APPENDIX - 1

Note on Procedure and Method

The settlements of Travancore migrants, numbering over two hundred, are spread out in the highland parts of all the five present-day districts and a dozen taluks in the highland parts of Malabar. Each migrant settlement has its own personality and unique characteristics. For one thing, there are regional variations between the settlements with regard to land tenures and problems connected with it though there are broad similarities. Secondly in each settlement majority of the migrants originally belonged to certain close and contiguous villages in Travancore. Thirdly the composition of local inhabitants, and the context for interaction also differs. Some of the settlements were entirely uninhabited before migration. Others were mostly populated by tribals, still others by Theeyas or Muslims etc. All these result in social structural variations between settlements.

Therefore, the ideal approach would be to take a representative sample of settlements from all taluks where there are significant migrant populations. This, however, is beyond the scope of an individual Ph.D. Scholar, due to the limitations of time and resources which a study of such magnitude involves. Hence our strategy has been to make case studies of two selected settlements of Travancore peasants. The criteria used in the selection of settlements were the following:
1. One should be a fairly old settlement (one which developed before the second World War) while the other should be a relatively recent one (post-independence settlement).

2. One should have a heterogeneous migrant population in terms of caste and religious background, while the other should be a settlement predominantly of Syrian Catholics.

3. The composition of local inhabitants should be heterogeneous in one settlement, while the other should have been largely uninhabited before migration.

4. In one settlement land should be under government ownership while in the other it should be in one or a few private hands.

5. Eviction and peasant mobilization against it should have been recurrent events in both settlements.

With these criteria in mind we toured several migrant settlements in Malabar, interviewed about 50 early settlers, local inhabitants, religious authorities etc. This provided a wealth of insight and information regarding the development of peasant migration to Malabar.

In the light of these visits and discussions we decided to select one ward each from Sultan's Battery and Kottiyoor Panchayats. Sultan's Battery conformed eminently to the criteria of 'ancientness', 'heterogeneity', and 'public' ownership of land; and Kottiyoor to 'recentness', 'homogeneity', and 'private' ownership of land. Attempted eviction and successful mobilization
against it was a common feature of both the settlements.

Now to the rationale for not selecting a revenue village or a Panchayat but settling on the ward of a Panchayat. In Kerala the Revenue village is an artificial creation of administrative fiat and not a unit of social interaction. The dispersed character of Kerala's village complicates the picture, because what we may call as the 'folk' conception of the village is at variance with and cuts across administrative boundaries. The 'ward' of a Panchayat, in our view, approximates more to the folk conception of village. Most wards have their own little commercial centres where people congregate for tea, liquor, gossip, sale-purchase and several other social purposes. At least in Christian dominated villages the boundaries of the ward and those of the parish church usually coincide. In fact the commercial centre usually clusters in the vicinity of the Parish church.

Moreover, both the revenue village and the Panchayat in Kerala are very large administrative units both in terms of population and area. This is truer for the in-migrant villages which have developed as adjunct of old revenue villages and have grown bigger than the 'parent' villages to which they are attached. For example, a village in Udumbanchola taluk, an immigration centre, has perhaps the largest population of any village in India - 63,466 persons.1 Sultan's Battery village has an area of 11,240.79 acres and a population of
22,733 persons. The Kappad village, in which Kottiyoor is situated, has an area of 11,0950.57 acres (including a large area of forests) and a population of 32,495 persons.

These were some of the reasons why we finally settled on the ward. Out of the seven wards of Sultan's Battery Panchayat and five wards of Kottiyoor Panchayat, one each was selected for the purposes of study. In this study the wards selected are referred to as ward of Sultan's Battery (or simply S.Battery) and ward of Kottiyoor (or simply Kottiyoor). The wards selected had a large in-migrant population, but also had some local inhabitants. The voter's list of 1977 parliamentary elections was used to identify households by migrant status. Through discussions with the Panchayat Executive officer, old settlers and inhabitants, social and political workers and church authorities we were able to identify the heads of households as well as their migrant status.

