CHAPTER – 3
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Today Governments encourage the investigation of those economic and sociological problems which complicate the administration of backward races, and the anthropologists, having largely discarded the purely retrospective point of view, is bent on analyzing present-day processes of acculturation and devising schemes for the future of primitive populations. Yet this practical function of anthropology should not eclipse the important contribution which the study of people in early stages of economic and social development can make to the history of mankind.

The primitive tribes surviving today in remote refuge areas are representatives of the forefathers of all mankind, or that their culture is necessarily identical with the culture of the earliest humans, but these tribal groups, however, small and numerically insignificant, remain nevertheless of immense value for the science of man.

For an intimate knowledge of the most primitive races, not only deepens our understanding of sociological processes, and provides us with new alleys to study of human behaviour in general.
The economic system of the Chenchus is essentially that of a tribe of hunters and food collectors. The Chenchus depends for nine-tenths of food supply on that which nature provides and it only a limited number of families who, by owning a few domestic animals, are emerging from this lowest and primeval stage of human development. Cultivation is generally restricted to the planting of small plots of millet or Indian corn and the raising of a few tomatoes and chillies in the immediate vicinity of the houses. The resultant crops, however, are too negligible to add appreciably to the food-supply of the Chenchus.

Indeed any provision for the future is alien to Chenchu mentality. To wake in the morning with no food in the house does not disturb him in the least. He proceeds lie surely to the jungle to collect roots and fruits, satisfying his hunger as occasion offers, and returns to the village in the evening to share with his family all that he has brought home. There is no storing of eatables against an emergency, or indeed is any thought given to the morrow, for almost all food is instantly consumed. Under such conditions, it is only the mutual assistance between families forming the local group of the village, that tides the individual over crises such as illness.

The Chenchu's horizon is bounded by the present topic and to speak of an 'economic system' when dealing with a tribe living so completely from hand to mouth is liable to create a false impression, for it is just the lack of "system" that is so characteristic of Chenchu economics. In hunting and in the gathering of fruits, the fundamental basis of the old economy, this trait is more pronounced, while with the
adoption of new enterprises a change of mental attitude necessarily occurs. Thus the preparation of mohua liquor calls for a certain foresight, since the flowers must be gathered and dried for several successive days before distilling can commence, and the good prices some villages can obtain by selling dried flower to plains people have induced the Chenchu to curb his own instincts and to store the flowers in pits against the time of the best offer.

Similarly in the breeding of buffaloes and oxen provision must be made for mating since in certain spheres the Chenchu does exercise foresight, the lack of providence is a cultural and not a racial trait or in other words, that it is not owing to mental disposition that the Chenchu so seldom plans for the future, but rather that his own culture presents no opportunity for planned economic activity.

Another aspect of the general lack of vision is the Chenchu’s wasteful attitude towards the jungle in which he lives. He will lop off branches in order to pick the ripening fruit in comfort, or fell a tree on which a Malabar squirrel or one of the large arboreal lizards has taken refuges if he sights a comb in some inaccessible place, he will if no easier method presents itself, cut down the whole tree in order to take the honey. An important caption to this attitude is the treatment accorded to creepers with edible roots. The Chenchus say, that if they find a climber with particularly prolific roots, they replace the earth after removing the tubers, so that the plant shall not die. However, such care is exceptional and is not exercised in the ordinary course of digging up of roots.
The absence of concerted action is another important characteristic of Chenchu economics, and one which has surely played a large part in barring the way to any progress as the lack of planning. Although Chenchus set out in groups of three or four to collect roots or fruits, individuals, working side by side, do not co-operate; each fills a separate basket and each carries his basket back to his own house to be consumed by his own family. Even in hunting, an activity which would seem to offer many opportunities for co-operation, the Chenchu does not resort to concerted action. Driving and beating are unknown and the Chenchu relies entirely on chance and his skill in woodcraft. No doubt this accounts for his limited success and has helped to relegate the chase to its secondary role in the quest for food.

Scarcity of ritual, which occupies a prominent place in the economic activities of other primitive peoples is perhaps due to this lack of co-operative effort. For among the more developed primitive societies the main function of ritual connected with hunting; fishing, the sowing and harvesting of crops, and the building of canoes, is the bond it creates between those partaking in the enterprise, a function which would seem entirely aimless in the absence of any coordinated effort.

The only division of labour in Chenchu society is that between the sexes, and even this is less marked than among many other primitive races. The collection of the majority of the food stuffs during the various seasons is effected by both men and women, there being no distinction in the method employed certain other activities, however, such as hunting, honey-taking and basket – making are exclusively male,
while women prepare most of the food. Yet, even household duties may fall to the lot of man, who occasionally undertakes tasks which generally belong to the domain of woman. The sexes are, as in most primitive societies, largely dependent on each other, and the fate of the lone man or woman is not enviable, though perhaps widows find a solitary life, less uncomfortable than the single man.

Although a certain measure of barter and trade must have been maintained with outsiders for some considerable time, it is significant that Chenchus never barter among themselves. Economically perhaps more than socially, the family is a self-contained unit and saves in cases of illness or accident, when help is readily forthcoming from all members of the local group, the Chenchu family is able to obtain all the necessities of life through the efforts of its own members.

It is evident that the economic independence of the individual family is correlated to its status as a self-contained social entity, free at any time to sever its connection with the village group.²

The majority of the Chenchus living on the upper plateau subsist almost entirely on the wild frits, plants and roots which they collect in the forests, and the daily task of gathering these products eclipses all other means of income. It is the digging stick and the collecting basket on which the Chenchu relies for the bulk of his food supply.
Edible fruits and plants, roots vary with the seasons and while there are times when it is comparatively easy for the Chenchu to collect an ample supply of food, there are others when he has to struggle hard to find sufficient to eat, and many are the days when he goes to sleep on an unsatisfied stomach.

Generally, all Chenchus but the small children set off on their daily food-gathering excursions with their digging-sticks and their collecting baskets about three hours after sunrise. Picking their way through the forest, they go in groups of two, three or four to those parts of the forest where they expect to find edible roots or fruits. Husband and wife, sometimes go root collecting together, but more often, they get separated. Towards evening they return to the village, women are nearly always back in the village at dusk, men sometimes make two day excursions to far away collecting grounds, camping in the jungle overnight and only returning home the following evening.

The mainstay of Chenchu diet consists of the edible fruits, roots of various creepers and plants, some of which thrive all the year round in most parts of the Chenchu country, while others can only be collected in certain seasons or in special localities. The most important of these tubers is nalla gadda, the prolific tuberous growth of a large leaved, yellow-flowered plant. It comes into season at the end of the cold weather and lasts without interruption till the beginning of the rains, and in February and March there are times when the Chenchus subsists almost entirely on this tuber, which tastes rather like potatoes. Eravala gadda and nula gadda, the tubers
of two varieties of yam-like creepers with heartily shaped leaves are collected at all
times of the year except during the rainy season. Chenchu gadda, is also the root of
the climber; growing perpendicularly in the soil for two to three feet, it entails so
much hard labour to dig up that it is generally men who unearth this particular variety.
It may be collected throughout the year, but the Chenchus eat is most during the rains
when other roots are scarce, it is said to be more tasty during the hot season. Donda
gadda is another tuber of a large-leaved rambling creeper, which may be collected at
all seasons, while its seeds ripening in June are eaten raw; but donda gadda is not very
plentiful on the top of the plateau, and favours the lower valleys. Samakura gadda
(Chamakura) is round bulbous root of a small plant which sprouts during the
monsoon so that by the end of the rains it can be collected in large quantities: its pods
maturing in the autumn are boiled whole and the seeds which are said to be very
satisfying are extracted and eaten. Ultimately there is gita gadda, which though
gregarious is only eaten in times of emergency, for its consumption is followed by
acute indigestion.

At certain times of the year the ripening of the various types of fruits break the
monotony of the tuber diet, but the individual species last but a short while and within
a few days the Chenchu falls back on filling but not exactly tasty roots. In January he
collects the large brown velvety pods of Bauhinia Vahii, the most abundant climber
on the plateau, and roasts or boils the green seeds, which thought they are slightly
bitter, have not an unpleasant taste even to those unaccustomed to Chenchu fare.
During the same month he gathers the fruits of Tamarindus Indica while the pulp is
still juicy and these are stringed in much the same manner as French beans, dipped in ash to mitigate the acidity and eaten raw. Tamarind pods continue to play a fairly important part in Chenchu diet until the end of February.

The last weeks of February and first weeks of March are poor times for roots and fruits. In some localities the Chenchus pick the unripe berries of *Buchanania latifolia* and cracking the shells of the stone, extract the kernels which at this time of the year are the only edible portion. The Chenchus camping on the Kistna River had nothing to eat but these small nuts and the powdered bones of a deer, it was mid March, they had been unable to find any roots.

Towards the end of March, food gathering possibilities improve, the Chenchus collect the first tender green blossoms of a tree locally known as mirikai, which chopped and boiled, mixed with curd when available, they find most palatable. Soon the fruit of *Ficus infectoria* ripens and at the end of the same month the red figs of *Ficus glomerata* comes into season. During the figs harvest, Chenchus sat in the village most of the morning eating their fill of the over ripe fruit, and cutting the rest into half and drying it in the sun to preserve it till evening. Another edible fruit ripening in March and April is that of *Diospyros melanoxylon*.

