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ECONOMIC LIFE IN A MALABAR VILLAGE

A Study in Indian Rural Economic Organization

BY

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WITH

A FOREWORD

BY

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To
My Gurus
E. M. M.
and
G. S.

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FOREWORD.

IT was in January 1916, when I took up my duties as Professor of Indian Economics in the University of Madras, that I first made the acquaintance of Mr. S. Subbarama Iyer, then an under-graduate student in the Madras Christian College. He was perhaps the most conspicuous of those who took up with enthusiasm my suggestion that the study of Indian Economics should begin in the Indian villages, and that each student should set himself to master the economic facts and to study the economic problems of his own village during his University vacations. Since then I have followed with interest Mr. Subbarama Iyer's career and have noted the unfailing diligence and enthusiasm with which he has pursued this line of investigation.

The part of India to which Mr. Subbarama Iyer belongs by birth, though by descent he belongs to the Tamil country on the other side of India, is one of extraordinary beauty and interest. The tropical sun and the unfailing rains of the south-west monsoon make Malabar a natural garden of extraordinary fertility. The little State of Cochin which occupies a central position on the south-west coast, dividing Travancore on the south from British Malabar on the north, with an area of only 1,479 square miles, of which much is rugged and rocky hill-side, and a good deal is unexploited jungle, yet has a population of 900,000, although it is destitute of mining industries and large scale manufacture, and even its port, the town of Cochin, is outside the State and in British territory. Practically the whole of this dense population may be described as being either directly, or at one remove only, dependent on agriculture. And yet the visitor sees no obvious evidence of any meticulous care to cultivate every possible cultivable plot.

To the sociologist the Malabar country is a veritable museum. Even more than that of other parts of India,

Malabar social life has a property analogous to that of the sands of Egypt, of retaining free from decay every ancient custom which has ever existed there. I remember, for example, visiting a Nair house in the town of Trichur. Inside the house I was received by an young lady highly educated in English, French and Music, and made the acquaintance of a twelve-year old boy studying Algebra with a tutor. In the garden outside there was a cobra shrine to which still a Nambudri Brahman came regularly to do *puja* to the cobras, perpetuating one of the most ancient and primitive forms of religious observances to be found on the face of the earth. It is impossible in Malabar, if it is possible anywhere, to disentangle the economic, religious and sociological aspects of the life of the people, and reserve each aspect for special study. Thus one of the dominant facts, both from the economic and from the sociological point of view in Malabar, is the *Marumakkattayam* system of inheritance. Its origin appears obvious. When first in those countries which were the earliest pioneers in settled industry and civilization, Egypt, Babylonia and India, human beings endeavoured to supplement the precarious spoils of the chase by growing crops of wheat or rice, it was the women who dug and hoed the land. The most ancient law of inheritance is that man's tools are inherited by boys and woman's tools by girls. Hence cultivated land as woman's tool, among those pioneers in agriculture who entered the agricultural stage direct from the hunting stage and not through an intermediate pastoral stage, naturally passed from mother to daughter. With increase of population the relative importance of agriculture increased, and that of hunting decreased, until the stage was reached in which property in cultivated land was the important form of property, and this was owned by families based on kinship on the mother's side.

In Babylonia and in Egypt this institution, which has been given the question-begged name of *Matriarchate*, disappeared under the influence of conquest by or war against

pastoral tribes ; and in fact it is an unstable institution, which can only last under conditions of undisturbed equilibrium. But Malabar is peculiarly protected by mountains, jungles and the sea, and until the Portuguese came was exempt from foreign conquest. Hence in Malabar we find still living a vigorous form of social organization which perished in Egypt and Babylonia thousands of years ago. To what extent does it deserve to be called *Matriarchate*? The term we find is not altogether inappropriate. The titular head of the family or *Tarvad* is the eldest woman, but the actual administration of the family property is in the hands of some male member of the family, usually the eldest man. The women enjoy a high degree of freedom and social equality with men. The young Nair girl, who is married by her mother usually at the age of 12 to some stranger who may be paid a rupee for taking part in the ceremony, ordinarily never sees her titular husband again, but is entitled to bestow her favours upon any one of the lovers who court her for as long as she pleases, and when she chooses is free to transfer her affections to another, subject only to the rules that she must be content with one mate at a time, and the favoured lovers must all be either of her own caste or of a higher caste. All her children, whatever their paternity, are entitled to maintenance from the family property, and her daughters transmit the same right to their children. Naturally therefore in their very bearing the Nair women evince an exceptional spirit of independence and self-respect ; naturally also they show exceptional readiness to avail themselves of new facilities for education.

Economically the *Marumakkattayam* system of inheritance tends to a high rate of natural increase, and to the multiplication of a class of young men who may be described as very poor gentlemen. The family tends to increase in numbers in excess of the resources of the family property, but the young men are not trained to labour, and if they have to labour they prefer to do so far away from their

native villages. Hence the Malayali is scattered over India, occupying a great variety of positions, from high offices of State to service in the cheap refreshment rooms known as "coffee hotels".

Another institution also of fundamental importance, both economically and sociologically, is the intense demarcation of castes which prevails in Malabar and the fact that those who by their manual labour mainly support the population are untouchables. The fact that the caste system is more highly developed and is more rigid in Malabar than in any other part of India, is, by the way, a convincing though disregarded disproof of the common theory that caste arose through successive conquests of the Indian plains by invaders penetrating through the north-west passes.

Though naturally protected against foreign conquest or dominance, Malabar is also very fairly situated for commercial contact with the rest of the world. The backwaters and the regularity of the winds, which during several months in a year give Malabar a sheltered shore, combined with a great abundance of fish, made this coast, like that of Norway, and the Greek and Malaysian archipelagos, one of the world's schools for the first elements of navigation ; and the Cromlechs and Kist-Vaens of Cochin show that contact by sea-trade with distant countries long preceded the first dawn of history. Perhaps there has never been a time ever since in which there has not been some sort of trade by sea between Malabar and Mesopotamia. The Palghat gap again, between the high tablelands of the Nilgiris on the north and the Palnis on the south, gives an easy means of communication with the Karnatic plains. Among the sociological legacies of this ancient intercourse is the church of the Syrian Christians, who claim that their church was founded by the Apostle Thomas, and there is good evidence to show that it must at least be nearly as ancient as this claim would assert ; and the community of Jews of Cochin who were settled there at a still earlier period, though their tradition that their

settlement took place in the days of king Solomon can hardly be accepted.

The pepper of Malabar has been for centuries one of the great stimulants to European mercantile enterprise ; and to-day harbour works are in progress, which will enable ocean-going ships to sail over the bar and enter the great sheltered harbour that lies between the towns of Cochin and Ernadulam. But while thus in touch with the trade and civilization of the world, Malabar still has, in such castes as the *Nayadis*, some of the most savage and primitive folk in the world ; and the *Veddahs* of Travancore, like those of Ceylon, nest like birds in the trees.

Hence society in Malabar is extraordinarily complex, and this complexity is reproduced, as Mr. Subbarama Iyer has shown, even in individual villages.

The essential economic problem of this country may perhaps be stated paradoxically as resulting from the fact that there is little recognition among the people of such a thing as an economic problem. One caste, it is true, has recognized in its institution the economic aspect of life, and solved the economic problem in a very efficient way. The Nambudri Brahmans exercise social domination over other castes ; they also hold definite rights of ownership over the land ; they effectively guard against impoverishment by the rigid rule that only the eldest son in each family may marry. The younger sons court Nair women, and their children are maintained by the Nair *Tarvads*. But so far as the other castes are concerned they live according to hereditary customs and by their hereditary occupations, taking little care for the morrow ; and when they become too numerous for support even by the extreme bounty of Nature in their own land, they betake themselves to other countries, near or distant, to sink or swim in the current of existence. But age-long custom is giving way under the pressure of present-day necessity and external influences. *Tarvads* frequently break up. There is a tendency for

Nairs to enter into permanent monogamous marriages. Many a Nair father insists upon leaving property to his own sons and himself providing for their future ; and even the depressed and untouchable castes are now beginning to insist on being treated as human beings and to claim access to schools and markets, and to the unrestricted use of the public roads. The past of Malabar is full of mystery ; but the future is equally full of interest and uncertainty.

GILBERT SLATER.

PREFACE.

THIS book aims at describing the essential features of economic life in rural Malabar. Dr. Harold Mann has familiarized us with the method of making an intensive survey of the economic conditions of a single village. A similar survey, with some modifications, of a typical village, Nelluvaya in the northern-most Taluk of the Cochin State, where paddy is the principal crop of cultivation, is embodied in this volume.

Too much emphasis, however, should not be laid on the conditions of a particular village however typical it may appear to be for some purposes. It is well-known that in India locality is not the unifying bond of organization, but kinship and caste with which is associated occupation as well. Again, it is not true that the "village system", as loosely used by some writers, was at any time economically self-sufficient; inter-village and, in some cases, inter-provincial movements of goods were quite well-known. A village producing paddy, for instance, may depend on other neighbouring villages for cloth, oil, chillies, salt and other articles of necessities, comforts and luxuries of life which were usually produced by hereditary castes of workers who tended to congregate in convenient centres of trade from where peddlers used to go round hawking the commodities from door to door.

It is necessary, therefore, to take a wider sweep in our investigations and naturally attention is mainly paid to conditions in the Cochin State in which our village is situated. But the general description, in all essential points, applies to conditions in the rest of Malabar. In several parts of Travancore, the southern Taluks of the Cochin State and in the fringe of the coast of "British" Malabar, where coconut is the principal crop of cultivation and facilities for fishing abound, conditions of production are somewhat different, but the general facts of economic life here described are of equal applicability.

That there is a fundamental unity in Indian civilization is sufficiently established. It remains to point out that in the policy of open-door that Malabar kept from the beginning as regards foreign commerce and intercourse long before the English East India Company was started, the way in which the diverse castes, creeds and races never import for the most part their social and religious differences into spheres of economic relationship, and, at the present time, in its preponderance of agriculture, the recent decay of some indigenous industries, the consequent pressure of the population on the soil and the unique opportunity that this affords for a few big landlords and temple-estates to rack-rent their tenants, the unequal distribution of village resources brought about by this fact as well as by the collection of Government *kists* which are mostly spent on a highly centralized administrative machinery, the extreme dependence of the rural classes on imported commodities and the consequent withdrawal of funds from rural areas to export and import centres and even to places outside India, the low earning capacity of the majority of the people and their consequent inability to make savings, the comparative absence of institutions for facilitating investment in rural industries—in these features of its past and present economic situation, Malabar is an epitome of India.

It is with great pleasure and gratitude I acknowledge the assistance I received from Dr. Gilbert Slater who contributes a Foreword to this volume. This work, undertaken in fact at his suggestion, had the benefit of his perusal and criticism at every stage of its progress. I have also to acknowledge with gratitude the help I received from Mr. I. Raman Menon, Director of Agriculture, Cochin State, who made valuable suggestions in the chapter on "Crops, Cultivation, Vegetation". I am solely responsible, however, for the subject-matter and its arrangement, comments and criticisms as embodied in this volume.

S. SUBBARAMA IYER.

CHAPTER I.

THE BACKGROUND.

Cut off from the rest of India by the impenetrable barriers of the Western Ghats, though connected by the South Indian Railway in recent years through the gap of Palghat, Malabar including the Native States of Cochin and Travancore, preserves several peculiarities of manners and customs as well as marked natural differences of soil and climate which are not shared by the rest of India. The curious reader will find sufficient description of such facts in the *District Gazetteers* and *Manuals*.

Blessed with a bountiful rainfall extending from 90 to 120 inches per annum and receiving the full benefits of two monsoons, the South-west and the North-east, vegetation is naturally luxuriant. Nowhere more than 40 miles from the sea, the country presents on the whole an undulating appearance dotted with hillocks and petty forests. The space intervening the hillocks is naturally fertile. Paddy thrives as well as several other products of every-day use, while rubber and coffee—the planters' crops—deck several regions by the side of the Ghats. Forest products are naturally plentiful, but lack of transportation facilities often stands in the way of their proper utilization and conservation. The coast strip is naturally the home of coconuts, thus justifying the name of *Kerula* (home of coconuts) by which this part of the country is known among its inhabitants. There are also some good rivers, mostly dry in summer, taking their source in the Ghats and emptying themselves into the sea, besides innumerable water-courses that run in all directions and fertilize and water the fields through which they wind.

As is the land so are the people. Though the general tendency towards caste-organization is observable in every

part of India, each geographical area has its own peculiarities in the number and kind of castes and sub-castes. The Naidus, Chetties and several other castes so common in the rest of the Presidency do not find a place in the indigenous caste-organization of Malabar; neither do the Nairs, Panans and Ezhuvas of the West Coast find their exact counterparts elsewhere. The castes and communities of Malabar are indeed a legion—the Census Report enumerates no less than 30 principal castes (*jatis*) among Hindus alone which again comprise of innumerable sub-castes each divided from the other by the strict prohibition of interdining and intermarriage; besides there are several castes among Muhammadans, Christians, Animists and Jews. There is one feature of this caste-organization which, besides its rather repulsive character, is economically wasteful, *viz.*, the injunction to a few of the lower castes to stand at specified distances while approaching the higher castes. Cherumas, Pulayas and Pariahs (agricultural serfs) are not allowed to enter a caste village inhabited by the higher castes; they are made to stand at a specified distance of about 72 feet. Ezhuvas and Kammalans are permitted to enter the caste village, but are made to stand at a distance of about 24 feet. Ezhuvas and Kammalans, in their turn, would not approach a Cheruma within a radius of 50 feet.

Cochin, under whose administration is the village of Nelluvaya and its vicinity, whose economic conditions form the subject of investigation in this volume, is a compact little Native State with an area of 1,479 square miles and a population of 979,080 (in 1921); the average density per square mile is 662.

Hindus	..	..	646,132
Christians	..	..	262,595
Muhammadans	..	..	68,717
Other Castes	..	..	469
Jews	..	..	1,167

The genius of the Indian caste-organization is such that

these numerous religionists and endless castes and sub-castes among the Hindus, in spite of differences in social customs or religious practices, live quite amicably within the area of a village or town and seldom, if ever, do they import their differences to spheres of economic activities, where, for instance, the highest Brahmin will be the tenant or manager in a Christian's or Muhammadan's landed estate.

Of the total area, nearly 605 square miles or 41 per cent, are covered by forest-tracts which are not available for cultivation, but quite recently a few enterprising planters have taken to cultivate rubber in certain localities.

The whole area may be roughly classified under three heads :—(1) the region of hills and forests ; (2) the region of the plains ; and (3) the region of the Coast. The State lies north to south on the western slopes of the Western Ghats whose offshoots penetrate well into two or three Taluks. The extreme north faces the Palghat Gap, which affords a means of communication with the rest of the Madras Presidency. Though no part of the State is more than 40 miles from the sea (in the southern portion the maximum distance is very much less) the coast-strip is mostly in the hands of the British Government ; even the chief port, Cochin, is partly in British hands. The State retains one port, Malipuram, a little to the north of Cochin, but its importance is overshadowed by that of Cochin.

Another interesting feature is the existence of the series of backwaters which penetrate into different Taluks of the State. This accounts for the very early commercial development of the State. Even with the construction of metalled roads and the railway, water is still an important means for internal traffic and commerce. The make-up of the local boat called *Vallum* shows efficiency and beauty. In the hot months of March, April and May, when there are no monsoon rains, the water in the backwaters is at a very low ebb ; cultivation of paddy is carried on in the alluvial soil after pumping the water out of the fields. This is locally known as *Kole Krishi* or cultivation of the backwater region. The

yield is naturally plentiful, but such land is sometimes subject to devastating floods which destroy the whole crop if the downpour of the summer monsoon happens to be a little earlier than is due. The area under *Kole* cultivation is about 13,000 acres.

The soil in the two southern Taluks of the State (Cochin-Kanayannur and part of Mukandapuram) is sandy and on account of breeze from the sea it is best fitted to grow coconuts. In the four northern Taluks of the State where the soil is laterite, paddy is the principal crop of cultivation, while arecanut plantations thrive in their western borders. Hills and dales are interspersed in these four Taluks. The forest area in the true sense of the term is on the eastern portion of the four northern Taluks, while the rest of the area presents a magnificent undulation of hills and dales. From the point of view of drainage this is important; the water brought down by the water-courses is utilized for raising a summer crop of paddy or minor vegetable products. There are also four important rivers taking their source from the slopes of the Western Ghats and discharging their waters into the backwaters bordering the sea coast. These rivers which serve as drainage for surplus water from the interior are utilized for floating down timber from the forests and to a small extent for the purpose of irrigation. Schemes for harnessing water-power for industrial purposes are being considered by the State Government.

Cochin, in common with the West Coast, receives the full benefit of the south-west monsoon during June to September and partial rains during the so-called north-east monsoon in November and part of December. The rainfall, over 100 inches per year, is one of the heaviest in the whole of India, and this accounts for the luxuriant growth of trees and vegetable life in the forests and the suitability of the soil for the cultivation of paddy. The rainfall, however, is not uniform throughout the State; while the southern Taluks receive about 130 inches, the northern-most Taluk registers only about 60.

*

The following table of rainfall, recorded in Trichur, fairly indicates its month-to-month distribution in our village and its vicinity:—

Rainfall of Trichur (Inches).

15th—15th.	1908—09	1909—10	1910—11	1911—12	1912—13	1913—14	1914—15	1915—16
Jan. 15—Feb. 15.	..	..	0.22	..	..	..	..	..
Feb. 15—March 15.	..	0.40	..	..	0.14	0.95	0.01	..
March 15—April 15.	0.54	1.08	..	..	0.14	..	..	..
April 15—May 15.	12.01	4.23	3.58	11.11	2.51	1.82	4.14	1.06
May 15—June 15.	20.32	12.51	32.33	21.00	25.71	16.46	9.90	9.56
June 15—July 15.	27.99	25.53	30.30	36.25	17.68	34.03	30.53	25.25
July 15—August 15.	18.71	21.32	19.84	24.64	25.31	28.18	24.97	21.07
August 15—Sept. 15.	9.96	7.00	6.25	5.12	13.68	6.65	10.77	8.65
Sept. 15—Oct. 15.	11.34	10.15	8.62	7.27	23.56	20.70	5.05	13.18
Oct. 15—Nov. 15.	16.46	4.38	18.19	4.71	10.30	4.35	12.49	6.43
Nov. 15—Dec. 15.	..	1.29	4.49	6.07	3.10	0.60	2.86	9.77
Dec. 15—Jan. 15.	2.83	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL ..	120.16	87.89	123.82	116.17	121.99	113.74	100.72	111.74

Agriculture is the predominant occupation of the people, as in the rest of India, but as the following comparative table shows, it supports a less proportion of the population than elsewhere :—

		Agriculture	Industry and Commerce	Professional
Cochin	..	50.4	34.6	3.3
Travancore	..	47.2	28.5	2.5
Malabar	..	60.7	30.1	3.0
Madras Presidency	..	70.0	21.3	3.2
India	..	65.2	16.9	1.7

This preponderance of industrial population in Cochin is due to the existence of backwaters, canals, forest tracts and the facilities for the cultivation of the coconut palm. It should not, however, be understood that the State is in any way an exception to the rest of India with a great variety of industries within its borders. Such of the manufacturing industries as exist are very little removed from the purely extractive industries; fishing, industries connected with coconut such as toddy-drawing, basket-weaving, and coir-making, and felling trees from forests for sale as timber or firewood (which three occupations together support 100,000 inhabitants) are not indeed classed as agricultural industries, but are very closely allied to these.

Agriculture in its widest sense includes arable farming, cattle and poultry farming, apiculture, sericulture and several other allied industries. The 'agriculturist' of the West Coast, however, is satisfied with raising some crops such as paddy, coconut, arecanut or some minor garden produce and maintaining such cattle as are indispensable for cultivation.

Malabar, including the Native States of Cochin and Travancore, is, like the rest of India, a land of villages. Towns, few and far between, are, in many cases, mere overgrown villages and are, as a rule, centres of exchange of

produce and not of production. Such natural advantages as the meeting of roads and trade-routes and facilities for water-communication, if any, invest a place with the characteristics of a commercial town. In the absence of highly developed industries of the modern type, rural characteristics still prevail in the so-called towns. Judged by the modern standard, means of internal transport are still meagre. In Cochin, for instance, to serve a total area of 1,479 square miles there are 65 miles of Railway, nearly 500 miles of metalled road, good, bad and indifferent, and about 50 miles of light railway specially designed to tap the forest resources ; the proportion of such facilities in the rest of Malabar is still less. For the rest, internal transport is carried on by pack-bullocks, bullock-carts and human beings improvising their heads, shoulders or backs to carry loads from place to place.

Only 12 per cent of the people of Cochin live in towns as against 6.2, 8 and 11 per cent in Travancore, Malabar and Madras Presidency respectively. Only three of the towns are urban in their character containing over 20,000 inhabitants each, while the remaining six are partly urban and partly rural in their appearance and contain between them only 38 per cent of the urban population. All these towns are of recent growth as, from time immemorial, the Malayalis have been averse to living in closely built villages ; the increase of industrial and commercial business is chiefly responsible for this growth. This tendency is becoming more and more marked, the urban population having increased by nearly 26 per cent during the decade 1901-11, while the population of the State increased only by 13 per cent.¹

The so-called villages in Cochin as entered in the revenue records are mainly arbitrary areas, of three square miles on an average, so divided to suit the exigencies of revenue

¹ *Census Report, 1911.* In 1921, the urban population was 13 per cent ; increase of total population 6.6 per cent ; and increase of town population 15.6 per cent.

administration. The State is thus divided into 273 'villages', but as the revenue demand of most of the villages was found too small to afford sufficient work to a separate village staff, they are clubbed into 165 villages for revenue purposes. A *Pravartikaran*¹ (i.e., village officer) is in charge of each village, with an accountant and two peons to assist him in revenue collections.

The village site in Malabar is invariably on an elevated ground unfit for paddy cultivation. A temple and a tank are special features, often two or more village sites sharing in the same temple and the same tank. Particular castes tend to congregate in particular localities; the community of caste, even more than locality or occupation, is the vital element in Indian social and economic organization. The houses in a typical Malayali village are not in rows or street form, but are built single with a compound around each and hedged round with a fence. Houses of well-to-do classes contain a well or wells from which drinking water is obtained and the garden produce watered in the hot weather. Plantains, the jack, the mango and tamarind trees, the coconut and arecanut as well as vegetables and roots of several kinds are often grown in the compound surrounding the house. Lanes which are often foot-paths wind in all directions and connect the several houses in the village.

These areas were more or less self-sufficing economic units, but the present improved methods of transport and communication have considerably broken down the barrier of self-sufficiency. The surplus agricultural products are taken by merchants to town-centres from where they are redistributed to different places. The sundry necessities are bought from a village retail-shop or the weekly fair.²

The increasing use of machine-made cloth in place of hand-woven fabrics, kerosene for castor oil, vessels and

¹ Corresponding to the *Adhikari* or *Karnam* elsewhere.

² These fairs are so arranged to fall on successive days of the week as to enable the travelling merchants or peddlers to move from one village market to another for sale of goods.

implements of iron, brass and copper, scissors, knives and mirrors which pour in from abroad; the use of bicycles, watches and clocks, power lamps and chimneys and folding umbrellas among the well-to-do classes and motor-cars among the very rich; the demand for sewing machines and machine-tools of several kinds, matches, cutlery and soap—these are the more important factors, assisted by the Railway and the Post Office, that have combined to break down the old economic self-sufficiency in Malabar as in the rest of India. Side by side with the snapping of the economic chord of solidarity and self-sufficiency, has gone on the decay of several types of communal and social efforts in the villages, brought about by the intervention of the Central Government with its hierarchy of officials, revenue, judicial and executive. So far as Cochin is concerned, the danger of this state of affairs was recognized by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja as early as 1913, when it was proposed to revive the old village Panchayat system, which would give facilities to the people to settle several matters of each village easily and quickly amongst themselves and give them also some training in the art of self-government.

Among the peculiar social customs of the people which are of economic importance may be mentioned the *Marumakkattayam* system of inheritance of the Nayars and the undivided family system of the Nambudiris, the indigenous Brahmins of Malabar. The eldest male member in a joint-Nayar family, called *Karanavan* or head, looks after its affairs, but the family property descends in the female line. The male members of the family enter into *Sambandam* or marital relation with Nayar women of other families, but these women live in their own houses and are maintained out of their family property. The husband is bound to provide at least clothing for his wife and children and meet certain out-of-pocket expenses, but instances are not rare where a well-to-do husband settles a substantial income on his wife and children. Any property so given forms, however, the *tarwad*

or the family property of the women. Educated Nayars are making efforts to change this custom and often live with their wives in separate houses of their own.¹

The property of the Nambudiri family is not divided. In order to curb effectively the separatist interest of individual male members the eldest male member alone is permitted by custom to enter into legal marriage with the women of his own caste; the marrying member, however, may have three wives at a time and there are few among the eligibles who do not possess that number. The other members of the family enter into *Sambandam* or marital relation with Nayar women. The children of Nambudiri Brahmins and Nayar women are reckoned Nayars, and are members of the joint family of the mother, and entitled to maintenance from that family property. The Nambudiris are, as a class, rich and powerful and some of them are enlightened, while most are big landlords or zemindars.

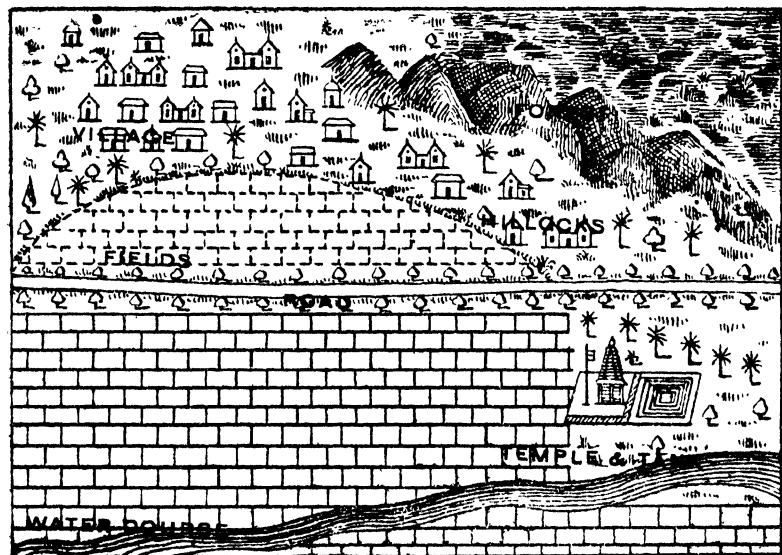
The village of Nelluvaya lies nearly at the centre of Talapilli, the northern-most Taluk of the Cochin State. The Taluk, 271 square miles in extent and divided into 74 "revenue villages", lies between 10°35' and 10°48' N. latitude and 76°4' and 76°31' E. longitude. Over a third of the area of the Taluk is covered with forests which are, however, of low altitude, nowhere rising beyond 1,000 feet. These forests are chiefly on the eastern portion; the undulating character is more pronounced, and the laterite hills more lofty and numerous than in the other Taluks of the State. The soil is of the red ferruginous variety, richer in the eastern side than in the west. The Cochin Railway runs across the middle of the Taluk north to south. Total population of the Taluk is 170,154 (in 1921). The eastern portion is

¹ The most advanced sections of the Nayars show a tendency to revolt from this custom and the Cochin Nayar Regulation passed into law in 1920 makes it obligatory on a woman's husband to settle half his self-earned property on her. It may be mentioned that such changes in social institutions, possible in Native States, are very difficult to make in "British" territories since the British Government has pledged itself to social and religious neutrality.

specially suited for the cultivation of paddy, while the arecanut thrives equally well on the west.

Nelluvaya is a typical village in the Taluk, where both the areca palm and paddy thrive equally well. The metalled road running east to west through the Taluk passes through the southern portion of the village; the rest of the area of the village is connected by footpaths through *Parambas* and paddy fields. On the east of the village lies a well-wooded reserved forest. There are petty undulating hillocks in the different blocks of the village area. A small water-course, 31' wide and 15' deep, forms the southern boundary of the village. It is flooded in the rainy season; temporary bunds are put up in summer to collect water for the purpose of irrigation.

The revenue village, nearly 3 square miles in extent, consists of four blocks or divisions in which the inhabitants dwell. These four village sites, situated on fairly elevated grounds, are known by different names, and the most important of them is Nelluvaya.



There are about 150 houses in this block, while the other three divisions contain 30 to 50 houses each. One peculiar feature, which is also common to almost all 'villages' in Cochin and Malabar, is that the houses of different higher castes are mingled together and are not congregated in separate portions of the village-site. Each house has an extensive compound where the areca palm is chiefly grown. The village area is thus classified in the revenue records :—

	Acres.	Cents.
Reserved forest	570.48	
Wood area for grazing cattle ..	44.45	
Nilams (paddy cultivable land)	419.66	
Parambas (a) Payattupattam	392.89	
(b) Vrikshapattam	174.70	
Waste land	10.10	
Poromboke	526.30	
Total ..	2,138.58	

[Parambas are areas unfit for cultivation of paddy, but where such crops as coconut, arecanut, etc., are grown. Vrikshapattam—areas where the taxable trees—coconut, areca and jack—are grown. In Payattupattam parambas no such taxable trees exist.]

The following statistics of the population in one of the four blocks indicate the distribution of castes in an agricultural village. Boys and girls in this table are those under the age of 12 :—

Caste	Families	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
1. Brahmin (Tamil) ¹ ..	15	30	26	14	14
2. Nambisan }	5	11	6	4	3
3. Variyar } temple castes	2	7	4	1	2
4. Marar }	1	3	2	0	2
5. Nayar	33	55	79	48	37

¹ These are immigrants from Tamil districts.

Caste	Families	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
6. Velutedan (washerman)	2	1	2	0	2
7. Velakatalavan (barber)	1	4	1	1	2
8. Pappada Chetti ..	2	3	4	3	1
9. Chetti	1	2	1	2	1
10. Ezhuvan	15	27	24	14	7
11. Maraçari (carpenter) ..	13	20	23	18	14
12. Karuvan (blacksmith) ..	3	6	7	5	2
13. Thattan (goldsmith) ..	2	5	4	4	2
14. Mannan (washerman) ..	2	3	3	0	0
15. Panan (earth worker) ..	2	4	3	2	2
16. Pulayan }	9	13	13	8	4
17. Parayan } depressed castes	3	4	4	0	3
18. Kanakan }	2	5	3	3	0
19. Christians	5	9	8	2	8
20. Moplahs (Muhammadans)	3	4	6	0	1
Total ..	121	216	223	129	107

Besides these there are eight families of potters. The one family of Chetti is an immigrant to the village who maintains himself by begging. A *Pappada Chetti* is so called because his hereditary occupation is to make *pappadams*, a circular paste made out of black gram, an article of consumption among all classes. Mannan, the caste of washermen, washes the clothes of low caste people; distance pollution is observed by the higher castes while approaching them. This caste is to be distinguished from that of Velutedans, another caste of washermen, who wash clothes for Brahmins, Nayars and the temple castes; distance pollution is not observed in the case of Velutedans.

Total population—121 families .. 675

Average per family 5

Percentage of boys to the total .. 19

Percentage of girls to the total .. 18

The following valuation of the house-property in the village (made in 1918) conveys a fair idea of the economic status of the several 'castes'.

