

**CHRISTIAN MIGRATION TO MALABAR,
1930 – 1980**

**THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

By

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DECLARATION

I, P.T. Sebastian, hereby declare that this thesis is a bonafide record of work done by me and no part of the thesis has been presented earlier for any degree, diploma or similar title of any other University.

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Calicut University,
December 2002

C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "**Christian Migration to Malabar, 1930-1980**" submitted to the University of Calicut for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is a record of bonafide research carried out by **P.T. Sebastian** under my supervision. No part of the thesis has been presented earlier for the award of any degree.


Supervising Teacher

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.K.C.C.	-	All Kerala Catholic Congress
C.M.I.	-	Carmelites of Mary Immaculate
C.W.M.S.	-	Calicut Wayanad Motor Service
E.P.W.	-	Economic and Political Weekly
K.T.P.	-	Kerala Thozhilali Party
N.S.S.	-	Nair Service Society
S.N.D.P.	-	Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam
SEEK	-	Society for Environmental Education in Kerala

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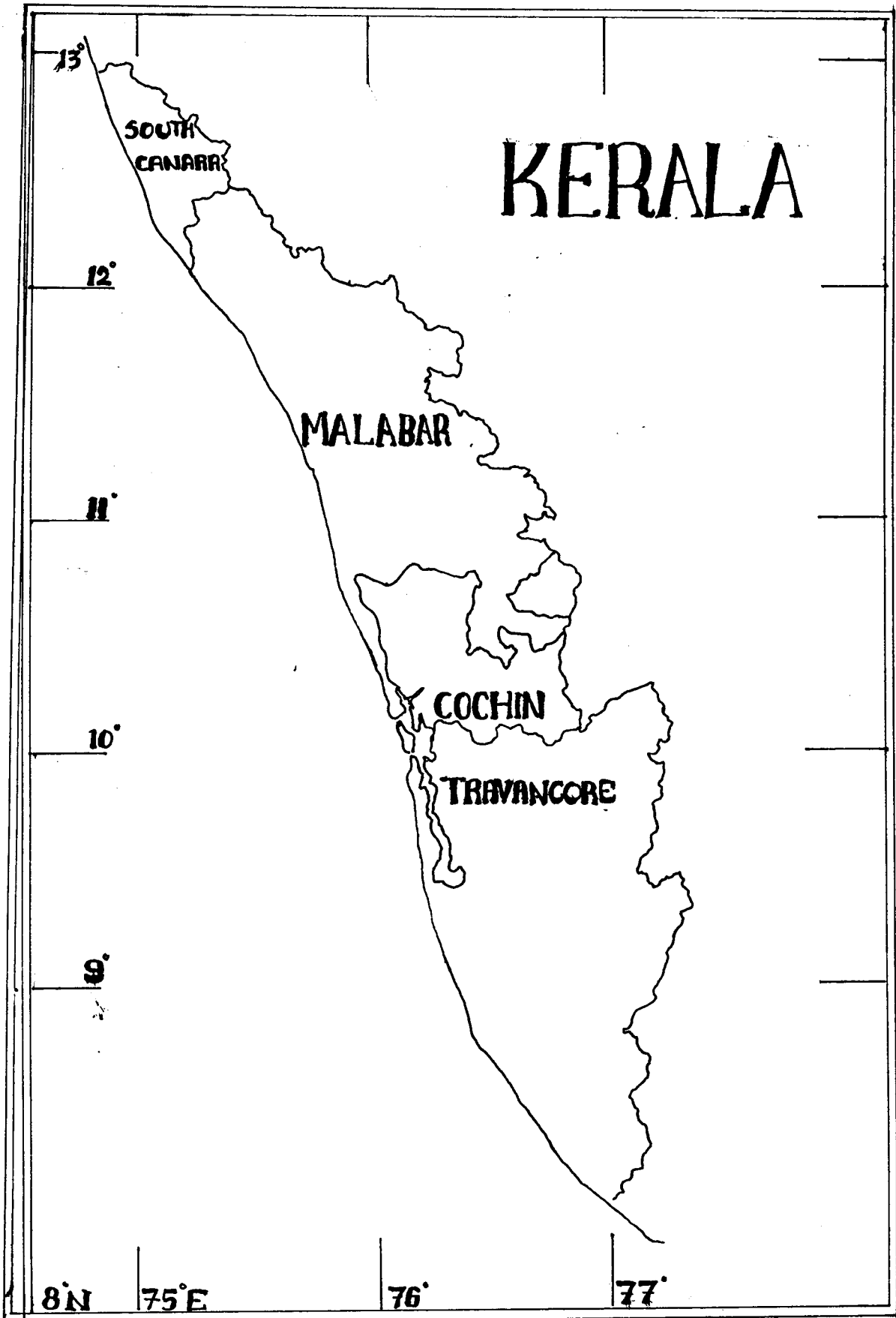
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CHAPTER I

PROBLEMATISING MIGRATION

The importance of migration in developing countries cannot be over-emphasised. It is a major factor in economic development and manpower planning. It has acquired special significance in the context of commercialization of agriculture, development of economy of the settled area, increase of population etc. Similarly, the impact of migration on the social and cultural life of the people of particular places also deserves much consideration.¹

Movement of people from one place to another for temporary or permanent settlement due to social, economic, political, religious or other reasons is a familiar phenomenon. Although migration is as old as human history, the massive population movements of the modern times have wider social, economic, political,

¹ The phenomenon of migration has been dealt within its multifarious forms in –

Rao, M.S.A., "Aspects of Sociology of Migration," *Sociological Bulletin*. Vol.30, No.1, (March 1981). Narayana Pillai, G., "Factors in out migration – A Study of Malayalees," *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol.V, June 1978, Part II. Sill L. David, (ed.), *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol.10, Macmillan Co. & Press, (1968). Zachariah, K.C. *A Historical Study of Internal Migration in the Indian Sub-continent – 1901-1931*, Asia Publishing House, (New York, 1964); Griffin, Keith, *World Development*. Rowe, W.L., "Caste, Kinship and Association in urban India," (ed.), *Urban Anthropology*, Oxford University Press, (1973).

demographic and ecological implications.²

Historically, Kerala State has been a heaven of immigrants for centuries. The Jews, the Arabs the Syrian Christians, the Konkani Brahmins, the Tamil Brahmins and a host of other ethnic groups have come and settled in Kerala on various occasions in the past. Similarly people of Kerala are now moving to different parts of the world in search of jobs. While a good many of them have moved to other parts of India, some others, have opted to go to foreign lands. Simultaneously, the immobile peasantry of Travancore have also migrated to different parts of Kerala itself. The present work deals mainly with the migration of the peasants within Kerala.

This movement of peasants, took place without any design or organization or leadership. Migration of peasants for the purpose of reclamation of wastelands was unheard in India till the end of the 19th century. The only parallel to the peasant migration of Travancore was the migration of Bengali peasants to Assam.

² For more details about the term 'migration' see the following:

H.C. Upreti, *Social Organisation of a Migrant Group* (Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House, 1981), John Connell *et al.*, *Migration from Rural Areas*; (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1976). United Nations, *Population Distribution, Migration and Development* (New York: United Nations, 1984), Rao, M.S.A. Aspects of Sociology of Migration, *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol.30, No.1, (March, 1981). Narayan Pillai, G. "Factors in out migration – A study of Malayalees," *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol.V, June 1978, Part II.

Zacharia, K.C. *A Historical study of Internal Migration in the Indian sub-continent - 1901-1931*, Asia, Publishing House, (New York, 1964). Thomas, V., *The Driving Forces in the Old World*, 1954, pp.94-96.

Since the beginning of 20th century, large numbers of Bengali peasants had migrated and settled down in various districts of Brahmaputra valley in Assam. Similarly, peasants from Travancore migrated to Malabar and settled down in the upland regions of Malabar.³ The Syrian Catholic Christians were the largest section among them, their settlements led to the establishment of churches and schools, which became torches of learning in the jungles of Malabar.

Work of this kind helps researchers to know the past trends in historical perspective. The situation in Travancore at the time of migration, the important push factors behind the migration to Malabar, course of migration, general condition in Malabar at that time, early settlements by farmers and the effects of migration on Malabar society as a whole are the topics discussed in this study. In the following study, the causes, course and the significance of migration of farming population from Travancore to Malabar during 1930-'80 have been traced.⁴

³ The number of Bengali farmers who settled down in Assam with their whole families totaled about 3, 48,000 by 1921. *India and Pakistan* (Princeton University Press, 1951), p.311.

⁴ Increasing Penetration of market economy into the rural areas, Agricultural debt, Poverty and famine, death and diseases, alienation and differentiation of peasantry etc. contributed for this movement. for details see Todor Shanin, *The Awkward Class*, (Oxford, 1972). pp. 1-40. For details of the theory of peasant economy, see A.V. Chayanov, *Peasant Farm Organisation*, (Moscow, 1925) pp.35-49.

For details on to differentiation of the peasantry, see V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works* Vol.III, (Moscow, 1971), pp.70-80.

The term 'Malabar' refers to the northern part of the State of Kerala. The region is now formed into six northern districts of the State – Kasaragode, Cannanore, Wayanad, Kozhikode, Malappuram and Palghat. Malabar was joined with the former native states of Travancore and Cochin to form the State of Kerala. Prior to Independence, Malabar formed part of British India and subsequently of Madras State. It was to this 'foreign' land that people from Travancore migrated in an unprecedented scale since 1928.⁵

Migration to Malabar turned out to be a mass movement of tremendous magnitude – a movement of half a million people. That this great change in political distribution of population took place without any design or organization or leadership makes it unique in the annals of migrations. Families left their parental villages in Travancore for reasons of their own, and settled in the mountainous expanses of Malabar. The majority of immigrants were small farmers, who went to make Malabar their permanent abode.

⁵ Swadeshbhimani Ramakrishna Pillai, a prominent freedom fighter of Travancore, sentenced to deportation from Travancore to Malabar as one, to a 'Foreign' nation. This brings in to open the absence of a feeling of oneness among the people of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar.

For general description on Kerala see George, Wood Cock, *Kerala - a Portrait of Malabar Coast* (London, 1967) pp. 1-50.

Malabar was ceded to East India Company in 1792 by Tipu Sultan after his defeat in the III Anglo-Mysore war. After a brief spell of administration under the Bombay Government, it became a district of the Madras Presidency covering an area of 5795 sq. miles and stretching over a distance of 150 miles along the Arabian sea. It was bound in the north by the south Canara district of Madras Presidency, in the South by the former Cochin State and in the east by the Western Ghats.

The social impact of such a mass migration can hardly be exaggerated. While it relieved the pressure of population in Travancore, it helped the penetration into the interior hilly ranges and valleys of Malabar. Along the routes of the migration, settlements were planted. Roads and bridges followed them. Market, towns and trading centres grew like mushrooms where there was hardly any inhabitant in the early part of the century.⁶

Malabar, noted for its relative backwardness, gained immensely from the migration of industrious and enterprising people from the south, with a relatively higher rate of literacy. Besides importing into Malabar their distinct culture and habits, the migration contributed largely to the educational and cultural developments of Malabar.

The impact of the migration on the economy of Kerala in general and of Malabar in particular needs special mention. Large scale production of commercial crops like rubber, ginger, pepper, arecanut and coconut, advanced methods of cultivation and the introduction of new agricultural crops are some of the aspects to be highlighted. Special mention should be made of the introduction of tapioca, a food crop, which was generally unknown in Malabar. Tapioca, introduced by the immigrants was so widely cultivated. By 1975 Cannanore district alone produced

⁶ The Kasaragode, Cannanore, Waynad, Calicut, Malappuram, Palaghat districts of the present state of Kerala roughly constitute the former Malabar District. For more details see K.N. Panikkar, "Peasant Revolt in Malabar in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." In A.R. Desai (Ed.), *Peasant Struggles in India*. (Delhi, 1982) pp.601-630.

1,60,000 tonnes of tapioca from 7,000 acres of land.⁷ Moreover, it has been justifiably claimed that it was tapioca that saved Malabar from starvation during the famine of early 1940s.⁸

The settlers from Travancore are also believed to have introduced a distinct variety of pepper vine which begins to yield in the second year and yields every year, unlike the Malabar pepper which begins yielding late and yields only in alternate years. They also introduced rubber seeds of better quality and higher yields.

Besides introducing new crops and extending the cultivation of old crops, the settlers opened up vast areas of private forest lands for cultivation. Plantation (agriculture) in Malabar was, till the advent of the immigrants, (more or less) the monopoly of European enterprises in Wayanad. The settlers spread it to other parts of Malabar. The consequent impact on labour, trade and commerce was of considerable significance.

Thus migration to Malabar involved a revolution of great magnitude and formed an important phase in the social, economic and cultural history of Kerala.

⁷ Kunhikrishnan, K. "Kudiyettakkarude Gramathil" (Malayalam), *Mathrubhoomi Weekly*, Vol.XIV. (March 21, 1971).

⁸ Sebastian, D. Vadakkayil, "Malabar Kudiyettam, Athengane Vijayapradamakkam" (Malayalam). *Deepika* (January 1, 1954).

Methodology

This narrative is expanded by making use of the innumerable sources referred below. The study is a narrative based on the analysis of Government records, land records and personal interviews with about 300 persons from different regions of Kerala. However, a major source of information is the Church records of the diocese of Mangalore, Calicut, Tellicherry, Manathavady, Palghat, Thamarasseri, Meenangadi, Sulthan Bathery, Malankara diocese at Batheri, Malankara Marthoma diocese at Makkada, as these institutions were continuously involved with the problems of migrants. The memoirs, letters, and notes on diaries of the early migrants are some of the source materials used in this study. The reports in the leading Malayalam newspapers – Deepika, Malayala Manorama, Mathrubhumi, Desabhimani, Chandrika, Kerala Kaumudi, etc. are also dependable source of materials for the same.

The records of Sub Registrar offices, agricultural income tax offices, Taluk offices, provided information regarding land transactions and land holdings of migrants and other connected details. Police records and court records are used in the study for the assessment of crime rate in Malabar. Details about the existing conditions in Malabar, during the early migration period in the mode of production etc. are obtained from the personal records and accounts, kept by the early settlers and their immediate successors. The archival materials collected from Tamilnadu Archives, Calicut Archive, Cellar Trivandrum are also used for

this work. Souvenirs published in connection with the jubilees of churches and schools in Malabar, Migration special souvenirs etc. consisted of migration history of each settlements; memoirs, of early migrants and other related informations of each settlements is very useful materials for the re-construction of the history of migration to Malabar.

Besides these a large number of books and journals available in all the Universities in Kerala and Centre for Development Studies at Trivandrum are also used in this study. The proper use of these sources helped to unfold the history of the Migration and its impact on the Development and Transformation of Malabar. The Method of the study is tracing of the historical conditions of migration with the help of qualitative and quantitative analysis.

Scheme of Study

In the introductory chapter, importance of investigation and objectives of the study are identified. After presenting a brief overview of theoretical analysis of migration in general, Malabar migration in particular, review of the literature on this topic is also undertaken.

In Chapter II Part I poverty and famine, disease and deaths, economic depression, land systems, commercialisation of agriculture, progress of education, population pressure on cultivable land and political developments in Travancore are closely examined as causes of migration. It further presented a brief account of

Malabar which 'pull' them to Malabar during the period. In part-II courses of migration is discussed through the pattern of migration, discussions on migration, nature of the uprooted situation, early migration, migration between 1930 and 1940 and settlements since 1940, pattern of development and pattern of cultivation are also studied with their common features. It also discusses the struggle for survival of migrants in the early stage of the migration. It includes encounter with death and diseases, poverty and famine faced by them. Medical aid in Malabar, climate and natural calamities, difficulties in conveyance, cheating and exploitations, gunda menace, eviction threat, usury in Malabar etc. are studied with their common features.

Chapter III deals with the organised interventions in Migration. Nair Service society at Panathadi, Kottayam diocese of Knanaya Christians at Rajapuram and Madapam, Wayanad Colonisation scheme of the Government, Assumption colony in Calicut district, Marthoma colony at Chungathara apart from the role of big planters and estate owners in Malabar, the Roman Catholic Churches in Travancore and Malabar also promoted migration and helped the migrants on a big way. The chapter also deals with the role of Roman Catholic Bishops, priests and institutions run by them in promoting migration.

The sociological aspect of Christian migration is examined in Chapter IV. After briefing the Biblical teaching and Christian ethos, the role of Christian churches are discussed with special emphasis on their social services, and

humanitarian activities streamlined through various agencies such as mission league, KCYM, social services societies, hospitals, schools and orphanages in Malabar.

The impact of migration on society, economy, politics and culture are analysed in Chapter V. Environmental degradation and alienation of tribals are also being looked into. Major findings and conclusion are summarised in Chapter VI.

Historiographic Critique

There are a few studies which necessarily trace out the historical role of migration from Travancore to Malabar in transforming the regional landscape of northern Kerala. But any of them hardly underscores the developmental perspective of migration in its social, economic and political settings with dimensional horizons. The following review is made in the chronological order.

The work *Food, Famine and Nutritional Diseases in Travancore*⁹ deals with famine conditions in certain parts of the west coast of India about which little is known to the outside world. It examines the number of deaths in 1943 – 1944, when the people suffered from food famine. By an analysis of the State medical reports and parish records of deaths, the book establishes the existence of similarity

⁹ Sivaswamy, K.G. et.al., *Food, Famine and Nutritional Diseases in Travancore (1943-44)* Survey Report, (Coimbatore, 1945).

of conditions as in famine tracts, namely longer percentage of deaths by diarrhoea, dysentery and oedema and a phenomenal increase in the number of diseases. It further projected the poverty and famine in Travancore in 1940's through field surveys and interviews.

This documented *report on Surveys*¹⁰ by Sri Sivaswamy gives detailed account on famines, diseases and deaths occurred in Malabar during 1940s. It depicts a real, picture of the "ordeals of the settlement" unaided by the State. During the exodus to Malabar mostly in 1943, when a large number of Travancoreans, about 15,000 in number, travelled about 200 miles by train and 100 miles by road, lived in inhospitable jungles and cleared them for cultivating food-crops, putting up hard fight against malaria, wild animals and the cold climate in the uplands of Malabar. Though it compiles the results of the comprehensive surveys on cropping pattern, land rent, agricultural credit, peoples diet, disease and death, it failed to account the resultant migratory situation in Malabar.

Joseph V Kallidukkil in a brief account¹¹ on migratory process of Christian communities in Malabar reiterated the need for establishing a Syrian Catholic diocese in Malabar.

¹⁰ Sivaswamy, K.G. et. al. *The Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles*, (Coimbatore, 1945).

¹¹ Joseph V. Kallidukkil, *Kerala Suriyani Reethum Malabar Kudiyettavum (Mal)* First published in 1949, Reprint (Tellicherry, 1983).

The Souvenir of the *Sacerdotal Silver Jubilee*¹² discourses the historical process of migration from Travancore to Malabar in respect of Clarist Convent. The Souvenir contains articles on history of the Christian settlements of Kuttiyadi, Wayanad, Thiruvampadi, Alakode, Iritty, Peravoor and nearby areas. The articles highlight the role of Christian churches and their various organisations like Convent, Monastries, Mission league, KCYM and the like in the migratory development.

Michael Tharakan in a seminal work *Migration of Farmers from Travancore to Malabar, from 1930 to 1960 - An Analysis of its Economic Causes*¹³ examines the causes of migration from Travancore to Malabar during the period from 1930 to 1960. He briefly analyses the impact of population pressure on agricultural land, Christian way of inheritance, fragmentation of property, commercialisation of agriculture in Travancore and its possible impact on migration to Malabar.

Fr. Thomas Pazhaparambil in his prime account¹⁴ narrates the migration history of peasants from Travancore to Malabar and discusses the bitter experiences

¹² *Souvenir of Sacerdotal Silver Jubilee of Rt. Rev. Dr. Sebastian Velloppilly (Mal)* (Tellicherry, 1970).

¹³ Michael Tharakan, P.K., *Migration of Farmers from Travancore to Malabar, from 1930 to 1960: An Analysis of its Economic Causes*, Unpublished M.Phil dissertation (Trivandrum, 1977).

¹⁴ Rev. Thomas Pazhaparambil, *Swapnabhumiyl (Malabar Kudiyetta Charitram)* (Mal) (Muvattupuzha, 1978).

borne by the migrant communities with the wild animals and diseases during the early phases of migration.

Joseph Taffarael S.J in a *biographical sketch*¹⁵ of Fr. Peter Caironi, highlights the role of Jesuit Fathers in helping early settlers in Malabar jungles.

In an equally important study, '*Intra-Regional Differences in Agrarian Systems and Internal Migration: A Case Study of the Migration of Farmers from Travancore to Malabar 1930-50*,^{16a} a comparative analysis of land systems in Travancore and Malabar is presented along with the resultant demographic scenario and the properties of reinvestable resources and their constraints.

K.M. Joseph¹⁷ traces the historical roots of early settlements of migrants by narrating the early proselytisation process initiated by the Christian church in indigenous tribal community of Kurichias in Kolayad tribal belt at Kolayad near Peravoor in Malabar.

A *College Magazine*¹⁸ which appeared in 1981 dedicated a separate part to the Migration Studies. The Village Survey on Migration reveals the various

¹⁵ Taffarel, Joseph, S.J. *A Missionary Indeed! A Missionary in Deed*, (Tellicherry, 1980).

¹⁶ Michael Tharakan, P.K. *Intra-regional Differences in Agrarian Systems and Internal Migration: A Case of Study of Migration of Farmers from Travancore to Malabar, 1930-50*, Centre for Development Studies, (Trivandrum, 1981).

¹⁷ Joseph. K.M. *Kolayad St. Cornelius Mission (Mal.)* (Tellicherry, 1981).

¹⁸ Varshantha (et. al), *Government College Magazine*, (Kodencherry, 1981).

negative and positive impacts of migration in a socio-economic and environmental perspective.

K.V. Joseph in an important study¹⁹exposes the evolutionary history of peasant migration from Travancore to Malabar and tries to analyse the consequential impact of migration on the economic development of Kerala. He concludes that migration helped to increase agricultural productions, flourish commercial crops in place of food crops and to enhance economic advancement.

Fr. Bernadin, Fr. Joseph Kunnel and Fr. Maria²⁰ attempts to highlight the role of CMI fathers in providing assistance to migrant dwellers in Malabar by various means.

K. Panoor in his study²¹discusses the consequences of migration on tribal communities in Malabar. He contends that migration of Christian community from Travancore to Malabar invariably destroyed the very basis of the tribal economy. He argues that the migrant settlers were mainly responsible for land alienation of the tribal communities who are in fact uprooted from their traditional culture and settlements.

¹⁹ Joseph, K.V., *Migration and Economic Development of Kerala* (Delhi, 1988).

²⁰ Barnnardin. C.M.I, *Malabar Kudiyettavum CMI Sabhayum (Mal.)* (Cochin-11, 1988)

Father Joseph Kunnel C.M.I, *Kudiyettakkarodoppam (Mal.)* (Calicut, 1998).

Father Mariadas. C.M.I, *C.M.I. Sabhayude Malabar Kudiyettam (Mal.)* (Thevara, 2001).

²¹ Panur. K. *Keralathile America (Mal.)* (Kottayam, 1989).

Joseph Kuruvilangad²² gives a detailed account of trials and tribulations of migrant populace. He overemphasise the role played by the church authorities such as priests, nuns, social service organisations in the development of the settled areas.

Another souvenir viz., *Suvarna Jubilee Smaranika*, Kulathuvayal 1992²³ contains articles on various aspects of migration including the problems faced by the 'immigrants' in Malabar during early phases of migration. The courses of migration, deforestation caused by migration, increased crime rates, economic impacts of migration, the cultural aspects of migration, analysis on tenancy system in Malabar and cultural integration between Travancore and Malabar are briefly examined in the souvenir.

A.C. Chacko attempted to present the history of migration to Alakode in Taliparamba Taluk of Kannur District in a regional perspective of development in his study '*Alakkodinte Katha*'.²⁴ The role played by *P.R. Rama Varma* Raja of the Poonhar Royal family in migratory performance for the socio-economic development of the Alakkode region by establishing educational institutions, constructing roads and creating infrastructural facilities and cultivating plantation crops.

²² Kuruvilangad Joseph, *Konippadikal (Mal.)* (Calicut, 1991).

²³ *Suvarnajubilee Smaranika, Kalathuvayal St. George Forane Church (Mal.)* (Kalathuvayal, 1992).

²⁴ Chacko A.C., *Alakodinte patha Adhava North Malabar Kudiyettavum Vikasanavum, (Mal.)* (Taliparamba, 1993).

Fr. Jose Poovannikunnel and Zacaria Valavoor²⁵ in their separate accounts reveal the services rendered by Mar. Sebastian Velloppilly for the benefit of migrant populace among the Christian communities in Malabar.

Another *Souvenir*²⁶ briefly narrates the history of early settlements of migrants in Thiruvambadi, Kodencherry, Kulathuvayal, Maruthomkara and Mariapuram area in Malabar. The articles contained in the *Souvenir* reposes the role of diocese at Calicut, Knanaya diocese of Kottayam, CMI Fathers and Jesuit Fathers in providing helping hands to migratory communities in overcoming difficulties by way of supplying medicines etc., to them.

C.J. George in an interesting study²⁷ discusses the regional variation of spoken languages in Travancore and Malabar and attempts to examine the cultural assimilation of societal settings.

The history of migration in Palakkad Diocese has been traced by Msgr. Jose.P. Chittilappally in 'Avarnaneeyamaya Dhanathinu Daivathinu Sthuthi (Mal.)'.²⁸

²⁵ Father Jose Poovannikunnel (Ed.), *Kudiyetta Janathayude Pithavu (Mal.)* (Thalassery, 1995).

Sakhariyas Valavoor, *Malabarinoru Mosses (Mal.)* (Kottayam, 1995).

²⁶ *Kudiyetta Charithravum Thamarasseri Mekhalayum (Mal.)* (Thiruvambadi, 1998).

²⁷ George. C.J., *Vakkinte Samuhikasastram (Mal.)* (Thrissur, 1998).

²⁸ Rev. Jose.P. Chittilappally., *Avarnaneeyamaya Dhanathinu Sthudhi (Mal.)* History of Palghat Diocese (Palghat, 1999).

Mar. Sebastian Valloppilly in his autobiographical sketch²⁹ briefly dealt with the history of migration to Malabar stretching from Mannarghat in South to Bandaduka in the North.

Fr. J. Kottukapally in his autobiography '*Pullankuzhalinte Atmageetam*'³⁰ recollects his experiences with migrants when he served in various churches in Malabar as parish priest. He was able to mobilise people for the upliftment of the community through various means of social services.

The popular Malayalam fictions like *Visha Kanyaka* by S.K. Pottakkad, *Karuthaponnu* by Joseph Mattam, *Kamuki* by Kanam, *Churam* by Thomas Varkey, *Chulli* by Joseph Kuravilangad, *Kadu* by E.M. Kovoov, *Orotha* by Kakkanadan refer to certain aspects of the migration, but do not make the claims of historical writings. The studies are only fragmentary in nature. Further informations from vernacular languages is biased and superficial and not supported by relevant records.

The newspaper reports from the back volumes of *Malayala Manorama*, *Deepika*, *Mathrubhumi*, *Deshabhimani*, *Thozhilali* and *Malayora Sabdam*, between 1926-1981 are also helpful in understanding various streams of migration to Malabar.

²⁹ Mar Sebastian Velloppilly, *Daiwam Nammodukoode (Mal.)*, (Calicut, 1999).

³⁰ Father Mathew J. Kottukappalli, *Pullamkuzhalinte Atmageetham (Mal.)* (Kannur, 2002).

The Souvenirs and Memoirs reviewed were the commemorative volumes on the events of migration at the parish, diocese and Arch Diocese levels contain fragmentary presculations of migratory history. Infact, there is hardly any work on migration, discussing their impacts on society, economy and polity of Malabar and analysing its regional history in a developmental perspective./

Theoretical Considerations

There has been much discussion about migration in recent years among scholars of various disciplines including history. Although migration is an especially attractive research area for a historian, the development of migration studies owes much to interdisciplinary efforts and it is impossible to draw sharp lines between different contributions.³¹ The movement of population remains an essential component of economic development, social change and political organization.

Since the end of World War II, migratory movements on a quite unprecedented scale have taken place throughout the world. Millions of people have been driven from their homes and the population structure of entire countries radically altered. Political upheavals involving the re-drawing of frontiers, transfers of sovereignty and changes of regime have forced entire population into

³¹ A Kosinski and R. Mansell Prothero (edt.), *People on the Move; Studies on Internal Migration*. (London, 1975) Pp. 4-8

exile and caused mass movements far in excess of those normally resulting from supply and demand on the world employment market.

The post World War II decades have experienced phenomenal and unprecedented growth of population as well as the ceaseless migration from local to international character, especially rural to urban migration. So in the case of developing countries, the country side could no more sustain any further addition to the already fragile man resource development syndrome. Consequently migration studies have become the most important area of contemporary research in the social sciences. The concepts, the theories and methods of analysis of the various aspects of migration have emerged for a better understanding of migration phenomenon.

In the realm of migration a considerable body of useful and insightful literature has developed as a result of interest shown in the varied aspects of population mobility by practitioners of different social sciences during the last three decades. This interest is understandable in view of the immense contribution of migrants to the process of urbanization, industrialization, population, redistribution, economic development, cultural diffusion and social integration.

Migration is a global phenomenon. The word 'migration' denotes the movement of population with the change of residence. There are a host of definitions of the term migration. Dictionaries generally refer to migration as a

change of residence from one place to another. According to the Oxford *Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, to migrate means to "move from one place to another (to live there)." According to the *Webster's New Dictionary*, it means to "move from one place to another, especially to another country" or "to move from place to harvest seasonal crops."

Eisenstadt defines migration as the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves the abandoning of one social setting and entering another and different one.³² It is used symbolically in the transition from one surrounding to another in the course of human life.³³

Migration is as old as human history, and has wide social economic, political, demographic and ecological implications. Movement of people from one place to another due to social, economic, political or any other reasons is an ubiquitous phenomenon. In fact migrations have significantly influenced human history. They have profoundly influenced socio-economic and political

³² S.N. Eisenstadt, "Analysis of Patterns of Immigration and Absorption of Immigrants," cited in Leszek A. Kosinski and R. Mansell Porthero, (eds), *People on the Move: Studies on Internal Migration*, (London, 1975), p.3.

³³ A.A. Wemberg, Migration and belonging: a study of mental health and personal adjustment in Israel, 1961 cited in Leszek A. Kosinski and R. Mansell Porthero (eds), *People on the Move: Studies on International Migration* (London, 1975), p.3.

Also see, Everett. S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration" in D.M. Hear (ed.) *Readings on Population* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1968), p.184 and Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1975), p.11.

transformation of many people.³⁴ A migrant is a person who moves from one administrative unit to another. In the context of India these administrative units are generally villages in rural areas, and towns in urban areas. |

A distinction may be made between migrants and movers. Migrants are those who move between political units, whereas movers are those who move within them. Thus at any given time the total population of a region can be divided into migrants and non-migrants, movers and non movers. This classification establishes the mobility status of the population.³⁵

Migration is a term which encompasses a wide range of patterns. From the geographical point of view it may involve the movement of people from one locality to another within the country or from one country to another. Such geographical mobility may also place people from rural areas to rural areas or from rural areas to urban areas.

According to Mangalam, "migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another preceded by decision making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a

³⁴ For instance, British migrants the 'Pilgrim fathers' were the architects of modern U.S.A. The American history was actually shaped by the British migrants. The American continent has continued to receive fairly large number of migrants even in the present century.

³⁵ Lesnek A. Kosinski etc. *Op.cit.*, p.2. Also see – P.R. Shaw, *migration theory and fact: A review and Bibliography of the current literature*. Bibliography series No.5. Philadelphia: Regional Science Institute, (Philadelphia, 1975).

hierarchically ordered set of values or value ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants.³⁶

Caplow states that "migration is strictly speaking, a change of residence and need not necessarily involve any change of occupation, but it is closely associated with occupational shifts of one kind or another."³⁷

In fact, migrations have significantly influenced human history. They have profoundly influenced political and socio-economic transformation of many people.³⁸

There are a host of factors which tend to move people between nations as well as between places within the national borders. Migration is a development – fostering process involving a complex of factors and fall-outs-religious, political, socio-economic, demographic, etc.³⁹ On the basis of the reasons for migration, it

³⁶ J.J. Mangalam, *Human Migration: A Guide to Migration Literature in English 1955-62* (cited in Lesnerk A. Kosinski and R. Mansell Prothero, *Op.cit.*, p.3).

³⁷ Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis, The university of Minnesota Press, 1975), p.11.

³⁸ For instance, British migrants, the Pilgrim Fathers, were the architects of modern U.S.A. The American history was actually shaped by the British migrants. The American continent has continued to receive fairly large number of migrants even in the present century.

³⁹ For example, the Parsees, who have so much contributed to India's industrialization, migrated for religious reasons. The Tamils migrated to Sri Lanka for economic reasons. The exodus of people, on the eve of Independence, from India to Pakistan and vice versa, which has created a large number of problems to both the countries, jeopardizing even the national security, was for political reasons.

may be classified as voluntary migration, sequential migration and forced migration.⁴⁰

Voluntary migration is motivated by certain welfare gains for the migrant. Forced migration, by and large, causes sufferings to migrant and also to others. A group of migrants with a common origin and destination is called a 'migration stream' or a 'migration current.'

Migration is a term which encompasses a wide range of patterns. From the geographical point of view it may involve the movement of people from one locality to another within the same country or from one country to another, or it is otherwise called *internal or external* migration; urban to rural or rural to urban migration are also possible. The terms '*inmigration*' and '*outmigration*' are related to internal migration whereas '*immigration*' and '*emigration*' are related to international migration.

⁴⁰ If the migrant has the opportunity to exercise his own discretion in deciding whether to migrate or not or in the matter of selecting the place of migration, it is regarded as voluntary migration. Sequential migration, on the other hand, is the migration due to some element of customary obligation and suggestion of compelling circumstances (for example, migration following marriage). Forced migration is the migration caused by compulsion or coercion like separation, political or religious persecution, eviction etc. For example in Kashmir nearly two thousand pandit Brahmin families were forced to abandon their properties and seek asylum in Delhi and some other parts of Utter Pradesh. (Report from *Kerala Kaumudi* Newspaper, dated 3.6.1991, Trivandrum).

Several migration streams reflect propinquity and historical, cultural and linguistic ties.⁴¹ On the basis of duration of the process, migration may be classified into permanent or short term. Further, there is occupational migration that involves shift from one occupation to another. Radical changes in the institutional set up and occupational pattern brought about by the industrial revolution was the starting point of several streams of migration of the modern period. Large number of people used to flock from neighbouring villages to the growing industrial town of England since the close of the 18th C.⁴²

Rural-urban migration had its beginning a century ago. A new pattern of migration, known as, brain-drain, became popular since then. Brain-drain was one in which highly trained professionals consisting of scientists, doctors, engineers and

⁴¹ For example, Spanish and Portuguese emigrants were drawn to Latin America and Irish emigrants to the United States because of the similarity in language and traditions. Also see United Nations, *Determinants and Consequences of Populations Trends* (New York: United Nations, 1973) p.237.

⁴² Arthur Redford, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850* (Manchester University Press, 1926) p.7.

For instance, in Calcutta rickshawpullers are largely migrants from Bihar and Orissa. In Bombay construction workers are largely from Andhra Pradesh, restaurant and catering industry workers are from Karnataka. Also see – Narendra Panjwani, "Slums: Myths and New Realities," *The Week*, October 13-19, 1985. *The State of India's Environment – 1984-85: A Citizens Report*, edited by Anil Agarwal and Sunitha Narain and published by the Centre for Science and Environment, (New Delhi).

others moved to the advanced countries in search of professional satisfaction and monetary benefits.⁴³

The study of migration and especially the development of theories, hypotheses and laws relating to (internal) migration, has been championed by statisticians, anthropologists, sociologists, geographers and economists: demographers came rather late to the scene.

Revestein's work on migration is naturally the logical starting point in the discussion of laws and theories of migration. It is particularly so since 1985 marks the centenary year of the publication, of the seminal treatise on migration laws. It is also significant to start from his work for yet another reason: his treatise has, over the century, been extensively reviewed, tested and amended; nevertheless, the basic tenets and substance of the 'laws' remain virtually unchanged today. In addition, the laws are broad, and relate to both the determinants as much as to the flows and volume of migration. Consequently, no attempt is made here to reproduce these reviews; rather, we shall sketch the main hypotheoretical developments.

⁴³ According to an estimate made in 1981 the number of emigrants falling under professional, technical and *kindred* worker classes from India in certain foreign countries has been as follows: U.S.A.: 72,800; U.K. 24,000 Australia: 12,400 Canada: 24,200 Western Europe: 27,900 West Asia: 54,000 Malaysia: 10,000 Singapore: 2000 and Nigeria: 5000 see M.C. Madhavan, "Dimensions of Indian Emigration" in *The Hindu*, dated 17th February 1985.

Revestein's 'laws' of migration can be summarized in terms of the following propositions:⁴⁴

1. migration and distance
2. migration by stages
3. streams and counterstreams of migration
4. urban – rural differences in the propensity to migrate
5. migration, technology and communication
6. the dominance of economic motives in migration

The migration – distance hypothesis stipulates that migration is inversely related to distance. Ravestein maintained that most migrations occur over short distances in which case, the number of migrants enumerated in a given place of absorption tends to decline as the distance from that location increases. The second postulate (migration in stages) holds that the inhabitants of a village tend to move first towards nearby towns, and from there towards the cities, giving rise to what is now commonly known as step migration.

Ravestein also postulated that each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-stream. In essence, to every stream of migration (eg. rural-urban), there is always a counter stream (urban–rural). In a way, this offers a

⁴⁴ Revestein, E, " The law of migration", *The Journal of Royal statistical society*, No. 48, June, Pp.167-235 and 241-305.

partial explanation for the return migration characteristic of city-ward migration in, for instance, Africa.

The migration differentials hypothesis holds that urban dwellers are less migratory than their rural counterparts. The most outstanding differential in migration relates to age, sex and education. While maintaining that economic motives are the most dominant causes of migration, Ravestein further postulated that development in transportation and communication would invariably increase the tempo of migration. These postulates, based on available statistical evidence at the time, have been reformulated by Lee, Stouffer and Zipt, among several others.

Ravestein's theory of migration does not fully explain the situation in Kerala where large scale rural to rural migration is also taking place. But his argument that, it is the inherent desire in men "to better themselves in material respects" that drives man from one place to another is true in the case of Kerala.

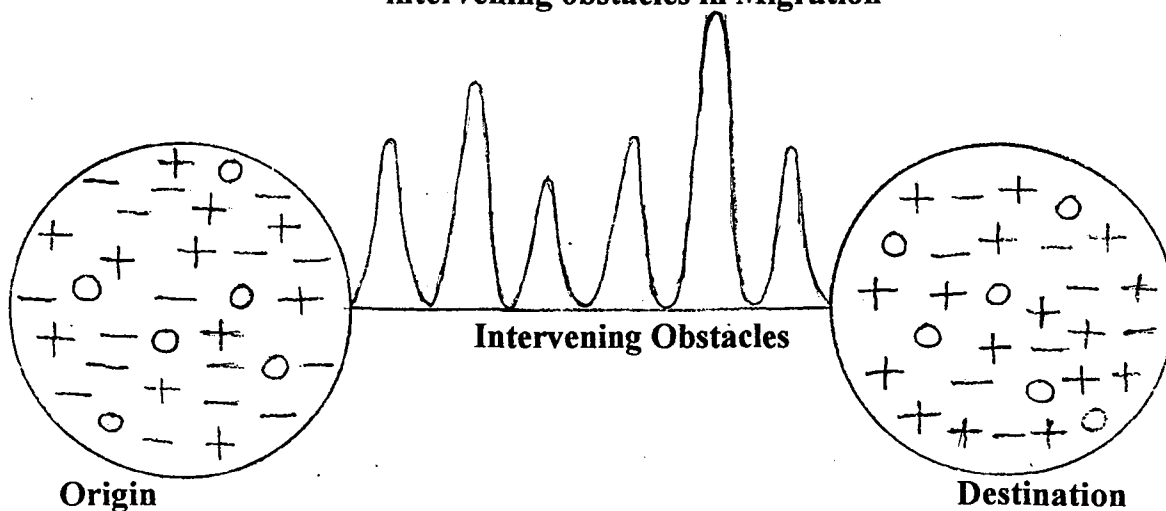
In Kerala, where there is large scale rural to rural migration, the process of such migration can be understood as a better way using Everett Lee's⁴⁵ Conceptualisation of migration. In fact, he introduced a simple conceptualization of migration, 'involving a set of factors at origin and destination and a set of intervening obstacles and a services of personal factors. He categorized the whole

⁴⁵ Everett, S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration, "*Demography*, Vol.3. 1966.

factors in to two; the push factors and to pull factors which include, skill, education, age, sex, cost of transport, restrictive immigration laws etc.

According to Everett S. Lee, the decision to migrate and the process of migration are influenced by four important set of factors.⁴⁶ They are (1) factors associated with the area of origin (2) factors associated with the area of destination (3) intervening factors (4) personal factors. The first three factors are schematically represented in the following Fig. (1). In the figure, the factors that attract people to an area are represented by '+' signs and the factors that repel are represented by '-' signs. '0' represent factors to which people are indifferent.

Fig. 1.1. Origin and Destination factors and intervening obstacles in Migration



Source: Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration", *Demography*, Vol. .3, 1996.

⁴⁶ S. Everett Lee, "A Theory of Migration", in Heer, D.M. (ed) *Readings on population*, (New Jersey, 1968), p.184.

The above figure indicates that while migration may result from the comparative strengths of the plus and minus factors at the place of origin and destination, the balance in favour of the move must be enough to overcome the intervening obstacles and the natural inertia.

The above discussion reveals the fact that it is the economic backwardness which leads to migration. The most important economic factors that motivate migration may be viewed as 'push factors' and 'pull factors'.

'Push factors' refers to the poor economic condition and the resultant economic misery which push people out of the region in search of a livelihood or better opportunities. The push theory is often used to explain the cause of rural – urban migration. The rural economic backwardness characterized by low productivity, unemployment and under-employment and low income, may push people out to the cities and towns where there are better economic opportunities.⁴⁷

'Pull factors' refer to the factors which encourage migration to an area such as employment and other economic opportunities. It is this factor which explains

⁴⁷ The Report of the Research Programme Committee of the Planning Commission is that adverse economic conditions is the greatest single cause of migration to cities cited in the sample survey report of nine Indian cities – Baroda, Hubli, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Jamshedpur, Kanpur, Poona, Gorakhpur, Lucknow and Surat.

Also see – G.N. Acharaya, "Some Thoughts on Urbanization" *Yojana*, 13 September, 1964, Delhi, p.11.

the high rate of movement in recent years to the advanced countries and to the rapidly developing countries of Latin America, Middle East and Africa.⁴⁸

It has a common place in studies about migration to cities in the search of better income. Previous studies have shown a high correlation between the regional distribution of economic opportunities and population distribution. However, while economic motivations may be prevalent, their interrelation with economic processes both in place of migrant's origin and of destination can occur in very different forms.⁴⁹

The Marxists, sometimes mingled with the structural-functional approach to migration studies, analyse and explain migration at the level of the political economy of the society based on the theory of social structure. Rather than focus on the individuals, Marxist theorists concentrate on the organization of the society and the modes of production within it. Amin, a leading proponent of this approach

⁴⁸ Today wage differences are the main driving force for international migration. For example, in the late 1970's, an unskilled migrant labourer from Bangladesh earned up to ten times more in the Arab Gulf State than he did in his own country.

See – World Bank, *World Development Report 1984*, (Washington, World Bank, 1984), p.100.

I.L.O. *Why Labour Leaves the Land?: A Comparative Study of Movement of Labour out of Agriculture* cited in N.V. Sovani, *Urbanisation and Urban India*, (Bombay, 1966) p.209.

United Nations, *Determinants and Consequences of World Population Trends* (New York, U.N., 1953) p.124.

⁴⁹ Elizaga. J. and J. Macisco, *Migraciones Internas Teoria metodos Factores, Sociologicos*, Santiago, CELADE, 1975.

– advanced this line of analysis by asserting that, , the overall strategy of economic development is the root cause of migration.⁵⁰

They also argue that the problems of migration is strongly embedded in the transformation and disruption of underdeveloped economies consequent on their integration with the colonial capitalist system.⁵¹

Both Marxists and Structural-Functionalists reject the classic push-pull model, but for different reasons: the former because they consider the penetration of capitalism a more fundamental factor underlying the specific push and pull factors, the latter because push-pull models stress the economic dimension at the expense of social, cultural, political and ideological factors. Moreover, Marxists reject the urban-rural dichotomy as superficial for capitalism, as the crucial explaining variable can also take rural forms. For structural-functional approaches to migration, on the other hand, the urban-rural dichotomy has always been an important analytical tool.⁵²

⁵⁰ Amin, S., "Introduction" in Amin, S. (ed.) *Modern Migrations in Western Africa*, (Oxford, 1974).

⁵¹ Meilink, A.H., "Some Economic interpretations of migration" in VanBinsfergen, W.M.J. and Meilink, H.A. (eds.) *Migration and the Transformation of Modern African Society* (African Perspective 1978/1) Africa – Studie centrum (Leiden, 1978).

⁵² Gerold-Scheepers, T.J.F.A and Van Binsebergen, W.M.J. "Marxist and non Marxist approaches to migration in Tropical Africa," in W.J.M. Van Binseberg en and H.A. Meilink (eds.) *Migration and Transformation of Modern African Societies, African Perspective 1978/1*. Africa Studiecentrum University (Leiden, 1978).

Demographic factors also influence migration. The differences in the rates of population increase between the different areas of a country have been found to be a stimulant to migration. Fertility and the rate of increase in population are generally higher in rural areas than in urban areas.⁵³

Inadequacy of domestic labour supply encouraged immigration to a number of countries like Australia, New Zealand, U.S.A, Canada and Gulf countries.⁵⁴ A large part of the requirements of agricultural labour in some Asian countries like Sri Lanka and Malyasia were met by immigrants.⁵⁵

Social and cultural factors also play their role in rural-urban migration. The quest for independence, the desire to break away from traditional constraints of social organization, conflicts among the family members, a feeling of being isolated etc. may cause migration.

⁵³ U.N., *Determinants and Consequences of World Population Trends*, (New York, 1953), p.153.

For details see – Collin Clerk, *Population Growth and Land Use* (London, 1954), p.118.

⁵⁴ The report of the American Census Bureau reveals that at present there are 8, 15, 447. Indians in America. In 1960's there was only 3, 61, 531. That means there is 125.6 percentage of increase in the number of Indians in America. (Report from Kerala Kaumudi Daily dated 15.6.'91).

⁵⁵ For example immigrants accounted for over 50% of the increase in Sri Lanka's population between 1880-1910 – For details see – Collin Clerk, *Population Growth and Land Use*, (London, 1954) p.118.

The institutional factors such as government policy may also influence migration. For instance, the adoption of the 'jobs for sons of the soil policy' by the governments will certainly limit migration.⁵⁶

There are some other factors like geographical, topographical and climatic factors and transport and communication system which also affected the process of migration.

The massive population movements of the modern times have wide social, economic, political, ecological and demographic implications. Migration consists of a variety of movements that can be described in the aggregate as an evolutionary and development-fostering process operating in time and space to correct rural-urban, inter-urban, and inter-regional imbalances. Because migration is a development-fostering process, it also may spread information. Its history runs back to ancient times, as does that of socio-economic development.⁵⁷

Migration may have important economic effects on both the place of origin and destination. The labour exporting regions may gain economically by the

⁵⁶ Regional prejudices and the cry for job only for the sons of the soil definitely clogged the flow of migrants from one region to other in India. For instance, the aggressive regional patriotism of Shiva Sena in Bombay, the Sikhs in Punjab and the militants in Assam have significant influence on migration.

For details see – Lakshmana Rao, G. *Internal Migration and Political Change in India* (New Delhi, 1977), pp.45-75.

⁵⁷ Joseph. J. Spengler and George C. Mayers, "Migration and Socio-economic Development: Today and Yesterday" in Alan A. Brown and Egon. Neuberger, *International Migration : a Comparative Perspective* (New York, 1977), p.11.

money brought in by the emigrants. The influx of rural migrants to cities and towns have resulted in a steady outflow of cash from the urban to rural areas. Several villages have experienced significant changes in their socio-economic conditions as a result of the enormous emigrant remittances.⁵⁸

Migration may be regarded as a processing machinery that sparks off social changes on both the emigrating and receiving ends. Urbanisation represents a revolutionary change in the whole pattern of social life affecting every aspect of existence.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ In 1960-61, the Calcutta Industrial Region sent out mostly to rural areas of India Rs.276 million by postal money orders alone from Bombay sent Rs.231 million, Delhi, Rs.77 million, Madras Rs.69 million. From the Gulf countries the migrated persons sent out crores of rupees to India.

For details see – Mitra, Asok, "Micro Planning of Space" in Noble, A.G. and Dutta, A.K. *Indian Urbanisation and Planning* (New Delhi, 1977), p.216.

Rao, M.S.A.: *Urbanisation and Social Change* (New Delhi, Connell, John, *et al.*, *Migration From Rural Areas* (Delhi, 1976).

Saxean, D.P. *Rural-Urban Migration –in India* (Bombay, 1977), pp.18-22.

⁵⁹ Kingsley Davis, "The Origin and Growth of Urbanisation in the World" *American Journal of Sociology*, March 1955, p.429.

Also see – U.N., *Planning of Metropolitan Towns and New Areas* (U.N., New York, 1973) p.3.

W.S.H. Phillips, "The Emerging pattern of Urban Social Stratification in India," *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol.27, No.2 (Sept. 1978), p.173.

The large-scale rural-urban migration and the consequent redistribution of population have a number of far reaching implications.⁶⁰

International migration also has important social and political implications. Changes in the ethnic composition of the population can have socio-political repercussions. As the *World Development Report 1984* points out, immigration can create social tensions.⁶¹

Therefore, to analyse the rural migration and extension of cultivation, which led to the all-round progress of Malabar, we have to incorporate elements, from several of the theories. It is not only the prospects of economic betterment alone that drives the people to migrate but various other factors such as psychic benefit and other personal factors also to a great extent determine one's desire to migrate. Along with this various constraints of the concerned individual like resource constraints, institutional constraints etc. influence the individuals choice of the place to migrate. Moreover, the advantage of moving along with family and the prospects of using family labour etc. to a great extent determine the place of

⁶⁰ During 1961-71, the rate of growth of slum population in Madras city was almost twice as fast as that of the total population. The number of squatter jhuggies or households increased during the same period from 12,749 to 141,755. Also see – IULA, *Urbanisation in Developing countries* (Hague: IULA, 1975) p.16.

Arthur McCormack, *The Population Explosion* (New York, 1973) p.24.

⁶¹ For example of France's 4 million foreigners, 40 percent live around Paris, in some sections of the city, more than half the primary school children have foreign parents. Today in Sri Lanka the large immigration of the past has caused a serious ethnic problem.

For details see, World Bank, *World Development Report 1984*, (World Bank, Washington, 1984), p.101.

migration. The peculiar nature of this movement is that it was predominantly a rural to rural migration. In Kerala, people with less resource endowments and less technical skill, in an effort to better their economic situation migrated to High Ranges at first and later to rural areas of Malabar where the availability of land is plenty and where there are less constraint, operating. It is in this frame work that the migration of Travancorean peasantry in general and Christian peasantry in particular and its impact on Malabar Society has been analysed.

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE ON THE MOVE

Human migration is a continuous process, which is as old as human life itself. Even Holy books give a fair account of people who were always on the move from one place to another. First, it took the form of either invasion or fleeing, based on wars or natural calamities like draught, flood and subsequent famine and breaking out of epidemics. The Jews, according to Holy Bible came to live in Egypt on the invitation of Pharaoh, but had to flee to the distant Canaan, the promised land when they could not withstand the persecution anymore.

The so called Aryan invasion is yet another classic example for human migration. The History of America and Australia give a vivid account of large scale human migration. Man's unending search for better pastures, cultivable land and wealth also kept him on the move from one terrain to another. Man's needs are unending, and as the economists have rightly observed it, he would undertake any amount of risk to satiate these needs.

This chapter mainly deals with the causes and course of migration from Travancore to the Malabar. 'Causes' generally deal with the push and pull factors while the 'course' is about the hardships faced by the migrants in this strange terrain.

There are a number of sociological theories on human migration. Most of these theories view migration as a change in location intended by a migrant to result in a change or changes in some features of his or her life. The tendency to move are influenced by various motives and constraints.

Among these motives and constraints are life cycle characteristics including age and the number of children.¹ Another important factor that influence migration is human capital. The higher the value of an individual's human capital, the greater the number of alternative opportunities and also the probability of migration.² The time before the departure of the migrants was of capital importance. Not only because the forces are at work which will determine the migration, but because the initial ideas about it are taking shape in the mind of a future young migrant.




PART – I CAUSES

The factors which propel a section of people to move from one region to another are generally divided into two : (1) Reasons which push them out of their places of habitation (2) Those which 'pull' them to certain other regions. Factors like over-population and increased pressure on cultivable land, inadequacy of

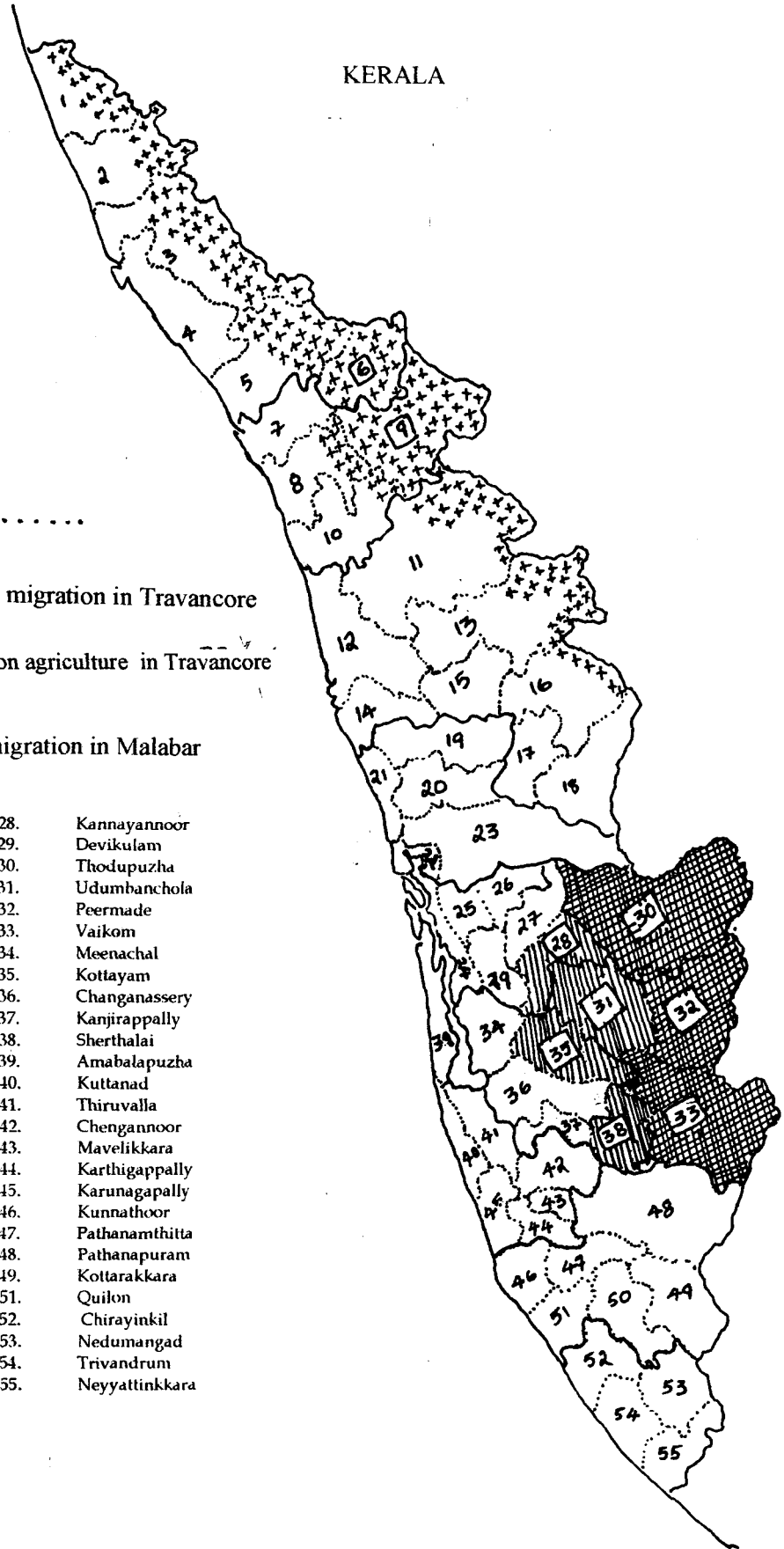
¹ Long, L.H. "Influence of number of Ages and Children on Mobility" in *Demography* 9: 371-382, 1972 and Sandofur G.D. and W.J. Scott, "A Dynamic analysis of Migration: An assessment of the effects, of Age, family and Career variables "*Demography* 18: 355-368, 1981.

² Shaw, P.R. Migration theory and fact: A review and Bibliography of the current literature, *Bibliograph series* No.5, Philadelphia, Regional Science Institute, 1975, P.356.

KERALA

- Taluk Boundary - - - - -
-  Major Centres of Out migration in Travancore
-  Major Centres of Plantation agriculture in Travancore
-  Major centres of In migration in Malabar

TALUKS	
1. Kasargode	28. Kannayannoor
2. Hosdurg	29. Devikulam
3. Thaliparamba	30. Thodupuzha
4. Cannanore	31. Udumbanchola
5. Tellichery	32. Peermade
6. North Wyanad	33. Vaikom
7. Badagara	34. Meenachal
8. Quilandy	35. Kottayam
9. South Wyanad	36. Changanassery
10. Kozhikode	37. Kanjirappally
11. Eranad	38. Sherthalai
12. Tirur	39. Amabalapuzha
13. Perinthalmanna	40. Kuttanad
14. Ponnani	41. Thiruvalla
15. Ottapalam	42. Chengannoor
16. Palghat	43. Mavelikkara
17. Alathur	44. Karthigappally
18. Chittur	45. Karunagapally
19. Thalappilly	46. Kunnathoor
20. Trichur	47. Pathanamthitta
21. Chowghat	48. Pathanapuram
22. Cranganore	49. Kottarakkara
23. Mukundapuram	51. Quilon
24. Cochin	52. Chirayinkil
25. Parur	53. Nedumangad
26. Alwaye	54. Trivandrum
27. Muvattupuzha	55. Neyyattinkkara



facilities for expansion and growth, scarcity of food and political or religious persecutions, serve to 'push' people out of one region, while opportunities for employment and investment and favourable conditions for advancement help to 'pull' them to certain other regions. The following pages would reveal, a combination of factors that prompted the migration of a large number of farmers from Travancore to Malabar during 1930 to 1980.

One visible and important cause for migration to Malabar was the Second World War which resulted in shortage of food stuffs. Scarcity of rice was a common phenomenon in Travancore area at that time. Shortage of cultivable land in Central Travancore, due to increasing pressure on cultivable land, intensified the situation. Many of them wished to go to Malabar area in search of cultivable lands easily available for cheap price.³

Land System in Travancore

Among the two important factors that promoted the migration of farmers to Malabar is that the land in Travancore was less attractive for the reinvestment and

³ Rev. Thomas Pazhaparambil, *Swapna Bhoomiyil*, (Muvattupuzha, 1978) pp.1-18. Standard migration theories receiving as the dynamic agent which pull migrant to them. These theories while useful for explaining many cases, appear inadequate for the case of labour migration from Haiti to Cuba and the Dominican Republic in the early 20th century. The article "Haitian Emigration in the early 20th century" by Gleen Peruselc *IMR*. Vol.XVIII, No.1, Spring, 1984, p.4. examines the history and offers an alternative theoretical framework for explaining this migration flow. It is argued that the prime cause of migration from Haiti is factors in the sending country.

in Malabar it was more attractive. By 1920's the Indian planters had already entered in the field of plantation in High Range areas. Even before this, English planters started their plantations in High Range areas of then Kottayam district. They had an advantage over Indians in acquiring land in these areas for cultivation. Indian planters had to undergo a series of official processes. They had to submit an application to the Diwan, according to the successive memorandum of rules for the sale of wasteland in the hilly regions of Travancore. The Britishers on the other hand could forward their applications directly to the British Resident and these applications were readily accepted. This was not the case of Indian planters.⁴

British planters not only had the advantage of getting lands suitable for plantations, but also the advantage of acquiring Sirkar (Government) lands. The importance of Sirkar land was that it was superior besides ensuring permanence of tenure and a fixed rent. There were also certain other types of land other than sirkar land, for cultivation.

These lands came under the tenurial category of edavagai which were not defined either as sirkar land or jenmam land. Sreepadam lands were the properties of members of the royal family. These lands belonged to local chieftains like Punjar Raja and Vanchipuzha Pandarathil. They were virtually [chief] free holds

⁴ Rules for the sale of wasteland on the Travancore Hills, April 1865, July 1898 and November 1918, *The Regulation and proclamations of Travancore government*, Vol.III (Trivandrum, 1923) p.1233.

even after the land revenue settlement of 1911, in Travancore - the state had no claim on the collection of taxes from these lands. These two types of lands did not come under the purview of either the Pattam proclamation of 1865, which conferred complete ownership right and allowed unrestricted transfer of the properties or the Jenmi-kudiyam Act of 1896. Therefore the tenants on the edavagai and Sreepadam land did not enjoy permanent tenancy rights over their properties. Besides this sirkar land and the free-holds belonging to the Punjar Raja and the Vanchipuzha Pandarathil, there was another source of land for developing plantations in the Mundakayam – Peermade area. This was the Devaswom land belonging to the Paschima Bhagavathi (goddess) temple. Around 4,5000 acres of the Paschima Devaswom land were leased out on a 30 year lease to various tenants, during 1920.⁵ The tenants of this lands did not enjoy the rights enjoyed by the

⁵ K.P. Padmanabha Menon – Kochi Rajya Charithram (Malayalam) Mathrubhumi Printing & Publishing Company, Kozhikode, 1989). pp.262-289.

For details about land relations and feudal exploitation of peasantry by feudal landlords. See K.P. Menon, (1989). In this book Mr. Padmanabha Menon vividly described the different types of land relations that existed in the erstwhile state of Cochin. Under Cochin rule and during the colonial period all kinds of rights on land were controlled by the land owning community mainly Brahmins. The Ezhavas of the soil had no security. Ramanpillai, C.V. *Marthandavarma* (Malayalam), First Little Prince Edition (Kottayam, 1983) p.360. From this book we can get a lot of references about the political situation, land system, social conditions of 18th century Travancore. Land system of early Travancore and Malabar see Krishna Iyer, K.V. 'The Temple states of Kerala' proceedings of the Tenth All India Oriental Conference, Tirupati, Madras, 1941, p.507-15.

tenants, on sirkar lands as jenmam lands as it also did not come under the purview of either the pattam proclamation or Jenmi – kudiyan Act.⁶

Apart from these difficulties in tenurial conditions, the restrictions on sale or transfer of land and even cutting of trees by tenants on the Paschima Devaswom land added fuel to the fire. The tenants of the Paschima Dewasom land had to go through a "Polichezhuthu."⁷ The restrictions on the transfer of land and the absence of permanency of tenancy that existed in Edavagai and Paschima Dewasom lands were indeed constraints on the re-investments of profit and expansion of agriculture in this area.⁸

Peasant migration can originate only in a region inhabited by a class of forward looking farmers. The emergence of such a class of peasants would be the outcome of a number of changes. Several administrative reforms were introduced in Travancore, that positively affected the growth of such classes.

⁶ Michael Tharakan, P.K., Migration of farmers from Travancore to Malabar from 1930-1960 : An Analysis of Economic Causes, unpublished M.Phil Thesis (Trivandrum, 1976) Pp.20-29.

⁷ Polichezhuthu means the renegotiation of the lease regarding the possession of the land; after every thirty years, while the tenants on the sirkar lands had only to go through a 'karnezhuthu' (Revenue settlement survey, 10-43).

⁸ The Travancore - Cochin Landtax Acts, Act is of 1955, Govt. Press (Trivandrum, 1955) p.3.

By this Act passed by the Assembly – The Travancore Land Tax proclamation (Kollam Era) 1121 (1945) and the Cochin settlement proclamation dated 10th March 1905 in so far as it provides for the assessment of Land Revenue are here by repeated. The basic tax charged and levied under the foregoing section shall be at the rate of – 3 paise per a cent of land (Rs.3 per one acre. This has been practiced till recently).

One of the epoch-making events which was destined to exercise a decisive influence on the shape and pattern of migration from Travancore in the years to come was the "Pattam proclamation" of 1865.⁹ Yet another striking factor was that the bulk of the cultivable land in the former Travancore state was directly owned by the sirkar. But it was cultivated by rent paying tenant farmers under a system of tenure known as 'Pandaravaka pattam'. Even though the tenants of these lands had virtual ownership of the land, they did not have the right to transfer or sell the land to a third party. So they were tied to their holdings with little scope for migration. As a result of Pattam proclamation full ownership right, with the power of transfer of land were conferred on to the tenant. Thus the tenant farmers of Travancore became peasant farmers through subsequent land reforms. The tenant who cultivated the land belonging to the temples and Namboodiri land lords under 'Kana Pattam' and other tenancy were also elevated more or less to the same status as that of the sirkar tenants.

The Pattam proclamation was instrumental in creating a class of self cultivating peasant farming community in Travancore at a time when the overwhelming majority of the cultivators in Malabar and to the same extent in Cochin remained cultivating tenants with no security of tenure.

⁹ Report on the administration of Travancore for the year 1040 (ME), (1864-65) Superintendent, Govt. Press, (Trivandrum, 1905) pp.27-30.

The encouragement which the state government had provided for bringing waste lands and forest lands under the cultivation saw the rise of a strong class of farmers in Travancore. Following this, nearly two-third of the total cultivated area in the Travancore State were owned by the tenants under 'Pandaravaka' system of tenancy.¹⁰

Another immediate impact of the land reform in the Travancore belt was that land became a marketable and a rich source of capital. The peasant proprietors were able to embark on different ventures including migration to far away hilly regions by selling the little stretch of land owned by them. Land, in course of time, became a ready source of capital for financing the migration of the peasants.

A major factor that had encouraged migration towards the country side during the later half of the 19th century was the new taxation policy adopted in Travancore in 1883.¹¹

¹⁰ According to the *Report on the Administration of Travancore for the Year 1864-69*, (10ee M.E) these were not less than three hundred thousand tax paying ryots in Travancore. see Page 33 of the Report. The number seems to have gone up to 5 lakhs by the end of the century. see V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, Vol.III, p.115, (Trivandrum, 1906).

¹¹ Some of the official sources maintain that the tax on land had been relatively light in Travancore in comparison to the rates prevailing in several other parts of India during 19th century. But the system had several defects because "neither the principles on which the assessment is based are found, nor are the various shapes in which it is levied calculated to benefit the rulers or ruled" – The speech of Divan of Travancore on March 1883 to the leading land holders.

See Report on the Administrations of Travancore for the year 1058 (ME) (1882-83). Also see K.V. Joseph *Migration and Economic Development of Kerala*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, (Trivandrum, 1986) p.90.

The system had been really oppressive. The holders of land had to pay not only tax for the actual area of land cultivated by them but also many other heavy dues including tax on trees such as coconut, jack, tamarind and areca.

Many dues being levied on sundry items were always extorted and this in fact, gave full scope for abuse and harsh treatment by the tax collecting officials. Ownership of extensive areas of land proved a real white elephant to the majority of cultivators. The Diwan of Travancore himself had conceded during the early 1880's that "without a more equal distribution of taxation and fixed assessment, it is idle to expect any extension of cultivation or economic progress."¹²

Several anomalous practices and dues were abolished soon after the Pattam Proclamation of 1865. Yet many others still continued to remain in force. One of them for exmple, was the provision to enhance the assessment of garden land with the bearing of new trees known as "Kulachukoodal".¹³ The regulation to revise the garden tax once in every twelve years was another source of harassment to the peasants. The peasants were also bound to pay as many as 121 minor cesses. Almost all such anomalous practices and dues were abolished with the revenue settlement of 1883. The government also made it clear that the settlement would be

¹² Expressed during the course of an address in March 1883. see *Report on the Administration of Travancore* for the year 1058 (1882-83) Op.cit.

¹³ *Travancore Land Revenue Manual*, Vol.I, (Trivandrum, 1915) see P.XXV introduction by R. Madhavan Aiyar Divan Peishkar.

for a period of 30 years with no intension on the part of sirkar to enhance the rates, or to interfere with the ryots in their decision to cultivate whatever crop they liked. All these reforms positively affected the farmers, as they had started migration to the submountainous regions of Travancore, in search of more land.

Commercialization of Agriculture

The deep-rooted socio-economic class structure of an agrarian society also operated as a powerful constraint on the migration of population. The stratification of society based on cast, sustained in several religious sanctions, severely restricted the scope of migration in the normal course in many parts of Kerala. For example, the members belonging to the 'Polluting castes' could not hope to secure any job outside their own village boundaries.¹⁴

It should be noted that the system of land tenure either impede or facilitate migration in an agrarian society. The Zamindari system of land tenure did not enable the tenant farmers to accumulate any capital on account of the practice of rack renting and insecure tenures.¹⁵

¹⁴ A low caste person outside his village could, if he were a Hindu pursue no occupation; within his village he was restricted to work spurned by High castes. see Thomas, W. Shea, (Jr): "Barriers to Economic Development in Traditional Societies – Malabar, A case study in *Journal of Economic History*, Vol.19, 1959, p.505.

¹⁵ Kerinal Sing Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya – Some Aspects of Their Immigration and Settlement – 1896-1957* (Cambridge University Press, 1969).

The peasant farmers of Travancore region were unwilling to migrate till the beginning of the 20th century. Even agricultural labourers were not prepared to move out of their native villages. For instance, Europeans had started plantations in the High Range regions of Travancore by the middle of the 19th century. They had to recruit the bulk of their labour force from Tamil Nadu since there was little scope for this in Travancore. At the same time, in Malabar region an oppressive land tenure akin to Zamindari system prevailed. This appears to have prompted many of the Mappilas and persons belonging to lower castes to migrate as petty traders, agricultural workers and labourers in plantations and mines of other parts of India including Travancore.¹⁶

The bulk of peasants in a subsistence economy may possess neither sufficient technical know-how nor entrepreneurial talent to embark on any venture other than agriculture. Nor did they possess the capital adequate to start any enterprise. One of the basic requirements for development in a subsistence economy is a change in the attitude of the people towards material comforts in changing the subsistence-mindedness of the tradition-bound people to the

¹⁶ The *Census Report of Coorg for 1891* reveals that there were 12, 431 immigrants from Malabar district in Coorg. Most of them were employed in the plantations. See - *Census Report of Coorg 1891* (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1893) plantation workers from Malabar numbered 1,223 in Coimbatore district and 4,040 in Nilgiri district on the basis of a labour survey conducted by United Planters Association of South India in 1930. See *Census Report of Madras Presidency, 1931, Part I Report* (Superintendent, Government Press, Madras), pp.81-82.

"economic mindedness" of the modern period, education plays a significant role.¹⁷

Change in attitudes would be reflected in the desire of the people to have qualitative improvements in food, housing and clothing. However, the educated persons who fail to secure employment commensurate with their educational qualifications may opt to move out in search of paid employment. A typical example is to be found in the migration of educated Travancoreans in search of employment to other parts of India and to foreign lands from the time of World War I.¹⁸

The only method of raising capital under a subsistence economy was through commercial farming. Cultivation of cash crops also provided a sure basis for capital accumulation. Such a development took place in the subsistence economy of Travancore and also in other parts of Kerala when international demand for the agricultural products of Kerala like coconut, pepper, arecanut, ginger etc. registered a rapid increase.¹⁹ With an increase in demand and price in

¹⁷ The term "Subsistence mindedness" and "Economic mindedness" figure in D.H. Penny's "Growth of Economic mindedness among Small Farmers in North Sumatra, Indonesia." in C.R. Wharton (Ed.) *Subsistence Economics and Economic Development* (London, Frank Cass Co. Ltd., 1970), p.158.

