

KERALA PROVINCE
OR
WEST COAST PROVINCE

BY
M. C. KRISHNAN NAIR
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PREFACE

The Separate 'Kerala' Province is the subject of some of my articles published in local Malayalam papers "Mathrubhumi" and 'Al-Ameen'. At the suggestion of some gentlemen whose attention the articles attracted, I publish this in English for inviting the consideration and support of non-Malayalees also concerned with the subject.

The more one thinks over the subject, the more he becomes convinced that the Western Ghats divides the south of the Indian peninsula into two distinct regions with materially differing flora and fauna. Just as the plants and trees growing to the west of the Ghats do not flourish to its east, the people born to the west of the Ghats are out of their elements in the country to its east. Hence the instinctive attachment of the West Coast people to their native country referred to in Census Reports. The highest talent for education noticable generally in the people of Kerala is in some degree shared even by the inhabitants of the Mysore plateau, but not by their close eastern neighbours. The racial peculiarities are naturally more pronounced in womenfolk than in men. The different systems of laws and customs grown up in the two regions correspond to the differing racial habits and natural surroundings of their respective people. Prevailing languages and dialects also differ.

As the functions of provincial administration vitally touch the people in their daily lives, and have a direct bearing upon their racial characteristics and natural environments, a common selfgoverning administration for the areas to the west and to the east of the Ghats cannot but result in incongruities and conflicts.

Repeated invasions from the north drove the people of the Kerala country to take shelter in its south bounded by the sea and the Ghats, when all countries were generally thinly populated. Strange foreign official vernaculars and officialdom artificially

introduced closely following the heels of the invasions restricted the people's subsequent return and expansion to the areas from which they had receded. Administrative connection immediately established with the east coast and opening of Palghat gap by the introduction of the railway misdirected and attracted Malayalees to their eastern districts, where they would not settle nor could they generally find congenial accomodation. Abnormally swollen with the northern refugees during the period of the invasions and subsequently increased in due proportion for nearly 2 centuries, the general density of the Malayalee population, circumscribed on the southwest coast, has in recent years risen to the highest overflowing level "reaching in one village the amazing maximum found in any rural population of over 4000 persons per sq. mile," and resulting in the consequential distressing features of general unemployment, poverty and emigration to foreign countries in search of livelihood.

At this distance of time the natural lives lived by Malayalees before the invasions are completely out of the sight and memory of a misdirected people. But their former close connection with the people to the west of the Ghats is clearly tracable in the laws and customs of Tulus and Todas, as well as, in the dialect of Coorgis; and wider areas to the west of the Ghats in the absence of Malayalees are lying strangely underpopulated and undeveloped towards their north and northeast even this day.

The worst symptom of grave embarrassment of an intelligent and healthy people placed in an unnatural distressing situation is the abnormal increase of lunacy noticable among Malayalees, to which only a passing reference is made in this book. But to the highest percentage of lunacy among them shown by successive Census figures, pointed attention of the Government was drawn by Rao Sahib M. Raman, M. L. C. by his interpellations in Madras Council on the 14th December 1938. When the eminent physician, Honourable Minister for Public Health, chooses to prescribe proper remedy for the chronic increase of lunacy among Malayalees, the humble suggestion of a layman like myself, acquainted only with

the history and habits of his Malayalee patients, will be that such grave developments will be eradicated by a simple course of natural treatment (1) disconnecting Malayalees from their eastern districts and (2) settling them down in their natural homes to the west of the Ghats with sufficient living space in their surroundings to provide them with employment and food.

A modest suggestion (contained in this) for establishing centres for learning Hindi in places, like Mangalore, also receives a strong support from another responsible quarter. Sri : Saldana. M. L. C. of Mangalore, recently writing in 'Madras Mail,' advocates the introduction of Hindustani as the medium of instruction in S. Canara district, and disagrees with the utterances of the Hon'ble Minister for Education made during his tour urging the adoption of Kanarese language as the medium of instruction in the district, where only a small minority of 1/5 of its total population speaks Kanarese, the vast majority being Tulus and Malayalees, and the rest, Konginis and Hindustanis.

To these Elders of the West Coast I pay my homage. My thanks are specially due to the Empire Press, Calicut, for kindly helping me in putting this publication through print with neatness and speed.

M. C. Krishnan Nair

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1—9—1939 }

CORRECTION SLIP

Page	Line	errors	Corrections
4	6	'Sp. ech'	Speech
5	8	Producation	Production
„	15	maters	matters
6	24	te	to
7	17	rgions	regions
8	1	Shard	Sharp
9	7	reievant	relevant
10	3	talentsf	talents
„	4	physica	physical
„	17	iegislation	legislation
14	21	thsisence	This Sense
15	9	tankst	tanks
24	21	frsch	fresh
30	17	enemployment	unemployment
31	6	Condidered	Considered
32	21	representive	representative
35	31	financia	financial
53	7	speaial	special
59	33	Common	Common province
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64	3	1924	1904

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CHAPTER I

New Provinces.

Providing for the formation of new Provinces in India, Government of India Act 1935 Section 290 enacts as follows :-

Section 290 (1) Subject to the provisions of this Section, His Majesty may by Order in Council.

- (a) Create a new Province.
- (b) Increase the area of any Province.
- (c) Diminish the area of any Province.
- (d) Alter the boundaries of any Province.

Provided that, before the draft of any such Order is laid before the Parliament, the Secretary of State shall take such steps as His Majesty may direct for ascertaining the views of the Federal Government and the Chambers of the Federal Legislatures, and the views of the Government and the Chamber or Chambers of the Legislatures of any Province which will be affected by the Order, or with respect to the provisions to be inserted therein.

(2) An Order under this Section may contain such provisions for varying the representation in the Federal Legislature of any Governor's Province, the boundaries of which are altered by the Order, or for varying the composition of the Legislature of any such Province, such provisions with respect to apportionments and adjustments of, and in respect of, assets and liabilities, and such other supplemental, incidental and consequential provisions as His Majesty may deem necessary or proper.

Provided that no such Order shall vary the total membership of either Chamber of Federal Legislature.

(3) In this Section the expression "Province" means either a Governor's Province or a Chief Commissioner's Province.

Montagu-Chelmsford-Report, providing for separate provinces on the basis of language, discusses as follows :—

If those who speak the same language form a compact and self-contained area so constituted and endowed as to be able to support its existence as a separate province, there is no doubt that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality. But that is not the only test. Race, general economic interests, geographical contiguity, a due balance between the country and the town, coastal and interior, may all be relevant factors. The most important of all, for practical purposes, is the largest measure of general agreement on the changes proposed both on the side of the area that is gaining, and on the side of the area losing, territory.”

Resolution passed by Madras Legislatures for the formation of separate linguistic provinces is to the following effect :—

This Council (Assembly) recommends to the Government that the view of this Legislature be communicated under Section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935 to His Majesty in Council that steps may be taken as early as possible for the constitution of separate Provinces so as to place under separate autonomous provincial administrations the areas, wherein the language predominantly spoken is respectively Tamil, Telugu, Cannada and Malayalam.

CHAPTER II.

Malayalam.

Though Malayalam language is given only the fourth place in the resolution of Madras Legislatures, Malayalam language has actually the third place in Madras Province. In the total population of Madras Province 46, 740, 107, the speakers of different languages maintain the following proportion according to the census of 1931 :—

	Number of speakers. Per 10,000 of population.
Tamil.	4013.
Telugu.	3768.
Malayalam.	790.
Oriya.	391.
Kanarese.	366.
Western Hindi.	265.
Marathi.	28.
Others.	379.

While in the Province of Madras there are thus more than 37 lakhs of people speaking Malayalam language, there are only 17 lakhs of people speaking Kanarese. Further, Malayalees live in a compact and self contained area comprising of Malabar, South Kanara, the Nilgiris and Coorg, while the Kanarese people of Madras Province are living scattered all round the borders of Mysore State in 8 or 10 Districts of the Province without any possibility of forming themselves a compact area. Malayalees have their homes in Madras province and Coorg, as Kanarees have theirs in Bombay Province.

In these areas of Malabar, South Kanara., the Nilgiris and Coorg where Malayalam language is predominantly spoken, there are living, side by side with the Malayalees, other sons of the soil, Tulu speaking population (5,61,623) in South Kanara; Kodagu speaking (43,683) in Coorg; Badaga

speaking population (42,521) in the Nilgiris, besides hill tribes of insignificantly small numbers such as Todas, Kottas, Kurichiyers, Kurumbers etc. Though all these speak their own dialects as their mother-tongues they are well acquainted with the Malayalam language for the purpose of "common speech". On the outskirts of these areas bordering on Mysore State, there are Canarese people distributed 2,44,552 in South Canara, 48,000 in Coorg, 15,771 in Malabar, 29,067 in the Nilgiris making up a total less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. There are likewise Tamils 1,16,959 in Malabar, 50,000 in the Nilgiris District mostly in parts bordering on Coimbatore district. The total population of the District of Malabar, S. Canara and the Nilgiris including all the minorities makes up the figure 50,82,271. The province of Coorg contains an additional total population of 1,63,327. Anjengo, a malayalam speaking area of only 1 sq. mile administered as a sub taluk of Tinnevely district contains a population 6,766. When people speaking particular languages form separate provinces, inevitably minorities speaking different languages will fall to live in them. Malayalees also fall to live in considerable numbers in other linguistic areas.

Though the strength of Malayalee population in Madras province alone (37 lakhs) is nearly equal to the total population of Sind province (38 lakhs including all minorities), some seem to doubt the necessity and practicability of a separate province for them, or to think that their claim for separate province is the weakest, as they are smaller in numbers when compared with Tamils, Telugus or Canarese. They evidently seem to think that the end and aim of a provincial administration is only either the cultural advancement of the people, or the payment of highest salaries and allowances to its servants in a wide province. They fail to consider that the grouping of persons using a common speech in a separate self governing province is not an end in itself, but is only a means for achieving the higher ends of a

provincial administration, that is, the amelioration of the people economic, social and moral.

The subjects in the Provincial List vitally touching the economic wellbeing of the people are 17 Education, 18. Communications. 19. Water supplies-irrigation, 20. Agriculture, 21 Land improvements. 22 Forests, 23. Mines and Oil fields, 24. Fisheries, 27. Trade and Commerce, 29. Production, Supply and distribution of goods, 32 Relief of poor-unemployment, 39. Land revenue-Assessment and collection, 41. Taxes on agricultural incomes, 42. Taxes on Lands and buildings. 43. Taxes on mineral rights, 45. Taxes on profession 48. Taxes on entry of goods, 51. Stamp duty and other subjects allied to them. The subjects in Concurrent List like marriage, divorce, adoption etc., relate to the advancement of the people in social matters, and those in the Provincial List like Police, Courts, Prisons etc., touch them in the moral sphere of their lives.

From the very nature of the abovementioned subjects (and others only allied to them) it is evident that, for the promulgation of administrative measures uniformly beneficial throughout a province a provincial administration essentially requires a field of uniform physical features, climatic conditions and produces, and a society with common racial characteristics. Or otherwise, the administrative and legislative measures formulated to benefit one part of the province will not be beneficial to another, and a conflict of interests will inevitably result, putting the minorities under the disadvantage of being neglected. For the proper functioning of administration and achieving its ends therefore, an identity of economic interests and a uniformity of racial characteristics of the people are more essential than the sameness of their language. The Provincial Legislatures and Governments form only the means or the machinery for carrying out the functions of administrations, a common speech no doubt being useful to

facilitate the exchange of ideas and thus help the working of the machinery. The use of a common speech has perhaps been recognised as a basis for provincial individuality, because the difference of language is most common throughout India, but special economic interests and racial distinctions can only be met with in very exceptional regions. But where such exceptional features exist, they cannot but be given their due weight.

The section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935 providing for the formation of new provinces has not even enacted that language shall be basis of new provinces. When the distinguished authors of Montagu-Chelmsford report observed that "there is no doubt that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality" they at the same time prescribed that language is not the only test, but "race, general economic interests, geographical contiguity" etc., are relevant factors.

Over and above the difference of the language the claim of Malayalees for a separate province is rendered irresistible by their racial distinction and their special economic interests which conflict with those of all others. Kerala country is a distinct, homogeneous, geographical unit extending from the Western Ghats to the Arabian sea, east to west, and from Gogharn to Cape Comerin, north to south. The region materially differs from the adjoining areas in its peculiar physical features, climatic conditions and produces, as well as in its peoples' laws, customs, language and dialects. For the economic, social, and moral advancement of its people therefore, the area requires special policies in the provincial administrative functions of agricultural and industrial developments, land revenue settlement and remission, social and tenancy legislation, land registration, education etc.,-matters vitally affecting the well being of the people.

Special, local and personal laws, customary and statutory in force, in West Coast districts relating to inheritance,

marriage, tenancy, land registration etc , illustrate the necessity of special legislation needed for the area different from others on account of the peoples' peculiar laws, customs and civil conditions. Some of the special features of the racial characteristics of the West coast people are dealt with in the following chapter.

How the "general economic interests" of Kerala Country conflict with those of all other regions on account of the difference in physical features and produces is shown by the enormous expenditure annually incurred by the provincial Government for the works of agricultural and industrial developments and other public utility schemes in eastern districts and by the highest growth of the revenues in West Coast districts in spite of the absence of all kinds of such productive works in them and the fall of prices of their special produces. Some of the various points of such conflict between the two regions have been dealt with in the chapter headed "General Economic Interests".

In view of such conflict of economic interests between the West Coast and its eastern districts in all vital matters relating to the subjects of the provincial Government above-mentioned and allied to them, the economic disadvantage of the former will become more acute, as in a self governing province the majority of the legislators, having conflicting interests and wielding all powers, push on with their programmes of economic development, agricultural, industrial and commercial, suited to the physical features and produces of their own countries,

Of vital importance to a poverty stricken people, as seen in India, are the functions of a provincial government relating to their economic amelioration and the settlement and remission of taxation. Unless there is uniformity in physical features, climatic conditions and produces throughout the area of a province, the administration cannot function

effectively, bestowing uniform benefit throughout, and a shard conflict of economic interests between different areas within the province must inevitably result.