Caste	Families	House property in Rupees	Per Family
1. Nambisan	5	3,300	660
2. Variyar	2	700	350
3. Brahmins (Tamil) ..	15	5,060	337
4. Marar	1	300	300
5. Nayar	33	4,730	143
6. Thattan (goldsmith) ..	2	210	105
7. Syrian Christians ..	5	370	74
8. Ezhuvas	15	772	50
9. Maraçari (carpenter) .	13	372	28
10. Velakatalavan (barber) ..	1	25	25
11. Karuvan (blacksmith) ..	3	65	22
12. Moplals	3	40	13
13. Velutedan (washerman) ..	2	25	12
14. Pappada Chetti ..	2	20	10
15. Chetti	1	10	10
16. Panan (earth worker) ..	2	20	10
17. Mannan (washerman) ..	2	20	10
18. Parayan	3	30	10
19. Kanakan	2	20	10
20. Pulayan	9	62	7

There are 135 houses in the village, of which 103 are thatched with paddy-straw and the rest tiled.

Caste	Total houses	Tiled
1. Brahmins	19	11
2. Nayar	33	7
3. Nambisan	5	5
4. Temple property ..	4	4
5. Christian	5	2
6. Variyar	2	1
7. Marar	1	1

All other castes have thatched houses only.

Almost all the villagers own their houses, while a few houses are unoccupied.

CHAPTER II.

LAND TENURES.

Section I.

Among the problems of economic organization in Malabar, as in the rest of India, affecting profoundly as they do the production and distribution of agricultural incomes, the principles and methods on which land is owned and cultivated are most important. Confining our description to Cochin land tenures, applicable also in their essentials to Malabar in general, there are three claimants for the produce of the soil whose *claims* may fitly be recognized as involving certain definite *rights*. They are (1) the Sirkar or Government claiming land-revenue ; (2) the *Janmi* or land-owner who owns complete proprietary rights in land ; (3) the tenants whose claims range from a certain definite right of ownership to mere tenancy-at-will. But the peculiarity in Cochin is that about 40 per cent of cultivable land is possessed by the Sirkar in *Janmam*, having all the rights and frequently imposing until recently all the incidents of tenures which are still in vogue among private *Janmis* and land-owners. Till 1762 the Rajah's Government did not even claim any revenue, in the modern sense, from the lands of private *Janmis* and land-owners, the produce from which was being shared exclusively between the landlord and his tenant. It was in that year that the exigencies of administration compelled the Sirkar to levy revenue (*Rajabhogam*, or share of the Sirkar) from *Puravaka* or lands under private ownership, and ever since this *rajabhogam* together with the *janmi-bhogam* of the lands which belong to the Sirkar constitute the land revenue of the State (*Vide Cochin State Manual*). In days gone by the Rajah, as head of the Royal Family, had lands of his own¹ which he had let out on different tenures. As the public property of the Royal Family, of whom the ruling

¹ Forfeiture, escheat and reclamation of waste lands were the chief sources.

Prince is the head, is impartible, such property is fairly extensive at present, comprising nearly 40 per cent of the total cultivable area in the State. A private landlord whose position is similar to the Royal Family in this respect is Paliath Atchan, head of an hereditary house having extensive land in Cochin and Travancore. The property of his family is also impartible and is managed by the head who succeeds to the *Sthanam* or *Musnad* as the eldest male member. The same feature of impartibility obtains practically, though not in law, among Nambudiri Brahmins and certain ancient Nayar families. All temple and church lands are also impartible. The natural consequence is that real ownership in land is concentrated in a few houses from whom it is impossible to divest the ownership or to spread the magic of possession among small peasant proprietors.

The Royal domain is scattered throughout the State in patches big and small. Quite recently the Rajah made over his claims on such lands to the State Government in consideration for a Civil List (3.9 lakhs of rupees) which is annually paid to him and the members of his Family. The Royal Family, however, still retains proprietorship of certain estates in the State. The Sirkar lands are let to the ryots under different tenures, which had been very much complicated and uncertain before 1905, but were arranged in the following order by the Revenue Settlement which was completed in that year.

SIRKAR LANDS.

(1) According to *Verumpattam*, or simple lease, form of tenure the tenant is in some cases permitted to keep the bare cost of seed and cultivation and the whole of the net produce is payable to the landlord ; among the better class of landlords, however, the old custom of reserving one-third of the net produce, after deducting the cost of seed and cultivation, for the tenant is retained, and the remaining two-thirds are payable to the landlord. The State Government takes only one-half the net produce.

It was decided by the State Government in 1905 tha

this form of tenure shall be deemed normal for settling the full State-demand, and other tenures shall be treated as favourable ones ; and that such tenants as occupy Sirkar lands shall acquire full rights to the soil and their rights shall remain undisturbed so long as they regularly pay the State-revenue, provided that rights to metals are reserved to the State.

(2) The origin of the *Kanom* form of tenure is obscure, but the British Courts of Law have come to regard it as usufructuary mortgage of landed property. Justice Moore defines *Kanom* as a “usufructuary mortgage of immovable property for the term of 12 years (unless some other term is specified) by the conditions of which a definite share of the estimated produce is reserved for the mortgagee as interest on the money advanced and for the payment of the Government revenue and the balance is payable in the shape of rent to the mortgagor.”¹

“In accordance with that tenure a sum of money or paddy is deposited with the landlord, on which the tenant is entitled to interest which varies from 3 per cent to 5 per cent. The rent payable to the landlord will not be more than one-half of the net produce after deducting the cost of seed and cultivation. The tenant is entitled to be left in possession undisturbed for 12 years and to be reimbursed for all unexhausted improvements when evicted. His *Kanom* is usually renewed at the end of 12 years, when the *Kanomdar* must pay a fine or premium which, according to ancient usage, ought not to exceed 20% to 25% of the *Kanom* amount or one year's rental at the option of the landlord, but which at the present day is usually fixed according to the landlord's caprice. After renewal, the tenant is entitled to hold the land for another term of 12 years.”¹

But this distinction has ceased to be of any importance in State *Kanom* lands, for by the Proclamation of 1905 His Highness laid down that fresh renewal once in 12 years was

¹ L. Moore. *Malabar Law and Custom*.

not necessary in the future. The present position is thus summed up:—In State *Kanom*, the land is held on a lease in consideration of a sum of money supposed to have been advanced to the State and consequently a certain amount is deducted from the State-demand on account of interest in the amount advanced.....This form of tenure is for all practical purposes the same as the State *Verumpattam* tenure, only with this difference that from the assessment due thereon a certain deduction is made on account of the interest due to the ryot on some sum of money supposed to have been advanced to the State, *i.e.*, one-third is deducted from *Verumpattam* rates (*State Land Revenue Manual*).

(3) “Inam or gifts are personal grants made in some cases for the performance of certain specific services in religious institutions, etc., and in others for services rendered on some previous occasion or for some other similar reasons either absolutely or on certain specific conditions.” The deductions of revenue in State Inam lands range from free assessment to one-third of the Sirkar *Verumpattam* or normal assessment.

The forms of tenure under private landowners are varied and complicated. Fixity of tenure is absent in the private *Verumpattam* and *Kanom* leases. In a simple lease of the *Verumpattam* type it is not at all uncommon that the tenant is called upon to pay to the landlord the whole of the estimated net produce after deducting the bare cost of seed and cultivation and consequently he is merely a labourer on subsistence-wages, though it suits his landlord to bind him by a contract. It frequently happens that the rent which the tenant covenants to pay is more than the land could yield, and in this case a burden of debt accumulates on him, and his position becomes little better than that of a slave. If he incurs his landlord's displeasure, a decree for eviction and arrears of rent follows, and his means of livelihood are gone for ever.

In the case of *Kanom* tenures, the private landowners make the tenant renew his lease every twelve years, when the

landlord is entitled to extra payments as renewal fees. Besides the stipulated rent, the tenant has to make every year certain customary payments in kind or cash to his landlord. The Nambudiri landlord demands special payments on six well-known occasions :—

- (1) Rice-feeding ceremony of the eldest child.
- (2) The eldest son's 'sacred-thread' ceremony.
- (3) The eldest son's first day of studying the Vedas.
- (4) The eldest son's marriage.
- (5) Twelfth day ceremony on the death of the *Karanavan* or the head of the family.
- (6) Twelfth month ceremony on the death of the *Karanavan* or the head of the family.

The rate of collection on these occasions is usually one-tenth of the *Michavarom* amount, or the annual net payment to the landlord. In the case of *Kanom* lands in temple estates, the minor payments are usually collected with a view to facilitate temple management. A prominent temple, for example, collects the following dues :—

For every 100 *paras* of paddy (as the landlord's share or *Janmi pattam*) the tenant is called on to pay—

Gingelly oil	..	..	4 Edangalis (176 oz.)
Straw (paddy stalk)	..	..	50 Bundles
Buttermilk	..	..	9 Edangalis
Plantains	..	..	50
Ghee for lighting purposes in the shrine—4as. 6ps.			

The usual rate of interest that is deducted by the landlord on account of the *Kanom* amount deposited with him is nearly 13 *paras* on Rs. 100. This works out, at the rate of 12 annas per *para*, at $9\frac{3}{4}$ per cent per annum.

The rates of renewal fees at the end of the twelfth year vary with different landlords¹ but the following table fairly

¹ In Cochin, however, the Regulation of 1924 lays down that the renewal fees shall be levied at the uniform rate of $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the *Kanom* amount.

indicates the items of collections. The unit here taken is a piece of land paying 150 *paras* of paddy as the landlord's share of the produce.¹

- (1) Landlord's 'signature-charge'—Rs. 4 with a minimum of Re. 1.
- (2) Writing charge—Rs. 4.
- (3) Muktyarnama (right of attorney)—Rs. 4.
- (4) Payment for the manager—Rs. 4.
- (5) Writer's 'batta'—4 annas.
- (6) An extra sum of Rs. 100.²

The State collects land-revenue from the landlord, but the actual incidence falls on the tenant; the latter expressly undertakes by contract to pay the present revenue as well as any additional revenue that the Government may impose at subsequent settlements. The tenant is at liberty to sell or dispose of the land in any way he pleases; the buyer has to report the matter to the landlord and get a fresh deed executed in his favour. No additional charge is made by the landlord.³

The variety of *Kanom* lease prevalent in coconut or arecanut plantations, where the cultivation does not begin and end with the agricultural year, is known as *Kulikanam* (from Dravidian *Kuli*—hollow or pit and *Kanom*). The tenant is entitled to quiet enjoyment for 12 years, but, if

¹ The landlord calculates his share of produce on the basis of two to five times the amount of seed sown in the land according to its fertility; thus in an acre it may vary from 16 to 40 *paras* of paddy. The interest on the *Kanom* amount plus Government assessment must be deducted to get at the *Michavarom* or landlord's net share.

² Fanciful sums are sometimes collected. Cases are known in Malabar in which out of the net produce in kind the Government revenue, the landlord's share (*Michavarom*) and the interest on the *Kanom* amount are deducted and the balance multiplied by twelve (the period of lease) valued at a fairly liberal price (e.g., 3½ *paras* per rupee) is collected as the renewal fee.

³ A prominent *Janmi* in Cochin collects 10% of the sale value from *Verumpattam* tenants of *Parambas* at the time of transference of holdings.

called on to surrender possession before the period is over, he is entitled to compensation for his work and improvements.

It is usual with some impecunious landlords to demand from the tenant a further sum of money (*Puramkadam*) besides the original *Kanom* amount, but the latter is entitled to deduct from the rent the interest on money so advanced. Should the tenant refuse to oblige the landlord, the latter sometimes executes a *Melkanom* in favour of another; and this *Melkanom*-holder will be entitled to redeem the *Kanom*-holder at the expiry of his term.¹

Sometimes the landlord executes a *panayam* or simple mortgage with or without possession in favour of a tenant. The terms of a *panayam* may be similar to those of a *Kanom*, but there are no implied covenants for quiet enjoyment for 12 years nor for compensation for improvements.²

In addition to these modes of transfer the landlord may make grants of land in perpetual leases as rewards (*Inam*) for services rendered or more commonly out of religious motives.³

The State Government as well as private landlords are *Uralars* or custodians or trustees of vast expanses of *Devaswom* or temple lands. The legal liabilities of managers are :—

(1) The general superintendence of all endowments is vested in the sovereign and is termed *Melkoyma*.

(2) The *Devaswom* is a corporation sole and acts through its *Uralars* or managers.

(3) The *Uralars* have no right to alienate trust property, but they may create subordinate tenures in accordance with local usage.

¹ The Cochin Tenancy Regulation of 1914 prohibits *Melkanom* or *Melcharth* except under certain specific conditions, but in British Malabar it still forms an engine of oppression in the hands of some unscrupulous landlords.

² L. Moore, *Malabar Law and Custom*.

³ *Ibid*.

(4) The *Uralars* have no authority to transfer their office and its duties together with the trust property to a stranger.

Lands held by the trustees in the name of a temple may have come into their possession in one of two ways. Some pious person might have entrusted the business of looking after the land which he had alienated to a temple to a manager; or an ancestor of the present manager might have made over a part of his property to the temple and his descendants are managing it in the name of the temple. The several expenses in connection with the temple are to be met out of the proceeds of rent, while the manager and his staff are usually paid a fixed amount in grain every year. In several instances the hereditary *uralars* are mere figure-heads while the actual management is in the hands of a *Karyastha* or manager. There is a State Department in Cochin to deal with those temple lands for which the State is the trustee.

Temple lands are also leased out under the several tenures—*Verumpattam*, *Kanom*, etc.,—by the *urqlars*. In common with the ordinary State-owned land, the tenures of such temple lands as are under the custody of the Sirkar were simplified and fixity of tenure conferred upon the tenants. The rent as well as certain special contributions to meet the expenses of temple management and festivals are collected in kind.

In former times the more important temple lands were managed by private *uralars*, who were often driven to the necessity of seeking the protection or aid of the Rajahs on account of internal dissensions or aggressiveness of neighbouring chiefs. The *Koyma* or supreme overlordship came thus to be vested in the Rajah, but the private *uralars* retained their autonomy. When a few prominent private *uralars* sided against the Rajah in his war with the Zamorin in the 18th century, the Rajah ejected his rivals and assumed

full authority over the temple-property under their control and thus for the first time such lands came under independent State control.¹ Owing to gross mismanagement several others were subsequently taken under State control. The total extent of such land managed by the State as trustee is about 55,805 acres, of which 9,577 acres are in Malabar, and 1,399 acres in Travancore. Thus nearly 10 per cent of the cultivable area in the State is temple property under Government management, while private *uralars* own quite a big area.

Though the complicated tenures under private landlords present opportunities for oppressing the tenants, it is to be noted that the *janmis* or owners have so far treated the latter with moderation; their prestige and authority depends on the prosperity and willingness to work on the part of their tenants. But the feeling of dependence galls and with the advent of full and unfettered competition the barriers of custom and sentiment are breaking down. This factor presents a serious problem for the State Government.

The Cochin Tenancy Bill, an extremely moderate measure, was passed in 1914 in the teeth of much opposition from the landlords. The Regulation intends to "make better provision for the payment of compensation for the improvements made by tenants, and provide for the speedy realization of rent and other customary dues, by investing the District Munsiffs and District Judges with summary jurisdiction in the matter". The provisions in the Regulation apply only to "*Kanom* tenants who, by themselves or through their predecessors-in-interest, have uninterruptedly held the holding for a period of not less than thirty years prior to the coming into force of this Regulation", and provide some restrictions in matters of renewal of *Kanom* holdings and ejections of *Kanom* tenants and dispense altogether with the right of *Melkanom*.

¹ *Cochin State Manual*.

Section II.

The following is the condition of ownership and tenure in the village Nelluvaya :—

				<i>Nilam</i> acres	<i>Paramba</i> acres
Sirkar <i>Verumpattam</i> (non-favourable lease)	..	..	..	0.40	38.18
Sirkar <i>Kanom</i>	..	..	..	3.26	5.10
Private ownership	..	..	..	414.55	517.12
Total				418.21	560.40

Private owners consist of individuals or undivided families and temples. Nearly 7 temples own lands in the village, three of which are managed by the Sirkar and the rest by private *uralars*.

Area of the three Sirkar-managed temple lands :—

	Tenure			<i>Nilam</i> acres	<i>Paramba</i> acres
A.	Simple lease	..	..	2.50	..
	<i>Kanom</i>	..	..	7.32	..
Total				9.82	..
B.	Simple lease	..	..	..	..
	<i>Kanom</i>	..	..	3.44	..
Total				3.44	..
C.	Simple lease	..	..	..	1.84
	<i>Kanom</i>	..	..	..	0.88
Total				..	2.72
Grand total				13.26	2.72

Temple land under private management :—

				<i>Nilam</i> acres	<i>Paramba</i> acres
No. I	..	..	..	6.77	..
No. II	..	..	..	0.38	..
No. III	..	..	..	33.12	32.01
No. IV	..	..	..	0.83	..
Total ..				41.10	32.01
Add Sirkar				13.26	2.72
Total ..				54.36	34.73

Village Inam.

No.	<i>Nilam</i>	<i>Paramba</i>	Held by
1.	1.48	..	A Nayar lady
2.	..	2.72	A Nambudiri lady
3.	..	1.18	Temple
4.	..	1.14	A Nambudiri Brahmin
5.	..	2.15	Do.
Total	1.48	7.19	

A Note on Kanom Tenure.

The origin of the *Kanom* form of tenure is variously discussed. The *Kanom* amount is invariably represented in money and we have to explain why the landlord demanded any money from his tenants on the basis of his land. Several theories have been suggested: (1) Some trace the origin to the old village organization of Malabar. The land, in theory, belonged to the peasants, but the net produce from the soil was divided into three equal shares, one to the Rajah, or ruling chief, another to the local chieftain or *Naduvazhi*

as he was called, who collected the king's revenue, and the third to be kept by the peasant himself. When the king required money for his constant wars with his neighbours, he collected money from his chiefs and peasants who were permitted to appropriate the king's share of the produce as interest on the amount lent. As the usual period for a king's rule was twelve years in ancient Malabar, this contract came to an end with that period.

(2) Others explain that *Kanom* is an advance of rent demanded by the proprietor to ensure the prompt payment of rent. The *Kanom* amount was therefore originally fixed to cover one year's *pattom* or rent, but subsequently when land-tax was imposed and their necessities increased, the proprietors involved themselves deeper in debt and therefore enhanced the *Kanom* amount. The tenants themselves were quite willing to pay greater and greater amounts to the landlord, as this was an effective means of checking the tendency of the landlord to evict them at the end of the twelve-year period. There is considerable force in this theory and is supported by the further fact that the practice is very common even to-day among small proprietors to demand money (known as *Katta Kanom* or advance rent) from their tenants before letting out the land on lease.

(3) Another theory compares it with the feudal form of tenure. In troublous times of yore the peasant proprietors placed themselves under the protection and supervision of a master in consideration for which service a sum of money was paid to him. As such payments were generally based on the extent of land possessed by an individual, they came to be connected with such land. The derivative meaning of the word *Kanom* (Dravidian, *Kanuka* = supervision or protection) is said to lend support to this view.

Whatever may be the origin, *Kanom* is not the same as *panayam* or simple mortgage, for in the latter there are no implied covenants for quiet enjoyment for 12 years or for compensation for improvements.

Copy of a Kanom Deed.

Kanom deed, executed by X and Y, the *uralars* or trustees of the temple to A, son of B, living in Desam N.

Whereas you have sold a portion of land executed in your favour in August 26, 1911, we renew the deed for the remaining portion of the holy land of the God in your possession, per conditions following. We have this day given to you to enjoy the property on which is settled the *Kanom* amount of Rs. 387 and you have to take care of the Survey stones within the boundaries and incur hereafter any expenses of future survey; and you have to pay 64 *paras* of paddy as *pattom* (rent), 11 *paras* of paddy for three *Varam*¹ festivals and Re. 1—12—7 as the price of ghee used for lighting the altar. Rs. 2 for the *varam* festivals, 24 *nalis* of gingelly oil, 6 *edangalis* of buttermilk and 112 bunches of straw. The paddy is to be brought by you to the temple-store in two instalments, one in *Kanni* (September-October) and the other in *Makaram* (January-February) and the amount of Rs. 3—12—7 to be paid in *Makaram* (January-February); 24 *nalis* of gingelly oil to be brought on or before the 30th of *Vrischikam* (about the 15th of December); 6 *edangalis* of buttermilk to be brought in *Kumbam* (February) on the 6th day of the *Utsavam*² festival. Also you have to conduct a festival in the temple in honour of the God in *Vrischikam* (November-December) every year and spend for the purpose 7 *paras*, 7 *edangalis* and 7 *nalis* of paddy, 10 *nalis* of gingelly oil and Re. 1—8—0. Besides you will have to pay, and obtain receipt for it from the *Devaswom*, the present Government revenue as well as any increase in revenue or additional cesses that may be imposed hereafter, provided that the total does not exceed the *Michavarom* amount.

¹ *Varam* is an act of worship in the temple performed by Brahmins after which they are sumptuously fed.

² *Utsavam*: On certain days in the year the deity in the temple is taken round the temple house on the back of an elephant or elephants accompanied by the Malabar band and some special *poojas* or acts of worship are performed on those days.

If the above payments are not duly made, an interest of 20 per cent in kind will be charged on paddy, gingelly oil, buttermilk and straw and of 24 per cent per annum on the money. If the Government revenue is not duly paid, paddy at the rate of 3 *paras* per rupee must be paid by you whenever demanded.

For these several things the *Kanom* amount and any improvements (*chamayam*) that you may make in the land are liable. Written in the hand of P on such and such a date with K and S as witnesses.

CHAPTER III.

HOLDINGS AND AREAS OF CULTIVATION.

Part of the land in the State is owned by the Sirkar and part by private landowners; the tenants in Sirkar lands may, however, be regarded as owners in fact. The actual cultivation of the soil is, however, carried on by petty peasant proprietors and tenants who usually provide their own capital or labour for the purpose. There may be a series of intermediaries between the ultimate landowner (with whom the Sirkar deals directly for revenue purposes) and the actual cultivator, all of whom sharing in the agricultural rent and some possessing limited rights of ownership such as free disposal or power of mortgage. Owing to the existence of a few big landowners whose estates are impartible and of vast stretches of land in the hands of temples, absentee landlordism is the inevitable result. The following is a brief sketch of the nature of the size of holdings in the typical paddy area of Nelluvaya:—

	Extent	In acres No. of pattas	Average per holder
<i>Sirkar land—</i>			
<i>Verumpattam</i>	.. 0.40 <i>Nilam</i>	1	0.40
Do.	.. 27.43 <i>Paramba</i>	17	1.61

Puravaka land—

<i>Verumpattam</i>	.. 414.55 <i>Nilam</i>	37	11.20
Do.	.. 517.22 <i>Paramba</i>	68	7.81

Temple *Sub-pattas* under Sirkar management :—

				In acres	No. of pattas	
				<i>Nilam</i>	<i>Paramba</i>	<i>Nil. Par.</i>
<i>No. 1</i>						
<i>Kanom</i>	..	..	7.32	..	6	..
<i>Verumpattam</i>	or simple lease		1.79	0.45	4	1
<i>No. 2</i>						
<i>Kanom</i>	..	..	3.44	..	4	1
<i>No. 3</i>						
<i>Kanom</i>	..	..	..	0.88	..	1
<i>Verumpattam</i>	or simple lease		..	1.84	..	3

Note.—There is a temple in the village, under private management, possessing extensive lands in and outside the village.

Total number of holders under Sirkar tenures:—

<i>Nilam</i>	<i>Paramba</i>
2	19

Extent of holdings classified:—

	<i>Nilam</i>	<i>Paramba</i>
No. of holders with more than 10 acres	..	1
Do. do. 5 to 10 acres	..	1
Do. do. 1 to 5 acres	1	9
Do. do. Below 1 acre	1	8
	2	19

Number of holders under private landownership:—

	<i>Nilam</i> 37	<i>Paramba</i> 68
No. of holders with more than 100 acres	1	..
Do. do. 90 acres	..	1
Do. do. 70 to 80 „	1	1
Do. do. 60 to 70 „	..	1
Do. do. 50 to 60 „	..	1
Do. do. 40 to 50 „	1	..
Do. do. 30 to 40 „	2	1
Do. do. 20 to 30 „	1	1
Do. do. 10 to 20 „	3	2
Do. do. 5 to 10 „	4	9
Do. do. 1 to 5 „	11	30
Do. do. below 1 acre	13	21
Total	37	68

Some typical joint holdings under private landowners:—

	<i>Nilam</i> (acres)	<i>Paramba</i> (acres)
(1) Nambudiri Brahmin	30.51	29.62
(2) Chakiyar ¹	44.30	64.72
(3) Nambudiri Brahmin	77.47	94.37
(4) Temple property	104.01	16.69
(5) Another temple	33.12	32.01
(6) Paliām (a private <i>janmi</i> or landlord)	22.02	77.99
Total ..	311.43	315.40

These six houses possess among them 75 per cent of *Nilams* (paddy-cultivable land) and 60 per cent of *Parambas* in the village under review. It is impossible to dispossess them of their holdings, as their estates are impartible, and

¹ *Chakiyar*, the name of a caste whose hereditary occupation is to recite Puranic stories in temples.

consequently the magic of free property is conspicuous by its absence. Out of 87 holders of *Paramba* land, 68 possess only 1 to 5 acres ; and of 39 holders of *Nilams*, 26 are of the same class. Thus cultivable land is broken up into fragments and such fragments in most cases are "conserved" in particular families.

Writers on Indian Economics have already called attention to the phenomenon of extreme fragmentation of holdings and of cultivation in this country. Even in the case of big landowners the phenomenon of fragmentation is inevitable as any purchase of new land can be made only in patches here and there from small holders whose possession is necessarily scattered here and there. The following further facts are disclosed by an analysis of conditions in the agricultural village.

There are 135 families in the village. Almost all the available *Parambas* are enclosed as compounds round houses in which coconuts, arecanut, jack trees, tamarind, mango or plaintains are grown. The house-site and the compound are held under different tenures on payment of a small quit-rent to the landlord. The Government has imposed a small tax on bearing coconut, arecanut, or jack trees. The trees and the house belong to the occupant, who cannot be evicted unless compensation (*chamayam*) is paid by the landlord. But there are no occasions for eviction of this sort in *Parambas* as in paddy-cultivable area where the land is unencumbered after the year's crop has been harvested.

There are only three individuals in the village (excluding temple property) who are land-owners in the strict sense. The total area possessed by them is 40 acres, but a part of this area is scattered in neighbouring villages. Thirty-eight individuals are interested either as *Kanom*-holders or tenants-at-will of big landholders or of non-cultivating *kanom*-holders. Out of 17 *Kanom*-holders (with an area of 60 acres), 10 have sublet their holdings while the rest cultivate them themselves. Twenty-three individuals are mere tenants-at-will, two of

whom being also holders of small patches of *Kanom* lands. The following are the areas taken out for cultivation by these and the number of blocks into which each one's area is divided :—

No.	Area	Blocks	Highest block	Lowest block
1.	0.25	1	..	..
2.	2.5	2	1.75	0.75
3.	0.75	1	..	..
4.	1.5	2	..	..
5.	0.5	1	..	..
6.	12.5	1	..	..
7.	2.5	1	..	..
8.	4.0	2	2.75	1.25
9.	1.5	1	..	..
10.	2.5	4	1.0	0.25
11.	2.9	3	1.25	0.67
12.	3.4	3	1.25	0.87
13.	0.5	1	..	..
14.	6.25	1	..	..
15.	3.75	1	..	..
16.	12.75	5	6.25	1.0
17.	3.75	3	1.62	1.25
18.	1.25	1	..	..
19.	1.0	2	0.75	0.25
20.	7.5	1	..	..
21.	2.5	2	1.25	1.0
22.	4.25	4	1.5	0.75
23.	8.12	5	3.0	1.0
86.42		48		

Thus 86.42 acres taken out for cultivation by 23 persons are scattered in 48 different places :—

Size of Plots	No. of Plots			
Over 10 acres	..	..	..	1
7 to 8 acres	..	..	..	1
6 to 7 acres	..	..	..	2

Size of Plots				No. of Plots
3 to 4 acres	..	..	..	2
2 to 3 acres	..	..	..	3
1 to 2 acres	..	..	..	24
Below 1 acre	..	..	..	15
				48

Attention may be called to the areas cultivated by each person :—

			No.	Per cent of total
Above 10 acres	..	..	2	8.7
5 to 10 acres ..	..	..	3	13.0
1 to 5 acres ..	..	..	14	60.9
Below 1 acre ..	..	..	4	17.4

Thus the great majority of cultivators have taken up 1 to 5 acres. These are by no means substantial farmers, but members of the poverty-stricken classes who could not find any other employment and who hope to engage themselves in some subsidiary occupation or other or raise some extra crops from the land for adding to their scanty income. In the case of these tenants the landlord indeed drives his bargain hard, and competition acting so vigorously as it does in a community which depends so much on the land, the rent that is paid is the utmost that can be squeezed out of the unfortunate tenant.

From the foregoing table the number with specified numbers of fragments may also be noted.

			No.	Per cent
1 fragment ..	..	..	11	48
2 fragments ..	..	..	5	22
3 fragments ..	..	..	3	13
4 fragments ..	..	..	2	9
5 fragments ..	..	..	2	9

These figures should, however, be taken together with the small area of acreage for each fragment.

A similar statement regarding *Kanom* holdings is given below :—

No.	Area	Blocks	Highest	Lowest
1.	1.5	2	1.1	0.4
2.	5.0	4	1.7	0.54
3.	2.5	1	2.5	..
4.	8.1	3	3.75	1.25
5.	2.5	2	1.5	1.0
6.	15.0	2	12.5	2.5
7.	3.1	1	3.1	..
8.	1.25	1	1.25	..
9.	7.7	6	2.5	0.4
10.	2.5	1	2.5	..
11.	2.0	2	1.5	0.5
12.	1.75	2	1.0	0.75
13.	1.0	1	1.0	..
14.	0.75	1	0.75	..
15.	1.9	1	1.9	..
16.	1.9	1	1.9	..
17.	6.25	1	6.25	..
64.7		32		

Thus 64.7 acres are held under *Kanom* tenure by 17 persons and they are scattered in 32 different places :—

Size of Plots	No. of Plots			
Over 10 acres	..	..	..	1
6 to 7 acres ..	..	..	..	1
3 to 4 acres ..	..	..	..	3
2 to 3 acres ..	..	..	..	5
1 to 2 acres ..	..	..	..	14
Below 1 acre ..	..	..	..	8

Turning to the number of holders and the extent of their holdings :—

			No.	Per cent
Above 10 acres	..	..	1	6
5 to 10 acres	..	..	4	23
1 to 5 acres	..	..	11	65
Below 1 acre	..	..	1	6
			—	
			17	

Thus the great majority of *Kanom*-holders possess 1 to 5 acres ; these are not very far removed from the tenants-at-will whose condition we already noted. The numbers with specified numbers of fragments stand as follows :—

			No.	Per cent
1 fragment	..	..	9	53
2 fragments	..	..	5	29
3 fragments	..	..	1	6
4 fragments	..	..	1	6
6 fragments	..	..	1	6
			—	
			17	

We may now place side by side the size of the areas held by the various holders (including *Kanom* tenants) and the size of the areas cultivated by the various cultivators :—

		Holdings		Areas cultivated by a single man	
		No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Over 10 acres	1	6		2	9
5 to 10 acres	4	23		3	13
1 to 5 acres	11	65		14	60
Below 1 acre	1	6		4	18
		—		—	
		17	100	23	100

A comparison between fragmentation of "holdings" and cultivation is given below :—

		Fragmentation of			
		(1) "Holdings"		(2) Cultivation	
		No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1	Fragment ...	9	53	11	48
2	Fragments ...	5	29	5	22
3	" ...	1	6	3	13
4	" ...	1	6	2	9
5	" ...	..	..	2	9
6	" ...	1	6	..	..

