

**THE IMPACT OF THE BRITISH RULE ON THE
ECONOMY OF MALABAR, 1792-1857**

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

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I do hereby declare that the thesis entitled **The Impact of the British Rule on the Economy of Malabar, 1792-1857** submitted by me for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of the University of Calicut, is the result of my original and independent research work carried out under the guidance of **Dr. K.T. Mohammed Ali**, Former Professor and Head of the Department of Islamic Studies and Culture, University of Kerala and it has not been submitted for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or any other similar title recognition of any University/Institution.

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PREFACE

In this dissertation “**The Impact of the British Rule on the Economy of Malabar, 1792-1857**”, an attempt has been made to study the economy of Malabar under the English East India Company. Malabar was annexed by the British in 1792. The year 1792-1857 was a turning point in the socio-political and economic history of Malabar. Malabar was one of the most important possessions of the Company on the Western Coast of India. The study mainly deals with the changes that occurred in the Malabar economy as a result of 65 year rule of the Company. This study is an exclusive coverage of different economic and administrative policies adopted by the Company to augment their revenue, especially the land revenue and indirect (non agricultural) taxes and consequent sufferings of the people of Malabar. The researcher has analyzed the socio economic impacts, the consequences and the hardships suffered by the Malabar population as the result of the British policies.

The main motive behind the colonial economic and administrative measures was to generate maximum revenue with minimum charges without any consideration of its negative socio-economic impact on the people and the economy of the region. The growth of Malabar economy under the colonial government especially the expansion of agriculture, the growth in trade and commerce, the development of trading centers and markets was not due to any of the positive contribution of the government economic and administrative policies. The government was always concerned about the revenues generated through agricultural and non agricultural taxes. It was not prepared to adopt any policy, even if it was beneficial to the people, which might hinder the smooth realization of the government revenue. In this work I, the researcher has dealt with all these aspects.

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I am particularly grateful to Prof. Irfan Habib, my teacher and Professor Emeritus, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh for his inspiration and for suggesting to under take a study in the economic history of Malabar. The topic was initially selected and assigned by him during my initial stint with Research at Aligarh Muslim University.

I express my sincere thanks to the staff members of Tamilnadu Archives, Chennai for providing easy access in collecting relevant data for my Ph.D programme. My thanks are due to staff members of Connemara Library, Chennai, Secretariat Library, Chennai, Madras University Library, Chennai, C.H. Mohamed Koya Central Library and Department of History Library, Calicut University, Regional Archives, Calicut, Public Library, Thiruvananthapuram, National Library, Calcutta, Maulana Azad Central Library and Department of History Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, Nehru Museum and Library, New Delhi, National Archives, New Delhi and Jawaharlal Nehru University Central Library, New Delhi.

ABBREVIATION

B.P	Colonies East India, British Parliamentary papers, Irish University Press, 1973.
BOR	Board of Revenue
BORP	Board of Revenue Proceedings
EIC	English East India Company
General Reports.	General Reports of The Board of Revenue Sent to the Governor and then sent to Home
M	Malabar Collectorate Records.

CHAPTER -I

INTRODUCTION

This Dissertation entitled “**The Impact Of The British Rule On The Economy Of Malabar, 1792-1857**” mainly deals with the study of the changes that occurred in the Malabar economy as a result of the 65 year rule of the English East India Company (EIC). The aim of the study is to cover and focus on the various economic and administrative measures adopted by the company to augment their revenue and its socio-economic impact on the region, its people and the hardships suffered by the Malabar population as a result of the British policies. The objective is also to study the total revenue collected from Malabar especially the land revenue and indirect (non- agricultural) taxes during the aforesaid period. Malabar was an agricultural district where 75% of the population was involved in agriculture and land tax was the main source of revenue for the company. The scholar has also studied the condition of agriculture, trade in agricultural produce and the system of land tax administration during the period. The main motive behind the colonial economic and administrative measures was to generate maximum revenue with minimum charges without any consideration of its negative socio-economic impact on the people and the economy of the region. Malabar was officially annexed by the English East India Company in 1792, after the treaty of Srirangapattanam which brought the Third Anglo-Mysore war to an end. It was under the Bombay Presidency until 1800 A.D. After that it was brought under the Madras Presidency. Malabar forms the northern half of the geographical territory of present Kerala. The modern districts of Kasaragode, Connannore (Kannur), Calicut (Kozhikode), Malappuram, Wayanad and Palakkad covers the geographical area of this study.

The present study covers a period of about 65 years. It is of great interest as no comprehensive study has been made on the socio-economic aspect of the British rule in Malabar during the period of study. The main objective of the researcher is to make a clear and comprehensive study and bring to light the impact of the British rule on the socio-economic scenario of Malabar. **Francis Buchanan's "A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar, 3 vols. (1807)"** is one of the early works on British Malabar. This journey was undertaken as per the instruction of the government and could be considered as an official work. His study focused on the topography, social customs, cultivation, land tenures, trade, and population, nature of agriculture and agricultural productions of Malabar. Though it mentioned the economic life of Malabar it did not cover the land revenue system. Buchanan got most of the information from the Company's revenue officers of Malabar who were not well acquainted with Malabar conditions. The most comprehensive and fairly independent and rational work was that of William Logan's "**Malabar**" in 2 volumes. Logan's direct contribution was confined only to the first volume. His work entitled "**A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar**" dealt with East India Company's treaties and engagements with Malabar Rajas and Chieftains which they had entered into before the third Anglo-Mysore war. The first volume was published in 1887. This could be considered as the most illustrative and unbiased early work on Company's Malabar dealing with land revenue administration, agrarian relations and problems. It deals with Malabar geography, flora and fauna, population, religion, history, social customs and a detailed account of Malabar land tax administration under Mysore Sultans and under the Company. The topics covered are the principle and magnitude of assessment and land tax settlements in different taluqs, commutation rates, land relations and land tenures. Logan was the first administrator of Malabar who rationally tried to

analyze the factors responsible for the agrarian unrest with special reference to the Mappila revolts. He attributed the Mappila unrest to agrarian discontent and exploitation of the tenants by the landlords. But he did not mention the role of high land tax assessment in the agrarian unrest of the Mappila dominated Eranad, Walluvanad and Nedinganad taluqs. **Sarada Raju's** book on the "*Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency 1800- 1850 (1941)*" also did not throw much light on the economic condition of Malabar partly because the author made only a casual study of Malabar conditions. Nilmani Mukherjee's study entitled "*Ryotwari System in Madras 1792-1827*", (1962) did not cover Malabar because of the latter's peculiar land tenures and land relations. Dharma Kumar in her work "*Land and Caste in South India*" tried to study the agrarian background and agricultural caste in Malabar. But the work of course did not analyse the total impact of the British rule on the economy of Malabar.

The present researcher has kept in mind all these facts and has made a detailed study of the Malabar economy under the East India Company .The present work is mainly based on the data collected from the original sources like **The Proceedings of the Board of Revenue** (BORP), also known as the **Consultations of the Board of Revenue** and the Malabar **Collectorate Records** which are all in the form of manuscripts kept in the Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras. (Later most of the Malabar Collectorate records were transferred to Kerala Archives). The Proceedings of the Board of Revenue provide an inexhaustible mine for the study of the economic and social history of Malabar. The Settlement Reports of Malabar Collectors found in these volumes form the most important source of information on the economic conditions of the district. There are hundreds of volumes of Malabar Collectorate Records pertaining to the period of this study. . Unfortunately Malabar Collectorate records are catalogued only up to 1835. However the scholar has referred to hundreds of volumes of the non-catalogued Malabar Collectorate records pertaining to the

period 1836- 1857/58. This was a time consuming and tiresome exercise but on the whole the data collected with all efforts provided valuable information about the topic taken for this study. Malabar Collectorate volumes are composed of the true copies of letters on revenue and other matters written by district Collectors. They also contain annual revenue settlement reports prepared by various Collectors and sent to the Board of Revenue (BOR) of Fort St. George, Madras, which was the seat of administration of the Madras Presidency. These also contained communications from the BOR, Fort St. George relating to different revenue and other related aspects of Malabar received by the Collectors of Malabar at different periods. Another source consulted was the relevant volumes of **Revenue Dispatches from England to Madras**. The land revenue administration in the Madras Presidency was also influenced by the Home Authorities. To what extent the influence of the Court of Directors influenced the land revenue administration in the Madras Presidency can be studied from these records. **General Reports of the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue (Original sources)** are printed documents used for this work. These are printed sources and there are 55 volumes covering the period from 1798 -1835. Information available in the Board's Consultation is condensed in the volumes of these series. The reports of the Joint **Commissioners, Second Commissioners**, revenue and other allied printed reports prepared by different Commissioners and Collectors of Malabar under the instructions of the Board of Revenue provided vital support to this research study. **The British Parliamentary Papers** are also used as secondary sources in this work. The British Parliamentary papers (Collins East India, Irish University press, 1973) which are arranged in 24 volumes also give much information about the revenue, trade and matters pertaining to salt and tobacco monopoly and other indirect taxes. Most of the information was in the form of evidences given before different select committees by the former servants of the English

East India Company. Apart from the above sources, printed secondary sources and Journals, quarterly and periodicals are referred to pertaining to this research study.

In this study the scholar, in order to substantiate his points, has used several tables and graphs. Tables are prepared from scattered information spread over several years. Spread sheets are put under appendix.

Before the arrival of the Mysore Sultans, Malabar was a fragmented country divided among several Rajas and Nair Chieftains. Though the Mysore Sultans defeated most of the Malabar Rajas their rule did not last long. The period of study, 1792-1857, can be said to be a turning point in the socio-political and economic history of Malabar because for the first time in the modern period, Malabar was politically united and put under the central rule of an alien power, the English East India Company. Very soon the Malabaris started to feel the pinch of colonization. Several socio-economic changes occurred in Malabar during this period. The colonial economic policies were not meant for the prosperity of the area and the welfare of the people who lived there, and in fact all these policies were aimed at filling their coffers by increasing their revenue from different sources. It is axiomatic that the British rule had politically united Malabar and integrated it with other parts of India opening up new markets for its agricultural produce. It is also a fact that there were all round increased economic activities in Malabar under the English. It was not due to any of the constructive policies of the Company aimed at improving the living conditions of the people of the area but mainly because of the factors contributed by population growth and subsequent extension of agriculture and trade. The benefit due to increased economic activities did not reach the peasants and common people and the government never intended that it should also benefit the people. Extension of agriculture, increased agricultural production, and rise in prices of agricultural produce and general increase in the volume of trade facilitated the easy and enhanced collection of government revenue in the form of

taxes. All these aspects have been discussed in this work which has been divided into nine chapters.

CHAPTER 1	INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER 2	MALABAR POPULATION
CHAPTER 3	EXTENT OF AGRICULTURE
CHAPTER 4	TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE
CHAPTERS 5	LAND REVENUE
CHAPTER 6	NON-AGRICULTURAL OR INDIRECT TAXES
CHAPTER 7	PRICE OF PADDY AND RICE
CHAPTER 8	MALABAR CURRENCY SYSTEM
CHAPTER 9	SUMMATION.

The second chapter entitled, “**Malabar Population**” deals with the growth of population during the period of this study and the relevance of population in the growth of the economy of the region. The quantitative study of the economy of any region primarily requires the knowledge of the number of its inhabitants. Further the study of the population of a particular area (here taluqs) helps to find out per capita revenue collection from the people of that area. The data on population are also used to analyse the impact of the growth of population on government revenue collection .To a great extent the increasing population necessitated more food which in turn led to the expansion of the area under agriculture and subsequent increase in agricultural production. Increasing population also influenced the formation of urban centers, markets, price movements of agricultural produce, agricultural wages, trade and commerce which subsequently enabled the colonial government to enhance the direct and indirect taxes that were collected from the region. Therefore the scholar has taken up the study of Malabar population as the first chapter of this work. Vera Anstey and Kingsley Davis, two exponents of Indian population history, were of the opinion that wherever and whenever British rule was established, the order and peace it provided led

to a rapid growth in the rate of population. Malabar was one of the most thickly populated districts of the Madras Presidency. The population of Malabar was growing very fast during the 19th century. Long duration of peace, stability and tranquility, favourable climate, adequate and timely rainfall, availability of large tracts of fertile and cultivable soil, abundant agricultural production and absence of famine were some of the factors that helped the steady growth of Malabar population. The absence of village-centered life, the temperament of the people and pleasant life style were responsible for the near homogeneous distribution of the Malabar population in all the taluqs of the district except in Wayanad. In this chapter a clear study has been made about the growth of Malabar population covering sex, religion, density and taluq-wise growth and distribution of the population during the first half of the 19th century based on various censuses. The big drawback with the censuses was that it did not give uniform information. Regular information about the Malabar population was available from the 1830-31 censuses onwards. For the first time religion wise information was given in this census. The census of 1832/33 provided religion and sex wise population of all the taluqs of Malabar. There after censuses were taken every five years. The first information about the agricultural population of Malabar like the percentage of agricultural and non-agricultural population in each taluq was given in the census of 1856/57. As per the census of 1856/57 about 75% of Malabar population was involved in agriculture. The absence of information about the agricultural population in the previous census made it impossible to calculate the rate of growth of agricultural population and agricultural workers. A brief study of the growth of religion-wise population of Malabar based on different census helped to study the growth rate of different religions and their distributions in different taluqs during the first half of the 19th century.

The third chapter entitled, “**The Extent of Agriculture**” refers to the general condition of Malabar agriculture under the English East India Company. The nature of cultivation, crop pattern, different kinds of cultivation, difficulties in the calculation of the extent of cultivation of different crops, taluq-wise distribution of the number of agricultural implements (plough) and cattle according to different census, taluq-wise population plough ratio and its variations according to different census are focused. The increasing population demanded more food supply which necessitated and paved the way for the extension of agriculture resulting in more agricultural production (grains) during the period under study. Increasing population provided more cheap labourers which helped in bringing more land under cultivation. The growth of population also put pressure on agricultural land leading to extension of agriculture. Increase in price of agriculture produce from 1820s could be another factor which led to the extension of agriculture. During this period large tract of waste land was brought under wet and garden land cultivation. The government had exempted such lands from land tax for particular years. However in Malabar the government generally did not give any *Tuccavi* (agricultural loan) for improving agriculture

The agriculture in Malabar, in the absence of artificial irrigation system, was purely rain fed. The wet land cultivation solely depended on the south west and north east monsoon. Timely and adequate rain assured sufficient production. The area under wet, garden and dry land cultivation increased during the period under study. Malabar which was a grain importing district during the last decade of the 18th century (early British period) started to export large quantity of agricultural produce especially grain from early 19th century and this trend continued throughout the first half of the 19th century with slight variations depending on external demand. Wet land cultivation was the major agriculture of Malabar mainly confined to South Malabar. This was the livelihood of the majority of the population employing more people, covering more area and generating maximum revenue

for the government .This was followed by garden and dry land (hill)cultivation. In this chapter an attempt has been made to estimate the extent of wet, garden and dry land cultivation. In Malabar the government did not maintain a record on the extent of wet and garden land cultivation because of peculiar land revenue system. However there are clear data on the extent of dry land cultivation and it was given in *cawnies* (1 *cawny* = 1.3234 acres) and later from the middle of 1850s it was given in acres. And also a study has been made of the taluq-wise growth in the number of agricultural implements (plough), plough and population ratio and the increase in number of cattle as they were connected with the growth of agriculture and agricultural population. Even though there was an increase in the area under cultivation there was no proportionate economic prosperity for the peasants and workers, who constituted the vast majority of the Malabar population. This was due to the high land tax and non-agricultural indirect taxes which deprived the peasants and workers of their earnings.

The fourth chapter “**Trade in Agricultural Produce**” refers to the internal, coastal and overseas export trade in the agricultural produce of Malabar. Increased agricultural production made available surplus after local consumption, for trade which reached different internal and coastal markets. Statistics are not available pertaining to the volume of coastal trade even though extensive trade was carried on among several southern, central and northern ports of Malabar. Some scattered figures are available for few years but they did not support in making a complete study of the volume of coastal trade. Absence of well developed inland transportation system, presence of large number of ports and coastal markets and low charges of water transportation could be attributed to high volume of coastal trade in that region. Pepper, cardamom, ginger, paddy and rice, coconut, copra and beetle nut formed the main articles of export trade. Grains were sent from southern ports to northern ports in return for spices and garden produce. The trade in condiments and grains

was increasing during the period of this study. The volume and value of export trade in agricultural produce registered impressive growth during the period of study. Custom duty obtained from the export of agricultural produce was an important source of revenue that constituted non-agricultural taxes.

In this chapter the adverse effect of the East India Company's economic and administrative policies on trade, particularly on pepper trade has been discussed. Company (EIC), failed attempt to monopolise the trade in pepper has also been discussed. The Company had imposed a high and discriminatory rate of export duty on pepper based on high tariff rate which was always higher than the market rate. This high export duty and tariff rate adversely affected Malabar's trade in pepper as it had increased the price of Malabar pepper exported to the international markets. The decline of the dominance of Malabar pepper in the domestic and world market was partly due to wrong and unlawful economic policies of the EIC and partly due to the competition it faced from Eastern Islands.

The fall in price of pepper from the fag end of the eighteenth century and early 19th century caused severe economic loss to the Malabar cultivators especially to those of north Malabar which accounted for the major production of pepper. The increased production and subsequent increase in the volume of trade did not bring corresponding economic benefit to the cultivators due to the fall in price of pepper. Rather it was the government, by means of direct and indirect taxes, and the coastal merchants by the putting out (advancing) system and the Bombay merchants, who controlled the export trade of Malabar, who had benefited from the increased production and volume of pepper trade.

The fifth chapter entitled, "**Land Revenue**" deals with the land revenue administration of Malabar. In Malabar land revenue was the most important source of revenue for the East India Company. The term 'Land revenue' should not be

misconstrued as a government income exclusively from land. The British government collected several taxes under the head of Land Revenue and the land tax was the most significant one under it. Therefore this chapter is studied under the title of Land revenue and Land Tax. During the early part of the British rule land revenue contributed about 95% of the total revenue of the Company. Later with the introduction of non- agricultural taxes like salt and tobacco monopoly, *moturpha* and *Sayer* the share of the land revenue in the total revenue collection declined. On an average during the period of study the contribution from land revenue was 67% of the total revenue collected from Malabar. Land tax was the most important component of land revenue and on an average it formed about 95% of the annual land revenue collection. Wet land (paddy) cultivation contributed 65 % of the land tax collection. Comparing to land tax other sources of revenue under land revenue was very insignificant. Therefore in this chapter more emphasis is given to the detailed study of the land tax administration particularly the measures taken by the government to secure their share of the agricultural produce i.e. the land tax. Moreover being an agricultural district the life of the people and economy of the area was woven around agricultural land and different forces operating on it. As far the government was concerned the collection of maximum land tax was its main apprehension and it was not bothered about ancient and established land relations, land customs and traditional sharing of the produce. This had created agrarian conflicts, social tensions and communal disharmony in Malabar.

Malabar land tax administration was very complex because of its peculiar land tenures and land relations which existed nowhere in British India. The government had spent much energy, time and resources to ascertain the actual agricultural produce of Malabar and the *pattom* received by the land lords. The government took a portion of the *pattom* (rent) as the government share of the produce (land tax). The government share of the produce (land tax) was assessed in kind and collected in cash. In this chapter the topics

discussed are the principle and magnitude of land tax assessment, commutation rates, mode of collection, total land tax demand, collection and balance of different years after remission. The land tax collected from wet, garden and hill cultivation (dry land) and taluq-wise land tax collection for few years and the agrarian conflicts are also discussed.

The East India Company did not introduce any reforms in the principle and magnitude of land tax assessment. The Company simply adopted Mysore Sultan's principle and magnitude of land tax assessment and commutation rates without any substantial change and enforced it with vigor with the backing of the British force and Judiciary. Right from the beginning, starting with the first joint commissioners, the Company's revenue officials were ignorant of all matters pertaining to Malabar land tax administration. They were unaware of the actual settlement made by Arshed Beg, Amildar of Tipu in South Malabar. They were also ignorant about Malabar land rights, land relations, land tenures, land holdings, actual produce of the land and customary sharing of the produce of the land between the tenant and land lord (*pattom*). Very often, in the beginning of the Company's rule, European administrators were misled by the landlords and agents of the local Rajas. Tipu informed the British that he had lost all Malabar land settlement records and provided only records about the total revenue collected from Malabar. The local Rajas and Chieftains were reluctant to reveal to the commissioners about the actual assessment and collection made by the Mysore Sultans from their regions and the actual *pattom* (rent) received by the land lords from the tenants. They supplied fabricated accounts of Tipu's land assessment and settlements to the first joint commissioners. However the joint commissioners claimed that they had obtained from Jinnea, a Brahmin accountant of Tipu, a statement of land revenue account claiming to give details of Arshed Beg's settlement of the southern portion of the district for the year 1784-85. Based on this the joint commissioners proceeded to discuss the principles on which the settlement was based. The problem with Arshed Beg's

settlement was that it never ascertained the actual quantity of seed sown, actual produce and actual *pattom* (rent). Every thing was estimated and this was the beginning of the agrarian problems of Malabar. Based on this estimation assessment was made and taxes were collected. The result was unequal and unjust assessment and unequal tax collection. There was no proper survey under the Mysore rule and the British. This assessment continued to operate during the entire period of the Company's rule leading to agrarian problems. The problem was further aggravated by corrupt native revenue officers of the Company who were directly responsible for the implementation of government orders. The native revenue officers who made the early survey and the settlements under the Company had favorably assessed the lands of those who bribed them and heavily assessed those who did not bribe. Even though the Colonial government was aware of this anomaly it did not take any step to correct it. This was because the government did not want to alienate the powerful land lords who gained from unequal assessments. The land tax was assessed in kind and collected in cash based on a commutation rate fixed initially by the Mysore rulers, which did not undergo much change under the Company. In fact the peasants of Malabar had to pay a higher tax than what was fixed because the commutation rate was very often higher than the actual market price of grains. The commutation rates varied from taluq to taluq and sometime a village had different commutation rates. This irrational commutation rate compelled the peasants to sell more produce to meet their tax obligation. This often consumed the peasant's share of the produce kept for subsistence and to meet the expenses of cultivation. Further the corruption of the revenue collectors, jugglery of the *shroffs* (money changers and some time money lenders) and fluctuating exchange rates had enhanced the land tax to be paid by the peasants by 4-6%. The government did not take any step to remove the anomalies in the land tax assessment. Taluq-wise study of the land tax helped to demonstrate that the principle and magnitude of land tax assessment was not

uniform. Several Collectors of Malabar had reported about this anomaly and recommended re-survey and a new assessment but could not succeed. The land tax was paid by the cultivating peasants where the assessment was unfavorable and by the landlords where land was favourably assessed. It would be interesting to note that the available data show that the government was able to collect the exorbitant land tax from Malabar without arrears and sometime the arrear was less than 1% of the total assessment of these taluqs. This proved that even though the land tax was high in the Mappila taluqs they promptly paid it. British economic policies were aimed at increasing the government revenue and never intended to safeguard the interest of the common people and peasants. The land revenue system and judiciary worked against the interest of the peasants whose land tax formed the bulk of government revenue. The government did not give any impetus to the economic growth of the region.