For the purposes of the study 'migrants' are defined as persons born in other taluks than the ones to which their present villages of residence belong. Among the 'migrants' two categories are distinguished: Travancore migrants (those born in one of the Travancore taluks but presently living in one of the taluks under investigation) and Malabar migrants (those born in one of the taluks of Malabar but not the one in which they presently live). All the other households were referred to as 'local inhabitants'.
From the households thus categorized a 25 percent proportionate random sample distributed differently in terms of religion/caste was drawn. If the number of households in one particular caste/religious group was five or less, all of them were taken.

The final sample consisted of 154 Travancore migrants, 41 Malabar migrants and 71 local inhabitants. Table 45 gives the details of the universe and the sample.

Table 45
The universe and the sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category/Ward</th>
<th>Sultan's Battery Universe Sample</th>
<th>Kottivoor Universe Sample</th>
<th>Total Universe Sample</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Travancore Migrant</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>73</td>
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<td>Christian</td>
<td>224</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ezhava</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulaya</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nair</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malabar Migrant</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theeya</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulaya/Cheruma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Hindu</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>56</td>
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<td>8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Inhabitants</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wynadan Chetti</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theeya</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Hindu</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuruma</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paniya</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naikan</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The chief source of information consisted in interviewing heads of households selected, discussion with critical informants comprised of old settlers, religious and political leaders, local officials etc. All the interviews were done by the researcher himself during the course of his stay in Kottiyoor and Sultan's Battery. We also profited a great deal from visits to neighbouring settlements such as Ambalavayal, Pulpally, Kenichira etc. This was in addition to visits to the earliest settlements mentioned above.

Other sources of information were newspapers, vernacular periodicals catering to the migrants, pamphlets, petitions, unpublished manuscripts, records of churches, records of the Wynad colonization scheme and the Tribal Welfare Office, Manantody etc.

The data collected were hand tabulated and analyzed by the researcher. In collecting, processing and analyzing data, the researcher profited from the fact that he himself belonged to a migrant family and this provided him insights regarding the migrant situation. Though it may have introduced certain unconscious biases we have tried to be as objective as possible.

Notes
Sultan's Battery

Sultan's Battery is located 60 miles north-east of Calicut city on the Calicut-Mysore frontier road. It is 21 miles from Vythiri, the headquarters of the erstwhile South Wynad taluk. From British times till the formation of Kerala the whole Wynad region was a single taluk; in 1957 it was divided into North and South Wynad taluks with Manantody and Vythiri as headquarters. Sultan's Battery belonged to South Wynad. Recently Wynad has been reunified to form the new Wynad district with headquarters at Kottathara.

Sultan's Battery was formerly known as Ganapathi Vattam (the circle of god Ganapathi) and was renamed after Tipu Sultan who erected a fort at a nearby place called Kottakunnu (the hill fortress) on his successive forays into the Zamozin's Kingdom through the Wynad ghats. Sultan's Battery was a British military outpost during the revolt by Pazhassi Raja (the ruler of the Kottayam principality). The Panamaram Kotta (the palmyra tree fort) which was the stronghold of the Pazhassi Raja for several years is only a few kilometres north of Sultan's Battery. Pulpalli, where the Raja was shot down by the British is twenty kilometres east. At Pulpalli is the renowned temple dedicated to Sita and her sons Lava and Kusa. This temple owned vast forest areas on which another settlement of Travancore peasants developed in the late 1950s and where also eviction was a
recurring problem. Sultan’s Battery was a great Jain centre in the olden times and the ruins of an ancient Jain temple are still visible in its vicinity.1