When therefore the higher ends and the most important functions of a provincial administration are kept in view and not overlooked, the relevant factors of "race and general economic interests" of the people are matters that weigh more than their "language" in the redivision of provinces. The claim of Malayalees for a separate province is thus based on a difference of their language, and also irresistably supported by the distinction of their race and the conflict of their vital economic interests with all others. Telugus, Canarese, or Tamils have only their linguistic basis for a province, but have no racial distinction or any special economic interest to support the superstructure of a province over it. It is doubtful that any others claiming a new province in India will be able to satisfy all the tests prescribed by Montago-Chelmsford report, as Malayalees and the people of Kerala in general do. The claim of the Malayalees is thus the strongest of all, supported, as it is, by all considerations of "language race and general economic interests".

As a separate province for Malayalees is thus necessitated by the sharp conflict of their vital economic interests with Tamils, Telugus and Canarese, the fact that Malayalees are smaller in numbers and form only a minority among these others, like the Irish in the former British parliament, furnishes another ground for their separation instead of its being a point of argument against it. The numerical strength of Malayalees in Madras province alone (about 40 lakhs or 4 millions by the census of 1941), equalling nearly the total population of Sind province including all minorities therein, indicatestheir own self sufficiency for a separate province even without the help of the minorities living within their areas.

The conflict of general economic interests and racial

distinctions separate Malayalees from their easterners. Conversely, an identity of economic interests and racial resemblances bind them with people speaking Tulu, Coorgy, Badaga and other dialects and living side by side with them in their exceptional region. As the latter are numerically too small to form separate provinces by themselves, their place in a province can be chosen only with due regard to the relevant factors of race, general economic interests, geographical contiguity etc. which are common only with those of the Malayalees. "The use of a common speech", or in other words, the mothertongues of the people being the recognised natural basis for provincial individuality, the official vernaculars artificially introduced into their areas are irrelevant and deserve no consideration.

CHAPTER III.

Race.

As a race, the people of Kerala widely differ from all others not only in their language and dialects, but also in their peculiar laws, customs, civil conditions, educational talents, habits, manners, mode of living, dress and even in physical appearance.

In the sphere of provincial legislation special laws and customs of the people come into play. The peculiar Marumakkathayam custom of Malayalees is akin only to the Aliasanthana custom of Thulus of South Canara. There is no parallel in any others. Princely families of Malabar and South Kanara Nambudiri and Thulu brahmins, Moplas and many other communities in the area have their own peculiar customary laws. So also are the religious endowments of Hindus and Moplas of the area being governed by their own customs. The following special and local laws enacted previously illustrate the different variety of subjects in which special legislation became necessary from time to time:—

- (1) Malabar compensation for tenants improvements Act No. 1 of 1900.
- (2) Malabar Land Registration Act-III of 1896.
- (3) Malabar Marriage Act No. IV of 1896.
- (4) Malabar Wills Act No. V of 1898.
- (5) Mapla succession Act 1 of 1930.
- (6) Mapla Wills Act No. 7 of 1928.
- (7) Malabar Tenancy Act No. of 1930.
- (8) Marumakkathayam Act 22 of 1933.
- (9) Malabar Warknives Act XXIV of 1854.
- (10) Gudalur Compensation for Tenant's improvement Act. XII of 1931.
- (11) The Koodalmanickkam Devaswam Act I of 1919.
- (12) The Laccadives and Minicoy Regulation I of 1912,

(13) Madras Nambuthiri Act XXI of 1933.

(14) Nilgiri Game & Fish Preservation Act II of 1879.

Mapla outrages Act was only recently repealed. Mapla Marumakkathayam Act and Malabar Temple entry Bill are on the legislative anvil. It is noteworthy that some of the above enactments were belated; legislative measures were passed only long after similar measures came into force in the Native states of Travancore and Cochin. In a self-governing province where the majority of the legislators are disinterested strangers to the special laws and customs of people, they naturally will take their own time to study the subject some times even till the end of their periods without finishing it.

The remarkable educational talents of the people of Kerala referred to in the Census reports are extracted below:-

"The Census figures bring into strong relief the superiority in the matter of education of the Malayalees to the corresponding east coast districts".

High literacy of the Malabar Coast is exemplified in the list of Nayars, but the high literacy of that coast and of Travancore and Cochin states in particular has influenced the figures of some other castes including those of Parayans" (Census of India Vol: I Part 1 Report Page 331).

Referring to the general backwardness of Womens' education in India, Return of Language, Linguistic survey of India 1931 Census on pages 327, 328 contains the following:--

"In Kerala and Baroda alone is the situation other than in the rest of India, for Cochin State has more than one literate female to every literate male, Travancore only a little less while Malabar has nearly one to three, Mysore 1 to every 5. Cochin now leads in female literacy, Travancore a fair second and Burma a very close third".

"Cochin state really leads in literacy in English with 307 so literate per 10000 of her population aged 5 and over: Coorg follows with 205; Bengal being third with 211. Next is Travancore State with 138".

Referring to the general reluctance of Indian women to take up employment the same official report on page 328 contains the following:—

“Burma and Malabar coast are two exceptions and in Cochin state an increased tendency is reported for women to seek careers of their own in preference to marriage at all”.

“It will also show the comparative absence of female literacy throughout India, except in Kerala”.

The record of the highest educational attainments reached by the small parts of Kerala, like Cochin and Coorg, one under a native Ruler and the other under a British Commissioner, marks the index of the eminence to which the people of Kerala as a race will rise educationally under the favourable conditions of separate provincial administrations. A remarkable race, like this, would seem to deserve a separate University for itself. But it has been denied to it, while 3 Universities were established in the east coast, two of them specially for the benefit of Tamils and Telugus respectively. All proposals for establishing a separate University for Kerala atleast with the help of Cochin and Travancore states were turned down by the Senate of Madras and now Travancore State has established a separate University for itself. Even a contribution to the preparation of a Malayalam lexicon was for long denied. Referring to the necessity of a separate University for Kerala. Mr. A. V. K. Menon, Principal' Zamorin's College, wrote :—

“Madras University with its attention concentrated on the constituent Colleges cannot afford to bestow any thought on the developments of culture peculiar to Kerala. As it is, no facilities are given to the development of culture and of the arts and crafts of Kerala. For example an attempt made by me to have a Malayalam lexicon prepared on the same lines as Tamil lexicon, ended in failure. Again there are several subjects such as Ayurvedic medicine, Astrology, Music, Painting, and Architecture. the teaching of which only a separate University for Kerala can provide for.

The difficulties experienced by Kerala students in getting admission into Madras Colleges, the distance of Kerala Colleges from Madras, and the absence of a healthy cooperation between the Universities and the educational Institutions on the west coast-these are additional reasons for the early establishment of a Kerala University".

When a race of such talents is placed in a minority among a vast majority of less talented people wielding all powers, there is often the danger of the former's talents being suppressed, or the former themselves assuming an inferiority complex in their state of helplessness. The closer association of Indians in the administration of the country commenced with the introduction of Morley-Minto-Reforms. About the time Dr. T. M. Nair, a Malayalee, felt the necessity of starting Non-Brahmin movement in Madras with the cooperation of Sir. P. Thyagaraja Chetty. Sir. C. Sankaran Nair had also about this time some bitter experiences in his career at Madras. In course of time Non-brahmin party gained so much standing and strength that on the introduction of Montago-Chelmsford-Reforms it assumed the powers of the Government under the name of Justiceparty. On Justice party's getting into power, a cry was raised for the exclusion of Malayalees from Government posts, and Sir M. Krishnan Nair, the most distinguished member of the Justice party, was actually passed over more than once and third rate men preferred to him. Towards the period of the decline of the Justice party, there was proposal to take in Brahmins also into the party. Now on the introduction of provincial autonomy and the assumption of office by Congress in 7 provinces, complaints have been heard about the exclusion of talented Bengalees from the provincial Government services in the province of Bihar where they are in a minority, and Babu Rajendra Prasad is negotiating for a settlement. Malayalees being situated in Madras province as Bengalees are in Bihar province, and human nature as it is, similar racial discriminations are only a question of time.

The peculiarity of racial characteristics and the sense of racial individuality of the West Coast people account for their peculiar attachment to their native coast and their general reluctance to settle themselves outside their own country. This habit of the people is referred to in Census of India 1931 Vol: 4 Madras part 1 page 18 as follows:—

“Malabar and South Kanara share with the most northerly Sircar districts the honour of sticking closest to home. From these districts males emigrate freely. West coast men and especially Malayalees are to be found throughout South India and their prevalence has on occasion given rise to criticism from those with whom they compete for employment. Their women however do not migrate and the region does not attract immigrants from language difficulties and climatic peculiarities. Hence the highest figure of home-born. The highest rate anywhere recorded is for females enumerated in South Kanara 99½ % of whom were born in the district.

Even the condemned practices of “Untouchability and Unapproachability” prevalent in the area seem to have their origin in the sense of racial individuality of some class of people. How this sense of racial individuality has led to overcrowding and has prejudicially affected the economic lives of the people will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER-IV.

General Economic Interests

PUBLIC UTILITY WORKS.

How the general economic interests of the west coast districts Malabar, S. Canara and the Nilgiris conflict with those of all eastern districts is shown by the enormous expenditure of the provincial revenues on the construction and maintenance of public utility works in the latter and the absence of such works in the former.

IRRIGATION.

Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency ending with the year 1931 gives a list of 51 major irrigation and protective works, 95,041 minor irrigation works including tanks 6,57,117 wells including Duruvus, fairly distributed in all the 22 districts, except Malabar, S. Canara, and the Nilgiris. This list however does not include the works completed after the year 1931, for instance, Mettur project, the most gigantic work of its kind within the Empire, is one among the major irrigation works completed after the year 1931. As every annual budget after 1931 has been providing huge sums for the water supplies and irrigation works in the province, many more of such works must have been completed by now for addition to the above list. The works that were in progress during the last year are detailed in the publication "the First Year of Congress rule in Madras", the relevant portions of which are reproduced in appendix B. Projects like Thungabhadra, Pennar-Kumudavadi, Papanasam etc. recommended by the standing Irrigation Committee of the Madras legislature Congress party are under investigation. Besides the enormous expenditure involved in the construction of these works, there is also the recurring expenditure for the maintenance and repairs of such works. The statement in the

Report of the Settlement of Land revenue (1936-37) shows Rs. 9,73,259 and Rs. 9,63,060 as having been spent in official years ending 31st march 1937 and 1938 respectively for the repairs of the works in charge of the revenue department (those in charge of the engineering departments excluded).

Explanation for the total absence of all kinds of irrigation works in West Coast districts is contained in an observation in the Statistical Atlas that "in Malabar, S. Canara and the Nilgiris the rainfall is practically sufficient to render one crop secure annually". Thus the single crop of these districts is left to the vagaries of nature, and the fertile lands are lying waste for the remaining 8 months of the year. The Statistical Atlas on page 16 refers to the absence of the Government irrigation works in Malabar and the necessity of the ryots to help themselves and their neighbours at their own expense as follows :—

"With the exception of dams erected to prevent the inrush of salt water into Enamakkal and Viyyom lakes and so to protect the punjakol cultivation in their beds there are no Government irrigation or protective works in Malabar. Of the irrigation works proper, the only examples are in Palghat taluk, where a considerable number of anicuts erected at private expense in Ponnani river, contribute not only to the income of the owners, who sell the water to the neighbouring ryots, but also to the success of the crops on the lands commanded".

The Statistical Atlas continues further to observe significantly that "crops rarely fail, but the condition of the agricultural labourers leaves much to be desired".

Improvement in the condition of the agricultural labourers could be made by the introduction of minor irrigation works in the west coast with the aid of inexpensive pumps, worked by hand, petrol or electricity as the extent under cultivation requires, for throwing up water from the innumerable rivers, channels, tanks and wells which the areas abound in. No such thing was done to improve the single

crop narrowly escaping total failure and to extend the cultivation. Yet the growth of the land revenues of the West Coast has not only kept pace with that in the best irrigated deltaic districts of the east coast, but the increase of the land revenue in Malabar has been the highest in the province as the public utility works progressed in the eastern districts.

This conflict of economic interests between the west coast and the eastern districts is too serious to be overlooked and the former forming a minority cannot be at a disadvantage in a self governing province. In view of the difference in physical features and climatic conditions of the two regions such conflicts are only inevitable.

INDUSTRIES

Similar conflict of economic interests between the two regions must necessarily arise also in connection with the works of the industrial development which must vary with the produces and raw materials of places. Aid given to khadder and weaving industries for instance benefits the cotton producing districts more than West Coast districts, which are also liable to pay the license fee under the consequential legislation "Sales of Cloths Act". So also aids given to sugar cane or ground nut exclusively benefit the eastern districts. As the extracts from the "First year of Congress rule in Madras" given in appendix B show State aids given to the cottage industries like jaggery manufacture, sugar manufacture, button making industry, bee keeping industry and also to the large scale industries, like Kollegal Silk Filatures Limited, East Coast ceramic industries Limited, Madras Stone ware Pipes Limited, Gold thread manufacturing Industry, all benefit the eastern districts. Among these some like jaggery or sugar manufacture from cocoanuts, button making, ceramic and stone ware industries would thrive well in the west coast with the materials available there, besides coir, timber and other industries that will specially suit them

OTHER PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS.