At the same time the first corolla of Bassia latifolia, the mohua tree, fall to the ground and thus begins the mohua flower so eagerly awaited by all Chenchus. In most Chenchu villages the greater part of the harvest is boiled and eaten at once,
while only a smaller portion is set aside each day by the individual families for the distillation of liquor. The Chenchus sometimes boil the leaves of *Erythroxylon monogynum* with the mohua flowers and their slightly bitter taste probably counteracts the sickly sweetness of the mohua.

Used as food the flower is eaten fresh, but intended for liquor it is dried in the sun for several days until it turns a deep gold, when it is soaked in water for 24 hours and allowed to ferment.

The mohua flower season lasts through April and May. The same months see the ripening of the fruit of *Buchanania latifolia* and the Chenchus eat the pleasant sweet flavoured pulp as well as the kernels.

The kernels, which tastes very much as the pistachios. The fruit of *Buchanania augustifolia*, which is very similar but larger berried than *Buchanania latifolia* is also consumed by the Chenchus. In gathering fruit of this kind the Chenchus usually climb the trees, denuding all the branches within reach and eating fruit while on the trees, but they use sticks to beat outlying branches so that the fruit falls to the ground where it is eaten immediately by children and old people squatting below and or collected in baskets and taken home to the village.

It is also during May that wild mangoes and the fruits of *Ficus Bengalensis* come into season, and thus the Chenchu enjoys an abundance of food at this time of
the year. The last of the main fruit trees to come into season is Eugenia Jambolana, whose oblong black berries have a very pleasant taste and are collected in enormous quantities when they ripen at the end of June.

With the breaking of the monsoon, numerous herbs spring up all over the forest. Many of them are eaten by the Chenchus. In place of potatoes they eat nallagadda. Among the herbs that are most frequently eaten are dogalkura, bankakura, bodumalakura and sherkura. They seldom have salt and spices for flavouring.

During the later part of the rains these hubs and some varieties of roots form the backbone of the Chenchus food. At certain times of the year the Chenchu is able to supplement his diet with the honey of wild bees. In all matters relating to food the Chenchu is a keen observer and he knows that the best and thickest honey comes from the flowers of Boswellia Serrata and Albizzia procera, all other kinds and rather thin.

To collect the honey of rock bees who build their combs on the face of the cliffs in such places as the Kistna gorge or the valley of the Dindi requires much skill and courage.

Honey combs are sometimes located on the face of the cliff itself, and the Chenchu climbs down his rope with his honey basket tied to his hip and a bundle of
smoldering leaves on the end of the long stick with which to smoke out the bees. When the comb is deserted the Chenchu carves off the comb with a sweep of his iron knife or a flat wooden baton and carries it up the rope in his honey-basket.

Honey is highly valued by the Chenchus, who eat the wax and grubs as well, but it is only collected occasionally and although in olden times it have played an important part in their economic life, today it is a minor item in the diet of the Chenchus of the Amrabad Plateau. 3

To classify the Chenchus of the present day as a “tribe of primitive hunters and food collectors” may give rise to a misconception. For although the men, and especially the young men, often carry their bows and arrows, occasionally even setting out with the definite purpose of hunting the chase contributes but little to the general supply of food.

The marksmanship of the Chenchus using their bows and arrows was not remarkable, but judging from the stories old men tell their youth and the fact that despite many vicissitudes the bow and arrow still survive, it would appear that the Chenchus of past generations were more successful in the pursuit of fame. Yet it is probable that Chenchu diet, like that of so many other primitive races of tropical regions, has always been mainly vegetable, only occasionally bettered by the flesh of hunted animals.
Birds and small game like hare, squirrel and monkey are still shot with bow and arrow, but muzzle loaders are used for hunting sambar and deer or very exceptionally bear, panther and tiger. There are times, when these larger animals too were hunted with bow and arrow and the adequacy of the Chenchu bow in bringing down sambar and deer is demonstrated by the frequent kills made by the Chenchus of Madras Presidency, who are allowed to hunt freely as long as they use bows and arrows of their own.

If an animal sighted in the branches of high trees or out of range in dense thicket they chase into the open by hurling sticks and stones until it comes within range of their arrows, or they will let fly the kola, the arrow with a blunt metal head, whose metallic sound on tree bark will scare an animal from its hiding place.

The customary manner of hunting the larger animals is more difficult to ascertain, for the Chenchus, in attempting to evade the interference of forest officials, and on the rare occasions found the Chenchus in the possession of Venison, they pretended that the deer had killed by wild dogs.

Some idea of the technique of hunting with the gun as practiced by the Chenchus south of the River Kistna. Larger animals are never carried intact to the village, but are cut up in the jungle, where they have fallen, and a tone hunter leaves his kill and fetches the other men of the village so that together they can skin the
animal and divide up the meat. All householders in the village as well as visitors receive a share of the kill.

On the spot where the animal fell a small part of the flesh is cut from the Caracas’s, roasted and then offered with a prayer to Garelamaisama who seems to be the deity most closely connected with the chase.

A man only hunt in those lands to which he has a right. Even today the boundaries of the hunting and collecting grounds, belonging to the various villages are nominally respected, but in the olden times the least infringement of the boundaries gave rise to inter village quarrels which sometimes led to blood shed. Bow and gun are not only means of procuring flesh stones are used as missiles to kill squirrels and birds, and sticks to break the back of the Indian monitor, which is mainy hunted in the rainy season.

Some Chenchus also use dogs to smell out and catch small game particularly the Indian monitor. No offering is made to Garelamaisama when animals are caught by dogs.

Wild animals eaten by the Chenchu include Sambur, deer, goat, bear, hare, squirrel, wild cat, porcupine, jungle-fowl, pigeon and particularly any of the smaller birds which he is fortunate to capture, as well as the Indian monitor. Chenchus will rarely attempt to shoot grown hawks, kites or vultures.
Hunting as practiced in the 20th century among the Chenchus of the Amrabad Plateau shows evident signs of disintegration. In search of the causes for its relegation to a secondary role in Chenchu economics, we are able to discern two factors, which are responsible for this decline. The most decisive of these has undoubtedly been the restriction imposed by the Forest Authorities who very definitely discourage the shooting of large animals.

A second factor was the introduction of the gun two or three generations ago; in consequence the Chenchu’s skill in handling the bow and arrow rapidly deteriorated though it was not long before he realized the difficulties of keeping the gun in order and of procuring the cash for the necessary powder. The Chenchus enjoyed a period of unnatural prosperity for more than seventy years. This boom seems to have occurred when they first began selling large quantities of minor forest products, and were thereby enabled to purchase guns and other novel effects. Once in possession of such a powerful weapon, they neglected their bows and even failed to instruct their sons in its art the Chenchus never possess enough money to buy new ones or to have the old ones repaired. But the tradition of archery is broken and the present day Chenchu is no longer as skilled a hunter as his ancestors.

There are only a few places where fish are to be found on the plateau and thus the opportunities for fishing are scarce. Many villages such as Pulajelma and Vatellapalli have no river or tank within the boundaries of their land, and the people therefore never go fishing.
Those Chenchus who live close to valleys with perennial water occasionally try their luck in the pools, where water stagnates during the dry season. The Chenchus take the corky bark of Mundulea Suberosa, pound it, and mix it with red sand of white ant heaps and scatter it over the surface of the water. The poisonous bark stupefies the fish, which are then easily caught with the hands. This method is only successful in shallow pools where there is no current.

The Chenchus have also learnt to catch fish with line and hook. There are many fair sized fish in the tank at Boramacheruvu. Women never catch fish. Fish are carried to the village strung by the head on twigs.  

**Domestic Animals:**

All Chenchus agree that their forefathers had no domesticated animals but dogs, and even today the greater part of the Chenchus on the plateau do no possess any other animals. In most villages, however, there are families who own buffaloes, cows, or goats, and it appears from the life stories of many old men and women that about in the early 20th century there was a considerably larger number of cattle in the hands of the Chenchus. They say that the decimation of their stock was effected by the epidemics brought in by the cattle of graziers who annually invade the forest. But though disease undoubtedly did take a great toll, the decline is also largely due to the deterioration of the Chenchus’ economic situation, which leads them to sell many of the calves, so that year by year the number of their cattle dwindles instead of
increasing. How the Chenchus originally acquired cattle is open to question, but it seems that the time when they were able to sell large quantities of forest produce on a newly opened market, they began to purchase various kinds of young stock.

The fact that a tribe of food collectors had and still has the desire and the aptitude to keep and breed these animals is noteworthy and shows that under certain circumstances the transition from hunting and collecting to cattle breeding is easier than from hunting and collecting to agriculture. Although no encouragement has been given to the acquisition to cattle, whereas definite and mostly unsuccessful attempts have been made to settle the Chenchus as cultivators, it is understandable that cattle breeding came to be readily adopted by the Chenchus, for it is fully consistent and even favoured by their nomadic habits, which on the other hand erect unsure mountable barriers in the way of cultivation.

