasonal migration of male members of the communities under survey to coffee estates in Mysore and Coorg. The migrants often leave their families behind with some relations.

At the time of the survey 138 members of the sample families were found temporarily staying outside. Besides these, 125 persons informed us that they also migrate for 2-10 months in a year. Table No. 7 is compiled to show the occupations followed by these 263 persons when they temporarily migrated, leaving their families behind.

The table shows that about 83 per cent of the temporary migrants went to coffee or rubber estates in the ghats. Nearly two thirds of those who went to ghats were from Karkal and Puttur talukas and from the eastern parts of Kasargod taluka. Again, 80 per cent of the ghat migrants belonged to the Kaipuda-Meras and the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, the latter accounting for more than half of the total. Most of these people did not remit amounts to their families, but brought with them their savings, if any. A sum of Rs. 360 was being received through remittances by about two dozen families or so, the smallest amount received during the year being Rs. 5 and the largest Rs. 50.

Out of 45 persons who followed other occupations, 20 belonged to the Mundala community. Again more than half of those who could get government service belonged to the same community. The column 'Any other' included those engaged in private service, general coolie work and business. One Bakula was employed as an electrician. Remittances received from this class of migrants amounted to Rs. 2420. If this amount was split up, it would be

seen that Rs. 1820 were sent by members of the Mundala community, 200 by the Koragas, Rs. 300 by the Bakudas and Rs. 100 by the Mari Holeyas. Two families of the Mundalas were found entirely dependent upon the remittances for their subsistence. The largest single amount of remittance was Rs. 300.

TABLE NO. 7—OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF OUTSIDE RESIDENT RELATIONS OF SURVEYED FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Govt. Service		Teacher	Students	Chat Coolie	Miscellaneous	Total
	Civil	Military					
1 Baira	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Baithada-Bakuda	...	1	...	3	6	1	11
3 Godda	...	1	...	...	...	1	2
4 Kaipuda, Mera, Mogera	1	...	1	1	56	...	59
5 Karadhi, Maila, Manisa, M. Holeyá	...	2	...	...	117	...	119
6 Koraga	...	2	...	...	1	2	5
7 Madiga	1	...	...	...	...	5	6
8 Mundala-Uppara	6	6	3	3	35	2	55
9 Nalkeyava	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 Piliya-Polaya	...	...	...	...	2	...	2
11 Raneyar	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
12 Samagar	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
13 Thoti	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
14 Vettuvan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	9	12	4	7	218	13	263

**Age and Sex Composition of Sample families:—**Table No. 8 gives the distribution of sample population in different age groups.

The table shows that in 1000 population of the sample families and of the district of South Kanara as a whole the distribution of population in the age groups of 'below 5 years', '5 yrs. to below 15 years' and '60 years and over' is smaller in the case of the former

TABLE NO. 8—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED POPULATION BY COMMUNITIES  
ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS AND SEX

S. No.	Communities	below 5 yrs.			5 to b. 15 yrs			15 to b. 60 yrs.			60 yrs. & over			Total			No. of females to 1000 males				
		Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	below 5 yrs.	5-b 15 yrs.	15-b. 60 yrs.	60 yrs. & over	Total
1	Baira	2	3	5	5	1	6	10	8	18	...	...	...	17	12	29	1500	200	800	...	706
2	Baithada-Bakuda	3	2	5	9	10	19	24	21	45	1	5	6	37	38	75	666	1111	875	5000	1027
3	Godda	2	...	2	3	3	6	8	8	16	...	...	1	13	12	25	...	1000	1000	...	923
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Muguara	46	30	76	92	78	170	206	204	410	7	8	15	351	320	671	652	848	990	1142	912
5	Karadhi, Maila, Manisa, Mari Holey	49	43	92	59	67	126	157	178	335	9	6	15	274	294	568	877	1135	1133	666	1073
6	Koraga	26	21	47	19	18	37	79	71	150	3	3	6	127	113	240	808	947	898	1000	889
7	Madiga	5	5	10	17	6	23	25	27	52	...	...	...	47	38	85	1000	353	1080	...	808
8	Mundala-Uppara	46	61	107	72	84	156	173	224	397	14	15	29	305	384	689	1326	1166	1294	1071	1257
9	Nalkeyava	1	4	5	6	9	15	15	11	26	...	...	1	22	25	47	4000	1500	733	...	1136
10	Piliya-Polaya	1	...	1	1	6	7	8	11	19	...	...	1	10	18	28	...	6000	1375	...	1800
11	Raneyar	...	...	...	3	4	7	8	5	13	...	...	1	11	10	21	...	1444	625	...	1000
12	Samagar	1	...	1	3	3	6	3	3	6	...	...	...	7	6	13	...	1000	1000	...	857
13	Thoti	8	5	13	6	14	20	17	14	31	...	...	1	31	34	65	625	2333	823	...	1097
14	Vettuvan, K. & P.	8	6	14	10	5	15	14	18	32	...	...	...	32	29	61	750	500	1285	...	906
	Total	198	180	378	305	308	613	747	803	1550	34	42	76	1284	1333	2617	909	1009	1076	1235	1038
	Population per 1000	77	69	146	118	118	236	286	306	592	11	15	26	492	508	1,000	...	...	...	...	...
	Population per 1000 for S. Kanara according to 1931 census.	74	75	149	131	134	265	255	285	540	21	25	46	481	519	1,000	1009	1022	1126	1267	1066

than the latter. The difference was more marked in the last two age groups. This means that there were small number of people in the Depressed Classes of ages of between '5 to 15 years' and also of '60 yrs. and over' than in the total population of the district. But this difference was entirely set off by the age-group '15 to below 60 yrs', so much so that in the total the Depressed Classes had more males in 1000 population than that for the district. (Again, the difference between the proportions of males and females in 1000 population was much smaller in the case of the Depressed Classes than in the district as a whole, the difference being 16 and 38 respectively. This means that irrespective of the age composition the male and female populations in the Depressed Classes were less ill-balanced than in the case of the district.) It will be interesting to note that the number of females to 1000 males in all the age-groups referred to above was everywhere smaller in the case of the sample families than the corresponding figures for the district. The difference was more conspicuous in case of the first and the third age groups. Though females outnumbered males both among the Depressed Classes and in the district as a whole, the excess of females over males was smaller by 28 in the case of the former than the latter.

The comparative position in regard to age-composition of the four important major communities is given in Table No. 9.

TABLE NO. 9—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED MAJOR COMMUNITIES ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS AND SEX

Communities	below 5 yrs.	5 to b. 15 yrs	15 yrs. to b. 60 yrs.	60 yrs. & over	Total	Proportion of		Total
						Males	Females	
1 Kaipuda, Mera, Mugura	11.3	25.3	61.2	2.2	100	52.3	47.7	100
2 Karadhi, Maila, Manisa, M. Holey	16.0	22.1	59.0	2.9	100	48.2	51.8	100
3 Koraga	19.6	15.4	62.5	2.5	100	52.9	47.1	100
4 Mundala, Uppara	15.5	22.6	57.7	4.2	100	44.2	55.8	100
All communities under Survey	14.6	23.6	59.2	2.6	100	49.2	50.8	100
District as a whole	14.9	26.5	54.0	4.6	100	48.1	51.9	100

TABLE NO. 8—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED POPULATION BY COMMUNITIES  
ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS AND SEX

S. No.	Communities	below 5 yrs.			5 to b. 15 yrs			15 to b. 60 yrs.			60 yrs. & over			Total			No. of females to 1000 males				
		Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	below 5 yrs.	5-b. 15 yrs.	15-b. 60 yrs.	60 yrs. & over	Total
1	Baira	2	3	5	5	1	6	10	8	18	...	...	...	17	12	29	1500	200	800	...	706
2	Baithada-Bakuda	3	2	5	9	10	19	24	21	45	1	5	6	37	38	75	666	1111	875	5000	1027
3	Godda	2	...	2	3	3	6	8	8	16	...	1	1	13	12	25	...	1000	1000	...	923
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Muguara	46	30	76	92	78	170	206	204	410	7	8	15	351	320	671	652	848	990	1142	912
5	Karadhi, Maila, Manisa, Mari Holeya	49	43	92	59	67	126	157	178	335	9	6	15	274	294	568	877	1135	1133	666	1073
6	Koraga	26	21	47	19	18	37	79	71	150	3	3	6	127	113	240	808	947	898	1000	889
7	Madiga	5	5	10	17	6	23	25	27	52	...	...	...	47	38	85	1000	353	1080	...	808
8	Mundala-Uppara	46	61	107	72	84	156	173	224	397	14	15	29	305	384	689	1326	1166	1294	1071	1257
9	Nalkeyava	1	4	5	6	9	15	15	11	26	...	1	1	22	25	47	4000	1500	733	...	1136
10	Piliya-Polaya	1	...	1	1	6	7	8	11	19	...	1	1	10	18	28	...	6000	1375	...	1800
11	Raneyar	...	...	...	3	4	7	8	5	13	...	1	1	11	10	21	...	1444	625	...	1000
12	Samagar	1	...	1	3	3	6	3	3	6	...	...	...	7	6	13	...	1000	1000	...	857
13	Thoti	8	5	13	6	14	20	17	14	31	...	1	1	31	34	65	625	2333	823	...	1097
14	Vettuvan, K. & P.	8	6	14	10	5	15	14	18	32	...	...	...	32	29	61	750	500	1285	...	906
	Total	198	180	378	305	308	613	747	803	1550	34	42	76	1284	1333	2617	909	1009	1076	1235	1038
	Population per 1000	77	69	146	118	118	236	286	306	592	11	15	26	492	508	1,000	...	...	...	...	...
	Population per 1000 for S. Kanara according to 1931 census.	74	75	149	131	134	265	255	285	540	21	25	46	481	519	1,000	1009	1022	1126	1267	1066



than the latter. The difference was more marked in the last two age groups. This means that there were small number of people in the Depressed Classes of ages of between '5 to 15 years' and also of '60 yrs. and over' than in the total population of the district. But this difference was entirely set off by the age-group '15 to below 60 yrs', so much so that in the total the Depressed Classes had more males in 1000 population than that for the district. (Again, the difference between the proportions of males and females in 1000 population was much smaller in the case of the Depressed Classes than in the district as a whole, the difference being 16 and 38 respectively. This means that irrespective of the age composition the male and female populations in the Depressed Classes were less ill-balanced than in the case of the district.) It will be interesting to note that the number of females to 1000 males in all the age-groups referred to above was everywhere smaller in the case of the sample families than the corresponding figures for the district. The difference was more conspicuous in case of the first and the third age groups. Though females outnumbered males both among the Depressed Classes and in the district as a whole, the excess of females over males was smaller by 28 in the case of the former than the latter.

The comparative position in regard to age-composition of the four important major communities is given in Table No. 9.

TABLE NO. 9—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED MAJOR COMMUNITIES ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS AND SEX

Communities	below 5 yrs.	5 to b. 15 yrs	15 yrs. to b. 60 yrs.	60 yrs. & over	Total	Proportion of		Total
						Males	Females	
1 Kalpuda, Mera, Muguara	11.3	25.3	61.2	2.2	100	52.3	47.7	100
2 Karadhi, Maila, Manisa, M. Holeya	16.0	22.1	59.0	2.9	100	48.2	51.8	100
3 Koraga	19.6	15.4	62.5	2.5	100	52.9	47.1	100
4 Mundala, Uppara	15.5	22.6	57.7	4.2	100	44.2	55.8	100
All communities under Survey	14.6	23.6	59.2	2.6	100	49.2	50.8	100
District as a whole	14.9	26.5	54.0	4.6	100	48.1	51.9	100

The major communities more-or-less conformed to the total of all the communities. Except the Kaipuda-Meras, the major communities recorded higher per centage population in the first age group and lower per centage in the second group than the total for all the communities and the district as well. On putting both the age-groups together, the figures were still smaller than that for the district. Even in the last age group this was true except perhaps in the case of the Mundalas who exceeded the per centage for all the communities, but slightly lagged behind the district. As against this, all the major communities recorded higher per centage than the district, the Kaipuda-Meras and the Koragas exceeding even the total per centage. The Koragas and the Kaipuda-Meras had larger number of males than the females, exceeding the per centages for all the communities and the district. The Karadhi-Mari Holeyas almost conformed to the district figures. The proportion of males in the Mundala community was smaller than that for the district by 3.9 and the total by 5. Considering the number of females to 1000 males (Table No. 8), it will be seen that the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Mundalas exceeded the total averages as well as those for the district. Among the major communities the Mundalas recorded the highest number of females in the '15 to 60 yrs.' age group.

**Civil Condition of the Sample population:**—Table No. 10 presents the civil condition of the population of sample families by age and communities.

The table shows that 1.4 per cent male and 2.0 per cent female children below 15 years of age were married.<sup>1</sup> This means that child marriages were not common among the communities under survey. Considering the individual communities, it was found that one third of the male children in the Vettuvans, a small Malayalam speaking community, were married before they reached the age of 15 years. 8 or 5.5 of the Mundala girls were found likewise married. This per centage exceeded the one for the total by 3.5. It might be noted that the Mundalas considered themselves in the highest rung of the ladder of social hierarchy in the Depressed Classes of South Kanara.

68.5 per cent of the males above 15 years of age were returned married. Of the four major communities only the Karadhi-Mari

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1. The corresponding per centages for the Untouchables of Maharashtra were 5.5 and 35.7 respectively—'Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra'; M. G. Bhagat, 1935, p. 7.

TABLE No. 10—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED POPULATION BY COMMUNITIES ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS, SEX AND CIVIL CONDITION.

S. No.	Communities	Below 15 years															
		Males								Females							
		Married		Unmarried		Widower		Total		Married		Unmarried		Widow		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	Baira	...	...	7	100	...	...	7	100	...	...	4	100	...	...	4	100
2	Baithada-Bakuda	...	...	12	100	...	...	12	100	1	8.3	11	91.7	...	...	12	100
3	Godda	...	...	5	100	...	...	5	100	...	...	3	100	...	...	3	100
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mogera	1	.7	137	99.3	...	...	138	100	1	.9	107	99.1	...	...	108	100
5	Karadhi, Manisa, Holey	...	...	108	100	...	...	108	100	...	...	109	99.2	1	.8	110	100
6	Koraga	...	...	45	100	...	...	45	100	...	...	39	100	...	...	39	100
7	Madiga	...	...	22	100	...	...	22	100	...	...	11	100	...	...	11	100
8	Mundala-Uppara	...	...	118	100	...	...	118	100	8	5.5	137	94.5	...	...	145	100
9	Nalkeyava	...	...	7	100	...	...	7	100	...	...	13	100	...	...	13	100
10	Piliya-Polaya	...	...	2	100	...	...	2	100	...	...	6	100	...	...	6	100
11	Raneyar	...	...	3	100	...	...	3	100	...	...	4	100	...	...	4	100
12	Samagar	...	...	4	100	...	...	4	100	...	...	3	100	...	...	3	100
13	Thoti	...	...	14	100	...	...	14	100	...	...	19	100	...	...	19	100
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	6	33.3	12	66.7	...	...	18	100	...	...	11	100	...	...	11	100
	Total	7	1.4	496	98.6	...	...	503	100	10	2.0	477	97.8	1	.2	488	100

TABLE No. 10—(Continued)

S. No.	Communities	15 years and over															
		Males								Females							
		Married		Unmarried		Widower		Total		Married		Unmarried		Widow		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	Baira	7	70	3	30	...	...	10	100	6	75	...	...	2	25	8	100
2	Baithada-Bakuda	15	60	7	28	3	12	25	100	18	69.2	1	3.9	7	26.9	26	100
3	Godda	5	62.5	3	37.5	...	...	8	100	6	66.7	2	22.2	1	11.1	9	100
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mogerā	141	66.2	60	28.1	12	5.7	213	100	154	72.6	18	8.6	40	18.8	212	100
5	Karadhi, Manisa, Holeyā	123	74.0	40	24	3	2	166	100	142	77.1	10	5.5	32	17.4	184	100
6	Koraga	54	66	27	33.8	1	1.2	82	100	51	69.0	7	9.4	16	21.6	74	100
7	Madiga	21	84	3	12	1	4	25	100	21	77.7	2	7.4	4	14.9	27	100
8	Mundala-Uppara	122	65.2	57	30.5	8	4.3	187	100	148	62.3	33	14.5	58	24.2	239	100
9	Nalkeyava	10	66.7	5	33.3	...	...	15	100	10	83.4	1	8.3	1	8.3	12	100
10	Piliya-Polaya	6	75	2	25	...	...	8	100	7	58.4	1	8.3	4	33.3	12	100
11	Raneyar	4	50	4	50	...	...	8	100	3	50	1	16.7	2	33.3	6	100
12	Samagar	3	100	...	...	...	...	3	100	3	100	...	...	...	...	3	100
13	Thoti	12	70.6	5	29.4	...	...	17	100	12	80	...	...	3	20	15	100
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	12	85.7	2	14.3	...	...	14	100	13	72.2	...	...	5	27.8	18	100
	Total	535	68.5	218	27.9	28	3.6	781	100	594	70.3	76	9.0	175	20.7	845	100

TABLE No. 10 - (Continued)

S. No.	Communities	Grand Total															
		Males								Females							
		Married		Unmarried		Widower		Total		Married		Unmarried		Widow		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	Baira	7	41.2	10	58.8	...	...	17	100	6	50	4	33.4	2	16.6	12	100
2	Baithada-Bakuda	15	40.5	19	51.3	3	8.2	37	100	19	50	12	31.6	7	18.4	38	100
3	Godda	5	38.5	8	61.5	...	...	13	100	6	50	5	41.7	1	8.3	12	100
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mogera	142	40.4	197	56.1	12	3.5	351	100	155	48.8	125	38.7	40	12.5	320	100
5	Karadhi, Manisa Holeya	123	44.8	148	54	3	1.2	274	100	142	48.3	119	44.4	33	7.3	294	100
6	Koraga	54	42.5	72	56.7	1	.8	127	100	51	45.1	46	40.7	16	4.2	113	100
7	Madiga	21	44.7	25	53.2	1	2.1	47	100	21	55.2	13	34.1	4	10.7	38	100
8	Mundala-Uppara	122	40.0	175	57.3	8	2.7	305	100	156	40.6	170	44.2	58	15.2	384	100
9	Nalkeyava	10	45.4	12	54.6	...	...	22	100	10	40	14	56	1	4	25	100
10	Piliya-Polaya	6	60	4	40	...	...	10	100	7	39.0	7	39.0	4	22	18	100
11	Raneyar	4	36.3	7	63.6	...	...	11	100	3	30	5	50	2	20	10	100
12	Samagar	3	42.9	4	57.1	...	...	7	100	3	50	3	50	...	...	6	100
13	Thoti	12	38.7	19	61.3	...	...	31	100	12	35.3	19	55.9	3	8.8	34	100
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	18	56.2	14	43.8	...	...	32	100	13	44.8	11	37.9	5	7.3	29	100
	<b>Total</b>	<b>542</b>	<b>42.2</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>55.6</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>1284</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>604</b>	<b>45.3</b>	<b>553</b>	<b>41.5</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>13.2</b>	<b>1333</b>	<b>100</b>

Holeyas exceeded the total per centage by 4.5; while the others lagged behind, the Mundalas falling short of the latter by 3.2. About half a dozen men, mostly of the Mundala community, were found to have two wives living. Excepting the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, all the other major communities had more unmarried men than the overall per centage. Among the latter communities the Koragas stood out prominently. As regards the widowers, the table shows that the Kaipuda-Meras and the Mundalas showed a higher per centage of widowed men than the total per centage for all the communities.

70.3 per cent of the women above 15 years of age from all the communities taken together were found married. 62.3 per cent of the Mundala women were found married as against 80 per cent of the Thotis. The Kaipuda-Meras, the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, and the Vettuvans had more women married than the total per centage.

The overall per centage for unmarried women could not be considered as high, being only 9.0. Among the major communities the Mundalas recorded the highest per centage of all, viz. 14.5, the per centage for the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas being the lowest, viz. 5.5. The other communities did not show any marked deviations from the overall per centage.

Though the custom of widow marriage prevailed among the communities under enquiry, the figures in the table made startling revelations. The overall per centage for the widows of all the communities came to 20.7, which might be considered as too high. While the Thotis conformed to the overall per centage, that among the Vettuvans and the Mundalas was higher than the total per centage by 7.1 and 3.5 and stood at 27.8 and 24.2 respectively. The Baithada-Bakudas came in between the Vettuvan and the Mundala communities. The problem of deserted or divorced women was also there. About a dozen women were returned as being deserted by their husbands.

Considering the total males and females, irrespective of their ages, it will be seen that only 3.1 per cent more females were married than males. The per centage of married males and females was lower in the case of the Mundalas than the corresponding per centages for the total. In the Thoti and Vettuvan communities the position was the reverse. In those communities, more males were married than the females, the per centage for the latter being

everywhere lower than that for the total. As could be expected, more males than females were unmarried, the per centages being 55.6 and 41.5 respectively. The Mundalas and the Thotis had higher per centage of unmarried males and females. The columns about the widowed males and females did not bring out any other characteristics than those mentioned earlier.

**Literacy of the sample population :—**Table No. 11 shows the position regarding literacy in the sample population by age, sex and communities.

It will be seen from the table that 6.9 per cent males as against 2.2 per cent females were literate.<sup>2</sup> But in the age group 'below 15 years' more females than males were returned as literate. In the higher age-group 8.5 or 10.5 per cent males and 2.4 per cent females were literate. The total per centages for males of all the communities, viz. 0.9 and 10.8, were considerably lower than the corresponding per centages for the district of South Kanara as a whole—7.4 and 26 respectively. The position was somewhat better in regard to females. The per centage of literacy among females below 15 years of age was 2 for the district, which was higher only by 0.4 than the corresponding percentage for the total. Curiously enough, it was found that the total per centage for females above 15 years was higher by 0.4 than that for the district. (Taking each community separately, it was found that 51 out of 89 or 58 per cent of the total literate males were the Mundalas. The females of the same community accounted for 64 per cent of the total literates in the sample. The Kaipuda-Meras and the Koragas followed the Mundalas, though not closely, accounting for about 15 and 11 per cent respectively of the total male and about 19 and 10 per cent of the total female literates respectively. Next came the Baithada-Bakuda community with less than one per cent literacy among males and females. The age-composition of the literates showed that more females than males were returned as literate in the age-group 'below 15 years'. The position was reversed in the higher age group, the males outnumbering the females in the proportion of 4:1. The Koragas, who stood third in the total, did not have a single male or female child literate.

83.5 per cent of the males and 93.9 per cent of the females were illiterate. The total per centage of the illiterate male children exceeded that for the district by 7.7; while the corresponding per

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<sup>2</sup> The corresponding per centages for the Untouchables of Maharashtra were 22.7 and 2.1 respectively.—M. G. Bhagat; pp. 9-10.

TABLE No. 11—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED POPULATION BY COMMUNITIES AND ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS, SEX AND LITERACY

S. No.	Communities	Below 15 years															
		Males								Females							
		Literate.		Illit.		Edu.		Total		Literate.		Illit.		Edu.		Total	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
1	Baira	...	...	4	57.1	3	42.9	7	100	...	...	4	100	...	...	4	100
2	Baithada-Bakuda	...	...	5	41.7	7	58.3	12	100	1	8.3	8	66.7	3	25.0	12	100
3	Godda	...	...	5	100	...	...	5	100	...	...	3	100	...	...	3	100
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mogera	1	7	113	81.9	24	17.4	138	100	2	1.9	98	90.7	8	7.4	108	100
5	Karadbi, Manisa, Holeyra	...	...	98	90.7	10	9.3	108	100	...	...	108	98.2	2	1.8	110	100
6	Koraga	...	...	41	91.1	4	8.9	45	100	...	...	36	92.3	3	7.7	39	100
7	Madiga	1	4.6	12	54.5	9	40.9	22	100	...	...	11	100	...	...	11	100
8	Mundala-Uppara	1	9	71	60.2	46	38.9	118	100	4	2.8	117	80.7	24	16.5	145	100
9	Nalkeyava	...	...	4	57.1	3	42.9	7	100	...	...	12	92.3	1	7.7	13	100
10	Piliya-Polaya	...	...	1	50	1	50.0	2	100	...	...	4	66.7	2	33.3	6	100
11	Raneyar	...	...	1	33.3	2	66.7	3	100	...	...	3	75.0	1	25	4	100
12	Samagar	1	25	1	25	2	50.0	4	100	...	...	3	100	...	...	3	100
13	Thoti	...	...	12	85.7	2	14.3	14	100	...	...	15	79.0	4	21.0	19	100
14	Vettuvau K. & P.	...	...	18	100	...	...	18	100	...	...	11	100	...	...	11	100
	Total...	4	9	386	76.7	113	22.4	503	100	7	1.6	433	88.6	48	9.8	488	100
	District Average.	...	7.4	...	69.0	...	...	...	...	2.0	...	97.0	...	...	...	...	...



TABLE No. 11—(Continued)

S. No.	Communities	15 years and above															
		Males								Females							
		Literate.		Illit.		Edu.		Total		Literate.		Illit.		Edu.		Total	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
1	Baira	...	...	9	90.0	1	10.0	10	100	...	...	8	100	...	...	8	100
2	Baithada-Bakuda	5	20.0	17	68.0	3	12.0	25	100	1	3.8	25	96.2	...	...	26	100
3	Godda	1	12.5	7	87.5	...	..	8	100	...	...	9	100	...	...	9	100
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mogera	12	5.8	198	92.9	3	1.3	213	100	3	1.4	208	98.0	1	.6	212	100
5	Karadhi, Manisa, Holeyā	1	.6	165	99.4	...	...	166	100	...	...	184	100	...	...	184	100
6	Koraga	10	12.2	72	87.8	...	...	82	100	3	4.1	71	95.9	...	...	74	100
7	Madiga	2	8.0	23	92.0	...	...	25	100	...	...	27	100	...	...	27	100
8	Mundala-Uppara	50	26.7	135	72.2	2	1.1	187	100	14	5.9	222	92.9	3	1.2	239	100
9	Nalkeyava	...	...	15	100	...	...	15	100	...	...	12	100	...	...	12	100
10	Piliya Polaya	1	12.5	6	75.0	1	12.5	8	100	...	...	11	91.7	1	8.3	12	100
11	Raneyar	1	12.5	7	87.5	...	...	8	100	...	...	6	100	...	...	6	100
12	Samagar	...	...	3	100	...	...	3	100	...	...	3	100	...	...	3	100
13	Thoti	2	11.7	15	88.3	...	...	17	100	...	...	15	100	...	...	15	100
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	...	...	14	100	...	...	14	100	...	...	18	100	...	...	18	100
	Total...	85	10.8	686	88.1	10	1.1	781	100	21	2.4	819	96.9	5	.7	845	100
	District Average	...	26.0	...	74.0	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	...	95.0	...	...	...	...

TABLE No. 11—(Continued)

S. No.	Communities	Grand Total															
		Males								Females							
		Literate.		Illit.		Edu.		Total		Literate.		Illit.		Edu.		Total	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
1	Baira	...	...	13	76.5	4	23.5	17	100	...	...	12	100	...	...	12	100
2	Baitbada-Bakuda	5	13.8	22	59.4	10	26.8	37	100	2	5.2	33	86.8	3	8.0	38	100
3	Godda	1	7.7	12	92.3	...	...	13	100	...	...	12	100	...	...	12	100
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mogera	13	3.9	311	88.5	27	7.6	351	100	5	1.6	306	95.6	9	2.8	320	100
5	Karadbi, Manisa, Holeya	1	.5	263	95.9	10	3.6	274	100	...	...	292	93.3	2	.7	294	100
6	Koraga	10	7.9	113	88.9	4	3.2	127	100	3	2.7	107	94.6	3	2.7	113	100
7	Madiga	3	4.3	35	74.4	9	21.3	47	100	...	..	38	100	...	...	38	100
8	Mundala-Uppara	51	16.8	206	67.5	48	15.7	305	100	18	4.8	339	88.2	27	7.0	384	100
9	Nalkeyava	...	...	19	86.4	3	13.6	22	100	...	...	24	96.0	1	4.0	25	100
10	Piliya-Polaya	1	10.0	7	70.0	2	20.0	10	100	...	...	15	83.3	3	16.7	18	100
11	Raneyar	1	9.1	8	72.7	2	18.1	11	100	...	...	9	90	1	10.0	10	100
12	Samagar	1	14.3	4	57.1	2	28.6	7	100	...	...	6	100	...	...	6	100
13	Thoti	2	6.5	27	87.0	2	6.5	31	100	...	...	30	88.2	4	11.8	34	100
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	...	...	32	100	...	...	32	100	...	...	29	100	...	...	29	100
Total...		89	6.9	1072	83.5	123	9.6	1284	100	28	2.2	1252	93.9	53	3.9	1333	100

centage for the female children was lower than the district by 8.4. The per centages of illiteracy among men and women above 15 years of age were higher than the corresponding per centages for children of the sample families and the district. The men of Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Vettuvans were cent per cent illiterate. In the case of women, all the communities, excepting a few, answered the same description.

123 or 9.6 per cent males and 53 or 3.9 per cent females were returned as educands. Of these 10 males and 5 females were of the age of '15 years and over' and the rest were children. The per centages of educating children to the total worked out at 22.4 for boys and 9.8 for girls and were rather hopeful. 40 per cent of the boys and 50 per cent of the girls attending schools belonged to the Mundala community alone. It was interesting to find that three males each of the age of '15 years and over' from the Kaipuda-Mera communities were educands. Out of the 5 females of the same age group three belonged to the Mundala community and one each to the Kaipuda-Meras.

**Economic Status of the Sample Population:**—The Economic status of the sample population by age, sex and communities is being presented in Table No. 12.

In all the communities put together there were 1581 earners and 1026 non-earners or dependents, the number of unemployed being almost negligible. This means that 60.6 per cent of the sample population was of earners and 39.4 per cent of dependents, as will be seen from Table No. 13, which presents the proportion of earners and dependents among all the communities under enquiry.

All the major communities, excluding the Mundalas, had higher per centages of earners than that for the total. The per centages for the dependents showed the same trends as the earner but in the opposite direction.