Economists have often described the evil effects resulting from the extreme fragmentation and smallness of holdings and their influence upon cultivation and the economic condition of the agricultural classes. If we take 5 acres to be an economic holding for rice lands in Cochin, the condition disclosed by the above figures indicates an extremely unsatisfactory state of affairs; the majority of tenants cultivate areas below that figure and hence have to seek some other employment. Even among holders of *pattas*, 26 out of 39 possess only 1 to 5 acres of rice land. These holders will therefore either have to take in more land for cultivation or sublet their holdings and take to other employments. Both these expedients are resorted to by the villagers.

The state of fragmentation, it has been pointed out, leads to want of economy in cultivation and stands in the way of intensive exploitation of farms. It also prevents effectively any outsider with capital from entering on cultivation on a large scale and this makes the introduction of new and better ideas in agriculture more difficult.¹ These

¹ Harold Mann, *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, Vol. I, pp. 53-54.

are to a great extent true, but some extenuating features may be noted in Cochin, at least in those areas where any extensive system of irrigation is not required. If the lands are not very far apart, supervision is not so very difficult and much time is not wasted in carrying the light implements from one part of the field to another. But the difficulty experienced by a tenant who may have to take out lands from a number of landowners in order that he may have an economic holding to cultivate or sufficient land to put in all his resources of capital and labour is a real one in Cochin as elsewhere in India. Partly owing to this cause and partly to the severe competition prevailing among cultivators of poor resources for a small patch of land, most of the tenants-at-will are a rack-rented class.

CHAPTER IV.

‘ CROPS, CULTIVATION, VEGETATION.

Paddy, the principal crop of cultivation in the village, is raised in two different seasons of the year, one during the South-West monsoon (June to September) and the other during the North-East monsoon (October to December). Some lands yield two crops a year, while others only one. An occasional third crop is raised in low-lying lands which can be artificially irrigated from a well or water-course, but the cost of cultivation is very high and is chiefly resorted to by cultivating labourers for the sake of work during summer months.

There are different varieties of paddy, some grown during the South-West monsoon only, others during the North-East monsoon only, while a few are grown as “Summer” (or *puncha*) crops.

The fields are slightly ploughed through when the soil is just moistened by the showers that precede the South-West monsoon. A small dose of cattle or green manure is applied to the ploughed field. The sod is then well crushed and with the downpour of the rains the field is once more well ploughed through with the country plough and with a wooden plank drawn by oxen. A good quantity of cattle dung and green manure is applied. If the paddy is to be transplanted, it is first sown in selected beds and then the grown-up paddy is pulled out after 4 or 5 weeks and replanted in the fields which have been made ready for them after a course of good ploughing and manuring.

The art of manuring is much neglected. This is not only due to the ignorance of the ryot about scientific manures, but also to his confidence on the natural fertility of the soil and the copious rainfall. The existence of a large number of petty farmers who are merely tenants-at-will of non-cultivating tenants is not conducive to the ready use of sufficient manure. The ryot, however, is neither conservative nor unwilling to use scientific manures, but really doubts whether they will prove profitable in the long run. Moreover the costly nature of some of them precludes their use by the small cultivators. Green manure and cow-dung form the chief items of manure. The practical agriculturist of these parts has laid down for himself that ten headloads of green manure together with ten basketfuls of cow-dung (also of the weight a single person carries on the head) costing one rupee are sufficient manure for a block of field in which one *para* of paddy-seed is sown. 80 basketfuls of cow-dung and 80 headloads of green manure are thus applied to the acre. But even this amount is seldom reached in practice. Green manure is not grown by the cultivator himself, but is obtained from a neighbouring hill or wood. But owing to the strict vigilance of the Forest Department this supply is becoming precarious. Cattle manure is wastefully prepared and what with the deterioration of the cattle breed and the habit of tending them in the open

fields, it is not procurable in sufficient quantity. There is no doubt that there is considerable scope for improvement in the matter of the application of manure. Experiments are being carried on by the Agricultural Department which manages a model farm near Trichur.

The use of heavy ploughs in place of the light country plough has often been recommended.¹ It seems, however, that a very heavy plough is not suited, economically and scientifically, to the conditions of this country. The difficulty in a temperate or cold country like England is for the furrows to be kept open after the ploughing is over, and therefore comparatively deep furrows have to be made. A heavier plough will also mean a heavier draught which is often beyond the poor resources of an Indian ryot. Deeper furrows will necessitate heavier manuring, and this, besides entailing greater cost, is wasteful in the case of paddy and other cereals whose roots do not penetrate well into the soil.

Some varieties of paddy take 60 days to grow to maturity, others 90 days and still others 120 days and even more. The early maturing seeds are never transplanted, but are allowed to grow in the field itself. Without transplantation, cultivation is thought to be a little risky, for, if weeds make their appearance, no harvest can be had ; but if there are no weeds, it is the more profitable of the two. The crop is harvested early or late in September according to the variety of seed sown. In the case of double crop *nilams*, a second crop is raised between October and December and the land is allowed to lie fallow between January and May.

Eight *paras* of paddy are sown in an acre and the yield is 8 to 20 fold ; in exceptionally good soil, the yield is more.

¹ The Superintendent of Agriculture, Cochin State, informs me that his Department recommends small iron ploughs which are not heavier than good country ploughs made of wood.

ONE ACRE.

Viruppu (June—August) when transplanted.

<i>Expenditure</i> :—	Rs. A. P.
Ploughing for sowing (2 ploughs for 1 day) @ 8 as.	1—0—0
Ploughing the ground, etc., (16 ploughs 9 times) @ 8 as.	8—0—0
Manure	8—0—0
Plucking the shoots (8 women for a day) ¹	2—0—0
Replanting (8 women a day)	2—0—0
Watching (4 <i>paras</i> of paddy for 15 to 20 days)	3—0—0
Water inspection	1—14—0
Seeds	8—0—0
Assessment	4—8—0
Total	38—6—0
<i>Income</i> :—	
Value of 90 <i>paras</i> of paddy @ 12 as.	67—8—0
Value of straw (10 headloads)	2—0—0
Total	69—8—0

The net gain is Rs. 31—2—0 for the landowner who cultivates his own field. In the case of those who take out land on lease, a part of the labour is supplied by themselves, and a part of the profits also goes to them. The assessment is calculated in the above table according to the *Pandaravaka Verumpattam* rates; in *Puravaka* lands the rates of assessment are less, but there are certain other payments to be made to the *Puravaka* landowner. The straw in *Viruppu* cultivation is not of much value, as it is of an inferior quality.

Note.—The price of paddy has been calculated throughout on the basis of 12 annas per *para*.²

¹ Women are usually paid in kind at the rate of about 3 *Fdangalis* per day which at the rate of 12 annas per *para* works out at 4 annas per head.

² The price of paddy fluctuates very much in recent years, Re. 1—2—0 per *para* in 1920, Re. 1—0—0 in 1921.

Viruppu—when not transplanted.

<i>Expenditure</i> :—			Rs. A. P.
Ploughing the acre	..	..	8—0—0
Manure	..	..	8—0—0
Weeding (16 women for a day) ..	..	..	4—0—0
Watching	..	..	3—0—0
Water inspection	..	..	1—14—0
Seeds	..	..	8—0—0
Assessment	..	..	4—8—0
Total ..			37—6—0

Income :—

Value of 90 <i>paras</i> @ 12 as. ..	..	..	67—8—0
Value of straw	..	..	1—0—0
Total ..			68—8—0

There is no great difference in the costs of cultivation in these two cases except that what is spent in transplanting in one case is spent in weeding in the other. If there are no weeds, as is sometimes the case, there is a gain in the latter method.

For the *Mundakam* cultivation (October—December), the same amount has to be expended, but the income is less.

<i>Income</i> :—			Rs. A. P.
Value of paddy 70 <i>paras</i> @ 12 as. ..	..	..	52—8—0
Value of straw (500 bunches or 20 headloads) ..	..	..	5—0—0
Total ..			57—8—0

Straw is extremely good and is in great demand as fodder for cattle and for thatching houses. When the seedlings are not transplanted the straw is not so good and can be valued at Rs. 2.

Punja or third crop.

<i>Expenditure</i> :—				Rs. A. P.
Ploughing, etc.	..	..	..	12—0—0
Manure	..	..	..	8—0—0
Weeding	..	..	..	4—0—0
Watching	..	..	..	3—0—0
Seeds	..	..	..	8—0—0
Assessment	..	..	..	4—8—0
Total				39—8—0
<i>Income</i> :—				
Value of 56 <i>paras</i> of paddy @ 12 as.				.. 42—0—0
Value of straw (250 bunches or 10 headloads)				2—0—0
Total				44—0—0

It will be noticed that in the above table no provision is made for watering the fields, on which the *Punja* cultivation entirely depends. If the fields are to be watered from wells the cultivation should be carried on at a loss; if there are means of irrigation by canals there may be some gain and with the cultivator's own labour the gain may be more. But as has been already pointed out, the cost of cultivation is very high in proportion to the income and therefore *Punja* cultivation is chiefly resorted to, not so much for profit, as for giving work to the agricultural labourer.

A word may be added on the method of transplantation. The Madras Agricultural Department has recently pointed out the advantages of single transplantation of paddy as being more economical in seed-rate and yielding a greater gross out-put. There are two supreme difficulties, at least on the West Coast, which render it impossible to adopt the method there. Even if there be no diminution in the yield of straw, useful for cattle and house thatching, the force of the monsoon rains is so great on the West Coast

that solitary seedlings are apt to be destroyed by inundations in low areas. This was the bitter experience of the Agricultural Department in the State whose Superintendent assured the present writer that that experiment was a failure and not worthy of imitation on a large scale.¹

Weeds and pests are the common enemies of paddy at various stages of its growth. Weeds are more in evidence when the paddy is grown without transplantation. The following are the more important among the weeds :—

MALAYALAM NAME

- (1) Narenga grass
- (2) Pathaya grass
- (3) Polla grass
- (4) Muthanga grass
- (5) Valakka Chathan
- (6) Vari
- (7) Kouta

Among the pests there are a few which do a great deal of harm to the crop. These are :—

(1) *Vilavu Chazhi*.—When a field is harvested and the neighbouring one is not ready, the latter is attacked by a kind of insect ; it is a small creature and does not allow the flowering plant to bear fruits.

(2) *Chazhi*.—Chazhi is a small insect with wings which eats off the juice of paddy in the milky stage. It usually attacks the second crop (*Mundakam* crop) ; if there are no winds which usually blow in that season, the insect thrives best and becomes the enemy of cultivation.

¹ The Superintendent of Agriculture, Cochin, lays down the following conditions under which single seedling system is bound to be advantageous :

- (1) The seedlings should be raised on lands well manured and should be strong.
- (2) The lands should be fairly rich.
- (3) They should not be subject to untimely floods.
- (4) The variety of paddy should have a long period for its growth
- (5) There should be adequate facilities for irrigation.

(3) *Mahali*.—It is not common, but attacks of this type are equally injurious. The ripening stalk is turned into a brownish colour and the plant refuses to flower.

(4) *Karukutty*.—It is a caterpillar which occasionally appears and eats off the tender blades of paddy as soon as they crop up from underground. The most conspicuous attack was in 1916 when these appeared at the beginning of the sowing season (May) and lasted for a week or two. Whole fields were attacked and paddy had to be sown afresh. The Agricultural Department recommended to dig a small trench along the four sides of a field into which the insects would fall in their travel from field to field and would not be able to get out of it.

Paddy is also raised as a fugitive crop on the slopes of low hills. The ground is well tilled a number of times between October and April and the seed is sown broadcast on the soil moistened by the early rains of the South-West monsoon and manured with cow-dung and ashes. The crop is generally harvested in September and if moisture is left in the ground, a crop of gingelly, horse-gram or red gram is raised in it. The field is then left fallow for two or three years when complete rest is allowed for the soil. In some hilly slopes, paddy is raised three years consecutively, with decreasing productiveness and diminishing yield, after which the ground is left fallow for another two or three years. In these cases the tracts are cleared of their overgrowths which are burnt in the field itself for increasing its fertility. No other manure is used for the first year, and very little is added during the subsequent two years. This sort of cultivation is locally known as *modan-krisshi*. A crop of red gram (*Cajanus indicus*) is raised along with the *modan*, no additional labour being required for its cultivation. The red gram also diminishes in its yield during the second and third years in the same field. Only suitable varieties of seeds are sown as *modan* in the first and the subsequent years.

The most common varieties are :—

Veluthakutty	}	during the first year.
Karuthakutty		
Veluthakutty		during the second year.
Arimodan		during the third year.

These are chosen in the above order for the three years because of the decreasing demand they make on the fertility of the soil. The crop is generally harvested at the beginning of August and the seeds are sown in the middle of May.

The following is the statement of expenditure and income from an acre during the first and the subsequent years ; a separate table is added on the income and expenditure from a crop of red gram raised along with the *modan*.

I YEAR.

<i>Expenditure.</i> —	Rs. A. P.
Forest growth cleared (16 men for a day @ 6 as.)	6—0—0
Ploughing (8 pairs of oxen ploughing three times a day)	4—0—0
Seeds	8—0—0
Picking weeds (bushy growths) (8 men for 2 days)	4—0—0
Watching (8 <i>paras</i> of paddy for 2 men for 20 days)	6—0—0
Assessment	0—6—0
Total ..	28—6—0

Income.—

Value of 80 *paras* of paddy @ 12 as. .. 60—0—0

The net profit to the cultivator is over Rs. 31 and to the working cultivator who provides the labour of himself and his family, it is more. The profits are greatly increased when a crop of *dal* is raised along with it, as is usually done. The red gram seed which is sown along with the *modan* is harvested only in December. Two *edangalis* of seeds are sown in an acre of *paramba*.

<i>Expenditure.</i> —			Rs. A. P.
Cost of seed	..	..	0—8—0
Watching (4 <i>paras</i> of paddy)	..	..	3—0—0
Cutting and harvesting (10 women for one day)			2—8—0
Total			6—0—0
<i>Income.</i> —			
Value of 25 <i>paras</i> of red gram @ Rs. 1—4—0			31—4—0

There is thus an additional profit of Rs. 25 to the acre.

II YEAR *Modan*.

<i>Expenditure.</i> —			Rs. A. P.
Clearing the growths..	..	..	2—0—0
Ploughing	..	..	4—0—0
Picking weeds	..	..	4—0—0
Watching	..	..	6—0—0
Assessment	..	..	0—6—0
Cost of seeds	..	..	8—0—0
Total			24—6—0
<i>Income.</i> —			
Value of 56 <i>paras</i> of paddy @ 12 as.	..	..	42—0—0

The net gain to the cultivator is Rs. 18 and with the cultivator's own labour it is more. The expenses for red gram are the same as before, while the yield is only 15 *paras* whose value @ Rs. 1—4—0 is Rs. 18—12—0. The net profit is thus Rs. 12—12—0 from red gram and Rs. 17—10—0 from paddy.

During the third year of cultivation the expenses are the same as in the previous year, but the yield is only 40 *paras* of paddy whose value @ 12 annas per *para* is Rs. 30. The ground is not favourable for cultivation of red gram; about 10 *paras* may be got. Thus the net profit during the third year cannot exceed Rs. 8. But with the cultivator's own labour it may be more.

Other minor crops are *Sama* (*Panicum miliare*), *Muthira* or Horse-gram (*Dolichos biflorus*) and gingelly (*sesamum indicum*).

Sama or *chama* is the poor man's food on the West Coast and of the rich on fasting days. It is sown in *nilams* in *Medom* (beginning of May), and is ready for harvest at the end of June ; after the crop is harvested, the field is made ready for the cultivation of paddy. In *parambas*, where paddy cannot be cultivated, it is sown at any time between May and August. Thus it serves as food for the cultivator when his paddy is maturing in the fields and, therefore, it is extensively cultivated by the poorer classes of cultivators. The variety which is raised during the period of the South-West monsoon is known as *viruppu chama*. Another variety grown only in *nilams* (paddy land) and not in *parambas*, is sown in October-November and harvested in December.

1 ACRE.

Expenditure.—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Ploughing (8 pairs of oxen ploughing thrice per day)	3	0	0
Seed (24 <i>edangalis</i> per acre)	2	8	0
Watching (4 <i>paras</i> of paddy for 2 men for 15 days) ..	3	0	0
Harvesting (15 women for 1 day @ 3 as.) ..	2	13	0
Total ..	11	5	0

Income.—

Value of 20 <i>paras</i> of <i>chama</i> @ Re. 1 ..	20	0	0
Value of straw	0	0	0
Total ..	20	0	0

The net gain is Rs. 8—11—0 but with cultivator's own labour it will be more. Moreover, it is not raised as a money crop ; but chiefly as a subsidiary crop to help the cultivator to tide over the pre-harvest months of July and August.

Horse-gram (*Dolichos biflorus*) is another pulse which is occasionally raised in *nilams* or *parambas* as a subsidiary crop. The grain is used as food for cattle and horses as well as by man. There are three varieties, black, grey, or mottled seeds; the crop is sown on the poorest and thinnest red soils.¹ It is sown at the beginning of October in *nilams* or paddy lands, after paddy has been harvested, and in the beginning of September in *parambas*. The ground is well ploughed with the country plough. No manure is applied.

Expenditure.—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Ploughing (6 pairs of oxen for 1 day) @ 8 as...	3	0	0
Seeds (24 <i>edangalis</i>)	2	8	0
Harvesting (12 coolies @ 4 as. per day) ..	3	0	0
Total ..	8	8	0

Income.—

Value of 20 *paras* of horse-gram @ Re. 1 .. 20—0—0

There is a net profit of over Rs. 10 from an acre. The prices of horse-gram and of other cereals and pulses have gone up very much recently (1918-19) and the cost of cultivation has not gone up to the same extent. The cultivator is able to get a good income out of this money crop.

An occasional crop of gingelly is also raised from *nilams* and *parambas*. Seeds are sown in *parambas* in the beginning of September or in *nilams* during December to February, and harvested after three months. No manure is usually applied.

One peculiarity about the raising of these minor crops (*sama*, horse-gram, gingelly, etc.) may be mentioned. As the cultivator usually takes out a piece of land on lease for a year and as the rent to the landlord is stipulated and paid on the yield of paddy alone that is raised from the soil, the other minor crops can be appropriated by the lease-holder though in recent times the poorer classes of landholders demand a part of the minor crops for themselves.

¹ *Vide* Wood, *Agricultural Facts and Figures*.

<i>Expenditure.</i> —				Rs.	A.	P.
Ploughing (8 pairs of oxen ploughing 7 times for two days)	..	..	..	8	0	0
Seed ($2\frac{1}{2}$ <i>edangalis</i>)	..	..	..	0	10	0
Cutting and harvesting (12 women @ 4 as. for one day)	..	..	..	3	0	0
<i>Income.</i> —				Total .. 11-10-0		
Value of 15 <i>paras</i> of gingelly @ Rs. 2-8-0				..	37	8-0

The net gain is Rs. 25-14-0. Gingelly is a very profitable crop, but the yield is considerably poor in very many areas.

As paddy depends on water for its growth, monsoon rains are the chief support. After the rains are over, it is usual to put up mud bunds across water-courses, if any. The water is then baled out to irrigate the *puncha* fields, or vegetable gardens. Small wells are sometimes dug in paddy fields for the same purpose.

My attention was repeatedly drawn by ryots and those interested in cultivation to the vast possibilities of tank and well-irrigation in the village and in the Northern Taluks of the State. Water rushes down the hills during the monsoon and runs to waste through *nullas* and water-courses at a time when it is least needed for purposes of irrigation. If such water could be collected in tank-beds, it would be of immense use throughout the year. In the Cochin State, where an enormous quantity of rain falls, it would also be possible to make a more extended use of water stored underground. But the construction of such tanks is beyond the resources of small cultivators and petty tenants. The big *janmis* or landlords could take up the work in their own lands, but they are more often than not absentees living in a distant place interested only in the punctual collection of their dues.

Experiments are being made at the Central Agricultural Farm near Trichur to demonstrate the possibilities of

economic cultivation of other crops. The cultivation of sugarcane is recommended as most profitable, and is actually followed by ryots here and there in different parts of the State. In a bulletin recently published by the Agricultural Department the cost and profits of cultivation of sugarcane in half an acre of ground are thus estimated :—

<i>Expenditure.</i> —				Rs.	A.	P.
Seed	..	..	..	..	12—0—0	
Manuring	..	..	..	..	86—0—0	
Ploughing, etc.	..	..	..	..	25—10—0	
Digging, weeding	..	..	..	..	14—0—0	
Planting and watering		..	..	..	53—8—0	
Harvesting and preparing <i>gul</i>	..	..	..	..	66—0—9	
Assessment	..	..	..	..	2—0—0	
				Total	..	259—2—9
<i>Income.</i> —						
Sale of 2,242 sugarcanes	..	..	..	..	104—8—7	
<i>Gul</i> (2,043½ rathals)	..	..	..	..	208—12—11	
Sale of 20,000 cane heads	..	..	..	..	40—0—0	
				Total	..	353—5—6

Though sugarcane is a very profitable crop and there is a great and increasing demand for *gul* and sugar in the West Coast, the average ryot cannot hope to cultivate it for the excellent reason that the initial cost of cultivation is beyond his resources. That the soil is in many parts suited for its cultivation is testified to by the fact that there is in evidence in recent years a tendency to cultivate sugarcane in select areas by enterprising European planters and well-to-do Indian capitalists.

Besides paddy and other cereals, several varieties of plantains and fruit-trees abound in the village. The mango, the tamarind, the jack and coconut trees are valued for their timber and fruits alike. A census of trees was taken in the summer of 1918 and it was found that in

the village of Nelluvaya there were roughly 9,000 areca palms (of which about 5,000 were bearing fruits), 250 coconut palms, 200 mango trees, 200 jack trees and 30 tamarind trees. These trees are seldom planted over vast areas on a commercial scale, but are allowed to grow in house-compounds or in *parambas*.

Twenty to twenty-five mango trees can be planted in an acre in rich soils where they spread well, but as many as 50 may grow in poor and gravelly soil. The tree bears in about 7 to 8 years. The value of the fruit varies with the variety, but an average annual yield of about Rs. 2 to 3 may be expected from each tree. There are two well-known varieties, one more acid in taste than the other, but minor differences in taste occur in fruits under each of the two groups. Trunks are extensively used for house-construction and firewood.¹

At the close of the South-West monsoon, seedlings of the jack raised from well-chosen nuts of young trees are planted in pits; if transplanted, they are done so when the seedlings are 4 to 6 months old. Red loams with an admixture of gravel are best suited and about 20 trees may be planted in an acre. The tree begins to bear in about 10 to 12 years, and lives for over 100 years; flowers in December-January and harvest is completed in June-July. The yield per tree varies from 5 to 200 fruits worth 5 annas to 5 rupees. There are two varieties, hard and soft, known as *Varikai* and *Pazhom*. The wood, with golden yellow colour, is hard and as it lends itself to good polish is excellent for all kinds of wood-work.²

Tamarind-fruit is an indispensable article of diet among all classes. The tree grows slowly, begins to bear in about 20 years and lives long over 100 to 150 years. The yield per tree is worth about Rs. 10 per year on an average.

Different varieties of plantains are grown extensively on the West Coast. One well-known variety is the banana

¹ *Vide* Wood, *Agricultural Facts and Figures*.

² *Ibid.*

or *nentra* ; Nelluvaya and the surrounding tracts are best suited for its cultivation. As the banana plantain requires much watering and manuring, it is generally planted in low lands or cultivable paddy flats. The shoot is generally planted about the end of October and the fruits come to maturity in about ten to eleven months. About 700 shoots are generally planted in an acre, but 650 may be taken as the normal number. Cattle and green manures are used. Watering is regularly done for four months from February to May and Rs. 5 per month will be the labour-charge for that purpose. The following is the statement of income and expenditure for an acre of banana garden :—

<i>Expenditure.</i> —		Rs.	A.	P.
Cost of 700 shoots @ 6 pies ..	..	21	14	0
Cost of digging 700 pits @ 4 pies ..	..	14	9	4
Manure—				
Cow dung (2 baskets @ 6 pies to be applied twice) ..	..	21	14	0
Green manure do. do. ..	..	32	13	0
Ashes ..	..	15	0	0
Watering for four months ..	..	20	0	0
Cooly charges ..	..	5	8	0
Support for plants (2 per tree @ 6 pies each) ..	..	15	0	0
Watching ..	..	10	0	0
Assessment ..	..	4	8	0
		Total..	161	2—4
<i>Income.</i> —				
Value of bunches @ 8 as. on an average per plant ..	..	350	0	0
Value of plantain shoots (2 per plant) ..	..	43	12	0
		Total..	393	12—0

The expenses of marketing and some minor items have to be deducted to get at the net profit. The demand for the fruits is greatest at the *Onam* season, a Malabar festival lasting four days about the middle of September heralding

the coming of plenty. At the lowest estimate an acre of banana plantain brings in a net profit of Rs. 100 to 150. It thrives best in red loamy soil along the bank of the water-course.

The above income is ideal and will be realized only when all the 700 shoots in an acre bear fruits. This village is specially suited for its production and is favoured by cheap labour and good water-facilities. The cost of cultivation and income may differ in other places. The Director of Agriculture, Cochin, supplies me with the following information collected from a planter at Ollurkara, near Trichur.

BANANA CULTIVATION.

Information collected from a planter at Ollurkara.

In one acre and 4 cents he planted nearly 850 bananas last year.

Cost of pits.—Rs. 2—8—0 per 100.

Details of Manuring.—1 big bundle of green leaf costing 1 anna 3 pies to 1 anna 6 pies—applied to 4 plants.

At the time of planting he applied $\frac{1}{4}$ para of ashes ; cost Rs. 4 per 100 paras.

One big basket of buffalo dung or 2 baskets of bullock dung per plant.

$\frac{1}{4}$ para of goats dung mixed with ashes per plant.

Details of Irrigation.—He engaged 2 men and a pair of bullocks, i.e. 1 man for working animals and the other man for guiding water. This cost him 8 annas for human labour, a minimum of 4 annas per pair of animals, i.e., 12 annas per day.

For 15 to 16 irrigations per month the cost is Rs. 12. 5 months' irrigation costs Rs. 60.

Supports.—He purchased bamboos at Rs. 25 to 30 per 100. One bamboo can be converted into 4 supports. 400 supports will thus cost Rs. 25. For the whole planting say Rs. 55.

Watching.—He was paying Rs. 10 per month for 2½ months. He sold the whole crop at Rs. 12—8—0 per 1,000 fruits. A bunch fetched at an average of Annas 10. He sold also 1,000 suckers at Rs 5 per 100.

Cost of 400 suckers used for his own plantation @ Rs. 3 per 100 is Rs. 12. Total Rs. 62.

Other kinds of plantain are not so costly to cultivate but the profits are less. The chief varieties are the following:—

Malayalam Name

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Nattupuvvam | 9. Venniran kunnan |
| 2. Irumutipuvvam | 10. Maniyilla kunnan |
| 3. Kathali | 11. Irumudi kunnan |
| 4. Vatakkam Kathali | 12. Chenkathali |
| 5. Chingan | 13. Vannan |
| 6. Palayankotan | 14. Neentra vannan |
| 7. Valia kunnan | 15. Malavannan |
| 8. Cheria kunnan | 16. Neivannan |
| | 17. Chetti |

The fruits of the first twelve sorts in the above list are chiefly eaten when ripe, though occasionally in their raw state they are used in the preparation of curry. But the rest are almost invariably used for curry and not allowed to get ripe.

The ideal soil for plantains is that which contains three-fourths clay and one-fourth sand. On the subsidence of the North-East monsoon about the middle of November, the ground is to be well ploughed five or six times. In May, about 660 suckers are planted in an acre in pits measuring 2½ feet square by 2 feet deep. Channels are dug in both directions, dividing the land into a number of beds. Cattle manure and ash manure or dead leaves are applied after planting. Irrigation is seldom required as the rainfall is fairly sufficient, but occasional watering in the hot season may do much good. The plants bear fruits in about 18 months. The same shoots may stand 3 years in one place and the ground must be changed every six years. The

expenditure for the first year will be Rs. 100 per acre and only Rs. 20 to 30 each year for the two subsequent years, and the gross income will at least be Rs. 150 per annum. The net income for a three-year period is nearly Rs. 300, or Rs. 100 per annum.

Several kinds of vegetables are raised annually, some in the rainy season (June to September) and others in the hot season (January to April). Irrigation is necessary in the latter case. They are cultivated in *parambas* or house-compounds or farmsteads as well as in single crop lands after the first crop is harvested about October. The chief of these are the following:—

Malayalam Name	English Name	Scientific Name
Valutananga	Brinjals	<i>Solanum melongena</i>
Vendakka	Lady's finger	<i>Hibiscus exculentus</i>
Velliri	Cucumber	<i>Cucumis sativus</i>
Mathan	Pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita masccima</i>
Elavan	Pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita moschata</i>
Potavalanga	Snake gourd	<i>Trichosanthes dioeca</i>
Pavakka	Bitter gourd	<i>Momordica charantia</i>
Chena	Elephant yam	<i>Arum campanulatum</i>
Chempu	Colocasia	<i>Caladium esculentum</i>
Payar	Cow-pea	<i>Vigna catjang</i>
Avara	Bean	<i>Lab-lab</i>
Kuvva	Arrow-root	<i>Maranta aurandi-nacea</i>
Inchi	Ginger	<i>Zingiber officinale</i>
Kirathandu	Amaranth	<i>Amaranthus gangeticus</i>
Manjal	Turmeric	<i>Curcuma longa</i>

These are consumed largely by vegetarians.

Among the most important fruit trees are the coconut and areca palms. The coconut thrives best in the sandy tracts of the coastal regions, while the areca palm is a favourite in the laterite regions of the northern Taluks and thrives

well in the village, Nelluvaya. The areca palm requires more watering and manuring than coconut. Cow-dung and green manures are extensively used. The trees are watered in the hot weather from a well every alternate day. In a fairly good plantation the average annual yield of a tree is over 200 nuts, worth about 4 annas, and about five to six hundred trees can be planted in an acre.

It is usually planted in the compounds of houses and *parambas*. When about 6 months old, the young shoots are transplanted, generally in June-July. They begin to bear in about 10 years. The nuts are used for chewing with betel-leaves, while the trunk is used for house-building.

Mahali is a well-known epidemic disease which destroys areca palms. It is a kind of fungus which settles in the nuts. Its seeds are carried from tree to tree by the winds that follow the outbreak of the South-West monsoon. The disease generally makes its appearance in June-July. Efforts are being made by the Agricultural Department to combat the disease.

CHAPTER V.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND STOCK.

The implements employed in paddy-cultivation are primitive and old-fashioned. These are :—

				Rs. A. P.
(1) The plough with yokes	..	..	..	0-12-0
(2) <i>Mutti</i> or clod-crusher	..	..	..	0-8-0
(3) Levelling board	..	..	1-8-0 to	2-0-0
(4) A stick to crush sod	..	..	..	0-1-0
(5) A spade	..	..	..	1-0-0
(6) A big knife	..	..	..	0-6-0
(7) A sickle	..	..	..	0-2-0
(8) Water-lifts of which there are five well-known sorts.				