Cattle are kept for milk and for the calves, which always realize a certain amount of grain or cash, but the meat is not eaten, for with the acquisition of cattle the Chenchu also adopted the prejudice of the Hindu against eating beef.

Buffaloes are as a whole more favoured than oxen, for they seem to be hardier and better fitted to withstand the climate of the plateau and in most Chenchu villages there are at least three or four buffaloes-cows and a few calves. Bulls are lent free of charge to other Chenchus for mating purposes, but for this same service the Chenchu
demands payment from plains people and he sometimes hires ut his bull in liquidation of a debt.

At night buffaloes and cows are tethered to wooden posts near the house or in the villages built on rock to long poles laid on the ground and well, weighted down with boulders and piles of stones. Young boys and girls drive the cattle to graze.

Milk is used in various purposes. The larger part of the milk is used for making ghee, which, but for a small quantity kept to smooth the hair after washing, is sold to traders in the plains. The butter-milk is allowed to turn to curd, which the Chenchu like to eat mixed with various kinds of food.

The health value of milk for the Chenchus can hardly be exaggerated and it is unfortunate that such a nourishing product as ghee should invariably be sold instead of being consumed by the Chenchus themselves, for when they take their ghee to the market they only bring home a small quantity of millet in exchange.

Goats are kept only by a few and it is difficult to understand why they are not more popular; for as the Chenchus not only drink goats milk but eat goat flesh and use the skins as mats, it would seem altogether to their advantage to increase their stock.

Chickens are even more rare, and though the flesh as well as eggs are eaten, poultry does not sum to make the same appeal to the Chenchu as cattle.
In every Chenchu village there are always a number of dogs, which announce the arrival of any stranger with continual barking and yelping. In the old times, the Chenchus tamed wild dogs with red hair and blackfaces which they caught in the jungle as puppies, but today majority of the Chenchu dogs are of same mongrel breed as those found in the plains and it seems doubtful whether the Chenchus could ever have tamed the wild dog.

Dogs are useful in guarding the villages and at night they break into furious barks at the approach of any wild animal. They are useful too in hunting small game. The Chenchu ever feeds his dog hardly, at the most he throws him a few leavings, but puppies are sometimes given a little whey in wooden troughs. As a rule dogs have names such as Doni or Pasapapi, he shouts kukka (dog) or more often diu (come) and in the case of a puppy kukka pilla.

Although domesticated animals had, with the possible exception of dogs, no place in the Chenchu culture of olden times, they are now fully established, and there can be little doubt, that one of the possibilities for an improvement in the Chenchu’s economic situation lies in the extension and encouragement of cattle-breeding.

Cultivation:

In marked contrast to the Chenchu’s aptitude for breeding cattle is his attitude towards cultivation. Attempts to introduce plough-cultivation on the upper plateau have failed almost completely, and even the village Chenchus near Amrabad, who
started to cultivate with the Government help in the beginning of 20th century, have
given up now largely and fallen back on coolie work for their sustenance.

In Vatellapalli, where a few households of waddars were settled with the idea
of creating an example and encouraging the Chenchu to till the soil, only one man
took to ploughing the land but he is too old to work, and no one else, not even his
own son, followed him. A few other people of Vatellapalli did cultivate for a long
time, turning up the earth with sticks, but they also abandoned this enterprise, and
later there is no Chenchu in the village who works his own field. In Koman Penta the
Peddamanishi cultivates with a plough and grows jowar (*Sorghum Vulgare*) and ragi
(*Eleusine Coracana*); however he does not do all the work himself but has entered
into a kind of partnership with a Mohammedan who comes up from Amrabad every
year and shares in the work as well as the yield.

During the rains a few men in some villages sow small quantities of jowar
millet and Indian corn by a more primitive method of agriculture. Before the plots are
sown they are surrounded with wattle fencing to protect them from cattle and wild
animals. Seed millet is brought in the plains, but a little Indian corn is usually kept
from one year to the other; among themselves Chenchus seem to be generous in
lending their seed grain.

In Malapur three families worked a field not more than 40 by 20 yards
together, while another man had a separate plot at some distance. When asked, why
they do not work larger plots, Chenchus usually reply that they get too tired or that they cannot afford to buy more seed.

The great advantage of the primitive digging – stick cultivation in the eyes of the Chenchus is its freedom from taxation. For the fact that the Chenchus in Vatellapalli and Koman Penta who took to ploughing had to pay considerable revenue contributed undoubtedly to the unpopularity of this method.

Near every village is a fenced off patch where tobacco is grown. The seeds which are usually bought in the plains, are sown in small plots and the seedlings transplanted when a couple of inches high. Like the people of the plain, the Chenchu smokes the tobacco rolled up in the large pliable leaves of *Diospyros melanoxylon* called *bidi*.

Tomatoes and chillies are also grown round the houses of some of the permanent villages; Chenchus of one village beg seeds from another, but failing they buy the seeds in the plains.

On the other hand fruit trees are never planted practically. The only exceptions were one papaya tree in Nardi Penta, and a few bananas, near the spring of Boramacheruvu. The bananas, which incidentally are never allowed to ripen, but picked while still green, are shared with evident enjoyment by all the people of the village. It has never occurred to any of the inhabitants to enlarge the grove.
All this would seem to indicate that the mentality of the Chenchu is definitely ill-suited to agriculture. Even in the Kurnool district of Madras, where the Chenchus have been settled in large permanent villages and given all the facilities, only comparatively few Chenchus have taken to cultivation.

**Industrial classification of Chenchus at work and Non-workers by sex in Kurnool District**

1. Chenchu
   1. Population 5794
      2. Males 2942
      3. Females 2852
2. Total Workers
   Males 1643
   Females 594
3. As Cultivators
   Males 175
   Females 73
4. As Agricultural labourer
   Males 433
   Females 357
5. In mining, quarrying, Livestock, forestry, Fishing, hunting Plantations, Orchards & allied activities
   Males 762
   Females 56
1. Chenchu
   1. Population 43
   2. Males 23
   3. Females 20
   2. Total Workers
      Males 10
      Females 8

Chenchu

1. At House hold industry
   Males 56
   Females 11

2. In manufacturing other Household industry
   Rural
   Males 9
   Females 12

3. In Trade & Commerce
   Males 40
   Females 24

1. In Manufacturing
   other household industry
   Male 9 - Urban
Before the Chenchus come contact with other races of higher developed cultures, trade and barter of any description were probably non-existent. But these times lie far back and for a considerable period the Chenchus must have depended on barter to obtain knives, axe-heads and iron for arrow-tips, which for generations have formed an indispensable part of their equipment. The commodities tendered in exchange for these goods were undoubtedly forest – produce, such as honey, wax and fruits, and perhaps sometimes Venison.

In recent years the Chenchus demand for ‘foreign’ goods has increased. The discarding of the leaf-dress of their ancestors has given rise to the needs for clothes and with the adoption of a more settled mode of life, they have learnt to covet such household goods as pts, winnowing fans and mill stones, all of such must be bought in the plains. Moreover, they have grown to consider rice and millet as the most desirable form of food, and one which today they will go far out of their way to obtain. While the ever growing contacts with outsiders, which followed the opening up of the forest, has stimulated the Chenchus’ demand for trade articles, it has proportionately curtailed their ability to provide the necessary goods in exchange. For the exploitation of their land by the Forest Department and by contractors has deprived them of their former monopoly on forest produce at a time when they stood most in need of produce to counter balance the new requirements.

This may explain why every Chenchu asserts that his grandfather was much better off and had excellent opportunities of selling jungle products to plains people,
who used to pay very high prices. There are still minor forest products which are sold by the Chenchus such as mohua flowers, chironji (the kernels of Buchanania latifolia) the fruits of Terminalia Chebula, honey, the aromatic resin of Boswellia Serrata, Cast-off Sambhur horns and bamboo baskets. However, he has a rule no other market than the banya of the villages on the edge of the plains, and these take advantage of his simplicity and cheat him in the most unscrupulous manner. Nominally the prices which the banya offer for forest produces are moderately fair, but they get the better of the Chenchu by selling manufactured goods such as saree and clothes, on long-term credit which is to be paid off by future deliveries of forest produce. Owing to exorbitant interests and the inability of the Chenchu to make any sort of reckoning he may go on delivering the fruits of his labours for years without succeeding in clearing his debt. Every now and then, when the Chenchu becomes fractious, the banya will give him a small quantity of millet, just to keep a hold on him, but the amount is little compared to the real value of the goods supplied by the Chenchu. Although most transactions are calculated in money, even those Chenchus who are not in debt seldom get cash from the banya, but are usually paid in kind.

Many Chenchus manufacture baskets for sale. For a large basket they receive about one seer of millet and for a small one half a seer of millet, which on an average corresponds to a value of between half an anna and two annas. Of the minor forest produce collected for contractors or sold secretly to banya the kernels of Buchanania latifolia fetch a fairly good price, and the Chenchu, if he can summon enough
resolution to collect large amounts without dipping into them to satisfy his own hunger, can dispose of them at a rate of one rupee per seer of shelled kernels.

