Chapter 6

GROUP INTERACTION AND ADJUSTMENT

6.1 The context of Interaction

In the previous chapter the various factors which operated to bring about a large flow of peasants from the rural areas of Travancore to the hilly regions of Malabar were analyzed and explained. It was found that the single most important factor was the peasant's hunger for land. This has been characterized by Ronald Miller as the peasants' "desperate search for lebensraum" -- the extra space needed by a nation or social group "to grow greater". It was shown that the nature and character of this search for lebensraum was socially determined and collectively oriented.

In this chapter the patterns of peasant adjustment in Malabar will be explored. It will be shown that the third stage of migration, the adjustment stage, is determined by the Travancore peasant's hunger for land. What was the nature of interaction between the in-migrant population and the local population? How did the peasant adjust to the changed physical environment? What was the nature of the relationship between the peasant and the landlord of Malabar? How did the migrant recreate his disrupted "moral economy"? In this process did he introduce new structural patterns and conflict situations into the Malabar society and economy? Did the subsistence economy of the peasant transform itself into the entrepreneurial
economy of the capitalist? What is the nature of the evolving structure of power and privilege in the rural areas of Malabar? These are some of the questions to which we attempt to provide answers in this chapter.

6.2 The Social Milieu

When the Britished annexed Malabar Wynad was controlled by two princes from the plains – North Wynad by Kottayam (Pazhassi) Rajah and South Wynad (in which Sultan's Battery is situated) by the Kurumbranad Raja (for details see Appendix 2). Kottiyoor, situated on the foothills of North Wynad, formed part of the Kottayam raja's principality from very early times. When the Travancore migrants arrived, both regions were sparsely populated, Kottiyoor being almost entirely uninhabited except for a few functionaries of the Siva temple situated in the midst of a jungle and a few tribal households. Both the regions today hum with human activity. One can identify three broad population streams in the two units of our investigation. These are (a) the tribals; (b) other 'local' inhabitants, (c) the 'Travancore migrants'. In order to understand the patterns of interaction it is necessary to describe these population streams briefly.

(a) The tribals

Upto the middle of the seventeenth century, Wynad was exclusively inhabited by tribals.² (the Kurichiyas, Adiyars,
Paniyas, Mullukurumas, Kattu Naikans etc.) Kurichiyas and Adiyars are mostly found in North Wynad and are not represented in our sample.

The Paniyas

The Paniyas, together with the Adiyars, constitute the agrarian proletariat of Wynad, a vast majority of them owning no land. They are considered the most ancient inhabitants of Wynad who were captured and enslaved by the Chetti landlords. Paniyas typically live in groups of 10 to 15 huts (kutumbus) located on uncultivable waste land on hill tops belonging to their landlords.

A type of slave bondage called 'valli' existed in Wynad till very recently. There is a temple near Manantody called Valliyoor Kavu dedicated to goddess Bhadrakali. The fourteen day long festival at this shrine held in March every year is a time of feasting and merriment for the Paniyas and Adiyars. During this festival they need hard cash - to buy clothes, bangles and other luxuries for their wives, daughters or lovers. The landlord seeks out the most able bodied and the most needy paniya or Adiyan and gives him cash advances ranging from 5/- to 30/-. The Paniya or Adiyan who accepts this amount (referred to as nilpupananam) is expected to work for the landlord till the next festival at Valliyoor Kavu along with his wife and children. No Paniya would dare to break this
unwritten law for fear of Valliyooramma, mother goddess of Valliyoor. The cash advance is frittered away within days for what the Paniya considers luxuries in exchange for a whole year of bondage. In addition to the cash advance, he receives a few nothi's (a local measure) of paddy in advance as a survival ration. On each working day a Paniya male receives two seers of paddy and the Paniya female one seer. On days in which there is no work the Paniya has to survive on roots, honey or other jungle produce.

According to the Canannore District Gazeteer, the Valli system is

  disappearing in recent years owing to the pressure of public opinion and the consequent intervention of the Government against its continued practice.

Though not openly done on the occasion of the festival as before it is learnt that the Paniyas get small sums in advance from prospective employers by contacting them in their own houses during the season and undertake to work for them for the whole year.

Each Paniya colony has its headman (Kuttan) who acts as the priest, magician and physician, settles disputes and enforces tribal rules and practices. The Paniyas worship gods such as Muthappan, Kali etc., often a stone in the courtyard representing the god. Ancestor worship also is prevalent among them. Marriage cannot take place without the approval of the headman and is usually arranged by parents. The prospective groom has to pay a small amount as bride price to the parents of the groom, offer gifts to the headman and
arrange a feast for the community. Those who cannot afford these expenses elope with their lovers and are received back into the community on payment of a small amount as penalty.

The Paniyas bury their dead since they believe that the dead man lives even after death and roam about in the neighbourhood as invisible spirits. The dead man's family has to observe pollution (Pula) for a specified period, perform Nikalattam (dancing with the shadow) to propitiate the dead ancestor on the death anniversary. The dead are buried with new clothing on. The right to wear new clothes is the right of the dead only and the Paniya, on buying a new dress will wear it only after putting little dirt on it. 4

The Mullu Kurumas

The Mullu Kurumas, another ancient tribe of Wynad claim that they have descended from the Vedar kings who in ancient times ruled over the whole of Wynad with their capital at Poothadi village, in the vicinity of Sultan's Battery. The last among the Vedar Kings was subjugated by the Kottayam and Kurumbranad rajas. 5 (See Appendix 2). They practiced shifting cultivation, but when they participated in the tribal rebellion of 1812 many of them were dispossessed by the British. They were experts in the use of bow and arrow and were valuable allies in any type of guerilla movement.

The Mullu Kurumas, at the present time, are agricultural labourers and petty cultivators. They live in small colonies
with their well-built houses clustering around a common courtyard in the centre. The houses have several rooms, doors, high foundation and strong roof. The most important building in the colony is the Daivappura (god-house) in which is performed the common festivals, religious worship and cultural events. The *mooppan* (headman) officiates at marriages and ceremonies and settles disputes. Their chief gods are Kariappan, Iyyappan and Kali. Arranged marriages, payment of bride price and polygamy are prevalent among them.

**The Kattu Naikans**

The Kattu Naikans are believed to be the descendants of those followers of the Vedar king who after his capture escaped into the jungle from the hands of Kshatriya princes. They are also known as Thaen Kurumas since they survive mostly on honey collected from the forest. They are one of the most depressed tribes of Wynad. Their languages is a mixture of all Dravidian languages. It is only recently that they have begun to work as agricultural labourers. Before that they used to wander from place to place and hill to hill in search of food. Their social organization is characterized by the importance of the headman, bride price, marriage by elopement, divorce, remarriage, burial of the dead etc. Their chief gods are Mariamma, Marli, Hethappin (Muthappan) etc. The pods of wild cucumber hanging on the roof of their temporary huts serve as their gods, each pod symbolizing a separate god or goddess.
The extreme poverty and helplessness of the Kattu Naikans is expressed by the song they recite at the time of burying their dead which may look to us cruel but is really born out of experiences of a rough and tough existence. They tell the dead man:

Do dig your grave yourself.
We don't have the time to waste.
We got to go sooner. We have to
search for food to put into our
empty stomachs. The dead, after
all, don't need to eat.

b) Other local inhabitants

The essentially tribal region of Wynad came into interaction with other communities after the subjugation of Wynad by the Kshatriya princes. The latter divided up the land among a few Nair families who brought in their dependents and loyalists from the plains of Malabar. The functionaries in the numerous temples of Wynad were also plainsmen. In the wake of Tipu Sultan's invasion of Malabar more plainsmen migrated to Wynad, including Moplah traders, Muslims of Coorg and Hindus who fled from the fury of Tipu Sultan. Some of Tipu's soldiers, after his defeat, also settled down in Wynad permanently. The system of direct payment of land revenue by cultivators introduced by Tipu Sultan further accelerated the rate of settled cultivation and the Gaundars of Mysore and Chettis of Coimbatore acquired large landed estates in Wynad. Several of the inhabitants of
Wynad including tribals, Wynadan Chettis, Nairs and Muslims participated in the revolt against the British led by Kottayam raja. During the revolt the whole region was overrun and population decimated, and the supporters of the raja dispossessed of their properties. The British also introduced an oppressive tax system and appointed several Hindu petty revenue officials, particularly Brahmins of the West Coast, to enforce the tax system. The latter, money from local cultivators, even higher than the enhanced rates introduced by the British and paid a quarter of it to the treasury. They forcibly entered homes of the cultivators, removed the valuables and dishonoured the womenfolk. The accumulated discontent of the people erupted into the revolt of 1812 which was spearheaded, in the main, by Kurichiyas and Kuruma tribals, but also drew wide support from other sections. This revolt was also successfully put down by the British, further reducing the population.

After this, British capital entered in a big way into the plantation sector of Wynad. Several tribals were dispossessed of their land and forced to work as estate labourers. Some local landlords, induced by the enhanced value of land, sold their possessions to the British. This again led to a further decline in the area cultivated by peasants. However, population increased due to the influx of Tamil estate workers. More people from the plains, mainly Theeyas, also started coming to Wynad, due to the
improvement in communications and to take up work in the estates as labourers and supervisors. Even some Christians from Cochin also migrated. In the marriage register of the C.S.I Church at Manantody, we could locate a few typical Christian names as early as 1912.

However, on the whole, till very recently Wynad remained a sparsely populated area probably due to the prevalence of malaria and other epidemics and also due to Europeans abandoning several estates due to adverse market conditions. The starting of the Wynad colonization scheme in the 1940s gave a fillip to population growth. The scheme was formulated by the British government to rehabilitate the demobilised Indian soldiers who had fought in the second World War. The scheme, in its present form, was implemented by the Government of India after independence. An area of 33,802 acres in the villages of Ambalavayal, S. Battery and Nenmeni were acquired for allocation to ex-servicemen. Of this 24,000 acres were owned by government and 9,802 acres were acquired from private holders. The scheme was financed by the PWSR (Post War Special Reconstruction) fund. The headquarters of the scheme is at Ambalavayal (about two kms from S. Battery). Each family was to be allotted five acres of dry land and two acres of wet land. In addition each family was entitled to Rs.2,250/- as grant for land reclamation, house construction, domestic expenditure, construction of well, ditch, fence, latrine etc.
The colony received the first batch of ex-servicemen in 1948, but several of them deserted after receiving the cash benefits. Desertions continued for several years. Only 1917 ex-servicemen have been settled under the scheme. However, by improving communications, controlling malaria and laying down infrastructures for development the Wynad colonization scheme made the task of pioneer peasant migrants easier. Moreover several dependents of the colonists who decided to stay on in Wynad also came to occupy land or to find work.

(c) The Travancore Migrants

The earliest Travancore settler in S.Battery came in 1932 and that in Kottiyoor in 1950. In other parts of Wynad and Malabar the process of migration had begun some years earlier and small settlements had sprung up. Manantcdy was the earliest Travancorean settlement in Wynad. Peravoor, 12 kilometers to the west of Kottiyoor, as noted earlier had a thriving immigrant population; other hamlets like Perumpunna, Kanichiyar and Chungakunnu had sprung up in the extensive private forests belonging to the Kottiyoor temple.

In the major centres of immigration today intergroup relations are governed by regional, religious and caste identities which often merge together. All Travancore migrants are referred to as Chettans (literally elder brothers) irrespective of their religion or caste, although the term usually conveys the meaning Christian. The Muslim migrants in S.Battery reported the local people including the Moplahs addressing them
as "Chettan Kakka" (Kakka is another label for Muslims). In Kenichira, a hamlet of the Pootadi village near S. Battery, there are a large number of Ezhava migrants from Travancore we heard the Paniyas, addressing the former as 'Chettans'.

