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Intra - Regional Differences in Agrarian
Systems and Internal Migration : A Case
Study of the Migration of Farmers From
Travancore to Malabar, 1930 - 1950.

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In studies on migration, factors which cause changes in spatial distribution of population are generally divided into those which 'push' out and those which 'pull' out people from their usual habitat. Among the factors which push out people; particularly in agricultural communities, pressure of increasing population on land is generally identified as a major and fairly common factor. But population pressure on land by itself need not always lead to migration; since migration is only one of the various methods of adjustment possible in a situation of increasing population pressure. On the other hand, the impact of increasing population on agriculture could be fashioned by the agrarian system itself. Therefore it is only reasonable to expect that the prevalent agrarian system would also influence the directions that migration of farming populations assume in a situation of increasing population pressure on land.

In this paper the the validity of this assumption is tested with regard to the particular case of the migration of farmers from Travancore to Malabar during the period, 1930 to 1950.

Dimensions and Characteristics of the Migration

In order to ascertain the dimensions of the migration, the total number of migrants and the extent of land brought additionally under cultivation by them in Malabar have to be found out. Of these, the number of migrants can be computed on the basis of the increase in Syrian Catholic or Christian population in Malabar, (since majority of the migrants were Christians of the Syrian Catholic denomination^{1/} from the three midland Taluks of Travancore - Meenachil, Thodupuzha, and Muvattupuzha) and the increase in the number of people born in

Travancore and enumerated in Malabar in the successive censuses of the concerned period.

The Christian population in Malabar, which stood at around 53,000 out of a district total of over 30 lakhs in 1911, increased to around 1,54,000 in a total of around 47^{2/2} lakhs in 1951. Sharp increase -- both in absolute terms as well as percentage of the total population -- in Christian population of Malabar occurred in the 1941 - 51 decade, which was also the peak period of the migration, when the Christian population increased by 97.69 percent while the population of the district rose only by 21.05^{3/3} percent.

The number of persons born in Travancore-Cochin and enumerated in Malabar in the 1951 census were over 88,000 while there were only around 3000 Travancoreans enumerated in Malabar in 1931.^{4/4} Of this, around 71,000 persons were enumerated in the rural tracts of Malabar, which perhaps indicate better the dimensions of the migration as it stood in 1951.^{5/5} It may also be noted that out of these 71,000 persons, over 23,000 were in Wayanad taluk alone, while another 36,900 were concentrated in the three taluks of Kozhikode, Kottayam and Kurumbranad.^{6/6}

The above mentioned number of persons born in Travancore - Cochin and enumerated in Malabar in 1951 compares well with the number of Syrian Catholic Parishoners in the Latin Catholic diocese of Calicut, which stood at over 74,000 in a total of around 91,000 by the end of 1953.^{7/7} Granting that a portion of this population could have come from Cochin, the actual number of Travancore emigrants in Malabar in 1951 may be assumed to be anywhere between 60,000 and 70,000.^{8/8}

There are some important aspects of the migration to be noted.^{9/9} The majority of migrants from Travancore were small farmers. Among the earliest pioneers there were some big farmers. Later, from around 1940 more big farmers

who had experience in plantation agriculture in Travancore, went to Malabar, to open up estates there also. While the pioneering big farmers did not settle down in Malabar, those who arrived later shuttled between their possessions in Malabar and Travancore. As against this, most of the small farmers who migrated stayed in Malabar permanently though they retained strong links with their parental villages in Travancore.

Secondly, it was in the hilly tracts of Malabar that most of the Travancorean settlements developed. It was in the hilly areas that cultivable waste - particularly land suited for the commercial crops in which the migrant farmers were interested - was available in comparative plenty.

Yet another point to be noted here is that our analysis of migration with reference to intra-regional differences in agrarian systems has to be confined to the pre 1950 period. In 1956, Travancore and Malabar were integrated along with Cochin to form the State of Kerala; and subsequent legislations made laws governing land tenures uniform for all three regions; followed in a decade by comprehensive land reforms for the whole state; thereby changing substantially the conditions under which migration took place before 1950.