Another marketable article is the fruit of Terminalia chebula, which gives the black myrobalans used for tanning. These contractors will buy at a rate of one rupee for two large baskets. The seeds of Sapindus emarginatus, the soap-nut tree, are also sold to contractors and banya at one anna for three seer. But the gathering of these last two products as well as the leaves of Diospyros melano xylon is not great source of income for the Chenchu, for contractors generally introduce large numbers of plains, people to reap these fruits and the portion which the Chenchus are able to collect is therefore insignificant. Occasionally the Chenchus collect the resin of Boswellia Serrata and barter it to the villagers of the plains, who use it as incense, and some men catch young peacocks and parrots, which they sell in bazaars for about four annas each; they say that if they keep and tame these birds they may receive as much as two rupees for a full-grown peacock and one rupee for a parrot.

More lucrative, however is the sale of mohua flower, which are valued at one rupee for six seer, and the Chenchu is often able to get cash for these by selling them to forest-labourers and plains people for the illicit liquor distillation. On order to exploit this opportunity to the full the Chenchus on the edge of the upper plateau hoard the flowers and cover them with leaves, thatch and stones. There the flowers are preserved and the Chenchus can bide their time till they are approached by individuals desirous of arrack and willing to pay a fair price. For a small additional
fee on the price of the flowers the Chenchus can sometimes be persuaded to distill for their clients though in the fear of the police they infinitely prefer to sell flowers outright. As the season advances and the supply of mohua decreases, astute Chenchus are even able to raise the price from six to four seer of dried flowers per rupee. This at least is the system evolved by men of the villages on the Farahabad-vatellapalli ridge, but they are particularly shrewd owing to fairly frequent contact with outsiders. Doubtful whether the Chenchus on the south-western part of the plateau ever possess enough surplus flowers to pursue such practices, for not only is the locality less fertile, but their own demands on the mohua flowers as food are heavier.

But all these transactions are seasonal and spasmodic sources of income and it is only men owning cattle who have a steady trade with banya, for they are able to supply ghee during the greater part of the year. Ghee is valued at about one rupee per seer, and one full-grown buffalo-cow will give sufficient milk to accumulate one seer of ghee within two or three weeks. When the cows calve, the young stock is often sold, but the Chenchus say that even for a calf a banya will seldom give cash, but only millet or other exchange goods to the value of three or at the most four rupees, while if they want to buy a calf, they have to pay about six rupees in cash. A full grown buffalo-cow is worth about thirty rupees, but the Chenchus seldom buy or sell adult buffaloes, though bulls are sometimes disposed of in times of great stress; these do not, however, fetch more than ten rupees.
The goods the Chenchu acquires with that what he realizes on his collections of forest products and his cattle can be divided into two groups:

1. clothes, household goods etc, and
2. food.

Clothes for himself and his family members, although not plentiful, are a considerable drain on his resources and often involve him in debt. He pays one rupee eight annas to three rupees eight annas for a saree, and four to eight annas for a choli, while a shirt for himself costs one rupee. From time to time the banya come to the hills, traveling from village to village with a selection of clothes, and it is then difficult for the Chenchu to resist the temptation of buying, particularly when offered credit, which he is told can be liquidated by future deliveries of ghee or jungle produce.

Many of the essential implements and household utensils also be bought from a banya or at a bazaar. For an axe-head the Chenchu pays twelve annas to one rupee, for a knife anything between one rupee eight annas and three rupees eight annas according to size and for the iron point of a digging stick eight annas to one rupee; the grinding mills that have lately come into vogue with the introduction of grain cost from two or three rupees. These are considerable sums for the Chenchus, but fortunately these items of expenditure must only be made one or twice in a lifetime.
Pots, however have to be replaced; large pots costs four annas and small ones one to two annas.

Moreover there are the food-stuffs with which the infiltration of plains ideas have to be purchased for certain occasions. At weddings, it is now imperative to have rice, chillies, dal and salt, which cost the bridegroom two or three rupees, and unless the event falls within the mohua flower season he must spend at least two rupees on liquor. In the same way rice and spices are required for the ceremonies following death and if possible a woman is given rice or millet on the days following confinement.

Apart from these special occasions, for which such foods are considered necessary, the desire to better his jungle diet with jowar or ragi is ever present and men going to the plains to sell their produce almost invariably return with at least a small quantity of grain knotted in their clothes.

In villages, such as Sarlapalli, Vatellapalli and Pulajelma, where the Chenchus are frequently in touch with plainsmen and have, therefore, greater opportunities of selling their produce, a considerable amount of grain is consumed, while the remoter settlements near the Krishna River millet is still a delicacy. Unfortunately, the season which bring, the ripening of the majority of fruits and is thus the time when the Chenchu has most to barter, is also the time when he needs least to supplement his
jungle diet. But there is, of course, no consideration of storing the grain which he then acquires against times of scarcity.

Labour is only an insignificant source of income. In the dry season and at the beginning of the rains, the Chenchus near the car-tracks are occasionally recruited by the Forest Department. For the demarcation of the coupes, the clearing of forest-roads and work in the regeneration plantations, but the daily wages of three-quarters of a seer of millet, the equivalent of less than two annas, are not very conducive to develop in the Chenchus an appreciation of labour as a source of income.

At later stage the Chenchus seldom work for contractors, for these are not prepared to pay them the same wages as the labourers from the plains, but expect to get their services for a small remuneration; and this distinction is not unnaturally resented by the Chenchus. During the hot season the men of Sarlapalli, Vatellapalli and Railet graze cattle for plains people and receive six seer of millet per cow per season.

One of the few opportunities for the Chenchus to ‘make money’ that is to acquire cash, is the annual pilgrimage to Srisailam. In the month of March considerable numbers of pilgrims from the plains pass though the forests either by Vatellapalli or Boramacheruvu on their way to the temple out Srisailam on the other side of Kistna River. The Chenchus offer their services as coolies and guides and help the pilgrims to cross the river. Enterprising men and sometimes whole families
will go to Srisailam a week or so before the feast and earn wages by erecting shelters for the many thousands of pilgrims that are annually expected. At this time the Chenchu also gets cash for the milk of his cows and buffaloes by selling it to the pilgrims.

That Chenchus are, as a rule, not averse to work, provided they are given adequate payment was demonstrated by the men of Boramacheruvu, who carries the luggage of the tourists.⁷

**Rates of Income and Expenditure:**

**I. Income:**

2. Calves : Rs 3 to Rs 4 each
3. Baskets : 1 large - 1 seer millet
   1 small - ½ seer millet

**Seasonal Income:**

a) Hot Season:

1. Soap nuts: Collected for contractors 1 basket of 12 seer – As 4
2. Dried mohua flower: 6 to 4 seer Re 1.
3. Chironfi: 1 seer shelled kernels Re.1.
4. Forest Work: demarcation of coupes and plantation up-keep ¾ seer millet per day.
5. Annual pilgrimage to Srisailam: Coolie wages etc. Average per man Re.1.
b) **Rainy Season:**

1. Ebony Leaves : bidi
   
   100 bundles – As 4.

2. Honey : 2 to 3 seer Re.1.

3. Wax : 2 to 3 large honey combs Re.1.

c) **Cold Season:**

1. Myrobalans : 6 to 8 buckets Re.1.

II. **Expenditure:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Dress and Ornament:</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>to</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Man:</strong> Rumal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cummerbund</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ear-rings</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather belt &amp; Pouch</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women:</strong> Saree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choli</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>Glass bangles (3)</td>
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<td>Aluminium bangles</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ear rings</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bead necklaces</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toe &amp; finger rings</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>to</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose studs</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>0</td>
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2. **House Hold goods and implements:**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
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<td>Pots (earthen)</td>
<td>0 2 0</td>
<td>0 4 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass vessels</td>
<td>0 12 0</td>
<td>1 8 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnowing fans</td>
<td>0 2 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grinding mills</td>
<td>2 0 0</td>
<td>3 0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flint</td>
<td>0 2 0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Axe – head</td>
<td>0 12 0</td>
<td>1 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knife</td>
<td>1 8 0</td>
<td>3 8 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron point for Digging stick</td>
<td>0 8 0</td>
<td>1 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sickle</td>
<td>1 0 0</td>
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3. **Ceremonies:**

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<thead>
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<td>Weddings</td>
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<td>Confinements</td>
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<td>Funeral rites</td>
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4. **Food-stuffs:**

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<tr>
<td>Jowar 8-10 seer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ragi 16-18 seer</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice 4½ seer</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt 7 seer</td>
<td>1 0 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chillies 1½ seer</td>
<td>0 8 0</td>
<td>0 12 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dal 5 seer</td>
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<td>0 8 0</td>
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## Distribution of Domestic Animals

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>owners</td>
<td>bulls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irla Penta</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medimankal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boramacheruvu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appapur</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rampur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikit Penta</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pullaipalli</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malapur</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulajelma</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railet</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatellapalli</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarlapalli</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koman Penta</td>
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Chenchus of Kurnool District in 1961

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<td>Persons</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>2965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>2872</td>
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</table>

Chenchus of Krishna District in 1961

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<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>254</td>
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<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>239</td>
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</table>

Chenchus of Hyderabad District in 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>281</td>
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<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>298</td>
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</table>

Chenchus of Nizamabad District in 1961

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>35</td>
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Perspectives of Tribal India: Approaches to Tribal problems:

For thousands of years primitive tribes persisted in forests and hills without having more than casual contacts with the populations of the open plains and the centers of civilization. But the physical isolation of most of the aboriginal tribes drew to an end when the modern means of communication like railways and roads were introduced in the nineteenth and twentieth century coupled with the sudden growth of India’s population. This caused land hungry peasants of the plains to invade the sparsely populated tribal regions of mid and south India.