The sixth chapter focuses on “**Non-Agricultural or Indirect Taxes**”. Different kinds of non-agricultural (indirect) taxes were collected by the British from Malabar. The English East India Company on realizing that it could not further enhance the land revenue started to search other areas from where it could augment its revenue. The result was a massive shift from direct to indirect taxes like (salt and tobacco) monopoly taxes, *Sayer* (miscellaneous taxes), *abkary* (tax on spirituous liquors), sea customs and *moturpha* (professional tax). This transferred the fiscal burden still more on to the shoulders of the poor. Very often these taxes were more oppressive than the land taxes and brought almost the entire population of Malabar, irrespective of their affluence and social status, under its purview. Next to land revenue, non-agricultural taxes were the highest source of revenue for the English East India Company. Under the system of monopoly, the manufacture and first sale of salt was the monopoly of the Company. Before the introduction of the monopoly Malabar produced adequate salt for internal consumption. After the introduction of salt monopoly, the

manufacture of salt was stopped in Malabar and salt requirement was met through import from Bombay, Goa and sometime from Arabia. Peasants and labourers who were formerly employed in the manufacture of salt were deprived of their source of income and employment. The monopoly had increased the consumer price of salt by 600-800% and this tempted the people to consume illegally manufactured unhygienic salt. Salt was one of the main articles of Malabar's overland trade with Mysore, Coorg and Coimbatore and the monopoly had interfered with this trade. Similarly the first purchase and sale of tobacco was put under government monopoly. Before the monopoly tobacco needed for Malabar was imported from Coimbatore at a very low price. The monopoly had enhanced the prices of these essential articles by 600-700% and this had resulted in severe economic strain on all those who consumed it irrespective of their socio-economic status. Apart from the monopoly, the *sayer* was another indirect tax (miscellaneous) collected in the form of transit duty. This was a great clog to Malabar's internal and overland external trade. The ferry tax was another most obnoxious tax imposed on the common man of Malabar. It was a tax collected from all those who were ferried or who crossed a bridge. The common man and poor labourers suffered the most from this collection of tax. Another important source of indirect tax was *Moturpha* (Professional tax). This was collected from self employed people and their tools except coolies and as such a professional tax which was very oppressive in nature. This was another loathsome tax which drained the meager income of the poor workers and petty traders who belonged to the lowest strata of the society. House tax, which was a part of *moturpha* was collected from all those who possessed house above a stipulated value, irrespective of their affordability. This was a source of perpetual complaint.

The seventh chapter entitled, "**Price of Paddy and Rice,**" deals with the price of grains (paddy & rice), during different years of this study. The price of paddy and rice is studied because Malabar was predominantly an agricultural district and the price movement

of paddy and rice had direct influence on the economic life of the people like the landlords, peasants, agricultural and non-agricultural labourers and the government revenue (land tax) collection. Moreover rice was the staple food of the people of Malabar and paddy (unhusked rice) was the major agricultural produce and revenue-generating commodity. Further majority of the people were involved in/connected with the wet land (paddy) cultivation either as landlords or as tenants or as agricultural workers and traders. Therefore the price fluctuation of rice and paddy had great influence on the earnings and the livelihood of the people of Malabar. There was no famine in Malabar during the period of study and the price movement was very often influenced by production and external demand. The study of annual prices of grain is also relevant because the land taxes were assessed in kind and collected in cash based on a fixed commutation rate, fixed long ago by Tipu's revenue officers. The commutation rate was often higher than the market price of paddy. When the market price of paddy was lower than the commutation rate, then the tax payer had to sell more paddies to raise adequate amount to pay the land tax. This was tantamount to collecting excess land tax above the already settled tax from the cultivating tenants. Available data on annual price of paddy would help to evaluate the excess tax collected from the peasants due to difference in the commutation rate and the market price.

In Malabar at the close of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century the price of paddy and rice was high. This could be attributed to natural calamities that occurred in Malabar and in different districts of the Madras Presidency at the end of the 18th century and lack of good production. From the middle of the 1st decade of the 19th century the production increased and the price started to fall when compared to 1790s. However the increase in production did not drastically bring down the price of agricultural produces, particularly grain. This was due to increased export of rice and paddy. This is a clear indication that price movement was controlled by supply (production) and demand

(export). External or export demand above a particular point (in excess of the available surplus) had always increased the prices. Increased production and lack of internal and external demand would have further pushed down the price. The integration of Malabar with British India had connected it with the network of Indian trading centers. As such the excess of production or lack of production in those areas or neighboring districts or other districts of the Madras Presidency had also affected the price movement of the agricultural products of Malabar. The excessive export of grains from Malabar, at times, increased the prices of grains in the domestic markets. As a result the ordinary people and labourers faced untold sufferings. As long as the production and export maintained a balance it did not disturb the price of grains in the Malabar markets.

The price movement was erratic and it reached its lowest ebb during the period of study in 1815/16. Therefore the price of grain (rice) during 1815/16 was taken as the base year price. In order to understand the price movements the base year price was compared with price of succeeding years and the percentage of difference in price was calculated. The price increased very rapidly between 1831/32 and 1834/35 and again from 1852/53 onwards. Between 1851/52 and 1857/58, a short span of 6 years, the increase in the price of rice was 101%. The government was happy with the increase in price as it facilitated the easy realization of land tax and was not concerned about its impact on the peasants, the working class and the poor. As the Malabar agriculture was purely rain fed a brief study of the rainfall is made. The south west and north east monsoon watered the first and second crops reaped in the months of August/September and January/February. Good harvest depended on the availability of timely and adequate rainfall. Excessive or lack of rain or untimely rain had on many occasions adversely affected the production leading to short supply of grains which increased the price. Even though timely and adequate rain helped in getting a good harvest, it had only limited control over the price movement.

There was regional and seasonal variation in the prices of grains. The price of grain was high in the coastal markets and port towns and low in the interior taluqs. The low price was due to non-availability of markets and lack of transportation to the coastal markets. Similarly in north Malabar the price of grain was very high and in south Malabar the price was comparatively very low. This could be due to the fact that most of the paddy fields were in south Malabar and garden lands were mainly in the north. The price was also high during the monsoon season. The price was low immediately after harvest. This was mainly because that all the tenants rushed to the markets to sell their produce (paddy) to pay the land tax. Surplus supply dampened the market and the traders determined the prices. In fact the rise in production of grains benefited the traders rather than the cultivators

The Eighth chapter is entitled, “**Malabar Currency System**”. Malabar currency system was confused and complex because of the presence of large number of gold, silver and copper currencies of different countries. Tipu’s revenue officer Singam Pillai in 1792 informed the members of the Joint Commissioners that during Tipu’s period there were 120 coins in circulation in Malabar and was used as typical medium of exchange. However Malabaris had special infatuation for indigenous coins of Malabar the “Malabar *fanams*” (this terminology is used to differentiate it from other *fanams* current in the Madras Presidency). Coins indigenous to Malabar were tri metallic in nature; first gold *fanams* (old and new), current in south, secondly silver *fanams* current in the north and thirdly copper *cash (kasu)* in the south west Malabar that is Palakkad region. All these coins were not current in any other places of the Madras Presidency except Coimbatore and South Canara. This was because of the former’s proximity to Malabar and the latter’s extensive trade with them. However the most prevalent coins of Malabar were gold and silver *fanams*.

The present study focuses on the history of the currency system of Malabar. It also throws light on different kinds of metallic coins in circulation, the problems created by

the presence of numerous coins and the harmful effects of the presence of several fake Maratha coins. The scholar has also studied the pernicious results of the government policies of suddenly enhancing the government rate of exchange of current coins and the sudden withdrawal from circulation of coins particularly gold and silver coins including the indigenous gold and silver *fanams* of Malabar. These coins were remitted to Bombay from late 1830s and early 1840s and all these measures had led to the shortage of gold and silver coins in Malabar and artificially increased its value in the domestic markets. The scholar has also discussed the injurious practice of the arbitrary fixation of a high price (rate) of value on currency in which the merchants had made the (advance) payment for the produce they purchased especially pepper and cardamom from the cultivators, the nexus between the *shroffs* (money changers) and the taluq revenue collectors and treasury officers in fixing a low value, lower than the market value, for the coins in which the land tax was paid by the peasants. This very often forced the cultivators to pay more as land tax, some time 4-6% more than what was assessed. All these had an adverse effect on the material life of the people of Malabar as they had to pay more to meet their tax obligation. This was in addition to what they had paid in excess due to irrational commutation rates. Other important issues discussed in this chapter are the government and bazaar rate of exchange that prevailed in Malabar and the loss suffered by troops and other government employees due to the difference in the government and bazaar rate of exchange for the same coin in which the salary was paid. The money changers and local bankers (*Shroffs*) exploited the people because of the daily changing bazaar rate of exchange which the illiterate peasants were unable to understand. Ignorant peasants who could not identify the fake coins suffered the most as these coins were not accepted in the treasury for the payment of land tax and they had to approach a *shroff* to exchange it at a high discount.

In the absence of banks in Malabar the task of issuing Bills on distant places was carried out by government treasuries. Bills were drawn on government district treasuries and the district Collectors made the payments. Usually Bombay merchants got their Malabar bills issued either on the principal treasury of Calicut or subordinate treasuries. The district Collector made the payment on bills and it took 15 days for the realization of funds. In order to reduce this time factor and save the bill charges some Bombay traders used to send their funds to Malabar in their *Pattamaras* (big trading boats) which took 8-10 days to reach Calicut. Usually fake and worn out coins were changed at a discount varying from 1-5 %. Similarly currency which was in demand bore a premium.

Finally in the ninth chapter entitled “**Summation**” the Scholar has summed up the findings of the previous chapters.

CHAPTER-II

MALABAR POPULATION

Malabar was one of the most thickly populated districts of the Madras Presidency. The population of Malabar was growing very fast during the 19th Century. Favourable climate, fertile soil, abundant production and absence of famine were some of the factors that helped the steady growth and concentration of population. The absence of village-centered life, the temperament of the people and pleasant life style were some of the factors responsible for the equal distribution of the Malabar population in all the taluqs of the district except Wayanad. The population and its growth have a direct bearing on the development of the economy of a region. The extension of agriculture, growth of towns and markets, increased trade and commercial activities, supply of agricultural and plantation labourers and the quantum of their wages, the government volume of revenue from direct and indirect taxes are closely associated with population growth.

It has been said that the quantitative study of the economy of any region primarily requires the knowledge of the number of its inhabitants.¹ Further the study of the population of a particular area (here taluqs) helps to find out per capita revenue collection from the people of that area. The data on population are also used to analyse the impact of the growth of population on government revenue collection. To a great extent the increasing population necessitated more food which in turn led to the expansion of the area under agriculture and subsequent increase in agricultural production. Increasing population also influenced the formation of urban centers, markets, price movements of agricultural produce, agricultural wages, trade and commerce which subsequently enabled the colonial government to enhance the direct and indirect taxes that were collected from the region.

¹ ¹ Irfan Habib, *A Peoples History of India*, 28, Indian Economy, 1858-1914, First published in 2006, Revised Edition, 2007, p.1.

Therefore the scholar has taken up the study of Malabar population as the first chapter of this work. Vera Anstey and Kingsley Davis, two exponents of Indian population history, were of the opinion that wherever and whenever British rule was established, the order and peace it provided led to a rapid growth in the rate of population.² Malabar was one of the most thickly populated districts of the Madras Presidency.

In this chapter an attempt has been made by the researcher to make a brief study of the growth of Malabar population during the first half of the 19th century. Available data have been analysed to study the rate of growth of Malabar population. The annual growth rate of Malabar population, religion, sex and taluq-wise population and its distribution as per different censuses has been studied. Percentage of agricultural and non-agricultural population in each taluq as per the census of 1857 has also been made. Even though the scope of this study is limited to 1857/58, for the sake of comparison and to assess the reliability of the figures available for the period of study, occasionally figures from 1861/62, 1871, 1881 and 1911 censuses have also been used.

There were several rough estimates and census of Malabar population for different years. These were not fully reliable and were found to be erroneous when compared with and analysed subsequent available census data. The Joint Commissioners of Malabar did not throw much light on the demographic condition of Malabar. Francis Buchanan did try to collect some information on Malabar demography from the Company's servants during his journey through Malabar in A.D.1800-01. Some census of Malabar population was also taken during the first two decades of the 19th century. Unfortunately there was not much detail available about how this census. . However these censuses give a conservative estimate of the total Malabar population.

The first official information on Malabar population was found in a report from the Board of Revenue sent to the Governor of the Madras Presidency in 1802.

² *Ibid.*, p.1.

According to it the population of Malabar was given as 4, 65,594. Out of this 2, 18,112 were males and 2, 47,482 were females. Mr. Graeme in his 1822 report had mentioned that as per the census of 1806/07 the total population was 7, 07,556 and the density of population was 116. The slave population numbered 94,786 (13.40%) the Mappilas (Malabar Muslims) 1, 70,113(24%) and the Christians 6,044³ (0.85%). As per the census of 1821/22 the total population of Malabar was given as 9,07,575 with 4,58,368 males (old 3,07,825 and young 1,50,543) and 4,49,207 females (old 3,18,855 and young 1,30,352). The number of the slaves of the soil were estimated as 1, 12,943 (12.44%) i.e about 1/8th of the total population.⁴ Followed by this Ward and Conner⁵ had reported that according to the census of 1827, the Malabar population stood at 10, 22,215. The next official information about Malabar census was provided by the Principal Collector of Malabar in 1835. In 1835 the Principal Collector reported to the Board of Revenue (BOR), Fort. St.George.⁶, Madras, that he did not have any records in his office to show that a census was taken in Malabar in 1810. However he did inform the BOR that census was taken in 1808, 1822 and 1830/31. The figures for these census years are given and discussed below .Further he had stated that the Malabar population at the time of Hyder Ali's conquest in A.D.1766 was estimated at 1,40,000. In the Madras Presidency census of population was regularly taken and found to be enclosed in the revenue settlement reports sent to the BOR. There is no detailed information, except the total figures of population, as to how the census of 1802, 1808, 1822 and 1827 were taken.

The census of 1830/31 was taken as per the direction of the Board of Revenue, Fort St.George, dated 18th March 1823. In this communication the Malabar Collector was

³ Graeme, H.S., Report on the Revenue Administration of Malabar, 1822, (Calicut 1898) p.37, par. 19. Hereafter cited as "Graemes report"

⁴ Letter from Mr. Vaughan, Principal Collector to the BOR, 26th August, 1822, BORP, vol.no.923, 2nd, September, 1822, p.8355.

⁵ Ward & Conner, A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar, 1849 (Calicut 1916), p.1.

⁶ Fort St. George was the seat of administration of the Madras Presidency.

asked to take a census of the Malabar population before A.D.1833. As a result the first detailed census of Malabar population was taken in the early part of A.D.1830/31.⁷ The census figures for 1830/31 gave detailed religion and sex-wise information of Malabar population. According to it the total population of Malabar was 11, 13,497. This census gave separately the total number of Hindus, slaves of the soil, Muslims and Christians. An elaborative and more detailed census was taken in 1832/33. It was the first census which gave the taluq, sex and religion wise population of Malabar. The total population of Malabar as per this census was 10, 93,928. The census of 1832/33 had shown a decrease of 19,334 souls compared to the census of 1830/31. The fall in population was 1.76%. According to the Principal Collector of Malabar this was occasioned by the general prevalence of cholera and small pox in A.D.1831 and A.D.1832, which carried away many thousand lives. He had informed that a decrease of 1, 00,000 had taken place in the population since 1830.⁸ In this census also the slaves of the soil were shown separately and there was no decline in the slave population and in fact their population had gone up by 0.77 %.

The second census of the Madras Presidency was taken in 1836/37. Next information on Malabar population was given in the *Jamabandy* (annual revenue settlement) report of the Malabar district for A.D.1839/40 and this was a taluq and sex-wise report. The total population of Malabar, inclusive of Nilgiris was given as 11, 70,128. After excluding the Nilgiris population of 7139, the population of Malabar was 11, 62,989. Compared to the census of 1832/33 the Malabar population according to the census of 1839/40, showed a total increase of 5.91 %, for a period of 7 years, giving an average annual growth rate of 0.84% between 1832/33 and 1839/40 . Malabar Principal Collector

⁷ Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar to the BOR, settlement report of Fusly, 1242(1832/33) dated 15th, January, 1834, M.vol.4817, p.35.

⁸ Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar to the Secretary, BOR, dated.20th. August, 1835, BORP, Vol, 1464, p.9182.

H.V Connolly in 1848 reported that according to the census of 1843 the Malabar population was 12, 22,000.⁹ No detailed information about this census is available. Since it included the population of Nilgiris, and as the population of Nilgiris was not separately given, it is not possible to exactly calculate the population of Malabar. The next census of 1848/49, enclosed in the Malabar *Jamabandy* (annual revenue settlement) report of 1848/49 gave information about the total taluq and sex-wise population of Malabar. It did not give the community-wise population. According to it the Malabar population was 13, 18,398 and compared to the 1839/40 census the Malabar population had increased by 13.36% within a period of 9 years giving an average annual population growth rate of 1.48%.

In 1849 the Government of India had asked the local governments to establish, by means of their revenue officials, quinquennial returns of population. This inaugurated in the Madras Presidency a system of periodical stock-taking of the people. This continued down to the time till 1871 when the Imperial Census was taken. The first of these returns was taken during the official year 1851-52, the second in 1856-57, the third in 1861-62 and the fourth and last in 1866-67. The quinquennial Census of 1871-72 was merged in the Imperial Census of 1871. Thus it is seen that within a period of twenty years the population of Madras Presidency has been counted, more or less efficiently on five occasions. In pursuance of the above instruction of the Government of India, the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, under the instruction of the government asked the Collector of Malabar that the census of the population of Malabar might be taken once in five years in future commencing with 1849/50.¹⁰

To insure accuracy as well as uniformity, the BOR had forwarded to the Collector the following general rules, drawn from the instructions issued for similar purpose in North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency. Detailed information was provided

⁹ H.V. Conolly, Principal Collector to BOR, 27th June, 1848, M.Vol.N0.7570, p.135.

¹⁰ Letter from the Acting Secretary, Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, to Mr. H V. Conolly, the Principal Collector of Malabar, 7th February, 1850, M, Vol.7586.p.7.

by the BOR to the revenue officers regarding the procedures to be adopted in taking the quinquennial census. In the first instance the village officers would make the returns in the form furnished to them. The Tahsildars would prepare a general return for the whole taluq. But before that the Tahsildars would previously test in a few villages, selected for that purpose the accuracy of the returns made to him. The Collector should submit to the Board, in separate form, with the report on the settlement of the year. The same numbers would be entered for each successive year of the quinquennial period.¹¹ The Collector was advised to verify the returns indiscriminately in some villages. Further it was instructed to divide the district population into two classes, agricultural and non-agricultural. All persons who derived their subsistence in whole or in part from the land, whether in the form of wages in rent, should be shown as cultivators, even though they might have other "sources of income". All males above the age of 12 years, and females above 10 years were classed as adults all under these ages respectively would be entered as children.¹² Since census resting on mere enumeration of persons might be liable to error, the Collector was advised to verify the calculation by the number of houses and families. When more than one family was found to occupy the same tenement in that case each family should be separately counted, thus the number of houses would not in all places correspond with the number of families, but the cause of the differences should be noted.¹³ The number of persons constituting one family actually who were residents in certain number of houses might be counted and average applied to the whole. This process should be adopted in those villages in which, from the co-operation of trust worthy agents, true returns might be looked for. It was probable that the average number of persons forming a family in large towns would be found to differ from that in villages. The average number of persons to a house of family had been assumed at from 4 to 5. The actual number in certain localities might be above or

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.8.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.9.

below that standard.¹⁴ The average for different castes and classes did not form an essential element of the general return. The BOR observed that “..there can be no great difficulty in collecting correct data; all that is required is to see that the head officer of each village authority does really ascertain the population within the limits assigned to his jurisdiction and correctly furnish his returns; this duty occurring once in five years and only within his limited range will be little in itself, and could not occupy much time, while the collection and arrangements of the returns by the taluq authorities would not be very onerous,----- it should be within the power of every head of a village to account for any great difference in the census”.¹⁵

The first quinquennial census was taken in 1851/52. The population of Malabar according to it was 15, 14,909 and out of this total male population was 7, 63,932 and female 7, 50,977. Unfortunately other details about this census are not available. The second quinquennial census of Malabar was taken in A.D 1856/57 and it gave the taluq and religion-wise population of Malabar 16, 02,914. This was a detailed census of the period, where for the first time the total number of houses was given. The houses were further categorized into, terraced, tiled and thatched houses. It had given the number of the adults and children. For the first time the information about the male and female child of each religion was provided in that census. This categorization was made according to the direction found above. Further the population was differentiated into agricultural and non-agricultural classes where the former constituted 74.63% and the latter 25.37%. Total adults formed 64.03% and children 35.97% of the total population. Among the adults, males formed 48.96 % and the remaining 51.04% were females. Among the children male children formed 53.72% and female children 46.28%. According to the 1856/57 census total males formed 50.67% and females formed 49.33% of the total Malabar population.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.10.