The plough is of the ordinary country type. A sharp iron piece of about the width of the human palm is attached to the end of a wooden frame which is provided with a handle ; this frame together with a pole—four to five feet long—is tied to a yoke which is placed on the neck of a pair of oxen or buffaloes. The sod is crushed by six or seven female workers who, standing in a row, move to and fro the handy sticks which they hold in their hands. Then the field is levelled with a wooden roller. With the down-pour of the rains the field is once more ploughed with a comparatively heavy wooden plank. This plank is five to six feet long, six to nine inches wide and one inch thick and is provided with a handle which the worker standing upon it holds in his hand and the whole frame is drawn by oxen or buffaloes.

Irrigation from wells is confined, as we have seen, to garden cultivation and sometimes to the raising of the third crop of paddy. The water-wheel (Persian wheel), which costs about Rs. 35, is very rarely used except in *kol* fields¹ where water has to be lifted out of the land. The *mhote* too is seldom seen in these parts. The more common sorts of water-lifts are :—(1) An oval shaped bamboo-basket (costing about 3 to 4 as.) ; (2) a wooden groove provided with a handle, costing about Re. 1 ; and (3) a frame-work consisting of two long bamboos, one small and another big in size, balanced on a horizontal beam which is supported by two vertical poles ; a picottah is attached to the small sized bamboo and is drawn up and brought down by one or two persons standing opposite each other on two planks thrown across the middle of the well. The whole frame together with the picottah costs Rs. 5. The oval shaped basket and the wooden groove are usually used to bale out water from water-courses and not from wells. Two persons, generally women, stand opposite each other on the

¹ Lands, bordering backwaters, which are under water in the rainy season, but usually dry in summer.

side of a water-course and pull the basket towards themselves by means of ropes tied round its "ears" after filling it up with water; the work of taking out water is carried out with extreme ease and facility. The wooden groove is allowed to swing on a string and is moved to and fro by a person catching the handle.

Oxen are used to drag carts and for ploughing the fields. Most of the bullocks are lean and weak; oxen used to draw carts are better.

Cows are used for milking only, though Muhammadans are not averse to eating beef now and then. The cows are not brought up on scientific lines and are consequently of a weak build and generally yield from 4 *nalis* (1 *nali*— $\frac{1}{5}$ of a Madras measure—11 fluid ounces) to 6 to 8 *nalis* of milk per day.

Male buffaloes are used in ploughing and sometimes to draw loaded carts. These too are of weak build.

Cow buffaloes are valued mostly for their milk, but are sometimes used for ploughing. The milk they yield is greater in quantity, and though rich is less valued by the people.

Very little care is taken of the young of the above species. The calf and calf-buffaloes are not usually reared with the object of getting strong or vigorous oxen or buffaloes. Some die off young, especially the buffalo-calf since the buffalo can be milked without its young. The usual practice is to buy cows or buffaloes from a fair for milking purposes and to dispose of them when the milk dries up.

There are no horses, donkeys and mules in the village.

Sheep and goats are fairly abundant and are valued for their mutton and milk. The milk is thought to contain medicinal properties. Mutton is in demand among the Christians, Muhammadans and the lower classes of Hindus. It is, however, a luxury among the meat-eaters and is not regularly consumed by the poor.

Pigs are reared for their flesh by the local Christians ; the Muhammadans consider it to be a sacrilege even to utter its name.

Cows, oxen and buffaloes are made to stand in stalls, two or more being allowed to remain in the same stall. Rice straw forms the chief food, and green grass is used during the rainy season. Rice dust and *poonac* (coconut-oil, and, in some cases, gingelly-oil, cake) mixed in water is given as drink. Cows are let out during day time under the care of a keeper to feed in the fields or *parambas*. The cow-herd demands 4 as. to 8 as. per head per month. The more common food given to the cattle and its approximate value per day are as follows :—

			Rs.	A.	P.
<i>Cows</i> :—					
6 bundles of straw	..	..	0	1	3
Coconut-oil cake	..	..	0	1	0
Rice dust	..	..	0	0	3
Grass in rainy season	..	..	0	0	6
		Total ..	0	3	0

Cows are well fed during milking time, but are shamefully neglected when dry.

			Rs.	A.	P.
<i>Buffaloes</i> :—					
10 bundles of straw	..	..	0	2	0
Coconutoil-cake	..	..	0	2	0
Rice dust	..	..	0	0	6
Cotton seed	..	..	0	1	6
		Total ..	0	6	0

Paddy straw is the chief fodder for the cattle. Several varieties of grass grow wildly in paddy fields and hill-slopes. In spite of the concessions made by the Forest Department, the ryots find it difficult to graze their cattle in *porambokes*, adjoining their villages, administered by that Department. The unsympathetic attitude of the petty forest

officials is the cause and it is certainly to be desired that the Department does not, in this, as in other matters, sacrifice the benefits of the present generation in the supposed interests of posterity.

Feeding and breeding of cattle are grossly neglected. Cows and she-buffaloes are often kept dry for a year or two without being crossed by the sire ; the practice is usually to allow anybody's sire to cover anybody's cow. Maintaining Brahmini bulls, once enjoined as a pious duty, is now grossly neglected. If properly bred, cows should average a calf a year, but people are lucky if they get one once in two or three years.

Actual Census of stock was taken by me in the village, Nelluvaya.

At the time of Census (1918) there were 31 cows in the village of which 21 were dry and the rest giving milk not exceeding in quantity from three to four *nalis* each (nearly 2 pints). There were 11 calves. There were 42 goats some of them giving milk. There were 5 cow-buffaloes of which 3 were dry. The quantity of milk yielded by these had to serve the requirements of 121 families of 680 souls. The quantity is obviously inadequate, while only a small quantity of supply is got from a neighbouring village. The majority of the people are non-Brahmins not accustomed to using milk-products of any kind.

As regards the agricultural stock, there were 38 bullocks which were valued at Rs. 631 and 64 he-buffaloes valued at Rs. 1,268. There were thus 51 pairs of stock for an area taken up for cultivation by the villagers extending over 151 acres. This works out at the rate of a pair for 3 acres. This is sufficient as it is considered that four acres of wet land to a pair of bullocks is, as a general rule, about the right proportion. But it must be mentioned that the quality of live-stock used is poor and that they are not properly distributed among all the cultivators. The poor do not own any stock but have to hire them during the ploughing season ; or they may buy a pair which they sell after the work is over.

CHAPTER VI.

CREDIT AND INDEBTEDNESS.

Section I.

The problem of agricultural indebtedness in India has reference to small landowners and cultivating tenants. It is generally true that in an agricultural community where small holdings and cultivation of small areas prevail the majority of the agricultural classes are in debt. The pressure of the population on the soil which is inevitable in a land where there is no diversity of occupation, the constantly recurring need for fixed and circulating capital in agriculture, the fatal facility for borrowing, the action of the money lenders, the custom of partition among co-heirs, all these factors wherever they exist, whether in Europe or in India, have always produced the same result, namely, indebtedness among the peasants. The rise in land values which has taken place in Cochin as elsewhere affords an additional temptation to the peasant to mortgage his land to the money-lender. It is untrue, however, to suggest that the average Cochin ryot is inclined to borrow on every possible occasion, and unfair to call him improvident or regard him as being careless of the future. He is not averse to save, but his low earnings effectively render it impossible for him to accumulate wealth.

Indebtedness in itself is no evil, but when it gets beyond a certain limit and among certain classes of workers it is an unmitigated evil.

Credit is the bedrock of agricultural finance in all countries, and in its absence the small agriculturist invariably fails. Europe has sought a solution for the problem in the co-operative credit society ; India is following its example. India has her own systems of credit in her *Nidhis*, *Kuris*

and the like institutions, but they are not organized in such a way as to help the cultivator with the means or money required at the vital time of the year. The individual money-lender has reigned supreme in the village.

The money-lender who is generally a grain-dealer, cloth merchant, and a jack-of-all-trades, is an indispensable figure in the rural economy. Every typical village has at least one usurer who finances the local cultivation and local trade. He performs a really useful function when he finances the cultivator but is censured when he extorts exorbitant rates of interest. But it is not to be forgotten, however, that his high rate of interest is to a great extent due to the bad security of his debtors. The normal rate of interest on the West Coast for an average well-to-do borrower is 12 per cent per annum which is spoken of as *fair*, but instances of higher rates are not rare.

The small cultivator often borrows paddy at the sowing season to meet his labour charges and binds himself to pay generally a quarter more at the time of the harvest.¹ But with the rise in the price of paddy, the cultivator borrows more of money and less of paddy to meet the expenses of cultivation. Cases are not rare where the creditor has to wait till the next harvest, for at the immediate harvest the cultivator may not possess the means to pay off the whole amount. The usual practice in such cases is for the borrower to execute a pro-note saying he would pay back the amount of debt and interest to the creditor whenever the latter requires it. And once the client is in his grip the lender knows well enough how to squeeze out money from the unfortunate victim. There is also a usual arrangement between the small non-cultivating landowner and his tenant whereby the former undertakes to advance seed and the labour charges to the latter which have to

¹ It is also usual for the borrower to buy paddy at the high rate prevailing at the time (say 14 as. per *para*), and besides interest on the amount to undertake to pay back paddy for the original amount at the low price ruling at the time of harvest (say 8 or 9 as.).

be repaid at the time of harvest. In this case the landowner supervises the work and will be present in the fields while paddy is being harvested. The tenant cultivator has simply to gather together the necessary number of labourers, himself and other members of his family putting forth what labour they can during the different periods of agricultural operations.

One peculiar feature of the cultivation of paddy is that its labour charges are concentrated in a few months, while the maximum income can be realized only a few months later. There is a difference in the harvest price and normal price of paddy ; it is invariably cheaper at the time of harvest than at other seasons of the year. The granary of the well-to-do landlords,—and there are a number of them in Cochin and Malabar,—is a steadying factor in the matter of equal distribution of paddy throughout the year without abnormal variations in prices ; but the tendency for commuting their income in kind for its money equivalent on account of the facilities for collecting the latter, is making its appearance among the most important of the *janmis* or landlords. For good or ill, the tendency is gaining ground to realize the money-value of the crop as soon as possible after keeping the necessary amount for annual consumption in the granary. Improved means of communication which have brought distant markets near, is doubtless one of the causes for this change. The collection of Government kist in money soon after the harvest compels the small ryot to sell his paddy at once instead of waiting for a more favourable time. Whatever may be the cause, the price of paddy is comparatively low at the time of harvest and gets higher as the season proceeds. The necessitous cultivator is thus at a disadvantage in that he cannot afford to wait.

Capital of some sort is indispensable for production, and the accumulation of capital is conditioned by the habit of saving. Saving in itself is no virtue and perhaps is not to be recommended in the case of people earning only just sufficient wealth to satisfy their bare necessities of

life, for it is absurd to sacrifice the present if that involves jeopardy to the future. But in every community there are individuals who can put by such means which ultimately come to act as capital. The motives for saving in the case of those individuals are various, but it is agreed that proper institutions for facilitating small savings and making them available for use in business are essential for sound economic progress.

One of the chief effects of the caste-system, at least in those cases where the division of labour according to caste is followed as among the artisan classes generally, is that there is no inducement for these people to effect great savings and thus better their social position. They are more or less assured of a certain income, and as from father to son they must engage themselves in the same work, they are willing to live from day to day trusting on their children to take care of them in their old age. These artisan castes and the many depressed classes of Hindu society have lived the same economic life through the centuries and rarely exhibit any tendency to build up a fortune and rise to a better economic position in society. These have for so long lived under such conditions that the feeling is fairly common among them that wealth, enjoyment and power are for the so-called higher castes and not for them.

Another striking fact is the low value of capital used in the several industries. The implements used in agriculture cost an extremely small amount. The intensive application of capital and labour in the fields is effectively barred by custom which is only perpetuated by the fragmentary nature of holdings and of cultivation. The artisans are most of them independent workers and employ tools worth a few rupees. The retail trade in the village is not a big affair, while a small amount can be turned over again and again in a comparatively short period of time.

The chief methods of accumulating savings in rural areas are through money-lending or by subscribing to *kuri* or chit fund. People are willing as a rule to lend money

to neighbours at twelve per cent per annum which is considered to be the ordinary and *fair* rate of interest. Six to eight per cent are not uncommon rates in the dealings between the big landlords or the very rich.

The *kuri* or chit fund is a well-known institution in Malabar. There are three well-known varieties and they are prevalent in one form or other in every village in Cochin. They are :—(1) Lottery *kuri* ; (2) Auction *kuri* ; (3) *Changati kuri* (*i.e.*, a *kuri* intended for the use of friends or to promote friendly feeling among the members).

(1) Lottery *kuri*.—A number of persons agree that each should subscribe a certain sum of money (the share amount for each being determined beforehand) by periodical instalments and that each in his turn, as determined by lot, should take the whole of the subscription for each instalment, all being returned the amount of their subscriptions. This is the common form, but there are some surreptitious varieties. The common fund which is collected by means of the first instalment of member's subscriptions is appropriated by the stake-holder (*i.e.*, the member in charge of management) who thus gets the interest on the amount for the rest of the period.

The Society is a provident club conducted on business principles. It is usual for the prize-holder to execute an instalment bond for the amount of his future subscriptions in favour of the stake-holder which contains the usual clause for enforcing the whole sum if one instalment is not paid.¹

(2) A more common form is what is called *lela-kuri* or auction chit. The stake-holder appropriates the *kuri* amount or the first instalment of shares for his use and thereafter he subscribes the same amount in shares as the other members at every periodical instalment of the collection of shares. The total amount of capital is thrown open for auction at every turn and is settled on the lowest bidder. The rebate is divided equally among all the members, whose

¹ Vide Lewis Moore, *Malabar Law and Custom*.

amount is deducted from the shares of subscription of members for the turn. The amount of rebate does not usually go below the ordinary rate of interest on the amount knocked down, but it is not unlikely that competition may send up the rebate even beyond the ordinary interest charge. The co-operative credit society, on the other hand, refuses to take advantage of the needs of the necessitous since it insists on a uniform rate of interest and dispenses with the action of competing borrowers. Moreover, the credit society can afford to give money at any time of the year and any amount, but the borrower has to wait for the periodical turn of the chit-fund.

(3) *Changati kuri* (*Changati*—friend), as the term indicates, implies a social purpose behind it. The institution has fallen into disuse in its original form of a meeting of friends for the purpose of discussing or inquiring into the conduct of any individual on the day fixed for the subscription to the *kuri*. It is not confined to people of the same caste, but different castes may be represented in it. Its working may be thus described:—Suppose there are twenty members and the society is limited to 20 months' duration. Every member is obliged to give an entertainment to the party once in the course of this period at his own house. Lot decides every month the person to whom the amount is to be paid and the person who gets the sum is to give the entertainment for that month. The entertainment is calculated to cost not more than ten per cent of one month's subscription of all the members. The persons who win in the earlier lots get a prize since they can have the interest upon the sum for the remaining period. *Kuri-Muppan* is the president of the society whose duty it is to collect the money or, on failure, to forfeit to the prize-drawer the deficient subscription; he is also entitled to the privilege of giving the first month's entertainment.¹

¹ Vide Lewis Moore, *Malabar Law and Custom*.

Though this particular form has fallen into disuse, a slightly modified one is still in existence among the poor. The *Kuri-Muppan* (or manager) is entrusted with the task of giving an entertainment on the *Kuri* day which takes the form of a dinner to all the members. Each member has to subscribe two to four annas for the dinner. This is an inducement for the members to be present on that day with their monthly subscriptions. Those who have not already drawn the amount are allowed to bid for the sum and the amount knocked down to the lowest bidder is collected in equal shares from all the members, the rebate being divided equally among all.

Closely akin to the *Kuri* is the *Kuri-kalyanam* in which an entertainment or dinner is given by a person to which all his friends who are invited present a certain sum of money and a certain number of coconuts, plantains, betel-leaves, and arecanuts, every man according to his fancy, to the entertainer. What each guest offers is noted and when those guests in their turn announce that an entertainment is to be given by them, the person who had the benefit already is expected to be present and to make a return at least equal to, but in general half as much again and sometimes double, what he has received.¹ Such aid from their fellows is chiefly sought by the poor classes for meeting marriage or funeral expenses. This bears a close analogy to friendly societies of English workers from which „the Trade Unionism of our day has sprung.

The chit fund is generally looked upon as a means of *saving* rather than as a source of *credit*. It has many drawbacks as an institution for providing credit. Personal credit is out of the question; there is no guarantee that the money borrowed will be spent in productive enterprizes. The co-operative credit society is superior in many ways to the indigenous institution of *Kuri* or chit fund. It is slowly making headway, under State auspices, in rural areas in Cochin and Malabar.

¹ *Vide* Lewis Moore, *Malabar Law and Custom*.

In the State, as in the rest of India, prominence has so far been given to the development of *agricultural* credit societies. But unlike the rest of India, the working capital in the State consisted in 1916 of 33% share capital and 43% of members' deposits, while the corresponding figures for the whole of India were 7% and 18%. Loans or deposits from individual non-members are conspicuous by their absence, for they have not learnt to use the society for their benefit and may not learn so long as they can get higher rates of interest outside than the limit of 6 to 7½% allowed by the society. It speaks much for the self-sacrifice of the members that they are at all disposed to deposit money in their bank when they can very well earn higher rates outside. The usual rate for loans issued by the society is 12 to 12½%. This is a fair rate of interest and is specially favourable to the poorer classes of borrowers. As persons with substantial security to offer can obtain money from outside at 12% there is not sufficient bait of material advantage, it may be thought, for those to become members of the society. But here co-operation takes leave of its purely material aspect and has been able to enlist the sympathy of substantial men who undertake the work in a really co-operative spirit.

The Registrar's general remarks on a few individual societies may give an insight into the difficulties the movement has to encounter in Cochin and rural Malabar.

* K. Society is said to have helped the poor parents in the matter of educating their children. M. shows steady progress which is, however, a little marred by an overdue loan of Rs. 183. N.'s progress is very much obstructed by the local money-lenders; it is struggling hard to escape from their control. C. shows some progress, but it is responsible for a large portion of overdue loans; it is simply adding on to its membership without caring much to educate the members on co-operative principle and working. C. and V. are going down, the former mainly on account of the hostile attitude of the local money and paddy-lenders, and the latter due to lack of energy and enthusiasm.

Section II.

I made detailed inquiries about the earnings, expenditure and indebtedness of the inhabitants of the agricultural village, Nelluvaya, where paddy is the principal crop of cultivation.

Of the total 121 families, 14 were Cherumas whose balance sheet, which is quite unimportant, is omitted in this account.

THE VILLAGE INCOME.

(1) At the time of Census (1918), the tenant cultivators had a net gain of 3,675 *paras* of paddy which at 10 annas per *para* (price at harvest time) is equal to nearly Rs. 2,300. Besides this nearly 65 acres (mostly outside the village) were owned by eight families; the annual income from this area (including that of the second crop) may be taken as Rs. 2,800. Thus the total on item (1) is Rs. 5,100.

(2) On a rough estimate there were nearly 9,000 areca palms (of which about 5,000 are bearing trees), 250 coconut palms, 200 mango trees (100 bearing ones), 200 jack trees (100 bearing ones) and 30 tamarind trees (15 bearing ones). The approximate annual income from these may be thus stated :—

				Rs.
Income from	5,000	areca palms	.. ..	2,000
„	„	250 coconut palms	.. ..	230
„	„	100 jack trees	.. ..	400
„	„	100 mango trees	.. ..	100
„	„	15 tamarind trees	.. ..	30
Total Rs.				.. 2,760

(3) The following services in the village are paid in paddy :—

Income of	6 families for temple service	..	1,298	<i>paras</i>
„	5 individuals for private service		628	„
„	2 families of washermen	..	150	„
„	2 families of barbers	..	200	„
Total				.. 2,276 „

At the rate of 10 annas per *para* of paddy this amounts to Rs. 1,422.

(4) At the time of Census (1918), there were 37 persons (18 men and 19 women) who were engaged as coolies solely, 30 souls (12 men and 18 women) who had combined cultivation on a small scale with cooly work, and 26 persons (8 men and 18 women) who had combined cooly work with some other occupation, chiefly domestic service. Most of these belong to the Nair and Izhuvan castes. The average annual income of the cooly class does not fall below Rs. 3,000.

(5) There are two families of goldsmiths, 13 families of carpenters and two families of blacksmiths, whose total annual income may be put down as Rs. 1,500.

(6) The miscellaneous sources of income in money are the following :—

			Rs.
(1) Interest on money-lending	..	..	2,655
(2) Medical (Ayurvedic physician)	..	..	250
(3) Profits of retail trade	..	..	190
(4) Temple service	..	..	118
(5) Domestic service	..	..	120
(6) Brahmin priest	..	..	120
(7) A Government pensioner	..	..	72
(8) A gumasta (clerk)	..	..	60
(9) Sale of Stamp paper	..	..	72
(10) A constable	..	..	72

Total Rs. .. 3,729

Thus the total village income is as follows :—

Income from paddy land	..	..	5,100
„ <i>parambas</i>	..	..	2,760
„ plantains and other vegetables	..	..	400
„ temple service, etc.	..	..	1,422
„ cooly labour	..	..	3,000
Artisan classes	..	..	1,500
Miscellaneous	..	..	3,729

Total Rs. .. 17,911

The proportion of the return from land to the total income is nearly 46%. The proportion of income as interest on money lent is 15% of the total; this is unsatisfactory in view of the fact that it is a toll levied on the agricultural classes. The average annual income per family is about Rs. 167.

DEBTS OF THE VILLAGE.

Care was taken to verify the following statements of income and debts of the village by referring the matter to one or two individuals who know the financial position of their neighbours in the village; these are not likely to go wrong, nor to overstate the debts and understate the income as the interested individual invariably did in the presence of one who was considered to be deputed by the Government to impose income-tax.

There are 50 families in the village who have borrowed money in any amount. The total amount of indebtedness is roughly about Rs. 11,501. Of this Rs. 7,040 is borrowed on the security of land and the rest on personal security. The security of land includes the mortgage of house property.

The portions of money at the several rates of interest are as follows :—

<i>On land—</i>						Rs.
At 7 per cent	..	..	..	..	..	1,000
At 8	„	..	..	..	..	600
At 9	„	..	..	..	..	2,570
At 12	„	..	..	..	..	2,720
At 15	„	..	..	..	..	150
Total Rs.						7,040
<i>On personal security—</i>						Rs.
At 12 per cent	..	..	..	..	..	4,045
At 18	„	..	..	..	..	325
At 24	„	..	..	..	..	91
Total Rs.						4,461

The following consolidated statement gives a better idea of the position of the several castes in the village as regards their debts and income :—

Caste.	Total families.	Families with debt.	Rates of interest & amount.	Total debt in Rs.	Income of all those families having debts (per year).
(1) Brahmin	15	10	1,000 @ 7%	4,800	1,727
	..	..	800 @ 9%	..	..
	..	..	2,700 @ 12%	..	..
	..	..	300 @ 18%	..	..
(2) Temple castes	8	5	200 @ 9%	1,350	719
	..	..	1,000 @ 12%	..	..
	..	..	150 @ 15%	..	..
(3) Nair	33	19	600 @ 8%	4,200	2,681
	..	..	1,500 @ 9%	..	..
	..	..	2,030 @ 12%	..	..
	..	..	25 @ 18%	..	..
	..	..	45 @ 24%	..	..
(4) Artisan castes	18	6	295 @ 12%	301	594
	..	..	6 @ 24%	..	..
(5) Izhuvans & others	17	4	375 @ 12%	375	750
(6) Christians	5	5	70 @ 9%	275	552
	..	..	165 @ 12%	..	..
	..	..	40 @ 24%	..	..
(7) Muhamma-dans	3	1	200 @ 12%	200	164

Thus the debt of Rs. 11,501 is incurred by 50 families, whose total annual income is over Rs. 7,000. The remaining 57 families in the village have a total income of about Rs. 10,000 and no debts.

The rates of interest in this village appear to be strikingly low. Fifty-nine per cent of debts incurred on the security of land is borrowed at below 12 per cent. About 90 per cent of the debts on personal security is borrowed at 12 per cent. This is a very important consideration which the

co-operative credit society may take into account. In the above table the amount that is borrowed at the sowing season and paid off at harvest (usually charged 24 per cent in kind) is not included, but the fact was ascertained by me that it was not much at the time of Census (May 1918). All the debts above 12 per cent amounting to Rs. 566 were incurred by eight families. The fact is that nobody lends to the utterly pauper classes who live by coolly labour a hand-to-mouth existence. The very small amounts that these borrow are often charged at 1 anna to 2 annas per rupee per month, *i.e.*, 75 to 150 per cent!

About the purposes for which loans were given a sum of Rs. 4,750 was ascertained to be specifically for cultivation and the rest for other purposes. Of the latter, Rs. 2,515 was for marriage and funeral expenses. This works out at about 40 per cent of the total debts for cultivation and about 20 per cent for marriage and funeral purposes. Tamil Brahmins were responsible for a debt of Rs. 2,000 under marriage. This sum is borrowed by three individuals.

Income from the cultivation of land in the village is Rs. 8,260 and the interest charge on Rs. 4,750 which is borrowed to finance cultivation, is about Rs. 600, *i.e.*, about 8 per cent of the agricultural income. The total amount of interest on the debts of the village is Rs. 1,264, about 7 per cent of the total income.

It may be well to pause and consider some of the causes that may have led to this comparatively low rate of interest in this village. From the table of income given above it will be noticed that the money-income of the village is fairly large; it will be noticed particularly that a sum of about Rs. 2,600 is derived as interest on loans. It is obvious that there is money in the village seeking investment. This is mostly due to the rise in the price of all agricultural produce. The ordinary means of investment in very many villages in rural India (and Cochin is no exception) are (1) manufacture of jewellery, (2) carrying on of retail trade, (3) buying land,

and (4) giving loans to neighbours. In the village under consideration there is no craze for jewellery, as the great majority of non-Brahmin Malayalis are not sinners in this respect and the majority are non-Brahmanas in this village; the scope for retail trade is limited; and the passion for buying land is effectively barred, because most of the land is in the hands of big *janmis* who are not disposed to sell. Moreover, however poor an individual may be, he has a small plot of garden round his house where he grows arecanut palm; the income is comparatively high in this case, if the owner waters the trees himself, as he usually does, from the well in his own garden.

PERSONAL EXPENDITURE.

In the 107 families whose income and debts have been set forth above, there are 199 adult males, 203 adult females and 218 children of both sexes below the age of 12. An average family in India is taken to include 1 adult male, 2 adult females and 2 children. The slight preponderance of males in the above village is due to the peculiar *Marumakkattayam* system of joint family; there are 40 families who follow that custom.

It is difficult to fix a standard of expenditure which will suit all classes. An attempt is made in the following table to give the annual value of expenditure which cannot be avoided if the normal working efficiency is to be maintained. This has been ascertained by making inquiries into the family expenditure of the working classes. The family taken as the unit is the family of 1 man, 2 women and 2 children.

<i>Food.</i> —	Rs.	A.	P.
Paddy per year (144 <i>paras</i> or 2,880 lbs. of paddy or 1,920 lbs. of rice, @ 12 as. per <i>para</i>)	108	0	0
This allows 18 oz. of raw rice to the man, 13 oz. to each woman, and 13 oz. to the two children taken together, or 57 oz. per family per day (a bare minimum).			

	Rs.	A.	P.
Salt (2 <i>edungalis</i> or 4 lbs. per month or 48 lbs. per annum) @ $1\frac{1}{2}$ As. per <i>edangali</i>	..	2	4 0
Chillies	..	1	8 0
Oil, etc.	..	5	4 0
Total..	117	0	0

N.B.—Vegetables are supposed to be raised in the compound itself by the labour of the family. Those who occasionally take fish or meat usually sell the vegetables they grow and buy them with the money.

The minimum cost per family for food alone is Rs. 9—12—0 per month. If we count a woman as requiring $\frac{4}{5}$ the food of a man and a child as $\frac{3}{5}$, the expense is Rs. 30—12—8 per man, Rs. 24—10—1 per woman and Rs. 18—7—7 per child for one year.

Clothing.—

According to the village standard a man would require Rs. 4—12—0, a woman Rs. 6—0—0 and a grown-up child Rs. 1—8—0 per annum. Babies under 5 and among the working classes children under 10 are seldom provided with the luxury of any clothing; they run about almost naked. As a matter of fact, however, a good deal of economy is effected in this item when the income runs short.

Other expenses.—

Supposing that the house he dwells in is a man's own, as is the case in the village under consideration and in almost all villages in Cochin, we have to calculate the expense for thatching which may be put down at Rs. 5 per year at the minimum. The cost, of course, will vary with the price of paddy straw. The labour is to be supplied by the members. The cost of any other repair is not included, as the labour may be provided by the inmates.

From the above we get the following as the necessary expenditure of 107 families in the village:—

				Rs.	A.	P.
<i>Food</i> for 199 men	..	..	..	6,127	8	8
„ 203 women	..	..	..	4,999	14	11
„ 218 children	..	..	..	4,027	5	2
Total				15,154	12	9
<i>Clothing.</i> —						
Men	..	..	..	945	4	0
Women	..	..	..	1,218	0	0
Children	..	..	..	200	0	0
Total				2,363	4	0
<i>Note.</i> —About 130 children require clothing.						
<i>Thatching</i> of houses	..	..	..	535	0	0
Grand Total				18,053	0	9
<i>Expenditure.</i> —						
Personal expenditure	..	..	..	18,053	0	9
Interest on debts	..	..	..	1,264	0	0
Total				19,317	0	9
<i>Income.</i> —						
Total income of the village	..	..	..	17,911	0	0

The village income is thus barely equal to meet the *necessary* personal expenditure and is unequal to bear the interest charges. The deficit is to be made good by less food and less clothing. But as a matter of fact the income is unequally distributed and any surplus over the necessities owned by the well-to-do must be taken out of the necessities of the poorer classes. About 30 families have income above Rs. 135 (the necessary level according to our standard), about as many more are solvent with a bare minimum, but the rest are trying hard to make both ends meet.

CHAPTER VII.

WORKMEN AND WAGES.

Much has been written recently about the comparative inefficiency of Indian agricultural labour. Thus Dr. Slater writes : "If the land is extraordinarily productive, labour is extraordinarily unproductive in India. From a comparison of results in reaping and ploughing it might be estimated roughly that a week's work by a ryot or cooly in the Madras Presidency is about equal to a day's work by a British agricultural labourer, if unaided by machinery. As in the Madras Presidency, on one-crop land the agriculturist works for only about five months in the year, and on two-crop land only for about eight months, it would follow that on the average, the Indian agriculturist during a year does only what would on British standards be one month's work." "This comparison," continues the author just cited, "is not quite fair to the Indian worker, as he would doubtless be more expeditious over ploughing and reaping if it were necessary, but the fact remains that the Indian worker earns very low wages, has a very low standard of expenditure, and attains a very low level of efficiency, and these three characteristics of Indian life are so interconnected that it is impossible to say which is cause rather than effect." (*Some South Indian Villages*, p. 17.) Dr. Harold Mann concludes that a British labourer is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times more efficient than a Deccan agricultural labourer.