If the number of earners was split up by age and sex, it would be seen (Table No. 13) that, on the whole, there were more female than male earners. The former exceeded the latter by only 5. Out of 788 male earners, 45 were children below 15 years of age and the remaining men of '15 years and over.' The per centages of boys and men to their corresponding totals worked out at 8.9 and 95. The corresponding figures for girls and women of the age of '15 years and over' came to 6.9 per cent and 89.9 per cent respectively. This means that, though the female earners outnumbered the males,

TABLE No. 12—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED POPULATION BY COMMUNITIES  
AND ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS, SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

S. No.	Communities	Below 15 Years								15 years and above							
		Males				Females				Males				Females			
		E	Non-E	Un-Ed.	Total	E	Non-E	Un-Ed.	Total	E	Non-E	Un-Ed.	Total	E	Non-E	Un-Ed.	Total
1	Baira	...	7	...	7	...	4	...	4	8	2	...	10	8	...	...	8
2	Baithada-Bakuda	1	11	...	12	3	9	...	12	21	4	...	25	21	5	...	26
3	Godda	...	5	...	5	2	1	...	3	8	...	...	8	7	2	...	9
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mogera	13	125	...	138	6	102	...	108	205	8	...	213	197	14	1	212
5	Karadhi, Manisa, Holeyra	9	99	...	108	8	102	...	110	162	4	...	166	176	6	2	184
6	Koraga	2	43	...	45	...	39	...	39	82	...	...	82	71	3	...	74
7	Madiga	5	17	...	22	...	11	...	11	23	2	...	25	24	3	...	27
8	Mundala-Uppara	7	111	...	118	13	132	...	145	174	12	1	187	202	34	3	239
9	Nalkeyava	1	6	...	7	...	13	...	13	15	...	...	15	11	1	...	12
10	Piliya-Polaya	...	2	...	2	...	6	...	6	6	1	1	8	10	1	1	12
11	Raneyar	...	3	...	3	...	4	...	4	8	...	...	8	4	2	...	6
12	Samagar	...	4	...	4	...	3	...	3	3	...	...	3	2	1	...	3
13	Thoti	...	14	...	14	1	18	...	19	15	1	1	17	12	3	...	15
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	7	11	...	18	...	11	...	11	13	1	...	14	15	3	...	18
	Total	45	458	...	503	33	455	...	488	743	35	3	781	760	78	7	845

E = Earning ; Non-E = Non-earning ; Un-ed. = unemployed

TABLE No. 12—(Continued)

S. No.	Communities	Total								Grand Total			
		Males				Females				E	Non-E	Un-Ed.	Total
		E	Non-E	Un-Ed.	Total	E	Non-E	Un-Ed.	Total				
1	Baira	8	9	..	17	8	4	..	12	16	13	..	29
2	Baithada-Bakuda	22	15	..	37	24	14	..	38	46	29	..	75
3	Godda	8	5	..	13	9	3	..	12	17	8	..	25
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mogera	218	133	..	351	203	116	1	320	421	249	1	671
5	Karadhi, Manisa, Holeya	171	103	..	274	184	103	2	294	355	211	2	568
6	Koraga	84	43	..	127	71	42	..	113	155	85	..	240
7	Madiga	28	19	..	47	24	14	..	38	52	33	..	85
8	Mundala-Uppara	181	123	1	305	215	166	3	384	396	289	4	689
9	Nalkeyava	16	6	..	22	11	14	..	25	27	20	..	47
10	Piliya-Polaya	6	3	1	10	10	7	1	18	16	10	2	28
11	Ranegar	8	3	..	11	4	6	..	10	12	9	..	21
12	Samagar	3	4	..	7	2	4	..	6	5	8	..	13
13	Thoti	15	15	1	31	13	21	..	34	28	36	1	65
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	20	12	..	32	15	14	..	29	35	26	..	61
	Total	788	493	3	1284	793	533	7	1333	1581	1026	10	2617

their per centage to the total female population was lower than the corresponding per centage in the case of males. Out of 45 male children, the Kaipuda-Meras accounted for 13 or 29 per cent, the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas for 9 or 20 per cent and the Mundalas 7 or 15 per cent. The per centages of these figures to the total population of male children in the respective groups came to 9.4, 8.3 and 5.9. In the case of the Vettuvans it was as high as 38.8. Nearly

TABLE No 13—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED POPULATION BY COMMUNITIES ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF EARNERS AND DEPENDENTS WITH PER CENTAGE.

Communities	Earners		Dependants		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 Baira	16	55.1	13	44.9	29	100
2 Baithada-Bakuda	46	61.3	29	38.7	75	100
3 Godda	17	68.0	8	32.0	25	100
4 Kaipuda, Mera, Muguara	421	62.9	249	37.1	670	100
5 Karadhi, Manisaru, Maila, Mari Holeyas	355	62.7	211	37.3	566	100
6 Koraga	155	64.6	85	35.4	240	100
7 Madiga	52	61.2	33	38.8	85	100
8 Mundala-Uppara	396	57.8	289	42.2	685	100
9 Nalkeyava	27	57.8	20	42.2	47	100
10 Piliya-Polaya	16	61.6	10	38.4	26	100
11 Raneyar	12	56.2	9	43.8	21	100
12 Samagar	5	38.4	8	61.6	13	100
13 Thoti	28	43.7	36	56.3	64	100
14 Vettuvan K. & P.	35	57.3	26	42.7	61	100
Total	1581	60.6	1026	39.4	2,607	100

Note:—The unemployed are not included.

40 per cent of the girls that earned belonged to the Mundala community, the per centages for the Kaipuda-Meras and the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas being 18.1 and 25 respectively. 10 per cent of the

Mundala girls were earners. The Mundalas had 34 per cent males and 43.6 per cent females of the age of '15 years and over' as dependants. The Kaipuda-Meras followed the Mundalas with 22.8 per cent and 17.9 per cent for males and females respectively.

**Number and Composition of earners in the Sample families :—**

Table No. 14 is compiled to show the classification of the sample families according to number of earners, number of dependents and by communities.

It will be seen from the table that 169 out of 480 or 35.2 per cent families had only two earners. As the number of earners increased, the number of families returning them went on rapidly falling. 22.9 per cent families possessed three earners, 14.8 per cent families four earners and so on. There were three families with 10 and more earners in them. Only 33 or about 7 per cent families had only one member earning in them. On analysing the earners by communities, it was found that among the major communities 40 per cent of the Koraga families recorded two earners as against 26.9 per cent for the Mundalas. The Karadhi-Mari Holeyas more or less conformed to the total per centage and the Kaipuda-Meras exceeded the latter by only 1.8 per cent. 19.8 per cent of the total families possessed 5 or more earners. But this was exceeded by Karadhi-Mari Holeyas (24.7 per cent) and the Mundalas (22.1 per cent) the Kaipuda-Meras and the Koragas lagging behind the total per centage with 18.8 per cent and 17.9 per cent respectively. 2 out of 3 families with '10 or more earners' belonged to the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, the remaining one being accounted for by the Kaipuda-Meras. 13 out of 33 or 39.3 per cent of the families with only one earner came from the Mundala community. But that formed only 10.6 per cent of the total Mundala families under enquiry.

Considering the number of dependents, it was found that 112 out of 480 or 23.3 per cent families included two dependents. On either sides of this position of highest density the figures went on decreasing, and more rapidly as the number of dependents increased. It will be interesting to note that as many as 88 or 18.3 per cent of the total families had no dependents at all, while only 9 per cent families included 5 or more dependents. 75 out of 88 families with no dependents were accounted for by the four major communities, the Kaipuda-Meras alone contributing more than one-third of them. The Mundalas stood out prominently in two ways. They had higher per centage of families with one dependent (22.1)

TABLE No. 14—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES  
ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF EARNERS AND NUMBER OF DEPENDANTS

Earners	Baira						Baithada-Bakuda					Godda						Mera-Kaipuda-Mogera						Karadhi-Manisa-Holeya																
	No. of dependants						No. of dependants					No. of dependants						No. of dependants						No. of dependants																
	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total					
No earner	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..							
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	4	3	1	2	..	1	..	7
2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	1	..	5	1	1	..	..	..	2	8	11	7	13	5	4	48	6	6	7	10	5	2	36								
3	..	1	1	..	..	1	3	1	..	1	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	7	9	3	5	..	30	1	6	6	1	4	..	18
4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	3	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	6	1	7	4	3	..	21	3	3	4	2	2	1	15						
5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	2	4	3	..	1	13	2	1	3	1	..	2	9						
6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	3	..	2	4	..	1	..	7						
7	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	1	..	2						
8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	3	1	..	1	..	1	1	4						
9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1						
10 & more	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	2					
Total	..	1	1	..	..	2	4	4	4	4	1	1	2	16	..	3	1	1	..	..	5	26	25	31	25	14	6	127	19	19	27	14	15	7	101					



TABLE No. 14 A—(Continued)

Earnings	Koraga						Madiga						Mundala-Uppara						Nalkeyava						Piliya-Polaya										
	No. of dependants						No. of dependants						No. of dependants						No. of dependants						No. of dependants										
	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total
No earner															1					1	2														
1 ..	1					1	1					1	2	2	2	3	3			3	13														
2 earners	1	4	6	1	4	2	18	1	2				3	10	7	7	5	1	3	33	1				3		4			1	1	1		3	
3 ..	2	5		3		10					1	1	2	6	9	8	2	6	2	33		1					1					1		1	
4 ..	2	2	3	1		8	1	1			1		3	1	5	1	3	1	3	14	1						1								
5 ..	1					1								1	3	1	2	2	2	11					1		1								
6 ..	2					2		1			1	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	3	10															
7 ..			1		1	1	3								1				1	2	1						1	1						1	
8 ..			1			1					1		1		1	1		1		3															
9 ..				1		1													1	1															
10 & more ..																																			
Total	9	11	11	6	5	3	45	2	5		1	5	1	14	21	29	24	16	13	19	122	3	1	1	1	3		8	1		1	2	1		5

TABLE No. 14 B—(Continued)

Earnings	Kaneyar						Samagara						Thoti						Vettuvan K & P						Grand Totals																
	No. of dependants						No. of dependants						No. of dependants						No. of dependants						No. of dependants																
	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	Nil	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total						
No earner																																									
1 ..												1	1													1	1							2	8	8	5	4	3	5	33
2 earners	1		2			3	1		1				2			4	2	1		7	2	2				1	5	32	35	37	33	21	11	169							
3 ..			2			2											1	1		2	2		2			1	5	18	28	30	12	17	5	110							
4 ..																	1	1		2					1	1	2	13	15	16	13	9	5	71							
5 ..																											7		7	8	7	2	5	36							
6 ..																											4		7	7	1	4	4	27							
7 ..																											3		1	3	1	2	3	13							
8 ..																											1		2	4		3	2	12							
9 ..																											1			1	1		1	4							
10 & more ..																											1						1	3							
Total	1		4			5	1		1			1	3			4	4	1	2	11	4	3	2	1	4	14	88	103	112	72	62	43	480								

05

and 5 or more dependents (15.5). The Thotis recorded more than 60 per cent of their families as having 3 or more dependents against 36.8 per cent for the total. The Mundalas exceeded this total percentage by only 2.5, while the Kaipuda-Meras and the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas lagged behind the latter.

Considering the earners and the dependents together, it was found that the largest number of families, viz, 37, were having two earners with two dependents. This worked out at 21.9 per cent of the two earner families and 7.7 per cent of the total families under survey. In terms of per centages, larger number of families with three and eight earners had only two dependents in them, the per centages being 27.2 and 33.3. Barring these two groups, it could be said that as the number of earners increased, the per centage of families with three or more dependents also went on increasing.

On analysing the earners and the dependents by communities, it will be seen that in the one-earner group 42.8 per cent of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas families had no dependents at all, while 23.0 per cent of the Mundala families included 5 or more dependents. In the two earners group more than one-fourth of the Kaipuda-Meras' and the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas' families had more than three dependents, while 30 per cent of the Mundala families were without any dependents. In the three earners group 50 per cent of the Koraga families and 27.2 per cent of Mundala families recorded only one dependent, while 30 per cent of the Kaipuda Mera families had two dependents. On grouping together all the families with four and more earners, it will be seen that 33.3 per cent and 30 per cent of the Kaipuda-Meras' and the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas' families respectively included two dependents. The corresponding per centage for the Koragas was 31.2. The same per cent of the Koraga families had no dependents at all. As regards the Mundalas, 25.8 per cent and 24.3 per cent of their families had one and '5 or more' dependents respectively.

Turning to the composition of the sample families by earners, it was found that 216 out of 480 or 45 per cent of the total families included one or more male and female earners in them, as will be seen from Table No. 15

144 or 30 per cent of the families had two adults, one male and one female, earning. 46 or 9.6 per cent of the families recorded children earning along with one or more male and female adults, the total number of families with children earning being 64 or 13.3 per cent of the total families under survey.

TABLE No. 15—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC STATUS AND NUMBER OF DEPENDANTS

S. No.	Classification of earners	Baira					Baithada-Bakuda					Godda					Karpuda-Mera-Mogera					Karachi-Mansa-Holeva															
		No. of dependants					No. of dependants					No. of dependants					No. of dependants					No. of dependants															
		No.	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	No.	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	No.	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	No.	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total								
1	Male adult alone							1					1	2									1	2					2								
2	Two and more male adults														1	1	3		1									5	1								
3	Female adult alone							1						1												1	1	5									
4	Two and more female adults							1						1												1	1	2									
5	One male and one female adult							1	1	1			3		1													33									
6	One or more males and females	1	1		1	1	4	2	1		1	1	5	2														45									
7	One child alone																																				
8	One or more female adults and children							1					1															2									
9	Two or more children																																				
10	One or more adult males, females and children								2				2			1												11									
11	One or more male adults and children							1					1																								
12	No earner																																				
	Total	1	1		1	1	4	4	4	4	1	1	2	16	3	1	1						5	26	25	31	25	13	7	127	19	19	28	14	14	7	101

TABLE No. 15—(Continued)

S. No.	Classification of earners	Koraga						Madiga					Mundala-Uppara						Nalkeyava						Piliya-Polaya											
		No. of dependants						No. of dependants					No. of dependants						No. of dependants						No. of dependants											
		No.	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	No.	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	No.	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	No.	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	No.	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total
1	Male adult alone	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2	Two and more male adults	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Female adult alone	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	2	1	3	2	...	1	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4	Two and more female adults	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	
5	One male and one female adult	2	2	6	...	3	2	15	1	2	...	...	3	9	6	5	5	1	2	28	...	1	...	3	...	4	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	
6	One or more males and females	7	7	5	5	1	1	26	1	2	...	1	1	1	6	7	14	11	7	6	10	55	...	2	...	1	...	3	...	...	1	1	...	...	2	
7	One child alone	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	One or more female adults and children	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
9	Two or more children	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	One or more adult males, females and children	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	3	1	3	2	...	4	2	12	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
11	One or more male adults and children	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
12	No earner	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	10	11	11	5	5	3	45	2	5	...	1	5	1	14	21	29	24	16	13	19	122	...	3	1	1	3	...	8	...	1	2	2	...	5	



The analysis of the sample families by earners and communities showed that 57.7 per cent of the Koragas and 50 per cent of Kaipuda-Meras included one or more male and female earners. The Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Mundalas conformed to the total per centage in this respect, while the other communities were below this. About 60 per cent of the Thoti families included two adult earners, one male and one female, in them. The Kaipuda-Meras conformed to the total percentage, 33 per cent each of the Koraga and the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas families belonged to this group. The Mundalas recorded 23 per cent, the smallest among the four major communities. It will be interesting to note that 4 or 36.3 per cent of the total families with only one male earners,

TABLE No. 16—DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN EARNING  
ALONG WITH FAMILY ADULTS BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Numbers of Earners				Total
	1	2	3	4 or more	
1 Baira	...	...	...	...	...
2 Baithada-Bakuda	4	...	...	...	4
3 Godda	...	1	...	...	1
4 Kaipuda, Muguara Mera	12	3	...	...	15
5 Karadhi, Mari Holeva, Maila and Manisaru	11	1	1	...	13
6 Koraga	2	...	...	...	2
7 Madiga	2	...	1	...	3
8 Mundala-Uppara	16	2	...	...	18
9 Nalkeyava	1	...	...	...	1
10 Piliya-Folaya	...	...	...	...	...
11 Raneyar	...	...	...	...	...
12 Samagar	...	...	...	...	...
13 Thoti	1	...	...	...	1
14 Vettuvan K. & P.	6	...	...	...	6
Total	55	7	2	...	64

belonged to the Mundala community and formed only 3.2 per cent of the total Mundala families under survey. 7 per cent of the

Mundala families were having only one female adult earning and accounted for about 40 per cent of the total families in that group.

Table No. 16 sets out the classification of 64 families according to number of children earning in them and also by communities.

It will be clear from the table that 55 or about 86 per cent families had only one male or female child earning in them. Nearly 30 per cent of them were accounted for by the Mundalas and 20 per cent by the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, the per centage for the Kaipuda Meras being little higher than the latter. Out of 7 families with two children earning, three belonged to the Kaipuda Mera community and two to the Mundalas. The Karadhi-Mari Holeyas had one family with three children earning along with adult males and or females.

**Income of the Sample families:**—Table No. 17 is compiled to present a general picture of the total annual income as well as the income per family and *per capita* of different communities under enquiry.

Rs. 1.86 lakhs or 95 per cent of the total receipts came from the main source of income. If the remittances received from outside, viz. Rs. 2,680, which formed the unearned income, were deducted, the income from supplementary sources would hardly amount to Rs. 5,200. This, however, was not earned in cash, but was made up of estimated value of kitchen-garden produce and of meals given by landlords during harvesting seasons. Income from agriculture carried on by some members of the sample families formed a negligible part of it.

The average annual income worked out at Rs. 388-4-6 per family and Rs. 71-2-9 per head of the sample population.<sup>3</sup> This high total average was largely due to rise owing to war conditions in the rates of wages in some of the occupations followed by the people under enquiry. Again, in the case of agricultural labourers their wages in kind remained stationary. They appear larger in money terms as they were converted in cash value at the prevailing increased price of paddy and rice.

Looking to the average income of different Communities, it will be seen that the Thotis recorded both per family and *per capita* the largest income of all, viz. Rs. 681 and Rs. 115 respectively.

<sup>3</sup> The average annual income per family and per capita worked out at Rs. 162.0 and Rs. 24.0 respectively for the untouchable classes of Maharashtra surveyed by M. G. Bhagat in or about 1933.



These were greater than the total averages by 78 per cent and 62 per cent respectively. The Mundalas followed the Thotis in respect of the family income but had almost equal *per capita* income as the Baithada-Bakudas. The Vettuvans had the smallest income per family, viz. Rs. 229. The Karadhi-Mari Holeyas came next to

TABLE No. 17—TOTAL, PER CAPITA AND PER FAMILY INCOME BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	No. of families	Population	Source of income		Total annual income	Average anl. income	
			Main	Supplementary		Per family	Per capita
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Baira	4	29	1,115	12	1,127	281-12-0	38-11-0
Baithada-Bakuda	16	75	6,424	415	6,839	427-7-0	91-3-0
Godda	5	25	1,715	65	1,780	356-0-0	71-3-1
Kaipuda, Mera, Muguara	127	671	43,433	1,215	44,648	351-8-0	66-9-0
Karadhi, Mari Holeyas, Maila, Manisa	101	568	25,381	1,404	26,785	265-3-2	47-3-0
Koraga	45	240	17,498	524	18,022	400-8-0	75-0-0
Madiga	14	85	5,838	270	6,108	436-4-8	71-14-0
Mundala Uppara	122	689	59,282	3,631	62,913	515-10-10	91-4-4
Nalkeyava	8	47	2,390	25	2,415	301-14-0	51-6-0
Piliya-Polaya	5	28	2,095	...	2,095	419-0-0	74-13-2
Raneyar	5	21	1,954	23	1,977	395-6-5	94-2-3
Samagar	3	13	1,150	17	1,167	389-0-0	89-12-4
Thoti	11	65	7,363	135	7,498	681-10-2	115-5-9
Vettuvan K. & P.	14	61	2,885	121	3,006	229-0-0	49-4-5
Total	480	2,617	1,78,523	7,857	1,86,380	388-4-6	71-2-9

the Vettuvans in both the respects. The Koragas, who are proverbially the most backward, recorded larger *per capita* annual income than that of the Kaipuda-Meras, the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Vettuvans.

As it would be very interesting to study the classification of the sample families by income groups as well as by communities, Table No. 18 is compiled.

TABLE No. 18.—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES AND INCOME GROUPS

S. No.	Income groups		Baira	Bairbada-Bakuda	Godda	Kaipuda-Mera Muguara	Karadhi-Manisa Holeyay Maila	Koraga	Madiga	Mundala-uppara	Nalkeyaya	Piliya-Polaya	Rancyar	Samagar	Thoti	Vettuvan	Total	
	Rs.																	
1	50 & Below		...	...	...	1	4	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
2	51	— 75	...	1	...	...	4	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	9
3	76	— 100	...	2	...	2	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	9
4	101	— 125	...	1	...	2	4	3	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15
5	126	— 150	...	1	...	3	9	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16
6	151	— 200	1	1	1	12	18	4	1	3	1	1	...	1	...	...	6	50
7	201	— 250	2	...	...	15	19	5	...	10	2	...	1	...	...	...	1	55
8	251	— 300	...	1	...	23	10	4	2	12	2	...	2	...	...	...	3	59
9	301	— 350	...	1	2	13	7	5	...	14	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	44
10	351	— 400	...	1	...	19	7	3	2	12	1	2	1	...	1	1	...	50
11	401	— 450	...	...	...	11	3	...	2	6	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	25
12	451	— 500	...	...	2	4	1	4	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	19
13	501	— 600	1	2	...	10	6	5	1	13	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	40
14	601	— 700	...	2	...	5	4	4	...	11	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	30
15	701	— 800	...	1	...	2	3	...	...	7	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	15
16	801	— 900	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	13
17	901	— 1000	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	7
18	1001	and over	...	1	...	2	...	3	1	8	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	17
Total			4	16	5	127	101	45	14	122	8	5	5	3	11	14	488	

Nearly one-eighth of the total families recorded an annual income of between Rs. 251-300. About 38 per cent of them belonged to the Kaipuda-Meras who showed concentration in this group, the per centage to the total being 18.1. As against this, about 10 per cent of the families of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, the Koragas and the Mundalas fell in this group, though all of them put together accounted for over 44 per cent of the total families in that

group. It will be of interest to note that none of the Thoti families had an annual income of less than Rs. 300. 85.7 per cent of the Vettuvan, 70 per cent of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and 28.7 per cent of the Mundala families were below this line. Round about 45 per cent of the families of the Baithada-Bakudas, the Kaipuda-Meras and the Koragas answered the same description. Out of 25 families that had an annual income of less than Rs. 100, 10 belonged to the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, three to the Baithada-Bakudas and two to the Vettuvans, the per centages of these to the total families of the respective communities coming to 40, 18.7 and 14.2. Turning to the upper income-groups, it will be seen that 178 or 37 per cent of the total families were having an average annual income of between Rs. 300 and Rs. 600 i. e. between Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 per month. Only 2 out of 14 Vettuvan families were found in this group, but they had an annual income of less than Rs. 450 and no family exceeded that limit. In still higher reaches of income, the Baithada-Bakudas, the Mundalas and the Thotis figured prominently, the per centages of families falling in this group to the totals for respective communities being 31.8, 31.9 and 63.6. The corresponding per centages for the Kaipuda-Meras, the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Koragas came to 9.7, 6.9 and 17.7 respectively. It should be noted that 18.1 per cent of the Thoti families recorded more than Rs. 1000 as their average annual income, as against the total per centage of 3.5 for the group. Though the Mundalas accounted for nearly half of the total families in the group, only 6.5 per cent families of the community could earn an annual average income of more than Rs. 1000.

Table No. 19 is prepared to show how far average annual income of the sample families was determined by number of earning members in them. As two Mundala families had no earners, the table presents the classification of 478 families.

Broadly speaking, the table revealed that as number of earners increased, the total annual income of the family also increased, though not proportionately. This trend was noticed to be more prominent in respect of the first five and the last eight income groups out of the total of 18. Barring exceptional cases, this more or less applied to individual communities. Some glaring exceptions may, however, be noted. A Koraga family with five or more earners had an average annual income of less than Rs. 50. The family horribly suffered from under-employment and depended for livelihood more on begging than on its earning. Again, in the income-groups of Rs. 501 to 600 and Rs. 601 to 700, there were two

TABLE NO. 19—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES  
ACCORDING TO INCOME GROUPS AND NUMBER OF EARNERS

S. No.	Income groups Rs.	Baira					Baithada-Bakuda					Godda					Kaipuda-Mera-Mogera					Karadhi-Mari Holey										
		No. of Earners					No. of Earners					No. of Earners					No. of Earners					No. of Earners										
		1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total							
1	Less than 50																	1						1	4						4	
2	51 — 75							1					1												3	1					4	
3	76 — 100								2				2						2						2						2	
4	101 — 125								1				1						2						3	1					4	
5	126 — 150								1				1						1	2					3	8	1				9	
6	151 — 200			1			1			1		1						10	2					12	14	2	1	1		18		
7	201 — 250			2			2											10	3	2				15	6	8	3	2		19		
8	251 — 300							1					1					11	8	3	1			23	2	4	3	1		10		
9	301 — 350								1				1		1			1	6	3	3			13		1	4	2		7		
10	351 — 400										1							7	4	4	4			19		1	1	5		7		
11	401 — 450																	4	2	4	1			11				1	2		3	
12	451 — 500														1	1	2		1	2	1	4					1			1		
13	501 — 600				1		1		1			2						1	3	1	5	10				1	5		6			
14	601 — 700							1		1		2						1	1	3	5	5						4		4		
15	701 — 800								1			1									2	2							3		3	
16	801 — 900										1	1								1	2	3										
17	901 — 1000																															
18	1001 and over									1		1																				
	Total...			3		1	4	3	5	3	3	2	16	2	2	1	5	4	48	30	21	24	127	7	36	18	15	25	101			

TABLE No. 19—(Continued)

S. No.	Income groups Rs.	Koraga					Madiga					Mundala-Uppara					Nalkeyava					Piliya-Polaya									
		No. of Earners					No. of Earners					No. of Earners					No. of Earners					No. of Earners									
		1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total						
1	Less than 50	1	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
2	51 — 75	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
3	76 — 100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
4	101 — 125	...	2	1	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	1	2	2	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
5	126 — 150	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
6	151 — 200	...	3	1	...	...	4	...	1	...	...	1	1	2	...	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	1		
7	201 — 250	...	3	...	1	1	5	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	1	1	9	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...		
8	251 — 300	...	3	1	...	...	4	...	1	...	1	2	7	5	...	...	12	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...		
9	301 — 350	...	4	1	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	1	6	7	...	14	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...		
10	351 — 400	...	1	1	1	...	3	...	...	1	1	2	1	5	4	1	1	12	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	2		
11	401 — 450	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	...	2	2	2	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1		
12	451 — 500	...	1	2	1	...	4	...	1	1	2	4	...	1	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
13	501 — 600	...	...	1	3	1	5	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	8	2	1	13	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...		
14	601 — 700	...	...	1	2	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	1	5	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
15	701 — 800	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	3	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1		
16	801 — 900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
17	901 — 1000	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	3	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
18	1001 and over	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	7	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total...		1	18	10	8	8	45	2	3	2	3	4	14	13	33	33	14	27	120	...	4	1	1	2	8	...	3	1	...	1	5

TABLE No. 19—(Continued)

S. No.	Income groups Rs.	Kaneyar					Samagar					Thoti					Vettuvan					Total										
		No. of Earners					No. of Earners					No. of Earners					No. of Earners					No. of Earners										
		1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	
1	Less than 50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2	51 — 75	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	76 — 100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4	101 — 125	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5	126 — 150	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6	151 — 200	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7	201 — 250	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	251 — 300	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	301 — 350	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	351 — 400	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	401 — 450	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12	451 — 500	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	501 — 600	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	601 — 700	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15	701 — 800	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16	801 — 900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17	901 — 1000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18	1001 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total...		...	3	2	...	...	5	1	2	...	...	3	...	7	2	2	...	11	2	5	5	2	...	14	33	169	110	71	95	478		

families each of only one earner. A Mundala family was found in the former group, while one family of the Baithada-Bakudas was recorded in the latter. This was because, as will presently be seen, of the remunerative occupations followed by the families concerned.

**Income per Adult-equivalent** :—To get an idea of the adequacy or otherwise of the income of the sample families it was necessary to examine the relation between the income and the number and requirements of the people who depended on it. This required conversion of the total number of members in a family into standard consumption units, for which the following scale was adopted:—

	Coefficient
Adult male	1.000
Adult female above 50 years	1.000
Adult female below 50 years	0.875
Child of 5 to 15 years	0.625
Child below 5 years	0.375

Table No. 20 is compiled to present the correlation between the number of equivalent adults and the annual income of the sample families. It shows the frequency distribution of the annual income per adult-equivalent.