The third quinquennial census was taken in 1861 /62 .Even though this did not come under the purview of this study; it is mentioned here for continuity and comparison. According to it the total population of Malabar was 17, 09,081. The reorganization and amalgamation of taluqs took place in this period. The percentage of overall increase in population in the census of 1861/62, compared to the previous census of 1856/57 was 6.62%. The average annual population growth rate was 1.32%. Male population was 8, 57,180 (50.15%) and female population was 8, 51,901 (49.85%). The population according to the census of 1866/67 was 18, 56,378 and the growth rate for 5 years compared with 1861/62 was 8.62 % and the average annual growth rate was 1.72 % (**see table 2.1**)

Thus uninterrupted figures for Malabar population from 1766, in the 18th century and from 1802 and up to 1891 in the 19th century are available. But it is a known fact that the early census figures were not fully reliable. The reliability of some of the early censuses, taken before the first all India censuses of 1871 or the more accurate census of 1881 was doubtful and it could not be fully relied upon for the population study of Malabar. In order to ascertain the reliability of these census figures, the researcher has calculated the percentage of the growth of population between two adjacent census years and on the basis of it calculated the average annual growth rate of population. It has been calculated that the annual population growth rate in the Madras presidency was higher than that of other regions of India, except the N-W provinces and it was around 1% in the 19th century. On the basis of such information and the results obtained from the growth rate the researcher has found that the census results from 1830/31 were more or less reliable.

It is found that the population estimate of A.D. 1766 and the census figures of 1802 and 1808 were not at all acceptable as the average annual population growth rate for these periods was exorbitantly high as shown in the table. This was either due to the fact that the figures of 1766 were too low or the figures of 1802 and 1808 were too high. The

growth rate and average annual growth rate obtained from the census of 1822 and 1827 were near to acceptable standard. The population of Malabar according to the census figure of 1832/33 ought to have been 2% above the census figure of 1830/31. But in fact it was 1.76% lower than that of 1830/31 figure (**see table 2.1**). This could be attributed to a large number of deaths due to the outbreak of diseases in 1831 and 1832 and may be also due to strict adherence to guidance for enumeration which could have prevented errors in the enumeration leading to availability of more or less correct information. Between 1832/33 and 1839/40 enumeration the total growth was 5.91 % for 7 years and the annual growth rate was 0.84%. Between 1839/40 and 1848/49, for a period of 9 years the total percentage of growth was 13.36% and average annual growth rate was 1.48%. But with the first of quinquennial census in 1851/52 once again there was erroneous annual growth rate, 4.97% compared with the census of 1848/49 and the census of 1851/52. The growth rate calculated between the censuses of 1848/49 and the second quinquennial census of 1856/57 gives some comfort as the annual growth rate stumbled to 2.69%. The population growth for 5 years between the first and second quinquennial census of 1851/52 and 1856/57 was 5.81% and the average annual growth rate was 1.16%. The annual average population growth between 1856/57 and 1861/62 was 1.32% and between 1861/62 and 1866/67 was 1.72%. Once again the annual average population growth rate between 1866/67 and 1871 could not be correct as it was 4.36%. The annual growth rate between 1866/67 and 1871 was 1.53%, and was found to be within reasonable limit of annual growth. The growth rate between the two decennial census of 1871 and 1881 was 4.42% and average annual growth rate of population was 0.44%. This was a very low growth rate for the late 19th century. Between 1830/31 and 1856/57 the growth of population was 30.53% and average annual growth rate was 1.17%. Between 1830/31 and 1861/62 the total growth was 53.49% and the

average annual growth rate was 1.73% and between 1830/31 and the first All India Census of 1871 was 103.08% and the annual growth rate was 2.51%.

The increase in Malabar population between 1832/33 and 1856/57 was 504785 and the percentage of growth was 45.97% and average annual growth of population was 2 %. The growth of Malabar population between 1832/33 and 1856/57 is taken because the taluq and community-wise population is available only for these two censuses. This helped to calculate the taluq-wise distribution and density of Malabar population. This has also facilitated the study of the distribution of religious communities in different taluqs.

The rate of growth was not uniform in all the taluqs. It showed variation from taluqs to taluq. The taluq of Walluvanad had the highest growth rate with a population increase of 64.15 % and in the taluq of Chavakkad it was the lowest, as low as 16.12 % (**see table 2.2**). But interestingly next to Wayanad, Walluvanad was the taluq with one of the lowest density of populations during this period. Its population was barely 70 persons per sq. mile in 1832/32 and 114 in 1856/57 respectively. In contrast to this Chavakkad had highest density of population with 609 persons in 1832/33 and 707 in 1856/57. So the taluq with the highest growth rate had the lowest density of population (next to Wayanad with 31 and 44) and the taluq with lowest growth rate had the highest density of population during the period of our study.

Malabar is a district where both sexes were almost equal in number except in the census of 1839/40 and 1849/50. The first information on sex-wise population was available from 1802. Out of the total population of 4, 65,594 females outnumbered males. Female population was 2, 47,482 (53.15%) and male numbered 2, 18,112 (46.85%). Here the female population exceeded the male by 6.3%. But later statistics put a question mark on this data. As per the census of 1830/31 there was no wide difference in the ratio of male and female population, male and female population numbered almost equal and the

difference was only 0.80% in favour of males. However within a short period of three years the picture changed and the female population had a slight edge over the males as per the census of 1832/33. In this census the female population was 0.24% more than the male in the total population (**see table 2.3**). The great epidemic of 1831 and 1832 could have played havoc with the male population. The trend was reversed in the census of 1839/40 and according to it the district male population exceeded the female by 3.22%. This was a steep increase and no reason could be ascribed to this unusual development. In the first quinquennial census of 1851/52 the difference was reduced and the male population exceeded the female only by 0.86%. In the Madras presidency in the census of 1851/52 the male population exceeded the females by 2.40%. In the second quinquennial census of 1856/57 the male population once again showed an upward growth and exceeded the female by 1.34%. Hereafter the male and female difference was narrowing down and the difference was below 0.38% (1871) and from 1881 the female population exceeded the male, rather the female dominance started. In the census of 1881 the female population was 0.68% more than the male. According to the census of 1911 the female population was 1.66% higher than the male population.

Absence of female infanticide and dominance of female in the family and society may be one reason for the high rate of female in the Malabar district. Women were never considered as a burden in the Malabar society. The influence of the matriarchal system, polyandry among some Hindus castes (Thiyas of North Malabar) and the polygamy among the Mappilas could be some of the reasons which might have encouraged the maintenance of female population. This required further study. The proportion of the male to female sex ratio in the total Malabar population, both taluq and religion wise, is studied. In the overall study of the sex ratio the difference was less than 1%.

The census of 1830/31 gave the religion-wise sex ratio and the census of 1832/33 provided information on taluq and religion wise sex ratio. These were also the only censuses which provided information on the slaves of the soil. The census of 1839/40 and 1848/49 also gave information on taluq and sex-wise enumeration. The census of 1856/57 gave information on taluq and religion-wise population. Apart from this it also gave information on adults, male and female children, agriculturalists and non-agriculturalists of the District.

The researcher has material to study the community wise and total sex ratio from the census of 1830/31 and 1832/33. The proportion of total male population to female among all religious communities, for all the taluqs of Malabar as per the census of 1830/31 were as follows: Hindus 50.08% to 49.92%, slaves of the soil 50.83% to 49.17%. Muslims 51.06% to 48.94%, Christians 48.77% to 51.23%. But this sex proportion had undergone a change from the next census of 1832/33 and female improved their share in the population except among the slaves of the soil. According to it the males formed only 49.97% and females 50.03% of the total population .i.e. the females were 0.06% more than the males. In the Hindu community total males formed 49.66% and females 50.34%, slave males 50.52% and females 49.48%, Muslim males 50.45% and females 49.55%, Christian males 50.14% and females 49.86%.

For the demographic study of Malabar of the period of the present work, complete and combined information about taluq and religion-wise population of Malabar is provided by the census of 1832/33 and 1856/57. The study of the census of 1832/33, 1839/40, 1848/49 and 1856/57 gave a detailed account of the increase in taluq wise population and the percentage of the distribution and density of Malabar population.

An account of the taluq wise population of Malabar as per the censuses of 1832/33 and 1856/57 is given in table No.2.2. It also furnishes the proportion of the increase

in population between the above two censuses. Of the all the 17 taluqs of the Malabar district the taluq of Walluvanad recorded the highest growth rate of 64.15% for a period of 24 years between the census of 1832/33 and 1856/57. The average annual population growth for these periods was 2.79%. This was followed by Sheranad with 61.30% and the average annual growth rate was 2.67%. The taluq of and Kottayam recorded a growth of 55.44% and average annual growth rate was 2.41%. The lowest growth in population was recorded in the taluq of Chavakkad with 16.12 % and the average annual growth rate was 0.70%. This was followed by Nedinganad with 31.69% and average annual growth rate was 1.38%. Incidentally the taluq with the highest density of population was Chavakkad. As per the 1832/33 census the density of population was 609 and in 1856/57 it was 708 (see table 2.2).

Malabar population was almost evenly distributed among the 17 taluqs of Malabar except Wayanad which was the largest of all the taluqs and least populated (see table 2.4). According the census of 1832/33, 8.24% of the Malabar population was living in Nedinganad taluq followed by Palakkad (8.04) %,Chavakkad (7.46%) and Calicut (7.35%). The lowest populated taluq (3.28%) of Wayanad was the largest taluq with an area of 1160 sq. Miles, followed by Chirakkal (4.91%). This position continued in the census of 1839/40. In this census also Nedinganad dominated with 9.01% followed by Palakkad 8.78%. Wayanad continued to be the least populated taluq for the remaining censuses of 1839/40 (3.13%), 1848/49 (3.02%), 1856/57 (3.17%) and 3.73% in 1881. But from the censuses of 1848/49 and 1856/57 Palakkad taluq accommodated the maximum Malabar population of 8.67% and 8.39% followed by Nedinganad 7.78% and 7.35%.

For the first time the census of 1856/57 provided information about the number of agriculturalist in Malabar. As per that census Walluvanad was the taluq with the maximum number of agriculturalist (99.48%) and the remaining 0.52% was non-

agriculturalists (**see table 2.5**). This was followed by Sheranad where 93.25% of the population was agriculturalists and the remaining non-agriculturalists. In Nedinganad and Wayanad about 92 % were involved in agriculture. In the Calicut taluq the agriculturalists formed 58.13% and non agriculturalist 41.87% of the population. Kottayam was the next taluq which had less number of agriculturalists (57.72%) and non-agriculturalists (42.28%). Palakkad was the taluq with the lowest number of agriculturalists (57.44%) though it was known as the granary of Malabar.

Malabar was one of the thickly populated districts of the Madras Presidency. The density of an area is an indication of its fertility, agricultural and trade and commercial activities. The main problem with the calculation of the density of Malabar population was lack of accurate knowledge about the total area of Malabar. Total area has been differently estimated by different authors. According to Ward and Conner the Malabar area was 6250 sq .miles. Reporting in 1887 Logan maintained that the total survey of Malabar was incomplete. However Logan's Manual of Malabar gave the total area of Malabar as 5770 sq. miles. The census of 1871 gave it as 6000 sq.miles. C.A.Innes in the Malabar Gazetteer of 1909 had recorded the Malabar area as 5777 sq. Miles. In this study the researcher has taken the area as 6250 sq.miles and calculated the density of population. In 1827 Ward and Conner reported that the density of Malabar population as 160 individuals per sq.mile. In the 1830/31 census it rose to 178 and in 1832/33 it was 175, a fall in the density. According to the 1839/40 census the density of population was 186 souls per sq. mile (**see table 2.6**). As per the census of 1848/49 and 1851/52 the density of population was given as 210 and 242. The density graph further climbed to 256 and 274 as per later two censuses of 1856/57 and 1861/62. In 1866/67 the population density was 361. In all these calculations Malabar area was taken as 6250 sq.miles. But in the 1881 census, as reported by Logan, the area used for the calculation of the population density was 5767 sq. miles and the density

(Table.2.6) was given as 408 per sq. miles. The density would have been 376 had the area been taken as 6250 sq. miles as in the previous calculation. Thus the density of Malabar population was fast increasing compared to the other districts of the Madras presidency. Between 1830/31 and 1856/57 the density increased by 42.83% and between 1830/31 to 1881 (taking 376 as the density of population) it had increased by 111.24%, within a short period of 50 years. Between 1856/57 and 1881 (taking the 1881 density as) the density of population went up by 46.88%. Chavakkad was the most densely populated taluq of the presidency. According to the census of 1832/33 Chavakkad was densely populated taluq and the density of population was 609 persons per sq. mile. In the next census of 1839/40 the density of population in Chavakkad went up to 629 and in 1848/49 it was 650. In the above censuses Chavakkad was closely followed by Kootanad with population density of 463, 488 and 545. In the census of 1856/57 Kootanad dominated with 707 persons per sq. mile and it was followed by Chavakkad with 697. As usual Wayanad was the taluq with lowest population. The density of population in that taluq according to the above censuses were 30, 31, 34 and 44 people per sq.mile. This taluq ¹⁶ was closely followed by Walluvanad with 70, 81, 91 and 114 people per sq.miles.

As per the census of 1871 the density of Population in the Madras presidency was 226. Tanjore was the district with highest density of population (540) followed by Malabar 337. (Here the area of Malabar was taken as 6002sq.Miles)The average number of persons per village was the highest in Malabar (5234) followed by Nilghiris (2912) and Kurnool (1219). The Presidency average was 564. The average number of persons in a house in the presidency was 5, while for Malabar it was 6.¹⁷

¹⁶

Henry Water Field,(1875) Memorandum on the Census of British India 1871-72, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1871-72,p. 42.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

The census of 1830/31 and 1832/33 provided information about religion and taluq-wise population. This helped to find the taluq-wise distribution of all religious communities. Hindu religion was the dominant religion in all the taluqs of Malabar followed by Islam and Christianity. As per the 1832/33 census (**see table 2.7**) out of the total Hindu population, inclusive of the slaves of the soil, 12.45% lived in Nedinganad taluq followed by Palakkad (11.09%) and Calicut (8.81%) and Themmalpuram (8.56%). According to the census of 1856/57, the highest concentration of Hindus (8.27%) was in Palakkad followed by Calicut (7.93%) and Kurumbranad (7.76 %).

% of Hindus	= 61.48 %
% of slaves	= 13.31%
Total % of Hindus and slaves	= 74.79%
% of Muslims (Mappilas)	= 23.77%
% of Christians	= 1.44%

The study of Muslim (Mappila) demography in Malabar was more interesting. The British opinion regarding the occurrence of frequent Mappila revolts in the Eranad and Walluvanad taluq were because of the high concentration of Mappila population in that taluqs. But the analysis of the census report of 1832/33 and 1856/57 showed that the Mappila concentration was somewhere else. According to the census of 1832/33, out of the total Mappila population, 12.87% lived in the Betutnad (Vettathunad) Taluq followed by Sheranad 11.57% and Eranad 10.95%. According to 1856/57 census majority of the Mappilas were in Sheranad (12.82%) followed by Betutnad (11.52%) and Eranad (10.91%) and Walluvanad (9.69%). The census of 1881 was more interesting as far as the Mappila community was concerned. According to it 23.30% of the Mappila population of Malabar lived in Eranad taluq. This was due to the fact that in 1860 Eranad taluq was amalgamated with Sheranad taluq (The combined population of Eranad and Sheranad as per 1856/57

census was 23.73% of the Mappila population of Malabar). This is quite interesting and puzzling. As per the census of 1832/33 Mappilas formed 41.74% of the Eranad, 46.76% of Sheranad and 45.51% of Betutnad population (**see table 2.7**). In 1856/57, after 24 years they constituted 46.43% of the total population, an increase of 1.39%. In this period the population growth of Eranad was 42.09% and the average annual growth rate was 1.83%. The Mappila population of Eranad in 1856/57 was 45,199 and Sheranad 53,076 and combined together 98,275. In 1881 the Mappila population in the amalgamated Eranad taluq was 1,49,987, an increase of 51.62% and the annual average growth rate was 2.10%. The increase of Hindu population was 40.33% and the average annual growth rate was 1.61%. During this period the total increase in the population of Eranad was 47.17% and the average annual growth was 1.89%. Next to Eranad, the highest Mappila population was in Ponnani (22.8%) followed by Walluvanad 12.88%.

Hindus constituted majority of the population. In the census of 1830/31 and 1832/33 the total population of Hindus and slave population were given separately. However in the 1856/57 census there was no mention of separate slave population. It is presumed that the population of Hindus and slaves were given together. According to the 1830/31 census Hindus accounted for 61.42% and slaves 12.60% of the population. Together these two communities (Hindus and slaves) formed 74.02% of the total population (**see table 2.8**). There was no separate mention of slave population after the 1832/33 census. According to the 1832/33 census the Hindu population was 61.36% and the slaves 13.36%. Altogether the Hindu population was 74.68% of the total population of Malabar (**see table 2.7**). In 1832/33 the share of the Hindu population marked a small increase of 0.66%. But in fact the growth of Hindu population recorded a decline of 0.85% from the 1830/31 census. In the 1856/57 census the proportion of Hindus in the total Malabar population declined by 1.94% to 72.74%. But between the 1832/33 and 1856/57 census the

total Hindu population increased by 42.62%. In the 1881 and 1911 census the percentage of Hindus in the total population of Malabar further declined to 71.07% and 66.83%.but the Hindu population as such in the district went on increasing by 44.02% and 19.67%.

Mappilas,(Malabar Muslims) next to Hindus, formed the second major community in Malabar. According to the 1830/31 census Mappilas formed 24.52% of the total population of Malabar. In the next census of 1832/33 the proportion of Mappila population had fallen to 23.87%, a decline of 0.65%. Between 1832/33 and 1856/57 the Mappila population increased by 58.59% and comparing to the 1832/33 census their proportion in the total Malabar population went up to 25.84%. This was an increase of 1.96%. This has disproved a theory which was prevalent among some British administrators and contemporary scholars that Mappila population was increasing tremendously due to conversion from lower Hindu castes (slaves).¹⁸ Dhanagare subscribed this theory and tried to establish that the growth of Muslim (Mappila) population during the second half of the 19th century was unnatural. He endorsed the theory that the Muslim population increased tremendously during these period due to conversion from the slave population. But the preceding and succeeding statistics prove that there was no abnormal growth of Muslim (Mappila) population in Malabar and the growth was natural. More over the rate of growth in all the religious communities of Malabar was normal. **(see table 2.8)**. Between 1856/57 and 1881 the Mappila population increased by 35.41% and their proportion in Malabar population went up to 27.26%, an increase of 1.42% compared to the 1856/57 census. In the All India census of 1881 the Muslims formed only 6.20% of the Madras Presidency population, 6.12% in Travancore, 5.56% in the Princely State of Cochin and 7.03% in Coorg. Therefore the highest concentration of Muslims in the Madras Presidency was in the district of Malabar. In 1911 the percentage of Mappila population in Malabar went up to

¹⁸ Dhanagare ,D.N., *Peasant Movements In India ,1920-1950*, Oxford University Press,1983, Second print 1986, pp.65-66.

31.38%, an increase of 4.12% over the 1881 population. The growth of Mappila population between 1881 and 1911, for a period of 20 years, was 46.49% and the annual growth rate was 2.32%.

Christians formed a microscopic minority of the Malabar population (**see table 2.8**). According to the 1830/31 census they were only 1.54% of the Malabar population. In the 1832/33 census their share in the Malabar population fell by 0.09% and they constituted only 1.45% of the population and formed 1.66% of the population as per the census of 1881. The population of Christian community was growing very slowly during the 19th Century. As per the 1832/33 census 45.28% of the Christian population was in the Chavakkad taluq and 38.50% was in Cochin and 7.02 % was in the Kottayam taluq. As per the 1856/57 census 40.76% of Christians lived in Chavakkad, 29.22% in Cochin and 3.87% in Kottayam. As per the 1881 census 36.74% lived in Ponnani, 21.38% in Cochin and 11.53% in Chirakkal. The increase in the Christian population between 1832/33 and 1856/57 was 49.19% Between 1856/57 and 1881 the Christian population had increased by 65.57% and their share in the Malabar population went up to 1.66%, an increase of 0.19%. Between 1881 and 1911, the population increased by 35.59% and accounted for 1.76% of Malabar population.

The censuses of 1832/33 and 1856/57 are taken for the population study of Malabar because they provided detailed information about taluq, religion and sex-wise population of Malabar. This helped to study taluq-wise growth, distribution and density of population. The information about religion wise population helped to analyze the population growth in the Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities and about their concentrations in different taluqs. Further the categorization into agricultural and non-agricultural population helped to identify the agricultural taluqs some of which later witnessed agrarian problems. This further helped to calculate per head revenue contribution to the state exchequer and to

identify heavily assessed taluqs. The increase in Malabar population between 1832/33 and 1856/57, a period of 24 years, was 5, 04,785 and the percentage of growth was 45.97% and the average annual growth of population was 2%. But the comparison of the 1856/57 census and some earlier and later censuses has shown that the annual growth rate varied from 1.5% to 2%. It can be safely assumed that the annual rate of growth of Malabar population varied from 1.5% to 2% in the 19th century. The censuses helped to reach the conclusion that Malabar was predominantly an agricultural district where 75% of the population was involved in agriculture. The main agricultural districts were Walluvanad, Sheranad, Nedinganad and Eranad. Incidentally Walluvanad had very high growth rate. Malabar population was almost equally distributed throughout the taluqs except Wayanad. Malabar was one of the most populated districts of the Madras Presidency. The density of Malabar population as per the 1856/57 census was 256. Kootanad was the most densely populated taluq and the density of population in that taluq as per the census was 707 followed by Chavakkad 697. The two taluqs with low density of population as per 1856/57 census were Wayanad (44) and Walluvanad (114). The rate of growth of all religious communities was more or less in the same range. The total growth of population between 1832/33 and 1856/57 was 31.76%. The growth of Hindu population was 42.62%, Mappila 58.59% and Christian 49.19%. The growth of population was almost normal and it gave impetus to the growth of Malabar economy. Food security, peace and tranquility and absence of famine were the positive factors which promoted population growth in Malabar.