The onslaught of money lenders and traders from the plains played havoc with the Chenchus who, lost their economic independence and lot of land with in a very short span of two to three decades of their contact with te cunning and professional people of the plains.

The plight of the poor and vulnerable Indian Chenchus has been surfacing from time to time for about a century so far. But after independence the tribal’s have been considered a ‘problem’ for government and their more advanced fellow citizens.

Most of the Chenchus have been practicing a crude type of cultivation called shifting cultivation known by respective vernacular names. It requires little labour, care and vital inputs. Under this scheme of cultivation trees and shrubs are felled with axe before the start of the monsoon. Now the desired seed is thrown and the
nature is left to take care of the yield. To supplement their dietary requirement they collect all kinds of roots and fruits and hunt their favourable animals.

Most of these tribes are habituated to drink, formerly to their home brewd liquor of rice, mohua – flower and later to all kinds of liquor. This is due to their local environmental and ecological conditions. Liquor has also been a part of their ritual and religious practices.

Tribal people have been, naturally, illiterate. When various schemes were taken up for their educational upliftment, very little care was taken to impart primary education.

The chronic indebtedness has been probably the most difficult problem facing almost the entire tribal population of the Nallamalas. Consequently one of the worst forms of exploitation to which the Chenchus are exposed is through traditional money-lending.

The chronic indebtedness of the Chenchus is certainly due to rampant poverty and deficit economy. Reliable ethnographic evidence proves that the Chenchus were certainly not that much handicapped in their struggle for living a carefree life when their places of habitation were isolated. They were living in self sufficient economic conditions. Forest wealth was at their disposal to sustain themselves. But unfortunately, when their abodes were thrown open as a result of economic
development all round, they found themselves completely, ill equipped to enjoy the
fruits of development. Outsiders, the so called civilized people, exploited their
vulnerability in the absence of any concerted efforts on the part of administration. In
the passage of time, their plight continued to worsen.

It is essential to study the role of traditional money-lenders to understand the
failures of various government and semi-government credit agencies to wean away
the tribal Chenchus from their traditional sources of credit.

The modus operandi of the traditional money-lender is very simple and
convenient to the Chenchu debtors. When ever a Chenchu needs money, he has to
walk a few furlongs into the plains to reach the money lender’s house. He provides
him the amount without any condition, guarantee, suritus. By way of any formality
the only thing a debtor has to do is to affix his thumb impression.

When we compare this procedure with other sources of credit like cooperative
credit societies established by various state governments most of these are found to be
situated at far off places from the tribal’s habitat. He has to encounter a number of
formalities, cumbersome procedures and documents. Besides, security and guarantor
are also needful to fulfill various provisions of credit disbursement to fulfill various
social and ritual obligations. The money-lender places no conditions and offers loan
for any purpose.
The personal human contact with the money-lender maintains with his debtor is also significant factor. He speaks the tribal language, knows the entire family history and background and circumstances leading to the debtor’s need of money. Significantly, he accepts the repayment of the loan in any form in cash or kind.

**Consequences of Indebtedness:**

Since most of the tribal people are illiterate they have no idea of what is being entered in the account books of the money-lender. They put their thumb impression very submissively wherever desired by the money-lender and that seals their fate forever.

**Legislation and Remedial Steps:**

The fifth schedule of the constitution empowers the Governor of a state to regulate the carrying on the business as money-lender by persons who lend money to members of Scheduled Tribes in Scheduled Areas. In pursuance of this provision state Governments have promulgated and enacts Laws and Acts.

2. The Madras Indebted Agriculturists (Repayment of Debt) Act, 1955.\(^4\)
With the exception of the food gathering Chenchus, all the tribal populations of Andhra Pradesh are traditionally subsistence farmers. As long as they lived in their ancestral habitat, protected from the outside world by hills and forests, they produced food grains and reared animals almost exclusively for their own consumption. Contacts with the market economy of more advanced populations were few and of limited importance consisting mainly of the barter of some times of agricultural or forest produce for supplies of the few necessities, such as salt and iron, which they were incapable of producing with the resources of their own environment. Small group of artisans, living in symbiosis with the aboriginal farmers; provided them with pots, metal implements and certain ornaments, but the relations between cultivators and craftsmen were basically also on an exchange basis, and their mutual interdependence operated outside the market economy of neighbouring more advanced areas.  

It would seem that the extent of recent changes in the social order stands in an inverse relationship to the complexity of the traditional authority system. The group of whose social organization has undergone least change since 1940 is the Chenchu tribe in the forests of Mahbubnagar District. As of old, Chenchus live in small hamlets of four to twelve huts and move at certain times of the year to temporary jungle camps.

As all Chenchus are now used to dealing with government officials, forest guards and other outsiders. While in most other tribal areas gram panchayats have
been organized by government, no such institutions exist among the Chenchus in the forests of the Amrabad Plateau.

The Chenchus of Kurnool, who inhabit the wooded hills south of the Kistna River, have been subject to official intervention for a much longer period than those of the former Hyderabad State. In the days of British rule the government of Madras Presidency pursued a policy of concentrating the semi-nomadic Chenchus in large villages, which are administered by the Forest Department.

When Haimendorf visited the Chenchu settlements of Bair lute, Naguluti and Peddacheruvu in 1978, he found that the compact villages controlled by the Forest Department had been disbanded, and the Chenchus allowed more freedom in the choice of settlements.

In Kurnool there are a few educated Chenchu, mainly employed in government services, who could provide their community with some leadership.16

In some cases well intentioned innovations could not be sustained because the tribals were mentally not adjusted to economic pursuits different from their traditional way of gaining a livelihood. An example of this was the attempt to turn the food gathering Chenchus into plough-cultivators. In Kurnool District, which in the days of British rule belonged to Madras Presidency, the first effort, in that direction were made in the 1930s, when Haimendorf visited the settlements of Peddacheruvu,
Bairluti and Nagerluti in 1940, about 10 to 20 percent of the families living there were cultivating on a small scale. In eddacheruvu, in 1943 ten men had been supplied with plough bullocks, and that by borrowing these bullocks six more men used to cultivate.\textsuperscript{17}

All the tribal populations of Andhra Pradesh were traditionally closely associated with forests, and there are some who even today spend the greater part of their lives in the proximity of trees. It is for this reason that aboriginals were often referred to as ‘jangali’, today a derogatory term standing for “uncouth” or “uncivilized” but literary meaning “forest dweller”.

In the tribal areas now forming part of Andhra Pradesh, communities living near forests depended on them for building material, fuel, fodder, and often also food in the shape of wild fruits and tubers.

In an assessment of the forest policy of the Hyderabad state and present day Andhra Pradesh in its effects on the tribals, we must distinguish between three categories of populations:

1. food gatherers and hunters
2. shifting cultivators
3. settled farming populations
The only tribe in Andhra Pradesh falling clearly into the first category is the Chenchus of the Nallamala Hills. Since time immemorial they have inhabited the forest clad hills to both sides of the Kistna River, and even today the forests are their true habitat. Hunting and food gathering are the Chenchus’ traditional occupations, in 1940 those living on the upper Amrabad Plateau in Hyderabad State and many of those in the neighbouring district of Kurnool subsisted almost entirely on wild fruits and tubers and the occasional game hunted with bow and arrow. Their small settlements, situated in the depth of the forest, consisted of round huts and leaf shelters, and they frequently shifted from one collecting ground to another. Food gatherers in the true sense of the word, the Chenchus of those days only rarely obtained grain, by barter in exchange for honey or other minor forest produce.

For centuries the inaccessibility of the upper Amrabad Plateau, ascent to which was only by foot-paths, had protected the Chenchus from any sudden in roads of outsiders, and it was left to them to seek barter contacts in the villages of the adjoining lowlands.

By 1940 roads suitable for wheeled traffic had been driven into the forest, and forest contractors brought hosts of labourers, partly to fell and cart trees, and partly to collect minor forest produce which had been auctioned by the Forest Department.
Forest guards recruited the Chenchus for work in nurseries and the demarcation of forest coups. All the innovations resulting from the commercial exploitation of forests had come so rapidly that the Chenchus had no time to adjust mentally and materially to the new conditions. Haimendorf’s reports to the Nizam’s Government at the conclusion of his field work in 1940, administrative action was taken to protect the Chenchus from exploitation and to safeguard their rights to the forest produce on which they depended for their livelihood. Some 100,000 acres on the upper plateau were established as a Chenchu Reserve, in which they were enabled to continue their traditional life style.

They provided the Chenchus’ right to collect for their domestic use all minor forest produce without payment, and established a procedure by which the Forest Department would purchase at fixed prices any forest produce the Chenchus would offer for sale.