It will be seen from the table that 77 or 16 per cent of the families had an annual income of upto Rs. 50 per adult equivalent or about Rs. 4 per month. The Karadhi-Mari Holeyas returned about 32 per cent of their families in this income group, to be followed closely by the Vettuvans with 28.6 per cent. The Mundalas recorded the lowest per centage, viz. 4.9. As the income per adult equivalent increased, the number of families went on rising till it reached the income-group of Rs. 75-100, where the greatest concentration was found. Then on, the number of families went on diminishing very rapidly, excepting in the income-group of Rs. 175-200 where it remained constant for a while to continue the fall again. 304 or 63 per cent of the families recorded an income of more than Rs.50 but less than Rs. 125 per adult equivalent per year, i. e. between Rs. 4 and Rs. 10 per month. More than two thirds of the families of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Vettuvans fell in this broad income group. As against this, the Kaipuda-Meras recorded a per centage of 73 and the Mundalas about 59. All the income groups above Rs. 125 taken together accounted for about 21 per cent of the total sample families. Only 2 per cent of the

TABLE No. 20.—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES AND INCOME PER ADULT-EQUIVALENT

S. No.	Income per Adult-equivalent (Rupees)	Baira	Baithada-Bakuda	Godda	Kaipuda-Mera-Mugnara	Karachi-Manisa-Holeya Malla	Koraga	Madiga	Mundala-uppara	Nalkeyava	Piliya-Polaya	Rancyar	Samagar	Thoti	Vetuvan	Total
1	Below 25	...	...	...	2	5	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	10
2	26 — 50	3	2	...	15	27	8	1	5	3	...	...	...	...	3	67
3	51 — 75	...	4	2	35	43	8	4	14	2	1	1	...	...	4	118
4	76 — 100	1	3	1	39	18	10	4	31	2	3	2	1	...	5	120
5	101 — 125	...	2	2	19	6	4	2	27	...	1	...	...	2	1	66
6	126 — 150	...	2	...	7	2	7	1	19	...	...	...	1	3	...	42
7	151 — 175	...	2	...	2	...	2	1	8	1	...	2	1	2	...	21
8	176 — 200	...	...	...	4	...	5	...	10	...	...	...	...	2	...	21
9	201 — 250	...	1	...	4	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	2	...	12
10	251 — 300	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
11	301 — 350	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
	Total	4	16	5	127	101	45	14	122	8	5	5	3	11	14	480



Karadhi-Mari Holeyas found their way into it. A little less than one third of the Koraga families, who are proverbially very poor, had an income of more than Rs. 125 per adult equivalent per year. The Thotis recorded the highest per centage in the group, viz. 81.8. As compared to them even the Mundalas looked poor with only 36 per cent of their families falling in that group. But in the highest reaches of income, the Mundalas had no rivals. Among the major communities the Kaipuda-Meras registered the lowest per centage, viz. 13.3, being much less than the total per centage.

It would be interesting in this connection to know about the correlation between the size of income and the size of family after conversion into appropriate adult equivalents. Table No. 21 was compiled to show it.

The size of income and the size of family seemed to be directly related to each other. In the lower income-groups were found families of small size. But as the size of income increased, so did the size of family. 22.3 or 46.4 per cent of the total families possessed more than 4 adult-equivalents and were found largely in higher income-groups. But beyond that their distribution in different income groups did not show any uniform tendency. For instance, the largest number of families in this category, viz. 33, were found in the income-group of Rs. 351-400, but that hardly worked to 14 per cent of the total. The lack of uniform tendency was visible even in regard to families of smaller size. Considering the position community-wise, no marked deviation from this was noticed. There were 47 families in all with more than four adult-equivalents but with less than Rs. 300 annual income. 64 per cent of them were accounted for by the Kaipuda-Meras and the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas. The Thotis had not a single family in this broad income group, while the Mundalas had only 3 and the Koragas 5. The per centages to the total families with more than four adult-equivalents worked out at 24 for the Kaipuda Meras, 36 for the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, 5 for the Mundalas and about 24 for the Koragas. This reflected the economic backwardness of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas more conspicuously than others.

**What is adequate income for an adult-equivalent? :—**According to Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, Director, Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor, before the war when the prices were normal an ill-balanced diet of adequate calorie value consisting largely of

TABLE No. 21—DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES ACCORDING TO INCOME GROUPS AND ADULT EQUIVALENTS

S. No.	Income Groups (in rupees)	Baira					Baithada-Bakuda					Godda					Karpuda-Mera-Mogera					Kasadhi-Mari-Holeyra										
		Adult-equivalent					Adult-equivalent					Adult-equivalent					Adult-equivalent					Adult-equivalent										
		1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total							
1	Less than 50																															
2	51 — 75						1					1											1					1				
3	76 — 100							2															1									
4	101 — 125								1			1																				
5	126 — 150									1		1																				
6	151 — 200					1	1			1					1		1															
7	201 — 250				1	1	2												2	3	5	5	15									
8	251 — 300							1				1					1	7	10	5	5	23										
9	301 — 350										1	1				1	2															
10	351 — 400										1	1							2		7	10	19									
11	401 — 450																		2	1	2	6	11									
12	451 — 500																		1	1	2	4	4				1					
13	501 — 600					1	1			1	1	2							1	3	6	10	10				1					5
14	601 — 700										2	2									5	5	5									4
15	701 — 800										1	1									2	2	3									3
16	801 — 900										1	1									1	2	3									
17	901 — 1000																															
18	1001 and over										1	1										2	2									
	Total					1	3	4	1	3	2	2	8	16			2		3	5	1	11	20	36	59	127	3	9	14	31	44	101

TABLE No. 21—(Continued)

S. No.	Income Groups (in rupees)		Koraga					Madiga					Mundala-Uppara					Nalkeyava					Piliya-Polaya							
			Adult-equivalent					Adult-equivalent					Adult-equivalent					Adult-equivalent					Adult-equivalent							
			1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4
1	Less than 50	1	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2	51 — 75	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
3	76 — 100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
4	101 — 125	...	...	2	1	...	3	...	...	1	...	1	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
5	126 — 150	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
6	151 — 200	...	...	3	1	1	4	...	1	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
7	201 — 250	...	1	...	4	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1	3	2	10	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	
8	251 — 300	...	3	1	...	4	...	1	1	...	2	...	5	1	6	8	12	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	
9	301 — 350	...	1	1	2	1	5	...	...	...	...	...	4	8	...	2	14	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	
10	351 — 400	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	2	2	...	1	1	4	6	12	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	2	...	2	
11	401 — 450	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	4	...	1	3	2	6	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	
12	451 — 500	...	1	1	2	4	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	
13	501 — 600	...	...	2	3	5	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	3	4	6	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
14	601 — 700	...	...	...	2	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	9	11	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
15	701 — 800	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	6	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
16	801 — 900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	6	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	
17	901 — 1000	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
18	1001 and over	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	8	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	<b>Total</b>	1	2	11	10	21	45	...	2	2	2	8	14	2	13	18	33	56	122	...	...	1	1	6	8	...	...	1	4	5

TABLE No. 21—(Continued)

S. No.	Income Groups (in rupees)	Raneyar					Samagar					Thoti					Vettuvan					Total											
		Adult-equivalent					Adult-equivalent					Adult-equivalent					Adult-equivalent					Adult-equivalent											
		1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total		
1	Less than 50																																
2	51 — 75																																
3	76 — 100																																
4	101 — 125																																
5	126 — 150																																
6	151 — 200																																
7	201 — 250				1																												
8	251 — 300		1																														
9	301 — 350			1																													
10	351 — 400					1																											
11	401 — 450																																
12	451 — 500																																
13	501 — 600																																
14	601 — 700																																
15	701 — 800					1																											
16	801 — 900																																
17	901 — 1000																																
18	1001 and over																																
Total			1		2	2	5		1	1		1	3			2	4	5	11		3	4	4	3	14	8	45	77	127	223	480		

cereals cost about Rs. 2-8-0 per adult man per month.<sup>4</sup> But during the war prices of almost all commodities soared high as will be seen from the following table (No. 22) which gives prices of necessary articles of life as they prevailed in 1938 and 1943 (January) in Mangalore market.<sup>5</sup>

TABLE NO. 22

		1938 Rs.	1943 Rs.	percentage rise
1.	Rice ( per maund )	4-8-0	10-8-0	133.3
2.	Cocoonut oil	4-3-0	19-14-0	374.6
3.	Cocoonuts ( per 100 )	4-0-0	12-0-0	300.0
4.	Horse gram	5-8-0	17-0-0	209.0
5.	Bengal gram	10-4-0	28-0-0	173.1
6.	Chillies	5-4-0	13-0-0	147.6
7.	Jaggery	35-0-0	78-0-0	122.9
8.	Black gram	4-8-0	11-0-0	144.4
9.	Grace Dal	11-12-0	37-0-0	214.8
10.	Lanki Dal	9-12-0	27-0-0	176.9
11.	Ragi	2-4-0	7-0-0	211.1
12.	Soap	0-4-0	0-10-0	150.0
13.	Arecanut ( per candeo )	40-0-0	450-0-0	1025.0
14.	Sweet Potatoes	0-6-0	2-0-0	433.3
15.	Match-box	0-0-3	0-0-6	100.0
16.	Groundnut oil	3-0-0	12-0-0	300.0

It should be remembered here that these were the wholesale prices in Mangalore market. Retail prices in rural areas were higher than these. Further, it should be noted that the prices of almost all the necessities of life continued their upward trend even after January 1943 and were allowed to find their own level. Before

4 Note on food and Nutrition Policy in India, 1945, p. 2. Also refer Health Bulletin No 23, 1935, p. 15

5 Figures are taken from the Memorandum submitted by the District Landholders' Association to the Govt. of Madras,

the present survey was taken the price of rice, the staple food of the district, had been stabilised by imposing control at a level higher than the pre-war one by about 250 per cent. But in regard to other necessities practically no controls existed, with the result that the cost of living in rural areas had easily reached the figure of 300, assuming pre-war prices as basic 100. It would thus be seen that even the ill-balanced diet cost not less than Rs. 7-8-0 per adult-equivalent per month in 1945. Obviously, this did not include expenditure on clothing and did not provide for contingencies, housing etc. Cloth, wherever and whenever available, was sold at more than three times the pre-war prices. If all these factors were taken into consideration and if a little margin for extra intake of food for doing hard manual labour was allowed, it could generally be said that an adult man or his equivalent required at least Rs. 10 per month or Rs. 125 per year.

If this criterion was applied to the incomes of the sample families, it would be seen that about 16 per cent of them had just enough annual income to live according to pre-war prices! Nearly four-fifths of the total families earned an annual income of less than Rs. 125. Even supposing that all this income was available and was wisely spent, it was not sufficient to purchase for an adult-equivalent the minimum necessities of life. Thus, the families whose income per adult-equivalent was less than Rs. 125 per year might be considered as living in abject poverty. The Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, and the Vettuvans had all their families below the poverty line. Excepting the Thotis and the Mundalas, a large majority of other communities shared the same fate. This was the position when an ill-balanced diet was provided. A well-balanced diet of the same calorie value containing milk, meat, fish, vegetables etc. in sufficient amounts used to cost, according to Dr. Aykroyd, from Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per adult man per month in pre-war times. An annual income of at least Rs. 225 would be required in 1945 to allow such a diet and a fair amount of clothing etc. According to this test, hardly a dozen families of the Mundalas, the Thotis and the Kaipuda-Meras put together could be classified as being above want and all the rest in poverty.

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## CHAPTER III

### The Occupations and the Working Conditions.

An enquiry into the incomes of the Depressed Classes would be considered as incomplete and unreal unless it was supplemented with a study of the occupations followed by the people concerned. It was further necessary to know the conditions in which the occupations were carried on and to understand the problems connected with them. For, all these matters influenced and determined the size of incomes of different communities under survey.

As previously stated, agriculture is the pre-eminent occupation in South Kanara. But by its very nature and also on account of meagre irrigational facilities in the district, it could not provide employment to about 70 per cent population of the district all the year round. Some people had, therefore, to engage themselves in occupations other than agriculture in their spare time. Table No. 23 presents the information relating to the number of occupations followed by individual earners of the different communities under survey.

1,120 out of 1,581 or about 71 per cent of the earners depended for their livelihood only on one occupation. This one occupation was not always agriculture but included non-agricultural occupations and professions as well. It was interesting to find that, though their occupations and the size of their incomes differed, some communities entirely, while others largely, depended only upon one occupation. 25 per cent of the total earners followed two occupations and the remaining 4 per cent three or more. 141 out of 355 or about 40 per cent of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas had to keep themselves engaged in more than one occupation, of which seven per cent, the highest of all, in three or more occupations. No Mundala man or woman, like the Thotis, followed three or more occupations. The smallest per centage of the Koragas, viz. 2.6, had to resort to three or more occupations, the per centage of the Koragas engaged in two occupations being only 16. Round about one-fourth of the Kaipuda-Meras and the Mundalas were required to follow two occupations. It may generally be stated that insufficient income and under-employment in one occupation often forced the earners

to resort to other occupations to eke out a living. Continuity or otherwise of employment was also an important factor that determined the pursuit of one or more occupations. The nature

TABLE No. 23—NUMBER OF OCCUPATIONS FOLLOWED BY INDIVIDUAL EARNERS BY COMMUNITIES

No.	Communities	One occupation	Two occupations	Three or more occupations	Total
1	Baira	16	...	...	16
2	Baithada-Bakuda	25	21	...	46
3	Godda	17	...	...	17
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Muguara	295	105	21	421
5	Karadhi, Manisaru Maila, Mari Holeya	214	116	25	355
6	Koraga	129	22	4	155
7	Madiga	36	11	5	52
8	Mundala-Uppara	291	105	...	396
9	Nalkeyava	9	13	5	27
10	Piliya-Polaya	10	4	2	16
11	Raneyar	10	2	...	12
12	Samagar	5	...	...	5
13	Thoti	28	...	...	28
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	35	...	...	35
	Total	1,120	399	62	1,581

of occupation was also a decisive factor in this connection. To present a general picture of the occupations followed by 1,581 earners, according to communities, Table No. 24 is compiled.

The table needs some explanation. The classification of earners into various occupations given in the table was not watertight. It did not mean that the earner followed the particular occupation all the year round. It only meant that he or she was engaged in the occupation for a major part of the year or the income from it was much larger than that from other subsidiary or



supplementary occupations. Again, in the case of 'Agricultural occupations,' the different occupations listed in the table could not be, by their very nature, mutually exclusive. For instance, the occupations separately shown as 'Agricultural labour' and 'Labour in arecanut, pepper and cocoanut gardens' are a case in point. This kind of splitting-up was done in order to bring the dominant characteristic of the agricultural occupation into light.

921 or about 58.2 per cent of the total earners followed agricultural occupations for a major part of the year. If the number of earners who worked in agriculture during seasons was added to this, the per centage would easily have reached the district per centage of 70. 46 per cent of the total male adults and 66.7 per cent of the male children were found engaged in agricultural occupations as against 68.6 per cent and 81.8 per cent of female adults and children respectively. Generally speaking, more females than males were found working in agricultural occupations. The Koragas were the notable exceptions to this. Among the major communities, the highest per centage of males in agriculture was recorded by the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas (80.7), followed by the Kaipuda-Meras with 65.1 per cent, as against the total per centage of 56.3. The smallest per centage of males was found among the Koragas (13.1), to be closely followed by the Mundalas with 14.9 per cent. 92 and 93 per cent, of the women of the Kaipuda-Meras and the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas respectively depended for their livelihood on agricultural occupations, as against the total per centage of 75.2. 60.5 per cent of the females as against 14.9 per cent of the males of the Mundala Community followed agricultural occupations.

On a further analysis of the total for agricultural occupations, it was seen that about 60 per cent of the total earners in this category were found working as purely agricultural labourers in paddy fields and cocoanut, arecanut and pepper gardens for all the year round and followed practically no other occupation. 420 out of 545 (or 77 per cent) workers were accounted for by the Kaipuda-Meras and the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas put together, as against 11 of Koragas and 52 of the Mundalas. It should be noted here that 28 out of 48 labourers in gardens, where employment is almost steady, belonged to the Kaipuda-Meras. Leaving aside the insignificant figures for the agriculturists and the cattle-tenders, it would be seen that 360 or 39.1 per cent of the total earners in the category adopted agricultural labour as the main occupation and followed one or more subsidiary occupations during off--seasons.

Two-thirds of these were women and children. 'Agricultural labour with other occupations' was the largest of the sub-groups in which the females out-numbered males in the proportion of 3:1. The Kaipuda-Meras, the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Mundalas formed the bulk of them, the second community alone accounting for 43 per cent of the total for the sub-occupation. The occupation of grass-picking was followed by females mostly of the Kaipuda-Meras and the Mundalas as the only or main occupation.

In the non-agricultural occupations, which accounted for 27.3 per cent of the total earners, the males were in excess over females in the proportion of little less than 2:1. 90 per cent of the Thotis were found in the present category of occupations. The Mundalas came next. Three-fourths of the males and more than one-third females of that community were returned in this category. About 20 per cent of the Kaipuda-Meras and the Koragas were engaged in non-agricultural occupations, as against 12.3 per cent for the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas. Scavenging was done by the Koragas and the Thotis and sweeping by others, except the Mundalas. The occupations of 'dock labour' and 'factory labour' were monopolised by the Mundalas. Again, they contributed a little more than half the total number of the unskilled labourers engaged in general coolie work, and about two-thirds of the total earners doing stone-cutting. The 'Kaipuda-Meras' was another important community in this category of occupations. It stood next only to the Mundalas in general coolie work and stone cutting, accounting for 28.8 per cent and 32.4 per cent of the totals of the respective sub-occupations. In respect of ghat labour the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas contributed the largest number (29) and the Kaipuda-Meras followed them closely with 26. But if the number of those who combined agricultural labour with ghat labour were reckoned, both the communities were almost on par. The Mundalas contributed only 10.6 per cent to the total strength of the ghat labour. The Kaipuda-Meras and the Mundalas contributed 30 per cent each to the total strength of road-work coolies, the rest being accounted for by the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas. Fishing was done as the sole or main occupation largely by women, and there too by Mundala women.

The sub-occupations in the 'Trades and Crafts' category indicated the traditional occupations of the respective communities that followed them. An exception to it was the occupation of preparing lime and making charcoal. Though it was not known to be their—traditional occupation, the Madigas monopolised the former.



The same was true about the Mundalas in regard to the latter. By their very nature, both the occupations were seasonal. Thus, those who followed them had to fall back upon agriculture during the rainy season. It should be noted that the per centage of female workers was greater than that of the males in this category. In the basket-making and the lime burning they outnumbered males.

Nearly half of those in the professions belonged to the Mundala community. Devil-dancing was the traditional occupation of the Nalkeyavas and was followed by them alone. As they could not get work all the year round some of them were found working as agricultural coolies, while some others engaged themselves in making caps. The Mundalas accounted for 50 per cent and 80 per cent of the respective totals for the service and the teaching profession. It would be interesting to note that a Mundala female was following teaching profession.

In the 'Miscellaneous occupations' the Mundalas dominated, accounting for 45.4 per cent of the total. The four Madiga children returned in this category were students of the Shri Krishna Vidyalaya at Ramanagar (Kasargod Taluka) and were earning and learning simultaneously under a sort of apprenticeship system.

The occupations had a direct bearing on income as would be evidenced from Table No, 25, which presents the frequency distribution of incomes of individual earners in different occupations.

Of 267 earners engaged in different categories of occupations but with an annual income of less than Rs. 50, 186 or about 70 per cent were accounted for by the agricultural occupations. This worked out at 20 per cent of the total for the category. In the case of non-agricultural occupations, the corresponding per centages were 8.1 and 4.9. The incomes from the 'trades and crafts' showed the latter to be rather in a depressed condition. 57 workers in this category had an annual income of less than Rs. 50. This worked out at 29.6 per cent of the total for the category and 21.3 per cent of the total for the income group. Further, 1,159 out of 1,581 or 71.4 per cent workers had an annual income of less than Rs. 125. All the agricultural occupations taken together accounted for 804 or over 71 per cent of them. The corresponding per centage for the 'non-agricultural occupations' and the 'trades and crafts' came to about 14 each. It need be noted here that 87.3 per cent of the total earners in the category of agricultural occupations had an annual income of less than Rs. 125. As against this, only 36.6 per cent of the non-agricultural workers fell in that income

TABLE No. 25—EARNERS CLASSIFIED BY INCOME AND OCCUPATION.

Income groups.	A. Agricultural								B. Non-Agricultural										
	(In Rupees)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
1 below 25	1	9	...	...	...	5	...	1	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2
2 26—50	2	110	1	9	1	44	...	3	170	1	...	4	4	...	...	2	8	19	
3 51—75	...	163	9	22	5	53	3	22	277	...	1	3	4	...	4	1	5	18	
4 76—100	4	124	5	27	15	22	2	20	219	29	...	5	23	2	4	...	5	68	
5 101—125	1	58	8	10	9	8	...	28	122	1	3	25	15	2	3	1	1	51	
6 126—150	1	23	9	4	9	2	1	14	63	9	...	15	10	8	3	3	...	48	
7 151—175	...	5	10	6	...	1	...	6	28	7	...	2	3	4	4	...	...	20	
8 176—200	...	1	5	2	2	2	...	2	15	23	2	14	1	5	1	5	...	51	
9 201—250	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	3	6	8	1	14	4	4	24	13	...	68	
10 251—300	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	4	...	1	6	1	5	14	13	...	40	
11 301—400	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	1	2	18	20	...	44	
12 401—500	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	
13 501 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total	10	497	48	82	42	137	6	99	921	78	9	90	66	33	77	60	19	432	

TABLE No. 25—Continued.

Income Groups.  (In Rupees)	C. Trades and Crafts					D. Professions				E.	
	Basket-making	Cap and mat making	Leatherware making	Lime-burning and charcoal making	Total	Devil-Dancing	Service	Teaching	Total	Miscellaneous	Grand Total
	1	2	3	4		1	2	3			
1 below 25	6	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	3	27
2 26—50	36	7	1	7	51	...	...	...	...	...	240
3 51—75	36	3	1	10	50	2	...	...	2	2	349
4 76—100	22	1	5	7	35	...	...	...	...	1	323
5 101—125	7	1	...	8	16	...	...	...	...	1	190
6 126—150	8	...	3	...	11	1	...	...	1	...	124
7 151—175	4	...	...	3	7	...	...	...	...	1	56
8 176—200	2	...	1	...	3	...	1	...	1	1	71
9 201—250	1	...	...	1	2	1	6	...	7	...	82
10 251—300	...	...	2	...	2	...	2	1	3	...	49
11 301—400	1	...	4	1	6	...	5	...	5	...	55
12 401—500	...	...	...	2	2	...	1	3	4	1	10
13 501 & over	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	2	2	1	5
Total	123	12	18	39	192	4	15	6	25	11	1581

group. While the 'trades and crafts' followed the agricultural occupations in this respect a bit closely, with 82.3 per cent, the professions contributed to the group only 2 earners out of the total strength of 25. Though the number of earners engaged in 'Miscellaneous occupations', making more than Rs. 125 a year, was greater than that of those who earned less, yet the difference between the two was not considerable. Generally stated, the agricultural occupations and the 'trades and crafts' yielded very poor annual income, while the non-agricultural occupations and the professions showed a tendency in the opposite direction. But for the inclusion of little less than one third females and children in the non-agricultural occupations the per centage of earners with higher income than Rs. 125 a year, would have been much greater than the present one of 63.4. But the same could not be said so truly about the agricultural occupations and the trades and crafts. The professions presupposed some investment by way of training and education on the part of their practitioners and were naturally more paying than any occupation in any other category.

The consideration of individual occupations in different categories revealed equally interesting facts. 9 out of 10 persons following agriculture almost entirely had less than Rs. 125 as their annual income. This brought out the non-paying character of agriculture as practised by the Depressed Classes, whatever reasons for that might be. Even the combining of agriculture with agricultural labour outside did not make much difference in the economic condition of the persons concerned. The position of those who worked as agricultural labourers alone was perhaps the worst of all. 93.4 per cent of them could earn an income of not more than Rs. 125 per year. A greater income than that indicated a sympathetic and benevolent attitude of landlords concerned. For instance, the two labourers who earned an income of Rs. 201 to Rs. 250 were in the permanent employ of Raja of Maipadi in Kasargod taluka. Such exceptions rather proved the rule. The income of labourers in cocoon, pepper and arecanut gardens showed what difference the nature of crops made. As the gardens produced cash crops as against the subsistence crops in agriculture employment in them was comparatively more remunerative and more sustained than in agriculture. Nearly half of the labourers in gardens could earn annually more than Rs. 225. Barring this, it could generally be said that where agricultural labour predominated, the combining with it of any other supplementary occupation did not materially add to the income of the earners concerned.

Excepting the occupations of 'general coolie work' and 'sweeping and scavenging', all the rest non-agricultural occupations were seasonal in varying degrees. During off-seasons a small minority of the workers in the category no doubt resorted to occupations in the other categories, mostly agricultural. But this was done very sparingly. Most of the workers rested during off-seasons. In spite of this, more than three-fifths of the total earners in the category could earn annually an income of more than Rs. 125. Again, as has already been stated, sex composition of earners in different occupations made a great difference. The occupation of fishing, for instance, which was dominated by females, returned all the earners in the lower income group. The occupation of 'road work' was perhaps the only one in which no females found their way, with the result that about 88 per cent of the workers earned more than Rs. 150 per year. Even in 'stone-cutting', which was a very arduous occupation, were found females to the extent of 22 per cent who forced down the general wage level in the occupation. In 'sweeping and scavenging' four persons were found to have an income of upto Rs. 50 per year. This was because they were more of helpers and beginners than regular earners. The nature and importance of the occupation ensured permanent service for those who followed it. The result was that 90 per cent of the workers could earn more than Rs. 125 per year, notwithstanding the presence of females in the occupation. General coolie work in the district and in coffee plantations up the ghats, comparatively speaking, did not pay well, more so the latter. For, the income of as large a per centage as 41.1 and 69.6 of the workers in the respective occupations was upto Rs. 125 per year.

For the large number of artisans, basket making yielded very poor returns. 87 per cent of them earned less than Rs. 125 per year. This was due to the fact that though sufficient work was not available, the artisans stuck to the trade, it being their traditional occupation. This depressed the income level in the occupation. The same thing happened, to some extent, in respect of occupations of 'lime burning and charcoal-making.' The occupation of 'cap and mat making' was more or less seasonal and was supplemented by agricultural labour. But with all that it paid very poorly. In contrast to this, leather-work was generally paying. More than three-fifths of the workers in the occupation earned more than Rs. 125 per year and about 38 per cent more than Rs. 250. This high income was obtained even though the industry was partly seasonal. A more or less steady employment in service and a small per centage of females in the industry explained the above fact.



The teaching profession paid better than service and all those following it earned more than Rs. 250 a year, two of them getting more than Rs. 500. As against this, none in private service could earn more than Rs. 500 but at the same time not less than Rs. 175 per year. The devil-dancing required to be supplemented by 'cap and mat-making' or by the 'agricultural labour.'

After having studied the occupational distribution among different communities under survey and also the correlation between the occupations and the incomes, it would now be appropriate and necessary to know about the earnings of individual earners of different communities under enquiry. Table No. 26 is compiled to show that.

Turning to the totals at the outset, it would be seen that about 95 per cent of the children of either sex could not earn more than Rs. 125 per year, their concentration being found in the income-groups of from Rs. 26. to Rs. 50 and from Rs. 51 to Rs. 75. This was generally true in respect of all the communities concerned. All the four children, who earned annually more than Rs. 150, belonged to the Mundala community and were employed in non-agricultural occupations. Of the total workers earning upto Rs. 125 a year, the children accounted for only 6.5 per cent, while the women formed 60.5 per cent, the highest of all, the remaining 33 per cent being accounted for by the men. Again, it was found that the earnings of 90 per cent of women, against 50 per cent of men, did not exceed the income limit given above. Among the major communities, the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas returned all their women in the income group of upto Rs. 125 per year, and the Kaipuda-Meras about 97 per cent of theirs. The Koragas and the Mundalas were found in a comparatively enviable position. 14 per cent and 21.5 per cent of women of the respective communities could surpass the above income limit. The highest concentration of women earners was noticed in the income group of between Rs. 51 and Rs. 75 per year, accounting for nearly one-third of the total. On either sides of it, there were groups of great density. The greatest number of women of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Koragas earned an income of between Rs. 26 and Rs. 50 per year. The women of the Kaipuda-Meras, the Vettuvans and the Baithada-Bakudas conformed to the total in this respect. While in the case of Mundala women, the mode or the greatest number shifted to the next higher income group of Rs. 125-150. A trifle more than 85 per cent of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas women could earn annually an income of between Rs. 25 and Rs. 75. No other major community showed such a high concentration of women workers in that income-group.

TABLE No. 26—EARNERS CLASSIFIED BY INCOME ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY, SEX AND AGE

S. No.	Income Groups (in rupees)	Baira				Baithada-Bakuda				Godda				Kaipuda-Mera-Muguara				Karadhi-Manisa Maila M. Holeya				Koraga				Madiga			
		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female					
		A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C				
1	below 25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	1	1	4	...	3	...	5	...	3	...						
2	26 — 50	...	...	1	...	1	...	8	1	1	...	7	3	38	2	15	5	76	58	127	...	2	1	6	...				
3	51 — 75	7	...	7	...	4	1	3	1	...	2	17	5	81	...	29	1	75	38	116	...	2	...	8	...				
4	76 — 100	1	...	...	...	3	...	2	1	...	3	...	49	4	47	3	67	2	16	...	12	...	12	...	6	1	5	...	
5	101 — 125	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	...	2	...	3	...	45	1	20	1	21	...	5	...	7	...	1	...	1	...	5	...
6	126 — 150	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	1	...	29	...	5	...	19	...	...	...	7	...	5	...	2	...	...	...
7	151 — 175	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	10	...	...	6	...	...	...	8	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
8	176 — 200	...	...	...	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
9	201 — 250	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	3	...	...	12	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	251 — 300	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	...	...	1	...	...	8	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	301 — 400	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
12	401 — 500	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	501 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	8	...	8	...	21	1	21	3	8	...	7	2	205	13	197	6	162	9	176	882	2	71	...	23	5	24	...	

TABLE No. 26--(Continued)

S. No.	Income Groups	Mundala- Uppara		Nalkeyava		Piliya- Polaya		Raneyar		Samagar		Thoti		Vettuvan		Totals					
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female				
1	below 25	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	18	1	27
2	26-50	1	2	11	3	4	...	3	...	...	...	1	...	3	4	...	39	15	175	11	400
3	51-75	3	1	37	2	3	1	2	...	...	...	8	...	3	4	8	77	14	249	9	349
4	76-100	10	2	63	3	...	...	5	...	...	...	1	...	3	2	...	152	9	155	7	323
5	101-125	15	...	45	2	2	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	1	3	1	99	1	87	3	190
6	126-150	20	2	16	1	4	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	2	1	...	90	2	31	1	124
7	151-175	12	...	8	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	47	...	8	1	56
8	176-200	34	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	59	...	12	...	71
9	201-225	34	...	9	...	1	...	4	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	67	...	15	...	82
10	226-300	17	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	4	...	...	44	...	5	...	49
11	301-400	19	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	11	...	4	...	...	51	...	4	...	55
12	401-500	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	10
13	501 and over	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	1	...	5
Total		174	7,302	1315	111	6	10	8	4	3	2	15	12	113	715	743	45	760	33	1581	

A = Adult

C = Children

A glance at the series of totals for male adults would show that the position of greatest density was in the income group of between Rs. 75 and Rs. 100. But the density was not as high as in the case of women. The greatest number in the case of men formed only 20·4 per cent of the total, as against 32 per cent for the women. Leaving aside the first and the last two income-groups, it would be seen that though the size of different groups in the series was far from uniform, the variation between any two adjacent groups, excepting two or three, was not very considerable. This meant that the distribution of earners in different income groups was less uneven than in the case of women. The earners of the Kaipuda-Meras and the Mundalas were distributed in all the income-groups except the first. The Koragas too showed the same tendency. About 40 per cent of the Mundalas had an annual income of between Rs. 175 and Rs. 250, as against 16 per cent for the Kaipuda-Meras, 4·2 per cent for the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and about 20 per cent for the Koragas. The greatest number of earners of the Kaipuda-Meras, the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Koragas had an income of Rs. 76 to Rs. 100 per year. The Thotis showed the most sporadic distribution. The greatest number, viz. 11, of Thoti male adult earners was found in the income group of Rs. 301-400. This formed 73·3 per cent of the total for the community and 21·5 per cent of the total for the income group. In the case of men earners of Baithada-Bakudas the distribution in different income groups was more uneven than that of the Mundalas.