¹⁸ 1921 census reports suggest that as many as 395 persons migrated to Mesopotamia between 1911-1921 for taking up civil and military occupations p.29 of *Census Report 1921*, Travancore, Part I (Trivandrum, Govt. Press, 1923) p.29.

¹⁹ Nagam Aiya, *Travancore state Manual*, Vol.III (Trivandrum, Govt. Press, 1906) pp.123-130.

For example, following an appreciable rise in the price of cotton as a result of American civil war and the accrual of higher levels of profit, the cotton cultivation in this country expanded considerably. Also see – D.R. Gadgil, *Industrial Evolution of London* (London, Oxford University Press, 1924) p.15.

foreign markets, cultivation patterns underwent significant change. Production became profit oriented. The price of many cash crops cultivated in Kerala started to show signs of improvement since the middle of 19th century. Consequently, the peasants of Travancore who cultivated cash crops began to reap higher levels of profits and the levels of their money income and savings began to increase steadily.

The plantation industry started by Europeans in Travancore largely consumed the vast areas of land. By 1930's about two lakh acres of land were assigned for plantation industry of Europeans and a few natives. Again in 1931 Travancore Government made yet another attempt to assign another one and a half lakh acres of land for the same purpose. This move by the government invited widespread agitation in Travancore, because the poor peasants of the state were badly in need of cultivable land. This prompted the peasants to move to Malabar.²⁰

The cash or commercial crops always had a major share in the agricultural sector of Kerala. In the last few decades of the 19th century and in the earlier decades of the 20th century cash crops cultivation became more wide-spread in Travancore. In the beginning of this century, developments such as rise in agricultural prices and better transport and communication facilities favoured the growth of commercial farming.

Increase in income is likely to lead to two types of developments in a

²⁰ *Mathrubhumi Daily*, March 21, 1931.

subsistence economy: (1) the farmers may be tempted to increase their consumption of goods, particularly of imported goods, (2) the cultivators may invest their savings in new areas and types of agriculture and in new lines of economic activity, namely industry and trade. A third type of development that would always follow improvements in the levels of income and savings of farmers is migration. It was the development of commercial agriculture which facilitated the growth of migration from Travancore to Malabar. The economically less powerful among them would find it worthwhile to sell off their lands and move to a region where land values were lower. Migration will continue so long as there exists difference between land values in the areas of origin and the land values in the regions of destination plus transport cost. The development of commercial agriculture needed all these and it facilitated the migration from Travancore to Malabar.

Much prior to the migration to Malabar, the marginal farmers of Travancore had immigrated to the eastern front hills of Travancore, mainly to Mundakayam, Peermade and other High-Range areas. In the last century British investments were mostly in coffee and tea plantations. By the first decade of the 20th century British planters had started investing in rubber in the High Ranges of Travancore.²¹

²¹ The main centre of British investment in plantations in Travancore was the Peermade – Devikulam area, known formerly as the Cardamon Hills. This area is mostly in the present Idukki district with a few portions covering the border areas of the present Kottayam district.

Following British efforts, some big farmers from the Meenachil, Thodupuzha and other midland taluks of Travancore started rubber plantations since 1910 onwards.²² Large number of small farmers from the midland taluks of Travancore started cultivating plantation crops like rubber, either in newly acquired areas in the High ranges or in and around their own villages in the Midland taluks.²³ The following table provides a picture of cultivation of plantation crops in Travancore in and around their own villages in the midland taluks.

²² During the World War I, and the growing need for rubber for war purpose, the Govt. of India began to encourage rubber estates. The investors in such estates began to induce the people around them to colonise the jungle areas of High Range regions and distant Malabar. The starting of a rubber estate in Yenthayar, in the Mundakayam Valley (of the Peermade Hills) in 1904, by the late J.J. Murphy, is considered to be the first successful venture in commercial planting of rubber in Travancore. see – Chacko, A., Kallivayalil : "The Story of Mundakayam and Rubber Plantations". *All India Agricultural Industrial Science Exhibition Souvenir*, Civic Centre Committee, Mundakayam, 1969. Also see – A.V. John, "The Mundakayam Rubber Planters' Association," *All India Rubber Planters Conference Souvenir*, Mundakayam, 1969, Also see P.K.M. Tharakan, Op.cit.

²³ See – K.M. Chandy: (Former Rubber Board Chairman) 'Rubber Plantation Industry – A critical Review,' *Rubber Planters Conference (India) Souvenir*, Indian Rubber Board, Kottayam, 1974, p.4. Also see – George John Ancheril : 'Rubber in a Crisis,' *All India Rubber Planters Conference, Souvenir, Mundakayam, 1966*.

TABLE 2.1

Statement showing the area under plantation crops in Travancore, 1920-21 to 1949-50 (Area in thousand acres)

Year	Rubber	Tea	Coffee
1920 – 21	51.0	47.1	Nil
1925 – 26	53.6	67.7	Nil
1930 – 31	60.4	78.0	Nil
1935 – 36	96.7	77.6	6.2
1940 – 41	90.7	71.8	5.9
1945 – 46	111.6	77.4	7.0
1949 – 50	111.5	148.4	8.7

Sources: T.C. Varghese : Agrarian Change and Economic Consequences, (Land) Tenures in Kerala, (Bombay 1970) p.178.

The prospects of cultivating plantation crops as well as the traditional cash crops like pepper and ginger in the High Ranges attracted more persons from the mid areas to Peermade – Devikulam area. The following table indicates the movements of people from the midland taluks of Travancore to the High lands of Peermade and Devikulam area.

TABLE 2.2

Statement showing the density of population per square mile and the decennial percentage increase in density in the Devikulam Peermade area (1901 – 1951)

Taluk	Density per square mile						Percentage increase/decrease in density				
	1091	1901	1921	1931	1941	1951	1901-1911	1911-1921	1921-1931	1931-1941	1941-1951
Devikulam Peermade	25	55	51	94	116	163	+120.0	-7.3	+84.3	+23.4	+40.5

(Source : Census of India : Madras, Travancore, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951)

In the decade 1901-1910, which was the period of expansion of British plantation efforts in rubber, Devikulam –Peermade area registers a percentage increase of 120.0 and 84.3 in 1921-31. By 1930's the density of population in these areas was so high, that migration to other region like Malabar became inevitable.²⁴

If the major impact on agrarian sector during the colonial rule on Kerala was large scale introduction of commercial crops, by the close of colonial rule about 60 percent of the total cultivated area were used for plantation crops. Tea, coffee, rubber, cardamom etc. began to be cultivated in hilly regions while coconut was cultivated in midland and costal regions. It has to be noted that rice cultivation in Kuttanadu region in this period also assumed commercial character.

The reclamation of Kuttanadu region for paddy cultivation and large scale production of tapioca also served the need for food to a certain extent. However, food items from foreign countries had to be imported to meet the growing needs of a growing society. But at the same time export of plantation corps enormously increased.

²⁴ Kallidukkil V. Joseph, *Kerala Suriyani Reethum Malabar Kudiyettavum* (1949) (Malayalam) (Tellicherry, 1983) p.13. Also see E.M.S. Namboothirippad, *Kerala Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, (Culcutta, 1968) pp.53-60. John K.P. "Visappinethireyulla Samaram"(Malayalam) in Souvenir of Sacerdotal Silver Jubilee of Rev. Sebastian Velloppilly (Tellicherry, 1970) pp.10-11.

The following table will reveal the nature, character and value of import and export of Travancore between 1870 – 1931. The increasing level of giving importance to commercial crops resulted in the increasing rate of import of food materials.²⁵

²⁵ In the middle of the 19th century import of food items was nominal whereas in 20th century, it formed 30 to 50 percent of total import to Kerala. Thus, as a result of colonial rule Kerala became a food deficit state, see – Kerala Sasthra Sahithya Parishath, 23rd Annual Souvenir, (Ernakulam, 1986), pp.1-18.

TABLE 2.3
Export and Import of Goods from Travancore between 1871 – 1939

Item	Export				Import			
	1870-71	1899-00	1919-20	1938-39	1870-71	1899-00	1919.20	1938-39
A. Coconut product	57.1	52.6	36.9	37.2				
B. Coffee, Tea, Rubber	8.3	6.4	33.5	30.4				
C. Grocery items, Spices	15.0	14.0	10.1	7.7				
D. Arecanut, Tamarind fruit	8.8	3.7	1.2	1.8				
E. Cashewnut	--	--	--	6.8				
F. Mollasses, sugar, Palm-sugar	2.0	3.3	3.2	2.0	07	07	NA	2.5
G. Textiles cotton	--	--	--	--	26.0	14.7	NA	14.4
H. Rice, Paddy	--	--	--	--	2.5	31.4	51.1	31.0
I. Tobacco	--	--	--	--	32.7	33.1	7.4	4.7
J. Kerosene	--	--	--	--	--	--	NA	12.5
K. Metal products	--	--	--	--	3.2	NA	1.6	5.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(In Rs. Lakhs)	65.7	169.5	576.3	958.0	52.1	93.9	455.7	763.2

Source: Report of Administration of Travancore 1870 – 71, 1884-85, 1899-00, 1938-39 Statistics of Travancore 1095 ME and Trade Statistics of Travancore.

The non-availability of arable paddy field for the extension of paddy cultivation and the failure of the government in the conventional development of new paddy field resulted in the continuation of import of food materials. The attractive prices of commercial crops, at the same time enabled the farmers to continue plantation agriculture in Travancore.

Another important factor which influenced the economy and history of Travancore was the rise and growth of Joint Stock Banks. The number of such financial institutions were six in 1916-17 and 195 in 1928-29. Most of these institutions were in the High land Taluks of Travancore. The investors of these Banks were rich farmers and loan beneficiaries also were farmers who intended to invest more money in the plantations.²⁶

The following table shows the importance of joint stock companies in the economy of Travancore .

²⁶ Eventhough the share of the agricultural sector in the national income is gradually declining with the progress of industrialization, it continues to be of vital importance for feeding the growing population of the world. However, certain limitations are imposed on the growth of sector by (a) the facility of one of the important resources namely land and (b) the limited scope for diversification. Hence increase in output in this sector depends primarily on enhancing the productivity of land and labour which vary substantially from country to country and even in the same country over different periods. see Dr. K.N.S. Nair, *Technological Changes in Agriculture*, Birla Instiute of Scientific Research, (New Delhi, 1980) p.1.

TABLE 2.4
The statement showing the distribution of capital of joint stock companies in Travancore

		1921-1922		1933-34		1948-1949	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1.	Banking, Insurance	42	19.97	506	36.10	163	14.48
2.	Transport	14	9.86	9	2.54	45	2.61
3.	Business Enterprises	8	1.84	5	0.44	3	0.08
4.	Printing, Publishing	15	0.53	12	0.22	42	0.30
5.	Engineering	4	1.56	4	0.42	23	0.46
6.	Ceramics	11	8.38	6	3.79	14	3.93
7.	Chemicals	--	---	---	---	9	21.14
8.	Agencies	1	--	--	--	66	0.57
9.	Others	47	5.50	48	3.84	240	21.25
10.	Total Manufacturing	86	17.83	75	8.71	412	50.08
11.	Mills, Press	6	3.37	6	5.11	35	3.41
12.	Plantation	38	46.58	35	44.54	87	27.07
13.	Hotel, Theatre	--	--	6	0.09	28	0.68
14.	Others	1	1.40	2	0.64	18	0.32
			100.00		100.00		100.00

Source: Travancore Statistics.

From the middle of the 19th century Europeans made large scale capital investments in plantation industry in High Range regions of Travancore, starting with coffee and subsequently with tea plantations. The pioneers seem to have invested nearly Rs.90 lakhs for plantations.²⁷ The Government of Travancore gave all possible help for the extension of cultivation in High Ranges by selling the land through public auction in quick succession to the induction of European capital and enterprise.²⁸

The opening of plantation promoted migrations in several ways. The estates required the services of large number of workers which could be secured only by the import of labourers from out side the locality as the High range region was in those days uninhabited. Naturally, this promoted migration of large number of agricultural labourers from the adjacent regions. With the opening of plantations, apart from manual workers, also other categories of workers were in demand. The estates required the services of large number of educated persons to serve in various capacities such as managers, supervisors, clerks, accountants and skilled workers. Such opportunities were availed of by the Travancoreans themselves. The newly educated moved readily to the plantations to fill in these vacancies and

²⁷ See – Samual, Mateer – 'Life in Travancore' (London, 1883) pp.230-35. Samual stated that the major portion of investment by English entrepreneurs on "Land its clearing planting keep and taxes."

²⁸ Report on the administration of Travancore for the year 1038 (ME) (1862-63). Also see the Administration of Travancore for the year 1040 (ME), (1964, 65).

to enrich themselves.

The opening of the plantations also became a source for the more aspiring among the native capitalist farmers and peasant farmers, who commanded adequate capital. Further, the opening of the road connecting Kottayem with Peermade region towards the last quarter of the century facilitated free movement of men and materials to the High Ranges.²⁹

The limited migratory movements in Travancore during the 19th century were of farmers for raising subsistence crops in near by localities. The new settlements made in the reclaimed wasteland, in the interior parts of Travancore had been under garden cultivation of roots, fruits and vegetables and with rice and not with any cash crops.³⁰ Such extension of cultivation of subsistence crops had received encouragement from the government by way of tax evasion and freedom to cultivate reclaimed land without payment of land price. Subsistence farming continued to prevail even after the process of commercialization had been initiated by the European planters.³¹

²⁹ K. V. Joseph, *Op.cit.*, pp.88-100.

³⁰ Mateer Samual, *Native life in Travancore*, *Op.cit.*, p.237. Panikar, P.G.K. *et al.* (1975), *Poverty Unemployment and Development Policy*, Newyork, United Nation, ST/ESA/29.

³¹ Large areas of cultivable wastelands in the interior Taluks remained uncultivated. see – Materer Samual, *Op.cit.*, He wrote : 'Few, if any Sudras or Brahmin nor indeed Syrian Christians availed themselves of the opening which coffee enterprises afforded and their circumstances consequently remained stationary.'

Naturally migration of population on a large scale to such areas had to wait for the call of capitalist farming to take roots among the peasants. Increase in export earnings provided the incentive to the farmers for extending cultivation especially for hill products. Such a situation prompted them to migrate to areas where wastelands suitable for raising these annual crops were available. It is reported that a good number of people had thus migrated to High Range areas of Travancore early in this century.³²

The increased earnings were used by the farmers for reinvestment in agriculture rather than for higher personal consumption. Conservative by tradition, as they were, the peasants were rather reluctant to utilize their higher income for consumption. But they preferred to use them for acquiring more land and extending cultivation to suitable areas. Migration became thus a fairly widespread phenomenon in Travancore towards the end of the twenties.³³

Since income from export of cash crops were on the increase, cultivators began to pay more attention to the raising of commercial crops, particularly in the midland regions of Travancore. The following table indicate the progressive

³² See *Report of the Travancore Banking Enquiry Committee* 1950, Vol.I. Op.cit. p.24.

³³ Travancore – Cochin Govt. Administration report of the Agricultural Department for the year 1950 – 51 Govt. Press (Ernakulam, 1952) p.3. The Economic condition of the agricultural classes as a whole, remained satisfactory. The prices of commercial crops like coconuts, arecanuts, pepper, ginger etc. remained at such high levels that owners of the gardens enjoyed a boon. The growers of food crops were at disadvantage in respect of money earning compared to growers of commercial crops.

increase in the export earnings of the main cash crops during the first quarter of the 20th century.

TABLE 2.5
Export Earnings of the Principal Cash Crops of Kerala 1900-1930

Name of the crop	Export earnings in rupees			
	1899-1900	1909-1910	1919-1920	1929-1930
I. Hill produce:				
1. Ginger	425343 (100)	658120 (154.72)	958166 (225.28)	2740344 (644.26)
2. Pepper	1735850 (100)	1972000 (113.60)	2005521 (167.36)	17982774 (1036)
3. Lemon grass	41435 (100)	N.A ---	N.A ---	2397964 (5787)
4. Turmeric	86240 (100)	N.A --	N.A ---	260100 (301.6)
5. Cardamom	55128 (100)	314093 (567.75)	549630 (997.00)	2585776 (4690)
6. Rubber	N.A. --	N.A --	N.A --	5121879
7. Cashewnut	N.A	N.A	N.A	749314
Total	2343996 (100)	--	--	31838151 (1358.28)
II. Other Cash Crops				
1. Coconut products	5622461 (100)	10860760 (193.16)	11273670 (200.57)	16354548 (290.87)
2. Arecanut	514454 (100)	779940 (151.60)	563870 (109.59)	1888650 (367.11)
3. Tea	1241047 (100)	7287029	12054927	27260724 (2196)
III. Others including non-cash crops	7737320	--	--	36368484
Grand Total	16947824 (100)	32809037 (193.58)	57634760 (340.07)	112939039 (666.36)
Hill produce as a percentage to the total	13.83	--	--	28.19

Source: Administration Reports and Statistics of Travancore issued by the Government of Travancore.

Note : Figures in bracket indicate percentage.

It is clear from the table that increase in the export earnings of crops like ginger, pepper, tea, cardamom, lemon grass oil, rubber and cashewnut were exceptionally high.³⁴ With the fall of Burma and Malaya in the second World War, the need of rubber for war purpose increased and the Government of India began to encourage rubber plantations. The investors in such plantations (estates) began to induce their neighbours in Travancore to colonise in the jungley part of distant Malabar. The existence of earlier settlers no doubt helped the new settlers in understanding the topography of the area and the extent of available land for cultivations. But the migration of lakhs of people could hardly be explained due to enterprises for making money.³⁵

Migration would not take place in a subsistence economy because of the non-availability of savings in the form of money. So long as subsistence farming prevails, the chances of accumulation of capital even on a limited scale are

³⁴ Which is the generic term used for all such crops. Although crops like tea, coffee and Rubber are treated as hill produce according to Travancore State Manual See Nagam Aiya, Travancore State Manual, Vol.III, Op.cit., The usage among the inhabitants is to consider pepper, arecanut, cashewnut, ginger, lemongrass oil, turmeric etc. as hill produce in Kerala.

³⁵ Siwaswamy, K.G. Lt. Col. T.S. Sastry, Dr. T.D. Nair, Dr. T.S. Nair, Dr. P.A. Narayanan, Dr. C.V. Narayana Aiyar, and Miss Atzorri, *The Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles*, Coimbatore, 1945, pp.1-3 and also see Krishna Bharadwaj, *Production condition in Indian Agriculture : A study based on farm Management Surveys* (Cambridge University, Press, 1974). pp.27-33.

He writes "Very small farmers may 'choose' to raise as much gross value of out put as possible per acre even at the cost of having to incur debts to provide circulating capital – they may be found operating land intensively even to a point where the additional input costs exceeded the value of additional output".

minimal. Commercialization of agriculture is one of the surest ways of raising capital in a peasant farming community. Such a development took place in the subsistence economy of the former princely state of Travancore and also in other parts of Kerala, and international demand for the agriculture produce of Kerala like coconut, arecanut, rubber, pepper, ginger, cinnamon and other spices registered a rapid increase.³⁶ In a subsistence economy where income increases it is likely that two types of development taken place where some one is tempted to increase their consumption level and others may invest their savings in new areas, viz., agriculture, industry and trade, setting the process of economic growth in motion.³⁷

Man's unending desire to raise his income and savings also played a crucial role in migration. The Travancore farmers found that the safest and surest way of securing increased flow of income on a continuous basis is extension of the cultivation of cash crops. The wealthy farmers among them naturally purchased lands for cultivation of cash crops. Owing to the limitation of the availability of such suitable land, prices of such land shot up. Under these circumstances economically less powerful peasants found it worth to sell their lands and move on to regions where land value is lower. This leads to a process of migration of peasants. Close on the heels of the pioneer migrants, attracted by the news of their

³⁶ See V. Nagam Aiyya, *Op.cit.*, Pp. 180-181.

³⁷ *Agricultural Development Problems and Perspectives* Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India (N. Delhi, 1996). Pp 7-11.

successful ventures others follow. Such a process might continue unabated for fairly long periods of time but not for ever.³⁸

European coastal trading firms such as Pierce Leslie and Company, William Good Acre and Company, Aspinwall & Company, Bombay Company, Volkart Bros, Darragh Smail & Company etc. rose in to prominence. They virtually monopolised the export of the plantation products as well as imports for the plantation sector through interlocking of the directorships and managing agencies.³⁹

The purchase and sale of land has taken place among all the various categories of farmers. We have observed that many farmers became agricultural labourers after selling their land. There is enough evidence of proleterianization of peasantry. The analysis of land sale in Central Travancore villages reveal that the major part of the land sale has been with a view to purchasing land in Malabar region. After partition of the family properties (Fragmentation of landed property) many small farmers found it difficult to make both ends meet. Their very existence was challenged. The rich farmers purchased the land of the small, poor and marginal farmers in Travancore. However, migration of agricultural labourers owing to

³⁸ Once the price advantage disappear migration would cease to be an attractive venture and come automatically to an end. Migrants would move to other areas if land is available at adventurous prices. Thus the peasant migrant is a seller of land in the place of origin and buyer of land in the place destination.

³⁹ Tharian George and P.K. Michael Tharakan: "*Development of Tea Plantation in Kerala, A Historical Perspective*" working paper No.204, Centre for Development Studies. (Trivandurm, 1985) Pp.15-20.

mechanization was not seen in Travancore.⁴⁰ The economic mechanism behind the exodus in Travancore viz., the monetization of the rural economy, the fluctuation and decline of agricultural prices, distraction of rural industries and occupations are not unlike those that expelled millions of European migrants overseas during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Development of roads and vehicular transport in Travancore enabled the peasants to accumulate more capital from the agrarian sector. It all happened because in former days, transportation of cash crops for marketing was very difficult owing to the non-availability of vehicular transport. But with construction of roads through the interior regions of Travancore, it was very easy for farmers to dispose of their products, at a high price. Thus the Travancore peasants were equipped with enough capital to invest for the extension of the agrarian sector.⁴¹

⁴⁰ The migration of Blacks and Whites from the South since 1930 has been traditionally characterised as resulting from the mechanization of Agriculture. It is argued in this article that real cause of the migration must be situated in the crisis in cotton farming during the depression of 1930's large farm owners secured aid from the federal govt. in the form of agriculture subsidy payments. In response to this they reduced their cotton acreage, brought factors and displaced their tenants. This transformation drastically reduced the need for tenant labour and brought about the large scale migrations. The major conclusion is that migration will be shaped by social, economic and political relations that require unique historical understanding. Further migrations will test to reflect conditions at the point of origin. For similar studies see Neil Fligstein's "The transformation of Southern agriculture and the migration of blacks and whites 1930-40" in *International Migration Review*, Vol.12, No.2, Summer, 1983, Pp.335-350.

⁴¹ K.V. Joseph . Op.cit., Pp.111-112.

Yet another point which struck us during our research on what promotes migration is the levels of income and savings of farmers. The Pattam Proclamation of 1865 and subsequent land reforms in Travancore helped the Christians to penetrate into the landlordism of Travancore by purchasing these partitioned lands.⁴² The following table shows the property transactions of the various communities for a period of 18 months 1906-1907.

The table shows that the Christians took advantage of the disruption of the joint families of the Nairs by purchasing their landed properties.⁴³

⁴² Notification of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore on 2nd June 1865, quoted in *Travancore Land Revenue Manual*, Vol.4, p.315. See, also Madhava Rao to Newill, 19th April, 1865, Travancore Government English Records, Cover No.228.

⁴³ *Travancore Marumakkathayam Committee Report of 1908*, Appendix II, p.93. Also see. *Vivekodayam*, Makaram 1084, Vol.15, No.10, p.6.

TABLE 2.6

Nature, Number and Volumes of the Documents

Community	Claimant executed	Sale		Mortgages with Possession		Mortgages without Possession		Total	
		Number	Value	Number	Value	Number	Value	Number	Value
Nairs	Claimant	6074	1220264	17820	3663942	20903	3776862	44797	8861068
	Executed	7145	1739607	23532	4800734	21205	4197729	51882	10738070
Samanthars	Claimant	34	11829	181	28818	233	34605	448	75252
	Executed	37	17298	264	27303	446	67309	747	111910
Christians	Claimant	10142	2244641	14474	2346000	25346	5261137	49962	9851778
	Executed	9442	1982647	10076	1779473	22216	4918651	41534	8680771
Chanas	Claimant	2133	308643	6232	772698	3999	476593	12364	1557934
	Executed	2129	303261	5396	662567	4725	509097	12250	1474925
Ezhavas	Claimant	171	1171197	9666	1914758	12553	2306907	26390	5392862
	Executed	3966	1053763	8207	1622790	13391	2421923	25567	5098476

Source : Travancore Marumakkathayam Report of 1908, Appendix II.

As regards alienation of land, it is seen that the Nairs were losing and Christians were gaining land steadily. The Nair and Ezhava Regulation of 1925 and the Nanjinad Vellala Regulation of 1926 made the partition of joint families very easy. This also helped Christians to purchase more lands.

As a consequence of these land reforms in Travancore, the Syrian Christian share of land holdings went up steadily. Thus land reforms in Travancore actually helped Syrian Christians to become big land holders in Travancore as Kanakkar.⁴⁴ Christians controlled the entire banking business of Travancore such as chitties and kuries. This apart, they had full control over printing press and had practically monopolized trade, commerce and industry. The net result was the rise of Christians as a strong middle class.

Progress of Education

The rigidities of the caste oriented social structure, the main stumbling block in the path of mobility would crumble and new forces conducive to migration

⁴⁴ Though the Christians had purchased the partitioned land of Nairs, even if they practically enjoyed the permanent occupancy right, they were not legally recognized as the owners of the land. Their actual position was as Kanakkar. The Joint Political Congress had advanced the argument that the Christian's share of land was 4.46 acres per head compared to Nairs who had 3.12. This, as shown by the Census of 1921, does not, however clarify as to how this figure was arrived at. If it was arrived at on the basis of total number of people in the community, it does not reflect the real condition of land holdings. See *Travancore-Present Political Problem*, Published by Executive Committee of the Joint Political Congress (Trivandrum, 1933), Pp.24-25.

would be unleashed. The rapid growth of mass media which began from the close of 19th century reinforced the influence of education in spreading new ideas, supplanting the old with new values and principles in bringing people from different parts of the world in to close contact with one another. The change in attitudes would be reflected in the desire of the people to have qualitative improvements in food, housing and clothing. However the educated persons who fail to secure employment commensurate with their educational qualification may opt to move out in search of paid employment.⁴⁵

The activities of Christian missionaries along with the existence of an economy of small peasant proprietors and tenants with substantial economic independence acted as dynamic force of educational growth in Travancore.⁴⁶ As regard to English education, close association with foreign missionaries, gave much advantage to the Christian. The following table shows the development of English education among various communities in Travancore.

⁴⁵ A typical example is to be found in the migration of educated Travancoreans in search of paid employment to other parts of India and to foreign lands from the time of the First World War onwards. According to 1921 census as many 395 persons migrated to Mesopotamia between 1911-1921 taking up civil and military occupations. See Section 29 of Census Report 1921, Travancore part I (Trivandurm 1923) p.168.

⁴⁶ P.K. Gopinathan Nair, 'Education and Socio-Economic Changes in Kerala, *Social Scientist*, March 1976, p.29.

TABLE 2.7

**Development of English Education
among Various Communities in Travancore**

Communities	Literate in English during (1911-1931)		
	1911	1921	1931
Brahmins	3007	4221	8226
Nairs	5446	14169	18606
Christians	10129	24059	27196
Muslims	299	1159	1608
Ezhavas	1441	4529	5202

Source: Social Scientist, Vol.4, No.8, March 1976.

Above table shows the dominance of Christians over other communities in English education. By 1944-45, Travancore Government decided to introduce free and compulsory primary education for children between the age of 6 to 11 and Rs. 5 Lakhs was allocated for this in the annual budget of 1944-45.⁴⁷

It is an accepted fact that progressive ideas and the urge for material comforts spread easily in an educated society. Education expanded at rapid rates in Travancore during the first quarter of 20th century. It was followed by a spurt in cultural activities such as publication of books, newspapers, periodicals and

⁴⁷ *Mathrubhumi Daily* August 17, 1944, also see *Mathrubhumi Daily*, May 1, 1945, August 24, 1944.

opening of libraries in different parts of the state.⁴⁸ Such developments infused progressive ideas into the minds of the people and natural attitudes favourable for material advancement.

Population Pressure on Cultivable Land

Demographic factor is an important cause for the migration. The gap between death rate and birth rate tends to widen consequent on the drastic fall in the death rate as a result of the introduction of modern health care facilities in the interior areas of Travancore. When the pressure of population is actually felt in a subsistence economy, peasant farmers and agricultural labourers are most likely to resort to extension of cultivation to areas earlier regarded as unsuitable for the purpose.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ The enrolment of students in the school which was about 0.6 lakhs in 1823-94 increased to 1.5 in 1925. See Report on the Administration of Travancore for various years and also Statistics of Travancore 1926-1927.

⁴⁹ The deteriorating land man ratio leads to ever increasing proportions of smaller holdings, and in the absence of compensating increased in the productivity of land in such holdings, induces wages dependence among the small peasants. What role has the state played in promoting technological change and exacerbating regional disparities in the productivity of land and hence in the relationship between land and labour. For more details see N. Krishnaji, "Land and Labour in India-The Demographic Factor" *EPW* Vol. XXV Nos.18 and 19, May 5-12, 1990. Pp.1037-1042.

Emigration and immigration will not significantly influence the future size of population in any of the South Asian Countries. After the World War I most developed countries in the world established national policies restricting immigration from abroad. The South Asian population problem can't be alleviated through emigration from the region. There are today no prospects of a revival of the movements from India and China in to Ceylon and Malaya that continued until the World War II. See, Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama*, An abridgement by Seth S.King, (London, 1972). Pp.20-70.

The pressure on farmers to find out more and more land for cultivation to meet the growing need of a growing family or community due to increase in population in Travancore was one of the major causes for migration which acted as a 'push' factor. The largest number of migrants were from the midland taluks of Travancore, especially Meenachil, Thodupuzha and Moovattupuzha.

Table 2.8, given below shows that the decennial rate of the growth of population in the Travancore region was on the whole, higher than in the Malabar region, during 1901-1951. Table 2.9 and 2.10 shows the percentage of increase in population in Travancore from 1901-1951.

TABLE 2.8

**Statement showing decennial percentage in population of Kerala
State districts roughly corresponding to the former Malabar District and Travancore State**

District	Percentage increase in Population				
	1901-1911	1911-1921	1921-1931	1931-1941	1941-1951
CANNANORE	+6.9	2.8	+15.2	+12.6	+22.4
KOZHIKODE	+7.5	+3.5	+16.8	+12.2	+27.6
MALAPPURAM	+9.6	+2.2	+14.4	+11.7	+17.7
PALGHAT	+7.3	+4.2	+10.2	+8.9	+18.5
MALABAR REGION	+7.9	+3.1	+7.9	+17.8	+21.5
KOTTAYAM	+17.9	+16.1	+37.0	+21.8	+22.6
ALLEPPEY	+14.7	+18.5	+24.3	+12.7	+19.4
QUILON	+14.7	+18.6	+27.9	+25.3	+20.0
TRIVANDRUM	+17.5	+17.0	+28.6	+18.5	+30.8
ERNAKULAM	+14.0	+9.3	+26.6	+20.8	+19.9
TRAVANCORE REGION	+15.6	+15.7	+28.4	+19.5	+24.1

Source- Census of 1971, Series-9, Kerala, Part-II A, General population Tables. Table A-11 pp.56-57.

TABLE 2.9

Statement showing population and the occupied area in Travancore 1911-1951

Year	Population in thousands	Percentage increase over the previous period	Land under occupation in thousands	Percentage increase over the previous period	Occupied area as percentage of total available for occupation
1911	3429	-	1943	-	73.7
1921	4006	13.9	2100	8.1	79.7
1931	5096	24.8	2537	20.8	96.3
1941	6070	19.1	2575	1.5	97.7
1951	7529	24.0	2585	0.4(1948)	98.1

Source- T. C. Varghese, Agrarian Change and Economic Consequences, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1970, Chapter-6, p.124.

TABLE 2.10

Statement showing the population and cultivated area in Malabar 1911-1951

Year	Population in thousands	Percentage increase over the previous period	Cultivated areas in thousands	Percentage increase over the previous period	Cultivated area as percentage of the total available land
1911	3015	--	1393	--	59.1
1921	3099	2.8	1442	3.5	59.7
1931	38.34	14.0	1696	17.0	61.1
1941	3929	11.2	1779	4.9	34.9
1951	4758	21.1	1914	7.6	36.0

Source: T.C. Varghese, Agrarian Change and Economic Consequences, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1970, Chapter-61, P.123.

The percentage of population increase in Malabar was only 57.81 during 1901-1951 period. Between 1911 and 1951, Travancore region registered an increase of 47.09 percent in land under occupation, while in Malabar cultivated area increased only by 37.04 percent during that period.

The table further indicates that while in 1911 the occupied area in Travancore formed 73.7 percent of total available land, it rose to 98.1 percent in 1951. The corresponding figures for the percentage of the cultivated area in Malabar was 59.1 in 1911 and 36.0 in 1951. These figures show the greater pressure on land in Travancore between 1911-1951, compared to Malabar.

In Travancore, land was fractioned into bits of 5 to 15 cents due to Christian succession law and high population pressure on land. This tradition became

increasingly inoperative, with an increase in population on one hand and the decreasing prospects for expansion of land holdings on the other hand.⁵⁰

It may be noted that in Travancore, some sort of subsistence economy prevailed till the close of the 19th century. Peasants were self-cultivating agriculturalists. In a subsistence economy the wants of the people are limited. So the bulk of the population were content with meeting the bare needs of life. The

⁵⁰ The per caput agricultural land is fast declining as a result of the higher growth rate of population compared to that of Agricultural land in all the countries except Australia and Argentina. Such adverse growth pattern can drastically bring down the per caput availability of agricultural land by the turn of 20th century.

For example in India the fall would be from 0.26 hectare per head in 1961 to 0.16 hectare per head in 2000 A.D. i.e., a fall of general, the rate of decline in the agriculture even rather than the fast-growing population is the main force behind the declining per caput agricultural areas. Thus irrespective of the fact whether a country is developed or developing, the population pressure on arable land is increasing Dr. K.N.S. Nair, *Technological Changes in Agriculture*, (New Delhi, 1980), p.138.

In the Latin American situation the changes in immigration flows and policy in the last three decades are linked to differences in the level and types of economic growth in Venezuela. This provides an historical context within which to locate the post-1973 rise in immigrant entries and policy changes which have led to a definition of immigration as the import of foreign workers. These changes were generated by the unusually high economic growth rate made possible by the increase in the international price of oil, Venezuela's major export. Sakia Sassen-Koob, "Economic growth and immigration in Venezuela" *International Migration Review*, Vol. 13, No.3 Fall. 1979.

Population pressure on cultivable land is one of the root causes for the migration.

But one important feature of migration to Malabar is that comparatively low degree of migration took place from taluks noted for high density of population in Travancore. However the demographic pressure assumed serious dimensions during 1921-31. See, The population of the State (excluding the areas transferred to Tamil Nadu in 1956) was 25, 27, 272 in 1901. It increased to 29, 60, 586 in 1911, recording a decated growth rate of 17.37 percent. The population increased to 34, 67, 287 in 1921 and 44, 66, 304 in 1931 recording an increase of 17.1 and 28.82 percent respectively. For details see, *Census of Travancore 1911, 1921 and 1931*.

villages were normally self-sufficient and in effect stagnant. ⁵¹ Absence of population pressure was a constrain on migration. Under such circumstances, normally there was no urge for the people to migrate. ⁵²

Migration from Kerala had been practically non-existent during the 19th century because nature was bountiful in providing modest requirements of the population. ⁵³ Further a subsistence economy is characterised by a low degree of moniterisation. The absence of a well-developed cash-nexus left the potential migrants with no working capital required for consumption expenditure and

⁵¹ Migration from India was possible mainly because the subsistence economy failed to meet the limited wants of the people due to frequent occurrences of natural calamities like droughts and floods. In this connection the plight of the inhabitants of Gangetic plain, one of the emigrating regions in North India as described by an authority was as follows:

"The castes which live by unskilled labour are in a wretched condition-ill-fed, ill-clothed, with no resources to with stand a failure of the rains and the scarecity more or less severe which attends such a calamity.

Quoted by K.I. Gillan from W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India* (London, 1907), p.11.

⁵² The Census Commissioner of Travancore significantly suggested in 1891 that workers should be inducted from Tamil districts of the then Madras Presidency to the sparsely populated interior parts of Travancore. See *Report of the Census of Travancore, 1891*, Government Press, (Trivandrum, 1893). P.234.

⁵³ While the other parts of India were ravaged by frequent occurrences of famine, Kerala was practically exempt from such calamities as indicated in the District Gazetteer of Malabar. But of real famines there are few records. During the period in which the Honourable company occupied the factory at Tellicherry there is only one record of a real famine. It occurred in August-September 1792, See. C. A Innes, *Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar and Anjengo* (Madras, Govt. Press, 1908).p.217. See also V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, Vol.III. (Trivandrum, Govt. Press, 1906), Pp.123-130.

meeting the cost of agricultural operations in the place of destination till they were able to harvest their first crop. Agricultural labourers refused to migrate unless they were on the verge of starvation caused probably by natural calamities.

The State of Travancore was one of the most populous Indian States. It was fourth in density of population among the Indian States and Provinces. The following Tables 2.11 and 2.12 further substantiate this arguments.

TABLE 2.11

Density of Population in Indian States and Provinces

Place	Per.Sq.Miles
Delhi	823
Cochin	662
Bengal	608
Travancore	525
United Province	426
Bihar and Orissa	409
Madras	297
Baroda State	252
Other Indian Provinces and States	250

Source : Census of India Report 1951, Vol.25, Travancore State, p.4.

TABLE 2.12
Variation in population during fifty years

	Persons	Variation	Net variation (1891-1941)	Males	Variation	Females	Variation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1891	87,842	--	--	45,778	--	42,004	--
1901	109,234	21,392	--	57,957	12,179	51,277	9,213
1911	142,211	32,977	--	75,334	17,377	66,877	15,600
1921	187,947	45,736	--	100,223	24,889	87,724	20,847
1931	290,930	72,654	275,742	191,065	35,479	172,519	37,175

Source: Travancore Statistics Part-I Travancore 1948-1949, Govt. Press, (Trivandrum, 1950) P.3.

Total Travancore area under this statistics divided into three natural divisions of which the greatest number in net variation of population (1891-1941) marked by the midland division. The net variation of different division is as follows :

Divisions	Net Variations (1891-1941)
Low land	1,513,914
Mid land	1,722,626
High land	275,742

Census to census variation in population in the State shows that there was an increase in population of about 16.8 percent in 1921 over the 1911 census .

TABLE 2.13

Variation in Population Since 1875

Census Year	Increase over	Preceding Census
	Number	Percent
1877	23,11,379	--
1881	24,02,158	3.9
1891	25,57,736	6.5
1901	34,28,975	16.2
1911	34,28,975	16.2
1921	40,06,061	16.89

Source :Census of India, Report, 1921, Vol.25, Travancore State, P.5-7.

The progressively increasing reduction of land holding per person is manifested in the 1921 census also. The following table shows the progressive increase of population per square mile, and decrease in land holding per person and proximity of one individual to his fellow in the year 1921.⁵⁴

TABLE 2.14
Proximity of Individual

Year of Census	Persons Sq.mile	Acre per person	Proximity in wards
1875	303	2.1	110
1881	314	2.0	103
1891	335	1.9	96
1901	499	1.4	84
1911	449	1.4	84
1921	525	1.2	76

Source: Census of India Report, 1921, Vol. XXV, Travancore State, P.4.

The last column shows the distance which would separate each individual inhabitant from his nearest neighbour, if all were distributed at equal intervals over the whole surface of the country.

The total population of Travancore-Cochin State, according to the 1951 census, was 92,80,425. Among the Indian states Travancore-Cochin was placed

⁵⁴ D. Jayadeva Das, *Working Class Politics in Kerala-A Study of Coir Workers*, (Kariavattom, 1983), Pp.1-10.

19th in area but 11th in population. But as far as the density of population was concerned it was ahead of all states. The following table compares the densities of population in some of the thickly populated divisions in India with Travancore-Cochin Princely States.⁵⁵

TABLE 2.15

Densities of Population in some thickly populated divisions in India

Population Division	Area in Sq.miles	Density
Greater Bombay Division	211	13,456
Delhi Division	578	3017
Travancore-Cochin Division	9,144	1015
Bengal Plain Division	24,341	936
East U.P. Plain Division	21,053	850
North Bihar Plain Division	21,661	839
South Bihar Plain Division	15,509	721
Central UP Plain Division	22,505	717
West Madras Division	10,872	627

Sources: Census of India, 1951, Vol. XIII Travancore-Cochin Part I-A- Report by G. Sivaraman Nair, Delhi, 1953.

Comparison with greater Bombay (now Mumbai) or Delhi is not valid as these were urban, metropolitan aggregations. Among the countries of the world,

⁵⁵ H.D. Malaviya, *Village Panchayath in India*, (New Delhi, 1956) p.504.

England and Wales, Belgium and Japan have the highest densities (754, 733, 583 respectively). Thus Travancore-Cochin easily became the most densely populated tract in the world. The position would better be appreciated if it is borne in mind that out of the total area of 9,144 square miles 2, 456 square miles were under reserved forests. Thus the area under occupation came about 5000 square miles and the density on occupied land works up to about 1, 800 per square miles. The population of the state is now almost two and half times what it was fifty years ago. During the last decade the population has increased by 23.7 percent.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ It has become common place in the studies about migration to cite the search for better income as a reason for migration. Previous studies have shown a high correlation between the regional distribution of economic opportunities and population distribution.

However, while economic motivations may be prevalent, their interrelation with economic processes, both in places of migrant origin of destinations, can occur in every different forms. See Arizpe, Lourdes. "The rural exodus in Mexico and Mexican Migration to the United States". In *IMR* Vol. 15 Spring 18\981 to 1981, p.627.

It is worth noting that this outflow of rural migrants during western Europe's industrializing period occurred inspite of slow population growth in its rural areas. This suggests that the high population increase in developing countries today cannot always be singled out as the unique cause of rural out migration.

It is useful to note that poverty is the main cause of rural out migration explains very little. Poverty has existed much before massive rural-urban migration began. Moreover it is as much a system of underlying economic processes as rural out migration.

The ethnic factor is crucial in channeling the distribution of land, wealth and political influence. This is creating a pattern of class stratification that is reflected in the selectivity of migrants.

Also see Butterworth, D. (1971) *migration Rural-Urban America Latina: EC Estado de Nuestro conocimiento*, America indigency, 21 (1): 52-85 June.

The term 'village' as ordinarily understood to indicate compact dwelling places in the midst of cultivated fields all round is inviolably absent in Travancore-Cochin, except a few places in South Travancore, Shenkota and Chittoor.

Certain studies try to identify the demographic factors responsible for the migration of the elderly to certain regions of the country. Employment related factors predominate among younger migrants to the country's principal area of economic growth and activity. There is little doubt that climate ranks among the most compelling attractions. For these regions were blessed with comparatively large number of sunshine hours and for a region of relatively high summer of mid winter temperatures. Overseas studies have shown that climate is a significant determinant of destination among elderly migrants, especially those moving to far away places.⁵⁷

The whole state forming the high land, is dotted over with isolated homesteads. And so the term 'village' as used for census and other purposes has to be clearly understood. With these as definitions of villages in the migrated states of Travancore-Cochin, these total area works out to 8, 846 square miles with 84 percent of the population of the state living in villages, the rural density works out

⁵⁷ L.D.B. Hecnam and Kevin Moffat, *Inter regional Demographic Aging and Migration of the Elderly in New Zealand*. (Bangkok, 1986)p.72.

Also see Murphy, P.A, (1979) "Migration of the Elderly: A Review", *Town Planning Review*, Vol.50, No.1. Pp.84-93.

to the high figure of 881. If the area of reserve forest (2,456 sq.miles) is excluded, the rural density works out to 1,219. The pressure of population on land can well be understood.⁵⁸ In Orissa and U.P, for example, the percentage of rural population is higher than in Travancore-Cochin, nearly 96 and 86, but the density is only 234 and 487 respectively. The rural population in the state has been steadily growing in numbers from decade to decade as would be seen in the following Table.

⁵⁸ Population growth in Mexico has been translated directly in to fragmentation of lands due to partible inheritance, the principle drawn up in the Mexican constitution directly from the Napoleonic code. In theory all offspring, including women, have a right to inherit patrimonial land. In fact women rarely inherit land since they are expected to marry a husband who will provide land and, indeed, they were legally bared from holding to land until 1975. Daughters usually receive a few belongings, animals or some money as inheritance. But all male offspring do have a right to land. The fragmentation of ejido lands has already gone through atleast two and in most places, even three or four generations. In Huecorio, Michoacan, the average size of land holding was 5.2hectres in 1960 and had shrunk to 2.8 hectares by 1976. See Pinerman. J. (1978), "patterns of Adaptations among households of U.S. bound migrants from Michoacan Mexico, *International Migration Review* 12 (4).

Also See *IMR*, Rural exodus in Mexico spring 1981 to Winter 1981, p.35.

The unequal distribution of factors of production or to say the unequal concentrations of means of production only the cause of migration. Not another chain of factors combines with it, those relating to mobility. Not only the socio-vocational mobility of the unemployed agriculrual worker, but also the land hungry. Travancore peasantry, obligated to move towards Malabar. In the above cited article, the relationship between crowding and social-psychological well-being is discussed and data from sydney, Australia, Los Angels, California and England is analysed. It is found that house hold crowding is not strongly related to well-being.

It may be truism that the family environment of a person has a significant effecton his or her attitudes, feelings and behaviour. The interpersonal relationships found in the house hold are perhaps the most important part of this environment. However, the influence of such factors as size of the home, type of physical surroundings and number of people at home should have at least some influence on the person.

Although this study agrees with some previous studies, that house hold crowding does not explain much of well-being, its role in people's lives cannot be ignored.

TABLE 2.16

Decennial growth rate of rural population

Years	Rural Population at each census as percentage of in 1901	Percentage decennial growth	
		Rural	Urban
1901	100	--	--
1911	115	15	16
1921	127	11	15
1931	159	24	26
1941	187	18	19
1951	223	19	24

Source: Census of India 1951, Vol. XIII, Travancore-Cochin, Part I-A, Report by U. Sivaraman Nair, (Delhi, 1953), P.31.

The distribution and density of the rural population in the Kottayam district would be found in the following table.

TABLE 2.17

The distribution and density of rural population in the Kottayam district

District	Percentage	Density
Kottayam	89	549

Source: Census of India 1951, Vol. XIII, Travancore – Cochin Part – I-A P.30.

As already mentioned the percentage of rural population is 84. Among 100 persons in rural area, 30 cultivated their own land, 8 are cultivating tenants, 22

agricultural labourers and only one is a rent receiver. Thus 61% of the rural population is engaged in non-agricultural pursuits. This 39 percent, however includes those engaged in different types of plantations and a variety of other occupations akin to agriculture than industry, but actually classified under the head non-agriculture.

Political Developments in Travancore

Political developments of Travancore affecting the Christian community provided a further fillip to migration to Malabar. The Syrian Christian community, which constituted the bulk of migrants to Malabar, participated actively in the political movements in Travancore that developed in the wake of the national upsurge in India. The Christian, Ezhava and Muslim communities in the state joined hands to form a common platform (political congress) and organised a mass political movement in Travancore to protest against the mode of representation in the legislature, proposed by the constitutional reforms of 1932.⁵⁹ In fact, the Catholic community through its organisation -- the All Kerala Catholic Congress (AKCC) had already submitted a petition to the government highlighting their problems in the form of the "Catholic grievances", in 1930.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ E.M.S. Namboodiripad, *Kerala, Yesterday, Tomorrow* (Calcutta, 1967), p.146.

⁶⁰ John Pellisserry, "Catholic Samudhayathinte Pradirodhamunnani" in *Souvenir of Sacerdotal Silver Jubilee of Rt. Rev. Dr. Sebastian Valloppilly*, (Tellicherry, 1970), p.33.

Against Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer's (the Diwan of Travancore) move to declare Travancore as independent of Indian Union the meeting of AKCC held at Cochin passed a resolution in this regard, but SNDP gave support to the move of C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer.⁶¹

The Christians had been subjected to discrimination and oppression by the Orthodox Hindus of Travancore. The Christians were driven to poverty and neglect for a time after the conquest of the Northern Travancore by Marthanda Varma during the first half of the 18th century. They were denied, all political privileges including that of public services.⁶² The Christians of all denomination held only 19% of the higher jobs in government service in Travancore during the thirties of the previous century, though they formed more than 31 percent of the total population.⁶³

Since Ezhava, Muslim and Christian communities together constituted a significant proportion of Travancore's population, their joint movement of 'Nivarthanam' (abstention) or the boycott of the proposed reforms, assumed the

⁶¹ *Mathrubhumi Daily*, June 24 and July 12, 1947.

⁶² Agur, C.M, *Church History of Travancore*, (Madras, S.P.S. Press, 1908) p.60.

⁶³ For instance, out of the total number of 23,500 posts in various govt. Departments in the princely state of Travancore in 1933, Catholics held only 446 (2%) posts, while they formed about 8% of the population. Under such circumstances the more enterprising Christians were compelled to seek other avenues of employment with in the state as well as in other regions like Malabar. See, also *Report of Travancore Public Service Recruitment Committee*, 1933, (Trivandrum, Govt. Press, 1933), Pp.12-17

character of a real mass struggle. The formation of the later State Congress movement is to be traced to this abstention movement. The State Congress, soon after its formation in 1938, initiated a state-wide civil disobedience movement against the administration of the then Diwan Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, demanding a responsible government in Travancore. The Christian community played a significant role in the movement spear-headed by the State Congress and they had naturally to pay a heavy price for it. The administration of C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer came down heavily on the State Congress and its Civil Disobedience Movement. In addition to the general repression, Ramaswamy Aiyer's policies were to be seen as an attempt to undermine the interest of Christian community.⁶⁴

On 15th October 1946, an Education Memorial signed by about two and half lakhs of people was submitted to the Maharaja by the AKCC. In the course of the movement, the President of AKCC was arrested and the Arch Bishop of Changanacherry was threatened with arrest. The AKCC had to face many court cases, and even their head quarters had to be shifted from Alleppey in Travancore to Ernakulam in Cochin State.⁶⁵ The repressive policies of the state government

⁶⁴ Mathew. M.Kuzhivelli, "Sahodara Samaksham " (Malayalam), in *Jubilee Souvenir*, Op. Cit., (SSS. JBT), p.42.

⁶⁵ John Pellissery, Op.Cit., p.33.

against the State Congress and the Nivarthana Movement prompted a number of Christian farmers to move to Malabar region, as they felt insecure in Travancore.⁶⁶

Deprived of several socio-economic rights, the Syrian Christians depended on agriculture as the main source of their livelihood. However, the bulk of the cultivable land was owned by Hindu temples, under Namboodiris and Nair landlords till the end of the 19th century.⁶⁷ The Syrian Christians had therefore to fall back more on dry lands in the interior areas. Owing to their tenacity and their concentration on cultivation of cash-crops they emerged as the richest community of Travancore towards the twenties. Thus in Travancore, only the Syrian Christians were endowed with the necessary socio-economic background, experience, willingness and ability to migrate in search of cultivable land in Malabar. Besides, they had already acquired expertise knowledge in the cultivation of land in the up-country regions.

The early settlers also encouraged their friends and relatives in their home villages in Travancore to migrate to Malabar. The early migrants presented an

⁶⁶ Dewan, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar took aggressive and brutal steps against the participants of the Nivarthana Movement and the members of the State Congress. In Kottayam and Changanacherry division of Travancore State, the farming population suffered a lot. For instance, C.P. ordered the banana crops to be cut off because the decayed banana plants spread fungus which caused for the death of ducks. There was no scientific base for his argument, it was only cruel plot against the farmers. Interview with Rev. Mathayi Nooranal, Sultan Batheri, dated 21-11-2001

⁶⁷ Frer Panlio, Dasan, Bartholomeo, *Voyage to the East* (1800) p.177.

attractive picture of Malabar and highlighted the prospective gains as substantial.⁶⁸

Rich farmers who had enough surplus capital wanted to expand their estates to Malabar area. They purchased thousands of acres of land in Malabar. Certain portions of the land were cultivated by themselves as estates and the rest of the land were sold to small scale farmers from Travancore who were prepared to migrate.

Economic Depression

Land was considered to be the most important kind of wealth in Travancore. It has been estimated in 1112 ME (1937) that the total recorded area was 4,88,0000 acres. The 1931 census report assess the value of the total occupied area of 21,97,000 acres to the tune of about Rs.150/- crores. The average extent and value of land per acres was calculated as 1.62 acres and Rs.1,041 respectively.⁶⁹

Disintegration of joint families in Travancore, the Nair Regulation, Ezhava Regulation and the Vanjinad Vellala Regulation, monetarization of economy, operation of the forces of world market, conversion of land as a commodity etc. accelerated the process of disintegration of land holdings.

⁶⁸ P.M. Mathew, "Chemperi Kolaniyile Chila Kudiyetta Kendrangal" (Malayalam) in *Souvenir of Rt. Rev. Dr. Sebastian Vallappilly*, Op.cit (Tellicherry, 1970) Pp.225-226 and in Mathew M. Chalil, *Malabar Kudiyettavum Chemeriyum* in *Silver Jubilee Souvenir, Nirmala High School* (Chemperi, 1982).

⁶⁹ T.K. Velupillai, *Travancore State Manual* Vol.III, 1940, page.6 and Govt. of Travancore, *Travancore Cenus Report*, 1931, p.472.

TABLE 2.18

Value of Sales, Mortgages and Hypothecations of land
Average value in Rs. (in lakhs)

Period	Sales years	Mortgages years	Hypothecation years
1917 – 20	193	144	218
1920 – 25	221	164	234
1925 – 30	303	153	298
1931 – 33	172	103	192

Sources : T.K. Velupillai, Travancore State Manual Vol.III, 1940, page.7

Four important points are discernible from the table. First the amount under hypothecation exceeded the sales and the mortgages.⁷⁰ This is because : 1. The land owner while raising loans on the security of land, would try to retain the possession and enjoyment of the land. 2. It was possible that land alienation was a more acute feature among the small holders rather than the larger holders.⁷¹ 3.

⁷⁰ D. Jayadev, *Working Class Politics in Kerala, A Study of Coir Workers*, (Kariyavattam, 1983), p.60.

⁷¹ Colonialism brought about momentous social and economic transformation, during which centuries old social and economic relationships and institutions were dissolved and replaced by new relationships and institutions. In the realm of agriculture too new agrarian relations and class structure came into being. A new agrarian structure was born that was neither traditional or feudal nor capitalist. There occurred growth of tenancy and a hierarchy of intermediaries between the state and the actual cultivators on an unprecedented scale in Indian history. By 1931, one third of rural population was landless and most of the remaining two third were tenants at will, share croppers, and petty peasant proprietors. Economic equality, political and economic oppression by the Zamindars, status differences and caste domination had prevailed in ample measures earlier. See Bipan Chandra, "Peasantry and National Integration in Contemporary India," In K.N. Panikkar (ed.), *National and Left Movements in India*, Vikas Publishing House (New Delhi, 1980), pp.107-108. Also See Sobhanlal Datta, Gupta, *Comintern India and the Colonial Question 1920-37*. Centre for Studies in Social Sciences (Calcutta, 1980). This study is mainly an analysis of Colonial Indian condition.

There was abnormal increase in the number of sale in the period between 1925 – 30 and this is probably due to the effect of Nair and Ezhava Regulations. 4. The proceedings from all transactions demonstrated a fall during the period 1931-34. This is due to the phenomenal fall in the land value caused by the economic depression rampant during the period.

TABLE 2.19
Land Value

Year	Average value per Acre in Rs.		Index Number
	Wet	Garden	
1924 – 25	566	369	89
25 – 26	673	401	100
26 – 27	733	386	101
27 – 28	723	413	107
28 – 29	777	406	107
29 – 30	779	391	105
30 – 31	650	403	102
31 – 32	533	394	93
32 – 33	576	366	87
1933 – 34	405	347	77

Source: T.K. Velupillai – Travancore State Manual Vol.III, 1940, p.9

The economic depression of the 1920's began with the general slump noticeable in the year 1926. This depression seriously felt in various development

activities followed by the World War I become pronounced since 1929 and became catastrophic in the following year's.⁷²

Fall of price of rubber badly affected cultivators, planters and agricultural workers. Many rubber estates were temporarily closed and so many workers lost their job. In Thodupuzha, due to the closure of a rubber estate about 3000 workers became jobless. In order to help the rubber cultivator's the Government of Travancore reduced the land tax of rubber cultivations from Rupees 2/- to Rs.1/-.⁷³

The landless agricultural workers of Travancore accompanied their neighbours and the rich farmers (or whom they were working with) to Malabar. In Malabar they became agricultural labourers on oneside and small land holders on the other. In certain parts of Travancore, including Ramapuram there was a weekly labour market to recruit agricultural workers to eastern parts of Travancore and to Malabar.⁷⁴

⁷² Govt. of Travancore, *Report of the Economic Depression Enquiry Committee*, (Trivandurm, 1931). p.25, The depression enfold every segment of the population. The pressure in agriculture made an exodus of the agricultural labourers and small peasants to other areas to industry, transport in urban areas and small peasant exodus to Malabar for more agricultural land.

⁷³ *Mathrubhumi Daily*, May 21, 1931 and September 29, 1932.

⁷⁴ Interview with John Joseph, Ramapuram, 24.8.1986 and also *Church Records, Ramapuram R.C. Church*. Also see Manabendu Chatopadyaya, "Some Aspects of Employment and Unemployment in Agriculture, *EPW*, Vol.12, 24 September, 1977.

The period of economic depression witnessed a phenomenal increase both in number and in capital of Banking, chit and joint stock concerns. There were two classes of indigenous bankers in the state viz., the money lenders and Hundi merchants. The Banking enquiry committee found that there were 264 prominent money lenders in 1932.⁷⁵ They lent money at an interest rate of 6 to 12 percent on cash and to 10 to 20 percent on paddy. It was a particular feature that more or less the entire transactions were made with agriculturalists.

There were also hundi merchants in all important centres of trade in the state. It is observed that "in that year [1932] there were more than 22 hundi merchants in the state that nearly 15 lakhs of Rupees had been invested as capital in their business and that, the volume of business exceeded a crore of rupees. The rate of interest then charged varied from 12 to 14 percent."⁷⁶

Even though the exploitation of these classes of money lender's over the agriculturalists, small traders and industrialists were unbearable, they themselves could not meet the situation created by the economic depression of the later half of the 1920's.

⁷⁵ The Govt. of Travancore, *Report of the Banking Enquiry Committee, Trivandrum, 1932*, p.63. The money lenders confine their activity to money lending on security; where the Hundi movements besides money lending take in deposits and do a lot of money exchange business.

⁷⁶ The Govt. of Travancore, *Report of the Banking Enquiry Committee, Trivandrum 1932*, pp.19-20 and T.K. Velupillai, *Travancore State Manual, Vol.III, 1940*, p.652.

'Chitty' was another popular institution both for investment and for credit. Though there was substantial capital investment in these sectors of financial activity it can be seen that the economic depression hit this branch also.⁷⁷

TABLE 2.20

Number and Capital of Registered Chitty Establishment

Year (ME)	No. of Chitties registered each years	No. of chitties working at the end of each year	Total capital [Rs. in Lakhs]
1104	1625	9931	236
1105	1388	10735	247
1106	524	10289	258
1107	294	9254	262
1108	284	8418	265
1109	339	7667	146
1110	272	6944	125
1111	35	6228	86

Sources: T.K. Velupillai Tranvancore Manual, Trivandrum, 1940, p.655.

There was a phenomenal growth of Joint Stock Banks. The following table shows the rapid increase in Joint Stock Bank since 1092 ME [1917].

⁷⁷ D. Jaya Dev, Op.cit., no.29, pp.65-70.

TABLE 2.21

The growth of Joint Stock Banks

Year (ME)	Number
1092 (1916-17)	6
1093 (1917-18)	5
1094 (1918-19)	8
1095 (1919-20)	35
1096 (1920-21)	43
1097 (1921-22)	41
1098 (1922-23)	83
1099 (1923-24)	36
1100 (1924-25)	36
1101 (1925-26)	44
1102 (1926-27)	57
1103 (1927-28)	NA
1104 (1928-29)	195
1105 (1929-30)	256
1106 (1930-31)	270

Source : T.K. Velupillai Travancore Manual, Trivandrum, 1940, Pp.655-75.

Finding it hard to cope with the existing financial situation, the farmers in Travancore had no choice but to opt for Malabar.

Poverty and Famine in Travancore

The Travancorean farmers were tempted to move to the hill ranges of Malabar thanks to these reasons. Since 1930's the peasant farmers of Travancore migrated in large numbers to Malabar, bought up wastelands and converted them

into plantations. The outbreak of World War II also led to the migration, by introducing a new set of 'push' and 'pull' factors. Acute shortage of food supply and the general economic distress in Travancore during World War II 'pushed' the Travancoreans from their base. With the fall of Burma, a good source of food supply to India was cut off. The price of rice shot up and black marketing was practiced on a large scale⁷⁸. To meet poverty Government of Travancore introduced complete rationing and appropriated paddy as tax from the peasants.⁷⁹ In early 20th century, in Travancore, a plot as large as five acres from which the peasant had to draw the sustenance of all the souls dependent upon him. It was certainly difficult to draw enough surplus from it. Moreover, the geography of

⁷⁸ The market price of rice in early 1940's was Rs.40/- per bag, while it was Rs.60/- per bag in the black market in the Kottayam division of Travancore state, as against a pre-war price of Rs.8/- by 1942, the food shortage had assumed the nature of famine in the Travancore area.

The general distress of the people owing to the scarcity of food grains was intensified as the government began to appropriate the stock available with the farmers. It resulted in several instances of breach of law and order and clashes with the authorities. For instance in Kottayam district, a violent mob went to the extent of killing a Tahsildar while he was trying to appropriate the paddy stock. A number of small farmers were arrested and penalized by the government. See Thomas Pazhaparambil, *Swapna Bhoomiyil* (Malayalam), Muvattupuzha, 1978, pp.1-15. See *Mathrubhumi Daily*, 19th June 1942, p.4 and July 19, 1942, p.4.

As a result of the government of Travancore took several measures in the state. It prohibited feasts of more than 100 people in Travancore. The government also resolved to import 'Bajara' to Travancore in order to meet this situation (*Mathrubhumi Daily*, March 24, 1993, p.4). The shortage of food grains compelled the people to consume palm powder. A small piece of palm costs 1 to 1 ½ Chakram. ie, Rs.1, is equal to 28 ½ chakram.

⁷⁹ The government decided 1 crore 28 lakhs 'Para' paddy for rationing at the rate of 1 Nazi rice for 3 persons in a month irrespective of rural – urban differences. (*Mathrubhumi*, September 6, 1943).

Travancore was not suitable for large scale extension of paddy cultivation. At the time when the World War II broke out, cultivation of tapioca (which was the substitute to rice) was on the decline; on the other hand, significant increase was being registered in this area under cultivation of cash crops such as rubber, cashewnut, pepper and coconut, especially in the taluks of Meenachil, Thodupuzha and Kanhirappally where paddy lands were relatively scarce.⁸⁰ During this period the information received from the pioneering migrants on the availability of plenty of land suitable for the cultivation of crops, including tapioca, brought hope to a large number of starving peasant farmers. They readily sold their small bits of lands at fairly high prices and proceeded to Malabar.⁸¹ Thus began an exodus of peasant farmers from Travancore to the jungles of Malabar. Large number of colonies of peasant farmers from Travancore sprang up in Malabar towards the end of the war, from Belal (near Kanhangad) in the north to Mannarkkad

⁸⁰ The total area under tapioca cultivation in the state of Travancore declined from 4,85,589 in 1929-30 to 4,45,402 acres in 1940-41. *Statistics of Travancore, 1929-30 to 1940-41* Trivandrum, (Superintendent, Government Press, Trivandrum).

⁸¹ For example, during the period of World War II the price of cash crops like rubber and pepper increased substantially. Some wealthy Christian farmers in Travancore got huge amount of money from the fluctuations of the rate of cash crops. For instance, during the war period the price of 1 kg. of rubber increased upto 30 to 35 rupees, the pre-war price being less than one rupee. Because of this, the rubber planters in Kanhirappally and Meenachil became wealthy class. They bought the small bits of lands from the average peasants. Moreover, some of them invested a lot of money in Malabar for large scale purchase of land. See. *Souvenir of Sacerdotal Silver Jubilee of Rev. Sebastian Velloppilly, Bishop of Tellicherry Diocese*, (Tellicherry, 1970), pp.253-274 and also interview with N.J. Zacharia, Neellikkatheruvil, Koodaranji in Calicut district, dated 15-12-90., Shri.N.J. Zacharia is one of the early migrants in Koodaranji area, settled here in 1944. He has migrated from Ramapuram in Meenachil Taluk.

district in the south. Land was then indeed scarce, divided again and again, its price rose steadily whether for purchase or rent. But fragmentation of land left almost nothing for the peasant's subsistence. Now, whether the harvest was rich or poor, the folk found themselves always poorer.

So the peasants learned that poverty was a dog whose teeth sank deep. The struggle for existence grew fiercer. Yet there was no halt to the steady recession in the standard of living. The end result was uninterrupted advance across Travancorean cultivation of the tapioco, the cheapest of foods, the slimmest substance to keep bodies alive. In place after place the tiller of the soil came to rely for their own nourishment upon this one crop, while their more valuable products went to market to pay rents, to maintain their hold on the soil. The peasant diet became monotonously the same tapioca, wheat, barley, wild roots, palm powder, cycas powder, milk and meat were a rare luxury. Poverty and famine was very common at that time in Travancore. They had even coined a term, 'Panha karkidakam' in Malayalam.⁸² Greater increase in yields could be attained by applying modern scientific agricultural technology. But it must be remembered that much of the modern technology was developed in the west and did not always fit for Asian farming. The silver linings in this situation was that contrary to popular belief, South Asian work practices in agriculture were not labour intensive.

⁸² Tapioca originally belonged to Brazil which was introduced in Kerala by Portuguese missionaries.

The labour input was low and inefficient. Instead, South Asian agriculture was labour extensive. The low yield per acre was mainly a consequence of under utilized labour force.⁸³

The advantage of higher growth rate of food production to a considerable extent had been wiped out by the fast growing population. For example, in India though food production had been growing at a rate of 2.27 per cent per annum, the relatively faster growth of population at 2.43 per cent per annum had brought down the per capita food production.⁸⁴

Travancorean peasants were self cultivating agriculturalists. Normally all sections of traditional agricultural population were proverbially rooted in their ancestral soils and have great apathy to spatial mobility or occupational mobility.⁸⁵ In subsistence economy there is very limited wants, meeting only bare needs of the people and normally self sufficient villages.

Migration from Kerala had been practically non-existent during the 19th century because the boundary of nature provided only the modest requirements of

⁸³Gunnar Myrdal , *Asian Drama* An abridgement By Seth S. King, (London, 1972).pp.1-35

⁸⁴ See K.N.S. Nair *Technological changes in Agriculture* (New Delhi, 1980), p.138.

⁸⁵ Notwithstanding the subsistence character of Indian economy, a large number of people had however migrated from various parts of India to the plantations in the tropical islands, Malaysia and Srilanka since the middle of the 19th century. See Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan* (New Jersey, Princeton City, 1951), pp.98-101.

population.⁸⁶ Absence of population pressure was another constraint on migration. This could be seen in Travancore during the earliest phase, when subsistence economy existed.⁸⁷

The deep rooted socio-economic class structure of an agrarian society might also have operated as a powerful constraint on the migration of population. The stratification of society based on caste with imprimatur of religious sanctions behind it severely restricted the scope of migration in the normal course.⁸⁸

The absence of working capital, which is an essential one required for agriculture operation also effected migration. The system of land tenure on the other hand can either impede or facilitate migration in an agrarian society under the Zamindari system of land tenure which did not enable the tenant farmers to accumulate any capital on account of the practice of rack renting and insecure

⁸⁶ While the others parts of India were ravaged by frequent occurrences of famine, Kerala was practically exempt from such calamities as indicated in the district Gazateer of Malabar: But of real famines there are few records. During the period in which Honourable company occupied the factory at Tellicherry, there is only one record of a real famine. It occurred in August-September 1792. C.A. Innes *Madras District Gazetteers: Malabar and Anjengo* (Madras Government Press, 1908), p.217. also see V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, Vol.III, (Trivandrum, 1906) pp.123-130.

⁸⁷ To analyse the situation in Travancore. see, *Report of the Census of Travancore*, 189, Government press, (TVM, 1893) p.234.

⁸⁸ Thomas W. Shea Jr., "Baviers to Economic Development, Traditional Societies in Malabar, a Case Study in *Journal of Economic History*, Vol.XIX, No.4, Dec. 1959, pp.1-15.

tenures, the economic ability of tenant farmers to migrate was seriously limited if not totally crippled even when other conditions were favourable.

It appears that in an agrarian society where peasant proprietorship was the main type of land tenure, migration of peasants would be totally absent as long as the subsistence form of economy prevails. Even the agricultural workers would be unwilling to move as their peasant masters, who utilize their service for cultivation of the land were able and willing to support them in times of distress while the tenant farmers under the Zamindar system did not enjoy such protection.⁸⁹

The despotic rule of Sir. C.P. Rama Swamy Aiyar in Travancore and his administration badly affected poor peasantry, especially Christian peasantry. This is another factor which helped the migration of Christian peasants to Malabar. The Diwan C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar heavily extracted the share of their crops as tax.

⁸⁹ The Travancore economy of the late 19th and early 20th century depicts a typical example of the phenomenon. The peasant farmers of the region were unwilling to migrate. So long as the conditions of subsistence economy prevailed. Even agricultural labourers were unwilling to migrate from their native villages. For instance, Europeans had started plantations in the High range region of Travancore from the middle of the 19th century. They had to recruit the bulk of their labour force from Tamilnadu since potential for recruitment to the plantations from among the agriculture workers of Travancore was meagre. Also see V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manuel*, Op.cit., pp, 123-130.

Thus he did not allow them to stand up on their own legs.⁹⁰

In early period of 20th century peasants migrated to High ranges in Travancore. Later Diwan C.P. Ramasway Aiyar ordered no more land assignment to any peasant in Travancore.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Under his rule revenue officials like Tahsildar and village authorities usually made constant obstacles against the poor peasantry. Naturally peasants revolted against this. See Rev. Thomas Pazhaparambil, Op.cit., No.3, Pp.10-20. Schendel (New York 1991), using both published and unpublished material, published a comparative study. This study makes a detailed analysis of the historical development of relation of 'primary' accumulation relations through which surplus is extracted from primary producers in Lower Burma, Bengal and the Kavery delta in South India between the 1950's and 1980's. The world was richer than it had ever been in the past, and yet there are more poor people than ever before. The paradox of world poverty poses ardent practical and theoretical problems. In 'three deltas' poverty was seen not as a natural problem of scarcity or as the result of economic backwardness or over population; but emphatically as the outcome of the unequal relationships between groups of people. For details See Willem Van Schendral, *Three Deltas Accumulation and poverty in Rural Burma, Bengal and South India*, (Delhi, 1991)

⁹¹ In 1945. C.P. Ramaswamy, the Diwan of Travancore passed a bill in the Assembly which provided provisions for nationalise education in Travancore. Against the bill, P.T. Chacko wrote a letter to Diwan which criticised the attempt of Diwan. The Bishop of Changanassery wrote a pamphlet against the same move. Under the leadership of Tharyadhu Kunhithomman Christians organized agitation. He was arrested. At last C.P. did not implement that Bill. This situation made C.P. more hostile towards Christians and his unfavourable attitude towards them compelled many families to migrate to Malabar.

O.M. Varghese, Olickel, *Vazhakulam Oru Charitra Veekshanam* (Malayalam) (Muvattupuzha, 1985), pp.324-25. The general usage in Kerala "Pattiniyum Pattarum" that compelled the peasants to migrate to Malabar. Also See Balmer. R. *Racial Oppression in America*, (New York, 1972), pp.1-10. For more details about movement of peasants see Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion* (New York, 1967). Pp. 59-60 and Eric Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India* (Cambridge, 1980) Pp. 1-2.