Nestling on the crest of the Western Ghats, Wynad is an extremely beautiful part of nature. Geographically, it is a continuation of the Mysore plateau with an average height of 3000 ft. above mean sea level, dotted with peaks rising to a level of over 6000 ft. at several places. The terrain is marked by undulating peaks and valleys. On the northern boundary of Wynad is the Coorg district of Karnataka and on the Southern tip is the Gudalloor taluk of Tamil Nadu. (there is a large number of Travancorean peasant settlers in the Gudallor taluk, the eviction of whom has been a source of irritant between Kerala and Tamil Nadu during recent years). The traditional approaches to Wynad from the rest of Malabar have been the Tellicherry-Coorg road on the Periya pass passing through Manantody, (built by the British during the Pazhassi revolt), Calicut-Mysore road through the Tamarasseri pass (built by Tipu Sultan) and the jungle path through the Kuttiadi pass (extensively used by the Pazhassi guerillas to harass the British garrisons during the monsoon). The latter is being converted into a highway connecting Kuttiadi (in the present Badagara taluk) to Korome and Manantody, the two important centres in North Wynad.

Claiming a bulk of the tribal population of Kerala, Wynad is a veritable cultural mosaic and the anthropologist's
paradise. Archaeological excavations have unearthed evidences of the existence of an ancient civilization through the length and breadth of Wynad. Even today tribals form a major portion of the population of Wynad. According to the 1971 census over 27 percent of the total tribal population in Kerala was in the North and South Wynad taluks. Prominent among the tribals are Kurichiyas, Mullu Kurumas, Urari Kurumas, Kattu Naikans, Paniyas, Adiyars etc. Another old community is that of the Wynadan Chettis, believed to have come from the Coimbatore district of Tamil Nadu. The Gaunders of Mysore were the chief landlords of Wynad. After the conquest of Wynad by the chieftains of Kottayam and Kurumbranad, the Nambiar and Nairs from the plains were given large landed estates in Wynad. The Theeyas from the plains came chiefly as estate labourers and clerical staff in the European owned tea and coffee plantations. Several Muslims from Mahe, Tellicherry etc. came as traders and also acquired landed estates in Wynad. The latest wave of immigration into Wynad has been that of the peasants from Travancore.

The history of Wynad has been a progressive subjugation of the tribals by the people from the plains. Popular history has it that Wynad originally was ruled by a wild hunting race called the Vedars, with their capital at Poothadi (a village near Sultan's Battery). A Kshatriya prince of the Kumbla principality (now in Hosdurg taluk of Canannore district) came on a pilgrimage to the Vishnu shrine at Tirunelli, about five kilometres from Manantody. The Vedar raja captured him
and insisted on his marrying one of his daughters. The Kshatriya raja was reluctant to marry a tribal girl, but when the Vedar raja insisted, he agreed on condition that the marriage would be conducted according to Kshatriya rights. During the preparations for the wedding, the prince secretly sought the help of the rajas of Kottayam and Kurumbranad. The forces of the latter rajas arrived disguised as members of the marriage party and besieged the Vedar raja in his fort and killed him. The tribal girl was given in marriage to a person of the Nambiar caste to whom was entrusted the administration of Wynad. The Kottayam and Kurumbranad rajas divided Wynad among themselves, the Padri rock half way between Sultan's Battery and Meenangadi being designated as the boundary.

After the Pazhassi revolt was suppressed Wynad passed into the hands of the British. In Wynad, as in the rest of Malabar, the British encouraged plantations. British capital began entering the plantation sector in Malabar with the opening up of a plantation at Anjorakandi (in Tellicherry taluk) by the English East India Company in 1797. Though several plantation crops were tried like coffee, pepper, nutmeg, clove and cinnamon, the latter alone flourished. The estate at Anjarakandi (only five kilometres from Kottiyoor) is today Asia's largest plantation of cinnamon, covering an area of 500 acres. Around 1825 one Captain Bevan of the 27th Regiment, EIC, Madras Native Infantry who was put in-charge of the garrison at Manantody introduced coffee into Wynad. Between 1830 and 1840 the 'Pew' estate and the estates
of Messers Glasson, Richmond, Morris and others were opened. Tea was introduced into Wynad by Parry and Co. from 1892. Many coffee estates were converted into tea gardens. Vythiri in South Wynad is a centre of tea plantations. However, compared to Travancore, the British planters were not too enthusiastic to invest in the Malabar region probably due to the better incentives offered by the Travancore rulers and due to the difficulties in getting land leases on favourable terms in Malabar where most land suitable for plantations were in private hands.