The evaluation of and the attitude towards each group by the other is determined by the position each group holds in the social structure and its past experiences of the older groups. For the original inhabitants of Wynad, the tribals, the groups of interaction are 'we' and 'the plainsmen' (literally the people who have come from the 'other side of the ghats' (including the Moplah trader-cum-landowners, the Hindu landlords and administrators) and the "Chettans". For other local inhabitants and the Malabar migrants the chief 'out-groups' are the 'tribals' and the Chettans. For the immigrant from Travancore, on the other hand, all are Ee Nattukars("People of this place"). It is in this context that interaction between various groups takes place. Before proceeding further, let us look at Table.37 which gives the numerical distribution of each group in the units of investigation at the present time.

Table.37

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>S.Battery</th>
<th>Settlement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>households</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore Migrant</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malabar Migrant</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local inhabitants</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>households</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore Migrant</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>67.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malabar Migrant</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local inhabitants</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is seen that a large majority of the households in both the settlements are migrants from Travancore. However, each category is heterogeneous in terms of religious, caste or tribal composition. The local inhabitants in S. Battery were, for example, distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wynadan Chettis</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paniyas</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurumas</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kattu Naikans</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naars</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thenyas</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Hindus</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Kottiyoor, on the other hand among the 26 local inhabitants, six were Paniya tribals, seven were Thenyas, two were artisans, five other Hindus and six Muslims. It may be noted that except for the tribals, most households in the Malabar migrant and 'local inhabitants' categories belonged to identical castes. Though some of the castes of Travancore migrants were also identical, they belonged to different subcastes. Thus the Ezhavas of Travancore were identical with the Thenyas of Malabar, up till very recently there was no inter-marriage between the two similar was the case with the Naars and the Muslims. So far purposes of our subsequent discussion on intergroup relations the "local inhabitants" along with the "Malabar migrants" will be treated as the 'host' system.
The initial contact

The sociological literature on migrant adjustment points to the importance of prejudice and discrimination as crucial factors affecting the adjustment of migrants. In the present case, though both the migrant group and the host group were similar in terms of race, colour and language, the migrants had a distinct territorial, cultural and religious identity. Before the unification of the Malayalam speaking region into one political unit, social contact between the people of Travancore and Malabar was minimal. The stereotypes of the Travancoreans as cut-throats, unreliable, and selfish was prevalent in those days. Though speaking the same language, the nuances of diction and expression were different and their dialects varied. People of Malabar were, except the urban dwellers, unaccustomed to the religious worship and practices of Christians.

The migrant coming with his wife, children, bag and baggage, -- a veritable house on the move - perhaps gave the picture of a refugee looking for rehabilitation or a gypsy on the move. One of our informants at Kulathuvayal (near Perambra in Quilandi taluk) said that when the settlers represented to the village officer (adhikari) for ration cards in the early forties he shouted: "Why don't you go back to where you have come from? I shall take out a collection for your return fare". Turning to the village assistant he said: "C.P.Ramaswamy Aiyar
(the Dewan of Travancore) has chased them out and now they are pestering us". The village assistant was more practical and reminded him that if these people, being Christians, complained to the European priest working among them who had a lot of clout with the District Collector, both the adhikari and himself would be out of jobs. Another informant in the same settlement reported that the census enumerators refused to include the settlers in the census count. When they reported the matter to the local Congress leaders (who were Malabareans), the latter threw the petition into the river.

For the ordinary people, the early migrants living in the malaria infested jungle was a strange sight, and thought them to be a new band of tribals. One informant from the Marudonkara settlement (near Kuttiadi, Badagara taluk) summed up the local people's assessment: "The children are good looking, But they live in forest like the tribals. Isn't it the height of madness?" Overhearing the discussion of the calendar between our informant and his brother the local labourers remarked: "So these people know about the month and the year. They do have a little civilization!"

The local people could not reconcile themselves with the habit of beef-eating among the migrants. A typical remark was "these people eat everything in the world, except cotton among things that fly and rope among the things that crawl".

An incident in the Peravoor settlement in which a migrant killed
a cow which had encroached into his farm (the local people used to keep a large number of cows in those days and used to let them roam about in the forest to graze) helped to confirm the belief that the Travancore settlers were an unscrupulous and dangerous lot. Another problem was the practice of purity-pollution. A migrant from S.Battery sample who had earlier settled in Perambra said that the Muslims of Perambra would not step into a stream for a few hours, if the shadow of a migrant had fallen into it. Even the Pulaya labourers who worked for the migrants would not accept food from them initially.

The landlords, on the other hand, were eager to induce migrants to buy their land and engaged agents at major centres like Calicut and Tellicherry where the migrants disembarked after their train journey from Travancore. However, one migrant in our Kottiyoor sample, who had earlier settled at Thiruvampady (Kozhikkode taluk) said that the local landlords thought that the migrants would foresake the lands and go back to Travancore due to malaria and wild animals. Landlords in several settlements used to harass the migrants in various ways, not giving proper receipts and documents, evicting them, selling land already sold to other migrants etc. This often led to physical clashes. The scale of clashes increased with the relative strength of each side. For example, in the Kuttiadi settlement, a rich Christian from Travancore had purchased a large tract of land from a Hindu landlord.
A Muslim middleman, an *odachartukaran*, laid claim on this land and went to the court. The rich Travancore Christian had armed himself with a large body of workers and musclemen to guard against any physical threat from the Muslim middleman. Henchmen hired by the latter, would come to the Travancore rich man's establishment on the back of elephants and try to disband it. Such incidents culminated one day in actual physical clash between the Muslim and Christian rich men who had camped in plush hotels and were expending money to show off their clout. Their supporters clashed outside and the police had to intervene.12

However, neither in S.Battery nor in Kottiyoor such expression of attitudes or incident were reported. On the contrary, what was visible to us was a sort of superiority complex on the part of the Travancoreans. A typical remark, irrespective of religious or caste distinctions among the Travancoreans, was that "these people" (Eee Nattukars) are a "lazy lot", "improvident", "not knowing the value of this soil on which gold can be harvested", etc. But the general belief was that the local people by and large were honest, trustworthy, simple minded etc.

The chief problem of the migrants in both S.Battery and Kottiyoor was the difficulty in getting agricultural workers. The Paniyas used to flee at their sight. This was perhaps partly explained by their past experiences in which
they were exploited by "people dressed in white" who were taken to be the representatives of the government, the landlords, or traders. The nature of exploitation may be gauged by stories narrated by some persons in our sample - both Travancoreans and others. If a Paniya or Kuruma wants to buy a measure of salt or a piece of salmon the shopkeeper would demand from him a pie (which has a double meaning in colloquial Malayalam, -- a paisa as well as a cow). The simple tribal, unexposed to the intricacies and nuances of the cash economy would go back to his house and bring a cow for the shopkeeper who wouldn't be too eager to disabuse the tribal of his misconception. Another story runs as follows: If a Chetti wants to put a fresh torch in his battery, the shopkeeper gives him a fresh torch charging an exorbitant sum and keeping the old torch with him. Some of our Chetti informants said that in those days, an ounce of ghee used to be cheaper than a pinch of salt. Salt, clothe and other "luxuries" had to be brought from Calicut or Coorg and the traders used to exchange them for paddy, honey, pepper or other things at arbitrarily fixed rates.

Moreover, as we saw earlier, the Paniya used to be tied down under servile bondage to land owning families, particularly Chettis and it was not easy for them to sever the connections. Hence the Travancore migrant in S. Battery was forced to bring workers from his native place or rely on family labour. In
Kottiyoor also the migrants had to bring outside workers. Some brought Kurāyas from Travancore and others Pulayas from Palghat and Perambra.

However, after seeing the migrant labourers well looked after by their masters the Paniyas began approaching them for work. The latter paid them in cash, served them meals and snacks; these were unheard of practices in Wynad. A Paniya from S. Battery said that it was after he began to work for the migrant that he went without hunger. Another Paniya, however, said: "Now they have also learnt the tricks from the Chettis. They have reduced the quantity of food and the side dishes have almost disappeared". The following passage from the novel Nellu (Paddy) in which an Adiya character narrates his experiences with the "Chettans" of Trissileri (in North Wynad) expresses brilliantly typical attitudes of Paniyas also regarding migrants: 13

Those days, there, in Trissileri, appear before the mind in flashes. The land that the 'Chettans' had reclaimed from wild boars. The hills that have been cleared of jungle. Paddy and tapioca. If nothing else was available, at least a tapioca tuber could be roasted and eaten. On most days there was work with the Chettans. If ever there was a day without work, the Chettan would give a tapioca tuber and say: "Go, roast and eat it". In this place (Tirunelli) there is nothing but stargation.

Today however, the flush of activity related to clearing of forest and raising plantations on dry land has come to an end, and with holdings getting smaller due to subdivision, there
is not enough work anymore for everybody. Most cultivators, migrant and non-migrant, try to manage with family labour and, so, the Paniya's problem today is less of serfdom or low wages than of getting sufficient days of work.

In Kottiyoor the problem of getting workers was even more since the number of Paniyas or other labouring castes was very small there. Those who could afford, brought outside labour as resident workers (Parthu Panikkars). Some resorted to a sort of cooperative effort. For example, a group of five to ten households come together, buy land in common, clear the jungle and cultivate as a common enterprise. After a couple of years they partition the block among themselves in proportion to the capital each has contributed. Even now a system called Maattal Pani (a kind of exchange labour) is resorted to at peak seasons.

Some Travancore migrants in S.Battery reported resistance from the Wynadan Chettis since the latter were losing their Paniya slaves to the migrants. Similarly, the Muslims were, in the beginning, reported to have been against the migrants "as the tribals were being conscientized about the exploitation they were subjected to". We cannot comment on the objective basis of these attitudes and opinions and are reported here only to illustrate the nature of migrant evaluation of sections of the "host society".
6.3 The Physical Environment

The early migrants had to establish their hearth and farm in the midst of uninhabited jungle: they were greeted by a nature full of savagery and strangeness. Malaria, typhoid and other forms of illness, wild animals, an adverse weather and lack of human contact were the major components of that 'natural setting' in all its primeval glory and madness.

Let us, for example, consider the kind of physical environment which awaited a migrant household from Travancore, or from the plains of Malabar coming to S.Battery in the early thirties. At the site of the present S.Battery bazar, which today is a thriving commercial and administrative centre, there were just a few establishments to prove that in the midst of the surrounding wilderness there was human existence. These consisted of a tea shop owned by a Theeya, a provision shop run by a Muslim, a toddy shop, a Catholic chapel built in the beginning of the 20th century for the families of Europeans and estate labourers at the height of the tea boom, a post office, a village office and a tourist bungalow which gave shelter to an occasional tourist.

Surrounding the 'bazar' was thick jungle growth. The thick tropical trees on high ground was surrounded on all sides by marshy fields abounding in bamboo, wild pineapple and other plants which thrived on water-logging. This wild scene was broken only by isolated colonies of hill tribes and
the Wynadon Chettis. The latter were the landowning cultivators, who worked the paddy fields they reclaimed from the marshes through Paniya slaves. There were a few Muslim traders turned landowners who occupied government forest.

The forest was the favourite grazing ground of tigers, bears, wild elephants, boars and other predators. During monsoons the wild elephant herds would descend on the marshes and paddy fields and feast on bamboo, pineapple and paddy, their favourite dishes. Any hut or other sign of human habitation coming in the sight of the herds would instantly be destroyed. Hence most human dwellings were on tree tops.

During a major part of the year there was biting cold and endless rain. Some early migrants and other inhabitants informed us that even at the height of summer it was difficult to sight the sun. There used to be a frightening calmness broken occasionally by the death-roar of an elephant, the howl of wild fox, the song of a fowl or the tuck-tuck of the woodpecker.