CHAPTER III

EXTENT OF AGRICULTURE

Malabar was predominantly an agricultural district. Majority of the people were involved in agriculture. As per the census of 1856/57 the population of Malabar consisted of 74.63% agriculturalists and 25.37% of non-agriculturalists.¹ Fertile soil, abundant rain, presence of a large number of perennial rivers, mountain streams, virgin forests, increase in population and increase in the prices of agricultural products, cheap labour, peace and tranquility made agriculture a dependable and profitable profession from the beginning of the 19th Century.

Pre-colonial Malabar was a fragmented region except for few years when it was under the Mysore rule. The country was in an unsettled condition which was not conducive to agricultural growth. Tipu Sultan was expelled from Malabar in April-1790² and Malabar was brought under the control of the English East India Company in 1792 as per the Treaty of Srirangapattanam.³ In Malabar the grain cultivation was not extensive to meet the requirement of the Malabar population and it remained as a grain deficient area in the early period of Company's rule despite huge inflow of income from the export trade in spices. The British rule provided a central authority and maintained peace and tranquility from the beginning of 19th century and integrated it with other parts of the British Indian Empire. This expanded the markets for Malabar agricultural products.⁴ This was the positive aspect of British annexation of Malabar. Hereafter 80% of Malabar's export trade was routed through Bombay and controlled by Bombay merchants either directly or through

¹ This analysis is based on the Malabar census of 1856/57. This was the first census of Malabar which gave the number of agricultural and non-agricultural population, M.Vol.No.7954, P.64.

² Tipu left Malabar in April 1790 and the English East India Company officially took control of Malabar after the Treaty of Srirangapattanam in 1792. In between Malabar was an officially administered and tax collected by the Zamorin's officials along with other local Rajas and Travancore *Diwan's* agents.. M, vol.no.1160,A&B.p.62.

³ *Ibid.*, p.63.

⁴ Mohammed Hussain. A, “ *The Trade and Commerce of Malabar During the First half of the Nineteenth Century*” M.Phil, dissertation(un published) ,Aligarh Muslim University ,1978, p.92.

their agents.⁵ As mentioned earlier increased population and subsequent pressure on agricultural land, availability of surplus cheap labour, demand for grain and its increased export, increase in prices of grains, government encouragement for waste land reclamation (this was to augment the revenue of the government) and cultivation were some of the positive aspects which contributed to the extension of agriculture in Malabar.

In this chapter an earnest attempt has been made by the scholar to study the nature and extent of Malabar agriculture, classification of agricultural land, different kinds of agriculture, crop pattern, taluq-wise distribution of agriculture, taluq-wise increase in the number of agricultural implements like plough and live stocks, waste land reclamation, agricultural loan (*Tuccavy*) and cash crops. .

Illustrative description of the agriculture and agriculture land of Malabar was provided by Buchanan. According to him and the Company's records, the cultivable land in Malabar was divided into three kinds by the natives

1. Wet Land

2. Garden Land

3. Dry (Hill) Land

The *paddum* and *candum* were the terminologies used by the natives to denote the wet land. During the Mysorean period *paddum* was also known as *Dhanmurry*.⁶ It was called as *Batty* field by the revenue officers of the Bombay Presidency when Malabar was under its control. Buchanan said *paddy* field was the terminology used by the Madras Presidency servants of the Company when it was put under it since A.D.1800. This term was afterwards carried to Bengal. Later in the British records the term *Nunjah* (*wet land*) was used most likely from the second decade of the 19th century. In short wet land was differentially called *Paddum*, *Dhanmurry*, *Batty field*, *Paddy field* and *Nunjah*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.93.

⁶ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey From Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Vol.2 First print, London 1807, reprint AES Madras-1988, P.346. Hereafter cited as 'Buchanan' .Francis Buchanan entered Malabar through Palakkad on 29th November, A.D.1800.

Garden land and Dry land cultivations were non-wet land cultivation, which was otherwise called *Parum* or *Parumba* (*non-wet land*) cultivation. During the Mysorean period it was corruptly called *perm* or *puram* land which was followed by the Europeans.⁷ This was also known as *punjah* cultivation. Garden land cultivations were coconut, areca nut and jack tree and they were taxed. All other garden produces were exempted from land tax. Hill lands were cultivated with hill paddy like *modum* and *ponum* and *gingili oil* seed and were known as dry land cultivation and were taxed. All other grain and pulses cultivations were exempted from taxation. Latter in the British land revenue records the dry land was mentioned as miscellaneous lands.⁸. These cultivations were taxed and the government had only maintained records of tax collection and rarely on the extent of these of cultivation.

I. WETLAND CULTIVATION

Wetland cultivation was the most important and extensive agriculture of Malabar. This cultivation was mainly confined to south Malabar and garden lands were mainly located in the north Malabar. As per the revenue settlement report of 1824/25 the government derived 69.70% of the land tax from wetland cultivation, 28.55% from garden land, and 1.75% from dry land cultivation.⁹. In 1825/26 the wetland tax contributed 70%, garden land 27.40 % and dry land 1.60%.¹⁰. The proportion of the tax contribution from the above crops remained almost the same even after thirty years. As per the land revenue settlement report of A.D.1856/57 wetland tax continued to contribute the maximum revenue of 69.60%, followed by garden land 26.30% and dry land 4.10% to the total land tax assessment and collection.¹¹. Here the contribution from dry land cultivation was almost

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 375

⁸ William Logan, *Malabar*, vol.1.p.613(here after cited as Logan)

⁹ Statistics for A.D 1824/25 was taken from the Malabar land revenue settlement report of Malabar for 1824/25.BORP, vol.no.640.p.215

¹⁰ Statistics for 1825/26 are taken from the Malabar land revenue settlement report for 1825/26 BORP, vol.647.p.107

¹¹ Statistics for 1856/57 are taken from the Malabar land revenue settlement report for 1856/57, M.Vol. No.7954,p.64.

doubled, within 30 years, compared to 1825/26 but the income from garden land slightly declined. This was not due to decline in the extent of garden land cultivation. It was due to limited resurvey and new assessment which was carried out in 1830's and 1840's. This resurvey and new assessment removed some of the anomalies in the garden land tax assessment. At the same time the extent of dry land cultivation increased. The above statistics clearly established that wetland was the main cultivation and contributed on an average about 70% of the land revenue followed by garden land 26% and dry land 4%. This was calculated from the land taxes of wetland, garden and dry land revenue¹². The above statistics prove that wetland cultivation was the most important section of agriculture which contributed about 70% of the land revenue, occupied more area for cultivation and main source of employment for predominantly agricultural Malabar.

There are no data to show the exact extent of wetland (paddy) cultivation in acres for the entire period of this study. The non-availability of records on the extent of wetland, garden land and to some extent on dry land was due to the peculiar characteristic of Malabar land tax system. Under this system the land tax was a tax imposed not on the land under cultivation but on the produce of the land. In other words the land under the crops was not taxed but the produce of the land was taxed. In Malabar the measurement of land under crops, especially under wetland was never taken. The government only collected tax from wetland (paddy) garden (Coconut, betel nut and jack tree) and dry land (hill paddy and gingili oil) and maintained records on the tax collected on these cultivations. However there was occasional information about the extent of garden and dry land cultivation in the annual land revenue settlements from A.D.1845 onwards. The cash crops like cardamom and coffee were not brought under direct land tax, but they paid a duty on exportation. The total quantity exported by sea and occasionally by land was available (see appendix no.1) and not the total quantity of production of each cash crop and extent of cultivation.

¹² From the settlement reports for A.D.1824/25,1825/26 and1856/57

1. Classification of wetland and cultivation

In Malabar the *Dhanmurry* or *paddy* field (wet land) was divided in to two.

a) *Palealil (Palliyal)*

b) *Ubayum*

(a) *Palealil (Palliyal)*: The *Palealil (Palliyal)* lands are the high lying paddy grounds high up on the hill sides and could be cultivated with only single crop in a year. Sometime wet cultivation was carried on the terraces. This was helped by heavy rains. In *palealil* land two sorts of paddy were cultivated, the *Navara* and the *Mundupatlay*.¹³ *Navara* was cultivated by sowing germinated seed (*molavithu*). The paddy called *Mundu-pallay* may be either cultivated like the *Navara* with germinated seed or the dry seed may be sown or it may be transplanted. The only difference between it and the *navara*, when cultivated after the sprouted (germinated) seed manner was that it required four months to get ripen. When the dry seed was sown broad-cast it was called *Pudiakis*. The cultivation of *Mundu-pallay* through transplantation was called *naduga* (planting).

(b) *Ubayum*: The low lying rice lands are called *Ubayum* and a great number of these produce two crops annually. The kinds of paddy cultivated in the first crop of *Ubayum* were *Samba, Shornali, Callma and Carpali*. The kinds of paddy cultivated in the second crop of the *ubayam* were *Maliga, Shiriga Sambau, Shittany, Bally Shittany and Nonan*.¹⁴ Paddy or wet land cultivation was carried out in the valleys. Among the *Ubayum* low rice lands the lowest is known as *partalera padam* and higher *pubereyatil*. The greatest part of the rice lands could produce only one crop and in few places two crops. The single crop in the *pubereyatil* land is sown in the month of *Meenum* or *Medom* (April-May) and cut in the month of *Kanny* (September-October). With respect to soil simply without reference to situation *Pushuma* is reckoned the best, *Rashee puahuma* the second and

¹³ Buchanan, *op .cit*, p. 374.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.377.

rashee the third. The first two had three subdivisions and the latter two. By far the largest crop was in the month of *Kanny*. It is brought on by the South West monsoon. The other crops are assisted by the North East monsoon.¹⁵

The kinds of paddy cultivated in the first crop of *Ubayum* were *Samba*, *Shornali*, *Callma* and *Carpali*. The first crop was cultivated in all three manners, the dry seed 65%, transplantation 25% and sprouted seed 10%.¹⁶ The cultivation pattern was the same with that which was used for the paddy called *Navara* and *Mundu-Pallay*; but the soil needed two more ploughings. The seasons at which the operations were performed differed with regard to cultivation. The time for sowing the dry seed was the same and the harvest of *Carpali* was also the same but the *Samba* took one month, the *Shornali* one and a half month and the *Callma* two months more in coming to maturity. The quantity of seeds on the same extent of ground was nearly equal but the produce was more in the case of *Callma*. In the transplanted cultivation the seed was sown toward the 11th of May and the transplantation must be performed between the 11th and 26th of June. The quantity of seed was the same as that of *Mundu-Pallay*, but the produce was more in the case of the *Callma*.¹⁷ These kinds of paddy cultivated as sprouted seed produced very poor crops. The varieties of rice cultivated in the second crop were *Maliga* or *Shiriga Sambau*, *Shittany*, *Bally Shittany* and *Nonan*. It is almost entirely transplanted; for these kinds of rice, none but a few poor people used the sprouted-seed cultivation. The ground or seedling bed, receives less seed at this season than for the first crop, especially of the *Maliga Sambau*. It may be sown at any time from the 28th of July until the 28th of August. The seedlings may be transplanted at any time between the 14th of August, and the 13th of November. Before the *maliga Sambau*, the first crop is often omitted, and then it is sown early, and its produce is considerable. The crop of the other

¹⁵ Graeme, H .s., *Report on the Revenue Administration of Malabar*, Dated 14th, January, 1822, Calicut, 1898, par.59.

¹⁶ Buchanan, *op.cit.*, vol, II, p.376.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.377.

kinds is small, and very precarious. It depends upon rain coming from the eastwards in December, which sometimes fails¹⁸. There was another set of paddy that required long time, 8 or 9 months to ripen and it was called *Ariviray* it was sown on land lower than palealin but not sowed as low as that which gives two crops. It was cultivated in the same manner as *Mundu-Pallay*, both as dry seed, and as transplanted crop. In some parts of the country there was a kind of paddy called *cutaden*. It required one year to get ripen and it grew in places where the water remained long and was very deep.¹⁹ In the *Ubayum* land which owing to a great depth of water produces only one crop. Here a particular kind of paddy called *Kuttadan* (cuttaden) was cultivated. It took 7 months to ripen and was harvested in the month of *Makarom* (12th January to 9th February). It was always transplanted and gives good produce. It was always transplanted and the produce, in good season it produces 15 folds. An acre will produce 62¼ bushels (191*parahs*), if 32 cubits.square sow a *Parah* of seed.²⁰

2. Wet land Crop pattern

Wetland or *Nunjah* cultivation was the important segment of Malabar agriculture. The crops of the wet land were known as *orupugil*, *irupugil* or *murupugil*.²¹ (single, double and three crops). Double crops were very common and the third crop was very rare. The first crop was called *verooppo* sown in the month of *Meenum* and *Medum* (April/May). This crop was later known as *Kanny* crop reaped in the month of *Kanny* (August-September). The second crop was called *moondun* which was reaped in the month of *Makarom* (January/ February). This was later known as *Makarom* crop.²² The South-West monsoon, which generally set in the 3rd or last week of May or early June, supplied

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.377

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 378

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.49. However Graeme reported that it was sown in the month of April and took 9 months to come to maturity. It was harvested in the month of December .It raises itself as water raises to six feet .Graeme's report, *op .cit.*, Para, 36.

²¹ Innes.C.A. ,*Malabar Gazetteer*, First published in 1907,(second re-print Trivandrum-1977), p.209. Here after cited as "Innes"

²² *Kanny* and *Makaram* are the names of two months in the Malayalam or Kollam Era (M.E) corresponding to August/ September and January /February. The Malayalam or Kollam Era started in A.D .824/25.

sufficient water for the *Kanny* crop. It generally lasts from early June to the end of September. North-East monsoon brings rain in the months of October/November and help the preparation for the cultivation of the second *Makarom* crop.²³ In case the South-West monsoon did not set in latest by the first week of June, then it would create a semi drought like condition. Lack of adequate or timely rain during the South-West monsoon or the North-East monsoon would have limited and immediate adverse effect on the paddy cultivation. It would affect the first or the second or both crops. Similarly for the garden cultivation the effect of one bad season due to lack of rain its effect would be felt in the third year and it would take three years to recover from one bad season. Garden lands take much time to recover from the effect of bad season. Moreover the loss would be huge as it takes several years to bring coconut, areca nut or jack trees to the bearing stage.

Major Macleod in 1802 reported that there was a third crop in the taluq of Chavakkad called *Poonjah Khol* (punja koll) and was for the most part carried on above the Genemakal (Enamakal) Dam. This was also known as *poonja* in *Medum* (April-May). The *poojah khol* (*punjah khol*) was not the cultivation in general but only the cultivation which went on in the middle and very deepest part of the lake.²⁴ In A.D.1833 Mr. Huddleston reported that a third crop was raised in Chavakkad and Kootanad known as “*Punja khol*” (this was one and same as *punjah khol*) which depended on occasional rain of April and May. In 1831 lack of sufficient rain hampered this crop.²⁵ This was a precarious cultivation which was carried out under the water. During Tipu’s period this cultivation generated a revenue of Rs.1,000. Under the Company’s early period less than Rs.1, 000 was annually collected up to A.D.1840/41. In that year a dam was constructed by the Government at the

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Graeme’s report, *op .cit.*, par, 22.

²⁴ Major. William Macleod, *The Jamabandy Report of the Division of Coimbatore and the Province of Malabar*, dated.18th June 1802, Calicut Collectorate press, 1911, p.4, par19,20&22. Hereafter cited as “Macleod report”

²⁵ A.D.1831 Proclamation of Huddleston, Principal Collector of Malabar. BORP, dated 25th July, 1833, vol. 1374, p.9136.

expense of Rs.5, 000 and the land tax was raised to Rs.3000 per annum.²⁶ Mr.Innes reported that this cultivation was carried out in 20 square miles and this was an example of struggle between human industry and the forces of nature.²⁷

Thomas Warden, Principal Collector of Malabar, in his report dated 16th June 1813 informed BOR (Board Of Revenue) that according to the survey by measurement (*Kole Pymaish*)²⁸ of M.E.981 the total wetland cultivation of Malabar was 2,31,114 *cawnies* (305602 acres).²⁹ Out of this 24,214 *cawnies* were waste, *pagoda* (temple) and *Inam*³⁰ lands. The balance of assessable total wet land was 2,09,901 *cawnies* (277553 acres). Out of this 149143 *cawnies* (197212 acres) were under single crop and 59,727 *cawnies* (78977 acres) were under two crops and 1031 *cawnies* (1363 acres) were under three crops. Among the total wetland cultivation the share of single crop (*Kanny*) land was 71.05%, share of double crop was 28.45% and third crop was 0.50 %³¹. According to Mr. Logan this was the most reliable survey made in Malabar³². Mr.H.S.Graeme in A.D.1822 reported that the first (*Kanny*) crop accounted for 50¼ percent of the whole cultivation and the second (*Makaram*) crop bore 48¾ percent of the annual extent of the crops. The insignificant third crop *punja khol* of *Medum* (April) did not cover more than than one percent.³³ This information of Mr.Graeme revealed that single crop cultivation had decreased by 20% and the double crop had gone up by 21.50% and the third crop had increased by 0.50% by early 1820's. This shows that the cultivation pattern was gradually shifting from single crop to

²⁶ Report from Mr. R.N .Chatfield, Sub Collector of Malabar to Mr. H .V .Connolly, Principal Collector of Malabar, 10th September, 1853. M. Vol.No.7951, p.127.

²⁷ Innes, C.A., *op.cit.*, p.210.

²⁸ *Kole* or *Koll* was a measuring rod used for the measurement of land in Malabar. One *kole* measured about 28 5/8 of an inch. *Kole pymashy* was the actual survey by measurement of the land.

²⁹ *Cawny* was a land measurement of the Madras Presidency . 1 *Cawny* was equal to 1.3223 acres. Maclean, *op.cit.*, p.577.?

³⁰

Pagoda means temple, *Inam* lands are tax free lands assigned to religious institutions and persons of eminence. The *inam* lands assigned by Tipu Sultan was resumed by the Company and instead of that issued grant in cash.

³¹ Logan, *op.cit.*, p.650

³² *Ibid.*, p. 657

³³ Graeme's report , *op.cit.*, par.1340.

double crop from the second decade of the 19th century leading to increased paddy production and its export. Two crops were taken from low wet lands and all were watered by rain and no tank or artificial irrigation³⁴. *Kanny* crop was reaped with water on the ground. Connolly reported that the people of Palakkad and Themmalpuram were generally lightly assessed and taxed and the tax was on one crop.³⁵ This crop pattern and the proportion of each crop to the total wetland cultivation had not undergone any change even after 30 years. The Collector of Malabar informed the Board of Revenue in A.D.1854 that in Malabar about half of the breadth of land available for paddy cultivation was sown with *Kanny* crop. The other half was sown with the *Kanny* and *Makaram* crop. The *Kanny* crop was grown on the higher paddy levels. In the sea coast taluqs the grain ripened earlier than in the interior.³⁶

3. Seeds

Major Walker in his report dated 20th July 1801 stated that in Malabar about 50 kinds of paddy were grown. They had different periods for reaping and sowing and these were distinguished by the natives for their qualities. This report also gave different classification of paddy fields.³⁷ Macleod reported in A.D.1802 that there were several sorts of paddy in Malabar. This paddy took, according to particular kinds 3-4 months to mature. For each crop there was in general a different kind of seed but the same kind could be used for all the crops though not with equal advantage.³⁸ In the *palealil* or higher parts of level lands the most common cultivation was sprouted seed. However when any fields of the *Ubayum* or low land came up then the young rice was pulled up and transplanted to *Palealil*

³⁴ C.A. Innes, *op.cit.*, pp.209-210.

³⁵ H.V.Connolly, Principal Collector of Malabar to the BOR, 18th July 1854, M.Vol.7574, p,50.

³⁶ Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 1st September, A.D.1854, to the Board Of Revenue, BORP, Vol. 2435, p.12140.

³⁷ BORP, Fort .St. George, 20th January ,1806, Vol.421, p.566.

³⁸ Graeme's *.op. cit.*, pp. 59-60, para.1340.

field. On *Palealil* land the following kinds of paddy were common paddy cultivated.³⁹ Kinds of paddy depended on the soil. In *ubayam* land only paddy was cultivated.

There were three usual modes of paddy (wetland) cultivation. When the seed was sown without preparation it was called *Podiwetha* (dry seed sowing). When the dry seed was sown broad-cast it was called *Pudiakis*, the seed required to be sown is a bit thicker than in the sprouted-seed cultivation. The produce was nearly the same. This was the least troublesome cultivation. The sowing of sprouted seed was called wet sowing or *Chetuwetha*. Under these the paddy field was sown with germinated seed known as *molavithu* (germinated seed), the field was kept free of water for 15 days after it was sown with *Molavittu*. The crop was ready for cut three months after it had been sown. The first quality rice was used for landlords, the second quality paddy, less ripe was kept for the use of slaves which was adequate for their maintenance.

The third mode is transplantation. When the planting was transplanted it was called *nearra*.⁴⁰ The cultivation of *Mundu-pallay* through transplantation was called *Naduga* (planting). The ground selected for raising seedlings was of inferior soil and was raised ground, this was not taxed. On one *parah Candum* three *parah* seeds were sown and covered by two harrowing with the rake drawn by oxen. The water was never allowed to inundate the seedlings, which were fit transplantation from 25 to 30 days. The field in which the seedlings were to be transplanted was ploughed seven to nine times. The seedlings were watered for a day to loosen the roots, then they were pulled out and small bundles of them were placed in the mud, for three days with the roots upper most. On the fourth and fifth days they were planted. The seedlings raised on one *parah candum* serve to plant for fields of that extend.

³⁹ Buchanan, *op cit.*, p.447.

⁴⁰ Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p.447.