While the number of migrants from Travancore in Malabar can be estimated, the same cannot be done for the extent of land brought under cultivation by them; since most of the land deals they entered into were based on verbal agreements or unregistered documents. In the absence of such evidence, the only available clue is the significant decrease in forest area in the districts of Cannanore, Kozhikode, and Palghat in the concerned period. Between 1940 and 1970, 1959 sq. kilometers of forest area has been lost in these districts, of which 1015 sq.kms. were lost for agriculture and habitation by assignments and encroachments, besides 736 sq.kms lost for rubber, coffee, pepper and other plantation crops.^{10/} Though

the whole of this cannot be attributed to the migrants their contribution to this process could have been considerable.

Population pressure on cultivable land

Obviously there was increasing pressure on cultivable land in Travancore due to increasing population. To understand the role this played in triggering off the migration to Malabar, the trends in population in the first three decades of this century are to be looked at in detail.

The following Table I clearly shows that the decennial rate of growth of population in the districts in the Travancore region were on the whole considerably higher than in the districts in Malabar region; in all decades from 1901 to 1951, and particularly before 1931.

It is also seen that the population of Travancore increased by 119.57 percent between 1911 and 1951; while it rose only by 57.18 percent in Malabar^{11/}. In the same period, Travancore region registered an increase of 47.09 percent in land under occupation; while the cultivated area increased by 37.4 percent in Malabar. Moreover, while the occupied area in Travancore formed 73.7 percent of the total land available for cultivation in 1911, it formed 98.1 percent of the total in 1951. The corresponding figures for cultivated area as percentage of the total arable land in Malabar^{12/} were 59.1 in 1911 and 36.0 in 1951. These figures do show the greater pressure on land in Travancore during the period 1911 to 1951, than in Malabar.

Another important point to be made is that the Travancore Taluks of Meenachil, Thodupuzha and Muvattupuzha - the major centres of emigration - along with the neighbouring high range tract of Devikulam - Peermade showed significant increases in density of population; in the 1921-31 decade. The decennial rates of growth in density per square mile were to the order of 18.76 percent, 250.8 percent and 99 percent for Meenachil, Thodupuzha, and Muvattupuzha respectively, and 64.3

Table I: Decennial Percentage Increase in Population of Kerala
State Districts Roughly Corresponding to the Former Malabar
District and Former Travancore State, 1901 - 1951

District	Percentage Increase in Population				
	1901-1911	1911-1921	1921-1931	1931-1941	1941-1951
Cannanore	+ 7.9	+ 2.8	+ 15.2	+ 12.6	+ 22.4
Kozhikode	+ 7.5	+ 3.5	+ 16.8	+ 12.2	+ 27.6
Malappuram	+ 9.6	+ 2.2	+ 14.4	+ 11.7	+ 17.7
Palghat	+ 7.3	+ 4.2	+ 10.2	+ 8.9	+ 18.5
MALABAR REGION	+ 7.9	+ 3.1	+ 7.9	+ 17.8	+ 21.5
Kottayam	+ 17.9	+ 16.1	+ 37.0	+ 21.8	+ 22.6
Alleppey	+ 14.8	+ 18.5	+ 24.3	+ 12.7	+ 19.4
Quilon	+ 14.7	+ 18.6	+ 27.9	+ 25.3	+ 29.0
Trivandrum	+ 17.5	+ 17.0	+ 28.6	+ 18.5	+ 30.8
Ernakulam	+ 14.0	+ 9.3	+ 26.6	+ 20.8	+ 19.9
TRAVANCORE REGION	+ 15.6	+ 15.7	+ 28.4	+ 19.5	+ 24.1

percent for Devikulam - Peermade.^{13/}

Such increase in density of population in this period is significant; since the 1921-31 decade immediately preceded the beginning of substantial migration from this region to Malabar. It can also be seen^{that} as the result of shift of population from the more densely populated areas of Travancore, (and also from neighbouring Madras districts from where most of the labourers for plantations in this region came) to this region,^{14/} which as frontier areas were less densely populated upto then,^{there is an increase in population.} In the light of this, the subsequent migration to Malabar can be seen as a continuation of an earlier migration from within Travancore to the sparsely populated high ranges and its foot hills; which extended beyond the borders of the erstwhile state when possibilities within were almost exhausted.

Intra-regional differences in Patterns of agricultural development and land tenures

While the sharp differences between Malabar and Travancore in the evolution of land relations during the British rule are well known, the role it played in triggering off the migration from Travancore to Malabar is yet to be analysed.