The plantations helped in population growth of Wynad due to the influx of labourers and administrative staff from Tamil Nadu and the plains of Malabar. By extending communications, controlling malaria and such other killer diseases and expanding transport, trade and other types of non-agricultural operations the plantations laid a strong infrastructure for the growth of Wynad's economy.

Kottiyoor

Kottiyoor, which is on the foothills of the Periya pass leading to North Wynad, is located in Tellicherry taluk at a distance of 64 kms east of Tellicherry town.

Tellicherry taluk (formerly Kottayam taluk), in which Kottiyoor is situated, was the domain of the Kottayam (also known as Pazhassi) rajas who exercised independent authority from the Chirakkal and Kurumbranad rajas. By the end of the
17th century the Kottayam principality shared Tellicherry taluk with the Iruvazhinad Nambar and controlled North Wynad and the small nad of Tamarasseri (comprised in the erstwhile Kozhikode and Kurumbranad taluks).

The 18th century, however, witnessed the annexation of Kottayam rajas' territory by the British and his revolt against British domination. The raja raised a large body of guerillas comprising Nair chieftains, Kurichiya tribals and some Muslims and shook the foundations of the British rule in Malabar. During that glorious guerilla struggle, the forests of Kannavam (22 kms. east of Tellicherry on the Periyaghat-Manantody road) and Kottiyoor provided shelter to the guerillas. Remnants of a British garrison are still visible at Manathan village. Heroic though the struggle was, the native forces were outnumbered and outgunned and they became wanderers in the forests of Tellicherry, Kurumbranad, Kadathanad and Chirakkal and were hunted down one by one. Pazhassi Raja's life came to an end at Pulpally on November 30, 1805. The people of Malabar refer to Kottiyoor as the Varanasi of the South, because it is the site of an ancient Siva temple. At the annual festival in this temple lasting 27 days (from 14th June to 12th July) nearly 1,50,000 devotees from all parts of Malabar congregate. Till the migration of people from Travancore caught on the temple stood in the midst of a thick jungle and the devotees had to wade 19 kilometres on foot through forest from Peravoor, the nearest human settlement. The Kottiyoor temple was one of the chief landowners of Malabar owning 30,000 acres of private forests.
spread over into the taluks of Badagara, North Wynad and Taliparamba.

Local folklore has it that the temple stands on the site where Daksha, the father-in-law of Siva performed his famous Yaga (sacrificial offering). Siva and Daksha were sworn enemies though the latter's daughter, Sati Devi was Siva's consort. Inspite of Siva's warning and protest, Sati Devi decided to attend her father's Yaga. Siva, foreseeing the ensuing peril to his wife, ordered a party of demons (bhootas) to accompany her lest some harm befall her. Several places in the vicinity of Kottiyoor have been associated by popular belief with stages of Sati Devi's progress on her trek to the Yaga site. It is believed that Sati Devi set out on her journey from the shrine at Manathana village. The place where Sati Devi felt sorry for leaving Siva is called Kundhayam (derived from the Malayalam word, Kunditham - sorry), the place at which she thought of not proceeding further on the trek is called Pokathottaruvu, the place where she became tired is called Alathamchal (Alasyam - tiredness), the place where she speeded up her journey is called Vegalodi (ran very fast), the place from where she surveyed the Yaga site from a distance is called Neendunokki, the place where she slowed down her journey on reaching the vicinity of the yaga site is called Mandamcheri (Mandam - slow).

On reaching the spot of the yaga, Sati Devi was abused by her father. Unable to bear the humiliation she immolated herself. The enraged Siva killed Daksha and the gods, fearing great catastophe
at the untimely end to the yaga, entreated Siva to revive Daksha. After conceding this wish, Siva, sorrowing at the death of his consort sat in meditation at the site of her self-sacrifice.