Death and Diseases

The later part of the decade can't be said to have been a prosperous one and consequently it was not very favourable for the natural growth of population. Epidemics had resulted in the loss of potential parents.⁹² The public health department report of Travancore Government shows that within 15 days from 5th March 1932, about 352 Persons were affected by small pox and 87 person died of it.⁹³ In 1940's Cholera swept over entire Travancore and caused the death of 2338 people.⁹⁴ During 1929-30 about 42 persona died due to small pox in Poovarani near Palai, and many left home in fear of this terrible infectious disease.⁹⁵

A type of infection of tapioca caused severe damages to tapioca production in Travancore. During 1920's and 1930's 'Banchitop' disease of plantain largely affected the cultivation. So the Government of Travancore issued orders to destroy all the plantain trees in a bid to destroy the virus. The severe flood in Travancore in 1921 which is generally known as 'flood of 99' was a severe blow to the economy of Travancore.⁹⁶

⁹² *Census of India 1921*, Cochin Part I, Report, p.6.

⁹³ *Mathrubhumi Daily* March 20, 1932. The Government of Travancore had started Vaccination against small pox, See *Mathrubhumi Daily* Jan. 10, 1931, p.6.

⁹⁴ Statement of the Divan C.P. Ramaswamy in Sreemoolam Assembly on 28th July 1943.

⁹⁵ Appi Parakatt "Poovarani Ee Noottandi!" in *Thiru Hrudaya Devalayam'*, *Poovarani, Smaranika* (Poovarani, 1980, pp.45-51).

⁹⁶ During the month of Mithunam, Karkitakam of Kollam era 1099.

Travancore also faced severe draughts in 1905, 1912, 1930, 1938 which substantially destroyed arecanut, coconut, pepper and other cultivations in Travancore.⁹⁷ The worst calamities that shook the people during the decade of 1921-31 were the floods of 1924 and 1929. It has to be noted that these floods, inspite of their ill effect did not materially affect the growth of population.

Situation in Malabar

Malabar is one of the two districts situated on the west coast of the Madras State. The district stretches along the shores of the Arabian sea for a distance of about 150 miles with the south Canara district in the North, the Coorg and Mysore states, the Nilgiris and Coimbatore districts on the East and State of Travancore and Cochin on the South. Portions of Chittor village and Nallipulli, Tatamangalam and Vallangi village were attached to the United State of Travancore-Cochin were transferred to this district. The Malabar land system, with all its multiplicity and complexity tend to baffle the minds that approach to study it. It cannot be taken as a mere historical accident. It is not the choice of the people which was made in one day or two, but as an inevitable result of the peculiar circumstances, occasions, tempers, dispositions and moral, civil and social habits of the people which disclose themselves only in a long space of time. In the evolution of the land system of this state several factors have played their part such as the geographical character,

⁹⁷ Appi Parakkat, Poovarani Ee Noottandil in *Thiru Hrudaya Devalayam Smaranika* (Poovarani, 1980) pp.45-51.

sociological considerations, the vicissitudes of political history and the religious attitude of the people.⁹⁸

The traditional structure of agricultural society in Malabar was based on 'fragmented feudalism' hierarchically ordained and reaching down to the lowest stratum. The Jenmi [landlord], Kanakkaran [Protector], and the peasant shared the produce working out a social equation, as the basis of mutual dependence and reciprocal interests, with in the confines of a feudal system of exploitation. The introduction of British administrative institutions led to the dissolution of this system by the substitution of strong central power for the divided authority of

⁹⁸ P.N. Chopra, T.K. Ravindran, N. Subramaniam, *History of South India* Volume III. Modern Period, (New Delhi), 1979, p.178 also see.

Mukherjee, Nilamani and Robert Eric Frykenberg "The Ryotwari System and Social organisation in Malabar Presidency" *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History* Edited by Robert Eric Frykenberg. Madison (The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), Pp.217-26 and Gopal.S. *The permanent Settlement in Bengal and its Results*. (London, 1949) and

Robert E. Frykenberg (Ed.), "Integration of the Agrarian System of South India," *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, (University at Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1969) Pp.175-217.

feudal chieftains.⁹⁹

The landlord British Raj collaboration in India restricted the growth of the capitalist mode of production in the agrarian system, but perpetuated the feudal mode of production with out any substantial alteration in peasant farming.¹⁰⁰

It can be seen as a major variation in the class composition of agricultural population between Travancore and Malabar, while owner cultivators constituted the majority of the agriculture population in Travancore, tenant farmers and agricultural labourers together formed the bulk of the agricultural population in Malabar.

⁹⁹ See Soumendranath Tagore, *Peasant Revolt in Malabar*, 1921, Translated by K.K.N. Kurup, Calicut, 1982. Baden Powel, Baden-Henry, *The Land System of British India*, 3 vols, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892). Andre Beteille *Studies in Agrarian Social Structure*, Oxford University Press. (Delhi, 1974). The great territorial acquisition made by the British in South India at the end of the 18th century called for an administrative system differing in many ways from that in use in Bengal. These changes influenced subsequent administrative practice not only in Madras but in the whole of the British India. The work gives a detailed chronological study of Munro's administrative career up to 1820, when he was appointed governor of Madras and East India Company had adopted their wide spread reforms.

Beagle Hole. T.H, *Thomas Munro and the Development of Administrative Policy in Madras, 1792-1818*. (Cambridge University Press, 1966). K.N.V. Sastri in Munro system of British statesmanship in India discusses this influence, i.e., Munro's administrative methods were widely accepted by his contemporaries and influenced his successors.

¹⁰⁰ The new agrarian structure was "neither traditional nor feudal nor capitalist". Says Bipan Chandra in *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India* (New Delhi, 1979) p.328.

Also see the contradiction in the agrarian system in Dietmar Rothermund, *Government, Landlord and Peasant in India* (Wiesbaden, 1978) and Hamza Alavi, "Feudalism and Capitalism in Indian Agriculture". Quoted in Ashok Rudra, *Indian Agricultural Economics, Myths and Realities* (New Delhi, 1982), p.450.

TABLE 2.22

**The Composition of Agricultural
Population in Malabar and Travancore in 1911**

Class of People	Malabar		Travancore	
	Number of people	Percentage	Number of people	Percentage
1. Non-cultivating land owners	74,549	4.08	91,305	5.02
2. Non-cultivating tenants	24,923	1.37	4,456	0.24
3. Cultivating land owners	96,220	5.27	11,63,974	63.93
4. Cultivating tenants	8,21,462	45.02	1,24,067	6.82
5. Farm Servants and Field Labourer	7,62,591	41.80	2,29,809	12.62
6. Growers of special products	44,819	2.45	2,06,856	11.36
Total	18,24,564 (60.68)*	100	18,20,467 (5.15)*	100
Total population	30,15,119		34,28,975	
Density of population	520		451	

* Figures in brackets indicate percentage of people depending on agriculture to the total population.

(Source: Census for the year 1911 of Madras and Travancore)

The table given above indicates the proportionate strength of different classes of people depending on agriculture as the main occupation at the turn of the century, at a time when Malabar was just emerging as a strong region for migration and Travancore was yet to display any such indication. In 1911, total land area

under cultivation was smaller in Malabar than in Travancore inspite of higher density of population in the former region.¹⁰¹

From the above table we can analyse that the average income of people in Malabar from agriculture was lower than that of those in Travancore. An analysis of higher number of tenant farmers and agricultural labourers in Malabar also prove that the distribution of income from agriculture in Malabar areas was unequal than that of Travancore.

According to the land tenure system that prevailed in Malabar areas only 1/3 of the net agricultural produce was entitled to the tenants, where as the remaining 2/3 goes to landlords and government respectively.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ The total area under cultivation was 19,42,803 acres in 1910 when the Revenue Survey was completed in Travancore. See *Final Report of Revenue Settlement in 1883-1910*. Appendix II. (Trivandurm Govt. Press 1913). But in the same period in Malabar area under cultivation was only 13,23, 761 acres. See *Gazetteer of Malabar District*. Vol. III, Statistical Appendix, (Madras Govt. Press, 1915).

¹⁰² Under these unfavourable situation the tenant cultivators did not show much enthusiasm to extend the areas of their cultivation or to introduce improved method of agriculture due to the oppressive taxation and incapability to raise capital for the same. In arriving at the net produce of the soil, no deduction, what so ever, were made towards the cost of labour input. According to the scheme of assessment in force in Malabar, only 15 percent of the gross produce was deducted towards the cost of seeds, cost of cultivation and vicissitude of the monsoon in respect of waste lands. Labour cost was not taken into account as part of cost of cultivation. For details see- C.A. Innes, *Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar and Angengo* (Madras, Superintendent of Govt. Press, 1908) p.345.

Out of the total 13 lakhs of acres of land under cultivation, nearly 11 lakhs areas were cultivated by tenant farmers under different categories of tenancies. Out of the total area of 12,87,020 acres of land under cultivation in 1927-28 only 2,00,614 acres of land were cultivated by the landlords and rest by tenants. See.P.151 of the *Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee 1927-28*.

Under the land tenure system established in British Malabar the ownership of forest land and waste lands were also vested in jemmies. Any extension of cultivation could take place with the consent of these jemmies. Under such "unfavourable" conditions the tenants were not able to extend cultivation. The inability of raising capital for the extension of cultivation also formed another reason for its non-extension of cultivation in Malabar high lands.¹⁰³ In Malabar, population increased in higher rate than the increase in the area of cultivation. This naturally resulted in the pauperization of Malabar peasantry.

In Travancore, things were quite different from that of Malabar. The system of sharing of the agricultural income was more equitable in Travancore. The owner cultivators who formed the biggest class among the people depending on agriculture in this region cultivated the land directly. 75% of these land was actually under direct jurisdiction of Travancore State since the middle of the 19th century.¹⁰⁴

The land revenue of Travancore was quite moderate for the standards than prevailing.¹⁰⁵ Naturally, peasants were in a position to improve their living

¹⁰³ The uncultivated wastelands were exempted from the payment of land tax. In Malabar district only wet lands, garden land occupied dry lands were taxed. When any unoccupied dry land was brought under upland rice cultivation, the area so cultivated alone was taxable. All other lands were exempted from land tax. For details see. C.A. Innes, *Madras District Gazetteers: Malabar and Anjengo*, Op. Cit., p.344.

¹⁰⁴ *Final Report of the Revenue settlement* Op.Cit., See. P.84 of Chapter 4 also.

¹⁰⁵ V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual* Vol. III (Trivandrum, 1906). P.144.

standards and to accumulate bits of savings arising from good harvests and increase in the price of agricultural products. Apart from this, in Travancore land relationship was more liberal and equitable. Since waste land and forest land were under government control, it was easy for an ordinary man to get consent for buying more land under cultivation, with out the interference of any intermediary. The policy of Travancore government also was favourable for the extension of cultivation. The inevitable outcome was the emergence of an increasing number of self-cultivating peasant farmers in Travancore.¹⁰⁶

The land tenurial system in Malabar and Travancore was not identical in many aspects. But the tenurial condition in Cochin State was in between these two. In Cochin the owner cultivators cultivated nearly half of the area. The other half was cultivated by tenant farmers under landlords.¹⁰⁷

Unlike in Malabar, the tenancy system in Cochin was comparatively liberal and favourable for the expansion of agriculture. As an outcome of these state of affairs Cochin achieved steady progress through out the 19th century. Nevertheless

¹⁰⁶ The Travancore Govt. give tax concessions and other financial concessions to the farmers who were enjoyed in agricultural expansion. See. P.K. Michael Tharakan, *Intra-regional Differences in Agrarian Systems and Internal Migrations: A Case Study of the Migration of Farmers From Travancore to Malabar 1930-1950* C.D.S. working paper (Trivandrum 1980) Pp.1-17.

¹⁰⁷ T.C. Varghese, *Agrarian Change and Economic Consequences: Land Tenures in Kerala* (Delhi, Allied Publication, 1970) p.70.

the condition of the bulk of the people, especially of the labour classes remained miserable.¹⁰⁸

Even though, socio-economic factors displayed major variation in each of the three political units of Kerala-Travancore-Cochin and Malabar, it may be noted that the overall condition in Kerala differed much from those in the rest of India. The peculiar type of topography of Kerala, which is characterised with a number of hills and valleys, rivers and back waters, paddy fields and garden lands, forests and dry lands, formed a natural barrier to easy spatial mobility. Besides this peculiar type of homesteads, of Keralities, i.e., they are living in independent houses scattered over the entire length and breadth of the region, unlike that of the clustered villages of the North Indian people.¹⁰⁹

All lands in Malabar has been regarded as private property. The rights of jenmi are held to be inalienable whether the land is cultivated or left untilled. Major Wallker who is the earliest standard authority on the Malabar land problems has remarked that the owner of the waste land could evict any person who had improved his waste land after payment of compensation for the value of improvements effected by him. This the jenmi could do, whatever might have been

¹⁰⁸ *Census Report of Cochin 1891 part I, Review.p.146.*

¹⁰⁹ K.V. Joseph, *Op. Cit.*, p.47.

the period of enjoyment of the land by the cultivator. This ancient rights have been recognised in the civil courts even from the beginning of the 19th century.¹¹⁰

There is no doubt that some definite and legislative measures are necessary in these matter. Large extents of waste land were available though this jennies have been maintaining from time to time that they would grant such lands for cultivation. But nothing tangible has been done. Some enterprising people from Travancore have taken up extensive waste lands in the villages bordering the Western Ghats and have began to raise cashew, rubber and other plantations. Such migrations have taken place in similar villages bordering the Western Ghats in South Kanara districts (Hosdurg Taluk).¹¹¹

With the abnormal increase in the prices of almost all commodities including, timber in the post World War II period it has been almost a practice with all private owners to cut trees indiscriminately with the sole object of making money. The Government of Madras interfered in this alarming situation-(massive destruction of forest wealth) and passed Madras Preservation of Private Forest Act (1949).¹¹²

¹¹⁰ For similar situation, see E. Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj; Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India*, Cambridge University Press, 1978.

¹¹¹ See Burling, Robbins, *Hill farmers and Paddy Fields in Main Land South East Asia*; Englowood Eliffs, N.J. Prentice Hall, 1965.

¹¹² Sreedhara Menon. A. Kerala District Gazetteers, Cannanore. (Trivandrum, 1972), p.317.

By the middle of 1930's, poverty and famine largely affected the life of the people of Malabar. Under the leadership of Sri. A.K. Gopalan a 'Pattini Jatha' (famine march) started from Kannur to Madras to call the attention of the authorities to this situation in Malabar. The fall in the price of coconut, pepper etc. in Malabar very badly affected not only the ordinary people but also the landlords since it was not possible for them to remit the land tax promptly. Subsequently, they faced eviction and revenue recovery threat from the side of Madras Government. Under this situation they started the sale of timber of their forests and even from forest lands to intermediaries and peasant settlers of Malabar. ¹¹³

Comparatively low wages in Malabar for agricultural workers may be another pull factor of migration to Malabar. In Travancore remuneration for 8 hour agricultural work was 6¾ Anna where as in Malabar it was only 4 Anna. ¹¹⁴

In Malabar rural economy remained stagnant even after substantial changes took place in the crop patterns and techniques of cultivation. Increasing burden of rent indebtedness, alienation from the land, eviction etc. resulted in the rapid impoverishment of the Malabar peasantry. The people had to transfer their land for

¹¹³ To understand the pathetic situation of landlords and ordinary people in Malabar see, *Mathrubhumi Daily* March 27, 1936 and July, 1st 1937. For the similar situation, see Wing Field, R. *Haiti a Case Study of Underdeveloped Area* unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, (University of Louisiana, 1966), Baton Rouge.

¹¹⁴ Anna was a coin used in Kerala before the formation of Kerala State. 8 Anna is equal to 50 paise. (See *Mathrubhumi Daily* April, 21 1940).

saving themselves from legal actions from the government .¹¹⁵ Though in Malabar, land had to be obtained on lease from the feudal chiefs,¹¹⁶ land was available in abundance and at cheaper prices and the local landlords were inclined to welcome farmers from Travancore.¹¹⁷ Most of the land owned by big landlords in Malabar were fragmented into bits and leased out to tenants on Kanam or Verumpatam tenure.¹¹⁸

Land prices in Malabar were very low as compared with the land price in Travancore.¹¹⁹ The price of an acre of land in Travancore was enough to buy

¹¹⁵ Prakash Karat, "Agrarian Relations in Malabar, 1925-1948," *Social Scientist*, December, 1973, p.41.

¹¹⁶ The total land area suitable for cultivation but uncultivated in Malabar district was 10,37, 648 acres in 1925-26 and in Kasargod Taluk, 1,77,391 acres. See. K.N. Krishnaswamy Aiyer, *Statistical Appendix to Malabar District Manual and Statistical Appendix to the District Manual of South Canara* (Superintendent Govt. Press, Madras, 1938)

¹¹⁷ Malabar Special Commission, 1881-82 *Malabar Land Tenures* (Madras 1882), (Report by William Logan) vol.2, Appendix I, Chapter I, Also in Ferroli, G. *The Jesuits in Malabar*, (Bangalore, 1939), Vol. II Pp.25-30. And in K.K.N. Kurup, "Significance of the Studies Based on the archival collections in the Mission House in Basal with special reference to Kerala" in *Journal of Kerala studies*, vol.V. part II, IV, (Trivandrum, 1978).

¹¹⁸ *Report of Malabar Tenancy Committee-1927-28*, vol.II.

¹¹⁹ Thomas W. Shea Jr. "Barriers to Economic Development in Traditional Societies, Malabar, A Case Study", *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XIX No.4, December, 1959, p.522.

Also in Shea, W. Thomas, Jr. *The Land Tenure Structure of Malabar and its Influence in Capital Formation in Agriculture*, Ph.D. Thesis, Microfilm, (London, 1959) and Siva Swamy, K.G., Shastri, T.S and others: *The Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles*- (Coimbatore, 1945), Pp.1-4. And in T.C. Varghese, *Agrarian Change and Economic Consequences: Land Tenures in Kerala 1850-1960*, (Bombay, 1970) Pp.205-215.

almost a hundred acres of land in Malabar. For instance, while an acre of land in Meenachil Taluk could fetch about Rs. 350/- to Rs. 400/-, land could be bought in Malabar at the rate of Rs. 2/- or Rs. 4/- per acre.¹²⁰ This proved a great incentive to the Christian community in Travancore which had been confronted with the problems of excessive fragmentation of their parental holdings. The low price of land in Malabar and increasing tendency of cultivation of commercial crops, coupled with the aforesaid situations in Travancore, helped the migration of small peasants to Malabar.

In Malabar the ownerships of waste lands and forest lands was also vested with the Jenmies, where as it was under the ownership of the Sirkar (government) Travancore. Even though Malabar as a region contained plenty of cultivable waste lands, farmers of that region did not some how have, either the will or the ability to move to the uncultivated areas to reclaim them. On the other hand, peasant farmers from Travancore migrated with enthusiasm to the jungle lands of Malabar situated at a distance of about 300-500 kilometres from their native villages.

Many social non-conformists or people who were marginal to their own communities in Travancore also joined the migration bandwagon. People with

¹²⁰ Land Prices in certain centres of Malabar were as follows when migration was in its infancy: 1925-Rs. 4 per acre; 1931-Rs. 10, 1945-Rs. 10 and 1947-Rs. 35. See P.K.G. Panikar, T.N. Krishnan, N. Krishnaji etc., *Population Growth and Agricultural Development-A Case study of Kerala* (Rome, F.A.O, 1978) P.84.

criminal backgrounds and others who were bankrupt or were dishonoured in their home villages were among the migrants to Malabar. Family feuds and disharmony within the families and with neighbours further helped the cause of migration from Travancore. All these factors combined to cause a mass movement of tremendous magnitude made migration to Malabar a major event of modern Indian history.¹²¹

Migration to Malabar turned out to be a mass movement, as migration of half a million people took place without any design, organisation or leadership. And this makes it unique in the annals of migration. A number of families left their parental villages in Travancore for reasons of their own and settled in the mountainous parts of Malabar. The majority of these settlers were small farmers, who went on to make Malabar their permanent abode.

¹²¹ One Chacko from Travancore was arrested by Nadakavu Police (Calicut) in connection with a criminal case in Travancore. He was staying in an orphanage for the last few days. See- *Mathrubhumi Daily*, June 21, 1938, p.8.

PART – II COURSE OF MIGRATION

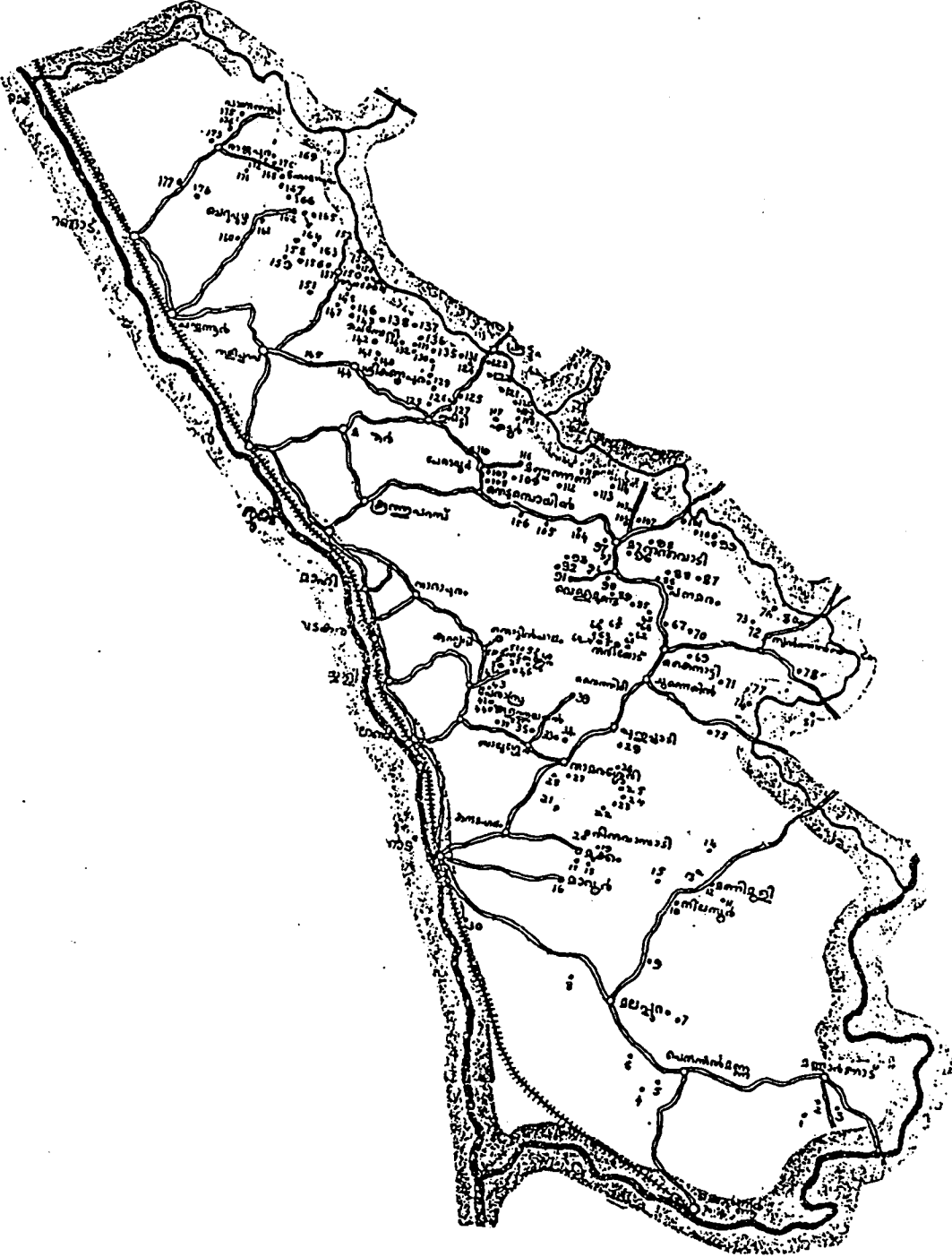
Migration of the farming population from Travancore to Malabar began in the late 1920s. Malabar being a part of Madras Presidency of British India, was almost like a 'foreign country' for the people who migrated to it from the princely state of Travancore. Travancore and Malabar were separated by Cochin, another princely state. A trip to Malabar from Travancore in those days was a difficult one, owing to lack of transport and communication facilities. The coastal railway line, from Cochin to Mangalore, through Calicut, Mahe and Tellicherry, was the only means of transportation available to the early migrants. And trekking into the interiors from the coastal towns of Malabar formed a glittering chapter of determination, sacrifice, bravery and enterprise.

Early batch of pioneering migrants, or more correctly entrants into Malabar were farmers who came mainly from the middle and lower stratas of the farming communities of Travancore. A significant majority of these early migrants came from the taluks of Meenachil, Thodupuzha and Muvattupuzha, in the foot hills of the high ranges. Most of the migrants were Catholics, belonging to various denominations.

Major Centres of Outmigration in Travancore



Major Centres of Immigration in Malabar



MAJOR CENTRES OF MIGRATION

- | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Karakurssi | 52. Pasukkedava | 103. Thrissileri | 154. Parappa |
| 2. Pottasseri | 53. Cheppanthottam | 104. Thavinchal | 155. Vijayagiri |
| 3. Palakkayam | 54. Poothambara | 105. Poroor | 156. Sreepuram |
| 4. Pathirikkode | 55. Karingadvu | 106. Periyar | 157. Merigiri |
| 5. Mariyapuram | 56. Chathangottunada | 107. Undayangadi | 158. Vimalasseri |
| 6. Malaparamb | 57. Vilangad | 108. Peravoor | 159. Perumbadavu |
| 7. Nenmeni | 58. Valayam | 109. Nedumpuramchal | 160. Christnagar |
| 8. Urakam | 59. Thariyode | 110. Kolakkad | 161. Aravinchal |
| 9. Manjeri | 60. Mangalam | 111. Perumunna | 162. Cherupuzha |
| 10. Nilamboor | 61. Chennalod | 112. Kanichiyar | 163. Pulingom |
| 11. Palankara | 62. Manchura | 113. Chunakunnu | 164. Thirumeni |
| 12. Manimooli | 63. Kottathara | 114. Kottiyoor | 165. Kozhichal Sebi |
| 13. Thalanhi | 64. Karumbala | 115. Ambaithode | 166. Kozhichal |
| 14. Pathirippadam | 65. Kurumami | 116. Adakkathode | 167. Palavayal |
| 15. Thottumukkam | 66. Chundakkara | 117. Odenthode | 168. Kadumani |
| 16. Mavoor | 67. Paralikkunnu | 118. Nasarthkunnu | 169. Thommapuram |
| 17. Thekkumkutti | 68. Kaniyambara | 119. Keezhapalli | 170. Malom |
| 18. Puspagiri | 69. Theneri | 120. Mangode | 171. Bheemanady |
| 19. Koodaranhi | 70. Kolavayal | 121. Karikoottakkeri | 172. Vellarikundu |
| 20. Thirvambadi | 71. Vazhavatta | 122. Angadikadav | 173. Valal |
| 21. Venappara | 72. Sulthanbathery | 123. Charal | 174. Kottodi |
| 22. Vilakkanthode | 73. Valavayal | 124. Kacherikadav | 175. Meripuram |
| 23. Pullurambara | 74. Ambalavayal | 125. Peratta | 176. Manadukam |
| 24. Anikkamboil | 75. Rippan | 126. Kilayanthara | 177. Ennappara |
| 25. Manhuveyil | 76. Vadakkanad | 127. Kunnoth | 178. Kanhiradukkam |
| 26. Kodancheri | 77. Chulliyod | 128. Madathil | 179. Kuttarappara |
| 27. Erood | 78. Pazhoor | 129. Nellikampoyil | 180. Pathavu |
| 28. Koodathai | 79. Kalpra | 130. Arabi | 181. Sungathukatta |
| 29. Kannothe | 80. Kallumuk | 131. Puravayal | 182. Ulippu |
| 30. Kadalundi | 81. Erumad | 132. Mattara | 183. Sheeradi |
| 31. Amalapuri | 82. Chitagiri | 133. Manikkadav | 184. Nellyyadi |
| 32. Thorayi | 83. Bekki | 134. Manippara | 185. Dharmasthalam |
| 33. Kattippara | 84. Vadavayal | 135. Parsakari | 186. Kalancha |
| 34. Chamal | 85. Vilambukandam | 136. Chandankkampera | 187. Thottathadi |
| 35. Thalad | 86. Cherukattoor | 137. Pottamplav | 188. Gandibag |
| 36. Kattullamala | 87. Nadawayal | 138. Kudiyanmala | 189. Narasimharajapuram |
| 37. Pathippara | 88. Kalluvayal | 139. Pulikkurumba | 190. Jadikkal |
| 38. Kallanode | 89. Kellur | 140. Nellikutti | 191. Thalasseri |
| 39. Kakkayam | 90. Kommayad | 141. Chandaparambu | |
| 40. Koorachundu | 91. Vellamunda | 142. Vembuva | |
| 41. Vayalida | 92. Kerom | 143. Chemperi | |
| 42. Kulathuvayal | 93. Ozhukkummoola | 144. Chembanthotti | |
| 43. Chakkittippara | 94. Kallodi | 145. Kottoor | |
| 44. Karikandapara | 95. Thonichal | 146. Neduvaloor | |
| 45. Kannadipara | 96. St. Thomas mount | 147. Vilakkannur | |
| 46. Peruvannamuzhi | 97. Mananthavadi | 148. Vayattuparambu | |
| 47. Padathukadav | 98. Payyamballi | 149. Velladu | |
| 48. Chembanode | 99. Marakkavu | 150. Pathanpara | |
| 49. Poozhithode | 100. Pulpalli | 151. Alakkode | |
| 50. Maruthongara | 101. Marakkadav | 152. Thadikkadavu | |
| 51. Kunduthode | 102. Kattikulam | 153. Udayagiri | |

The pattern of Migration

The process of early migrations seem to have followed a common pattern. First an investigatory trip was undertaken by one or two persons. These trips were naturally restricted to those areas where Christian mission stations or churches had already been established by the Catholic Diocese of Calicut.¹²² Once the land suitable for cultivation was located, the investigators returned to their villages in Travancore. Generally after the Sunday mass, word spread in the local churchyard about the availability of land in Malabar.¹²³ This usually resulted in the addition of few more fresh recruits to join the hazardous trip to Malabar. Once the team had become sufficiently strong and once enough capital had been raised, often through sale of property, a new trip was undertaken. Usually, during this second trip, land was purchased in Malabar. Land was acquired mostly from devaswoms and big land owners (Jenmis) of Malabar.¹²⁴ The common mode of transaction was through 'Vakkal Charthu' or verbal agreement. The common verbal land transactions between migrants and local land owners or their agents were Odacharthu, Kutticharthu, Kalicharthu, Vakkal Charthu, Choondippanayam, Varam and pattam

¹²² 'Golden Steps and Silver Lines' *Triple Jubilee Souvenir* (Diocese of Calicut, 1973) pp.1-5.

¹²³ Thomas Pazhaparambil, *'Swapna Bhoomiyil* (Malayalam), (Muvattupuzha, 1978), pp.1-20.

¹²⁴ Sivaswamy K.G. and Others, *The Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles*, (Coimbatore, 1945), p.1.

deeds to cut and collect bamboo, and trees, to use the land to pasture cattles, or to cultivate and for rent ie, for 'Pathil Randu' (2/10) Pattam (rent).

In the absence of clear land documents all the land transactions were on the basis of mutual understanding.¹²⁵

The common pattern of marginal and poor settlers in Malabar was that they purchased the land by giving a nominal amount to the 'Karyasthan' or agent of the landlord. Most of the land will be elambakadukal – forest clearings. The usual way of measurement of the land was 'Kolalavu or Kambalavu'.¹²⁶

The total number of sales of land between 1943 – 1969 of Valliyookavu Devaswom, at Mananthavady was 113, including the sale to local Nairs, Nambiaris and settlers.

In Mananthavady region the usual rate of price of land was Rs.40/-. Whereas in Nadavayal, Pulpally and other interior parts it was between Rs. 2/- to

¹²⁵ Joseph Punchethare, 'Naduthedi Nadin Kanavum Kanivum thedi,' (Malayalam), in *Souvenir of St. Joseph's Church, Vayattuparamba (Vayattuparamba, 1986)*. p.50.

¹²⁶ Elambakadu means Semi forest land – the forest, after cutting all the big trees and the land with small trees, four or five years after punam cultivation by Adivasis. Kambalavu or Kolalavu means surveying the land by using long bamboo instead of chain survey. In the case of rich or capitalist migrants who were ready to purchase thousands of acres of land, the boundary would be hills and rivers. Many poor settlers directly settled in the land after giving tributes to the agents, not only in cash but also in the form of illicit liquor and meat. Later on by giving money to revenue officials they would make proper land documents. For details of conditions in land sale of the migrant see document No.1097/1945, 504/1948, 560/1950, 434/1942, 2097/1943 of Subregistrar office, Mananthavady.

Rs.15/-. The land price in Mananthavady was high mainly because this place had more facilities like a government hospital, Christian church, private medical practitioners etc. Apart from usual land tax the settlers were to give one Kutti (bottle) gingelly oil to the Valliyurkavu temple at the time of the temple festival (Valliyookavulsavam).¹²⁷

After the purchase of land in Malabar, either the whole team or some of them returned to Travancore, to bring their wives and children to settle down for good in Malabar. Between the initial investigatory trip and the final settling down, a year or two used to pass. The areas where the Travancorean farmers settled initially were Kuttiyadi, Peravoor and Kolayad near Tellicherry, Mannarkad in Palaghat District, Bandadukka, Thomapuram, Rajapuram in Kasargod District, Thamarasseri, Kulathuvayal and Thiruvambadi in Calicut District, Mananthavady and Pulpally in the present Wayanad District.¹²⁸ Gradually the immigrants moved into all parts of Malabar, and in their search for more land and further avenues for investment, some of them even crossed into areas like Coorg, Gudallur and the border areas of erstwhile Mysore State.

¹²⁷ See, Valliyookavu Devaswom Thirettukanakku Pusthakam from 1943 to 1969 (Malayalam).

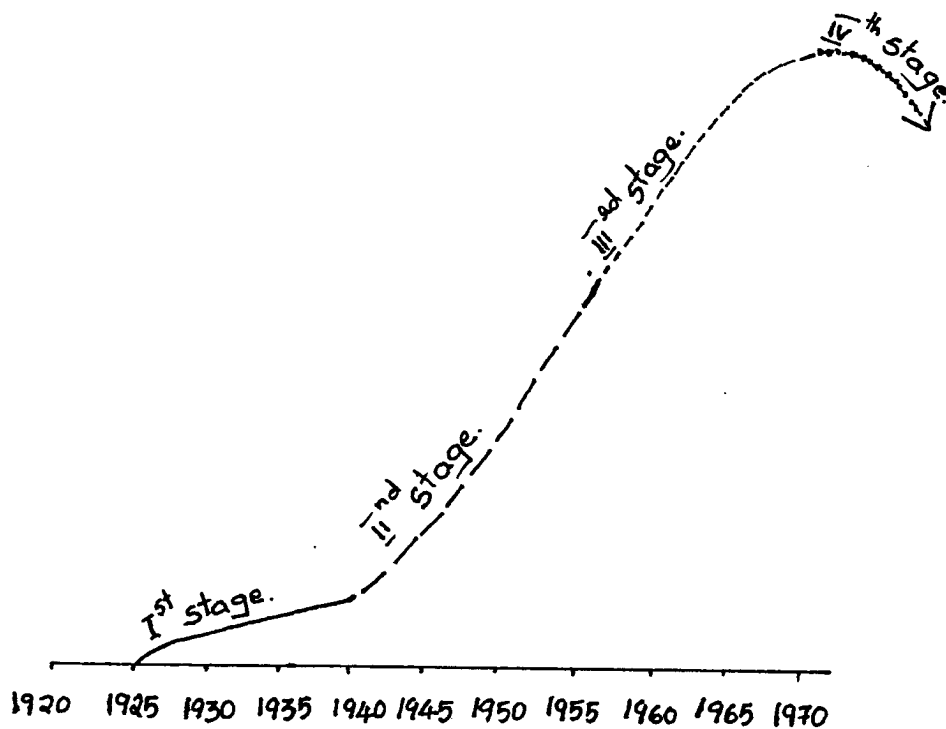
¹²⁸ Interview with Rt. Rev. George Valiyamattam, Arch Bishop, Tellicherry, dt. 11.10.2001.

The Dimensions of Migration

The dimensions of this great mass-exodus has been classified mainly into four stages i.e., from 1925 – 1940, 1940 – 1955, 1955 – 65, 1965 – 70. The first stage of migration from 1926 – 1940 was very slow. There was a remarkable increase in migration in the second stage from 1940 – 1955, and the third stage from 1955 – 65 marked the peak time of migration, then it became stagnant because of the lack of cultivable land.

Fig. 2.1

Different stages of migration



Individual farmers from different villages of Travancore started moving into various parts of Malabar from early 1920 onwards.¹²⁹ Some of the capitalist farmers attracted by the availability of land in Malabar at low prices, acquired extensive areas for opening plantations. One of the earliest migrants was induced to visit Malabar and gather information through his connection as a relation of a capitalist farmer, who was running an estate on lease in Palaghat Taluk of Malabar in 1924.¹³⁰

The three midland taluks of Travancore, Meenachil, Moovattupuzha and Thodupuzha were the major source of emigration, mainly because these taluks had large Christian populations by the beginning of the present century.¹³¹ The following Table shows the number of Christians in the concerned taluks during the period, 1901 -1921.

¹²⁹ *Census of India* – Census Hand books of Coorg and South Canara Districts.

¹³⁰ *Report of the Travancore Banking Enquiry Committee – 1930*, p.24. also Interview with Chacko Karippaparambil, Kanhirappalli, dtd. 23.5.1990.

¹³¹ P.K. Michael Tharakan, *Intra-regional Differences in Agrarian Systems and Internal Migration : A Case Study of the Migration of Farmers From Travancore to Malabar, 1930-'50*, Working paper No.194, CDS, (Trivandrum, 1984).

TABLE 2.23
Statement Showing Total Population and
Christian Population in the taluks of Meenachil, Muvattupuzha and
Thodupuzha in the year 1901, 1911 and 1921(*)

Taluk	Total population in thousands			Christian population in thousands and percentage of the total population		
	1901	1911	1921	1901	1911	1921
Meenachil	70.7	78.9	160.2	38.8 (54.98)	47.2 (59.88)	95.4 (59.68)
Thodupuzha	32.6	38.5	57.3	10.9 (33.4%)	14.8 (38.43)	25.6 (44.7%)
Muvattupuzha	127.7	133.4	137.5	55.3 (43.3%)	64.0 (48.0%)	65.7 (47.8%)

The dimensions of the migration to Malabar can be computed on the basis of two indicators. 1. The increase in the population of Syrian Catholics or Christians in Malabar, 2. Increase in the number of people born in Travancore and enumerated in Malabar in successive census during the period under study.

The Christian population in Malabar, which stood at around 54,000 out of a district total of over 3 million in 1921, increased to around 1,54,000 in a district total of around 47,50,000 in 1951. The Syrian Christian population in Malabar increased from over 21,000 in 1921 to slightly over 23,000 in 1931 (Census upto 1931 give separate figures for Syrian Christians).¹³²

¹³² P.K. Michael Tharakan, *Migration of Farmers from Travancore to Malabar, from 1930 to 1960: An Analysis of its Economic Causes*, Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, Centre for Development Studies (Trivandrum, 1977), p.10.

TABLE 2.24

Statement showing increase in Christian population in Malabar, 1901 – 1951

Year	Total population in thousands	Christian population in thousands and as percentage of total population		Syrian Christian population in thousands and as percentage of Christian population	
		Thousands	Percentage	Thousands	Percentage
1901	2795.7	51.5	(1.84%)	N.A.	N.A.
1911	3015.1	53.0	(1.76%)	21.0	(39.62%)
1921	3098.9	54.7	(1.76%)	21.8	(39.85%)
1931	3533.9	65.9	(1.86%)	23.7	(35.96%)
1941	3929.4	77.9	(1.98%)	N.A.	N.A.
1951	4758.3	154.0	(3.24%)	N.A.	

*Figures in bracket show percentages.

(Census of India, Madras, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941, and 1951. An abstract from Michael Tharakan, P.K. *Ibid.* n.5. p.11).

The above table indicates the sharp increase – both in absolute terms as well as percentage of the total population – in Christian population of Malabar between 1941 and 1951. During that period the percentage of increase in the total population of Malabar was 21.09 percent, while the increase of Christian population in the period between 1941 and 1951 was 97.69 per cent. It shows that the peak period of migration of farmers to Malabar was between 1941-1951.¹³³

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp.11-12.

The following table illustrates the increase of Christian population in Malabar. ¹³⁴

TABLE 2.25
Increase in Syrian Christian population in Malabar

Year	Number of Syrian Christians
1925	8,500
1929	9,881
1941	14,436
1948	38,404

The proportionate increase should owe to the large scale migration of Christians to Malabar, as there are no evidences about large scale conversions during this period. ¹³⁵

¹³⁴ In 1953 total Christian population in Malabar was 74000 including Catholics of Syro-Malabar Rite under the Latin Bishop of Calicut. The Catholics of Latin rite at that time in Malabar were only 17000. For details see Catholic Directory, 1949 and Rev. Sebastian Velloppalli in *Syro-Malabar Catholic Mission Inauguration of the Mar Toma Shleeha Church* at Bellwood, Illinois, U.S.A.

¹³⁵ Joseph V. Kallidukkil, *Kerala Suriyani Reethum Malabar Kudiyettavum (1949)* (Mal.), (Tellicherry, 1983), p.12.

TABLE 2.26
Statement Showing the Growth of Population in Taluks of Malabar,
1941-1951
 (Figures in Thousands)

Taluks	Population		Percentage of increase
	1941	1951	
Kozhikode	406.9	516.4	26.9
Chirakkal	445.4	534.9	20.9
Eranad	515.9	614.3	19.1
Kottayam	297.8	369.6	24.1
Kurumbranad	443.0	554.1	24.2
Palghat	495.6	585.7	18.2
Ponnani	636.9	793.8	15.6
Valluvanad	487.1	573.5	17.7
Wayanad	106.3	169.3	59.2
Malabar District	3929.4	4758.3	21.1

Census Handbook 1951: Malabar District, Growth of population II (a) (i), p.5.
 (Abstract from Michael Tharakan, P.K. Op.cit.)

The increase of population in Wayanad taluk in Malabar between the years of 1941-1951 is explained in the census itself. And this was mainly due to the Government colonization scheme for Ex-servicemen, migration from Travancore etc. Under the colonization scheme of the Government about 2850 persons were settled in Wayanad.¹³⁶ Even after deducting these figures, the decennial increase of

¹³⁶ *Census Handbook, 1951: Malabar District, p.5.*

population was about 60,000 which may be attributed to the migration of farmers from Travancore. As in the case of Wayanad, the increase in population in Kozhikode, and Kottayam taluks also could be attributed to the inflow of migrants from Travancore.

This point is further established by the following table, which provides the census figures of persons born in Travancore and enumerated in Malabar during 1901-1951 period.

TABLE 2.27
Statement showing the number of persons born in Travancore and enumerated as such in Malabar in successive Censuses, 1901-1951

Year	Number of persons
1901	3,049
1911	2,611
1921	2,030
1931	3,328
1941	N.A
1951	88,275

Census of India : Madras, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951.

The significance of the year 1951 is that, in this year Travancore was joined with the State of Cochin to form the composite State of Travancore – Cochin. But from the region of Cochin there was little migration as compared with that from Travancore. Therefore the 1951 figure should be fairly representative of the dimensions of migration from Travancore to Malabar.

Beginning of Migration

In 1926 Karippaparambil Jacob Thomas (Chakochoan) and Maliackel Thomas Joseph from Kanhirappalli bought 3000 acres of land on lease for 99 years agreeing to pay @ 50 paise per acre as rent (pattam). The land was near Mannarkad. Mannarkad Moopil Nair, the jenmi of the land also gave 300 acres as a gift to Jacob Thomas.

In the same year (1926) Aimanum Ouseph and his family migrated and settled at Moonnamkai, near Thottilpalam (Kuttiyadi). The year 1928 witnessed the beginning of a few more migrant settlements – Alakode, Peravoor, Vayattaparamba, Kolayad etc. The history of Travancorean settlements began in Kulathuvayal (1930) Mananthavady (1930), Edoor (1941), Thiruvambadi, (1942), Kodanchery (1944), Chemperi (1943), Rajapuram (1943), Thomapuram (1945).¹³⁷

Migration to Malabar was a very slow process because of the negative factors in Malabar. By 1939 about 212 families settled in 9 different areas in Malabar. Out of this 212, about 42 families returned to their native places.¹³⁸

There was no transport system and the settlers had to undergo numerous

¹³⁷ For more details about the Migration History see more than a hundred souvenirs published in connection with the jubilee of churches and schools in Malabar. List of souvenirs attached with bibliography section of this work. For details of early migrant centres, year of first migration and names of early migrants see Appendix – I.

¹³⁸ Joseph Kuravilangad, *Konippadikal* (Mal.), (Calicut, 1991) pp.5-15.

hardships, such as attack from wild animals, malaria, cholera and various other epidemics. These hostile conditions slowed down the migratory process of settlers from Travancore.

The wave of third generation migration from Malabar to Karnataka began in the 1990's. This time too, it was the need for more cultivable land at cheaper rates that had prompted the farmers to move to Karnataka.

The land price in Karnataka was varied from Rs.1000/- to Rs.10,000/- per acre based on the facilities. But in Kuttiyadi, Thiruvambady area, price of one acre of land was 8 – 10 lakhs during 1990 – 1995 period.¹³⁹

While the educated children of Christian settlers in Malabar prefer to settle down in town for their employment or business purposes, those not well educated and having no salaried job continue to toil on land. Once land owned by them becomes less fertile or when they require more land for cultivation they move to other places where land is abundant and available at cheap prices. Hence the migration to Karnataka..

Several Roman Catholic churches in towns like Calicut, Badagara,

¹³⁹ The difference in the land price in Malabar and Karnataka was an attraction. The additional attraction was that, in Karnataka the cultivators will get 10 acres of government land freely only for cultivation. There will be no documents for this land assignments. A number of peasants migrated to Shimoga, South Canara region from Malabar settlement areas. For instance, Karinad Wilson, George Kochuparambil from Kodanchery, Chettikkel Baby from Koorachundu, Ettiyl Scaria from Kallanode etc. migrated to Karnataka. See *Malayala Manorama Daily*, dt. 4.4. 1993.

Tellicherry, Kannur, Thaliparamba, Payyanur, Kanhangad, Padannakad and Kasargod indicates the presence of a large number of members of the migrant families in these towns for education, employment and business purposes.¹⁴⁰

At the same time land purchased by the migrants were resold for more profit. Cholakkandathil Mani bought 1500 acre land near Kuttiyadi and later re-sold in small plots. In this sale he got a huge profit. The practice of purchasing of large areas in Malabar and splitting it into small units for selling among the ordinary peasants by rich and influential people in one way attracted more people to Malabar.¹⁴¹

In these settlements of Malabar, every Sunday after mass, earlier settlers used to meet the newcomers and offered all possible help to purchase land, obtain seeds and seedling for cultivation.¹⁴²

The uprooted

There was a saying in Travancore that 'joining the army, death by hanging and migrating to Malabar make no difference'. This, of course, made the difference in the early stages of migration. Even after they had been reduced to abject poverty

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Rev. Geo Payyappalli, Eranhippalam, Calicut, 15.1.2002.

¹⁴¹ In the recent migration to Goa and Orissa for agricultural purpose we can trace the same elements of profit motivated role of capitalist farmers.

¹⁴² At Alakode, Mr. Mani Kalappura, an early migrant helped other migrants. Once he went back to Thodupuzha (his native place) with big banana, tapioca, yarm and vegetables cultivated by him to show his achievements in Malabar and also to attract more people to Malabar, Interview with Cheriyaikutty Kalappura, Ottathai, 11.10.1985.

owing to the I and II World Wars and pressure on cultivable land, many a farmer legislated to Malabar as he was really afraid of the consequences. Lack of transportation facility also slowed down the migration process.

But Man cannot forgo his needs. He will strive for it even if he was to risk his life. So the Travancoreans finally had to make a move to Malabar, though not willingly.

The journey from Travancore to Malabar was a painstaking one.¹⁴³ It started by bus or boat to either Kottayam or Ernakulam or Alwaye Railway Station. From there to Shornur, then from Shornur to Malabar – Calicut, Tellicherry, Baliyapattam, Cannanore, Payyannur, Nileshtar, Kanhangad, Railway Stations¹⁴⁴. All the while on their way they were destined to face hardships due to

¹⁴³ To migrate to Malabar created a sense of sadness, separation from friends and relatives is an agonizing affair. As the family members were not sure whether they would meet the migrants again, they bid their kith and kin adieu with a broken heart. To those at home Malabar was venomous maiden and they had a feeling that their dear and near marching towards the valley of death.

¹⁴⁴ There was no single train to Malabar. The first phase of the journey was from Travancore to Shornur, then they had to wait one day for a train to Malabar. This train journey also was a very difficult one. Migrants with the entire family and their bag and baggage had to travel without reservation. Ashes and smoke of the coal train bugs, cockroaches added to their woes. The train was a veritable hell. At Calicut migrants stayed at Cornation Hotel near Calicut railway station and Kerala Hotel near Tellichery railway station. They had to wait two or three days at Calicut to catch a bus to Wynad or Thamaraserry side. The only bus to Wynad was operated C.W.M.S (Calicut Wynad Motor Service). The buses first used coal and later oil as fuel. There were ticket brokers and black marketing of tickets for this bus was common. Interview with K.M. Philip Master, Manathavady, dated, 21.11.2002.

misinformation, blunders, cheatings exposure to the elements, assaults by humans and by beasts.

On the whole, the mere existence is ever precarious. The emigrant must find shelter, where he may, try to subsist on what he brings with him and take extra care to keep the cash safe. If he fails he has no resource but to live on the land not as a conqueror who takes what he needs, but as a supplicant who works hard for his daily bread.

It was difficult to cross the state boundaries because of various factors. One was border regulations. It became difficult to secure the right of transit through intermediate states. There were check posts for identity examinations to discover whether taxes had been paid. At every border station comes the risk of being stranded in a strange place, of separation from family and of disastrous interruption in the journey.¹⁴⁵

During 1940's and 1950's, the movement of group of families towards Malabar hillocks was a common scene at Shornur Railway Station. From these railway stations they used buses or boats to arrive at the near by towns. From

¹⁴⁵ Thus uprooted, they found themselves in a prolonged state of crisis – crisis in the sense that they remained unsettled, few weeks and often for months, they were in a state of suspense between the old and the new. Also see Joseph Punchathara Souvenir of St. Joseph, Church, Vayattuparamba, 1986, pp.III, IX. also Interview with K.M. Mathew, Taliparamba, 11.10.1984.

there they reached their settlements through the forest on foot. This was the common nature of the journey from Travancore to Malabar.¹⁴⁶

Early Migrations

In 1928, the well known Dr. P.J. Thomas of Kuravilangad acquired 12,000 acres of land from Vellade Devaswom.¹⁴⁷ He was not keen to develop the land. By the next few years he sold out portions of his property to aspirant migrants from Travancore, particularly from his own village of Kuravilangad. Also, a large portion of the land purchased by him could not be occupied owing to legal disputes. However, several farmers from Travancore like Thavarolikkal Sebastian and Elakkattuparambil Paulose, bought land from Dr. Thomas in 1926, and settled down in Vayattuparamba and Karuvanchal near Alacode in the present Cannanore district.¹⁴⁸

In 1927, another big farmer from Travancore Kochepatharakan of Polachirayil in Mavelikkara, bought 1,500 acres of land from Koothali landlord

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ A.C. Chacko, *Alakodinte Katha Adhava North Malabar Kudiyettavum Vikasanavum (Mal.)*. (Taliparamba, 1993) pp.3-20. Also see *Vayattuparamba St. Joseph's Church Souvenir* (Vayattuparamba, 1986), pp.49-55.

¹⁴⁸ St. Sebastian Church, Vellade Souvenir (Vellade, 1984) pp.15-25. Besides these persons Vellaparambil Emmanuel, Pallithara Lukose, Pullati George, Mannankarti Thomas, Purayidathil Pappan, Dr. P.A. Mathew and Porunganal Joseph also settled down in this area around 1928 – 1930.

family.¹⁴⁹ He made an unsuccessful attempt to plant rubber in Changoram and left Malabar forever. In 1926 Thomas Karippapparambil and his relatives from Kanjirappally bought 3,000 acres of land for around Rs.12,000/- at Mannarghat in the present Palghat district.¹⁵⁰

Kuttiyadi area was one of the earliest settlements of Travancorean migrants. Kocheepa Tharakan's arrival in 1927 is already mentioned. Between 1927 and 1930 a batch of small farmers arrived there.¹⁵¹ This group had to go through an intense struggle to survive against malaria and other hazards of settlements in Malabar. They were again joined by other families from Travancore. They acquired lands in Kuttiadi during 1929 – '30 and settled down there. They got around 400 acres of land from Moyarath Narayanan, Chief Supervisor of Kottiyoor Devaswom, paying a price of Rs.2/- per acre.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Rev. Abraham Thomippara, Thomas, C.D., Thomas Kattakkayam in Sacerdotal Silver Jubilee Souvenir of Rt. Rev. Sebastian Valloppilly, *Op.cit.*, no.33.

¹⁵⁰ Interview with K.P. Mathew Kudakkachira, Kaniyaram (Mananthavady), dtd. 9.9.1987 and Jose Grace, Journalist, Kannur, 11.3.2002.

They were followed by K.P. Mathew Kudakkachira, Mathachan Kattakkayam and Mathayi Cheriyan Kudakkachira, who acquired land in Kolayad in 1929. Kolayad had a Christian church at least as early as 1923. This was an added attraction of Kolayad for the Christian migrants from Travancore. Around this time Itti Vakkil from Pulinkunnu in Kuttanad, started tapioca and papaya cultivation in Kolayad.

¹⁵¹ Dr. C. Jose (edit), *Kudiyettacharithravum Thamarasseri Mekhalayum (Mal.)* (Thiruvambadi, 1998), pp.35-65. Also see *St. Joseph's Church Chempanoda*, Golden Jubilee Souvenir (Chempanoda, 1999), pp.33-69.

¹⁵² Interview with P.R. Ramavarma Raja, Alakode, dated, 23.3.1985.

Migrations during 1930-'40

The history of Travancorean settlements in Wynad began with Devasia and Mathew Kudakkachira occupying land in Payyampalli near Manathavadi. Between 1930 and 1938, they were joined by a significant number of families from Travancore. The influx of migrants in this period opened up in near by areas like Plakuzhikunnu, Thavinjal and Poyur. Other areas to be settled soon after that or during the same time, were Nadavayal, Vazhavatta, Theneri and the hills around Sultan's Battery.¹⁵³

As early as 1928, seven families – Kudakkachira, Vattamattam, Mankappadi, Ozhukoyil, Thottattil, Mudappanthode and Palakatukunnel from Meenachil, had settled in Peravur to make it one of the earliest settlement of Travancorean migrants. These families initially acquired lands on the banks of Kanjirapuzha from Kottiyoor Devaswom and Kottayam Raja. In the 1930s more migrant families, attracted by the success of the early settlers, moved into Peravoor to make it a full-fledged settlement.¹⁵⁴

In Kulathuvayal, out of the ten families believed to have settled in 1933 – 1934, returned to Travancore and three moved on to Peravoor. In 1934, there were enough settlers in that area, and this warranted the visit of Rev. P.R. Fernandes of

¹⁵³ Rev. George Kuzhikkachalil, in *Souvenir of the Sacerdotal Silver Jubilee of Rt. Rev. Dr. Sebastian Valloppilly*, Bishop of Tellicherry, (Tellicherry, 1970), p.185.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.253.

the Calicut Diocese in order to administer spiritual services. In 1937, Sir Mathur Cheriyan came and settled in Mukkallil, and he was joined by six farmers and their families in 1938 and by another six in 1939.¹⁵⁵

Kuttiyadi received more emigrants in the 1930s. One attraction of Kuttiyadi was the land left behind by Kocheeppa Tharakan, the pioneer settler. Some of them like Purayidathil Thomas and Pattal Joseph are known to have bought the land left behind by Tharakan at Padathukadavu. The most significant flow of migrants to this areas was during 1936 – 1937.¹⁵⁶

During 1930-1940, Malabar was dotted with the settlements of Travancore migrants at Kuttiyadi, Peravoor, Mananthavadi and nearby areas and Kulathuvayal. Another small colony, Kanichiyar, also started developing in this period. In fact, by 1936 they had their own make-shift churches.¹⁵⁷

Settlements since 1940

1940s marked the peak period of migration to Malabar. The three or four scattered settlements of 1930s got developed further and a large number of new settlements emerged during this period. There was a real mushrooming of settlements in the hillocks of Malabar in this decade. Hence, the subsequent

¹⁵⁵ T.D. Sebastian, Mathew Kattakkayam, in *Ibid.*, p.246.

¹⁵⁶ Rev. Abraham Thomippara, in *Ibid.*, p.164.

¹⁵⁷ Kuravilangad Joseph. *Konippadikal (Mal.)* (Calicut 1991), pp.394-420 and Interview with Dr. Thankan Panoose, Peravoor, dated, 15.11.2001.

course of migration is to be traced by relating it to the growth and development of individual colonies or settlements.

Migration to Kuttiyadi, an early settlement, received an added impetus in 1940. This was the year in which a few big farmers from Travancore came over to Kuttiyadi to invest in land. With the capital they had, they opened up vast areas for cultivation. This development in the area attracted more small farmers to Kuttiyadi¹⁵⁸. Maruthonkara, a settlement of this area also saw a new influx of migrants in 1940s. The numerical and subsequent financial strength of the settlers in this colony had reached such a stage that during 1946 – 1950, they could build a substantially big church and construct a new school building. The pattern of settlements starting with the establishment of a church which was common to all settlements of Travancorean migrants, was followed in Kunduthode, a nearby colony, which had a church in 1943. Puravayal started with five families in 1944, while Peruvannamuzhi had 30 families in 1941. The number went up with the arrival of twenty more families that settled in Peruvannamuzhi in 1943.

The early settlements in Kulathuvayal region, namely, Kulathuvayal, Koorachundu and Kallanode had 1,000 families in 1941 alone. By 1943, an area (15 miles long and 5 miles wide) in this region came to be filled up by migrants.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Rev. Joseph Taffrael, Tellicherry, dated 7.4.1985.

This area developed into such an important Christian centre that the Bishop of Calicut, Rev. Leo Proserpie, S.J., paid an official visit to it on 28th January, 1944.

Like Kuttiyadi, Wayanad area was also extensively explored by a new batch of migrants in the 1940s. Thariyode, in this area had its first settler in, Mundunadakkal Joseph who came in 1940. Joseph and others like Pulikkalath Thomas and Korandiyarkunnel Ulahannan, who had settled even before 1940 in a nearby place called Pozhnudi, were joined by eight families in Thariyode proper, in 1942. In the same year another four families came to settle in Kottathara and few other families in Kurumbala. Altogether there were around 33 families in this area by 1942. Thus the number of families increased to around 300 by 1950.¹⁵⁹ In this period colonies like Payyampalli, Thavinjal, Peli, Kallodi, Nadavayal and Konnayad developed into full-fledged settlements in the region. So also, Vazhavatta near Kakkavayal on the Calicut – Sultan's Battery road was opened up in 1946.

The Assumption colony had already been established by 1944. In 1944 itself, 46 families had settled there. These settlers were attracted by the newspaper advertisements of available land in these areas, published by the Diocese of Calicut.¹⁶⁰ The Diocese had acquired 1850 acres of land from Chembokathil C.D.

¹⁵⁹ Mar. Sebastian Valloppilly, *Daivam Nammodu kooode (Malayalam)* (Tellicherry, 1999), pp.164-185.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* pp.146-158. also see *Op.cit.*, no. 31, pp.38-50.

Mathew, an early migrant. Rev. Beretta S.J. was appointed as the first Director of this prospective colony, and he supervised the settlements of migrants who secured plots from the land holding settlers, and moved into forest areas near places like Thiruvambadi, Kodancheri, Mukkam, Puthuppadi and Koodaranji, from Assumption Colony. Thiruvambadi had settlers from 1942 onwards, but it was in 1947-'53 that a large in-flow came from the seven villages Palai, Punjar, Thidanad, Thodupuzha, Muvattupuzha, Ramapuram and Marangattupalli in Travancore. Settlement in Koodaranhi started with 48 families in 1947 and by 1949 there were 72 families and a school with 40 students. Increased migration raised land prices in the area and by 1947 – '49 price touched an unprecedented rate of Rs.35/- per acre. Thottumukkam a nearby area also had a significant inflow of migrants from 1945 onwards.¹⁶¹

Chemperi, 35 miles east of Cannanore town, was another settlement that developed in early 1940s. Five families settled in this area initially in 1943. From 1947 onwards the rate of incoming migrants increased and by the end of 1948, three full fledged settlements – Chemperi, Paisakiri and Chembanthotti – developed in this area. Paisakiri alone had an addition of 13 families in 1948.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Rev. Thomas Pazhaparambil, *Op.cit.*, Pp. 220-256.

¹⁶² Mathew Chalil, "Malabar Kudiyettavum Chemperiyum" (Mal.) in *Nirmala H.S. Souvenir Chemperi* (Chemperi, 1982), page number not marked. also see Dr. P.T. Varkey and M.C. Sebastian, "Kudiyetta Charithravalokanam" in *Lourde Forane Church Golden Jubilee Smaranika* (Mal.) Chemperi, pp.43-49.

It is estimated that the strongest inflow of migrants occurred during 1940's and 1950's. It is possible to trace the developments of around 50 settlements of Travancorean farmers in Malabar during this period. The main centres of settlements were Thiruvampadi, Koodaranhi, Kodancheri, Thamarasseri, Kulathuvayal, Maruthonkara, Koorachundu in the present Calicut district, Kanichar, Kottiyur, Kolakad, Aralam, Ayyankunnu, Ulickal, Chemperi, Naduvil, Velladu, Alakode, Cherupuzha and Sreekantapuram in the Cannanore district, Chittarickal, Panathadi, Rajapuram, Palavayal and Vellarikundu in the present Kasargode district.¹⁶³

Wayanad was also extensively opened up by a new batch of migrants in the 1940's. Thariyode, Mullankolli, Pulpally, Periya, Kenichira, Nadavayal and Vellamunda were developed into full-fledged settlement area during the period between 1940 and 1950's.¹⁶⁴

Malappuram and Palaghat districts were also opened up as new centres of migration. For example, Nilampur, Kalikavu, Karuvarakundu, Chungathara, Vazhikadavu and Chokkad in Malappuram district and Mannarghat, Kanjirampuzha and Attappadi in Palaghat district. Settlements were made at Edoor in Aralam area, in 1941, at Angadikadavu, in Ayyamkunnu area on the Coorg

¹⁶³ Thomas Pazhaparambil, *Op.cit.*, pp.44-48.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

border, in 1947, at Killiyanthara in 1947-'48. Meanwhile, Kunnoth which had settlements since 1942, put up its own school in 1945 and Church in 1946.¹⁶⁵

Nellikampoyil's settlement history started in 1939 when Joseph Neerackel from Kanjirappilly bought 140 acres of land here at Rs.2/- per acre. Two families joined him there in 1941, and two more families came in 1942. In 1943, when the total number of families in the colony reached 15, an elementary school was opened.¹⁶⁶

Manikadavu colony has the distinction of being a settlement of migrants from among the migrants. In 1949 nine families, who had earlier settled in Kallanode and Kakkayam, moved into this area.

Palavayal opened up in 1949 with three families. Later in the same year eight families came there from Athirapuzha near Kottayam and nine families from Meenachil. Vellarikundu colony started in 1946 with 24 families from Ayarkunnam. Cherupuzha with nine families, and Kozhichal near Cherupuzha in Cannanore district were opened up in 1948. Balal in Hozdurg taluk was opened up in 1943, when Mathew Meenatoor organized an agricultural company at Meenachil Taluk of Kottayam district and developed plantations extending over 1,000 acres. These families in 1948, and a few more during 1949-50, from the village of

¹⁶⁵ Kuravilangad Joseph, *Op.cit.*, Pp.395-440.

¹⁶⁶ *Golden Jubilee Souvenir of St. Sebastian's Church, Nellikampoyil*, (Nellikampoyil, 1998), pp.44-48.

Bharananganam near Palai moved in here. When the agricultural company of Meenachil was liquidated in 1949, the shareholders having shares worth Rs.500/- got 7 acres and 4 cents each. This resulted in a few more families arriving in the area during this period.

In February 1943, a group of 72 families from the Catholic Diocese of Kottayam migrated to Hozdurg under the patronage of Bishop Choolapparambil and the leadership of Prof. V.J. Joseph. They settled down as a colony in 2,000 acres of land in Panathadi. Later on this settlement developed into three different parishes of Rajapuram, Malakkal and Odayanchal.¹⁶⁷

Considering the better conditions prevailing in Malabar with regard to food, land and labour, some people from Kidangoor near Palai went a round to find out a suitable place in order to help some families to migrate to Malabar. Finally they procured a place in Chirakkal Taluk in north Malabar. The organizers of the colony meet the expenses of the colonization from their own pockets.

Pattern of Developments

On the whole, the 1940's witnessed a significant influx of migrants from Travancore to Malabar. This resulted in new settlements coming up and old settlements branching off further. This was the period in which the early settlers organized themselves and started creating necessary public facilities.

¹⁶⁷ K.K.N. Kurup, 'Christian Peasantry and Social Changes in the Highlands of Malabar, in John K.J. (ed.), *Christian Heritage of Kerala* (Cochin, 1971).

Migration into Malabar continued during 1950's and 1960's while new colonies were opened up independently as offshoots of earlier settlements, earlier colonies strengthened their population. Earlier settlements also developed new facilities in their areas.¹⁶⁸

Between 1950 and 1960 and in the early 1960's more settlements of Travancorean farmers emerged in Malabar. Nearly 30 new settlements emerged during this period while the earlier settlements grew in population. However migration to Malabar seems to have slackened since 1970's because of the shortage of unoccupied land.¹⁶⁹

Pattern of Cultivation

Immediately after the arrival in Malabar they first built a temporary shed as their residence. Then by January-February forest or semi forest (elambakadu) land would be cleared for cultivation. After the first rain in the month of April they sowed the paddy seeds.¹⁷⁰ Along with the paddy seeds, seeds of pigeon pea, Bajara and certain other cereals and millets also would be sowed, as mixed crops. In

¹⁶⁸ Interview with Annama Verananickel, Ottathai (Alakode), dated 8.10.1990 and Dr. Thomas Verananickel dated 8.10.1990.

¹⁶⁹ Interview with K.J. Baby (Social activist and writer, Kanavu, Nadavayal) Nadavayal, dated, 3.11.2001.

¹⁷⁰ The clearing of forest and sowing of seeds (Vithu vithakkal in Malayalam) will be a collective work of the migrants and local tribes, accompanied by folk songs- 'Vithapatt'. Forest cleared land for cultivation is generally known as 'Uzhavu' and clearing forest as 'Uzhavuvettel'.

addition to that, they cultivated plantain, elephant yam, colocasia, tapioca, vegetables in another block of 'Uzhavu' (cleared forest land). Cultivation of pepper also started the first year itself.

In the second year the same process of cultivation was repeated and in addition to that, lemon grass, rubber, coffee, pepper, coconut and arecanut were also planted in separate plots of land. Plants like jackfruit, teak, mango tree, pineapple, lemon, nutmeg tree, grampus, cardamom, cinnamon and all other plants and trees available both in Travancore and Malabar were slowly planted in their newly cleared land. Lemon grass oil was their main means of substance till they were able to raise proper income.¹⁷¹ 'Mattalpani', 'Pothupani', 'Poondan pani' were the types of work culture followed by the settlers. In the construction of peasant huts, in the repairing of thatched roofs, 'Kappavatt' (the process of preservation of tapioca), public works like construction of roads, schools and churches migrants followed these mutually benefited work culture.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Lemongrass oil and the sale of 'Amalpori', a Medicinal plant, sale of banana were the important source of income in the initial stage. Interview with PUNCHAKUNNEL THOMAS, Cherupuzha, dated, 8.10.1987 and T.V. JOSEPH, Thayyil (Rtd. Post Master), Cherupuzha, dated 9.10.1987.

¹⁷² Mattal Pani in which one man [X] will work for his friend or his neighbour not for wages. Instead of wages the beneficiary will work in the land of other man [Y]. This type of work culture helped the poor peasants who were unable to pay wages for agricultural works. Pothupani means public work. i.e. for the construction of village roads, churches, school building, libraries, stadiums etc. For this purpose, during the course of Sunday mass, the Parish priest used to announce the date and venue of works. 'Poondan pani' means there will be meat particularly pig or cattle meat along with the food for the public works or works in individual's own sake. Kappavattu, the process of converting raw tapioca into dry tapioca - i.e, production of Vattukkappa and Vellakkappa, for details, see the 'Kampola Nilavaram' (Commodities) column of Malayalam Dailies.

Common features

As already indicated, development of individual settlements seems to have followed a common pattern. Each colony will make its own temporary church in the initial stage itself. The early settlements used to invite the priests of Calicut diocese, who were operating mission stations in these areas, even before the arrival of migrants, to render religious services. In course of time, a school and a proper church building will come up. Usually these establishments were followed by a dispensary or hospital.¹⁷³

Like churches, schools and hospitals, roads were another public amenity which attracted the attention of these settlers. As a means of communication and travel road is a must. It is also essential for marketing their products. This prompted them to construct extensive roads. Most of the roads linking individual settlements with towns and with other settlements, were all built by the voluntary efforts of the migrants. Some unofficial estimates put the total mileage of roads built by the migrants far above to that of the total mileage of roads built by the government in Malabar area during the same period.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Interview with Rev. Fr. Antoninus C.M.I Poolakkadavu (Calicut) dated 21.10.2001. and Rev. Fr. Bartholomew C.M.I, Lourdes Monastery, Koodathayi, dated 23.10.2001. These two C.M.I fathers had spent most of their time for the upliftment of migrant settlers of Malabar.

¹⁷⁴ Church fathers were the spiritual leaders. But at the same time they organised the settlers - irrespective of religion Hindu, Muslims and Christians - for the road construction through voluntary works interview with Kottarathil Joseph, Chemperi dated 14. 3.1987 and P.J. John (Puthooru Vaidyar) Koorachundu, dated 20-7-1986.

One point to be stressed in the context of the development of new settlements in Malabar is that, the 'life blood' of the new settlements were the small farmers from Travancore. They were the people who stayed on as permanent settlers in the new colonies. The capitalist farmers who came in order to develop large estates either shuttled between their possessions in Malabar and Travancore or operated the estates through supervisors and managers.

STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

Early migration of peasants from Travancore to Malabar is an inspiring saga of human endeavour. Early settlers had to face many hardships. Cholera, and other infectious diseases, attack of wild animals, exploitation by jemmies and rich immigrants, heavy taxes and eviction threats were the worst among the hardships that awaited them in the strange hillocks of Malabar..

Many a migrant had to start from scratch. Famine and diseases wiped out hundreds of lives. The hospital records at Tellicherry and Mananthavadi bear testimony to this . Orphanages at Marikkunnu at Calicut , Kolayad, Peravoor and other areas were filled with the children of Travancorean migrants. Under these circumstances many returned to Travancore, and several others became agricultural

labourers. The condition of the children of the settlers was equally distressing . In their struggle for existence many of the migrants lost their life.¹⁷⁵

In May 1926 Aimanam Ouseph with his ten member family migrated from Palai in Travancore and reached Kuttiyadi and settled at the nearby Moonnamkai. Like their brethren, they took shelter beneath the trees. Later on, they built a hut and 'Erumadam' with bamboo. They cleared forest and started cultivation of paddy, tapioca and vegetables. But owing to the constant attacks of wild animals like elephants and wild pigs, agriculture was a strenuous task. In addition to this, members of his family died one after another of Malarial fever and natural calamities. At last Ouseph with his two sons returned to Travancore empty handed.¹⁷⁶

A brief look at the plight of some early migrant families of Malabar will help us to have a better picture of the hardships they had to undergo. From 1943-44 onwards farmers from Travancore began to migrate to Vythiri near Sultan's Battery for cultivation. Almost all of them fell victims to poverty , famine,

¹⁷⁵ K.G. Sivaswamy *et. al*, *Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles*, (Coimbatore, 1945) Pp . 1-40 also see Appendix -II.