In Travancore a series of developments strengthening the position of the tenants viz-a-viz the 'jennais' culminated in 1865 in the granting of full ownership rights to tenants on Sircar lands, and in 1896 in conferring irredeemable tenancy rights on 'kanom' tenants on private lands.^{15/} In direct contrast to this in Malabar, the security of tenancy enjoyed by 'kanoma' and 'verumpattom' tenants in the traditional society were lost in the course of the Nineteenth century.^{16/}

With the conferring of ownership rights on Sircar tenants, a substantial body of peasant proprietors arose in Travancore, who being free from heavy rental

obligations had both the incentive and resources for investment in agriculture for raising productivity. Those of them who were closely associated with financial and trading activity could make use of the emerging market for land, to secure more land and establish links between agricultural development and the process of commercial capitalism taking roots in Travancore. There was also the possibility of converting the largely state-owned waste lands into agricultural lands, with incentives like exemption from taxes. By advancing credit on the basis of land offered as security, the nascent commercial banks also facilitated the purchase of more land, development of remunerative crops, and the extension of trading and processing of agricultural products.

The resultant dynamism of the agricultural economy of Travancore is reflected in the fact that there was considerable expansion of area under cultivation in the early decades of the Twentieth century; from less than 21 lakh acres in 1919-20 to over 25 lakhs in 1928-29.^{17/} It is pertinent to note that over 60 percent of this additional area was brought under perennial crops like coconut, tea, rubber, pepper etc. Such a shift in the cropping pattern in preference of commercial crops, reflected the nature of land being brought under cultivation, as well as the fact that Travancore was by the end of Nineteenth century itself well integrated with the world market, thereby on the one hand, increasing the demand for produces of Travancore and on the other permitting unrestricted import of rice,^{18/} the staple grain for consumption.

Given the availability of waste lands in comparative plenty and of soil conditions amenable to commercial crops, the up-land regions of Travancore, which later became the major centres of emigration to Malabar, became the main area of such expansion of cultivated area (besides Kuttanad where backwaters were reclaimed for extensive cultivation of paddy on capitalist lines).

The extension of area under these perennial crops which could be grown even

in small-sized holdings of garden land without any special form of organization or investment for the purpose; particularly coconut which covered nearly 665 thousand acres by 1931-32 and became the base for the principal industries in Travancore; resulted in a broad - based commercialization of agriculture and in direct linkages being forged between agriculture and industry. Meanwhile capitalist organization developed within agriculture with the introduction of plantations of tea, coffee and rubber, (also cinchona for a short while) from the 1860's onwards, initially by British entrepreneurs. By 1945-46, nearly 195 thousand acres were under plantation crops in Travancore, compared with only a little over 50 thousand acres in Malabar.^{19/}

While plantations of tea ^{and} coffee remained under foreign ownership throughout the Nineteenth century and right upto the forties of the present century, many big farmers from Meenachil, Thodupuzha and other taluks in the food hills of the high ranges entered into rubber cultivation, closely following the earliest British investment in this crop around 1903-05.^{20/} In the cultivation of rubber, neither was economics of scale very significant nor did it require "Plantation-style" management to the extent needed in coffee and tea.

Spurred on by the boom in rubber prices during the first two decades of this century, a large number of small farmers also started cultivating rubber from around 1920; either in newly acquired areas in the high ranges or in and around their own villages in the midland taluks. Their holdings covered 25.77 percent of the ^{the} total area planted with rubber in 1925 and it rose to form 37.60 percent of the total by 1935.^{21/}

One community which made good use of the opportunities provided by these developments were the Syrian Christians from central and eastern Travancore.^{22/} They were the main beneficiaries of the spurt in land transactions following the breakup of joint-family holdings in the inter-war period. Their family organization provided enough incentives for development of individual holdings

and for experimenting with remunerative crops. Their close association with trade and commerce and with the various indigenous financial institutions as well as the modern commercial banks which emerged in early Twentieth century, also served them well in this regard. The fact that the pioneering British planters in Travancore were Christian missionaries operating from Kottayan should also have helped the Syrian Christians in getting a foot hold in the plantation sector.^{23/}

Decline in Agricultural prices and its Impact on Small farmers

Thus commercial cultivation in general and plantation agriculture in particular developed in the midland taluks and adjacent high-ranges of Travancore with the active participation of predominantly Syrian Christian farmers of the region. Inevitably this led to incomes from agriculture becoming heavily dependent on market prices. This made the small farmers who were also engaged in the cultivation of commercial crops, particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of decline in prices of farm produces.