The reason for the disparity in incomes of the earners of different communities lay in the category of occupations followed. A reference to Table No. 25 and 26 would bear out the truth of the above remark.

The correlation between occupations and incomes in Table No. 26 showed that incomes from some occupations, like agricultural labour, were decidedly low. After allowing for seasonality, it could generally be said that the conditions of work, rates of wages etc. obtaining in the occupations concerned were largely responsible for the low incomes. It would, therefore, be interesting, and necessary too, to enquire into the working conditions etc. of at least important agricultural and non-agricultural occupations and the trades and crafts.

#### **A. Agricultural Occupation.**

(1) & (4) **Agriculture**:—92 persons returned as practising agriculture alone or along with agricultural labour belonged to

44 families. The analysis of these families revealed that 16 of them had their own land, 16 had it on rent, while in regard to the remaining 12 no definite information could be obtained. On analysing the figure for owners of land according to the size of holding, the following results were obtained.

Size of the holding	No. of families owning it
1/2 acre	4 families
1 acre	1 family
1½ acres	7 family
2 acres	1 family
3½ acres	1 families
No information	2 families
	16

Most of these people produced vegetables, chillies, ginger etc. But those having bigger holdings grew paddy as well. The production and the marketing were carried on very inefficiently and uneconomically, as they lacked finance and technical guidance and advice. The result was that the general income level in the occupation was depressed. The classification of owners according to communities showed that five were the Goddas, six belonged to the Kaipuda-Mera community, four to the Mundalas and one to the Vettuvans. Besides these, there was another family of the Kaipuda-Meras which owned and rented land and was included in the tenants' families. Excepting five, all the other land-owners also worked outside as agricultural labourers.

16 tenant-cultivators were found paying rent to landlords in the following proportions :—

Per centage of rent to total produce	Number paying it
50 per cent	2 families
54 "	1 family
60 "	1 "
66.6 "	1 "
70 "	2 families
75 "	2 "
80 "	2 "
82 "	1 family
83 "	1 "
Rent not fixed	3 families
	16

Excepting one, all of them were *chalgeni* or temporary tenants. The *geni* or rent was always paid in kind. In some cases, a small cash was paid in addition. Tenants continued to be so only on sufferance of their landlords and were evicted at a very short notice, and regardless of their hardships and inconvenience, if they incurred displeasure of the latter. Instances of the kind could be cited *ad infinitum*. After paying the *geni*, a couple of *muras* (a *mura* = 42 seers) of paddy and all the straw often remained to the share of the tenant.<sup>1</sup> Where two crops were raised, the tenants' share was larger than that described above. The remarks made earlier about the production and marketing of agricultural produce by landowners applied equally, if not more, truly to the tenant-cultivators. Excepting four, all the other 12 families engaged themselves as agricultural labourers.

Out of 12 families whose proprietary rights were indefinite or not known, 10 were *kumari* cultivators and no information was available for the other two. These 10 families were more of labourers than cultivators, if they paid *warg kumari* assessment i. e. to landholders. It was probable that they paid no assessment at all to the landholders concerned. For, the latter required more the assured labour of the *kumari* cutters than any assessment from them. By lending a small plot of land on the hill-side for their own cultivation, the *kumari* cutters were tied down to the soil, some economic interest, howsoever small or flimsy, having been created for them. So long as the *kumrai* cutter continued his service, he enjoyed the benefit of the plot. In some cases, the man was allowed to appropriate to himself the entire produce of the *kumari*, while in some others the overlordship of the *wargdar* was maintained by fixing some rent to be paid by the *kumari* cutter. Usually the rent, if it was charged, was not high. But instances were there in which tenants had to put up with unfavourable conditions. For instance, a tenant was given a piece of land for pepper cultivation on the condition that, after deducting labour cost of Rs. 100, he should appropriate the yield for the first four years after which the landlord will get it. It should be remembered here that the pepper creepers begin to yield properly from the fifth year, though it continues to yield a little even earlier. The *kumari* and pepper cultivators in question were the Mailas and the Vettuvans. But if some of them paid assessment direct to Government, it meant that they held '*Sarkar kumari*' and the land belonged to the Government.

1 The price fixed by Government for procurement was Rs. 10 per *mura* of rice of the lowest quality. The prevalent rate at which the straw was sold in 1945 was 6 as per 100 bundles.

(2), (3), (5) & (6) **Agricultural labour alone or along with supplementary occupations** :—The bulk of the earners in the agricultural occupations fell in this category. 497 of them depended almost entirely upon agricultural labour. The next large group consisted of those who supplemented agricultural labour with other minor occupations. Table No. 27 shows how this group was composed.

It will be seen from the table that the collecting and selling of firewood provided employment to 85 out of 137 or over 60 per cent of the earners in this group. Half of them belonged to the Karadhi-Mari Holeya community. The extracting of oil from cashewnuts or selling them in peeled form kept 31 or over 22 per cent of the earners engaged. Cashewnuts were collected from forests, Governmental or private, without paying any fees and were sold at about Rs. 20 per *mura* wholesale or at about 9 to 10 as. per 100 nuts by retail, after peeling and extracting oil from them. The oil was sold to local merchants or to cashewnut factories. Manure was made by collecting green leaves from forests or waste lands from August onwards and sold to cultivators. In Coondapur taluka some Koragas collected pigs' dung and sold it as manure for flower-gardens at the rate of 5 as. per basket. The growing and selling of flowers, vegetables and fruits was possible in or near big towns where ready market could be had for them. The shells were collected from rivers and were sold by retail at 8 as. per 100. A dish prepared of shells, called *Maravayi*, was a delicacy amongst the Mundalas and some other Depressed Classes. The used shells were later sold away for making quick lime. Actually more people, mostly women, were engaged on this than were returned in the survey. The collecting and selling of forest produce, such as, soap-nut, lac, medicinal herbs and drugs etc. provided part-time work to a much larger number of people than the figure in the table represented. In Coondapur taluka many people were found collecting forest produce during the months of April and May and making Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per month. Almost all of these supplementary occupations were seasonal, could well fit in with agricultural labour and placed ready cash, howsoever small, in the hands of those who followed them.

The employment as labourers in arecanut, cocoanut and pepper gardens was steady and, therefore, more remunerative. The watering, mulching and such other operations in the gardens provided employment to hundreds of labourers, especially in the winter and summer months. Arecanut plants required some special attention

TABLE NO. 27—EARNERS FOLLOWING OCCUPATION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR CLASSIFIED  
ACCORDING TO SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS AND COMMUNITIES

Serial No.	Communities	Agricultural labour along with					Total
		Collecting and selling firewood	collecting and selling forest produce	making and selling manures	growing and selling flowers, fruits and vegetables	cashewnut oil extracting and selling cashewnuts	
1	Baira	9	...	...	...	...	9
2	Baithada-Bakuda	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Godda	...	...	...	...	...	...
4	Kaipuda-Mera-Muguara	22	...	9	...	12	43
5	Karadhi, Manisa, M. Holey	42	...	...	...	17	59
6	Koraga	...	...	...	...	...	...
7	Madiga	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	Mundala-Uppara	12	2	...	6	2	26
9	Nalkeyava	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	Piliya-Polaya	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	Raneyar	...	...	...	...	...	...
12	Samagar	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	Thoti	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	85	2	9	6	31	137



during the monsoon. If the rains were excessive, they were likely to be attacked by worms and paste, which adversely affected the flowering of the plants. They had, therefore, to be sprayed with a solution of copper sulphate or 'Bordeau' mixture soon after they were affected by paste. The labourer had to climb up the plant and do the spraying work. In the rainy season, this was very risky. If a labourer fell down from the top of a tree which was usually very tall and thin and slippery, there was a possibility of his dying. He was treated in a hospital at the cost of the employer if he did survive the fall. The family of the labourer was not usually cared for when the main earner in it lay in the hospital. No compensation was paid if the man was incapacitated by the fall. If the labourer died as a result of the fall, his family received, if at all, a compensation equal to not less than 2 or 3 months' salary of the deceased. With all this risk, the labourer was paid at the rate of 3 as. for spraying the solution of one maund of Bordeaux mixture. At this rate a conscientious labourer could easily earn about Rs. 1-8-0 per day. But considering the risk involved, the wage-rate was rightly complained to be too low. The process of spraying had to be repeated two or three times during the rainy season.

None of the earners who combined ghat labour with agricultural labour spent more than five months in the ghats. Those who spent more time than that were included in the sub-occupation 'ghat labour' under the category of non-agricultural occupations.

Agriculture, including the gardening, was carried on chiefly by means of *Kulialugalu* or hired labourers. There still prevailed the system of *Muladalugalu* or hereditary serfs. In 1894, J. Sturrock, I. C. S., wrote about the farm labourers thus: "Most of the labourers employed on farms belong to the class known as Dhers or Holeyas, and such of them as are not still considered as farm slaves or *Mulada Holeyas* come as a rule under the designation of *Salada Holeyas* or a Holeyas who is bound to his master by a debt."<sup>2</sup> Even after the lapse of over 50 years since Mr. Sturrock wrote, conditions were found to be materially unchanged so far as the *Mulada Holeyas* were concerned. Slavery of course is legally abolished, but custom dies hard. As E. Thurston put it,<sup>3</sup> "Notwithstanding the measure of personal freedom enjoyed by all men at the present time and the unification of the land tenures in the province under the revenue survey and settlement, the traditions of birth, immemorial

2 Madras District Manuals, South Kanara, Vol. I, p. 198.

3 Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. II, pp. 335-336

custom, ignorance and never-to-be-paid-off loads of debt, tend to preserve in greater or less integrity the conditions of semi slavery under which these agrestic slaves live." Even in the 'forties instances were not wanting to show that a *Mūlada Holeyā* was not his own master for all practical purposes, not only as regards his property, but also with regard to his body. He was the old hereditary serf attached to the *Muli Wargs* (estates) and was owned, though not legally, by the *Wargadar* or landholder. As he was attached to the estate, he changed with it. Some *Mūlada Holeyās* complained in Karkal and Kasargod talukas that they were not allowed to go away. It was further complained that in Karkal taluka some *Mūlada Holeyās* were made to pay a poll-tax of Rs. 6-0-0 for a man and Rs. 4-0-0 for a woman per year even if they ceased to enjoy the property of the landholders. It was also told that this poll-tax was remitted in extreme cases of poverty. The *wargdars* often looked with suspicion on any enquiry into the conditions of the *Mūlada Holeyās* and in some cases even refused permission to outsiders to interview them. Such being the case, a detailed direct enquiry was out of question. But from the volume and sources of reports and also from the circumstances described above there was no reason to desbelieve the information received.

Conditions in Puttur and Kasargod talukas were equally bad. The *Mūlada Holeyās* were often paid at a lower rate than the prevalent one, was allowed to go and work elsewhere when their masters did not require their services but wanted them to return at their beck and call in the busy season when employment at a higher rate of wage was available for them elsewhere. They were made to do any odd job without any remuneration at all. Whole families of *Mūlada Holeyās* were attached to the farms or *wargs*.

As against the inhuman treatment, the system bestowed some privileges on the *Mulada Holeyās*. Let E. Thurston enumerate them again.<sup>4</sup> "In addition to the daily wages, and the midday meal of boiled rice which is given in almost all parts, there are annual perquisites or privileges. Except on the coast of the Mangalore taluka and in the Coondapur taluka, every Holeyā is allowed rent free from  $\frac{1}{8}$  to  $\frac{1}{3}$  acre of land, and one or two cocoanut or palmyra trees, with sometimes a jack or mango tree in addition. The money-value of the produce of this little allotment is variously estimated at from 1 to 5 rupees per annum. Throughout the whole district, cloths are given every year to each labourer, the money value being

4 Op. cit. pp. 338-339.

estimated at 1 rupee per adult and 6 as. for a child. It is also customary to give a *cumbly* (blanket) in the neighbourhood of the ghats, where the damp and cold render a warm covering necessary. On three or four important festivals, presents of rice and other eatables, oil and salt are given to each labour, or, in some cases, to each family. The average value of these may be taken at 1 rupee per labourer, or Rs. 4 per family. Presents are also made on the occasion of a birth, marriage or funeral, the value of which varies very much in individual cases.....The master has to pay them even if there is not much for them to do, but, one way or another, he usually manages to keep them pretty well employed all the year round."5 It is the insurance against unemployment, incapacity to work and old age that the system provided in a customary form, was very important. Two or three *Mulada Holeyas* who had become incapable, due to old age or sickness, to do any serious work were found during the survey to have been supported by their masters. The number and the amount of the perquisites were reported to be dwindling. The mid-day meal, for instance, had ceased to be given to all the *Mulada Holeyas* in almost all parts of the district. The number of occasions and the amounts of presents were diminishing. Each *Mulada Holeyas* did not get a plot of land and fruit trees. Some stray cases of such gifts were no doubt met with. E. Thurston's description applied more truly, even in 1945, to the Mailas and the Vettuvans (both Kudi and Perianganal) in Kasargod taluka, than to any single community in the district. They were given a small piece of plot for *kumari* cultivation as referred to earlier in this chapter. Birth of a child entitled a Maila *Mulada Holeyas* to receive 15 seers of paddy for a male and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  seers for a female and two arecanut trees. For 9 months when the Perianganal Vettuvans worked in pepper gardens or in harvesting, a midday meal was served to them. The customary perquisites were very elaborately stated for each occasion. For instance, a Maila should get a wedding present from his master as follows: 4 *muras* of paddy and another 4 *muras* worth of cash to pay the dowry, 16 yards of cloth,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *Kudatis* (1 Kudati = 12 tolas) of cocoanut oil, 1000 betel leaves, 100 arecanuts and 8 as. cash. As against this a Kudi Vettuvan should receive 15 *paras* (a *para* = 14 seers) for the marriage feast (of which 14 *paras* were to pay the *Kanam* or dowry), Rs. 4 worth of betel leaves and

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5 A reference to the account of slavery of the Holeyas in Mysore would be equally, if not more, interesting as given by L. Rice, (Mysore Gazetteer Vo. I. pp. 545-46)

arecanuts and 6 pieces of cloth (*Mundus*) for the bride and bridegroom. Birth of a male child to a Vettuvan *mulada Holey*a entitled him to receive from his landlord 140 seers of paddy and one bottle of cocoanut oil and half of it for a female child. If death occurred in his family, his master should pay him 140 seers and a piece of cloth. On the New Year Day (*Vishu*) he should get one cocoanut, one jack fruit and 4 seers of paddy. It could not, however, be ascertained exactly as to how many and how far of these detailed perquisites were actually received. But it seemed that they were at least partly received. For the complaints were not many about their being not received.

The difference between the classes of *Holeyas*, viz. the *Mulad* and the *Salad*, was fast disappearing in so far as a large number of the *Mulad Holey*as were concerned. Neither were they much given to changing masters. But they could do so only when their new masters took the debt over. In normal times, cash payments were unknown to them, 'except occasionally in the case of *Salad Holey*a, where there was a nominal annual payment to be set off against interest on the debt.' The grain wage consisted of rice or paddy measured in local seer which approximated 80 tolas. For doing some specific agricultural operations, free hired labourers were not generally paid on daily basis but they received a certain proportion of the produce. For example, for harvesting 11 *muras*, and in some cases 10 *muras* of paddy, one *mura* was allotted as a wage almost all over the district. An average labourer could earn that much in about 20 days of hard work. Where there was labour-shortage, as in the interior or forest of the district, or to provide incentive to put in more labour, in many cases a midday meal continued to be given to male labourers, in addition of course, to their wages. In some cases, the meal was provided only if the labourer, he or she, worked from morning till evening or for over 10 hours a day. In exceptional cases, female labourers were served with the mid-day meal of boiled rice or *canjee*. During the harvesting and sowing seasons, the daily wage of a free hired labourer came to 2 seers of rice or 3 seers of paddy, without the mid-day meal. But much depended upon the intensity of the demand for labour on the part of the landholder and for employment on the part of the labourer. In the brisk season there was no uniform wage level. The wages differed not only for males and females, but from area to area and also according to the economic status of the labourers. Thus, some labourers were getting 2 seers of rice and one seer of paddy or 2 seers of rice alone or with a mid-day meal in one village

while in some neighbouring villages some labourers got 4 seers of paddy, or 2 seers of paddy with 4 annas of cash or three seers of paddy with a mid-day meal. Free labourers were often paid at a higher rate of wage than the *Múlada* or the *Sálad Holeyas*. There were cases in which the *Múlada Holeyas* were given one *mura* of paddy for harvesting 22 *muras*, instead of 11 *muras*, of paddy as in the case of free labourers. In about half a dozen cases, they were practically paid no wage but were given only three meals a day. Instances of disparity in the rates of wages paid to free hired labourers and to *Múlada Holeyas* could be multiplied. In off—seasons, the male labourers got half a seer of rice or even less per day. The grain wage in slack or off season worked out at between  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  annas per day, as against about 12 as. per day in the brisk seasons. Female labourers got between one and two seers of rice or 3 seers of paddy per day. If the demand for labour was intense, they sometimes got a mid-day meal or a small cash in addition to the wage. Their normal wage in the sowing and harvesting seasons came to between 5 and 8 annas, the latter limit sometimes rising upto 10 annas. But in ordinary times they got one or  $1\frac{1}{4}$  as. per day on an average. As the grain wage was converted into cash at the ruling price of rice and paddy in the market, the incomes of agricultural labourers rose up. In 1945, the wages were paid, in majority of cases, in cash as equivalent to the customary grain wage. The Mailas and the Vettuvans were exceptions to that. Some of them continued to receive their wages in kind. For, they practised the barter economy. Money did not enter into their dealings from day to day. Payments for toddy, tobacco, provision etc. were made in paddy. Broadly speaking, in view of the disproportionate rise in the prices of paddy, rice and other necessities of life, it was not far from correct to say that the nominal wage of the agricultural labourers increased, while the real wage, not only did not remain constant, but actually decreased. It may be noted here that J. Sturrock mentioned the following rates of daily wages as generally obtained in the district by 1894:—

Men . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$ seers rice and condiments
Women . . .	$1\frac{1}{4}$ seers rice and condiments
Children . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ seer of boiled rice with condiments.

In addition to the daily wages, the midday meal and some annual perquisites were also received by the farm labourers.

The present survey returned 78 *Múlada Holeyas*. These 78 persons specifically told that they were so but their actual number

might have been greater still. As their whole families were attached to the farms concerned, it could be asserted that about 10 per cent of the total workers under enquiry were not free to follow any occupation any time as they liked. Three of them were from Karkal taluka, 21 from Kasargod, two from Mangalore and 52 from Puttur taluka. The analysis of their occupation showed that 56 or about 72 per cent of them were agricultural labourers pure and simple, 3 worked in gardens, 12 combined agricultural labour with agriculture, 2 went to ghats for a couple of months or so, 3 did general coolie work in off-seasons and the remaining 2 followed supplementary occupations like the collecting of firewood etc. Excepting two, all the *Mulad Holeyas* were male adults. The attachment of the entire family to a farm made differences about age and sex immaterial. For, all members of the family, capable of doing work, had to give their labour any time at the bidding of their master. Table No. 28 presents the classification of 78 *Mulad Holeyas* according to their income and communities.

The *Mulad Holeyas* did not necessarily belong to the Mari Holey community, as the word '*Holeyas*' would make one believe.

TABLE No. 28—MULADA HOLEYA EARNERS CLASSIFIED  
ACCORDING TO INCOME AND COMMUNITIES

S. No.	Income groups (in rupees)	Baira	Kaipuda Mera Mogera	Karadhi Manisa Maila Holey	Vettuvan	Total
1	Below 25	...	...	...	...	...
2	26 — 50	...	2	7	...	9
3	51 — 75	2	...	10	4	16
4	76 — 100	1	7	13	3	24
5	101 — 125	...	14	1	2	17
6	126 — 150	...	5	2	...	7
7	151 — 175	...	2	...	1	3
8	176 — 200	...	...	...	...	...
9	201 — 250	...	2	...	...	2
10	251 — 300	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	3	32	33	10	78

It should be remembered while studying income figures in the table that they were cash equivalents of the grain wage at the controlled rate of rice in 1945, where the latter system of payment still prevailed. The figures also included the cash value of the midday meals, which were formerly given in addition to the regular grain-wage. The permission that some landlords gave to their *Mulad Holeyas* to work outside during off seasons and also the sympathetic attitude of some landlords were responsible for size of the incomes given in the table. But with all this, the annual income of about 84 per cent of the *Mulad Holeyas* was less than Rs. 125.

As a corollary of the *Mulad Holeyas*' custom, there prevailed a practice of renting out the service of the *Mulad Holeyas*. This was found in the eastern villages of Kasargod taluka and affected the Vettuvans and the Mayilans. The rental for a couple of the Vettuvans was fixed at 15 *paras* of paddy and that for a man alone being 10 *paras*. In the case of Mayilans, the corresponding figures were 12 *paras* and 8 *paras*. This transfer of services was usually for one year, during which period the *Mulad Holeyas* was paid wages by his new master. At the commencement of harvesting season he was given an advance of 24 seers of paddy per head for maintenance and the account of wages was drawn up only after the harvesting was over. He was usually not paid any wage during the interval, except some advances of paddy now and then. He had to do very hard work of collecting paddy from *Kumari* fields on distant hills to the thrashing ground, keep watch at night and do other incidental work. But the most cruel part of the whole transaction was that the new master made him enter into an agreement with a merchant that the latter would advance him loan called *vannum*, in return of which he (*Mulad Holeyas*) should purchase his provision from the merchant-creditor alone for one year. The agreement gave the latter free hand to charge whatever prices he liked for the provision supplied to his debtor. As transactions took place in kind, much of the paddy-wage that the *Mulad Holeyas* earned went to the merchant-creditor in payment of the price of provision and in repayment of the debt. The new landlord had no obligations of giving customary perquisites to his new serf. Refusal to serve his new master was met by direct or indirect punishment. In a recent case brought to our notice the insubordination cost a *Mulad Holeyas* his hut which was burnt down. More instances of such inhuman punishments could be cited. But, unfortunately, in most of such cases unimpeachable evidence could not be gathered to book the offenders.

The systems of *Mūlad Holeya* with its corollary and of the *Sālad Holeya* might have been brought about and maintained by peculiar economic and social conditions in the district of South Kanara. Though the systems had some relieving features, they had outlived their natural existence. Even as late as in 1945, it was considered by some landlords and coffee-estate-owners that it would be unwise to loosen the immemorial relations between capital and labour, especially in the remote backwoods in which free labour does not exist, lest the rich arecanut, cardamom and pepper gardens would be ruined completely. But the *Mūlada Holeyas* themselves, who knew and experienced daily the advantages and the disadvantages of the system, wanted to run away from it. The Mailas and the Vettuwas, like their confreres in other talukas, bitterly complained that they were not allowed to go away. They were afraid that police help would be taken to bring them back, if they ran away without the permission of their masters who always withheld it. One would rightly condemn both the systems, more so the *Mūlad*, as restricting the freedom of labourers to follow any time any remunerative occupation they liked, and improve their economic condition. A willing worker would obviously put more of his heart and effort in his work than the forced one. If better living and working conditions as well as attractive wages were assured, there would be no shortage of labour even in the remotest backwoods.

(8) **Grass-picking**:—This was almost monopolised by women of the Mundala community. Some of them entered into a contract with owners of milch cattle and *jatka* drivers in towns to supply a fixed quantity of green grass to them all the year round. Thus the customer was assured, but the price received was almost always a little less than the ruling one in the market. Such contractors numbering over two dozens followed this occupation only. Others did it when they had no work in agriculture. The grass cost nothing, but the cutting and carriage over long distances involved at least 4-5 hours a day. During and after the monsoon, grass was copious and available in the vicinity of towns. But during the winter and summer months, it was not. There were no central places assigned by local bodies of the towns concerned, where these women could go and sell the grass. This being so, they were often harassed individually by *jatka* drivers and others to sell their grass-loads at very cheap prices. The Mangalore Municipality, on being represented, had decided to put up sheds at 4-5 places in the town to enable hundreds of women to sell their grass there.



## B. Non-Agricultural Occupations.

(1) **Dock Labour** :—All the dock coolies were from Malpe, a natural but undeveloped harbour 3 miles north of Udipi town, and Gangoli in Coondapur taluka. All the coolies were Mundalas or Upparas as they were called in those talukas. There was no work at all in the monsoon, roughly from June to September, when most of the labourers took rest or did some odd jobs occasionally. The labourers resorted to borrowing for maintenance during this period. The importing or exporting merchant was there with whom they had to deal with in the brisk season, and who was willing to lend them money on their personal credit. The condition usually attaching to such transactions was that the coolie concerned should repay the loan by working for him in the brisk season. Thus he was bound down to the merchant who took advantage of this and paid him for his work at a rate lower than the prevailing one. Usually no interest was charged on the advances made, but under a penalty clause if the coolie failed to work for his merchant-creditor, he would pay interest on the debtal amount at between  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and  $18\frac{3}{4}$  per cent per annum. The loan was recovered by the merchant-creditor in easy instalments during the brisk season. 78 persons working as dock labourers belonged to about 20 families, almost all of which were thus indebted to merchant-creditors in Malpe (Udipi) and Gangoli (Coondapur).

(4) **Ghat labour** :—Ghat labourers did not settle permanently on the plantations. Less than one-third of the total labourers recorded in this occupation migrated to ghats for 8-10 months in a year and they remained there for varying periods between 4-8 months, those going for a shorter period being included in the agricultural category. Labourers who did regular farm work in their villages went to the plantations after cultivating their farms in July or August, and invariably returned for harvesting in September. Harvesting was more paying in a good season than the plantation work, as the labourers got a certain per centage of the grain harvested by them. They did not like to miss it. After the harvesting, they again returned to their respective estates. Such labourers worked for less than 6-7 months in a year on the plantations. But those labourers that had no farm work to do in their villages stayed on the estates for 8-10 months. A large majority of them went to estates in Coorg, mostly of coffee. The remaining went to Kadur-Chikmagalur estates in Mysore State. Hardly 20 per cent of the labourers or coolies under enquiry were found to have been taking their families with them to the plantations.

There was no relation between the rates of wages on one hand and the prices of the minimum necessities of life, the cost of living or the profits made by the planters on the other. The labourers received wages according to performance of tasks set to them. Male labourers were engaged on general cultivation, shade-logging, pruning and harvesting; while women and children did weeding, handling, manuring and harvesting. Piece rate wage was so fixed for a given task that an average male labourer, with average skill, working on any of the above processes, except harvesting, could earn 7 annas a day after 6-7 hours of hard work. A woman could earn 5 as. a day and a child about 4 as. or so. In harvesting, labourers earned more. On Mysore estates, the wages for men, women and children were less by one anna or so than in Coorg. In addition to these wages a bonus of one anna per day was paid only if the labourer worked for 5 or 6 days in a week. If he worked for a lesser number of days, no bonus was paid at all in some plantations, as the labourers complained, or proportionate deductions were made in the bonus to be given in some others. Again, in addition to the wage and the bonus, many estates issued a free *cumbly* (blanket). The labourers who had received advance at the time of their recruitment, as most of them did, were paid weekly a food advance of Rs. 1-4-0 to Rs. 1-8-0, if they had worked for 6 days in a week. If they remained absent even owing to sickness, it was said, their advance was cut. In Coorg if a labourer worked for 200 days in a year, he was paid a bonus of Rs. 3 per hundred days. No such bonus was paid in Mysore. Their accounts were settled once in a year in March or April. Their *maistries* or recruiting agents featured prominently in the payment of the weekly advances and/or at the time of settling final accounts, and exploited them in every possible way. The result was that after the settlement of their accounts they found they had very little left to their credit after all the trouble and sufferings they had gone through. They returned home almost disappointed and with their health shattered by malaria and hookworm.<sup>5</sup>

The labourers were recruited to the plantations through recruiting agents, locally known as *sherigars* or *maistries* who received from the planters loans free of interest from which they advanced money to individual labourers or families wishing to go to the estates. These advances were debited to the labourers' account and were recovered during the period of their employment. The

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<sup>5</sup> For details about the housing, health, welfare and other amenities provided in plantations an interested reader may profitably refer to Royal Commission on Labour in India-Written Evidence., Vol. 7 Part 1, Madras, pp. 199-353.