¹⁷⁶ Thomas Pazhaparambil, *Swapnabhumiyl* (Malayalam), (Muvattupuzha, 1978) pp.13-19, Also see George Kattakkayam, "Marudonkara - Vikasanathinte Pathayil Aranoottandu" (Malayalam), in *Marudonkara St. Mary's High School Rajatha Jubilee Smaranika*, (Marudonkara, 1982) pp.1-x.

malarial and anaemic diseases. Left with no option they became agricultural labourers and worked in Chundale Estate, Vythiri.¹⁷⁷

The settlers lived a poor life, their dwellings were not properly planned and constructed and in fact, they lived in the most unhygienic conditions. In the thatched huts they were exposed to severe cold. They slept in 'Maruku' without even woollen clothes.¹⁷⁸ Experience of such a rough life style severely affected their life. Besides these, settlers had to be content with a meagre food. They took tapioca and black tea, twice a day. After the World War II, both beef and fish became very costly¹⁷⁹. In the hills dried fish of low quality alone was available, and only the rich could afford to buy this. None could buy sufficient quantity of rice as the price of rice was very high. All these amounted to an unbalanced dietary system which in fact paved the way for widespread infection of Malarial diseases and Cholera.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Interview with Fr. James Nasarat, Pappinisseri, dated 17.3.1985. Similar situation can be seen at settler areas like Thiruvambadi, Thamarasseri, Balal and other places.

¹⁷⁸ 'Maruku', a cot like furniture made out of bamboo and wild ropes used for sleeping.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Varkey Thirumala, Kodanchery, dt. 3.9.1986.

¹⁸⁰ Sivaswamy, K.G. *Op.cit.* p.15. also see *Mathrubhumi*, Daily (Malayalam), (Calicut) August – September, 1943. The *Mathrubhumi* reports of that time covered the picture of poverty and famine in Malabar very vividly. For instance in Chirakkal Taluk certain schools were shut down because of the continuous absence of students owing to the scarcity of proper food and clothing (*Mathrubhumi*, August, 15, 1943). There was another news that a post man in Kottayam Taluk of Malabar fell unconscious on road, while on duty. For the last five days he hadn't taken any rice food.

Encounter with Death and Diseases

The early migrants had to face a lot of problems. One significant problem was high rate of mortality due to infectious diseases. A number of heart felt events happened during the early stages of migration. Kottarathil Oudha, who settled at Areekamala near Kudiyanmala had lost his wife and two children due to Malarial fever, The pity was that in the absence of the help from others he himself dug the pit to bury the dead . There was no church, no neighbours .So there was no help from any corner.¹⁸¹

The reports of Mathrubhumi Daily alone is a clear testimony of the ravages of Malaria in Malabar. A news in the Daily runs like this: "The decomposed body of a man was found on the road between Kuttiyadi to Wayanad at a place called Thazhemulakuthottam in Kavilumpara village. For the last four or five days the body was lying there unclaimed. The severe stench elements from the decomposed body has prevented people from walk through this route". This incident was not an isolated one. Through out Malabar we come across numerous horrible scenes such as this¹⁸².

¹⁸¹ Interview with Oudha Kottarathil, Areekamala dated 27.3.1985.

¹⁸² *Mathrubhumi* Daily, September 16, 1941, p.3.

Pallikkathazha family came from Anikkad with a total number of sixty members which included brothers, their wives and children. Seven brothers died within five years. With the death of elder brothers others returned to Annikkad¹⁸³.

Edattel Pappachan's father died at Edoor. At that time there was not any church within 20 kilometers. The swollen 'Payam rive' prevented from taking the body to the St. Joseph's Church at Peravoor which has about 23 kilometers away. So his friends buried his body in their own land and planted four cinnamon trees to identify the place of burial. Later his family settled at Vilangad. After several years, Edattel Pappachan and his relatives dug open the spot where his father was buried. The skeletal remains were brought and buried at the cemetery of the Roman Catholic church, Vilangad¹⁸⁴.

In 1934 Puthanveetil Joseph settled at Kulathuvayal . His wife and daughter- in- law died. He buried them under a tree and went back to Travancore with his only son.

In 1942 Thomas Thekkel and his eight member family migrated to Koorachundu. All others except Thomas lost their lives. Mr. Moolachalil Varkey settled at Kallady near Peravoor. His son was affected by Malaria. Varkey took his son to Tellicherry for medical treatment. But he lost his son. More alarming things

¹⁸³ Interview with Rosa Pallikkathazha, Maruthonkara, dated, 14.5.1986.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with P.J. Mathew, Journalist, Malapparamba, dated 12.1.2002 and Adv. Subhash Benedict, Calicut 12.1.2002.

awaited him at home. When he reached his house with the dead body of his son, he realised to his great shock that his daughter, too had died due to Malaria.¹⁸⁵

At Sultan's Battery twenty one persons died out of a twenty two member family due to malarial fever. The family had migrated from Kuravilangad in Travancore and settled at Malavayal near Sultan's Battery.

In another case, relating to Vattapparambil Joseph's family, he and his one child survived and all others died. Kattukudi Mathayi sent his wife and children to their native place (Kuravilangad) and they returned to Malabar only after ten years.¹⁸⁶

In another incident, on the same day six dead bodies were brought in a bullockcart and buried in the same pit at Sultan's Battery. The present site of Assumption Hospital at Sultan's Battery was a graveyard of migrant settlers, who were the victims of malarial fever.¹⁸⁷

Dead bodies of many migrants were cremated in the forests and in private sites because there were no Christian churches, except at Calicut, or Marrikkunnu,

¹⁸⁵ Thomas Pazhaparambil, *Swapana Bhoomiyil* (Malayalam), (Moovattupuzha, 1978) pp.98-107.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Kattukudi Mathayi, Sultan's Battery, dated 15.4.1994.

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Rev. Mathayi Nooranal, Sultan's Battery, dt. 21.11.2001 and interview with Rev. Maxwel Nerona, Bishop of Calicut, dt. 8.7.1989.

Tellicherry, Mananthavady etc. For instance, at Erumbakam fifteen and at Kattyat six dead bodies were buried.¹⁸⁸

In some cases the entire family members became the victims of Malarial fever. On the basis of the report of Dr. Raghavendra Rao, Madras Government sanctioned Rs.23000/- to Malabar District Board to start proper water supply system, and drainages at Meppadi. The government further sought the financial support of tea estate owners of Meppadi to eradicate Malarial fever.¹⁸⁹ Madras Government started measures to control malaria. As a part of this, steps were taken to begin a survey in Malabar and fund was allotted for the same. In 1941 Dr. T.S. Adisubrahmanyam was appointed as the officer in charge of anti-malarial actions in Wayanad.¹⁹⁰

It should be noted that comparatively low percentage of malarial fever could be seen in Meppadi region. It was due to the fact that officials and estate owners poured a type of oil in the streams and also there was a general hospital at Vythiri.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Interview with M.J. Michael, Thiruvambady, dt. 11.7.1985. Thiruvambady S.H. High School, Silver Jubilee Souvenir, (Thiruvambady, 1980) p.1-7.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with K.P. Mathew Kudakkachira, Mananthavady, dtd. 9.9.1987 and *Mathrubhumi* Daily September 12, 1931.

¹⁹⁰ *Mathrubhumi* Daily, July 14, 1935 and 1941, April 8.

¹⁹¹ Interview with Lorrans, M., K.P. Chacko, Sicily, teacher at Meppadi, dtd. 6.11.2001 also see *Mathrubhumi* January 16, 1932.

Measures for controlling malarial fever with the participation of the people started by 1940's on a large scale by spraying of D.D.T, distribution of Quinine tablets through post offices, sub agents, by Christian Priests and church organizations etc. Malabar District Board was very actively involved in this process. Free medical camps and free dispensaries also were common.¹⁹² The biggest colony of the Travancoreans is Kulathuvayal in Calicut district, near Perambra on the 30th mile of the Calicut-Badagara Road.

In 1942 around nine hundred people were buried in the Kulathuvayal Parish Church-graveyard. The figures in the death register of St. George Roman Catholic Church, Kulathuvayal is as follows:¹⁹³

1943	-	82
1944	-	83
1945	-	67
1946	-	59
1947	-	58
1948	-	36
1949	-	39
1950	-	40

¹⁹² Malabar District Board meeting on 19th August 1944 discussed the strategies and progress of Malaria eradication project. See minutes of Malabar District Board meeting on 19.8.1944. A free dispensary was opened by '*Kerala Duritha Nivarana Samithi*' at Kuttiyadi to distribute medicine for the poor malarial patients. see *Mathrubhumi* Daily, August 22, 1944, August 26, 1944.

¹⁹³ For the funeral before 1943, see funeral register of Badagara Latin Church (This Parish was detached only in 1943).

Many people in 1943-'44 period did not bring the dead bodies to the church. Instead they buried them in their own compound due to the negligence and inconvenience.¹⁹⁴ Ofcourse, the actual number of deaths were very higher than the death registered in various Christian churches in Malabar.¹⁹⁵ In certain cases, where relatives also were malarial patients they buried the body by pouring some oil and covered the body with dried leaves. For instance in Kodancherry and Kulathuvayal this same method was followed in the initial stage of migration to these areas.¹⁹⁶

Malaria alone wiped out a significant portion of early population. For instance, the church at Kulathur which had 700 families on its rolls had registered 900 funerals in one year.¹⁹⁷ So also, of the thirty families that had settled in

¹⁹⁴ See Thomas Pazhaparambil, p.107 and Malayala Manorama (Daily) in Malayalam July 3, 1983. For more details of death caused by malarial fever, cholera, infant mortality see the death register of Christian churches in Malabar. For copy of the above said register of certain churches see appendix II. 1 to 9.

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Devasia alias Kochu Vadakkayil and Varkey Thirumala, Kodanchery, dtd. 4.9.1986 and 3.9.1986 respectively. Also interview with Chacko Pallithazha Marudonkara, dtd. 15.6.1986.

¹⁹⁶ Sri Sauryar Mathan with his family consisted of nineteen members settled at Thiruvambadi. All except three died of Malaria. The remaining three persons sold their land to N.C. Koyakutty Haji and returned to Travancore.

For further details see Varghese, O.M. Olickel, *Vazhakulam Oru Charithraveekshanam* (Muvattupuzha, 1985) pp.307-11. Also see Thomas Pazhaparambil, *Op.cit.*, pp.98-108.

"Kaduthandiya Katha" in *Malayala Manorama* (Daily), July 3, 1986. Also see "Kanneerinte Thazhvarayile Rakthasakshikal," in *Thiruvambadi Sacred Heart High School Silver Jubilee Souvenir* (Malayalam), (Thiruvambadi, 1980), p.XI.

¹⁹⁷ Pazaparambil, *Op.cit.*, pp.98-107. and 125-132.

Nadavayal, twenty nine were completely wiped off within a few years. These were not exceptional cases.¹⁹⁸

Death by Malaria and other diseases in the High lands of Malabar was naturally greater than at the foot of the hills. The total Travancorean immigrants who had arrived between 1942-'44 ranged between 12,000 and 15,000. From the available church records it is clear that the average death rate of that time was 117 for 1000 people in an year. The total number of death out of the settled population of 12,000 amounted to 2808.¹⁹⁹ But at that time the normal death rate of Syrian Christians in Travancore was 12 per 1000. Again the average Indian death rate at that time was 25 per 1000. Therefore the total number of deaths among these settlers should not have been less than 600 in the two years. The number of excess death over the normal was therefore, not less than 2,000 in 1943 and 1944. Many of them who survived returned to Travancore, with tarnished health and shattered dreams. About 50 percent and above lost their vigour and courage.²⁰⁰

Malaria and malnutrition had severe aftermaths. One of the important consequences of Malaria was the increase in the number of anaemia as well as nervous diseases. The peripheral neuritis became a common disease among the

¹⁹⁸ Report on Iritty, in *Souvenir of Sacredotal Silver Jubilee of Rev. Sebastian Valloppilly, Bishop of Tellicherry*, (Tellicherry, 1970), pp.253-974. Also see Gopalan A.K. *Ente Jeevithakadha* (Malayalam), (Trivandrum, 1985), pp.31-39.

¹⁹⁹ Sivaswami, K.G. and others, *Op.cit.*, p.10.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.10-11.

poor people.²⁰¹ Excessive consumption of tapioca, on which many of the migrants had to sustain themselves, caused a lot of digestive troubles. Scarcity of food in its turn made them prey to malarial attacks. The following extracts establish the relation between scarcity of food and malarial epidemic.

S.R. Christopher in his investigations of the epidemiology of malaria in Punjab studied the relation between the famine and the diseases. He noted that the twelve great epidemics of malaria which devastated Punjab in the later half of the 19th century, have followed seasons of famine or acute scarcity. Considering the price of food stuffs as an index of scarcity, he found a strong correlation between scarcity and mortality due to fever; to epidemics of 1870, 1872, 1878, 1879, 1881, 1887, 1890, 1892, 1900 and 1908 all occurred during the periods of high prices."²⁰²

It is argued that the main source of infant mortality in 19th century was diarrhoea and that the decline in infant mortality during the first two decades of 20th century was mainly due to decline in diarrhoea. The deaths due to diarrhoea

²⁰¹ Within the last two decades there has been a growing awareness of what might be called the "biological" aspect of history. It is now recognized that disease and diet are valid historical subjects as worthy of study as the politics, thought or diplomacy that have been the core of traditional historical scholarship. See Andrew S. Appleby, "Diseases, Diet and History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, VIII: 4 (Spring 1978), 725-735.

²⁰² *Famine Enquiry Commission Report*, 1945, p.121 also Sivaswamy, K.G. and others, *Op.cit.*, pp.16-17. Amartya Sen, in his *Poverty and Famines* (New Delhi, 1984) examined causation of starvation in general and of famines in particular.

can be reduced by giving more attention to better nutrition, improved domestic hygiene and improved environmental sanitation.²⁰³

In 1943 there was an unprecedented epidemic of cholera in Malabar, claiming 28432 deaths out of 28, 874 deaths from cholera recorded during the decade. Mortality from respiratory diseases, dysentery and diarrhoea was above the normal for the state.

Apart from natural calamities like floods in the low-lying areas, avalanche in the high ranges of Malabar areas contributed greatly to epidemic diseases. The chief diseases were plague, cholera, gastro-entritis, small pox, malaria, tuberculosis etc. Of these, cholera, gastro-entritis and malaria were seen in epidemic form.²⁰⁴

Malaria was a common disease in Wayanad from 1920 onwards. Many of the first settlers died of this disease and some abandoned their possession and went back to their native areas. The clearing of forest lands reduced the number of malarial attacks. The eradication programmes undertaken by government also helped in checking Malaria. Malaria is now a rare disease in the area²⁰⁵.

²⁰³ Ralph Shlomoutic "Infant Mortality and Fiji's Indian Migrants 1879-1917." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*. Vol. XXIII, No.3, July, September, 1986, pp.289-302.

²⁰⁴ *Census of India*, 1971, Kerala parts I-A & I-B, General Report p.37.

²⁰⁵ *Census of India* 1961. Vol.VII Kerala part VI A, Village Survey Monographs Cannanore and Kozhikode districts, p.219.

Poverty and famine dominated the life of Malabar for decades. Many schools were closed, due to lack of food and clothes for the children. Padappengad and Kooveri U. P. School (aided) in Taliparamba taluk in Kannur district were closed because of continuous absence of the students and due to the lack of basic necessities. In another area, a postman of Peringathur post office became unconscious due to starvation.²⁰⁶

In the year 1943 cholera infection largely reduced the percentage of population in Malabar. It is believed that it was through the pilgrims from Pazhani and patients from Coimbatore that this fearful disease reached here.²⁰⁷ The following table shows the nature of diseases and death in Malabar.

²⁰⁶ Interview with Aryavaidyan T. Kannan, Kooveri, dt. 8.3.1985 and Mathrubhumi 5th August 1943, 15th April 1944. see Dourne, G.H., 'Starvation in Europe' (London, 1943) and Allen and Unwin, Durges, G.C.E., *et al.*, Malnutrition and Starvation in Western Netherlands, September 1944 July 1945, (Hague, 1948).

²⁰⁷ The official report of District Health Officer suggests that in 1943 total 83,942 Cholera patients and 225,992 patients died of cholera. He also explains the details of death of cholera in yearwise from 1924 to 1942. Also see – Mathrubhumi, Daily May 20, 1944.

TABLE 2.28

Death and Diseases in Malabar

Taluk	Patients	Death	Vaccinated people
Kozhikode	3778	2779	68561
Chirakkal	2495	1954	84300
Eranad	3618	5792	139320
Kottayam	475	28	58977
Kurumbranad	2400	1935	80147
Palghat	1684	828	56578
Ponmani	13103	10284	324975
Valluvanad	2968	2077	72186
Wayanad	78	51	17696

Source: Report of District Health Officer to the Director, Public Health, government of Madras.

With in two months the total cholera deaths in Malabar was about 30,000. The death in interior parts of Malabar so far was not at all reported to the government. So the actual death toll would be much more than this figure. In Calicut city, out of the total population of 1,50,000 died 3000 people, i.e., two per cent of the deaths were due to cholera. Under these circumstances a number of children became orphans. Servants of India society opened 7 orphanages in Malabar.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Interview with P.P. Ummer Koya, former Minister of Kerala and a known Gandhian, Calicut, dt. 3.10.1985.

Dutt R.C. *Indian Famines: Their causes and prevention*, (London: 1901).

Dandekar, V.M. and Rath, N., *Poverty in India*, Poona : *Indian School of Political Economy*. (Pune, 1971).

Around the beginning of 1930, the dreaded plague broke out in Wayanad, particularly at Kalpetta. Alarmed by the news of death caused by plague many people left the place. Shops were closed at Kalpetta.²⁰⁹

Poverty and Famine

In fact, it was poverty and famine that drove the peasants of Travancore to the jungly Malabar. But to their dismay they found the jungly Malabar. But their dismay the same old ills re-visiting them in this strange land. The decline in the foodgrain availability, lack of purchasing power are the principal causes for the poverty of the people of third world.²¹⁰

Malnutrition is probably, the most distressing manifestation of undevelopment. As a condition, it exhibits a wide variety of effects on health, work productivity and the returns of human investment. Thus it impair both

²⁰⁹ *Mathrubhumi* Daily, January 1, 1930, p.6. and Interview with M.P. Veerendra Kumar, former Minister of Kerala, Kalpetta, dt. 28.5.1990.

²¹⁰ For details of the similar situation, see Jyanatul Islam and Habibullah Khan, "Income inequality, poverty and socio-economic development in Bangladesh, An empirical investigation, *The Bangladesh Development Studies*. Vol.XIV, No.2, June 1986, (Dhaka 1986, p.75).

The paper attempts to study the pattern of the income distribution and poverty in Bangladesh and it also compares the socio-economic status of country in mid 1970's with other developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. There has been drastic deterioration in inequality and poverty in recent years, and this disturbing findings reinforced by the fact that Bangladesh occupies the lowest position in the third world in terms of a composite social index. Also see Shepherd, J. (1975), *The Politics of Starvation*, [New York, 1975] Minhas B.S. *Rural Poverty Land Distribution and Development Strategy: Facts*. (Burdhan, 1974) Morris, M.D. (1974) *What is Famine?* *Economic and Political Weekly*, 9, 2 November.

physical and mental development, increased vulnerability to infections and diseases thereby lowering life expectancy. These in turn were likely to have a detrimental effect on the population, productivity and its response to educational and family planning campaigns. This slowed down the pace of economic development.²¹¹

Severe famine also very badly affected the future life of not only migrants but also the entire Malabar population. Madras Government and Malabar District Board Administration were very actively involved in initiating steps to reduce the miseries of the folk.²¹² Government of Madras introduced rationing of rice in Malabar. For every adult the allotted ration was 11.3 ounce i.e. 0.7 Rathel and 0.2 Rathel wheat or Ragi. Later in 1946 the government decided to reduce rationing but owing to the popular pressure, they withdrew decision. Similar to that of Travancore, people of Malabar also consumed palm powder [Kodappana powder in Malayalam i.e. sago obtained from the stem of palm tree]. At the same time the export of palm powder from Malabar still continued. People with the help of

²¹¹ P. de Kobbe, "Measurement of Malnutrition in the Third World", *Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Vol.XXXVII, No.3, (Sept. 1986), p.405.

²¹² For details of third world poverty, see George Susan (1976) *How the Other Half Dies: The Real Reasons for World Hunger*, Harmonds Worth: Penguin and Wedderburn, Dorothy (ed.) (1974) *Poverty, Inequality and Class Structure*, Cambridge University Press. Also see Newman, Peter (1977), "Malaria and Mortality", *Journal of American Statistical Association*.

media urged the government to stop the export, as the people were suffering from shortage of food materials.²¹³

On the whole the life of the migrant settlers was characterized by death and disaster. No strangers or outsiders would ever understand the migrants, familiarity with death. The end of life was an end to hope.

Medical Aid

The victims of malarial fever, cholera and other epidemics lacked proper medical attention, because of the non-availability of doctors, hospitals and medicine. Poverty and famine, lack of money, ill health of migrants further worsened the situation. There were only few government hospitals at Mananthavady, Vythiri, Calicut, Tellicherry, Kannur etc. There were not enough to fulfill the need of the time. Slowly, Christian church leadership started certain dispensaries and hospitals in important migration centres like Champeri, Karuvanchal, Cherupuzha, Batheri etc. Dr. Thankam Panoose started a hospital at Peravoor. In addition to this a large number of Ayurvedic, Homeo, Traditional, Marma, Registered medical practitioners etc. worked as doctors in interior parts.

²¹³ Before 1940 the cost of the palm – A species of palmyra – ie. 'Kodappana in Malayalam was Rs.10-12 rose in to Rs.200/- in 1946. The District Food Council meeting on 3.4.1946 also decided to start propaganda to induce people to use tapioca, sweet potato etc. in addition to ration rice. The average price of raw tapioca was 1 Anna per Rathel and of dry tapioca 3 Anna per Rathel. Interview with K. Panoor, Tellichery, 25.3.2002 also see *Mathrubhumi Daily*, dt. May 25, May 30, April 6, 1946.

Nursing assistants and pharmacists also performed the functions of doctors, which included among others stitching of wounds and minor surgery.²¹⁴

Other Miseries

In addition to the above mentioned trials and tribulations, the migrant farmers were put to a host of other hardships. Their life was all the more hazardous as they were frequently attacked by wild animals. Their attempts to scare away these wild animals were not always successful. They had to risk their lives in the efforts of protecting their land and cultivation from the merciless attack of wild boar, elephant and tigers. There were instances of complete destruction of their cultivation by the wild animals. During the early 1940's, 150 families settled at Kannam, Kodancherry and Poolavally had their high yielding paddy cultivation spoilt by the wild animals. Some of them in their attempts to fight the wild beasts escaped quite narrowly from the brink of death. And these dreadful experiences coupled with the untold miseries caused by epidemic diseases like Malaria, malnutrition and poverty made their life an unending struggle between life and death.

²¹⁴ A number of souvenirs related to jubilees of Christian churches and schools gives this type of information. Interview with Dr. Thankam Panoose, Thondi, (Peravoor), dt. 15.11.2001. Most of the early priests of Calicut Dioceses distributed quinine tablets to the migrant and they collected and started important medicines for serving the migrants. Quinine tablets were distributed through post offices. The cost of 1 box tablets (500 tablets) was Rs.5/-. For the list of few medical personnels See Appendix IV.

A fearful situation in high land settlement area of Malabar was caused by the attacks of wild animals like elephant, tiger, leopard, snake, pig etc. While elephant destroyed their agriculture, the tiger killed the peasants and animals like cow and goat.

For instance, in 1928 at Kuttiyadi while Devasia Eluppupara, son of Sratel Asan (Augusty Eluppupara) was sleeping in the night, a tiger attacked him. But he narrowly escaped death. The treatment was also odd. They made a paste mixing hot water with rice powder, and applied it on the wound. This was enough to cure the wound.²¹⁵ Peasants resisted elephants by throwing stones, and 'pandham' and beating drums to make sound. Comparatively rich settlers used gun for the same.

At Koodaranhi one Pathrose, Kommattathil's 'Erumadam' [shed built on the top of a tree in order to escape from the attack of the wild animals] was attacked by an elephant. Pathrose had a narrow escape from death but he later became insane because of this terrible experience. Kuriachan Aviyil at Kakkayam lost his life when he attempted to fire an elephant which destroyed his cultivation.²¹⁶ Wild animals including elephants, cobras etc. were a common sight in the forest

²¹⁵ Interview with Devasia, Eluppupara, Manathavady, dtd. 22.11.2001.

²¹⁶ Erumadam is a shed built on the top of a strong tall tree usually *Chamatha*, *Vellilave* trees were used because these trees won't easily broken at the time of attack of an elephant. The Erumadam was the real house of the early migrants to escape themselves from the attack of elephant and other wild animals. It also used as a watch tower to look after the entire cultivation. Some Erumadams were multistoried one. The lowest for cooking etc. and other two used as bed rooms. They used ladder to climb over to the top of the tree ie. Erumadam.

where migrants came and settled. In the high land region of Malabar very small number of huts of Adivasis were also seen. To protect themselves and their cultivation they built Erumadams, from where they kept a tight vigil round the clock. In order to prevent themselves from sleep there were instances of cutting of the eye lash of the lower eyelid. Such eye lash create pain and thus it prevented the sleep of poor migrants.²¹⁷ Attacks of wild animals on migrants can't be explained in a page or two. The stories of their hazards and hardships can be written in volumes. Wild animals like wild elephant, pig, monkey, deer, rabbits etc. were a constant threat to their crops.

Monkey, rabbits, pigs, bandicoot etc. destroyed the crops. Crabs destroyed paddy cultivation in Wayanad. Kompanchelly destroyed coconut cultivation. Infections of pepper, plantain etc. were the common problems of the farming population of Malabar. Attack of snakes of various species was another threat faced by them.²¹⁸ Wild animals destroyed tapioca cultivation. The major threat to the Tapioca cultivation was from wild bear, rat, bandicoot and rabbits. In many places migrants used country made bombs [pannipadakkam] to kill wild pigs and

²¹⁷ Sunny Joseph, "Manikkadave Pathittandhukallelude" (Malayalam), Rajatha Jubilee – Devalaya Prathishta Smaranika, *Manikkadave St. Thomas Devalayam*. [Manikkadave, 1983] p.2-15.

²¹⁸ While Mammi Thekkekandathil was washing the cloths near the river side a wild snake 'karimkoli' – tried to attack Mammi. She cried out, by hearing the sound her brother and neighbours came and killed the snake of '18' feet length. Interview with Thressia Thekkekandathil, Nellikkampoyil, dtd. 17.10.1993.

dug pits to catch them. But this country-made bombs took the life of many early migrants.²¹⁹

Wild elephants destroyed not less than 1000 coconut trees at Veppur estate at Thamarasseri, Ottathai, near Alakode. All the coconut trees except one which was planted by punam cultivators were destroyed by the wild elephants. It was from these coconut trees that migrants came to know that this place was suitable for coconut cultivation. It is believed that from this single coconut tree [otta thai] the place name Ottathai came.²²⁰

Attack of rogue-elephant [single tusker] was fearful. At Sultan's Battery in addition to wild elephants, pigs, etc. there was threat from bear also. Once a bear tried to enter the house compound of Father Mathayi Nooranal of Sultan Bathery.²²¹ Attack of wild animals was a common phenomenon. The bushy area of laterite zone of Malabar was the home station of tigers [small type Tiger] Sr. Anmary of Clarist Convent at Chemperi cut off the neck of a tiger at their convent bathroom.²²²

²¹⁹ Puthan Purayil Kutty, at Mavumchal near Vellade (Alakode) died of the blast of this type country-made cracker to keep away elephant and pigs. Similar disasters largely happened all over Malabar Hills. See Death Register, Vellade St. Sebastian's Church also see Death Register of R.C. Church Kozhichal in 1952 at Kozhichal Johny Poomkombil was killed by a wild elephant.

²²⁰ Interview with P.R. Rama Varma Raja, Alakode, dt.. 23.3.1985. Also see *Mathrubhumi* Daily Sept. 21.1932.

²²¹ Interview with Rev. Father Mathayi Nooranal, Sultan Battery, dt. 22.11.2001.

²²² Mathew Manimala – 'Kudiyetta Vazhiyile Puthukazhchakal, *Malayala Manorama* Daily, Nov. 25, 1999.

CLIMATE AND NATURAL CALAMITIES

Climate also was not favourable to them. Cold wind, the presence of mist, heavy rain in rainy season and drastic draught during the summer season adversely affected the morale of the early migrants.

During 1962 – 63 period, severe storm accompanied by heavy rain hit Manikadave area. A number of huts, and cultivation of the peasants were destroyed. It was followed by a severe famine. To meet this situation they even consumed husk of tapioca, wild roots, and palm powder. Under the leadership of Rev. Nedumpalli, church authorities collected relief fund for them.²²³

Severe flood of 1968 destroyed cultivation of a number of people in Malabar hill regions. Thekkekandathil Thresia alone lost 500 plantain trees.²²⁴ Severe cold climate of Wayanad created a type of scars on the surface of the skin of the early migrants. Early period, in mornings up to 11'o clock there was no sun light due to heavy mist. That is why the adivasi huts in Wayanad are built in single room with one door and no windows. The walls of these huts were made out of bamboo mats covered with mud to suit climate.²²⁵ 'Urul Pottal' (avalanche) or land slide was another threat to the migrants. In several incidents settlers lost everything – men,

²²³ Interview with Sunny Joseph, Manikadave, dtd. 11.7.1984 and *Rajatha Jubilee Devalaya Prathishta Smaranika* – Manikadavu St. Thomas Devalayam, [Manikadavu, 1983] pp.2-15.

²²⁴ Interview with Thresia Thekkekandathil, Nellikam Poyil, dtd. 17.10.1993.

²²⁵ Interview with M.D. Thomas, Madathil Pulpally, dtd. 26.2.1990.

money and houses. In certain isolated cases the entire family was destroyed. In 1968-69 period at Kakkayam except two children all other members of a family became victims of the 'Urulpottal'.²²⁶

Transportation

Absence of adequate marketing facilities is a serious problem which the farmers face through out India. One of the main obstacles to any sound marketing system in India has been the absence of adequate transport network in the rural areas. To the settlers also, marketing of their products were a great problem largely due to the absence of any vehicle or transport. The settlement of migrants were unconnected by road with the commercial centres located several miles away. Their products consisted mainly of perishable items such as tapioca, yam, plantains and lemongrass oil. North Malabar was a totally neglected area in the realm of

²²⁶ Interview with Rev. Jacob Narikuzhi, Kolavayal (Wayanad) dtd. 23.11.2001. For more details of horror of urulpottal, see Mathrubhumi Daily, Malayala Manorama Daily, Deepika Daily, Deshabhimani and other leading news papers from 13.10.2002 to 16.10.2002. A number of Urul pottals all over the migrant settlements of Malabar with severe casualties of life and properties of the settlers were reported in several times. On October 8th, 1984 nearly hundreds of urul pottals at Kakkayam, Thalayade, Kallanod, Koorachundu, Chompanod, Poozhithodu, Pasukadavu, Chamel, Kattippara, Kunduthodu area in which 18 persons died, many wounded, cultivation and houses fully or partially destroyed. For details see Girideepam (Monthly bulletin of Diocese of Tellicherry), Tellicherry, November, 1984. In July 1996, there were a number of urul pottals and land slides in Thiruvambady, Kodanchery, Puthupadi, Chakkittapara, Vanimel, Kavilumpara Panchayats. In this connection Calicut District Development Council passed a resolution requesting the intervention of Government of Kerala to reduce the difficulties of the affected peasants of this area. For details see Malayala Manorama, Daily, July 27, 1986 also see Manorama, dtd. 21.6.1992. It reported that at Kappikkalam in Wayanad, Moolamveetil Vasu and other ten members of his family died due to urul pottal. Only one child –12 year old Preetha – survived.

development. During the first half of 20th century in the North of Calicut, there were no bridges for Korapuzha, Badagara river, Baliapattam river, Kuttikkol river. But in the case of Baliapattam river, the facility of changadam (ruft) to transport vehicles was available.

From Taliparamba to Alakode there was no road route, though up to Kanhirangad there was a narrow road of one foot width. In the case of P.R. Ramavarma Raja, he used water transport (local boats) to reach from Kuppam to Chapparappadavu, three kilometers north of Taliparamba. From Chapparappadavu he reached Alakode, on foot. In his journey he was confronted with the threat of wild animals. The rivers were full of water. He had to cross big rivers like Alakode, Karuvanchal which had no bridges. The route to Alakode was through thick forest with ferocious wild animals like wild pig, elephant, leopard, tiger, porcupine etc.²²⁷

In the initial stage of migration to Malabar there were no roads in the interior parts of Malabar. The British Government constructed certain roads for their administrative purposes, connected with major towns Palghat, Calicut, Tellicherry, Kannur, Payyanur, Mananthavady, Sulthan Bathery, Kalpetta etc. As far as the settlers were concerned journey towards the cultivable land in the hilly region was quite difficult. In certain places, water transports – country made boats was used

²²⁷ Interview with P.R. Rama Varma Raja, Alakode, dt. 23.3.1985.

for travel.²²⁸ The laterite rock zone, with bushes ie. Edanad region of entire Malabar was the basic camp of wild animals like tiger, leopard etc. 'Pattikaduva' a small type of tiger caused much disturbance to the settlers. It killed cows, goats and even dogs. So the migrants used to put a particular type of sharpened belt across the neck of their dogs, made out of sword in order to protect the dog from the attacks of these tigers.²²⁹ These laterite zone wild animals were a constant threat to the settlers, who had to travel between low land and high land.

The roads and transport in Wayanad also were in the same pattern. The three major roads which connected Wayanad with the rest of Malabar were Kuttiyadi Road, Tellicherry Road and Calicut Road. During the rainy season the entire roads connecting Wayanad with the low lands got blocked owing to heavy land slides. A detailed examination of newspaper reports of that period reveal that this was a repeated phenomenon during monsoon.²³⁰

CHEATING AND EXPLOITATION

Though the land was available at low price, the migrants had to pay huge amounts in the form of commissions to the land agents or brokers. Majority of the

²²⁸ To travel to eastern regions of Kanhangad and Nileshwar (towards Balal Konakkad, Chittarikkal etc.) early migrants used country boats from Nileshwar [Karyamkode] to Mukkada and after that by foot to their destination where as the settlers of Rajapuram region had much more facilities. They had a road Kerala – Karnataka road. But no bus or taxi services. Only bullock carts were available for travel.

²²⁹ Interview with P.T. Thomas Padavil, Vellade, dt. 7.3.1994.

²³⁰ Mathrubhumi, Daily, July 16, 18, 1941.

migrated farmers obtained land measuring five to ten acres on lease for twelve years. On several occasions, they found themselves cheated by the agents, both natives and Travancoreans. Many of them were threatened by overclaimants to the land they had purchased, even after the land had been developed partially. An advanced rent, varying from Rs.10/- to Rs.40/- had to be paid for every acre of land they purchased. In addition, an annual rent of rupees 2/- per acre was paid in most cases. Around Peravoor the rent was high, which went up to Rs.10/- per year. In the case of paddy fields the cash rent ranged between Rs.12/- to Rs.15/-. In Wayanad, however, no advance amount was collected on paddy lands.

The locals and natives, inter mediaries in land sale, local merchants, jenmis exploited the settlers on various levels. In one instance, Eluppupara Augusty [Sratel Asan, one of the earliest migrant to Kuttiyadi (Moonnamkai)] belonged to a middle class family in Travancore. He had with him some floating capital even after the early stages of settlements began. So with this money he opened a small shop. The local contractor, a timber merchant, purchased goods from his shop on credit basis. They never returned the money. At last he lost every thing and left Moonnamkai empty handed and settled at Mananthavady.²³¹

One Joseph, a cripple, was the friend of Sratel Asan. He was a merchant at

²³¹ M.J. Michael, "Kudiyettam Thiruvambadiyil" Thiruvambadi S.H.H.S. Silver Jubilee Souvenir, (Mal.) (Thiruvambadi, 1980) pp.Appendix IX-X. Also see Sivaswamy, K.G. and Others, *Op.cit.*, pp. 16-17 and Interview with Devasia Eluppupara, son of Sratel Asan, Mananthavady, dtd. 22.11.2001.

Thodupuzha. He acted as land broker and started real estate business. He used to purchase land for 4 Anna per Acre and sell at Rs.100/- per acre, by showing the plan and sketch of the land. Very often the migrants were cheated, the land occupied by them would be different from the one for which they had paid money. In most cases Joseph, the broker would extract the land value on the way, before they reached Malabar.²³² Sale of the same land to different farmers by the agent, edajenmi or land lord led to police and court cases and eviction problems. Most of the intermediaries in land sale deliberately cheated the unsophisticated village 'pilgrim fathers' from Travancore. The purchase of land by migrant, from edajenmi or rich migrants, reveal innumerable instances of cheating.²³³

At Thiruvambadi in 1944 Vettickel Varkey bought land from one edajenmi, Kunchu Mohammed Haji at the rate of Rs.37.50/- per acre. When he tried to clear the forest for cultivation another migrant Sauryar Mathan interfered and tried to stop him from doing so. It was true that the edajenmi had already, sold the particular land to Sauryar Mathan. This is an example of how the migrants were cheated by edajenmis of Malabar in land transfer. At Thiruvambady superintendent of Thindoorkandi estate sold tapioca stems (to cultivate) for Rs.2 per each stem. It

²³² Interview with Devasia, Elluppuppara, Mananthavady, dtd. 22.11.2001. The nature of cheating is infact similar to that of contemporary to gulf migration or migration to Japan.

²³³ For examples Sauryar Mathan bought 1000 acres of land, a but when he measured the land later, it was only 400 acres.

K.C. Ninan bought 1000 acres but actual extent was only 600 acres. Advocate Chakkunkara bought 400 acres but actually it was only 180 acres of land. At Pullorampara one peasant had to pay the price of land to four persons.

is a pity that the cost of tapioca stem for cultivating one acre land was higher than the price of one acre land.²³⁴

In violation to the earlier agreement between N.C. Peter and one Thampuran of Kottayam Royal family in the Kannur district, the Thampuran was not ready to give land to them even though he received advance amount for 100 acre forest land. Jenmis of Malabar with the help of communal elements and religious fundamentalists imposed several hardships on migrants.²³⁵

Certain jenmis and natives of Malabar were jealous of the progress of settlers in Malabar. In order to check and prevent them in their venture they deliberately destroyed the cultivation of migrant farmers, by letting out their cows for free pasturing.²³⁶

²³⁴ M.J. Michael, "Kudiyettam Thiruvambadiyil. *Thiruvambadi S.H.H.S. Silver Jubilee Souvenir*, (Thiruvambadi, 1986) pp.1-10.

²³⁵ Jenmis belonged to higher caste in Wayanad exploited both natives, tribals and migrants. Stiff resistance was made by the people led by A. Varghese. Later it attained a colour of militancy under the banner of Naxalite movement in Wayanad. A. Varghese, a migrated peasant from Vazhakulam near Thodupuzha was the leader of the movement. He was killed by police in an encounter with Naxalates at Thirunelly forest. See O.M. Varghese Op.cit and O.K. Johny, *Wynad Rekhakal*, (Malayalam), (Calicut, 2001) Pp. 150-170.

²³⁶ Jenmis of Malabar domesticated cows and cattle without any restrictions. They destroyed cultivation of the migrants. In most cases migrants were in fear of Jenmis. In certain other cases clashes occurred between them. For example : Chilambikunnel Kochu of Konnakkad, threatened jenmi to kill his cows. There after no such problems from that jenmi occurred. See *Konnakkad Charithrathiloode* (Mal.) St. Marys, Church Souvenir, (Konnakkad, 1999) pp.1-15.

Gunda Menace

Another hardship to which the migrants were exposed to was that they were under the threat of local jenmis, edajenmis and their gundas and other powerful and influential classes. Every where in Malabar, we can see the same state of affairs existed. At Bandadukka, Kodoth family, Konnakkad and Balat Karimbil Kunhikkoman and Kunhambu, Alakode – P.R. Ramavarma Raja, Naduvil Rayarappan Nambiar, Thiruvambadi – Mukkath Alikutty, Mannarghat – Kalladi family, Pulpally – Kuppathode Madhavan Nair etc.

In certain incidents rich and powerful migrants withstood and faced the challenges of the powerful land owning classes of Malabar.²³⁷

In addition to diseases, poverty, attack by wild animals and local feudal lords and their gundas, resulted in death of many settlers. Local police, government officials etc. favoured them. The aim behind all these threats was to extract money from the migrants. The feudal lords gave money to S.I., C.I, and DYSP of police to protect the goons. Mr. P.J. Jacob, Kainadi was a victim of the gunda attacks on several occasions. On one occasion gundas and their patrons wanted Rs.5000/- from him. He informed the attack and threat on his life and property by gundas to District Superintendent of Police, Calicut, for action. The Police Superintendent was head of police in entire Malabar. Police charged cases against

²³⁷ Kalluvelil Brothers at Chempanoda reacted against the atrocities of Mukkath Alikutty. Interview with Dr. P.K. Michael Tharakan, Trivandrum, dt. 5.7.2002.

the accused. The verdict of the Sessions Court, Tellicherry was for the imprisonment of gundas and gunda leaders. The Sub Inspector of Police, who supported gundas was also remanded in judicial custody for eighteen months.²³⁸

Eviction Threat

The peasant settlers always faced eviction threat by the jenmis, edajenmis etc. Poor peasants from Travancore purchased land at a cheaper price in Malabar. These land transactions, in most cases were on verbal agreement (Vakkal Charthu). There was no sufficient land record to prove the ownership of the migrants. This naturally led to eviction threat to them. The eviction threat to the migrants were mainly on the basis of three issues – Adivasi land, excess land of jenmies and private forest nationalization Act. In most cases migrants unknowingly purchased land by fulfilling the agreement with land owner or his agent. As a step to restore the lost land of adivasis (tribal land) the Government of Kerala passed necessary orders, in many cases these lands now owned and cultivated by the peasant settlers. So with these legislations many settler families are on the brink of eviction. The fact is that, in many cases they purchased the land having proper land documents

²³⁸ Interview with P.J. Jacob Kainadi, Chevayur, dtd. 3.1.1985. Also see C.M.I. St. Thomas Province, Bulletin, 1994, pp.71-74.

and were cultivating it for more than 40 years. In certain other cases they knowingly encroached adivasi lands.²³⁹

Cheating of adivasis by migrants may be an isolated case. So it is not worth to generalize this. In Malavayal kuruman colony about hundreds of small farmers (migrant) settled down purchasing land from adivasis. Most of these adivasis and migrants were having the same pattern of life. All of them were agricultural labourers. Neelamanga Pachanmoopan, an adivasi of this colony had seven acres of land. Most of the land sold by him for the existing market price. He told Mathew Manimala, Malayala Manorama reporter that there was no cheating in these deals. Poolakkal Krishnan from Ottapalam, Mr. Moidu from Kondotty and K.K. Thankappan from Panthalam had land purchased 6,50 and 23 cents respectively from adivasis. Now the settlers are in fear of eviction from their land on the ground that they had purchased adivasi land. Infact, in many cases the

²³⁹ Widespread agitation started all over Malabar against the move to evict migrated peasants on the ground that they had occupied tribal lands. As a part of agitation Malayora Karshaka Samithi, Wayanad District Committee conducted a dharna strike in front of Wayanad Collectorate on 23rd Sept. 1987. Similar type of agitations and counter agitations took place in Attapadi (Palghat District). The timely intervention of police helped to maintain situation under control. Interview with A.C. Varkey, Chairman FARMCO, Nadavayal, dt. 7.11.2001 and Malayala Manorama Daily, 11th September 1987. At Panathur in Kasaragode district, Shylaja, a 16 year old girl committed suicide. She was desperate because of the compulsory eviction by the government from their house and landed property on the ground that their land belonged to adivasi land. See Deepika Daily, November, 2.6.1996.

present occupants of the land may be holding the land of the three or four levels of land transaction. He is unaware of the nature of land i.e. Adivasi land or not.²⁴⁰

Farmers resisted the move of Revenue officials to evict 71 families from Panathady Panchayat – Pannathour, Mylatty, Kunduppalli, Puthuradukkam, Parakadave etc. They (peasants) organized jatha and public meetings in protest of the eviction move. The issue is also related to adivasi land problem. In 1987 government invited 22 landless families to settle down at Pala excess land in Muzhukunnu Panchayat. But on the basis of Kerala High Court verdict of 1997 August, these 22 families were evicted from the land, but Government of Kerala promised them to grant 4.75 lakh to them. So far no remedial measures have been taken. So they formed an action committee and Block Panchayat member V. Raju threatened to start hunger strike from 27th October, 1997 onwards. At Cheengeri near Ambalavayal 123 families are in eviction threat. These 123 families were living in 90 acres of land of which 25 families got Patta for their land. They settled there between 1954 – 64. At Vietnam Colony near Keezhpalli (Iritty) when Revenue officers with police escort tried to evict farmers Nannath Moideen tried to commit suicide in protest against eviction.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ P. Varghese former Sulthan Battery Panchayath President and Waynad Kudikidappu Sangham President is firmly criticized the move on the part of government to evict migrants, from their land on the ground of adivasi land. Vazhavatta Bharathan, Adivasi Sangham president is also against this eviction threat of poor migrants, to avoid rivalry between the two subaltern poor groups. Also see Malayala Manorama Daily, dt. 15.11.1975.

²⁴¹ See Deepika daily, 6.3.96, 23.4.96, 24.9.96 and 25.10.1997.

The settlers bought land from intermediaries in Malabar. The common procedure of land transaction of that time was that migrants will pay the amount to intermediaries who owned the land with out any documents. The transactions were only on verbal agreement [Vakkal charthu]. For instance at Nadukkandam near Anakkampoyil in Kozhikode district, migration started from 1959 onwards. They migrated from various places of Travancore purchased 80 acres of land from intermediaries. Later, 87 families of this region received land board notice for eviction. But in many cases, peasants had proper land documents – pattayam, tax receipt, registration of Rubber Board etc. These categories were also under threat of eviction.²⁴² All over Malabar this type of threat to the basic existence of poor peasants can be seen. They purchased land from intermediaries with out proper documents but on oral consent. The document of the land and the ownership of the land is the yielding coconut, arecanut trees bearing red pearls, various varieties of pepper vine, rubber plantations etc. This is nothing more and nothing less their documents.²⁴³

In 1940's government purchased land for Wayanad colonization scheme for

²⁴² Malayala Manorama Daily, 22.8.1976 for instance in 1960 Vernarrukunnail Varkey bought 3.63 cent land @ 750 per acre paid total Rs.2880/- to the intermediaries. Puthu Parambil Mathayi bought 4 acres of land @ Rs.100/- per acre. They possessed proper documents including tax receipt, Patta etc. He is also under eviction threat on the ground that this land is forest land. In Anakkam Poyil, Churrathottiyil Augustine, owner of 3 ½ acres of land due to tension linked with eviction threat fall unconscious on the way to his residence from Anakkam Poyil village town. Also see Malayala Manorama 23.8.1976.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

the settlement of ex-service men of the World War II. Settlers from Travancore purchased lands by paying money to village authorities settled in Ambalavayal, Sulthan Batheri, Noolpuzha, Vaduvanchal villages without knowing that this land belonged to Wayanad colonization scheme. Eviction started – settlers organized and formed an organization called 'Kudiparpu Sangham'. Communist party workers were behind it. At last orders issued in favour of settlers.²⁴⁴

About 21,000 acres of land was in Pulpally. Before 1950 about 6500 acres were sold of to adivasies and others with out any records.²⁴⁵ The bone of contention was that the problem hit area covered the remaining land of Rs.358/- IAIAI in 14,998 acres and 8 cents of land. This land was owned by Pulpally Devaswom. In 1951 District Collector ordered to give 2000 acres of land to farmers with Rs.5/- as 'Manusham' and Rs. 2/- as Pattam. Poor peasants migrated and occupied these forest lands in course of time.²⁴⁶ In the second stage people

²⁴⁴ In interview with N.A. Kumaran Ambalavayal, dtd. 10.10.1996.

²⁴⁵ Fr. Joseph Nechikkattu, "Pulpally Oru Anusmaranam" in *St. Thomas Church Marakave Blessing and Immigration silver jubilee souvenir*, (Malayalam), (Marakave, 1980) pp.1-30.

²⁴⁶ P.C. Celin, Varshantha, (Kodancherry, 1981); pp.10-14 by about 1961, the total area of 8975 acres of land including 2000 acres of land occupied by migrants also sold to 15 big land lords. This new land lords began to sold the land to others with proper records (records which the land lords made with the help of higher officials). Thus the land issue started and by 1967 the eviction started. People organized under their vicar Fr. Joseph Nechikkattu. They formed an organization "Pulpally Karshaka Samithi" The office bearers of the organization were Fr. Joseph Nechikkad as patron. Kudyppil Joseph, Joseph General Captain Tharapath General Secretary, police brutality started. Huts of peasants burnt, destroyed their cultivation. Their intention was to evict 4500 families on the charge of encroachment. Peasants shouted and resisted against this move.

resisted police forces in several places. In place of burnt huts they built new ones within two days. At last police force were compelled to stop their brutalities. Gradually government also knew the real situation in Wayanad. Actually these migrant farmers were cheated by the land lords of Malabar by selling land to them without proper records. On the other hand they received the price of the land very accurately.²⁴⁷ A public meeting was organized to protest against eviction on November 22, 1968.

Naxal leader Varghese was a spectator at the meeting and the Naxal leaders considered this as an apt time for their intervention. So they decided to attack the police MSP camp at Pulpally. On 24th morning they began the attack.²⁴⁸ The attack was not a success as the sub inspector of police, who was the main target of the Naxals was not at the station when the incident took place. However, a constable was killed and a Naxalite, Kisan Thomman, who was severely

²⁴⁷ Interview with P.K. Madhavan, K.M. Mathayi, M.M. Devasia at Pulpally, dtd. 3.5.1984. The fact is that at Pulpally number of peasant families came and settled without any formalities. They came, cleared forest built huts, and started cultivation. In 1967 eviction threat, people organized cutting across political barrier and organized an organization called 'Karshaka Powrasamithi' K.M. Mathai as President, Kisan Thomman as Vice President. Joseph Vadavana, T.V. Jacob Secretaries. The representatives of peasants travelled to Trivandrum several times and informed the situation to Chief Minister and other ministers. Finally they gave memorandum to Forest Minister N.K. Krishnan and he ordered to stop eviction at Pulpally— interview with K.A. Kesavan Pulpally, dt 24-5-1985.

²⁴⁸ In news paper there was an advertisement, of the sale of Pulpally Devaswom land @ 5/- to needy on Maruapattam basis. But peasants from Travancore had to pay 5 + 35 = 40 to Devaswom (Rs. 35 to Devaswom Manager). Thus they got land but later by 1967, they faced eviction threat.

wounded in an accidental bomb blast was shot dead by his comrades at his own request.

In 1958, then Irrigation Minister, V.R. Krishna Aiyar showed keen interest in building a 52 metre dam across Karyancode river at Kakkadavu. The Kakkadavu project was expected to help paddy cultivation in 3500 acres of land and to increase paddy production to 112800 tonnes. However, this project was shelved for a very long period.

The file was re-opened in 1978 and the Government of Kerala went ahead with land survey and other necessary works to implement the Kakkadavu project. By this time, a large number of peasants had occupied the project area. They were up in arms against the proposed project as the dam was to sink over 1000 acres of cultivated land, besides making thousands of families homeless. The farmers also realised that they would be deprived of their lands and a living one the dam was built. This fear led to widespread agitation led by all political parties, MLAs, Bishop of Tellicherry and priests. They took out protest marches to the Kannur Collectorate, taluk and village offices.²⁴⁹

Since last 30 years migrant families from Travancore settled down at Vazhamala, Narrikodumala, Chathirikkal mala, Mundashan Kunnu, Podikkalam. Now they are facing eviction threat on the ground that these lands are part of

²⁴⁹ *Palavayal Kudiyetta Smaranika*, (Palavayal, 1999) pp.83-93.

Vadakkelakam excess land. The Malabar Karshaka Samithi led by church leadership filed an O.P at Hon'ble High Court of Kerala (OP.NO. 13446/96) and stay order was obtained. They organized wide demonstrations against eviction of peasants.²⁵⁰

Disputes over the ownership of land often led to civil and criminal cases. In several instances rich farmers, land lords and jenmis evicted the poor farmers without any resistance. But in certain cases the affected parties filed petition to the police and followed civil procedures.²⁵¹

Several eviction cases were reported in Malabar. There was no proper land records for the migrants. They purchased lands having no proper documents and cultivated it unaware of the impending threat of eviction. Many of such assigned plots either belonged or claimed by government or jenmis. This led to eviction threats. A number of popular agitations followed. These agitations were organized and led by popular leaders like A.K.G., Fr. Vadakan etc.²⁵²

At Kottiyur, the land belonged to Kottiyur Devaswom. Migrants bought land from the Devaswom on Verumpattam basis. But later in 1956 the Nair Service

²⁵⁰ Girideepam (Tellicherry, Nov. 1997) p.36.

²⁵¹ Landlord Mukkath Alikutty was arrested by the police in charge that he evicted certain peasants at Kavilumpara village near Kuttiyadi. He got bail from the court. See Mathrubhumi Daily, Calicut June 4,1949, The case was charged under I.P.C. 148, 448, 379.

²⁵² P.C. Celin *Varshantha* Kodachery government Village Magazine, (Kodancherry, 1981) pp.7-9.

Society bought the land for a nominal value from Kottiyur Devaswom and they demanded further money from the peasants for their possession of the land. Settlers resisted this move to evict them from their cultivable land. In this case final victory was for them.²⁵³

Gudallur Eviction

Though Gudallur and Shimoga are not included in Kerala most of the affected parties in these two evictions were Malayalis. So let us examine these eviction problems too. Gudallur, was formerly formed part of Malabar District. By the end of 19th century it was merged with Nilagiri district.

In 1929 'Malabar kudiayama Niyamam' was implemented in Gudallur (the Madras Government notified this in the Gazetteer in 1945) to protect the farmers from exploitation of land lords and jennies. Lured by the Kudiayama Niyamam a lot of Malayali peasants migrated to Gudallur and started cultivation. Majority of these migrants were from Meenachil, Kothamangalam and Thodupuzha in Kerala. They had to undergo all types of hardships suffered by early migrants. Around

²⁵³ M.C. Saviour "Kottiyur Kudiyetta Charithram" in *St. Sebastian's Church Souvenir* (Kottiyur, 1993), pp.19-20. Joseph Vadakan, Entekuthippum Kithappum (Mal.) (Trichur, 1973) p.146. In 1961, N.S.S. Purchased 3000 acres of land on melcharth from Kottiyur Devaswom which led to the eviction of those families who had already occupied and cultivated the land on the basis of oral lease from the concerned authorities and also by way of encroachments. These families united and led a large peasant mobilization against it under the leadership of Fr. Vadakkan and B. Willington.

95% of the population at Gudallur were Malayalies.²⁵⁴ Eviction began in 1972. Farmers organized under Gudallur Karshakasangham led by Advocate M.J. Cheriyan, Fr. Parakkal and later by Fr. Joseph Vadakkan and many others led the mass agitations. The agitators had to face brutal lathicharges, police firing etc. In 1978 Mr. Louis Thuruthiyil committed suicide in front of the Gudallur R.D.O office. Later in 1979 T.V. Joseph also committed suicide because of the eviction threat and police persecution.²⁵⁵ The suicides attracted much media coverage and nation wide protest. The government was forced to stall all eviction proceedings.

Shimoga Eviction

Migrants from Travancore settled in 3600 acres of land at Shimoga in

²⁵⁴ By the order of G.O. M.S. 2384, dtd. 18.5.1960, the holders of three acres of land were eligible for getting permanent deeds (Pattayam). William Phense, "Gudallur Prasnam" (Mal.), is K.C.Y.M. Publication No.11 (Trivandrum 1982) pp.1-16.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Eviction of settlers at Gudallur in Tamilnadu under D.F.O. Marimuthu on 1978 Oct. 4. at 6 am at Machikolly region virtually attacked by forest officials with the help of police. This area is closely connected with Kerala. Arrest and lathi charge started, destroyed houses and cultivation, attacked and destroyed Machikolli Christian Church and evicted 80 families of Machikolli. Media persons like Malayala Manorama's Mathew Manimala and Mathew Kadhalikadu, reached there. Police prevented them from taking the photos of the debris – houses, church and cultivation. They kept the reporters under illegal custody. T.K. Louis Thuruthiyil was the leader of settlers of Machikolli. He was an artist from Nadavayal in Wayanad, who had later migrated to Gudallur. Louis reached the RDO office on a October 7, 1978. Louis wrote a few letters to authorities, his wife and children and put them in a tin box. He then poured Kerosene over his body and torched himself. This attracted the attention of the whole nation. Government stopped eviction, and decided to issue documents to them. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu M.G. Ramachandran visited the house of Louis. Thousands of people attended the funeral of Sri. Louis Machikolli re-named as Louis Nagar. Also see P.M. Mathew "Gudallur Kudiyirrakku" *Diocese of Mananthavady Special Bulletin*, (Mananthavady, 1979), 1979, pp.45-50.

Karnataka. Land was owned by a jenmi called Kalling Rao. Due to unforeseen reasons settlers didn't get the proper documents from him. Then the Karnataka Government evicted 500 families of Kerala migrants from Shimoga. They settled in 5 acres of land provided by District Congress Committee President Dhananma. Rev. Bishop Sebastian Velloppilly, intervened. He met chief minister Nijaligappa, who promised to settle the issue. But Chief Minister's assurance to the Bishop never materialised. So Rev. Sebastian Velloppilly bought 263 hectares of land at Payyavoor and handed over, two acres each to 250 families. By this time other families had returned to Travancore. The fertility of the soil at Payyavoor Shimoga colony was very bad. Farmers availed loans from the government for soil conservation but failed to repay it in time. Again recovery threat started. The settlers observed a hunger strike in front of Kannur Collectorate. Then Chief Minister of Kerala, K. Karunakaran intervened in the issue and gave directions to write off their agricultural debt. Thomas Thamarassery was the best all round leader of settlers of Shimoga colony. Twenty five families still live in Shimoga Colony.²⁵⁶

Usury

Shortage of cash often drove the migrants into the trap of an expensive credit system. In the bitter intervals between earnings they were compelled to turn

²⁵⁶ Interview with Rt. Rev. Dr. Sebastian Valloppilly, Tellicherry, dt. 24.8.2001 and also see Malayala Manorama Daily, November 24, 1999.

to the generosity of the local shopkeeper who would tide them over to the limit of his slim resources (what else could the merchant do when all his customers were in the same miserable condition). As debts mounted up in the grocer's book, the migrants lost the freedom to shop, paid in the price of their food, the interest and more.²⁵⁷

In this transactions, local merchants, majority of them Muslims acted as money lenders before the formation of Aikyananaya Sanghams, later co-perative Banks, Commercial Banks and Gramin Banks. Money lending in various forms with cut throat interest prevailed in Malabar.

There was immense scope for agriculture in Malabar. But it was hindered by shortage of funds. With the introduction of state wide rationing and monopoly procurement of surpluses by the state, it became difficult to get paddy loans during the Monsoon period to be returned after the harvest. Local money lenders made use of this situation by advancing money to the poor cultivators on security of gold and land. For cash loans local money lenders took pronotes for 50 percent more than the principal sum, to be returned with the interest at local rates.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ For details of the working of usury in international and national situation see Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Toronto 1973) p.71, and Balakrishna, *Interest and Usury Sir Asuthosh Memorial Volume* (Edit). J.N. Samaddar (Patna 1928) pp.277-301.

²⁵⁸ Sivaswamy, K.G. *Op.cit.*, P.H. and also interview with Rev. Joseph Taffereal dtd. 7.4.1985.

In certain parts of Malabar agitations were organized by the political parties and other organizations against this type of exploitation of the poor peasants. In Wayanad it gained militancy and ended with naxalite insurgency organized by A. Varghese.²⁵⁹

The business community also advanced money on crops like tapioca and pepper, on condition that for a loan of Rs.100/-, agricultural products worth Rs.200/- should be returned. At Sulthan's Battery and Vayattuparamba, the mopla traders advanced loans on the pledge of paddy, ginger, tapioca and cattles. Interest was collected at the rate of 50 percent on loans, where the cattle were pledged for security.²⁶⁰

'Vilamurikkal' was a common style which prevailed all over Malabar through which merchants (in certain cases other rich people including rich settlers) advance money to the poor peasants. In this transaction a peasant will be a victim of three dimensional exploitation. For example, the market price of one packet

²⁵⁹ Jenmis of higher castes in Wayanad exploited both migrant cultivators and tribals. Peasants and tribals led by A. Varghese revolted against this injustice. Later it assumed a colour of militancy under the banner of naxalite movement in Wayanad. The leader of rebellion Mr. A. Varghese was a migrated peasant from Vazhakulam, near Thodupuzha and he was brutally killed by police at Thirunelli forest in Wayanad. For further details see O.M. Varghese *Op.cit.*, p.311-12. Also see O.K Johny, Wayanad rekhakal, (Malayalam) (Calicut, 2001).

²⁶⁰ Interview with Davasia Alias Kochu, Vadakkayil Kodencheri dtd. 4.9.1986, I. Jockin, Trichamparam, dtd. 17.3.1985. Also see Sivaswamy, K.G. and Others p.14.

paddy (5 'para') was Rs.15/-. In vilamurikal transaction the price of one packet paddy was fixed at Rs.5/- instead of Rs.15/-. The amount ie. Rs.5/- was not paid in cash, Rs.1.50/- will be paid in cash and remaining 3 ½ paid in kind for . Even in the sale of the grocery worth Rs.3 ½ the real price would be Rs. 2/- since because the merchant will naturally fix much higher price for it.²⁶¹

This was the common pattern of money lending in Malabar. Instead of paddy, other materials like tapioca, pepper and other hill products also were sold in advance in this Vilamurikkal transaction. It was against this in most settlement areas migrants and locals formed 'aikyananaya Sanghams'. Later this sangham transformed into primary Co-operative Societies.²⁶²

With the formation of Co-operative Banks throughout Malabar the percentage of exploitation decreased.²⁶³ The role of political leadership in this matter should be positively remembered. By 1940-50 under K.P.C.C. leader

²⁶¹ Money lenders exploited settlers and adivasis. For examples one adivasi (Kuruman caste) had debt with a merchant. During crops season he had cleared all debts except 2 pai (2 paise). The money lender told him that he had to pay two more pai to the former. In the tribal local usage 'pai' means calf. So he thought that 2 pai means 2 calves. So he gave one calf to the money lender and he assured that at the earliest he will give the other calf also. This is the pattern through which money lenders exploited the illiterate, unsophisticated, poor adivasis and migrant settlers in Malabar.

²⁶² Interview with Rev. Mathayi Nooranal Sultan's Battery, 21.11.2001 and Sebastian Joseph, "Wayanad Aranootadinidayil" in *Discover Wayanad* (Kalpetta 1995) pp.113-127 Also see Joseph Kuravilangad, *Konippadikal* (Calicut 1991) pp.318-319. Interview with K.M Mathew, Chapparapadavu, dt. 14.3.1998.

²⁶³ Interview with early migrants who lost their land in this way. Thomas Kollamparambil, Vellade dt. 3.6.1988. Padinjare Veetil Lakshmi dt. 3.6.1988 and Chacko Thekkumkattil, Odayanchal dt. 13.2.1999.

K. Kelappan, Congress Party formed 'gramodharana sanghams'. As an offshoot of this organization Aikyananaya sanghams with Rs.5.25 per share, was formed. The holder of one share was eligible for a loan Rs.50/- from the Sangham. One person holding 20 shares, was eligible to get Rs.500/- as loan. These Aikyananaya Sanghams and Co-operative Banks helped settlers to a large extent.²⁶⁴

Civil and Criminal Cases

Another type of hardship and difficulties faced by the settlers in the early stages of migration was police cases, court cases, threat from jemmies etc. Up to 1970's jenmi landlordism prevailed in Malabar and its elements played a vital role in their attitude towards settlers. In several cases they became victims of cheating by landlord or intermediaries. But political leaders like K. Kelappan, A.K. G., K.A. Keraleeyan, A.C. Kannan Nair and a number of veteran leaders whole heartedly supported them. The feudal elements and hostile attitude towards settlers by certain landlords and intermediaries dragged them to civil and criminal cases.

In connection with the construction of Christian churches, schools, roads, many police and court cases were charged against the priests and migrant

²⁶⁴ P.J. Varkey "Kudiyetta Janathayude Puthan Prateeksha:"(Mal.), in Fr. Mani Kandathil Jubilee Souvenir, Karikkottakkiri, 1984, p.95.

leaders.²⁶⁵ In 1941 Cheriyan Kadalikkattil bought 500 acres of land from Mukkath Moideen Haji at Kunduthodu. He planted coconut trees. The growth of coconut trees caught the attention of the landlord. He made a hidden agenda to recapture the land.²⁶⁶ Perumanna Estate owner O.C. Jose was arrested by Quilandy Police under IPC 379, 381, 447, 408, 420. Calicut sub divisional Magistrate gave bail to him. The charge against him was that he encroached government owned Koothali estate land and instigated Travancore settlers to settle in the estate land.²⁶⁷

Mr. Thomas from Travancore bought land through registered document from Mannarkad Moopil Nair and he planted rubber. At the same time, the same jenmi sold the same land to Kuthiravattathu Bhaskaran Thampan. So Bhaskaran Thampan cut off about 700 rubber sapplings of Mr. Thomas as a symbol of his

²⁶⁵ The establishment of Thiruvambadi Christian Church led to a series of cases. When the Parishioners under Rev. Kerubin started the construction work, the jenmi of the land Manniledeth Karthiyayini Amma filed a suit at Calicut Assistant Munsif Court, vide O.P. No. 935 dt. 9.11.1958. Interview with K.L. Poullose, Thiruvambadi, 20.7.1975. P.N. Chidambaran, Thiruvambadi, 20.7.1985. M.J. Michael, Thiruvambadi, 21.7.1985. P.J. Thomas, Thiruvambadi, 21.7.1985.

²⁶⁶ Land lord Moideen Haji deliberately, did not receive the land rent. The existing land tenure was that when a tenant not remitted the land rent, for the three consecutive years, will be evicted. Cheriyan knew the trap of Haji and he played another trick ie, he borrowed Rs.1000 from Haji and returned it through money order to Haji and kept the money order receipt. After three years Haji filed a suit to evict Cheriyan on the ground that he had not remitted the rent. Cheriyan produced money order receipt in the court and claimed that he had paid the rent through money order. Finally O.P. was disposed in favour of Kadhalikkattil Cheriyan. See Joseph Kuruvilangad *Op.cit.*, p.280 and Interview with Mathew Kadhalikkat, Journalist, Calicut dt. 5.1.2002.

²⁶⁷ *Mathrubhumi* Daily 13.4.1947, p.5.

right over the property. Subsequently, agent of Mr. Thomas filed a petition at subdivisional Magistrate Court of Malappuram.²⁶⁸

Many such cases of disputes over the ownership of land were reported all over Malabar. Many poor peasants were evicted from their land, actually purchased and cultivated by them. But rich peasants like Mr. Thomas got judicial help. The officials especially revenue and civil supplies, officials were hostile towards migrants. This can't be generalized. In isolated cases depending on the nature, influence of the settler and the real issue, they showed a type of 'anti' attitude. We would like to put an example for this attitude of bureaucracy. It was connected with appropriation of land cess, levy etc. in Thiruvambadi areas. Civil supplies officers usually came with gundas and antisocials to extract the levy of production from the peasant migrants. In fact, the entire paddy produce will be taken away by them as levy. This created a sense of insecurity among the farmers. At last Rev. Athanesious intervened and the problem was brought to the attention of District Collector of Calicut, and the Collector gave direction to stop these inhuman actions.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ *Mathrubhumi* (Three in week,), 22.2.1930. p.6.

²⁶⁹ Interview with Rev. Berthelomew C.M.I., Koodathayi, dt. 16.1.2002.

The life of these migrants were chequered with sunspots of utter penury and threatening lacunae of hopelessness. However, those who could somehow survive these hardships did creditable works and left indelible marks in the history of these settlement areas. The painstaking efforts of these settlement 'fathers' form a silver line in the gloomy historical bygone days of these areas.

CHAPTER III

ORGANIZED INTERVENTIONS

The organized settlements in the Malabar regions, has 'its' golden history, though underlined by a series of hardships, which the early settlers underwent. It speaks volumes and volumes on the systematic schemes employed by various organizations like the churches, NSS and other organizations in the setting up of schools, colleges, hospitals in the hilly areas of these places, the significant role it has played in the large scale development of this area, especially in the agricultural field. The migrants from Travancore to Malabar can be classified into two : (1) the isolated or individual and (2) the organized group. The latter's contribution to development and their history is to be noted and studied in detail. It all began with Late Prof. V.J. Joseph. It was he who first noticed the large areas of uncultivated forest in the hilly regions of Malabar.

In the realm of organized migration, the role of Mar. Alexander-Choolapparambil, Bishop of the Diocese of Kottayam and Prof. V.J. Joseph is to be remembered. They had established three colonies in Malabar – Rajapuram, Alex Nagar and Ranipuram. Prof. V.J. Joseph was the president of Knanaya Catholic Congress. He was working as a Professor at Mangalore. In his journey from Mangalore to Kottayam he used to collect information about the availability of cultivable land in the eastern hill ranges of Malabar side. It was known for its rich flora and fauna. At the same time he had another advantage, i.e. many of his

students belonged to the families of the land lords of these regions.¹ Being very religious and committed to Christianity the idea of establishing Christian colonies in these areas flashed in his mind, and without any delay, he consulted the Bishop of Kottayam and other heads of the Church, and the organized migration began.

Abundant land at cheap price, the enforced poverty and famine due to war and the fascinating appeal of the churches and various other factors accelerated the colonization in several areas such as Rajapuram, Madampam, Ranipuram, Chungathara, Shimoga, etc.

Migration under Knanaya Catholic Diocese of Kottayam

It was Prof. V.J. Joseph who had suggested the idea of settlements of Knanaya catholic colonies in Malabar under the leadership of Kottayam Diocese. But at the same time it was a dangerous and awful thing to migrate to these forest region. Mar. Alexander Choolapparambil, the Bishop, discussed this idea of Prof. Joseph with his colleagues in the Bishop House. They wholeheartedly agreed to the suggestions of Prof. Joseph and entrusted him to purchase land for the same purpose.²

¹ Interview with P.C. Luckose Master, Panathadi, 5.10.2001.

² *Kottayam Diocese, Platinum Jubilee Smaranika 1911-1986*, (Kottayam, 1986) pp.98-100.

Rajapuram Colony

As Prof. Joseph had intimate connections with the landlords in Kanhangad – Kasargode areas, it was not difficult for him to find out suitable land for establishing a settler's colony in Malabar. He bought 1800 acres of land at Panathadi village in Hosdurg Taluk. The land belonged to Kakkottumadam Kovilakam of Nileswhar Royal Family. On March 26, 1942, he formally registered the sale of 1800 acres of land at Hosdurg Sub Registrar Office, Kanhangad.³ After the purchase of land in Malabar, the church leadership of Kottayam Diocese, made enough propaganda for the colonization programme in Rajapuram (formerly Echikol). Public meetings and seminars were organized under the leadership of Knanaya Catholic Congress in various parts of Central Travancore.⁴

Subsequently they invited application from the interested parties for colonization programme. The price fixed for one acre of land was Rs.8/-. The authorities decided to allot 72 blocks of land and each block consisted of 12 ½ acres of land. They further decided to send 72 families from Travancore to

³ P.C. Lukose, *Notes on Rajapuram Kudiyettam*, unpublished Manuscript, p.4. also see K.G. Sivaswamy *et al.*, *The Exodus From Travancore to Malabar*, (Coimbatore, 1945), p.5-6.