Such comparisons are difficult to make and are sometimes misleading. The agricultural methods of Europe, the nature of the soil and climate, and the kinds of crop raised are different from those in India and man has to adjust his work to his environment if real economy is to be attained. Very high efficiency is not always compatible with real social economy ; the introduction of certain types of machinery has not, for instance, brought about social peace, but has

intensified the inequalities of income. Nor are high wages always a sure means for bringing about efficiency in workmen.

Mention has already been made of the efficiency of different kinds of agricultural labour and the amount of wages paid for the different agricultural operations. Two pairs of bullocks or buffaloes, each pair yoked to a single plough, working for six to seven hours a day, will, in four days, plough six times an acre of land and make it ready to receive the young shoots of transplanted paddy. The cultivators usually possess their own cattle; if it is hired, the rate per day is 6 to 8 annas. Plucking of paddy seedlings for transplantation in an acre will be done by 8 women in a day and the same number in another day can plant them in the same area. Women are generally engaged for harvesting paddy. Eight women can cut the stalks of paddy from an acre in a day. They collect it in small and handy bundles and separate the corn from the ears by treading them under their feet in the field itself or in the farm house, if there is one; four women can do this work in a single day. For every five *niraparas* of corn (*i.e.*, the *para* liberally heaped) made over to the owner, one *para* is paid to the labourer. A woman may earn one to two *paras* of paddy per day. Other proportions of payment are not unknown. Thus, in some places one *para* of paddy for every four harvested is paid to the worker, while in others one in every ten. This lower rate is due to the excessive supply of labour during the time of harvest, keen competition among workers and rise in the price of paddy. Paddy which is first boiled and dried in the sun is husked with mortar and pestle. This work is invariably done by women; two women can husk about 6 to 7 *paras* of paddy in a day of eight hours. They are paid at the rate of two *nalis* of rice for husking one *para* of paddy fully heaped; thus two women can earn about 12 to 14 *nalis* of rice per day.

One peculiar feature of agricultural labour in Cochin and the rest of Malabar is the existence of a class of semi-slaves called Cherumas or Pulayas. From time immemoria

they were slaves under law as well as in fact and it was only half a century ago that the legal status of slavery was removed in Cochin; they are even now agricultural serfs attached to their master's soil and are actually transferred to the buyer of land to which they are attached. They are often lent out for service to another for a small "pattom" or rent by the master; this is, however, legally prohibited but persists in certain out-of-the-way places.

Cherumas are mere agricultural workers and have no sort of proprietorship in the land. They regard themselves as their master's property. Their daily wages are paid in kind, a customary quantity which has persisted through centuries without its being affected by the rise in the price of paddy. The usual rates are—men get 2 *edangalis* of unhusked paddy per day, women $1\frac{1}{2}$ *edangalis* and children 1 *edangali*. This works out at 3 lbs. of raw rice per day for a family consisting of one man, two women and two children, taking one *edangali* of paddy to be sufficient to buy the other small necessities of life. In addition to this daily rate 5 *edangalis* of paddy to men and 4 *edangalis* to women are given on certain festive days in the year. Every male and female member of the family is presented with a pair of cotton cloth by the master once a year. Small payments are also made at the time of child-birth or death in the family. On leisure days in certain parts of the year when the master finds no work for them they are also permitted to supplement their income by selling firewood, etc., on their own account. The men plough, tend cattle, water the gardens, gather fuel and collect other forest produce; while the women crush the sod in a ploughed field, bring manure, pluck and replant paddy seedlings, cut the corn and harvest the grain, husk paddy and fetch firewood.

They behave well, are obedient, honest and loyal to their masters, very earnest about their work, but are completely illiterate. They worship "*Kali*", a female malignant deity, "*Chattan*", a male beneficent deity, and many other local

deities which are mere local variations of these. On the occasion of the festivals of their gods and goddesses they take in a good dose of toddy and dance in the premises of their temple to the accompaniment of drums and bugles. They visit their masters' houses on such days and are entitled to get a small quantity of paddy.

The Cherumas dwell in colonies of their own consisting of a few families in small thatched huts near the land of their masters. These huts are very simple in construction with no privacy within. Proper treatment is not accorded to them by the high-caste Hindus though they form the backbone of agricultural labour. They are made to stand at a specified distance (some 70 ft. is the rule) from the high-caste Hindus, who consider themselves polluted by their approach; they clothe themselves with dirty rags and are quite unclean in habits and are treated with contempt and sometimes harshly by the other castes as well as by their masters. It is a wonder that they still cherish obedience to their masters and earnestness in their work. There are a few who try to get rid of the yoke by running away, but the majority are contented with their lot and stay with their masters. They are experts in agricultural work and can face any sort of weather. There are altogether 73,000 Cherumas in Cochin and they form about 50 per cent of the field-labourers in the State. The Christian Missions working on this Coast occasionally succeed in converting a few into Christianity, but even then they are not admitted to social equality with other Christians; their social prospects are better if they become Muhammadans (*Jonaka Moplaks*).

There is a well-recognized caste-hierarchy among the depressed classes of Malabar. Kanakkans, like Cherumas, are agricultural labourers, but are comparatively better off than the others. Parayans, the lowest among the "slave" castes, who get their living by making mats and baskets out of bamboo, are also specially skilled in plucking paddy shoots for transplantation, and as they can turn out twice

or thrice the work in a given time as compared with others, their services are much in demand during that season. Cultivators often advance them money or paddy to have special claims on their services. Ideas on division of labour in rural areas in Malabar are extremely curious. The Parayas, for instance, whose hereditary occupation is mat or basket weaving out of the bamboo, will engage themselves only in *two* operations of agriculture—ploughing for which bullocks and not buffaloes are to be used and plucking paddy-seedlings for transplantation. Valluvans belong to the priestly class to whom liberal offerings are made by the others for fear that they may invoke evil spirits to bring ruin on them.

The Kadars and Malayars are the two hill-tribes of Cochin. The Kadars live in certain portions of the Cochin forests from which they exclude all other hill-tribes. They are nomadic in their habits and live on rice supplied by forest-contractors who demand their labour. They are excellent tree-climbers and collect several minor produce from the interior of forests. They live on animals that they entrap, on bamboo seeds, or other wild forest produce.

There are other castes like Ullattans and Nayadis who live in the outskirts of jungles and make a living by felling trees, agricultural work, or occasional begging of alms in the plains. On the roadside or in the outskirts of the village—for they dare not enter the caste-village or its vicinity—the Nayadis set up such a thundering yell asking alms that the whole village is apprised of their presence. Their physical appearance, dark and thickset, and the depth of their voice are indeed striking to a degree. During times of illness or other calamity in the family and on occasions of *Sradh* it is thought to be specially meritorious by indigenous Malayalis of all castes to feed the Nayadis.

The Kammalan or artisan class of Malabar is divided into a number of endogamous sub-castes—Marasari (carpenter), Kallasari (mason), Thattan (goldsmith), Musari (brazier),

Kollan or Karuvan (blacksmith), and Tol-kollan (leather worker). As their services are much in requisition and as they earn better wages than unskilled labourers, they are still engaged in their hereditary occupations. The first five groups are socially on a par with each other. They all inter-dine, but do not inter-marry. But the Tol-kollans (leather workers) are considered to be inferior in status to the rest and cannot touch them without causing pollution, probably on account of their work in leather which, in its raw state, is considered to be impure. Polyandry of the fraternal type was once prevalent among them, several brothers marrying one wife and the children being treated as common to all. This practice, however, is fast dying out. One special feature about their status in the caste-hierarchy is that they are made to stand at a specified distance (24 feet) while approaching the high-caste Hindus. Poozhi Asaris and Paravars, two separate castes outside the pale of Kam-malan, have as their hereditary occupation construction of walls for houses and other buildings either with mud or laterite stones. They are considered to be lower in social status than the others, but are permitted to conform to some of the social usages of carpenters. All these classes wear their tufts of hair in front, as all indigenous Malayalis do, and speak Malayalam. The traditions of their crafts are handed down from father to son, as well as the economic status and social environment.

They live, if possible, like the other Hindu castes in colonies of their own in the outskirts of a village or town. The houses they live in are generally their own; but the house sites in most cases belong to a land-lord from whom it is taken out on lease on payment of an annual rent in money or grain.

The priest of the artisan classes who is also the barber of the community belongs to another caste inferior in status to themselves. Girls are given in marriage after puberty and it can be revoked at the will of the parties. A woman so divorced can remarry. The dowry given to the bride's

party varies from 11 *fanams* (Rs. 3 nearly) to 101 *fanams* or Rs. 29. On the occasion of a marriage the relatives and friends of the bridegroom to whom invitation is extended are expected to contribute some amount towards the expenses; this feeling of communal solidarity and mutual help is a marked feature of the Hindu social system.

In Malabar as in the rest of India the blacksmith has lost his chief business of making new plough-shares, hoes, and big knives which are now imported from foreign countries; but he continues to make the subsidiary articles as he knows the different shapes of the minor metal utensils of domestic use which different localities prefer. The smith now gets higher wages than before for his repair work.

The carpenters learn by heart certain Shastraic rules, rendered into Malayalam verse, which have to be observed in building houses and constructing temples; any deviation from them is thought to bring ill-luck and calamity to the inmates. They invariably work on wood provided by others and seldom make articles for sale on their own account. Among a number of carpenters employed in building a house, one having greater experience is regarded by the rest as their head whose instructions should be obeyed by others. The working hours range from 8-30 A.M. to about 6 P.M. with more than an hour's interval in the noon. As Malayalis of all classes get on with little or no furniture, the best workmen seldom find scope for their skill in the villages but have to shift to a city or railway workshop.

The Musari (bell-metal worker) used to supply all utensils of household use but with the penetration of kerosene oil and power lamps, enamel wares and brass pots the village demand for his skill has somewhat decreased. Every important village has its Musari. There are two sub-castes, Kammalans who make utensils of ordinary domestic use out of imported brass sheets and Musaris proper who work on a molten metal (bell-metal) made up of lead and copper in moulds of different shapes; lamps, bells, tiny cups and

big caldrons are manufactured in this way. The usual proportion of lead to copper is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 parts of the former to ten parts of the latter. The mould is made of bees-wax with a cover of clay and a thick coating of the same material. When the molten metal is poured into it, the wax runs out through a hole in the covering of clay and the metal settles down in the intervening space. It is then taken out of the kiln, cooled in water and its raw edges and rough surfaces are filed off. A section of Native Christians specializes in making copper hollow-ware.

The indigenous women of Malabar do not generally wear costly gold ornaments but many a mickle makes a muckle and the goldsmiths are, on the whole, one of the prosperous sections of the artisan classes in Malabar.

The leather worker (Tol-kollan) makes to order country shoes of different patterns for his customer. He uses the hides and skins of dead animals but rarely thinks of getting good leather out of them. In towns where they are sometimes employed by middlemen, they earn from 10 or 12 annas per day. In spite of the importation of boots and shoes from elsewhere their business is not the less thriving for they get more for repair work.

Kallasari (mason) who works on granite stones should be distinguished from Poozhi Asari who makes mud walls and works on laterite stones. As the demand for the skill of Kallasaris is not much and is intermittent in rural areas they generally migrate from their colonies to their places of work leaving their families behind. Such work generally consists of construction or repair of tanks, of temples, etc. The articles of granite for ordinary use of villagers are made by the Karuvan or blacksmith.

WEAVERS.

Cloths used by all classes of Malayalis are of very small value. The value of clothes worn by the poorest classes may be put at Re. 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per year; and a woman's attire of that class will be worth Rs. 4 to 5. There is no great elasticity in this matter between class and class; the rich are as sparsely dressed as the poor, though the former may don somewhat costly attire on festive occasions. All clothing should be white except that worn by Tamil Brahmin ladies, and occasionally by Moplah and Chetti women, who wear coloured dress of different patterns costing Rs. 5 to over 200. A middle class Tamil Brahmin lady generally uses cloths ($18 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ cubits) worth Rs. 20 to 40 and two such cloths together with the old ones would be sufficient for use in a single year. They are dyed or woven in the country pit-looms in well-known places like Madura, Kornad, Conjeevaram and Dharapuram in the Eastern Districts of the Madras Presidency. Not long ago travelling peddlers used to take the cloths to the very doors of consumers, but thanks to the introduction of improved means of transport, hawkers have almost disappeared except in out-of-the-way places. Now it is usual for the consumer to go to the shop-keepers in a town or prominent village to make the annual purchase of cloth. Imported wares from Manchester and Bombay are more and more used by the middle and upper classes, while the very poor wear only cloths woven in the country pit-looms. The country weavers, therefore, supply only a part of the cloths worn by the people.

There are three hereditary castes of weavers in Cochin—Chaliyans, Kaikolans and Chetans. The Chetans are immigrants from Mysore speaking Canarese, while the Kaikolans hail from Coimbatore speaking Tamil. The Chaliyans and Kaikolans practise coarse weaving using yarns of 20's and 30's; while the Chetans use 100's or above making fine cloths, called *pavu mundus*, with laced or coloured

border. Hand-spun yarn is entirely displaced by machine-made varieties. Malabar is not a cotton-growing tract and hence hand-spinning has never been practised on a large scale by the people. Middlemen, who are sometimes well-to-do members of their own caste, supply the weavers with yarn ; if it is advanced on credit either the finished products are handed over to the middlemen or a fairly heavy rate of interest is charged.

The present writer visited two representative colonies of weavers in the northern Taluk of the Cochin State and the facts he noted and the impressions formed will convey a fair idea of their economic condition and organization of trade.

Eravathodikars, as they call themselves after their village Eravathodi, about three miles to the north-west of Lakiti railway station (S. I. R.), weave coarse cloths of 20's and below called *thortha mundus* or towels. Cloths of inferior variety, worn by Moplah and Chetti women, are also manufactured by them ; they are made of coloured yarn and a piece ($12 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits) costs about Rs. 5. Instruments used are of the usual type whose cost may be put down as Rs. 5.

There are about 150 families in the locality. For over half the number yarn is supplied on credit by a local merchant, their own casteman, who has property worth about Rs. 8,000. The weavers, thus supplied, must hand over the product to the merchant who undertakes to sell them ; peddlers or travelling merchants take the goods from his house to consumers in different villages and to the weekly fairs that are held on successive days in different villages. There are also two other merchants who provide them with yarn and sell the produce. A workman usually earns 2 to 3 annas per day ; even the most favoured among them earns only 4 to 6 annas per day.

Most of them are poor and for their circulating capital and disposal of produce they depend on others. There are four wealthy families in the village worth about Rs. 20 thousand each. Their father earned the property ; the eldest

member of one family is the social head of the community who seems to have exercised the function of a headman of the tribe, but who now interferes only in settling caste disputes or clearing doubts as to social observances. Owing to rise in the price of yarn their trade is not so brisk as it used to be.

Many of them are addicted to drinking toddy and find it hard to make both ends meet.

There is a colony of Devangas or Chetans, as they call themselves, in Kuthampilli, four miles to the north-west of Lakiti railway station consisting of about 450 to 500 houses built in rows or street form. They weave nice varieties of cloth called *paru mundus* using yarns up to 100's which are used as fashionable attire by the rich Malayalis of both sexes. They are very reluctant to change their methods of work or to take to weaving new varieties of cloth, even when they know that the latter are in greater demand in the market. They say that they have to change their looms in order to weave new patterns of cloth and this is beyond the means of a good many of them. A few among them make *dhoties* of the type turned out by power-mills, using yarns of 40's and 50's, but it is very doubtful whether they can compete with the power-loom in their manufacture. It is better that they restrict their production to finer varieties, if they can do so, where there is no competition from the mills.

There is nothing peculiar in their organization of trade. A Brahmin shop-keeper in the colony often advances them yarn and buys the finished produce. There are also a few families of weavers who stock yarn and sell it to their caste-men at a small profit.

The majority of weavers are poor and their position has distinctly deteriorated in recent times. Many of them have left the place to get work abroad and most of them are dissatisfied with their present lot. The spirit of litigation is increasing among them.

The lot of the indigenous weaver caste in India is variously discussed. They are represented by some as sturdy independent artisans working on their own account untrammelled by the restrictions and cramped atmosphere of a factory. But it is doubtful whether this roseate view can be seriously entertained by those who are acquainted with their actual condition and the odds against which they have to compete in the struggles of their trade.

There is indeed an extreme class of thinkers who deprecate any attempt to improve their economic condition. They say that industries conducted in a small way and by hand are of little use to-day, and it is unwise to encourage their multiplication ; such industries inevitably succumb as soon as they are brought into competition with the products of factory-labour, and each mile of railway extension increases the vigour of such competition.¹ They are of opinion that "the attempts of a few pseudo-Ruskings and old-fashioned leaders in India who are trying to revive our hand-loom industry for the supply of ordinary clothing are bound to have the same success as an army equipped with bows and arrows when opposed to troops armed with magazine rifles and maxim guns ; this artificial encouragement of an obsolete and doomed industry will only cause a great loss of national capital and retard our industrial growth."² They point out with pride the phenomenal increase in mill-production of cloth in recent years and hold that a still further increase of power-mills is the only possible solution.

Others maintain that Indian economic evolution must eschew, as far as possible, the drawbacks of the Western industrial system which arise chiefly from the evils of unrestricted capitalism. It is true that the advanced nations of the West have got over some of the difficulties and are trying to remove others and that labour is now in a better condition than before. But the fact remains that though the capitalistic mode

¹ Sirkar, *Economics of British India*, Third Edn., p. 174.

² Quoted by Sirkar, *Ibid.*

of production has succeeded in solving the problem of increase in production, it has failed to solve the problem of equitable distribution which is equally important from the point of view of national welfare.

Both of these views are extreme and so far as India is concerned there is no necessity now to emphasize the conflict. There are over 10 million weavers in India who ply their hereditary industry in spite of the keen competition let loose by the stupendous world-forces of modern times; there are about 4 lakhs of weavers in the Presidency of Madras. The fact that English hand-loom weavers disappeared when brought into competition with the powerloom is not strictly applicable to Indian conditions. In the first place, the hand-weavers form a distinct hereditary caste in India and the tenacity of caste traditions is such that they will stick to the profession of their forefathers to a far greater extent than Western artisans ever did; they will be satisfied with a bare living in adverse times rather than flock to a factory to become wage-earners and forget their ways of work. Secondly, the simple and coarse kinds of cloth worn by the masses in India ensure them a ready market at home for their products. While the progress in capturing the home market by the factory was comparatively easy in a temperate region like England where people should have sufficiently strong and cozy apparel—one which a machine is eminently fitted to manufacture—it is by no means certain that machinery will succeed in manufacturing cloths of 20's and below and marketing these cheaply in the scattered villages of India in competition with the handloom weavers who are on the spot. Moreover in the manufacture of finest kinds of cloth and of certain varieties of cloth worn by women (especially in South India) the powerloom cannot compete with the handloom. But in recent years the strain has certainly been great for the hand-weaver, and unless he makes up his mind to derive the advantages of organization or adopt improved patterns of loom, he cannot hope to improve his lot in life.

The disadvantages under which the indigenous weavers labour arise out of two circumstances—first, from want of proper organization among themselves which precludes any economy in production or in disposing of their produce and secondly, from the meagreness of their output which results from the use of primitive implements. Their difficulties of obtaining the necessary circulating capital and of disposing of the produce without the help and intervention of a middleman have already been noted. It would seem that there is scope for the development of co-operative credit and co-operative sale and purchase societies; this should not be difficult since the weavers are accustomed to live in colonies of their own where there are a number of members of their caste. Some members of the weaver caste at Kuthampalli told the present writer that their one necessity was money, and they even suggested that the State should advance them money on sufficient security which they were ready to repay with interest. If the State cannot enter directly into the business, it can help them to form a strong co-operative society which will supply them with the necessary fluid resources.¹

Another difficulty of the indigenous weaver is that he finds it increasingly difficult to obtain yarn at reasonably low prices. Hand-spinning has long ceased to be of any commercial importance.² The increase in the output of yarn, especially of low and high grades, by spinning machinery will prove of much benefit to the handloom-weaver.

Various suggestions have been made for improving their material condition, such as the adoption of the fly shuttle looms in place of the primitive country pit-looms,

¹ Since writing the above, the writer understands that a Co-operative Credit Society was started, but it is not working properly owing to lack of business habits and factious spirit among weavers.

² It must be mentioned that hand-spinning is sought to be revived by using the indigenous *Charka* or spinning wheel. From the point of view of giving a *supplementary* occupation to the rural classes, this seems to be a wise move.

the plan of drawing them into central factories equipped with improved kinds of hand-loom, the diffusion of primary education and technical instruction and the spread of the gospel of co-operation. Mr. Chatterton, sometime Director of Industries in Madras, thus summed up the present position of the weavers and possibilities of future improvement. He says, "The difficulties which have to be faced lie mainly with the weavers themselves. The fly shuttle loom is from 50 to 100 per cent more effective than the handloom, but the weavers object to turning out in a day more cloth than they have been accustomed to, and it is difficult to get them to make use of the improved way of working. He is a fairly hardworking individual but he is accustomed to work at his own time and in his own home, and regular hours obtaining in a factory are extremely distasteful to him. In the factory the work is undoubtedly more monotonous than in the domestic circle, and the main compensation which the weaver can look forward to is that he will have to work shorter hours and be able to earn sufficient wages to keep his family respectably, and allow them to enjoy freedom from sordid cares and anxieties which at present 'is very much their lot.'¹ As the day for the unrestricted individual work is gone for ever, Mr. Chatterton suggests that "the establishment of handloom factories will afford excellent opportunities for educated young men to acquire a knowledge and insight into the principles and methods which must be pursued to enable manufacturing operations to be carried on profitably and thus be a means of associating the work of the weaver with men whose intellects have been trained and who have a full knowledge of the conditions under which the weaving industry must be carried on."²

The best method of ascertaining the economic condition or the standard of life of the working-classes is to

¹ Chatterton, *Industrial Evolution in India*, p. 217.

² *Ibid.*, p. 218.

note the day-to-day income and expenditure of typical families. I collected the statistics of income and expenditure of 30 families for four to five weeks. The conditions are so similar in most villages that some generalization is possible from these facts. Divided according to caste, my budgets refer to 10 families of Ezhuvas, 7 families of *Kammalans* or artisans, 2 families of Kusavans or potters, 4 families of Moplahs, 1 Syrian Christian, 1 Velakatalavan (barber), 1 Nair, 1 Cheruman, 1 Panan (earth-worker), and 1 Mannan (washerman of the "theendal" caste). All these belong to, what may be called, ordinary working class order.

1. EZHUVAS.

The Ezhuva community of Cochin is strong in numbers, but depressed and poor in economic status. Their hereditary occupation is toddy-tapping from coconut and palmyra trees, but in the northern Taluks of the Cochin State where the facilities for toddy-tapping are somewhat lacking, very few among them are engaged in their hereditary occupation, but most are day-labourers, and tenant-cultivators. In the southern Taluks of the State, however, where such facilities abound, they follow their hereditary occupation. They belong to the "theendal" caste, *i.e.*, distance-pollution is observed in their case by the high-caste Hindus.

In a colony of theirs which is situated on a hill-slope there are 18 families. A typical house will be 15 feet by 10 feet. From the front yard you step into the verandah which sometimes extends to two or more sides of the house. Inside are two to three rooms, one of which is the kitchen. The house built of mud-wall and plastered with red loam, is thatched with paddy straw and the top-structure is made of split bamboo-poles. A cattle or poultry shed is often constructed on the side of the house. The ground-floor of the house, daily plastered with cow-dung, presents a neat appearance on the whole. The vessels for family-use consist chiefly of mud-pots, but a few brass or bell-metal

vessels may also be observed. There are only two wells in the locality which are fairly distant from one another and from most of the houses. Water in the well is rather scarce in summer and is a bit muddy and not quite wholesome; if they are dug a little deeper than their present level, good water can be had, but the people are apathetic or too poor to have it done. The wells belong to private individuals in whose compounds they are situated. A small watercourse which runs a furlong off is used for bathing purposes. The nearest market for purchasing the necessities is about a mile off from this place.

Literacy among women is nil; among men, there are only four who know how to read and write Malayalam (their mother-tongue), and that only very imperfectly, out of ten adults whose economic condition came under my investigation. But in their boyhood all of them used to attend a *pial* school conducted by one Ezhuthachan (literally, a teacher of letters) who belongs to a Hindu caste known as Panikkar (also a "theendal" caste), but they have since forgotten what they learnt. The *pial* school is continued to this day and is located in the verandah of one of the houses; the pupils, squatting on the floor, practise writing with their fingers on sand spread before them. They are afterwards taught to write Malayalam letters on palmyra leaves with a sharp iron rod. The teacher is paid 4 annas per month for each boy—girls are seldom sent to these schools—and in addition he is given free meal by the parents of his pupils. The mere rudiments of arithmetic and reading and writing Malayalam as well as repeating by heart certain Sanskrit verses form the curriculum of this school.

The marriage customs of this Ezhuva community are peculiar. The "*tali-tying*" ceremony (i.e., tying of the sacred thread round the neck of the girl) is performed on an auspicious day by a young man before the girl attains the age of puberty and thus she is made fit for real marriage which invariably takes place after she attains her age. The bride and bridegroom (who is not necessarily the young man

who tied the *tali*) exchange the juice of coconut and the marriage is celebrated in the presence of all. The bridegroom is expected to give to the bride's party 11 *fanams* at least (nearly Rs. 3), while as much as 101 *fanams* (Rs. 29) may be given as the dowry. The bride's party, on the other hand, is expected to provide her with some jewels, a few bell-metal vessels, and, if possible, a cow and a calf. His castemen who assemble on the occasion are fed sumptuously by the bridegroom. The marriage is a mere contract and the wife can be divorced at will, but she can remarry.

The priest of the Ezhuva community occupies a peculiar position. He is considered to be lower in social status than themselves and is not permitted to interdine or intermarry with the Ezhuvas. He is invited to purify their house after childbirth or death in the family for which he is usually paid 1 *edangali* of paddy, 1 *nali* of rice, 1 *nali* of gingelly oil and 4 annas (1 Cochin *edangali*=4 Cochin *nalis*=50 oz.). The priest is, strangely enough, the barber of the community as well. He is generally paid 6 pies per shave, while some families of cultivators pay 2 *paras* (1 *para*=10 *edangalis*) of paddy twice a year after the two harvests in October and February. The house of this priest, which is the only one within a radius of five miles, is about three miles off from this place.

The ten Ezhuva families, whose condition was investigated by me personally, consist mostly of day-labourers while a few are tenant-cultivators as well. The experience of tenancy-at-will is anything but cheering, for one family at least got hopelessly into debt being unable to meet the demand of the landlord. But owing to want of any other work to do during the busy agricultural season, there is very keen demand for cultivation of land, and according to the well-known economic law of supply and demand rackrent is the inevitable result. The tenant-labourer can consider himself to be fortunate if he is able to get the bare necessities of life during the period he and his family are engaged in cultivation.

A TYPICAL FAMILY BUDGET.

The family consists of 1 man, 2 women, 2 boys of 3 and 2 years and 1 girl of 11 years.

FRIDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice $1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>ed.</i> (75 oz.)	0	4	3	$3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>edangalis</i> of paddy for the man (coolly work) and 6 annas for two women from sale of firewood.
Gingelly oil	.. 0	0	6	
Salt	.. 0	0	4	
Chillies	.. 0	0	2	
Kerosene oil	.. 0	0	6	
Fish	.. 0	0	4	
Coconut oil	.. 0	0	3	

SATURDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Salt	.. 0	0	4	$3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>ed.</i> of paddy for the man (coolly work).
Chillies	.. 0	0	3	
Tobacco	.. 0	0	6	
Arecanut.	.. 0	0	3	
Betels	.. 0	0	2	
Dal	.. 0	0	6	
Coconut 1	.. 0	1	3	
Mustard	.. 0	0	2	

SUNDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Paddy 5 <i>edangalis</i>	0	6	0	No work for the man. Women earn 8 annas from sale of firewood.
Salt	.. 0	0	4	
Chillies	.. 0	0	2	
Fish	.. 0	0	4	
Kerosene	.. 0	0	3	
Coconut oil	.. 0	0	3	
Tobacco	.. 0	0	4	
Arecanuts	.. 0	0	2	
Betels	.. 0	0	2	

MONDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Paddy 5 <i>ed.</i>	.. 0	6	0	No work for the man. Women earn 8 annas from sale of firewood.
Salt ..	.. 0	0	4	
Chillies ..	.. 0	0	2	
Kerosene oil	.. 0	0	3	
Tobacco ..	.. 0	0	6	
Arecanuts	.. 0	0	2	
Betels ..	.. 0	0	2	
Fish ..	.. 0	0	4	

TUESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice 1½ <i>ed.</i>	.. 0	4	3	4 annas for women.
Salt ..	.. 0	0	4	
Chillies ..	.. 0	0	2	
Kerosene oil	.. 0	0	3	
Tobacco ..	.. 0	0	6	
Betels ..	.. 0	0	2	
Arecanuts	.. 0	0	2	

WEDNESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Paddy 5 <i>ed.</i>	.. 0	6	0	7 annas for women from sale of firewood.
Salt ..	.. 0	0	4	
Chillies ..	.. 0	0	2	
Kerosene oil	.. 0	0	6	
Fish ..	.. 0	0	3	
Tobacco ..	.. 0	0	4	
Arecanuts	.. 0	0	2	
Betels ..	.. 0	0	1	

THURSDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Paddy 3½ <i>ed.</i>	..	0	4	6
Salt ..	..	0	0	4
Chillies ..	..	0	0	2
Tobacco ..	..	0	0	6
Arecanuts ..	..	0	0	2
Betels ..	..	0	0	2
Fish ..	..	0	0	4
Gingelly oil ..	..	0	0	6

6½ annas for women from sale of firewood.
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The total expenses for the week may be classified :—

			Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (husked)	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	<i>ed.</i>	..	2	1 0
Salt	..	..	..	0	2 4
Chillies	..	..	..	0	1 3
Fish	..	..	..	0	1 3
Gingelly oil	..	..	..	0	1 0
Coconut oil	..	..	..	0	0 6
Dal	..	..	..	0	0 6
Coconut	..	..	..	0	1 3
Mustard	..	..	..	0	0 2
Kerosene oil	..	..	..	0	1 9
Tobacco	..	..	..	0	2 8
Arecanuts	..	..	..	0	1 1
Betels	..	..	..	0	0 11
Total			..	2	15 8

Income for the week = 7 *edangalis* of paddy and Rs. 2-7-6 = Rs. 2-15-11.

The income and expenditure are nearly equal. It may be observed that on five days in the week the male member of the family did not work as he was unwell. He cultivates paddy in a small field as a tenant. When he is working in the field, the women, when free from field work, work as coolies and help to maintain the family.

Firewood is gathered from a neighbouring forest, free of cost, and sold in a village two miles off. It may be observed that firewood does not enter as an item of expenditure in our family budgets, as it is picked up and brought home as head-loads from neighbouring hills or forests. It is worthy of notice that next to rice, the largest amount spent is on tobacco, nuts and betels. The necessities and luxuries are brought day by day in the evening by most of these working classes in rural areas in Malabar.

The ten families contain 15 women, 11 men, 5 girls and 12 boys under 12 years of age. This slight preponderance of adult women is due to the fact that there are no male members in two of the families under review.

Income.

Earnings of 11 adult men for a week=Rs. 22-5-6 *plus* 18 *ed.* of paddy=Rs. 23-11-0.

Earnings of women for a week=Rs. 6-12-0 *plus* 16 *ed.* of paddy=Rs. 8 (nearly).