*maistries* received liberal commission on the earnings of the labourers they recruited in addition to their pay. The two *maistries* that came under the survey, received one anna per head per week on the number of labourers that they recruited. Their commission amounted to 10 to 15 per cent of the total earnings of the labourers recruited by them. As their commission was in proportion to the number of labourers recruited, they naturally adopted all kinds of means in recruiting them. They took advantage of the poverty, indebtedness, ignorance and the social tyranny of landlords and higher castes from which the people of the Depressed Classes suffered and offered the latter all kinds of allurements. They gave the labourers promises which were not meant to be fulfilled. The labourers were never told what was there in store for them on the plantations. As witnessed in the taluka town of Puttur, the recruited labourers were made to sign an agreement, the contents of which were not read and explained to them. They were simply asked to give their thumb-impressions on a sheet of blank paper against their names and an advance was paid to them for maintenance and travelling expenditure. An advance of upto Rs. 75 was paid to a couple. If the amount received from the planters did not suffice to pay such a heavy advance or loan, the *maistries* paid the difference from their own pockets. One company of European planters in Mysore gave to a *maistri* K, an advance of Rs. 2500 to be paid at a rate of Rs. 40 for a couple. But the *maistri* had given advance upto Rs. 175 to one couple. He advanced in all Rs. 925 as against Rs. 480 received by him from the company, in respect of the *coolies* recruited by him. If the recruited *coolies* or labourers ran away or died, the advance given to them was recovered from the *maistries* who recruited them. In this way, Rs. 160 were recovered by a company from a *maistri* in respect of 8 labourers recruited by him but who died during the course of the previous year i. e. 1944-45. Such being the conditions on which the *maistries* worked, they often put an interest clause in the so called agreement referred to above, even though they received advances from planters free of interest. The clause laid down that if the labourer concerned did not work out his full term, he would have to pay interest on the loan at the rate of between 18½ per cent and 25 per cent. In some extreme cases, in addition to the interest, the labourer had to pay a fine if he failed to work out his full term. A typical case was narrated in Kasargod town about this harsh condition of imposing a fine. A Mapla *sherigar* advanced Rs. 40 to two men of Nalkeyava community for going to ghats. The labourers fell ill after 4 months and returned home. A condition in the agreement laid down that,

they would get a wage of 6 annas a day and free meals. But in spite of this, no wages were paid to them during the period they were on the plantation. On their returning home in the middle of their term, the Mapla *sherigar* demanded a sum of Rs. 56 from the labourers towards payment of the accumulated fine at the rate of 8 annas a day. The Mapla harrassed them and threatened that if they failed to pay the amount, he would beat them both with shoes. It is believed by the Nalkeyavas that if shoed they would lose all their powers of controlling devils, which they are supposed to possess. Being frightened by the threat they approached a social worker in Kasargod who referred the whole dispute to a pleader.<sup>6</sup> The Mapla was given to understand to recover his dues through a civil court. Seeing that the matter had advanced to such a pass, the Mapla gave up his claim against the labourers on some flimsy excuse. Cases of such harrassment and exploitation of the poor, ignorant and helpless labourers of the Depressed Classes by cunning and ruthless *sherigars* or *maistries* could be multiplied. At the time of final settlement of accounts of the labourers, the *maistries* tried to safeguard themselves against their probable losses by scrutinizing their (labourers') accounts very minutely. They took 'great care not to leave out even the cost of a pot of toddy, a dram of arrack or a copper thrown to him to buy his tobacco at the time of recruiting'. The settlement of accounts was often a protracted affair. Although the labourers had worked out their full term, the settlement was not effected if the season was a busy one, or the amount of labour inadequate. There were 3-4 labourers under enquiry, who had to return to ghats to pay off the debts of their *maistries* through work on estates. If the labourers went to other plantations without paying off their debts to their *maistries*, they were forced to return to their former plantation to work out their full term, unless otherwise their new employers took their debt over and paid it to the *maistries* concerned in the former plantation. The fact that the *sherigars* or *maistries* advanced loans to prospective plantation labourers on their personal credit and without interest and further agreed to recover it in easy instalments during the term of their employment, drove many a needy Depressed Class man to them in preference to other moneylenders. But once the labourer went into the clutches of the *maistries* he could not get out of them so easily. Once the labourers went to plantations through *maistries*, they could not avoid going to them again.

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6 The worker is Mr. K. Babu Shetty who narrated the authentic version of the story and the pleader to whom the dispute was referred was Mr. Kakileya.

By this only system of recruitment about 30,000 labourers from South Kanara, mostly of the Depressed Classes, were sent every year to plantations in Mysore, Coorg, Wynad and Anamalai. There were many *sherigars* or *maistries* busy all over the district, recruiting hundreds and thousands of needy and ignorant labourers to the plantations by offering them all kinds of inducements and false hopes. M. P. Moiddin Kunhi, a Mapla *sherigar* of Nileshwar, was reported to be recruiting every year between 5,000 and 7,500 labourers alone. The system indirectly encourages unscrupulous *maistries* to exploit their recruits. It would, therefore be in the interest of the estates, and the labourers as well, if it was promptly done away with.

**(6) Stone-Cutting** :—This involved very hard work in the sun. It was not mere quarrying out of stones but required some skill. Laterite rocks were cut and chiselled into slabs of given length, breadth and thickness. Labourers were paid on piece rates, the ruling rate in 1945 being Rs. 12-8-0 for cutting 100 slabs. An average man earned between Rs. 1-4-0 and Rs. 1-8-0 a day. Some deligent labourers could earn even Rs. 2-0-0 per day. Women and children earned between 6 as. and 12 as. a day. Employment was almost steady. Work could easily be obtained for more than 15 days in a month. Master craftsmen sold stone slabs to building contractors and employed labourers to cut out slabs. They often advanced money, without interest, to their employees on the condition that they should repay the amount through service for a given term. Failure to serve accordingly involved payment of interest on the loan at the rate of upto 18½ per cent per annum.

### C. Arts and Crafts

**(1) Basket making** :—This was traditionally followed by the Koragas as their principal occupation. The Koragas were skilled artisans and some of them manufactured chairs, cradles, baskets, cylinders to hold paddy, winnowing and storing baskets, scale pans, rice water strainers, etc. But all of them suffered from under-employment. They used to bring, free of charge, head-loads of cane and bamboo from forests which was sufficient for 4-5 days, if they worked for 6-7 hours a day. For fetching this much raw material they had to spend about two days in going to and returning from forests, provided they were not far. But since 1944 a license fee of 10 annas or 12 annas was charged on a head-load of raw materials, against which they complained bitterly. On the marketing side, it was very difficult for them to get chance customers to purchase their manufactured articles directly from them.

Their economic condition did not permit them to hold on stocks and carry on production. They perforce sold away their articles the very day for what they fetched. Mapla merchants were always ready to purchase what these Koragas produced, but at a price which was invariably much lower than the ruling one. For instance, a small basket was sold for 8-9 pies each, but the Mapla paid him 3-4 pies only for it. Though the Koragas were thus exploited, they had nowhere else to go and they became virtually bound to Mapla merchants. As a result of both severe under-employment and exploitation by merchants, the average daily income of a Koraga hardly came to 4-5 annas. Earnings of their women and children were smaller still. Those who could produce variety of articles such as chairs, cradles etc., were able to earn better than the basket makers. But the demand for variety articles was not steady and unlimited.

(2) **Cap and mat-making**:—This was largely monopolised by the Nalkeyavas. In Coondapur taluka some Uppar families manufactured caps. Some Kaipuda-Mera families were also in the field. The industry was purely seasonal, i. e. for 2 months in a year—April and May. The caps made by different communities were not of the same type. The Nalkeyavas made them artistically of the arecanut spathe which were known as *muttals*. One such cap fetched one anna, and an artisan could make 4-6 caps a day. The caps made by the Upparas and the Meras were called *gurbus* and were made out of the banana plant spathe or grass. There was always a great demand for these caps especially in the sowing season. Women and men engaged on the sowing operation wore these caps to ward off rain. The cap formed almost a headware of the Depressed Classes women in other seasons too. It was Nalkeyavas alone who wove mats and umbrellas. Though there was a great demand for these articles, their marketing remained defective. Mapla merchants who dealt in them except in Coondapur taluka, exploited the artisans very much.

(3) **Leather-ware making**:—The Madigas and the Samagars were the leather workers. The Manisaru were also found engaged, as a supplementary occupation, in tanning; though they were not traditionally known to be leather workers. The monsoon was the slack season for the trade, for there was then a shrunken demand for leather goods, especially footwears. They had no capital of their own to continue production in the slack season and stock the manufactures for brisk season. This was more so in case of the Madigas. They, therefore, got themselves employed in some Mapla

firms engaged in the production of leather goods and got Rs. 1-4-0 per day. Though they carried on private production, they depended on an increasing scale on Mapla merchants for marketing their products and for employment too. The Manisaruru sold away the tanned leather to Mapla merchants who readily purchased it. The volume of this business was very small, as the Manisaruru depended upon dead animals when got free.

(4) **Quick lime making and charcoal making:**—The former trade was carried on largely by Madiga women and some of the Uppars, while the latter by the Mundalas alone. By their very nature, both the trades could not be followed during the monsoon season. The workers who usually depended upon them had to seek employment in agriculture. *Chunam* or quick lime was sold at Rs. 1 per *mura*. An average worker could easily prepare 12-15 *muras* in a month, and not less than 100 *muras* during the working season of about 8 months. For preparing 3 *muras* of *chunam* 2 baskets of shells, each costing rupee one, and 2 bags of charcoal, each costing about 2 annas were required. This left a margin of not less than 4 annas per *mura*, which included the wages and the profit of the worker. Production on a larger scale yielded better results, as the raw materials required could be purchased at cheaper prices. The *chunam* was sold to merchants or by retail, if that was possible. The trade of charcoal making was carried on by only 2-3 persons under enquiry and that too on a very small scale and as a supplementary occupation.

#### D. Professions

(1) **Devil-dancing:**—About 90 per cent of the Hindus in South Kanara were really worshippers or propitiators of tutelary deities and 'Bhutas' or demons, usually the spirits of deceased persons. Though the survey covered only the Nalkeyavas, there were two other communities, viz. Pombada and Parava, who followed it as their traditional occupation. It was not possible for any of them to follow it as the only occupation. Those of the Nalkeyavas who largely depended on it for their maintenance were classified under this head, and others under other occupations. The largest number of performances of all kinds that a Nalkeyava did in a year was 80. But the fees received for each was between Re. 1 and Rs. 1-8-0. But usually they were higher than this in towns. For instance, in Mangalore for a *kola* the dancer was paid Rs. 3 cash, one seer of rice and one cock. Besides, he was treated with *toddy* or arrack. In some cases a piece of cloth was also presented to him. Usually a dancer could get calls for 5-10 performances in a year.

(2) **Service:**—Excepting four, all the other earners were employed as peons in some department or other of local bodies and Government. Out of the four privately employed, one had to do horse-massaging and two were *jalka* drivers. The fourth man was engaged as a packer in one stationary and provision shop. Generally speaking, it was not easy for a Depressed Class man to get employment with traders, merchants etc. His untouchability came in his way.

There were three or four earners who practised in their spare time as native physicians. But as this was their supplementary occupation, they were classified according to their principal occupations. Income in each case hardly came to Rs. 3-4 a month.

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## CHAPTER IV

### Life and Living conditions

It is often said that the Depressed Class communities were depressed in their economic condition because they did not spend their incomes in the manner they should. This statement is usually made with reference to amounts expended by them on what are popularly considered as vices, like drinking, chewing, smoking etc. An attempt was made during the survey to collect information on

**TABLE No. 29—SHOWING NUMBER OF ADULTS AND ADDICTED AND AMOUNT SPENT ON ADDICTIONS BY COMMUNITIES**

S. No.	Name of Community	Total No. of adults	No. of adults addicted	% of addicts to total	Amount spent on addictions	Per head expenditure on addictions
					Rs.	Rs.
1	Baira	18	16	88.8	350	21.9
2	Baithada-Bakuda	51	37	72.5	2,158	58.3
3	Godda	17	12	70.6	525	43.7
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Muguara	425	371	87.2	13,527	36.4
5	Karadhi, Maila, Mari, Holey, Manisaru	350	296	84.5	6,683	22.6
6	Koraga	156	130	83.3	5,977	45.9
7	Madiga	52	36	69.2	2,145	59.5
8	Mundala-Uppara	426	322	75.6	16,176	50.2
9	Nalkeyava	27	21	77.7	705	33.6
10	Piliya-Polaya	20	11	55.0	485	44.1
11	Raneyar	14	9	64.3	285	31.7
12	Samagar	6	5	83.3	362	72.4
13	Tboti or Toti	32	28	87.5	3,125	111.6
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	32	20	62.5	425	21.2
	Total	1,626	1,314	80.8	52,928	40.2

this specific point. It was found that children as a class were not addicted to any of the vices, though some of them occasionally tasted *toddy* with their parents or guardians. About four-fifths of the total adults were addicted to one or more vices as Table No. 29 shows. The table further shows, by communities, the total amount spent on addictions during a year, and the *per capita* expenditure as well.

As a rule, women were addicted to chewing tobacco. Some of them used snuff in addition to, or instead of, chewing. Drinking was not as common and as frequent in their case as that of men. Generally speaking, the women of the Kudi Vettuvans did not drink. Men were addicted to drinking and chewing and/or smoking. Taking into consideration individual communities under survey, it would be seen that the Kaipuda-Meras, the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, the Koragas, and the Thotis exceeded the total percentage of addicts. The Maila section of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas used to drink only on two days in a month viz. *Amāvāsya* and the solar New-moon day. The Mundalas were below the average. The average annual expenditure per head on addictions was the lowest in the case of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas. The *per capita* expenditure of the Thotis was nearly three times greater than the average for all the communities put together. The Mundalas were next only to Thotis in their incomes, but they spent less than half of what Thotis did. But, generally speaking, the *per capita* expenditure on habits or addictions reflected the economic condition of the various communities. The Karadhi-Mari Holeyas on one hand and the Thotis on the other amply illustrated the point.

But the amount of expenditure on addictions, taken by itself, may fail to convey any idea as to whether it was within means or not. It had, therefore, to be correlated with the incomes of the families concerned, and to be seen what proportion of the total income the expenditure worked out at. This is being presented by communities in Table No. 30.

Taking all the communities together, it was found that nearly one-third of their families spent on an average more than 35 per cent of their income on the addictions. Again, about 7 per cent of these families expended more than half of their annual income on them. The analysis by communities showed that 63.6 per cent of the Thoti families spent more than one-third of their income on their addictions, as against 41.8 per cent for the Koragas, 38.4 per cent for the Kaipuda-Meras and round about 30 per cent for the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Mundalas. It seemed as if the Thotis,

TABLE No. 30—CLASSIFICATION OF ADDICTED FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES AND PROPORTION OF EXPENDITURE ON ADDICTIONS TO TOTAL ANNUAL INCOME.

Proportion of Expr. to total Annual Income	Baṛa		Baithada-Bakula		Gouda		Kaipuda Mera		Karadhi Mari Holeyā		Koraga		Madiga		Mundala Uppara		Nalkeyava		Piliya-Polaya		Raneyar		Samagar		Tboti		Vettuvan		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 5%	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	.8	4	4.1	...	...	...	...	6	5.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	9.1	...	...	12	2.6
5 — 10%	...	...	4	25.0	...	...	7	5.6	12	12.3	2	4.7	1	7.1	9	7.5	...	...	...	...	2	40.0	1	33.3	...	...	...	...	38	8.2
10 — 15%	...	...	5	31.3	...	...	17	13.6	11	11.3	2	4.7	...	...	16	13.4	...	...	2	40.0	...	...	...	...	...	6	46.1	59	12.6	
15 — 20%	...	...	...	...	1	20.0	15	12.0	14	14.4	4	9.4	...	...	16	13.4	2	25.0	...	...	3	60.0	...	...	...	6	46.1	61	13.0	
20 — 25%	...	...	...	...	1	20.0	16	12.8	10	10.3	3	6.9	1	7.1	18	15.0	1	12.5	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	9.1	1	7.8	52	11.0
25 — 30%	2	50.0	1	6.2	...	...	11	8.8	9	9.3	9	20.8	4	28.6	11	9.1	1	12.5	1	20.0	...	...	1	33.4	...	...	...	...	50	10.6
30 — 35%	2	50.0	2	12.5	1	20.0	9	7.2	8	8.3	5	11.7	2	14.3	9	7.5	2	25.0	1	20.0	...	...	1	33.3	2	18.2	...	...	44	9.4
35 — 40%	...	...	1	6.2	...	...	18	14.4	10	10.3	3	6.9	4	28.6	9	7.5	1	12.5	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	18.2	...	...	48	10.3
40 — 45%	...	...	1	6.3	2	40.0	8	6.4	8	8.3	3	6.9	...	...	11	9.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	9.1	...	...	34	7.2
45 — 50%	...	...	1	6.2	...	...	11	8.8	6	6.2	7	16.2	2	14.3	9	7.5	...	...	1	20.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	37	7.8
50 — 60%	...	...	1	6.3	...	...	11	8.8	5	5.2	4	9.4	...	...	5	4.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	27.2	...	...	29	6.3
60 — 70%	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	.8	1	12.5	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	9.1	...	...	3	.6
More than 70%	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	.8	...	...	1	2.4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	.4
Total	4	100	16	100	5	100	125	100	97	100	43	100	14	100	120	100	8	100	5	100	5	100	3	100	11	100	13	100	469	100

Note:—11 families did not spend on habits though they were addicted to them.

the Koragas and the Kaipuda-Meras vied with each other in recklessness. Taking the series of totals, the greatest number or mode was found to lie in the 15 per cent to 20 per cent group, only the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas conforming to it. As against this, the greatest number of Thoti families spent 50 per cent to 60 per cent of their income on their addictions, while that of the Kaipuda-Meras 35 per cent to 40 per cent, the Koragas 25 per cent to 30 per cent and the Mundalas 20 per cent to 25 per cent. More than half the families of the Baithada-Bakudas, the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Mundalas expended less than one-fourth of their income for indulging their vices. The Kaipuda-Meras followed them in this respect, but not closely. It would be interesting to note that 25 per cent families of the Koragas and 18.2 per cent of the Thotis answered the above description. All the Vettuvan families fell in that broad group. One-fifth of the total families were found to have been spending between 25 per cent to 35 per cent of their income on the habits. As against this, the Koragas and the Madigas recorded 32.5 per cent and 42.9 per cent of their families respectively in this category.

It could not be denied that the proportion of expenditure on addictions was rather high and almost verged on being reckless in some cases.<sup>1</sup> Drinking *toddy* was so much ingrained in the blood of the Depressed Class people and was so much associated with their religious ceremonies that it had become almost a second nature with them. Ignorance, poverty, bad housing, lack of healthy recreative activities, indebtedness, individually or collectively, also forced them to go to the booth and sink their worries in a glass of *toddy*. Other castes and communities on the same cultural level did likewise. Chewing and smoking were so common among the lower castes of South Kanara that it was no wonder that the Depressed Class communities were not an exception to it. Their rather high proportion of expenditure on addictions required to be considered against the background described above. It would be wrong to suppose that they would have been above want had they not indulged in addictions. The fact was that even if they spent their incomes wisely, the latter were not sufficient to keep them above

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1. It would be interesting to know here that 94.9 per cent of the Padmasali weavers in Sholapur spent less than 25 per cent of their income on their habits. Of these 71.4 per cent spent less than ten per cent on that account.—R. G. Kakade "A Socio-Economic Survey of weaving Communities in Sholapur" p. 158 (Gokhale Institute of Politics & Economics, Poona, Publication No. 14.)

want as has been shown previously. To trace their poverty to their so-called vices was unfair indeed.

The effect or proof of poverty was indebtedness. About 60 per cent of the Depressed Class families under survey were found to be indebted. Table No. 31 was compiled to show, by communities, the number of indebted families, the amount borrowed by them, their average income and debt per family.

TABLE No. 31—SHOWING TOTAL AND AVERAGE DEBT OF FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES

S. No.	Communities	No. of families in debt	% to total families	Total Debt	Average debt per family	Average income per family
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Baira	1	25.0	60	60.0	240.0
2	Baithada-Bakuda	7	43.7	563	80.4	394.2
3	Godda	3	60.0	80	26.6	328.3
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mogerā	77	66.6	4,093	53.1	359.6
5	Karadhi, Manisa, Maila, Mari Holeyā	65	64.3	4,193	64.5	302.2
6	Koraga	14	31.1	244	17.4	329.2
7	Madiga	8	57.1	291	36.3	388.1
8	Mundala-Uppara	76	62.3	6,233	82.0	513.9
9	Nalkeyava	4	50.0	125	31.2	341.2
10	Piliya-Polaya	4	80.0	56	14.0	418.7
11	Raneyar	4	80.0	310	77.5	421.7
12	Samagar	2	66.6	800	400.0	556.0
13	Thoti	8	72.7	815	101.8	740.5
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	6	42.8	523	87.1	190.1
	Total	279	59.7	18,386	65.9	394.7

It would be seen that more families of the Kaipuda-Meras, the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Mundalas than the overall average were indebted. Less than one-third of the Koraga families could obtain loans. As against this, a little less than three-fourths of the

Thoti families were found in debt. It may be noted that though all the families under enquiry were addicted to vices and, there too, about 80 per cent of them expended more than 15 per cent of their total annual income on addictions, only 60 per cent of the total families were found in debt. This might show how far the addictions were responsible for their indebtedness.

Turning now to the average amount of debt per family, it would be seen that the Thotis stood out prominently. The average amount of debt of the Thotis was higher than the overall average by about 55 per cent; but it formed only 13.6 per cent of their annual income as against the corresponding percentage of about 16 in the case of the total. The Koragas could obtain a loan of Rs. 17.4 per family. This light incidence of indebtedness in their case could be explained by the fact that they were a nomadic jungle tribe. Yet they were proverbially truthful. A Koraga would never go back upon his word. The fact that their debtal amount formed only 5 per cent of their annual income showed how hard the bargain must have been driven against them by their creditors. Broadly stated, the incidence of debt generally reflected the creditworthiness of individual communities concerned, other things being equal. The Mundalas were the case in point. The Vettuvans, besides following *Kumari* cultivation, grew pepper which was sold at a fabulous price of Rs. 200 per *candee*. This might have enhanced their creditworthiness. But there was another reason, more powerful than this, and which was true in the case of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas also. These communities were agrestic serfs. In their case, debt was an additional bond to tie them down to the land. The higher the incidence of the debt the more indissoluble was the bond. Generally speaking, the average amount of debt per family ranged between one-tenth and one-fifth of its average total annual income. But these averages, though useful in indicating broad lines, failed to show the details of the picture. Table No. 32 was, therefore, prepared to present classification of the sample families, by communities, from the view point of indebtedness.

Out of 201 families, 185 were free from debt; while in the case of the remaining, the informants concerned did not know whether the families were indebted or not. It would be seen from the table that the greatest number of the total families had a debt of less than Rs. 25. This was true about the Kaipuda-Mears and the Koragas. In the case of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Mundalas the position of the highest density shifted to the next group, viz. Rs. 26 to Rs. 50. It should be noted that 84.5 per cent of the indebted

TABLE No. 32—CLASSIFICATION OF INDEBTED FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES AND AMOUNT OF DEBT

S. No.	Communities	Not known	No Debt	Below Rs. 25	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs. 301 & over	Total Indebted
					26—50	51—75	76—100	101—125	126—150	151—200	201—250	251—300		
1	Baira	...	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
2	Baithada- Bakuda	1	8	1	2	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	7
3	Godda	2	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
4	Kaipuda Mera-Mogera	3	47	34	26	3	4	1	3	4	1	1	...	77
5	Karadhi, Manisar, Maila Mari-Holeya	2	34	19	24	6	8	1	2	2	...	1	2	65
6	Koraga	1	30	11	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14
7	Madiga	...	6	3	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
8	Mundala-Uppara	5	41	18	19	6	17	2	5	7	1	...	1	76
9	Nalkeyava	...	4	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
10	Piliya-Polaya	...	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
11	Raneyar	...	1	...	1	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	4
12	Samagar	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2
13	Thoti	1	2	2	2	...	2	...	...	1	...	1	...	8
14	Vettuvan K. & P.	...	8	1	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	6
	Total	16	185	97	82	23	34	4	13	16	2	4	4	279

families had a debt of less than Rs. 100, and there too, 64.1 per cent less than Rs. 50. On analysing by communities, it would be seen that 92.8 families of the Koragas had a debt of less than Rs. 50, in contrast to about 50 per cent in the case of the Karadhi-Mari-Holeyas, the Mundalas and the Thotis. A little less than four-fifths of the Kaipuda-Mera families answered that description. No family of the Koragas had more than Rs. 75 debt. 31.4 per cent of the Mundala families, as against 21 per cent of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and 9 per cent of the Kaipuda Meras, owed a debt of between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100. It would be interesting to note that though the highest per centage of Thoti families were found to be indebted, 75 per cent of them had a debt of less than Rs. 100. Again, 11.8 per cent of the total families under enquiry owed a debt of between Rs. 100 and Rs. 200, the remaining 3.7 per cent owing more than that. 18.4 per cent of the Mundala families, as against 11.8 per cent for the total, had a debt of Rs. 100 to Rs. 200, the corresponding per centage for the Kaipuda-Meras and the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas being round about 10.5. Only one family of the Thotis fell in this category. Of the last debt-group, viz. 'Rs. 301 and over', half the families belonged to the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas.

The amount of debt, by itself, did not convey any idea about the extent of burden of debt on individual families. This could be had only from the correlation of the debtal amounts to the size of annual incomes of the sample families. Table No. 33 was prepared to serve that purpose and Table No. 34 to show precisely, according to communities, the classification of the indebted families by proportion of their debt to their total annual income.

It would be seen from Table No. 33 that the amount of debt had nothing to do with the size of income, and that larger income generally meant greater creditworthiness. In the series of totals the position of the highest density was found in the income group of Rs. 201 to Rs. 250 and on both sides of it the totals went on diminishing in an uneven manner. The families with varying amounts of debt upto Rs. 100 were found to have been distributed in almost all the different income groups, without showing marked concentration in any group. As regards the debt of above Rs. 100 the position was a bit different. All the three families with less than Rs. 200 as their annual income got a loan of between Rs. 101 and Rs. 200. Out of 17 families that had an annual income of Rs. 201 to Rs. 500, 14 families got that much loan and the remaining three more than that. But of 23 families with an annual income of more than Rs. 500, 7 could get a debt of more than Rs. 200



TABLE No. 33—CLASSIFICATION OF INDEBTED FAMILIES BY TOTAL ANNUAL INCOME AND AMOUNT OF DEBT.

S. No.	Income groups (in rupees)	Not known	No debt	Below Rs. 25	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 101-125	Rs. 126-150	Rs. 151-200	Rs. 201-250	Rs. 251-300	Rs. 301 and over	Total No. of Indebted
1	Less than Rs. 50	...	6	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
2	51- 75	...	4	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
3	76-100	1	4	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
4	101-125	...	7	3	2	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	8
5	126-150	1	9	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
6	151-200	1	16	14	12	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	32
7	201-250	...	21	11	9	5	4	...	3	...	1	1	...	34
8	251-300	2	25	14	8	2	4	...	3	1	...	...	...	32
9	301-350	1	17	13	6	2	4	...	1	...	...	...	...	26
10	351-400	1	20	9	11	3	2	1	...	2	...	1	...	29
11	401-450	1	6	7	6	1	2	...	...	3	...	...	...	19
12	451-500	2	5	5	4	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
13	501-600	2	15	7	6	1	2	...	2	3	...	1	...	22
14	601-700	2	12	...	8	...	3	...	...	3	...	...	1	16
15	701-800	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	...	...	...	2	11
16	801-900	...	4	2	2	1	1	...	1	1	1	...	...	9
17	901-1000	...	5	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	2
18	1001 and over	...	7	1	2	...	3	...	2	1	...	1	...	10
Total		16	185	97	82	23	34	4	13	16	2	4	4	279
Percentage to the Total Indebted families.		3.33	38.54	20.3	17.1	4.8	7.1	.8	2.7	3.3	.4	.8	.6	58.13

TABLE No. 34—CLASSIFICATION OF INDEBTED FAMILIES ACCORDING TO THE PROPORTION OF THEIR DEBT TO TOTAL ANNUAL INCOME BY COMMUNITIES

Proportion of debt to annual Income	Baiva		Baithada Bakuda		Godda		Kaipuda Mera		Karadhi M. Holeya		Koraga		Madiga		Mundala Uppara		Nalkeyava		Piliya Polaya		Raneyar		Semagar		Thoti		Vettavan		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 5%	...	...	1	14.3	1	33.3	16	20.7	6	9.2	9	64.0	3	37.5	14	18.3	2	50	2	50	...	...	...	...	3	37.5	...	...	57	20.4
5 to 10%	...	...	2	28.6	...	...	23	29.9	16	24.6	1	7.2	3	37.5	18	23.7	...	...	2	50	...	...	...	...	1	12.5	1	16.7	67	24.0
10 to 15%	...	...	...	...	2	66.7	14	18.2	4	6.2	...	...	1	12.5	10	13.2	...	...	...	...	1	25	...	...	2	25.0	...	...	34	12.2
15 to 20%	...	...	1	14.3	...	...	7	9.1	10	15.4	1	7.2	...	...	10	13.2	1	25	...	...	2	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	11.5
20 to 25%	1	100	1	14.3	...	...	5	6.5	8	12.3	...	...	1	12.5	8	10.6	1	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	9.0
25 to 30%	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3.9	3	4.6	3	21.6	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...	1	25	...	...	1	12.5	1	16.7	13	4.6
30 to 40%	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3.9	7	10.8	...	...	...	...	4	5.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	12.5	...	...	15	5.4
40 to 50%	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1.3	2	3.1	...	...	...	...	5	6.6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	16.6	9	3.2
50 to 75%	...	...	2	28.5	...	...	3	3.9	5	7.7	...	...	...	...	3	3.9	...	...	...	...	1	50	...	...	...	...	3	50.0	17	6.1
75 to 100%	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1.3	1	1.5	...	...	...	...	2	2.6	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	50	...	...	...	...	5	1.8
More than 100%	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1.3	3	4.6	...	...	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	1.8
Total	1	100	7	100	3	100	77	100	65	100	14	100	8	100	76	100	4	100	4	100	4	100	2	100	8	100	6	100	279	100

and the remaining between Rs. 101 and Rs 200. This meant that with an increase in income the creditworthiness also increased, though not in the same proportion.