Forests, Mines and Oil fields, Fisheries, Trade and Commerce and the subjects allied to them have also a direct bearing upon the physical features and produces of the countries. Minerals even gold are available in some Malayalam-speaking areas. Even in the subject of 'Education' which hereafter under the Wardha scheme is to centre round a handicraft selected with special reference to the environment of the child, the produces and raw materials of places come into play and even the syllabus and curriculum of studies have to vary with them. Provincial subjects, Trade & Commerce, Production, Supply and Distribution of goods are also allied with produces and raw materials of countries. Allied with them is another provincial subject "Communications", the costly works in which have also to vary with the physical features and climatic conditions of places.

ELECTRIC WORKS.

Pykara Electricity, generated in the Malayalam speaking area of the Nilgiris district, would have served the best interests of a maximum number of needy people with the minimum of expenditure, if it had been utilised for the agricultural and industrial development of the adjoining Malabar district, the most populous and the highest revenue yielding in the province. But it was diverted from the commencement of its working to Tamil districts. Even after Mettur electric works, completed since then, have commenced to serve Tamil districts, the extension of Pykara electricity to the thinly populated districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevely is being pushed on, as stated in Government Press communique dated 16th December 1937 extracted below :- "Selam, Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts were also served by Pykara power till recently. These districts have now been transferred to Mettur-Hydro-Electric system which is nearing completion. Work on the extension of the Pykara power to Madura city

is in full swing and it is expected that power will be supplied to Madura by the beginning of next year. Further extensions from Madura to Virudunagur, Rajapalayam, Arippukottai (Rammad district) and Kovilpetty (Tinnevely district) have also been sanctioned. The question of supplying the west coast with power from Pykara has also been investigated and Malabar will probably be so supplied in 1940".

Relevant portions relating to the electric works of the Presidency are quoted in Appendix. B from the "First year of Congress rule in Madras". It mentions of 970 agricultural pumping stations worked by electricity in eastern districts and of many others works like Papanasam Hydro-thermal Electric scheme sanctioned.

BROADCASTING.

The west coast districts, Malabar, S. Canara and the Nilgiris have been excluded from the service of the broadcasting sanctioned in other districts. The details of the works in progress are given in Appendix B. The explanation for excluding the west coast districts from its service is based upon the difference in language and dialects of the people of these districts, and their distance from the broadcasting centres established.

PROHIBITION.

Prohibition, started with Selam district, has been extended to Chittoor and Cudappa districts. The economic aspect of the prohibition is that the amount lost to the Government (estimated to be Rs. 34/ lakhs) is gained by the people of the areas where it is introduced and is to be made good by contributions from the areas where it is introduced, as well as, not introduced. West coast districts therefore are also to share the burden of contributing to make good the loss sustained, until they are benefited by the introduction of the scheme in them.

The alarming feature of the ameliorative schemes and other public utility works of the province is that some of them do not suit the west coast districts at all, and the service of others that suit them is delayed in them until all the eastern districts are served. If the strength of the population, yield of the revenues, and unemployment and poverty of the people were factors that weigh for giving preferences, Malabar would undoubtedly be entitled to priority over all in respect of most of the works.

The explanations for discrimination are usually based upon the difference in physical features, climatic conditions and produces, or the peoples' mode of living, language and dialects. The explanations may all be sound and plausible, but it cannot be denied that there is undoubted economic loss to the west coast districts, which, by paying enhanced revenues, contribute to the costs of the works not benefitting them in the least. As the natural conditions which bring about this conflict of economic interests between the west coast and the eastern districts are deeprooted in nature and unchangeable the economic disadvantage of the West Coast will continue as long as it is tacked on to the eastern districts. The separation from the eastern districts is therefore a vital economic necessity for the West Coast.

Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer often used to take credit for himself for constructing at enormous expenditure to the Government the Mettur dam and Pykara works. Speaking at the inaugural session of the Andra Parliament at Bezvada on the 25th July 1938, Sir K. V. Reddy recounted the achievements of the Andra Ministers, referring to the establishment of Andra University and Andra Medical College by the Rajah of Panagal and Sir A. P. Patro, and the construction of two Thermal stations at Waltair and Bazawada by himself, in spite of their limitations under the dyarchy when the Ministers had no full powers. Sir K. V. Reddy however

omitted to mention as one of Bobbili Ministry's achievements for Madras the granting of a license to a Madras private firm for supplying electricity to the West coast, which had been denied the service of the neighbouring Government Pykara Power. Besides broadcasting systems, Pykara electric extension to the distant Tamil districts, Prohibition, Aid to Khader industry etc, the present Ministry, having full selfgoverning powers, may add to their credit before the expiry of their term some projects like Thungabhadra, Papanasam, and Pennar-Kumudavadi recommended by the standing Irrigation Committee of the Madras Legislature Congress party. None of these however benefits the West Coast districts.

The facts set forth above are so strong as to justify a special provision investing the Governor with the special responsibility of securing that a reasonable share of the provincial revenues is expended in and for the benefit of the west coast districts till their seperation, as specially secured for Berar by the provisions of Government of India Act 1935 Section 52 (2). As Malabar district alone contains more population than Berar, the matter concerns the welfare of a more considerable number of people. In the recent Khare episode and the split in the Government of Central provinces and Berar, men and matters of Berar seem to have played a prominent part. The legislatures of Central provinces and Berar have now gone further and accepted a resolution for forming a separate province comprising Berar under the name "Vidarbha".

LAND REVENUE

The conflict of economic interests between the West Coast and the eastern districts is sharper, with more acute disadvantages to the former, in the matter of the settlement and remission of land revenues.

The cost of Government aid to agriculture and the extension of cultivation and improvement of yield secured thereby justify the growth of land revenues in eastern districts, if any. The payment of increased land revenues by them is, as it were, only a system of sharing the gain of a partnership cultivation between the cultivators and the Government aiding them with irrigation works and finance. Land revenues of all the eastern districts in fact include charges for water actually utilised for cultivation from Government works.

In spite of the absence of such Government aided extension of cultivation or improvement of yield, the growth of the land revenues of the west coast districts, Malabar S. Canara, and the Nilgiris, has not only kept pace with that of the best irrigated deltaic districts of the east coast, but, strangely, the growth of the Malabar land revenue has been highest in the province with its revenue nearly tripled within the period of the last 67 years, as shown by the figures furnished by the Statistical Atlas and reproduced below :—

District.	Land revenues demand, current fasli 1946. (1986—87)	Average for 5 years ending 1930—31.	Average for 5 years ending 1910—11.	Average for 5 years ending 1870—71.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Malabar.	50,43,307	36,85,281	32,24,369	18,68,317
S. Canara.	30,45,444	24,67,257	20,51,276	13,40,657
Nilgiris.	1,90,061	1,98,136	1,31,069	40,282
Tanjore.	94,84,654	69,42,995	59,49,224	40,44,444
S. Arcot.	58,70,752	52,98,290	44,28,045	28,75,667
Krishna.	49,29,699	32,31,028	57,21,621	33,21,303
Gundur.	66,55,388	58,04,416	53,38,150	
Kadappa.	19,00,807	16,16,849	1,51,340	19,36,861
Nellur.	34,00,595	26,35,672	23,47,594	19,19,185

The only district which has closely followed up Malabar in the growth of the revenue is Tanjore with its revenue more than doubled within the last 67 years; but its marked increase

is noticable only after the completion of the Mettur dam in 1931 which irrigated, and extended cultivation in, 3 full taluks of the district. The land revenues have not even doubled in Krishna district whose revenue in 1936-37 equals of that of Malabar, or in Nellur district whose revenue nearly equalled that of Malabar in 1870-71. Including the charges for water the land revenues of only 5 best irrigated deltaic districts of the east coast exceed that of Malabar and all the rest pay only less than that, as seen in Appendix A.

For want of irrigation and other land development works there has not been extension of cultivation or improvement of yield in the west coast as in the eastern districts. Increased revenues of Malabar have been arrived at by assessing house sites which are exempted from assessment in all other districts and by enhancing the revenues by the reclassification of "dry lands" as "wet" and "garden" and the transfer of the 'undeveloped dry' lands to 'developed dry' as seen from the observations in the Statistical Atlas and the Report of the Settlement of Land revenue for 1936-37 quoted below :—

"More than three fourths of the total number of holdings in the district "Malabar" pay an assessment of not more than Rs. 10/- and only 3% more than Rs. 100/- This fact would seem to suggest that Malabar teems with pauper ryots. But such is not the case. The figures in the table include thousands of non agricultural pattahs issued to persons who own no other land than their own house sites. There is no Gramanatham in Malabar and house sites are not exempted from assessment". (Statistical Atlas).

Gramanatham is the system by which, in all other districts of the province than Malabar, house sites, with sites for cattle shed and 25 cents of lands for Nathan (minor) cultivation, are exempted from assessment.

Explaining the increase of the extent of the Ryotwari holdings in some districts, the Report of the Settlement of Land revenue (1936-37) contains the following in para 7 :—

"The increase in Vizagapatam was due to the introduction of

ryotwari settlement in certain villages of Gudem and Golugonda taluks. The increase in S. Canara, Gundur and Selam was chiefly due to fresh assignments. In Malabar the increase was mainly due to the transfer of the lands from "unoccupied" "dry" to "occupied dry". In the other districts referred to above the increase is attributable to fresh assignments and the resumption of certain Inam lands".

Similarly explaining the increase of the assessment in the same fasli the same report in para 8 states :—

"The increase in Trichinopoly was chiefly due to assignments and also to the enhancement on account of the reclassification of Puduvoithalai high level channel in Trichinopoly Taluk and Poruvalai channel in Lalgudi Taluk. The increase in West Godavari was chiefly due to the transfer from "dry" to "wet" of large extents of dry lands. The increase in Malabar was mostly due to 1, transfer of 'unoccupied dry' lands to 'occupied dry' and reclassification of 'dry' lands as 'wet' and 'garden' in the plains taluk 2. Transfer of 'undeveloped dry' lands to 'developed dry' in the Wynad taluk and the transfer of the 'single crop wet' lands to 'double crop' in the Palghat taluk. The increase in the other districts referred to above was mostly due to fresh assignments".

As seen from the above official observations the systems of the settlement of land revenues in west coast and eastern districts differ fundamentally, and in the inevitable conflict of economic interests between the two, the former labour under the following disadvantages :—

1. The assessment of house sites in Malabar and uncultivated dry lands generally in the westcoast yielding no income, while such are exempted from assessment in eastern districts. In ancient days when the country was thinly populated and the house sites, few and far between, the assessment of house sites might not have worked much hardship. But now with the highest increase of population in Malabar which has doubled during the 60 years preceding 1931, and of the occupied houses numbering 6,24,000 (the highest number in

the presidency), according to the Census of 1931, the assessment of house sites, occupied and unoccupied, works prejudicially, reducing the extent of agricultural lands with no room for their extension and resulting in uneconomic small holdings of land and pauperism of ryots referred to in the Statistical Atlas extracted above. The assessment of house sites is practically levying tax from people for mere living on earth and for breathing the air above it.

2. The highest increase of land revenue in the west coast arrived at by a system of reclassification and enhancement of revenues by merely transferring lands to the classes assessed at higher rates on the grounds of mere occupation or the overestimated yield of improvements, while the increase of revenues in all other districts is mainly due to fresh assignments, that, is the extension of cultivation to larger areas.

3. Absence of Government aid for the extension of cultivation or the improvement of yield in the west coast, while the extension of cultivation and improvement of yield in other districts are aided by Government works.

More disadvantageous to the west coast than the system of settlement of land revenue are the rules of remission of land revenues, which do not provide remissions for the exceptional assessments on house sites, uncultivated lands, and standing trees and vines.

The west coast can benefit only little out of the sums annually provided for what are called 1. "seasonal remissions" allowed for "waste", "shavi and short crop", "insufficiency or failure of water supply", "injury by floods" or "second crop charge" and 3. "Beriz" deductions made in favour of Inamdars and religious institutions. The small sum allotted for "fixed remission" in the province which might benefit the west coast along with other districts also decreased in 1936-37 to Rs. 2'86 lakhs from Rs. 4'33 lakhs in the previous year, the decrease being marked in South Canara, Selam and Malabar,

The total amount remitted on account of the "seasonal" "Beriz" and "fixed" remissions during 1936-37 was 32.75 lakhs.

Besides all the benefits of the above remissions, the wet cultivation, mainly forming the land revenues of the eastern districts and well secured under Govt irrigation works, consumes also the lion's share of the "special remissions" which are occasionally allowed.

In the "special remission" of Rs. 52.02 lakhs allowed in 1936-37 the wet cultivation mostly falling in eastern districts had the advantage. There was no general remission of dry assessment which includes the house sites and other dry lands in the west coast. The remission of 2 annas in the rupee allowed was only in respect of the garden lands and this was also inadequate in view of the fall of the prices of cocoanuts and pepper to $1/4$ and $1/6$ of their former prices respectively. The concessions allowed are noted below :—

1. A remission of 2 annas in the rupee on garden lands in Malabar and S. Canara districts.

2. A remission of $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas in the rupee on wet lands in the districts in which resettlements were introduced prior to 1918—19.

3. A remission on wet lands equivalent to the percentage enhancement imposed at settlement subject to a maximum of 3 annas in the rupee in the district in which resettlement was introduced in and after 1918-19.

4. A reduction of 8% in the rates of water cess in the East and West Godavari and Krishna districts (including the Polavaram island project) and the deltaic tracts of Guntur.

No general remission of dry assessment was granted in fasil 1346 (1936-37), except in the districts of Bellary and Anandapur.

It is again specially noteworthy how the concessions in

“special remission” of 1937-38 varied from the recommendation of Majoribank committee, and omitted to give effect to its recommendation in respect of the assessment on pepper vine cultivation and dry lands in S. Canara district in spite of the appropriation of the total allotment of Rs. 75 lakhs by the concessions, as against Rs. 67·5 lakhs only appropriated by the committee’s recommendations.