Total income of ten families for 1 week=Rs. 31-11-0.

Expenditure (10 families)—1 week.

	Rs. A. P.		
Paddy (324 <i>edangalis</i>)	..	24	4 9
Salt	..	1	4 5
Chillies	..	0	10 2
Kerosene oil ..	..	0	15 3
Tobacco, betels, nuts ..	..	2	3 10
Fish	..	0	11 5
Gingelly and coconut oil	..	0	11 11
Sundries	..	0	5 6
Total	..	31	3 3

The following is the percentage of expenditure on the several items :—

Paddy	..	.	..	78%
Tobacco, etc.	..		..	7%
Salt	..		..	4%
Kerosene oil	..		..	3%
Chillies	..		..	2%
Fish	..		..	2%
Oil	..		..	2%
Sundries	..		..	1%

The day's meal consists of three courses :—*Kanji* in the morning before going to work ; *kanji* in the noon ; and cooked rice at night. Salt and chillies are indispensable for each course, and curries of fish or vegetables may be used along with the rice-meal. (*Kanji* is a Malayalam word for cooked rice together with the water in which it is boiled.)

There is little or no margin for saving among most of these working classes. Extraordinary expenditure, such as for birth or death in the family or for marriage, will have to be met by borrowing or sale of some property. Thus one family sold a big wooden box for Rs. 8 to meet the expenses of childbirth. Another sold two goats for Rs. 10 to prosecute a criminal case in the Magistrate's Court and thus annoy his neighbour casteman. Still another case of borrowing Rs. 6 may be told in the debtor's own words.

"At the age of five or six," an Ezhuva told me, "four of my children died one after another. This led to some speculation among my neighbours, and on their suggestion I consulted a *Mannan*, an expert in the art of exorcism and black arts. The *Mannan* gave it out as his opinion, as a result of some investigation and calculation, that the anger of the goddess *Kali* of a particular locality was the cause of the death of my sons and she was to be propitiated with presents to get rid of the evil. The *Mannan* spoke to me about an altercation that took place some years ago between my wife and my aunt while both were living

together in my house in which both of them called in the name of the goddess *Kali* to prove their innocence in a particular case. My wife accused my aunt of having pilfered from my house five measures of paddy while the latter denied the charge, and in support of her innocence she called in the name of the goddess *Kali* to bear her witness. From that day the goddess is angry. Following the advice of the *Mannan*, therefore, I spent four or five rupees and propitiated the *Kali*." The rate of interest for such borrowings is usually one anna per rupee per month. He is confident that no more mishap will happen hereafter and his only surviving son, now three years old, will survive the critical age of five.

2. *Kammalans* OR ARTISANS.

In their social customs and ceremonial observances the *Kammalans* resemble the *Ezhuva* community, but the *Ezhuvas* claim superiority in caste-status and will not interdine or intermarry with them.

Of the seven artisan families that came under my personal investigation, two were carpenters, one blacksmith and four goldsmiths. The seven families contain 11 men, 13 women, 10 boys and 4 girls under 12 years of age.

Their houses are situated on the slope of a hill and hence water for drinking and bathing purposes is rather scarce. There are only two wells in the locality; one dries up in summer, while the other is in the compound of a landlord belonging to a higher caste. They are permitted to draw water from this well. A watercourse which is about a furlong off is used for bathing purposes.

The houses they live in are their own, but the house-sites belong to another from whom it is taken out on lease for an annual rent. The customary rent for a site and a small compound round the house is usually one *para* of paddy (nearly 8 Madras measures) and a bunch of banana fruits, costing now nearly 12 annas, which are paid during

the middle of September, soon after the first harvest. It may be mentioned as a matter of general interest that this gift of a bunch of banana fruits is stipulated as one of the items of payment to be made by a tenant to his landlord at the time of *Onam*, a festival for four days about the middle of September heralding the coming of plenty in Malabar. The blacksmith or the carpenter may occupy the site free of rent, but he is expected to attend to some of the minor repair works for the landlord such as making ploughs or putting up of small fences.

A typical house will be, as in the case of the Ezhuva worker, 15 feet by 10 feet. It is thatched with paddy-straw or palmyra or coconut leaves. The walls are made of mud and the top-structure of split bamboo-poles. In the southern Taluks of the Cochin State where the soil is sandy and good mud and laterite stones cannot be had, the walls are often made of wood and the top-structure out of the stem of coconut trees. Inside are two to three rooms one of which is used as the kitchen. The cost of the house varies, according to prices of materials, from Rs. 30 to Rs. 50. The blacksmith and the brazier will have, in addition to their houses, a small structure, a mere protection from sun and rain, for carrying on their work. There is in some houses a small idol dedicated to *Chattan*, a local god, placed under a tree or elsewhere in the compound to which worship is made on certain auspicious days in the week. Cocks are sacrificed in the presence of the idol and toddy is freely used on special days of worship.

The vessels for family use consist mostly of mud-pots. The value of the several tools actually possessed by them was thus estimated for me by a carpenter. The carpenter's tools are worth Rs. 27, the blacksmith's Rs. 30—6—0 and the goldsmith's Rs. 7—2—6. Though some of the tools are locally made, they show a decided preference to machine-made varieties which last longer and do more efficient work.

Literacy among women is nil. Of the 11 men, 10 can read and write Malayalam. There is, however, very little need in the ordinary course of their business to make use of these arts. Ramayanam (in Malayalam verse), a book on Carpentry (in Tamil verse written in Malayalam characters), Death of Duryodhana (in Malayalam verse), Gausastra (which treats of the significance of the movements of lizards on human beings) and a few Malayalam song-books are the books I noticed among them.

Actual accounts of income and expenditure of the seven families were kept for five weeks:—

CARPENTER (A).

1 man, 2 women, 1 girl and 2 boys.

<i>Expenditure</i> for five weeks.—			Rs.	A.	P.
Paddy (9 $\frac{4}{5}$ paras)	..	..	7	6	0
Rice (17 $\frac{1}{2}$ edangalis)	..	..	3	1	4
Salt	..	..	0	7	2
Chillies	..	..	0	3	1
Coconut oil	..	..	0	3	4
Gingelly oil	..	..	0	2	4
Kerosene oil	..	..	0	4	11
Coconut	..	..	0	6	1
Dal	..	..	0	4	5
Mango	..	..	0	1	0
Jack fruits	..	..	0	4	11
Jaggery	..	..	0	2	6
Mustard	..	..	0	0	7
Tamarind	..	..	0	0	2
Match-box	..	..	0	0	7
Betels	..	..	0	4	9
Tobacco	..	..	0	9	0
Arecanuts	..	..	0	3	5
Others	..	..	0	0	11
Total			14	2	6

Income for five weeks.—Rs. 11—14—0.

N.B.—This carpenter would have earned more had he not fallen ill for 10 days.

He is not heavily indebted, but quite recently had to borrow Rs. 2-8-0 at one anna per rupee per month to meet his ordinary expenses.

CARPENTER (B).

2 men, 2 women and 3 boys.

<i>Expenditure</i> for five weeks.—			Rs.	A.	P.
Rice 64 <i>edangalis</i>	..	..	11	6	4
Paddy 41½ <i>edangalis</i>	..	..	3	2	0
Salt ..	..	..	0	6	5
Chillies ..	..	..	0	2	4
Coconut oil ..	..	..	0	3	7
Gingelly oil ..	..	..	0	1	11
Kerosene oil ..	..	..	0	3	0
Mango ..	..	..	0	0	6
Fish ..	..	..	0	0	6
Coriander ..	..	..	0	0	2
Onions ..	..	..	0	0	2
Dal ..	..	..	0	0	3
Beans ..	..	..	0	0	4
Betels ..	..	..	0	3	0
Arecanuts ..	..	..	0	2	6
Tobacco ..	..	..	0	4	8
Mud-pots ..	..	..	0	0	10
<i>Pappadam</i> ..	..	..	0	0	3
Total ..			16	6	9

Income for five weeks.—Rs. 15—8—7.

He has borrowed Rs. 2 at one anna per rupee per month, pledging jewels as security, for meeting daily expenditure ; Rs. 30 at 18 per cent was borrowed two years back for

expenses connected with marriage on the mortgage of house-property. This last is still standing over.

BLACKSMITH.

1 man, 1 woman and 2 boys of four years
and one year respectively.

<i>Expenditure</i> for five weeks.—				Rs.	A.	P.
Rice ($35\frac{3}{4}$ <i>edangalis</i>)	..	..	..	6	5	2
Paddy $19\frac{1}{2}$ <i>edangalis</i>	..	..	..	1	7	9
Salt	..	..	..	0	5	0
Chillies	..	..	..	0	2	6
Fish	..	..	..	0	6	9
Coconut oil	..	..	..	0	3	10
Gingelly oil	..	..	..	0	0	6
Kerosene oil	..	..	..	0	3	9
Mango	..	..	..	0	0	9
Jack fruits	..	..	..	0	4	7
Plantain	..	..	..	0	0	3
Onions	..	..	..	0	0	2
Sweets	..	..	..	0	0	2
Tobacco	..	..	..	0	4	3
Arecanuts	..	..	..	0	2	2
Betels	..	..	..	0	2	6
Tamarind	..	..	..	0	0	1
<i>Chunam</i>	..	..	..	0	0	2
Total ..				10	2	4

Income for five weeks.—Rs. 8—15—0.

Deficit was met by borrowing. He has already an outstanding debt of Rs. 20 at 24 per cent which he is unable to pay at present. This workman, however, is not quite representative of his class; there are better workmen who earn more, but their business is rather precarious and uncertain.

GOLDSMITH.

1 man, 2 women, 1 boy and 2 girls.

<i>Expenditure for five weeks.—</i>				Rs. ₹ P.		
Rice	26½	<i>edangalis</i>	.. ..	4	11	1
Paddy	54½	<i>edangalis</i>	.. ..	4	0	6
Salt	..	..	.. ..	0	7	9
Chillies	..	..	.. ..	0	3	2
Mango	..	..	.. ..	0	0	2
Jack fruits	..	..	.. ..	0	1	7
Kerosene oil	..	..	.. ..	0	2	10
Coconut oil	..	..	.. ..	0	5	3
Fish	..	..	.. ..	0	2	2
Gingelly oil	..	..	.. ..	0	1	2
Dal	..	..	.. ..	0	0	8
<i>Pappadam</i>	..	..	.. ..	0	0	6
Betels	..	..	.. ..	0	2	8
Arecanuts	..	..	.. ..	0	2	5
Tobacco	..	..	.. ..	0	2	8
Total				10	12	7

•
Income for five weeks.—Rs. 11—13—4.

The other budgets of income and expenditure that came under my review correspond more or less to these which may, therefore, be taken as typical. I have, however, come across a few cases of well-to-do artisan families, but these are exceptions.

It will be noticed, from the above budgets, that rice is the most important item of expenditure and tobacco, betel leaves and arecanuts for chewing are indispensable in all cases. There is no provision for firewood in the above budgets since it is got free from a neighbouring hill.

The amounts of income and expenditure are very nearly equal. The precarious and uncertain nature of their industry makes them an easy prey of the usurer, and once in his clutches they find it extremely difficult to extricate

themselves. One blacksmith tells me a sorrowful tale of how he had to borrow about Rs. 90 some four years back and although he remembers to have paid back more than that sum up to the present he is not relieved of his debt and his house is still pledged as security for the same.

We may conclude that on the whole the artisan classes of Malabar lead a hand-to-mouth existence, though their standard of life is decidedly better than some other classes of labourers. They are quick to learn, generally intelligent and cultured. What is needed is an awakening of their powers which only a well-regulated system of mass-education can achieve.

3. *Kusavans* OR POTTERS.

The potters of Malabar, Kumbharans or *Kusavans* as they are called, belong to a distinct Hindu caste. They speak a corrupt form of Telugu among themselves, but know Malayalam well. They are economically most depressed being hardly able to keep the wolf from the door. The principal deity they worship is Mariamman, the goddess of small-pox, in whose honour on certain days in the week praises are sung in verse form to the accompaniment of a small drum. They rarely know how to read and write, but are a fairly meek, honest and hard-working folk.

They are generally put up in small colonies. There are only three families left in a colony of this type which I visited, but I was told that there were more houses in former days. Some houses are in dilapidation, the inmates having left to other places in search of work or due to disruption of family after the death of the principal breadwinner. This colony is situated on the side of a hill-slope. Water for drinking and other purposes has to be brought from a watercourse half a furlong off. Water is extremely muddy in the rainy season, scarce and rather unwholesome in summer.

In such a barren and unattractive surrounding live and work those who manufacture mud-pots of various

shapes to suit the local needs of the rich and the poor alike. Nallan is a potter of this type who can be distinguished from his fellows by the fearless and pleasant way in which he can address a stranger like myself who is engaged in knowing, if possible, the secrets of their hearts and the conditions of their trade, for the members of the other two families got somewhat afraid and would not enter into open conversation with me as they set me down to be a spy come to take the bread out of their mouths by learning and advertising abroad the secrets of their trade! But the condition of Nallan is typical of several potter families, though I observed, as regards outside appearance at least, that the other two houses in the locality when compared to his, were in a better condition. The general report is that Nallan and his wife are a bit more idle than their fellows and this perhaps accounts for their greater distress. He has four children, of whom the eldest girl, now sixteen, though married, divides her time between her father's house and father-in-law's (mostly the former) as her husband is away as a cooly at Penang or Singapore. The other children are below eight years.

His hut, which has absolutely no privacy within and was open to outside view from all the four sides, is not even a protection from sun and rain. At the time when I visited it (May, 1921), renewal of thatch with fresh paddy-straw was long overdue, as the S.-W. Monsoon was approaching and it was still a problem with him as how to tide over the rainy season; the framework of the roof made of split bamboo-poles was tottering and quite unsafe. Nallan said that he required Rs. 2 to have his hut thatched, but he found it difficult to get together that amount. He said he could earn Rs. 2 per week if he works regularly, but that was hardly sufficient for ordinary expenditure. When the pots were being made—the several processes of manufacture taking about a week to finish—his wife and daughter might take to some cooly work and earn two to four annas each per day.

The parents and children were extremely poorly clad with mere rags; cleanliness is perhaps not to be expected among those who work in mud from morning till evening with hardly a break. Pots are sometimes sold at the house itself, but as a rule, they are taken to the houses of consumers and to the weekly fair held, half a mile away, every Wednesday.

"Have you any debt?" I enquired. "No, who is to lend me money," he replied with a sigh and evident despair. "If I can get, I am quite willing to borrow," he continued, "but my earnings hardly suffice to keep me through from day to day."

His method of life may be gathered from the following account of income and expenditure for one week. The family consists of 1 man, 2 women, 3 children under 8 years.

SUNDAY.

Expenditure.—Nothing to eat this day and no income. A well-to-do neighbour offered him *Kanji* (boiled rice-water) to drink.

MONDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice (2 <i>edangalis</i>) ..	0	5	8	Rice (husked) 2 <i>ed.</i>
Salt ..	0	0	3	Paddy 8½ <i>ed.</i>
Chillies ..	0	0	3	10 pies
Fish ..	0	0	1	
Kerosene oil ..	0	0	1	
Sweets ..	0	0	3	

Note.—He got 1½ *edangalis* cooked rice from a feast in a Nambudiri Brahmin's house.

TUESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice (2 <i>edangalis</i>) ..	0	5	8	7½ Annas and 4 <i>edangalis</i> of paddy by sale of pots.
Salt ..	0	0	2	
Chillies ..	0	0	1	
Coriander ..	0	0	1	
Onions ..	0	0	2	
Betels ..	0	0	1	
Tobacco ..	0	0	1	

WEDNESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice (2 <i>edangalis</i>) ..	0	5	8	3 annas, 3 pies.
Salt ..	0	0	3	
Onions ..	0	0	1	
Fish ..	0	0	5	
Tobacco ..	0	0	2	
Betels, nuts	0	0	1	
Sweets ..	0	0	2	
Kerosene oil	0	0	1	

THURSDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice (2 <i>edangalis</i>) ..	0	5	8	9 pies.
Salt ..	0	0	3	
Tobacco ..	0	0	1	
Kerosene oil	0	0	1	
Chillies ..	0	0	1	
Sweets ..	0	0	3	

FRIDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice (2 <i>edangalis</i>) ..	0	5	8	3 pies.
Salt ..	0	0	3	

SATURDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	
Rice (1½ eds.)	..	0	4	3	2 pies.
Salt ..	..	0	0	2	

Fish for exchange of two small
mud pots.

Total expenditure for the week.

Total income.

		Rs.	A.	P.			Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (11½ <i>eds.</i>)	..	2	1	5	Rice (2 <i>eds.</i>)	..	0	5	8
Salt ..	..	0	1	4	Paddy (12½ <i>eds.</i>)	0	15	0	
Chillies ..	..	0	0	5	Money earnings	0	12	9	
Fish ..	..	0	0	6					
Kerosene oil	..	0	0	2	Total	..	2	1	5
Onions ..	..	0	0	3					
Betels, tobacco, etc. ..	..	0	0	5	N.B.—Deficit met by bor- rowing from a neighbour.				
Total	..	2	4	6					

Net earning for the week is *nil*. Nallan is not averse to drink, but hardly able to get money for the purpose. Chewing betel and tobacco is indispensable. To make up his deficit in income he often goes about begging *kanji*-water in well-to-do houses in the neighbourhood.

After repeated inquiries of this kind I am led to conclude that the potters of Malabar, including Cochin and Travancore, are economically most depressed and have been so for centuries. In fact their very name "Kusavan" is often used as a term of reproach in the Malayalam language to indicate everything low and vile. They lead a hand-to-mouth existence and several people among them do not know what it is to have a full meal a day. In the face of the very great demand for mud-pots among the poor and middle classes that they should remain so is a wonder. A

man and a woman working regularly for a week ordinarily earn Rs. 2 or 3, or Rs. 12 per month. This can hardly be regarded as satisfactory, but to make matters worse such regular work cannot be hoped for. Rain, illness in the family, disrepair of the kiln wherein the pots are baked are among the usual impediments. It may be thought that the potters are at liberty to raise the prices of their wares, but their extremely low staying power and want of proper organization preclude them from doing anything of the kind. Their low productive capacity can be equalled only by their ignorance and imperviousness to new ideas. Children brought up in these squalid surroundings inevitably fall into the errors and ways of life of their parents and thus is perpetuated their economic depression from generation to generation.

4. MOPLAHS.

The Moplahs of Malabar, including Cochin and Travancore, are converts to the Muhammadan faith from different strata of Hindu society. According to the Census of 1911, they are in a small minority in Cochin (about 7 per cent of the total population). The Cochin Moplahs are by no means so ferocious when moved to anger as some of their brethren in the Ernad and Walluvanad Taluks of South Malabar where they live in considerable numbers.

Among the Mussalmans in Malabar there are three important sub-sections :—(1) Jonakan ; (2) Pathan ; and (3) Ravuthan. The two latter are immigrants from beyond the Ghats ; the Pathans or Pattanis speak Hindustani, and the Ravuthans speak Tamil. These two form a small minority only, and are in several respects different from the Jonakans, the real Moplahs of Malabar, who speak Malayalam as the mother-tongue. In Cochin their numbers are as follows :—

Jonakans	..	..	..	51,469
Pathans	..	..	..	1,899
Ravuthans	..	..	..	8,430

There is very little in common in their habits and aspirations between the highly cultured, well-built and fair-complexioned Moplahs of North Malabar and the unclean, low, dull and dark-complexioned Moplah, a convert from the Pariah caste. There are all sorts of intermediate stages of refinement and cleanliness between these two.

Many of the Moplahs of Malabar are extremely enterprising and forward in commerce and industry; but the majority belong to the ordinary working class order who eke out their livelihood from day to day either as coolies or petty traders and cultivators. They often keep bullock-bandies for hire and are much in evidence in the internal transport of grain and goods. In several places they set up their houses on the sides of roads with a view to carry on petty trade and cater to the needs of peddlers and other users of public roads. In spite of these diverse elements in the Moplah community and differences of occupation and economic status, the community of faith is a strong bond of union among them. They have not shown so far any inclination to be educated in our schools and colleges. Each village, where the Moplahs live in appreciable numbers, has a mosque of its own where prayers are offered and children taught how to read and write Arabic, the language of the Koran. Moplah women do not observe the Purdah, but move in public freely without the veil and engage themselves in agricultural or cooly work like their Hindu sisters.

The following table of needs and expenses of a Moplah working class may now be noted. The head of the family is engaged in tending cattle and petty agricultural labour. The family consists of 1 man, 2 women and 2 boys under 12 years of age.

SATURDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice ($2\frac{1}{2}$ eds.)	.. 0	7	1	4 annas.
Salt ..	.. 0	0	4	<i>Note.</i> —There was a guest in the house this day.
Chillies ..	.. 0	0	2	
Coconut oil	.. 0	0	3	
Jack fruits	.. 0	0	6	
Kerosene oil	.. 0	0	3	
Betel leaves	.. 0	0	2	
Arecanut	.. 0	0	1	
Tobacco ..	.. 0	0	3	

SUNDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice ($2\frac{1}{2}$ eds.)	.. 0	7	1	Re. 1.
Coconut oil	.. 0	0	2	
Kerosene oil	.. 0	0	3	
Mango ..	.. 0	0	2	
Chillies ..	.. 0	0	2	
Betels ..	.. 0	0	1	
Tobacco ..	.. 0	0	2	

MONDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice ($2\frac{1}{2}$ eds.)	.. 0	7	1	4 annas.
Salt ..	.. 0	0	4	
Chillies ..	.. 0	0	2	
Coconut oil	.. 0	0	3	
Mango ..	.. 0	0	2	
Jack fruits	.. 0	0	2	
<i>Pappadam</i>	.. 0	0	6	
Mud-pot ..	.. 0	0	9	
Betels ..	.. 0	0	1	
Arecanuts	.. 0	0	1	
Tobacco ..	.. 0	0	2	

TUESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Paddy (3 eds.)	.. 0	4	0	8 annas.
Mango ..	.. 0	0	2	
Coconut oil	.. 0	0	6	
Kerosene oil	.. 0	0	3	
Pumpkin	.. 0	0	10	
Jack fruits	.. 0	0	3	

WEDNESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Paddy (3 eds.)	.. 0	4	0	2 annas.
Chillies ..	.. 0	0	2	
Jack fruits	.. 0	0	2	
Betels ..	.. 0	0	2	
Arecanuts	.. 0	0	2	
Tobacco ..	.. 0	0	4	
Lime ..	.. 0	0	2	

THURSDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice (2 eds.)	.. 0	5	8	8 annas.
Salt ..	.. 0	0	4	
Kerosene oil	.. 0	0	3	
Fish ..	.. 0	0	4	
Betels ..	.. 0	0	1	
Tobacco ..	.. 0	0	3	

FRIDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice (2 eds.)	.. 0	5	8	8 annas.
Salt ..	.. 0	0	4	
Chillies ..	.. 0	0	2	
Coconut oil	.. 0	0	2	
Betels ..	.. 0	0	1	
Arecanuts	.. 0	0	1	
Tobacco ..	.. 0	0	2	

The income and expenditure are nearly equal ; there is no margin for saving. It will also be noticed, from a comparison of this statement of income and expenditure with the others, that the economic needs and status of the average Moplah working class family are not in any way different from those of their Hindu brethren.

5. SYRIAN CHRISTIAN.

The Christian population of Cochin and Travancore is strong in numbers. They compete with educated Nairs and Brahmins in all literate walks of life. There are many flourishing families of traders and landlords among them, but the majority, as among the Hindus, are petty traders or petty landowners and cultivators. The family to which the following budget refers is engaged in cultivation of paddy and cooly work.

The family consists of 3 men, 5 women and 2 children. There are seven bread-winners in the family. This is rather unusual, but this "family" keeps together because of the advantages the members derive during the busy agricultural season when they can provide their own labour in the fields they cultivate. The prevailing tendency is, however, for the family to break up after the death of the father. In the above family the father is alive and hence the sons keep together.

The following is the table of *expenses* for the week :—

MONDAY.

			Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (5 <i>edangalis</i>)	..	..	0	14	2
Salt	..	..	0	0	4
Tobacco	..	..	0	0	3

TUESDAY.

			Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (6 <i>edangalis</i>)	..	..	1	1	0
Kerosene oil for 2 <i>nalis</i> of paddy					
Salt	..	..	0	0	4
Chillies	..	..	0	0	2
Guests 2.					

WEDNESDAY.

Rice (6 <i>edangalis</i>)	..	..	1	1	0
Salt 1½ <i>edangalis</i>	..	..	0	2	0
Coconut oil	..	..	0	1	0
Chillies	..	..	0	0	3
Fish	..	..	0	2	0
Coriander	..	..	0	0	3
Tobacco	..	..	0	0	4
Onions	..	..	0	0	1
Kerosene oil	..	..	0	1	3
Sweets	..	..	0	0	3
Guests 2.					

THURSDAY.

Rice (8 <i>edangalis</i>)	..	..	1	7	6'
Guests 2.					

FRIDAY.

Rice (5 <i>edangalis</i>)	..	..	0	14	2
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SATURDAY.

Rice (5 <i>Edangalis</i>)	..	..	0	14	2
Salt (1 <i>ed.</i>)	..	..	0	1	3
Chillies	..	..	0	0	7
Coconut oil	..	..	0	1	2
Fire-box	..	..	0	0	3
Tamarind	..	..	0	1	0
Onions	..	..	0	0	8
Ginger	..	..	0	0	7
Mustard	..	..	0	0	4
Sundries	..	..	0	1	9

SUNDAY.

Rice (5 *edangalis*).

The expenses are met out of his income of paddy.

6. VELAKATALAVAN (BARBER).

There are two distinct castes of barbers on the West Coast :—(1) Velakatalavan and (2) Ambattan. The latter is lower in caste-status and is not permitted to interdine or intermarry with the former. Velakatalavans follow the *Marumakkattayam* system of inheritance and the *tarvad* type of family. Their customs are similar to those of the Nairs, but in caste-status they are lower than the latter.

The “family” consists of 1 man, 5 women and 3 children.

MONDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (1 <i>ed.</i>)	..	0	2 10		0	4	0
Kerosene oil	..	0	0 2				
Salt ..	..	0	0 4				
Chillies ..	..	0	0 2				
Tobacco ..	..	0	0 4				
Betel ..	..	0	0 2				

TUESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice .. 1 <i>nali</i> of rice				Nil.

WEDNESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (1½ <i>ed.</i>)	..	0	5 0		0	2	0
Salt ..	..	0	0 2				
Chillies ..	..	0	0 1				

THURSDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>		Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (1 <i>ed.</i>)	..	0	2	10			0	4	0
Salt ..	..	0	0	4					
Chillies ..	..	0	0	2					
Kerosene oil	..	0	0	2					

FRIDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>		Rs.	A.	P.
Rice ..	..	0	3	6			0	4	0
Salt ..	..	0	0	4					
Chillies ..	..	0	0	1					
Kerosene oil	..	0	0	2					

SATURDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>		Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (2 <i>ed.</i>)	..	0	5	8			1	0	0
Salt ..	..	0	0	4	<i>plus 1 ed. of rice, a small quantity of gingelly oil, etc., which the woman earned by attending a case of childbirth.</i>				
Chillies ..	..	0	0	2					
Kerosene oil	..	0	0	3					
Coconut oil	..	0	2	0					

SUNDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>		Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (1½ <i>ed.</i>)	..	0	3	7			Nil.		
Salt ..	..	0	0	1					
Chillies ..	..	0	0	1					
Kerosene oil	..	0	0	1					

The family is not at all prosperous. There are Velakatalavans in better position. Besides their hereditary work, most of these "vocational" castes supplement their earnings by cultivating land or as agricultural day-labourers. The "barber-woman", according to immemorial custom of the Hindus, acts as a midwife in cases of delivery, tending the new-born babe, etc.

7. VELUTEDAN (WASHERMAN).

There are three classes of washermen in Malabar belonging to separate castes :—(1) Immigrants from the east of the Ghats who wear their tufts of hair on back of the head, and speak Tamil. They are few in number and are in evidence in a few towns only where their customers are chiefly vakils, schoolmasters and officials using coats and shirts, which require “ironing”, a process which the indigenous washermen are not accustomed to perform. They demand up to one anna per cloth washed and “ironed”.

(2) Velutedans, the indigenous washermen of Malabar, wear their tufts of hair in front and speak Malayalam. They follow, like the Nairs, the *Marumakkattayam* system of inheritance. They wash the clothes of “non-theendal” castes only, *i.e.*, to whom caste-tradition does not assign distance-pollution. In rural areas they are often paid wages in paddy at the rate of two to three *paras* per year at harvest time for each member of a family to whom they render their services. In towns and important villages they are invariably paid money, three to nine pies per cloth.

(3) The Mannan belongs to the “theendal” caste and washes usually the clothes of “theendal” castes alone. He is often an expert exorcizer whose services are much in requisition among the numerous castes of Hindus to ward off evil spirits, diseases of cattle, etc.

Weekly income and expenditure of a Velutedan.

The family consists of 2 men, 4 women and 6 children.

MONDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice 5 <i>eds.</i> (250 oz.)	0	14	2		0	4	6
Kerosene oil	..	0	2	6			

Note.—Guest one.

TUESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice 4 <i>ed.</i> (200 oz.)	0	11	4		0	4	0
Garlic ..	..	0	1	0			
Wheat ..	..	0	1	0			
Chillies ..	..	0	0	1			

WEDNESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice 4 <i>ed.</i> (200 oz.)	0	11	4		0	4	6
Salt ..	..	0	0	4			
Coconut oil	..	0	2	3			

THURSDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice 3½ <i>ed.</i> (175 oz.)	0	8	11		0	2	0
Chillies ..	..	0	0	4			

FRIDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice 5 <i>ed.</i> (250 oz.)	0	14	2		1	8	0
Gingelly oil	..	0	2	0			
Ginger ..	..	0	0	3			
Tobacco ..	..	0	5	0			
Betel ..	..	0	2	0			
Arecanuts	..	0	1	0			

Note.—Extra expense of annas 8 was incurred this day for the ceremony of purification after childbirth. For this purpose the father of the new-born babe gave his wife Re. 1—8—0. There were two guests this day.

SATURDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice $4\frac{1}{2}$ eds. (225 oz.)	0	12	9				
Chillies ..	0	0	2				
Salt ..	0	0	4				
Jaggery ..	0	0	2				
Coconut oil	0	2	0				
Plantains	0	0	2				

Nil.

Note.—The family incurs to-day some extra expenses by way of propitiating evil spirits which, if unrewarded, may threaten the health of the new-born babe. The evil spirit was propitiated with the following presents :—

Arrack (1 drachm)—2 annas ;

Toddy (1 bottle)—9 pies ;

Paddy ($2\frac{1}{2}$ edangalis)—3 annas.

These will be utilized by the officiating *Panikkar*, a “theendal” caste whose hereditary profession is to teach Malayalam letters to children belonging to “theendal” castes and to be proficient in the rudiments of Hindu Astrology.

SUNDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice 3 eds. (150 oz.)	0	8	6	One <i>para</i> of paddy and 12 annas.			
Salt ..	0	1	3				
Ginger ..	0	0	1				

Note.—The husband gives a rupee to the wife.

N. B.—According to the joint-family system of the Nairs and other communities, the woman lives in her own family while the husband who belongs to another family visits her and is bound to incur such extra expenditure as for child-birth, etc.