The migrant from Travancore would choose the site of his future farm in this fearsome atmosphere and would construct a make-shift house on tree-top. The jungle was filled with scores of malaria-bearing mosquitos. The biting cold, lack of nutritious food and medical care left members of the household
emaciated and easy prey to malaria, typhoid, cholera, dysentery, black water fever (a type of illness believed to be present now only in Africa) etc. Since almost all their cash was exhausted by the time they arrived and purchased land, several households had to live on papaya, leaves of cucumber, bamboo or jack fruit, just like the tribals. There was hardly any medical facilities available, except the quinine tablets which used to be supplied through the post office. Besides, some migrants armed themselves with a large quota of quinine tablets from the point of origin. Another source of this all-important medicine was the Catholic priest (of the diocese of Calicut) from Vaithiri who used to come to S.Battery once a month. By 1942, an Ayurvedic Physician, a Jacobite, from Moovattupuzha arrived to the great relief of the people. Till malaria was eradicated through the concerted effort of the Wynad colonization scheme, death due to malaria was a regular feature consuming entire families or a major proportion of them.

The Kottiyoor situation does not bear repetition here since in the early fifties the situation was almost the same except for the fact that the climate was a little warmer. In fact, malaria was a dreaded epidemic not only in Wynad and other hilly regions of Malabar but also in Coorg, the Nilgiris and the High Ranges. B.H. Farmer says:
that "malaria had a great deal to do with high rates of mortality and with low rates of population increase" in these regions, and, that "it was especially apt to attack immigrants from less malarial regions".14

He also quotes some malariologists who hold the view that malaria led to actual depopulation of areas of what he calls the Greater Malnad - comprising the Nilgiris, Coorg, Wynad and the High Ranges. Farmer's conclusion reads as follows:

The story of the movement of the pioneer fringe of agricultural settlement into Greater Malnad is thus not merely that of a single, simple advance. Even if one goes back no farther than the middle of the eighteenth century, there has been considerable oscillation of the frontier, with periods of retreat because of such factors as malaria, insecurity, punitive action, the revenue system, and the failure of crops. Some of these factors rely in turn on the position of the area on the forested flank of the great zones of movement and conflict within southern peninsular India.15

The Travancore migrant, however, came not to retreat, but to stay on. However in the earlier phases malaria had a great toll on immigrant lives. About 46 percent of the households in S.Battery and 34 percent in Kottiyoor reported that one of their families members was affected by malaria. 31 percent of the in-migrant families in S.Battery and 27 percent in Kottiyoor deaths due to malaria. 37 deaths due to malaria was reported by 25 families in S.Battery and 28 deaths by 20 families in Kottiyoor. A typical remark by several migrants was: "Even today you can extract the essence of quinine from my body".

The extent of illness and malnutrition was so severe that all
the Muslim migrants from Travancore we interviewed said that no woman from a group of five Muslim families who came together to S. Battery conceived for 14 long years.

The following quotation about the early migrants in Marudonkara shows that malaria and natural adversities were faced by the early migrants in other settlements also.

"Out of the Pallikkathazhathu family comprised of nine brothers, their wives and children and an old mother, eight brothers fell victims of malaria. The eighth one bid good bye to Kuttiadi and went to Thamarasseri -- The wife who has lost her husband; the wifeless husband; orphaned children. They could only cry. "What next? This question pestered the early migrants. 16

Wild animals were another source of worry to the migrants as already noted. Several migrants in both S. Battery and Kottiyoor reported elephants destroying crops and houses, wild boars and monkeys taking away their produce.

Here is a typical situation:

One day Pullatt Kunjamsep and Purayidathil Thomas went early morning to clear the jungle leaving behind in the temporary huts their wives and half a dozen children. There was no other house in the vicinity. It got dark. The husbands had not yet returned. Darkness enveloped the house. Suddenly, they heard a wild roar which reverberated into the four heavens. That was a tiger. The women and children trembled. "Let us recite the prayer for good death" the older among the women told the younger. And they started praying with oil favour. They did not see the tiger any more. 17
However, it goes to the credit of the migrants they were not discouraged by these early difficulties. An article in Malabar Diary in 1951 stated that all migrants came to Malabar in the hope of a better future. But after a few days in Malabar several of them exclaimed. "It was at my sanidasa (evil moment) that I decided to leave my village". The reasons for this attitude, according to the author was the natural difficulties faced by the migrants and oppression by local landlords. However, the author goes on to say:

All the migrants, after successfully fighting against malaria, wild animals and other hardships, have settled down to do agricultural activities. The early pioneers were consumed by malaria. But they lighted the path for later arrivals who find their tasks lightened. Thousand of families became frustrated and destroyed. But they rose again from the ashes, as it were and formed the nucleus for the later spread of migrant settlements. Religious and other facilities gradually started streaking in. The transformation of areas, which once were driving terror to the eye can only be described as miraculous. The fearsome jungles infested with demon gods and goddesses (Kali and Koolan) have today become thickly populated villages.

The fact that several households shifted their residence several times before finally settling down in either S. Battery or Kottiyoor is mainly explained by the difficulties faced by them in those settlements. This included 10 households of S. Battery and 17 of Kottiyoor who were Phase I or II migrants. Chief reasons for the shift were "natural adversities", disputes with landlords and desire to be near kinsfolk.
6.4 Towards establishing a peasant economy

The chief motive for migration as already noted was the intense desire for acquiring land which was the be-all and end-all of peasant hopes and aspirations when migrating. The success and prosperity of the migrant depends on his ability to acquire land and keep possession of it. Hence land and the landlord have crucial importance in migrant adjustment.

Mode of acquiring land

The chief modes of acquiring land by migrants were through purchase, 'illegal occupation' or assignment. Under 'purchase' we include all transactions in which there has been an exchange of money by the transforee to the transferor in lieu of the right in land that is transferred, irrespective of the nature of right involved or the nature of document issued, if any. This qualifier is important because most transactions were legally not recorded and were based on oral agreements (Vakkal Charthy - literally leasing by word-of-mouth). By 'illegal occupation' we mean the encroachment on either government or private land without payment. 'Assignment' refers to the granting of land by government for agricultural purposes.
Table 38

Mode of Land Acquisition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward/Migrant Type</th>
<th>Purchase</th>
<th>Illegal Occupation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transaction Area</td>
<td>Transaction Area</td>
<td>Transaction Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Battery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.M.</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(70.8)</td>
<td>(29.2)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.M.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(35.9)</td>
<td>(33.3)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(65.7)</td>
<td>(29.5)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kottiyoor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.M.</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(87.1)</td>
<td>(12.9)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.M.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(30.0)</td>
<td>(40.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(84.2)</td>
<td>(13.8)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: T.M. : Travancore Migrant
      M.M. : Malabar Migrant

In S.Battery, 12 ex-servicemen (4.8% of total transaction) were assigned 84.00 acres (4.3% of area) under the Wynad colonization scheme. Of this two were Travancore migrants and the rest were Malabar migrants. In Kottiyoor, three Pulaya labourers were donated 0.60 acres by their migrant employers.

Table 38 shows the area acquired by different categories of migrants by modes of acquiring. For all types of migrants most area was purchased. However, the area illegally occupied was quite considerable. The percentage of area illegally occupied
was more for Malabar migrants. Area 'assigned' was applicable only to S.Battery in which 12 migrant households were assigned five acres of dry land and two acres of wet land. Of this 10 were Malabar migrants.

It is further seen that the major of share of area acquired (90.2% in S.Battery and 99.5% in Kottiyoor) were accounted for by the Travancore migrants presumably because they were larger numerically.

Now let us look at land transactions in terms of temporal phases.

**Table 39**

**Land acquisition by Temporal Phases**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Purchased</th>
<th>Illegally occupied</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.Battery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph. I</td>
<td>457.04(40.3)</td>
<td>676.67(59.7)</td>
<td>1133.71(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph. II</td>
<td>260.20(51.0)</td>
<td>166.29(32.6)</td>
<td>510.49(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph. III</td>
<td>271.96(95.4)</td>
<td>13.09(4.6)</td>
<td>285.05(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph. IV</td>
<td>24.83(100.0)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24.83(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1014.03(51.8)</td>
<td>866.05(43.8)</td>
<td>1854.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kottiyoor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Purchased</th>
<th>Illegally occupied</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ph. I</td>
<td>422.0(95.8)</td>
<td>18.50(4.2)</td>
<td>440.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph. II</td>
<td>767.98(70.1)</td>
<td>318.45(29.3)</td>
<td>1086.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph. III</td>
<td>312.41(72.8)</td>
<td>116.40(27.1)</td>
<td>429.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph. IV</td>
<td>48.00(100.0)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>48.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1550.39(77.4)</td>
<td>453.36(22.6)</td>
<td>2004.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Area 'assigned' or donated are not shown in the table.

Here we see significant differences between S.Battery and Kottiyoor. In the first Phase in S.Battery, most of the area was illegally occupied, and the proportion gradually started coming down in the succeeding phases. In Kottiyoor,
On the other hand, the area illegally occupied in the first Phase was insignificant, while in Phases II and III over fourth of the area acquired was illegally occupied. This difference is partly explained by the fact that Kottiyoor was a recent settlement compared to Sultan's Battery. The other reason is socio-political. The British Government, faced with a difficult food situation had offered several incentive for peasants to bring forest land under cultivation under the Grow-More-Food Campaign. Under this scheme, migrants in Sultan's Battery brought large tracts of revenue forests under the plough. However, after the second World War, all such land was reacquired by government for resettling ex-servicemen under the Wynad colonization scheme thereby restricting the scope for land occupation by migrants.

In Kottiyoor and nearby areas, all forest land belonged to the temple. The trustees of the temple, treating temple property as personal property 'sold' lands to peasants from Travancore as early as 1929 in Peravoor, around which a numerically strong, prosperous in-migrant community developed. As the Peravoor 'frontier' was exhausted, the 'old' Travancore migrants of Peravoor and their relatives and acquaintances began to look to Kottiyoor for land.

As the migrant members grew, and with the policy of the Communist government favouring the tillers of the soil, migrants in the post 1957 phase started encroaching on Devaswom land with impunity without payment. As the
problem of eviction assumed political dimensions the
migrants received tremendous political support and encroach-
ments grew in number.

Table 40 shows the area acquired by Travancore
migrants by source.

<p>| Table 40 |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Source</strong></th>
<th><strong>Area (acres)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Percent of total area acquired</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. S. Battery</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue forest</td>
<td>760.25</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore Migrant</td>
<td>394.06</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonization scheme</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malabar Migrant:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonist</td>
<td>86.50</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Colonist</td>
<td>33.32</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Inhabitants:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Chetti</td>
<td>132.74</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal</td>
<td>12.13</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>107.88</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other landlord (outside S. Battery)</td>
<td>222.00</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1762.88</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. Kottivoor</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devaswom</td>
<td>711.22</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore Migrant</td>
<td>566.62</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local inhabitant</td>
<td>76.75</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other landlord (Outside Kottivoor)</td>
<td>639.15</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1993.74</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In S. Battery the chief source of land was the extensive government revenue forests which were transferred to the Wynad colonization scheme. Travancore migrants constituted another significant group. This, as also the area purchased from Malabar migrants was land illegally occupied by early migrants and later transferred to new arrivals. The 107.88 acres acquired from 'other' local inhabitants belonged to a single individual, a Muslim, who is a prominent estate owner and businessman in S.Battery. He had held large tracts of land in illegal occupation and sold them to new migrants. Among the early Travancore migrants land speculation was a profitable business. A person who illegally occupies 100 acres of land, for example, would be only too eager to dispose off a major share of it to somebody else at a profit for fear of eviction. Once land was in the hand of a small cultivators, eviction would be difficult on political and humanitarian grounds. Several respondents from our sample of migrants said that they purchased land from a particular Travancorean Christian migrant who today owns a cinema house in S.Battery, owns several commercial establishments and tea estates. The area acquired from other landlord was outside S.Battery and was accounted for by those migrants who had settled in another village before coming to S.Battery. Some of them abandoned their original holdings or sold them at low rates to new migrants from Travancore and then migrated to S. Battery.
Kottiyoor also follows almost the same pattern. Here the chief source was the Kottiyoor Devaswom, (35.7%) followed by Travancore migrant (28.4%) and local inhabitants (3.9%). If we consider the latter two categories also as theoretically belonging to the Devaswom, almost all land acquired by migrants belonged to the Devaswom. The effect of the migrants acquiring large areas of land in Malabar to the cost of the local landlords and other local people will be dealt with later. Here also land speculation played its part as indicated by the fact that most of the land which were reported as purchased from Travancore migrants from two individuals, both Christians, one presently living in Peravoor and the other in Kottiyoor proper. The latter had also acquired 500 acres at Iritty (in Taliparamba taluk) and sold it in parcels to new migrants from Travancore. 20

In both the villages the pattern is that, the early migrant even the small ones, after occupying a large chunk of land, clearing the forest, and planting it with coconut or pepper or rubber, sells to fresh migrants at a profit. Thus land speculation is an important source of sustenance and economic betterment for the early migrant.