The committee’s recommendations were:—

1. Cancellation of percentage increase in reassessment after 1914.	Rs 55 lakhs
2. Reduction of water rates in Godavari and Krishna districts from Rs. 6/4 to Rs. 5/12.	Rs. 10 do.
3. Reduction for baling water	Rs. 5 do.
4. Reduction on assessment of dry lands in S. Canara district.	Rs. 1·5 do.
5. Reductions in lands cultivating pepper vines.	Rs. 5 do.
Total.	<u>Rs 67·5</u>

The concessions (1937-38) finally took the following from:—

1. A cancellation of percentage enhancement on dry wet and garden lands in 17 districts which were resettled after 1914.	Rs. 57 lakhs.
2. The grant of a remission of 2 annas in the rupee of wet assessment in the remaining areas of the presidency.	Rs. 14 lakhs.
3. A temporary reduction of water cess from Rs. 6/4 to Rs. 5/12 an acre for a first crop, with corresponding reductions for the other crops in the East and West Godavari and Krishna districts and in the deltaic areas of Gundur district.	Rs. 4 lakhs.
Total	<u>Rs. 75 lakhs.</u>

Above all, the land revenues of the West coast districts are generally realized to the last pie, being well secured on costly lands, buildings, standing trees or vines on which the people have invested their all, while occasions often arise for totally remitting or striking off the assessments on seasonal cultivations in poramboke lands in the eastern districts.

However, the inability of the west coast ryots to meet the demands of land revenue in time and the difficulty of collecting revenues from them can be inferred from the circumstance of revenues falling in arrears and the properties of the large number of defaulters being put up for sale. Malabar seems to be a common defaulter in the payment of both land revenues and survey charges as seen from the observations in the Report of Settlement of land revenue (1936-37) extracted below :—

“Out of 1,16,659 defaulters whose properties were attached, 39·49 per cent paid up the arrears before sale notices were issued as against 36·86 per cent in the last fasli. The number of notices of sale was large in Tanjore (21,221), S. Arcot (14,068) and Malabar (15,478)”.

“The arrear at the beginning of the year under “cost of survey marks-survey officer’s” was Rs. 93,110. Fresh land holders bills for Rs. 45,625 were received from survey officers during the year. Of the total demand of Rs. 1,38,735 a sum of Rs. 91,100 was collected leaving a balance of Rs. 47,635. The major portion of the amount is outstanding in Ramnad (Rs. 2,436), Coimbatore (4,893), Selam (Rs. 16,658), S. Canara (Rs. 12,654) and Malabar (Rs. 9,986). In Coimbatore a sum of Rs. 2,328 has since been collected. In Ramnad, Salem, S. Canara and Malabar the balances have since been reduced to Rs. 1,694, Rs. 4,088, Rs. 6,328, Rs. 6,215 respectively.”

Like the land revenues, the taxes on agricultural incomes, lands and buildings, mineral rights, profession, entry of goods and measures for relief of poor-unemployment (all

provincial subjects) have to vary with the produces, minerals, incomes and other economic conditions of the people of different areas.

Such conditions being totally different in West coast and its eastern districts, serious conflict of economic interests between the two cannot but ensue in a self governing province resulting in acute disadvantage to the former forming a minority. It cannot be denied that the land revenues of the west coast have been increased to meet the increased expenditure of the provincial Government which includes the costly irrigation and other public utility works of eastern districts.

UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND EMIGRATION.

The absence of land development works, and the failure of the lands to support the people of Malabar cut them adrift from agricultural pursuits which have become an uneconomic occupation. The conversion of 'wet' lands into 'dry', mostly 'occupied', has thrown the teeming population out of its employment. The real dry cultivation of cocoanut, pepper, coffee or tea also does not itself provide the people in general with continued employment and food, like the intensive wet cultivation of good grains, but only benefits the few of its owners investing large sums for acquiring permanent interests in lands, and planting and maintaining them for years before yielding. The increase of ryotwari holdings and the land assessment in Malabar has been mainly due to the increase of population and house sites and not to any extension of actual cultivation. In the small district of the Nilgiris adjoining Malabar, there seems to have been a decrease of the ryotwari holdings of 912 acres, and land revenues of Rs. 600/- in the year 1936-37 from those of the previous year according to Settlement report. These circumstances result in unemployment, poverty and emigration of people of these districts referred to in the Census reports quoted below :—

The proportion of insufficiently described occupation is greatest in Malabar and the Nilgiris, a remarkable circumstance when one remembers that these are among the more advanced regions of the presidency. Both, however, contain a large element of casual labour." (Census of India 1931 Vol:14 Madras Part 1 report page 200).

"The west coast men and especially the Malayalees are to be found throughout S. India and their prevalence has on occasion given rise to criticism from those with whom they compete for employment." (Do Page 70)

"It (Malabar) has a pronounced lead in rather a different line of commerce which reflects a capacity in which the Malayalee skill is well known far beyond his native coast. Malabar has three cook-shop people per thousand of her population, a figure approached only by the city conditions of the presidency town, (Do. Page 202.)

In spite of the restrained language used, the above official reports bring into bold relief the unemployment, emigration and dishonourable pursuits in the lives of the west coast people. Malabar and the Nilgiris thus form typical examples of places which put up a show of prosperity while the majority of their people are in utter destitution. Prevalence of Malayalees throughout S. India referred to in the Madras reports is equally true in many other parts of India and several other foreign countries where "the Malayalée skill (for cooking) is well known far beyond his native coast." In view of the west coast peoples' instinctive attachment to their homes, utter destitution and sheer force of necessity alone drive Malayalees to foreign countries to engage themselves in dishonourable pursuits in life.

There are also other acute symptoms of economic difficulties of the people in Malabar. Many Sub Divisional Magistrates, coming on transfer to Malabar from eastern districts, are struck with the number of lunatics produced before them for detention in the Mental Hospital, and with the number of cases filed against husbands and fathers for the maintenance of destitute wives and children, and

persons going to jail for default of payment of sums for maintenance ordered. Such grave conditions, if deeply investigated, would seem to have their origins in acute economic difficulties prevailing in the district. Prevalence of innumerable beggars, men and women, in towns like Calicut also points to the same conclusion. Malabar, considered to be the most advanced, is thus the poorest of all districts, and is practically a ground for recruiting constables, cooks, coolies and concubines.

The acuteness of the situation is further aggravated by overcrowding of the area or the highest density of population.

CHAPTER V.

Density of Population.

"More than three fourths of the total number of holdings in the district (Malabar) pay an assessment of not more than Rs- 10/- and only 3% more than Rs. 100/- This fact would seem to suggest that Malabar teems with pauper ryots. But such is not the case. The figures in the table include thousands of non agricultural pattas issued to persons who own no other land their own house sites." (Statistical Atlas.)

The uneconomic small holdings of land and pauperism of ryots in Malabar referred to in the above quoted observation is the result of overcrowding or the highest density of population in the area.

"Mymensingh retains the honour of being the most populous district in India. and with over 5 millions it well merits the honour Madras can now claim the second place, however, for Vizagapatam with 3,607, 948 comes before Gorakhpure in the United provinces. Malabar occupies the fourth position 3,533,914". (Census of India 1931, Vol : 1V Madras report page 18).

"In 1931 as in 1921 Vizagapatam (17,182 sq. miles) and Malabar (5,794 sq miles) head the list of districts (in Madras province), but Vizagapatam's enormous area makes it not really a representative district". (Census of India part 2 Madras).

"Both Vizagapatam and Malabar contain a greater population than Gawlior State, Berar, Baroda state, North west frontier province and are only slightly below Sind province, Jammu, and Kashmere state". (Census of India part 2).

Regarding the increase of population in Malabar, Census of India 1931 Vol : 12, Madras 1 report page 18 contains the following :

"Malabar increase (in population) of 14% ranks it among the more considerable of Madras districts in this regard. It falls considerably behind its southern neighbours Cochin and Travancore. A heavier increase on the west coast might be expected from consideration of climate and fertility, but S. Canara does not reach the Malabar

standard and in fact the population increase shows a diminution on the west coast from south to north. It is interesting to observe that the Bombay coast districts adjoining South Kanara on the north contain a diminution by registering only 4% increase."

Census of India 1931 Vol 1, part 1 page 405 contains further the following :—

"This density of population is a very variable factor appearing at the lowest as 6'5% per sq. mile in the mean density of Beluchistan, Changai district, and at its highest at about 2000 persons per sq. mile in the most thickly populated parts of the South west coast, the general density of Cochin state, including the thickly populated coast lands and the almost uninhabited high lands, being 814'2 per sq. mile and reaching in one village the amazing maximum found in any rural population of over 4000 persons per sq. mile."

The table shown below makes clearer the highest density of population of Malayalam speaking countries :—

PLACE.	AREA SQ. MILES.	POPULATION.
Coorg.	1593	1,63,327
Nilgiris.	982	1,69,330
Cochin state.	1480	12,05,016
S. Kanara district.	4021	13,72,241
Malabar district.	5794	35,33,914
Madura district.	4912	21,95,747
Tinnevely district.	4315	20,46,907
Coimbatore district.	7085	24,45,064
Selam district.	7058	24,33,972
Travancore state.	7725	50'95,973
Mysore State.	29,326	65,57,302
Four Kanarese districts of		
Bombay Province.	35,000	68,00,000
North west frontier province.	14,000	22,00,000
Sind province.	36,000	38,00,000
12 Tamil districts of Madras		
Province	54,122	237,30,855

PLACE.	AREA SQ. MILES.	POULATION.
Total area of Malabar, S.		
Kanara and the Nilgiris.	10,797	50,75,555
Madras presidency.	1,42,279	467,40,107

A comparison of the figures in the above table brings into bold relief the enormous area under the occupation of the Kanarese people in Bombay province and Mysore state. 68 lakhs of people in 4 Kanarese districts of Bombay province have 35,000 sq. miles i. e., 34 lakhs have 17500 sq. miles. In Malabar 35 lakhs have only 5794 sq. miles. Again 65 lakhs of Kanarese people have 29 thousand sq. miles in Mysore state, while 62 lakhs of Malayalees in Cochin and Travancore states together have only 9000 sq. miles. Similarly Tamil district of Coimbatore (7085 sq. miles) and Selam (7058 sq. miles) have only a population of 24 lakhs each, whereas Malabar (5794 sq. miles) has 35 lakhs of population. In S. Kanara and Coorg put together where official language is Kanarese, there is only a population of 15 lakhs, while Malabar, an equal area, contains 35 lakhs. Similarly in the Nilgiris (982 sq. miles) where Tamil is official vernacular, population is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs.

The marked difference in the density of population between Malayalam-speaking areas and their adjoining areas can only be explained with reference to historical facts. From ancient times the attractive country of Kerala was subjected to constant attacks from outside through its accessible parts on the north and through Palghat gap, of which its north, which extended up to Gokharn in Bombay Province and was most exposed, bore the brunt of the worst attacks. Invasions from the Karnataka countries of Bednore and Mysore deserve special notice. There was an invasion on the northern part of Kerala by the Kanarese King of Bednore. Immediately after, Hyderali of Mysore, ambitious of extending his dominion, overran the whole of the Karnataka country including Bednore

and the northern part of Kerala country from Malabar northwards. Tippu Sultan continued his father's conquests and conducted repeated campaigns to the south of Kerala country up to Travancore and it is common knowledge that during all these campaigns the people of Kerala fled and took shelter in the south. As these campaigns had continued for more than a quarter of a century, the people, who had escaped to the south abandoning all they had in the north, settled themselves in their places of shelter in the south when the areas were thinly populated and had no opportunity of returning to their homes in the danger zone on the north. The third Mysore war was only a partial success for the British. By the treaty of 1792, Tippu retained for himself what, according to him, was Mysore state with boundaries extended by his father's and his conquests, and also even the Port of Mangalore while he surrendered Malabar and the rest of S. Kanara etc., to the British Government of Bombay. Naturally anxious to get access to the sea for keeping contact with his French allies, Tippu Sultan pushed the boundaries of his Mysore state as much to the west as he could, leaving to the British only a narrow strip of the Kerala country in the north to enable the Bombay Government to keep communication with Malabar, S. Kanara etc., ceded to it. The Kanarese people nearer to Bombay, through whose territories the British conducted the operations against Tippu, seem to have had a distinct hand as allies, advisors and officials, in the administration of the areas of Kerala country annexed by the British under the treaty. They, as officials, introduced their own mother tongue as official vernacular in the part of Kerala country from S. Kanara northwards inhabited by Malayalees and Tulus. On the death of Tippu Sultan in the fourth Mysore war in 1800 his financial Minister, Annapoornayya, himself a Kanarese man, was appointed Dewan to the Council of Regency set up for the administration of Mysore state, and he continued the administration of the State as it stood then after the conquests of Hyder and

Tippu. All the settlements arrived at after the war with Hyder and Tippu were practically between the Kanarese people themselves, the British authorities, then strangers, acting only on the advice of their Kanarese allies. While the people of Kerala had thus no voice in those settlements they would, in their circumstances, only have hailed with joy any change in the administration after Tippu's rule. When, on the death of Tippu Sultan in 1809, the part of Kerala country under the British was transferred from the administration of the Government of Bombay to the Government of Madras for some administrative convenience, only the part comprising of the present districts of Malabar and S. Kanara, into which Malayalees and Tulus had been squeezed and which the Kanarese people did not want, was transferred, and the portion between S. Kanara and Gokharn was retained in Bombay province. Even after the transfer of S. Kanara to Madras province, the Kanarese officials continued in it with their mother tongue recognised as its official vernacular and are holding on till today. Since then, the attention of the educated Malayalees was turned away to the head quarters of the Madras province on the east coast where they got Government jobs and which was connected with Malabar by rail from the early period of British administration; the less educated also followed to serve as menials, coolies or labourers in eastern districts. In S. Kanara, to which the Railway communication was extended only very recently and there were no development works to attract Malayalees; the Kanarese people seem to have had their own ways with their mother tongue recognised as the official vernacular, so much so, that even the Malayalees belonging to families holding sannads for Village Officers' posts were required to become proficient in Kanarese language before their appointments as such. Malayalees, proud of their own language and culture, naturally resented this and were generally discouraged in the district. The continued agitation of the Malayalees of the district succeeded

only very recently to wrest the grudging concession to recognise Malayalam language also as an official co-vernacular in Kasargode taluk of the district where 75% of the population are Malayalees.