In Malabar the area under wet land cultivation and paddy production had increased ⁴¹ during the period of study. But there was no definite data to show the exact extent of wet land cultivation in acres or *cawnies*. This non availability of data on the extent of cultivation was mainly due to the peculiar land revenue system that prevailed in Malabar under which there was no measurement of land under cultivation. The produce and not the land were taxed. The sub Collector of Malabar had reported in A.D. 1853 that there were no accounts in Malabar of the extent of *nunjah* (wet land) cultivation. The assessment was not fixed by measurement but by the *pattom* or net produce.⁴² According to Mr. Hodgson there was no measurement of wetland in Malabar and the method of revenue assessment of the paddy cultivation was by assessing the quantity of seed sown over a particular area.⁴³ Buchanan endorsed the statement of Hodgson that no land measure existed in Palakkad. He informed that the natives called that an area of wetland that ought to be sown with one *parah*⁴⁴ of paddy as one *parah candum*⁴⁵. *Candum* is the terminology used for a small piece of wetland⁴⁶. Major William Macleod, Principal Collector of Malabar reported in A.D.1802 that the revenue accounts of wet land were calculated by the *parah* of seed sown or the extent of land required to be sown with a *parah* of seed.⁴⁷

An understanding of the area of one *parah candum* or the area required to sow with one *parah* of seed would have been helpful in ascertaining the total area under wet land cultivation in the light of the fact that the quantity of seed sown was available. Here the

⁴¹ The increase in export of paddy during this period of study is a proof of increased production and extent of cultivation.

⁴² Report from R.N. Chatfield, Sub Collector of Malabar to Mr. H. V. Connolly, Collector of Malabar, 10th September, 1853, M.Vol.7951, p.127.

⁴³ B.Hodgson's reply to Francis Buchanan's queries about Cannannore and Chirakkal.(two division of North Malabar) BORP, Vol. No.288, p.6963.

⁴⁴ *Parah* is a grain measure of Malabar. Its volume varies in different parts of Malabar. A standard *parah* is 10 Macleod seers

⁴⁵ An unit of wetland cultivation which is differently written as *Candum* and *Kandum*. But the researcher has used the term *Candum*.

⁴⁶ Buchanan, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.355.

⁴⁷ Logan, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. ccxvi.

problem in ascertaining the area of one *parah candum* was that there was no uniformity in the extent of area required (for one *parah candum*). The European revenue officers of the Company in Malabar were clueless regarding the extent of one *parah candum* and were giving conflicting figures. The natives were equally reluctant to provide correct answer to this question for fear that they would be heavily taxed. This area differed from place to place, depending on the quality of soil and the volume of measure of the *parah*, which also altered the area required.

There was no uniformity in the extent of one *parah candum*. According to Buchanan one *parah candum* was the area sown with one *parah* of paddy and this measured about 7622 square feet in the Palakkad region.⁴⁸ Thomas Warden reported that one *parah* seed was sown in a field of 58 feet square .i.e. (58 X 58) = 3364 sq.feet. Mr.J.Smee informed that the average of a *parah* seed sown would produce 7½ *parahs* of paddy per *parah candum*. This as per Mr.Warden's calculation would give 32½ bushels (98 ¼ *parah*)⁴⁹ per acre. Buchanan reported from Chavakkad that the extent of one *parah candum* was same all over Malabar but the quantity of seed sown would differ according to the quality of the soil. The proper extent of one *parah candum* in that area was said to be 32 *varakoll* square. The *varakoll* was equal to 28 ^{5/8} inches. It, according to Buchanan's calculation, would roughly come around to 5825 sq.feet⁵⁰. This statement of Buchanan contradicted his earlier finding that one *parah candum* measured 7622 sq.feet. Mr.James Drummond, Collector of Chetwa of south Malabar reported that the space supposedly adequate for sowing one *parah* of seed was known as one *parah Candum* (paddy field) and in that area it was about 5575 sq.feet⁵¹. This he considered applicable to low lying paddy land near to the sea. .Buchanan himself reported that in the Calicut region extent of one

⁴⁸ Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p 363.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.373.

⁵⁰ Buchanan, *op.cit.*, p.395. But the researcher calculated this area to be 5776 sq.feet.

⁵¹ Letter from James Drummond ,Collector of Chetwa,dated.14th ,January,1801 , to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, Fort St.George, M.Vol.2204, p.26.

parah candum varied from 4,649 to 5578 square feet and this variation was according to the crop. The average was 5113 sq.feet⁵². The *parah* in Calicut was smaller compared to that in Palakkad, Themmalpuram, Angadipuram and Chavakkad. The *parah candum* at these places ought to contain 5898 sq.feet. From several experiments near Calicut, Macleod reported that on an average a *parah of candum* formed 13/100 of a *cawny* or 7488 sq.feet. Mr.Logan calculated a *parah* of seed land was seldom more than 1/6th of a *cawny* or 9600 sq. feet, and seldom less than one ninth of a *cawny* or 6400 sq. feet⁵³. The revenue records of Malabar showed that the area under paddy cultivation was calculated by total seed requirement.

William Logan, Collector of Malabar reported that the quantity of seeds necessary to sow an extent of land varied according to the quality of the land. Macleod estimated the extent of one *parah candum* at 7488 sq.feet, Mr.Warden estimated at 3364 sq.feet, Buchanan at 7622, and Mr. Drummonds at 5827 and Logan calculated it from 6400 to 9600 sq.feet. Malabar's production of paddy varied from 5 to 10 *parahs* per one *parah* of seed sown. Thus the above confusion regarding the extent of one *parah candum* prevented the scholar from coming to a conclusion regarding the extent of one *parah candum*. Its uniformity would have helped to calculate the area under cultivation from the annual quantity of seed sown.

Under these circumstances an effort was made to calculate the quantity of seed required to sow one acre of wet land. This could not be ascertained because different measures of *parah* existed in different parts of Malabar. Moreover the quantity of seed also varied according to the quality of soil in different parts of Malabar. Buchanan calculated that an acre in Malabar required only 2 to 2 ½ bushels (1bushel=3.07 *parah*) or 6.14 to 7.68 *parahs* of seed and they produced only 14 ^{1/3} bushels or 44 *parahs* of paddy⁵⁴. According to

⁵² Buchanan ,*op.cit.*, p.478.

⁵³ Logan.Vol.ii, Appendix-X111, p.ccxvii.

⁵⁴ Buchanan. *Op. cit.*, p 363.

information provided by Mr. Smee one *parah candum* produced 5 *parahs* and per acre 12 ½ bushels (38 ½ *parah*) adding the 10% collection charges it would come to 13 ½ bushel (41 ½ *parah*) an acre. Mr. Warden calculated one acre of wetland would give 32 ½ bushels, approximately 98 ¼ *parahs of paddy* per acre⁵⁵.

To a question from Mr. Graeme on 8th June, 1819 that how much seed would be required to sow a land measuring 100 *koll* square (one *koll* is roughly around 28 ½ inches .i.e. 2.38 feet. 100square *koll* = 100 X 2.38 = 238 feet X 238 = 56644 sq. feet or approximately 1.30 acre) the principal landlords of Betutnad replied that nearly 10 *parahs* of seed were required to sow the area⁵⁶ (1 *Cawny* 57600sq.feet. 1 acre = 43560 sq.feet. one *cawny* = 1.3223 acres) Mr. MacLean reported that in North Malabar the seed requirement for an acre varied from 55 to 72 *Macleod edangalies*⁵⁷. On an average 60 *edangalies* seed was required to sow one acre of land in north Malabar. This at the rate of 10 *edangalies* per *parah* would come to 6 *parahs*. But the quantity of seed required in South Malabar to sow one acre of land was 9 *parahs*. This could mainly be due to the difference in the volume of *parahs* used in north and south Malabar⁵⁸. The *Jenmis* (landlords) had their own *parah* for measuring (calculating) the rent which was very often larger in volume and known as *Jenmi Vithu parah* which was nominal and exaggerate *parah* was in use in revenue estimates of assessment.⁵⁹

Thus the attempt to find out the extent of wetland cultivations in acres from the total quantity of seed sown failed due to lack of uniform volume of *parah* and due to the soil conditions (due to different quality of soil), which altered the number of *parahs*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.373.

⁵⁶ Examination of Konda Menon and other 19 *Naduvalis*(chief of a country), *Deshavalis*(hereditary head of villages), *Jenmakar* (land lord),and *Mookiastan* (chief of a family or village)of Betutnad and Parapanad and Betutnad, on 8th June , 1819 to a questionnaire from Graemes,BORP.Vol..494, p.171.

⁵⁷ According to Macleod 10 Macleod seers or 10 *edangalies* constituted one *parah*.

⁵⁸ Maclean, *Glossary of the Madras Presidency-* vol-2. Appendix, xc,p,516.(First published in 1893), First AES reprint ,1982.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.516.

required to sow one acre of wetland. The above anomalies made it impossible to calculate the extent of wetland area cultivated from the seed sown.

The researcher has made another attempt to find out the extent of area under wetland cultivation from the total wetland tax assessed. There is occasional information about the average land tax collected from one *cawny* or one acre (1 *cawny* = 1.3223 acres) of wetland for different periods. But this cannot be considered as accurate as the principle and magnitude of assessment varied from taluq to taluq and even within the same village. The result would be tentative and approximate and the area under cultivation could be reached by dividing the total wetland tax by the average land revenue obtained from one *cawny* or acre as per the information provided by different revenue officers of Malabar. Major Macleod, the Principal Collector of Malabar in his report to the Board of Revenue dated 18th June 1802 had stated that the average assessment upon each *cawny* of wetland was Rs.5 ½ (Rs.5 and 8 annas). This could be the land tax after it had been enhanced by him in 1802⁶⁰. This was later reversed to the old tax in the next year. According to the *Jenma pymaish* account (account given by the land lords) of M.E.982(A.D.1806) each *cawny*⁶¹ gives 67 standard *parahs* of paddy of gross produce per *cawny* and Rs. 5 and 42½ *reas* or Rs.5 and 1½ *anna* as tax per *cawny*⁶². Thomas Warden in his report to the BOR on 16th, June, 1813 had informed the BOR that the total area under wetland cultivation according to the *Kole pymaish* (survey by actual measurement) of M.E 983(1807/08) under taken by him was calculated to be 2,14,365 *cawnies*, or roughly 2,83,455 acres⁶³. As the total revenue from rice lands being Rs.10, 71,828 each *cawny* of wetland yielded a tax of Rs.5 and 42 ½ *reas*⁶⁴ or roughly Rs.5 and 1 ¾ *anna* per *cawny*. This was equivalent to a tax of Rs.3 and

⁶⁰ Graeme, *Op. cit.*, Par. 1566.

⁶¹ *Cawny* was a land measure used in the Madras Presidency .One *Cawny* is 57600 sq.feet. 640 *Cawny* constituted one sq.mile.1.3223 acre is equal to one *Cawny*

⁶² Logan, Vol.II, *op.cit* , p.ccxxvii .

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.ccxxvii.

⁶⁴ *Reas* ,pronounced as *Rais* was an imaginary coin introduced into the public accounts of Malabar by the Bombay administration when Malabar was under the Bombay presidency,400 *reas* was equal to one Bombay rupee Logan. *Op.cit.*, Vol. II. Appendix. XIII, p. ccxxviii

13 ½ *anna* per acre⁶⁵. The Acting Collector of Malabar, Mr.W.E.Under Wood reported in 1839 that a survey was carried out by Mr.Thomas Warden in 1806, but it was not put into effect and little reliance could be placed on it except as a source of information⁶⁶. However according to Logan the 1806 survey under Thomas Warden was the most reliable survey made in Malabar. As per the accounts furnished by Mr. I. Vaughan who had undertaken a survey, at the request of Mr. Graeme, of one village of each taluq, the average tax per *cawny* was Rs.5qr and 0-36 *reas* or Rs.3.78 per acre. The highest rate was Rs.25-1qr-55 *reas* per *cawny* and the lowest was Rs.0-3qr-71 *reas*. So the land tax fluctuated between Rs.25 and Rs.0-3qr⁶⁷ per *cawny*. Logan reported that the extent of wetland of Malabar including Wayanad in 1879/80 was 3,94,411 acres and excluding Wayanad it was 3,66,466 acres or 2,77,140 *cawnies* (1*cawny*= 1.3223 acres) The total revenue on rice land including that of Wayanad was Rs.11,65,921 or Rs.2-Anna.15and pice.5 per acre (Rs.2.956). So the wetland tax collection per acre could be estimated as roughly Rs.3 per acre. Then Wayanad covered an area of 27,945 acres⁶⁸. However the above Principal Collectors did not give any information regarding the method adopted by them to come to the conclusion regarding the tax per acre. It is also not sure whether they took into account the fact that in Malabar the principles and magnitude of assessment was not uniform and varied from land to land and place to place. Despite all drawbacks the researcher has taken Logan's estimate of tax of Rs.3/per acre and estimated the extent of area in acre. Even though total land revenue of the entire period of study is available, the wetland tax is not separately available for the entire period. From 1823/24 almost an uninterrupted figure has been available with intermission from 1833/34 to 1837/38 and from for 1840/41. The extent of cultivation is calculated by dividing the total assessed wet land tax with Rs.3 the average rate of wet land tax per acre.

⁶⁵ Logan. *Op.cit.* Appendix. XIII, p. ccxxxiii

⁶⁶ Letter from the acting Principal Collector of Malabar dated 7th August,1839,to the Acting Secretary to the BOR ,Fort St. George.,M.Vol.No. 7562, p.27

⁶⁷ Graeme. *op. cit.*, par 1566.

⁶⁸ Logan. . *op. cit.*, Vol. II. Appendix, XIII, p. ccxxii.

The wet land area was calculated by applying the average wet land revenue of @ of Rs.2 and 15½ anna per acre or Rs.2.956 per acre to the total wetland tax assessed. (see table 3.1). This calculation showed that the wetland area was slowly increasing proportionate to increase in land tax. The area calculated from wetland tax in 1823/24 was 3,76,328 acres and in 1832/33 it was 3,80,264 acres, an increase of 1.13%. In 1842/43 the area under cultivation was 3, 78,503 acres, a decrease of 1761 acres compared to 1832/33. This lower acreage continued up to 1846/47, when the area under cultivation started to increase with the exception in 1853/54. This increase in area might have been due to high prices of grains which prevailed in Malabar from 1845/46. The area was increasing from 1846/47. The average area under cultivation during this period was 3, 80,000 acres. In 1853/54 the area under cultivation suddenly declined to 3, 74,329 acres as per the above calculation. This decline was due to the land, which was already under cultivation during the previous years, was not fully cultivated, which might have been due to multiple factors including the fall in prices of grain. In 1851/52 and 1852/53 the prices were not high in Malabar. This might have made paddy cultivation uneconomical leading to the sudden and drastic decline in the paddy cultivation in 1853/54. But in 1852/53 there was a drought-like condition in Travancore and Cochin leading to sudden increase in prices in Malabar in 1853/54 and 1854/55. The fall in area under cultivation in 1853/54 was 8209 acres (2.15%) compared to the previous year's area of 382538 acres. Thereafter the area under paddy cultivation suddenly increased probably due to sudden increase in price from 1853/54 onwards. The increase in area under cultivation was dramatic from 1854/55, 1855/56 and 1856/57. The area in 1854/55 was 3, 82,404 acres, compared to 1853/54 (374329) the increase was 8075 acres (2.11%). In 1855/56 the area under cultivation was 392097 acres and compared to the previous year the increase was 9,693 acres (2.53%). In 1856/57 the area under wetland cultivation was 3, 92,912 acres. Thus within a short span of three years

(1853/54 to 1856/57) the increase in area was 18,583 acres, an increase of 4.97%. Such sudden growth was never reported during the period of study. The rate of growth of wetland cultivation between 1806 and 1856/57 was 38.60 %. There was not much increase in the volume of wetland tax assessed and collected during the period of study. And definitely the production during this period had multiplied manifold. The increase in land tax over a period of 50 years from 1806 to 1856/57 was only Rs.87210 or only 8.14%. Moreover it was reported that in Malabar until A.D.1832/33 the land tax of each village on account of wetland was almost a fixed one. Even after the introduction of annual settlement from A.D.1833/34 very little variation had taken place⁶⁹.

The actual extent of wet land cultivation could not be calculated because in Malabar every thing was based on estimation like seed requirement, produce and *pattom* (rent). As a portion of the *pattom* formed the land tax, exact information about *pattom* was required to calculate the land tax. It is a well known fact that considerable extent of wet land cultivation was not brought under land tax assessment because of the corruption of native revenue officers of the Company. They in collusion with dishonest land lords had concealed the information about the actual extent of wet land cultivation and the *pattom*. Proportionate to the increase in production the land tax did not increase. However the expansion in the wetland cultivation and production during the first half of the 19th century could be established by analyzing the export of rice and paddy from Malabar during this period of study. A deficient Malabar started to export huge quantities of grain from the beginning of the first decade of the 19th century as shown in the **table 3.2**.

With in a short span of 9 years (1804-1812/13) the volume of grain export had gone up by 4751%. Comparing to 1804 the volume of grain export in 1845/46⁷⁰ had

⁶⁹ Malabar collector to the BOR M.Vol.No.7563, p. 26.

⁷⁰ The measure of the volume of export was given in *moorah* (*mora*). This was in use in Canara and 42 Pacca seers constituted one *moorah* or approximately 4.2 *parahs*. BOR (Miscellaneous), Vol., 22., (Appendix to Thackeray's report on Canara and Malabar.) p.243.

gone up by 14780% (see table 3.2). This is a clear indication that Malabar's export in rice and paddy had been increasing since 1804. In order to export more, Malabar should have produced more grains and proportionately there was many fold increase in the area under cultivation. The increasing production was partly consumed by the increasing population of Malabar and partly absorbed by the external markets. The increasing population increased the pressure on agriculture land and made available more agricultural labour. The availability of surplus agriculture labour resulted in either lowering or maintaining the same level of agricultural wages for several years. Higher prices for the agricultural produce, increasing population, surplus labour, low agricultural wages, increased demand from external markets and government encouragement for waste land cultivation (this was to augment the land revenue) were the impetus for bringing more area under cultivation.

II GARDEN LAND CULTIVATION

In this part of the study an attempt is made to study the garden cultivation of Malabar i.e. coconut, betel nut and jack trees, its extension. Even though there were other plants like mango, sappan wood, tamarind there was no record about their extent as they were not assessed for land tax. Garden land cultivation was the second important agriculture of Malabar. It contributed about 26% to the total land tax. It was a main source of income and employment for the people of Malabar. Most of the garden lands were located in north Malabar. The government did not keep any data on the extent of garden land cultivation. However occasional information about the number of coconut, betel nut and jack trees were available. The lands under garden cultivations were not assessed for land tax rather the productive tree was taxed. This peculiar system did not help to calculate the extent of the garden plantations. In fact very scanty data on the extent of garden land are available.

Gardens were cultivated with more care than wetland because of the fixity of the tenure in the garden land was longer (12 years) than the paddy fields which were usually

annual. However, very often it is said, that even this long tenure of 12 years was not helpful in the growth of garden lands. The tenure under which garden lands were held was *kuzhi kanom*. The tenure of this mortgage was 12 years, After 12 years, if a higher offer was made by any other person then the land lord might hand over to him the land already been cultivated and developed by the first mortgagee. The first mortgagee would be compensated for the improvements made by him. But very often the mortgagees complained that the compensation was inadequate and it later led to unwanted and unhealthy disputes, social tensions and judicial wrangles. This uncertainty was not conducive for the growth of garden land cultivation. There were no big garden plantations in Malabar. Most of them were done in patches of land either purchased or leased. The cultivation was carried out without any agricultural loan (*tuccavi*) from the government⁷¹. The garden when fully planted with trees attained high value than the gardens planted with few trees. The revenue did not arise from the extent of the land but from the peculiar value and existing state of the produce. The government took 50% of the *pattom* as rent in coconut.

1. Coconut- Economically the most important tree was the coconut. Every bit of the tree is of value. Its leaves are used for thatching, the tree is tapped for toddy and from the toddy jaggery is prepared and arrack is distilled. Their stems and hard shells of the kernels are used for fuel. The products of coconut-coconut oil, *copra* (dried kernel of coconut), coir yarn, rope, *copra cake (punnack)*, accounted for a good share of the export of Malabar. Tender coconut is a refreshing liquid. The coconut palm comes to bearing depending on the variety, soil condition etc. Usually it comes to full bearing in the 12th year. This formed an important item of export. The number of productive coconut according to Arshed Beg's settlement of 1783/84 was 7,33,591. Seven coconut palms produced a revenue of one rupee. According to the *Jenma Pymaish* account of M.E.981 provided by

⁷¹ Revenue settlement report of the district Collector of Malabar for fusly 1245 (1835/36),BORP, dated 29th May ,1837, Vol..1559,p.6074.

Collector Mr. Vaughan, in Malabar there were a of total 61,24,367 coconuts palms and out of it 30,86,939 palms were productive. The number of productive coconut palms went up to 37, 61,948 in 1831/32 . In 1836/37 the number was 39, 59,557. In 1854/55 the number was 39, 78,439. According the *Jamabandy*(settlement) accounts of 1879/80 the number of productive coconut palm was 45,97,808 and the tax derived from it was Rs.3,49,835⁷². Thus in Malabar more and more land was brought under coconut cultivation. Increase in price from 1820s and the land tax exemption, for a specified period for waste land brought under cultivation, and population pressure on land were some of the reasons for the extension of coconut plantations and increased number of coconut palms. For details about garden trees (**see table 3.3**) for the number of assessed garden trees and the tax collected for different years.).

2. Betel nut. The gross produce of betel nut was equally divided between the government, proprietor and cultivator. The total *pattom* (rent) as per Rickard's proposed survey and the rates established by Warden at Rs2 per 5000 nuts was Rs.117802. The government's share of revenue was Rs.58901. Productive area of betel nuts, according to Arshed Beg Khan's settlement of 1783/84, were 12, 00,080. Twenty productive trees paid a tax of one rupee. The number of productive trees according to the *Janmi pymaish* account of 981 given by Collector Mr. Vaughan were 17, 06,345. The total number of infant and past bearing and productive trees was 44, 09,843. Each productive tree on an average paid a tax of $13\frac{3}{4}$ reas⁷³ and total tax collected was Rs.58, 656. In 1831/32 there were 28, 65,648 productive trees, in 1836/37 the number has went up to 30, 36,938. There after it declined in 1853/53 to 29, 90,131 and in 1854/55 to 29, 86,968 respectively. The total number, according to the *Jamabandy* accounts of 1879/80 was 81, 67,552. Out of this 16, 61,003 were past bearing and 33, 04,740 young and 32, 01,189 as productive paying a tax of Rs.81, 311.

⁷² Logan, *op.cit.*, Vol.II. Appendix XIII, p.clxxvi.

⁷³ Reas was an imaginary coin used in revenue accounts and 400 reas constituted one rupee.