**Type of right in land**

Theoretically the *janamam* right of Devaswom land cannot be alienated permanently. Even for ordinary leasing of land the permission of the Devaswom Commission has to be acquired.
Before the unification of Kerala, the temple property was under the jurisdiction of the Madras Hindu Religious Institutions Commission. In the early days the only form of cultivation practiced in private forest was *punam* cultivation, (a type of slash-and-burn cultivation, equivalent to *cherikal* cultivation in Travancore). Most of the *punam* cultivators were Theeyas. The *punam* cultivator had to pay a portion of the produce as rent to the landlord for which a voucher receipt used to be given. Another type of tenancy practiced was *udacharathy* (the right to remove bamboo from the forest usually for a period of 12 years). Most of the *udacharthukars* in Malabar were Muslims. The timber was used to be given in auction to contractors. It was the duty of the traditional trustees (the *poralara*) of the temple to manage the temple property, keep account of rent receipts and other income and to invest these.

A typical Travancorean migrant did not care what type of right he had in the land which he purchased on *vakhal charthu* (leasing by word of mouth). He perhaps thought that agrarian legislation would go in his favour. An editorial in *Girideepam*, a magazine published by the diocese of Tellicherry illustrate this. We quote here portions of it.

Devaswoms and Kovilakams own million of acres of land. In one survey number alone each *janmi*, Kovilakam and Devaswom owns 50,000 acres or more as *Katumattayam*. These lands have no specified boundaries or legal records. The supervisors of the *janmis*
and Kovilakams are 'managers'; those of Devaswoms trustees.... The tenants enjoy land on Vakkal Charthu (oral lease). No legal document is required for a deal that does not exceed a rent of ₹.200/- (the rent ranges from half an anna to two rupees per acre). The legal formalities were a mockery and one could get a document if proper bribes were given. The Travancore peasant who came to Malabar after selling his small plots considered it a farce to undergo legal formalities.

Price of Land

Our data regarding the value of land show that the purchase price of an average acre was only ₹.95.03 during Phase I. It increased to ₹.319.82 in Phase II, ₹.1,085.76 in Phase III and ₹.426/- in Phase IV.

The sale price of land alienated by the migrant was much higher. When the migrant sold land an average area fetched him ₹.191.09 in Phase I, ₹.701.21 in Phase II, ₹.1,477.32 in Phase III. In Phase IV sale of land was insignificant. The sale price tended to be higher than the purchase price possibly because when the peasant bought land it was waste land, and he effected improvements on it and naturally as it was sold as developed land it fetched higher price.

Land alienated by migrants

The area owned by Travancore migrants at present is only a quarter of the area originally acquired by them. How did they lose it? Table 41 gives the mode of land alienation by migrants.
Table 41

Area alienated by Travancore Migrants in Malabar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>S. Battery Area</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Kottiyoor Area</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sale</td>
<td>791.65</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>1019.50</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partition</td>
<td>261.22</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>428.02</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eviction</td>
<td>175.52</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>44.23</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>53.46</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>17.24</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1281.85</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1508.79</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The percentage of alienated area to total acquired area works out to be 72.7 percent in S.Battery and 75.7 percent in Kottiyoor.

It is seen that in both the villages the bulk of the land acquired by the migrants were sold off by them. Alienation by sale constituted 67.6% of the land alienated by Travancore migrants in the Kottiyoor sample. In S.Battery the proportion was 61.7%.

Next in importance was 'partition' accounting for 28.4 percent of the area acquired by migrants in Kottiyoor and 20.4 percent in S.Battery. While in both villages eviction was the third most important reason, (2.9% in Kottiyoor and 13.7% in S.Battery), the effect of eviction in alienating land acquired by migrants was more acute in S.Battery.

It is unusual for land hungry peasants to dispose off their hard-earned land to such a vast extent. One would have expected the migrants to be desirous of acquiring more and more land, if anything. How then can we explain the large scale alienation of migrant acquisitions by sale? The obvious reason was the uncertainty about retaining possession of land because
they held land without proper documents even after paying money to the landlord, or because they had illegally occupied land. The extent of area lost due to 'partition' indicates that the migrants by the mere act of migration have been unable to successfully meet the basic dilemma of a peasant society faced with population growth and shortage of land. This tendency for partition and fragmentation of holdings will only continue, and since almost all agricultural land has been exhausted, the peasant migrant is again faced with the question: What next?

Since eviction or the threat of eviction has been a constant factor with which the migrants in all settlements have had to live with, we propose to deal with it at some length.

**Eviction and Political mobilization of migrants**

In Chapter three, the complicated feudal organization of the land tenure structure of Malabar was noted and described. Its salient features were:

(a) The concentration of all *janmam* land including forests in a few private hands, mostly local chieftains, Nair aristocracy and temples;

(b) the existence of a large number of intermediaries between the *janmam* holder and the actual cultivator of the soil;

(c) concentration of holdings at the level of the intermediary level also, with powerful *Kanamdars* expropriating the small *Kanamdars*;
(d) the organisation of the large landed estates, which in the absence of proper records and due to the self-aggrandisement by the Karanavan and the Karvasthans, (managers) was in a poor state of management, yeilding low income to the estate owner and extracting oppressive rent from the cultivator thus militating against capital accumulation both at the owner's and at the cultivator's level;

(e) the agitation by tenants for amelioration of their conditions which assumed an acute form in North Malabar with the demand for the right for punam cultivation which was brutally suppressed by government.

Since the migrants came into such a complicated and unorganized situation, it would have been extraordinary if no problems arose between the landlord and the migrant peasantry, particularly when most of the latter belonged to a different religious and cultural ethos than that of the landlord. In a typical Travancorean settlement in Malabar the following types of frictions arose.

1. The Hindu landlord, who is the owner of a vast land-estate, sells a portion of the land to a capitalist Christian land speculator from Travancore, who sells it in small parcels to migrants from his native village. Another claimant to the land, perhaps a nephew of the Malabar landlord, now drags the capitalist landlords to the court and if the latter loses the case the peasants who have purchased land from him are evicted.
2. The Malabar landlord, fully knowing the credulity of migrant peasants from Travancore, receives money from several of them for the same plot of land on oral agreement. This is a cause of quarrels among the migrants themselves. This was the case in Kulathuvayal (Quilandi Taluk) where the Karvasthans of the Kizhakkedathu Kovilakam, cheated the peasants in such ways.

3. An odacharthukaran (a person who has acquired the right over the bamboo in the forest owned by a janmi) sells the land to peasant migrants, again on oral agreement, after having given the impression that he is the real janmi. The latter would evict the peasants asserting his right over the land. This happened in several parts of Kozhikkode taluk such as Mukkam, Thiruvampady, Thamarasseri etc. In the Kuppayakkode and Puduppadi villages in the Kozhikkode taluk, for example, peasant migrants acquired some land from an odacharthukaran. The original owner of the land, the Kottayam Kaja, then transferred the right to another intermediary, a Nair. The latter started threatening the villagers with eviction with the concurrence of the police and the revenue officials. This is how a writer narrates the difficulties faced by the villagers:

......(the land lord) had the full backing of the government. The anti-peasant deeds he engaged in with the acquiescence of the police cannot be described in words. He destroyed the crops and took away the implements used for the preparation of lemon grass oil. No newspaper reported this high handedness.
After having given a general description of landlord-migrant relations in settlements outside our sample villages, which was intended to show that eviction was not a peculiar feature of our sample villages, we now turn to the evictions in Sultan's Battery and Kottiyoor.

**Eviction in Sultan's Battery**

We have noted that the forest area in S.Battery was government 'revenue' forest, one of the few areas controlled by the British as government 'janma'. With the advent of the Wynad colonization scheme, the inhabitants of S.Battery including the migrants, the tribals and other local inhabitants were threatened with immediate eviction from their landed possessions. Faced with the threat of eviction, the peasants, including the migrants and the local inhabitants, organized themselves under the leadership of a Jacobite migrant who was the only graduate in S.Battery at that time and wielded considerable social prestige. At the height of the agitation the leader was given a lucrative post in government. But since several of the peasant's demands was not met he resigned and carried on the agitation till a satisfactory settlement was reached between the old residents and the colony administration. This was a period of unprecedented cooperation and goodwill between peasants of different communities who had congregated in S.Battery from several parts of the Malayalam speaking region. As a result of the agitation modifications were effected in the
byelaws of the colonization scheme in which those who could prove their status as occupants were accommodated as "local residents" and "aboriginals". However, several of them could not prove their title to the land due to the absence of legal documents. Even those who could prove their title, were to be given only two acres of wet land and five acres of dry land as alternative site per nuclear household. It was further provided that persons settled as "local resident colonists" have to pay land value for the land allotted to them by government:

If the land allotted is one which has been acquired, the rate of land value to be collected should generally be the rate at which it was acquired including the solatium. If the land allotted is not an acquired land, the land value should be fixed with reference to the prevailing market rate for similar lands in the vicinity.

It was not assured that the land allotted would be the same as the one acquired and traditionally cultivated by the peasant, and the market rate was higher than the compensation paid to the peasant. Thus the peasant very often received a low compensation for the land acquired from him and had to pay a high premium for the alternative site allotted to him.

Encroachment on the land acquired by colony continued to be a regular feature for several years later. As soon as an encroachment was detected the special Deputy Surveyor was required to prepare a sketch of the plot and a report (Member)
in duplicate and send it to the concerned Revenue Inspector. The special Revenue Inspector will then inspect the encroach-
ment and prepare notice under section 7 of the Land Eviction
Act. If the party does not voluntarily vacate the plot, the
notice will duly be served on the concerned encroacher
and evicted within a specified period.

Serving of notice eviction, destruction crops and houses, squatting again on the evicted plot etc., used to be the regular feature of village life in S. Battery till the late sixties.

With the election of the communist party into power in 1957 there was a general relaxation on eviction with the Government staying eviction procedures of all pre-1957 squatterers. In fact several migrants told us that it was after the coming to power of the Communists that they got a breathing space and the confidence that in the near future they will get the title to the land cultivated by them.

The different stay orders were again nullified in under the Presidents' rule in 1964. The concerned order stated:

Government have issued a series of stay orders in the years 1957, 1958, 1961, and 1962 prohibiting eviction of encroachment on government lands, and recovery of Kuthakapattam dues, prohibitory assessment and penalty in respect of some categories of encroachments with the result that government are not in a position to prevent unauthorised occupation of government lands and also to recover the rightful dues to them.
Therefore government in its revised order cancelled all stay orders prohibiting eviction, decided to collect penalties and other dues for encroachments effected after 26-4-1957, and to collect arrears of payment for the pre-1957 encroachments.