The auctioning of minor forest produce to contractors was to be discontinued. The Chenchus were also given grazing rights within the reserve free of charge, and were allowed to cultivate small plots of land near their settlements.

Already in 1940 a number of Chenchus owned buffaloes which they used for milking, and in view of their apparent skill in herding, the social service Department, which had established a centre in Mananur, provided some more female buffaloes free of cost. The idea was then that the Chenchus semi nomadic life-style would be
compatible with the development of pastoral pursuits. However, contact with the cattle brought into the forest area of Banjara graziers resulted in epidemics of food and mouth disease which wiped out most of the buffaloes in the possession of Chenchus. Hence in 1977 the Chenchus of the upper-plateau owned fewer cattle.

The most important change in the economic position of the Chenchus is the transition from gathering roots, fruits, for consumption to the collection of minor forest produce on a large scale for sale. This entry of the Chenchus into cash economy has come about mainly by activities of the Girijan Cooperative Marketing Society, an organization set up by government for the benefit of tribal populations. Without having changed their style of life, the Chenchus are now no longer concentrating on the gathering of wild plants for consumption, but gather marketable commodities and take them to Girijan depots, where they are paid for in cash. With that cash they then buy grain for their daily consumption. The sums obtained from the sale of minor forest produce are very considerable. Thus the Girijan Cooperative Marketing Society at Mananur purchased between January and November 1977 minor forest produce worth Rs.547,216.

The main items were:

1. gum worth - Rs.310,495
2. soap nuts worth - Rs.62,970
3. nux vomica worth - Rs.11,729
4. mohua seed worth - Rs.75,412
5. pungam seed worth - Rs.98,066 and
6. honey worth - Rs.26,724

Until 1979, forest conservancy and the pursuance of the Chenchus traditional life style were not in conflict, and in view of the value of the produce collected for pharmaceutical and other industries there was every reason to believe that this situation could persist for the foreseeable future. However, in 1980 a development occurred which threatens to undermine the very basis of Chenchu economy. In November 1980 the upper Amrabad Plateau, a large-scale in roads into the bamboo forest, and learned that the Sirpur Paper Mills, whose activities had already destroyed the greater part of the bamboo forests of Adilabad District, had been awarded a contract for the exploitation of bamboo on the upper Amrabad Plateau.

For the Chenchus, the destruction of bamboo in their habitat will be catastrophic. They depend on bamboo not only for the construction by their huts and for making many of their utensils, but above all for the manufacture of baskets and mats, which they traditionally sell or barter for agricultural produce. It is no exaggeration to say that the depletion of the stocks of bamboo in the forests of the Amrabad Plateau would make the area virtually uninhabitable for its original denizens.¹⁸
## Financial Investment in Tribal Areas

(Rs.in crores)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Total Plan outlay</th>
<th>Tribal development Programme</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>19.93</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>4672</td>
<td>42.92</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>4577</td>
<td>50.53</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>15902</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifth (1974-79)</td>
<td>39322</td>
<td>1102.00</td>
<td>3.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth (1980-1985)</td>
<td>97500</td>
<td>5535.00</td>
<td>over 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh (1985-1990)</td>
<td>180000</td>
<td>7072.63</td>
<td>3.92</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>20818.64</td>
<td>1991.98</td>
<td>9.57</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Estimated)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1991-92</td>
<td>24939.82</td>
<td>2671.27</td>
<td>10.71 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Estimated)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

## Protective Legislations:

**Land alienations laws in Andhra Pradesh**

1. Act/Regulation
   
   
Provision:

Prohibits transfer of land to non-tribals whether, the owner is tribal or non-tribal, Authorities Government to acquire land in case a tribal purchase is not available.20

Enactments/ Regulations of money lending / debt redemption in Andhra Pradesh:

1. The Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Region) Scheduled Areas Money lenders Regulation, 1960 (extended to Telangana areas in 1963)
2. The Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Areas Scheduled Tribes) Debt Relief Regulation, 1960 (extended to Telangana area in 1963)
5. The Madras Agricultural Debt Relief (partially excluded Areas) Amendment Regulation, 1944.21

Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) and clusters:

After removal of area restrictions as per the provisions of SC and ST orders (Amendment) Act 1976, the Yerukala, Yanadi and Lambadi living in Telangana
region became Scheduled Tribes. This change necessitated extending developmental activities on large scale to tribals living in plains area.

**Development and Welfare Measures:**

Following are some of the important initiatives and government programs taken up by the Government for the overall socio-economic development of tribal areas and tribal people. These include both economic schemes and infrastructure development in tribal areas. Economic schemes are both individual oriented and group based and include in most of the cases subsidy in the range of 50-75%.

- **Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) Strategy:** In order to focus tribal development, a TSP strategy is being implemented in the State since 1974-75. This strategy comprises of identification of tribal majority blocks, earmarking of fund under various sectoral programs for these identified areas along with mobilization of institutional finance and creation of administrative structure. This has provided focused development of tribals across all sectors.

- **Programs under Tribal Development Agency:** Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs) have been created for development of tribals in the tribal schedule areas. The main schemes implemented by
ITDAs include minor irrigation, soil conservation, horticulture, fisheries, sericulture, health and infrastructure for social support services. Centrally sponsored schemes are also being implemented to tackle special problems, namely: malnutrition, adult literacy, rehabilitation of shifting cultivators, etc.

- **Jawahar Gram Samrudhi Yojana (JGSY):** This scheme launched in 1999 aims to enable the village community to strengthen the village infrastructure through creation of durable assets as per the local needs. The works taken up provide gainful employment to rural poor. The gram sabha while according approval to conform to the felt needs of schemes given to SC/ST families living below poverty line and physically handicapped persons. Besides, in selection of the works, preference is given to works in the area inhabited by the SC/STs. Further, 22.5% of the State budget is marked exclusively for the benefit of SCs/STs.

- **Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS):** This scheme seeks to provide additional wage employment opportunities in the form of manual work to the rural poor living below the poverty line. In the process, the effort is to create durable community assets. Minimum wages are paid under the scheme. While providing employment, preference is given to SC/ST and
parent of child labour withdrawn from hazardous occupation, who are below the poverty line.

- **Swarnjayanti Gram Swarojgar Yojana (SGSY):** Under this scheme, assistance is provided to the poor families living below the poverty line in rural areas for taking up self-employment activities, either individually or in groups, called the Self-Help Groups. SGSY is a credit-cum-subsidy program. Subsidy is given so as to make it easy for the poor persons to start their own self-employment activities. An individual is given loan upto Rs.50,000 and SHGs upto 3 lakhs without any collateral security. Subsidy is given at the rate of 30% of the project cost with a limit of Rs.10,000/- for SC/ST.

- **Sectoral Programs:** In addition to the above special programs focused on tribals there are a number of other development schemes which are being implemented under different sectors including agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture, fisheries, health, education, etc. In tribal areas, majority of beneficiaries under these programs are from tribal groups.

- **Joint Forest Management (JFM):** Local village level institution called Vana Samrakshana Samithies (VSS0 are successfully protecting and developing forest areas in tribals areas. Owing to homogeneity of the
community and a strong local leadership developed, this program has been a great success among tribals. Apart from providing wage employment during lean agriculture season, tribals involved in JFM and protecting the forests are entitled to the following share from the forests:

- All Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFP) except those for which GCC holds the monopoly rights. However, the rights to collect remains with the Vana Samrakshana Samithi members. The members are paid the collection charges upon delivery of the produce as per the rates fixed by the Government.

- In case of Beedi Leaf 50% of the net income from increased yield over and above the average yield of 5 years (in weight) due to better protection and management offered by the VSS is paid to Vana Samrakshana Samithies to be shared among members equally.

- Vana Samrakshana Samithi is entitled to 100% share in timber and bamboo harvested from the regenerated degraded forests as prescribed in the approved Micro Plan.

**Project Tiger:** Under the Wild Life (Protection) Act 1972, the Nagarjunasagar –Srisailam Project is located in Mahabubnagar, Nalgonda, Guntur, Prakasham and Kurnool districts with a total area of 3568 square kilometers.
As this sanctuary is located in Nallamalai hills the primitive tribal group viz., Chenchu who are mainly food gatherers and who subsist on collection of MFP and Forest Labour are the main sufferers. The Chenchus are at the pre-Agriculture stage of economy and largely subsist on flora and fauna of the forest area facing much hardships in the wake of imposing restrictions on the food gathering activities after declaring Nagarjunasagar-Srisailam Tiger project in the Nallamalai hills. The Chenchus are afraid to go to forest for collection of M.F.P., edible roots, tubers, wild fruits, etc. One Chenchu man was killed by tiger near Mannanur when he had gone for collection of Gum. Some of the plough bullocks distributed by I.T.D.A., for Chenchus living in villages on the periphery of Tiger project were eaten by tiger at Padra and Jangareddygudem village in Amarabad Mandal of Mahabubnagar district.

It is generally reported both in newspapers and personal representation that the sanctuary authorities are not disposing off cases pertaining to payment of compensation due to loss of human life or cattle due to attacks by ‘Carnivorous Animals like Tiger’, in the sanctuary areas.