On an average each tree paid a tax of 5 pies (correct average was 4 and 215740/246293 of a pie)⁷⁴.

3. The Jack tree- It flourishes best in the clay soil. There were no jack tree plantations in Malabar. They were generally scattered here and there in the coconut and betel nut plantation. They are said to live for 400 years and to bear fruits for 100 years. Jack tree, in Malayalam known as *chakka* is a food for poor people of Malabar. Its shelf life is too short and if not consumed immediately it putrefies and becomes useless. Because of its bulkiness and high cost of transportation it could not be moved to nearby markets and usually consumed by nearby people. A tax on this tree was virtually a tax on poor people as when grain was getting scarce and dear, jack fruit was the staple food for the poor people. The number of productive jack trees was declining in Malabar. In A.D.1831/32 there were 3, 15,951 productive trees. In 1835/36 the number declined to 2, 90,032 and in 1852/53 it further declined to 2, 80,167. The fall continued and in 1854/55 there were only 2, 77,235 productive trees. But subsequent accounts showed that the number of tree was increasing. According to the *Jamabandy* accounts of 1879/80 there were 14, 41,034 jack trees in Malabar. Out of this 5, 00,641 were past bearing, 6, 05,640 were too young and 3,34,753 were productive. This paid a tax of Rs.52, 337 each paying a tax of 2 *annas* and 6*pies* as tax⁷⁵.

Extent of Garden Cultivation

Direct data about the extent of garden land cultivation is very rare. Very often the number of taxable tree is given. In 1856/57 the extent of garden land cultivation was given as 2, 25,126 acres producing revenue of Rs.4, 38,810. The average assessment per acre was Rs.1-An14 -*pice*⁷⁶. In 1851/52 there were 296007 gardens generating a land tax

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. clxxi.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. clxxvii.

⁷⁶ Malabar *Jamabandy* report for 1856/57, from the Acting Collector of Malabar to the Acting Secretary of BOR, Fort St.George, 10th August, 1857, M.Vol.7955, par.4.

of Rs.432471. In 1852/53 the number of gardens was 296709. In 1853/54 the number of gardens was reduced to 168169. No reason was assigned for the fall in numbers. In 1854/55 the number was 168509. The garden lands were severely affected whenever there was lack of adequate and timely rain. The effect of drought on garden trees would be severe as it took almost three years to recover from one bad season. The garden plants took much time for coming to the bearing stage. It required more capital and care and long effort for garden land cultivation.

The Malabar land tenure was not helpful in the growth of garden plantation. The uncertainty about the land tenure, arbitrary eviction contrary to the customary land relation and anti peasant land legislations were a stumbling block in the growth of plantation. However the increase in price during 1830s and 40s witnessed a new development. From the beginning of 1830's large number of waste land was reclaimed for coconut and wet land cultivation.. In between 1833/34 and 1846/47, 1035 plots of waste land measuring about 10,947 acres was brought under garden cultivation. This was done with the permission (cowle) of the government. During these period another 4,975 acres of waste land was also brought under wet land cultivation⁷⁷. **(See table 3.3 A)** Increase in price, enhanced export demand, rapid growth in population and subsequent pressure on land and government encouragement in the form of tax exemption for few years for new lands brought under cultivation were some of the factors responsible for the expansion of garden land cultivation.

III DRY LAND CULTIVATION

Dry land cultivation was the third important agriculture of Malabar. Dry land cultivation is the cultivation of hill paddy i.e. *modum* and *ponum* and *gingili* oil seed. Though it generated only 4% of the land tax, since 1830, it provided employment to a large number of poor agriculturalists who could not afford to get wet and garden land for

⁷⁷ BOP, Vol. No.2108, p.15335.

cultivation. To get an idea about the dry land cultivation in different taluqs during 1847/48 to 1849/50 (see table 3.4). The surplus revenue in Malabar was generally composed of government's share of the *varom* (rent) on the hill cultivation. The cultivation of hill paddy *modum* and *ponum* was confined to the high lands and differed materially in each year. Even though there were other crops like ginger, horse and green gram there was no statistics on their production and extent of cultivation during the period of present study as they were not taxed and government did not maintain any record on them. This cultivation was also known as dry grains. Macleod in 1802 reported that there was no cultivation of ragi and cumboo in Malabar⁷⁸. Mr. Graeme reported that dry grain was cultivated on the slopes of the high mountains in the interior and this had increased with the passing of time. According to him this was a cultivation of fluctuating and uncertain nature and hitherto it was brought to account partly as a fixed and partly as extra revenue. It requires heavy rains and it should set in some time before it could be sown⁷⁹. Dry land cultivation was also assessed on the basis of the seed sown.

1. Modum cultivation

Macleod in 1802 reported that *Modum (Modun)*⁸⁰ was a sort of paddy cultivated on the sides of hills. This according to him may be compared with dry grains of other districts. Macleod did not mention about *Ponum* cultivation. The assessment was calculated at 1/3 rd of that of *nelly* or *paddy* of the low grounds⁸¹. MacLean reported that *modum* was a hill cultivation of paddy in Malabar and it consisted of two varieties. *Carootary modan* was a black variety and *veloottary modan* was a white variety⁸². *Modum* cultivation was carried out in all taluqs except Wayanad.

⁷⁸ Macleod, *op.cit.*, par.23&24.

⁷⁹ Graeme, *op.cit.*, par. 63.

⁸⁰ This was differentially spelled as *Modun, Modan* and *Modum*. The spelling "*Modum*" is used here after.

⁸¹ Macleod's 1802 report, *op.cit.*, par, 23

⁸² MacLean, Glossary of the Madras Presidency, p.504.

According to Buchanan the hill for the cultivation of *modum* or hill rice the *parum* was ploughed 17 times before sowing. But Innes reported that *Modum* was cultivated on the low hills and the preparation for *modum* would begin in August⁸³ and in ninety days it ripe⁸⁴. Graeme's reported that the *modum* or hill rice was put in *Medum* (April-May) and cut in *Kannny* (September-October)⁸⁵. Rotation of crop of *modum* was with gingili and sesame. The fall in price of *modum* in 1843 was due to improved condition of the Kutiady ghat and newly built bridges at its foot which greatly increased the traffic between Mysore and Kadathanad and hence to Tellicherry and the coast. Grain from Coorg and Mysore was transported to Tellicherry⁸⁶.

⁸³ Innes, *op.cit.*, p .216.

⁸⁴ Buchanan, *op .cit.*, p. 451.

⁸⁵ Graeme , *op.cit.*, para 63.

⁸⁶ BORP.Vol.1895, 7th Dec.1843, Settlement report for 1842/43, pp.19027- 19129.

2-Ponum (*Ponam* or *punam*) Cultivation

Ponum cultivation is a high land jungle cultivation. The hills where the ponum cultivation was carried on were chiefly situated in the northern taluqs of Malabar⁸⁷. As per the returns of 1847/48, 1848/49, 1849/50 the *ponum* cultivation was confined to the taluqs of Cavay, Chirakkal, Kottayam, Kadathanad, Kurumbranad and a little area in Calicut and Eranad. Absolutely there was no *ponum* cultivation in the taluqs of Betutnad, Sheranad, Kootanad, Walluvanad, Palakkad, Themmalpuram and Wayanad⁸⁸. This was made after long intervals with particular kinds of grain sown in holes dug with a spade⁸⁹. The term *punam* was applied to cultivation on the forest clad hills at the foot and slopes of the ghats. It was a destructive form of cultivation as it involved the clearing and burning of forests. After two or three years of cultivation the land was left fallow and the cultivation was shifted to other places. Seed was sown in the month of April. After an occasional weeding the crop was reaped in the month of September. No special attention was given except fencing to keep away wild beasts. The rich virgin soil yields a bountiful harvest. In the Chirakkal taluq the yield was 900 Madras measures per acre⁹⁰. The same plot of *ponum* land was being capable of cultivated only once in six or seven years and the modum and dry grain lands once in three years. The *varom* (*rent*) was collected according to the usage of the country. It was generally collected in kind by the *parbutties* (village officers) and left with them for disposal at the fittest time. The proceeds of the sales were not brought fully to account till the end of the fusly⁹¹. Greater number of the hill cultivation was carried on not by proprietors themselves but by numerous tenants. The assessment made with and the land taxes were collected from the actual cultivators, mainly petty cultivators. It was mainly

⁸⁷ It is differentially spelled as *Ponum*, *ponam* and *punam*. Here the scholar used the spelling “*ponum*”

⁸⁸ Board of Revenue Proceedings (BORP), dated 14th April, 1851, Vol., 2281, p.5226.

⁸⁹ Maclean, Glossary of the Madras Presidency, *op. cit.*, p. 697.

⁹⁰ Innes, *op.cit.*, p.216.

⁹¹ *Jamabandy* settlement report of the Collector of Malabar, Thomas Warden dated .30th June 1809, for 1807/08, BORP, Fort St George, 27th July, 1809, Vol.494, p.5137.

carried over by petty tenants of Coorg, Mappilas of Malabar and the Kurichiars of Wayanad. Many of them were not under the effective control of the proprietors due to the difficult nature of the country. Very often the proprietors could not collect their dues from the tenants. Some of the cultivators like Kurichiars and other people of the hill country had no means of obtaining their livelihood except by cultivating the *ponum*. It was reported that they preferred the government servants to the agents of powerful landlords who would deal with cultivators very harshly⁹². These hills were left fallow for several years to regain their fertility.

3. Gingili oil seed (Ellu).

This was the third important dry land cultivation .It was cultivated throughout the district. Macleod reported that oil seed called *Teel/gingilly* was reared on every part of Malabar. Between A.D.1840/41 and 1856/57 it was the second important dry land crop and area-wise constituted 28.29% of the total dry land cultivation. On an average annually, during this period of study, it was cultivated in 19405 *cawnies*. It accounted for 29% of the land revenue derived from dry land cultivation during this period. *Ellu* or gingili oil seed was widely cultivated in almost all taluqs especially in Eranad taluq. The field after the harvest of *modum* was immediately ploughed for gingili oil seed cultivation⁹³. Between 14th of August and 13th of September the *ellu* seed was sown and covered with plough. The whole of the dry/hill land was private property. It was not alienated on mortgage. The landlord received his share called *varum* (rent). Before the harvest the amount of rent was fixed and the cultivator paid the landlord's share. Usually 1/5 of the produce was the share of landlord. But Buchanan says that most of the cultivators were Mappilas and they paid only 1/10th to the landlord's. Though the hill cultivation was considered risky, the return

⁹² Report from Mr. .H. V. Connolly, the Principal Collector of Malabar to the Secretary Board Of Revenue, Fort St.George,dated.31st ,Ocober,1843, B.O.R.P.Vol,1844,p.1298.

⁹³ Graeme , *op.cit.*, *par.64*.

was five fold⁹⁴. Buchanan, quoting Mr.Wye, said that 32 cubits square constituted one *paracandum* and one sixteenth of a *parah* of *gingili* seed was sufficient to sow one *paracandum*. An acre yields 30 bushels (92 *parahs*). This produce reached the market when the article was scarce and dear. It was sold at high price. Almost the entire requirement was met by the local cultivators.

The extent of tax derived from different crops slightly differed from the statistics already provided for the extent of cultivation during different period. Dry land cultivation was a high risk cultivation. Lack of rain and devastation by wild animals made it most risky. Several factors controlled the dry land cultivation. Timely adequate rain was the most important factor needed for the hill paddy cultivation. Excessive rain would result in great run off and soil erosion. The seeds sown or germinated would be washed away in heavy rain. Availability of suitable hill was another factor which controlled the extent of cultivation. The cultivation was carried away from inhabitation and the cultivators needed protection against the harassments of the agents of the landlords and government revenue officers. The land tax from this cultivation was directly collected from the cultivators. The government's land revenue policy greatly influenced this cultivation. Moreover the land under this cultivation was not permanently cultivated. It was cultivated for some years and left fallow for the coming several years. The government policy of permanently taxing such agriculture was counter productive and the tenants were asked to pay the tax even when it was not cultivated. In some taluqs it was annually inspected and assessed and in some taluqs the amount which was assessed in the account in the first year remained a permanent and fixed assessment. Mr.I.Vaughan, the principal Collector of Malabar reported in A.D.1824 that "this mode of assessment was unfair, unjust and oppressive because very often the land under dry land cultivation would not be again cultivated for the next 2or 3 years. So a permanent assessment would be compelling the unwilling cultivator to pay tax for the land

⁹⁴ Buchanan ,*op.cit.*, p.451.

he had not cultivated due to several factors. Perhaps he had turned his attention to a more profitable cultivation of rice or garden land.”⁹⁵. Availability of good market/price was another factor which influenced the extent of dry land cultivation. In 1842/43 there was a fall in the *modum* cultivation partly due to poor rain in July and partly from a fall of price due to unusually great supply from the districts of Coorg & Mysore.⁹⁶

The Collector said that most of the *ryots* lived on the spot. The Collector reported in 1840 that the method of assessment was annual and it was collected from actual cultivators. The Board of Revenue in its proceedings dated 9th November, 1840 sought the opinion of the District Collector of Malabar regarding fixing a permanent assessment for *ponum* land and compounding it with the proprietor’s annual rent. But the Collector gave his opinion against permanent assessment. Some of the proprietors were in favour of a fixed assessment because of the difficult nature of the country it was not possible for them to exercise effective control over the cultivators. Mappila ryots constituted the bulk of dry land cultivators particularly in the Eranad taluq. They were apprehensive that the assessment would be made according to the old system of permanently assessing irrespective of the cultivation⁹⁷. In 1828/29 the low price of the agricultural produce continued and it retarded the dry land cultivation in the next two years⁹⁸. Absence of convenient and favourable hills, heavy rain or lack of adequate rain and the menace of wild animals always adversely affected the hill cultivation. Cavay taluq was in the forefront of hill cultivation.

⁹⁵ Report on the Revenue settlement of Malabar for the fusly 1232 from the District collector Mr.I.Vaughan, dt.5th August, 1823 to the BOR, Fort St.George, M.Vol. No. 4805,p,131.

⁹⁶ Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar dated 27th May,1834,to the President and members of BOR, Fort St.George, BORP.Vol,1407, p.4873.

⁹⁷ Revenue settlement report for fusly 1238(A.D.1828/29), M. Vol. No . 4815, p.63.

⁹⁸ BORP.Vol.1237, 6th May, 1830, p.4999.

The table **no.3.5** reveals that *modum* was the most important dry land crop. It accounted for 42.60% of the total dry land cultivation during the period from 1840/41 to 1856/57 and 50% of the dry land tax has come from it. This was followed by *Ponum* cultivation which accounted for 29.11% of dry land cultivation and contributed 31% of the tax on dry land cultivation. Gingili oil seed constituted 28.29% of the dry land cultivation and accounted for 19% of the dry land tax between 1841/42 and 1856/57.

Ponum was the second largest dry land cultivation. The cultivation was not constant and was influenced by various factors. It was a risky and at the same time was carried out with less capital/less expensive cultivation. The difficult part of this cultivation was to protect the crops from wild animals.

If the area of each taluq under the dry land cultivation was considered then the taluq of Nedinganad stood first with 5.02% of its total area was under dry land cultivation as per the settlement reports of 1853/54 and 5.32% of its total area in 1855/56. **(see table 3.6)**. This was followed by the taluq of Cavay which stood second in the dry land cultivation with about 3.14% and 3.26% of the total area of the taluq was under dry land cultivation. Ward and Conner described Cavay as a hilly and mountainous taluq. The slopes in many parts were laid open for the *modum* cultivation, which of late years are much extended. *Ponum* cultivation was abundant on the slopes of the hills. The soil was very fertile-These hill tracts were inhabited by many lower classes of *cherumars*, *polians* and mostly slaves. They were mainly employed in the clearing of forests for hill cultivation⁹⁹. Similarly as per the A.D 1851/52 records, taluq-wise share of the distribution of dry land cultivation indicates that 17.32% of the total dry land cultivation of Malabar was in the taluq of Cavay followed by Nedinganad 12.93% and Walluvanad 10.59%. The five northern taluqs of Cavay, Kottayam, Chirakkal, Kadathanad and Kurumbranad accounted for 38.47% of total dry land cultivation. As per A.D.1852/53 records, share of these taluqs were

⁹⁹ Ward And Conner, *op .cit.*, p. 35.

19.82%, 12.35% and 10.57%. And 1856/57 records indicates Nedinganad topped with 14.95% followed by Walluvanad 13.98% and Cavay 13.63%. Here Cavay was slowly losing its dominant position as the dry land cultivating taluqs. An average of above three years shows that Cavay accounted for an average of 16.92%, Nedinganad 13.41% and Walluvanad 11.71% of dry land cultivation. Dry land cultivation covered only 1-2% of total Malabar area. In 1851/52 dry land cultivation covered only 1.83% of the total area of Malabar, in 1852/53 it was 1.73% of the area, 1853/54 and 1854/55 it was about 1.42% and 1.57% of total Malabar area. Comparing to wet land and garden land cultivation it occupied less area and revenue from it was very low. But it provided employment to a large number of poor people especially those with low capital.

Definite data are available regarding the total extent of dry land cultivation in Malabar from 1841/42 to 1856/57. The average annual extent of dry land cultivation was 68,593 *cawnies* (see **table 3.7**). From 1833/34 the income derived from dry land cultivation is available but not the extent under cultivation. But from the land tax derived from dry land showed that the dry land agriculture was gradually on the increase. In 1833/34 the total land tax from dry land was Rs.33744 and in 1840 /41 it was Rs.61,882 and in 1856/57 it was Rs.50,824. The maximum tax was collected in 1842/43 Rs.71,266 and the area was 76889 *cawnies* in 1849/50. The extent and land tax derived varied depending on several factors described above. The extent of average annual Ponum cultivation was 19,968 *cawnies*. Between 1841/42 and 1856/57 on an average it constituted 29.11% of the total dry land cultivation and contributed 31% of dry land tax. Malabar agriculture was expanding during the period of study. More area was brought under wet, garden and dry land cultivation. Along with the expansion of agriculture and population the number of agricultural implements also increased.

PLOUGHS & LIVESTOCKS.

The ploughs and live stocks were the parameters for agricultural activities of an area. Its upward movement in numbers was an indication of the growth of agricultural activities and involvement of more people in agriculture. Here the researcher has made an attempt to study the extent and condition of agriculture by making use of the data available, at periodical intervals, on the agricultural implements like ploughs and live stocks of Malabar and comparing it with the population of Malabar (population plough ratio). Taluq-wise study of the implements and livestock helped to understand the involvement of particular taluq in the agriculture. Comparison with the population was necessary because a mere study of the increase in number of ploughs would be meaningless as the number of ploughs and population were inter related due to the fact that majority of the people of Malabar were agriculturalists and plough was a main agricultural implement.

A calculation has been made to find out the number of persons per plough in different taluqs and for the whole of Malabar. Calculation has also been made to find out the percentage of distribution of ploughs in different taluqs. This enabled to find out in which taluq the people were largely involved in agriculture.

As per the census of 1836/37 there were 1, 00,786 ploughs for a population of 11, 62,989 souls making the people to plough ratio 12:1 i.e. for every 12 persons there was one plough. In the census of 1848/49 there were 1, 14,230 ploughs, an increase of 13,444 ploughs over a period of a decade and the population was 13,18,398 (**see table 3.8**). The number of persons per plough in the district was same as the previous census i.e. 12 persons per plough. As per the census of 1856/57 the number of plough was 1, 32,248 and the population 11,96,251 changing the ratio to 16:1. This was an indication that the number of ploughs did not increase proportionate to the population. However the census of 1856/57 differed from the census of previous years as for the first time this census had categorized the population into agricultural and non-agricultural groups. If the agricultural population is

alone taken into consideration, then the ratio of population to plough in the district would fall to 9:1. If the total population of Malabar was considered irrespective of occupation, then the ratio would be 16 persons for one plough.

An analysis of the of population to plough ratio showed that the taluqs of Cavay, Chirakkal, Kottayam and Kadathanad had low population to plough ratio. Here the average ratio varied from 24 to 15 persons one plough. This was mainly due to the fact that garden land cultivation was the main agriculture of the northern taluqs which did not require many ploughs. Whereas most of the wetland (paddy) cultivation was in the South Malabar which required more ploughs and this justified the presence of more ploughs and cattle in that region. In the southern districts the plough to population ratio was one plough for 6 persons in the agricultural taluqs of Walluvanad, 8 person in Nedinganad and 9 persons in the Eranad taluqs. Eranad, Walluvanad and Nedinganad were predominantly agricultural taluqs where the number of ploughs was very high proving that most of the population took to agricultural pursuits. The soil of these taluqs was very fertile. Walluvanad had the highest number of ploughs. In the Calicut taluq on an average 20 persons possessed one plough, whereas in Betutnad 24 persons had one plough.

As per the 1856/57 census of Malabar the southern taluqs had higher concentration of ploughs. 32% of the total ploughs of Malabar were concentrated in the three southern taluqs of Nedinganad (11%), Walluvanad (11%) and Eranad (10%) but these taluqs accounted only for 20% of the total population of Malabar. (see table 3.9) Compared to this, five northern taluqs of Cavay (4%), Chirakkal (3%), Kottayam (4%), Kadathanad (4%) and Kurumbranad (5%). together accounted for only 20% of the ploughs of Malabar while they accounted for 22% of the total population of Malabar. In the taluq of Wayanad on an average 6 persons owned one plough and the taluq accounted only for 5% of the ploughs of the district. This could be due to low density of population. Again Betutnad taluq

with high density of population accounted for only 3% of the total ploughs of Malabar. The increase in number of ploughs was an indication that more labours were involved in agriculture and agriculture was expanding. Considering that one plough provided employment to two persons directly and another two persons indirectly, a plough would give employment to 4 persons. Proportion of plough to cattle in 1838/39 was 1:4 ½, i.e. one plough for every 4 ½ cattle. In 1848/49 the ratio continued to be the same i.e. 1:4 ½. This showed that in proportion to the increase in plough the number of animals also increased. The above table reveals that the increase in number of ploughs and cattle were proportional.

The comparison of the average district increase in population and ploughs did not show marked differences as shown by the comparison of the census of 1838/39 and 1856/57 (see table 3.10). The district population increased by 27% and the increase in plough was only 24%. However there was a glaring difference in the taluq of Kottayam where the population increased by 28% whereas the number of ploughs declined by 2%. In the Chirakkal taluq the population increased by 33% and the increase in plough was only 17%. In the Eranad taluq the number of ploughs marked an increase of 10% over the population.