When the British authorities of Mysore annexed Coorg in 1834 and the British Resident of Mysore, as the Commissioner for Coorg, commenced to administer the area, the Kanarese people of Mysore availed themselves of the opportunity of introducing their own mother-tongue as official vernacular in Coorg also inhabited by Coorgis and Malayalees.

When the Government of Madras developed the Hill stations of Ootacamund and Coonoor and made them into a district adding Gudaloor taluk cut off from Malabar district. Tamils, nearest to the seat of the Madras Government, introduced their own mother-tongue as official vernacular in the Nilgiris district inhabited by Malayalees, Todas and Badagas.

During the early period of British administration when the administrators were strangers to the country and their knowledge of the areas and peoples was limited and communications had not been well developed, the people nearest to the seats of their Governments had all opportunities of influencing the administrations to their own advantage acting as allies, advisors and officials.

As the result of the invasions into Kerala country from Bednore and Mysore and the settlements arrived at between the Kanarese people and the British after the death of Tippu Sultan, Kanarese people, in proportion to their numbers, were left in occupation of an extent in Bombay province and Mysore state more than thrice of that under the occupation of Malayalees in Madras province, and Cochin and Travancore states. With the support of the British administrators the Kanarese people, acting as officials under them, further artificially introduced their own mothertongue as official

vernacular in the areas of S. Kanara and Coorg inhabited by Malayalees, Tulus and Coorgis. Malayalees, themselves better advanced in their own culture and education, naturally declined to submit to the rule of the Kanarese officialdom in those areas. In such a conflict of interests and two different cultures Kanarese people, having all advantages with the official support, jealously restricted the growth and expansion of educated Malayalee population in those areas. Malayalees thus squeezed out from these areas, the population in Malabar is swollen up in highest density.

The Kanarese people, occupying extents in Bombay province and Mysore state too enormous for their numbers, could not themselves in large numbers occupy the areas in S. Kanara and Coorg in spite of all advantages they enjoyed there during the last 150 years. The Kanarese people thus not occupying, and Malayalees artificially discouraged, the areas of S. Kanara and Coorg remain under-populated.

S. Kanara and Coorg put together, an extent equal to Malabar, contain only a population of 15 lakhs, while Malabar contains 35 lakhs. The population of S. Kanara (4021 sq. miles) is only a little more than that of Cochin state (1480 sq. miles), and is far below the population of Madura or Tinnevely Tamil Districts nearly of equal extents. The Census report extracted above makes a special mention of the strange difference in the density of populations of the adjoining Malabar and South Kanara districts in spite of their similarity in fertility and climatic conditions.

Coorg not only remains under-populated, with only a population equal to 1/8 of that of Cochin state though a little bigger than it in extent, but even strangely registered a decrease of population in the Census of 1931, while its adjoining neighbour Malabar registered the highest increase. The strange difference and decrease of population of Coorg is

the result of its administration, conducted by the British Resident of Mysore and disconnected from Malabar, which gives all advantages to the Kanarese people of Mysore, who do not really require areas, but only discourage Malayalees who are actually in need of areas. When the Reforms of 1919 were introduced in British India, Coorg was offered the alternative of amalgamation with the province of Madras or having a Legislative Council of its own with restricted powers. A representative meeting of the people chose the latter and it was only natural when the Kanarese people of Mysore state, enjoying all the privileges, exercise all influence in the area, and wish to continue them.

A similar situation is noticable also in Nilgiris district, inhabited by Malayalees and Badagas, where Tamil is the recognised official vernacular. The area of the district nearly 1000 sq. miles contain only a population of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. The Tamils in proportion to their numbers have under their occupation in Coimbatore and Selam Districts more than twice the extent of what Malayalees have in Malabar. Tamils being thus not in actual need of further areas and Malayalees discouraged by Tamil official vernacular, the Nilgiris also remains under-populated.

Population in 1000 sq. miles is at the rate of 3 lakhs in South Canara district, $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in Coorg and Nilgiris, 7 lakhs in Malabar and Travancore, 8 lakhs in Cochin state, $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in Tamilnad, and 2 lakhs in Karnataka and Andra.

Malayalees, thus squeezed out from their adjoining areas of S. Kanara, Coorg and Nilgiris, crowd in highest density in the small district of Malabar—a narrow corner blocked on its west by the sea and on the south by Cochin & Travancore states. These Native States themselves are some of the most crowded parts in the whole world, bounded, as they are, by the natural boundaries of the seas and Western Ghats, and artificially limited in extent by the treaties of their Rulers with

the British. While they themselves are at their wit's end to provide accomodation for their own increasing population, they cannot provide any spare space for the increasing population of British territories. As the people of these native states are better educated than the Malayalees of British territories, the latter have little opportunities of getting even employments in these States. The longing of Malayalees of British territories to form a province with Cochin or Travancore state, if practicable, is only a linguistic fad.

Tamil districts, more thickly populated than Telugu and Kanarese districts, are fairly well populated and the best developed in Madras province. They are also bounded by the natural boundaries of the seas and western ghats with an opening for their expansion only on their northeast. They may at most accomodate Malayalees as menials or coolies as they are doing now. They will not require them for the development of their areas. When British element disappears from administration, Malayalees will have little prospect of getting even Government employments in a selfgoverning province with an overwhelming Tamil majority having conflicting economic interests, and linguistic and racial differences.

The highest density or overcrowding of population in the District of Malabar has seriously affected the economic lives of the people. Uneconomic small holdings of land, pauperism of the ryots, failure of the lands to support the people, unemployment, poverty, emigration in search of livelihoods and other distressing features in Malabar referred to in the official observations quoted in the forgoing pages are the resulting consequences of the overcrowding of the area. Any administration attempting the economic reconstruction of Malabar has first to provide its teeming population with living space necessary for its existence. The overcrowding and consequential distress in Malabar can only be relieved by

abolishing the Kanarese and Tamil official vernaculars in the adjoining areas of S. Kanara, Coorg and the Nilgiris, and making them habitable by Malayalees. None of these areas can be claimed as Karnataka country or Tamilnad historically geographically, racially or linguistically. Between the contending claims of Kanarese, Tamil, and Malayalam languages for recognition as the future official vernaculars of these areas a just decision will rest only upon the answer to the question 'who are in actual need of these underpopulated areas for their living ?'

Vital economic necessities of a people outweigh the fads of particular linguists. Official vernaculars of S. Kanara, Coorg and the Nilgiris, which are different from the mother-tongues of the sons of the soil, are only the languages of the people nearest to the seats of the British administrators, who as officials under them introduced their own mother-tongues as official vernaculars. Such vernaculars cannot hold the ground for ever and have to give way on the advent of the popular governments. Congress has already commenced the introduction of the compulsory study of Hindi in public schools. Its study is more useful to none than to Tulus, Coorgis and Badagas, having no scripts for their own dialects, for they can directly fit themselves for future India by paying exclusive attention to its study in preference to local languages like Kanarese, Tamil or Malayalam. For establishing centres of learning of Hindi in S. India, better congenial areas cannot be thought of, without prejudice to other local languages, than Mangalore, Mercara, Ootacamund and, Coonoor where not only Tulus, Coorgis, Badagas, Malayalees, Kanarese, Tamils, and Konganis meet, but also Hindustani people and other north Indians, as well as, Englishmen and other Europeans.

CHAPTER VI.

Claim

When administrations based on the rights of conquests give place to the governments by the people, the undue advantages or special privileges gained by some through the pleasure of the conquerors cannot by themselves hold on, and the people under self governments are entitled to revert to the old positions they occupied before the conquests, or to other positions most advantageous to them.

During the long period of common British administration which did not recognise any rigid linguistic divisions of territories, people speaking particular languages may have spread themselves out and encroached upon the adjoining linguistically different areas availing themselves of the opportunities for employment or business offered with official support. Such luxurious spreading out and encroachments by a people cannot reasonably be legalised for extending particular linguistic administrations where they deprive others of their necessary living space. When a people speaking a particular language form a self-governing province for themselves, they ought to confine their administration to such reasonable limits as to allow others like themselves sufficient living space proportionate to their numbers and to form their own administrations over it.

The authors of the Montago-Chelmsford report contemplated separate provinces only if the people "speaking the same language formed a compact and selfcontained area". The Madras legislatures, however, qualify it further and recommend "the constitution of separate provinces so as to place under separate provincial administrations the areas, wherein the language predominantly spoken is respectively Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam". The resolution of the

Madras legislatures seeks not only to legalise, for the purpose of extending administrations, the spreading out and the encroachments of the people taken place during the common British administration, but also goes further even to validate the encroachments upon the British territories by the people of a vast Native state like Mysore, even if they deprive British subjects of the living space necessary for them. The Montago-Chelmsford report provided separate provinces for *people* speaking particular languages and forming compact and self-contained areas, whereas Madras Resolution recommends separate provinces for all *areas*, wherein particular languages are spoken, seeking to legalise all encroachments irrespective of the prejudice they cause to others, and overlooking the relevant factors of 'race and economic interests' of the people.

All administrations are for people of flesh and blood, not for areas, nor for languages, and not in the least for official vernaculars. No people speaking a particular language can expect to administer all areas they choose to live in. The right of administration is a higher right than the right of mere living, and can be exercised by a people speaking a particular language only in such compact areas as are exclusively required for their living, and not in areas essentially required for others' living. Administering areas necessary for others' living is practically ruling over them.

No provincial administration charged with the important duty of economic amelioration of the people, specially with regard to agriculture, industries and commerce, relief from unemployment and poverty etc., can function effectively and carry out its sacred duties, unless the territory under its administration has an area proportionate to its population—specially where, as in India, agriculture is the main occupation of the people and the land alone can provide the people in general with employment and food. The extent of the areas of the different provinces can equitably be determined

only with special reference to the numerical strength of the people forming each.

The overcrowding and the congestion in the district of Malabar cuts its teeming population adrift from agricultural pursuits and it accounts for the highest percentage of unemployment and emigration among the Malayalees. This is such a grave situation that relief has to be given sooner or later. In a vast country like India, where all people are occupying enormous areas, there is no justification to squeeze up the Malayalee population into a narrow corner and to keep the adjoining areas under-populated. Any provincial administration turning its attention to the economic reconstruction of Malabar must essentially equip itself with sufficient extent for its teeming population living in it. In this connection the highest density of population in the adjoining Cochin and Travancore states and the natural attachment of the West Coast emigrants to their native coast have also to be borne in mind.

Malayalee population of Madras province alone (37 lakhs) forming $1/12$ of the total population of the province is entitled to $1/12$ of its area, i. e., more than 12500 sq. miles which cover more than the areas of Malabar, S. Kanara, the Nilgiris and Coorg. As these areas take in minorities, sons of the soil, Tulus $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, Coorgis $\frac{1}{2}$ a lakh, and Badagas $\frac{1}{2}$ a lakh, totalling $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, they are also entitled to an additional area of nearly 2000 sq. miles. The other minorities, Tamils, Kanarese and other settlers numbering $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs are likewise entitled to another additional 2000 sq. miles. Malayalees, with all the minorities living side by side with them in the areas where they preponderate, are entitled to more than 16500 sq. miles in their due proportion in Madras province.

Claiming only in proportion of the areas of the Tamils whose districts are more thickly populated than those of Telugus and Kanarese, Malayalees, forming $1/5$ of the total

Tamil population are entitled to $\frac{1}{5}$ of the total area of the 12 Tamil districts, i. e., nearly 11000 sq. miles covering more than the areas of Malabar, S. Kanara and the Nilgiris. Tulus and Badagas, sons of the soil numbering 6 lakhs whom these areas take in, are also entitled to an additional area of nearly 2000 sq. miles which cover Coorg, and further areas. Other minorities in these areas being nearly in equal proportion to the non-Tamils of the Tamil districts, Malayalees of the Madras province are entitled to an area of nearly 13000 sq. miles for maintaining a proportion atleast equal to the areas of Tamils. Even an approach to the proportion of the areas of Telugus and Kanarese is unthinkable, and therefore it is not considered.

In the matter of a province for a considerable number of people, regions or geographical units having uniform physical features and produces are more worthy to be considered than existing administrative units, with special reference to the numerical strength of the people forming the province. Minimum area to which Malayalees are entitled comprises the following administrative units:—

	Area. sq. miles.	Population.
(1) District of Malabar including partially excluded areas of Laccadives and Minicoy islands.	5794	35, 33, 944
(2) District of S. Kanara.	4021	13, 72, 241
(3) The Nilgiris.	982	1, 69, 330
(4) Anjengo (Sub taluk of Tinnevely district).	1	6766
(5) Province of Coorg.	1593	1, 63,327
Total.	<u>12,391</u>	<u>52,45,608</u>

About 2000 sq. miles of uninhabited forests occupy

these areas. The deficiency can be made up by the enlargement of the Nilgiris district by the addition of planting and other non-Tamil parts of Tamil districts.