Further, the compensation paid is also very small compared to the huge loss sustained by the tribals. For example, in this Tiger sanctuary 2001 cattle were reported to have been killed between 1980-81, 1986-87. During the first three years i.e. 1980-81 to 1982-83 no compensation was paid for the 435 cattle killed. However, during the remaining years an amount of Rs.5.30 lakhs reported to have been paid as compensation for the cattle killed between 1983-84 to 1986-87. This works out to an
average of Rs.338 per animal which is one the low side. Further, it is also reported that two human being were killed by carnivorous, while 12 others were injured upto 31-3-1987, in the Nagarjunasagar-Srisailam Tiger Reserve.

In former days, Forest Department used to employ Chenchus in Bamboo and Wood cutting, afforestation operation, etc.

After the introduction of Tiger project all kinds of exploitation of forest resources are prohibited. Consequently, Chenchus are not employed as daily labourers. Chenchus who partly subsist on hunting small game like rabbits, wild fowl, etc., are prohibited from hunting and their bows and arrows were also confiscated. They were denied opportunities for earning daily wages, collection of M.F.P edible roots, tubers, small game hunting, etc, causing economic displacement to the tribals. Because of restriction imposed on movement of vehicles by Forest Department, Tribal Welfare Department could not implement certain development schemes in core area of the project. Even the Ashram School located in Ferahabad, a buffer village of sanctuary was shifted. Another problem is the maladjustment that sets in the process of adjusting to the new environment, both human and natural and the consequent susceptibility to exploitation from out side which will be further accentuated as the new colonies are usually located out side the scheduled area for obvious reasons, and their own inherent in-abilities to adjust to alien surroundings.
Dachepally Project for Chenchu Rehabilitation:

In an innovative rehabilitation project implemented at Dachepally village, Mahabubnagar district excellent results have been achieved. A group of 20 families of aboriginal nomadic tribals-Chenchus, who were entirely living on begging were identified as beneficiaries in a rehabilitation project, through social forestry. The beneficiary families were engaged for the first year on a six lakh poly-pot nursery, raising programme (the purchase back price is Rs.0.30 paise per poly-pot including 5 paise bonus. By intelligent management, the concerned social forestry D.F.O. has saved Rs.30,000. Utilising these savings as seed money and with a similar matching grant from the District Collector, and registering the Chenchu beneficiaries under the Societies Act, a sixteen acre land has been acquired. This land has been put partly under agriculture, horticulture (Pomegranates, Guava, etc). Necessary inputs like improved seeds, fertilizers and irrigation was provided by digging two community wells with pump sets and silvi pastures and fuel species. The D.F.O. Social Forestry has interacted with ITDA and District Administration semi permanent rural houses were constructed and buffaloes were supplied to run a community dairy. Originally the milk from the dairy is allowed to be sold in adjoining Mahabubnagar town by providing two cycles and milk cans through ITDA, but later on such sale was prohibited, and the tribals particularly children were compelled to drink the milk produced to improve their nutrition.
Both in the Dachepally Chenchu habitat and adjoining village, all the people are motivated to sell their seeds, and replace them with sheep. The village was adopted by the Social Forestry Division and interacting with NEDCAP, the entire village was provided with smokeless-chullahs. This nursery-land development – plantation – farming programme was repeated and at the end of third year not only durable assets are created to the hitherto nomadic tribals, but also the 20 families are brought quickly above the poverty line.

This is the success story of a rehabilitation model adopted for settlement of nomadic aborigin tribals, leading them from begging to asset holding, resource-creation and environmental improvement made possible due to the initiative, involvement, innovation and dedication to the cause of tribals. This excellent work requires to be emulated in similar situations.

**Waste Land Development and Tribal Settlement:**

In the same Mahabubnagar District, in the ex-Inam land of Jinnur village, a similar experiment to settle same families of the aboriginal Chenchu tribe was taken up in the year 1986. Hundreds of acres of fallow inam land was brought under Social Forestry by an innovative measure of nursery raising and plantation activity undertaken by the Social Forestry D.F.O. involving in this case institution finance. The tribals were put on nursery raising programme similar to that of Dachepally, with the difference that bank finance is made possible to the beneficiaries on a monthly
minimum income basis of Rs. 600 per month. The nurseries were started in November month and November to March next year, through a bank pass book, the beneficiary is paid/advanced at the rate of Rs.600/- per month totally Rs.3000. This advance is replenished by Social Forestry D.F.O. before 31st March. From April to June – July a sum of Rs.2000/- is further paid in equal monthly installments by bank and this amount is again replenished by bank by forest Department. Thus, the earnings per beneficiary for the 8 months period is Rs. 5000/- for raising a 50000 poly pot nursery. The costing of each seedling is estimated at Rs.0.25 including a labour component of Rs. 0.15, (the material cost Rs.0.10), and the total amount available for distribution is Rs.7500 (50000xRs.0.15) of which Rs.5000 is paid 8 months (November – June) and balance Rs. 2500 along with bonus of Rs.0.05 per seedling (Rs.1250 for 25000 poly-pots) is deposited in the pass book in July-August, months, (after purchase back and distribution of successfully raised seedlings). This forms the seed money (Rs.3750/-) for lean months (July to October) or for meeting family expenses. This single instance shown now forestry activity through single nursery raising programme of Rs.25000 poly-pots can alleviate poverty and bring even the aboriginal tribals above the poverty line. The payment of wages and bonus through a bank or post office pass book is not only an innovation, but also builds up confidence in the tribals for payment of a fair wage without complaints of less payments.

**Integrated Rural and Tribal Development:**

Integrated rural development activities involving indifferent departments working complementary to each others, like Agriculture, Forest, Soil Conservation,
Animal Husbandry, Fisheries, Tribal Welfare and Walamtari will help to catalyse Integrated Rural Development. One such model of integrated rural development is given in annexure-II. The need for a single apex agency in charge of tribal development and rehabilitation needs no special emphasis. When Forest Department was incharge of Chenchus development in erstwhile Kurnool District (Dornal and Bairluty centres), providing education, medical-aid, infrastructure facilities, credit and marketing infrastructure (Tribal cooperatives), distribution of clothes, such as apex body was available. The ITDAs working need to be re-oriented and streamlined, headed by foresters also, so that conflicts of forest conservancy and Tribal Welfare/rehabilitation are resolved.

The Community Irrigation Wells and Oil Engines, Electric Motors given under D.P.A.P/I.T.D.A/D.R.D.A., etc., schemes to Chenchus, are not properly utilized. The Community Irrigation Wells and Oil engines/Electric Motors given at Chenchugudem, Uma Maheswaram Chenchu Colony, Mannanur of Mahabubnagar district are not being utilized properly. The group of Chenchus whom community irrigation wells were sanctioned at the above villages, are at logger heads in sharing the cost of operation and benefits. But in cases where Chenchus are affinal kins, the Community Irrigation Wells are successful. The Chenchu farmers at Macharam and Venkateswarala Bavi who are affinal kins are utilizing to the maximum extent possible the irrigation wells and they are growing commercial crops under irrigated conditions. Thus it is evident that whenever housing colonies or co-operative societies or community irrigation wells and oils engines/electric motors on groups
basis are sanctioned the kinship patterns and associated behaviour patterns of local tribals have to be taken into consideration. Margaret Mead while stressing the imperatives of understanding existing conditions and human relations aptly observed that “since change is proposed in the interest of human.

Recently under Andhra Pradesh Participatory Tribal Development Project (A.P.P.T.D.P) implemented from the year 1995 with the assistance of International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD, Rome) among the Chenchus of Nallamalai hills, I.T.D.A Srisailam purchased iron ploughs at the cost of about Rs.12.00 lakhs was sent to different parts of the Chenchu project area for distribution. But no tribal cultivator is willing to take the iron ploughs on the pretext that their plough bullocks are small and they are not able to drag this type of ploughs. This writer has been touring in the Chenchu villages frequently and they have been asking for plough bullocks only. The tribals manufacture their own wooden ploughs. The participatory Rural Appraisal (P.R.A) was conducted in the presence of staff of Integrated Trial Development Agency of Srisailam is Sarlapally village near Vatvalapalli village, Mahabubnagar district recently. During “Social Maping” exercise by the villagers, it was revealed that most of the Chenchu families have been leasing out their lands as they do not possess plough bullocks. This picture is true in most of the villages. But policy makers are formulating their own schemes without taking into consideration of actual felt needs and levels of development and capacity of adoption of skills and technologies.
Cultivable lands are being assigned to Chenchus under various schemes. Chenchus are also becoming “land hungry” because of presence of progressive farmers in the vicinity and “planned change”. After assigning lands, the ITDA authorities have been hiring tractors and tilling the lands and asking the Chenchus to take up rest of the operations. They are forced to again hire plough bullocks for sowing of seeds and inter-culture and weeding operations. Some are not able to hire the plough bullocks and consequently leaving the land fallow. Generally, plough bullocks and carts are essential for small and marginal farmers to attend to all kinds of agricultural operations. But authorities are insisting to take up tractor ploughing whereas local Chenchus are demanding for plough bullocks.