A simple study has been made on the plough cattle ratio in Malabar based on the censuses of 1838/39 and 1848/49. (see table 3.11). It has been found that the overall plough cattle ration remained same at 1:4.5. There were slight variations in some taluqs. The increase in plough and cattle was almost same in all taluqs except in two taluqs. In the kurumbranad taluq the increase in plough between 1838/39 and 1848/49 was 9% but the cattle strength had gone down by -4%. Kurumbranad taluq was the most backward taluq in North Malabar. In the taluq of Chavakkad in South Malabar, the number of plough had gone down by -3% while the cattle strength had gone up by 6%. The maximum increase in the number plough of 24% and that of cattle of 28% was recorded in the taluq of

Themmalpuram . This along with Palakkad was the granary of Malabar where agriculture was the important profession and these taluqs were assessed very low right from the time of Mysore rulers.

Malabar agriculture during the period under study expanded and the production increased many folds. This extension in agriculture was not due to any government encouragement in the form of tax reduction or agricultural loan (*tuccavi*). Several other factors contributed to this extension in agriculture. Increasing population in the first half of the 19th century and subsequent pressure on land, availability of cheap agricultural labour, increase in prices of agricultural produce and a ready internal and external market for Malabar agricultural produce were some of the factors which had contributed towards this expansion of agriculture. The government in order to increase the revenue had encouraged the waste land cultivation by exempting the land brought under cultivation from land tax for few years. This expansion of agriculture had increased the government income by way of land tax and a custom duty on exportation. The extension of agriculture and surplus production was due to the hard work of the peasants but it did not improve the living condition of Malabar peasants as the surplus produce was taken away by the government in the form of land tax which was unequal and heavy. His earning was shared between the colonial government and their agents, the landlords. When ever the prices increased, the revenue officials were happy as it facilitated the easy realization of the land tax without arrears. Similarly the increase in price had increased the landlord's income by way of rent. The government was least concerned about the impact of price rise on the poor and landless labourers whose wages in kind was not adequate to meet the food requirements of their family. The peasants did not benefit much from the increase in production and prices as they had to rush to the markets with the new crop in order to pay the revenue *kists* (installment). Simultaneous arrival of huge stocks of fresh grains pushed down the prices in

the markets depriving the peasants of the benefit of increase in production and price. In fact the increase in price and production benefited the government and the land lords rather than the peasants.

The researcher has proved that agriculture was developing during the period under study from the fact that more seed was used and more *nigudhi pattom* was realised. Further the export of paddy, rice and other agricultural produce increased many folds indicating surplus production and expansion of agriculture. Increase in number of ploughs was another indicator of the expansion of agriculture and involvement of more people in the agricultural pursuit. Similarly the increase in export of coconut, *copra and* betel nut proved that this sector of agriculture was also developing. Irrespective of the agrarian problems created by the British oppressive land revenue system and wrong economic policies, the area under cultivation was increasing leading to increased production. This was not due to any encouragement or pro peasant attitude of the colonial government but due to the fact that agriculture was the biggest livelihood of increasing population of Malabar and as such they were forced to bring more land under cultivation for food and employment and the surplus produce became a commodity of trade.

CHAPTER IV

TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

In this chapter the researcher has made a study of the trade in the agricultural produce of Malabar under the English East India Company. Agricultural produce constituted the most important component of Malabar's internal, coastal, overland, external and overseas export trade. The increase in area under agriculture and subsequent increase in production, boost in population, development of transportation system and establishment of markets, and internal and external demands had given impetus to the trade in agricultural produce. The articles of this trade were mainly paddy, rice, spices like pepper and cardamom, garden produce like coconut, copra (dried kernel of coconut), betel nut, betel leaves, turmeric, arrowroot and agricultural manufacture like coconut oil. Political unification of India and integration of Malabar with the markets of these areas by the English East India Company at the beginning of the 19th century promoted uninterrupted and free movement of Malabar's agricultural produce. However, transit duties, custom duty formalities and interpretation of custom regulation at the frontier custom houses and at the port of exportation, either for the coastal or overseas trade hampered the trade. The government policy of imposing high export duty on agricultural produce like pepper based on high tariff rates at times created problems for the traders as well as the trade. This trade in agricultural produce within and outside the district helped the cultivators to get a competitive price for their produce. The trade in the agricultural produce, apart from good weather and surplus production was largely controlled by external demands. Improvement in the means of transport and communication system under the company had reduced the cost of transportation and to some extent maintained the price and wages. The study of trade in agricultural produce has been made under

1. Internal Trade**2. Coastal Trade****3. Overland External Trade****4. Overseas External Trade****1. INTERNAL TRADE.**

During the first half of the 19th century a good internal trade was carried on in the agricultural produce especially between the interior taluqs and the coastal port towns of Malabar. However no definite statistics (adequate data) are available on the volume and the mechanism involved in the internal trade of agricultural produce . Growth of population, expansion of agriculture, its increased production, improvement in the prices of agricultural commodities, good external demands, developments of markets and good communication system helped to enlarge this trade. Port towns were the grain markets and main trading centres. The main articles of trade were grains, spices, garden produce and agricultural manufacture like coconut and gingili oil. The flow of the produce was from the interior rural areas to nearby markets and port towns. But in the case of salt and other consumable items the direction was reverse. At the port towns the articles were either used for coastal trade or exported overseas. In the beginning of the 19th century it was reported that there was only trifling internal trade in Malabar except along the coast , the eastern districts like Coimbatore and Salem and the local Raja's frontiers like Coorg, Mysore, Cochin and Travancore.¹ Unfortunately there is not much data regarding this aspect of trade. But it was reported that the internal commerce of Malabar was not well developed or advanced during the last quarter of the 18th century. In the trading activities the payments were made either in cash or in kind. According to Ashin Das Gupta the breakdown of trade towards the close of the 18th century has possibly brought back the payment for goods bought in kind.² There is sufficient proof that even during the early part of the 19th century in Malabar there

¹

Wye, J. W., *op. cit.*, p.3.

²

Ashin Das Gupta. *Malabar In Asian Trade*, 1740-1800, Cambridge, 1967, p.23.

existed barter system. This is evident from the fact that Murdock Brown, then Custom Superintendent of Malabar exchanged pepper for rice with the Coorg merchants³. He had also bartered trifling articles like coconut, beetle nut, tobacco and sugar with the interior inhabitants for pepper.⁴ Throughout the first half of the 19th century there was always exchange of goods between the costal merchants and the inhabitants of the of the interior. Non-availability of local coin Malabar *fanams* could be one of the reasons for this barter system. The fluctuating rate of value of gold and silver *fanams*, flooding of Malabar with fake Maratha coins and silver *fanams* and the traders, act of arbitrarily fixing a rate for the coins in which they made the payment for the produce of the peasants, could have shaken the faith of the locals and peasants in the money transaction. This could be one of the factors which encouraged the barter system. The coastal merchants sold to the peasants products like salt, sugar, dried fish and tobacco and insisted on getting the payment in kind. The merchants took from the interior people products like pepper, cardamom, ginger and grains and this could have perpetuated the barter system. As the merchants were in a position to fix the price of the commodities they exchanged with the locals, the merchants were the gainers throughout this transaction. This mode of trade should have undergone a change with the development of markets, availability of coins and improved system of transportation. In the absence of well developed roads, waterway was the most important and cheapest mode of transportation in Malabar. Large number of perennial rivers which were navigable for a considerable distance towards the interior helped the movement of goods at a cheaper and faster rate. From Palakkad and other adjoining rural areas grains and other produce were

3

Reply of a Mappila merchant to the northern division Sub-Collector regarding Murdock Brown's private trade, 27th, May, 1806, M. Vol. No.8332, p.24.

4

Ibid., p.25.

taken to Ponnani, an important port town of Chavakkad taluq through Ponnani river (Bharat puzha). In return they took salt and other imported items.

The volume or extent of the internal trade in agricultural produce to some extent fluctuated according to the weather, production, price and demands for the goods in the eastern districts and the costal towns. For example the internal trade in grain, spices and areca nut was adversely affected by the drought of 1832/1833⁵. Very often the government policies like the introduction of monopoly, ferry tax and transit duty interfered with the internal trade in agricultural produce. Timber, salt and tobacco monopoly deprived the local petty traders of their legitimate right to carry on the trade in these essential articles due to the monopolistic regulations and legal formalities. Salt was one of the main articles of the coastal, internal and overland external trade. Large quantity of salt from Tellicherry was carried to different parts of Coorg and Mysore by *Benjaras*; (grain traders), who had large herds of cattle, were able to convey this indispensable article. They brought grains from Coorg and Mysore to Tellicherry and Connannore and in return took back salt. Later the *Benjaras* brought coffee to the above port towns. The introduction of salt monopoly had increased the retail price of salt by many folds. As a result more capital was required to carry on this ancient trade. This had interfered with not only the internal trade but also it affected the overland and external trade.⁶ Salt was an article of reverse trade. All other agricultural products were carried from interior to the coastal towns for export and trade. But salt was taken from coastal depots, especially from Ponnani to the interior especially to the Palakkad region. The produce of the interior reached the inland customer through the

5

M.Vol. No.4801, p. 97.

6

Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, Calicut, 1906, p. 139.

markets and to the coastal town either from the market or from the cultivator directly through the intermediaries. The absence of market may had lead to form a monopolistic group among the merchants themselves and they fixed a price for the produce of the cultivators, which always was lower than the actual price.

During the first two decades after the annexation of Malabar in 1792, there were not many markets in the interior. Only the coastal port towns had markets which were the centres of commercial transaction. It was reported that throughout Malabar people procured the articles of consumption from the petty traders who sold them by retail.⁷ Sometimes farmers also acted as traders who personally took their goods to the market and disposed them at first by retail and later by wholesale to the traders. The absence of periodical or regular markets could not provide reasonable price to the cultivators and exposed them to the duplicity of the intermediaries and coastal merchants during early 19th century. Thomas Warden, the principal Collector during his tenure took some measures in establishing markets in the interior at the beginning of the century.⁸ However development of internal markets at a later period played an important role in developing internal trade and helped the peasants in disposing their produce to pay the government taxes. The District Collectors took several measures to establish weekly and monthly markets in different taluqs. In 1826 the Collector started monthly fairs at Mananthavady and Ganapathy Vattom of the Wayanad taluq. The purpose was to promote intercourse among the inhabitants of Wayanad and to induce the people from the lower Malabar taluqs and Mysore to visit Wayanad. The tahsildar reported that these fairs were well attended.⁹ In 1828 the Principal

7

Sarada Raju, *Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency, 1800- 1850*, Madras, 1941, p.195.

8

Ward and Conner.; *op. cit.*, p, 10.

9

Revenue settlement report of Malabar for 1826/27, sent by the District Collector to the BOR, Fort St. George dated 20th September, 1827, M. Vol. No. 4814, p. 121.

Collector reported that weekly markets /fairs were started (during 1827/28) in Walluvanad, Kurumbranad, Nedinganad and Kootanad in the Chavakkad taluq, and a large number of people attended it from a considerable distance with various produce. All the fairs except the last one were held in the interior places and this helped the interior ryots to sell their grains which they were formerly obliged to take to the coastal market.¹⁰ In 1828 markets were opened in several places including one at Angadipuram. This market was frequented by people from the coast and Palakkad. Several weekly and monthly markets were established in different parts of the taluqs for the convenience of the troops and common people. The monthly markets that were established were converted into bi-monthly markets like the one at Mananthavady on Monday, Koottumparamba on Tuesday, and Connannore on Saturday and at Valerpatanam on Friday.¹¹ A weekly market was also started at Wanniankulangara. Such a large number of monthly, bimonthly and weekly markets might have helped the peasants to get moderate price for their produce from nearby markets. Improvement in transport connected these internal markets with coastal port towns.

Very often the coastal merchants or their agents approached the producers or cultivators and gave advance for their produce. Buchanan gave a detailed account of the contracts, which the coastal merchants or their agents or the inland merchants had entered with the cultivators. For example the merchants advanced money for pepper during the months of July or August on the condition that in the ensuing months of January or February the cultivators should deliver the pepper at a given price.¹² If the cultivator failed to deliver the stipulated quantity of pepper he must pay for the deficiency at the Calicut

¹⁰

Revenue settlement report of Malabar for 1827/28, M.Vol.No. 4815, p.21.

¹¹

Assistant Principal Collector's letter to the Officer Commanding for Malabar and Canara, 9th September, 1839, M.Vol.No. 8524, p.170.

¹²

Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p 455.

price. The Calicut price was always higher than the interior price. In case the cultivator failed to pay the money at the market price then he had to give a note (bond) showing the amount the cultivator owed to the merchant. No interest was taken from the cultivator¹³. The advance profit usually varied from 60-87% (for details see pepper trade). The merchants in fact by advancing money to the cultivators, at an estimated price of their produce were exploiting the destitute cultivators. Through this advance (putting out system) cultivators were deprived of their real price which they ought to have received had not they accepted the merchants' advance. Here again the currency that was used to make the advance was another source of exploitation as the traders arbitrarily fixed a rate for the currency in which they made the payment. This was a source of exploitation of the peasants who were forced to take advance from the merchants. This exploitation was more glaring in the case of cardamom farming where the monopoly right to collect the government share of cardamom was auctioned to the highest bidder. The farmers/renters arbitrarily fixed a rate for the coin in which they made the payment. In this way the peasants further lost 6-10% in the price of the produce.

2. COASTAL TRADE:

Malabar was blessed with a large numbers of big and small ports. The hinder lands were connected with these ports by perennial rivers which were navigable to a great distance. These rivers and ports, in the absence of well-developed road transportation system, played an important role in the internal, coastal and overseas export in the agricultural produces of Kerala. Even though extensive trade was carried on between the ports of the Malabar there is little data available to show the volume of coastal trade. Ponnani, in the southern division of Malabar, was an important coastal town and port. Ponnani was a centre for considerable internal, coastal and external trade. Ponnani exported

¹³

Ibid., p. 467.

the produce of the interior particularly rice and paddy of Palakkad, coconut, copra, coir products of Chavakkad and other southern taluqs to the port of southern division.¹⁴ Ponnani was a chief commercial town and a port between Cochin and Calicut. It played an active role in the coastal trade. The northern division sent down pepper, cardamom and garden produce. The Mappilas of Mount Deli supplied Connannore and Tellicherry with firewood and fish¹⁵ Boats from small ports visited Tellicherry and Calicut for English and European goods.¹⁶ Vessels from Connannore ,Tellicherry , Vadamara, Calicut, Tanur and Ponnani took cardamoms, coconut, garlic and grains to Cochin. In return they brought spices, sugar and Japanese copper from Cochin¹⁷ The trading boats were called *pattamaras* and on an average carried 50,000 coconuts or 500 bags of Bengal rice.¹⁸ The backwater crafts were called *vallums*. There were first second and third class according to the quality of constructions.¹⁹ *Almades* were small vessels used for coastal trade. *Jungar* is a collection of boats joined to form a platform to cross the ferries. Half of the year internal and coastal trade was not practicable because of monsoons.²⁰ The dows, *dingies*, *Pattamars* and

14

James Drummond's report to the Secretary of the Board of Revenue, 19th, January, 1801, M.Vol.No. 2204, p ,25.

15

Ward and Conner, *op.cit.*, p.160.

16

Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p .420.

17

Galletin Gallatti, A., *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911. *op. cit*; pp. 220 - 221.

18

Buchanan, *op.cit.*, p. 450.

19

Sir Robert Bristow, C.I.E., *Cochin Saga*, London, 1957.

20

Wye,j.w., *op. cit.*, p. 4.

vessels from Ponnani always unloaded their goods at Tellicherry, Mahe, Calicut and Cannannore. In return they took coconut ,pepper and other things.²¹

In 1801 James Drummond reported that the agriculture produce of Chavakkad, Nedinganad and Chetwa consisted of rice, paddy (*Nelli or un husked rice*) coconut, coconut oil, *Copra* and were chiefly exported to northern and middle divisions of the province from Ponnani .This was permitted to be exported by land and sea within the province of Malabar. The exporter should produce a certificate within a stipulated time from the customs master of the port to which the boat or vessel travelled. If exported beyond the province then a duty of 3 ½ % on the value was levied and a certificate from Drummond²² was required.

Customs duty and ignorance of customs regulation was a great impediment to coastal trade. There were lengthy communications between Mr James Wilson, sub-Collector, centre division of Malabar and Mr. Murdock Brown, Customs Collector of Calicut. Merchants of Chavakkad and Ponnani had exported rice to Calicut for sale with the certificate from the Sub-collector of Chavakkad to be sold in the Calicut market. But the customs house people of Calicut very often had seized these goods, even though they were exempted from customs duties, for non payment of customs duties.

3. OVER LAND EXTERNAL TRADE

Malabar's overland external trade in agricultural produce was conducted with the states of the Rajas of Mysore, Cochin, Coorg and Travancore and the French settlement of Mahe. Malabar also had extensive trade with Coimbatore in its agricultural produce. Compared to the overseas export trade in agricultural produce, the overland external trade was insignificant. There were ups and downs in the trade. No definite data are available

²¹

Ibid., p .4.

²²

M.Vol. No. 2204, p.25.

regarding the articles traded, their volume and value of the overland trade for the first 26 years of the 19th century. From 1826/ 27 to 1834/ 35 the data about the total value of the trade and not the volume of each article traded are available in the reports sent by the Department of External Commerce to the Collector of Sea Customs in Madras. These articles passed through the frontier customs houses and the right to collect the duties were very often given to the highest bidder.²³

The customs farmers and their agents were obliged to collect the duties according to the customs house regulation. However, according to P. Clementson, Principal Collector of Malabar, these accounts provided by the farmers or renters could not be completely relied upon, as they were palpably false.²⁴ There are data for five years from 1828/29 -1832/33 which provides the products exported by land. But the destination and value of the product is not given. However it gives an idea about the products traded. Compared to the overseas export, the overland external trade was very insignificant. (For the pattern of the trade **(see table 4.1)**). Very often records are not maintained about the products and volume of articles traded. For example no data is available for the overland external trade from 1833/34 to 1840/41. Similarly no figure is available for Malabar's trade with Coorg from 1834/ 35 onwards as the state was conquered by the Company in 1834. From 1840/ 41 the figures for Travancore and Cochin were given together, which make it difficult to assess separately Malabar's trade with Cochin and Travancore. No specific data are available for Malabar's trade with Mysore from 1845/ 46, and from 1847/ 48 the data

²³

Revenue settlement report of Malabar for 1832/33 sent to the BOR, Fort St.George, dated 15th, January,1834, M,Vol.No.4817, p.5.

²⁴

Clementson , P., A Report on Revenue and other Matters Connected with Malabar, 1838, Calicut, 1914, p.2.

provided are only for Mahe. This deprived the chances of getting information about Malabar's trade in agricultural produce with these regions.

The main articles exported were spices, some time grains, coconuts, copra (dried kernel of coconut), betel nuts and betel leaves. Very often betel nuts and betel leaves formed articles of re export to these regions. The introduction of Salt monopoly had interfered in Malabar's overland trade with Mysore, Coorg and Coimbatore. From Mysore and Coorg *Benjaras* (grain traders who maintained large herds of animals like oxen and buffalo to carry the grains) carried grains to Malabar and in return carried salt. But salt monopoly hampered this trade. Similarly between Coimbatore and Malabar there was trade in grains but no account of this trade is available.

The overland trade fluctuated, depending on the political condition prevailing in the Indian states or their relations with the Company, particularly in the case of Mysore and Coorg. For example the trade with Mysore declined in 1830/ 31 because of unstable political conditions in Mysore ²⁵. Company's strained relations with Coorg during 1832/33 adversely affected trade. The Raja of Coorg prohibited the export of Sandal-wood and Cardamom to Malabar and the Company by a declaration prohibited export of articles to Coorg.

The available data show that the general pattern of the overland trade in almost all years was in favour of Malabar. However during 1844/ 45 the exports were only worth Rs. 2, 21,391 whereas the imports were worth Rs. 2, 57,080. This was the highest value of annual import during the period of study .The maximum export worth Rs.3, 07,639 was made in 1827/28.

4. OVERSEAS EXPORT TRADE

²⁵

The income from overseas export trade in Agricultural produce was the main stay of the Malabar agricultural economy. Agricultural produce constituted the bulk of the export trade of Malabar in quantity and value base. A detailed account of the export of important agricultural produce, its volume and value (based on custom tariff rate) is given in Appendix .no.1 (Exports) .The main articles traded were

- | | | |
|---|--------------|----------|
| 1. Pepper. | 2. Cardamom. | 3. Paddy |
| 4. Garden produce (coconut and betel nut) | 5. Turmeric | |
| 6. Arrow root. | 7. Coffee | |

1. PEPPER

Pepper constituted the most important article of the trade in agricultural produce. Pepper was not merely an article of trade but in fact it decided the politico-economic and commercial destiny of Malabar and its people. The European company's political and commercial activities in Malabar were woven around their attempts to monopolise the trade in pepper. It was black pepper, the pungent condiment, which attracted many foreign countries to trade with Malabar and other small states on the Malabar Coast. (Malabar mostly produced black pepper *Nigrum*). The history of commercial relations between Malabar and foreign countries was perhaps the history of pepper trade. Pepper trade was one of the factors which compelled the Company to force Tipu to cede Malabar to the British. It is axiomatic to say that no other agricultural produce and produces of Malabar were adversely suffered from the Company's politico, economic and commercial policies, like pepper. It has been argued that the company took over the administration of Malabar from the Malabar Rajas in violation of the agreement reached between the Malabar Rajas and the Company and this was to protect the commercial interests of the Company especially the trade in pepper. The reason assigned was that the Hindu –Mappila clash had prevented the agents of the pepper merchants, who happened to be Mappilas, (Malabar

Muslims) from collecting the pepper.²⁶ The prevention of smuggling of pepper to Mahe was another reason assigned for the direct takeover of the Malabar administration. But the Hindu-Muslim clash took place only in the south Malabar and the pepper producing taluqs were in the north Malabar.²⁷

In this part of the work the researcher has graphically analysed different aspects of the trade in pepper in detail like the nativity of black pepper, condition of pepper trade before the annexation of Malabar by the Company in 1792, Company's attempt to monopolise the pepper trade and its failure and the role of Mahe and Malabar traders and Rajas in defeating the monopoly, the Malabar merchants' influence in the pepper trade. The increase in the price during 1790's, decline in production, fall in price in the early 19th century, loss of international and Indian markets for Malabar pepper in the early 19th century, the effects of the fiscal policies of the Company on the pepper trade and peasants, the gradual decline in price and volume of export during the early 19th century and the later increase in volume of export during the period of this work are also studied in this part of the work.