By the late 1920's, when Travancorean farmers, both big and small - were actively engaged in the cultivation of rubber and other commercial crops, the world wide depression in agricultural prices set in. The following Table II indicates the range of fall in prices of the major commercial crops of Travancore.

Such sharp decline in prices had severe effects on the small farmers with inadequate resources to withstand such effects. As the Depression Enquiry Committee Report 1932 stated^{24/} "...the present economic stress is severely felt by the middle class agriculturists...They depend almost entirely on their agricultural incomes and it is this class that feels the direct impact of a general depression... Unfortunately they have no subsidiary occupations to

reinforce their agricultural incomes, no resources against lean years, and what is worse, they are in a state of chronic indebtedness! The Report further warned that indebtedness accentuated by pressure for recovery of land revenue and other dues to the government in the prevailing economic conditions would sweep a vast population of small cultivators out of their lands. ^{25/}

That the fears expressed in the Report could have come true is evident from the fact that the number of mortgages and hypothecations in Travancore increased by 72 per cent between 1903-04 and 1928-29; while their value rose by 128.4 per cent. Though the higher proportion in value may be largely due to higher land values in 1928-29, the increase in number was a clear indication of the increasing tendency to charge landed property with debt; as pointed out by the Travancore Banking Enquiry Committee Report 1930. The Banking Enquiry of 1956 found that 33.7 per cent of the total advance made by banks incorporated in the State were granted on an "unsecured" basis while 26.9 per cent of the total advances were granted against real estate. ^{26/} ^{27/} As a result of this pattern, during the depression period of the 1930's when both crop prices and subsequently land prices declined, the credit forthcoming from these new banking institutions would have shrank considerably. On the other hand, those farmers who depended on the money-lenders, found themselves in growing indebtedness. Indicative of such a situation was the fact that by 1955-56, the total agrarian indebtedness of Travancore was around Rupees 20 crores to Rupees 25 crores; which means that a minimum of Rupee 3 crores or nearly a third of a possible total value of agricultural produce, of Rupee 10½ crores, going out annually as interest. ^{28/}

Given the combination of these circumstances there is enough grounds to assume that the depression in prices of farm produces in the context of commercialization of agriculture and rapidly increasing population pressure on land

Table II: Prices of Selected Agricultural Products of Travancore, 1925-1931

Commodity	Year						
	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
A. Pepper (Average price per candy in Rs.)	--	--	630 ('27 - '28)	500 ('28-'29)	250 ('29-'30)	140 200 ('30-'31)	--
B. Tapioca (Average price per candy of dried chips in Rs. As. Ps)	--	--	--	--	20	8. 14. 0	--
C. Lemongrass Oil ^{1/} Price per lb. in Rs. As. Ps)	2. 4. 0	2. 2. 0	2. 0. 0	1. 14. 0	1. 11. 0	1. 4. 0	0. 14. 0
D. Copra (Average prices at Alleppey per candy in Rs. As. Ps)	105. 2. 6	99. 14. 4	110. 12. 8	95. 3. 10	75. 8. 1	57. 8. 8	--
E. Rubber ^{2/} (Price per lb. in Cents)	93	206	125	72. 13	47	34. 07	--

Source: Travancore Economic Depression Inquiry Committee Report 1931, Government Press, Trivandrum, 1932, Pp. 51, 65-67, 72

Notes: ^{1/} Lemongrass was cultivated mainly in Kannathunad, Muvattupuzha and Thodupuzha Taluks covering 12,000 acres, almost exclusively in small holdings, by 1931.

^{2/} These are prices obtained at Colombo by one of the largest plantations companies. They get 43.75 Cent per lb. of rubber in 1921.

would have 'pushed' many small farmers out of their lands in the midland Taluks of Travancore. In the particular case of Syrian Christian farmers, their patrilineal family organization, which demands equal division of parental property among all sons would have further intensified the pressure on land.

Constraints on reinvestment and expansion of holdings

Different from the case of the small farmers who migrated, in the case of the big farmers who had already opened up plantations in Travancore, there seems to have been the 'pull' of availability of cultivable land in comparative plentiness in Malabar.