No historical information is available as to the time when the first groups of Chenchus settled on the outskirts of the Telugu villages. The Chenchus near Mananur declare that their forefathers have always there and this is probably correct; for although temples of considerable antiquity point to old Hindu establishments, it was only within the last century that plains people came to live on the Amrabad ledge.

The position of the Chenchus on the fringe of the plains near Lingal and Atchampet is slightly different. Majority of these Chenchus were once inhabitants of the adjacent hilly country and have only come down to the plains. This emigration has not yet ceased and many Chenchus of Boramacheruvu, Pullaipalli, Irla Penta and other jungle villages have near relatives who live in lowland settlements, while on the other hand a few Chenchus from the plains have resettled on the upper plateau in such
villages as Rampur and Bikit Penta. There have also been movements of Population on the eastern side of the plateau; for with the abandonment of such villages as Elpamachena and Tatigundal many Chenchus left the upper plateau for the villages on the lower ledge like Upnotla and Tirmalapur.

Wherever close contact between Chenchus and Telugu peasants has been established, be it through the emigration of Chenchus into the plains or the invasion of the uplands by plains folk, the Chenchus have to relinquish their old mode of life and adapt themselves to the economy of their more progressive neighbours. This adaptation has of necessity led to a gradual transformation of their entire culture pattern, and is one more phase in an age-old process which for thousands of years has been at work in the Deccan.

Although they are as a whole much more sophisticated with greater wealth of material possessions and improved technique with regard to activities as house building, there is no uniformity in the economic situation of the village Chenchus, who even within the most advanced group show considerable local differences. In Lingal we find the Chenchus owning not only dry but also wet fields, and cultivating rice, millet and certain vegetables to an extent which renders them entirely independent of jungle produce. They possess considerable number of buffaloes, oxen, goats and chicken and use of their own bullocks for ploughing. Men who do not own fields sufficient for their support enter the employ of cultivators of other castes and in some villages such as Kohalanagol and Balmor, all the Chenchu
settlements or the hamlets attached to the Telugu settlements working fields of wealthy villagers and handing over half the harvest to their landlords in lieu of rent.

In Mananur ten Chenchus cultivate their own fields, growing millet, maize and cartor seed, but the majority work fields of villagers of other castes on a fifty-fifty basis. Here many are heavily indebted to merchants and money-lenders, and when the harvest is gathered, they have to give up most of the crop in order to pay their rent and repay the grain which during the previous year they have taken on credit. So it is that after landlord and merchant have claimed their dues little remains to the Chenchus for their own consumption. Evidently the area cultivated by the village Chenchus of the Amrabad ledge is not sufficient to secure their independence from other sources of food supply and they have still their digging-sticks and go root collecting in the nearby jungle when they run short of grain.

In Jangamreddipalli, which is a small village of twelve Chenchu houses and households, no Chenchus are independent cultivators.

In Tirmalapur the Chenchus have no fields and no domestic animals except a few chicks and dogs. Sometimes they work for wealthy men of other castes and are paid between ½ seer and 1 seer of millet a day.²²

In the Madras Presidency, the Forest Department provides most of the employment for the Chenchus. Work for the Department is paid at As 5 per day, of
which As 4 are usually paid for the millet at a fixed rate and A.1 in cash. On the other hand if the Chenchu do piece-work for contractors they can earn as much as As 8 or As 12 per day, and a rule highly beneficial to the Chenchus forbids contractors to employ outside labour as long as Chenchu labour is available.

The Chenchus of the villages on the approaches of Srisailam earn appreciable amounts through the pilgrim traffic. During the Sivaratri they collect “metta” fees from the pilgrims for providing protection to persons and property, and they also find employment as coolies for transporting luggage and carrying men in palanquins. In 1939 the receipts of “metta” fees exceeded Rs. 4100 and in the preceding year they amounted to more than Rs. 7000.

Of late the system of leasing minor forest produce to contractors has been replaced by co-operative societies, they arrange for both collection and disposal. These societies, of which all Chenchus of the respective settlements are members, have been started on a sound basis by a Government advance of Rs. 10,000. They buy the forest produce from the Chenchus at fixed prices, sell them in the open market, and divide any surplus among the members. Thus the profits which formerly fell to the contractors now go to the Chenchus.

In pursuance of the policy of preventing outsiders from profiting at the expense of the aboriginal, special shops have been established in all important villages under the control of Forest Department. There the Chenchus can buy grain
and other food stuffs, as well as textiles and household goods at a fair rate without being defrauded or led into debt by unscrupulous banya.

Cattle breeding have assumed a prominent role in Chenchu economics and there are a few men in the villages who do not possess at least a few goats. In Srisailam each household owns an average of three to four cows in addition to goats and chicks.

In Peddacheruvu there are 250 buffaloes distributed over 120 households.

In Nagaluti 70 households possess:

- Bulls-27
- Calves-8
- Buffalo cows -30
- Goats-52
- Cows-30
- Buffalo bulls – 4
- Buffalo calves-8

In Bairluti 95 households possess:

- Bulls – 10
- Buffalo bulls – 4
- Buffalo cows -40
- Buffalo calves – 16
- Goats – 86
In Srisailam only three men out of the 30 households own fields and in Peddacheruvu only eight families out of 120. In Bairluti and Nagaluti greater progress has been made, although only 10-20% of men cultivate.

71 acres of dry land and 4 acres wet land are under plough in Bairluti, 75 acres of dry land and 24 acres of wet land in Nagaluti. The main crops are various species of millet as well as rice. The Chenchus pay no revenue for their fields and generous loans repayable within five years are granted for the purchase of bulls to all those willing to take up cultivation.  

**Industrial classification of Chenchus at work and Non-workers by sex in Mahbubnagar District**

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. Persons</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>2283</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>2277</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Total Workers</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>1413</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>1298</td>
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<td>3. As Cultivators</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>375</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
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<td>4. As Agricultural</td>
<td>Males</td>
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<td>labourer</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>659</td>
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</table>
5. In mining, quarrying, Males 16  
   Livestock, forestry, Females 2  
   Fishing, hunting  
   Plantations, Orchards  
   & allied activities  

6. At Household industry  
   Males 169  
   Females 98  

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Chenchu</th>
<th>Persons 51</th>
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|                     | Males 50   | Urban  
|                     | Females 1  |

2. Total Workers  
   Males 1  

Chenchu  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. In Construction</th>
<th>Males 2</th>
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<tr>
<td>2. In Trade &amp; Commerce</td>
<td>Males 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females 11</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. In other services</td>
<td>Males 219 Rural</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Females 182</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Non-workers</td>
<td>Males 870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females 979</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Chenchu

1. In other services
   Male 1

2. Non-workers
   Males 49
   Females 1

   \{ Urban 24 \}

Chenchus not at work classified by sex and type of activity in

Nizamabad District

Chenchu

1. Total Non-working

   Population 51
   Males 19
   Females 32

2. Total Persons 51
   Males 19
   Females 32

   \{ Rural 25 \}
# Industrial classification of Chenchus at work and Non-workers by sex in Nizamabad District

1. **Chenchu**
   - Persons: 59
     - Males: 24
     - Females: 35

2. **Total Workers**
   - Males: 5
   - Females: 3

3. **As Cultivators**
   - Males: 3

4. **In mining, quarrying, Hunting, forestry, etc**
   - Males: 16
     - Rural

5. **In trade and commerce**
   - Male: 1
   - Females: 3

6. **Non-workers**
   - Males: 19
   - Females: 32
Chenchus not at work in Warangal District:

1. Total 234
   Males 90
   Females 144

2. Total 168
   Males 78
   Rural
   Females 90

3. Total 66
   Males 12
   Urban
   Females 54

In Muluq Taluq (Rural)

Chenchu Total 54
   Males 30
   Females 24
In Narsampet Taluq (Rural)

Chenchu

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Industrial classification of Chenchus at work and Non-workers in Warangal District:

1. Chenchus Persons 350
   Males 178
   Females 172

2. Total Workers Males 100
   Females 82

Rural

3. As agricultural Labourer Males 76
   Females 59

4. Mining, quarrying, etc Male 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.</th>
<th>In manufacturing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other than household</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6.</th>
<th>In trade and commerce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7.</th>
<th>In other services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8.</th>
<th>Non-workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1.</th>
<th>Total Chenchu</th>
<th>171</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2.</th>
<th>Total workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. At Household Industry
   Males 13
   Females 9

4. manufacturing other than household
   Males 37

5. In Construction
   Males 6

6. In Trade & Commerce
   Males 2

7. In other services
   Males 38

8. Non-workers
   Males 12
   Females 54. 28
REFERENCES

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17 Ibid., Economic Development, p.120.
18 Ibid., Tribes and Forest Policy, pp.81-84.
19 Annual Report, Ministry of Welfare.
21 Ibid., p.437.
24 Census 1961, Andhra Pradesh, District Census Hand Book, Mahbubnagar District,
25 Census 1961, Andhra Pradesh, District Census Hand Book, Nizamabad District,
26 Ibid., pp.116-117.
27 Census 1961, Andhra Pradesh, District Census Hand Book, Warangal District,
28 Ibid., pp.140-141.

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