Table No. 34 showed that 54.4 per cent of the total families owed a debt of upto 10 per cent of their income, the highest density being found in the 5 per cent to 10 per cent group. 71.2 per cent of the Koragas fell in this category, and there too, 64 per cent of their families having a debt of upto 5 per cent of their income. In no other community such a heavy concentration was witnessed. A higher percentage of the Kaipuda-Mera families than that of the total answered the above description, while the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Mundalas lagged slightly behind the total percentage. About one-third of the total families owed a debt to the extent of 10 per cent to 25 per cent of their total annual income and one-fifth between 26 per cent and 75 per cent. There were 10 families, working out at 3.6 per cent only, which had a debt of more than 75 per cent of their income, four of which belonged to the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas alone. Generally speaking, the incidence of debt was more heavy in the case of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Vettuvans than any other Depressed Class community in South Kanara. 32.3 per cent and 83.3 per cent of their families respectively had to pay off a debt which exceeded 25 per cent of

TABLE NO. 35—CLASSIFICATION OF INDEBTED FAMILIES ACCORDING TO TYPES OF MONEYLENDER AND AMOUNT BORROWED

S. No.	Source of borrowing	Indebted families		Amount borrowed	Percentage to total
		No.	%	Rs.	Rs.
1	Employers-Agricultural	68	24.3	4,211	23.1
2	Do Non-agricultural	22	7.8	1,960	10.8
3	Ghat contractors	76	27.2	5,638	30.6
4	Money-lenders	80	28.6	5,021	27.1
5	Provision shop-keepers in the form of credit	6	2.2	235	1.2
6	Thrift societies	12	4.4	557	3.1
7	Any other source	15	5.3	764	4.1
	Total	279	100	18,386	100

their income as against 15.6 per cent and 21.0 per cent of the families of the Kaipuda-Meras and the Mundalas respectively.

279 families that were found to be indebted borrowed from various sources. Table No. 35 presents their classification according to sources from which they borrowed and the total amounts received from each of them.

It would be seen that there were three important sources of borrowing, viz. agricultural employers, Ghat contractors and money lenders. 28.8 per cent of the indebted families, the highest of all, borrowed from money-lenders, but from the point of view of the amounts borrowed, this source stood second. The Ghat contractors formed the most important source so far as the advanced amount was concerned. It should be remembered that the Ghat contractors, called *maistris* or *sherigars*, advanced money to their probable recruits on their personal credit, without interest, and on the condition that the advance be repaid in easy instalments by working in ghats for a given period. These concessions were a great attraction, even for those who could have managed their affairs, though with some difficulty, without contracting debts. A little less than one-fourth of the total debital amount was advanced by landlords to their employees, including *Mulad Holeyas*. Non-agricultural employers, such as, merchants, stone-contractors, road contractors etc., advanced money to their employees and thus bound them to continue service till the advances were repaid in full.

Excepting the money-lenders and the Thrift Societies, the other agencies did not charge any interest at all. The loan was advanced not with the intention of recovering it, but with a view to binding the debtors down for continuous service. But in most of such dealings there was a penalty clause to the effect that interest at the rate of 12 per cent to 25 per cent would be charged on the advance if the debtors failed to work it out. Besides the cases of credit given by provision shop-keepers, there were 13 families that received loan in kind, mostly from land-lords. In many such cases no interest was charged, but where it was charged it ranged between 33½ per cent to 100 per cent to be paid in kind. The interest charged by Thrift Societies was at the rate of about 9 per cent. But conditions for getting loan, such as, giving two sureties, were rather difficult or hard to be fulfilled by the Depressed Class people. Out of 80 families that borrowed from money-lenders, information regarding rate of inte-

rest was available for 69 families only. The rates of interest charged were as following:—

Rate of interest	No. of families
6½ p. c.	10
8½ p. c.	1
12 p. c.	12
18½ p. c.	14
25 p. c.	9
37½ p. c.	8
75 p. c.	10
100 p. c.	1
120 p. c.	1
150 p. c.	2
300 p. c.	1

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It would be seen that only one-third of the indebted families could get loans at less than 12 per cent per annum which might be considered as a reasonable rate for unsecured loans. Nearly 20 per cent of the families had to pay interest at 18½ per cent per annum, this being the largest single group. As many as 14.3 per cent of the indebted families that had to pay interest, paid it at the rate of 75 per cent. But this was not all. For, about 7 per cent of the families given above paid interest at 100 per cent and more, up to 300 per cent. Mapla moneylenders were the worst exploiters and often recovered much more interest than the capital itself. A couple of instances of their methods and exploitation, if narrated, would make one sick at heart. The Mapla moneylenders were always ready to use violent methods which terrorised the debtors.

The enquiry into the indebtedness of the sample families would remain incomplete unless the purposes of incurring debts were also studied in detail. Table No. 36 was, therefore, compiled to show, according to communities, the number of families borrowing loans for given purposes and the amount borrowed as well. For facilitating comparisons the per centages were also worked out and given in the table.

It would be clear from the table that 49.7 per cent of the total amount was for maintenance. The average consumption

TABLE No. 36--CLASSIFICATION OF INDEBTED FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES AND CAUSES OF INDEBTEDNESS

S. No.	Purposes of Borrowing	Baira			Baithada-Bakuda			Godda			Kaipuda, Mera Mogera			Karadhi, Manisaru Mari Holeyra			Koraga			Madiga			Mundala-Uppara		
		No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%
1	Maintenance	1	Rs. 60	100	6	Rs. 523	92.9	3	Rs. 80	100	47	Rs. 1867	45.8	34	Rs. 1702	40.6	7	Rs. 32	13.1	6	Rs. 161	55.3	49	Rs. 3,690	59.2
2	Marriage & religious ceremonies	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	Rs. 1953	47.7	25	Rs. 1971	47.1	2	Rs. 80	32.8	1	Rs. 50	17.1	8	Rs. 650	10.4
3	Medical purposes	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	Rs. 135	3.2	1	Rs. 15	4	2	Rs. 57	23.3	...	...	...	6	Rs. 327	5.2
4	Making & improving property	...	...	...	1	Rs. 40	7.1	...	...	...	4	Rs. 120	2.9	2	Rs. 80	1.9	1	Rs. 10	4.1	1	Rs. 80	27.6	7	Rs. 656	10.4
5	Repaying old debts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	Rs. 10	2	...	...	...	1	Rs. 5	2.0	...	...	...	3	Rs. 460	7.4
6	Standing surety to others	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	Rs. 60	24.7	...	...	...	...	...	
7	Travelling	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	Rs. 10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
8	Conducting business	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	Rs. 15	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	Rs. 250	4.0
9	Any purpose	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	Rs. 8	2	1	Rs. 400	9.6	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	Rs. 200	3.4
	Total	1	Rs. 60	100	7	Rs. 563	100	3	Rs. 80	100	77	Rs. 4093	100	65	Rs. 4193	100	14	Rs. 244	100	8	Rs. 291	100	76	Rs. 6,233	100

TABLE No. 36—Continued

S. No.	Purposes of Borrowing	Nalkeyava			Piliya-Polaya			Raneyar			Samagar			Thoti			Vettuvan			Total		
		No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%	No.	Amount	%
1	Maintenance	3	Rs. 113	90.4	2	Rs. 11	19.6	2	Rs. 100	32.2	1	Rs. 300	37.5	3	Rs. 420	51.5	2	Rs. 143	27.3	165	Rs. 9,142	49.7
2	Marriage & religious ceremonies	1	12	9.6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	70	13.5	59	4,886	26.5	
3	Medical purposes	...	...	...	2	45	80.4	1	60	19.4	...	...	...	2	110	13.5	2	210	40.1	20	959	5.3
4	Making & improving property	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	500	62.5	2	85	10.4	1	100	19.1	20	1,631	8.8
5	Repaying old debts	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	150	48.4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	625	3.5	
6	Standing surety to others	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	60	3	
7	Travelling	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	...	
8	Conducting business	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	Any purpose	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	200	24.6	...	...	...	4	465	2.6
	Total	4	125	100	4	56	100	4	310	100	2	800	100	8	815	100	6	523	100	279	18,386	100

No. stands for the number of families indebted.

loan per family worked out at Rs. 55.4, but the smallest amount borrowed was a couple of rupees and the largest was round about hundred rupees. The fact that about 50 per cent of the total debt of the Depressed Classes was nothing but consumption loans, reflected their poverty unmistakably. Marriage and religious ceremonies accounted for about 26.5 per cent of total debt incurred. The smallest amount borrowed for this purpose hardly exceeded a score of rupees, while the largest was a couple of hundred rupees, the per family average working out at Rs. 82.3. As compared to the average marriage debt of Rs. 180 per family incurred by the 'Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra'<sup>2</sup> the Depressed Classes of South Kanara seemed to be very moderate in their marriage expenses. Both the items, viz. maintenance and marriage and religious ceremonies, put together accounted for 76.2 per cent of the total debt incurred. The next important item, accounting for only 8.8 per cent of the debt, was for making and improving property. All this was not an unproductive debt. For, improvements were made either to get more income or more comforts. The debt incurred for medical purposes, including maternity, was not negligible at all. The average debt per family on that account worked out at about Rs. 48, which could not be considered a small sum for the poor Depressed Class people of South Kanara.

Another effect of poverty was witnessed in the unsatisfactory housing condition of the Depressed Class communities. Table No. 37 presents the classification of the sample families according to floor area shared by their members.

It may be remembered in this connection that the Rent Enquiry Committee, Bombay, (1939), recommended for the city of Bombay that a minimum floor area of 45 square feet should be provided for every person or 180 sq. ft. for a family of four persons.<sup>3</sup> It should further be remembered that this standard did not take into account the considerations of health, morality and family life as the English standard does. But even according to the Bombay standard, between 35 and 40 per cent of the houses of the sample families might be considered as over-crowded. If all the relevant considerations were to be given due weight, the Bombay minimum would have to be raised to not less than 60 sq. ft. for rural areas. Application of this norm would show that a little less than two-thirds of the sample families lived in overcrowded houses. The largest number

2. M. G. Bhagat, p. 27.

3. Report, p. 59.



TABLE No. 37—CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES AND LIVING SPACE PER MEMBER

S. No.	Area	Baira	Baithada Bakuda	Godda	Kaipuda, Mera Mogera	Karadbi- Manisa-Malla M. Holeya	Koraga	Madiga	Mundala Uppara	Nalkeyaya	Piliya Polaya	Rencyar	Samagar	Thoti	Vetuvan	Total	
																No.	%
1	Below 20 sq. ft.	...	...	...	3	2	3	1	3	...	...	...	...	4	...	16	3.3
2	21 — 40 .. "	1	4	5	39	27	22	5	28	5	4	...	1	6	6	153	31.9
3	41 — 60 .. "	1	4	...	45	38	10	4	40	...	1	1	...	...	3	147	30.6
4	61 — 80 .. "	2	1	...	21	15	4	1	20	3	...	...	...	1	1	69	14.4
5	81 — 100 .. "	...	5	...	12	9	5	...	18	...	...	1	2	...	2	54	11.3
6	101—120 .. "	...	...	...	2	2	...	1	4	...	...	1	...	...	1	11	2.3
7	120—150 .. "	...	1	...	...	6	1	1	3	...	...	1	...	...	1	14	2.9
8	150—200 .. "	...	...	...	4	2	...	1	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	11	2.3
9	More than 200 sq. ft.	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	1.0
	Total	4	16	5	127	101	45	14	122	8	5	5	3	11	14	480	100

of total families, viz. 31.9 per cent, had a floor area of between 21 and 40 sq. ft. for each and every member of them. Half the Koraga families answered this description. The group of families with 41 to 60 sq. ft. area per head stood next, but quite close to the above. 35.4, 37.2 and 32.8 per cent of the families of the Kaipuda-Meras, the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas and the Mundalas respectively were found in this group. Among all the communities under survey, the Thotis had the largest income, yet 90 per cent of their families had less than 40 sq. ft. floor area per head. This was because their families were also comparatively larger in size and lived in urban areas. Generally speaking, the availability of raw materials, such as, earthen unbaked bricks, thatching grass, bamboos and spare time to build it, determined the size of a house or hut. Usually the house consisted of a room and verandah, both covering a space area of 150-200 sq. ft. The size of the house or hut hardly ever expanded with the size of the family, which fact resulted in course of 7-8 years into overcrowding. Another factor, important in this connection, was the site of the house or hut. Table No. 38 shows, along other things, the situation obtaining in this behalf.

Where the site was given permanently, on a nominal rent, by Government the families concerned felt secure and tried to put up, within their means, houses of respectable size. The ground rent, generally varied from an anna to 5-6 annas at the most. There was no such security, unless the families concerned were of *Mulada Holeyas*, in regard to private sites. The landlord did not, as a rule, charge any rent. But there were cases round about Udipi in which some families were given house sites on the specific condition that they would water cocoanut trees of the landlords concerned, whenever asked to do so. Displeasure of landlords often meant immediate and/or forced eviction. 60 per cent of the sample families depended in this way upon the sweet will of their landlords. On analysing the remaining 40 per cent of the families that were fortunate to get Government land, more than one third or 37 per cent of the total families belonged to the Mundalas. They and the Kaipuda-Meras put together accounted for about 60 per cent of the Government sites. None out of 14 Vettuvan families could obtain a single Government plot. About 84 per cent of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, 72.8 per cent of the Thotis and 64.5 per cent of the Koragas lived on private lands, the corresponding per centage for the Kaipuda-Meras being 58.2.

If the position about the floor area was bad that about light and ventilation was worse. Table No. 38 would show that more than half the houses of the sample families had no arrangement

TABLE No. 38—CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES BY COMMUNITIES ACCORDING TO OWNERSHIP OF HOUSE—SITE AND HOUSING CONDITIONS

S. No.	Communities	House—site					Ventilation						
		Govt.		Private		Total	Nil		windows		Ventilators		Total
		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1	Baira	3	75.0	1	25.0	4	2	50.0	2	50.0	...	...	4
2	Baithada-Bakuda	7	46.7	8	53.3	15	5	33.3	5	33.3	5	33.3	15
3	Godda	5	100.0	...	...	5	5	100.0	...	...	...	...	5
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mogera	51	41.8	71	58.2	122	71	58.2	44	36.0	7	5.8	122
5	Karadhi, Manisa, Maila and Mari-Holeya	16	15.8	85	84.2	101	64	63.3	35	34.6	2	2.1	101
6	Koraga	16	35.5	29	64.5	45	29	64.4	16	35.6	...	...	45
7	Madiga	10	71.5	4	28.5	14	8	57.1	6	42.9	...	...	14
8	Mundala-Uppata	70	57.3	52	42.7	122	44	36.0	72	59.0	6	5.0	122
9	Nalkeyava	3	37.5	5	82.5	8	7	87.5	1	12.5	...	...	8
10	Piliya-Polaya	4	80.0	1	20.0	5	3	60.0	2	40.0	...	...	5
11	Raneyar	1	20.0	4	80.0	5	...	...	5	100.0	...	...	5
12	Samagar	...	...	3	100.0	3	1	33.3	2	66.7	...	...	3
13	Thoti	3	27.2	8	72.8	11	5	45.4	4	36.3	2	18.3	11
14	Vettuvan	...	...	14	100.0	14	9	64.3	5	35.7	...	...	14
Total...		189	39.9	285	60.1	474*	253	51.2	199	40.3	22	8.5	474

\* Information not available for 6 families.

TABLE No. 38—(Continued)

S. No.	Communities	Roof					Water—Supply						
		Thatched		Tiled		Total	Own		Govt. or Semi Govt.		Private		Total
		No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1	Baira	4	100.0	...	...	4	...	...	3	75.0	1	25.0	4
2	Baithada-Bakuda	11	73.4	4	26.6	15	4	26.6	3	20.0	8	53.4	15
3	Godda	5	100.0	...	...	5	...	...	5	100.0	...	...	5
4	Kaipuda, Mera, Mogera	122	100.0	...	...	122	23	18.8	35	28.7	64	52.5	122
5	Katadbi, Manisa, Malls and Mari-Holeya	101	100.0	...	...	101	29	28.7	16	15.8	56	61.5	101
6	Koraga	45	100.0	...	...	45	2	4.5	19	42.2	24	53.3	45
7	Madiga	14	100.0	...	...	14	...	...	11	78.6	3	21.4	14
8	Mundala-Uppara	115	94.2	7	5.8	122	32	26.2	37	30.3	53	43.5	122
9	Nalkeyava	8	100.0	...	...	8	1	12.5	3	37.5	4	50.0	8
10	Piliya-Polaya	5	100.0	...	...	5	...	...	5	100.0	...	...	5
11	Raneyar	5	100.0	...	...	5	...	...	5	100.0	...	...	5
12	Samagar	3	100.0	...	...	3	2	66.7	...	...	1	...	3
13	Thoti	7	63.8	4	36.4	11	3	27.4	4	36.3	4	36.3	11
14	Vettuvan	14	100.0	...	...	14	1	7.1	...	...	13	92.9	14
	Total	459	96.4	15	3.6	474	91	19.2	146	30.8	237	50.0	474

what-so-ever for securing light and ventilation. Another 8 per cent of the houses had a couple of small openings in their walls for light and air to peep in. This means that about 60 per cent of the houses of the sample families might be considered as insanitary from the hygienic point of view. About 64 per cent of the houses of the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, the Koragas and the Vettuvans were thus insanitary, the corresponding per centage for the Kaipuda-Meras being 58.2. About 60 per cent of the Mundala houses provided one or more windows for light and air. In this respect, the Thotis copied the Mundala houses, their houses with windows forming only 45.4 per cent of their total number of families.

It would be clear from Table No. 38 that the roof of 96.4 per cent of the sample families of the Depressed Classes was of thatched grass. Once in a year or two the roof required repairs which were done with the help and cooperation of neighbours. In summer, parties of caste people set on this work and completed the repair work of the houses or huts of all the persons in their respective parties. The owner of the house under repair had to supply food to all the persons in the party or treat them to *toddy* on that particular day. The Mundalas and the Thotis went in for rafters and tiles, but even there, the proportion of such tiled houses was not large.

The water-supply arrangements for the Depressed Classes left much to be desired. About one-fifths of the sample families could make their own water supply arrangements. They sank their own wells independently or in common with others. Out of the remaining 80 per cent families, Government and local bodies made provision for only 30 per cent. In summer months, some of the public wells dried up and forced the Depressed Class families depending upon them to shift for themselves. Half of the total families got their water supply from other sources. The corresponding per centages for the Kaipuda-Meras, the Karadhi-Mari Holeyas, the Koragas (61.5) and the Vettuvans (92.9) exceeded the total per centage. The water supply from other sources often entailed walking pretty long distances. 132 out of 237 families got their drinking water from some ponds, tanks, running streams and rivers, while others from their landlords' or neighbours' wells. It would thus be clear that more than one-fourth of the total number of sample families depended upon unprotected water supply. The analysis of 132 families showed that 56 of them depended upon ponds, 64 on streams and rivers and the remaining 7 on tanks. There were half a dozen families of Koragas (4) and the Thotis (2) which had no water supply nearby and had to beg for water.

## CHAPTER V

### Ameliorative Measures

#### Section I—A Retrospect

Before proceeding to make any recommendations in the light of the findings of the enquiry, it would be desirable to pass under rapid review what had been achieved by official and non-official efforts till 1945 in ameliorating the wretched condition of the Depressed Classes of South Kanara. For, such a review alone, though it is bound to be sketchy, would help understand in proper perspective the problems involved and the difficulties usually encountered in solving them. It would further indicate new lines of reform, if any.

(1) **Labour Department:**—The ameliorative measures taken by the State till 1920 lacked continuity and were rather spasmodic. It was first in 1920 that a full time Commissioner of Labour was appointed in Madras for the welfare of the Depressed Classes and to ensure a sustained and well-directed effort for their betterment. The work of this new department was carried on in districts by their Collectors assisted by District Labour Officers. The work of the Labour Department could be broadly classified under three heads, viz., social, economic and educational. The work under the last head was very important and may, therefore, be considered first.

(a) *Educational:*—It had been the declared policy of the Government of Madras 'to endeavour as far as possible to get the Scheduled Class pupils admitted into the schools already existing in the locality and to open separate schools for them only in places where, *owing to caste prejudices, the existing schools are not easily accessible to them* or in places where there are no schools whatsoever. (the italics are ours). Following this policy, the Labour Department of the Government of Madras conducted 46 primary schools in the district of South Kanara in 1944-45. Table No. 39 shows their distribution in different talukas, the strength of pupils and teachers in them and also the classification of the schools according to staff employed in them.

TABLE No. 39—CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOLS CONDUCTED BY LABOUR DEPARTMENT ACCORDING TO TALUKAS, NUMBER OF STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

Serial No.	Taluka	No. of Schools	Strength				Teachers		Schools with			
			S. Castes		C. Hindu		S. castes	C. Hindu	one teacher	two teachers	three teachers	four teachers
			B	G	B	G						
1	Coondapur	4	96	58	...	...	4	1	3	1	..	...
2	Karkal	3	55	29	27	11	1	3	2	1	...	...
3	Kasargod	18	507	307	95	84	14	21	6	8	3	1
4	Mangalore	8	230	114	13	15	3	8	6	1	1	...
5	Puttur	5	98	52	15	6	5	...	5	...	...	...
6	Udipi	8	217	113	3	...	8	4	5	2	1	...
Total		46	1203	690	153	86	35	37	27	13	5	1
			..... 1893		..... 239		..... 72					

B = Boys      G = Girls

The average strength of a school was 46.3 pupils, while Kasargod had the highest 55.1 and Udipi the lowest 33.7, Mangalore conforming to the average for the district. The proportion of the Scheduled Castes pupils to those of the Caste Hindus was roughly 7:1. Karkal recorded the highest proportion, viz., 3:1 while in Coondapur not a single Caste Hindu pupil was attending Labour Schools in that taluka, Udipi following Coondapur very closely in this connection. The proportion in Kasargod exceeded the overall proportion by about 50 per cent. If Karkal and Kasargod were left out, it could be said that Caste Hindus did not send their children to Labour Schools. It should be noted that the total strength of Scheduled Castes pupils in the Labour Schools worked out at about 2 per cent of the total population of the Scheduled Castes in the district. It may be remembered in this connection that 12 per cent of the total population is normally of school-going age. According to this, the Labour Schools provided education to only one-sixth of the Scheduled Castes children of school going age. All these schools, excepting perhaps 5-6, were full primary schools, i. e. schools in which education was imparted upto Standard V (vernacular), the excepted schools having only first three standards. All the 46 schools together employed 72 teachers or 1.5 teachers per school on an average. But actually more than half the schools had only one teacher to look after five standards. About 28 per cent of the schools had two teachers each, and only 10 per cent three each. A teacher was found to be in charge of 28.8 pupils on an average, irrespective of the standards they were reading in. This average came down to 20.2 in case of Puttur and went up to 34.2 for Udipi. Again, 48.3 per cent of the teachers belonged to the Scheduled Castes. It may be mentioned here that teachers of the Scheduled Castes were generally not believed to be very efficient, though there was no evident reason for it. Experience in other parts was, unfortunately, not different from this. The result of all these factors could be discerned in great wastage and stagnation. Slates, books and other equipment and also dress were provided free to all the pupils in the Labour Schools. Scheduled Caste children were also given the mid-day meal. All education was free.

The number of Labour Schools usually fluctuated from year to year. The schools that became uneconomic were closed and new ones started at other suitable places. Attendance of pupils in Labour Schools often fell below the prescribed limit, especially where population was scattered as in the eastern parts of Kasargod taluka. For instance, in a village like Eleri (Kasargod taluka) which covers



an area of 140 sq. miles, the difficulty of locating the school would be obvious. The *Kumari* cultivation, which involved shifting of house-sites also, enhanced the difficulty. Conducting schools in such conditions always presented almost insurmountable difficulties, particularly from the view point of exercising supervision.

Besides running primary schools, the Labour Department provided educational facilities to the Scheduled Castes children. To cover expenditure on payment of school or college fees, purchase of books etc. non-residential scholarships of different yearly values were paid to pupils reading from Standard IV in elementary schools to those reading in B. A. classes. Residential scholarships were paid from Form IV onwards in secondary school at different rates. The amounts of scholarship varied according to the pupils' paying full or half fees. Scholarships were also awarded to pupils taking commercial, industrial or professional education. The District Collector was empowered to grant non-recurring grants to pupils towards school-fees, purchase of books, clothes etc. from the sum allotted to him for the specific purpose. It must be mentioned that many of the deserving students got scholarships from the Labour Department. The pity was that very few students went up to colleges and availed themselves of the facilities provided. The scholarships were not open to converts to Christianity and to those candidates who were over twenty years of age on the 1st July of the year in which the application for scholarship was made.

With a view to getting the Scheduled Caste pupils admitted into schools already existing in the locality, the Government laid down the following rules:—(1) Recognition shall not be granted to any school situated in a locality not accessible to members of the Scheduled Castes. (2) Recognition may be withdrawn from any school which refuses admission to any pupil of the Scheduled Castes. If no pupils of the Scheduled Castes were actually attending schools, it would be deemed that admission to such pupils was refused, unless their management showed that no such pupils are residing within a distance of one mile from their schools or adduced other satisfactory reasons for the absence of such pupils from their schools. (3) No grants shall be paid to any institution which is not recognised or whose recognition is withdrawn according to rules (1) and (2) above.

The Labour Department conducted no hostel in South Kanara but gave boarding grants to recognised private institutions in respect of a stated number of pupils of Schedule Castes, including

converts to Christianity. A pupil was not eligible for a boarding grant even if he became an Arya Samajist, or a Brahmo or followed any other reformist movement in Hinduism. The fulfilment of the following conditions collectively made pupils eligible for receiving a boarding grant. (1) That they should be reading in standards IV to VIII in primary schools or in secondary schools or colleges recognised by Government (2) That they should not exceed the age-limit fixed for each standard or form on the 1st July of the year in which a boarding grant is sought (3) That they should have been promoted from the lower standard or form. In some special cases, this condition could be waived only by the Commissioner of Labour. (4) That the boys should belong to places not within the radius of five miles from the boarding house, the distance condition for girls being fixed at two miles. The boarding grant was paid at the rate of Rs. 12 per boarder per month.<sup>1</sup> It was allowed to be spent on several items, such as, food, dress, examination fees, travelling expenses, rent of the boarding house, gardening, sports etc. Warden's salary was not allowed to be charged to the boarding grant. The grant was paid for ten months. Proportionate deductions were made from it, if pupils remained absent from the boarding house for more than 15 and 30 days on casual and sick leave respectively. The grant was paid in four instalments in the academic year.

Thus, in the educational field maintenance of separate schools, grants for scholarships, stipends and boarding grants, grants for purchase of books etc., grants to private educational institutions for the benefit of Depressed Classes were the important measures taken by Madras Government in its Labour Department.

(b) *Economic*:—Under the Statutory Service Rules, in case of services and posts to which recruitment is made on communal basis, one out of every twelve or  $8\frac{1}{3}$  per cent vacancies were reserved for members of the Scheduled Castes.<sup>2</sup> The minimum general educational qualification for appointment to subordinate services had been appreciably lowered in case of the Scheduled Castes. The age limit had also been raised to 27 in the case of ministerial services. In view of the great difficulties experienced by the Scheduled Castes

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1 This is raised to Rs. 15 per boarder per month from the middle of 1946.

2 In June, 1946, the Government of India decided to increase the proportion of reservation of vacancies in favour of the Scheduled Castes to be filled by direct recruitment, so as to bring it into accord with the population ratio. Thus the proportion was increased from  $8\frac{1}{3}$  p. c. to  $12\frac{1}{2}$  p. c. The Government of Madras adopted this policy towards the end of 1946 or thereabout.

in obtaining land for cultivation, the Government of Madras ordered as early as in 1918 that the waste lands in every ryotwari village in the Presidency should be examined and a fair proportion definitely reserved for assignment to Depressed Classes. When large blocks of land, such as dis-reserved forests, unassessed wastes and lands retained as *porambokes* (public lands) were transferred to the head of assessed land with a view to assignment for cultivation, a substantial share was also ordered to be reserved for the Depressed Classes. In this way over 40,000 acres of land were reserved by Government in the district of South Kanara, as shown in Table No. 40. The figures in the table relate to the year 1944-45.

It would be seen from the table that in the whole of the district only in 5.8 per cent of the villages lands were not reserved and mapped for being assigned to the Depressed Classes. In Kasargod taluka the per centage went up to over 18; while in the talukas of Karkal and Udipi there were no villages where land was yet to be reserved and mapped. Again, only 15.3 per cent of the total acreage reserved was assigned to the Depressed Class people. In Mangalore taluka as large as 22.6 per cent of the reserved land was actually assigned, as against 6.7 per cent in Coondapur, the lowest of all, Karkal alone conforming to the total per centage. About one-fifth of the reserved land in Kasargod and Udipi talukas was found to have been assigned, while Puttur closely followed Coondapur, with 7.6 per cent. Conditions of land varied much in different talukas and villages. But, generally speaking, the reserved lands were such as required too much capital to develop or as had already been under occupation for years. It was suspected that by reserving such lands for free assignment village officers sought to defeat the object of the Government orders. Though assignees had to pay a small amount of land revenue, as many as 105 of them could not pay it or violated other conditions of grant during the year 1944-45. This was because the land could not be brought under cultivation in some cases, while in others the yield was not sufficient to meet the minimum cost of cultivation. Cultivable wet land classed as valuable was not assigned free, but when sold to members of the Scheduled Castes, the payment was spread over a term of years, extending even up to ten years, and instead of having to compete for the land in auction, they were offered it at a fair market price fixed by the Collector. Further, where much reclamation was required a Scheduled Caste assignee of any land was exempted from payment of the assessment for seven years, provided he brought at least one-fifth of the area newly under cultivation

TABLE No. 40--CLASSIFICATION OF RESERVED AND ASSIGNED LAND BY TALUKAS

S No.	Taluka	No. of villages where		Area reserved (acres)	Area assigned (acres)	Plots assigned for houses	Applica-tions received	Applica-tions accepted	No. of wells sunk
		lands were reserved and mapped	lands were not re-served						
1	Coondapur	98	5	3,698-80	249-42	189	455	343	11
2	Karkal	90	...	7,004-26	1,084-79	882	1,199	1,079	33
3	Kasargod	93	21	8,943-67	1,810-14	1,541	1,946	1,583	74
4	Mangalore	163	15	6,183-15	1,402-21	2,204	1,308	738	68
5	Puttur	184	1	10,964-26	838-12	761	1,487	492	10
6	Udipi	55	...	4,332-59	836-77	1,680	914	595	55
	Total	683	42	40,526-73	6,221-52	7,257	7,309	4,830	251

each year. In addition, land not specially reserved for the Scheduled Classes was also to be assigned to them under the ordinary rules but subject to the concessions mentioned above. Besides these measures, about 75 co-operative societies were working during 1944-45 in South Kanara for the benefit of the Scheduled Classes for various purposes, such as, supply of credit for their agricultural and domestic expenses, purchase of house-sites, to provide dwelling houses etc.