8. MANNAN (WASHERMAN OF THE “THEENDAL” CASTE).

The family consists of 2 men, 2 women and 1 child.

SUNDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice 1 <i>nali</i> (12½ oz.)	0	0	9		0	4	0
Salt ..	..	0	0	3			
Tobacco, betels, arecanuts ..	..	0	0	3			
Kerosene oil ..	..	0	0	1			

MONDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice 1¼ <i>eds.</i> (62 oz.)	0	3	7		0	3	0
Salt and chillies ..	..	0	1	0	plus paddy 1 <i>ed.</i>		

TUESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (2 <i>eds.</i>) ..	..	0	5	8	0	6	0
Fish ..	..	0	0	3			
Coriander ..	..	0	0	1			
Tobacco ..	..	0	0	2			

WEDNESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (1¾ <i>eds.</i>) ..	..	0	5	0	0	3	0
Salt ..	..	0	0	4			
Chillies ..	..	0	0	1			
Tobacco ..	..	0	0	2			
Betels ..	..	0	0	1			
Arecanuts ..	..	0	0	1			

Note.—Guest 1.

THURSDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (1½ <i>eds.</i>) ..	..	0	4	3	0	5	0
Salt ..	..	0	0	4			
Chillies ..	..	0	0	4			

FRIDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (1 <i>ed.</i>)	..	0	2 10		0	3	0
Kerosene oil	..	0	0 2				

SATURDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (1½ <i>eds.</i>)	..	0	3 7		0	1	1
Salt ..	..	0	0 4				
Kerosene oil	..	0	0 2				
Sweets ..	..	0	0 3				
Tobacco ..	..	0	0 1				

9. NAIR.

The Nairs of Malabar are on the whole a prosperous community. The caste in India harbours within its fold both the rich and the poor. There are considerable numbers of Nairs belonging to the working class order who lead a rather precarious life. The following family belongs to this class and should not be taken as typical of Nair condition in general :—

The family consists of 1 man, 1 woman and 2 children. The bread-winner is a day-labourer.

Note.—The male member of the “family” is not the husband of the woman, but her brother; the husband belongs to another family.

MONDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (2 <i>eds.</i>)	..	0	5 8		0	3	0
Chillies ..	..	0	0 3	Given by the woman's			
Salt ..	..	0	1 3	husband.			

TUESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>
Rice (2½ <i>eds.</i>)	..	0	6 5	One <i>para</i> of paddy.
Guest—one.	..			

WEDNESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	
Rice (1½ eds.)	..	0	4	3		0	4	0
Wheat ..	..	0	1	0	Given by husband.			
Jaggery ..	..	0	2	0				
Gram ..	..	0	1	0				

THURSDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	
Rice (2 eds.)	..	0	5	8		0	8	0
Mustard ..	..	0	0	3	Given by husband.			
Onions ..	..	0	0	1				
Coconut oil	..	0	1	0				
Chillies ..	..	0	0	6				
Jaggery ..	..	0	2	0				
Sundries ..	..	0	0	2				

Guest—one.

FRIDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (3 eds.)	..	0	8	6	0	3	0
Jaggery ..	..	0	1	0			
Coconut oil	..	0	1	6			

Note.—The family borrowed this day 1½ edangalis of paddy. Guest—one.

SATURDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	
Rice (2 eds.)	..	0	5	8		0	10	0
Wheat flour	..	0	1	3	Given by husband.			
Black gram	..	0	0	3				
Mustard	..	0	0	3				

SUNDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (1 <i>ed.</i>)	..	0	2 10		0	3	0

Note.—It will be noticed that the husband of the woman practically supports the family. This is contrary to the practice of well-to-do Nair *tarvads*. The young man who is the head of this “family” is only 15 years of age.

10. PANAN (EARTH-WORKER).

The family consists of 1 man, 1 woman and 1 child.

SUNDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Paddy (3½ <i>eds.</i>)	..	0	4 1		0	8	0
Salt ..	..	0	0 1				
Chillies ..	..	0	0 1				
Kerosene oil	..	0	0 1				
Coconut oil	..	0	0 1				
Betels ,	..	0	0 1				
Arecanuts	..	0	0 1				
Tobacco	..	0	0 2				
Fish ..	..	0	0 2				
Tamarind	..	0	0 2				
Jack fruits	..	0	0 2				

MONDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Paddy (3½ <i>eds.</i>)	..	0	4 1		0	8	0
Salt ..	..	0	0 3				
Chillies ..	..	0	0 1				
Dal ..	..	0	0 3				
Kerosene oil	..	0	0 2				
Betels ..	..	0	0 1				
Arecanuts	..	0	0 1				
Tobacco ..	..	0	0 2				

TUESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Paddy (5 eds.)	..	0	6	0	0	8	0
Salt ..	..	0	0	2			
Chillies ..	..	0	0	1			
Dal ..	..	0	0	3			
Mango ..	..	0	0	1			
Kerosene oil	..	0	0	1			
Betels ..	..	0	0	1			
Arecanuts	..	0	0	1			
Tobacco ..	..	0	0	2			

WEDNESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Salt ..	..	0	0	3		Nil.	
Chillies ..	..	0	0	1			
Betels ..	..	0	0	1			
Arecanuts	..	0	0	1			
Tobacco ..	..	0	0	2			
Kerosene oil	..	0	0	2			

THURSDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Paddy (5 eds.)	..	0	6	0	0	8	0
Betels ..	..	0	0	1			
Arecanuts	..	0	0	1			
Tobacco ..	..	0	0	2			
Sweets ..	..	0	0	2			
<i>Pappadam</i>	..	0	0	1			

FRIDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice ($1\frac{1}{2}$ eds.)	..	0	4	3	0	8	0
Salt ..	..	0	0	2			
Tobacco ..	..	0	0	3			
Arecanuts	..	0	0	1			
Betels ..	..	0	0	1			
Jack fruits	..	0	2	0			
Fish ..	..	0	0	6			
<i>Pappadam</i>	..	0	0	8			

SATURDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.	<i>Income.</i>	Rs.	A.	P.
Rice (2 eds.)	..	0	5	8	0	8	0
Salt ..	..	0	0	2			
Chillies ..	..	0	0	1			
Betels ..	..	0	0	1			
Arecanuts	..	0	0	1			
Tobacco ..	..	0	0	2			
Dal ..	..	0	0	6			
Jack fruits	..	0	0	3			

11. CHERUMA (AGRICULTURAL SERF).

The economic condition of Cherumas has already been described. The following account of income and expenditure of a family will give some insight into their economic needs.

The family contains 1 old man (a widower), 2 young men (not married yet) and 1 child.

Note.—Two women relatives join as guests on the third day and continue throughout the week.

SUNDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>
Paddy	.. 2½ eds.	3½ eds. of paddy
Salt	} 1 nali of paddy.	(tending cattle).
Betels		
Arecanuts		
Tobacco		
Toddy	1 „ „	

MONDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>
Paddy	.. 2¾ eds.	3½ edangalis of paddy
Salt	.. }	(tending cattle).
Chillies	.. }	
Betels	.. }	
	2 nalis of paddy.	

TUESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>
Paddy	.. 6 eds.	7¾ eds. of paddy.
Fish	.. 2 nalis of paddy.	N. B.—The guests go out to work in the fields, and a boy tends cattle.
Salt	.. 1½ „ „	
Tobacco	.. 1 „ „	
Betels	.. ½ „ „	
Kerosene	.. 1 „ „	

WEDNESDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>
Paddy	.. 6 eds.	7½ eds. of paddy. Field-
Salt	.. 1½ nalis of paddy.	work and cattle tending.
Chillies	.. ½ „ „	.
Toddy	.. 3 „ „	

THURSDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>
Paddy	..6 eds.	7 eds. of paddy. Field-
Salt	..1 <i>nali</i> of paddy.	work.
Kerosene	..1 " "	
Chillies	..1 " "	
Tobacco	.. $\frac{1}{2}$ " "	
Betels	.. $\frac{1}{4}$ " "	
Arecanuts	$\frac{1}{4}$ " "	

FRIDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>
Paddy	..6 eds.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ eds. of paddy. Field-
Toddy	..1 <i>nali</i> of paddy.	work.
Salt	..1 " "	
Tobacco	.. $\frac{1}{2}$ " "	
Kerosene	.. $\frac{1}{2}$ " "	

SATURDAY.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>
Paddy	..6 eds.	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ eds. of paddy.
Salt	..1 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>nali</i> of paddy.	
Tobacco	.. $\frac{1}{2}$ " "	

The income and expenses are equal. There is no margin for saving; they live a hand-to-mouth existence. They are so depressed economically that they do not care to save, even if they can, for they do not know what to do with their savings. It will be observed that the income and expenses are calculated in paddy; they are invariably paid wages in kind for work in paddy-fields. Besides tobacco, toddy is an indispensable luxury among men and women alike. In making purchases, they invariably pay more than the ordinary rates.

CHAPTER VIII.

WEALTH AND WELFARE.

We may describe, in conclusion, the main features of social and economic organization of the rural classes in Malabar, their needs, ideals and aspirations and the changes that are taking place as a result of the impact of new forces let loose by the *modern* industrial conditions at home and abroad.

The sources of income for the people have already been indicated. Produce from land consists of paddy, coconut, arecanut and other vegetables largely consumed by all classes. The sub-soil yields nothing. Rearing of live-stock and fishing maintain a few, while the few manufacturing industries, most of which are carried on in the home of workers, are characterized by want of suitable organization and poor earnings. Most of the artisans and working classes live from hand-to-mouth, each generation just passing on the torch of life to the other without any improvement in status or aspirations. The hereditary system of caste is an impassable wall, while the artisans' low standard of life, low wages, and still lower aspirations for material advancement in life are only consecrated and perpetuated by an ineradicable and touching faith in the doctrine of Karma. Commerce in its various branches—transport, retail and wholesale trade, speculation and middlemen's business in several trades—maintain a few; while the professional classes present a veritable museum of old and new traditions. Among teachers, the *Vaidikan* is still respected for his Sanskrit erudition and Hindu lore, and the modern schoolmaster is in some respects the least respected of all professional men. Whatever may have been his past, in these materialistic days the respect for a *guru* in our English schools and colleges is for various reasons almost disappearing. There are doctors old and new; the old *Vaidyan* well versed in Ayurvedic lore and the mysteries of Dhanvantari receiving great respect for

the wonderful cure that he effects in almost all cases of common ailments among the people, and the new "doctor" who has received the hallmark of a degree or Diploma in Government Medical Schools and Colleges. There are lawyers, a new species created and consecrated by the organized courts of law under British rule ; while a good many who know a little about the procedure of law and more about some craft act as "touts" to the practitioners. Every Hindu caste has its priests to minister to things pertaining to the spirit. living and departed, and they eke out a living by conducting the numerous ceremonies of the Hindu order of life. These should be distinguished from the "priests" in Hindu temples whose function is to do "puja" to the deity thrice a day and who are paid either from the temple funds or private offerings made to the deity by worshippers or both combined. The priest of the Christian church or the Muhammadan mosque is maintained in a similar way by their respective communities.

Food, clothing and house-room of some sort are the prime necessities of life, but there are other objects of expenditure to which people rightly or wrongly cling even to the point of stinting a portion of their food and clothing. Among conventional necessities may be noted different varieties of ornaments of gold, silver, glass bangles, etc. It has already been noted that the indigenous people of Malabar are not fond of decking their bodies with costly gold and silver ornaments, though the richer classes may have a few. Tobacco and *pan supari* among all the castes, and toddy among the poor, are the chief articles of luxury which may be regarded as "unavoidable" expenses in Malabar. The standard of life, comparatively very low in India, is different in the case of the different castes of the social hierarchy and between members of the same caste according to station and income. The higher castes, as a rule, spend more on education, while the poorer classes including the artisans spend little or nothing on it but all or almost all on food and clothing. As the division

according to caste is not strictly an exact indication of division of labour and possession of wealth, it is perhaps not possible to take the different castes one by one and institute a comparison amongst them with respect to the standard of life which each person hopes to maintain for himself. But all classes of people live, each according to its station and income, on cheap and simple food. Rice is the staple food of the Malayalis; while the rich and middle classes subsist on rice, the poor has to be satisfied with *kanji* (i.e., rice-water). Reference has already been made to the low value of cloth worn by all classes of Malayalis except a very few among the professional classes who put on "European" costume while attending to professional work. Expenditure on the several items, actually incurred by members of different social classes, may be gathered from the family budgets already described.

Next to food the scorching heat of the tropical sun demands a cool drink. Water is given in plenty by nature, but poverty often denies it to the poor. Wells, tanks and water-courses conserve water for domestic use as well as irrigation, but the two latter are not good enough as reservoirs of drinking water. Both of them are extensively used for bathing purposes, and almost all classes of Malayalis are extremely clean in person and have their daily bath. A few of the lower castes, however, are great sinners in this respect, but this is due in most cases, as the present writer has seen with his own eyes, to want of proper facilities. Most tanks are specially reserved for the use of the higher castes, while many water-courses are all but dry during the hot weather. Wells are too costly and the poorer classes cannot afford to have them. The consequence is many of the lower classes find it extremely difficult to procure water for drink or domestic use. I have seen several members of such classes carrying dirty water from stagnant pools over a distance of half to one mile. Private and public charity can take no better form than the provision of water facilities for the poor.

If water is denied to the poor they must look for relief elsewhere. The coconut and palmyra yield a juice which in its fermented form is extensively drunk by the poor. The temperance movement so far has simply resulted in the raising by the idealists of the excise duty on toddy and tobacco from which the State derives an income which increases year by year and has now outstripped the amount of land revenue, but the thirst for them is not a bit abated, if it is not actually on the increase.

The present writer had an interesting conversation with a Pariah whose castemen are all without exception inveterate drinkers of the fermented juice. He confessed that he was a habitual drunkard and had to spend, now that the duties on tobacco and liquor have been considerably increased, about two-fifths of his daily wage on them. "Why not stop the habit altogether?" I inquired. The reply was prompt. "Well, sir, so long as that shop is there, we cannot refrain from visiting it; if you raise the price, well, we have simply to spend a greater proportion of our wage upon it. We cannot stop the habit unless the shop is removed altogether." This set me to think and I was convinced that the remedy is to make the country totally *dry* by law and partial palliatives such as raising the price will be worse than the disease. I admit that the enforcement of such a law would be difficult, but I believe its mere existence would have a very strong moral effect. Brahmins and some members of a few of the higher castes and Moplahs are complete teetotallers and vegetarians.

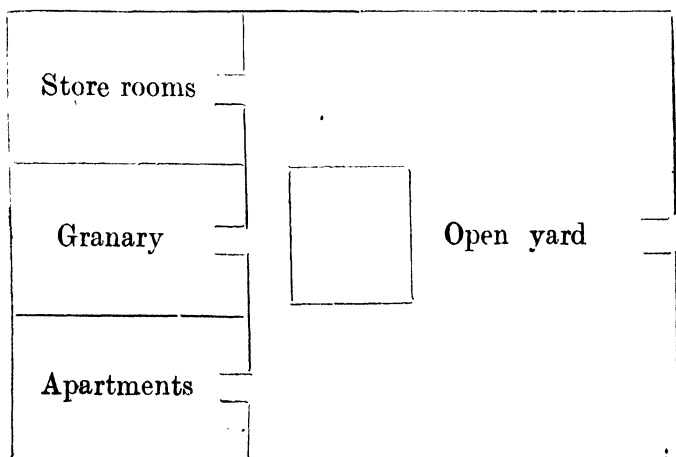
A few measures of rice, some fish, a little salt, chillies, and some other spices as well as some scanty clothing form the principal items in the budgets of the poor. The rich and middle classes may have these more sumptuously, as well as coconut oil, tamarind, a few vegetables or meat. Milk, butter and ghee are chiefly used by Brahmins who cannot do without them. Wood is extensively used as fuel, while the several products of the coconut are also used

in the Southern Taluks of the State. The well-to-do as well as the poor among the higher castes buy firewood as headloads or cartloads, while the poor among the lower classes have not to spend anything on that item. Kerosene oil and power lamps are gradually displacing castor and other country made oils for lighting purposes. People of several castes have begun to use soaps, especially cheaper varieties and the consumption of coffee and tea is on the increase year by year. There are the several religious ceremonies and the inevitable occasions of birth and death in a family on which some money has to be spent. A rough idea of expenditure on these several items by members of different castes can be had from the family budgets already described.

Houses for the vast majority of the poor are quite simple though they have to be comparatively strong on the West Coast with its over 100 inches of rain per year. While the rich and the middle classes have good buildings, airy and spacious, the poor have to be satisfied with a small hut, with no great privacy within, made of mud and thatched with paddy-straw or coconut or palmyra leaves. Round holes in the wall serve as windows in such huts. Teak, ebony and other varieties of strong timber, abundant in the State, are extensively used by the rich and middle classes for house-building, while the poor resort to the bamboo, arecapalm, the palmyra and other cheap varieties. Mud walls are often found strong enough to support comparatively heavy structures especially in the Northern Taluks of the State. Laterite stones are also extensively used, while baked bricks are not uncommon in the south where such stones cannot be had. Broad tiles of the Mangalore pattern are gradually replacing some other varieties as well as straw, coconut and palmyra leaves. The huts of the poorest classes contain a room or two, while the houses of the middle classes contain five to ten rooms according to size and plan of the house. Certain well recognized rules and principles are observed in the

construction and laying out of rooms in the houses of the higher castes.

A Nambudiri house or *Illom* should be essentially a *Nalukettupura*, i.e., a quadrangular building consisting of four blocks, with a square or oblong court-yard in the centre which is left exposed to the sky. The western block is divided into three rooms, the middle one of which is the store-room where valuables including paddy are kept, while the other two are used as bed rooms. The northern block is divided into two rooms, the kitchen in the right and the dining room to the left. The eastern and southern blocks are open halls except a small room in the north-eastern portion just behind the kitchen to be used as a place of worship. Guests or visitors are received or entertained in the open halls. All round the building as well as the inner court-yard are verandahs. Sometimes a portico is attached at the entrance to the house and at some distance is the *Padipura* or main entrance to the compound. Beside the kitchen is a well and water can be drawn to it through a window. All round the house is a compound where various kinds of trees or plantains are grown for domestic use. The compound is hedged round with a fence made of bamboo thistles or some other material.



This is the typical plan followed by the higher castes such as Nayars, Ambalavasis, etc., but there may be variations in details according to need or convenience. In town centres different plans are followed. Most houses have rooms upstairs either in the front or the back.

The house site is to be laid out according to Shastraic principles. The compound, which should be quadrangular, is divided into four blocks by imaginary lines running north and south and west and east and meeting in the centre. The house is to be built in the north-eastern or south-western block, preferably the former. The cow-shed and the burial-ground should be in the south-east and the tank and the serpent shrine in the north-west quarter.

As regards the Hindu temple the image is installed in the central block which may be a square or circular building. In front is a small platform (*mandapam*), protected from sun and rain, where the devotees sit and pray. A foot-path divides these two as well as both together from a surrounding building all sides of which are left as open halls. The front hall is cut in two by a foot-path which leads to the shrine, and the two halls thus made are broader than the rest. A block in the southern portion is used as kitchen. A *mandap* or *koothumadam* (play-house) where Puranic stories are recited or dramas enacted is a special feature in most prominent temples.

As a decent house secured, the occupant wants to furnish himself with the necessary utensils and furniture. The poor classes have a few mud-pots made by the local potters (*Kusavans*) costing a few annas, while the middle and the rich classes have brass or bell-metal vessels for ordinary domestic use and the richest a few silver vessels as well. The value of these depends on the station and income of individuals. Table, chairs and such furniture are conspicuous by their absence in the average Malayali household, though some members of the professional classes are using them to an increasing extent in recent times.

Strong almirahs and cots made of wood can also be noted as part of necessary furniture in the houses of the well-to-do. A mat or a small wooden plank is the ordinary seat offered by a householder in receiving a guest.

After satisfying the ordinary necessities of life man must be prepared to face some common bodily ailments. Cholera and small-pox are the chief epidemic diseases in the State. They appear year after year and carry away thousands, especially among the poor whose resisting power is the least. Tubercular diseases, malaria and ordinary fever, rheumatism and bilious diseases exact another toll of human lives. Insanitary habits of several castes and want of proper nourishment in certain seasons of the year powerfully assist the spread of cholera. Medical assistance is provided by native physicians and Government hospitals established in different Taluks of the State. The western method of treatment is certainly popular among the rich and the poor, but the conduct of surgeons and apothecaries put in charge of hospitals leaves much to be desired. Affected by red tape and carelessness born of security of employment and income, many of them are greedy of money which the poor cannot afford to give. The native physicians, equally greedy of money, are often satisfied with a small fee. They have a local interest, their families living in the village for generations, and are anxious to keep up their reputation; the Government surgeon is a bird of passage, who comes and goes, none of the villagers knowing whence or whither. Private efforts and private practice by the doctors trained in our medical schools and colleges are certainly to be encouraged, but it is doubtful whether they can be persuaded to settle down in small villages instead of in the more important city centres as they are doing at present. There is a most important economic question behind this. Besides the comparatively high cost of Western medicines which the poor cannot often afford to pay, such doctors cannot get sufficient practice and remuneration in the villages. One feature of the

native physician is that he combines some other work such as agriculture, money-lending, etc., and does not expect to live on the income from his professional duties alone.

The Ayurvedic physician makes use of vegetable drugs both in the raw and dried state. He visits the patient's house and prescribes certain mixtures according to the directions laid down in his code which he has committed to memory in the form of verses. In the towns and more important villages they stock medicines for several diseases as well as drugs and vegetables used in the preparation of mixtures. Such treatment is commonly found to be very effective and cheap, costing a few annas or rupees, and marvellous cures of most obstinate diseases have been effected by experts in the science. The science and skill are handed down from father to son in certain families ; there are eight well-known families who form even now some of the most distinguished native physicians in Malabar. There are abundant proofs to demonstrate that the Ayurvedic system is a *system* and no quackery. Some of its devotees, however, have lost touch with the scientific aspect of the system and are content to commit certain verses to memory and pick up a sort of empirical skill by experimenting upon poor patients. Encouragement for a scientific study of the subject is certainly necessary. The Government of H. H. the Rajah of Cochin has recognized the importance of the Hindu system of medicine and has liberally helped any movement that seeks to promote that end. Indeed some members of the Royal Family as well as His Highness the Rajah are themselves skilled in the art. Quite recently an Ayurvedic college and dispensary was started near Shoranur under the distinguished patronage of His Highness.

Midwifery is still attended to by the barber-woman who is given certain customary presents for attending delivery cases. But many of them possess no skill whatever and obstinate cases have to be attended to by a doctor of the "English" school. Native physicians have lost this skill, if they ever possessed it, and are never sent for in such

cases. A school has recently been started in Trichur by the Cochin Durbar to train women, especially of the barber caste, in the art of midwifery, and free scholarships are given to them.

Many persons, especially among the poor, have implicit faith in the efficacy of incantations and exorcisms and presents to gods and goddesses, and these are freely resorted to in times of adversity and disease. There are certain individuals in almost all villages who claim to cure some diseases, both of men and animals, by chanting incantations, and their success in some cases ensures them a fairly steady income. Many temples receive presents, valuable and slight, from votaries who may have made a vow of giving them at a time of illness or other impending calamity in the family. More is spent thus than in payment for medical attendance. Presents and propitiation to "Mariathal" are considered to be efficacious for curing small-pox or lessening its virulence. Snake bites are cured by exorcisms and medicines applied alternately.

Diseases of the digestive system occupy the most prominent position in cases treated in hospitals in Cochin. The official explanation is that "these high figures are due to the high price of foodstuffs and the consequent consumption of inferior indigestible food".

Next to bodily ailments provision has to be made to check the results of mental derangement. Poverty is often the cause of crime, but wealth is a fruitful source of civil litigation. Organized courts of law, civil and criminal, manned by officials in the pay of the State do the work. The most important forms of criminal offences, according to Cochin Administration Reports, are simple hurts, petty thefts or offences against smuggling and other local laws.

Having satisfied his bodily wants and provided for his bodily ailments, man seeks to satisfy the cravings of the spirit or of the soul. It may be thought that Economics has nothing to do with such activities; indeed it

is said that a suppression of all economic activities is essential for realizing spiritual ideals. Whatever may be the theory the fact remains that all who profess to follow different religions are anxious to spend some part of their earnings to give consolation to the spirit. Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians have organized forms of expenditure in honour of their gods or saints as the case may be. Local subscriptions are raised from the well-to-do people of the village or the town and huge processions are organized in honour of the village god. These are invariably conducted in the summer months of the year when the cultivators are free from agricultural work. A number of elephants (the number depends on the amount of subscriptions raised) decked with gold or silver ornaments in the forehead are made to stand in an array and big folding umbrellas are carried on their backs. A number of drum-beaters (a special caste in Malabar whose services are required daily in Hindu temples) stand in an array in the front and continue beating the drums according to certain directions for two to three hours ; there are some other accompaniments to this Malabar "band". The figure of the god or goddess is carried on the back of the middle elephant in the row. Such festivals last from one to ten days in the year. Temple funds or private charity often provide free meals to Brahmins once or twice a day on such occasions. The more important religious festivals attract vast concourse of people from the country-side ; over 50,000 people attend the annual temple festival in May at Trichur, the citizens of which place collect Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 for the celebrations. Such occasions are also made use of for the display and sale of commodities from the country-side. As has already been pointed out, there are numerous offerings to gods and goddesses by all classes of people. Such offerings consist of jewellery both of gold and silver, money, rice-pudding, feeding the Brahmins, fruits, human or other shapes made of wood or metal, sugar, etc. ; one or other may be offered according to the tastes—which are well known in the country-

side—of the particular local gods or according to the boon desired or the nature of the disease to be cured.

The lower castes have their types of offering specially pleasing to *Kali*, such as the sacrifice of cocks and goats. There is a famous cock-festival at Cranganore in the month of February-March where thousands of devotees assemble from all parts of Malabar, and amidst obscene songs and actions, which are thought to be specially pleasing to the goddess *Kali* on that day, numerous cocks are sacrificed to propitiate the deity. Several castes have their special modes of sacrifice. As regards the Cherumas we noted their proverb that whatever they earn over their necessary wants is appropriated by their priests. Besides, there is the *Sradh* ceremony conducted in one's own household by almost all castes—Brahmin and non-Brahmin.

A few words on the organization of a Hindu temple may not be out of place. The temple has often landed property the income from which serves to meet the several charges connected with the “puja” to the deity ; some important temples receive numerous offerings from devotees. There are many temples in the State which do not receive any income from either of the two sources ; the charges of maintaining them fall upon the Sirkar which collects the amounts for such expenditure from some other temple having an income above its needs. Every temple must have the following classes of servants to perform the several duties : The *priest* who may be a *Nambudiri* or Tamil Brahmin, but more often a Tulu Brahmin (*Embrandiri* as he is called) belonging to the Tulu country in South Canara, performs the “puja” to the deity which consists in washing the deity early in the morning before sunrise, decorating it with sandalwood paste and garlands made of flowers and leaves, lighting lamps before the altar and of preparing and offering to the idol cooked rice thrice a day. In the morning and the evening flowers and sandalwood paste are distributed to the devotees who come to worship before the altar. In the morning no one dares to approach the

altar without early bath. The following castes have special duties assigned to them :—

1. Vāriyar—to sweep the temple premises, clean the temple utensils, collect flowers and make garlands.
2. Nambiyasson—to collect flowers and make garlands for the deity.
3. Pisharodi—same work as that of a Vāriyar.
4. Marar—temple musicians and drum-beaters.
5. Puduval—the steward of the temple.

In the temples of *Kali* and *Chathan* or *Ayyappan* (two indigenous deities in Malabar) there is also a *Velichappad* who is believed to be inspired when, with the god's sword in hand, he works himself into a fit and utters warnings and benedictions in the presence of his reverence-stricken spectators. What he says on those occasions is believed to prove true.

The following income and expenditure of a prominent temple in Malabar may be noted :—

Income per year .. = 8,000 *paras* of paddy from
Devaswom lands.

Expenditure for 1 year—

Two *uralars* or trustees = 200 *paras* of paddy each.

The Manager .. = 250 „ „

Two bill-collectors = 90 „ „

Two writers or clerks = 100 *paras* and 120 *paras* of
paddy each.

A peon .. = 90 *paras* of paddy.

Two Nambudiri priests = 300 and 360 *paras* of paddy
respectively.

Four Vāriyars .. = 60, 80, 100 and 120 *paras*
of paddy respectively.

One Marar	.. =	90 <i>paras</i> of paddy.
One piper	.. =	90 " "
Two sweeper-women	=	10 and 20 <i>paras</i> each.

The rest is spent for 'puja', conducting *utsavams* and other monthly or annual festivals.

In pre-British days education as existed in this country was under private organization, while the higher forms of learning were liberally patronized by the rich and ruling chiefs. Members of the higher castes who had inherited the tradition and had the necessary leisure for spending a few years away from home in a religious institution or *mutt* or in a *patasala* established and financed by a wealthy man, studied under a *guru* who would instruct them in Metaphysics or Philosophy, Grammar (*Vyakarana*), Poetry (*Kavya*), Logic (*Tarka*), etc.; the Brahmins had the exclusive right of being instructed in Vedic lore. Sanskrit was the medium of instruction for this higher study. There is an important *mutt* in Trichur, well endowed and possessing vast extent of land inside and outside the State, exclusively for the use of Nambudiri children who are given free meals during the period of their stay. The religious head or *Sanyasi* of the *mutt* is unfortunately occupied to-day with litigation and punctual collection of dues from the tenants rather than properly instructing the Numbudiri boys who resort to the institution. Medicine and Astrology were extensively studied by resorting to the house of a *guru* who was proficient in his subject. Every mosque has a school attached to it where the Moplah boys learn a little Arabic and are instructed in the *Koran*. Every village has its own *Ezhuthachan* (a sub-caste to teach the village boys and girls how to read and write Malayalam and the rudiments of Arithmetic). Boys and girls would assemble in his house in the morning and afternoon. This system is falling into disuse and *Ezhuthachans* are trying to seek employment elsewhere on account of the phenomenal spread of primary schools of the modern type in almost all the villages of the

State. Education was not then looked upon as an avenue for a profession. With the introduction of English education which holds out prospects of earning money in some literate walks of life, the same higher castes make great sacrifices to-day out of their meagre income to invest their money upon the education of their children as imparted in our English schools and colleges. This drain of the income of a family is particularly noticeable in two of the higher castes in Cochin—the Tamil Brahmins and Nayars and to a less extent among Christians. One class of Brahmins—the Nambudiris of Malabar—though they are by far the most respected and richest among Malayalis, most of them being big zamindars and landowners, spend little or nothing on the item of education as they have strictly held aloof from English schools and even from a study of English which they regard as a *mlecha* or unclean language. Some of the Nambudiris, however, have recently revolted from this view and established a separate school of their own where English, among other subjects, is taught to their boys.

In Cochin, the State and the public are co-operating with commendable enthusiasm; private and State managed schools are increasing year by year. The following list of special schools indicates the communal attempts at providing educational facilities in Cochin State. It may be mentioned that in British Malabar such facilities are considerably less.

Schools.	No.	Strength.	Remarks.
1. Sirkar training school	1	490	..
2. Industrial schools	27	905	13 Sirkar, 5 aided & 9 unaided.
3. Sanskrit schools	17	399	Unaided.
4. Koran schools	79	2,218	do.
5. Music schools	34	485	do.
6. Hebrew schools	2	97	do.