There were two factors which contributed to Travancore becoming less attractive for reinvestment and Malabar consequently becoming more attractive. By the time, Indian planters entered the field, pioneer British planters had already occupied those lands which were most suitable for plantation crops. The Britishers had the advantage of routing their applications for assignment of lands through the Resident; which meant that such applications coming through the representative of the Paramount Power would have been treated differentially, while the Indians had to apply direct to the Dewan (in later years to the Chief Secretary).^{29/} This created difficulties for Indian Planters in 1940s to acquire choice lands for plantation crops, when they wanted to expand their holdings.

Apart from Sircar lands two other types of land were available for developing plantations in the Mundakayan - Peernade area; which was the main centre of Travancorean plantation enterprise. More important of these was land belonging to the local chieftains- Punjar Raja and Vanchipuzha Pandarathil. These lands came under the tomorial category of odavagais which were effectively

'free-holds'^{30/}. In the case of Punjar Raja some portion of ~~his~~ lands were "Sree-padon" lands.^{31/} Besides, he also had some special rights over his domains; emanating from certain earlier historical circumstances.^{32/}

The main distinction of the edavagi and Sree Padon lands was that they did not come under the purview of either the Patton Proclamation of 1865 or of the Jemie-Kudiyan Act of 1896. Therefore those who leased in such lands did not enjoy permanent tenancy rights or the right to sell their properties.

Yet another source of land for developing plantations in this region was the land belonging to the Paschima Bhagawathi Dewason. A little over 4,500 acres of these lands were leased out on 30 year leases to various people, somewhere around 1920.^{33/} Tenants on these Dewason lands also did not enjoy the rights enjoyed by those who had leased in Sircar and Jemnon lands. Therefore, there were restrictions on sale or transfer of land and even on cutting trees. Moreover, those who had leased in the Dewason lands had to go through a Polichezhuthu (renegotiation of lease) every thirty years.^{34/}

These restrictions on transfer of land and the absence of security of tenancy, in the edavagi and paschima dewason lands were indeed constraints on the reinvestment of surpluses and the expansion of holdings for the Travancorean planters who had developed plantations on these lands. The exact magnitude of this problem and its influence on the reported second wave of migration of big farmers to Malabar in the 1940's cannot be ascertained due to lack of data on the extent of area of plantations developed on lands under such tenures. Still such possibilities as described in the preceding paragraphs are quite strong and calls for further study.

While such constraints prevailed in the Mundakayan - Peernade region of Travancore, cultivable waste lands appropriate for plantation crops were available in Malabar at comparatively cheaper prices. In spite of the fall in

agricultural prices and subsequently in land prices in Travancore in the 1930's which obviously would have been made use of by the big farmers to acquire land sold by distressed small farmers and thus to expand their holdings within Travancore land prices remained considerably higher in Travancore than in Malabar.^{35/} Available data shows that while the average price of an acre of land in 1925 were Rs. 144.87, Rs. 53.78 and Rs. 697.48 in Meenachil, Thodupuzha and Muvattupuzha, respectively an acre of land could be bought in parts of Malabar at Rs. 4.00. When land prices shot up to Rs. 290.14, Rs. 95.23 and Rs. 807.20 in Meenachil, Thodupuzha and Muvattupuzha in 1931, land was still available in Malabar at around Rs. 10.00 per acre. By 1947, average price of an acre fetched Rs. 702.20, Rs. 1247.99 and Rs. 314.66 (a decline from 1931) in Meenachil, Thodupuzha and Muvattupuzha, land was still being sold at Rs. 35.00 per acre in parts of Malabar. Such differences in land prices definitely made Malabar attractive for Travancorean farmers - both big and small - in search of cultivable land.

Conclusion

The evidence presented above shows that while population pressure on land in Travancore was evidently a cause of migration of farmers to Malabar, that alone could not have triggered off the migration at the time it took place and in the way it developed. Intensity of population pressure, particularly on the small farmers seem to have been accenuated by their dependence on the market process for farm incomes and the pressure put on it by the depression in prices of agricultural commodities in 1920's and 1930's. Different from the case of small farmers, the big farmers who moved to Malabar in the 1940's, were going in search of opportunities for reinvestment of surplus made in plantation agriculture in Travancore, constrained as they were by certain anomalies in territorial conditions specific to their area of operation. The main attraction for both groups was the easy availability of cultivable land in Malabar; due to the absence of adequate dynamism in the agrarian system of that region.