⁴ In these meetings Prof. V.J. Joseph, Rev. Thomas Tharayil, Rev. Cyriac Mattathil, Adv. Cheriyan Ottathaikkal etc. explained the importance and objectives of the colonization. see Joseph Kuravilangad, *Konippadikal* (Calicut, 1991), pp.607-609.

Rajapuram.⁵ But the number of applicants to the scheme was much more than 72. Under these circumstance certain families offered to share their block of land with their friends or relatives by giving half of the land they possessed.

Before the arrival of the selected families to Rajapuram a pioneer team reached Rajapuram to make a survey of the land. They stayed at government Tourist Bungalow at Kallar and later they shifted to another building called 'Ummachi Banglow'.⁶ This team surveyed and divided land into 72 blocks. The selection and allotment of the blocks of land was done by drawing the lot. Majority of the colonizers to Rajapuram came from Punnathura, Kattachira, Kidangur, Mattakkara, Koodallur, Piravam, Arunoo, Itimangalam, Karinkunnam etc.

The colonizers commenced their long journey to Rajapuram on 2nd February, 1943 under the leadership of Rev. Mathew Cherussery from Kottayam to Ernakulam by boat, and Ernakulam to Shornur by train, then Shornur to Kanhangad

⁵ The number 72 is a symbol of the Knanaya migration under Thomas of Cana from Syria to Kerala in 345 A.D. Faith and tradition says that there were about 400 members including 72 families- One Bishop – Mar Joseph of Uraha, two Kasisas, two Chemachans etc. in the area. For the detailed list of Heads of 72 families, see Appendix VIII. also see P.T. Sebastian, Kasargode Distict (Mal.) in Jillicharithram, Kasargode District (Kasargode, 2002) . Pp. 200-205

⁶ This team was led by Prof. V.J. Joseph, Rev. Lucko Kattappuram, Rev. Jacob Mudakkalil, a land surveyer and a cook were also included in the team. At first they received the migrant at Kanhangad railwaystation on their arrival on 4th Feb. 1943. They stayed at Latin Church, Kanhangad. For details see E.P. Mathew "Malabar Kudiyyettavum Knanaya Catholica Congressum" (Mal.) in Golden Jubilee Souvenir of Knanaya Catholica Congress, (Kottayam, 1988) pp.27-29.

were they shifted to another train. Their journey from Kanhgad to Rajapuram was on foot or in bullock carts. This was the nature of their exodus to Rajapuram.⁷

On 5th February, 1943 the settlers reached Rajapuram. Before their arrival, the pioneer team had constructed a temporary shed with 20 feet width and 100 feet length. This shed was used as temporary residence as well as prayer hall of the settlers.⁸

The next day, a meeting of all the settlers under Rev. Mathew Cherusseri and V.J. Joseph, resolved to introduce a new name to 'Echikkol'. They named it as 'Rajapuram' after a prolonged discussion. They unanimously approved the name 'Rajapuram' and Echikkol was Chrished 'Rajapuram'. The name 'Rajapuram' means Jesus' Kingdom (Kristhu Rajyam).

The landed property at Rajapuram town was also divided in to 72 plots. Each plot having 3 ¼ cents of land were also allotted to the settlers. The migrants immediately occupied their land and started cultivation. They cleared the forests, built temporary huts and Erumadams for their shelter. In this venture they received

⁷ Mathew Manimala, Malayala Manorama Daily, Dec. 10, 1999. Also Interview with Ullatil Eli, Rajapuram, 4.10.2001, Mathew Padinhattu Nhalil, Rajapuram, 4.10.2001.

⁸ Mar. Kuriakose Kunnasseri, "Malabar Kudiyettathil Kottayam Roopathayude Pankalitham" (Mal.) in *Kudiyetta Charithravum Thamarasseri Mekhalayum* (Thiruvambadi, 1998) pp.66-68.

the help of other migrants.⁹ As noted earlier, the migrants of Rajapuram also had to face various forms of challenges for their existence. The main threat was from wild animals, especially of wild boars, monkeys, elephants etc. The Malarial fever, cholera, swelling, and other diseases resulted in a number of casualties and difficulties to the settlers of Rajapuram.¹⁰ To contain this severe situation the church fathers Rev. Luck Kattappuram and Rev. Jacob Mudakkalil distributed Quinine tablets among migrants. Fr. Mudakkalil travelled on his cycle from Malakkallu to Chullikkere and made his daily visits at the peasants and distributed Quinine tablets to them.¹¹

The organized leadership in the Rajapuram settlements helped the migrants in various levels. Unlike that of individual migration they were under the patronage of the Diocese of Kottayam. The leadership made all efforts to provide modified treatment of diseases, and facilities and advance for cultivation in marketing of agricultural produces. For instance, the existing interest rate at Rajapuram was 25 percent (for 6 months). To liberate the colonises from usury the church leadership sent Rev. Mathew Thekkanattu as superintendent of Rajapuram colony. He introduced a project to help peasants. Under this project the Church

⁹ Deepika Daily, 16.1.94, 27.11.1999.

¹⁰ For details of diseases and deaths see appendix III-b. Also see P.C. Luckose Master, *Notes on Rajapuram*, Unpublished Manuscript. See 'Canayi Muthal Rajapuram Vare' (Mal.) in Malayalam Manorama Daily, Feb.5, 1992.

¹¹ Ibid. Also see *Sacerdotal Silver Jubilee Souvenir of Rt. Rev. Sebastian Velloppilly*, (Tellicherry, 1970) pp.268-269.

gave loans to the farmers for which the latter had to pay only 10 percent as interest.¹²

In another case they brought tapioca seedlings in large quantity through special wagon of Railway and they collected tapioca and sold it directly in Bombay. The brain and leadership behind all these progressive ideas was Prof. V.J. Joseph.¹³

In June 1943 itself they had started a L.P. School at Rajapuram. In 1948 another school started functioning at Malakkallu. The Holy family school of Rajapuram, which has now been upgraded as a Higher Secondary School and Malakallu L.P. School upgraded as U.P. School belongs to this category. The Diocese of Kottayam established a college (Pious X college) at Rajapuram. The settlement area of Rajapuram is now developed like any other settlements in Malabar.¹⁴

¹² C.K. Varkey, "Malabar Kudiyettavum Kasargode Jillayum" (Mal.), in *Kasargode District Souvenir* (Kasargode, 1985), page no. not mentioned.

¹³ Interview with Kudunilamkuzhiyil Korakkutty, Rajapuram 3.10.2001. Chacko Valiyaparambil, Rajapuram, 3.10.2001.

¹⁴ Public institutions like telephone exchanges, electricity offices, post offices, banks, hospitals etc. were serving the needs of the people of this area. See P.T. Sebastian, "Malabar Kudiyettam Oru Visakalanam" (Mal.) in *Rajatha Jubilee Smaranika Holy Family High School*, (Rajapuram, 1986), pp.23-26.

Alex Nagar Colony

The Diocese of Kottayam started three colonies in northern part of Kerala – Rajapuram colony, Alex Nagar colony (Madampam) and Ranipuram colony. The main source of inspiration behind this was Prof. V.J. Joseph. His idea was to establish at least five colonies in between Trichur and Kasargode. After purchasing land for Rajapuram colony, he turned his attention to start a Knanaya colony at Madampam.

After initial investigations Professor Joseph purchased 1969 acre and 87 cents of land at Madampam area near Sreekantapuram from Karikkattidam Nayanar. This area of land was spread over Sreekantapuram, Kanhileri and Eruvessi villages. The documents of the purchase of land was registered as No.984/1943.¹⁵

The total purchased land was divided into about 104 plots and was assigned to 104 families. But at the linitial stage, only 39 families came to live at Madampam.¹⁶

¹⁵ Chacko Manthuruthil, "Alex Nagar Kudiyettam Oru Anubhava Sakshyam" (Mal.) in the *Souvenir of Malabar Knanaya Kudiyetta Suvarna Jubilee 1943-1993* (Kannur 1993), pp.17-19.

¹⁶ M.J. Chacko, "Ente Ormakkurippukal" (Mal.) in *The Parish Directory*, Lourde Forance Church, (Madampam, 2001), pp.17-19. For the list of migrants see Appendix IX.

The first team of migrants started from Kottayam on 7th May 1943 and they reached Madampam on 9th morning. Their journey was more or less similar to the journey of the settlers of Rajapuram. They were received at Madampam by a team led by Prof. V.J. Joseph, Mamalasseri Abraham and others.¹⁷

Rev. Mathew Cherrusseri was the leader of the migrants in their exodus from Travancore to Madampam. Prof. V.J. Joseph had already bought necessary tiles for settlers' temporary huts. He had also collected and stored paddy for the consumption of migrants. Immediately after reaching Madampam, they constructed a temporary shed having 70 feet length and 25 feet width for their temporary stay at Madampam. This shed, was also used as their church, for their prayer and Holy Mass. Rev. Mathew Cherusseri and Prof. V.J. Joseph, after consulting with the migrants named the colony as Alex Nagar colony. This name is a mark of respect to Bishop Mar Alexander Choolapparambil, to commemorate his love and affection for the migrant.¹⁸

After reaching Madampam, the settlers occupied their own blocks of land and started hut building and cultivation. The early hardships which they faced were

¹⁷ M.J. Chacko Master, *Notes on Madampam Migration*. Unpublished Manuscripts.

¹⁸ Mathrubhumi Daily, June 16, 1993, p.7. Also see Interview with Mathayi Poovathummoottil, Madampam 24.10.1992. And K.G. Sivaswami, *et al.*, *Ibid.* pp.24-29.

much more than that of their counter parts at Rajapuram.¹⁹ Later they established Mary Land School and Lourde church at Madampam. Now this area Alex Nagar colony, has developed like any other settlements in Malabar.

Ranipuram colony

Ranipuram colony is the third colony established under Diocese of Kottayam in Malabar. This colony was being opened during the time of Bishop Mar. Thomas Tharayil. Ranipuram colony came into existence as a part of the silver jubilee celebration of the ordination of Bishop Mar. Thomas Tharayil, Rev. Fr. Stephen Muthukattil was entrusted with the job of opening the colony. He bought 750 acres of land at 'Madathumala' in R.S. No.292, 18 k.m. from Rajapuram, in Hosdurg Taluk. The land transfer document was registered on September 26, 1969 and selected 45 families to migrate to this colony.²⁰

The settlers reached Ranipuram on January 27, 1970. Ranipuram was appealing for its scenic beauty . But climatic conditions were quite hostile to them. The extreme cold climate, poor fertility of the soil and threat from wild animals

¹⁹ P.T. Sebastian, "Problems of Peasant Settlers of Malabar," in the Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 47th Session, Srinagar 1986. also see Mathew Manimala, Malayala Manoram, 8.12.1999.

²⁰ Fr. George Kappukala, "Kudiyettam Alexnagarilum Ranipurathum" (Mal.) in *Souvenir of Malabar Knanaya Kudiyetta Golden Jubilee* (Kannur, 1993), p.18.

Deepika Daily, 15.12.1994. For details of the list of early settlers. see Appendix X.

adversely affected the dreams of the migrants.²¹ So many deserted the land. Even though the organizers of the colony opened church, school, post office etc. and had constructed 42 houses for them, most of them were not willing to stay there. The reason for this was the poor productivity of the land and even the mere existence was a challenge for them.²²

At present Ranipuram is spotted as a tourist centre in the tourist map of Kerala. The District Tourism Promotion Council and Kerala Government Tourism Department are doing their best to tap the Tourism potential of Ranipuram²³.

N.S.S. Colony at Panathadi

Nair Service Society (N.S.S) bought 4800 acres of land at Panathadi – Balamthode area in 1958 in Kasargode district. The idea behind the purchase of this land was to establish a colony for members of Nair community of Travancore in Malabar. The N.S.S. leadership selected 500 Nair families through the N.S.S. Karayogams for organizing migration to Malabar. They fixed Rs.50/- per one acre

²¹ M.J. Chacko Master, *Notes on Ranipuram Colony*. Unpublished Manuscripts. Also see "Ranipuram Kudiyettam" in Kottayam Roopatha Platinum Jubilee Smaranika, (Kottayam, 1986), pp.100-101.

²² Interview with M.J. Chacko Master, Madampam, 10.10.2001. Also see Josphe Kuravilangad, *Op.cit.*, p.614 and Sacerdotal Silver Jubilee Souvenir of Mar. Sebastian Vellopilly.

²³ Jose Tharakkel, "Ranipuram Kasargodinte Ootty" (mal.) in *Kasargode District Souvenir* (Kasargode, 1985). Page number not mentioned. Also see Mar. Kuriakose Kunnasseri, *Op.cit.*, pp.66-68.

of land and allotted 500 block of land for the same. Each block consisted of five acres of land. They collected Rs.500 from every settler family.²⁴

Sri Makkappuzha Vasudevan Pillai and Pattadi Sankaran Nair were the leaders and promoters of this colonization programme. In between 1960-65, about 500 families settled down at Panathadi.²⁵ Nair Service Society leadership did all the help to the settlers in their cultivation and construction of houses.

By 1959-'60 they started plantation agriculture including rubber, pepper, arecanut etc. in the remaining land.²⁶ Now the N.S.S. estate at Panathadi is one of the important Agricultural farms operated by N.S.S. in Kerala.²⁷ At Balanthode they started a hospital besides opening a new N.S.S. administrative building. The conditions of the settlers of this colony have also advanced much.

Assumption Colony

The forest land at Kodancheri area was under the ownership of Manaledath Ramunni Nair and others. From them Manomiyil Unichan alias Kuttayi from Kallai bought the ownership of the land. In 1942 C.D. Mathayi Chempokathil from

²⁴ Rs.250 as price of 5 acres of land and Rs.250 as security amount (to be returned later).

²⁵ Interview with C.R. Krishnan Nair, early settler and staff of N.S.S. Estate at Panalthadi, Balamthode, 12.9.2001.

²⁶ C.K. Varkey (1985), *Op.cit.*, and Joseph Kuravilangad (1991), *Op.cit.*, p.610-611.

²⁷ The budget of the N.S.S. estate for the year 1997-'98 shows Rs.2,24,29,000 as receipts and Rs.90,87,000 as expenditure. see for further details. Nair Service Society, *Administration Report, 1997-98* (Changanasseri, 1998) pp.1-4 (Agricultural section) Also see *Budget Report 1995-96*, N.S.S. (Changanasseri, 1995), pp. 1-30.

Erumeli bought about 4000 acres of land. The Diocese of Calicut had acquired 1850 acres of land from C.D. Mathayi. The price of land was fixed at Rs.12.50 per acre.²⁸ Rev. Beretta of Calicut Diocese was appointed as the Director of the colony, and he supervised the settlements of migrants who secured plots from the land holding settlers. The settlers later moved into forest areas in the adjoining areas like Thiruvambadi, Kodancheri, Mukkam, Puthuppadi, Koodaranhi etc. The assumption colony had already been established by 1944. In 1944 itself 46 families had settled there.²⁹ While buying the land Rev. Beretta had an idea of starting an Estate or industry in this area. But his dreams did not materialise. So they decided to sell this land to the migrants from Travancore. They appointed Sr. Thomas Purayidam as the agent for land sale and handed over the power of attorney to him for the same purpose.³⁰

Rev. Fr. Beretta and others gave the name – Assumption colony – to this settlement. Rev. Monthanari was the Parish priest of this area in earlier time.³¹ The colony being sponsored by the Diocese of Calicut, the settlers, of this colony were in receipt of various forms of help from the church authorities.

²⁸ N.A. George, "Assumption Colony, Thiruvambadi Velli Nakshatram Oru Avalokanan" (Mal.). Sacerdotal Silver Jubilee Souvenir (1970) *Op.cit.* pp.205-208.

²⁹ Interview with Rev. James Nazarat Pappinisseri, 16.3.1985.

³⁰ Thomas Augustian, *Kodancheri Forane* (Mal.) in *Kudiyetta Charithravum Thamarasseru Mekhalayam*, (Thiruvambadi, 1998), pp.49-50.

³¹ Joseph Uravilangad, (1991), *Op.cit.*, p.169-170.

Uruppanthattu Colony (Aanara Colony)

Rev. Fr. Thomas Nilamperil from Pulinkunnu (Kuttanad) wanted to help some poor people of Pulinkunnu. So he proposed a project for starting a colony in Malabar to Mar. Sebastian Velloppilly, Bishop of Tellichery. Rev. Bishop Velloppilly entrusted the task to Fr. Mathew. J. Kottukappalli, Rev. Kottukappalli bought 150 acres of land @ 200 per acre at Uruppanthatta near Manikkadavu.³² Fr. Nilamperil divided the land to 30 families, 5 acres for each family. 12 families reached Anara and settled down the particular land. The land was on the top of a hill, with less fertility. So the migrants became desperate. The migrants from Kuttanad Plain region had no knowledge of the art of cultivation in the high land forest regions of Malabar. Fr. Nilamperil used to give them Rs.22.50 per month and this continued for several months. In course of time, all families except four, went back to Pulinkunnu side.³³

Bathel Marthoma Colony

In 1951 April Marthoma Church organized a migration of poor farmers, under the leadership of Fr. Plavumkal. They bought more than 200 acres of land from Nilambur Kovilakam and settled at Pullanchery. The Government of Madras

³² Rev. Mathew, J. Kottukappally *Pullamkuzhalinte Athmageetham* (Alakode, 2002) pp.83-86.

³³ Interview with Joseph Maliyampura, Mathew Nelluelil, Saviour Arupathuchira Uruppanthatta, 24.3.1987.

of that time gave all assistance to this settlement. The early settlers like that of their contemporaries in other parts of Malabar, had faced hardships including poverty, famine, diseases, non-availability of church priests and church, doctors, hospitals. Each family got five acres of land and a total of 40 families settled in this colony.³⁴

Shimoga Colony

About 600 Travancore families were evicted from Shimoga in Karnataka on May 10, 1966. The eviction was followed by police brutalities which further increased their agony. Rev. Sebastian Velloppilly, then Bishop of Tellicherry intervened. Many of them returned to Travancore. The remaining 240 families were brought to Chandanakkampara in Kannur District of Kerala.³⁵ The Diocese of Tellicherry bought 500 acres of land at Chandanakkampara and allotted two acres to each family. The selection and allotment of land was through lot. They also allotted ten acres of land to 'Vimalalayam sisters', who were also evicted from Shimoga.³⁶

³⁴ Interview with Rev. J. Joseph, Kunnamkulam, 19.8.1996 also see Joseph Mar Bernnabas "Jubilees – Mahajubilee" (Mal.) in *Malankara Marthoma Suriyan Sabha Kunnamkulam Malabar Badvasanam (Kunnamkulam)* pp.2-4.

³⁵ Interview with Fr. Joseph Kunnel, Calicut 2.8.2002 and Rev. Joseph Mannur, Vellade, 28.4.2000.

³⁶ Mar. Sebastian Velloppilly *Daiwam Nammodu Koode* (Calicut, 1999), pp.358-359.

Vazhamala Colony

This colony of migrant settlers were organized and promoted by All Kerala Catholic Congress (A.K.C.C.). The A.K.C.C. bought the land in 1969 from Pothan Joseph and Company, to establish a settler's colony. Through newspaper advertisement they invited applications from the needy. At the first stage, about ten families came and settled there. Again in 1970 more settlers reached and started their agricultural operations. Later in 1990's Government of Kerala declared Vazhamala land as excess land and started formalities for the eviction of these peasants. This led to a series of agitations.³⁷

Wayanad Colonisation Scheme

On the basis of the law passed by the Government of Madras, to start colonies for the re-settlement of the Ex-service men, the Wayanad colonization scheme was introduced. The colony which started in 1944, is now spread over Kidanganad, Nenmeni, Mooppanad and Noolpuzha villages of Wayanad district. The Government acquired 36000 acres of land by evicting the existing cultivators of this area. They paid compensation to the evicted peasants.³⁸

The Government allotted five acres of dry land and two acres of wet land (paddy field) or ten acres of land instead of two acres of wet land. In addition to

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.110-111.

³⁸ *Laws on land*, Government of Kerala, (Trivandrum, 1963) pp.4-5.

that the Government granted Rs.2250 for them from the PWSR fund (Post War Service Reconstruction Fund).³⁹

Many of the beneficiaries of this scheme were actually not interested in the scheme and they were not willing to settle there. They only wanted money. So they built temporary huts, and started cultivation. The interesting thing to be noted here is that instead of planting coffee seedlings, they had planted the sticks of coffee plant and instead of plantain seedlings they cut the plantain seedling in to a number of pieces and planted it. They did all this for obtaining grant from the Government.⁴⁰

Slowly, the inhabitants of this colony began to sell their lands to settlers on verbal terms. This is because they had no right for the transfer of land properly. The Government before the allotment of this land, had fixed certain terms and conditions, in which transfer of land, cutting of trees etc. were not permitted. The Government also had allotted the 60 cubic feet of wood for the construction of houses. By 1970's the entire area of Wayanad colonisation scheme was more or less filled with settlers from Travancore.⁴¹

³⁹ *Ibid.* p.7. also see Joseph Kuravilangad, *Op.cit.*, pp.321-22.

⁴⁰ *Mathrubhumi Daily*, May 19, 1954 and Interview with Sekharan Pazhoor, Ambalavayal, 22.11.2001.

K.P. Anandhan, Ambalavayal, 22.11.'01. N. Karunakaran Nair, 22.11.'01.

⁴¹ *Mathrubhumi Daily*, Feb. 13, 1993, 1998, Feb.20. "Vaiki Ethiya Angeekaram" in *Chandrika Daily*, 11.70.1999.

During his second tenure as Chief Minister of Kerala, E.M.S. Namboodirippad visited the colony and understood the needs of the people. They wanted 'patta' for their land and he promised them to issue patta at the earliest. At present this area is developed like any other settlements in Wayanad.⁴²

Hindu Colony at Vayathur

In the year 1942 a number of Hindu farmers migrated from Kidangur in Travancore to Vayathur in Kannur district. The leaders of the project were Kovur Sankara Pillai, Mekat Balakrishnan Nair etc. They had purchased land at Vayathur in Padiyur amsom under the erstwhile Chirakkal Taluk. The organizers themselves made arrangements for the clearing of the forest area for cultivation. They further distributed land to poor Travancore Hindu peasants.⁴³

From the above discussion it is learnt that the organized migrations to Malabar was largely helpful for the settlers. The organizers of these projects looked after them in every aspect. In cultivation, construction of houses, roads, hospitals, educational institutions and other forms of development of the colony, the role of its own organizers can't be under estimated. But this was not the case of the individual migrants to Malabar. They had to solve each and every problem by

⁴² Interview with K.A. Abraham, Ambalavayal, 23.11.2001, and K.V. Joseph, Village officer and Social activist, Ambalavayal, 24.11.2001.

⁴³ For detailed information about the Hindu colony at Vayathur, see, the letter from the organizer of the colony to Sri. K.G. Siwaswamy, see Appendix XI.

themselves. There was no body, no organizers, no organizations to help them. Thus the role of organized migration in the history of migration to Malabar will be remembered, positively.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN MIGRATION

This part of the study is an analysis of the role of Christian ideology behind the migration process. The Biblical concept of exodus of the people of Israel to Egypt and from Egypt to Israel under Moses deeply touched Christians wherever they lived. Again Christian community as a whole always showed a character of mobility. Even though they are having nostalgia for their home land, friends and relatives, they continued the process of exodus. In the migration of Christians of Europe to Australia, U.S.A, Canada and other Latin American countries and to other parts of the world we could see the same exodus touch.¹ The importance of faith in Christian life and the transplantation of faith to their new settlement is another character of this migration. The Portuguese landed in Kerala with a sword in one hand and a Bible in the other.

This Chapter further discusses the role of various groups and fractions of Christian church and its various organisations and institutions in helping the migrants at various levels. The sociology of the Christian migration is giving stress to church centred developments. Every development activities in one way or other is linked with a parish priest or Bishop. In the Malabar terrains also we could see the dominance of Christian priests in every walk of life. They are the leading

¹ See *Bible*, Genesis, chapter 35-50 and Exodus, Chapter 1-40.

figures of the public life in these areas. In all the popular movements against eviction threat at Kottiyur, Pulpally, Gudallur, Ambalavayal, Kakkadavu and in liberation struggle against the Communist Ministry in Kerala, the Bishops and priests played a pivotal role.² The popular contemporary peasant movement – Infam – in Kerala, and the ongoing anti-eviction struggle at Belthangadi in Karnataka are also examples to this conviction. In the opening of roads, bridges, public institutions, electricity, telephone, educational institutions and above all, in the all round development of the settlement region of Malabar, the role of the church leadership can't be under estimated.³

The migration of St. Thomas Christians from the old Syro-Malabar Diocese in Central Kerala, is a unique event in the history of the Catholic church in India. While in other places the church grew by conversion here it was by migration. Thousands of families migrated to the North in search of cheap and fertile land fit

² Rev. Sebastian Velloppilly, "Kudiyetta Dhinacharanam" (Mal.) in *Deepika Daily* Feb. 24, 1990.

Also see *Kerala Kaumudi Daily*, 26.2.1990.

³ Under the leadership of Rev. Everistus Plambani C.M.I. a High School was started at Maruthonkara. In this venture they got the support and help of Communist leaders like A.K.G. and C.H. Kanaran. Again for the construction of 5 k.m. road between Maruthonkara and Kuttiyadi under his own leadership a committee was formed. The office bearers of the committee were Melpatt Alikutty Haji – President Kanhirakkatt Thottiyil Joseph – Secretary, Nadukkandi Kanaran – Treasurer. Under the committee nearly 10000 people participated in the construction work of road and with one day's work they had opened a 5 k.m. new road. The voluntary work was accompanied by instrumental music (Band set). For details see Fr. Mariadas C.M.I. *Sabhayude Malabar Kudiyettam* (Palarivattam, 2001) pp.112-113.

for cultivation. This movement started as early as 1926, when a few families bought land from the local jenmies (landlords) and settled down at Kuttiyadi and Mannarghat. It gained momentum during the Second World War period.

The Hindu and Muslim landlords of Malabar owned thousands of acres of forest or semiforest land, but no one dared to enter these forest land for fear of Malaria and wild beasts. The jenmies got hardly any income from these lands and hence were happy to sell them to the settlers at a nominal price of Rs. 5 to 10 per acre. Though many of the early settlers died of Malaria, a few survived. They cleared the forests and cultivated the land. Since the land was very fertile, it gave them good crops and hence a lot of money. Their success attracted more people from the South and by 1953 there were about 74129 Christian settlers in Malabar.⁴ The history of Christianity in Kerala from the 16th century A.D onwards was also a history of mutual struggles and infights which led to the emergence of various groups.

Briefly, it is generally agreed that before the arrival of the Portuguese there was one church in Kerala which adhered to the Nestorian doctrine. The Portuguese, through the procedure of the inquisition which began in Goa in 1560, tried to eradicate Nestorian heresy from Malabar and switch the allegiance of the Syrian Church from Persia to Rome. When the Portuguese power ebbed, a part of

⁴ Mar. Sebastian Vellopilly, "The Diocese of Tellicherry and the C.M.I Congregation," in the *Souvenir of C.M.I St. Thomas Province* (Calicut, 1994), p.40.

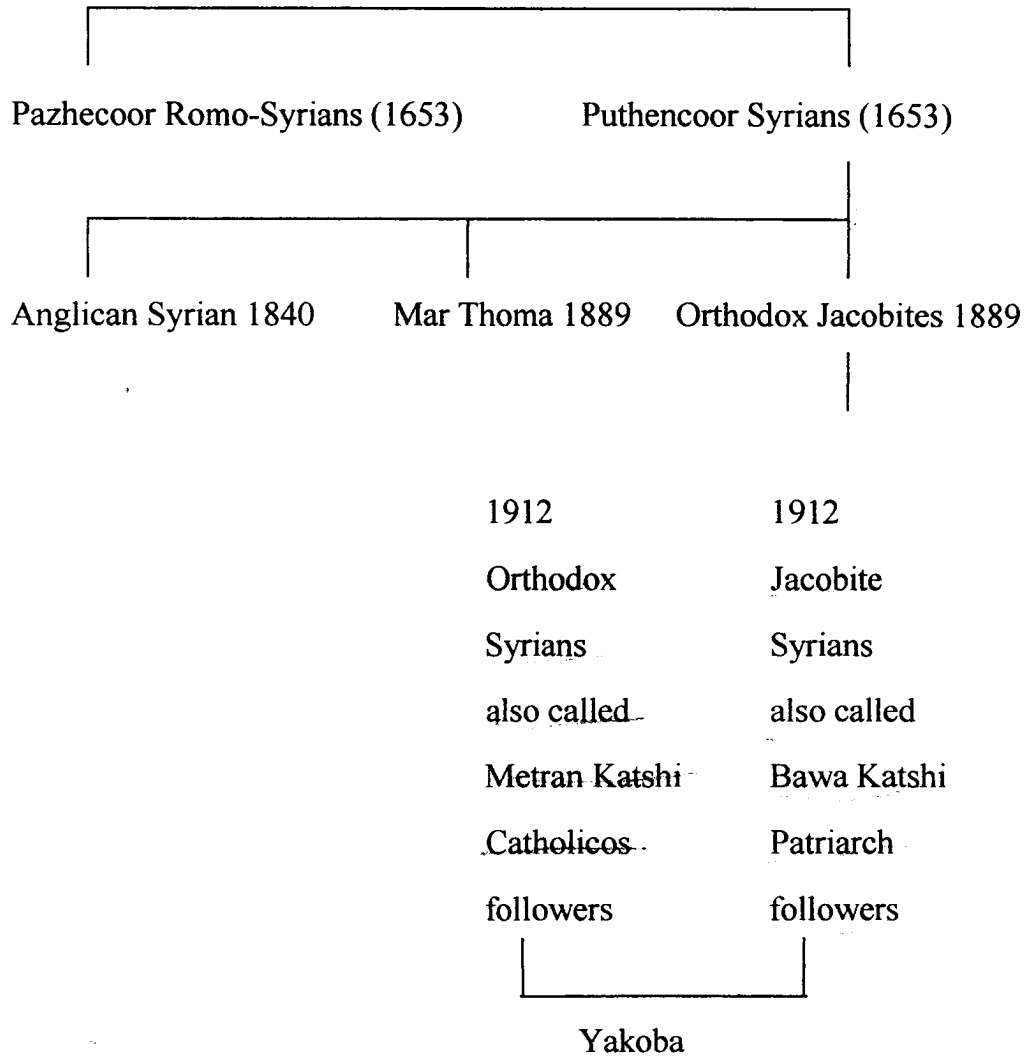
the catholicized Christian community of Malabar repudiated Rome. Those that did not, but followed the Catholicized Syrian liturgy are known as Syrian Catholics, and those who followed Latin liturgy are called Latin Catholics. The part of the Church which repudiated Rome became the Jacobite Church. (In the Nineteenth century the Roman Catholics were known as *Pazhayakuttukar* (old division), and the Jacobites as *Puthankuttukar* (new division). So between the Sixteenth and Nineteenth centuries, the Catholic Church of Malabar was divided into Syrian Catholics, Latin Catholics and Jacobites. Protestant missionary influence promoted further fission in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries. Strongly influenced by Protestant teaching, a section of the Jacobite Church split off to form the Marthomite Church, whose first Metropolitan was consecrated in 1842. Later fission produced the Syro-Malankara Church, a branch added to the Catholics from the Jacobite Church, in the 1930's and the Syrian Orthodox, another branch of the Jacobites which finally separated between 1909 and 1912. Besides these major sects, there exists many minor ones with a few adherents situated in different localities. There are also many distinct Protestant groups.⁵

The following table shows division among the Christians of Kerala:

⁵ K.J. John (edt.), *Christian Heritage of Kerala*, (Cochin, 1981) pp.18-19.

Fig.4.1

The Converts of St. Thomas (AD 52)



Source: Susan Viswanathan, *The Christians of Kerala*, (Delhi, 1993), P.12.

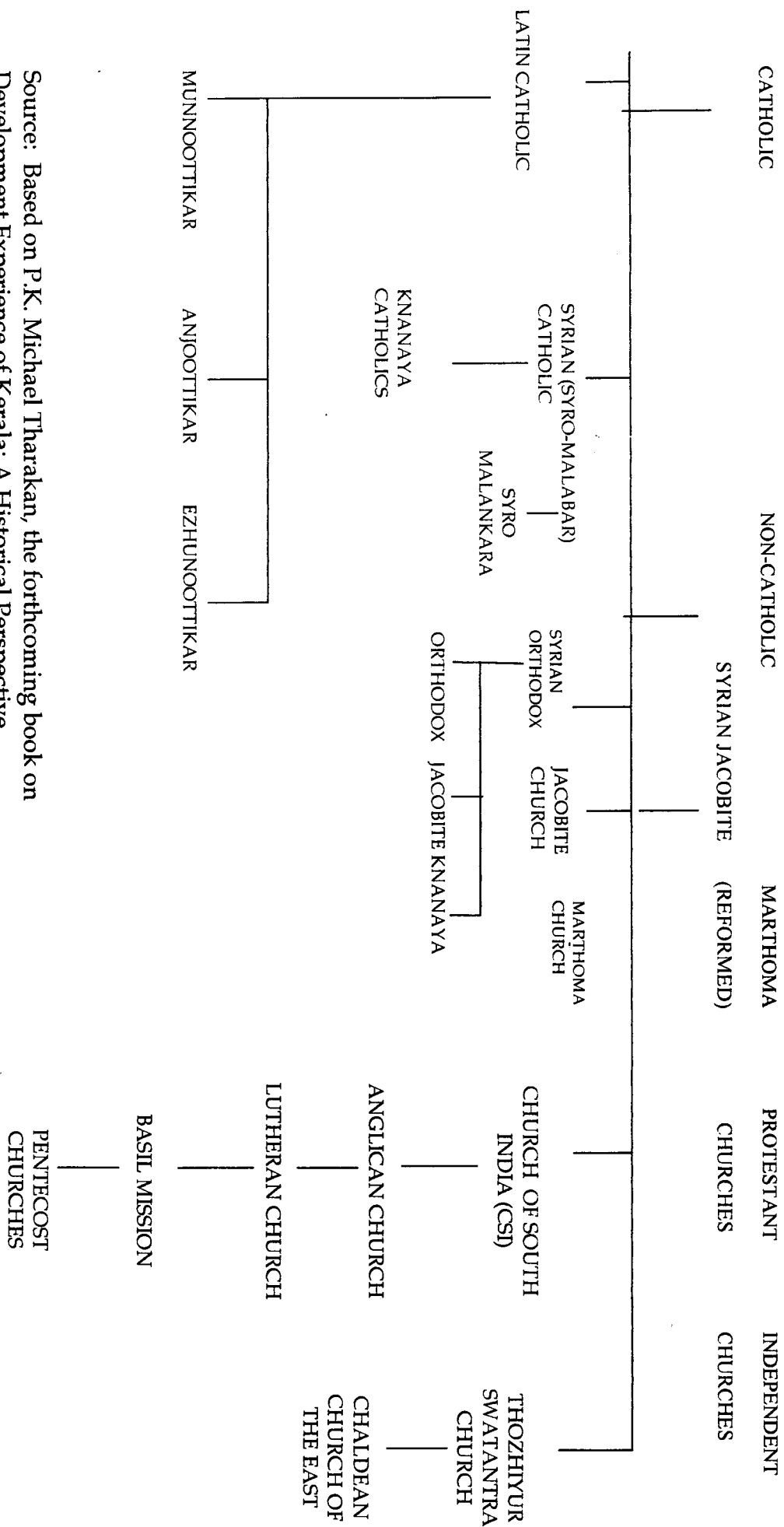
The Christians of St. Thomas or Syrian Christian of India are at present divided into many groups. The main groups are: (1) The Syrian orthodox or Jacobite; (2) The Marthomite church; (3) The Church of East; (4) The Syro Malabar Church; (5) The Syro Malankara Church. These differences are mainly the result of foreign intervention in their affairs. Before the middle of the 16th century there existed only one community, "the churches of India."⁶

The following chart on various Christian denominations, churches and groups in Kerala further substantiate the nature of various divisions and sub divisions of churches in Kerala.

⁶ George Mencheri, (edt.) *The St. Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia of India*, Vol.2, (Trichur, 1973), pp.46-47.

Fig.4.2

CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS/CHURCHES/GROUPS IN KERALA



Source: Based on P.K. Michael Tharakan, the forthcoming book on Development Experience of Kerala: A Historical Perspective

Syrian Christians were a migratory community. There is evidence to show that Christians had begun to migrate from the coastal region to the interior part from very early periods. The *Census Report of 1891* also mentions that thousands of 'hardworking Syrian Christians' from the sea-board taluks of Travancore migrated to the interior taluks of Thiruvalla, Chenganore, Kottayam, Changanacherry and Kottarakara.⁷ By 1931, in Travancore, the Christians accounted for a high proportion (39%) of the population in the midland region than in the coastal low land regions.⁸

The Syrian Christians are acknowledged by several scholars as one of the most intelligent and hard working communities in the whole of Kerala. As Ward and Conner has remarked, "they are laborious from necessity and to their industry many of the finest districts owe their fertility."⁹ Such a background of the Syrian Christians as a migratory community must have stood them in good stead in their migration to Malabar.

It may thus be suggested that in Travancore only the Syrian Christians were endowed with the necessary socio-economic background and experience and the

⁷ *Census of Travancore, 891*, Vol.I, Report (Trivandrum, 1893), p.295.

⁸ *Census of India 1931*. Vol. XXVIII, Travancore Report, p.195.

⁹ Ward and Conner, *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Survey of Travancore and Cochin States* (Trivandrum, 1863), p.134 and also see Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, (London, 1807), pp.10-47.

willingness and ability, to migrate in search of cultivable land in Malabar. Besides they had already acquired expertise in the cultivation of land in up-country regions.

Before going into detail about the helps rendered by church to migrants, let us examine the establishment and the role of the Dioceses of Mangalore, Calicut, Tellicherry, Mananthavady, Palghat, Thamarasseri and the role of Jesuits, C.M.I. Fathers, Knanaya Diocese of Kottayam and others. This study was done not region wise but in a chronological order.

The Diocese of Mangalore

The Carmelites were in charge of Mangalore. Even though they were looking after the parishes and Mission stations well enough, they could not cope with the ever increasing work. The Mangaloreans, in particular, rightly realized that without proper education their future would be dull and devoid of bright prospects. On the other hand the Carmelites were not in a position to provide the people with educational facilities. Hence the Catholic leaders of Mangalore appealed to Pope Leo XIII, humbly and earnestly to send Jesuits to help them. His Holiness graciously acceded to their legitimate request and asked Fr. General of the Society to supply a team of Jesuits. Fr. General in turn ordered the provincial of Venice – Milan Province to take up the "Mangalore Mission." Thus on 31 December, 1878, a batch of Jesuits landed on the shore of Mangalore. Actually the

few Jesuits that went into the Mission field could be counted on the fingers of one's hand: Fathers Maffei, Corti, Gaviraghi, Zearo and Camsia.¹⁰

By 1923 the Mangalore Diocese had so much developed and had been so well provided with parishes, schools, convents and other institutions, that the Holy See considered it high time to hand over the Diocese to the indigenous clergy. Thus, the last Italian Bishop of Mangalore, Monsignor Perini, ceded his Episcopal see to Monsignor D'souza and went over to Calicut to take charge of the newly formed Diocese. This infant diocese comprised the vast areas of the Wayanad and the territories which were under the care of the French foreign missionaries.¹¹

Jesuits

The Jesuit fathers worked under Mangalore and Calicut Diocese largely served for the cause of migrants from Travancore. The year 1978 marked the centenary of the coming of Jesuits to Mangalore and Calicut when they formed but one ecclesiastical unit. The early Jesuit missionaries gave their very best in the service of the poor to bring them close to Christ.

¹⁰ Rev. Joseph Taffarel, *A Missionary Indeed A Missionary in Deed* (Tellicherry, 1980), Pp.8-9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Also see "*They came from A far,*" in the growth of the Mangalore province, Golden Jubilee Souvenir, 1986 of Sisters of Charity, Holy Angels Convent, Belvedeve (Mangalore, 1986), p.1. and *The Diocese of Mangalore* "Church in India Today" the proceedings of the Follow up Seminar, (Mangalore, 1970), p.1-10.

To be a genuine missionary two fundamental virtues are necessary. The first is : renouncing all worldly pleasures and giving up oneself for good. The second is to accept, every body and everything of the place once is sent to, as ones own. This complete renunciation divestment of ones own self and the consequent putting on, the identification of oneself with the new life of the adopted country and her people is but a logical step.¹²

The Jesuit fathers were the first group of missionaries who worked among the migrants of Malabar. It was Fr. Paul Rosario Fernandez from Mangalore who started a mission in the Kannavam forest near Kolayad in 1920. This is popularly known as Kolayad Mission. He had worked among the native tribal of Kannavam forest. Later he established a church, and a school at Kolayad. It was to this place that Mr. K.P. Mathew Kudakkachira came, in search of cultivable land.¹³

The role of 'Palli, Pallikkoodam and Pattakkaran,¹⁴ were the triple factors which very much influenced the migration and settlements of migrants from

¹² Rev. Joseph Taffarel, *Op.cit.*, p.8-10.

¹³ Manual Ribero, "Kolayad Mission – Malabarinte Kaithiri" (Mal.) in *Cherupushpam* (Monthly). Book 61, issue No.6, Oct. 1984. (Manjummel, 1984) pp. - Also see K.M. Joseph *Kolayad St. Cornelius Mission* (Malayalam) (Tellichery, 1981) pp.4-12.

¹⁴ Palli means church, Pallikkoodam means School, Pattakkaran means Priest.

Travancore. From 1926 to 1949 when a small group of C.M.I. Fathers came to Malabar for working among settlers, Jesuit fathers did everything for them.¹⁵

The Diocese of Calicut

By a decree of H.H. Pope Pius XI, dated 12.6.23 the new Diocese of Calicut came into existence as a separate and independent ecclesial unit and mission. Msgr. Paul Perini, S.J. after handing over Mangalore to the Diocesan Clergy became the first Bishop of the new diocese.¹⁶ In numbers it was really a tiny diocese, with only 6000 Christians, divided into 6 Parishes, cared for by only 12 Jesuits Priests and 4 Diocesan Priests. But the experienced Bishop had great plans to evangelize the place and to revitalize the faith of the few catholics who were spread around the diocese, but God called him to his eternal reward sooner than he expected. At the death of Msgr. Perini, 28th June, 1932, Fr. B. Ranzani, S.J. at that time Rector of St. Joseph's seminary, Mangalore, was appointed Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese, with all the authority, rights and duties of a Bishop. But on 2nd November, 1937, Fr. Leo Proserpio, S.J. at that time working in the St. Joseph's College, Bangalore, was nominated Bishop of the Calicut Diocese. He died in 1945. For three years, from 1945 to 1948 Fr. P. Zanolin, S.J. administered

¹⁵ Large number of priests, missionaries and sisters worked among the early settlers of Malabar. They had rendered religious services and distributed quinine tablets (against Malarial Fever) among the settlers. For details of the names of priests see Appendix XII.

¹⁶ Directory of Diocese of Calicut (Calicut, 2000), p.6.

the diocese as Vicar Capitular. On 28th March, 1948, Fr. A.M. Patroni, S.J. at that time superior of the Calicut Mission, was nominated Bishop.¹⁷

When the Calicut Diocese was formed it was small and almost insignificant. The Catholics did not count in Calicut. They were a tiny drop in the ocean. A priest even in cassock could have gone about the town without being recognized.¹⁸

The Diocese of Tellicherry

The Bishop Rev. Patroni showed real interest and took effective steps in the formation of the Diocese of Tellicherry as a new ecclesiastical unit. This shows his broad and impartial vision. By the time the Bishop took over the governance of the Calicut Diocese, the Syrian Catholic immigrants who had started to settle in North Kerala in the area of the Diocese of Calicut reached a total of 60,000 and according to statistics carefully gathered with the help of his Vicar General especially appointed by the Bishop for them, their number swelled up to 80,000 by 1952. The Bishop from the very start of his episcopate had thirty regular parishes erected for

¹⁷ *Tripple Jubilee Souvenir*, Diocese of Calicut, (Calicut, 1973) p.17-18 and Mar. Maxwell Nerona "Kozhikode Roopathayum Malabar Kudiyettavum" (Mal.) in *Kudiyetta Charithravum Thamarasseri Mekhalayum*, Souvenir (Thiruvambadi, 1998) pp.63-64.

¹⁸ Rev. Geo Payyapilly, "Malabarile Missionarimar" (Mal.) in *Bishop Patroni Smarananjali Souvenir* (Calicut, 1989), pp.37-39 and Mathew Manimala, "Muppathirandu Varsham Roopathaye Nayichu Abhivandya Pithave" (Mal.) in *Dr. Maxwell Nerona Methrabhisheka Smaranika*, (Calicut, 1980), pp.14-17.

Also see C.J. Robin, in *Ibid.* Also see *Mathrubhumi Daily* and *Malayala Manorama Daily*, Sept. 23, 1988, pp.23-25.

these immigrants of the Syro Malabar rite.¹⁹ Two High Schools, one at Peravoor, the other at Kulathuvayal were also started, besides Upper and Lower Primary Schools in most of these colonies. The Bishop lent the services of a good number of his young and able diocesan priests to take care of these parishes of Syro-Malabar rite – immigrants into his territory. He also enlisted for this purpose the services of the C.M.I. fathers who could conduct for these settlers liturgical functions in the rite of their origin. A map of the diocese showing the precise location of these parishes and colonies of the Syro Malabar rite immigrants was painted on the walls of the Bishop's House close to the room where Cardinal Tisserant was due to stay during his expected visit to Calicut in 1953, and an album showing the growth and strength of the new colonies was taken to Rome personally by the Bishop to be presented to the Holy See for study and decision²⁰. Thus the way was clearly prepared by Bishop Patroni for the erection of a separate ecclesiastical unit for the catholic immigrants of Syro Malabar rite in the territory of the Diocese of Calicut and it is he who suggested Tellicherry as the seat and name of the new diocese. It

¹⁹ The following were the 30 churches:

1. Peravoor (2) Edoor (3) Kilianthara (4) Nellikampoyil, (5) Naduvil (Vayattuparmba) (6) Chemperi (7) Paisakiri (8) Maruthonkara (9) Padathukadavu (10) Chempanthotty (11) Kulathuvayal (12) Koorachund (13) Kallanode (14) Kodanchery (15) Koodaranji (16) Tiruvambadi (17) Kannothe (18) Koodathai (19) Venappara (20) Kallodi (21) Kellur (22) Sulthan Bathery (23) Nadavayal (24) Teneri (25) Thariode (26) Mariapuram (27) Manimooly (28) Nenmeni (29) Pottasseri (30) Nilambur.

²⁰ Mar. Maxwell Nerona, *Op.cit.* (1978) Also see *Mathrubhumi* Daily, 22.3.1954 and *Deepika* Daily, 4.8.1990.

must also be remembered that Bishop Patroni used to make very frequent pastoral visits to all these colonies, sometimes on foot, prior to the erection of a separate diocese for them. All these facts show clearly that Bishop Patroni rises above all considerations of rite, and origin, that he had an All-Kerala vision and that he looked upon every one of the faithful who came under his jurisdiction temporarily or permanently, no matter, as belonging to his own flock.

H.H. Pope Pius XII of happy memory of the Bull 'Ad Christi Ecclesiam Regendam' of 31st December, 1953 erected the Diocese of Tellicherry as a suffragan of the Archdiocese of Ernakulam for the Catholics of the Syro-Malabar rite who had migrated to Malabar from the old Syro – Malabar Dioceses in the south. The boundaries of the new Diocese were the same as those of the Latin Diocese of Calicut, but were later extended to the present Latin Dioceses of Mangalore, Chickmagalur, Mysore and Ootacamund by a Decree of the Holy See dated 29th April 1955.

In the year 1989 Mar Sebastian Velloppilly retired from the post of Bishop of Tellicherry and on May, 1, 1989 Mar. George Valiyamattam became the Bishop of the diocese. Later the Diocese of Tellicherry was lifted to the status of the Arch Diocese of Tellicherry.²¹

²¹ *The Directory, Diocese of Tellicherry (Tellicherry, 2000), p.3.*

Diocese of Mananthavady

His Holiness Pope Paul VI, by the Bull *Quanta Gloria* of March 1, 1973 bifurcated the vast Diocese of Tellicherry and erected the Diocese of Mananthavady. The diocese comprised of the civil districts of Wayanad in Kerala, the Nilgiri district in Tamil Nadu and the districts of Shimoga, Chickmagalore, Hassan, Mandya and Mysore in Karnataka. Mar Jacob Thoomkuzhy was consecrated as the first Bishop of Mananthavady on May 1, 1973.

On December 31, 1975, by a decree of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, dated 4th December 1975, ten parishes of the Diocese of Tellicherry in the civil districts of Kannur and Kozhikode (at present Malappuram) in Kerala were added to the diocese. Mananthavady has an area of approximately 48250 sq. kms. and a population of 1,62,800 Syrian Catholics. On June 7, 1995 Mar Jacob Thoomkuzhy was transferred as the Bishop of Thamarassery.²² And the then Proto-Syncellus Msgr. Joseph Kaniamattam was appointed as the Administrator of the diocese on July 27, 1995. On January 26, 1997 Bishop Emmanuel Pothanamuzhy was consecrated as the second Bishop of the diocese.²³

²² The Directory, Dioceses of Mananthavady, (Mananthavady, 1998) Pp.14-15

²³ *Ibid.* Also see Mar Jacob Thoomkuzhy, "Thirinu Nokkumbol" (Mal.), *Mananthavady Roopatha Bulletin* (Special issues (Mananthavady, 1979) pp.3-4. and *Malayala Manorama Daily*, 12.12.1990.

The Eparchy of Palakkad

The Holiness Pope Paul VI by the Bull "Apostolico Requirente" of 20th June 1974, bifurcated the Eparchy of Thrissur and with the addition of a few parishes from Thalassery Eparchy, erected the Eparchy of Palakkad as a suffragan of the Arch-diocese of Ernakulam. The Eparchy comprises the civil districts of Palakkad, Coimbatore and Periyar, and Karur Taluk in Trichy District. The Eparchy covers approximately an area of 28,515 sq. km.²⁴

The Diocese of Thamarassery

His Holiness Pope John Paul II erected the Diocese of Thamarassery on 28th April 1986 by the Apostolic Constitution *Constant non modo bifurcating* the Diocese of Tellicherry. The patroness of this diocese is Bl. Alphonsa. Only this diocese has the unique privilege to have an indigenous patroness in Kerala. The diocese consists of two revenue districts of Kozhikode and Malappuram, in the northern part of Kerala. The Catholics of this diocese are the migrants from the central part of Kerala. Bishop Sebastian Mankuzhikary, the then Auxilliary Bishop of the Arch-diocese of Ernakulam, was appointed as the first Bishop of Thamarassery by the Apostolic Constitution *Pro Munere Nostro De Singulis*. The Diocese of Thamarassery was formally inaugurated and the Bishop took charge of

²⁴ *The Directory, Diocese of Palghat, (Palghat, 1996), Pp.2-3.*

the diocese on July 3, 1986, the feast of St. Thomas, at the Sacred Heart Church, Thiruvambady. On 11th June 1994 he was called for the eternal reward.

On 14th June 1994 Msgr. Francis Aruparayil, the then Vicar General was appointed administrator of the diocese. Bishop Jacob Thoomkuzhy was appointed Bishop of Thamarassery on 7th June 1995 and took charge on 28th July of the same year. He was nominated Arch Bishop of Trichur on 11th November 1996. Bishop Paul Chittilapilly was appointed Bishop of Thamarassery on 11th November 1996 and took charge of his office on February 13, 1997.²⁵

Diocese of Kottayam

The Diocese of Kottayam was erected exclusively for the Southist (Knanaya) Catholics in 1911. The Knanaya Community traces its origin from a group of Jewish-Christian emigrants from Southern Mesopotamia to the South Indian port of Cranganore in AD 345, who formed themselves into an endogamous community. They co-existed peacefully in the Indian nation and fulfilled their missionary purpose of re-invigorating the Church of St. Thomas Christians. The original community consisted of about 400 persons belonging to 72 families of seven steps headed by Thomas of Kynai. A Bishop by name Uraha Mar Yousef, four priests and several deacons were among them.

²⁵ The Directory, Diocese of Thamarasseri, (Thamarasseri, 2000), p.20, Also see *Malayala Manorama Daily*, 3.7.1986.

As the Catholics of the East had promised the emigrants that he would send from time to time bishops to India. Uraha Mar Yousef had successors till the end of the 16th century. Under the East Syrian Bishops, the Knanaya Community had their own churches and priests distinct from those of the non-Knanaya St. Thomas Christians. This system continued also under the Latin Rite European bishops, who governed the St. Thomas Christians. When a separation based liturgical rituals was effected for the Catholics in Kerala between the Orientals and Latins in 1887, all the Knanaya Catholics *de facto* were in the Apostolic Vicariate of Kottayam, and the Holy See ordered Bishop Charles Lavigne to appoint a separate Vicar General for the Knanaya Community. When the Vicariates Apostolic were re-organized into Trichur, Emakulam and Changanassery and three indigenous bishops were appointed for the Syro-Malabarians, the Bishop appointed for the Vicariate of Changanassery was Mar Mathew Makil, the former Vicar General for the Knanaya Community.

In 1911, the Vicariate Apostolic of Kottayam was reconstituted exclusively for the Knanaya Community by the Apostolic letter "*In Universi Christiani*" of His Holiness Pope St. Pius X.

On December 21, 1923 the Vicariate Apostolic of Kottayam was raised to an Eparchy by Pope Pius XI. When the territorial limits of the Syro-Malabar Church

was extended in 1955, the jurisdiction of the Eparchy of Kottayam also was made co-extensive with the then extended territory of the Syro-Malabar Church.²⁶

The role of the Diocese of Kottayam in the organized migration to Malabar is already discussed in detail in the 4th chapter. However, in addition to its three colonies, large number of settlement of individual families can be seen in different parts of Malabar.

Eparchy of Bathery

The Malankara Catholic Church has been steadily growing and spreading throughout the states in South India.

In 1977 late Bishop Zacharias Mar Athanasios of Tiruvalla petitioned to the Holy See for a division of his Eparchy with head quarters at Sulthan's Bathery. The request was granted and His Holiness Pope John Paul II was pleased to bifurcate the Eparchy to Tiruvalla and created the Eparchy of Bathery by the Bull dated October 28, 1978. Accordingly the Eparchy was formally created on 2nd February 1979, in the St. Thomas Pro-cathedral, Sulthan's Bathery. His Excellency Most Rev. Cyril Mar Baselios was appointed its First Metropolitan. His Excellency Most. Rev. Geevarghese Mar Divannasios was appointed the Second Bishop of

²⁶ *The Directory of Kottayam Diocese* (Kottayam, 1996) p.19-20.

Bathery on 18th December 1996 and the Consecration and Enthronement of His Excellency took place on 5th February 1997.²⁷

The Diocese of Bathery comprises the civil districts of Wayanad, Malappuram, Kozhikode, Cannore and Kasargode of Kerala, Nilgiris of Tamil Nadu and Mysore, Mandya, Coorg, Hassan, Chickmagalore, South Kanara and Shimoga of the Karnataka State.

The Diocese of Meenangadi

Meenangadi diocese was established in 1975. The spiritual jurisdiction of this diocese was in between Bharthapuzha and Kasargode. Rev. Samuel Mar Philixines Metropolitan was the first head of this diocese. He passed away in 1985 and later Rev. John Jacob took charge as the Metropolitan of the Diocese. He received the new name of Dr. Yuhanon Mar Philixinos Metropolitan. He continued the spiritual duties which had started by his predecessors and further extended it by establishing a number of churches and various forms of social service activities in Malabar.²⁸

²⁷ The Directory, Diocese of Bathery (Bathery, 1996), p.123.

²⁸ *Silver Jubilee Souvenir*, St. Peter's and St. Paul Cathedral, Meenangadi (Meenangadi, 1999), pp.20-30.

Malabar Bhadrasanam

Till 1965 the followers of Orthodox church were under Cochin Diocese. In 1966 a new diocese was formed with its headquarters at Calicut. The jurisdiction of the new Diocese was from Shornur to Kasargode. Again in 1986 the Malabar Diocese was divided and Bathery Diocese was formed. Rev. Kuriakose Mar Clemeis is the present Metropolitan of Bathery Dioceses.²⁹

Malankara Marthoma Suriyani Sabha

The Kunnamkulam Malabar Bhadrasanam (Diocese) with its head quarters at Makkada near Calicut performs its ecclesiastical duties over seven northern districts of Kerala, Gudallur, Mangalore, Echilampadi, northern Karnataka, Goa and Dubai. The total families under the diocese are 4200 and total population is 210000.³⁰

The C.M.I. Congregation

Up to 1954 the Malabar area was under the jurisdiction of the Latin Bishop of Kozhikode. He had only a small number of priests just enough to attend to the spiritual needs of the Latin Catholics in his Diocese – less than 10,000 in number.

²⁹ *Souvenir of St. Mary's Orthodox Cathedral* (Mal.) (Sulthan Batheri, 1986), pp.35-40.

³⁰ *Souvenir of Malabar – Malankara Marthoma Suriyani Sabha* (Mal.) (Calicut, 2000), p.109.

The migrants came in big numbers and settled down in the hilly regions of Malabar far away from the centres of the Latin Catholics. Though the Bishop and his priests tried their best to help them they could not do much. Moreover settlers being Syrian Catholics could not appreciate the Latin Mass and ceremonies and so requested the Bishops of their original Dioceses – Archbishop Augustine Kandathil of Ernakulam and Bishop James Kalassery of Changanacherry – to send priests to Malabar to attend to their spiritual needs. They were ready to do so but the Bishop of Kozhikode Msgr. Proserpio. S.J. was not in favour of allowing Syrian priests to come to his diocese because in those days the jurisdiction of the Syro-Malabar church was restricted to the small area between Bharathapuzha in the North and Pampa river in the South. Subsequently petitions were sent by the concerned Bishops to the Holy See explaining the situation and requesting permission to send priests to Malabar.³¹

Rev. Fr. Romeo Thomas, CMI Mananal of the present Palai Diocese and Rev. Fr. Placid Podipara, CMI of Changanacherry Diocese were two illustrious members of the CMI congregation. They were scholars and historians and devoted sons of the St. Thomas Church. Fr. Romeo Thomas was the principal of St. Berchmans' College Changanacherry for some time and Fr. Placid, CMI was Professor at the CMI seminary Chethippuzha. From 1952 onwards Fr. Placid was the consultor of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches and Professor at the

³¹ Mar Sebastian Vellopilly, *Op.cit.*, pp.29-40.

Oriental Institute, Rome. They wrote articles in English and Malayalam papers describing the real situation in Malabar, the sad plight of the settlers and the need for sending priests of their own rite to attend to the spiritual needs of these people. Mr. Joseph Kallidukkil, one of the settlers published a booklet in 1948 – "Kerala Suriyani Reethum Malabar Kudiyettavum" - the Kerala Syrian rite and the Malabar colonization - giving real facts and figures, the reasons for getting priests of their own rite and requesting the Holy See to erect a Diocese in Malabar for these settlers.³²

A slight change in the attitude of the Latin Bishops of Kozhikode came when Msgr. Patroni, S.J. became the Bishop in 1948. He invited priests of the CMI congregation to come and work in his diocese to attend to the spiritual needs of the settlers. Accordingly five priests came in 1949, and they were appointed at Thiruvambady, Kodencherry, Kannothe, Koodaranji and Koodathai – all in the district of Kozhikode.

His Eminence Eugene Cardinal Tisserant was the secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches at that time. He was, a great scholar and historian who 'loved the Syro-Malabar church because he knew her history, to quote his own words. He asked Bishop Patroni of Kozhikode to give him detailed information about the number of settlers in his diocese. The Bishop collected the

³² Joseph V. Kallidukkil, *Kerala Suriyani Sabhayum Malabar Kudiyettavum* (Mal.) (Tellicherry, 1983), pp.1-10.

details and informed the Cardinal that there were 74,129 Syro Malabar settlers in his diocese.

These figures opened the eyes of everyone both in Rome and at home. His Eminence the Cardinal during his historic visit to Kerala in November-December 1953, after going to all the dioceses in the South visited Kozhikode, Thalassery and Peravoor, the first colony of the settlers. His Eminence was surprised and overjoyed when he saw the big crowd assembled there. The Cardinal returned to Rome towards the middle of December and on the 31st of the same month the Papal Bull was signed by His Holiness Pope Pius XII of Happy Memory, erecting the new Diocese of Thalassery in Malabar for the Syro-Malabar settlers and appointing Fr. Sebastian Valloppilly as the Apostolic Administrator.³³

When Bishop Sebastian Velloppilly assumed charge of the new diocese on 19th March, 1954 there were only a dozen priests – five CMI priests and seven diocesan priests. There were 17 latinized Syrian priests, working in the diocese of Kozhikode at that time. Though he requested all of them to join the new diocese only three accepted his invitation. Many of these priests were at that time working in the colonies of the settlers and hence when they enbloc went back to the Kozhikode diocese a sudden void was created. Bishop of Tellicherry appealed to Bishop Sebastian Vayalil of Palai for help. He most readily obliged and sent a

³³ Fr. Norbert Edamattam C.M.I., *C.M.I. Mission Annum Innum* (Ernakulam, 1984), p.43.

good number of priests. Bishop Vayalil allowed all those priests of his diocese who were ready to join the new diocese to do so.

Though this was a great blessing for the settlers in those areas, it was a heavy burden for the new Diocese of Thalassery. They had hardly enough priests to look after the spiritual needs of the settlers in Malabar. Here again help came mainly from the Diocese of Palai and the CMI Congregation. From Palai they got five priests and Archbishop Augustine Kandathil of Ernakulam who was greatly interested in the welfare of the settlers, gave only four. All the three provinces of the CMI Congregation generously sent eight priests, majority of whom were from the St. Joseph's Province to the Diocese of Tellicherry.³⁴

Besides the above mentioned dioceses and church groups, a number of houses of religious congregations for women such as S.H. (Sacred Heart,) C.M.C. Fransiscan, Clarist, Adoration, Vimalamary Missionary Sisters, Nasrath Sisters, Presentation Sisters, Sisters of Charity, Daughters of St. Thomas etc. are working among the migrants of Malabar.

The various organs of the dioceses, missionaries working in Malabar actively makes efforts to solve the social and economic backwardness of the settlers

³⁴ Rev. Mariadas C.M.I., *C.M.I. Sabhayude Malabar Kudiyettam* (Mal.) (Palarivattam, 2001) pp.10-40.

of Malabar. They give stress to the term 'Development' in a broader Biblical Paradigm.

Christianity was originally a movement of the oppressed people, it appeared in history as the religion of slaves and outcastes, of poor people deprived of all rights, people subjugated or dispersed by Roman Empire. But unfortunately, today the church doesn't display this picture in its appearance and mode of functioning.

Christian social service can be broadly classified into four types.

(1) Educational and medical. Very often they are beyond the reach of the suffering masses, in whose name they availed and invested money. In addition to it the educational institutions are producing bureaucrats and technocrats for running and protecting the present social order in the interests of the exploiters and oppressors.

(2) Relief works: In connection with flood, famine, epidemic etc. They are laudable (eg. CRS Programmes, Orphanages etc.), but it can have meaning only if we try to situate these activities in their proper social context, ie. they are at least partially products of social mal-functioning.

(3) Developmental project approach: (modern agriculture, cottage industries, dairy etc.) In the present social frame work, development projects in isolated communities only serve to divert the attention of the people from the critical task of working for social justice and equality. Moreover, seldom can they stand against the adverse pressures from the surrounding social milieu, dominated by big business, middlemen, profiteers etc. In addition to this, they contribute only to the insular developments of certain

communities or groups, who are a relatively affluent section of the rural population. It stimulates a sort of dependence of the people on the aid giving agencies and of the aid giving agencies in India on their funding agencies abroad.

Down through the centuries, these three types of activities were carried out by the Church with enthusiasm and real commitment. At the same time, on the other side, we see that there is a tremendous increase in the number of people plunging into the abyss of abject poverty. Now the church is positively trying to meet this situation, through establishing more and more social service centres, with highly qualified personnel.

Church leadership in Malabar actively involved in the problems of the settlers with an outlook of the above mentioned points regarding development. The major areas of involvement by the priests really started with the beginning of settlements in Malabar. In the purchase of land, beginning of cultivation, churches and schools, hospitals and dispensaries, construction of roads and bridges the role of priests were an important factor.³⁵ In many places of Malabar they took initiative in the starting of Aikyananaya Sangham, which later developed as

³⁵ Gheevarghese Mar Osthathios Metropolitan, "Twenty five years of God's Amazing and Abundant Grace" in Silver Jubilee Souvenir of St. Paul', Ashram and Children's Home, Puthupaddy (Puthuppady, 1984), p.7-9. Also see *Girideepam*, (Tellichery, Dec. 1995), p.11.

service co-operative banks. To eradicate rural poverty and unemployment problem various church agencies had started a number of projects.³⁶

Schemes of housing, drinking water, irrigation, non conventional energy and literacy are implemented by the church effectively. Self supporting societies, credit unions, rural employment movement, steps against alcoholism and a large number of other programmes are operating among the settlers of Malabar.³⁷

³⁶ Fr. Joseph Kunnel had started Wayanad Milk Production Co-Operative Society at Manantavady. For this he had undergone, one month training at 'Amul' factory at Anand in Gujarat. Rev. Philip Locus formed tea growers organization in Wayanad, in order to include tea planters of Wayanad in Kerala Tea Board at Kottayam.

³⁷ For a detailed list of institutions and organizations functioning under various Christian dioceses in Malabar see Appendix XIII.

TABLE 4.1
Details of Christian Dioceses in Malabar

	Diocese of Tellichery	Diocese of Mananthavady	Diocese of Thamara- ssery	Diocese of Palakkad (Malabar region only)	Diocese of Kottayam (Malabar region only)	Total
AREA (In Sq. Km.)	4902	48250	5893	Not available	Not available	72096
Families	48661 (Syrian Catholics)	28150 (Sc)	24,071 (Sc)		5278 (Knanaya)	106160
Population	2,89,562	1,62,800	1,21,800	64446	29525	668315
Churches	275	219	126	76	46	742
Priests	536	363	316	92	No separate list	1037
Charitable Institutions	81	87	44	74	13	299
Institutions of secular education	242	180	216	108	24	770
Other Institutions	2-Retreat Centre 2-Press 2- Book stalls	1 – Press 2-Book stall	-- 04-Book stall	03-Press --	-- ---	17
No. of Religious houses (men)	27 (78 members)	84 23 (members)	22 201 (members)	26	--	159 members 513
No. of RH for (Women)	166 (1291 members)	223 (1323 members)	132 (1137 members)	145	--	666 Members 3751
No. of houses for religious formation (men)	16 (students 164)	--	--	--	--	16 Students -- 164
No. of H for Rel:formation (Women)	--	17 (317 students)	--	--	--	17 Students 317

Contd.

	Diocese of Tellicherry	Diocese of Mananthavady	Diocese of Thamara- ssery	Diocese of Palakkad (Malabar region only)	Diocese of Kottayam (Malabar region only)	Total
Hospitals and Dispensaries	20	44	12	10	--	86
Homes for Physically handicapped	03	02	07	01	5	18
Homes for Mentally retarded	09	04	--	01	--	14
Rehabilitation centres	1	02	--	--	01	4
Orphanages	11	25	10	04	--	50
Old Age homes	7	06	06	02	--	21
Hostel	23	04	--	--	06	33
Institutions for Secular education college	3	01	--	--	02	6
Higher secondary school	4	02	04	--	02	12
Technical school	23	4	25	--	03	56
High school	26	19	18	03	02	68
Upper Primary School	31	21	21	03	4	80
Lower Primary School	44	47	21	08	04	124
Nursery Schools	107	85	73	12	10	287
Other Institutions Press	2	01	04	12	--	19
Book stall	2	02	04	02	--	10

Source: The Directories of Diocese of Tellicherry, Mananthavady, Thamarasseri, Palakkad and Kottayam.

The above table speaks volumes on the spheres of activities and involvement of various dioceses of Malabar in social, economic, educational and other sectors. The figures in the table consisted only of few important dioceses of Kerala working in Malabar side. In addition to these dioceses, the Dioceses of Meenangadi, Bathery, Malankara Diocese of Bathery, Marthoma Diocese of Calicut and many independent churches and organizations run similar institutions in Malabar. The Christian concept of development is the charity of the haves shouldn't be the basis of the very existence of the have-nots, which effect a sort of dehumanization of the people on the receiving end, also and for the neutralization if not annihilation of the inborn capacity of man, bestowed in him by the Creator himself to change the structures that perpetuates this situation.

The concept and approach to development may vary according to persons with different grades of analytical vision of the society. Much more than an increase in the amenities of life, development means a thorough change in attitudes, way of life, vision towards our neighbour and in our culture and philosophy of life. Development means enabling people to critically analyse the system of which they are a part, and to liberate themselves from this through a process of independent thinking, free decision making and fearless execution of these decisions. Hence circulating a sense of confidence in man to resist the dehumanization process of the society or system is an essential part of it.

Development has to start in the hearts of man. The material development which is not preceded by this radical change in the innerman is the cause of all the inequalities we face today.

Real development is not something that can be achieved by an individual or few individuals in a few days or months. It is a gradual, constant and conscious process through which a group or community becomes aware of the existing social situation, and struggle together for the building up of a more humane society where love, justice, equality, fraternity and truth would prevail.

Basing the strategy on this concept of development and a wider perspective for the total transformation of the society, the church has its work towards the organization of the masses of the grass root level. With this end in view the church has undertaken motivational and training programmes as well as economic programmes assisted by both governmental and non-governmental agencies.

Thus organization and dynamics of church in Malabar served the settlers in all their needs.

CHAPTER V

TRANSFORMING LANDSCAPE

Migration from Travancore to Malabar had brought about a sea change in the social, economic, cultural and political life of the people of this region. This chapter is a detailed discussion of the impact of migration on socio-economic and cultural sphere of Malabar.

The migrants, though a different type of people from a different region with a different background, found no difficulty in penetrating into the Malabar society and they soon became indivisible part of that society. It should be noted that the migrants were also instrumental to many revolutionary and longstanding changes in all spheres of life that had changed the very face of Malabar.

There are coastal areas, lowlands, middle and high lands in Malabar. Of these only the first three were occupied by the local inhabitants in the pre-migration period. The settlers from Travancore invaded the highlands, risking their lives and health. Wild animals, and epidemics like malaria and cholera posed greatest threat to the migrant farmers. But the brave and hard working farmers were not ready to be cowed down. Even the malaria-ridden Wayanad, with its vast stretches

of uncultivated fertile lands held out great attraction to the migrant farmers from Travancore.¹

A remarkable development during the later period was the large scale influx of immigrants, particularly Christians from the Travancore-Cochin area of the state into this Malabar. These immigrants had settled in almost all taluks. Reports received from the Tahsildars gave detailed information about the number of families settled in each taluk. It was reported that about 15,000 families had settled down in Hosdurg Taluk alone. They lived mainly in Panathady, East Eleri, and West Eleri villages where they had acquired plots of land and constructed houses. The vast majority of them were engaged in agriculture and agricultural labour. In the North Wayanad taluks more than 1, 600 families had settled down. In the Taliparamba Taluk about 12,000 families had permanently settled down and they were mainly engaged in the cultivation of food crops and commercial crops like pepper, ginger, cardamom, rubber, lemongrass, tapioca and cashew².

During the period 1921-71 the population of the Cannanore District registered an increase of 173.29 percent as against 173.61 percent recorded for the state for the same period. The taluks of Hosdurg and North Wayanad had higher growth rates for the period 1921-71 as compared to the state and district rates. The

¹ See A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazeteers*, Cannanore (Trivandrum, 1972), p.180.

² *Ibid.*

decennial growth rate for the district in 1941 shows an accelerated growth except for the decade 1931-41.

The taluk-wise growth of population in the earlier decades up to 1941 was lower than the corresponding state growth rate. The period after 1941 was significant. There was a large scale influx of population from Travancore and Cochin areas to the eastern hill tracts of Hosdurg, Taliparamba and Tellicherry Taluks. North Wayanad Taluk was the main target of these migrants. These hard working christian migrants utilised all opportunities to cultivate the highly fertile virgin lands and settled there. Naturally this was responsible for a considerably higher growth of population in the succeeding decades. The following tables and the figure show the variation in population and nature of density of population both in Travancore and Malabar.