It is said that a hunting party of Kurichiyas (the prominent hill tribe of Wynad) accidentally struck a granite slab with an arrow at which blood started oozing from the stone. The puzzled hillmen reported the matter to Padinjatte Namboodiri, a renowned Sanskrit scholar, who called in four prominent Nairs of Manathana village. On digging up the site the Nairs discovered a Siva lingam (the male fertility symbol). It is claimed by the Ooralars (traditional trustees) of the Kottiyoor temple, that the so called naluveetukars (members of four families) are the descendants of the Nairs who discovered the Siva lingam. The Padinjatte Namboodiri ordered the construction of a temple dedicated to Siva (Swayambhoo - the self-created one) at the site. The temple is located on the banks of the river Baveli. Infact there are two shrines - one on the eastern bank of the river (Ikkare Kottiyoor) and one on the other side (Akkare Kottiyoor), three kms, from the main shrine.

From ancient times the Kottiyoor temple was under the jurisdiction of the Kottayam raja. It is said that the Kottayam rajas had appointed a parliament (Maha Adiyandira Yogam) having representation of all caste and tribal groups in Malabar to manage the affairs of the temple and its properties. However, later on the entire management passed into the hands of the four
traditional trustees and for several years the 'parliament' was not called. 8

The trustees sold the ooranna (trusteeship) right to (A.D. 1868) Chirakkal raja in 1043 Malayalam Era for a price of Rs. 46,000. In 1869 the Chirakkal raja tried to remove the gold deposits in the temple which was prevented by the Kottayam raja through legal proceedings. The case dragged on to the Privy Council, but the Chirakkal raja could not establish his jurisdiction. Through an agreement with the traditional trustees, the Kottayam raja took over the administration of the temple as head of the Maha adiyandira yogam. Later on the traditional trustees obtained an injunction against the Kottayam raja and repossessed temple administration.

Under the traditional trustees there was gross mismanagement and the affairs of the richest temple in North Malabar was in a very sad state. The temple which owned 30,000 acres has hardly 6 acres today. This is how a devotee reports the matter. 10

The members of the 'four-families', using their old power and adhikari position, annexed most lands of the devaswom as their private property. They sold the meditation site (Tapovanam) of Siva to immigrant peasants from Travancore in small parcels. Trees costing lakhs of rupees were sold to contractors. By 1961 a major portion of 30,000 acres of land had been alienated. The remaining forest land was leased out to the Nair Service Society for 99 years at Rs. 2/- per acre even without demarcating the boundaries of the temple around which stood
the forests. No place was left for the pilgrims to rest, to collect bamboo reeds used as prasadam and other articles for temple use. No firewood was available to cook the offerings to god. The Trissilery paddy fields of the Perumal must have trembled on seeing not even 12 measures of rice in the temple granary which ought to have had at least 12,000 measures.

The traditional trustees never cared to construct even a public urinal for the use of the devotees though every year lakhs of rupees are collected as offerings by the devotees. Against this sorry state of affairs some devotees united and formed the Kottiyoor Perumal Seva Sangham in 1964. Due to their struggles some more persons were appointed to the trustee board besides the traditional trustees and today the management is vested in the reconstituted board. The Sangham has been able to build public conveniences and resting places around the temple for the use of the pilgrims. The Sangham claims that it was due to the pressure it exerted on government that the lease of forest land to the NSS was ultimately cancelled.

Notes
2. Census of India, 1971, Administrative Atlas, calculated from statement 10, Tables 1.11 and 2.11.
3. A. Sreedhara Menon, Kerala District Gazeteers, Canannore, 1972, p.105,
4. loc. cit.
5. ibid., p.274.
6. ibid., p.722.
7. Sree Kottiyoor Perumal Seva Sangham, "Sree Kottiyoor Mahakshetra Charithra Samgraham", undated, p.3.

8. *loc. cit.*


10. Sree Kottiyoor Perumal Seva Sangham, "Sree Kottiyoor Mahakshetravum, Sree Perumal Seva Sanghavum" (Mal.), undated, p.2.