The abovenamed areas are marked out as the part of the Kerala country, whose northern boundary was Gogharn in Bombay province, and are clearly now distinguishable from Karnataka country and Tamilnad by their unchangable peculiar physical features, climatic conditions and produces, as well as by the peoples' peculiar laws, customs, language and dialects. The uniformity of the physical features, climatic conditions and produces of this part of a geographical unit binds together all its inhabitants with an identity of common economic interest which conflicts with all their other neighbours. Tulus, Coorgis, Todas and Badagas share with Malayalees several racial characteristics, thrown together by nature side by side with them in a peculiar country. Laws of inheritance, marriage, divorce and tenancy etc., of Tulus have parallel nowhere, except in those of Malayalees. Natural attachment of Malayalees and Tulus to their native coast and their reluctance to settle in foreign countries assume the trait of a common racial characteristic. The Coorgis, in their talents for higher education, surpass even the Malayalees of British territories, and find their equals only in Cochin state. Kodugu dialect itself is an admixture of Malayalam language. Racial characteristics of Badagas resemble more with those of the Malayalees than with those of Tamils. Dialects of Tulus, Coorgis, and Badagas themselves show that the areas of S. Kanara, Coorg and the Nilgiris are not parts of Karnataka country or Tamilnad. Undoubtedly these areas were from ancient times partially Malayalam-speaking. Living side by side with the Malayalees, Tulus Coorgis and Badagas are well acquainted with Malayalam language for using a common speech without any course of study in public schools.

The general economic interests and racial characteristics of Tulus, Coorgis, Badagas and Malayalees being thus identical and similar, their advancement, economic and social, lies through common provincial administrative measures without any prejudice to their dialects which have no scripts. There are also special responsibilities of the Governor to safeguard the special interests of the minorities.

As previously pointed out, Malayalees by the strength of their own numbers are entitled to an area of more than 12000 sq. miles. If Tulus, Coorgis or Badagas, thrown by nature in this area, choose to invite strangers for forming administrations within any part of this area, they will be depriving their neighbours, Malayalees, of the living space for which they are legitimately entitled, and offering such area for the luxuries of strangers who are not in actual need of them. Tamils and Canarese people forming provinces for themselves in the adjoining areas are also bound to allow Malayalees an extent in proportion to their numbers without advancing wild claims on the strength of the undue privileges gained during the period of a foreign administration.

To place the areas of S. Kanara and Coorg under a Kanarese administration along with the Kanarese districts of Bombay province and to administer Malabar and Nilgiris in a selfgoverning province with a vast Tamil majority is practically to divide and rule Kerala country by strangers, which, by nature, is one and indivisible. Rule of any part of Kerala by Kanarese or Tamil people is unprecedented in its history, and will be most injurious to the vital interests of a unique country and the remarkable race of people inhabiting it.

Malabar District. The population of this district alone, exceeding by far the total population of N. W. Frontier province and nearly equal to that of Sind province, deserves a separate province for itself by its numerical strength and

remarkable educational advancement. The overcrowding of the area of the district is due to the official vernaculars artificially introduced in its adjoining areas of S. Kanara, Coorg and Nilgiris. To place these adjoining areas under a self-governing administration of the Kanarese or Tamil people is to perpetuate the overcrowding, and to aggravate the consequential distress in Malabar in view of its increasing population.

S. Kanara & Coorg. In respect of these underpopulated areas the consideration as to who are to live in them in the future is more material than the question what is the official vernacular now. Malayalees, struggling for want of living space and blocked on their other sides, have an undoubted claim for these areas. Kanarese people, having enormous areas in Bombay province and Mysore state with full freedom to move all around, cannot have any reasonable claim for any part of S. Kanara or Coorg; on the other hand they are even to yield some ground to Malayalees upon a proper calculation. As Kanarese people themselves did not want the areas of S. Kanara and Coorg, they have not occupied them in large numbers in spite of all undue advantages and privileges they enjoyed in them during the long period of British administration. The undue advantages and the privileges of the Kanarese people have only restricted the normal growth and expansion of Malayalee population in these areas and have kept them under-populated. Kanarese people numbered only 2,44,582 in S. Kanara, i. e., less than 1/5 of its total thin population (13 lakhs), and nearly only 48 thousand in Coorg i. e., only 1/3 of its thin total population (1½ lakhs) in 1931. Therefore even the claim that Kanarese language is predominantly spoken in these areas cannot stand. In spite of all disadvantages, Malayalees (2,98,743) in S. Kanara district alone (nearly 60 thousand living in Mangalore town itself) exceed the Kanarese people contained in S. Kanara and Coorg put

together. Even according to the Census of 1931 which registered a strange decrease of population in Coorg, Malayalees of Coorg numbered more than 25 thousand in addition. In all probabilities this figure must have now by far increased with the aid of the regular motor traffic opened with Malabar after the year 1931. Most of the Kanarese people enumerated in Coorg and S. Kanara being people of the native state of Mysore settled in British territories for the luxuries of employment or business, they cannot have any sort of claim for extending their linguistic administration in British territories which are necessary for the very existence of the British subjects. Tulu-speaking population of S. Kanara numbering 5,60,000 and exceeding both Malayalees and Kanarese of S. Kanara, and Coorgis numbering in all only about 45000, bear many racial characteristics of Malayalees. General economic interest of all the inhabitants of these areas is common with that of the people of Malabar, the adjoining countries having similar physical features and produces. So far back as 1800, S. Kanara was recognised to be a fair sister of Malabar in all respects, and was therefore cut off along with Malabar from northern Kanarese districts in Bombay province and was transferred with it to Madras province. In any event now when Malayalees of the Madras province with their abnormally increased population are struggling for want of living space, they and their provincial administration cannot agree to cut off from them any part of S. Kanara district for placing it under an administration of Kanarese people along with the Kanarese districts of Bombay province. "The largest measure of general agreement on the changes proposed both on the side of the area that is gaining, and on the side of the area losing, territory" is a condition precedent to the transfer of territories from one province to another, according to Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

Coorg. Coorg is not a representative province or even a

district. S. Kanara and Coorg put together measure only less than one district of Malabar. Coorg by itself has not even geographical contiguity with Kanarese districts of Bombay province. Coorgis, numbering now in all only about 45 thousand, have many racial characteristics similar to those of Malayalees and speak a dialect which is an admixture of Malayalam language. The country having uniformity of physical features and produces with Malabar, the planters and all inhabitants of Coorg have identical economic interests with the planters and others of Malabar and the Nilgiris.

As Coorg is administered as a separate province disconnected from Malabar, it not only remains underpopulated, but even registered a strange decrease of population in 1931 while Malabar registered the highest increase. Only an amalgamation of Coorg with Malabar as proposed in 1919 will furnish the area with sufficient population necessary for its development, and give opportunities to the educationally advanced Coorgis to play their parts in the wider sphere of a provincial administration composed of Europeans and educationally advanced West Coast people.

The Nilgiris. Tamils of Coimbatore and Selam districts, in proportion to their numbers, are occupying twice the extent occupied by Malayalees in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Further, Tamils of these districts have full freedom to move all round their districts to the adjoining areas, while the expansion of Malayalees is actually blocked on two of their sides by the sea and by the artificial boundaries of the three Native States. In these circumstances Tamils cannot reasonably claim to extend their own administration into the intervening area of Nilgiris, which is not historically or geographically a part of Tamilnad. Official vernacular, Tamil, artificially introduced has only tended to keep the area underpopulated by restricting the growth and expansion of the Malayalee population. As a result, there is only a

population of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in an area of nearly 1000 sq. miles. Even among this thin population the percentage of unemployment is highest as in Malabar in spite of its seeming advancement. The Settlement Report (1936-37) shows also a decrease in the extent of ryotwari holdings and land revenue.

The Nilgiris is not a representative district; it is maintained as a separate district only by the importance of its hill station. Its area with that of Malabar put together is only less than that of one district of Coimbatore or Selam. Both geographically and historically, the Nilgiris forms one homogeneous area with Malabar. Gudalur taluk of the district is purely a malayalam-speaking area cut off from Malabar district and added to the hill stations of Ootacamund and Coonoor taluks developed as hill stations by British administrators. The sons of the soil of the Gudalur taluk are Malayalees. The aboriginals of the other two taluks are Todas, now of very small numbers, who from time immemorial worship in Nambalakotta temple of Gudalur taluk and believe that their hills "the Nilgiris" belong to the deity of the temple. Todas speak their own dialect. Badagas, numbering only about 42 thousand, who are subsequent settlers from Mysore, speak their own dialect, a corrupt form of Kanarese having no touch with Tamil. Hill stations were developed by British administrators, and plantations of the district were opened by European planters. With its immigrant labour and other floating population, "the Nilgiris" as Census report Madras 1931 observes "is the most artificial of all the Madras districts, not excepting the Madras city". In spite of all the facilities of railway communication opened to the hills through Tamil districts, and of the advantage of Tamil language being artificially introduced as official vernacular, the Tamils in 1931 numbered only about $\frac{1}{2}$ a lakh in the district which is less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total thin population of the district and is far less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Tamils in Malabar

district. Such a small number of immigrants in a small area (not a representative district) homogeneous with the district of Malabar, cannot count against the interests of the sons of the soil and other vested interests of the district. Nor can the presence of such a small number of immigrants resist the solid claim of the huge Malayalee population of the Madras province for living space squeezed in, as it is, between the Arabian sea to its west, crowded Cochin state to its south, and Karnataka country and Mysore state to its north and northeast. With the regular motor traffic developed with Malabar after the year 1931 Malayalees, through sheer necessity, are settling in increasing numbers in Ootacamund and Coonoor taluks.

In a small compact province of Kerala where the planters' voice will be more effective, they have the prospect of their special interests being better safeguarded. By the addition of other planting areas of Tamil districts, the Nilgiris district may also be enlarged further so as to enable all the planters to form an effective combination in a province with the planters of Malabar and Coorg. The daily transactions of the planters have always been with Kerala coast where have grown up the head offices of some of the leading English firms. Their such transactions are daily increasing with the development of Cochin harbour, Nilambur railway and easy motor transport. The association of Europeans with Kerala has also a historical background in that, as Mrs. Sarojini Naidu once said, "on Kerala coast first European landed in India ; first European depot was opened by French ; on Kerala soil first Christian Church was built ; and Kerala's peculiar produces, pepper and jinger, first attracted the westerners and the whole outside world to India".

Notable, as the hill station is, with the palaces of their Highnesses the Maharajah of Mysore, Nizam of Hyderabad, Gaekwar of Baroda, Maha Rajah of Cochin, and other high

Indian and European dignitaries, as well as, with the important India Government establishments, like European Military station at Wellington, Cordite factory at Aruvangad, and European school at Lovedale, the Nilgiris combines in it the all-India importance of New Delhi and the peculiarities of Coorg, both of which, very small areas, are maintained as separate provinces for such special reasons. The "Queen of the hill stations" well merits the honour of being the permanent seat of a Governor. As the Government of Madras has expressed itself as against using the Nilgiris even as its summer residence on account of its distance and the cost of the exodus, and there are hill stations of Shevroy and Kodaikanal situated in the centres of Tamilnad nearer to Madras, the Nilgiris will properly fit to be the seat of the Governor of a Kerala province, when on its separation it is deprived of the use of all the provincial buildings in Madras and elsewhere.

On a consideration of other financial matters also, the Nilgiris will fit in with Kerala province with its Pykara Electric Works, which will form only a small share for it, compared with all the revenue yielding irrigation and other public utility works falling in the eastern districts.

Anjengo, forming now a subtaluk of Tinnevely district, is a Malayalam-speaking area which was formerly administered as a part of Malabar district. Transferred only for some administrative convenience of the Government of Madras, it can now be restored to its old position in Malabar district.

The district of Malabar by itself deserves a province on account of the numerical strength and educational advancement of its population. S. Kanara district is a fair sister of Malabar in all respects with Malayalee population preponderating over the Kanarese and Tulu-speaking population bearing all the racial characteristics of Malayalees. Coorg is

even now maintained as a separate province on account of the peculiarities of the people and the country which resemble only Malabar. The Nilgiris deserves to be the permanent seat of a Governor on account of the importance of its hill station. The amalgamation of the Nilgiris and Coorg with Malabar and S. Kanara is also necessary for the maintenance of 'a due balance between the coastal and the interior' prescribed by the Montago-Chelmsford Report. These areas, being endowed with geographical contiguity and similar peculiarities of the country and the people, will properly constitute a single province. As Coorg is even now maintained as a separate province, an amalgamation of all these areas will not even entail an increase in the existing number of provinces in India.

Not the changable foreign official languages, but the mother-tongues of the sons of the soil form the linguistic basis of the province. The uniformity of the unchangable, peculiar physical features and produces deeprooted in nature, as well as, the peculiarity of the peoples' laws and customs born with them like their mother-tongues, and the language most useful for their future education are the deciding factors.

CHAPTER VII.

Finance

Finance required for a separate province varies with the model of the administration established, and the scale of pay and allowance fixed for its servants. How even very small areas can maintain separate administrative individuality is shown by tiny little Native states, and French and Portuguese foreign possessions, running their own administrations and even maintaining pompous Royal families. It is now generally agreed that the cost of the administration and the scale of pay and allowances of servants under British administrations are out of all proportion to the income of the Indian tax payer. The Congress Government has even gone so far as to reduce the maximum pay of the public servants to Rs. 500/-

It is not even necessary to sink so low. In the Native states of Cochin, Travancore, and Mysore bordering on Malabar district, there are models of administrations under which the people have made remarkable progress in various directions and its servants are receiving higher pay and allowances than the maximum fixed by the Congress.

Small State of Cochin bordering on Malabar maintains its own administration, pays its Ruler a monthly allowance of Rs. 10,000/- all junior members of the Royal family smaller sums as monthly allowances, its Dewan a monthly pay of Rs. 3,500/- and a popular Minister Rs. 750/- It found funds to open its state Railway, and to contribute to the Harbour scheme. It has established its own High Court consisting of 3 Judges. In educational advancement the State has made the record progress in whole India. The Land Revenue in the State is less than that in the adjoining British territory. The total income of the State now exceeds one crore of rupees.

The District of Malabar alone is four times Cochin state in extent with similarity of physical features and peoples' racial characteristics. The District of Malabar with Kasargode taluk of S. Kanara and Gudalur taluk of the Nilgiris is about 5 times the area of Cochin State and nearly equal to Travancore state. Malabar district put together with the whole areas of S. Kanara, the Nilgiris and Coorg which are indispensable for the very existence of Malayalee population is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the extent of Travancore state.