According to the records of the Wynad colonization scheme, by 1962 there were about 1600 encroachments in the colony area covering an extent of 1000 acres. 100 of them were pre-26-4-1957 cases and the rest were after that date. Eviction proceedings had been initiated in 477 cases and eviction was effected in 36 cases comprising an area of 46 acres.25

It is interesting to note that out of a total area of 867.41 acres of revenue forest acquired by our Travancore migrant sample of S.Battery, only 175.52 acres (20%) were acquired for the colony or evicted by colony administration. This meant that before the government could initiate eviction proceedings the migrants had transferred land to small peasants, defeating government action.

**Eviction in Kottiyoor**

In Kottiyoor, as already noted, the chief landlord was the Kottiyoor temple. This temple owned extensive forest areas in several taluks such as Quilandi, Badagara, Tellicherry and North Wynad. The traditional trustees of the temple (the oralars) comprised of four prominent Nair families of
Manathana village, cold land to migrants from Travancore on oral agreements. This happened at a time when temple property could not be alienated without the approval of the Devaswom Commissioner. The money earned by sale of land was not shown in the account books of the temple but pocketed by the trustees.

However, when the pace of peasant migration into temple land assumed the form of a mass phenomenon, and they began to occupy land without any sort of payment to the trustees they were alarmed. They started taking steps to prevent further illegal occupation of temple land.

Kottiyoor was the only place in Malabar in which eviction was attempted on such a vast and pre-meditated scale in which the landlord had recourse to certain indirect methods of eviction resorted to by landlords in the 19th century. Kottiyoor evictions awoke nation-wide interest since the attempted eviction led to one of the most concerted organization of peasants against landlords, united Communists and anti-communists, evoked communal and political tensions, gave birth to a political party, proved the importance of migrants as a potential political force in Malabar and led to the overthrow of the Congress dominated government which was branded anti-peasant and anti-migrant.

The eviction attempted at Kottiyoor, would not have thrown up such passions had it not come after the eviction of the squatters in the Reserve Forests of the High Ranges
(in the present Idikki district of the Travancore region). The coalition ministry which was ushered into power after the 'Liberation struggle' in which the Christians of Kerala under Fr. Vadakken played a crucial role, ordered the eviction of thousands of peasant families who had brought under cultivation government reserve forests in the Udumbanchola taluk. Thousands of families were evicted, their huts burnt and crops destroyed and the refugees consisting of men, women, children and the old were thrown into the forests of Amravati in pouring rain.

It was ironically the Communists whom the Christians had helped dislodge from power who came to the rescue of the poor peasants. Comrade A.K. Gopalan rushed to Amravati and began a fast unto death. The Karshaka Sangham, the peasant wing of the Communist Party, intensified the agitation against eviction.

Fr. Vadakkan, the then undisputed leader of Christian peasants, was in West Germany at that time. On his return journey, at Bombay, he got wind of the news and, even though running a high fever, he rushed to Amravati. Vadakkan’s first reaction was:

"Can this be true? Can a ministry born out of the blood and sweat of myself and a lot of others like me do such an inhuman deed? I glanced at the newspapers again. The news about eviction was correct."

At Amravati people huddled around Vadakkan and implored him to save them and their Comrade Gopalan. Vadakkan replied:
"I will also die for you. Gopalan and I, Communist and anti-Communist will stand together and fight against this eviction". Thus began a historic turn in Kerala politics where the Communists and the poor classes of Christian farmers under Fr. Vadakkan began to cooperate in all matters affecting peasant life.

It was within this context of increasing alienation of Christian peasants from the Congress, which traditionally has been a party of the Christians in Kerala, that eviction was planned in Kottiyoor. It was even alleged that the eviction in the High Ranges was carefully planned by the leader of the N.S.S., Mannath Padmanabhan, in collaboration with Devaswom Minister Velappan, in order to pave way for the eviction at Kottiyoor. In 1961 the Devaswom officials overleased the land belonging to the Kottiyoor temple, including the land already under the possession of migrant cultivators to the Nair Service Society. The lease period was 99 years for lumpsum payment. It was noted in Chapter three that 'overlease' (melcharthu) was a system resorted to by weak janmis in the 19th century to get rid of inconvenient tenants. The interest in land enjoyed by the older tenant is transferred to the holder of the overlease who, often a strong Kanamdar, is able to drag the original tenant to court or even to evict him physically.
After acquiring the overlease the N.S.S. demanded that the peasants cultivating Devaswom land should either vacate the land or secure fresh leases from the N.S.S. Again the Communists and Fr. Vadakkan came to the rescue of the peasants. Public meetings and demonstrations were organized in and around Kottiyoor, in most migration centres, and in the Christian strongholds of the Travancore region. In a public meeting organized at Kottiyoor P.R. Kurup, a Nair M.L.A. belonging to the Praja Socialist Party (Chief Minister Pattom Tharu Pillai belonged to this party) declared:

This is not a problem of the Hindu, or the Christian or the Muslim. I know that the Kottiyoor issue is the problem of a toiling section of the people, the backbone of the country. I know that you are fearstricken due to the deceit wrought by the trustees of the temple.

He went on to challenge the temple trustees to swear by the Kottiyoor 'Perumal' (Lord Shiva) that the peasants were encroachers and that they occupied the land without paying money to the trustees. If so what were the trustees doing for long 12 years? What was the government doing by granting schools, post offices and police stations in Kottiyoor?

On August 9, 1961, representatives of the peasants, under B. Wellington, a lieutenant of Fr. Vadakkan, carrying pepper vines as their flags trekked to the capital covering 400 miles within 26 days. Public meetings were arranged in several places and the processionists garlanded profusely.
At Calicut Keraleeyan, the veteran Communist thunders: 32

This procession reminds one of the 1937 peasant jatha. It was K.Madhava Menon, the Congress Leader who then lead the jatha. Whatever happened to today's KPCC? The Errad rebellion was an unorganized struggle against overlease. The late Varniyam Kunnath Kunjahammad Haji would rise up from his grave if he hears about overlease.

At Calicut a batch of demonstrators from Ambalavayal (near Sultan's Battery) where squatters on land acquired for the Ex-servicemen's colony were to be evicted also joined the main body of the processionists. Another batch from Amaravati joined them at Kottayam, the home district of the migrants. The reception which the processionist received at the Christian centres in Travancore on their way to the capital was enthusiastic. Communal feelings were at a high pitch which tended to be accentuated by the statements and counter statements issued by Mannath Padmanabhan and Fr.Vadakkan. Mannam exhorted the Catholic hierarchy to discipline Vadakkan and disrobe him. Fr.Vadakkan replied that Mannam was a confidence trickster out to extract money from the Kottiyoor forests by kindling the communal fire and called upon the government to arrest him for preaching communal hatred. 33

On their arrival at the capital the Chief Minister refused to meet the processionists. Hence they posted the memorandum which demanded the withdrawal of the permission granted by the
Devaswom Commissioner to the trustees of the Kottiyoor temple to create an intermediary between the landlord and the tenants who were holding the land on oral agreements. This demonstration was instrumental in arousing popular sympathy for the peasants at Kottiyoor. Feeling the need for a strong association of migrant peasants Fr. Vadakkan founded the Malnad Karshaka Union (Hillside Peasant's Union) with John Manjooran as President and B. Wellington as General Secretary.

Meanwhile, pressure was mounting on the Congress Party to speak up against evictions. On September 12, 1961, a combined meeting of the KPCC (Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee) and the Congress Parliamentary party passed a resolution recommending a settlement commission for the settlers of government forests. It also stated that the Kottiyoor-Ambalavayal problem is being misunderstood "because a Catholic priest, in collaboration with the communists is leading the protest meetings." It also accepted that in the ultimate analysis, the Kottiyoor problem was a tenancy problem. The KPCC appointed a six-member committee to enquire into all aspects of the problem. This resolution was not to the liking of the NSS. It considered that there was no tenancy problem in Kottiyoor and that it was wrong to demand that encroachers on Devaswom land should be given legal tenancy. The NSS General Secretary told KPCC that the NSS would not like the former to interfere in the Kottiyoor issue.
Further the meeting of the NSS Directorate board advising the Congress to fulfil its duty instead of being cowed down by the agitators, warned:

Unless the present agitation being launched through wrong means is not ended forthwith, the communal poison being spread by the agitators will lead to communal hatred.

Shri R. Shankar (an Ezhava leader), the Deputy Chief Minister, and the leader of the Congress Parliamentary party replied that as a prominent political party and as a ruling party, the Congress had every right to give expression to its opinions. He also stated that the issue at Kottiyoor and Ambalavayal was fundamentally a humanitarian problem.

The enquiry committee of the KPCC after visiting Kottiyoor submitted its report in the first week of October. However, this report was not officially published till January 17, 1962. It exonerated the migrants of all charges of causing obstacles to the temple functions. The priests of the temple testified to the commission that the present sad state of the temple was caused by the mismanagement of the traditional trustees and that they had no difficulty from the Christian migrants. The committee did not see a single Christian house within six square furlongs of the temple (one of the charges of NSS was that the Christians had encroached within the very courtyard of the temple). The committee found that even a few days before, the trustees had given land on vakkalcherthu (oral lease)
after accepting money from migrants. 38

This was followed by negotiations between the government, the NSS and the representatives of the peasants. However, the talks bogged down on the insistence of the NSS that the peasants should take fresh leases after paying manusham. 39

After the breakdown of the talks, the Malabar Special Police (MSP) was deputed to Kottiyoor. When the MSP reached Kottiyoor on December 6, 10,000 peasants, in a grand show of strength gathered at Kelakam (a village near Kottiyoor). 40 On December 13, the Malnad Karshaka Union (M.K.U) decided to approach the government once again and if the reaction was adverse, to embark on direct action. On the same day C.H. Muhammad Koya of the Muslim League, justified the activities of Fr. Vadakkan and the M.K.U. However, 14 Catholic M.L.As belonging to the Congress party issued a statement condemning Vadakkan for cooperating with the Communists "who were leading a struggle in the name of the peasants of the country with ulterior motives". 41 This statement, issued presumably by supporters of the large landowners among the Christians, drew wide-scale protest from Christians and the All Kerala Catholic Congress issued a statement justifying the stand taken by Vadakkan.

The M.K.U gave a call to start a series of fasts and picketing of the offices of the Congress party and the P.S.P from January 1, 1962. Fr. Vadakkan gave the call for a second 'liberation struggle' against the anti-peasant and corrupt
regime. Popular response was overwhelming. The state reverberated with protest rallies and blackflag demonstrations. When the Chief Minister visited Trichur town on December 29, people greeted him with black flags. The police lathicharged the crowd and caused destruction in the office of the "Thozhilali", the mouthpiece of Malanad Karshaka Union. In several places the rank and file of the Congress Party rallied behind the M.K.U and was in the forefront of the demonstrations. For example, six local units of the Congress party from the Peravoor Assembly Constituency picketed the KPCC office at Canannore on January 1, 1962.

On January 5, the Home Minister P.T. Chacko, a Catholic, met Fr. Vadakkan at the Trichur Diocesan house in the presence of the Bishops of Changanacherry, Trichur and Tellicherry and discussed the Kottiyoor issue for three hours. Though the Communists withdrew their struggle on January 7, the M.K.U decided to intensify the agitation. On January 8, Government appointed a high level committee to inquire into the Kottiyoor issue but the MKU boycotted it alleging that peasants were not given representation in it and that it was filled with NSS supporters.