(This is a revised version of my M.Phil dissertation on 'Migration of Farmers from Travancore to Malabar, from 1930 to 1960: An Analysis of its Economic causes, submitted to the Jawaharlal Ndhru University, Delhi. An earlier version had been presented at the 'William Logan Memorial Seminar on Agrarian Relations in Malabar, held at Calicut on 28th of August, 1981. I am grateful to Prof. K.N. Raj for every helpful comments)

NOTES

- 1/ Syrian Christians are those who trace their heritage to the early centuries of the Christian era, even to St. Thomas the Apostle of Christ. Now they are found spread out among various christian denominations. Among the Roman Catholics there is again a division based on Rites. The Rites are based on the differences in languages rituals and traditions followed mainly in liturgical services. The Roman Catholic Church in Kerala is divided into three Rites viz. Syro-Malabar, Syro-Malankara and Latin. The first two Rites are those of Syrian Christians. For more information on the subject, see C.V. Cherian: A History of Christianity in Kerala, Kerala Historical Society, Kottayam, 1973
- 2/ P.K. Michael Tharakan: 'Dimensions and characteristics of the Migration of Farmers from Travancore to Malabar, 1930 - 1950', Journal of Kerala Studies, Vol.II., Part II, June 1978, p.291.
- 3/ P.K. Michael Tharakan: 'Migration of Farmers from Travancore to Malabar, from 1930 to 1950: An Analysis of its Economic causes', M.Phil Dissertation in Applied Economics, Submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1977, Pp. 11 - 12.
- 4/ Census of India: Madras, 1931 and 1951.
- 5/ Census Handbook 1951: Malabar District
- 6/ Ibid.
- 7/ 'Malabaril Oru Sariyani Reopatha' (Malayalam), Report in the Deepika, Kottayam, 1st February, 1954.
- 8/ This figure is to be taken along with the fact that there was considerably higher level of mortality among the emigrants in Malabar, particularly during the 1940's. For details see K.G. Sivaswamy et al : The Exodus from Travancore to Malabar Jungles, Servindia Kerala Relief Centre, Coimbatore, 1945.
- 9/ These are discussed in fair detail in P.K. Michael Tharakan (1978) : op. cit., Pp. 287 - 305. For more details on the characteristics of migrant read, Thomas Pazheparambil : Swarna Bhoomiyil. Malabar Kudiyetta Charithran (Malayalam), Mar thoma Press, Muvattupuzha, 1978, and 'Kalpegavishangal Valromma Kuttiadi' (Malayalam), Report in the Souvenir of the Sacredotal Silver Jubilee of Rt.Rev.Dv. Sebastian Valloppally. Jubilee Celebration Committee, Tellicherry, 1974.
- 10/ C. Chandrasekharan : Forest Resources of Kerala: A Quantitative Assessment. Forest Department, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1973, Table 32, p. 51.