(c) *Social*:—As a part of their policy to assign land to the landless poor, bulk of whom are Scheduled Class people, the Government assigned 7,257 house-sites as shown in Table No 40. Puttur received the least number of house-sites for its Scheduled Class population. Coondapur, Udipi and Mangalore talukas put together accounted for 36.1 per cent of the total Scheduled Class population in the district but got 56.1 per cent of the house-sites. In Hosdurg division, bordering on Malabar, which was peopled by very backward Depressed Classes, practically no house-sites were assigned. Again, 4,830 applicants obviously obtained 7,257 house-sites which means that an applicant received 1.5 plots on an average. It was not possible to understand how the number of plots assigned in Coondapur and Kasargod was smaller than that of applications accepted. In Mangalore and Udipi the accepted applicants received on an average three plots as house-sites. In non-municipal areas, the Government acquired land for assigning it to the landless labourers, including Scheduled Castes. The Government bore half the cost of acquisition, subject to maxima fixed for dry and wet land, besides incurring all legal and interest charges. Half the cost of acquisition was recovered from the holder of the land in equated instalments not exceeding ten. In regard to wells for drinking water, Puttur taluka again seemed neglected. Some of the Labour wells dried up in hot months and needed deepening. Thus, when water was required most urgently, it was not available in them. The Collector of the district was empowered to sanction non-recurring expenditure upto a limit of Rs. 2,500 or so on miscellaneous measures connected with the welfare of the Scheduled Classes, such as, construction of wells, pathways, latrines and raising the level of house-sites.

In order to improve the social status of the Harijans and to remove their civil disabilities, the Congress Government in its pre-war regime placed two important measures on the Statute Book. The first, called Removal of Civil Disabilities Act, was enacted in 1938. This Act sought to remove disabilities of the Harijans in

regard to the use of public sanitary amenities, such as, wells, burning and burial grounds, carvansaries, roads etc. It was of enabling character and proved, in practice, to be very vague. The second measure was the Temple Entry and Authorization and Indemnity Act of 1939. It provided for the throwing open of temples, with Government's approval, by the trustees or other authorities, to the excluded classes of the Hindu community, whenever they were satisfied that the general Hindu public was in favour of it. The initiative rested with the trustees or authorities, and that too could be exercised only when they were satisfied that the general caste Hindu opinion was not opposed to throwing the temple or temples in question open to Harijans. The Act was thus very inadequate to meet the requirements of the rapidly changing times.

**Education Department:**—Under Madras Educational Rules poor pupils of the Scheduled Castes were allowed to pay in all secondary schools and colleges only one-half of the fees levied. No fees were charged to them in elementary schools under public management. Stipend at a higher rate was paid to teachers of Scheduled Classes undergoing training. The Education Department paid, besides general, special scholarships of varying number and amount to pupils of Scheduled Classes reading in elementary and secondary schools and Arts colleges.

(2) **Local Authorities:**—Scheduled Class pupils were freely admitted to primary and secondary schools managed by the District Board and Municipal Councils. The latter bodies were empowered to sanction full fee remissions for poor Scheduled Caste pupils reading in their secondary schools, education in primary schools being free. Amenities, sanitary and others, provided by Local Authorities were open to all Scheduled Classes also.

(3) **The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore:**—This pioneer Indian institution in South India was started by the late Rao Saheb Kudmal Ranga Rao. The founder undertook the noble work of uplift of the Depressed Classes, which were almost persecuted in South Kanara, in 1897 when the general public or the Government gave no serious attention to it. As a result, he had not only to bear calumny and ridicule but had to face financial difficulties now and then. The early history of the Mission shows how its activities ebbed and flowed with its financial condition. There was a time when it maintained a large number of day schools and night adult literacy classes and carried on active propaganda for the removal of certain social evils from among the Depressed Classes. His old age

and ill-health, coupled with the unsatisfactory financial position of the Mission, prompted K. Ranga Rao to approach the Servants of India Society with a request to take over the Mission. Since 1923 the Mission is managed by the latter society, assisted by a Local Committee. A member of the Society is deputed to carry on the work. The main features of the Mission's work were schools, boarding houses and colonies. During 1944-45 the Mission conducted three Elementary and one Higher Elementary schools.<sup>3</sup> To the Higher Elementary School was attached a Manual Training Section in which training in weaving, carpentry and tailoring was imparted to pupils reading in from V to VIII standard. In the other Elementary Schools side by side with literary education the pupils were taught paper-work, clay-modelling, gardening, basket-making, spinning and coir work. Day scholars in all the four schools, belonging to the Depressed Classes were given free mid-day meal, dress, slates, books etc. in addition to free education. Though the schools were open to Caste Hindu children a negligible number of them really attended the schools. The Mission had a proud record of imparting education to over 5,000 children of the Depressed Classes from its very beginning. It gave financial assistance to pupils prosecuting higher studies in colleges and receiving technical training. The Mission received grants-in-aid for the Manual Training Section and for the maintenance of the schools from the Labour Department, besides the teaching grants from the Education Department. It conducted three boarding houses, one for Koraga children at Puttur and the others at Mangalore. Of the latter, one was for boys and the other for girls. The number of boarders was above 90 in all the three boarding houses together. The Mission was in receipt of individual boarding grant and Medical Attendant's grant from the Labour Department. The maximum number allowed for the purposes of the grant was 100. The boarding houses were under the care and supervision of resident wardens. The boarders were provided with free boarding, lodging, clothings, books, slates etc.

The Mission had seven colonies with 52.41 acres of land. Two of them were reserved for the Koragas alone. The Mission allotted plots of land to homeless families for residential and agricultural

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3. The Elementary School at Derebail was closed from the middle of November 1944. Another school at Puttur (Udipi) was closed from June 1945, while the Court Hill Higher Elementary school at Mangalore from June 1947, the M. T. Section being kept in tact. Financial and other considerations were responsible for the closure of the schools.

purposes. Housing materials were also supplied to some needy families. During 1944-45, out of 88 plots 65 were occupied. About 40 settlers held land on permanent tenure and paid a nominal rental to the Mission. The plot could not be alienated without the previous permission of the Mission and no quarrying in the plot was allowed. For want of funds, more families could not be settled and workers could not be appointed to carry on the work of improving the moral and economic condition of the colonists. The Mission also gave maternity aid from a fund at its disposal to the Depressed Class women, specially of Koraga community.

(4) **Harijan Sevak Sangh**:—A District branch of the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh was also in the field, with its Taluka Committees. There was a full-time Harijan Sevak deputed and paid by the Central Board at Delhi. The District and its associate Sanghs conducted hostels for Harijan children, but the strength of boarders in all of them put together was about 40 or so in 1944-45. The main activity of the Sangh was distributing scholarships and giving financial assistance to poor and deserving Harijan pupils for paying fees, purchase of dress, books etc. Mid-day meals were given by some associate Sanghs to Harijan pupils with the help of the District Board. The Sangh at Karkal ran a centre called Shabri Ashram which was a hostel-cum-colony. Training in some crafts, such as, spinning, gardening and basket-making was also imparted there. This Sangh was responsible for the construction of a Maternity ward in the Local Board Hospital at Karkal, and for the grant of some land by the Government to a dozen Koraga families. For want of funds, the colony work in the Shabri Ashram did not progress much, excepting the sinking of the *Amrut Kup* (well). Kasargod Harijan Sevak Sangh started early in 1944 Thakkar Bapa Harijan Colony at Seethangoly with six huts.<sup>4</sup> The District and associate Harijan Sevak Sanghs held occasional conferences, celebrated some public festivals and anniversaries and arranged public meeting and some *Yaksha-ganam* programmes at different places for carrying on propaganda for the removal of untouchability and for the eradication of some social evils from amongst the Depressed Classes. They occasionally intervened and acted as arbiters in disputes between the Depressed Classes and the Caste Hindus. At times they helped some cottage industries followed by Harijans by giving them financial assistance. The Sangh did not push on with the programme of temple entry in the district.

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4. The land of the colony was taken over by Military Authorities in 1945 or so.



(5) **Private individual efforts**:—By their very nature they lacked continuity and were spasmodic. Starting of some school or carrying on some other social activity was the usual channel through which the efforts flowed. A special mention needs be made of the work carried on by Shri Krishna Vidyalaya at Ramanagar in Kasargod taluka and by Krishna Chaitanya Seva Mission of Byndoor in Coondapur taluka. The former, run by Swami Ramdas, had an industrial section with leather-work, weaving, etc. in which a sort of apprentice ship system was followed. The pupils attending the Vidyalaya were given bath in the morning and were supplied with clean dress and two meals during the working hours of the school. In Byndoor the organiser of the Seva Mission secured for Harijans some land which they were helped to cultivate and live on their yield. He was paying fees for a few Harijan pupils also.

(6) **Efforts by the Depressed classes**:—There were four associations started and run by the Depressed Classes themselves. They were (1) Adi-Dravida-Sangh or *Galeyar Koota* (2) Adi-Karntanak Sangh (3) Labour League and (4) Shiv Samaj. But none of them were actively associated with steady and lasting ameliorative work.

If stock of the ameliorative work done by different agencies, official and non-official, was taken, it would be seen that the condition of a overwhelming majority of the Depressed Class people continued to be distressing and gloomy. What was achieved was precious little, as compared to what remained yet to be done.

In the educational field, the progress made could not be considered as commensurate with the funds expended. In the whole of the district there were hardly a score of Depressed Class matriculates and not more than 2-3 graduates! Large number of boys and girls left elementary schools so early as to relapse into illiteracy. Some of them suffered from wastage and stagnation even before leaving schools. This was probably because of four reasons. Firstly, in single-teacher schools it was not possible for a teacher to give individual attention to pupils of different standards at one and the same time, especially when the number of pupils was large, and further, when the pupils of the Scheduled Castes required much individual attention. This could not but result in wastage and stagnation in lower standards. Secondly, no scholarships were paid to pupils reading in Standards below IV. Thirdly, such pupils were not allowed to be admitted to boarding houses. As a result of the second and third reasons, there was no inducement for parents

to send their children to schools after they sat in the same class or standard for more than one year. On the other hand, the parents knew that they would get some financial help, which they always required, if their children were employed, instead of being sent to schools. Fourthly, the rules governing grants to elementary schools operated harshly in the case of schools for the Depressed Classes. Even with the maximum amount of effort it was often very difficult to secure the attendance prescribed. As no school can have two teachers unless the average attendance for the month was 40, most of the schools had to be content with one teacher though there were more standards than one. It was even difficult to secure the minimum average attendance of 20 which meant in practice that either the school must go without a grant or the communities without a school. It would thus be seen that comparatively a very small number of the Depressed Class children could reach the stage of middle schools. But once they reached that stage they generally went up to S. S. L. C. or Public Examination. It was said, perhaps very uncharitably, that as promotion was the condition precedent for securing a scholarship, most of the Depressed Class pupils were promoted to higher forms every year, though most of them were not up to the mark, with the result that many of them were chucked off at the Public Examination. In regard to scholarships, the number of them was not large. Again, the condition that unless a pupil received marks in the annual examination above the class average in each subject he was not eligible to get a scholarship, made difficult for many pupils to avail themselves of the scholarships offered. Adequate number of pupils was not available to seek scholarships or financial help for prosecuting higher and technical education. The boarding grant rules also operated equally harshly, especially those relating to distance, the promotion and the standard below which the pupils are not to be admitted. A qualified resident warden of proper type is a great necessity for a boarding house. But such wardens could not be secured without paying them well. Non-official agencies that were running the boarding houses hardly ever afforded to pay the requisite salary and the Government did not allow the item of warden's pay to be charged to the boarding grant. For the sake of examination some pupils had to stay in boarding houses for some period after 10 months but no boarding grant was paid in respect of such exceeding period. The non-official agencies in the educational field severely suffered from want of funds. They could not but depend on Government grants which could not be easily secured in adequate amount on account of the stringency of the rules governing them.

As a result of the tardy progress in education, even 8½ per cent of the vacancies in subordinate Government services reserved for the Scheduled Classes could not be filled in by candidates belonging to those classes. And the vacancies that were kept unfilled for want of suitable and qualified candidates were being accumulated. It was very difficult for the Depressed Classes to get employment in private firms dealing with the public. 99 per cent of them were employed in occupations requiring hard physical labour. The land assigned by the Government could not be developed for want of sufficient finance and technical guidance and assistance. Serfdom under the *Mulad Holeya* system continued to survive. It was based on the helpless condition of the untouchables, and ensured cheap and steady supply of labour.

In the social field the situation was more gloomy. True, that the Ande Koragas were no longer required to carry their spittons with them worn suspended from their necks and that the Soppu Koragas and Periangal Vettuvans were no longer required to be dressed with leaves. It is also true that untouchability was no longer scrupulously observed in public conveyances nor was the old restriction existing in Udipi against the untouchables crossing roads in front of the famous Krishna temple there. But barring these glaring instances the untouchability was still observed in the public, notwithstanding the Civil Disabilities Removal Act of 1938. The Depressed Classes had to live in their own quarters outside villages and towns, far removed from orthodox Caste Hindus. They could not enter, as of right, hotels and restaurants. Barbers and washermen refused to serve them. No temples worth the name were thrown open to them even though the Temple Entry Authorization Act was passed and brought on the Statute Book. The untouchability persisted even after death. The Depressed Classes were not allowed to cremate or bury their dead in the ground or shed reserved for Caste Hindus. As late as in 1945 some young men of the Mundala community in Mangalore were dragged in a Criminal Court for burning the dead body of a Mundala under a shed reserved for Caste Hindus under the terms of an endowment. In the trial court three of the accused were convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 150 each. But in Appellate Court the conviction was quashed and the right of the Depressed Classes to burn or bury their dead in public cremation or burial grounds was vindicated. This 'cremation ground case' brought into light the vagueness of the Civil Disabilities Removal Act and also the mentality of some Caste Hindus. In rural areas the situation was worse still. The Depressed Classes could not as a rule protect and exert

their rights. Control of landlords over touchable labourers was not as absolute and as general as over the Depressed Classes. The latter had to be always meek and submissive. Their disobedience or boldness was meted out with punishment, such as, bringing false cases in the village court or in criminal courts, pulling down huts, etc.<sup>4</sup> How they were ill-treated and harrassed by their master-landlords came to light in Dogu's Case<sup>5</sup> of 1940. There were cases in which the landlords refused permission to their agricultural labourers to send their children to schools on the ground that otherwise there would be nobody to look after their cattle. Those who dared to send their children to schools were threatened with

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4. The ways in which the Depressed Classes were punished for their disobedience have been described in the Abstracts of Proceeding of the Board of Revenue of the Government of Madras dated 5th Nov., 1892, No. 723. The forms of oppression were: (1) Bringing false cases in village courts or in the Criminal Courts. (2) Obtaining, on application, from Government waste lands bying all round the *paracheri*, so as to impound the Paraihs cattle or obstruct the way to their temple. (3) Having *mirasi* names fraudulently entered in Government account against the *paracheri*. (4) Pulling down the huts and destroying the growth in the backyards. (5) Denying occupancy right in immemorial sub-tenancies. (6) Forcibly cutting the Paraihs crops and on being resisted, charge them with theft and rioting. (7) Under misrepresentations, getting them to execute documents by which they are afterwards ruined. (8) Cutting off the flow of water from their fields. (9) Without legal notice, having the property of sub-tenants attached for the landlords' arrears of revenue.

5. The facts of the case were as following. One Dogu, Mera by caste, of the village Durga (near Karkal) was beaten black and blue by the tenants of Sri. Anant Bhat, an arecanut planter of the place, and had to lie in a hospital at Karkal for treatment for a few days. The beating was given because Dogu complained to the Patel that grass in his *Darkhast* land was forcibly removed by Anant Bhat's tenants. This boldness of Dogu enraged Anant Bhat and his tenants who wreaked revenge in him by the above punishment. Dogu was dragged in the presence of Anant Bhat who ordered him to pay a fine of Rs. 8. This incident was referred to Mahatma Gandhi by Sri. K. K. Rama Pothawal, a social worker of Karkal. While the case was pending before the District and Karkal Harijan Sevak Sanghs, the late Sri. Hanmantrao S. Kaujalgi of Bijapur was deputed to conduct an enquiry into the case. The enquiry revealed that the facts, as reported, were substantially correct. But some extraneous considerations prevailed and through the intervention of the District H. S. Sangh a compromise was effected on the following terms: (1) that the silver zone of Dogu deposited by him with Anant Bhat should be returned, (2) that Dogu should receive Rs. 4 from Anant Bhat and (3) that Anant Bhat should pay a donation of Rs. 6 to the Karkal Harijan Sevak Sangh. In conversation with him, Anant Bhat told me that Dogu was a thief and was therefore beaten. But the enquiry did not reveal any theft. Cases of such harrassment in other interior talukas could be multiplied,

dismissals. Philanthropists and social workers like K. P. Sheshagiri Prabhu of Karkal, Annappa Kamath of Coondapur, Kunhambu of Karindolam (Kasargod taluka) and others have had to close their schools owing to landlords' opposition to children of their labourers attending them. In the matter of house-sites and drinking water, a large majority of the Depressed Class people had to depend upon the tender mercy of their masters.

On the whole, the situation was not completely dark and hopeless. As a class, the educated Caste Hindus and some landlords sympathised with the Depressed Classes in their sad plight and favoured the abolition of untouchability. But the sympathy of many of them did not sufficiently manifest itself in practice. While some others associated themselves actively with non-official agencies in different places and talukas that undertook and carried on some activity or other for the upliftment of the Depressed Classes. The more advanced of the Depressed Classes had also become conscious of their rights and privileges but not so much of their corresponding duties and responsibilities. This often confronted their best and sincere well-wishers. But the general masses continued to remain as ignorant as ever about their civic rights and surrendered themselves unquestioningly to the will of their masters.

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### *Section II—A Prospect.*

If moral and material welfare of the Depressed Classes is to be achieved within a measurable span of time, a realistic and scientific approach is urgently called for. Amelioration of a hundred thousand people is no mean task and will require extensive and intensive efforts to perform it. Government alone, with its vast resources in men and money, can cope with them. In this connection, the natural limitations of non official or voluntary agencies should be clearly recognised and Government should accept the entire responsibility.

The Labour Department of the Government of Madras is at present entrusted with the work of Harijan uplift and also with the working of trade unions and their allied Acts. The work of both these sections is assuming ever-increasing importance and is rapidly expanding. To discharge the responsibilities of each section properly and fully, bifurcation of the present department is highly desirable. In Bombay, there is a separate Backward Class Depart-

ment which has nothing to do with labour welfare. The Government of United Provinces is soon opening a separate Department for Harijan Uplift. It is high time for Madras Government to consider this question seriously. In districts, the staff of the District Labour Officer needs great strengthening. Each taluka and sub-taluka should have one active Labour Inspector or Welfare Officer.

Many of the ills from which the Depressed Classes in South Kanara were found suffering could be traced very largely to their deplorable economic condition. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that in any programme of ameliorative measures for the Depressed Classes, a top priority should be given to the improvement of their economic condition.

The customs of *Mulad* and *Salad Holeyas* and of renting out *Mulad Holeyas* should be abolished immediately. An Act on the lines of the Orissa Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation, 1948, if enacted on having due regard to the conditions and circumstances obtaining in Madras Province, might go a long way in effecting this. Any breach in any form of the law should be severely dealt with. Labourers should be freed from all economic bondages. They should be at liberty to go any where any time as they like. Establishment of mobility of labour will lead to increase in the earnings of Harijan labourers. If payment of wages lower than prescribed minima to agricultural and garden labourers could be forbidden under a law, a great stride will have been taken towards the abolition of the *Mulad Holeyas* system.

Under no circumstances, employers should be allowed to advance loans to their employees. This should apply both to agricultural and non-agricultural occupations and to loans in cash and kind as well. For, such loans result in restricting the freedom of labourers. The employers should otherwise be forced to register themselves as money lenders, so that their transactions will be open to checking and thus brought within the purview of law.

Recruitment to plantations should be made directly by planters themselves through the Labour Department of their Association and not through *maistries* or *sherigars* as at present. The authorised agents of the Labour Department should maintain registers of their recruits in a prescribed form, which should be open for inspection. The practice of giving pre-employment advances should be stopped or the amount of advance, fixed at a reasonable figure,

should be made to be disbursed in the presence of a village officer or any officer of the Government Labour Department. The advance so given should be recovered from wages earned within the first two months or so. Wages should be paid directly to labourers and not through their recruiting agents as at present. No deceit will be required to practise on ignorant and poor labourers if the housing and working conditions on plantations are sufficiently improved.

Land for cultivation should be equitably assigned among different Depressed Class communities. The claims of backward communities should be given preference as far as possible. The assignees of the land should be tempted, by promising them more concessions and facilities, to organise themselves on co-operative lines. To develop the land adequate finance and necessary technical advice and assistance should be provided. The finance may be given through the existing Co-operative Societies or in the form of *tagai* by the Revenue Department.

Agricultural rent payable by tenants should be fixed as in Bombay Province. The long-standing rights of the Depressed Classes should also be protected in a suitable way.

The handicraftsmen like the Koragas, the Madigas and the Nalkeyavas should be organised on co-operative basis both for purchasing or securing raw materials and for marketing the finished products. The rapacious middlemen should be completely eliminated.

The indebtedness of the Harijans should be enquired into and long-standing debts should be liquidated, if double the capital is already being paid through interest, or scaled down to a reasonable level.

The general income level and the standard of living of the masses may not rise unless and until some more large and small scale industries are started in the district. They will provide full-time and part-time employment to many of those labourers now employed in agriculture.

If untouchability is soon to become a thing of the past, the theory of persuasion and change of heart should not too much be relied upon. The pace of social reform can be quickened only if legal sanction was behind it. It is a good augury that the Government of Madras has now realised this. As early as in August 1924

the Government enunciated its policy as regards the rights of the Scheduled Classes to frequent places of public resort, when Diwan Bahadur R. Srinivasan's resolution was passed in Legislative Council of Madras. 14 years later the Civil Disabilities Removal Act was passed which was followed by the Temple Entry Authorization Act of 1939, both the Acts being enabling measures. But in spite of all this, the condition of the Depressed Classes remained substantially unchanged. The Government of Madras had, therefore, to change its policy to meet the requirements of the rapidly changing times. This change of policy was evident from the amendments enacted in 1947 to both the above Acts. Under the Temple Entry Authorization and Indemnity Act, as it stands to-day, entry of Harijans and other excluded classes into temples will be permissible irrespective of the consent of the temple authorities, on the approval of the Government. It will be an inherent right exercisable by the hitherto excluded classes with the full weight of legal sanction behind them. While the amendment to Civil Disabilities Removal Act, 1938, makes the original legislation more comprehensive and effective by imposing penalties on those who attempt to prevent the entry of members of the Harijan community into public places like hotels, theatres, eating houses etc. The amendment removes the vagueness prevailing in respect of the rights of the Harijans and penalizes any attempt at harrassment in the exercise of those rights. All the offences under this Act have been made cognisable. If the civil rights and liberties provided in this Act and also incorporated in the Constitution of Indian Union are really to be exercised and enjoyed by the Harijans, the Government will have to see that all encroachments on them are severely punished. As the Depressed Classes or Harijans form a small minority in every village, it is not usually possible for them to exercise their rights and enjoy the liberties promised to them without obstruction from orthodox Caste Hindus. A possibility may arise of the Harijans being boycotted. This will have to be prevented by legislation, if necessary. It should be a part of the duty of Labour Inspectors and Welfare officers to see that offenders against the Civil Disabilities Removal Act are brought to book. Voluntary agencies, in cooperation with the Labour Department, can render very useful service in this field. They can very well arrange for free legal aid in cases in which the rights and liberties of the Harijans are in dispute.

Segregation of Harijans in any form should be stopped. No separate schools should be run for Harijans. One can understand the Labour Department opening schools in places where there are



no schools whatsoever, but not 'in places where, owing to caste prejudices, the existing schools are not easily accessible to them'. If there are such schools which refuse admission to Harijan children, they should be forced to admit them, and no separate Labour Schools should be started in the very places. For, opening separate schools under the above circumstances means, by implication, that the Government acquiesces in the discrimination against the Harijans by the management of the schools concerned. Any attempts to circumvent the rules for grants-in-aid should be prevented by making the latter more stringent, if necessary. It is usually argued in favour of maintaining separate schools that differential treatment would be accorded in general schools to children of the Depressed Classes. The experience of Local Board Schools in South Kanara showed that the fear was ill-founded. But even supposing that it was real, it should be the duty of authorities concerned and Labour Inspectors to see that it is stopped forthwith. It is also argued that if separate schools for Harijans are closed the children at present reading in them would go without schooling. It should be remembered here that some efforts have had to be made to get children attend even the separate schools. It was expected of the teachers in them to go about and assemble the children every day. In the absence of separate schools this work will have to be shouldered by some agency, official or voluntary. If general schools are made more attractive than at present and if the amenities and concessions usually given in separate schools are also being provided in general schools there is no reason why Harijan children should go without schooling. It was further argued that the separate schools were open to children of Caste Hindus. Technically this was true but the fact remained that the latter did not attend such schools. Thus, in practice, Harijan children got segregated. The segregation of Harijan children was in the long run harmful to them. The separate schools were found to be not as efficient as the general schools, so far as educational standards were concerned. Healthy competition among pupils was wanting in them. Harijan children did not get opportunities of mixing freely with Caste Hindu and other children and of learning new things by close contact. As against this, they had everything to gain in general schools. There is a possibility of Harijan children lagging behind the class average. This can and should be remedied by giving extra coaching to Harijan children in their hostels or boarding houses. In Bijapur (Bombay Presidency) there are no separate schools for Harijans and the district is not considered as educationally advanced. Yet, about 80 Harijan students passed their matri-

ulation examination within 12 years or so. This was because Sri. Kaka Karkhanis, the local Harijan Sevak, arranged privately extra coaching to children in the Harijan Hostels there.<sup>6</sup>

The Government of Madras has now launched upon a scheme of free and compulsory primary education by stages. As a part of the scheme education is made compulsory in one taluka of the district. Compulsion would solve many difficulties that were encountered before, such as, attendance of pupils, bringing all school-age children to schools, relapse into illiteracy, employment of children of school-age etc. It is too early to say anything as to how the scheme may work out in practice. Compulsory education of children for 5-6 years would mean economic loss to their parents, poor and needy as they are. The Government should, therefore, at least see that it does not put any additional burden on them. This can be done by providing morning and mid-day meals, dress, books, slates etc. free of cost to Scheduled Castes children.

In aided elementary schools the rules relating to minimum attendance should be revised. It should be recognised that they affect the spread of education among the Depressed Classes and other backward communities. If a lower minimum is fixed in the case of schools for these communities, it would greatly assist the spread of education among them. Alternatively, to increase the attendance in such schools, the Government should pay 'regular attendance scholarships' to large number of pupils. Such scholarships are being given by the Government of Bombay to the children of Aboriginal and Hill Tribes attending voluntary schools in the Kolaba district (Bombay Province) at the rate of one anna per diem. The Labour Department of the Government of Madras should also consider such a proposal favourably. The giving of mid-day meals to Harijan pupils would also increase their attendance in elementary schools. The Labour Department should come forward to give a grant for the purpose to such schools.

The present rules governing grant of fresh scholarships and renewals should be liberalized in the case of Harijan children. Mere securing promotion by Harijan pupils and the declaration by the head of the institution about their aptitude for study and progress should be considered sufficient for granting fresh scholar-

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6. Sri Karkhanis was responsible for managing three hostels, one for girls and the other two for boys, one of the latter was for Lamani boys. He gave individual attention to each boarder from schooling to securing employment for them. The Harijan work had become his life-mission.

ships and renewals. It would not be asking too much if the Government is requested to order that every pupil whose progress is satisfactory should be entitled to a scholarship. In the case of girls this concession is absolutely necessary. In the case of pupils appearing for Public Examinations they automatically cease to receive scholarships once they fail. This has proved a great obstacle. It cuts short academic career of many a pupil. Exemptions from payment of examination fees is in some cases refused pending the publication of results, though it is well-known that the pupils are sent up for examination by the heads of institutions only after careful selection. Exceptions to such rules should be made in the case of Harijan children. Even examination fees for a second or third attempt should be sanctioned for these pupils. The amount placed at the disposal of the Collectors to give lump sum grants should be substantially increased.

If foundation is laid well in the elementary schools by attracting much larger number of Harijan pupils than ever before and also by improving their standard of education, there will be no shortage of pupils in middle schools and colleges. If possible, Harijans should be diverted from the teaching line. Harijan teachers may be employed in bigger schools. Excepting Educational Department, they should be appointed in any other departments of Government, as far as possible.

The problem of adult education may be taken up by voluntary bodies by running night classes for the purpose. They should be given grants by Government to meet all the necessary expenses.

Instead of opening and running schools for Harijans, voluntary agencies should do well to open many hostels or boarding houses for their school-going children. But the attitude of Government towards subsidised hostels is far from satisfactory. The running of boarding houses is undertaken by voluntary agencies purely as a love of labour. Instead of giving all possible encouragement, it is regrettable that the Government is doing everything to discourage them. For instance, no application for boarding grant could be sanctioned unless the hostel is run successfully at least for one year. This condition should be waived in the case of boarding houses run for the Harijans by recognised voluntary agencies. Again, certain items of expenditure, such as, warden's salary and the expenditure that has to be incurred after the stipulated period of ten months cannot be charged to the boarding grants. Especially in regard to the warden's salary the Government should not stick to the letter.

of the rule. Taking into consideration the important role that the warden plays into the lives of boarders, the Government should allow expenditure incurred on that to be charged to Boarding grants or give a separate grant towards the maintenance of boarding houses. In the case of hostels maintained for Mahadeo Koli community children in Poona district (Bombay Province), overhead expenses are met by Government of Bombay by giving a separate grant in addition to boarding grant. A comparison of the cost of maintaining hostels run by Government with that of subsidised agencies will disclose the glaring fact that their cost is inordinately high and out of all proportion to the number maintained. Neither can it be said that in all cases Government institutions are conducted more efficiently. Such being the case, the Government should change its attitude towards subsidised hostels and should see that they do not suffer for want of sufficient grant. One may go to the extent of suggesting that, as the Government agency is bound to be costly, steps should be taken to hand over the existing Government hostels to non-official bodies by sanctioning liberal grants. The Government should revise the conditions governing the boarding grant so as to liberalise them as far as possible. For, some of them operate harshly in many cases. One of the conditions for the eligibility to the boarding grant is the pupil's securing promotion from the lower standard or form. At times it so happens that pupils showing good progress throughout fail in the annual examination owing to some inexplicable reasons. In such cases also they cease to be eligible to receive boarding grants. As their parents are poor they cannot continue their education without boarding grants and have, therefore, to leave their studies. This is a highly undesirable situation. On producing certificates about their satisfactory progress from the heads of institution in which they were reading the District Labour Officer or the Collector should be authorised to waive the condition concerned. If the policy of the Government is to invariably induce Harijans to live in hostels attached to educational institutions, it becomes all the more necessary for the Government to review the existing condition about the boarding grant.