Schools.	No.	Strength.	Remarks.
7. Vedic schools	19	244	2 aided & 17 unaided.
8. Arabic schools	11	305	Unaided.
9. Drumming schools	18	96	do.
10. Tamil schools	2	65	do.
11. Astrology school	1	5	do.

There is room for criticism that the "education" or instruction in certain subjects imparted in the public English schools and colleges falls short of a healthy ideal. There is often no love lost between the teacher and the taught; while the complete divorce of home-life, school-life and public-life breeds insincerity in the words and doings of our "public" men. The teachers in the primary, secondary and high school classes are often a hard-worked and dissatisfied lot who take no *human* interest in the materials entrusted to their charge; the most enthusiastic among them will be satisfied with showing good results as regards "passes" in examinations. The parents are an uninitiated mass and neither have, nor can have, any part or lot with the work in the precincts of the schools. Their one idea is often to see their children "pass" examinations regularly and be employed comfortably, if possible, in the Government service or in any of the learned professions. Those who qualify themselves for a degree in the University and are employed in any of the learned professions drift towards a city and are completely lost to the villages in which they were born.

No description of education can be complete without noting those silent cultural influences of home and society that impart a certain religious feeling to the poorest among the Hindus. In another connection I wrote¹:—"The village is often visited by a troupe of "players" who put on the stage Puranic stories in the form of pantomimes and *natakas* or dramas. The celebrated Malabar pantomime is known as *Kathakali*. A big landlord, or ruling chief,

¹ *Some South Indian Villages*, p. 142 (Oxford University Press).

forms a troupe of players and sends them abroad, just after the rainy season is over. This troupe comes to a village, and a well-to-do and influential man in the village is expected to make arrangements for a performance. The expenses of the troupe for that day together with a small donation which seldom exceeds Rs. 10 are to be paid by that person, and the villagers can witness the performance free of charge. The reputation of a man who starts the troupe goes a long way in canvassing persons willing to meet the expenses of the play in a village. Sometimes the pantomime takes place in the local temple and the *devaswom* authorities are bound to meet the day's expenses of the players; the amount of donation is dispensed with in this case. This troupe travels from place to place and returns at the end of the season to the place from which it started and the members engage themselves in their respective occupations. The same round is repeated in the next season.

"There are also various ways of teaching broadcast Puranic lore such as *Chakiyar kooth*, *Ottam thullal*, etc. In a *Chakiyar kooth*, the *Chakiyar* (a particular caste) recites certain Sanskrit *slokas* illustrative of stories from the Puranas and interprets them with wit and humour in such an excellent fashion that there will not be one in the audience who does not stretch his sides with laughter. In an *ottam thullal*, the *Nambiyar* (again a particular caste) recites with appropriate gestures verses composed in short Malayalam metre dealing with Puranic stories. These are usually performed on the occasion of festivals in temples.

"The above institutions are indigenous to Malabar. Among the Tamil Brahmins, a travelling *Sastrigal* often visits a village and reads Puranic stories in Sanskrit in a temple or in a rich man's house and interprets them in Tamil. At the time of his departure a decent sum is subscribed and paid to him.

"In every decent home, a member of the family reads stories from the Puranas to the other inmates in the

vernacular. They listen with rapt attention and sometimes engage in a lively discussion. Tamil Brahmin ladies usually learn by heart Puranic stories in the shape of songs which they recite in the leisure hours of the noon.* The lower castes have their own Malayalam versions of the Puranas."

Members of most of the castes are shrewd and intelligent in their own way and are able to follow administrative and public questions. The following is an estimate of their ability made by a former Dewan of Cochin,¹ with which I entirely agree:—"We are all too apt to believe," said the Dewan. "that education is synonymous with education in an English school, and that a man educated in a Malayalam school is not an educated person. So far as our State is concerned, speaking from my experience of what I have seen in villages in Cochin, I must say that men in the villages take as much interest in administrative and public questions as men of the towns; and in taking shrewd commonsense views of questions, the villager is by no means inferior to the men drawn from the learned professions in towns."

While such are the facilities, educational and other, that exist in the State, all do not, or are not, able to take advantage of them to an equal extent. The caste-system in Malabar appears in its most odious form in the position that it assigns and the treatment that it metes out to the so-called depressed classes. Cherumas, Pulayans and Kanakans are *slave castes* whose status in the caste-hierarchy has already been described; while Ezhuvans, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc., who are *theendal* castes (*i.e.*, on their approach distance pollution is to be observed) fare no better at the hands of the higher castes. It may be true that "the striking geographical features of the country, the coast line with its long tradition of distant trade, trade with Lisbon, with Baghdad, with Rome, with Babylon, the wild mountains

¹ Dewan Bahadur T. Vijayaraghavachariar.

and forests, and in between the strip of rich land and ancient cultivation, make the extraordinary intensity of caste prejudice intelligible if not justifiable.”¹ But the economic status is closely intertwined with the caste-status among the members of such castes and the improvement of their status, though difficult, has got to be attempted. They have so long lived under depressing and oppressing conditions, economic and social, that it is impossible to get their ideas as to the proper line of advance that they would prefer. Many of them, it is true, “are demanding with great determination the right to walk along public high roads, and to visit the same bazaars as are used by the higher castes,” but most are willing to submit to their lot and plod in mud and rain. As far as one can see, it is hopeless to expect a fusion of all the castes or any relaxation of rules as regards inter-dining and inter-marriage, but it may be possible to give them fair opportunities for economic advancement in life. There are many among the members of the higher castes, Brahmin and non-Brahmin, who deprecate every effort to raise their status, economic or otherwise, and they base their arguments on what they suppose to be teachings of the *Shastras* or what they know to be the practice of their ancestors. It is useless to argue with them, and any movement that seeks to better the conditions of the depressed classes may have to go forward in spite of them. There are others who are reasonable enough to point out the economic difficulties involved, and it is well to note carefully and impartially their point of view. Such difficulties may be grouped under two heads :—subjective and objective. In their present state, the depressed castes are quite unable to take advantage of any opportunities that may be offered them ; any increase in their earnings will not be wisely spent but will find its inevitable way to the priest or the toddy shop. If educational facilities are compulsorily thrust upon them, it may seriously

¹ Dr. Slater, *Some South Indian Villages*, p. 240.

impair the mainstay of agricultural labour.. The tendency of our primary and secondary education is to draw away men from manual work, and if it happens on a large scale, how are the industries to be carried on? Agricultural industry will not be profitable unless the cheap and efficient work of Cherumas and Pulayans is secured. To work in mud and rain is not at all attractive and unless there is a body of workers who are inured to such conditions the industry of agriculture cannot be carried on. There are some who also point out that the so-called "independence" of the working classes has only resulted in trouble and disorder in organized industries in the West.

In reply it may be said that proper education will bring about only a *gradual* change in their outlook and any sudden improvements are not expected; further measures may be necessary to protect them from many pitfalls to which they are liable in a period of transition. It is true that to some their cheap labour is profitable, but there are other agriculturists who employ outside labour and yet remain in the industry. Agricultural work may not be attractive to those trained in other walks of life, but it is likely that there will be manual labourers in a community to look to that kind of work. The subjection of a whole class of people cannot be tolerated for one moment longer than is absolutely necessary. Above all it is necessary to take a broad and *human* point of view in the settlement of this knotty problem, not only in Cochin and Malabar but everywhere in the world.

Unemployment, or rather under-employment, and pauperism seem to be present in organized society everywhere. There are no figures to ascertain the extent and intensity of both in the State, but a few general remarks on their causes and on the methods of managing charitable institutions may not be out of place. Unemployment, partial or complete, is always associated with the agricultural industry in India. Famines, however, are fortunately

few and far between in Malabar, but seasonal variations of demand for labour and smallness of agricultural holdings are fruitful sources of partial unemployment in the slack seasons of the year. There is some convenience, in this respect, in distinguishing between the several classes living upon the produce from land, *e.g.*, the big landlords, the small landowners and tenants, and agricultural labourers. Indeed the big landlords and especially the biggest among them, are unemployed in the strict economic sense ; they can afford to utilize their leisure and wealth to the best advantage of society. The small landowners often find that their holding is "uneconomic" and have to seek employment elsewhere. Full and free competition for cultivation of land, the scattered nature of holdings as well as the density of population push up the rents of land and the actual cultivator has to be content with the barest minimum and part with a portion of his fair profit in the shape of rent. Labourers are casual workers who are in great demand in the critical agricultural operations, but left without regular work during the rest of the year. In the Southern Taluks of the Cochin State where coconut is the principal crop of cultivation, conditions are, however, slightly different. Here, as in the paddy area, rents of land are screwed up to the utmost and the tenants have to be content with the barest minimum. But in many areas the owners of coconut gardens are managing them themselves with a few stewards and labourers to help them and the problem of tenancy is not so acute as in the paddy-land with its annual round of crops. The labourers also can get work, though they have often to be satisfied with a scanty wage, throughout the year unlike in the paddy-lands. Hence under-employment is not so chronic a feature in coconut areas as in the paddy areas of the north.

The artisan castes present a problem by themselves. Carpenters, masons and others engaged in the building trade cannot get work during the rainy season (July-September). They do not take to other employments either, but depend

on three sources : (1) Earnings of the women-members of the family who often work in the fields ; (2) past savings, if any ; and (3) small borrowings, if possible. They lead a rather precarious life, but they are so long accustomed to it that the sense of anything better has been more or less dulled in them.

The remedies that may be suggested are :— (1) Greater intensification of cultivation ; (2) encouragement of minor industries ; and (3) emigration. It is doubtful whether the first will be resorted to, to any appreciable extent, for the simple reason that it is not often possible, and sometimes not to the interest of the cultivator, to do so. So long as there is full and free competition for the use of land and there is a dense and hungry population to be fed, land rent will be screwed up to the utmost, whatever be the intensification of cultivation. The landlords, especially the small ones, may be benefited by bringing new land under cultivation, if they can get it without great cost. Such lands are bound to be limited in an old country, though some areas can be so brought under the plough in Cochin. In any case it is not likely to be of much help to the tenant or labouring classes. The smaller landowners may also be benefited by putting a stop to the fragmentation of holdings, but the difficulties in the way of applying this remedy are so great that one is not sanguine about its application in the near future. The second and third remedies are the only available ones for the tenants and the labourers. The third is in fact extensively resorted to, especially in the Northern Taluks (paddy area), by the labourers themselves, but as a remedy it is quite defective, for it exposes the agricultural industry to most serious danger at the critical seasons of the year. It is well known that Malabar, and to a less extent Cochin and Travancore, send out many men to the other districts and city centres as recruits in the army and police, as clerks, hotel-keepers, domestic servants, etc. The real solution seems to be the rehabilitation of village industries on modern lines with all the advantages

of a central agency and organization for the purchase of raw materials and disposal of finished products and the use of efficient tools and materials. This requires the sustained efforts of industrial leaders of a new type as well as organized education of the masses.

If some cannot find work, there are others who will not seek, or finding, will not take. The problem of beggary in India is closely bound up with religious scruples. Every beggar may be a Sadhu Narayana, the God, and to turn him out without gifts is to commit an act of sacrilege. Numbers of poor, able-bodied especially, can be seen begging from door to door and a handful of rice is usually given to each unless the enraged house-wife turns them out for one reason or other. Public sentiment is generally against begging in any form which is considered to be derogatory to a person's status, but there are certain special forms which are held in high social esteem. A pious person may have taken a vow to perform some religious act or propitiate some god or goddess out of the proceeds of begging. Such cases are however rare, and to one genuine case there are hundreds of frauds. Some beggars live in the village itself, but there are wandering ones who make it their one profession in life. Some of them come in singles, others visit the village in families, and are migratory in their habits. When the Census was taken in the night of March 1921, over 1,400 persons in Cochin returned beggary as their occupation.¹ It is possible that many who resort to begging in certain seasons might not have been entered in the list.

Feeding the Brahmins is considered to be one of the most pious duties by all castes of Hindus. In several Hindu temples Brahmins are provided free meals once a lunar month, or, in certain temples, in the month of *Vrichigam* (November-December) every night as well as on the days of annual festivities. The expenditure is either met out

¹ The figures for 1901 and 1911 are 2,500 and 2,400 respectively. Does this fall indicate that professional beggary is ceasing to pay?

of temple funds, or by the tenants of temple lands, or both combined. Indeed in some cases the tenant of a temple land is required by the terms of his contract to feed the Brahmins once a year. In other cases persons, charitably disposed, or who may have made a vow of sacrifice to a god in times of adversity or with a view to success in some enterprize, voluntarily undertake to perform the duty at their own expense. During the time of births, deaths and religious ceremonies, the well-to-do members of several castes consider it to be specially meritorious to feed the Brahmins. More than these, spotted all over the Cochin State are *Oottupuras* (feeding houses) for freely feeding the Brahmins. Till 1902 every Brahmin, young and old, rich and poor, used to be given free meals once or twice a day, but the practice has been discontinued in most *Oottupuras* and "travellers", i.e., occasional visitors to villages, alone are entitled to them.¹ The State manages many of these and the funds for the purpose are from the *Devaswom* or temple department. Both by private individuals and out of State funds are maintained water-*pandals* for giving drinking water during the hot season to those who use public roads.

The bond of union among villagers, as has already been pointed out, is mostly kinship and *caste* rather than locality or occupation. This does not prevent members of the several castes in a village in joining hands for any common purpose, but differences in social observances and domestic practices effectively combine to prevent active social intercourse among them. The Brahmins in the village, if they are considerable in number, form a *Samootham* or union to which a President and a Secretary are elected annually and funds are provided out of compulsory subscriptions made by members during the marriage ceremonies in their households. A professional priest (*Vadyar*) for conducting the several ceremonies of the Brahmin household

¹ Except in a few places this practice has been since discontinued.

is selected and he has certain privileges and emoluments during such ceremonies to which none other is entitled. An annual festival in honour of a god is held by the Union and Brahmins are sumptuously fed on that occasion. There are some traces of communal organization and solidarity among the other Hindu castes as well. The Moplahs and Christians are knit together to a great extent by their religion which enforces them to be present once a week in the mosque or the church.

Apart from some occasional efforts, communal industrial life is conspicuous by its absence in rural areas. Each individual has to shift for himself, as best as he can, in the cultivation of land or in the manufacture of commodities. Instances are not unknown where members of some occupational castes, living together in a village, try to help one another in their work. But common action is concentrated not so much for economic purposes but for conducting festivities in honour of gods and goddesses. Criminal and civil disputes were used to be settled extensively by a wealthy man in the locality or by arbitration courts, or by the deputy of the Rajah, but with the introduction of courts of justice they have fallen into disuse and people are resorting to these in large numbers. Lawyers and pleaders are increasing year by year, and are exacting a heavy toll on the earnings of ryots who betake themselves to the courts.

The Village Panchayat Regulation in Cochin seeks to liberate the poorest of the ryots or the pettiest of disputes from law's delay and cost. The members of the Panchayat were nominated at first by the Government but in certain select areas the principle of election is being applied in recent years. The members meet at least once a month or as often as there is business. According to the Regulation the powers vested in the body are such *administrative* duties as maintenance and repair of all minor irrigation works below the cost of Rs. 500, maintenance of road-avenues, water-pandals, prevention of epidemic diseases,

cleaning and repairing of public tanks and wells, formation of co-operative credit societies and improvement of public lanes and canals. Civil disputes up to Rs. 50 with or without the consent of the parties, and up to Rs. 200 with the consent of the parties, are also handled by the Panchayats. Their work is much appreciated by the Government and strenuous efforts are being made to extend the scope of their usefulness and activities. In other respects the administrative machinery set up to govern the State is closely modelled on that in British India, but it may be noted that the State Government has separated the judicial from executive functions—a reform demanded with some vehemence elsewhere.

Such are the institutions and opportunities for satisfying the ordinary human needs. It will be noticed that into the old, placid, self-contented and self-contained life of the village have been introduced new forces, new ideals in every department of activity. It is true that some castes are more forward than the others in imbibing the spirit of the new age, but all are bound to do so to a greater or less extent. The old economic order has changed or is changing, and new problems await solution. The old relation based on *status* is giving way, so far at least as the economic side is concerned, and that based on *contract* is taking its place. But here the sociological side of the relations among castes is often placing hindrances to the complete adoption of the new order.

One cannot confidently predict what course the future will take, nor offer infallible remedies for lessening the acerbities incident to a period of transition. On the side of production there is yet infinite scope for improvement. The output from the soil has to be increased; the manufacturing industries have to be organized and developed as suited to the special needs of rural India; greater facilities for transport and communication have to be provided; and the whole life, economic and social, has to be sustained

and invigorated by a sound and healthy education, industrial and cultural. Above all, it is to be remembered that the main problem of our agriculture is the problem of water-supply and the State and public funds should be liberally spent in providing irrigation facilities.

On the side of distribution, the wealth so created has to be equitably divided among the different social classes so that all may have equal opportunities for exercising their faculties. Leisure is to be provided, not to one class at the expense of another, but to all, if possible, without distinction of caste or creed. This does not assume that all will be equally rich in all the good things of life, or will be able to make the highest use of their faculties, but inequalities of opportunities have to be minimized with a view to promote harmony and good-will among the different sections of the community.

In the old order of things inequality of wealth was perhaps not so serious a bar to enjoyment of the good things of life. The ordinary needs were not many and had often to be confined to what were procurable in the village itself or the surrounding area; the wealth of the rich found its way, in one form or other, to the people in the village itself. The zamindars and *janmis*, who collected vast quantities of paddy year by year, stored them for a while, but spent the surplus after their consumption in liberally feeding their dependants and workers. Perhaps a new house will be built or an old one repaired on a lavish scale; charitable institutions and endowments were specially to be cared for; new temples had to be built, and liberal endowments made to the god; the several ceremonial functions of the temple had to be performed scrupulously and on a liberal scale; the poor had to be fed sumptuously during the numerous social ceremonies of the household and of the god. What else was a rich man to do with his wealth? Such functions and such activities, besides their educative effect on the country-side, led to a more or less equitable distribution of wealth in the village community.

But to-day things have changed. The *janmi* and the *zamindar* have found out new ways of utilizing their wealth. Houses indeed have to be built, if possible, on a grand scale, but the materials are imported from abroad ; no new temples are built, old ones are languishing for want of life and funds ; the funds of such temples, as have any, are being misappropriated to enrich the private purse instead of being applied to the public good ; the maxim "charity begins at home" is gaining greater currency among the rich ; the duty of supporting the poor or the dependants is being waived on various grounds. The income in kind is often commuted to an income in money. It is spent perhaps in buying a motor-car, or having a suburban villa in the city, travelling first class by rail or buying a thousand and one luxuries of the modern era of industrial civilization ; or, among the more prudent among them, in taking up shares in industrial concerns established in other parts of India. From what I have seen I can say that all these methods have been adopted by the well-to-do *janmis* in Malabar, and even by those who were once thought to be impervious to new ideas, the Nambudiris of Malabar. The consequence is a greater inequality, a deeper cleavage between the rich and the poor in the village. The poor tenant, or cultivator and labourer, has often to be content to part with a fair portion of the fruits of his own labour to see his patron and landlord spending the money elsewhere.

The Government must recognize that its administrative machinery is also partly responsible for this disintegration and decay. Centralized administration—the military, the police, the judiciary and the Civil Service, all controlled by a highly centralized executive and standing apart as a separate corporation from the mass of common people—besides leading to a paralysis of the limbs of local Self-Government, brings about an inequitable distribution of wealth as well. For one thing, the expenditure on these services, however necessary, is out of all proportion to the revenues realized. The hard-earned money of the

ryot, who can ill-afford to part with it, goes out of the villages, partly in the shape of Government Kists or other payments, and partly for buying the several necessities, comforts and luxuries of life imported from elsewhere, and gets itself distributed in citics, district head-quarters or in some cases outside the country with the result that the agriculturists in rural areas, as Mr. Talmaki of Bombay observed recently, "are being starved for funds, while a few cities in every province are overflowing with money, which besides financing legitimate commerce and industry has led to all sorts of speculation and gamble."¹ This tends to harden the spirit of the ryot and increase his dissatisfaction, and the inflammable material is there which can be utilized for wrong ends subversive of ordered progress. The trouble in Malabar, as well as in India, is at bottom an economic one, one that touches the fundamental life of the mass of the people.

What is the remedy? First and foremost, extended industrial facilities have to be provided for the masses of the people so that the pressure of the population on the soil or the agricultural industry may be relieved. Experts are agreed that the industrial evolution in India will not be on the same lines as in some west European countries or the United States, because of some peculiar factors of geographical and economic environment in this country. There is a general agreement that cottage industries must be revived and stimulated. Among cottage industries, there is no doubt spinning and weaving are most important, and if up-to-date appliances are employed by the workers and facilities provided for buying raw materials and selling finished products as well as for obtaining cheap and easy credit, the present economic difficulties involved in the resuscitation of cottage industries will automatically vanish. A good portion of the attention and funds, both of the Government and public bodies, must be diverted to this end without any delay.

¹ Presidential Address, Madras Co-operative Conference, 1921.

Secondly, better relations should be established between Capital and Labour. It is sometimes thought that the struggle and conflict of interests between capital and labour are not present in India except in a few big organized industries in a few city centres. This is a great mistake. Occasional conflicts in organized industries make a good deal of stir owing chiefly to the state of organization in such industries. In the agricultural industry the relation between the landlord and tenant is essentially one of Capital and Labour; only, they are unorganized and scattered except perhaps in large planting areas. The problem is the same in both cases. Confining my remarks to Malabar about whose conditions I am familiar but which may be applied to other parts of India as well, I may suggest that capricious eviction of tenants or arbitrary enhancement of rents should immediately cease. This raises, the difficult question of tenancy legislation. It is a fortunate circumstance, however, that enlightened public opinion in Malabar, both among the landlord and tenant classes, is against arbitrary evictions and enhancement of rents. My diagnosis of the situation leads me to conclude that there is no sufficient sanction behind public opinion to keep in check the erring members who are often led by their passion than their better sense. Landlord and tenant alike must be educated to appreciate fully the sense of their responsibilities and then the present bad blood between them will undoubtedly decrease. It is to be hoped that tenants' organizations and landlords' associations will be started in different parts of India in order to facilitate a *rapprochement* between the parties on a healthy and self-respecting basis.

• The Government, on the other hand, should spend a greater proportion of its revenue in providing irrigation facilities and on such items of productive enterprise as are beyond the capacity of the poor ryots, while it should encourage local bodies and Village Panchayats to collect local cesses for providing the amenities of economic life for themselves. The remedies, in short, are the fostering of local

self-help, the reconstruction of village life and the resuscitation of village industries and agriculture on communal and co-operative lines ; while to infuse new life into the system by supervising and supplementing, if necessary, the work of local bodies and communal organizations must be the constant endeavour of the State.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

I am indebted to Mr. I. Raman Menon, Superintendent of Agriculture, Cochin, for the following note :—

There are no scientific names for the several varieties of paddy met with in the State or for the matter of fact in any other Province.

I would give the following general classification :—

(a) Wild paddy found growing in ponds and marshes.

(b) Cultivated paddy varieties.

The second set comprises the following :—

(1) Hill paddy (*Modan*, *Purarka*) sown in dry lands or hills with the monsoon and harvested in September-October.

(2) Wet land paddy—Wet land paddy may roughly be divided into two main classes :—

(a) Those sown with the monsoon and harvested in August to October (*Viruppu*).

(b) Those sown with the monsoon or later and harvested in December to February (*Mundakan*).

Viruppu varieties are also suitable for sowing in *Puncha* or *Kole* lands (sown in December to February and harvested in April-May).

The above classification of varieties of paddy is based on the duration of growth.

It is found that the duration varies from 2 months to 10 months.

Navara.—This can be harvested in 2 months to 75 days from date of sowing and it is possible to grow this type of

paddy with more or less success at any time of the year. Generally it appears as a late *Viruppu* crop as well as a late *Puncha* or *Kole* crop. Sometimes it is taken as a late *Munāakan* crop. Then comes *Cheera* which is a 3 months' crop. This too is generally grown as a *Viruppu* as well as a *Puncha* crop. Occasionally it is grown as a *Mundakan* crop as well. I have also seen it sown and harvested in Thulam (October to November).

There are also varieties of duration varying from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ months.

All varieties which are grown as *Mundakan* and harvested from December to February are of durations varying from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 months.

Thus the whole art consists in finding out the correct type and growing it, in such a way as to get the crop ready for the harvest at a favourable season. The paddy should generally be ready for harvest in months in which the rainfall should be low. *Chingom* and *Kanni* fall between two monsoons and are not generally so rainy as the other rainy months of the two monsoons.

The type of paddy grown depends on the following :—

- (1) Nature of the soil,
- (2) Supply of water, and
- (3) Availability of labour, both at sowing and harvest time.

With a plentiful supply of water and manures one can grow any type of paddy in any type of lands. Except in the Chittur Taluk there is no irrigation scheme of any importance in the State. The ryot depends on the monsoon. The sowing of the 1st crop (*Viruppu*) thus commences soon after a good shower in *Medom* (April-May). He expects his first crop to be ready for harvest before the end of *Kanni* (September-October), so that he may plant his second crop which

should ordinarily be ready for harvest at the end of *Dhanu* (December-January). If the ryot is assured of a plentiful supply of water in *Vrichigom* and *Dhanu* (November-January), he can raise a better crop and thus delay his harvest till the end of *Makaram* (January-February). It will be seen that, in the matter of selection of the types of paddy, the ryot has gained sufficient experience and is generally quite sure of his ground.

Another important matter which governs has action is labour. The cultivation of paddy is generally a very tedious piece of work. It is not possible either to sow or transplant or harvest a large extent and hence he distributes work by selecting proper types of paddy so that his sowing and harvest progress gradually without any hitch.

Long-duration types are sown first in *Medom* (April-May). These are followed by other types which are of less duration and these are again followed by types which could be harvested in the course of 60 to 75 days.

The following table illustrates the whole method :—

Type of Paddy			Date of Sowing	Date of Harvest
Aryan	} 5½ months ...	Velutharikaz-hama	Medom (Apr.-May)	Kanni (Sept.-Oct.)
Vattan ...				
Chembavu ...	4 months ...		Medom-Edavom (April-June)	Early in Chingom (Aug.)
Cheera	...		Edavom-Mithunom (May-July)	Chingom (middle) (Aug.)
Navara	...		Mithunam-Karkitagom (June-Aug.)	Chingom-Kanni (Aug.-Oct.)
				Kanni (Sept.-Oct.)

MUNDAKAN (Single Crop and Second Crop).

Sowing in Nursery	Transplantation	Harvest
Chittani, Mesathari, etc. Mithunom (June-July) ..	End of Karkitagom and early in Chingom (Aug.)	Dhanu (Dec.-Jan)
Second Crop.		
Chemban and Athiyan Karkitagom (July-Aug.)..	Chingom and Kanni (Aug.-Oct.)	Dhanu (Dec.-Jan.)
Cheriyaryan and other short-duration varieties. }	These are sown broad-cast in Kanni (Sept.-Oct.) and harvested in Dhanu (Dec.-Jan.).	

Navara also is sown in *Thulam* (October-November) and harvested in Dhanu (December-January).

It may be stated as a general rule that no type of paddy whose duration of growth is less than 3 months is transplanted. It is also the rule that the paddy should be in the nursery for one week for every month of its growing period, *i.e.* to say, if the type is one which takes four months to ripen it should be in the nursery for four weeks. Paddy which is transplanted, will generally be late by one fortnight for harvest.

We have on the West Coast any number of types of paddy to suit our different types of lands and the various conditions. The introduction of foreign varieties has to be done with great care. So far I have not come across with any satisfactory exotic type.

The following is a list of pests affecting paddy:—

Common Name	Scientific Name	Nature of Attack
Rice-bug ..	<i>Leptocorisa Varicornis</i> ..	Sucks the grain in its milky stage.
Rice-case-worm ..	<i>Nymphula Depunctalis</i> ..	Attacks growing plants in the young stage.
Rice-stem-borer ..	<i>Schoenobius Bipunctifer</i>	Attacks the flowering stage.
Grass-hopper ..	<i>Hieroglyphus Bania</i> ..	Attacks leaves and flowers.
Rice-beetle ..	<i>Hispa Armigera</i> ..	Attacks leaves.
Leaf-worm ..	<i>Parnara Matheas</i> ..	Attacks leaves.
Swarming caterpillars ..	<i>Spodoptera Mauritia</i> ..	Attacks leaves (very common in Pancha and Kole lands).

All these are more or less serious pests of paddy.

No. 2.—LAND.

No.	HOLDING (OWN)			LAND TAKEN OUT FOR CULTIVATION							GOVERNMENT REVENUE			CROP		Remarks
	Extent	Nature of the soil (wet, dry, etc.)	Blocks	Value	Extent	Nature of the soil (wet, dry, etc.)	Blocks	Nature of lease	Landlord's Share	Tenant's Share	Land Revenue	Water-Cess	Others	Area	Yield	

No. 3.—DEAD STOCK.

No.	Agricultural Implements	Water Lifts	Wells				Other Reservoirs of Water				Remarks
			No.	Depth	Quantity of Water	Uses	Cost	No.	Quantity of Water	Uses		Cost

No.—4.—LIVE-STOCK.

No.	Cows			She-Bufferaloes			Bullocks		Sheep, Goats		Pigs		Donkeys		Horses		Poultry		Remarks
	Number	Milking	Non-Milking	Price	Calves	Number	Milking	Non-Milking	Price	Calves	Number	Price	Number	Price	Number	Price	Number	Price	

No. 5.—INCOME AND INDEBTEDNESS.

No.	INCOME			INDEBTEDNESS					REMARKS		
	Earning Members	Occupation	Amount of Annual Income		Total Amount	Security	Rate of Interest	Source of Borrowing		Purpose of Loan	
			Kind	Money							Kind	Money
	Men	Women									Note particularly the amount of temporary loans—in money, food grains, seed grains, etc.—and their rates of interest.

Measures and Weights used in Cochin.*

I. Measures of Capacity.—

DRY MEASURE.

COCHIN.	MADRAS PRESIDENCY.
2 Ollaks = 1 Uri.	41 $\frac{2}{3}$ fluid ounces = 1 Madras
2 Uris = 1 Nah.	Seer.
3 Nalis = 1 Padi.	62 $\frac{1}{2}$ fluid ounces = 1 Madras
4 Nalis = 1 Edangali	Measure.
(standard)	8 Madras measures =
10 Edangalis = 1 Para.	1 Malabar Para.
<i>Note.</i> —1 Edangali contains two rathals of raw rice.	

LIQUID MEASURE.

4 thavis	= 1 Nali.
4 nalis	= 1 Edangali (standard).
10 edangalis	= 1 Para.
12 edangalis	= 1 Chotana.
25 chotanas	= 1 Candy.
<i>Note.</i> —1 Edangali contains 44 ounces of water.	

II. Table of Weights.—

Used in weighing all articles other than gold, silver, precious stones and medicines.

6 $\frac{4}{5}$ rupees weight	= 1 Palam.
6 $\frac{1}{4}$ palams or 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rs. weight	= 1 Rathal (standard)
20 rathals	= 1 Thulam.
25 rathals	= 1 Maund.
20 maunds	= 1 Candy.

* These are the standards prescribed by the State in Cochin, but there are several varieties of local measures, still in use, in British Malabar, and Travancore, and in different taluks of Cochin itself, all bearing the same names as *Nalis*, *Edangalis*, *Paras*, etc.

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