- 11/ T.C. Varghese: Agrarian Change and Economic Consequences, Land Tenures in Kerala, 1850-1960, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1970, Ch.6, p.124.
- 12/ Ibid; p. 123.
- 13/ Census of India, Travancore, 1921 and 1931
- 14/ See Heather Lovatt: Brief History of Peermade - Vandiperiyar, Plantation District, Vandiperiyar, 1972
- 15/ T.C. Varghese: Op.cit., discusses the differences in agrarian system between Travancore and Malabar. For more details read V. Magan Aiya: The Travancore State Manual, Govt. of Travancore, Trivandrum, 1906, William Logan: Malabar, Madras, 1906, S. Velu Pillai: The Travancore Jennie and Kudiyam Regulation 1071 with commentaries, Govt. Press, Trivandrum, 1933 and S. Pandarai: The Jennie and Kudiyam Regulation V of 1071 of Travancore, with an Introduction and commentaries, Law printing House, Madras, 1912.
- 16/ See Thomas W. Shea Jr: "Barriers to Economic Development in Traditional Societies, Malabar, a case study", in Journal of Economic History, Vol. XIX, No. 4, December, 1959, Pp 504 - 522
- 17/ K.N. Raj and Michael Tharakan: 'Agrarian Reform in Kerala and its impact on the Rural Economy: A Preliminary Assessment', in Ajit Kumar Ghose: (ed): Agrarian Reform in Contemporary Developing Countries, Croom Helm, London and Canberra, 1983, p.38
- 18/ P.G.K. Panikar, T.N. Krishnan and N.Krishnaji: 'Population Growth and Agricultural Development, A Case Study of Kerala', Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, 1977, Ch.II.
- 19/ K.N. Raj and Michael Tharakan: Op.cit. p. 40
- 20/ The starting of a rubber estate in Yenthayar, in the Mundakayam Valley (of the Peermade Hills) in 1904, by the late J.J. Murphy, is considered to be the first successful venture in commercial planting of rubber in Travancore. See Chacko A Kallivayalil: 'The Story of Mundakayam and Rubber Plantations' in All India Agricultural Industrial Science Exhibition Souvenir, Civic Centre Committee, Mundakayam, 1969, and A.V. John: 'The Mundakayam Rubber Planters Association', All India Rubber Planters Conference Souvenir, Mundakayam, 1969
- 21/ George John Ancheril : 'Rubber in a crisis' in All India Rubber Planters Conference Souvenir, Mundakayam, 1966, and R.G. Unny: 'Pattern of Growth of Rubber Plantation Industry' in Rubber Planters Conference (India) Souvenir, Indian Rubber Board, Kottayam, 1974.

- 22/ P.K. Michael Tharakan (1977): Op.cit, T.C. Varghese: Op.cit, and K.N. Raj and Michael Tharakan : Op.cit.
- 23/ Robin Jeffry: The Decline of Nayar Dominance, Society and Politics in Travancore, 1847-1908, Vikas Pub. House, New Delhi, 1976, p.118.
- 24/ Travancore Economic Depression Enquiry Committee Report 1931, Govt. Press, Trivandrum, 1932, p.93.
- 25/ -Ibid. p. 100.
- 26/ Travancore Banking Enquiry Committee Report 1930, Govt Press, Trivandrum, 1930, Trivandrum, 1930, Vol. I., p. 38.
- 27/ Report of the Travancore - Cochin Banking Inquiry Commission 1956, Govt. of India Press, Delhi, 1956.
- 28/ E.M.S. Namboothiripad : Kerala, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, National Book Agency, Calcutta, 1968, Ch. VI, p.92.
- 29/ See 'Rules for the sale of Waste Land on the Travancore Hills, April, 1865, July, 1898 and November 1918', in The Regulations and Proclamations of Travancore, Govt. of Travancore, Trivandrum, 1923, Vol. III, p.1233.
- 30/ T.C. Varghese: Op.cit. Ch. V, p.36
- 31/ "Sreepadam was considered in the settlement (Land Revenue Settlement, Travancore, 1911) as an edavagai, and the majority of the lands conceded as 'free-hold', Moreover the lands owned by Sreepadam in a few Sircar villages were settled under the tenure called Sree Padavaka and assessed with a small levy called rajathosam. "T.C. Varghese: op.cit. Ch.V, p.87
- 32/ A Sreedhara Menon: Kerala District Gazetteers, Kottayam, Govt. of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1975, Pp. 32-35.
- 33/ In 1892, 84 sq.miles of forest land in the Kanjirapally and the Ranni forest divisions were included in the Ranni (forest) reserve according to the existing Regulations governing forest lands in Travancore. This included the lands belonging to the Paschima Dewasom and though there were claims that Poncluma Dewasom is an Cerama Dewasom (Private Hindu Temple), the Government declared it as "Ezhuthi thecruvayillathathu", or in effect as Sircar Dewasom. The leasing out in 1920, obviously was on the understanding that these lands come under the tenorial type of Sircar Dewasom. For more details on this subject see M.K. George Paikott : 'Mundakayam Paschima Dewasom Bhoomiam,' in Souvenir of the All India Agricultural Industrial Science Exhibition, Civic Centre Committee, Mundakkayam, 1969.
- 34/ Ibid.

35/ The following figures of land prices are taken from the Appendix: Table 6A: 'Land Prices in Malabar and Travancore in Select Years during the peak period of migration', in P.G.K. Panikar et al: Op.cit, Ch.VI, p. 145.