Unless the problem of education is properly solved, suitable and qualified Harijan candidates will not be available in sufficient numbers to fill the vacancies reserved for them by Government. This makes concentrating attention on education all the more urgent and necessary. But in the meantime, candidates with lesser qualification than prescribed, may be considered for appointment

only if the standard of efficiency of the department concerned is not going to be adversely affected thereby.

Christian converts should not be given any concessions provided by the Labour Department to the Scheduled Classes in respect of scholarships, boarding grants, house-sites etc. To continue to give concessions even after conversion means in practice encouraging conversion to Christianity with the help of public funds.

The new housing and colonization scheme of the Government of Madras is welcome. But it will be launched only in some selected places in each district.

It should be the policy of the Government to assign only one house-site to each family. Of late, land-hunger was more evident in some advanced communities than others. The Government should cancel assignments of more than two plots in the name of one family. Backward communities in backward tracts, like Hosdurg Sub-Division, should receive more attention of the Government than heretofore. Quarrying was started by some assignees in their own plots in some particular colonies. Some assignees had alienated their rights over their plots as soon as the period of 10 years was over. While assigning house-sites the Labour Department should lay down stringent conditions about the use and transfer of the sites. Government should also insist at the time of assignment that when house or hut is to be put up it should be done according to a given design. If construction according to design is likely to cost more, the Government should supply necessary building materials and recover their cost in equated annual instalments not exceeding five. By insisting on the house or hut being constructed according to a design, it will be possible to ensure its conforming to a hygienic standard.

The Prohibition Act is being applied to South Kanara from 1st October 1947. As drinking is a form of escapism for the majority of drunkards, it has been the aim of Government to create conditions in villages which will minimise the urge to drink to the greatest extent possible. It has, therefore, been decided to provide counter-attractions to drinks in the form of refreshment in or near the toddy shops, to provide sports, games and entertainment to relieve the tedium and boredom of the evening hours and to organise thrift movement particularly for ex-addicts but open to all. But the financial provision made for the refreshment-stalls is very meagre. Perhaps the period of three months for which the Government proposes to run the stalls may prove to be short. If the

Government wants to see the end of the drinking habit it should not rely too much on non-officials to come forward to finance the stalls. The problems arising out of the prohibition campaign, such as, illicit distillation and finding suitable employment for the toddy-tappers should receive Government's prompt attention.

It was decided by Madras Government some 12-13 years back to prepare a very elaborate survey village by village of the condition of the Depressed Classes. But owing to financial considerations the decision did not materialise. But only last year the Government constituted a Provincial Harijan Welfare Committee to formulate a 5-year plan for Harijan welfare in all directions and to draw up an immediate scheme for the utilisation of the sum of Rs. 1 crore set apart for Harijan welfare work. The committee will also enquire into and report on the progress of the enforcement of the legislative measures in this field. A sub-committee will tour and collect first hand information on all the matters referred to the committee. This is a good idea so far as it goes. The Government should aim at taking detailed surveys, in all the districts, of the social and economic conditions of the Depressed Classes and get the work done and progress made reviewed objectively after every ten years or so by appointing a special committee for the purpose.

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## APPENDIX I

### Notes on Depressed Class Communities.

( The following notes on individual communities under survey were based on (1) W. Francis's Caste Glossary (Madras Census Report, Part I, 1901, pp. 140-185), (2) J. Sturrock's South Kanara Manual, Vol. I, 1894, (3) E. Thurston's Castes and Tribes in Southern India, Vols. I-VIII, (4) Lewis Rice's Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer, 1877, (5) L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer's Mysore Castes and Tribes and (6) R. E. Enthoven's Tribes and Castes of Bombay. The available material was supplemented, wherever possible, by oral information casually gathered during the survey. Territorial distribution and occupations of each community were also noted. )

(1) **Baira or Byāgāra** :—W. Francis mentioned this as a sub-caste of Holeyas<sup>1</sup>. According to E. Thurston Bēgāra or Byāgāra is a synonym applied to the Holeyas by Kanarese Lingayats<sup>2</sup>. Like the Holeyas, the Bairas were given to beef eating. This community did not seem to be indigenous one for two reasons. Firstly, its mother-tongue was Kannad. Secondly, the Bairas followed the *Makal Santan* law of succession and not the *Aliya Santan* of the Tuluvas. They were found mostly in Puttur taluka. The Bairas were agricultural labourers but also followed basket-making as a supplementary occupation.

(2) **Baithadā-Bākudā** :—As it was popularly believed that these two Tulu castes were allied and intermarriages took place between them, they were grouped together. Neither W. Francis nor E. Thurston mentioned the name of the Baithadā caste. About the Bākudās, W. Francis only noted that they were a sub-caste of Holeyas. According to E. Thurston, the Bākudās and the Mundālās were one and the same community, being a sub-caste of Holeyas. He asserted that "A stranger, asking a woman if her husband is at home, is expected to refer to him as her Bākudā, and not as her Mundālā."<sup>3</sup> But this distinction seemed to have become obsolete and the Bākudās had become by 1945 a community or caste quite distinct from the Mundālās. As the oral evidence had it, inter-

1. Madras Census Report, part I, 1901, p. 149.

2. Castes and Tribes, Vol. II, p. 344.

3. *Ibid*, p. 345.

marriages did not take place between them two. The Bākudās called themselves *Aipattukuladavaru* or 'the people of fifty families.' As they spoke a form of old Kannad and as their special *Bhūta*, Kambigara, was supposed to have come from Mysore, it was possible that they were of Mysore origin.<sup>4</sup> But the law of succession that they followed militated against the above theory. Like the Baithadās, they were governed by the *Aliya Santan* law of inheritance. E. Thurston gives the following as the peculiarities of the Bākudās. "They will not touch dead cows or calves or remove the placenta when a cow calves. Nor will they touch leather, especially in the form of shoes. They will not carry cots on which rice sheaves are thrashed, chairs, etc. which have four legs. The women always wear their cloth in one piece, and are not allowed, like the Holeyas, to have it made of two pieces."<sup>5</sup> The Bākudās considered themselves superior in status than Bilimaggās and Jādās (weavers), Paravās and Nalkes (Devil-dancers) and did not partake their food. Their special *Bhūtas* were Kodababbu and Kamberlu (or Kangilu). In some cases, the office of the headman, called *Mukhāri*, was connected with his house-site, which meant that the *Mukhāri* could not leave the latter without losing the office, except without the general consent of the community. The *Mukhāri* had two assistants, called *Jammanā* and *Bondari*. The marriage ceremony and the purificatory ceremony in cases of adultery were elaborate.<sup>6</sup> Both the Baithadās and the Bākudās abstained from beef-eating. As among the Nāyars of Malabar, Baithadā girls stayed on with their mothers even after their marriage. Both these communities lived in the coastal talukas, the Baithadās being found largely in Coondapur. They were employed as agricultural labourers. But quite a few Bākudās engaged themselves in non-agricultural occupations too, like sweeping, stone-cutting, etc.

(3) **Goddā** :—Being a small community, found largely in Mangalore taluka, the name of the Goddās was not mentioned by E. Thurston and others. Their mother-tongue was Tulu but followed *Makal Santan* law of succession. The origin, the social status and the habitat of this caste could not be traced. The Goddās were agriculturists and agricultural labourers, but were not as backward economically and socially as the Mari Holeyas.

(4) **Kaipuda, Merā and Mugayārā or Mogerā** :— These were one and the same community. According to E. Thurston it was a

4. Sturrock, *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 345.

6. *Op. cit.*, pp. 346-348.



sub-sect of the Holeyas. The Merās were the most numerous especially in Puttur and Kasargod talukas. They did not eat beef and refused to touch leather in any form. But, like the Bakudās, they had no objection to carrying four-legged articles.<sup>7</sup> Though their mother-tongue is Tulu, they followed the *Makal Santan* law of inheritance. The Mugayārās, however, were an exception to this, as they followed *Aliya Santan* rule of succession. The office of the headman, called *Kuruneru*, passes to the son instead of to the nephew, and carried a badge of a cane with a silver band. The Kaipudā-Merās were agricultural labourers but some of them prepared *Gurbus* (banana spathe or grass caps) in summer months as a supplementary occupation. The huts of the Meras were known as *Pattas*, and their marriage was called *Badathana* and resembled that of the Mari Holeyas.

(5) **Kāradhi, Manisā Mailā and Māri.Holeya** :— E. Thurston mentions Mailā as a sub-sect of the Holeyas. Following the analogy of Mailāri (washerman) occurring among the Mālās, he thought that since the word 'mailā' mean dirt, it was probably the washerman section.<sup>8</sup> But the traditional occupation of the Mailās did not support this conjecture. Owing to their unclean habits in eating and drinking and their dirtiness, the Mailas might have been called by that name. Kāradhi was a synonym applied to Holeyas by the Bakudās,<sup>9</sup> and reminds one of the Pāradhi caste of untouchables in Bombay Deccan. Though known by different names, all of them belonged to the same caste Holeya. The term Holeya may be derived from *holā* which means in Kannad a dry crop-field; Holeya meaning thereby a field-labourer. But according to others it came from *hole* which means dirty, pollution. The latter derivation explains how the Holeyas came to be regarded as an impure caste whose touch is defiling. It also gives clue to the origin of the name 'Mailā.' From their totemistic social divisions and their eating carrion, R. E. Enthoven called them one of the aboriginal tribes of South India.<sup>10</sup> According to Lewis Rice the Holeya was the lowest of the right hand faction<sup>11</sup> of eighteen castes in Dravid countries. The Holeyas were found in Mysore and Bombay Karnatak, Pulayan being the Malayalam and Paraiyan and Polaiyar the Tamil names for them. But the Holeyas of South Kanara are essentially a Tulu, not a Kanarese, community.

7. Thurston, p. 348.

8. Ibid. p. 344.

9. Ibid. p. 348.

10. The Tribes and Castes of Bombay, Vol. II, p. 75.

11. Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 347

In that district, Holeyas is a general name applied to the polluting castes. The Mari Holeyas ate beef and carcasses<sup>12</sup> and followed the *Aliya Santan* rule of inheritance. Their huts were called *kelu*, while *gudda* was a general name for the huts of the Holeyas caste. The headmen among the Mari Holeyas are called *Mulia*, *Bolliyadi* and *Kallali*. Unlike those of the Bākudas, the office of the headman follows in the female line of succession. In addition to various *Bhūtās*, they have two special *Bhūtās* called Kattadhe and Kanadhe, whom they regard as their ancestors. Marriage among the Māri Holeyas is called *porathavu*. Intermarriages between the Mailās and the other three groups were not common, as the former were living in Kasargod taluka and spoke Malayalam in addition to Tulu. Dowry system prevailed among them, the dowry being fixed at eight *muras* of paddy. When a girl reaches puberty, she is expected to remain within a hut for twelve days. In Mysore, on the other hand, she is kept aloof in a new shed formed for the purpose for a period of three to seven days when she is supposed to be in a state of pollution.<sup>13</sup> E. Thurston describes a form of token burning of the dead in addition to burial as follows: "A pit is dug near the grave into which an image of the deceased, made of rice straw, is put. The image is set on fire by his son or nephew."<sup>14</sup> This burning of the image of the dead was not found in any other Depressed Castes of South Kanara, nor was it witnessed among the Holeyas of Mysore. The Mari Holeyas lived largely in the interior parts of Karkal, Puttur and Kasargod talukas. They were field-labourers and former agrestic serfs of South Kanara, known as *Mulad Holeyas*. More than two-fifths of the *Mulad Holeyas* recorded in the survey belonged to the Māri Holeyas-Kāradhi community. The Mailas were mostly employed in pepper gardens. Notwithstanding high wages in the coffee estates above the ghats, many of the old serfs acknowledged their ancestral master and did not care to leave his service. They lived in isolated places in the recesses of jungles, toiling for their masters, and almost entirely untouched by new ideas and economic motives. Of all the Depressed Class communities in South Kanara the Mari Holeyas for their numbers were perhaps the most backward community. The Manisarū did a little leather-dressing in their spare time. All the groups of Mari Holeyas indulged in excessive drinking. But the Mailās drank only on two days in a month, viz. *Amavasya* and solar new moon

12. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer gives a very interesting legend as to how the Holeyas started eating the carcass, Vol. III, p. 322.

13. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *Ibid*, p. 325.

14. *Op. cit.*, p. 350.

day. The Mailās, like the Vettuvanas, had to pay in kind for the purchases made by them.

(5) **Koraga** :—According to the Madras Census Report, 1901, the Koragas were chiefly found in parts which now form Karkal and Puttur talukas. But in 1945 they were found in larger numbers in the coastal talukas than in the interior ones of Karkal and Puttur. The wandering character of the tribe and main occupation, coupled with the similarity of name, led many people to believe that it was allied to Koramas, Korchas, Koravas or Yerukulas, the well-known gypsy tribes of basket-makers. The tribal tradition is that the Koragas came from Anantapur along with the army of their chief Habashika. From the traditional accounts about the composition of this army, it was probable, according to J. Sturrock, that the Koragas and the Holeyas were 'once closely connected though they are now distinct.'<sup>15</sup> The fact that some of the Koraga exogamous septs, (*balis*) such as, *Haledennaya* and *Kumerdennaya* are also found among the Mari Holeyas and the Mundalas, lends support to the above theory. Their peculiar physical characteristics—middle-sized, black-skinned, thick-lipped, noses broad and flat, high cheek bones, sloping foreheads and hair rough and bushy—and the name of their legendary chief, along with the traditional account of their not being local, led Rao Saheb P. R. Ranganath Poonja to infer that they might have been connected with the Habashis or Ethiopians.<sup>16</sup> According to Brahmin chroniclers, the Koragas are the lowest and the last of the fifteen classes of the Chandalas. One traditional account of the Koragas says that their chief Habashik was expelled by Lokaditya of Gokarnam whose date is fixed by Wilks about 1450 B. C. Another version of the tradition, as cited by Walhouse, says that Anagrwarma of Manjeshwar, a place 12 miles south of Mangalore, treacherously killed Habashik and drove his invading army of Koragas to jungles where they were reduced to such a plight that they consented to become slaves. But "the probability is" says E. Thurston "that these lowest slave-castes (of Koragas) are the descendants of that primitive population which the Aryan invaders from the north found occupying the soil, and after a struggle of ages, gradually dispossessed, driving some to the hills and jungles, and reducing others to the condition of slaves."<sup>17</sup> The Koragas rank below the Holeyas in

15. *Op. cit.*, p. 176.

16. This is from the unpublished work of Rao Saheb Poonja, Advocate, Mangalore.

17. *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 425.

social status. Though they are regarded with contempt and loathing, the Koragas are believed to possess secret powers of magic and witchcraft and influence with the old malignant deities of the soil, who can direct good or evil fortune.<sup>18</sup> They were so much feared by the old superstitious Hindus that they would not venture to utter the word Koraga after night-fall but would use instead the expression 'the black-legged.'

The Koragas are divided into three clans—the Ande or Ada Koragas, Vastra Koragas and Soppu or Soppina Koragas. The first mentioned clan affords an example of refinement of the untouchability theory to distance pollution. The Ande Koragas were considered so unclean that their very spittle on the roads, no matter how old, defiled the higher castes; they had, therefore, to relieve themselves into a bamboo tube worn suspended from the neck. But cases of such extreme susceptibility were not found in the 'thrities as the author of the Madras Census Report, 1931, testifies.<sup>19</sup> It was further said that in pre-British days Ande Koragas were so much despised and feared that they had to take out a license to enter towns and villages by day. At night their mere approach thereto was forbidden, as their presence was supposed to cause terrible calamity. The Vastra clan received as clothes the shrouds of the dead, while the Soppu clan was so called from their custom of wearing leaves as a dress, which seemed to have become obsolete long back. Similarly, the Koraga dress described by Ullal Raghavendra Rao in the last century was nowhere seen in 1945. They covered the lower part of their body with a black cloth and the upper part with a white one, women leaving the bosom bare. But some women had taken to wearing sarees like the Holeyas. Another account gives the three sub-divisions as (1) *Kappada*, those who wear clothes, (2) *Tippi*, who wear ornaments made of the cocoanut-shell and (3) *Vanti*, who wear a peculiar kind of large ear-rings. These three clans could eat together but not intermarry. They wear a cap made of the arecanut spathe. Their ornaments consisted of brass ear-rings, an iron bracelet and beads of bone strung on a thread. The Koragas were originally worshippers of the Sun and are still called after the names of the days of the week. They had no separate temples for their God, *Kata*, worship in whose honour was usually performed in the months of May, July or October. The Koragas worshipped

18. The examples given by Thurston (p. 426) to show how this superstitious fear of the Hindus worked in practice are interesting. But they are not peculiar to south Kanara alone.

19. Part I, p. 344.

Mari Amma and *Bhutas*, especially Panjurli (pig), festival celebrated in honour of the latter being called Tambilu. They had no priests, but the head of each family conducted all ceremonies. They had no fixed feasts exclusively of their own, but for a long time they had been observing *Gokul Ashtami* and the *Chowti*. The latter was associated more with feasting and merry-making than with religious performance. Any irregularity in caste-dinners on festive occasions was not tolerated. The offender was sentenced to pay a fine that would cover the expenses of another feast or dinner. Non-submission to it meant excommunication and boycott by the castemen, including the offender's family.

There was no fixed age for marriage, but child marriages were not common. The ceremony was performed at the bridegroom's house, generally on a Sunday which is an auspices day for the Koragas. Unlike other Depressed castes in South Kanara, the Koragas did not allow divorce even by custom. With the Koragas, marriage was indissoluble but a widow was entitled to remarriage. Though the punishment for adultery was ostracism, the offenders could be re-admitted into the caste after burning down seven small huts erected at their expense, into which the guilty persons were made to enter one after the other. When a child is born, the inmates leave the *Koppu* (Koraga's hut) for five nights. On the sixth night the mother and the child become holy after bath. The dead were buried.

Koragas eat carrion and the flesh of crocodiles, the latter being restricted to them alone. They eat food left over after feasts held by various castes. They shared the prejudice against carrying any four-legged animals, dead or alive, and other articles with four legs. Social disputes were settled by their caste-headmen.

It is generally believed that the Koragas have their own peculiar dialect generally spoken by them at their *Koppus*. But Walhouse doubted whether this was anything more than 'an idiom or slang'. They were very touchy when asked about the details of their dialect. Whatever their dialect or tongue, the Koragas followed *Aliya santan* law of inheritance.

The Koragas have been described by Walhouse, E. Thurston and others as the lowest of the slave castes of south Kanara.<sup>20</sup>

20. The account of Walhouse and Ullal Raghavendra Rao, as given by E. Thurston (pp. 430-432), about the slavery of Koragas is barrowing. As a historical fact, it makes an interesting reading. It is very surprising indeed that a backward community like the Koragas could become free, without any external help, within half a century or so.

But in 1945 none of them was found to be a *Mulada Holeyas*. In fact, a very few Koragas, comparatively speaking, were returned as being employed as agricultural labourers. Basket-making was their chief means of subsistence. Some of them were skillful in the manufacture of cradles, baskets, cylinders to hold paddy, winnowing and sowing baskets, scale pans, boxes, rice water strainers, coir rope, brushes for washing cattle, etc. They also manufactured various domestic utensils from soap-stone. In addition to this, they were employed as scavengers and drummers. They collected the hide, horns and bones of dead animals and sold them away. As compared to the *Manisa Maṛi Holeyas*, the Koragas were in a better position from the economic point of view, and their abject slavery had become a thing of the past.

(7) **Madiga** :—This was not an indigenous community of South Kanara. Its mother-tongue was Kannad and its succession was governed by the *Makal Sanian* law. They were found in larger numbers in Kasargod and Mangalore talukas. The Madigas, according to L. Rice, were the lowest of the left hand group of castes and were regarded as lower than the Holeyas.<sup>21</sup> It was said that some Madigas of South Kanara buried their dead in their own houses. The main occupation of the Madigas was the curing and tanning of hides and the manufacture of leather articles, such as, sandals, water-buckets, etc. The Madiga women in Kasargod taluka engaged themselves in manufacturing quick lime and some of them also worked as agricultural labourers during rainy season. The Madigas used to eat beef and carrion. The *Basavi* custom so commonly found among the Telugu Madigas was not followed by the Madigas of South Kanara. According to L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer the Madigas correspond to the caste known as Mang in the Maharashtra country.<sup>22</sup>

(8) **Mundālā and Uppāra** :—According to J. Sturrock and E. Thurston, Mundālā and Bakudā were one and the same community, being a sub-division of Holeyas. It was not known how it first came to be divided into two different castes. The group that came under the influence of Lingayatism, viz. of Mundālās, seems to have parted company with the Bakudās. The fact that the Mundālā group was the most advanced of all from every point of view, might have led to the restriction of marriages to the group itself, thereby hardening the caste barriers between the two. Notwith-

21. *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

22. *Op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 126.

standing this, most of the description given of the Bakudās applied more or less to the Mundālās. The Uppāra, also known as *Kū* considered themselves superior to the other sections of Holeya, including Mundālā. Some of them say that they are the same as Uppāras (salt workers) of Mysore, who in South Kanara, had descended in the social status. Some of them started Shiv Samaj to differentiate themselves from other Bhūta-worshippers and to establish their superior status. The Uppāras, living in Udipi and Coondapur talukas, spoke Kannad; but, like the Mundalas, followed *Aliya santan* law of succession. Inter-marriages between these two sections were not taking place some years back, but by 1945, they were becoming quite common. Both the sections worship *Bhūtās* or demons, the Uppāras following serpent-worship in addition. Both of them were disciples of Lingayat priests and paid a fee of eight annas or so on the occasion of their periodical visits to the district. Both of them were thus Saivites. But some Uppāras regarded Venkatarāman of Tirupati as their family deity. Marriages were mostly adult, childless widows being permitted to remarry. The dead were buried, but economic condition permitting, some were cremated. The Mundālās and Uppāras abstained from eating beef or carcasses. They lived largely in the northern three coastal talukas. As many of them followed non-agricultural occupations, including professions, the community as such was generally economically well-off. Grass-picking was almost monopolised by their women. Among all the Depressed Class communities of South Kanara the Mundalas, like the Mahars of Maharashtra, were the most self-conscious and advanced community.

(9) **Nalkeyava or Nalke**:—Of the three devil-dancing castes of South Kanara (Nalke, Parava and Pombada), Nalkeyava were the lowest. Even the Koragas considered themselves superior to them. The *Bhuta*-worship cult is so common in the district that when any calamity or misfortune undertakes a family, the *Bhutas* must be propitiated. The *Bhut*-worship took the form of either of the four ceremonies called *Kola*, *bandi*, *Nema* and *Agelu-tambila*. The first was a periodical ceremony performed near a *Bhusthana*. *Bandi* was the same as *Kola* with some additions. *Nema* was a private ceremony performed at the house. *Agelu-tambila* was celebrated by Billavas at their homes, and in honour only of Baidlerlu. The Nalkes spoke Tulu but those in the northern talukas spoke Kannad. They followed ordinary system of inheritance through males, i. e. *Makal santan*. But as they had exogamous septs or *balis*, they seemed to be of Tulu origin. Girls are married after puberty and

a woman may marry any number of times.<sup>23</sup> The marriage ceremony is concluded in a single day. The headman of the Nalkeyavas was called *Gurikara* who, besides settling caste-disputes, acted as the priest at marriage and other ceremonies. The Nalkeyavas were found all over the district. They were occupied in making mats, baskets, umbrellas, etc. and also worked as agricultural labourers and agriculturists.

(10) **Piliya-Polaya**:—It was popularly believed that inter-marriages took place between these two sections found only in Kasargod taluka. Though they spoke Malayalam and Tulu, they were of Tulu origin. Polayas were really Holeyas; for, the letters 'p' and 'h' were interchangeable in old Kannada. Both these sections followed *Aliya santan* law of inheritance. Being very small, these communities did not find mention in any published works so far. They were mainly agricultural labourers, but some of them had started taking to non-agricultural occupations also.

(11) **Raneyar, Ranivaya or Raneru**:—This was mentioned both by W. Francis and E. Thurston as a sub-sect of the Holeyas. Ranivaya means belonging to the queen. According to R. E. Enthoven, the Holeyas were called Raneru or kings in South Kanara.<sup>24</sup> Raneyar also meant belonging to kings. It was not known how this caste connected itself to royal family. According to the account given by the Raneyars themselves, they came to the district from Mysore along with Haider Ali and Tippu. The fact that their mother-tongue was Kannad was cited in support of this theory. But the Raneyars seemed to be of Tulu descent. They followed *Aliya santan* law of succession. The custom of dowry prevailed among them. As a marriage cost about Rs. 500 or so, many men and women remained unmarried. As a result, many men were reported to have had concubines. The Raneyars were beef-eaters. They were numerous in Karkal taluka and followed mainly non-agricultural occupations, such as, road repairing, stone-cutting, etc.

(12) **Samagar**:—This caste of leather-workers corresponds to Chambhars in Bombay, Chamgars in North Kanara, Chakkilis in Tamilnad and Madigas of the Andhradesh. The Samagar was a Kanarese community, living largely in Coondapur taluka. A group of Samagars known as *Arya* spoke Marathi. The Samagars as a rule were much fairer than the Holeyas but resembled them in their

23. Thurston, vol. V. V, p. 146.

24. *Op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 74.



religious ceremonies and customs. They employed Brahmin priests, and it was even said that the Arya Samagars did not carry pollution. Early marriage was practised to some extent. A widow marriage was allowed and a widow could marry her late husband's younger, but not his elder, brother. The dead were either cremated or buried.

(13) **Thoti or Toti**:—The Thotis were employed by Municipalities and other local bodies as scavengers. They were thus found largely in cities and towns. Being permanently employed, they were better-off than any other Depressed Class community in South Kanara. The occupation of the Thotis was nowhere found mentioned as scavenging. They were originally inferior village servants employed to watch the crops, to purvey news and to summon people to appear before the village council.<sup>25</sup> In Mysore, even to-day they are doing that work. But as the Thotis belonged to the lowest Holeya caste, all sorts of dirty work in the village, including scavenging, was entrusted to them. Long practice of this dirty work might have made scavenging as their main occupation. Thotis were given to eating beef. They spoke Tulu as their mother tongue and followed *Aliya santan* law of succession.

(14) **Vettuvan**:—This is purely a Malayalam community found only in the hilly parts of the Hosdrug sub-Division of Kasargod taluka, bordering on Malabar district. The Vettuvans had two endogamous sub-divisions called Kudi and Peringal between whom intermarriages did not take place. "The former keep their hair long and their women wear a cloth. The latter have top knots and their women dress in leaves, which they wear only round their waists and renew daily."<sup>26</sup> This distinction drawn by W. Francis especially about the dress of women had vanished by 1945. Both males and females wore a piece of cloth called *mundu*. In case of men, the *mundu* was secured round the waist by a belt which was also used as a sling during hunting expeditions. The men grew a bit of moustache and a little stumpy beard and wore ear-rings of brass. The women adorned themselves with nose, finger and neck ornaments of brass or beads. They lived in huts made of split bamboo and thatched with elephant grass. The huts especially of Peringal Vettuvans strike one as the most neat and clean amongst the huts and houses of all the Depressed Class communities in South Kanara. The Vettuvans were divided into *Illams* (houses)

25. Thurston, Vol. VII, p. 182. Also refer L. Rice, *Op. cit.* pp. 312-13.

26. *Op. cit.* p. 184.

named after the *Jenmis*, (Landlords) they served. Their headman, appointed by their *Jenmis*, was called *kiran*. They worshipped deceased ancestors, besides some Hindu gods. *Onam*, *Vishu*, *Puttare* and *Puram* were their festivals. Toddy was an indispensable item in their worship. But women of Kudi Vettuvan section, as a class, did not drink toddy or arrack. The Vettuvans ate beef and carrion. But in spite of this, they considered themselves superior to Cherumans, Nayadis, Ullatans and Pulayans and were careful not to be polluted by them. Pollution by the second and the third meant fasting for seven days on water, tender cocoanuts and toddy.<sup>27</sup> The custom of dowry, called *Kanam*, prevailed among the Kudi Vettuvans, it being fixed at 14 *muras* for two functions. After the marriage the boy had to start a new house of his own. The funeral ceremonies of the Vettuvans were very elaborate.<sup>28</sup> They observed death pollution, the period of which varied according to the particular caste to which their masters belonged. They followed *Marumakattayam* law of succession. The priests who officiated at their ceremonies were selected from among their own tribesmen. The Vettuvans were agrestic serfs, hunters and collectors of forest produce. In South Kanara they were employed in pepper gardens and *Kumari* cultivation. They were not their own masters but attached completely to the land, so much so that they changed hands with the land. Their services were temporarily transferred or sold by their masters to other landlords. To rivet them to the land they were given a small piece of land to cultivate on their own and thus an economic interest, flimsy and nominal, was created for them. Though the law did not allow it, they were, for all practical purposes, nothing less than slaves. The perquisites that they were entitled to receive on different festive occasions were diminishing in quantity and number. They were still in the barter stage of economy and exploited by all those in whose contact they came.

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27. Thurston, Vol. VII, p. 403.

28. A reference to Thurston, Vol. VIII, pp. 401-403, is invited in this connection.