On January 17, 1962 the report of the KPCCs Kottiyoor Committee was officially published. It recommended that if it was not possible for the tenants and the NSS to meet directly and through legal means with respect to the issue of Kottiyoor
Devaswom land, Government should intervene and try to bring the Kottiyoor land within the purview of Agricultural Relations Bill through the legislative process. In such eventuality the middle man should be removed after paying him adequate compensation and benefit of legislation should be made available to the actual tiller of the soil. At the same time the committee recommended that the legitimate interests of the Devaswom should be safeguarded. It recommended, however, against the eviction of a single household.  

From February 1962, the M.K.U embarked on a series of protest fasts, leading to arrests of several leaders and activists. In the parliamentary elections held during this period, several sitting Congress candidates were routed. At this juncture Fr. Vadakkan felt it necessary to form a separate political party of peasants and workers, "in order to save the peasants and workers from communism as well as from corrupt capitalism". A public meeting was called at the Trichur Town Hall on March 4 and the byelaws of the Karshaka Thozhilali Party (K.T.P) was approved. The meeting called upon the M.K.U activists to withdraw their fast. The resolution was signed with blood. On the same day the Chief Minister visited Trichur. A ruffian threw a stone at the Chief Minister. A lathicharge ensured and 40 youths were taken to the police lockup and severely beaten up.
However, the government had to bow to the mass upsurge from the peasant core of Kerala's hill regions and the overlease granted to the N.S.S withdrawn for good. From that time on there was an inexorable flow of Travancore peasants to Kottiyoor and other areas so that almost all forest cover in Malabar was removed. Only the nationalization of Private Forests in 1971 could put a stop to this.

Nearly half of our migrant sample were present in Kottiyoor during the period of agitation against eviction. Two of them went to Trivandrum as representatives of peasants along with the trekking demonstration led by Wellingdon. All the Christian and Ezhava migrants who were present at that time said they took part in the public meetings and demonstrations conducted in Kottiyoor and nearby places. Ten of them, one a President of the Canannore district Congress Committee in 1977, was a participant in the picketing of the KPCC office at Canannore.

All the Nair migrants from Travancore in our sample came to Kottiyoor during time when the NSS secured the lease from Devaswom. One, in fact, came as a paid employee of the Devaswom. He said that the agitation against eviction was unjust since majority of the migrants were encroachers. The agitation took a communal turn and all ire was turned against the Nairs, and all sorts of abuses were hurled at them. Another Nair migrant, felt that the Kottiyoor agitation was justified. However, in the initial phases of the agitation it was difficult for the Nairs to live in
Kottiyoor since they were considered by the Christians and Ezhavas as the agents of NSS. But later when they found that all Nairs were not agents, but peasants thrown in the same situation like themselves, they were treated well.

The process of becoming a farmer

The peasant cultivator from Travancore who has arrived in Malabar and has acquired a plot of virgin forest land turns all his attention to organizing his new farm. For instance, if he has acquired a ten acre plot of land, in the first year he clears three acres. The valuable timber, if any, which may have been spared by the forest contractor, is preserved for his future pucca house. The wood is cut in January-February and left to dry for a month. When the wood and branches are fully dried, they are burnt down and the peasant waits for the monsoons to arrive and the ground is prepared for planting tapioca, sweet potatoes and wild hill paddy. As the monsoon settles, portions of the plot are planted with tapioca cuttings, sweet potatoes and hill paddy which is broadcasted. The plants grow very fast along with the weeds and removing the weed from the hard, virgin soil is a herculean task. As the monsoon progresses and the plants are half grown wild boars and elephant herds descend on the crops and make a feast of them. To scare away the boars and the elephants, the peasant household makes bonfires and keeps vigil all night armed with a country gun.
To trap the wild boars he plants among the crops tapioca tubers stuffed with crackers. If there is luck the boar swallows the tuber containing the cracker which instantly explodes and kills or maims the animal. The dead boar provides food for the family and its neighbours for several days. But sooner the boars smell the rat and avoid the crackers, in which case the peasant is helpless and has to supplicate all saints and archangels to spare his crop from the beasts.

If our peasant is lucky he has a bumper harvest. But then the problem is to dispose off the produce in excess of consumption needs, which will provide the necessary capital for the expansion of his farm. The produce has to be carried on headload for several miles to the nearest market, but then the price offered by the trader is uneconomic. Usually on his arrival in Malabar the migrant buys tapioca and paddy from the market and till he harvests his first crop he has to live from hand to mouth "selling whatever could be sold" as one migrant puts it. But when selling his first harvest the peasant does not even get one third of the price at which he had purchased the same commodity the previous season. Several of the early migrants said that they did not harvest their tapioca or sweet potato crops and allowed them to perish since even the cost of wages for carrying the produce to the market could not be recovered from the price offered.
In the coming season, our peasant if he has survived malaria and starvation, clears another three acres of his holding and repeats the process as in the previous season. Portions of the earlier clearing is planted with coconut, arecanut, pepper vine etc. and the remaining portions with ramacham or lemon grass. On the coconut field tapioca and hill paddy can be grown a few years more till the trees spread roots all over the fields and become shady. The coconut experiment is usually a failure in the early phases due to the attack of insects. The expansion of area under ramacham and lemon grass drive out the insects since they cannot stand the smell of those plants. Then the way is clear for the expansion of the area under coconut.

Ramacham and lemon grass are highly suited to the soil and since firewood is easily available, extraction of their oil is no problem and has a ready market. The early inhabitants in both S. Battery and Kottiyoor reported having cultivated lemon grass at some point of their stay in Malabar, while ramacham was cultivated only in Kottiyoor. However, as the area under ramacham and lemon grass increased over-production and fluctuations in the market created price slumps and farmers began to forsake these crops. In most migration centres these crops have disappeared. Though the price is high today, the production cost is prohibitive due to the increasing cost of labour and non-availability of firewood necessary
for extraction of the oil due to the disappearance of
the forest. Today no household in Kottiyoor or S.Battery
cultivates lemon grass while ramacham is cultivated in a
small scale in Kottiyoor.

The migrants started introducing never crops by a
trial and error method and as the dynamics of the market economy
demanded. In place of lemon grass the peasants of Kottiyoor
have introduced cashew, rubber and recently cocoa. Infact
cocoa was a craze in the seventies and production was good,
but lack of demand in the world market came in the way of
its further expansion. In S.Battery people have raised small
estates of coffee, the traditional plant of Wynad on their
dry holdings and have introduced superior varieties of
banana, yam, samai, colocasia etc.

Hill paddy grows well on new forest clearings upto
three to four years after clearing. Thereafter the yield
diminishes as the top soil, along with the nutrients necessary
for plants, is washed away by torrential rains. Most peasants
who are hard of capital are unable in the early years of
migration to effect soil conservation measures such as
bunding. Moreover the growth of perennial plants like coconut
or rubber or seasonal crops like tapioca preclude the cultivation
of paddy on dry land. As his source of rice was blocked,
the ingenious migrant peasant of Kottiyoor has converted small
portions of his hilly holding into paddy fields yielding three
crops. The water is obtained from the river Vaveli on which primitive and crude bunds have been constructed by the peasants. The water is carried to the fields through hose pipes which are often miles in length. Some migrants in Kottiyoor claimed that if a proper dam is constructed on the river under the Minor Irrigation Scheme, Kottiyoor village alone can supply the entire rice needed for the Tellicherry taluk.

In S. Battery most migrants own paddy fields. The early migrants reclaimed the fields from marshes. However, due to lack of irrigation facilities only one crop is raised on fields where three can easily be taken. Only a very few people own pump sets. An irrigation work on river Kabani can do the trick but the scheme is bogged down in disputes between the governments of Karnataka and Kerala.

A major problem faced by migrants in almost all settlements till the expansion of the cooperative movement was absence of credit. Raising a farm from the forest is a costly affair. The farmer has to pay the workers, has to buy seeds and seedlings, and provide for consumption requirements of the family. The only source of credit in the earlier phase was the trader-moneylender or the landlord-moneylender. The trader provided credit on a type of pre-harvest crop mortgage usually referred to as Murikkal Prasthanam (literally the system of cutting) in Malabar. The commodities preferred for
Murikkal were pepper and paddy. This system was the prevalent source of agricultural credit for migrants till very recently in both the sample wards. Another source of credit in Kottiyoor was the landlord, who advanced money at over 50 percent interest. All those taking loans from the landlord were Phase I migrants indicating the cordial relationship which existed in earlier years compared to the bitterness in the sixties.

In the previous Chapter we hinted at the tendency of the migrant to replicate social structural patterns of his original village. In the economic sphere also the original structures are sought to be recreated and rebuilt. The cropping pattern, techniques of cultivation, implements used etc. are akin to those which obtained back in Travancore. There is, however, a significant difference. The migrant cultivator is more exposed to risk and uncertainty. The balancing of food crops with cash crops in various combinations results in the diversification of the subsistence portfolio of the peasant and reduces risk. However, being a structural marginal, in Travancore the peasant had no chance of improving his prospects. In Malabar, however, at least in the initial years, the possibilities were limitless, though uncertainties were not insignificant.

The migrant's willingness to experiment and improve makes him a crucial agent of social change in Malabar. The demonstration effect of the migrants' industrious nature has lent dynamism to the society and economy of Malabar.
6.5 Building infrastructures and institutions

The agricultural colonist of the Malabar forests, particularly the Travancore Christian, was an inveterate institution builder. Once he has successfully set up his little farm and there has sprung up a dozen households in the neighbourhood the peasants' attention turns to the creation of infrastructural facilities like roads, places of religious worship, schools, post offices, cooperative societies, libraries, reading rooms etc.

Roads

In some migration centres there were roads constructed by forest contractors for transporting timber, which however, remained in use only during the summer months. In other settlements the entire infrastructure had to be built from the scratches. In the absence of governmental or other institutional assistance the only resource available was collective effort. The migrant turned himself to be a 'surveyor' and 'civil engineer' charting the routes and constructing the roads. These collective efforts usually take an organized form later under the leadership of the Church and the Parish priest. The early settlers of Kottiyoor told us that it was usual, before the Sunday Mass, for the priest, together with the parishioners - men, women, children, the young and the old alike - to contribute a few hours of labour for public purposes like construction of the road, school or church. Later, on the newly constructed
road either a migrant entrepreneur or a local transport owner would ply a jeep or a van and that would be a day of rejoicing and festivities for the villagers.

However, road construction sometimes caused disputes also. A section of the people would insist that the road should pass through their fields. On the other hand, a large estate owner would not allow the road to pass through his estate. This is how a writer describes the resistance to road construction experienced by the people of Nadavayal (near S. Battery) in 1957.

... The estate owners who were the original inhabitants of this place opposed the construction of this road. They did not allow the road to pass through the middle of their coffee estates. And the road could not reach Panamaram through any other route. Matters reached a head. Negotiations followed but a terrible calmness prevailed for a few days...... One fine morning the migrants entered the area with the implements required for the road building. They uprooted the coffee plants and big trees and the road was completed in a single day. It is now part of the Panamaram-Beenachi road which is the nerve of central Wynad.

In this case the disputants were the local estate owners. In the Thamarasseri settlement the opponent was a large estate owner from Travancore who owned rubber estates in Malabar as well as Travancore.

The road connecting Kottiyoor with Manantody through the Palchuram ghat was constructed in 1961-62 through voluntary labour. The Kottiyoor-Mananthana road was constructed in 1969. In an unprecedented show of unity and cooperation
people belonging to all religious persuasions, on the final day of road building, abstained from all other activities and contributed labour for constructing the road. In addition to the fund locally collected through contributions, wheat was supplied by the Catholic Relief Society for providing food to those contributing labour.