Travancore state, in its wider sphere, has not only attained all the great achievements of Cochin state, but has also added to its credit its own separate University and State Electric works. The state revenues exceed 3 crores of rupees.

The revenues of the exceptional one district of Malabar, central and provincial together, amount to more than 3 crores of rupees. This sum is equal to Travancore state revenues, or about the total revenues of half a dozen districts of the Madras province put together. The provincial revenues alone of Malabar district amount to nearly 2 crores and exceed that sum with the usual contributions from the Central Government. This sum is about $\frac{1}{8}$ of the total provincial revenues of the Madras province (16 crores) and is roughly equal to the provincial revenues of three average districts of the province put together. The district contains a population of 2 average districts of the Madras province. The provincial revenues of Malabar and the purely malayalam-speaking areas of S. Kanara and the Nilgiris together amount to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees. This sum is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the Cochin state revenues, and will exceed by far the provincial revenues of smaller provinces, like Northwest Frontier and Sind. It is noteworthy that the four Kanarese districts of Bombay province yielding in all about two or two and a half crores of rupees of provincial revenues, are claiming a separate province for themselves. S. Canara and the Nilgiris

districts and the province of Coorg, which are necessary for the very existence of the Malayalee population, must together yield provincial revenues of at least one crore of rupees, under populated and undeveloped as they are now, and with Malabar will make up sum of more than 3 crores of rupees, a sum equal to the Travancore State revenues. The population of these areas combined exceed the population of Travancore state, and their extent is nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ times of that of Travancore state, as mentioned already. When under a separate provincial administration these areas become well-developed and the areas of S. Canara, Coorg and the Nilgiris normally populated, the provincial revenues will undoubtedly increase at least to 5 crores of rupees normally, and will more than suffice to make good any necessary reduction of land tax or loss of excise revenue. If Telugus after their separation are, as proposed, to continue with their separate legislatures under the Governor of Madras with their headquarters at Madras, Malayalees can also do so even after their separation under the same Governor with his headquarters at Ootacamund.

The areas are endowed with greater resources than Travancore and Cochin states and are capable of yielding a higher revenue. If, as they are, they do not yield so much it is because they are not so developed for want of a separate administration. With the Western Ghats abounding in finest timber and other raw materials which have earned for Kallayi a merited prominent place in the timber yards of the world; with the plantations of tea, coffee, rubber, cinchona, pepper fruits etc; with areas producing electricity and minerals even gold; with a coast-line and neighbouring islands with footholds at British Cochin and Anjengo facilitating the development of fisheries and even maritime enterprises, the areas are undoubtedly endowed with more natural resources than all the neighbouring districts. A country, which from the

ancient days of Solomon exported gold, silver, ivory, peacock etc. to the distant countries of Aden, Egypt and Mideteranian coasts and first attracted the westerners and the whole outside world to India with its pepper and ginger, will not only be able to stand upon its own legs and to maintain its own provincial individuality, but will also rise to a greatness which some other bigger provinces will envy, if only the exceptional race of people inhabiting it is allowed to develop its own resources with the aid of the modern scientific inventions.

There is no fixed standard of finance necessary for a separate province. For special necessities or for political expediencies there are very small areas maintained as separate provinces and Native states. If for the interests of the Coorg-is numbering only 44 thousand a separate province is maintained, the necessity of a separate province is hundred times more imperative for the special interests of Malayalees numbering more than 37 lakhs, Tulus $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, and Badagas $\frac{1}{2}$ a lakh having similar racial characteristics and special economic interests.

The financial objection usually originates from persons who always consider the question of a separate province only in terms of pay and allowances which its servants can get for journeys on transfer or in camps in a wide province. If any expert financial objection threatens to torpedo the formation of a separate province for Kerala, it can be effectively met by an alternative proposal for the formation of a West Coast province by amalgamating the areas of Malabar, S. Canara, the Nilgiris, and Coorg with the four Canarese districts of Bombay province and leaving it to the futurity to divide them into Kerala and Carnataka as themselves, or in conjunction with their respective Native States.

When the existing Madras province dissolves itself into linguistic divisions, it is at the option of Malayalees to be

with their neighbours, Tamils or Canarese, for financial reasons. If Malayalees can be with Tamils with their linguistic difference for financial reasons, they can similarly be with the Canarese in a province, and with the following better advantages:—

1. Both the parts of Kerala and Carnataka countries under British administration, when combined, will mutually help each other for making up the shortage of finance, if any, resulting from the parts of the territories of both being under the native rulers of Cochin, Travancore, and Mysore States respectively.

2. Kerala country, particularly Malabar district, will provide undeveloped and underpopulated areas in the north with the finance and population necessary for their development, and Malayalees will find living space and means of livelihood within their own province without resorting to emigration. The best developed and well populated Tamil districts will not accomodate Malayalees, except as menials and coolies.

3. An amalgamated province will provide also scope for official careers in a wide province for those seeking them.

4. Both Canarese and Malayalees, being west coast people, resemble each other racially more than with others.

5. Kerala country, geographically and historically extending up to Gokharn, will be retained in the same province intact without being divided.

6. In economic matters, 52 lakhs of people of Kerala country, with some Canarese people themselves inhabiting the adjoining similar areas in Bombay Province, and having identical economic interests, can well balance against the weight of the rest of the people in dissimilar areas of Canarese districts of Bombay Province. Tamilnad does not contain any area similar to Kerala country. In a common

the economic interests of the overwhelming Tamil majority will always clash against those of the people of Kerala.

7. Canarese people in Bombay Province in all numbered only less than 24 lakhs according to census 1931, the rest in Canarese districts being Konganis, Marathis etc. With the Canarese people in Kerala country $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, Canarese people in an amalgamated province will number only $27\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. Malayalees numbering 37 lakhs will thus be the strongest single party speaking the same language and no people speaking the same language will have an absolute majority. In no future will Malayalees be able to balance against the weight of an overwhelming Tamil majority in a province with them with their conflicting economic interests and racial and linguistic differences.

8. By remaining with Tamils, Malayalees will lose all underpopulated areas in S. Canara and Coorg and aggravate the overcrowding and consequential distress in Malabar.

9. The element of Canarese people, which Kerala country bordering on Mysore state will always contain, will have the opportunity in the province of being with their own people of Bombay province. Even the Canarese speaking areas of Coimbatore district will have geographical contiguity with the Nilgiris district for their inclusion in the same province.

10. The natural and voluntary association of Malayalees from ancient times have always been with the people to their north, as seen from the laws and customs of Tulus and the dialect of Coorgis. The involuntary connections of Malayalees were also with their northern countries, as seen by the conquests of Hyder and Tippoo and the annexation by the British of Bombay. The subsequent transfer of administration of the West Coast from Bombay to Madras was artificially made for the convenience of the foreign British administrators. This artificial connection has misdirected the people

of the west coast to turn their attention away from their northern areas and to emigrate to work as coolies and menials in eastern districts, while enormous areas to their north are lying underpopulated and undeveloped. Only a separation of the people of the west coast from the eastern districts and their union with the north will rehabilitate them to the natural order of things and put them back to the lands which alone will provide them with employment and food.

11. While Malayalees were from ancient times occupying the areas to their north and even the malarial tracts of the Nilgiris districts, they have not settled themselves in their eastern districts in spite of all attractions which the administrative connection offered during the last 137 years.

12. Geography allows space only to the north for the expansion of the growing population from the south of the Indian peninsula which tapers off, bounded by the seas on three of its sides.

CHAPTER VIII.

Historical Survey.

Some glimpses of ancient Kerala country found in ancient writings indicate the way to its bright future. Kerala country extended from Gokarn in Bombay Province in the north to Cape Comorin in the south, and from the Western Ghats to the sea, east to west. That Kerala was reclaimed from the ocean by Parasurama is probably "a poetical explanation of a geological truth, for Kerala country is undoubtedly a nurseling of the ocean". Hebrew literature, 3 thousand years old, refers to Kerala country exporting gold, silver, ivory and birds like peacock during the ancient days of Solomon. About 2400 years ago Herodattus wrote about the exports of Kerala country in Arab vessels to Aden and Egypt, and thence to the countries on the mediteranean coast. In the begining of B. C. 300 Magasthanes, referring to the country to the west of the Ghats, made special mention of the high civilisation of its people, of its exports of gold and silver, and of their forts, infantry and elephants. Pliny also makes references to Kerala's trade. Writing in B. C. 300 Hunter admired of men's valour and women's chastity in Kerala country, and admiringly added that none in the land uttered a lie, and that there was such security in the country that even the gatehouses were left unsecured during nights, that the people were industrious cultivators and skillful artisans living loyally and peacefully under their local chieftains, and that their silk and cloth with their different colourings evoked admiration. Kerala country is mentioned as a separate entity in all the Indian ancient writings also. Asoka's proclamations and edicts make special mention of Kerala country and its king. Indian Puranas, Ramayana and Mahabharatha, also make numerous references to Kerala countary. So also do

many other North Indian ancient poets. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, presiding over Kerala political conference at Palghat in 1923, said that on Kerala coast the first European landed in India; the first European depot was opened by French; on Kerala soil the first Cristian church was built; Kerala's peculiar produces, pepper and ginger, first attracted the westerners and whole outside world to India; and that Kerala offered to Christians special privileges which were denied to native Hindus; and that on Kerala soil the people of different countries of the world from very ancient times settled themselves without mutual communal hatred and jealousy illustrating to the world at large the possibility of different nationalities living side by side in friendship and concord forgetting their prior accidental conflicts.

The glimpses of ancient Kerala above furnished relate to the periods when the country enjoyed selfrule in one form or other successively under Brahmins, under Perumals, and under the Zamorin and other local chieftains. It is worth noting what a change for the worse has there been for the society from its condition in B. C. 300 described by Hunter.

As foreign trade increased and brought in alien traders, the intercline feuds and warfare between the local chieftains, the Zamorin and the Rulers of Cochin and Travancore became more inflamed than ever. The shrewd conquerer, Hyder Ali of Mysore, taking advantage of the situation, conquered northern half of the Kerala country in 1766. While his son Tippu Sultan continued his father's campaigns, he became engaged with the British in his own territory. After a series of campaigns he surrendered the part of Kerala under him to the British by the treaty of Seringapatam in 1792.

Till 1800 the part of Kerala from Malabar northwards remained under the Government of Bombay. On the death

of Tippu in 1800 Malabar and S. Kanara were transferred to the Government of Madras. Resistance offered by Pazhassy Raja in Wynad ceased with his death in 1824. Coorg was annexed in 1834 on the deposition of its chieftain. The Rulers of Cochin and Travancore who successfully resisted the British annexation of their territories remain two independent Rulers of the south.

The period of Muhamadan rule of Hyder and Tippu Sultan is remembered more for their expeditions and campaigns than for the administrations they established. Before their administration could produce any tangible result, Tippu Sultan became engaged with the British and fell.

In these circumstances the foreign Britisher was then undoubtedly a welcome third party and the country soon settled itself. Whether the administration was directed from Bombay or from Madras it did not make any difference, as the district administration practically turned upon the reports and recommendations of the "Man on the spot", the District Collector, who, a stranger, was generally influenced directly by the people when he had no educated official to help him. Some of the names of the early Collectors, like Conolly and Logan, are household words of revered memory in Malabar with their works like Conolly Canal, Viyyom and Enamakkal Dams.

Lulled into sleep in the security of British administration, Malayalee turned his attention completely away from the affairs of his country. His ambition was only to get English education and to get some post in the Government service preferably at the seat of the Government where he could avail himself of better opportunities to rise with the patronage of British administrators. The general mentality of the educated Malayalees is correctly depicted in the most popular Malayalam novel of the times "Indulekha" whose distinguished author has chosen for its talented hero "Madhavan" a

clerk-ship in the Government Secretariat at Madras. When higher posts in Government service were thrown open to Indians under subsequent reforms, the educated Malayalee, in the run for them, lost himself, while Tamils and Telugus, forming majorities in Madras Province, won all the positions of vantage with material benefit for their own countries.

The allegiance of the West Coast members to the parties in power in Madras Province incapacitates them in safeguarding the special interests of their own country. However the Congress party might differ from the Justice party as regards their political views on Indian independence, their programmes for the economic amelioration of the people are one and the same, and are exclusively suited to the Tamil and Telugu Districts. With its increased selfgoverning powers the Congress party is only extending the water supply, irrigation, and electricity works started in Tamil and Telugu Districts by the Justice party, and further adding to them the services of broad-casting or aid to Khader industry. Under stricter party discipline the West Coast Congress members do not even discuss the special needs of the West Coast in open sessions and leave them to be dealt with by the stray non-congress members who, as opposition, are easily put out by the thumping majority of the Congress party strengthened with the weight of the West Coast Congress members themselves.

It was genuinely doubted whether the main Congress objective, Indian independence, could be pushed further by the Congress party entering the Provincial Legislatures and accepting offices. The entry and office acceptance by Congress in Provincial Governments is only justified by the possibilities for improving the economic condition of the people, for which some scope is allowed under the Government of India Act 1935. To suppress discussion on matters

specially needed for the economic development of a particular area is to misuse the disciplinary powers of the Congress, and to frustrate the very object with which the Congress has entered the Legislatures.

Everyone, who genuinely envisaged self-governing Provinces in India, had foreseen the necessity of the re-division of Provinces. The Montagu—Chelmsford Report has provided for the same, and the Congress also has accepted the principle in advance. Now when the Congress itself has started working the Provincial Governments for the betterment of the people, it is an unjustifiable interference with the work in the Provinces on the part of the Congress High Command to direct the postponement of re-division of Provinces till the attainment of India's freedom. The re-division of Provinces is necessary for the equitable, daily smooth working of Provincial administration involving the collection of taxes and allotments for expenditures. Any undue delay to give effect to the re-division of Provinces, the principle of which has been accepted, will necessitate even the invoking of the 'special powers' of the Governors on behalf of the minorities having special interests.