TABLE 5.1

Statement showing the density of population per square mile and the decennial percentage increase in density in major centres of emigration and major centres of immigration 1901-1951.

Taluk	Density per square mile of area						Percentage increase/decrease in density				
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1901-11	1911-1921	1921-1931	1931-1941	1941-1951
E* { Meenachil	447	565	565	1625	1833	1000	+ 26.4	0.0	+ 18.6	+ 12.8	- 45.4
E* { Thodupuzha	64	68	118	414	394	442	+ 6.3	+ 73.5	+ 250.8	- 4.8	+ 1.2
E* { Muvattupuzha	321	293	314	625	741	452	- 8.7	+ 7.2	+ 99.0	+ 18.6	- 39.0
P* { Devikulam } Peermade }	25	55	51	94	116	163	+ 120.0	- 7.3	+ 84.3	+ 23.4	+ 40.5
I* { Kozhikode	674	715	767	918	1071	1384	+6.1	+ 7.3	+ 19.7	+ 16.7	+ 29.2
I* { Kottayam	436	471	483	548	615	764	+ 8.0	+ 2.5	+ 13.5	+ 12.2	+ 24.2
I* { Kurumbranad	648	701	707	819	881	1095	+ 8.2	+ 0.8	+ 15.8	+ 7.6	+ 24.3
I* { Wayanad	91	100	103	112	139	206	+ 9.9	+ 3.0	+ 8.7	+ 24.1	+48.2

E* Centres of Emigration, Travancore.

P* Centres of Plantation agriculture, Travancore

I* Centres of Immigration, Malabar

[Source : Census of India: Madras, Travancore, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941, and 1951]

TABLE 5.2
VARIATION IN POPULATION DURING FORTY YEARS

District	Year	Person	Decade variation	Percentage decade variation	Males	Females
CANNANORE DISTRICT	1921	865,447	...	...	414,23	450,624
	1931	997,057	+125,997	+12.64	480,640	516,417
	1941	1,123,054	+125,997	+12.64	540,449	582,605
	1951	1,375,081	+252,027	+22.44	668,486	766,595
	1961	1,780,294	+405,213	+29.47	874,667	905,627
Kasargod taluk	1921	140,029	...	...	68,300	71,729
	1931	164,616	+ 24,587	+ 17.56	80,691	83,925
	1941	186,557	+ 21,941	+ 13.33	91,474	95,083
	1951	224,015	+ 37,478	+20.08	110,056	113,959
	1961	271,015	+ 47,000	+ 20.98	134,46	136,547
Hosdurg taluk	1921	116,902	...	..	57,019	59,883
	1931	137,427	+20,525	+ 17.56	67,364	70,063
	1941	155,744	+ 18,317	+ 13.33	76,365	79,379
	1951	187,016	+31,272	+20.08	90,871	96,145
	1961	241,131	+ 54,115	+28.94	118,278	122,853
Taliparamba taluk	1921	136,683	...	...	64,590	82,413
	1931	157,429	+20,746	+ 15.18	75,016	82,413
	1941	175,758	+ 18,329	+11.64	83,687	92,071
	1951	211,061	+ 35,303	+20.09	102,116	108,945
	1961	310,723	+99,662	+47.22	153,704	157,019
Cannanore taluk	1921	209,712	...	...	99,100	110,612
	1931	241,543	+ 31,831	+15.18	115,096	126,447
	1941	269,665	+ 28,122	+ 11.64	128,401	141,2164
	1951	323,829	+ 54,164	+ 20.09	156,342	167,487
	1961	391,636	+ 67,807	+ 20.94	192,205	199,431
Tellicherry taluk	1921	232,285	..	..	109,105	123,180
	1931	263,743	+31,458	+13.54	124,566	139,77
	1941	297,899	+34,156	+12.95	140,125	157,774
	1951	369,580	+ 71,681	+ 24.06	177,696	191,884
	1961	475,589	+196,009	+ 28.68	229,283	246,306
North Wayanad taluk	1921	29,836	..	..	16,709	13,127
	1931	32,299	+ 2,463	+ 8.26	17,907	14,392
	1941	37,431	+ 5,132	+ 15.89	20,397	17,034
	1951	59,580	+22,149	+ 59.17	31,405	28,175
	1961	90,200	+30,620	+ 51.39	46,729	43,471

Source: Census of India 1981, Kerala part, District Hand book, Cannanore p. 21.

FIGURE 5.1
TRENDS IN DECADAL GROWTH RATE OF POPULATION 1901-81

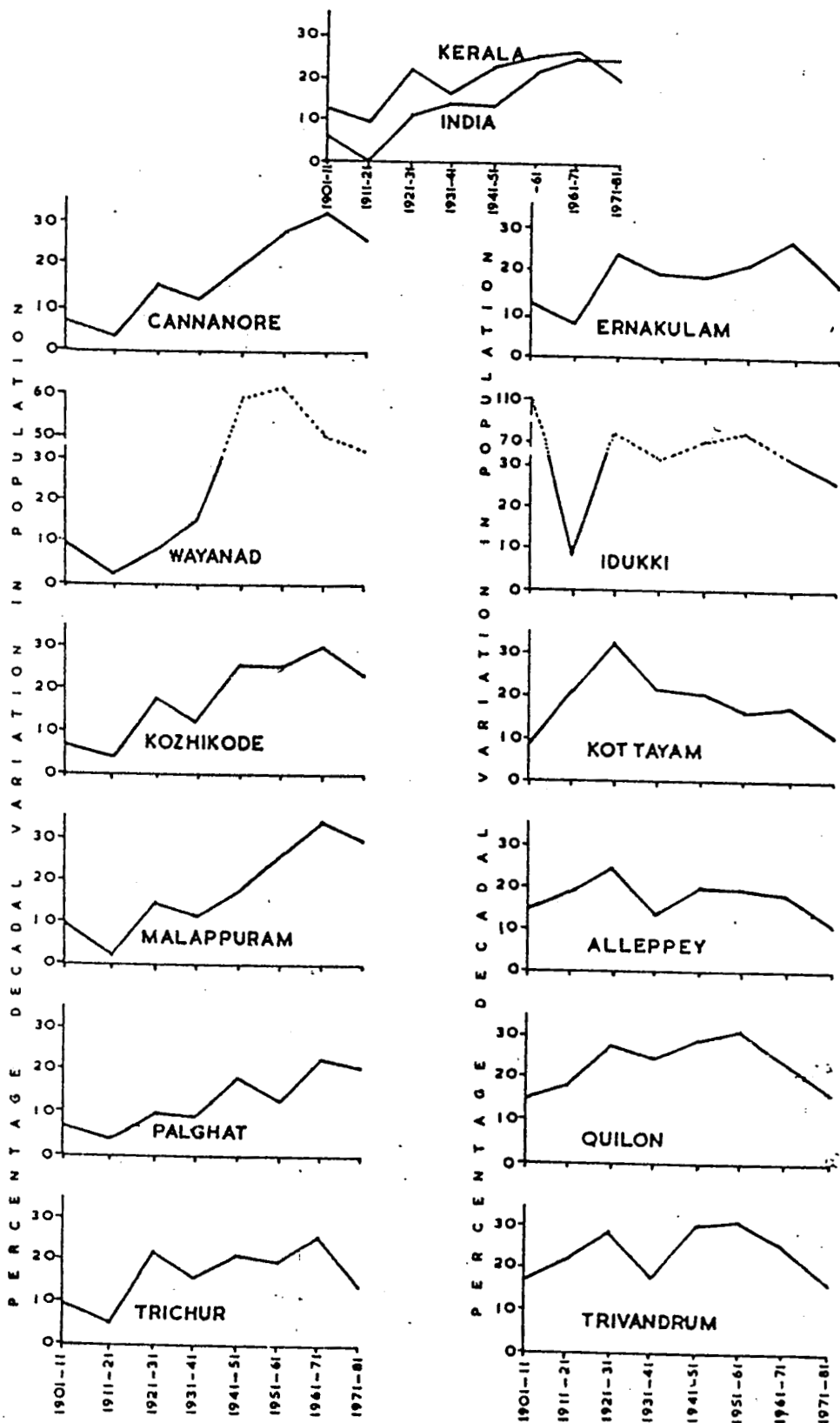


TABLE 5.3
Growth of Population in Malabar District from 1921-1971

District/Taluk	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1921-1971
Cannanore I	865,447	997,057	1,123,054	1,375,081	1,780,294	2,365,164	---
II	---	+15.21	+ 12.64	+ 22.44	+29.47	+32.85	173.29
Kozhikode I	733,057	856,351	960,997	1,226,091	1,588,468	2,106,249	---
II	---	+16.82	+12.22	+27.59	+29.56	+32.60	187.32
Malappuram I	764,138	874,504	977,085	1,149,718	1,387,778	1,856,362	+ 142. 94
II	---	+ 14.44	+ 11.73	+17.67	+20.57	+33.80	-----
Palghat I	853,988	941,286	1,025,058	1,214,208	1,369,500	1,685,342	----
II	---	+10.22	+8.90	+18.45	+12.79	+23.06	+97.35

I – Actual population

II – Growth of population (percent)

Source : Census of India 1971 Kerala Parts I-A & I – B General Report, pp- 42-44.

TABLE 5.4

Persons born in other Districts of the State enumerated districts of Malabar between 1961 - 1971

	Total population	Persons born of the districts of the state		
		Rural	Urban	unclassified
Cannanore District	2,365,164	171,997	25,640	245
Kozhikode District	2,106,249	180,337	26,670	400
Malappuram	1,856,362	60,785	13,785	115
Palaghat	1,685,342	54,380	17,255	150

Source of India series-9, Kerala Part II-D migration Table, pp. 16-20

From the above tables it is clear that people born in other districts and enumerated as people of rural areas of the districts of Malabar may be migrants from Travancore.

From the census report of 1971 it is found that the total number of migrants from Kottayam District to the districts of Malabar are as follows³.

Cannanore	-	1,03,483
Kozhikode	-	54,917
Malappuram	-	11,760
Palaghat	-	10,645

TABLE 5.5

Population and percentage - Decade variation of Cannanore District

Census year	population	percentage - Decade variation
1901	787,352	-
1911	841,782	+ 6.91
1921	865,447	+ 2.81
1931	997,057	+ 15.21
1941	1,123,054	+ 12.64
1951	1,375,081	+ 22.44
1961	1,780,294	+ 29.47
1971	2,365,164	+ 32.85

Source – Census of India 1971, series 9 Kerala, District Census Hand Book, Cannanore District, p. 52

³ Census of India, 1971, series 9, Kerala, District Census Hand Book, Kottaym, part X-C. census Table, p.93.

The population of Cannanore District as on 1 April 1971 was 2,365, 164. The net addition to the population of the district between 1961-1971 was 584,870, there by recording a decennial growth rate of 32.85% during the decade. The table given above shows the population of the district from 1901 to 1971 and the decennial growth rates.

1911 Census shows that out of the total district population of 3,015,119 in Malabar, Hindus were 2,008,082, Muslims were 953,381 and Christians 53,015.⁴ Out of this Christian population (if non-Indian Christian population is removed then the total Christian population in 1911 was 48,444) 23,133 were Roman Catholics (Latin) and 21,009 Syrian Christians.⁵ As early as 1911 Syrian Christians though not a majority among Christians, were present in Malabar in fairly large numbers. Among this 2611 people enumerated were from Travancore.⁶

By 1931 the total Christian population in Malabar had become 65,394.⁷ Out of a district total of 3,533,444 Roman Catholics (Latin) were 28,811 and Syrian

⁴ *Census of India, Malabar 1911*. p. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Census of India, Malabar 1931, Op.cit.*

Christians (Catholic and non-catholic) 23,672.⁸ In 1931 census records 3,328 people from Travancore were enumerated in Malabar.

In 1911 itself, in a remote hill tract like Guddalore which later became a centre of Travancore settlement, 24 people were enumerated, from Travancore.⁹ Truly indicative of the component of Travancore migrants will be the Christian population of the rural tracts of Malabar, as the migrants were mostly Christians and they settled mostly in the rural areas.

TABLE 5.6
Christian Population in Malabar in 1911

Name of Tract	Christian Population in 1911
Calicut	5451
Chirackal	11825
Ernad	589
Kottayam	2248
Kurumbranad	677
Palghat	3808
Ponnani	21815
Valluvanad	507
Wayanad	1790

Source: Census of India, Malabar, 1911.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Census of India 1911, *Op.cit.* p.94.

TABLE 5.7

Christian Population in Malabar in 1951 (Rural Tracts)

Name of Tract	Christian Population in 1951
Chirackal	9465
Kottayam	12155
Wayanad	24850
Kurumbranad	11529
Kozhikode	15161
Ernad	1562
Valluvanad	2020
North Ponnani	1229

Source: Census Hand Book, Malabar District 1951.

TABLE 5.8

Number of People born in Travancore-Cochin and Enumerated in Rural Tracts of Malabar 1951

Name of Tract	People born in Travancore - Cochin and enumerated in Malabar in 1951
Chirackal	5509
Kottayam	12655
Wayand	23482
Kurumbranad	10612
Kozhikode	13636
Ernad	802
Valluvanad	2022
N. Ponnani	177
Palghat	3001

Source: Census Hand Book Malabar District, 1951.

The preceding table shows the increase in Christian population in Malabar, particularly in the rural tracts. Though we do not have the break-up of the Christian population into Syrian and non-Syrian categories, we can safely assume that a significant proportion of the increase is accounted for by the incoming Syrian Christian migrants from Travancore. The substantial population of people born in Travancore- Cochin and enumerated in the rural tracts of Malabar in 1951 further strengthen this supposition.

The increase in the Syrian Christian population in Malabar and their later organisation into a diocese (Tellicherry Syrian Catholic Diocese) created a new element in the communal fabric of Malabar. The organisation of Tellicherry Diocese itself was promoted by the fact that even in the earlier Latin Diocese of Calicut by 1953 there were 74,129 Syrian Catholic members as against only 17,217 Latin Catholics. In fact the number of Catholics in the Calicut Diocese had increased from around 11,000 in the middle of 1920s to about 91,000 in 1953.¹⁰

The total population of Catholics in the Diocese of Tellicherry in 1959 was only 1,25,987 whereas the approximate number of Catholic migrants in Malabar (Roman Catholic and Knanaya Christians) were 66,8,315. The total Christian migrant families were 1,06,160. In addition to the above mentioned number other Christian denominations like Jacobites, Orthodox and Malankara Marthoma

¹⁰ Malabaril Oru Suriyani Roopatha', in Deepika Daily (Kottayam), 6 February, 1954.

Church also migrated to various parts of Malabar.¹¹ Besides these various Christian groups, peasants belonging to other religions like Hinduism and Islam also largely migrated to Malabar. But in the absence of available data we are unable to cite the actual number of various other religious communities that came down to live in Malabar.

Both the family register and Baptism register of various Christian churches in Malabar is a clear testimony to the steady increase of christian population in various districts of Malabar.¹²

Impact On The Economy Of Malabar

The impact of the migration on the economy of Kerala in general and of Malabar in particular needs special mention. Large scale production of commercial crops like rubber, ginger, pepper, arecanut and coconut, advanced methods of cultivation and the introduction of new agricultural crops immensely influenced economy of this region.

Small scale farmers who migrated to Malabar in order to escape the differentiating and depressing pressures of commercialization of agriculture in Travancore brought in powerfully the spirit and relation of commercial agriculture

¹¹ For details see: *Directories of Diocese of Tellicherry, Thamarasseri, Mananthavady, Palghat and Kottayam 2000*].

¹² For details see Baptism register of certain Christian churches in Malabar. See appendix -V]

into feudal Malabar. They began to cultivate commercial crops in this region.¹³ In addition to extending the cultivation of such crops they also introduced tapioca which was so far unknown in Malabar. It is Ittyvakkil from Pulinkunnu in Travancore is considered to be the first one to introduce tapioca cultivation in large scale in Malabar¹⁴. Tapioca was unknown in Malabar before the arrival of migrants that some early migrants recall that the wild boar in Malabar which used to demolish all other crops, was not touching tapioca as it did not know the taste of this new crop.¹⁵

¹³ For similar studies in expansion on agriculture, go through the following works. *Progress of Agriculture in Kerala*, Ministry of Agriculture Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1972. Dr. P.K. Gopalakrishnan *Notes on Our Development Experience Since Independence 1950-1985*, (Trivandrum, 1986) pp. 53-80.

¹⁴ Kunhikrishnan. K, "Kudiyettakkarude Gramathil (Malayalam), *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, Vol. XIV 21 March, 1971. also in George V.C "Malabarile Kudiyettakkarya Chettanmar verubaganthakkaro" (Malayalam) *Girideepam special*, (November – December, 1966).

¹⁵ There is enough references about the tapioca cultivation in Malabar before 1930's. See *Mathrubhumi*, (three in a week) Nov. 14, 1929. The reports suggest, that in Perambra (Calicut District) region tapioca production was lower than the previous years. This was probably because of the low price of tapioca in the market. For reports about tapioca cultivations and role of migrant in the poverty eradication in Malabar see *Mathrubhumi* daily, May 11, 1944 May 15, 1943, August 28, 1949. Kaindy Scaria a capitalist planter of Thamarasseri area at first freely distributed tapioca at Thamarasseri, Calicut region later people of Malabar preferred tapioca as their food. In later years tapioca became an important item of food served in the hotels of Malabar. Later wholesale merchants of Malabar directly sold tapioca to mills in Bombay, Erode and Coimbatore. This helped largely for the economic and agricultural development of Malabar. For the importance of tapioca cultivation in the economy of Kerala see. Report of the Subcommittee of the Tapioca Market Expansions Board, Government of Kerala, 1972. The total area in which tapioca was cultivated was more than one-third of land under paddy cultivation. Also see, report of the subcommittee of the Tapioca Market Expansion Board Government of Kerala, (Trivandrum, 1972). Polly Hill, 'Kerala is Different' in *modern Asian Studies*, Vol-20 part 4, Oct. 1986, pp. 78,83.

With the increase in migration, tapioca cultivation spread all over Malabar. As a result, by 1975 Cannanore district alone produced 1,60,000 tonnes of tapioca from 7,000 hectares out of which 400 tonnes were sold outside the State of Kerala.¹⁶ The settlers made a seemingly justifiable claim that it was their tapioca that saved Malabar from an imminent famine in early 1940's.¹⁷

The settlers were also believed to have introduced the Travancore pepper plant which yields annually from the second year onwards unlike the Malabar pepper which yields late and only in alternate years.¹⁸ They also brought in rubber seeds of better quality and higher yields. There were very few crops which the

¹⁶ Kunhikrishnan.K. *Op.cit.* no. 14.

¹⁷ Sebastian D. Vadakayil 'Malabar kudiyyettam, Athengana vijayapradhamakum' in *Deepika*, Daily 1st January 1954.

¹⁸ Thomas Pazhaparambil, Fr. *Swapnabhoomiyil* (Malayalam) (Muvattupuzha, 1978) pp-1/20.

In 1925 when Jacob Thomas Kariparambil bought 3,000 acres of land in Plikeezh near Manarghat, the price was around Rs. 4/- per acre. It is evident that land prices differed from place to place, according to the presence of migrants from the fact when prices were Rs. 10/- per acre in Kuttiyadi, an area which has earlier migration history, as early as 1931. In an unsettled area like Nellikkampoil, land price increased due to the increase in migration and development of transport and other facilities to those areas land prices also shot up. It is in late 1940 and 1950's that land price increased in Malabar most spectacularly, for instance in the village of Eruvesi, a settler colony in Cannanore district, where land was acquired by migrants in 1945 for Rs. 10/- acre from Kuramathoor illam.

settlers did not try out in Malabar. They cultivated ginger, cardamom, lemon-grass, cashewnut, coconut etc.¹⁹

Apart from introducing new crops and extending cultivation of old crops, the settlers also opened up vast forest areas for cultivation as has already been noted with the advent of big farmers from Travancore, plantation agriculture in Malabar which till then was confined to the British efforts in Wayanad, spread out into other parts of Malabar. In the early years of migration, land was available for so low a price as ¼ rupees per acre.

Another impact of the migration is that the decrease in the forest area of Malabar. In many places thick forests were transformed and this had a very crucial impact. The following table shows the decrease of forest land in Malabar District.²⁰

¹⁹ In Malabar native peasants cultivated low quality 'Balankotta' variety of pepper, which had good yield only in alternative years. Instead of that migrated settlers brought high quality variety of pepper vine like "Arakkulam mundi', Karimunda', chettan' etc.

Ginger was an important short term cash crop which was very popular when it first came to the area. The fertile land produced a good crop and the dried ginger fetched a good price. These/ prove ginger cultivation was undertaken extensively in those days. Due to the uncertainty experienced in the price of the ginger, the spreading of the disease and the diminishing fertility of the soil, the ginger cultivation is becoming less important nowadays.

Lemongrass is totally a new cultivation in the Malabar region having been brought in by settlers. High fertility of the soil is not required for the cultivation and as such the areas unsuitable of other crops are selected for lemongrass cultivation. It can also effectively prevent soil erosion since it has a fibrous root system. The seeds can either be sown after picking the field or seeding can be raised over a nursery and transplanted.

²⁰ *Forest Resources of Kerala A Quantitative Assessment*, Forest Department, Govt. of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1973, Tab. 32, p.51.

TABLE 5.9

Statement showing availability of forest lands in the districts of Cannanore, Kozhikode and Palghat in the years 1940 and 1950.

(Area in Squire Kilometre)

Particulars	Cannanore	Kozhikode	Palghat
1940			
(i) Forest area under public ownership	450	690	870
(ii) Forest area under private ownership	880	1500	970
Total – 1940	1340	2190	1840
1970			
(i) Forest area under public ownership	457	662	792
(ii) Forest area under ownership	269	822	409
Total – 1970	726	1484	1201
Area lost between 1940 & 1970			
(i) For agriculture and habitation by assignments and encroachment	350	340	325
(ii) For settlement of hill tribes colonisation etc.	43	50	50
(iii) Reservoirs and hydel and irrigation schemes	-	15	50
(iv) Rubber, coffee, pepper and other plantation crops	220	302	214
Total	613	707	639

Source: Forest Resources of Kerala; A Quantitative Assessment, Forest Department, Govt. of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1973, Table 32, p.51

The farmers migrated from Travancore to Malabar with little capital for investment and manpower for cultivation. The migration helped in the increase of the total income from agriculture in Kerala. In 1960's -'61 the total income from agriculture was 230.91 crores but it increased to 311 crores by 1975-'76. This kind of increase happened only after the migration of farming population to Malabar. So it can be assumed from the above that migration to Malabar helped the increase of income from agriculture in Kerala.²¹

Another impact of the migration is the expansion of agriculture in Malabar. The table shows the expansion of agriculture in different districts of Kerala after 1957 -'58.²²

²¹ Joseph K.V "Malabar Kudiyettavum Karshika Vikasanavum" (Malayalam) *Mathrubhoomi Weekly* (13 - 19 May 1984) for similar studies see - Kalyani Bandopadhyaya, *Agricultural development in India and China*, (New Delhi 1976), pp. 1-15 As is well known traditionally agriculture occupied a predominant place in the economy of India. Land provided livelihood of subsistence level to about 75 percent of India's population even in the 1930's. But in 1930's the agrarian structure or the level of rural technology was not conducive to real agricultural growth in India. But since 1950's after independence India has undergone technology changes in the context of its political system and ideology of development.

²² Joseph .K.V. *Ibid.*

TABLE 5.10

**The table showing the expansion of agriculture in different districts of Kerala
- after 1957-'58**

District	Land used for cultivation in 1957 – '58 (Hectare)	Land used for cultivation in 1975 –'76 (Hectare)
Trivandrum	147265	145473
Quilon	205807	207565
Alleppey	157942	149095
Kottayam	274171	183424
Idukki*	-----	156188
Ernakulam	187707	1777989
Trichur	129991	161513
Palghat	222718	219503
Malappuram	-----	213451
Calicut	300443	232813
Cannanore	214195	341852
Total	1839337	2189172

Idukki District was formed by joining parts of Ernakulam and Kottayam Districts in 1972 and Malappuram District was formed by merging some parts of Palghat and Calicut Districts in 1969.

From the above table it is clear that in Kerala the total cultivated area in 1957 –'58 was 18.39 lakhs hectare. But in 1975-'76 it increased to 21-89 lakhs hectare. The total increase of cultivable land is 3.50 lakhs hectare. Out of this, 2.70 was in Calicut, Malappuram, Wayanad and Cannanore Districts.²³

²³ *Ibid.*

Because of their success in agricultural operations migration to Malabar also resulted in the large scale capital accumulation. The average accumulation of a family in Malabar at that time was Rs.415/-. The migrated poor peasants gradually became middle and rich peasants. Even bourgeois emerged from this class.

The Christian migration has helped to bring about a green revolution in Malabar. The church agencies gave training to the farmers by starting efficient training centres for agriculture and animal husbandry. For instance in 1964, the Bishop of Calicut opened a diary farm and agricultural training centre at Pariyaram.²⁴

The immigrants were mostly enterprising and hard working people and they have by their efforts helped in the economic development of the area. Lands which were inaccessible for centuries due to thick forest growth were cleared off and brought under effective cultivation. The settlers as a class cultivated their lands according to modern methods by applying chemicals and fertilisers. The local people also started taking to modern and scientific methods of cultivation after the

²⁴ Interview with Rev. Fr. Succol Pariyaram, 3.8.1998.

example of immigrants. This resulted in the increase of agricultural production in Cannanore District.²⁵

Migration of peasant farmers from Travancore to Malabar paved the way for the flow of labour and capital for the reclamation of land and extension of cultivation in Malabar. Such activities contributed significantly to capital formation in agriculture. The report of the All India Rural Credit Survey 1951-52 is perhaps the only source of information which throws some light on this aspect. It is significant to note that, though the rural credit survey presented Malabar as a region with higher levels of capital formation, it was not so during earlier periods when Travancore was well ahead of Malabar in all respects.²⁶

In fact, condition of the farming population in Malabar had been irreversable that large number of Nairs, the traditionally land owning community of the region,

²⁵ A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala State Gazeteers*, Cannanore, (Trivandrum – 1972), p. 181.

Migrants introduced new technology in agricultural operations. They had availed all the facilities of aid, for development blocks in the cultivation of colocasia yam, various cereals, tapioca variety of vegetables. The local people who were unaware of these cultivation in hilly areas and new varieties of food and commercial crops slowly started the new type of cultivation of the population from Travancore. Also see, Divakaran Kattakkada, *Keraleeya Gramangaliloode*, [Kottayam, 1967], pp, 313-314.

²⁶ Report of the All India Rural Credit Survey, 1951-52, Vol. 1 (R.B.I Bombay 1956) P.P, 11, 12.

had been reduced to the status of menial servants.²⁷ Although there existed plenty of cultivable land in Malabar, its owners had not cultivated it. Their tenants and other landless people usually had no capital to do so.²⁸ But by 1951-52, when the Rural Credit Survey was conducted, the migration from Travancore had reached its peak levels and economic conditions had undergone a change. Though the report of Rural Credit Survey does not explicitly mention any reason for the high level of capital formation in the Malabar region the report does contain evidence to suggest that migration had been the major causal factor.

During the pre-migration period, Malabar region was characterised mainly by subsistence farming – despite the fact that it had a long tradition of cultivation of cash crops like pepper, coconut and arecanut.

The district also made progress in the economic and social fields as a result of the steps taken by the government and also by private agencies. The cultivation

²⁷ *Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee* 1940, Superintendent of Govt. Press, (Madras, 1945), p. 15. For details about various tenurial system in India, crop sharing tenancy, money invested in Indian agriculture etc. see the following works.

P.K. Bavdhan & T.N. Srinivasan, "Crop Sharing Tenancy in Agriculture: A Theoretical and Emperical Analysis," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 61 March 1971.

Ashok Rudra, *Indian Agricultural Economics-Myths and Realities* (New Delhi, 1982) p. 467.

Aparajitha Chakravorthy, "*Some Aspects of Farm Economics Under Varying Tenurial Conditions: A Comparative Study* (unpublished thesis), 1978.

Hamza Alavi, "*Feudalism and capitalism in Indian Agriculture*", *Frontier*, Vol. 6, 29 sept. 1973.

²⁸ Adrian Mayer, *Land and Society in Malabar* (Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1952) p. 228

of plantation crops received special attention. Even towards the end of the 18th century the English Company opened a plantation at Anjarakandi and carried on trial cultivation here in a number of rare crops like cinnamon, coffee etc. Murdoch-Brown, a merchant of Mahe, who joined the service of the company on the fall of Mahe in 1739, was in charge of the plantation, and his name is closely associated with the economic progress of the district. The coffee plants introduced by Brown at Anjarakandi found its way into Wayanad and before long coffee became the staple product of the Wayanad plantations. Towards the end of the 18th century several tea estates that sprang up in the area gave further impetus to the economic progress of the region.²⁹ Plantation of coffee, tea and rubber did have an early start in Malabar. The total area covered by such crops did not exceed 29000 acres at the beginning of the thirties.³⁰ The corresponding figure for Travancore was much higher.³¹ In 1970's the cash crop occupied a predominant place in the cropping pattern of Malabar.³²

The plantation estates were opened up from virgin forest or jungle land with in the last fifty years as the result of capitalistic enterprise, no matter whether

²⁹ A. Sreedhara Menon (ed) *Kerala District Gazetteer – Cannanore* (Trivandrum, 1972), p. 163.

³⁰ C.A. Innes, *District Gazetteer of Malabar* (Madras Govt. Press, 1933) p.228.

³¹ T.C. Varghese, *Agrarian Change and Economic Consequences: Land Tenures in Kerala, 1850-1960* (Bombay, 1970) p. 109.

³² For Details see – K.V Joseph, *Migration and Economic Development of Kerala*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Trivandrum, 1986) p. 186.

it was European or Indian. But chiefly such enterprises were owned and managed by the former. In the early days it was mostly of individual effort, but later the capital for management and development was usually found by joint stock companies which in the course of time had absorbed many estates which were formerly privately owned. Applications were to be made to the local government concerned to ascertain the terms on which such land could be obtained. Labourers were recruited from the plains largely on a system of paying advance salary and was usually housed in the estate at the expense of the estate. In the various local districts of Madras the planters formed district associations, to further their local interests. All these district associations were combined to support the general body of the United Planters Association of Southern India with head quarters at Bangalore.³³

The impact that immigration had on labour relations has also been equally impressive. Prior to the influx of migrants an attached or bonded labour system prevailed in several interior parts of Malabar. The wages offered to agricultural labourers were extremely low. Wage rate of a male agricultural labourer was around Rs.1 per day in 1950-51. A steady rise in the wage rates of the local agricultural labourers was ensued, a fact which attracted agricultural labourers from distant parts of Malabar. The local labourers who till then led miserable

³³ Madras Agriculture – A Brief Survey (Regional Archives, Calicut) Madras, 1917, p.1.

lives were now able to enjoy higher living standards due to an increase in employment opportunities and improvement in terms and conditions of work.³⁴

One of the direct impact of the migration of Malabar was the emergence of new trading and commercial centres. Almost all the settlement areas became centres of trade, most of them dealing with the "Hill products" or commercial crops like rubber, pepper and ginger. These centres acted as a basis for the cultural growth in Malabar area, especially in the hilly areas, educational, charitable and commercial institutions like Co-operative banks, Commercial banks, Nationalised

³⁴ Wage rate of male agricultural labourers was around Rs.1.00 in 1950-51. See Adrian Mayer, *Land and Society in Malabar*.

Op.cit, p. 70.

Historically, plantations were a product of colonialism. In the earlier years, planters spared no method to recruit people to work in the plantations. In addition to offering a package of facilities which were often more imaginary than real, coercion and brute force were extensively used to bring labour to the workplace. It appears that worsening living conditions drove people from the plains to the hills for the plantations. Moreover, the very development of plantations accelerated the process of pauperisation of the tribals through usurping of forest tracts and of the poor peasants who were made to part with a greater share of their already meagre production to the government in the form of land revenue and there by assured a steady supply of labour for plantation purposes. Another source of labour supply was the villages affected by famine and natural calamities. Migrants from these areas could be easily taken as resident captive labourer. The planter who was interested only in accumulating profit gave only low wages to the workers and provided practically no facilities. Ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-treated workers died like rats, with nobody noticing their deaths.

Capitalist planters in Malabar brought estates workers from Tamilnadu. The Thenmala Estate at Chedikudu, Vellode Estate, Kolayad estate of P.R Ramavarma Raja at Alakode etc. The same way of labourers employment can be traced. For the theoretical and colonial paradigm of labour force in plantation industry see Ravi Raman. K, " Plantation Labour: Revisit Required".

Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XXI, No. 22, May 31, 1986. pp. 960-62

Banks, Land mortgage banks, Gramin banks etc. developed in these areas.³⁵ Thus migration played a significant role in the urbanisation of the interiors of Malabar. Some migrants achieved fame as the best in their field, Karshaka sree, Kerakesari Karshakothamo were instituted for this purpose.³⁶

Electrification of villages had a tremendous influence on the development process. Due to the influence of the migrants majority of the settlements were electrified. In the electrification of the settlements, the role of rich and influential migrants, parish priests and political leaders should be noted. For instance P.R.Ramavarma Raja of Punjar Royal family migrated to Alakode during this period. Through his personal interest and influence by and also depositing cash security of Rs. 25000 to the government, electricity reached at Alakode in 1964 itself. The government policy of 'Velicha Viplavam' (light revolution) promoted by the then electricity minister K.M Mani largely helped in the mission of rural electrification in general and settlements of migrants in particular. The peculiar

³⁵ "Malabarinte malayorangalil". (Malayalam) Report on the Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee of the Cherupushpam Mission League, Diocese of Tellicherry, 1954-1984, (Tellicherry, 1985), pp. 17-43

The focal effort of Agriculture should be the market rather than the house hold was altogether strange to the peasant. They were now entrepreneurs, tied to the kaleidoscopic fortunes of a market economy.

³⁶ Sri. Sebastian. P. Augustine [Baby] a retired government servant residing at Bheemanadi was awarded with Kerakesari Award of Shaji Vaniya Kizhakkal of Kottappara (near Manikadavu), a disabled man was selected as best farmer of their panchayat.

Mr. Jose Muthukulam is a migrant settled at Puranhan near Chemperi was also a winner of a number of National and State awards for his inventions.

geography of Malabar hills, i.e flowing rivers from uphill helped many farmers to produce electricity for their own purpose.³⁷ Further the idea of 'peoples' electricity is also an important feature of Malabar hills. Lessons from people's electrification projects at Attappadi region and Pathanpara in Kannur District is a promising one.³⁸

Globalisation and Rural Economy

Globalisation is about the process of reducing barriers between countries and encouraging closer economic, political and social interaction. It necessarily implies the diminishing importance of national borders and strengthening identities that stretch beyond those rooted in a particular region or country. Globalisation is a process of intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities

³⁷ In Many settlements, from Manarghat to Bandhadukka peasants have started producing micro hydel electricity. The production engineers and technicians of this project also belong to the category of migrants. Their technology is very simple, i.e by using pipe (hose) and a dynamo with this electricity, peasants were satisfied to operate television, mixie and other purposes. One Joseph, a bank employee from Medilakayam (near Chemperi) is a busy engineer in this field.

³⁸ The persons behind Pathanpara peoples electrification project were Rev. Asarippambal, Technician Anil [Sigma, Alakode] and Samuel (S.D.E of B.S.N.L).

In Attappadi region – Kuravampadi, Putiyara etc micro-hydel project started by the people with the help of Mythri Rural Technology Mission. Nava Jyothi Development Society, Attappadi Social Service Society. These projects are serving the power needs of the people of this area to a certain extend. For details see Jacob Mavumkal, "Attappadiyile Jankeeya Vaidyutha Paddhathi (Mal.) in *Diocese of Palakkad Rajatha Jubilee Smarnika* (Palghat 1999) pp. 81-83

in such a way and vice versa.³⁹

The increasing internationalisation of markets necessarily affects the village economy in many ways. Infact it unleashes substantial changes in the rural economy of India. There was a heavy fall in the prices of agricultural produces like coffee, tea, rubber, pepper, coconut, arecanut, cashewnut etc. owing to the globalisation and subsequent trade policies in recent years. Due to this the living condition of the farming community are lopsided.⁴⁰

The performance of Kerala's agriculture during the last quarter of the 20th century has not been an impressive one to say the least. From 1960 to 1975 there has been an overall increase in the rate of growth of area, production and yield for all the crops. After 1975 there has been a stagnation. Studies on this problem suggests that the inadequate as well as illconceived development, the total negligence of factors such as water management and land development led to the stagnation of agriculture in Kerala. This has been exacerbated by the increasing environmental degradation taking place in Kerala since the mid seventies.⁴¹

³⁹ -William .K. Tabb, 'Progressing Globalisation : Challenging the Audacity capital' in *Monthly Review*. 50 (a), 1999, Pp. 1-10 also see Susan V. Brassford, 'Presidents' Message : 1997 "Ford Foundation, Annual Report: Ford Foundation (New York), P.1. and Anthony Giddens, *The Consequence of Modernity*, (Cambridge, 1990), P. 64.

⁴⁰ V.P. Raghavan of Kerala, *Southern Economist*, Oct. 31, 2002, Pp. 60-67.

⁴¹ K.P Kannan and K. Pushpangadan "Agricultural Stagnation in Kerala, An Exploratory Analysis" in *Economic and Political Weekly*; Vol, XXIII, No. 39 Sept. 24 1998 pp. A. 120 - 128

The decrease in the total agriculture produce and fall of price of the agricultural crops very badly affected the rural life. The phenomenal decrease of price started in 1995. At first there was a heavy fall on the price of paddy, this was followed by coconut, rubber, pepper coffee, tea, arecanut, cardamom etc.⁴² During 1990's, when agricultural prices was very high peasants purchased vehicles, constructed houses by availing bank loans and loan from private parties with cut throat interest (from blade companies). New business were started using the loan from the same sources. But from 1995 onwards, the financial scenario was totally changed due to fall in the prices, economic depression etc.

Following this the peasants were not able to remit loans and interest promptly, and this led to revenue recoveries (Jepthis). In order to escape from this situation many committed suicide.⁴³

⁴² *Mathrubhumi Daily*, October, 29 2001. The increase of the price of chemical fertilizers and cancellation of all forms of agricultural subsidies is great blow to the farmers. Also see *Malayala Manorama Daily* dated 29.3.2001 and *Deepika Daily*, dated 14.4.2001 Crop failures and diseases like 'Mandari' of coconut 'Mahali' of arecanut, fading of pepper etc. adversely affected the total agricultural production.

⁴³ The real picture of the fall of prices of agricultural commodities are as follows:

Price of pepper fell from Rs.300 per kilogram to Rs.75/- rubber from Rs.65/- Rs.25, coffee Rs.50 to Rs.20 Arecanuts 160 to Rs.28 and Copra (Dry coconut) from Rs.40 to Rs. 20th marginal peasants who availed loans and advances for cultivation expected a high rate of income from agriculture. But the sudden fall on the prices really shocked them. So many opted the ultimate decision to end life. For them there was no other alternative. The curious thing is that the mass suicide of the members of the entire family due to debt increased to 200 percent within 5 years. The period between August-September 2000 there were eleven suicide cases reported in Alacode panchayat area alone.

As a response to this challenges, many peasant organisations started agitations and struggles. In addition to the peasant organisations promoted by political parties, many non-political, independent and Church sponsored peasant organisations came to the fore-front.⁴⁴ Karshaka Raksha Samithi led by Dr. Jose Manippara and farmers relief forum led by Sri. A.C. Varkey, Malabar Karshaka Samithi organised by the Diocese of Tellicherry and Infarm led by Christian Bishops of Kerala are the main peasant organisations.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Karashaka Rakshasamithi under Rev. Dr. Jose Manippara is an independent farmers movement in Kannur-Kasargode Districts. They protected many peasants from revenue recoveries. In one incident its workers gheraoed the manager of Syndicate Bank, Alakkode branch for illegally keeping the land document of farmer Mr. Jose Kallam Plakkal. The agitators forcefully recovered the land document from the bank. See Deepika Daily Sept. 7, 2001 also see Mathrubhumi, Malayala Manorama and Deshabhimani dated Sept, 7, 2001. Farmers relief forum with its head quarters at Nadavayal under the leadership of Sri. A.C Varkey is doing a good job for the welfare of the people by helping them to renew the bank loans, protecting them from eviction and revenue recovery (Jepthi). Farmers, Relief Forum Karshaka Raksha Samithi and other like minded peasant organisations formed a new forum – FARMCO in state level. Sri A.C Varkey is the Chairman of FARMCO.

⁴⁵ Malabar Karshaka Samithi, a peasant organisation promoted by the Diocese of Tellicherry organised a new model of struggle, by sending rubber sheets through post to the Prime Minister of India. The campaign was inaugurated by Arch Bishop George Valiya Mattam in front of Head Post office at Kannur on November 3, 1997.

See Girideepam, (Monthly bulletin of Diocese of Tellicherry Dec. 1997, PP. 39-43.

Infarm – Indian farmers movement is a church sponsored peasant organisation. Infarm conducted various forms of struggles against fall of price of agricultural products. Fr. Mathew Vadakkemuri is the national Chairman of Infarm. Thousands of people participated in the march and dharna organised by Infarm at Kottayam on 23-10-2001 and at Kannur on 1-11-2001.

See all leading Malayalam and English Dailies published from Kerala dt. 24-10-2001 and 2-11-2001.

The set back to world economy and Indian economy is reflecting on Kerala economy as well . The anti farmer's export and import policies of the Central Government, entry of India into WTO further worsened the situation. Rural life in Kerala, especially in Malabar settlement areas (where 99 percent of people are directly linked with cultivation) is miserable.

Thus the large scale immigration of people from Travancore is an important factor that has contributed to the increase of population in the northern parts of Kerala during the last few decades. As the Gazetteer rightly concludes, this "influx of immigrants has in recent years radically changed the picture of socio-economic life in the Districts". And, it has the following comment to add " The immigrants are a highly industrious and enterprising people and they have contributed not a little to the economic development of the region by their unremitting exertions."⁴⁶

Urbanisation Of Settlement

One would expect third world countries in the course of their development to undergo several structural transformations, including a demographic transition, a process of urbanization and a labour price shift out of the primary sector.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Sreedhara Menon, (Ed.) *Kerala District Gazetteers, Kozhikode* (Trivandrum, 1962) Pp. 1997-98.

⁴⁷ For details see Francis Gillenspie "The Effect of Emigration Upon Socioeconomic Structure. The case of Paraguay," in *International Migration Review* Vol.13, No.3, Fall. 1979, p.502.

The problem of hyper-urbanization in third world cities are not causes, but symptoms of what has been called 'dependent' or 'peripheral' capitalism. The capitalist penetration appears the shape to process of urbanization in the third world in several distinctive ways. It leads to the eventual disintegration of the rural subsistence sector and increasing reliance on the urban informal economy; to increasing articulation between the formal and informal sectors of the urban economy.⁴⁸

At the beginning of the 19th century a very low percentage of the world population lived in urban areas. Towards the end of the 20th century what we experience is an urban revolution by which half of the world population have become urban dwellers. Prior to the second World War the process of urbanization was accentuated by highly industrialized regions.

Urban process in the third world has been erroneously conceived as a precocious one. It is true that the experience of urban evolution in the less opulent world are drastically different from the patterns observed in the industrialized world where urbanization was essentially an offshoot of a sequential sectoral development of the economy from backward agriculture to industrial growth followed by the emanation of a well organized services network. In the third world on the other hand, the prospects of agrarian reformation and productivity rise are

⁴⁸see Helen.I. Safa (ed.), *Towards a Political Economy of Urbanization in the Third World Countries* (Delhi, 1983) p.3.

still gloomy compounded by a stagnating industrial sector. But the services sector shows a rapid development which accounts for the unprecedented agglomeration of the third world population in towns and cities.⁴⁹

The causative factors for this differential performance are many and varied. The investment of British capital in the economy was mainly in the plantations and various steps were deliberately adopted to increase the area under commercialized agriculture. This led to an enormous increase in trading and processing activities related to plantation products. The agro processing industries which developed in Kerala did not get concentrated in particular areas leading to a progressive agglomeration of productive forces.. Instead there was a decentralization of these traditional industries which cascaded down from higher forms of production organization to household business. The settlement pattern which is of a dispersed type had its impact on the urban process in the colonial and post colonial periods. Dispersed settlement pattern resulted in the phenomenon of big villages, the boundaries of which could be delineated only arbitrarily. This has also led to a situation by which any development process easily gets diffused into rural areas.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ For details see V.K.J. Menon "Geographical Basis for the Distribution and Pattern of Rural Settlement in Kerala" *Journal of the M.S. University of Baroda*, (Baroda, 1953) No.2, pp.1-35.

⁵⁰ *Study on the Effect of Urbanisation on Agricultural Lands*, Kerala Land Use Series No.13, state Land Use Board (Trivandrum, 1981) pp.1-10.

The urban process in Kerala, the transformation of the relationship between society and space is rather unique. The statistical empiricism of the census definitions need not necessarily capture the dynamism involved in the process. One has to look for other meaningful measures and criteria for delineating urban centres in Kerala. Space is socially produced. It may take varied forms. William Logan (1981) had remarked that towns and town life are not congenial to the tastes and habits of Malayalees. The various historical process had ultimately created a situation where the emerging spatial form is neither rural nor urban. They can be either called 'urban' or semi-urban.

Once the fearful forest region transformed in to agricultural lands and later as semi-urban centres or village towns. High land region of Malabar from Bandadukka in the North to Attappadi in the South, covering centres like Rajapuram, Balal, Vellarikkundu, Chittarickel (Thomapuram), Alakode, Chemperi, Payyavoor, Iritty, Peravoor, Manikkadavu, Maruthonkara, Kulathuvayal, Thiruvambady, Pulpally, Chungathara, Mannarghat, developed as 'cities' or 'towns' to full fill the needs of the settlers.⁵¹

⁵¹ These urban centres were turned as big trading centres dealing with agricultural products. The big wholesale merchant of these towns had business connections with Cochin, Bombay, Nagpur and other North Indian towns. Also they have developed good business strategy by making direct business link with first grade industrialists like M.R.F, Modi, Tata oil company etc. Interview with Mathew Karanthullil and Augustine Perumpallippara, Aalattil, 17.2.1984. For similar international situation. see Carmi Shulamit and Rosenfeld, Henry immigration, urbanization crisis; The process of Jewish Colonization in Palestine during the 1940's. *Int. J. of Cooperative Sociology* (Netherlands) 1971, 12(1), 41-57. An analysis of the social characteristics of the wave of immigrants of 1924-26, and their effect on the Jewish community of Palastine, especially of Tel Aviv. It supports the thesis of an immigration expansion crisis amelioration pattern in the period prior to the establishment of the state of Israel.

Transport and Communication

In the context of a developing economy the transport system had a special role to fulfill. Apart from opening up the country and linking all areas with each other, it had to meet the growing movement of raw materials on account of more rapid development of industry and rising levels of consumption and distribution. In Kerala, the persistent food deficit of the state, necessitated movement of rice and other cereals by road and rail from adjacent states and imports through ports.

From the fields and plantations originated movements of coconuts, rubber, pepper, ginger, cardamom, cashew, tapioca, coffee, tea and a variety of other spices. The transport network had to cater daily to the needs of industrial establishment as well as the passenger traffic.⁵² In the early stages of migration roads were totally absent except for the 'Anayelukal' (the path used by elephants to drag timber through the forest). Later few 'Kooppu roads' were constructed by timber merchants.

With the growth of migrant settlements in Malabar, settlers themselves under the leadership of church priests constructed large number of village roads,

⁵² *Basic Road Statistics Relating to Kerala, 1977*, Motor Vehicles Department, Government of Kerala (Trivandrum, 1982), pp.1-20.

meant for jeep journey. These roads were constructed through 'Pothupani' or voluntary works of the settlers.⁵³

The migrants constructed village roads without availing any help from the government. But later, these roads were taken over by the Public Works Department and Grama Panchayats for repair and maintenance.

Many roads were constructed by timber merchants in Malabar for the sole purpose of trekking timber from forests to timber depots in coastal region – Baliappattam, Payyannur, Badagara and Kallayi.

In Wayanad the major roads which connected the settlements and taluk headquarters and also the inter-district roads like Meppadi – Anikkampoyil road, Mananthavady – Vaniyad – Kuttiyadi road etc. were constructed under collective leadership and voluntary service of the people.⁵⁴

In the settlement of migrants in other districts like Palghat, Malappuram, Kannur, Kasargode, the same pattern of road development can be traced from the initial stages. Iritty-Ulikkal – Mattara, Cherupuzha – Kadumeni – Chittarikkal, Cherupuzha – Alakode, Chemrperi – Kudiyannamala – Vellade, Vellarikkundu –

⁵³ see *Karmalakusumam* (Mal.) March 15 (Mannanam, 1999) pp.3-9. Also see *St. Sebastian's Church Suvarnajubilee Smaranika* (Nellikampoyil, 1998), pp.34-40.

⁵⁴ The major village roads in Wayanad are: Nadavayal-Panamaram road; Batheri-Pulpally road and the roads which connect each and every settlements in Wayanad-Ambalavayal, Thariyode-Meenangadi, Padinharethara, Kenichira, Veliyampam, Mullankolly, Adikkolly, Pakkam, Mavakave, Payyampally, etc.

Balal – Rajapuram, Panathadi – Karivedakam – Bandadukka road etc. were also constructed in the same manner as mentioned above. Later these got government approval.⁵⁵ A number of 'Thookkupalam' (hanging bridge) and concrete bridges, culverts across rivers and streams are constructed throughout the settlement areas. Like other public institutions, roads etc. the construction of bridges also were in the initial stage under the leadership of public committees led by local leaders and parish priests. The major architect and technician of hanging bridges in hilly areas was Sri. Baby Mundattu Chundayil.⁵⁶ Certain bus routes in Malabar were nationalised by the government for the benefit of the Kerala State Road Transport

⁵⁵ Interview with Sri. Devasia Kalambukattu and Sri. Thomas Mathasseri, Palavayal, Dated 26.03.1987. In connection with tarring and maintenance of different roads by the government, people agitated,organised strikes, hartals, bandh to win over their demands. In the case of the Ulickel-Iritty-Mattara road, the Road Committee Secretary, E.M. Francis threatened to commit suicide in front of the Government Secretariate at Trivandrum. So the government agreed to grand money for the same.

In another incident for the development of Thommapuram (Chittarickel) – Kadumeni – Cherupuzha road people attracted the attention of the authorities, by observing a complete hartal and besides threatened to boycott elections in protest against anti-people attitude of the authorities. Interview with Sri. Kutty Adichilammakal, Cherupuzha, dt. 8.10.1987.

Kottiyur – Manathana road constructed for vehicular transport by the voluntary work of the local people. They organized themselves and formed a development society in democratic manner. They called for Kottiyur 'bandh' on 6.10.1969. The bandh was different from the conventional destruction oriented bandh. But it was a constructive one. About 7000 people united and constructed 13 km. road within a day. see Joy Sebastian, "Kottiyoorinte Vikasanathil Janangalude Pankalitham" (Mal.) in *Souvenir of St. Sebastian's Church*, (Kottiyur, 1993) pp.15-16 and *Malayala Manorama Daily* "Kottiyoorinte Padam" editorial article, dated October 8, 1969. For details about roads see Appendix IV.

⁵⁶ Sri Baby Mundatt Chundayil residing at Chemperi is a migrant. The main architect behind the construction of hanging bridges all over North Malabar is Mr. Baby. The 'Thookkupalam' at Palavayal, Cherupuzha, Parappa (Alakode), Chemperi, Bheemanadi, Balamthode etc. were constructed in accordance with the directives of Mr. Baby.

Corporation. Taliparamba – Kudiyanmala route in Kannur District and Calicut – Wayanad inter-district route etc. are a monopoly of KSRTC buses. It had its own both positive and negative impact on the people.⁵⁷ C.W.M.S. Bus (Calicut – Wayanad Motor Service) served the needs of the migrants of Calicut and Wayanad District during 1940's. In these days the people had to wait three or four days at Calicut for setting a seat and many stayed at Coronation Hotel till they received tickets for this bus.⁵⁸

Even after 75 years of migration many of the settlements lacked bus services or are not properly connected with the other towns. People had taken it as a challenge and as a response to this challenge migrants began to ply 'Janakeeya Buses' (Peoples' Bus service). The first of this kind began at Chemperi, when Rev. Kuriakose Kudakkachira was the parish priest there. The settlers of Chemperi bought a van, popularly known as 'Chemperi van'.

Now in many settlements, migrants and natives jointly purchased buses and conduct bus service as 'Janakeeya Bus' (People's Bus). Before the beginning of

⁵⁷ Rev. Mathayi Nooranal, "Wayanad Valarchayude Pathayil" (Mal.), *Marakave St. Thomas Church Souvenir*, (Marakave, 1980), pp.10-11. Interview Sri. Philip Perumpuzha, Kudiyanmala, dated 14.10.1998.

⁵⁸ CWMS was established in 1939. The formation of this bus company was a net result of the merger of few motor companies in Malabar. i.e., the merger of K.P. Motors (of K.P.Choyi), C.C. Motors (of C. Cherooty), Maruthi Motors (of R. Muniswami Naidu), Kadachira Motors (of T. Kunhikannan), Anandavilas Motors (of K. Appu), Surya Vilas Motors (of C. Kuttan). In the initial years total 18 buses were in service. For further details see *Malayala Manorama Daily*, Feb. 9th, 1989.

these peoples' bus services, they mainly depended on van or jeep services paying exorbitant charges.⁵⁹ Increase in the facilities of transportation also led to the opening of inter-state services.

The construction of Taliparamba Coorg inter-state road would help the socio-economic development of both the state. This route is the shortest one to Virajpet and Markare from Taliparamba – Alakode side.⁶⁰ Another major demand of the migrant for their all round development is the implementation of the proposed 'Hill Highway' and 'Malayora Vikasana Authority'. The draft plan for Hill high way of Kannur – Kasargod District, Started in 1963 still remains a dream. A number of organizations of settlers are agitating for this purpose.

⁵⁹ A typical example of peoples bus concept was put into practice successfully at Pathanpara in Kannur District. Pathanpara is also famous for peoples' electricity, peoples' bakery and other forms of collective activism of the local people. At Pathanpara at first they formed a committee with Parish priest as the patron (Rev. Asarippambil). Then they decided to issue the share of Rs.250/- each among the 400 families. Thus they raised initial capital for the investment. Then the committee availed bank loan also for the purchase of the bus. This model of peoples bus services is common in all over Malabar. For example Nellikkunnu Bus Service, Vijayapuram (Asankavala) Travels, Kuttippuzha Travels, Mother Theresa Bus Service at Chittarickal, Kavumthala, Konnakkad, Vellarikkundu. Attappadi Passengers Association issued shares of Rs.1000/- each and purchased a Janakeeya Bus for service in Attappadi-Agali route. See Aloscius George, M., "Nhangalude Bus" (Mal.), *Palakkad Roopatha Rajatha Jubilee Smaranika* (Palghat, 1999), p.109. Also interview with Joshi K. Joseph and Rev. Mathew Asarippambil, Pathanpara, dated 3.7.1998. *Jubilee Souvenir of Lourdes Church* (Chemperi, 1997), pp.30-45 and *Souvenir of Nirmala High School* (Chemperi, 1982), pp.1-15.

⁶⁰ The demand for the proposed inter-state road began in 1960's, when P.R. Rama Varma Raja was the President of Alakode Grama Panchayat. At that time the District Development Council of Cannanore showed interest, but the bureaucratic delay and total negligence from the part of political leadership shattered the expectation of the people. See *Malayala Manorama Daily*, Kannur, October 7, 2001 and interview with A.C. Chacko, Rayarom, dated 12.10.1990.

Fig. 5.2

The proposed Hill High-Way - Kerala State

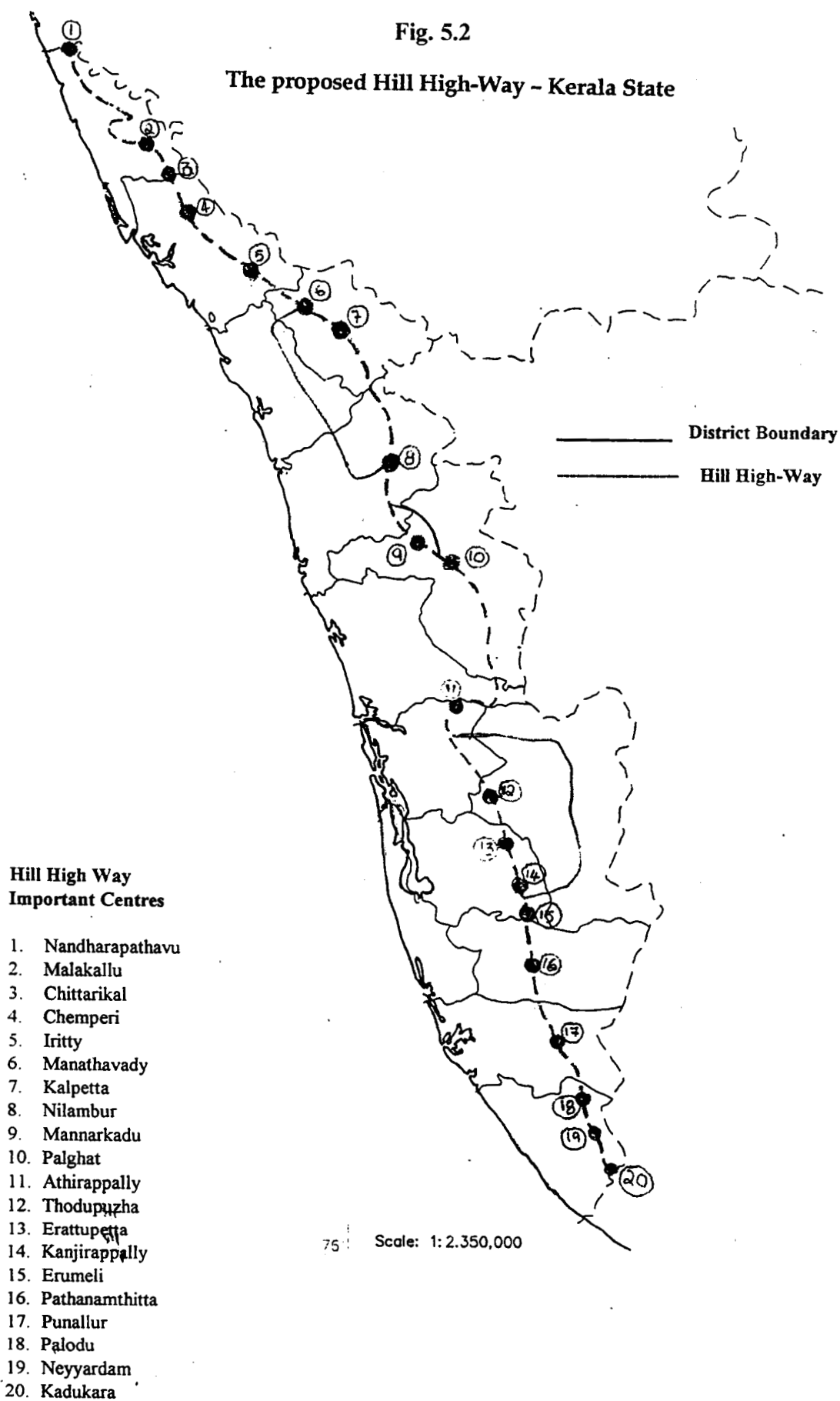
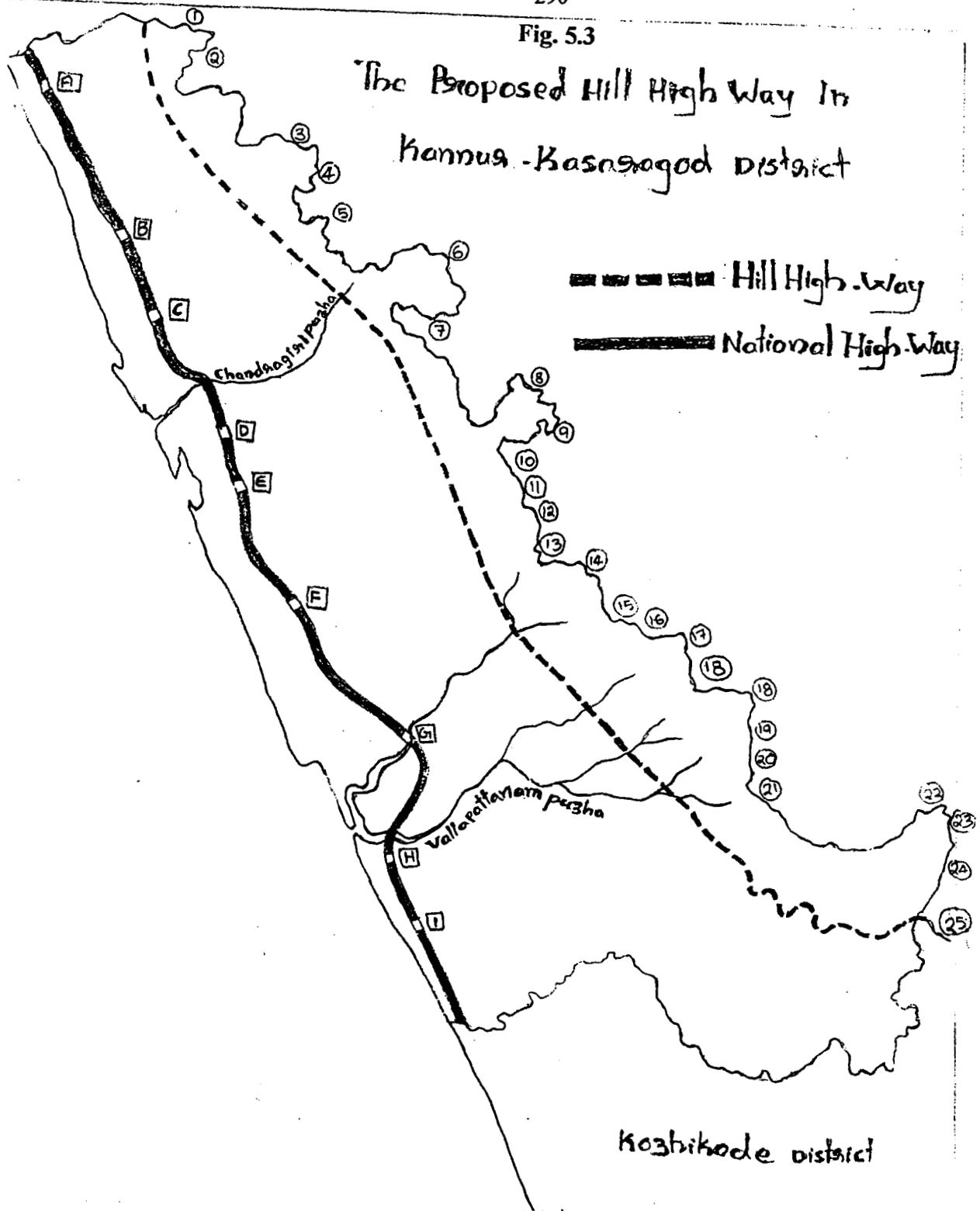


Fig. 5.3

The Proposed Hill High Way In Kannur - Kasargod District



Major Centres

- 1. Mangalapuram
- 2. Ethadukam
- 3. Adhoor
- 4. Bandhadukam
- 5. Pallakadu
- 6. Manadakkam
- 7. Mauthothu
- 8. Malothumchai
- 9. Palavayal
- 10. Therthally
- 11. Rayarom
- 12. Allakode

Major Towns

- 13. Karruvanchal
- 14. Vayattuparamba
- 15. Chemperi
- 16. Paisakiri
- 17. Ulikkal
- 18. Vallithodu
- 19. Anappanthi
- 20. Karikottakari
- 21. Kishpalli
- 22. Narikadavu
- 23. Kelakam
- 24. Kottiyur
- 25. Palchuram

Major Towns

- A) Kumbala
- B) Manjeswaram
- C) Kasargode
- D) Kanchagat
- E) Neliswaram
- F) Payynnur
- G) Thaliparambu
- H) Kannur
- I) Tellissery

However owing to the continuous demands of the people of Malabar hills, the Government of Kerala agreed to form a 'Malayora Vikasana Authority' (Hilly Area Development Authority) and allotted one crore rupees in the 2001-2002 annual budget.⁶¹

The development of road in Malabar led to the growth of bus services connecting settlements in Malabar and their parental villages in Central Travancore. The major schedule of the bus services are between Pulpally, Nadavayal, Nilambur, Attappadi, Mangalam Dam, Koodaranhi, Kulathuvayal, Thiruvambadi, Kottiyur, Karikkottakkiri, Payyavoor, Kudiyanmala, Manakkadavu, Balal, Vellarikkundu etc. in Malabar and Kattappana, Moonnar, Thodupuzha, Muvattupuzha, Palai, Kottayam, Kottarakkara, Erumeli, Ponkunnam etc. in Travancore.⁶²

Settlement areas are in the forefront in the field of communications as well. These settlements are linked with post and telegraphs, BSNL phones, Mobile phone facilities, cable connections for T.V. etc. In the remote settlements they are using solar energy, energy from wind for operating electric and electronic items.

⁶¹ *Malayala Manorama Daily*, dated 14.7.2001. Also see Joseph Kanakamotta, "Kannur Jillyale Malayora Gramangal Avagananayude Aakethuka" (Mal.), *Malayora Vikasana Samithi* (Kanhangad, 1977), pp.1-10. A.C. Chacko, *Alakodinte Katha Athava North Malabar Kudiyettavum Vikasanavum* (Mal.), (Taliparamba, 1993), pp.28-62.

⁶² Rev. Mariadas George, *C.M.I. Sabhayude Malabar Kudiyettam* (Mal.) (Palarivattam, 2001), pp.30-37.

Mahindra Jeep and Dish Antenna, hill product or grocery shop in the near by 'town' are some of the status symbols of the settlers.⁶³

Impact on Malabar Society

One important impact of migration to Malabar is that Malabar society became a mixed society comprising of different religions and culture. An exodus of Christian population to Malabar villages with total, different culture food habits, and spoken languages were alien to the natives. The Syrian Catholic population (strictly of migrants) in 1953 was 74129 whereas in 2000 AD it further grew up to 668315.⁶⁴

On their arrival, in Malabar, adivasis of Malabar considered them as man eaters and poisonous roots eaters (tapioca). So they were reluctant to develop relation with the migrants. The native population of Malabar even today are skeptical and doubtful towards migrants, as they believe that these 'chettans'

⁶³ *Mananthavady Roopatha Bulletin* (Mal.), (Mananthavady, 1979), pp.16-17. In Kannur secondary switching area alone 33 Telephone exchanges are functioning in settlement areas of migrants. For details see *Telephone Directory*, Kannur secondary switching area (Kannur, 1998) Pp. 1- 9.

⁶⁴ Directories of Dioceses of Tellicherry, Thamarasseri, Palghat, Mananthavady and Diocese of Kottayam. The figure is totally excluding the Latin Catholics, Marthoma, Malankara Reethe and various fractions of Jacobites.

(migrants), Thekkan's (southerners) who reached by train ('Neelanvandi') was harmful and not dependable characters. We can't generalize this analysis.⁶⁵

The settlement of migrants in Malabar may be classified in to four categories based on the percentage of population.

1. Settlements with majority migrant population.
2. Migrants and natives in equal proportion.
3. Migrant population lesser than the population of natives.
4. Migrants in cities and towns (as minority).

The settlements with majority migrant population resembles a central Travancore village in every aspect of life, their language, food habits, gesture, dress pattern etc. The impact of migration on Malabar society is that the intermingling of different cultures which resulted acculturation in certain levels and in certain areas.⁶⁶ The migrant peasantry played an active role in the social transformation through their collective demands and mobilization for an effective tenancy legislation. For instance when the eviction problem of Kottiyur arose the

⁶⁵ This was the attitude of natives and adivasis in the early stage of migration. Later they realised that these people were not like that. See *Souvenir of St. George Church*, (Kulathuvayal, 1992) pp.20-30. Also see *Immigration Silver Jubilee Souvenir of Holy Cross Forane Church* (Nadavayal, 1976), pp.48-50.

⁶⁶ Interview with Mr. K.A. Antony, Principal correspondent, The New Indian Express, Kannur, dated 31.10.2002. K.A. Shaji, Journalist, Calicut, 1.10.2002. Also see Andre Beteille, *Studies in Agrarian Social Structure* (New Delhi, 1975), p.214.

migrants mobilized and organized Kottiyur jatha and formed Malanad Karshaka Union.

From the early phase to the present, house pattern of migrants underwent tremendous changes. At first they lived in simple huts made out of bamboo with thatched roof and in the night they slept in 'erumadam'. In the second stage they used the hut building technology of tribals of Malabar i.e. the bamboo walls of their huts were pasted or covered with mud and continued the thatched roof (with grass or leaves of coconut or bamboo). In the third stage of change of their house construction, settlers built houses with unburned bricks, wooden doors and windows and with tiled roof.

In the fourth stage they constructed houses with walls of burned bricks or laterite or granite and concrete or asbestos roof in the front portion of their houses. The final stage (at present) the settlers began constructing concrete houses.⁶⁷⁾ Consequent to the development of migrant settlement - along with different Christian dioceses in Malabar resulted in the establishment of large number of charitable institutions, both in government level and in private sector. This includes orphanages, hospitals, educational institutions, private press, old age home, rehabilitation centres for insane orphans (Akasaparavakalude Asharamam).

⁶⁷ Interview with K.C. Kurian, K.M. Chandi, Kolayad, dated 26.3.1985.

The following table shows the number of institutions managed by Christian dioceses of Palghat, Thammarasseri and Kottayam (Knanaya), Mananthavady, Tellichery in settlements areas. Besides this the Diocese of Calicut, Marthoma Church, Malankara, Jacobites etc. opened such institutions in Malabar area. These institutions are also serving the needs of the non migrant population including adivasis and non-Christians.⁶⁸ Thus migration to Malabar is a migration of superior agricultural technology, capital investment, which deeply influenced the Malabar society.

⁶⁸ *Mission League Rajatha Jubilee Smaranika*, Diocese of Tellicherry (Tellicherry, 1984), pp.70-90. *Souvenir of Malankara Marthoma Suriyani Sabha*, Kunnamkulam – Malabar Bhadrassanam (Calicut, 2000), pp.103-113. *The Diocese of Palakkad Rajatha Jubilee Smaranika* (Palghat, 1999), pp.141-149. *Shreyas Bulletin 2001* (Sulthan Batheri, 2001), pp.5-24. See T.N. Madan, *Culture and Development* (N. Delhi, 1983), pp.55-61. In this book Mr. T.N. Madan examined some aspects of the relationship between culture and development. The concept of social development has often been reductively linked to belief in the western model of economic and social developments. Arguing against this narrow notion, the author propounds a composite view of development as holistic, endogenous and culturally rooted. He also locates some of his ideas within a sociological tradition.

TABLE 5.11

List of Charitable Institutions run by Christian Dioceses

	Diocese of Tellicherry	Diocese of Manantha- vady	Diocese of Thamarasseri	Diocese of Palakkad	Aparchy of Kottayam (Malabar regions only)	Total
Hospitals & Dispensaries	20	44	12	10	0	86
Homes for Physically handicapped	03	02	07	01	5	18
Homes for mentally handicapped	09	04	--	01	--	14
Rehabilitation Centres	01	02	--	--	01	4
Orphanages	11	25	10	04	--	50
Old Age Homes	7	06	06	02	--	21
Hostel	23	04	--	--	06	33
Institution for Secular Edn. College	3	01	--	--	02	6
Higher Secondary School	4	02	04	--	02	12
Technical School	23	05	25	--	03	56
High School	26	19	18	03	02	68
Upper Primary School	31	21	21	03	--	80
Lower Primary School	44	47	21	08	04	124
Nursery Schools	107	85	73	12	10	287
Other Institutions	--	--	--	--	--	--
Press	02	01	04	12	--	19
Press	02	01	04	12	--	19
Book Stall	02	02	04	02	--	10

Source: Directories published by Diocese of Tellicherry, Mananthavady, Thamarassery, Palakkad and Aparchy of Kottayam, 2000 A.D

Interaction with the locals

In the movement of population from one place to another place, the response of the receiving societies should be studied in much more wider context. In American migration, Europeans destroyed the culture and civilization of the native inhabitants. In this confrontation thousands of red Indians and other Americans lost their lives. In our study, the response of Malabar society and natives towards migrants were a cordial one. Local jenmis made money by selling land to the settlers. Settlers on the other hand wanted land. The unprevilaged adivasis and other locals had no voice in this land transfers. Any how certain tribal groups indirectly challenged (through theft) and made difficulties to them.⁶⁹

Certain jenmis destroyed the cultivation of migrants by freely grazing elephants and cows in the cultivable land of settlers. But in general the relationship between the migrants and natives were cordial.⁷⁰

In the construction of churches, schools and other public buildings local people very actively participated by donating money, timber and manual labour.