S. Battery had a network of roads thanks to Tipu Sultan, the British and the Forest Department. However, the internal link roads were constructed by the voluntary labour of the migrants as well as the local inhabitants.

Religious institutions

Religious worship was another problem for the Christian migrants. For the migrants in the early settlements the Latin priests of the diocese of Calicut provided the necessary spiritual and physical support. When there are at least a dozen households in a particular settlement they represent the ecclesiastical authorities to send them priests. The priests, several of them European missionaries would visit the migrants once a month and say prayers in the residence of one of the migrants. Later, makeshift sheds are constructed in which religious service is conducted. When the number of migrants grew large enough a pucca church building is constructed, again through voluntary labour, and it is raised to the level of a Parish with a vicar posted on a full time basis. The Parish priest of this early church looks after the spiritual
needs of newer settlements where also chapels are constructed which later on become independent Parish churches.

Here is a vivid description of how the migrants buried their dead in the absence of the Priest:48

If the migrants hear that somebody has died, everyone rushes to the dead man's house. They make a coffin from bamboo reeds. Then they carry the dead body to the church. There is no golden cross, no silver cross, nor the ceremonial umbrella, nor the bell. There is no band or accompaniment: no priest, no official prayers. All are labouring migrants. They themselves say the prayers, officiate at the funeral, prepare the grave and bury the dead person. Lastly, after placing a bunch of wild flowers on the grave as wreath, and comforting the relatives, they return to their residences. One particular person who used to officiate at almost all funerals is a respected elder in the village today. He himself prepared the 'holy water' after adding some salt in the water and saying some prayers.

Most of the Catholic migrants followed the Syro-Malabar rite. By 1950 there was a growing demand for the creation of a separate diocese for them. This demand was met in 1954 with the creation of the diocese of Tellicherry. With the establishment of the diocese several new Parish and Forane churches were created and more priests deputed in the migrant settlements. It is claimed by the Church authorities that the establishment of the diocese accelerated the pace and rate of migration and the spiritual integration and material progress of the migrants. The Catholic chapel at S.Battery was elevated to the level of a Parish church soon after the creation of the Tellicherry diocese.
The Jacobites had a full time priest much before this. The early migrants of Kottiyoor had to walk up to Peravoor for religious services. Later the distance that had to be covered was reduced when the Chungakunnu parish church was created. In 1959 a chapel under the jurisdiction of the Chungakunnu parish was established in Kottiyoor which eventually became a separate parish in 1961.

An interesting institution which developed around religion in both Kottiyoor and S. Battery was the Masakoottam (literally, monthly gathering) in which matters of common interest was discussed, collections for public purposes including helping the needy was taken and future activities planned. All this point to the fact that religion provided a focus of solidarity and identity for the migrant uprooted from his familiar surroundings, and the leadership provided by the priest was an important contributing factor in migrant adjustment. This perhaps explains why, though in the early phases of migration some non-Christian groups also had migrated, they could not keep up the momentum.

Religion, however, has not always been a unifying force. This is clearly indicated by the vertical division among the Jacobites of S. Battery induced by certain disputes at the hierarchical level. The fight is between the Bava faction and the Metran faction. At the height of the disputes the rival faction constructed a separate church right in front of the older church. A few days before our arrival in S. Battery
the peace of the area was marred by physical clashes between the rival factions. It resulted from an incident in which some young men belonging to the rival faction interrupted the priest while preaching in the church. The priest is alleged to have caught hold of one of the young men and given him a good thrashing. This resulted in physical clashes between people of the rival factions and the police had to intervene.

We observed the intense competition between the two factions at the annual festival in the Church in which rival functions, one excelling the other, were held and money was poured by each faction to outdo the other.

**Educational institutions**

Another major problem faced by the migrants was the absence of educational facilities. For the early migrants, migration to Malabar meant no education to children. In the Kottiyoor sample the migrants had to do with a person who opened a kalaris (traditional village school). The aasan (village teacher) himself was a migrant and his fellow villagers offered him all incentives. In most migration centres the kalaris and the aasans constituted the only source of education. In some centres teachers had to be brought specially from Travancore paying them special allowances. Admittedly, this arrangement is not satisfactory and could not continue for long.

Once the need for a formal school is intensely perceived by the migrants they form a school committee, mobilize
resources including land, material and labour and send petitions to the Education authorities for establishing schools. If there is a priest he usually takes the initiative, though assisted by the school committee. Even today in Kottiyoor there is no high school. Though the people have constructed a granite building for the purpose, the sanction for opening the school has not been granted. The nearest high school is at Kelakam, six k.m. away. An Upper Primary school under the management of the NSS and a lower primary school under the management of the J.N.D.P. (Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Sangham - an organization of the Ezhavas) function in Kottiyoor.

Till a school was started under the communist regime at Chungakunnu in 1958, there was no facility for sending children to school. Some early migrants of Kottiyoor reported that the Parish priest of Chungakunnu, under whose jurisdiction Kottiyoor then was, prohibited his parishioners from sending their children to a 'communist school'. This was a hard nut to crack for the migrants desirous of education for their children, and several of them defied the ban. This goes to show that though the Catholics have a very strong attachment to the church and the priest, when some very vital secular issues are involved they are not hampered by that loyalty.

In S.Battery there was a Lower Primary school much before the arrival of Travancore migrants. But the nearest
High School was at Kalpatta, 13.k.m. away. The Jacobites started a school which grew into a High School, but it has been brought under government management. The Assumption U.P. School under the management of the Catholic church was started in 1965. The establishment in 1969 of the only College in Wynad, the St. Mary's College in Sultan's Battery, under Jacobite management and with financial assistance from the Malayala Manoroma, a well-known Malayalam daily, owned and managed by a prominent Jacobite family was indeed a great achievement.

**Other institutions**

Though with the construction of the school, the church and the road, part of the material and spiritual needs of the migrants were satisfied, they were not content with them. They started efforts for getting post offices, Police Stations, and cooperatives established as well as getting electric supply. In both S.Battery and Kottiyoor a major achievement of the migrants was the successful organization of cooperative institutions. The Sultan's Battery Service Cooperative Bank was started in 1951 with 11 members and a share capital of Rs.65/-. Today this society claims 4000 'A' class members, 15,000 ordinary members share capital of Rs.10 lakhs, deposits of Rs.20,000/- and working capital of Rs.seven lakhs. It received the award for being the best managed primary cooperative bank in the whole of Kerala. It
pays to the members the largest dividend paid by any 
cooperative bank in Kerala. The cooperative movement has 
helped to eliminate the trader-cum-moneylender from the 
aricultural scene.

A Service Cooperative Bank was established in 
Kottiyoor also in 1978. Though its achievements are not 
anywhere comparable to the S. Battery Society it is doing 
commendable service in extending agricultural loans to the 
farmers.

6.6 Conflict with the tribal economy

The alienation of land belonging to the tribal groups 
has been a recurring problem in the Wynad. The data presented 
on land acquisition by the migrants revealed that some migrants 
acquired land from the Chettis and the tribals. Though the 
area transferred to the migrants has been marginal, it 
constitutes a substantial portion of the area previously held 
by the tribals.

Table 42

Land acquisition and alienation by tribals and W. Chettis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste/Tribe</th>
<th>Owned at the time of colonization</th>
<th>Purchased Total</th>
<th>Taken over by mort-colony gaged</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Chetti</td>
<td>310.00</td>
<td>18.37</td>
<td>328.37</td>
<td>202.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuruma</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>38.25</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Tribals</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15.69</td>
<td>15.69</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>346.00</td>
<td>36.31</td>
<td>382.31</td>
<td>202.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is seen that the Wynadan Chettis who were the major landowning group prior to the advent of the Wynad colonization scheme was the major sufferer because bulk of their land was taken over by the government for the colony. The Chettis were forced to alienate over 82 percent of the area in their possession. Three fourth of the alienated area was acquired for the colonization scheme, and nearly one fifth was lost due to partition among heirs. Sale and mortgage was a minor item. The Kurumas alienated one fourth of the area in their possession by sale or mortgage. The other tribals constituted of Kattu Naikans and the Paniyas did not possess any land at the time of the establishment of the colony. After that they "illegally" occupied 15.69 acres of forest land, of which they alienated by sale or mortgage nearly 64 percent.

Now let us go into some individual cases of tribal land alienation so as to indicate the nature of exploitation involved. One Kuruma headman had been allotted land under the Wynad colonization scheme as 'aboriginal colonist'. Twelve years ago he borrowed ₹.300/- from a retired Moplah school master to repay an old debt which had been incurred by his father. The debt could not be repaid in time and the Moplah seized two acres of paddy land from the Kuruma. After a year, the headman needed money for marriage expenses and to conduct a ceremony in honour of his ancestors. So he mortgaged three
acres of dry land to a Christian migrant from Travancore after taking ₹2,000/- from him. The Christian migrant subsequently succeeded in getting Pattavam (a document conferring ownership right) issued in his name. Another Kuruman mortgaged two acres of his land 10 years ago to a Muslim on taking a loan of ₹110/-. Later he sold 0.50 acres of dry land to a Christian migrant for ₹1,500/- of which, ₹850/- still remains unpaid as balance which the buyer is refusing to pay. A Kattu Naikan said that his half acre of paddy land was encroached upon and occupied by a Christian migrant from Travancore during his three months absence from S. Battery.

The complaints received from tribals by the Tribal Welfare Department at Manantody are similar to the cases we have reported. For example, a Kattu Naikkan at the Nenmeni village sold one acre of wet land to a Theeya for ₹3,500/- through a commission agent, who belonged to the Kuruma tribe and he received ₹500/- as commission. As per rules ₹2,000/- had to be remitted as tree value etc. to the Administrative Office at Ambalavayal by the seller. This means the tribal concerned secured only ₹1,000/- for his measure of land. Later, the Naikan sold another 0.50 acres; in this transaction a former member of the State Tribal advisory board and the kuruma mentioned above were involved as commission agents.

An Urali from the same village complained that he had leased out to a local Muslim the wet lands assigned to him by the Wynad colonization scheme. The petitioner alleged that the
Muslim was neither paying rent nor vacating the plot. The Muslim claimed that he had remitted to the colony administration all dues and that the petitioner had no right in the land any more. The original owner was made to sign on a document whose contents were unknown to him at the time of the lease transaction.

Here is another case of deception, by making the illiterate tribals sign on blank documents: The petitioner had taken a loan of Rs.150/- from the Madakimala Service Bank. Being unable to repay the loan he mortgaged 0.48 acres to a local Muslim. A document was registered at Sub-Registrar's Office, Vythiri and the petitioner received Rs.210/-. After a year the mortgagee evicted the petitioner from his plot. Only later did he realize that the document on which he had signed was not a mere mortgage but a registered theeru deed. The land was then transferred by the mortgagee to a Theeya. It passed two more hands after that.

The problem of tribal land alienation was brought to telling effect to the public by the struggle of the Kurumas against the authorities of the St. Mary's College, S. Battery. In 1969 the college was allotted 50 acres of grazing land belonging to the Wynad colonization scheme for purposes of building the college campus. Some families of Paniyas, Travancore Pulayas and Kurumas were staying on this land for several years. Negotiations were started by the college
authorities and revenue officials for the voluntary vacation of the land by the "squatters". Each family was offered alternate site and financial assistance for building hutments.

There was not much resistance by the Paniyas and Pulayas. However, some of them told us that they did not get the promised land and cash. They were made to sign on a document to the effect that they had received alternative land and cash payment. One Paniya, who represents this ward in the Panchayat (this ward is reserved for scheduled tribes), said that he exhorted his people not to vacate the plot. "But the elders, happy at the liquor and tobacco offered by the College Committee did not listen to me," he said. He himself physically resisted and as a result was given 0.30 acres of land in another place.