No change of parties in power nor the attainment of the full independence by India will improve the economic condition of the West Coast people. Severance of Telugus giving Tamils an absolute majority and the total disappearance of the British element from the existing administration will make their condition worse, and their economic ruin complete. The right time for their separation is when Telugus separate from the Madras Province and when financial matters are readjusted. The reported recommendation of Madras Government to the Secretary of State to consider specially the formation of the Andhra Province is contrary to the resolution of the Madras Legislatures and has the effect of shelving the question of a separate Province for Malayalees whose claim for it is the strongest and the most urgent. Tamils and Telugus, having

sufficient population and areas for each of them for forming separate Provinces for themselves, have no reasonable grounds to stand in the way of Malayalees forming themselves a province. A separate Province for Malayalees is a matter concerning mainly the areas comprised in the Madras Province and also the small area of Coorg which is directly under the Government of India. Questions relating to finance and the settlement of boundaries are matters to be decided by disinterested committees or commissions appointed, and not by interested parties in the Legislatures.

It therefore behoves the West Coast legislators to press for the separation of Kerala from its eastern districts, when the existing Madras Province is in the melting pot and before it is reshaped on the separation of Telugus. They will also do well in the meantime to take all necessary steps

1. To secure that a reasonable share of the provincial revenues and the loans raised is expended in and for the benefit of the west coast Districts.

2. To formulate and work up a special programme of economic development, specially suited to the areas of the west coast districts, and particularly for the economic reconstruction of Malabar.

3. To reduce the land tax in west coast districts by 50 per cent.

4. To transfer Malayalee officials from the eastern districts for service in S. Canara and Nilgiris Districts.

5. To abolish the official vernaculars, Kanarese and Tamil, in S. Canara and the Nilgiris Districts, and to substitute Malayalam or Hindi in their places.



Appendix A.

Madras Districts.

DISTRICT.	Area Sq. Miles.	Population Census 1931.	Land Revenue Settlement. DEMAND, CURRENT.	
			Fasli 1345. (1935—36.)	Fasli 1346 (1936—37.)
			Rs.	Rs.
1. Vizagapatam ...	17,186	36,07,948	33,14,588	33,79,581
2. E. Godaveri ...	6,219	19,20,582	62,42,808	62,78,683
3. W. Godaveri ...	2,361	12,23,056	50,69,852	51,30,237
4. Krishna ...	3,547	12,54,208	49,29,699	48,46,263
5. Gundur ...	5,757	20,35,660	66,55,398	66,87,967
6. Nellore ...	7,949	14,86,222	34,00,595	35,78,084
7. Cudappa ...	5,919	9,49,397	19,00,807	18,28,264
8. Anantapur ...	6,741	10,50,411	17,93,428	17,10,524
9. Bellary ...	5,713	9,69,774	22,57,152	20,83,906
10. Kurnool ...	7,581	10,24,961	23,51,888	23,50,116
11. Madras ...	29	6,67,230	1,37,637	1,61,022
12. Chinglepet ...	3,091	16,55,115	27,36,105	26,11,766
13. Chittoor ...	5,901	14,47,103	16,36,609	15,36,398
14. N. Arcot ...	4,648	22,66,989	38,70,949	34,58,368
15. S. Arcot ...	4,208	24,54,507	58,70,752	58,26,559
16. Tanjore ...	3,742	23,85,920	1,01,26,154	94,84,654
17. Trichinopoly ...	4,314	19,13,245	38,71,255	38,44,574
18. Madura ...	4,912	21,95,747	35,97,284	37,05,237
19. Ramnad ...	4,819	18,38,955	18,29,217	18,90,397
20. Tinnevely ...	4,315	20,46,907	32,22,655	33,72,441
21. Coimbatore ...	7,085	24,45,064	36,97,378	37,67,095
22. Selam ...	7,058	24,33,972	33,07,010	32,29,387
23. The Nilgiris ...	982	1,69,330	1,90,061	1,90,276
24. S. Canara ...	4,021	13,72,241	32,10,003	30,45,444
25. Malabar ...	5,794	35,33,944	49,98,289	50,43,307
			<hr/>	<hr/>
			8,98,76,296	8,90,60,550

Appendix B.

(Reproduced from the publication "the First Year of Congress Rule in Madras.")

More Irrigation Projects

The following important schemes are under execution :—

1. Fitting falling shutters at the Sangam Anicut in the Nellore District.
2. Thippayyapalem Project, Kurnool.
3. Duvvalem Project, Kurnool.
4. Improvements to the Yennamadura drain in the West Godavari District.
5. Second Crop Project in the West Godavari District.

Miscellaneous items of work on schemes like the Kistna East Bank Canal, the Kattalai High Level Channel, 3 feet shutters on the Godavari Anicut, and the Cauvery-Mettur Project, are in progress.

The following important new schemes have been sanctioned :—

1. A flood bank to the Bhadur river in Ganjam.
2. Improvement to the Bezwada Wharf in the Kistna-district.
3. Extension of Woyyacandan Channel in the Trichinopoly district.
4. Improvement to the Vadavar Head on the Coleroon in the South Arcot district.
5. Constructing a regulator on the Cauvery for the Vikramanar in the Tanjore district.
6. Constructing a regulator for the Pudumanniyar in the same district.

Hitherto a project was not classed as productive unless the return therefrom reached 6%. Government have reduced this percentage to 4 and some of the projects which were classified as

unproductive and discarded before are being re-examined, to see which of them will prove remunerative under the new test.

Every effort is being made to facilitate the early starting of the Pennar-Kumudavathi Project in the Anantapur district.

As regards the Thungabhadra Project, negotiations as to the shareing of the waters in the river are being actively conducted with the Governments of Mysore and Hyderabad.

It has been suggested that the original scheme of the first and second crop zones in the Lower Bhavani area should be modified into an all second crop zone to enable cotton being raised on the full area of 207,000 acres. Orders are expected to be passed shortly.

Originally the Papanasam scheme was merely an electricity scheme. Under the present Government, the scheme has been transformed into a Hydro-thermal Electric scheme and sanctioned. The ryots in the area will be much benefited by the increase of irrigational facilities under the scheme as modified.

Electricity Projects

It is the settled policy of Government that as far as possible Hydro-Electric surveys and projects should be under their sole charge. Both the Pykara and Mettur systems worked satisfactorily during the year. Under the Pykara system, the Coimbatore-Madura line was completed and supply to Madura commenced from 3rd February 1938. At the end of March 1938, 970 agricultural pumping stations were working against 543 in the previous year. The Pykara system earned a net revenue of over Rs. 15 lakhs in the year ending 31st March 1938, realizing about 8.5% on the capital outlay.

The Mettur Hydro-electric system commenced regular operations in June 1937 when the supply to Erode, Trichy, and Nega-patam was transferred to this system, giving relief to the Pykara plant. The Vellore, Chittoor, Ambur and Vaniyambadi licensees began to take electric energy from the Government bulk supply. The two systems, Pykara and Mettur, are so constructed that a smooth change-over of the load from the one to the other is possible

without much difficulty. The proposals to extend the supply of Mettur power to Tiruttani and Nagari in the Chittoor district, to Andiyur, Viralikattur and Kesarimangalam in the Coimbatore district and to certain places in the Salem district have been recently approved. The proposal to extend the Pykara power to a number of agricultural wells in the Coimbatore district was also approved.

The following extensions of these two systems were sanctioned by Government.

1. Senbathi—Batlagundu—Periakulam,
2. Madura—Manamadura—Karaikudi,
3. Gobichettipalayam,
4. Kattuputhur—Namakkal,
5. Dharmapuri—Krishnagiri,
6. Chittoor—Pakala—Tirupathi.

The Mukurti Dam to conserve water for the Pykara plant was completed during the year and it was opened on the 24th June by H. E. the Governor. The Papanasam Hydro-thermal Electric scheme was sanctioned in March last and the preparatory work has been started.

Thermal Stations:—It has been decided to generate and supply energy in bulk from thermal stations with a view to develop markets for electric power. This will facilitate the starting of future Hydro-Electric schemes and these stations will also be useful as a standby. Thermal stations at Vizagapatam and Bezwada are under construction. The stations will provide electric supply to the Vizagapatam, East and West Godavari and Krishna districts. A thermal station at Cocanada has also been sanctioned for the supply of energy to Cocanada, Samalkota, Ramachandrapuram and Mandepettah.

Boriny Operations:—The possibility of sinking deep bore wells in Royalaseema for lifting water for irrigation by electric pumping is under investigation. A well has been sunk in Ambavaram village, Cuddapah district, and a fairly good spring gives 84 gallons of water per minute. An oil engine set has been installed for pumping the water. If the experiment succeeds, the utility of sinking deep bore wells and electric pumping of water for irrigation and other purposes will have been demonstrated.

Fillip to Cottage Industries

In each of the two budgets presented by the Congress Ministry, provision was made for rendering assistance to the Khadi industry. A sum of Rs. 2 lakhs was set apart in each budget for the purpose. A portion of the amount is earmarked for the manufacture of improved appliances, and for the employment of trained workers as instructors in the villages for increasing the efficiency of the artisans and the implements used by them. A total sum of Rs. 2,00,000 was allotted for the above purpose and for the payment of a subsidy at the rate of one anna for every square yard by which the production of Khadi was increased in 1937-38, when compared with the production for the year 1936-37. This amount is being distributed through the agency of the All India Spinners' Association. Last year, a sum of over Rs. 1,00,000 was distributed by the Association in this manner.

A grant has been obtained from the Government of India for the development of the handloom industry and is being utilised in the payment of a subsidy to the Provincial Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society. A sum of Rs. 1,32,000 will be utilised to provide help to the affiliated rural societies, for the purchase and distribution of machines, and the starting of sale depots.

Evidence of Government's keen desire to advance the cause of rural industries is also to be found in their decision to depute to Wardha ten candidates for receiving training in the manufacture of hand-made paper. Government have decided to start the manufacture of this paper in a few select centres immediately on the return of these trained candidates.

Active steps have been taken in exploring the possibilities of another rural industry viz., the making of palm jaggery. For this purpose Government deputed a Research Chemist to Salem for a period of nearly six months. He successfully demonstrated to the Salem tappers the manufacture of jaggery from cocoanut sweet toddy and also the manufacture of improved jaggery from palmyra sweet toddy. Government also sanctioned funds in January 1938, for conducting practical tests in the sugar factory of Madras Sugars Ltd., at Mailpatti in regard to the suitability of the jaggery manufactured in the Salem district for refining purposes. The tests have yielded successful results.

Subsidies have been granted to the Tirupanangadu Button Manufacturers' Co-operative Production and Sale Society for the development of the button making industry and to apiary specialists at Coimbatore and Courtallam for the development of the bee keeping industry.

State aid to large-scale Industries

At the same time, the Government have not been neglectful of large scale industries. Practical expression of Government's desire to advance these industries will be found in their taking shares in several joint stock companies formed recently to exploit the resources of the Presidency. Shares have been taken to the value of Rs. 17,850 in the Kollegal Silk Filatures Ltd., Kollegal. This means a secure market for the rearer who will get a higher price for supplying better quality cocoons and a remunerative occupation to the mulberry cultivator. Government hope to supply at reasonable rate a superior class of silk to local consumers.

The Government have also taken shares in two ceramic concerns, viz., the East Coast Ceramic Industries Ltd., Vizagapatam and the Madras Stone-ware Pipes Ltd., Tiruvellore. The former concern will undertake the manufacture of porcelain ware, roofing and flooring tiles, stoneware and table and sanitary ware, while the latter will manufacture salted glazed stone pipes as well as roofing tiles and bricks. These concerns will utilise clays similar to kaolin and china clay and pipe clays which are available in abundance in certain parts of the Province. The manufactured products of these concerns will, it is expected, effectively check the flow into this Province of large quantities of earthen and porcelain wares from foreign countries and help to retain the money in the country.

Another industry which has earned Governmental aid is the gold-thread manufacturing industry. The aid has been given in the form of a loan to an industrialist. The industry is one which owes its rise in this Presidency entirely to Government's enterprise. For years the Textile Expert of the Government of Madras has been carrying on experiments in this line at the Government Textile Institute, Madras, placing the results of these experiments at the disposal of those interested in it.

Drinking water for the village

A separate Fund has been constituted to facilitate the execution of a comprehensive scheme spread over a period of years for securing that within a reasonable time every village in the Province has the benefit of a supply of pure drinking water. The Fund has been started with an initial contribution of Rs. 15 lakhs in the current financial year 1938-39. A sum of Rs. 5 lakhs has been transferred from the Fund to give effect to the scheme in the year 1938-39.

Radio for the people

The Government of India have erected transmission stations at Madras and Saidapet. The inauguration of the programmes took place on June 16th, 1938, when the Premire performed the opening function. The Government of Madras have arranged for the supply of radio receiver sets to a few important villages in each district. Sets are being installed in the Salem, North Arcot, Chittoor and Cuddapah Districts. A Provincial Radio Engineer has been appointed to supervise the installation and maintenance of rural sets.

Congress Orientation

Provision has been made in the budget for the current year, viz., 1938-39 for the enforcement of prohibition in three districts, viz., Salem, Chittoor and Cuddapah; for the grant of land revenue remission to the extent of Rs. 75 lakhs; for a grant of Rs. 2 lakhs to assist the Khadi industry; for an initial contribution of Rs. 15 lakhs for starting a permanent fund for rural water supply; for a reduction of the grazing fees by one-half in Government forests; for the supply of radio receiver sets in a few villages in each district; for a sum of Rs. 11.24 lakhs to be spent on ameliorative measures to help the scheduled classes; for a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs to be granted as loans to agriculturists; and for a sum of Rs. 83.41 lakhs to meet the anticipated capital expenditure on electricity and irrigation schemes etc.