⁶⁹ Thomas Pazhaparambil, *Swapna Bhoomiyil*, (Muvattupuzha, 1978), pp.133-140.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.130-170.

There was no communal or caste feelings among the migrants. They very consciously worked to promote communal harmony and religious toleration.⁷¹

The religious festivals of settlements – 'uroos, ^{Thirunmal} perunnal and ultsavam' – considered as the festival of their own and they actively participated in it. In every year there will be a public function – Matha Sauharda Sammelanam' (religious harmony seminar) in connection with these religious festivals. In migrant village settlements we don't find any differences on caste or religion. But very few instances of communal disharmony between Christians and Hindus, Christians and Muslims were reported.⁷² At present the things are slightly changing with beginning of the work of different communal organization like, SNDP, NSS, NDF, PDF, K.C.Y.M etc.

⁷¹ For example, in connection with the construction work of school at Koodaranhi, the entire population of the area voluntarily participated in it. Timber for the entire school building was donated by Moyin Haji of Mukkom. This was the common pattern of construction of public institutions in the settlement areas. See *Golden Jubilee Souvenir of St. Sebastian's Church* (Koodaranhi, 1999), pp.40-50.

⁷²At Palangara near Manimooli differences over the possession of land led to clashes between Christians and Muslims which ended with the brutal murder of two persons – Kavum Thottiyil Mathayi and Mr. Alavi. This was followed by a prolonged civil and criminal cases. In another case, at Karuvanchal (near Alakode) tension generated by R.S.S. and Christians in connection with the dispute over the construction of a 'Bhajanamadam'. But timely intervention of police and revenue authorities led to an amicable solution to the problem.

Alcoholism

The peasants of Travancore, who later migrated to Malabar were hard working people. The usual practice was that from dawn to dusk they worked in their land, and in the evening every body went for shopping. On the way they used to take little quantity of toddy or arrack, so as to enable them to have a sound sleep in the night. When they reached in Malabar there was prohibition on the sale and production of liquor. Naturally they turned towards locally made illicit liquor (*Nadan Charayam* in Malayalam).⁷³

Even before the arrival of migrants there was the practice of production of country made liquor in Malabar. But the migrants popularised this. The settlers used illicit liquor to influence revenue staff, agents of land lords to get more concessions from them.⁷⁴ Again by giving this liquor to adivasis, as price of their land or remuneration for their manual labour, settlers, exploited the local people.

With the establishment of the Diocese of Tellicherry Mar Bishop Sebastian Velloppilly and church machinery were working hard to eliminate this evil from the

⁷³ During the prohibition period in Malabar *Gingyberries* an ayurvedic medicine with alcoholic content used largely for intoxication. The illicit, country made liquor generally known as – 'Kottuvadi', 'Nadan', 'Rack', etc. and the seller of this had nick name as 'Kottuvadi Vasu', 'Brandy Mathan', 'Foreign George', 'Navasaram Varkey' etc. See P.C. Thomas Master, *Calicut Prohibition Committee* (1982), Souvenir. E.V. Abdu, "Kudiyettathinte Padam" (Malayalam), in *Varshantha* (Kodancheri, 1981), Pp.27-29.

⁷⁴ M. Kannan, a non migrant resident of Thimiri in Taliparamba Taluk was arrested and sentenced by the magistrate, for the production of illicit liquor. For details see *Mathrubhumi Daily*, dated April 18, 1950.

settler community. Now a number of de-addiction centres and counselling centres are working at Tellicherry, Kuthuparamba, Mananthavady, Calicut, Palghat etc. to help them escape alcoholism.⁷⁵

Increase of crime rate

Increase of crime rate in Malabar is another impact of the migration. Excessive drinking habits of migrants, disputes over boundaries, of land disputes in connection with the construction of new roads etc. are some of the causes for violence and murder.⁷⁶

Reports from several parts of Malabar, substantiate the common assumption that with the coming of settlers the percentage of criminal cases increased in Malabar. Even before the beginning of migration, news paper reports and police records suggests that crime including murder was common in Malabar.⁷⁷ The social and economic base for this excessive murder cases may be that early settlers were educationally and culturally backward, they were ready to do anything for the

⁷⁵ Samuel Daniel, "*Madhyavarjana Samithi, Mavoor- Oru Avalokanam*" (Mal.). (Calicut, 1982) P. 10.

⁷⁶ The Sessions Judge of Tellicherry once told to Bishop Sebastian Velloppilly that, most of the civil and criminal cases of migrants in his court was connected with boundary disputes of migrants. Interview with Mar Sebastian Velloppilly, First Bishop of Tellicherry, Tellicherry, dated 24.8.2001.

⁷⁷ Mathrubhumi, Calicut, 05.03.1928. Mathrubhumi during this period published only thrice in a week.

possession of land.⁷⁸ Infact the peasantry wanted only to protect and expand the boundaries of their property.⁷⁹

Migration and Political Developments

Migration of peasants, from Travancore to Malabar started with out any design or planning. The simple reason were their interest in acquiring more land at a cheaper price. In the parental villages migrants had their own politics. Many actively participated in the struggles led by State Congress against the rule of Diwan C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer. But in Malabar from the initial period onwards till 1957, generally they never showed an active involvement in politics. But in 1940's and in 1950's some of them, especially rich migrants were actively involved in the Movement for a united Kerala.

Wide spread movement for unification of Kerala in Malabar grew under the leadership of Indian National Congress and other political parties. The argument in

⁷⁸ Police Superintendent of Calicut (an English citizen) asked the reason for the increase of murder cases to the Sub Inspector of Police. The Sub Inspector of police in his reply wrote, " 'the chettans' have arrived. For details see Jose Grace, "Kudiyettam Kathakal" (Mal.) in *Vanitha* Jan. 15-21, 1992. (Kottayam, 1992).

⁷⁹In their attempt to protect the landed property they killed the brothers, neighbours and others. For details see *Mathrubhumi Daily* dated 23.3.1948. The newspaper reported that in October 1948 Akkottil Devasia murdered two persons – Scaria and Augusty at Thiruvambady. In the verdict Malabar sessions judge N.D. Krishna Rao punished him rigorous imprisonment for 3 and 7 years. In another case, at Padiyur near Irikkur, Vattappara Varkey was murdered (stabbed) by his brother Vattappara Thomman. See *Mathrubhumi Daily* dated 17.5.1949.

favour of Aikyakerala movement in Malabar was the backwardness of Malabar in the field of agriculture, industry, education and health care. The following table shows the relative backwardness of Malabar economy, education and agriculture.⁸⁰

TABLE 5.12
Relative Backwardness of Malabar

State	Measurement (in square Nazhika)	Tax (in crores)	Education	Cultivated land out of total arable land
Travancore	7662	8.55	47%	81.60%
Cochin	1493	2.66	49%	8.89%
Malabar	5809	2.86	25%	34.0%

Many migrants, particularly capitalist planters were very actively involved in the Aikyakerala Movement. Mr. Jose A. Kalluvilil was the leader of the movement.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Sri. K. Kelappan (Kerala Gandhi) in his presidential address of "Aikyakerala Mahasammelanam" on 26th April 1947 argued that the relative progress of Travancore and Cochin in every walk of life was that these two states had their own governments, where as Malabar was still under the Government of Madras. See Mathrubhumi Daily, dated 1.4.1947, 2.4.1947, 27.4.1947, 29.5.1948.

⁸¹ Political consciousness among the settlers is an important topic to study. Many of the early settlers stood for the cause of the unification of Kerala and some of them played key role in the Aikyakerala Movement. For more details see A. Sreedhara Menon, Political History of Modern Kerala (Madras, 1987), pp.68-72. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Kerala Society and Politics, An Historical Survey (New Delhi, 1984), pp.20-28. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, *Communist Party Keralathil* (Mal.) (Trivandrum, 1986), p.79. In this book Sri Namboodiripad characterised the school and church based politics of Travancore developing in Malabar also, because of the role of migrants in Malabar.

During the course of the migration, migrants faced many difficulties, because they had to cross the boundaries of Travancore and Cochin before entering in to Malabar. In the check posts they had undergone humiliating treatments from the authorities. So this situation created an atmosphere of need for unification of Kerala.

Up to 1957 the politics of the migrants were cultivation, construction of churches, schools, libraries, arts and sports clubs, roads etc. These projects were executed under the leadership of parish priests and collective leaderships of the people without any political or religious bias. Every decisions were taken unanimously. Selection of the office bearers of the committees also were in the same manner.⁸²

In the eviction problem at Kottiyur, i.e. Nair Service Society versus migrants was the first sign of political involvement of the settlers. They organized themselves for the common cause. Kerala Thozhilali Party (KTP) under Fr. Joseph Vadakkan and B. Wellington came to the scene and many migrants joined with K.T.P. Communist Party under A.K. Gopalan was also active to protect people from eviction. Peasants under Fr. Vadakkan, Bishop Sebastian Velloppally and A.K.G. successfully fought against eviction. The net result was that in the next

⁸²*Souvenir of St. Mary's Church*, (Mullankolly, 1988) pp.1-50 and interview with K.M. Alexander (former President, Eruvesi Grama Panchayat), Chemperi, dated 14.8.1984.

election (1957 election) majority of the migrants voted for K.T.P. and Communist Party. It was a great blow to the Congress Party because formerly migrants were generally sympathisers of Indian National Congress Party.⁸³

In the next turn , i.e. in the liberation struggle against E.M.S. Ministry all migrant settlements like that of Travancore and Cochin peasants were organized by church. They became liberation struggle volunteers. So from this anti communist struggle onwards the active entry of settlers in the political activism started.

In the political developments of Kerala in 1960's and 1970's i.e. the split in Congress Party and subsequent emergence of P.S.P, various groups of Kerala Congress Parties also had their own imprint on the political scenario of Malabar. However, the majority of them are now acting as mass supporters of Indian National Congress(I). The Kerala Congress 'groups' branded as the party of migrants were not able to attract the support of the migrants.⁸⁴The case of Communist Party was also not much different. In the early stage under the devoted leadership of the early Communist and Karshaka Sangham leaders Communist

⁸³ See *St. Sebastian's Church Souvenir* (Kottiyur, 1993), pp.17-24. And also Interview with M.C. Xavier, Joy Sebastian, T.S. Scaria, Kottiyur, 25.3.1990.

⁸⁴In many places in Malabar settlement areas the Kerala Congress Party – Mani Group, Joseph Group, Pillai Group, Jacob Group are only as 'paper tigers'. Still they are continuing power as interest and pressure groups, in coalition politics. In every Kerala ministry there will be a Kerala Congress minister of some group. This is the tactics of Kerala Congress politics.

party had a sound support among the migrants. The major supporters of Communist Party particularly C.P.I(M) was agricultural workers, head load workers and taxi-auto drivers of settlement areas.⁸⁵

The growth of SNDP, N.S.S., Viswakarma Mahasabha, Infarm, FARMCO, Karshka Rakshasamiti etc. are very closely linked with migration to Malabar. The recent duel between SNDP- CPI(M) followers is another dimension of issue of caste based communal politics in southern part of Kerala.⁸⁶

Infact the political ideologies of the peasant settlers, in Malabar is generally the politics of temporary gains for them. Majority of them lacked strong political commitment or political bias. This exactly goes with the assessment of peasantry

⁸⁵ The geography of the supporters of C.P.I.(M) is that, most of the agricultural workers (at the same time they were owners of 50 cents or 1 acre of land) were living in the peripheral regions of each settlements. The fertile land with paddy fields occupied by the elite, rich peasants, where as poor migrants pushed to the hilly, rocky, infertile lands in the up hill regions of each settlements. Naturally these categories of settlers attracted by the slogans of the communist party. Most of these people are still in a unorganised situation. They had no capacity of bargaining power. This is a general analysis, in certain areas like Vilangad-Kavlumpara region thing is much different which assumed the colour of violence, which led to the brutal murder of a settler, Mathew Kannamundayil in 1982.

⁸⁶ SNDP means Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam; NSS – Nair Service Society; Infarm – Indian Farmers Movement; FARMCO – Farmers Co-ordination; CPI(M) – Communist Party of India (Marxist).

by Karmarx.⁸⁷ However a substantial number of migrants emerged as political leaders are possessing key posts in public life.⁸⁸

Impact on Education

The relative backwardness of Malabar in the field of education continued even after independence. For the educational development the role of Christian Missionaries particularly of Basel Mission and individuals like Herman Gundert and Edward Brennen etc. should be remembered.

In 19th century the Malabar District made significant strides in providing education and other social services to the people. The Basel missionaries opened

⁸⁷Karl Marx and Frederic Engles, Eighteenth brumaire of Louis Bonoparte, in Marx and Engles *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1977, p.479. The study of the history of peasant movement in Kerala is closely linked with anticolonial struggle in Kerala. Following the August resolution of the Communist Party of India, there was a strong wave of anti-colonial and anti feudal struggles in Kerala. It continued even after independence against land owning class. This struggles converted the Communist Party of India into a major political party in the subsequent years with mass following. The involvement of migrants in these movement was not seen because they settled down only in hill tops whereas the peasant movement took place in low and midland of Malabar. However, peasant activist, like Vishnu Bharatheeyan and K.A. Keraleeyan tried to organise the migrants against oppression of landlords. See K.K.N. Kurup, *Agrarian Struggles in Kerala* (Trivandrum, 1989), pp.144-160. Interview with K.A. Keraleeyan, Calicut dated 15.8.1986 and Pacheni Kunhiraman Bakkalam, dated 2.3.1984.

⁸⁸ A short list of migrant political leaders is as follows: Sri. Cyriac John – Former Minister of Kerala; K.C. Rossakkutty – Former M.L.A.; Mathayi Chacko – M.L.A.; N.D. Appachan – M.L.A.; M.C. Jose – Former Kasargode District Council Chairman; Sunny Joseph – President, District Congress Committee; C.D. George – former Chairman, Housing Board; James Mathew – Former State Secretary, S.F.I.; Sony Sebastian – Former State Secretary, K.S.U., Mr. Paulose – President, District Panchayat, Wayanad.

the first English school in North Malabar at Tellicherry. The Brennen School at Tellicherry, the nucleus of the later Government Brennen College was started in 1862 with a donation of Rs. 8,900 made by Edward Brennen.⁸⁹

During the pre-independent period Malabar District Board under the Madras Government started a number of elementary schools in Malabar. The students of these schools included the children of settlers.

TABLE 5.13

Educational Statistics of Malabar District Board

Total Children (in school age)	6,33,195
Boys - 3,59,314	
Girls - 2,73,881	
Total primary schools	3665
Total secondary schools	15
Total school going students	
Primary	3,81,300
Secondary	6336

Source: Administration report of Malabar District Board 1945-46

⁸⁹ A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers- Cannanore*, (Trivandrum, 1970) p.164.

The above table shows the level of education in Malabar before independence. There was a move to start a High School at Manathavady in 1949 under the leadership of M.K. Jinachandran⁹⁰. But at the same time the Malabar District has tried to terminate hundreds of teachers of elementary schools in Malabar. The reason for this termination move was the shortage of students in schools.⁹¹

The Diocese of Calicut had started a few schools in the settlements of Travancorean migrants. The main purpose of beginning of these schools were to cater to the educational needs of the children of the migrants. Most of these schools were, handed over to the Diocese of Tellicherry after 1954.⁹²

Later under the leadership of parish priests and Bishop Sebastian Velloppilly schools were started in every settlements. 'Palli' and 'pallikkoodams' were the style of development of migrants in Malabar.⁹³ They used to form

⁹⁰ The pre-condition for the sanction of a High School was to remitt Rs.5000/- to the government by the people. So they formed a committee for school building under the presidentship of Sri.M.K. Jinachandran. For details see *Mathrubhumi Daily* Sept. 4, 1949.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, dated, 28.7.1933.

⁹² For instance at Peravoor, the church and the landed property of Church and school, the Assumption Church and its property at Sultan Bathery were handed over to the Diocese of Tellicherry. For more details see *Souvenir of Assumption Forane Parish* (Sultan Bathery, 1996) pp. 20-27. Interview with Fr. Plathottam, Sulthan Batheri, Dated, 7.11.2001.

⁹³ 'Palli' means Christian church and Pallikkoodam' means school.

educational societies and started schools. Later they had obtained Government sanctions for these schools. Slowly these schools were handed over to Parish Churches in settlements. The land and materials for the school building were collected through donation from the local rich people and migrants.⁹⁴ In the areas where the supporters of left politics had dominance, established were Government Schools were started, particularly during the time of the first E.M.S. Ministry. With colonisation and opening of new educational institutions, there is a phenomenal increase both in male and female literacy in Malabar. But this increase is limited to new settlers and to the advanced communities among the original inhabitants. Literacy rate among the tribal people is still very low compared to the other communities.⁹⁵

With the establishment of University of Calicut and Kannur University higher education in Malabar was popularised. Private registration system under Calicut University a opened up new vistas to students of rural areas (migrants) in the field of higher education and many have obtained degrees in various subjects.

⁹⁴ See P.M.Chერიан, "Thalayad L.P. School Varshangaliloode" (Mal.) in *Thalayad St. George Church Silverjubilee Souvenir*, (Thalayad, 1981) pp. I-II also see Divakaran Kattakkada, Op.cit. p.426. *St. Thomas L.P. School Nadavayal Golden Jubilee Souvenir 1950-2000* (Nadavayal, 2000) pp. 35-40. *St. Thomas H.S.Manikkadavu Rajatha Jubilee Smaranika* (Manikkadavu, 2001), p.27-29.

⁹⁵ *Census of India*, 1961. Vol. VII p.244.

The opening of Technical institutions, Higher Secondary Schools and Parallel colleges in hilly areas are a clear testimony of the educational progress, due to migration⁹⁶ The following table further substantiate the arguments.

⁹⁶ P.R. Gopinathan Nair and D.Ajith, Parallel colleges in Kerala: A Case Study of Their Structure in Terms of Enrolment Costs and Employment, Working Paper No. 156, C.D.S. (Trivandrum, 1983) pp. 1-7.

TABLE 5.14

Educational Institutions under Christian Management in Malabar

Institution	Diocese of Tellicherry	Diocese of Thamarsseri	Diocese of Palakkad	Diocese of Kottayam	Diocese of Mananthavady	Total
College	3	0	0	2	1	6
Higher Secondary School	4	4	-	2	2	12
High School	26	18	3	2	19	68
Upper Primary School	31	21	3	4	21	80
Lower Primary School	44	21	8	4	47	124
Nursery School	107	73	12	10	85	287
Press	2	4	12	-	1	19
Book Stall	2	4	2	-	2	10
Technical Schools	23	25	30	3	5	56

Source: Directories of Diocese of Tellicherry, Thamarasseri, Palghat, Kottayam and Mananthavady

The figures in the above table are not complete because the educational institutions managed by other Christian groups like Marthoma Church, Malankara, Orthodox, Jacobites Church groups etc., in Malabar are not included in it, because separate list of educational institutions in Malabar owned by them are not available.

Many of the educated people from the settlers got better employment, in India and abroad.⁹⁷ Thus migration of Travancore peasantry to Malabar positively influenced the education development of Malabar.

Cultural Impact

The so called Malabar culture is a blend of the different cultures of the locals as well as that of the migrants. The inherited ways were subtly modified to suit the environment of Malabar. How inheritance and environment interacted is the theme of discussion of this part of the study.

The existing culture of a society is deeply related to the existing modes of production and distribution in the structure of a particular society. Malabar society had developed a mixed form of culture, which evolved through decades, by the inter mingling of Tribal culture, capitalist plantation culture, Commercial culture and so on. The Western culture too had influenced it. The economic

⁹⁷ They are working as I.A.S. I.P.S. Officers, Doctors, Nurses Engineers, Professors, Servants etc. The present D.G.P. of Kerala Mr. K.J. Joseph himself is a migrant. Dr. Thankam Panoose (Peravoor) is the first doctor, Mr. C.J. Jose (Puravayal) is the first I.A.S Officer and K.J. Joseph, the present D.G.P of Kerala (Vayattuparamba) is the first I.P.S officer among the migrants.

hegemony of the elite either imposed their culture or influenced to promote and copy it by the society.

Hence this is the most difficult phase of all settlers to get through the whole assimilation process, and both their common sense and the experience of others; indicate their desirability of paying special attention to promote cultural assimilation.

Nevertheless the degree of cultural affinity between the migrants and natives is to be taken into account. While analyzing the process of cultural integration. The fact remains that the problems of integration have been confusing as the social organisation of modern society has becomes more complex. Migrants can no longer transplant their culture to an empty land; they were forced to understand and adapt themselves to associate with the new societies which have their own deep cultural roots.⁹⁸

The cultural mentality of the people is different in different places in Malabar. Where the migrants are in majority, their culture dominated over the native culture. A form of acculturation can be traced there. Generally

⁹⁸ Migrants of the modern world are seldom colonizers going out to transplant society, but they are newcomers who should accept the fundamental frameworks of already existing social structure, which may indeed be more complex in the formation of the social structure for which the migrants must be aware of their areas of origins.

Travancoreans looked Malabar culture as comparatively backward one, where as native inhabitants of Malabar considered the migrants as uncultured barbarians.⁹⁹

The motivation which implies an individual to migrate is definitely psychological, springing from a sense of insecurity, frustration or dissatisfaction with his original social environment. On the other hand he is completely merged with that environment, where he plays a variety of roles and has a definite status and specific standards by which to measure himself.

When he actually leaves to the physical transition process of migration, he profoundly modifies the whole psycho-social and cultural frame of reference. In a way he becomes desocialized by his withdrawal from the social sphere in which he was a part and parcel of it, and his image itself, his roles and status in this original society and his system of values are all thrown into confusion. Simultaneously he forms a picture, still as yet indistinct, of the new society to which he is going to join and build up a series of hopes and expectations regarding the part he will have to play there. The arrival brings him into contact with the new society, where he will

⁹⁹ Locals call the migrants as 'Poola chettans, kappa chettans and rubber chettans. Poola and kappa means tapioca and chettan is another title used by Malabar people for Travncoreans irrespective of their religions. In certain other regions of Malabar they call them as kizhakkar, that means rustics or easterners (Those who are living in Eastern hills of Malabar) which denotes that they are uncivilized and uncultured.

undergo a process of resocialisation, ie, he will have to reformulate his images about his status and about the roles which he can fill and revise the values within the frame of reference of the values existing in, or accepted by, the new society.¹⁰⁰

There is a need to draw up a typology of "reception" taking into account on the one hand the general relation existing between the society of departure and the society of arrival, and on the other, the special relations which in every case, are peculiar to the migration itself. The migration phenomenon would thus evidently reveal its diversity.

At all events there is always a strong feeling that the "other" is an alien; the place of the alien in our societies, as these societies really are as they see themselves and as they wish to be is that of someone "other" who is only "other", therefore if his number increases the "other" is seen as a threat; and so the defence mechanisms (or rather, rejection processes) multiply in their turn.¹⁰¹

Responding to the challenges of their adventure, the migrants from Travancore adopted a tough and rough attitude to their adversaries; the people and

¹⁰⁰ Generally speaking, cultural assimilation was smooth without serious interruptions. In essence the explanation lies in the nature of the Malabar culture, with its invariable hospitality and lack of rigid social stratification. Migrants were thus allowed the fullest social mobility, and the friendly welcome and lack of racial or religious prejudices gave them ample liberty to find themselves in a satisfactory niche in evolving social structure.

¹⁰¹ Robert de Montrabn; *The Aspiration of Young Migrant Workers in Western Europe*, UNESCO [Paris, 1976] p.12

nature. They had already come from a foreign terrain and the new background had toughened them up both in body and mind. This attitude of migrants often created frictions between them and the native communities.

The migrants have their own peculiar style in clothing, dressing, eating habits, house construction and even in the mode of cultivation. The Christian women used to wear 'chatta' and 'mundu' i.e wearing dhothis with layers of frills folded in an artistic form round the buttocks of the body. They wear chatta, a peculiar type of blouse to cover the upper part of the body. . Both men and women wear chain beads, with a locket bearing the pictures of Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary or a cross.¹⁰²

The usual items of the food are tapioca with green chillies or dried fish. They consumed toddy and arrack. 'Acchappam', Avalose , 'Avalose undas, 'Kozhukkotta', 'Undayum Pidiyum', 'Chakkara Manga Curry'. etc. are their special items of eatables. The natives of Malabar also learnt to cook these items and there it has become a constituent in their food habits. In the families of the migrants there is no restriction for the consuming of the liquor. Father, children and relatives could sit together and consume alcohol (liquor).

¹⁰² They wear Venlhing (a kind of amulet made of thread and cloth which they wear around the neck] and kontha a type of chain with small beads used for rosary purpose by Christian migrants in Malabar.

The migrants' physical features are also noteworthy. Most of them have well built structure, their voice is sharp and loud, their gesture and actions are quite peculiar.¹⁰³

The first and second generation of migrants were simple. Their main concern was to exploit the fertile soil and save something for their children. It is interesting to note that though they were God fearing people, they kept their God within the church walls and infact they had no real faith in christian spirituality. Most of these early migrants were utter misers as circumstances compelled them to be so. They often reminded their family members and neighbours about the hardships they had suffered in the early days.¹⁰⁴ They used to compare this present situation with the past days of hardships. Migration to Malabar infact meant arrival to an alien society to a new world of curious situations, people, dress pattern, diet, language etc. The initial targets of Travancore peasantry in Malabar was the establishment of palli and pattakkaran under the leadership of (priest) and that itself was for their own developments. Apart from the schools established by

¹⁰³ In the evenings gents wear lungis and tie a towel (Thorthu) round the head, wrist watches and carried long torches in hand while walking through the villages of settlements and small market centres which they call as 'cities'. Usually each city is having one or two grocery shops (where they sell hill products) and tea shops (all combined together). Illicit liquor is also available in 'cities' (not in shops)

¹⁰⁴ At the same time these migrant fathers were snobbish for they spent money for luxuries. But they were not ready to spend money for their necessities. This out look of the majority of early migrants led them to be introverts. The thrust for money, feeling of selfishness, profit motivated relations, feeling of superiority over others, especially over natives of Malabar, glorification of Travancore and above all narrow mindedness are some of the darker aspects of the migrants of Malabar.

them, the schools already started by Malabar District Board fulfilled educational needs. In addition to this schools, in several regions migrants started Arts and Sports Clubs and libraries.¹⁰⁵

Cultural programmes like dramas, Kathaprasangams etc. are held in connection with the annual festival of the Parish churches (Thirunal). The entire village population irrespective of caste and religion participate in it. Margam Kali and Chavittunadakam are the art forms presented in Malabar area of the Christian migrants.¹⁰⁶ It is found that in the school and college festivals, the students from

¹⁰⁵ Few examples of the cultural activities of the migrants are given below. At Manikkadavu they established St. Thomas Nadana Kalasamithi and later started Santhome Arts and Sports Club, Reshmi Sports Club, Kairali; Grandhalayam (library) which got recognition from Kerala Grandha Sala Sangham. They had also started Mahila Samajams at different places around Manikkadavu. See St. Tomas H.S. Silver Jubilee Souvenir, (Manikkadavu, 2001).

At Alacode one public library and a number of local libraries were established in the surrounding areas of Alakode. Vijaya Arts and Sports Club, Prabha Arts Club, Sathya Arts Club etc. are some of the cultural institutions of Alakode area. G.V Raja memorial drama competitions were held in connection with the festival of Arangam Sree Mahadeva Temple and the thirunal at St. Mary's Church in Alacode. All these constituted the cultural scenario of Alacode. See P.K. Ramavarma Raja, "Oru Kudiyettakkarante Ormakurippukal [Mal.] in souvenir, of St. Joseph Church Vayattuparamba Souvenir (Vayattuparamba, 1986) p.62.

In Nadavayal they formed A.N.K.S (Alphonsa Nadana Kala Samithi), Nadavayal Recreation Club, Catholic Yuva Samajam, Young Mens Club, Wayanad Club and other institutions.

Recreation Club at Karthikapuram had played a leading role in the overall development of Karthikapuram – Udayagiri area. A similar pattern of cultural evolutions in settlement areas can be seen in the souvenirs of churches and schools in the high land areas of Malabar.

¹⁰⁶ Chummar Choondel, *Christain Theatre in India* (Trichur, 1984) Pp. 120-125.

settlement areas used to bag major share of medals.¹⁰⁷ The most important thing to be noteworthy in the cultural studies of migration to Malabar is the differences shown in the usage of languages and its pronunciation. Here we can find the mutual give and take process in its various spoken languages of Malabar. The natives of Malabar assimilated a large number of Travancore usages to their spoken language.¹⁰⁸

The first generation of migrants preserved their language and customs without much change. The second generation copied the language and culture of Malabar. One important factor to note is that there is the fusion of language of northern and southern Kerala.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ A number of sons of migrant, became famous in the cultural field. For instance Sri. K.J Baby (Kanavu, Nadavayal) wrote two books – *Nadu Gaddika* and *Maveli Manram*, in which the latter got Kerala Sahitya Academy Award of 1994 and the former book is a drama which infact a most discussed work in Kerala during 1980's. Sr. O.K. Johny, is a writer, journalist and winner of the National Award for direction of feature film.

Sri. Paul Kallanode, is another migrant whose fame linked with painting and poetry.

¹⁰⁸ C.J. Gorge, *Vakinte Samoohika Sasthram*, (mal) (Trichur 1988) Pp. 40-65.

S.H. *Highschool Jubilee Souvenir* (mal) (Thiruvambadi, 1980) Pp. 46-48 Malayala Manorma (Daily), Nov. 30, 1999 for more details see Appendix - V

appendix -V

¹⁰⁹ M.R. Raghava Warriar " Malabar Kudiyettam Oru Samskarika Visakalanam" (mal) *Suvarna Jubilee Samaranika*, *St. George Forance Chruch'* (Kulathuvayal, 1992), page No. not marked in the souvenir.

Also see *Varshantha* (Mal.) Government College margazine (Kodanchery 1981), page number not marked in the souvenir

As a result of migration a fusion of both southern and northern culture can be seen in Malabar. Language, religion customs thinking, ceremonies, faith etc. of Travancore slowly spread to hilly regions of Malabar. The birth of a new class of land lords in Malabar is another noteworthy factor. Till the arrival of migrants, adivasis of Malabar worked under their traditional land lords for 'Valli'¹¹⁰. The status of the tribals in Malabar society was recognized and they began to receive remunerations in cash for their labour. The migrants possessed money, knowledge and advanced in production strategies. With this they had an upper hand on others. Thus they were superior to the tribals and natives in economic and cultural spheres.

Migration to Malabar jungles in no way promoted large scale religious conversion of natives and tribals to Christianity. Of course various christian groups under the banner of different social service organisations were working among the tribal people to convert them, but the tribals were reluctant to be converted.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Valli means paddy given to tribals as their remuneration by land lords in Wayanad. K.J. Baby *Mavelimanram* (Mal.) (Trichur, 1991] Pp 1-20. For more details of land system in Malabar see II Chapter of this study also

O.K Johny, *Wayanad Rekhakal* (Mal.) (Calicut, 2001) Pp. 147-164.

¹¹¹ Wayanad Social Service Society, Tellicherry Social Service Society World Mission, Wayanad Sreyas etc. are some of the social service organizations in Malabar.

To sum up the discussions on cultural impacts of migration, in the first stage of the migration, it can be seen that they showed unity, co-operation and mutual love. In the second stage, there were dedicated leadership to uplift the migrated society and the society also recognized their leadership. In the third stage people reached the level of economic self sufficiency which led to selfishness, lack of unity, fight for leadership etc. Unable to cope with the corrupt and power hungry men, who were too keen to fill their pockets in the name of development, an able and dedicated group kept away from the so called developmental activities which, they knew, were not for the benefit or betterment of the society but for the selfish and corrupt leaders. The call of the time is for the emergence of selfless people to lead the society.

Sports

From the early stage of migration settlers showed interest in sports and games. The peculiarity of their food habit [tapioca, both raw and dry with dried fish is an unavoidable item in their daily diet], hard working character and daily walk of 10 to 15 km in between their huts and schools. With the opening of churches and schools by the migrants and later they concentrated in the construction of play grounds and volleyball courts. Volleyball is favourite game of settlers in Malabar.¹¹² Slowly they had started Arts and Sports clubs in every

¹¹² *Silver Jubilee smaranika of St. George Church* (Thalayad 1981). pp.61-63. See Kerala Kaumadi, Daily, 24.11.1998.

colonies of settlers Migrants used to organised sports and games, competitions in connection with Onam festival. These sports competitions were arranged by either Church organisations like K.C.Y.M. Mission League, or the sports clubs of each region¹¹³. In the various levels of [school, college, sub district, state and national) competitions of students, a reasonable percentage of victory is achieved by the students from settler areas. Thus many got employment in sports quota in central and state government departments railways, banks etc.¹¹⁴ As a symbol of encouragement to sports and games play grounds, stadiums and swimming pools can be seen in many settlements.¹¹⁵ The leading figures in sports and games from settlers, who won national and international victories are Jimmy George, M.D. Valsamma, Mercykuttan, Baby Aloscious, Anju Bobby Geroqe, Saly Joseph etc. The list of such stars will be very long. In short, contributions of migrants, in the field of sports is substantial one.

¹¹³ Interview with Boby Aloscious Chemperi. dated 3.7.2001 also see *Kerala Kaumudi Daily*, 27.11.1988.

¹¹⁴ Interview with M.D. Valsamma, Palghat, 7 – 8-2001 also see *Siver Jubilee Smaranika St. Mary's High School* (Kallanode, 1989) page number is not printed Malayala Manorama Daily, 8.12.1988, 9.12.1988, 13.12.1990. *Mathrubhumi Daily*, 7 . 12. 1988.

¹¹⁵ Kuravilangad Joseph, *Konippadikal* (Mal), (Calicut, 1991) Pp. 218-228 also see O.R. Abraham " Jubilee Stadium" (mal.) in *Silver Jubilee Smaranika St. Mary's High School, (Kallanode, 1989)* page number not available P. Narayanan" Thirinh Nottam" (Mal), in *Vijaya High School Silver Jubilee Souvenir* (Pulpally, 1990) p.28.

Deforestation

There is probably no other area of India's environment that has been more visiously attacked and destroyed in the last century than the country's forest. According to official statistics of Forest Department., India lost between 1951-1972 3.4 million hectares of forest lands to dams, new crop lands, roads and industries which means the annual rate of deforestation of about 0.15 million hectares.¹¹⁶

Forest department statistics have reportedly pointed out that approximately 23% of the country's total area i.e. 75 million hectares, are classified as forest lands. But this again is misleading. It simply means that these are under forest department control. There is no guarantee that it has any tree cover. A report of the national committee on environmental planning also clearly state that no more than 12 per cent of country's total land surface is under adequate tree cover. One of the important impacts of migration of peasants from Travancore to Malabar is the decrease in the forest area of Malabar, that led to the transformation of thick forests into agricultural fields. It could be presumed that large area under this category had been occupied by them in Malabar.

¹¹⁶ *The State of India's Environment; A Citizen's Report*, Centre For Science and Environment (New Delhi, 1982) P. 33

The Reserve Forests are administered as per the provisions of the Madras Forest Act of 1946 and the extraction operations in the private forests are controlled by the provisions of the Madras Prevention of Private Forest Act of 1946.¹¹⁷

In spite of many beneficial results, migration has also produced certain economic, social and environmental problems. The settlers also have encroached on government lands and private forests, and the government is forced to take steps to evict them¹¹⁸. But on the other hand certain arguments are in favour of migrants also. The advocates of original settlers argue that even before the coming of migrants majority of the thick forests were cleared by the local jemmies and intermediaries and that they began cultivation only in timber removed forest area of Malabar. On the other side they planted a number of trees including various plantation crops and mango trees, jack trees etc.

Environmental Problems

Timber was felled and lush forest and fertile valleys put on to the plough, as abundance of land provided ample food for the settlers. Plantation crops were grown for export through out Malabar high land regions with no regard for the future of the lands.

¹¹⁷ A Sreedhara Menon, Kerala District gamletteers – kannanore, (Trivandrum, 1979), P. 316.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.181.

The existing agricultural practices which is being done along the slope resulted in soil erosion. Soil erosion has already eaten away so much quantity of valuable top soil leaving behind only the comparatively less productive sub soil.¹¹⁹

Migration of farmers to Malabar negatively affected the climate and environment of Malabar as a whole. Now-a-days the migrants of Malabar are concentrating in the preservation of nature, there by providing chance for their coming generation to enjoy the fruits of their early hazards and hard work.¹²⁰

The complex interconnected environmental and ecological crisis in Malabar essentially stems from the following route causes:

¹¹⁹ A debate is going on the issue of migration and deforestation of Malabar. Those oppose migration argue that migration to Malabar led to large scale deforestation in the region. See K. Panoor 'Keralathile America', (Mal.) (Kottayam), 1992, Pp. 77-98.

On the other hand, arguments in favour of migration is that migrants settled mainly in timber removed semi forests ([Elambakkadukal), which we have discussed in earlier part of this study. The land lords of Malabar were badly in need of money, so at first they sold out the timber in their land to Muslim timber Merchants. Later they sold the land itself to migrants from Travancore and rich people in Malabar. The advocates of migration further raised the question, that is how Kallai and Baliapattam emerged as the leading centres of timber business in Asia, without the deforestation of Malabar.

For further details see N.C Jose, "Keralathile America" (Mal.) in Suvarna Jubilee Souvenir of St. George Church, (Kulathuvayal, 1942) page. No. not available. This is a reply to Sri. K. Panoor K. Panoor. In his book 'Keralathile America' K. Panoor has criticised migrants for the destruction of forest in Malabar. also see Sooppykutty, "Karshikamekhala Uttaram Thedunne Chila Prasnangal (Mal.) in Smaranika, *Wayanad District Karshaka Sammelanam*, 1985, May 25-26, (Kalpetta, 1985) P. 16.

¹²⁰ K. Balakrishnan Nair and U.M.M. Chandra Das, 1978, *A Report of Sample Survey on Soil Erosion in Kunathur, Pattanapuram and Pathanamthitta Taluks*. Kerala State Land Use Board (Trivandrum, 1978), P. 117.

1. The near total deforestation of the entire region. Protection and regeneration of the primary catchment areas of rivers in these region is a primary corrective measure.
2. Loss of vegetation cover providing insulation to soil surface has increased the amplitude of fluctuation of the temperature of the soil and in the lower layer of atmosphere and removed soil organic content through speeding up oxidation.¹²¹

As far as Kerala is concerned, 1983 witnessed the historic severe drought. In 1983 for about 7 –8 months there was no rain fall in Kerala. In 1989 also it partially repeated. Rivers dried, reservoirs became empty, mountains burned. At present in Kerala drinking water itself has become a major problem even in rural areas. Apart from shortage of rain fall, various other factors also are acting as major agents for drought in Kerala such as, structure of surface soil, green coverage of the soil, temperature, winds, density of population, exploitation of water resources etc.¹²²

The 1972 U.N. conference on the Human Environment brought the industrialized and developing nations to gather to delineate the 'rights' of the human

¹²¹ M.K. Prasad, " Kudiyettavum Malabarinte Kalavasthayum" (Mal.) in *Varshantha*, Govt. College Magazine, (Kodamcherry, 1981) Page No. not available.

¹²² S. Sathish Attappadi - *A Profile.*, (Trivandrum.1989) Pp. 11-12. Plant cover act as a drag and reduce wind velocity in addition to absorbing solar radiation and insulating the soil, thus curtailing the energy for air movement.

family to a healthy and productive environment. A string of such conferences followed on the rights of people to adequate food, sound housing, safe water and access to means of choosing the size of the families.¹²³ All over the world lovers of nature and friends of environment have organised themselves and contributed much to the common cause. In India also a number of small and big organizations and groups cried against the raping of environment by the vested interest group. The popular agitation against Silent Valley Project, Narmada Valley Project etc., are some examples. The activities of Kerala Sasthra Sahithya Parishat deserves special mention here. Besides this 'SEEK'¹²⁴ – Society for Environmental Education in Kerala – an organisation fully dedicated to nature education and conservation are also doing much for the eco preservation and the protection of environment.

Migration to Malabar resulted in the incessant deforestation that led to the ecological imbalances. It has further deepened the environmental crisis which have

¹²³ Sathish Chandran, *Varalunne Keralam* (Mal.) published by Silent Valley National Park (Palghat, 1989) Pp. 3-4 shortage of rain fall is not a single cause for drought, because even in 1983 the average rain fall of Kerala was above 2500 m.m. This is more than the national and international average of rain fall we are getting more rainfall than other states.

¹²⁴ Gro Harlem Brundtland, *Our Common Future – World Commission on Environment and Development*. New Delhi. P. 1.

SEEK : Society for Environmental Education in Kerala was formed with a view to give grass roote level environmental education. Most of its programmes are aimed at educating common man, particularly youth and students, on the importance of protecting the environment and the urgency of remodeling our life style in tune with the law of nature.

already affected the area due to the unholy alliance between the forest officials and timber contractors.

Tribal Alienation

The migration of Travancorean settlers to Malabar, adversely affected the life of the tribals of Malabar. Whatever be the arguments for and against migration, tribal alienation is real fact. The adivasis, who were the real owners of the land earlier became refugees in their own land. The tribals often have an inferior social status and they are ruthlessly exploited by their employers (migrant farmers) and by money lenders and local merchants. The local money lenders and merchants take full advantage of the tribals' ignorance, sense of trust and their general habit of honouring a debt. As migration become more common, the contact of tribals with the migrant has increased in a wide spectrum.¹²⁵

It is true that the tribal, when they were gradually confronted by farmers who slowly spread into the jungles of Malabar, took to agricultural work which fits in with the economic needs of their more advanced neighbours.¹²⁶

Before the penetration of the migrants in to the world of tribals their needs were limited. For centuries they have been leading a simple life. A high sense of

¹²⁵ Gazetteer of India – Country and People (Faridabad, 1983), p.317

¹²⁶ Nirmal Kumar Bose, Culture and Society in India, (Delhi, 1972)Pp. 176-77 and discussion with the aged tribals .

community life prevailed among them, and no feelings as rich and poor or super ordinate and supra-ordinate developed. In the recent years the continuity of such a life has been greatly improved. The influx of others in tribal habitations made them money mind. At the same time - the needs of 'adivasis' multiplied.¹²⁷ In most of the areas the tribals have been badly over-powered economically, politically and socially by the migrants. The tribals, in many places, have been reduced to the position of agricultural labourers.

Over the years the migrants have 'grabbed' a large part of their cultivating land. As a result most of the tribal families were reduced to extreme poverty. Unless a viable alternative is provided to meet the immediate social and economic needs of the tribals and unless their economic resources are regenerated, their indebtedness and poverty will lead to new problems, both of socio-psychological and economic nature.¹²⁸

The unambitious tribal life was growing almost smoothly with all its merits and demerits inspite of the continuous influx of immigrants from Travancore to the tribal areas. The new settlers brought under their possession vast areas of forest or village land which was for all practical purposes under control of the tribals for centuries. They brought the virgin land under cultivation. This was

¹²⁷ Vyas, N.N. and Mann, R.S (ed.) Indian Tribes in Transition (Jaipur, 1980) Pp. 68-77.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* The recent adivasi struggle led by C.K. Janu is closely related to this situation .

however adverse to the tribals. The very ethnic composition of these villages got upside down in favour of the new-settlers.¹²⁹

The new forest policy laid down by the Union Government in 1952 affected, to some extent the tribals who depend on forest for their food. The liberty enjoyed by the tribals for centuries to utilise the forest as they liked, are no more recognised. The encroachment of the tribal land by the new settlers, the restrictions imposed on the utilisation of forest, the destruction of vast forests for plantation or cultivation etc. have caused much uncertainty to their subsistence economy. Naturally, their life beset with new problems became more and more difficult and the tribals with their traditional outlook were inclined to borrowing more than ever before. The subsistence tribal economy forced them to borrow freely from all available sources to perform various rituals and ceremonies, to take medical treatment, to participate in festivals or even to meet the domestic expenses during the off seasons.

Formerly when land was plenty the evil effects of the debts were limited to the exploitation of their manual labour under some patronage. But under changed circumstances, the land become scarce and the demand for it increased steeply.

¹²⁹ Government of Kerala, Report on Socio-economic Survey of Tribals in Kerala – 1976-77, Bureau of Economics and Statistics (Trivandrum, September, 1979), P. 27

The new settlers who were very keen and clever to bring more land within their fence allowed bits of advantage to the tribals and consequently the range of exploitation attached to the tribal indebtedness widened into the new setup. The alienation of tribals then became a common phenomenon in the recent decades.¹³⁰

The immigrants have already encroached upon much of the tribal land during their settlement and the consequent wide-spread alienation of the tribals became all the more damaging to the tribal existence. Landlessness have become a very serious problem among the tribals. The simple and honest tribes men who honoured ancestral debt easily became victims of the unscrupulous exploitation.

The contact of the tribals with various socio-cultural or socio-religious groups coming from outside their land-locked region has had a shocking effect on many aspects of their traditional ethos and culture. For example, the matriarchal structure of Karimpala society, their marriage, dress, diet etc, were influenced by the migrant new-comers. A similar instance of cultural change is the Khasi culture of Meghalaya which under the influence of the Christians the Plainsmen and the Britishers changed its consonance.¹³¹ However the migrants helped the 'adivasis' of Wayanad to become human beings because the landlord class exploited them. The Muslim merchants, from the plain also continued the same attitude towards

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ P.R.G Mathur, *Khasi of Meghalaya*, (New Delhi, 1979) Pp. 15-20.

'adivasis'. The land hungry migrants came here of course in many cases they encroached their land, but at the same time they paid wages in cash. They opened up transport and communication, school and libraries not only for their children, but also for the adivasi students.¹³² The upliftment of tribals of Malabar is one of the important impact of migration. There are a number of instances of inter marriages between migrants and local adivasis (usually not arranged but love marriage or marriage with compulsion from the community due to certain other reasons). However certain recent developments, affecting the relationship between the different sections of the population are not very healthy. The relationship between settlers and original inhabitants were smooth and wholesome in the early periods. Frictions developed in later period and although it is narrow and almost imperceptible at present a cleavage has been definitely formed between the new settlers and old inhabitants. It is of utmost importance for the harmonious social development of the village that the two sections understand each other better and live as good neighbours instead of harbouring envy and enmity against each other.

Thus migration of farmers from Travancore to Malabar resulted in the transformation of Malabar society in every aspects. It had its own influence over social, economic, political and cultural life of the people of Malabar.

¹³² Divakaran Katakada, *Keraleeya Gramangaliloode (mal)* (Kottayam, 1967) P. 424.

CONCLUSION

This study on migration, as is evident from it, is done on the pattern of investigation. All available data from charts, reference materials, including books, news paper reports, periodicals and souvenirs are used so as to make this investigation as complete and accurate as possible. That apart, a number of early migrants, their children, journalists, priests and bishops who have worked among the settler community in Malabar were interviewed to get first hand information on migration to Malabar.

The present study is a detailed historical survey and an indepth analysis, which would give a clear picture about the causes, course and impact of migration.

A number of 'push' and 'pull' factors worked behind the migration to Malabar. Most important among the push factors were famine, an offshoot of World War II and the growing need of the Travancorean farming community for more cultivable land. As the size of the family became larger and larger, the need for more cultivable land increased. So the farmers were on the look out of more land for their children. Their unending search for virgin lands for cultivation took them to the hillocks of Malabar.

Famine was a driving force behind large scale migration to Malabar. Land system in Travancore, commercialization of agriculture and the subsequent impact

on Travancore Economy, Progress of education in Travancore, increased population pressure on cultivable land in Travancore, the Christian way of inheritance which led to the fragmentation of property in Travancore, the despotic rule of Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer and the political developments in Travancore, the economic depression, poverty and famine which led to death and diseases in Travancore are some of the 'push' factors that influenced the migrants to move from Travancore to Malabar.

Land prices in Malabar were very low as compared with the land price in Travancore. The price of an acre of land in Travancore was enough to buy almost a hundred acres of land in Malabar. For instance, while an acre of land in Meenachil Taluk would fetch about Rs. 350/- to Rs. 400/-, land could be bought in Malabar at the rate of Rs. 2/- to Rs. 4/- per acre. This proved a great incentive to the Christian community in Travancore which had been confronted with the problems of excessive fragmentation of their parental holdings. The low price of land in Malabar and increasing tendency of cultivation of commercial crops, coupled with the aforesaid situations in Travancore, helped the migration of small peasants to Malabar.

In Malabar the ownerships of waste lands and forest lands were also vested with the Jenmies, where as it was under the ownership of the Sirkar (government) in Travancore. Even though Malabar as a region contained plenty of cultivable waste lands, farmers of that region did not some how have, either the will or the

ability to move to the uncultivated areas to reclaim them. On the other hand, peasant farmers from Travancore migrated with enthusiasm to the jungle lands of Malabar situated at a distance of about 300-500 kilometres from their native villages.

Many social non-conformists or people who were marginal to their own communities in Travancore also joined the migration bandwagon. People with criminal backgrounds and others who were bankrupt or were dishonoured in their home villages were among the migrants to Malabar. Family feuds and disharmony within the families and with neighbours further helped the cause of migration from Travancore. All these factors combined to cause a mass movement of tremendous magnitude, that made migration to Malabar a major event of modern Indian history.

Migration to Malabar turned out to be a mass movement, as migration of half a million people took place without any design, organisation or leadership. And this makes it unique in the annals of migration. A number of families left their parental villages in Travancore for reasons of their own and settled in the mountainous parts of Malabar. The majority of these settlers were small farmers, who went on to make Malabar their permanent abode.

Migration of the farming population from Travancore to Malabar began in the late 1920s. Malabar being a part of Madras Presidency of British India, was

almost like a 'foreign country' for the people who migrated to it from the princely state of Travancore. Travancore and Malabar were separated by Cochin, another princely state. A trip to Malabar from Travancore in those days was a difficult one, owing to lack of transport and communication facilities. The coastal railway line, from Cochin to Mangalore, through Calicut, Mahe and Tellicherry, was the only means of transportation available to the early migrants. And trekking into the interiors from the coastal towns of Malabar formed a glittering chapter of determination, sacrifice, bravery and enterprise.

Early batch of pioneering migrants, or more correctly entrants into Malabar were farmers who came mainly from the middle and lower stratas of the farming communities of Travancore. A significant majority of these early migrants came from the taluks of Meenachil, Thodupuzha and Muvattupuzha, in the foot hills of the high ranges. Most of the migrants were Catholics, belonging to various denominations.

The process of early migrations seem to have followed a common pattern. First an investigatory trip was undertaken by one or two persons. These trips were naturally restricted to those areas where Christian mission stations or churches had already been established by the Catholic Diocese of Calicut. Once the land suitable for cultivation was located, the investigators returned to their villages in Travancore. Generally after the Sunday mass, word spread in the local churchyard about the availability of land in Malabar. This usually resulted in the addition of

few more fresh recruits to join the hazardous trip to Malabar. Once the team had become sufficiently strong and once enough capital had been raised, often through sale of property, a new trip was undertaken. Usually, during this second trip, land was purchased in Malabar. Land was acquired mostly from devaswoms and big land owners (Jenmis) of Malabar. The common mode of transaction was through 'Vakkal Charthu' or verbal agreement. The common verbal land transactions between migrants and local land owners or their agents were Odacharthu, Kutticharthu, Kalicharthu, Vakkal Charthu, Choondippanayam, Varam and pattam deeds to cut and collect bamboo, and trees, to use the land to pasture cattles, or to cultivate and for rent ie, for 'Pathil Randu' (2/10) Pattam (rent). In the absence of clear land documents all the land transactions were on the basis of mutual understanding.

Driven away from their home land into the jungly hills of Malabar, the farmers found themselves in a real predicament. For, innumerable hardships awaited them in this strange terrain.

Early migration of peasants from Travancore to Malabar is an inspiring saga of human endeavour. Early settlers had to face many hardships. Cholera, and other infectious diseases, attack of wild animals, exploitation by jenmies and rich immigrants, heavy taxes and eviction threats were the worst among the hardships that awaited them in the strange hillocks of Malabar..

Many a migrant had to start from scratch. Famine and diseases wiped out hundreds of lives. The hospital records at Tellicherry and Mananthavadi bear testimony to this. Orphanages at Marikkunnu at Calicut, Kolayad, Peravoor and other areas were filled with the children of Travancorean migrants. Under these circumstances many returned to Travancore, and several others became agricultural labourers. The condition of the children of the settlers was equally distressing. In their struggle for existence many of the migrants lost their life.

The organized settlements in the Malabar regions, has its golden history, though underlined by a series of hardships, which the early settler's underwent. It speaks volumes and volumes on the systematic schemes employed by various organizations like the churches, NSS and other organizations in the setting up of schools, colleges and hospitals in the hilly areas of these places. It has played a significant role in the large scale development of this area, especially in the agricultural field. The migrants from Travancore to Malabar can be classified into two : (1) the isolated or individual and (2) the organized group. The latter's contribution to development and their history is to be noted and studied in detail. It all began with Late Prof. V.J. Joseph. It was he who first noticed the large areas of uncultivated forest in the hilly regions of Malabar.

In the realm of organized migration, the role of Mar. Alexander-Choolapparambil, Bishop of the Diocese of Kottayam and Prof. V.J. Joseph is to be remembered. Prof. V.J. Joseph was the president of Knanaya Catholic Congress.

He was working as a Professor at Mangalore. In his journey from Mangalore to Kottayam he used to collect information about the availability of cultivable land in the eastern hill ranges of Malabar side. It was known for its rich flora and fauna. At the same time he had another advantage, i.e. many of his former students and students belonged to the families of the land lords of these regions. Being very religious and committed to Christianity the idea of establishing Christian colonies in these areas flashed in his mind, and without any delay, he consulted the Bishop of Kottayam and other heads of the Church, and the organized migration began.

Abundant land at cheap price, the enforced poverty and famine due to war and the fascinating appeal of the churches and various other factors accelerated the colonization in several areas such as Rajapuram, Madampam, Ranipuram, Chungathara, Shimoga etc.

The rich planters promoted migration to recruit work force in their plantations. Unlike organized migration peasants from various parts of Central Travancore had also migrated to Malabar at their own.

The present study further discusses the role of various groups and fractions of Christian church and its various organisations and institutions in helping the migrants at various levels. The sociology of the Christian migration is giving stress to church centred developments. Every development activities in one way or other is linked with a parish priest or Bishop. In the Malabar terrains also we could see

the dominance of Christian priests in every walk of life. They are the leading figures of the public life in these areas. In all the popular movements against eviction threat at Kottiyur, Pulpally, Gudallur, Ambalavayal, Kakkadavu and in liberation struggle against the Communist Ministry in Kerala, the Bishops and priests played a pivotal role. The popular contemporary peasant movement Infarm in Kerala, and the ongoing anti-eviction struggle at Belthangadi in Karnataka are also examples to this conviction. In the opening of roads, bridges, public institutions, electricity, telephone, educational institutions and above all, in the all round development of the settlement region of Malabar, the role of the church leadership can't be under estimated.

Real development is not something that can be achieved by an individual or few individuals in a few days or months. It is a gradual, constant and conscious process through which a group or community becomes aware of the existing social situation, and struggle together for the building up of a more humane society where love, justice, equality, fraternity and truth would prevail.

Basing the strategy on this concept of development and a wider perspective for the total transformation of the society, the church has its work towards the organization of the masses at the grass root level. With this end in view the church has undertaken motivational and training programmes as well as economic programmes assisted by both governmental and non-governmental agencies. Thus

organization and dynamics of church in Malabar served the settlers in all their needs.

One of the striking impacts of migration is the socio-economic development it had brought about in Malabar. Malabar consists of coastal areas, low lands, middle and highlands. Of these only the first three areas were populated in the pre-migration period. Fishermen (belonging to all communities) lived in the coastal areas while the Hindus (especially Nambiar, Nayanar, Saliya, Thiyya, Nair, Namboodiri, Marar, Maniyani and Pothuval) occupied the low and middle lands. The Muslims being a business community always preferred the thickly populated areas.

The impact of the migration on the economy of Kerala in general and of Malabar in particular needs special mention. Large scale production of commercial crops like rubber, ginger, pepper, arecanut and coconut, advanced methods of cultivation and the introduction of new agricultural crops immensely influenced economy of this region.

Small scale farmers who migrated to Malabar in order to escape the differentiating and depressing pressures of commercialization of agriculture in Travancore brought in powerfully the spirit and relation of commercial agriculture into feudal Malabar. They began to cultivate commercial crops in this region. In

addition to extending the cultivation of such crops they also introduced tapioca which was so far unknown in Malabar.

The fearful forest region was transformed into agricultural lands and later became semi-urban centres or village towns. High land region of Malabar from Bandadukka in the North to Attappadi in the South, covering centres like Rajapuram, Balal, Vellarikkundu, Chittarickel (Thomapuram), Alakode, Chemperi, Payyavoor, Iritty, Peravoor, Manikkadavu, Maruthonkara, Kulathuvayal, Thiruvambady, Pulpally, Chungathara, Mannarghat, developed as 'cities' or 'towns' to fulfill the needs of the settlers.

The migrants constructed village roads without availing any help from the government. But later, these roads were taken over by the Public Works Department and Grama Panchayats for repair and maintenance.

Many roads were constructed by timber merchants in Malabar for the sole purpose of trekking timber from forests to timber depots in coastal region – Baliappattam, Payyannur, Badagara and Kallayi.

The hilly regions, formerly occupied by a handful of tribals, became a beehive of activities with the arrival of Travancorean peasants. They cleared the forest lands, tilled and cultivated it only to change the once fearful face of Malabar. Malabar gradually became a little paradise on earth. The commercial and agricultural products produced from this land brought prosperity to the settlers and

the local inhabitants, especially the business community alike. Migration also meant more educational institutions and sports and arts clubs that had played an important role in the educational and cultural development of the people of the entire region. With the advent of more schools and colleges, there was a spurt in employment opportunities, both in the state and outside.

Migration also played a commendable role in shaping the language of the region. If the first generation of migrants preserved their language, customs and culture, the second generation copied the language and culture of Malabar besides making their own contribution to it.

The migrants from Travancore always play an important role in tilting the political balance of the region. There is a common feeling among people that the Christian migrants in Malabar owe their allegiance to the Kerala Congress Parties. But this is not true. They are basically Congress activists and sympathizers and a considerable section among them support the Communists.

One of the important impact of migration of peasants from Travancore to Malabar is the decrease in the forest area of Malabar, that led to the transformation of thick forests into agricultural fields. It could be presumed that large area under this category had been occupied by them in Malabar.

In spite of many beneficial results, migration has also produced certain economic, social and environmental problems. The settlers have also encroached

on government lands and private forests, which forced the government to take steps to evict them. But on the other hand certain arguments are in favour of migrants also. The advocates of settlers argue that even before the coming of migrants majority of the thick forests were cleared by the local Jannies and intermediaries and that they began cultivation only in timber removed forest area of Malabar. On the other side they planted a number of trees including various plantation crops and mango trees, jack trees etc.

The migration of Travancorean settlers to Malabar, adversely affected the life of the tribals of Malabar. Whatever be the arguments for and against migration, tribal alienation is a real fact. The adivasis, who were the real owners of the land earlier became refugees in their own land. The tribals often have an inferior social status and they are ruthlessly exploited by their employers (migrant farmers) and by money lenders and local merchants. The local money lenders and merchants take full advantage of the tribals' ignorance, sense of trust and their general habit of honouring a debt. As migration become more common, the contact of tribals with the migrant has increased in a wide spectrum.

It is true that the tribals, when they were gradually confronted by farmers who slowly spread into the jungles of Malabar, took to agricultural work which fits in with the economic needs of their more advanced neighbours.

Before the penetration of the migrants in to the world of tribals their needs were limited. For centuries they have been leading a simple life. A high sense of community life prevailed among them, and no feelings of rich and poor or super-ordinate and supra-ordinate developed. In the recent years the continuity of such a life has been greatly improved. The influx of others in tribal habitations made them money minded. At the same time - the needs of 'adivasis' multiplied. In most of the areas the tribals have been badly over-powered economically, politically and socially by the migrants. The tribals, in many places, have been reduced to the position of agricultural labourers.

Thus, the large scale migration of people from Travancore is an important factor that has contributed to the all-round development of northern parts of Kerala during the last few decades. As the *Gazetteer* rightly concludes, this "influx of immigrants has in recent years radically changed the picture of socio-economic life in the districts". And, it has the following comment to add: "The immigrants are a highly industrious and enterprising people and they have contributed not a little to the economic development of the region by their unremitting exertions".





APPENDIX - I**EARLY MIGRATION**

- Adakkathodu (1957) - Kulangara Joseph, Kalloorath Abraham, Kunnath Varghese, Melekkoottu Kuttியappan and his brothers, Thirumalasseril Pappachan, Chambakkara Chandy, Thekkekkoottu Devasya, Alungal Joseph and Pottanany Joseph.
- Adikkolly (1962) - Nedungombil Ulahannan, Kanappallil Scaria, Kelakathu George, Pallikkunnel Chacko, Thekkel Thomman.
- Alattil (1949) - Karanthullil Mathayi, Olikkal Varghese, Mullankuzhiyil Varki, Vadakkekara Mathayi Thomas, Perukkoni Agasthi, Kulappurathu Michael Perumpullippara Chandi.
- Alakode (1928) - Dr. P.J. Thomas, Thevarolikkal Mathew Sebastian, Pullattu Joseph George, Thomman and Konnaykkal Thomas. 1936 - P.R. Ramavarma Rajah
- Alex Nagar Colony 1943 - Erambil Ulahannan, Melandassery Kora, Pulluvettathil Luka Ousep, Memaathara Pothan etc. (about 100 families).
- Amalapuri (1954) - Father Formees.
- Ambalavayal (1948) - M.O. Paulose.
- Ambayathodu (1956) - Pallikkamadathil Varghese, Padyanikkal Mathan, Karakkadu Devasya, Punjayil Mathayi, Kumbalakkuzhi Mathew, Nambudakath Luka, Joseph, Varkey and Elanjimattathil Joseph.
- Anikkampoyil (1952) - Kallolikkal Joseph, Palapra Joseph, Thumdiyil Kochu, Thiruvallalingam Raghavan and Varakulayil Joseph.
- Angadikadavu (1947-1948) - Neranganpara, Punnakundu, Vaniyappara, Kappil Charal, Murikumkari, Randamkadavu, Eendhumkari and Uruppumkutti (Peripheral Regions).
- - - Ayyankunnu-Kavungal family in Karikkottakari and Vengathanathu Thomas.
- - - (1947) (Dec) - Koottarappilly Varkey, Kakathookkil Joseph, Puttamallathil Joseph, Manhappallil Devasya, Poovathungal Varkey, Thomas, Peetikayil Kuryako, Thazhangattu Mani, Kochumala Luka (From Kuravilangadu side) Puthankandathil Devasya, Kochuvelikkagathu Chacko, Nadayathu Joseph, Panayekal Thomas (From Ramapuram) Sasseril Varghese, Kulangaramuriyil Joseph, John and Thomas (From Chirakadavu).

- Asankavala (Vijayapuram) (1952) – Puthuppally Kunhu, Puthan Veetil Devasya, Kadhalipparambil Oudha, Pendanath Mani & Kunnathu Joseph. Padavil Thomas, Joseph Kavalam.
- Balesugiri (1947) - Sri. Varacheril Georgekutty.
- Balal (1948) - Punjakkunnel Joseph, and Varikkamakkal Devasya.
- - - (1949) – Thekkumkattil Kunhepe Kulalhinal Kunhu, Podippara Kunhepe.
- Bheemanady (1957) – Madathipparambil Pailo, Antony, Puthanpurayil Joseph, Palamattathil Agasthi, Thaikkandathil Devasya and Thayyil Michale.
- Chappathottam (1939) – Mathew Kattakkayam, Elavanal Varkey, Elavanal Varkey Cheriyaathu.
- Chathankottunada (1940) – Mathew. C. Kattakkayam, Varkey Elavanal, Cheriyaathu Elavanal.
- - - (1940) – Jose Kallivayalil and Michale Kallivayali.
- - - (1940) – Keeranjira Chacko, Kanhirakkattuthodiyil Mathayi, Kangedathu Uthuppu, Kunnel Thomas, Kulathur Chacko and Kizhukkarakkattu Thomman.
- Chemperi (1943) – Pulppel Joseph, Mattakkakuzhiyil Joseph, Valumannel Abraham, Kaduvathukkil Joseph and Kakkanattu Varkey.
- Chempanthotty (1945) – Muttathu Thomas.
- - - (1947-48) – Chennattu Agasthi, Thonikkal Thomas, Manimala Varghese, Mechira Devasya, Porunnakkottu Varkey, Puthanpura Thomas, Kutyaathu Thomas and Karakkattu Varghese.
- Chennalodu (1948) – Olikkal Mathayi, Mundunadaykkal Agasthi and Idathanal Mathayi.
- Cherukattoor (1947). Moolakkara Chacko, Vadakkal Ousep, Nalledathu Joseph and Kachelakkalayil Joseph.
- Cherupuzha (1947) – Pumnhachakkunnel Thomas, Kunnel Schariya, Vazhappallyil Peelipose and Puthanpuraykal Mathayi.
- Cherupara (1965) – Sri. Thomas Perekkattil and Family.
- Christnagar, (1958-59) – Thottathil John, Choppukalayil M. Mathayi, Kakkarakkunnel Joseph, Chelayckal Nirappel Varkey Vaidyan, Olikkal Antony and Thenangalayil Varkey.
- Chockodu (1950) – Pallivathukkal Devassy.
- - - (1952) – Kuttiplakkal Joseph.

--- (1955) – Kunnipparambil Joseph.

Chunda (1932) – Mareth Joseph, Pulikayath Thomman, Parapparambil Ouseph, Jubilee Chacko, Kadhalikkattil Kunhu and Poothakkuzhi Mathayi.

Chundapparambu (1947) – Koonungil Abraham, Mulaykkappurathu Mathayi, Mungaykkal Franchu, Chaliyekkandathil Kunhappu and Vellaramkunnel Kunhu.

Chungakkunnu (1949) – Vattukkulathil Joseph, Thuruthel Matha, Vadakekkara Kunhu.

Chungathara (1950) – Kunthrayil Tharyan Varkey, Meprathu Mathayi, Konniyil Kunhachan and Udayamanni Kosi.

--- (1951) Villothu Philipos.

Chully (1958) – Araykkal Mathayi.

Edappuzha (1949) – Kottarathil Joseph.

Edavanna – Puthanpuraykal Kunheppu, Nhallampuzha Thomas, Nhallampuzha Skariya, Nhallampuzha Pappachan, Thattamparambil Varkey, Ambattu Kochu, Karukappally Varkey and Othara Kuttappan.

Edoor (1939). Valiyaprambil Kunhukkuttan Esthappan, Mathachan, Markos, Kutty and Kunhu. Kadampuzha Kuttiyachan Vhavalligl Eppachan and his brother Scario, Karippaparambil Dominic.

Eaychom (1950) - Mundaykal Outha.

--- (1951) – Puthiyedath Ousep and Ramachanattu Chacko.

--- (1952) - Punnathanam Mathayi and Punnathanam Luka.

Vattyara (1950 – 1955) – Koorikkattu Varkey.

Ennappara (1953) – Marottikkuzhiyil Chacko.

--- (1960) - Vasyamparambil Cheriyan, family, Puthanpuraykkal Mathayi, Kuryan, Pulletkunnel Mathew, Vaduthalakuzhiyil Mathayi and Maliyekkal Kuttappan.

Eramam (1944) – Adichilamakkal Varghese, Punjekkunnel Thomas, Mundamattathu Oudha, Kunnel Schariya and Parel Kongattu Devasya.

Kacherikkadave (1948) – Manikkombel family, Eettappuzha family, Kollikolavil family and Marottippara family.

Kadabha (1952) – Korumadam Kuryakose, Korumadam Mathayi, Chambakara Stephen, Mambally Kuryakose.

- - - (1953) – C.C. Joseph Chembannil, C.C. Phillip etc. (9 families).

Kanhiradukkam – Kalappurayakkal Varghese and his family, Karottupurathu Chacko and Vadakkedahu Varkey.

Kannivayal (1948) – Ezhupara Thomas, Kappalumakkal Baby, Kannikkattu Pappachan, Kaippamplakkal Pappachan, Kallur Mathayi and Padinharel Kuruvila.

Kottody (1958) – Poomarathungal Mathayi, Pandarapparambil Ousep.

Keezhpalli (1948) – Kadookunnel Peeli.

- - - (1949) – Palhiyakalangara Joseph, Kozhakkepeechikayil Thomas, Menapaddath Joseph.

Kakkadampoyil (1956) – Father Bernardin Thadathil kutty, Pannikkottu Mathew, Mazhuvanjeri Paily, Thevarkattil Kunheppu, Kuzhumbil Mani, Puthanpurayil Chandy, Paralayil Mathayi, Vettikkal Kochu, Ikkarasseril Devasya, Veettiyangal Kunhappan, Pulinthanath Ulahannan and Kadambanattu Thomas.

Kallody (1942) – Vettiyangal Mathayi, Vaithippara Pappa, Thalachira Devasya, Mookkatholikkal Joseph, Machukuzhiyil Paily, Kalambukattu Kuryakose and Pallikkapyalilkkar etc.

Kallanode (1943) – Sri. Mathew, A.T. Joseph and Cheriyan.

- - - (1943) – Vayalil Joseph (Ramapuram), Ettiyil Mathew, Kothambanany Sebastian, Kadukammakal Thomas, Joseph, Puthiyamadathil Agasthi, Nakatholikkal Ulahannan, Thadathil Thomas, Ganapathylakkal Mathayi, Edattukunnel Thomas & Memgiyani Joseph (Vayala).

Kallurutty (1945) – Adappur Puthanpura Pathros, His brother Ulahannan, Kummayathottiyil Fransis, Malamburathu Kuryan, Tharamuttathu Joseph, Mudiyl Chacko.

- - - (1946) – Adihikarathu Chacko, Perinjery Mathayi, Kochupurayckal Thomas, Ranickattu Michael, Perikalathu Varghese, Elanhikkal Joseph and Palathanathu Joseph.

Kalpra (1957) – Thottapilli John, Thadathil Joseph, Vettikkal Kunhu, Mulaykappurath Agasthi, Kattikkanayil Joseph, Erathel Fransis, Chelaykkamakkil Devasya, Kollamkunnel Varky, Mundaplakal Thomas, Kodiyamkunnel Devsya and Kallada Kunhukkutty.

Kanhirakkolly (1969) – Nakanoolil Varkey, John, Kariyalakkunnel Joseph, Kallur Mathayi and Karathottathil Mathew.

Kanichar (1945) – Mulaykal Eenas.