The Kurumas were not a lot to be so easily cowed down. They claimed on the basis of Panchachets (rent receipts of cultivation on revenue forest) that 25 acres of land now allotted to the college was in their possession for several years. Further 1.5 acres of this area they were using as their traditional burial ground. Although they voluntarily surrendered the bulk of the area to the college on the understanding that alternate sites would be given, they decided to hold on to the area used as burial ground "due to their sentimental attachment" to it. The revenue officialas and college authorities
attempted to evict them physically, but they resisted under the leadership of the Wynad Adivasi Swayam Sevak Sangh (WASS). In a petition to the Chief Minister the WASS asked:

In view of the decision to give pattayam to all Kairasakkars (those who were holding land in good faith) of revenue land what is the justification for depriving the Kurumas of their holy site? What is the urgency of taking over this narrow strip of land which is like a tail while more suitable sites under illegal occupation of other persons are available very close to the college campus? Are the officials willing to adopt the same methods of burning down huts and destroying crops belonging to encroachers of other categories?

Several protest meetings were held in S. Battery against the injustices done to the Kurumas. The Mathru Bhoomi newspaper quoted a spokesman of the Kurumas as saying that they were not against the college or its development efforts. The real issue was whether it was justifiable to follow the policy of evicting poor people and sparing the big guns.

On January 5, 1970 the Sangham warned that unless the evicted people were reinstated before 17th January they would forcibly occupy the land. The Kurumas kept the word and on 18th January several Kurumas and the general secretary of the WASS were arrested and beaten up in lock up. In February at the intervention of leaders of several political parties negotiations were started for a peaceful settlement of the issue. The Special Revenue Inspector ordered, "to stop eviction" temporarily "since the Collector or the Additional
district magistrate is visiting Sultan's Battery". 57

In the end the Kurumas won the battle and retained possession of the burial ground. However, the bad blood created between the adivasis on the one hand and all "outsiders" including the Travancoreans, the ex-servicemen colonists and the migrants from the plains of Malabar on the other, will rankle for several more years in public memory.

The evolving power structure

Now we may compare the different categories of households in terms of access to land. Table 43 shows the area owned by migrants and others.

**Table 43**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
<th>Percent of households</th>
<th>Area (acres)</th>
<th>Percent of total area</th>
<th>Area per household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Travancore Migrant</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>889.34</td>
<td>73.4</td>
<td>5.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malabar Migrant</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>84.91</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Chetti</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>61.05</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>8.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>31.77</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other inhabitant</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>144.80</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>3.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1211.87</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures for the two wards studied are combined.

It is seen that only Travancore migrants and the Wynadan Chettis own area more than their share in the total number of households. The Chettis have the largest per household
availability of land, though it is no where near their previous position as the chief landowning group in Malabar. It may also be clarified that most of the area belonging to the tribals, are in fact owned by the Kurumas, while a majority of other tribal groups are landless.

A better picture of land distribution will be obtained if we consider households by size of holding.

Table 44
Size of holding by categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landless Upto 0.99</th>
<th>1.00-4.99</th>
<th>5.00-9.49</th>
<th>10 &amp; above</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trivancore Migrants</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6.55 82</td>
<td>246.75 39 274.68 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.6)(10.4)</td>
<td>(0.7)(53.3)(27.7)(25.3)(30.9)(10.4)(40.6)(100)(100)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Migrant</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9.49 6</td>
<td>11.41 10 64.01 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(12.2)(48.8)</td>
<td>(14.6)</td>
<td>(24.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.Chetti</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 13.50 3 27.00 1</td>
<td>20.55 7 61.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(42.8)(22.1)(42.8)(44.2)(14.4)(33.7)(100)(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribals</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.70 4</td>
<td>19.86 1 6.21 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(57.7)(23.1)(17.9)(15.4)(62.5)(3.8)(19.5)</td>
<td>(100)(100)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Inhabitants</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.25 11</td>
<td>51.80 3 24.50 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(39.5)(18.4)(3.6)(28.9)(35.8)(7.9)(16.9)(5.2)(43.7)(100)(100)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>26.99 106 343.32 56 396.40 19</td>
<td>445.16 266 1211.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13.5)(18.4)(2.2)(39.9)(28.3)(21.0)(32.7)(7.2)(36.7)(100)(100)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is seen that the proportion of landless among the tribals and other local inhabitants is quite high while among Wynadan Chettis and Travancore migrants it is insignificant. 19 households own
10 acres or more out of which 16 (84\%) are Travancore migrants. In fact the latter predominate among the households owning five acres or above. From this one should conclude that economic power in the two ards under investigation is in the hands of the migrants from Travancore. However, it should not be forgotten that this is true only for interior villages. In fact the large landowners as well as businessmen who are local inhabitants are found living in the S.Battery Bazar area. They are not represented in our sample. Similarly the chief landlords of Kottiyoor live at Manathana village. Though they have alienated much of their lands, they have received a lot of cash from government by way of compensation at the time of giving proprietorship to tenants. This they have invested in buildings and business. Similarly in the cities of Calicut or Tellicherry the migrants have not made much impact though their products find their way into the market in these centres. Thus only in the interior villages, where the migrants have numerical superiority, they wield economic power.

A significant feature of the evolving economy of the two wards is that most of the large migrant landowners are businessmen also. All those persons who own 10 acres and above, excepting one Chetti, own shops and establishments in the bazaars of S.Battery or Kottiyoor either renting them out or running their own business. Some of them also engage in money-lending.
Most of the landless are engaged in agricultural labour while some are engaged in non-agricultural labour. Several of the households who own less than five acres (both migrant and non-migrant) work as non-agricultural wage labour, particularly in S. Battery, where they work for forest contractors as loaders and unloaders of timber on contract basis.

Another indicator of the emerging power structure is access to agricultural credit and participation in rural institutions. Our data indicate that over 56 percent of loans taken by our sample households from cooperatives in S. Battery was accounted for by Travancore migrants, while nearly 90 percent in Kottiyoor was accounted for by them. The Presidents and majority of members of the cooperatives were Travancore Christian migrants. Since the Panchayat elections had not taken place at the time of study we could not ascertain the strength of migrant and non-migrant groups.

To conclude this chapter on the adjustment stage we found that the tendency of the peasant migrant was to transplant the original village structures into the Malabar setting. This was evident in his attempts to bring kin, friends and workers from Travancore, introduce cropping patterns and systems of production practiced in Travancore, establish churches, schools and other infrastructures for development etc. The demonstration effect of hardwork and success of the migrants has lent an element of dynamism to the Malabar agrarian scene. The successful
mobilization against eviction, facilitated by religious loyalties and attachment has transformed the agrarian structure of Malabar and has led to the breakdown of the feudal land organisation. Though the contact between the migrants and local population was marked by the prevalence of certain stereotypes and prejudices, on the whole it was peaceful and accommodative. Tension between the migrants and the local inhabitants have occasionally emerged. The latest manifestation of this was the recent clash between headload workers and migrant farmers which spread like wild fire in several migration centres. The farmers organized themselves into "Farmers Protection Committees" with the support of such parties as Kerala Congress, a party dominated by Catholics, both factions of the Indian National Congress, etc. The head load workers were supported by the C.I.T.U, the trade union wing of the Communist Party (Marxist). The chief conclusion of this chapter is that the collective character of migration, based as it was on religious and kin identities, determined the pattern of migrant adjustment also. Though class polarization has been visible, within the migrant group itself, religion has worked to minimize the accentuation of this polarization. However, the operation of capitalistic tendencies and pauperization of a large number of peasants within the migrant group itself due to subdivision of holdings, may, in future, further attenuate the class division among the migrants.
Notes and References

1. R.E. Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1976, p.190. Also footnote on p.29. Miller says that the inmigration of Travancore Christians to Malabar has "brought about a new situation for community relationships and the personal friendships that always existed between individuals and smaller groups must now be enlarged into a general pattern of living together".


5. Kerala District Gazeteers, Canannore, p.181


8. Ibid. p.538


12. This incident was narrated to us by a former supervisor of this particular Travancore rich man. He confided to us that the Muslim rich man offered him bribe several times to go over to his side. He ruefully wishes he had accepted the offer. For even after several years of loyal service to the Travancore rich man, what he got in return was half an acre of forest land.


15. Loc.cit.
16. A. Thonippara, op. cit., p. 164
17. ibid., p. 165
18. Varkey M. Maruthanamamkuzhy, "Malabar Colonikal" in Malabar Diary, 1(4) July 1, 1951, p. 11.
20. "J.N". writes in Girideepam that land speculation was a profitable business in Malabar in the early days of migration. A well dressed rich man from Travancore in a brand new car would contact the Malabar landlord. The latter, needy of hard cash, is only too happy to sell him land. "The rich Southerner's chief source of income is timber. After removing the timber, he sells the land in small parcels to small peasants. His own plantation estate is raised at the most convenient site". J.N., Girideepam, 3(1) 1963, July, p. 21.
A.K. Gopalan says: "These hardworking peasants expected some how to eke out a bare existence if they could get hold of a small plot of land. So they did not stop to think for a moment about legal documents". A.K. Gopalan, op. cit., p. 59.
23. Wynad Colonization scheme, Byelaws, p. 3.
25. Wynad Colonization Scheme, "Brief Notes", section 10., "Encroachments in the main Colony".
28. ibid., p. 143.
29. Fr. Vadakkan says that Mannath Padmanabhan and certain Christian big guns planned to establish huge estates in Malabar after getting the poor peasants evicted. However, it would have been politically dangerous to evict the cultivators of the private forests to begin with. So the ground had to be prepared by evicting people from government forest on the apparently justifiable plea that it was required for irrigation projects. See Vadakkan, op.cit., p.146.

30. In July 1, 1961 the Thozhilali reported that the Government had allowed Devaswom authorities to overlease temple land to N.S.S for a period of 99 years.

32. Thozhilali, August 18, 1961.
33. Thozhilali, August 6, 1961
34. Thozhilali, September 13, 1961.
39. Manusham is the amount to be advanced to the landlord when the tenant takes land on lease.
An editorial in Deepika (daily) managed by the Carmelite religious order of the Catholics said that the statement issued by the Catholic M.L.As wounded the feelings of the community. Deepika, 20 December 1961.
42. Thozhilali, January 2, 1962
43. Thozhilali, January 18, 1962.
44. Byelaws of the Malnad Karshaka Union.
47. Jose Muttam, "Nadavayal Kal Noottandiloode", in Holy Cross Church, Nadavayal, Blessing and Immigration Silver Jubilee Souvenir, 1976, (to be referred to as Nadavayal Church), p.47.

48. Ibid., p.39

49. The controversy between the Metran's faction and the Bava faction had roots in the demand of a large section of the Jacobites of Kerala for an autonomous status from the Patriarch of Antioch. This led to the ex-communi cation of the leading Keralite Bishop, Metropolitan Geevarghese Mar Dionysius and his followers by the Patriarch in 1909. The latter appealed to Patriarch Abdul Messiah of Turkey who was senior to the Patriarch who had excommunicated them. Abdul Messiah declared the excommunication invalid and appointed a Catholicos for the church. In 1958, the Supreme Court upheld the legal rights of the Catholicate and the Patriarch of Antioch recognized the Catholicate. However, in the 1970s the schism re-emerged and the faithful ranged themselves into two warring camps. See Menon Sreedhara A., Kerala District Gazeteers, Ernakulam, Govt. Press, Trivandrum, 1965.

50. Fr. Mathai Nooranal, "Vayanad Annum Innum" (Mal.) in Nadavayal Church, op. cit., p.87.


52. We are grateful to the Tribal Welfare Officer, Manantody for giving us access to the register of complaints received from Tribals.


54. Ibid.


57. Notification from Special Revenue Inspector, Sultan's Battery, Blocks II and III, dt., 25.1.70.