- - - (1948) Kalathungal Ulahannan, Kulachira Cheriyan, Nedungallel Chacko, Manhanattu Varkey and Thayyil Chacko.
- Kaniyambatta (1950) – Koonammakkeel Varkey, Vazhappillil Mathayi and Nharalamkulathu Thomas.
- Kannoth (1944) – Vazhapparambil Devasya, Ezhanikkattu Agasthy, Vellappanattu Philipose, Kizhakkal Joseph, Chakkalayil Thomas, Neelanguzhi Kunhappan and Mannur Mathayi.
- Kappimala – Kalappura Thomas, Kallananikkal Thomas, Vadakkemury Thomas, Arakkal Abraham, Palakkuzha Chandi, Andhinattu Ulahamman and Kaviyil Chako.
- Karikkottakkari (1940) - Sri. Kavungal Ulahannan, Vettikkal Ouseppu.
- - - Poothottal Chummar, Devasya, Kalapurayakal Schariya, Koyikkalatt Mathayi, Kandathi Mani, Ullooruppil Joseph, Kakkattil Joseph, Mekattakkal Mathayi, Manyalathil Mathayi Brothers, Vazhamplakkal Varky Brothers, Chollanamkunnel Chennan, Puliyannikkat Agasthi and Thayyil Varky.
- Karingadu – Parayamguzhiyil Thomas, Moolayil Thomas, Kulathur Joseph, Poriyathu Ousep, Thudiyannplakkal Mathayi.
- Karuvanchal (1928) – Puranganal Dr. P.A. Mathew, Pullattu Outha, Vakkan, Thomman, Mannangary Thomas.
- - - (1939) – Kuruvinal Pakuthi Mathayi and his family, Attarimakkal Chacko, Ouseph.
- Karuvakkundu (1943) – Parambil (Kallaraykkal) Mathayichan, Anathanath K.C. Mathayi, Pallivathukkal P.C. George and Kollangulath K.V. Chacko.
- Kattippara (1949) – Parappallil Mathayi, Kochuveetil Thomas, Parathookiyel John, Palliyodil Joseph and Ittiyeppara Fransis.
- Kavummandham (1944) – Mundunadaykkal Joseph, Aikkarathazhathu Mathayi and Joseph.
- Keezhppally (1947) – Chirakkuzhiyil Devasya.
- - - (1948) – Chelakkandathil Devasya, Kanhirathungal Mathayi, Malodan Ukkaska & Kadukkunnel Peeli.
- Kelakam (1942) – Nellikkakudy Varkey, Naruvely Paily, Pulikkal Paily, Issac, Palolikkal Govindan, Areekkattu Govindan, Thekkungal Sankaran and Varappothu Mathayi.
- Kellur (1941) – Kathirakkattu family, Kavarmala family and Arappathanam family.
- Kiliyanthara (1947) – Nedumala George, Koottumala Thomas, Charettu Schariya, Madukkakkuzhi Joseph and Vettikkattil Joseph.

- Kodancheri (1944) – Vadakkal Devasya, Paikayil Devasya and Kunnath Mathayi.
- Koodaranhi (1947) – Pennaparambil Chacko, Palakkiyil Joseph Puthuppalliyil Kuryako.
- Madaliyangal Agasthi, Variyanijyil Mathan and Muthirakkalayil Agasthi.
- Koodathay (1942) – Palaykkathuruthel Pappan, Puthiyaparambath Ulahannan and Pallithazhe Chandy.
- - - (1944) – Nedumballil Mathayi, Kanathil Onni, Karikilanthadathil Kochu, Kizhakkapparambil Kunhu, Kunnumburathu Paily, Pullochery Ousep, Kannezhathu Chandy, Thoongazhi Eappan and Kallanikkal Devasya.
- Koombara (1949) – Karingozhayckal Thomas, Velliyeppillil Varkey, Puthiyadathuchalil Ulahannan and his brothers.
- (1951) – Naduvathu Chandy.
- Kolakkadu (1941) – Ayilookkunnel Punnoos and his borther Joseph, Kunnathusseriyil Mathayi and his brothers, Muzhuvanjeril Michael, Karyakkunnel Joseph, Alaykkathadathil Varkey.
- Kolayadu (1921) (April) – Father Fernandes.
- - - (1928) – K.P. Mathew Kudakkachira. Sri. K.C. Kuryan, Sri. Kattakkayathil Mathachan and Sri. Vadakkayi Joseph.
- Koorachundu (1940) – J. Thomas Mattel. Dominic Kuruvinakkunnel, K.M. Chandi and Thekkel Kuruvinal Chacko.
- Konnakkadu (1950) – Kariyampally Chakochoan.
- Kottathara (1948) – Thekkilakkatti Mathayi, Aryachaly Kuryan, Ambalathungal Kuryan, Manhakkala Chacko and Nellikkattil Ousep.
- Kottiyur (1948) – Vattukkulathil Ousep.
- Kozhichal (1948) – Manayani Chandy
- (1949) – Urumbukattu Many
- - - (1950 – '51) – Kandavanathil Kunheppu, Mathan, Koonambara Varky, Kandathil Fransis, Kannolil Michale, Puthanpura Sebastian and Maliyekkal Schariya.
- Kudiyamala (1951) – Kattakkayathil Cheriyan.
- - - (1952-53) – Iruppakkattu Joseph, Thomas, Kudakkachira Cheriyan, Joseph, Thenganakunnel Devasya, Kandathil Anthony, Mannuplakkal Chandy, Karukappallil Devasya, Valumannel Pappachan, Kolikkunnel Raghavan, Kunnel Mathayichan, Poozhampalakkal Joseph and Mangalathu Varghese.

Kulathuvayal (1930) – Palakkattel Joseph Abraham, Varkey, Chayananikkal Chacko, Karamel Abraham and Erothu Chacko Kuruvithottathi.

--- (1937) Mathur Cheriyan.

--- (1930) - Dr. Abraham from Mepran Near Thiruvally.

Kuliramutty (1950) – Mannur Ulahannan.

- - - (1951) Paimbillil Thomas, Kadambanattu Varkey, Vazhamattathil Chacko and Mailadiyil Ousep.

Kunduthodu (1941) – Kadhalikkattil Cheriyan, Muttathukunnel Mathew, Pullattu Mathayi, Kulangara Devasya, Vettukallel Joseph, Poonthottathil Joseph, Kallanplakkel Ouha, Puthiyaveettil Thomas, Manathu Joseph Thundiyil Devasya and Varappillikkuzhi Joseph.

Kunnoth (1941) – Vayalungal Kutty and Thomas.

- - - (1941) – Vattanthottiyil Agasthi, Chacko, Devasya, Puthiyavellara Thomas, Amboorathu Paramu Nair, Kulathinaprayil Joseph, Vayalungal Abraham, Poothottukuryan, Vallayil Joseph, Chembukottiyckal Agasthi, Varkey and Thannikkal Mathayi.

Kurumbola (1950) – Kunnumburathu Devasya, Kutyanikkal Abraham, Kanhirathungal Joseph, Koovaykkal Brothers and Karippala Families.

Kuttyadi (1927-1930) –

--- (1927) Kocheeppa Tharakan.

1930 (Oct.30) – Purayidathil Thomas, Pullattu Joseph, Vadakkedath Kuryakose and Ponganpara Varkey.

Mariyapuram (1942) – Kurisummoottil Souaryar, Iyyalil Antony, Parakkal Ulahannan and Kattippallil Thomas.

--- (1947) – Manikkath Philip.

--- (1947) – Puthanpurackal Mathayi, Chennamattam Kuryakose.

Mangalagiri (Before 1955) – Kizhakepparambil Pachi.

Manhakkadu (Before 1955) – Thoombungal Uthuppan, Pattathettu Abraham, Idathungiyil Kuryakko, Kurissimasseril Mathew, Kurissimasseril Rajan and Puthanchira Joseph.

Maikkavu (1948) – Chooraykkathadathil Onni and his brother Thommy Chooraykkathadathil Chacko, Menambadathil Uthuppu, Erambattu Makkeel

Ouseppu, Pananthanathu Mani, Mappanath Ulahannan, Chelattu Markos, Kuttisserikkudy Esthappan and Kunnummel Mathayi.

Malaparambu (1950) – Kattil Raman, Appukkuttan Kocheethra Mathayi, Koothrappallil Thomas, Poovathungal Thomas, Chirakkadavil Ousep, Pazhukkammakkal Narayanan and Iyyangalil Eali.

Mamboiyil (1963) – Muthedath Varkey, Mundappally Gopalan, Pullikkal Kunhu, Kanat Kuryan, Kuruvinal Mathayi, Tharamangalam Mathew, Palathinal Kutty, Pezhathingal Unni and Kachira Kunhagasthy.

--- (1964) – Kanayangal Kochetan & Kanayankal Varkey.

--- (1964) – Kollappally Kuttappan, Kariplakkal Appoyi and Kadassery Thomas.

Manakkadavu (1965) – Joseph Kakkathuruthel, Mathew Ramanattu, Mathew Manhappallil, Joseph Kanhirathingal, Melekkunel Mathayi, Mathew Poovathingal, Joseph Mandapathil, Mathew Munhanadu, Joseph Panamparambil, Mulykkal Sreedharan Nair, Kandalulla Neelakandan Pillai, Mevida Narayana Pillai, Thadathil Kunhukkuttan Nair, Pareparambil Kunhukkuttippilla.

Mananthavady (1931) – Elappuppara Agasthi and his family.

- - - (1933) – Athikkal Chacko, Pathikkunel Pappachan, Parayil Pappachan and Nadumala Joseph.

--- (1937) – Aliyattu Kudivarkey, Kuzhikandathil Ousep, Ulahannan.

--- (1938) – Thiravathu Ulahannan.

Manimooli (1950) – Thachamburathu Paulose. Thuruthel Varkey – Plathottathil Varkey, Cherayi Joseph, Nellikkal Oudha, Thottathil Mathayi – Neeranakkunel Mathayi and Kondoopparambil Dominic.

Malom (1954-1955) – Kuttikkottukunel Thomas, Mandhamgiri Thomas, Puthur Jacob, Kariyangal Luka, Panachimoottil John and Kadavankunel Pappan.

--- (1956) – Pondanath Varkey, Nhondimakal Devasya.

--- (1956) Plakkootathil Looka (Korlanjery).

- - - (1957) Pandanathu Varkey, Mannangary Thomas, Nhondimakkal Mathew, Orappuzhayckal Chandy, Madapallil Mathew and Kuttikkattu Kunel Thomas.

Manikkadavu (1948) – Vengakunel Agasthi, Ulahannan, Kunel Joseph, Thomas, Cheriyan, Vadakkedath Joseph, Thekkumkattil Thomas & Vettukallanguvayil Mathayi.

Marakkadave (1952) – Pazhzhethottathil Varkey, Mannadiyil Ouseppachan, Pulikkal Varkey and Tholanikkunnel Mathachan.

Marakkave (1950) – Panachikkal Mathayi, Karimbadakkuzhi Ulahannan, Alungathazhe Manuel, thottiyil Pailo, Parakkal Puthampura Mathayi, Vellilamthodukayil Devasya, Kannachamparambil Ulahannan, Charuplakkal Joseph, Ellungal Francis etc.

Mariyapuram (1942) – Kurisummoottil Souryar, Iyyalil Antony, Paraykkal Ulahannan & Kattippallil Thomas.

- - - (1947) – Puthanpurayckal Mathayi, Chennamattam Kuryakose and Manikkath Phillip.

Marypuram (1959) – Koottungal Thomas and his family.

Maruthongara (1926) – Aymanamkaram Ouseppu.

- - - (1927) – Elappupara Agasthi, Cholakkandathil Mani.

- - - (1931) – Purayidathil Thomas, Pullattu Joseph, Vadakkedath Kuryakose, Pongambara Varkey.

- - - (1939) Eeyalil Joseph, Nellithanathu Peter, Elayckattuparambil John etc.

- - - (1936-37) – Olomana Thomas, Palathottam Kunhu Mattathil Kuttan, Purayidathil Kuryakkos.

- - - (1940-1945) – Nellithanam Peter Sebastian, Mangalassery Chacko, Mannangary Thomas, Elakkattu Parambil John Vaidyar Maleparambil Thomas, Malepparambil Joseph, Puthuppallithakitiyel Mani, Pathapparambil Mathayi etc.

Mattara (1956) – Pallathukuzhi Joseph, Pattappara Outha, Edattel Outha, Medaykkal Kunhu, Padinharel Pappan, Keedathil Kittan, Gopalan Nambiar, Kongattu Achu, Thayyil Thomman and Kuttyathu Thomman.

Meenangadi (1947) – Thekkevarappothukuzhi Varkey, Kochupuraykkal Joseph, Punnachalil Kuryakose, Punnachalil Paily, Kattumattam Ousseppu, Mamuttam Thomman, Konathuvarky, Neettukara Varky, Olikkuzhi Varky, Kunnarath Ouseppu, Mundokkuzhi Mattu, Perumbilithazhathu Paily and Kokkappilli Varkey.

Meenangadi (1948) – Mundokkuzhi Mathew.

Nadavayal (1948) – George Puthiyidam, Thomas Aymanachira, Joseph Kuryechyath, Agasthi Puthuppambal, Joseph Puthuppambal, Agasthi Punnathanam, Kuttappan Nair, Chacko Anikal, Chacko Agathottam.

- - - (1948) – Kolathettu Paily and Mathur Chacko.

Nadavayal (1948) – Puthiyidathu George, Chennattu Kuttappan Nair (Padinhattakkara), Punnathanattu Agasthi (Kanhiramattam) Puthupparambil Agasthi, Joseph, Aymanachira Thomas (Andur), Karakkunel Joseph, Kallungathara Joseph, Aanikkal Chacko and Akathottil Kunhy.

Nedumpuramchal (1946) – Vallattu Pappachan and his brothers and Elavungal Devasya and his brothers, Padinharottu Kunhu.

Nenmeny (1945) – Kuttivelil Abraham, Athirakkulangara Abraham and Chakkupurayckal Vackan.

- - - (1947) Vettikkattu Joseph, Kochuparambil Abraham and Kuzhimattam Joseph.

Nellikampoyil (1939) – Sr. Joseph Neerakkal, Father Kuthoor, Father De Costo.

- - - (1942) Choondiyanippurathu Mathayi (Nilloor) and Thayyilkandathil Agasthi (Muttam), Vattappara Varkey (Muttam), Chalakuchi Ulahannan (Nagappucha) & Kanathil Varghese.

Nellikutty (1943) – Thottungal Kuryakose, His brother Varghese, Elavungal Mathew, Pulikkakunel Agasthi, Karikilangattu Schariya and his brothers Thomas, Mathai and Schariya.

Nellippara (1956-1958) – Mukkattu Kochepeu, Kakkathil Varkey – Thomas, Vavolikkal Gopalan, M.T. Gopalan, Kudakkathady Kochu Kunhu and Kulamankuzhi Joseph.

Nellippoyil (1950) – Kaithakkulathil Kuryan, Kallanmmakkal Mathayi, Pulikkathadathil Devasya, Alavelil Joseph, Kadambanattu Rocky, Pookkombil Kunhu, Kalluvettathu Chacko, Ponnammattathil Hillariyos, Plakkal Abraham, Palathumgal John, Nattunilam Agasthi and Thekkanattu Kuryan.

Nilambur (1928) – K.V. Thresya Teacher.

Odathodu (1939) – Cheruparambil Varkey, Payyappally Joseph, Velanguzhi Varkey and his brother Chacko, Poombatta Mathayi and his brothers, Arumakkal Ulahannan, Kuzhivelil Thommy, Edathazhe Joseph, Pannaplakkal Varkey and brothers, Edathazhe Chacko and Kokkattu Kuruvila.

Odayanchal (Before 1955) – Parappanattu Cheeramma, Adhopilly Luka, Vattakkunel Thomas etc. (20 families).

Padatthukadavu (1927) – Polachira Kocheepan Tharakan

- - - (1932) – Purayidathil Thomas and his brothers Pullattu Joseph.

- Padichira (1951) – Panakkal Joseph, Karottuperumballil Devasya, Kizhakkebhagath John, Parakkattu Mathayi, Vishwanathan Nair.
- Paisakkiri (1946) – Mannarkkandathil Varghese, Kudakasseri Devasya, Moolaplakkal Thomman, Thekkunkattil Francis, Thudiyaplakkal Ousepp Mathayi, Thudiyamplakkal Mathayi Mathayi. Marippurath Abraham, Kaniyasseril Ulahannan, Kallarangattil Ulahannan, Vattamattathil Ousepp, Puthiyamparambil Thomas, Muthulkattil Thoman, Kalarikkal Philip etc.
- Palavayal (1949) – Kaippanplakkal Joseph, Thoppil Philip and Pulikkathadathil Mathayi.
- Panthallur (1948) – Kulavattathil Abraham, Manhadiyil Mathew and Vayalil Pappu.
- Panthanpara (After 1955) – Mudavannattu Varkey, Puthannadayil Joseph, Thadathil Varghese, Manimala Joseph etc.
- Panathady (1962) – Vadana Varkey, Peedikaykkal Joseph and Manimalakkarottu John.
- Panathoor (1968) – Peruppatta John, Niravathani Chacko, Thomas, Varikkavanthody Phillip, Chelappan Nair and Thangappan Nair.
- Parappa – Neduvodu (1956) – Chennikkara Joseph, Vadayattu Mathew, Kurisummoottil Chandi, Nadavanal George, Akkattumundayil Joseph and M.S. Pappachan.
- Pathirappadam Polappadam (1955) – Kalappuraykkal Joseph, Pappachan, Thumbasseril Mani, Thattambara John and Pullattu Devasya.
- Payyambally (1930) – K.P. Mathew Kudakkachira and his brohers Joseph and Devasya.
- (1938) – Mekkunnel Mathai and family.
- (1940) – Ma Theyckal Mathew, Koodakkattu Varkey, Niravathu Varkey and Punnayil Pappachan.
- Payyanad (1967) – Puriyottu Varghese, Vellikunnel Varghese, Joseph, Marattukulam George, Muttathu Mathew, Muthalakkavil Joseph, Mukalepparambil Joseph, Pazhukkathadathil Mathai and Neerakkal James.
- Pazhur (1950) – Palayur Ittoop, Chazhour Lazar, Kundukulangara Lazar, Kakkassery Jacob.
- Peratta (1950) – Kanhiramattam Thomas, Kochumuriyil Enas.
- (1951 – 52) – Vettiyykkal Joseph, Pottakkulathil Chacko, Varghese, Vadakkemuriyil Pappachan and Puthanpuraykal Varghese.
- Peravoor (1928) – Charanthottiyil Joh, K.P. Mathew Kudakkachira.
- Perumpunna (1940) – Kollareth Antony, Kollareth Kuryachan and Kollareth Sunny.

- - - (1941) – Kunnath Ulahannan, Kunnath Kuryakose, Kunnath Mathew and Kunnath Varkey.
- - - (1942) – Kalarikkal Antony, Kalarikkal Joseph, Kalarikkal Kuruvila, Kararikkal Chacko, Kalarikkal Thomas.
- Perikkalloor (1952) – Tharayil Abraham, Poovathumoottil Thomas, Pulikkal Mathayi, Keelottukunnel Kuryako, Uravakkuzhi Mathayi, Anakkuthikkal John, Nirappel Joseph and Plathottathil Kuryako.
- Perumbadavu (1956) – Madayanikkal Kuryan, Kollappally Ittiyavira and Palathadathil Joseph.
- Peruvannamuzhi (1941) – Kalloor Joseph, Paikayil Thomman, Madathanathu Chacko, Vzhakkunnel Joseph, Vattothu Kutty, Kanhirathungal Ulahannan and Kulathungal Varkey.
- Poroor (1948) – Edattukunnel Joseph, Koonambarambil Devasya, Aakkappadikal Chacko, Moolamkozhaykkal Mathew and Mattathilany Devasya.
- Poothambara – Cheriyan Kulathur, Parayanilam Chacko, Thomas Kattakkayam, Mathew Perayckathottam and Vayalil Joseph.
- Poovaranthodu (1958) – Nadukkudiyil Kuryakose.
- - - (1962) – Mundattil Varkey, Pennaparambil Chacko and Plathottathil Devasya.
- Pottanplavu (1953) – Chittalappilli Cheriyan, Pulikkal Pathrose, Vettikkuzhi Joseph and Perumbuzhappakuthiyil Kochu.
- Pulingome (1948) – Mundamattam Joseph and his brother Mathew, Kallambarambil Joseph, Kalloorkulam Mani, Parassery Agasthi, Vellingattu George and Mangottil Joseph.
- Pulinhal (1955) – Thattarkunnel Luka, Thekkanal Thomas and Nelliyanikkottu Mathayi.
- Pulikkurumba (1949) – Oorkunnel Joseph, Thonakara Joseph and brothers, Kappukattil Joseph, Devasathil Chacko, Vadakkeparambil Devasya, Ettiyl Varkey, Puthanpura Joseph, Chembanathadathil Varkey, Kazhuvelipparambil Varkey, Cherupparambil Schariya, Akkittayil Thomas, Kallidukkananikkal Joseph and Brothers and Thekkedath Ulahannan.
- Pulloorampara (1947) – Neendukunnel Varkey, Chongara Kunhappan.
- - - (1948) – M.A. Chacko, Joseph and Thomas.
- - - (1944) – Neendukunnel Mathai.
- Pulppally (1947) – Panachikkal Mathayi.

- - - (1950) Tharappath Ulahannan, Pullanthiyannikkal Joseph, Madathil Mathayi, Joseph and Thalikkapparambil Mathayi, Madathil Thomas, Madathil Joseph.

Puravayal (1942) – Kiliyambalayil Kora and Peediyeykkal Joseph. 1943 – Attuchalial Kunhoochu, Munduplakkal Varkey, Karuvelil Lukose.

Puthussery (1955) – Vattakkattu Pothan, Vattakkattu Mathayi, Puthusseri Joseph, Marangattil Thomman.

Rajapuram Colony (1943) – Puthoppallymyalil Kuryan, Poovakkulathu Kuryan, Andumyalil Chacko, Ullattil Pothan, Mundappuzha Kunhappu etc. (Total 72 families).

Ranipuram colony (1970) – Kollalappara Ulahannan, Idayadiyil Kuttappan, Poonamachira Mathayi, Thottiyil Onayi etc. (45 families).

Rayarom (1954) – Edattel Chacko, Nambyambarambil John, Vattamala Joseph and Mekkattu Kutty.

Sulthan Bathery (1923) – Father Berette.

- - - (1935) Athirambuzha Pappy, Kallukulangara Paily and Koonappilli Thomas.

- - - (1936) Thombra Paily and his brother.

- - - (1939) Keechery Mathayi, Kuruvely Varkey, Edapallymattam Joseph and Keeppanassery Varkey.

(Koondhani side)

- - - (1936) – Pathikkal Poulouse, Thenmoola Mathayi, Thelakkattil Mathayi and Cheruthottil Cheriyan.

- - - (1938) – Kochupurackal Paily.

Thalayade (1948) – Kunnakulangara Joseph. Plakkattu Govindan Nair, Kudiyiruppil Varkey, Kattikkanayil Devasya, Perinjolloor Joseph, Karthigayil Joseph, Thadathil Thomas and Ilavungal Joseph.

Thambore (1956) – Vadakkemury Varkey and his Brother Mani, Ponnambara Joseph, Karakkattil Scaria, Puthettu Kochu, Kootungal Kunhu and Kunhukutty.

Thariyode (1937) – Kaippatti Chacko, Korandiyar Kunnel Ulahannan and his four brothers with their father Paily, Kurumbalakattu Devasya, Vettukattil Chacko and Kuppayil Joseph.

- - - (1942) – Puthanpura Scariya, Karuthedathu Mani, Cherumala Joseph and Aikkarathazhathu Mathayi.

- Thavinhal (1941-42) – Vadakkaveetil Joseph, Ayyanikkattu Ousep, Kainikkunnel Devasya, Areeplakkal Mathayi, Thekkekaithaykkal Agasthi, Mulangunnath Ousep, Mathalikkunnel Agasthi and Veliyathu Joseph.
- Thayeeni (Before 1970) – Karaykkattu Vadakkal Thomas, Kadapra Luka, Chovattukunnel Joseph, Thekkottu Joseph & Perikilamkattil Mathayi.
- Thekkumkutty (1951) – Vadakkekuttu Saviour, Ullattil Pappachan, Koorkkamattathil Cheriyan and Valyakunnathu Devasya.
- Thenery (1946) – Punneykappadavi Ulahannan, Thurappattu Chacko, Thottithara Paulose, Vettukallanguzhi Mathayi and Peechakkudy Agasthi.
- Thettamala (Before 1955) – Muttathil Kuryako, Muttathil Annamma, Kanikkulath Ulahannan, Kanikkulath Chacko etc. (44 families).
- Thirumeni (1958) – Kunjarakkattu John and his family, Vadakkedath Thomman and his family, Parayil Schariya, Munhanattu Mathew, Chakkungulathu Joseph and Puthanpurayil Chacko.
- Thiruvambady (1942) – Chakkukal Joseph, K.C. Nainan (Advocate).
- - - (1943) – Puthiyaveetil Souryas Mathan, Anjanattu Chacko, Abraham, Thottiyil Schariya, Vakkal Agasthi, Akkuttu Devasya, Alaykappally Thomman, Ettuthotti Varkey.
- Thottumukkam (1948) – Thakadiyel Joseph, Parambukattu Thomas, Padanna Makkil Dominic, Illikkal Abraham, Kallikkattil Mathayi, Irumbuzhi Cheriyan and Panaykkal Mathayi.
- Udayagiri (1956) – Pedikkattil Joseph, Valiyamattam Devasya, Narimattam Chacko, Vadakkal Kochu and Nagamattam Chacko.
- Udayagiri (1956) – Pedikkattukunnel Joseph and Ousep Narimattam.
- - - Valiyamattathil Devasya, Tharimattathil Chacko and Vadakkal Devasya.
- Vadapuram (1950) – Kottayckal George, Valyakkalayil Thomas, Kozhimannil Abraham, Udhikkamannil Mathayi and Injikkalayckal George.
- Valillappuzha (1940) – Karingada Thomas.
- Vazhavatta (1948) – Choodiyanga Mathayi and his brothers Joseph and Varkey.
- - - (1949) – Nellinilkumthadathil Joseph and his Children, Nellinilkumthadathil Cheriyan, Mathayi, Panachikkal Paily, Joseph, Neerambuzha Joseph, Kulamballil Thomas and Vandanakkunnel Chacko.
- Vellarikkundu (1946) – Naduvilayil Chacko, Mathew, Vilangayil Joseph, Chomalapparambil Anthony, Koodathumukkil Varghese.

Vellade (1939) – Kuruvina Pakuthiyil Mathayi and Family.

--- (1949) – Ettaniyil Abraham.

--- (1949) Chacko Attrmackel.

--- (1950) Mannur Mathayi and Brothers, Padavail Thomas, Padavil Kuruvila.

Velimanam (1948) – Kadookkunnel Peeli.

--- (1949) – Puthiyakulangara Joseph, Kizhakkepeedikayil Thomas, Menambadath Joseph etc.

Venappara (1944) – Kuzhappil Mathayi and Vandannur Mathayi, Vilangupara Ulahannan, Mathayi, Chacko and Joseph.

--- (1945) – Kallidukkil Kutty.

Vilakannur (1928) – Poranganal Dr. P.A. Mathew and Joseph.

--- (1940) Poranganal Emanuel and his Brothers, Mathew.

Vilakkanthodu (1949) – Thazhethuparambil Kuryan, Mlakkuzhi Devasya, Fransis, Kochukayppel Chummar, Thiruvvely Devasya, Chiramukath Agasthi, Plakkil Devasya and Vallattu Thomas.

Vilangadu (1942) – Dr. Kuryan, Thoppunthalaykkal Kutty.

--- (1943) – Edattu Thomas, Kunnumpurathu Joseph, Choorappoykayil Thomas and Brothers.

--- (1943) Puthanpuraykkal Devasya and Nechakkattu Philip.

--- (1944) Parayil Agasthi and family.

Vilangadu (1941) – Dr. Kuryan Mappilassery, Perumalilkar Choorappoygayil Thomas, Edat Pappachan, Kunnumpurath Joseph..

Valayam - Thadhukunnel Devasya.

Vimalassery (1957) (Jan 14) – Periyankkal Antony, Nhavallykunnel Kunhu, Vadakkekunnel Mathayi, Puthanpuraykkal Mathayi (Mukkulam), Kiolichundanmakkal Thomas, Paikkara Thomas, Melekkoodappattu Joseph, Peedikayil Eliamma, Koonthanam Thomas (Karoo) Anithottathil Joseph (Neelukunnam) Mailadoor Joseph (Arakkulam).

APPENDIX – II

Statement of Orphan Children of Travancore Settlers

The following are the statement of some children of Travancore settlers maintained by different orphanages in Malabar by the Latin Church, about why and how they come to the Orphanages.

Marikunnu Orphanage (Malabar) 5.3.1945

(This place is within six miles of Calicut on the Wayanad road. The orphanage here is maintained by the Latin Church mainly by the efforts of Rev. Fr. Beretta. This orphanage maintains the children of the Travancore settlers who left Travancore and settled near Tamarasseri during the last two or three years in the hope of finding food and living).

- i. Thumi-Girl-My father bought two acres of land and lost it owing to the cleverness of a Mopla.
- ii. Mathai-Boy-My father came a year ago; lived for six of my brothers and sisters returned back to Muvattupuzha in Travancore as they could not find a living here.
- iii. Thomas-My father is at Mukkam (Travancore). We came a year ago. We comprise a family of 12 persons. We grow tapioca.
- iv. Varghese – We came a year back no Athiodi tone of the malarial places near Perambra (30 miles from Calicut on the Badagara road). My mother died of malaria. When I came a year ago they were all suffering from malaria.
- v. Varghese-My family stays at Kunnoth. They all suffer from malarial fever. We came from Arikuzha in Travancore a year back.
- vi. Thomas – We came from Chenganacheri two years ago. My family is at Kuttiyadi. They do not get much work. They are suffering from malaria.
- vii. Chacko-My family stays at Kuttiyadi. My mother died 2½ months ago from malaria. Another mother is there now.
- viii. Mary and Cochu Thresia (two sisters). We came from Travancore two years ago for tapioca cultivation in these parts.
- ix. Anny and Eliza – Two years ago mother died in Travancore. Father never comes and sees us.
- x. Rose Thresia and Eliya – We came from Changanachery, a year and a half ago. My elder brother is maintaining the family.
- xi. Thresia – We came from Meenachil Taluk three years ago. Our family is at Maruthonkara for cultivation. We suffer from malaria here in the orphanage too. They too suffer from malaria. My younger sister died of Karapan (scabies of children).
- xii. Mariam – We came from Alleppey a year ago. Our whole family is suffering from malaria and itches.

Peravoor Orphanage (28.3.1945)

This place can be reached by bus from Cannanore (about 30 miles) or from Tellicherry via Nedumpoyil (about 30 miles). This is an old settlement of Travancoreans, but new families from Travancore have come and settled during the last three years. Rev. Fr. Joseph Kuthur maintains, at present eight poor children of these settlers and sends away other needy children to the orphanages at Kolayad which is with in 10 miles of this place. Fr. Kuthur has started this orphanage from July 1944.

Kolayad Orphanage

(This is an old orphanage maintained by the Latin Church).

- i) Joseph and Chacko – Our family is at Perambra which is one of the biggest settlements of about 500 families colonized by Travancoreans during the last three years. At first we all came here but we thought that conditions should be better there and so we left for Perambra.
- ii) Thangam – I come from Juthiyadi, a Travancorean settlement.
- iii) Anna – Elder sister Aly – We came three years back to Perambra. My father died of malarial fever a year ago.
- iv) Anna and Mary Theresa – We came from Peravoor. Our mother settled at Peravoor a year ago from Travancore.
- v) Rosia and Anna – My father came three years ago from Travancore. I have no mother.
- vi) Maria – My father came four years ago to Maruthankara and returned home back because of malarial fever. It is now three years since I came here.
- vii) Anna and her two sisters – We came from Perambra three years ago. My father and mother came to this colony recently.
- viii) Kuruvilla and three others – We came from Peravoor. Our father settled here three years ago as an Ayurvedic doctor.
- ix) D. Maram and D. Devasi – It is only one year since we came to Peravoor. From there our father sent us to this orphanage.
- x) J. Elizabeth – I came from this settlement. My father came here from Travancore two years ago.
- xi) Theresia – My father Abraham settled two years ago. My mother died. We are taken care of by this orphanage.
- xii) T.B. Elizabeth and E. George – We settled in this area two years ago. We came to this orphanage as our parents could not give us full protection.
- xiii) P. Mathai, P. Chacko, and P. Ely – We settled in this area two years ago. The orphanage is taking care of us.
- xiv) K. Mary, K. Anna – We settled in this area one and half years ago, the orphanage is helping us.

[The whole statements reproduced from Sivaswamy, K.G. et al.,. *The Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles*. (Coimbatore, 1945) pp.37-38].

APPENDIX III -1**Death Registers of Christian Churches****Death Register****Immaculate Church Mananthavady**

Year	No. of Death	Causes of Death
1897	32	Fever
1898	33	Dysentery
1899	14	Food shortage
1900	38	Malaria, Jaundice, Pneumonia, Consumption, Debility, Fever, Swelling, Cholera
1901	25	"
1902	22	"
1903	17	"
1904	22	"
1905	22	"
1906	30	"
1907	34	"
1908	34	"
1909	8	"
1910	12	"
1911	10	"
1912	33	"
1913	23	"
1914	32	"
1915	37	"
1916	10	"
1917	15	"
1918	40	"
1919	20	"
1920	21	"
1921	30	"
1922	22	"
1923	17	"

Year	No. of Death	Causes of Death
1924	17	"
1925	20	"
1926	19	"
1927	18	"
1928	18	"
1929	29	"
1930	36	"
1931	20	"
1932	34	"
1933	28	"
1934	26	"
1935	31	"
1936	25	"
1937	34	"
1938	19	"
1939	37	"
1940	25	"
1941	36	"
1942	76	"
1943	117	"
1944	132	"
1945	52	"
1946	46	"
1947	46	"
1948	69	"
1949	47	"
1950	88	"
1951	66	"
1952	87	"
1953	107	"
1954	70	"
1955	70	"
1956	50	"
1957	16	"

Year	No. of Death	Causes of Death
1958	18	"
1959	17	"
1960	11	"
1961	14	"
1962	15	"
1963	12	"
1964	12	Malaria
1965	11	Jaundice
1966	13	Pneumonia
Year	No. of Death	Causes of death
1967	7	Consumption
1968	11	Debility
1969	10	Fever
1970	13	Swelling, Cholera

APPENDIX III-2

Death Register
St. Cornelius Church, Kolayad

Year	Total Death	Causes of Death
1926	10	Most of the causes of the death were consumption, Jebris etc.
1927	3	
1928	7	
1929	5	Pneumonia death began to see
1930	7	
1931	22	Most died due to pneumonia
1932	16	
1933	13	
1934	24	Debility, pneumonia etc. in 1941, 20 Malaria death recarded in the Register, Ist Malarial death recorded on 25 th January (1941) and buried in the next day in the Church Semithery eventhough other causes like swellings, debility etc. recorded the real causes may be malaria and allied diseases.
1935	19	
1936	9	
1937	6	
1938	12	
1939	14	
1940	17	
1941	48	
1942	42	Of which 22 malarial death.
1943	9	Due to Epilepsy and Cholera many persons died.
1944	23	5 malarial death
1945	17	5 malarial death
1946	12	2 malarial death

Year	Total Death	Causes of Death
1947	9	No malarial death
1948	7	Nil
1949	4	Nil
1950	15	One malarial death
1951	10	Nil
1952	6	Many cholera death
1953	9	"
1954	5	"
1955	11	"
1956	21	"
1957	12	"
1958	13	"
1959	11	"
1960	11	"

APPENDIX III – 3**Death Register****St. Xavious Church St. Joseph's Shrine, Moopanad,****Wayanad District**

Year	Number of Death	Causes of Death
1926	31	Fever, Plague etc.
1927	19	"
1928	21	"
1929	29	"
1930	20	"
1931	26	"
1932	46	"
1933	12	"
1934	18	"
1935	21	"
1936	13	"
1937	11	"
1938	18	"
1939	10	"
1940	16	"
1941	22	"
1942	21	"
1943	13	"
1944	14	Malaria, Fever
1945	13	"
1946	18	"
1947	12	"
1948	12	"
1949	9	"
1950	15	"
1951	13	"
1952	17	Children's diseases- fever, dysentry etc.
1953	21	"
1954	16	"
1955	25	"
1956	18	"

Year	Number of Death	Causes of Death
1957	21	"
1958	15	"
1959	21	"
1960	13	"
1961	15	"
1962	14	"
1963	18	"
1964	12	"
1965	15	"
1966	18	"

APPENDIX III – 4

Death Register
St. Joseph Church Peravoor

Year	Number of Death	Causes of Death
1942	1	Malaria
1943	88	Swelling
1944	145	Dysentery
1945	63	fever
1946	56	Epilepsy, Typhoid, fever
1947		"
1948		"
1949		"
1950		"
1951		"
1952		"
1953	48	"
1954	26	"
1955	Not available	"
1956	" "	"
1957	" "	"
1958	" "	"
1959	38	Infant torture, old age Asthma, Vomitting, etc.
1960	53	"
1961	70	"
1962	67	"
1963	43	"
1964	39	"
1965	45	"
1966	32	"

Year	Total Death	Causes of Death
1967	28	
1968	47	
1969	35	
1970	25	
1971	21	
1972	30	
1973	23	

APPENDIX III – 5**Death Register****Lourde Forane Church Madampam (Sreekantapuram)**

Year	Number of Death	Causes of Death
1943 December	1	
1944	24	Fever – 3
1945	9	
1946	7	
1947	15	Biliousness, Fever Infant torture
1948	13	Infant torture
1949	10	
1950	12	Fever, dysentery,
1951	15	Fever, Infant torture
1952	11	Infant torture, Fever
1953	17	Small pox, Swelling of the organs, Fever
1954	5	
1955	16	
1956	34	Cancer, Diabetes, Fever, Jaundice
1957	15	
1958	13	
1959	17	
1960	10	
1961	16	
1962	22	
1963	19	
1964	6	
1965	12	
1966	22	
1967	18	
1968	17	

Year	Number of Death	Causes of Death
1969	14	
1970	16	
1971	19	
1972	7	
1973	12	
1974	14	
1975	18	
1976	12	
1977	5	
1978	13	
1979	15	
1980	15	

APPENDIX III – 6
Death Register
Holy Family Church Rajapuram

Year	Number of Death	Causes
1943	9	Rheumatism, Smallpox, Torture etc.
1944	26	Dysentery-6, Swelling-5, Fever-5, Rhematism, Cholera, Small pox-3
1945	23	Fever-6, Swelling-3, Cholera, Small pox, Jaundice, Dysentery
1946	11	Cholera-2, Fever-2 Small pox
1947	3	Cholera, Small pox, Fever
1948	12	Old age-1, Vomitting-2, Fever-5, Cholera-1
1949	9	Infant torture-5, Fever-3, Old age-1
1950	4	Old age-1, Infant torture-1, Small pox-1
1951	6	Infant torture, old age
1952	10	Fever
1953	13	Fever, Small pox, swelling, Tuberculosis etc.
1954	15	Fever, swelling
1955	11	Fever, swelling, Tuberculosis, Asthma etc.
1956	17	Fever, Swelling, Dysentery etc.
1957	12	"
1958	19	"
1959	15	"
1960	18	"
1961	24	"
1962	34	"
1963	14	"
1964	9	"
1965	9	"

Year	No. of Death	Causes of Death
1966	11	Tuberculosis
1967	10	Cancer
1968	5	"
1969	17	"
1970	8	"
1971	6	"
1972	6	"
1973	9	"
1974	11	"
1975	10	"
1976	13	"
1977	9	"
1978	10	"
1979	9	Cancer
1980	12	

APPENDIX III - 7

Death Register
St. Joseph's Cathedral Church, Kaniyaram, Mananthavady

Year	Number of Death	Causes of Death
1954	15	Consumption
1955	26	Fever
1956	26	Old Age, Debility
1957	62	"
1958	58	"
1959	46	"
1960	21	"
1961	50	"
1962	36	"
1963	28	"
1964	32	"
1965	36	"
1966	38	"
1967	35	"
1968	31	"
1969	24	"
1970	29	"

APPENDIX III – 8**Death Register
St. Mary's Church, Mullamkolly**

Year	Number of Death	Causes of Death
1959	31	Infant torture, biliousness
1960	29	Fever
1961	40	Small pox, Dysentery, Epilepsy
1962	13	
1963	16	
1964	14	
1965	21	
1966	7	
1967	15	
1968	14	
1969	25	
1970	17	
1971	33	
1972	23	
1973	18	
1974	17	
1975	15	
1976	9	
1977	13	
1978	8	
1979	8	

APPENDIX III-9

**Death Register
of St. Thomas Church Marakavu, Pulpally**

Year	Number of Death	Causes of Death
1962	19	Infant torture, Fever,
1963	27	Asthma, Old age
1964	15	"
1965	16	"
1966	14	"
1967	13	"
1968	11	"
1969	25	"
1970	15	"
1971	16	"
1972	17	"
1973	9	"
1974	8	"
1975	8	"
1976	8	"
1977	8	"
1978	9	"
1979	15	"
1980	4	"

APPENDIX – IV**Medical Personels Served among early Settlers in Malabar**

Name of Settlements	Name of Doctors
Alakkode	Chidambaram – Padichal Vaidyar Raghavan Nambiar [Nadukani doctor] Kooveri Kannan Vaidyar Raman Vaidyar, Naduvil Anakuzhil Kunhu Vaidyar (Pallithara Varghese) Annichal Vaidyar or Elayadathil Madathil Paulo Vaidyar.
Palavayal	Joseph Kadalikatt Herbo minerals treatment. Kunhikannan Vaidyar – Cherupuzha (For anti snake venom treatment).
Chemperi	Kottarathil Vaidyar at Chengalayi
Iritti	Dr. P. Nanu & Ananthan compounder, Sanku compounder, P. Rama Krishnan
Kalpetta	Anandan doctor
Karikotta kari	Nedumund Kunchettan Vaidyar
Koodaranhi	Mathayi Vaidyar
Kulthuvayal	Rev. Ayallur, Kappukattil Vaidyar, Krishnan compounder at Perambra Parakkal Vaidyar Pandikattu Kunhikrishnan Nair, Valayath Chacko, Pulikkal Joseph
Manikkadavu	Velikkakath Pappachan, Maniyanchira Theyamma (specialists in anti snake venom treatment)
Mariya Puram	Manikathu Philip at Angadippuram

Name of Settlements	Name of Doctors
Marudonkara	Ashan Vaidyar, Kezhutt Vaidyar, Thomas Compounder
Nadavayal	Compounder Swami Kannianpetta
Peravoor	Dr. V. Bhaskaran
Pulpally	Dr. Eldo
Sulthan Bathery	Balan Vaidyar Peter Paul Vaidyar Pappachan Vaidyar, Mr.M.S. Father Mathayi Nooranal
Thiruvambadi	Velayudhan Compounder of Mukkam
Vellade	Pacha Ambu (a tribal vaidyar for anti snake venom treatment) Balakrishnan Chettiyar (For the treatment of Jaundice)
Venapara	Rev. Mariya Das

APPENDIX – V- 1**Baptism Register
St. Cornoleus Church, Kolayad**

Year	Number of Baptism
1925	26
1926	20
1927	11
1928	11
1929	9
1930	11
1931	18
1933	25
1932	21
1934	27
1935	25
1936	27
1937	5
1938	31
1939	18
1940	25
1941	31
1942	43
1943	8
1944	34
1945	11
1946	32
1947	NIL
1948	19
1949	38
1950	52
1951	48
1952	70
1953	56
1954	84
1955	58

APPENDIX – V – 2**Baptism Register
St. Joseph Cathedral Church
Kaniyaram, Mananthavady**

Year	Number of Baptism
1951	30
1952	8
1953	51,52,53
1954	96
1955	337
1956	207
1957	253
1958	221
1959	189
1960	163
1961	155
1962	168
1963	175
1964	150
1965	201
1966	268
1967	77

APPENDIX – V - 3
Baptism Register
St. Mary's Church, Mullankolly

Year	No. of Baptism
1956	48
1957	41
1958	62
1959	91
1960	81
1961	71
1962	46
1963	70
1964	72
1965	71
1966	98
1967	113
1968	120
1969	134
1970	128
1971	116

APPENDIX – V- 4**Baptism Register
St. Thomas Church
Marakau**

Year	Number of Baptism
1960	32
1961	59
1962	65
1963	92
1964	95
1965	89
1966	96
1967	107
1968	96
1969	127
1970	118
1971	105
1972	83
1973	64
1974	75
1975	102
1976	61
1977	80
1978	86
1979	100
1980	75

APPENDIX – VI**District wise length of Roads State highways according to functional classification-
maintained by the P.W.D****Kerala State****Roads in Kerala under different departments**

P.W.D roads 16569 Kms

Panchayat Roads 66, 158 Kms

} in 1980

(Source : Economic Review)

Road length in Kerala 1960-1983**Road density**

Year	Length of the road	Length of the road	
		Lakhs population	100 S.q. Km
1960-61	39143	232	101
1970-71	74000	347	190
1980-81	94145	371	242

Category-wise length of roads under Panchayat as on 31-03-1983

Name of District	Black topped and Metalled	gravelled	—	Total
Palghat	833	1047	2939	4819
Malappuram	108	1011	3604	4723
Wayanad	156	3692	5595	9373
CNR	281	262	1490	2033
Calicut	234	1646	2691	4621

Source :Kerala State Planning Board

Length of PWD Roads in Kerala as per Nagpur classification

1973-74 - Total village roads 1679

1983-84 - Total village roads 3338

Distribution of P.W.D Roads by type of surface as on 1 - 4 - 1985 (in km.)

Classification of roads	Cement concrete	Black Topped	Water sound macadem	Others	Total
Village Roads		616.888	504.431	2257.578	3378.947

APPENDIX – VII

Regional Variations in Spoken Language

Malabar	Travancore	Meaning
Akkele, Akkenkilu, Ekkenkili, pakkenkilu, Pakshenkite, Pakkhele	Enkile	It
Ala	Thozhuth	Cow shed
Alambu	Kuzhappam	Trouble
Ammathiri	Atharathil	Of self type
Anneram	Appole	That time
Appiya	Avar	They
Arambarappu	Thonniyasam	Rowdism
Ayentha?	Athentha?	What is it?
Ayibathu	Ambathu	Fifty
Ayinu	Athinu	So what
Ayittal	Athukkoot (Atharam)	Like that
Aynu/Ayinu	Ayirunnu	Was
Badalu	Pakaram	Alternative
Bairam kodukuka	Karayuka	Cry
Beruthem	Sukkedu	Illness
Chaduka	Eriyuka	Throw away
Chaduka	Eriyuka	Throw
Chaduka	Kalayuka	Throw
Chaitan	Chekutham	Satan
Chanku	Kazhuthu	Neck
Cheri	Chakiri	Fibre of coconut
Chola	Thanal	Shade
Choya	Chuva	Taste
Choyichu	Chothichu	Asked
Eda/Ede	Evide	Where
Edangaru	Kuzhappam	Trouble

Malabar	Travancore	Meaning
Emmalu	Nammal	We
Enakku	Enike	To me
Ennaram	Ethuneram	What time
Enthanu	Enthayirunnu	What was it
Iale	Iagale	We
Ijone Kandikko	Nee Avane Kanduvo	Did you see him
Immaram	E Maram	This tree
Indu	Undu	Yes
Ingalu	Ningal	You
Inikku	Enikku	For me
Ippam	Ippol	Now
Ippazh	„	"
Ippo	„	"
Iskool/Uskool	School	School
Ittalu	Ithukkottu (Itharam)	Like this
Jasthi	Adhikam	Too much
Kachara	Vazhakku	Quarrel
Kandi	Parambu	Land
Kani	Chalu	Drain
Karipam	Garbham	Pregnancy
Karuka	Chardikuka	Vomit
Kayinhu	Kazhinhu	Over
Kayith	Kazhuth	Neck
Kedakkammlle	Kidakyil	On the bed
Keeya	Eranguka	Get down
Keeyuka	Iranguka	Get down
Keri	Kayari	Climb
Keyak	Kizhak	East
Kojambu	Kuzhambu	Herbal Oil
Kolli	Kappa	Tapioca

Malabar	Travancore	Meaning
Koyikode	Kozhikode	Calicut
Kui	Kuzhi	Pit
Kura	Chuma	Cough
Kurakkuka	Chumakkuka	To cough
Kuthirika	Irikkuka	Sit
Lesam	Ichare, korachu	A little
Lesam	Kurachu (ichiri)	Some
Mandua	Oduka	Run
Manguka	Vanguka	Buy
Marathimma	Marathimmel	On the tree
Marichini	Marichu	Dead
Mashu	Sir	Master
Masi	Mashi	Inak
Mauthaya	Mazhutkai	Handle of axe
Mayi	Mathi	Enough stop
Menam	Venam	Do want
Menda	Venda	Don't want
Mesamma	Mesayinmel	On the table
Mol	Makal	Daughter
Mola	Illi	Bamboo
Mon	Makan	Son
Moruka	Kazhukuka	Wash
Mou	Mazhu	Axe
Mullan	Kurichi	A type of fish
Murikkuka	Vettuka	Cut
Muyippu-Muzhippu	Kozhupu	Fatty
Nenje	Chanku	Chest
Nenjerichil	Pulichuthettal	Acidity
Nerathemma	Vazhiyil	On the road
Neyal	Nizhal	Shadow

Malabar	Travancore	Meaning
Ninakku	Ninakku	To you
Nituprana	Pettannu	All of a sudden
Nombalam	Vedana	Pain
Nuppattu	Nerathe	Earlier
Oal	Aval	She
Oan	Avan	He
Ooda/oode	Ivide	Here
Opparam	Oppam	Together
Oruthela	Oridathu	At a place
Othukam	Maryada	Good manners
Oulu	Avar	They
Padeemma	Nadayil	On the step
Pai	Pashu	Cow
Painga	Pak	Tender arecanut
Palla	Vayaru	Abdomen
Pani	Kudam	Pot
Paruka	Ozhikkuka	To pour
Payya	Oduka	Run
Payye	Pasu	Cow
Poola	Kappa	Tapioca
Poya	Puzha	River
Poyiki	Poyi	Gone
Sesam	Shesham	After
Suippakkua	Tamasayakka	Make fun of laugh at
Tengumma	Thengimmel	On the coconut tree
Thanniki	Thannirunnu	Has given
Thettam	Attam	End
Thone	Othiri	A lot of
Thoyth	Thozuthu	Cow shed
Thulluka	Chadukka	Jump

Malabar	Travancore	Meaning
Urupia	Roopa	Ruppes
Vanitte	Vannittu	After coming
Vanniki	Vannirunnu	Has come
Vannikku	Vannu	Come
Vayi	Vazhi	Path
Vayyil	Pinnil	Back
Vayyapuram	Pinnampuram	Background
Vedakku	Mosam	Bad
Verungane	Veruthe	Without intention

APPENDIX – VIII
EARLY SETTLERS OF RAJAPURAM

Sl. No.	Name of Head of the Family
1.	Puthupallimyalil Kurian A.F. Poovakulath Kurian
2.	Aundumyalil Chacko
3.	Ullatil Pothan
4.	Mundappuzha Kunheppu A.F. – T. Chandy
5.	Kaniyaparambil Mathayi
6.	Kaniyaparambil Kunheppu
7.	Kocheril Kurian
8.	Chemangattu Chandy
9.	Chettiyath Mathai
10.	Ozhukayil Unni
11.	Charath Ulahannan A.F → Placheri Purath Thomman
12.	Eezharath Thommi A.F → Puthusserikkala Lookka
13.	Eezharath Oonni A.F → Puthusserikkala Lookka
13.	Eezharath Oonni A.F → Muthootti Thomman
14.	Thaitharappel Joseph A.F → Chethalil Mathayi
15.	Thekkunilkkunnathil Thomman A.F → Uthuppu
16.	Padinchattu Myalil Aeppu A.F → Perumanathettu Thomman

Sl. No.	Name of Head of the Family
17.	Padinhchattumyalil Mathan A.F → Valiyaparambil Kuttappan (Chacko)
18.	Kaithamattathil Kunheppu
19.	Sraippallil Ouseppu A.F → Therakathanadi Peeli
20.	Poozhikkalayil Thommy A.F → T. Aeppu
21.	Kallikkattu Thomman A.F → Mulavanal Luckka
22.	Ozhungalil Ulahannan
23.	Ozhungalil Kunheppu
24.	Methanathu Keppa A.F → A.T. Thommas
25.	Methanathu Kochuthuppu
26.	Karupplakkal Chacko
27.	Unnamtharappel Kurian
28.	Orappangal Uthuppu
29.	Chambanni Pothan A.F → T. Oonnan
30.	Alapatt Ulahannan
31.	Cherovelil Pothan
32.	Vazhakkalayil Kuruvila
33.	Thallathukunnel Uthuppu
34.	Vettikkunnel Joseph
35.	Cheruvachikkara Mathu
36.	Methanathu Philippose
37.	Thengumpallil Kunheppu
38.	Cherusseri Kurian
39.	T. Kuriante Sahoodaran

Sl. No.	Name of Head of the Family
40.	Parekkatt Chacko
41.	P.C. Luckose, Perukkarott
42.	Perukkarottu Peeli A.F→ Perukkarottu Mathew
43.	Mooppenayil Chacko A.F→ Kuduntinamkudy Kocheppu
44.	Kudunthinamkuzhy Korakkutty A.F→ Aanimootil Uthuppu
45.	Thengumpallil Kurian A.F→ Kunnathu Thoma
46.	Pezhumkattil Pothan
47.	Kuzhikkattil Mathai
48.	Palathinade Mani
49.	T. Mathu
50.	Kaniyamparambil Thomman
51.	Chakkamkunnel Uthuppu
52.	Methanathu Valiya Uthuppu
53.	Vattapparambil Pathrose
54.	Poothampara Ittiy Oudha A.F→ Nerattupara Mariyam
55.	Adiyayipallil Thomman
56.	T. Kunheppu

* - A.F. Means additional Family. For migration to Rajapuram several applicants were not allotted blocks of land, because the number of blocks were limited to 72. In such cases, those who got blocks of land shared their allotted blocks to their friends or relatives. Such families also migrated to Rajapuram is noted above as Additional Family (A.F.).

APPENDIX IX**EARLY SETTLER FAMILIES OF ALEX NAGAR COLONY**

Sl. No.	Name of Head of the Families
1.	Karottukunnel Mathayi
2.	T. Appachan
3.	Aanimootil Uthuppu
4.	Pannoora Kuriakko
5.	Mullappalli Kutty (Chacko)
6.	Tharappel Chandy
7.	Aanimootil Kunheppu
8.	Nellikakandathil Chacko
9.	Kallidukkil Chacko
10.	Uthirakkalunkal Mariyam
11.	Nadakkuzhaykkal Kuriachan
12.	Nadakkuzhaykkal Kanichavelil Peeli
13.	Kummanikkat Itty
14.	Kavumpurathu Mani
15.	Mavelil Kunheppu
16.	Chennattu Thommy
17.	Mannakulithil Kurian
18.	Kochuvettikkal Lucka
19.	Varikkamakkil Ulahannan
20.	Urumbikkattil Kutty Abraham
21.	Karottukunnel Kuttappan
22.	Nharalakkad Kunnel Ulahannan
23.	Mathalakkattu Chacko
24.	Kosakkuzhil Mathan
25.	Kochuparambil Thommy
26.	T. Chummar
27.	Punnodath Kutty (Ponnuse)

Sl. No.	Name of Head of the Families
28.	Kakkanattu Kunhilu (Ashan)
29.	Kudilil Lucka
30.	Edamana Chummar
31.	Vattakkottel Pothan
32.	Ottakkattil Thommikunhu
33.	Thekkekkunnu Veliyath Abraham
34.	Kaithamattathil Thommy
35.	Erambil Onnay
36.	Nanthiattu Mathai Onnay
37.	Varikkattu Chacko
38.	Elavammuriyil Chacko
39.	Kunnumpurath Uthuppu
40.	Konathananikkal Anna
41.	Makkeel Mathayi Mulethazhathu
42.	Pazhukunnel Lucka and Kurivila
43.	Valel Mathayi
44.	Padinjare Charath Mundupalathinkal Mathayi
45.	Cherukara Thomman
46.	T. Mathan
47.	Puthupilli Myalil Thomma
48.	T. Oomman
49.	Purathettu Esthappan A.F→ Karottukunnel Kuttappan
50.	Njyayappallil Ponnachan
51.	Kuzhivelil Thommy
52.	Elambasseril Kunheppu
53.	Karimbil Ouseph
54.	Poozhikkanadaykal Eppeppu
55.	Kochumeemballil Chummar
56.	Muthuparambil Lucka
57.	T. Chacko

Sl. No.	Name of Head of the Families
58.	Thayyil Thomman
59.	Kandarappallil Chacko
60.	Kaduthodil Ettikkunhu
61.	Tharukakkunnel Kunheppu
62.	Parambett Thomma
63.	Nootyani Kunnel Thommy
64.	Puthanpuraikkal – Cherukuzhangil Mathai
65.	Kallanthodil Thomman
66.	Kollaneratt Cheriyan
67.	Cherumanath Peeli
68.	Kuzhikkattu Chacko
69.	T. Mathai
70.	Malloor Chacko
71.	Padett Peeli
72.	Rayachanattu Kuttan (Abraham)
73.	Rayachanattu Mukalel Ulahannan
74.	Mambuzhakkal Chacko
75.	Kuzhiykatt Etyeppu
76.	T. Chacko Kudilil
77.	Pandarasseril Chacko
78.	Parambett Mathayi
79.	Mulloor Chandy
80.	Aakkakkunnel Thommy
81.	Melandasseril Kora
82.	Pazhempillil Thomman
83.	Kaniyaparambil Kora
84.	Pulimbara Kunhappu
85.	Thozhuthukara Esthappan
86.	Therakathanadiyil Chacko
87.	Payattukala Thadathil Thomman
88.	Therakathanadiyil Onnam
89.	Nedungadu Thommy
90.	Kochuputhanpuraikkal Abraham

Sl. No.	Name of Head of the Families
91.	Elaykkadu Kunheppu
92.	Chittett Kunheppu
93.	Pappanakkara Ulahannan
94.	Kanhiramkalayil Chandy
95.	Chemanathara Pothan
96.	Pulluvattath Kunheppu
97.	Mamoolasseril Abraham
98.	Poovathum Mootil Mathan
99.	T. Mathayi
100.	Erambil Onanpilla
101.	Karimbil Peeli
102.	Koorakkattil Anthony
103.	Vattakkunnel Thomas
104.	Akasala Chummar

APPENDIX – X**EARLY SETTLER FAMILIES OF RANIPURAM COLONY**

Sl. No.	Name of Heads of the Families
1.	Kollalappara Ulahannan
2.	Edayadiyil Kuttappan
3.	Punamachira Mathayi
4.	Thottiyil Onai
5.	Karikkal Luckka
6.	Moozhayil Joseph
7.	Vengacheril Thomas
8.	Vengacheril James
9.	Chakkalaykkal Joseph
10.	Nedumattathil Ulahannan
11.	Pulinhottiyil Thomman
12.	Mambuzhakkara Joseph
13.	Thayikkakath Ettiyavara
14.	Meledath Chacko
15.	Kunnatholayil John
16.	Aanimootil Thomman
17.	Konduppallil Thomas
18.	Nedumthottiyil Kurian
19.	Kizhakkakoot Ulahannan
20.	Pambinanikkal Thomas
21.	Kalluvettankuzhiyil Kutti
22.	Araykka Parambil Lucka
23.	Vettikkanayil Joseph
24.	Puthottukuriakko
25.	Unnaramkallel Kochuphilip
26.	Unnaramkallel Philip

Sl. No.	Name of Heads of the Families
27.	Kurinavelil Kuriako
28.	Kattamala Eppukkutty
29.	Mankudiyil Kutti
30.	Nirappel Lucka
31.	Karimbanachalil Mathai
32.	Kunnathuparambil Chacko
33.	Vazhappallil Chacko
34.	Mambuzhakkara Chacko
35.	Kudiyiruppil Kuttappan
36.	Puraikkatt Mathan
37.	Karikkel Mathai
38.	Kocheril Thommi
39.	Niruvath Uthuppan
40.	Urumbananikkal Thomas
41.	Mavelil Pothan
42.	Mambuzhakkara Chacko
43.	Palathinadiyil John
44.	Kollapparambil Thomas

APPENDIX XI

The Story of a Hindu Colony from Kidangoor (Travancore) to Vayathur (Malabar)

Due to conditions created by the war there was an abnormal rise in the year 1118, in the cost of rice and other food grains and also of tapioca which was the main diet of the people. With the introduction of controlled distribution the quantities available also became quite insufficient. These conditions brought about untold sufferings to the peasant folk of this thickly populated village. Unable to find a livelihood here, they were compelled to emigrate to Malabar. The comparatively low price of paddy and lands and the fertility of the soil in Malabar were also factors in tempting these people to emigrate there. Many people requested me to accompany them to Malabar and find out a suitable place for a settlement. Considering the better conditions prevailing in Malabar in regard to food, lands and labour, I agreed that it was a good idea and consented to accompany them, in spite of the fact that I had little time to spare, and my relatives were against my going with them.

Myself and Mr. Kovur Sankara Pillai went round the whole of Malabar to find a suitable place. At last we secured a place in Padiyur amsom, Chirakal Taluk, which we fixed up with the Jenmi of Kalliyat. As I had no time to remain there, I sent Mr. Kovur Sankara Pillai with another gentleman, Mr. Mekat Balakrishnan Nair to Vayathur. They cleared some jungles there and constructed a shed which could accommodate a fairly large number of people. There were many people who desired to go to Malabar, but had no money with them. These persons were taken by me to Malabar at my own expense. They were Mekat Irukukutty, Iyalik Mathan, Panamundayil Raman, Mundakal Kochu, Pulikkalath Pachan, Nadukepuliyl Kunhuttan Pillai, Manakunnath Raman Pillai and some others. Some jungly places were cleared for them at my expense and they settled there for some time. But very soon all of them caught malaria and had to return back and I had again to meet their expenses. Mr. Nadukepuliyl Kunhuttan Pillai succumbed to malaria and his widow is even now leading a miserable life. The rest of them recovered, though a lot of money was spent for their treatment.

Besides the above, there were some people who sold all their properties in Travancore and emigrated to Vayathur with their families. Some of them escaped the cruel clutches of malaria, but all had to fight against poverty and diseases and having turned labourers, they are leading a wretched life. I have done whatever I could do to help these people also.

1. **Mr. Nedungattil Raman Nair** went to Vayathur with his wife and two children, and cultivated some paddy. But due to malaria he could not even reap the harvest and he lost about Rs.300/-. With the exception of his wife all died on account of malaria.

2. **Mr. Narayanan Nair**, brother of No.1 went with his wife and five children and cultivated some lands. But he had to return due to malaria. Two children died. Lost about Rs.300/-

3. **Mr. Vadakedath Govindan Nair**, went with three daughters and the husband of the eldest daughter. Caught malaria and returned. two daughters died. He lost Rs.200/- and is even now in bed.

4. **Mr. Nallammakuzhiyil Parameswara Marar** went with his mother and his little brother and sister. Started cultivation. Caught malaria. All died except Mr. Marar who lost about Rs.125/-.

5. **Mr. Krishna Pillai** and his wife Madhavi Amma went with their four children. They bought some lands and were running a small shop also. All the children died of malaria and they had to return. Now they are living somewhere near Poongar.

6. **Mr. Varikathikal Narayanan Nair** reached Vayathur and cleared some places. Returned with malaria. Spent about Rs.50/-.

7. **Mr. Pulichakunnel Kuttan Pillai** went to Vayathur and cultivated some land, but caught malaria and had to return. Spent about Rs.150/-.

Messrs. Kovur Sankara Pillai, Kallari Gopala Pillai and Pannanparambil Karunakara Pillai invested Rs.1000, Rs.200 and Rs.1000 respectively and began cultivations along with me. The last two left immediately on account of fever. I had some paddy to be harvested. But due to malaria, lack of labour, and the ravages of wild animals, I could not even reap the harvest. Further, I had cultivated 2 ½ candies ginger and ½ candy turmeric which also I could not reap due to the same reason. I had also 2500 rubber plants, 5000 arecanut plants, 20,000 tapioca, 500 plantains, and a few other vegetable plants. About ¾ of these was destroyed by wild boars. Altogether I lost about Rs.20,000/-

From the month of Dhanu M.E. 1112 the cost of rice and paddy became very high in Malabar. As a result, the labourers could not maintain themselves and the works could not be carried on. Most of the emigrants returned with fever. 50 others who promised to emigrate and for whom lands have been purchased by me refused to do so, gaining by the experience of the previous emigrants. The few who were staying with me were mostly on the verge of death from malaria. I struggled for more than a year at Vayathur, in the hope of making something out of the land in which investments have been made by me. Finding I was only losing more I stopped my colony scheme and returned.

One Mr. Ayyappan Nair and five others have returned from another settlement at Chirakkadavu after suffering much loss and ill-health. Details about them are not known. This report is only about the Vayathur settlers.

There are many people who have emigrated to various places in Malabar from this division and especially from this hamlet. We can know their present circumstances by a detailed enquiry only. I conclude this report in the hope that we, who have been the victims of such severe losses, debts and diseases, will get every possible help.

[Extracts from a Malayalam letter from the organizer of the colony to Mr. K.G. Sivaswamy. Whole letter is reproduced from K.G. Sivaswamy *et al.*, *The Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles* (Coimbatore, 1945)].

APPENDIX – XII

L List of Priests who worked among the settlers of Malabar in the early stages of Migration

Fr. Edward Baretta. S.J.
 Fr. Paul Fernandes
 Fr. Siyaro, S.J., Kairony, S.J., Fr. Joseph Kuthur, Fr. Grigari Thengappuraykkal,
 Msgr. Rodringous
 Fr. Barnabas
 Fr. John Thayyil. S.J., Joseph Peediyekkal, Joseph Chungath, Joseph Kizhakkebhagam.
 Thomas Ayalloor
 Fr. Varthese Thayyil
 Fr. Romeyo Portha. S.J.
 Fr. Kuryakose Kudakachira
 Fr. Joseph, Fr. Abraham
 Fr. Mathew, Fr. Kuryan
 Fr. Kattur Thomas
 Fr. Mukanur Abraham
 Fr. Kuzhimullorath Abraham
 Fr. Kizhakkarkat Augustin
 Fr. Syriac Chemmazham
 Fr. Joseph Mazhuvancherry
 Fr. Abraham Porunnoolil
 Fr. Kaniyanthara Xaviour
 Fr. Fransis Barbosa. S.J.
 Fr. Deshyas
 Fr. George Kazhukkachalil
 Fr. George Fernandess
 Fr. Rossariyo, S.J.
 Fr. Kerubin C.M.I.
 Fr. Athanasiyoos, C.M.I.
 Fr. Bernardin C.M.I.
 Fr. Dhosithevoos
 Fr. Frederick
 Fr. Jacob Kunnappally
 Fr. Gerom Dissusa
 Fr. Michael Pierera
 Fr. Joseph Edamaram. S.J.
 Bishop Leyo Proserpio
 Bishop Aldro Mariya Pathroni
 Fr. James Monthanary
 Fr. Miran Da,

Fr. Lanjer Deeni, Fr. Seeyaro
Fr. Tafarel
Fr. John Secura, Fr. Michael Disusa, Fr. Gonsalvas
Fr. Thomas Ayalloor
Fr. Joseph Pannikkot
Fr. Francis Valayi
Fr. James Nasrath
Fr. Joseph Kattakayam
Fr. C.J. Varkey, Fr. George Pathiyil
Fr. Thomas Pallathukuzhi
Fr. Phillip Murinja Kallel
Fr. Raphel Nadayath
Fr. Athanesious
Fr. Yustus Immathy
Fr. Formees
Fr. Shabor
Fr. Raymond
Fr. Fabiyus
Fr. Bernerdin
Fr. Berkumans
Fr. Fredrik
Fr. Wilfred
Fr. Thoyophin
Fr. Rodrigas
Fr. Hendrisuso
Fr. Teeshyan
Fr. Foustin
Fr. Eppifaniyus
Fr. Sargees
Fr. Hadriyan
Fr. Sipriyanos
Fr. Dositherus
Fr. Barthuloomiyo
Fr. Anthoninoos
Fr. Leyonsius
Fr. Sabeenoos
Fr. Abdiyas
Fr. Liyander
Fr. Phillip Kaniyamkunnel
Fr. James Puthiyidam
Fr. Brockard
Fr. Clodius
Fr. Evaristuss

APPENDIX – XIII
Institutions and Organisations under Various Dioceses in Malabar

All Kerala Catholic Congress (A.K.C.C.)
Apostolic Union
Barmariam Pastoral Centre
Bhaktha Sangatana Commission
Bible Apostolate
Bible Commission
Biblical Apostolate
C.M.I. Sabha
Catechetical Commission
Catechetical instruction
Catholic Mother's Association
Catholic Service Society
Catholic Womens' Council (CWC)
Catholic Youth Movement
Centre For Overall Development (C.O.D)
Charismatic Movement
Commission For Eccumenism & Dialogue
Communication Media
Corporate Educational Agency
Ecumenical Commission
Educational Commission
Family Appostalate Commission
Family Welfare Centre
Fellowship Of Sisters Of Thamarassery
Franciscan Association
Franciscan Third Order
Holy Childhood And Little Way Association
Holy Childhood Association
Jeevan T. V.
Jesus Youth

K.C.S.L
Karshaka Munnetta Samithi
Kerala Labour Movement
Knanaya Catholic Womens Association
Knanaya Catholic Youth League
Knanaya Catholica Congress
Knanaya Cultural Society
Kottayam Social Service Society
Legion of Mary
Liturgical Commission
Malankara Catholic Association (MCA)
Malankara Catholic Youth Movement (MCYM)
Marian Pro-Life Movement
Marian Singles
Marian Sodality
Mariasainyam
Marthamariyam Vanitha Samajam
Mathabhothana Commission
Mathruvedi
Medical Aid Fund Committee
Mission League
Missionary Association of the Knanaya Laity
Pastoral Council
Pastoral and Missionary Orientation Centre (P.M.O.C)
People's Service Society, Palakkad
Pious Association Commission
Priests' Euch League
Propagation of Faith
Propagation Of Faith
Renewal programmes
Social Service Centre
Social Welfare Commission
Society of St. Peter Apostle

St. Joseph's Priests' Provident Fund Society

St. Vincent de Paul Society

Sunday School

Temperance Movement

Thirubala Sakhyam

Thiruhudhaya Madam

Vocation Bureau

Vocation Commission

Vridha Sangatana

Youth Commission

GLOSSARY

Adivasis	- Aborigines
Anayelakal	- Path formed with forest by dragging logs by elephant
Anna	- A coin formerly used (sixteenth part of a rupee)
Bentlinga	- A thread with a small locket of Jesus worn by Catholic Christians
Chettan, Chedathi	- Name given to Christian settlers by the natives of Malabar as they call one another Chettan and Chettathi. These words actually mean elder brother and elder sister.
Devaswom	- Relating to temple and temple administration
Edajenmi	- Intermediary in land relations
Erumadam	- A treetop hut as a shelter from wild animals
Jenmi	- Land lord
Jenmom	- Free holdright over land
Kambondar	- One who compound made for the patients according to the doctors advice
Kanakkaran	- Customary land right holder
Kanan	- A customary land right
Kanji	- rice gruel
Kannadi survey	- A type of land survey
Kappa	- Tapioca
Karayogam	- Local unit of Nair Service Society
Karyasthan	- Manager
Kisan	- Peasant

- Kombavalu Kolavau - A type of land survey instead of chain survey
- Kudil - Hut
- Kudiyam - lease holder
- Maattal pani - Boiling and drying tapioca in sun light for preservation
- Maruka - A cot like furniture made out of Bamboo and wild ropes used for sleeping
- Palmpowder - Sago obtained from the stem of a particular variety of palm tree.
- Para - A measurement for grain 1 para means nearly 13 liters
- Poola - Tapioca
- Urul pottal - Avalanche type land slide due to heavy rain
- Verumpattam - Share cropping without any legal rights over the land
- Vilamurikkal - A type of money lending in Malabar - Advance sale of Agricultural products for nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the market price.

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 Rev. A.D. Mathew, Pallikunnu, 6.11.2001
 Rev. Abraham, Meppadi 6.11.2001
 Rev. Abraham, Moppanad, (Meppadi), 6.11.2001
 Rev. Antonious C.M.I Poolakadavu (Calicut) dt. 21.10.2001
 Rev. Bartholomew C.W.I, Koodathayi, 23.10.2001
 Rev. Dr. Norona Maxwell, Bishop of Calicut, Calicut, 8.7.'89
 Rev. Evaristus C.M.I, Pali 15.9.2001
 Rev. Fr. Joseph Kunnel, Amalapuri (Calicut), 24.11.2001
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