Even though Malabar was often referred to as the "Mother of Pepper".²⁸ there seems to be some difference of opinion regarding the origin of pepper i.e. whether pepper was indigenous to the Malabar coast or to the Malaya archipelago and Indonesia. The researcher does not get into discuss this aspect of the origin of black pepper, whether it is a native of Malabar or Malay archipelago. However after going through different works ²⁹

²⁶

Bombay Political proceedings, Vol.No.55, p.255., as quoted by N.Rajandran . *Shifting Balance of Pepper Trade In The Late Eighteenth Century, Eighteenth Century India* , Papers In Honour of Prof. A.P. Ibrahim Kunju (First Published in 1981) p.175. (N. Rajendran ,Commercial proceeding, Vol.No.52, p.50-55, Cornwallis to Abercromby, 23rd March, 1792, Bombay Secret)

²⁷

M.Vol.No.1666 –B, p.317.

²⁸

K.P .Padmanaba Menon, *History of Kerala*, Ernakulam 1937, (First edition 1934), Vol.No. IV, p.375.

²⁹

the researcher has come to the conclusion that black pepper was the product of Malabar and up to 13th century it did not have any competitors in Asia. The idea that black pepper was indigenous to the Malabar Coast becomes more than plausible in view of Malabar's pepper trade with China for, if the Chinese could have obtained a supply of black pepper from the eastern islands, they would not have sailed their *junks* all the way to the Malabar Coast for pepper. Moreover no mention of pepper appears in an early 13th century Chinese source on the export of pepper from Srivijaya, which later had become a prominent article of export from Srivijaya.³⁰ In any case, the actual origin of pepper apart, in the ancient world, Indians had no rivals in the cultivation of and trade in pepper. While Malabar pepper dominated the western and eastern trade in the early centuries, by the late 13th century its monopoly was being challenged. The 13th century witnessed the emergence of pepper-producing and exporting countries like Pase and Pade in northern Sumatra.³¹ The Chinese merchants visited Pase' for pepper, obtained pepper there even before the rise of Malacca in the 14th century. Towards the end of the 15th century Malacca started to export pepper in significant quantities.³² In 1556 Achin sent five ships to Mecca with 24,000 *cantara* of pepper.³³ Pepper was intensively cultivated in the northern Sumatra at the beginning of the 16th century. Pepper export was higher in the eastern islands at this time than those of the

E.H. Warrington. *The Commerce Between The Roman Empire And India*, 2nd edition 1974, p.182. *Parannar.Purananur* (Tamil) 343th stanza, 4th edition, Madras 1964. Albert S. Bickmore, *Travels in East Indian Archipelago*, London, 1868, p.17. Ludovico di Varthema (of Bologna) 1502-1508. *Travels in South Asia*, London 1928, p.85. Mrs. Melink Roelofs, *Asian Trade And European Influence*, Hauge-1962, p.14. Bastin, J. *Changing Balance of early South East Asian Pepper Trade*, Papers on South East Asian Subjects, No.1. University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, 1960.

30

Roel Ofsz, *op .cit.*, p.14.

31

Ibid., p.142.

32

Ibid., p.154.

33

Ibid., p.,363, one cantra is equal to one Portuguese quintal of 112 English pounds

Malabar Coast. In the 16th century Malaya and Sumatra surpassed Malabar in the export of pepper. In the 18th century the entire production of the Indonesian archipelago averaged 9,000 *bahar* per year with the peak output of 19,000 in the year 1724.³⁴ Pepper from Sumatra and Malaya was more polished and better in appearance than that of Malabar. Yet in terms of its qualities including its pungency, Sumatran and Malayan pepper was not as strong as of Malabar pepper.³⁵ The Malabar pepper was considered as the best in Asia and much superior. That explains, why it was sought by all nations.³⁶ Even before the arrival of European traders south Indian traders, especially from the Coromandel coast had exported textile goods, salt and opium to Achin in exchange for tin, gold, pepper and betel nuts.³⁷ Pepper of Malabar and Sumatra was one of the main articles of export in the maritime trade in the Indian ocean and the Arabian sea³⁸. During late 16th century Masulipatnam, Bengal and Mecca got pepper from Achin and Sumatra.³⁹ Malabar pepper was also exported to Nagapattanam and Malacca was a centre for Malabar pepper. But there are references that China received Malabar pepper and Sumatran spices through the Portuguese in the 16th

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³⁵ *Ibid.*p.350.n. Eight *bahar* is same as *bharam* which is equivalent to one *candy* of 540 lbs.

³⁶ John Crawford, *Descriptive Dictionary of East India*, London, 1928.

³⁷ Stavorinus, *An Account Of East Indies In The year,1774-1778*, (London 1798).p,220.

³⁸ Albert S.Bicmore, *op. cit.*, p.448.

³⁹ Archibald Lewis, *Maritime Skills In the Indian Ocean (1368-1500)*, p.254, *Journal of The economic And SocialHistory of the Orient*,Vol.XVI, p,254.

William Foster, *Early Travels In India*, 1583- 1619, Oxford , 1912, pp.26-46.

century.⁴⁰ Even at the beginning of the 17th century Dutch and the English secured small portion of Malabar pepper from Masulipatnam, even though it was expensive.⁴¹

Black pepper has been the chief article of European export from Malabar principally to Europe directly or through Bombay and Cochin. Pepper was an article which was not consumed much in Malabar. The remaining was exported by indigenous traders to the Bay of Bengal, Surat, Cutch, Sind, Mecca and Muscat. The Portuguese and later on the Dutch entrenched at Cochin and the British at Tellicherry along with the French at Mahe' tried to monopolize the pepper trade of Malabar. They entered into treatise with local Rajas and chieftains for pepper, but they miserably failed in monopolizing the pepper trade. It was said that the pepper contract originally entered into with the local Rajas and then the Europeans Companies invariably led to political relations, which had terminated in the subjugation of the princes by the Western powers and finally in British supremacy⁴²

In order to get a continuity in the study of Malabar pepper trade under the English East India Company the researcher here has made a peep into the pepper trade of 18th century. The decline of Surat made Calicut a prominent port in the western coast during the 18th century.⁴³ Surat was the exchange place for Malabar goods.⁴⁴ This along with the fall of Safavid dynasty caused a dislocation of trade in the Persian Gulf, resulting in a boom in the pepper market at Calicut during late 1720's. The merchants, who previously

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Balkrishna, A., *Commercial Relation Between India And England, 1601-1757*, London, 1924, pp.25-26.

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Bastin.J., *Op.cit.*, p.21.

⁴²

K.P. Padmanaba Menon., *op.cit.*, Vol.No. IV , p.403.

⁴³

Ashin Das Gupta, *Trade And Politics In The Eighteenth Century India, Islam And The Trade of Asia*, *op.cit.*, p.197.

⁴⁴

Balkrishna., *op.cit.*, p.17.

obtained their pepper at Surat and the gulf, were now forced to seek their supply at Calicut. During the 18th century there was fluctuation in the price of pepper in Malabar particularly at Calicut. In 1714-15 the Portuguese bought pepper at Rs.87 and above per candy.⁴⁵ Whenever a transaction was fixed the weight of candy is specified. The price rose above Rs.80 per *candy* because of continuing Portuguese demand.⁴⁶ It was reported that pepper was obtained at Rs.69 and 70 per *candy* in Tellicherry. The British had a factory at Tellicherry in north Malabar adjoining one of the best producing areas of Malabar.⁴⁷ It was mainly maintained to procure pepper and to control the pepper trade of North Malabar. The Tellicherry records gave more or less the same account of the price fluctuation, it showed that the price of pepper rose to Rs.84 per candy because of the demands of the French in 1737. In 1750 it was with Rs.70 per candy⁴⁸ and the factors at Tellicherry expected that the price would fall further if there was no French demand. The price hike was always attributed to French demand and drought.⁴⁹ The French, however, bought pepper at Rs.95 per candy towards the end of 1750. On 30th March 1751 the company contracted pepper for Rs.95 per candy. Ashin Das Gupta, however, put the price a bit higher. According to him the price of pepper had been virtually stationary during the first half of the 18th century, and it varied between Rs.60 and Rs. 62 for a candy of 560 lbs. But it shot up and fluctuated

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Candy is a weight used in Malabar .It varied from place to place depending on the nature of trade. Its weights varied from 560,600,620,640 and 680 lbs.

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Diary of Mr.Strutt ,October 1714-January 1715,Madras 1935, p.12.Strutt was Commission to inspect and examine the accounts and to make a report on the Companies settlement on the coast Of Malabar.

⁴⁷

Letter from the Tellicherry settlement to the President and Governor in Council, Bombay , September 1737, Tellicherry records,Vol.No.5, Madras 1935, p.86.

⁴⁸

Tellicherry records,Vol.No.8, 19th November, 1750-51, p.10.

⁴⁹

Ibid., p,16,Letter dated 15th ,December, 1750.

between Rs.105 and 125 in the 1750's.⁵⁰ To quote him further, this new demand for Malabar pepper was at the expense of Indonesian variety which the Dutch used to supply to the gulf. The Batavian letters to Cochin during 1775-76 had asked to pay Rs.100 per candy of 500 lbs for the northern Malabar pepper. And the company offered prices which varied from Rs.105 to 125 and on two occasion it was as high as Rs.135-145 per candy in 1780's.⁵¹ This boom continued till Malabar was conquered by the Mysore Sultans

Hyder Ali did not interfere with the pepper trade of Malabar and he gave all protection to the traders. Tipu established a monopoly in the trade in Malabar in M.E. 964(1788/89) and paid the cultivators Rs.100 per candy of pepper supplied to the government warehouses and sold it to the merchants at Rs.150-170.⁵² Though the price given by Tipu was higher than what the local Rajas paid to the cultivators, ie. Rs. 55 to Rs.65 per candy,⁵³ it could be definitely less than the market price as the Mysore government had to add a profit ,which along with the cost of pepper should not have exceeded the international price. The European merchants under Tipu had to buy pepper from the government warehouses at a price fixed by the government .This naturally led to the increase in the price of pepper, particularly the pepper bought by the Europeans through illegal means. But the price of pepper, sold during this period from the indigenous vessels varied from Rs.120 to Rs.130 per candy. Buchanan reported that the price of pepper was brought down after the fall of Tipu (this could be the exit of Tipu from Malabar) .But in fact it was the other way around. The table shows that the price of pepper was increasing

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Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, *Islam and Trade of Asia*, p.197.

⁵¹

Buchanan, *op.cit.*, p.534.

⁵²

Ibid., p.515.

⁵³

Kareem, C.K, *Kerala under Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan*, Cochin, 1973, p. 220.

throughout 1790's. According to Pamela Nightingale, the Mysorean invasion had a repercussion on the pepper cultivation and on the trade of Malabar. The author had estimated that before the (Hyder's) invasion in 1764/65 the district produced 20,000 candies of pepper and the price was between Rs.70 to 80 a candy. There after the production in Malabar slowly declined and the same area produced 11,000 -12,000 candies in 1784 and the price increased to Rs.130.⁵⁴ The author further did not mention the actual cause behind the increase in price. Buchanan estimated the production of pepper before Mysore conquest at 15,000 candies of 640 lbs and in 1800 he calculated production at 8,000 candies. About half of it was produced in Pyche(Pazhazi) Raja's territory, Kottayam in north Malabar and the Pyche rebellion seriously affected the production.⁵⁵ But Ashin reported that the price of pepper was increasing after 1750. Tipu, which introduced trade Monopoly in 1788/89, had to leave Malabar in May 1790 due to 3rd Anglo-Mysore War and his monopoly hardly lasted for one year.

The Company as traders tried without success to establish a monopoly in the procurement and trade of pepper in the 17th and 18th centuries. Most of the local Rajas, who also traded in pepper, disposed of their pepper to those who offered a good price. During this time the company as traders reluctantly paid a price very near to the market price. They procured pepper from big merchants and Rajas. However as a sovereign power it tried to evict other European trading companies from Malabar and tried to control the pepper trade by imposing a monopoly and arbitrarily fixing a price lower than the market price. After the annexation of Malabar in 1792 the company tried to adopt the policy of Portuguese and the Dutch, i.e. English Company also tried to establish a commercial

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Palmela Nightingale, *Trade and Empire in Western India*, 1784-1806, Cambridge, 1970, N. Rajendran op.cit. p. 175. Tellicherry records, Vol.No.5, Madras, 1935, p.86. Tellicherry records, Vol.No.8, November 19th 1750-51, p.60.

⁵⁵

Buchanan *op.cit.*, p.530.

monopoly in the trade of pepper.⁵⁶ Over and above the English Company was in a better position than any of the other companies because, unlike other companies it got the political control of whole of Malabar.

Though the Company got accession to Malabar in 1790 it was finally ceded to the company by the Treaty of Srirangapattanam only on 10th, July 1792.⁵⁷ In between Malabar was administered by the *Diwan* of Travancore Raja, The Zamorin's Prime Minister and the northern Rajas till the arrival of the Joint Commissioners from Bombay and Bengal in 1792.⁵⁸ The British thought that with the exit of Tipu, Malabar pepper trade would fall in to its hands. The average export of pepper from Tellicherry on Company's account in 1790, 91, 92 was 4462 *candies* , i.e. 1500 *candies* per year. The price offered by the company, as traders were near to the market price. It is said that when the company was able to collect barely 600 *candies*, the Mahe merchants were able to send 5 ships loads of pepper.⁵⁹ It was under this circumstance the Company directly took over the administration of Malabar.⁶⁰ In order to control the pepper trade the Company violated the agreement it had made with the local Rajas and took over the administration through the Joint Commissioners. The Company introduced monopoly by September 1792. ⁶¹ This was before the province was brought under the direct control of the Company. Initially the British tried to control and monopolise the pepper trade and the land revenue collection was left with the local Rajas

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Nightingale *op.cit.*, p.66.

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East India papers, Finance And Trade, London 1830, p.116.

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M.Vol.No.1666.B, p.120.

⁵⁹

Rajendran, *op.cit.*, p.179.

⁶⁰

Ibid.,

⁶¹

Ibid., p.179.

till 1798. As per the monopoly the Malabaris were permitted to trade in any other articles except pepper.⁶² The northern Rajas were told to deliver their pepper at Rs.100 per candy which was Rs.60-70 less than what they could get at Mahe. In fact one of the aims of the Bombay commissioners was to impose a pepper monopoly in Malabar.⁶³ All the Rajas from Chetwa to Cavay (southern most to northern most taluqs of Malabar) were asked to deliver to the company the entire pepper produce of the season. But the Company, to its dismay found that the prudent Rajas and merchants were smuggling their pepper to Mahe⁶⁴ and were selling it there at a higher prices.⁶⁵ In order to stop smuggling the land around Mahe was put under the control of the Company. Yet, the Company failed to enforce a strict monopoly in pepper. Later in July 1793 Mahe was captured by the British. The Court of Directors and the Governor General expected that the pepper trade would fall into the hands of the Company with the fall of Mahe in 1793.⁶⁶ But it neither brought down the price of pepper nor did the pepper trade pass into the hands of the Company. Arab and Gujarati merchants continued their trade on the coast and the European merchants, who had their base at Mahe, returned to Mahe under neutral colours. This had upset the calculations of the

62

Logan , W, *Treaties and Engagements Related To English East India Company's Affairs In Malabar*, part-II, XXII, dated 20th December, 1792, Madras 1892, p.170.

63

Nightingale., *op.cit.*, p.66.

64

Mahe near Tellicherry was the only settlement of the French East India Company on the western coast of India. The French east India company was abolished in 1769(.Fuber. H. John Company at work,p.10).Mahe was 26 sq.miles in area and lies to the south of the mouth of river Mahe and named after Mahe de Albourdonnairs. E. Thurston. *Madras Presidency With Mysore, Coorg and Associated States*,(Cambridge 1914),p..7. It is 4 miles to the south of Tellicherry. It was declared as a free port in 1787 .It was surrounded by the best pepper producing regions of Northern Malabar. Letter from Malabar Principal Collector to the President and members of the Board of Revenue,12th July,1803.M.Vol.No.2298,p..58,Mahe was captured by the English in 1793 and restored to the French in 1817 .Logan in 1881 reported that Mahe proper consisted of 1445 acres ,Logan Vol.No.II. p .c cxix.

65

Nightingale ,*op.cit.*, p.87.

66

Ibid., p.104.

Company to acquire indirect monopoly of the pepper trade.⁶⁷ Several reasons could be assigned for this failure of monopoly system. Mahe and its free traders played an important role in defeating the Company's attempt to establish a monopoly in pepper trade. The Company failed to maintain the monopoly of pepper trade and the pepper price. The high pepper price in Mahe could also be due to the difference in weight per *candy*. The French *candy* of 600 lbs was equal to 654 lbs *Avoirdupois (English pounds)*. Thus the merchants/cultivators had to give 54 lbs pepper more according to the French *candy*. Despite this disadvantage in weight the Malabar traders preferred Mahe. After Mahe became a free port from 1787 considerable fund flowed to Mahe and it kept up the prices of pepper.⁶⁸ There was great competition between the British, with their principal pepper trading centre at Tellicherry, and the free traders anchored at Mahe, situated at a distance of only four miles. This tempted the Malabar traders to send their pepper to Mahe through illegal ways. There the merchants were often able to give Rs.200 – Rs.260 for one *candy* of the pepper. Rickards in 1803 reported that the Mahe merchants were able to pay a higher price for pepper because the French freight charge was lesser than the English Company's freight.⁶⁹ Moreover, the merchants there did not have to maintain large establishments like the company and they could supply the Malabar the articles they needed in exchange for pepper. There were no custom duties in Mahe. Against this, the Company, in the open market paid only Rs.130 per *candy*. Through this monopoly the Company was able to collect only half of the produce of Malabar and the price had shot up to Rs.200 per *candy*.⁷⁰

⁶⁷

Ibid., p.106.

⁶⁸

Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p,534.

⁶⁹

Rickard's, Principal Collector of Malabar, letter to the members and the President of B.O.R, Fort St.George, 2nd, July, 1803, M.Vol,No. 2298, p.58.

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Rajendran, *op .cit.*, p. 181.

Unilaterally fixing a price, for a high value product of great demand, that was considerably lower than the market price was another factor responsible for the failure of the monopoly. For the price fluctuation of pepper between 1790/91 to 1830 **(see table 4.2)**. The availability of large number of foreign buyers who were only too eager to outbid any rivals contributed largely to the failure of Company's attempts at establishing a monopoly. It was futile to expect that simply because the monopoly province belonged to the Company, its inhabitants would agree to sell anything to the Company at a lower price. The traditional system of fixing the price of pepper, in Malabar by the merchants was by taking into account of the produce and demand of that particular year.⁷¹ Moreover the Arab merchants were ready to pay as much as Rs. 210-225 per *candy* on ready cash to the merchants.⁷² Another factor was Company's reluctance to pay the market price. In 1792 September, Murdock Brown offered Rs.175 per *candy* at Mahe whereas the English Company offered only Rs.135 per *candy*. However in 1792 the Bombay government wanted to dispatch one ship of pepper before the next season and asked to purchase pepper even at Rs.165/ per *candy*, even that price would be profitable.⁷³ Abercromby, the Bombay Governor disapproved the rate of Rs.165 offered for pepper by Mr. Taylor and he was forbidden from entering into any contract with anybody for pepper without the consent of the Joint Commissioners⁷⁴. For the price of pepper of different periods **(see table 4.1)**. In July 1793 immediately before the capture of Mahe there the price rose to Rs.220 per *candy* as this was to complete the loading of a ship.⁷⁵ Buchanan reported that in 1794 the price fell

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Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar In Asia trade, 1740-1800*, Cambridge, 1967, p.89.

⁷²

M.Vol.No.8331, p.144 .

⁷³

Letter from Robert Taylor to the Joint Commissioners 13th September,1792, M.Vol.No.1661, p.600.

⁷⁴

Letter from Abercromby to Tylor, 30th September.1792, M. Vol.No.1661, p. 674

⁷⁵

to Rs.120 per *candy* but Agnew contracted for 4,000 *candies* of pepper at Rs.200. The price of pepper was good in Europe at 2 shilling per pound. Chokkara Moosa, the prominent merchant of Tellicherry, supplied pepper to Company at the rate of Rs.180 per Calicut *candy* of 640 lbs and at the same time he supplied pepper to the Arabs at Rs.200 per *candy*.⁷⁶ Moosa had special relations with the Company and he very often supplied pepper to the Company at a lower price.⁷⁷ Apart from the Company its servants were also involved in private trade in pepper. For example John Agnew, the commercial Resident and Robert Taylor, the Chief of Tellichery, traded on their own account in pepper.⁷⁸ Under these circumstances the Company's attempt to monopolise the pepper trade failed. As a result on 15th April, 1793 by a proclamation the pepper monopoly was abolished and it was substituted with taking half of the produce as tax.

Two interesting developments took place pertaining to Malabar pepper trade. The first was the act of two rival colonial trading companies, the English East India Company and the French East India Company who by the treaty of 1768 had agreed to keep down the price of pepper in Malabar thereby depriving the Malabar peasants a suitable price for their produce.⁷⁹ The English and the Dutch East India companies had already come to some what a similar agreement regarding northern Sumatran pepper in 1603.⁸⁰ Thus as

⁷⁶ Buchanan, *op.cit.*, p,535.

⁷⁷ M.Vol,1663, p,184.

⁷⁸ Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p.450.

⁷⁹ Nightingale, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁸⁰ Logan, *Treaties and engagements*, *op. .cit.*, part II –VII, p.18. Buchanan, *op.cit.*, 534.

Roel Orfsz *op.cit.*, p.249.

traders the European trading companies tried to exploit the producers by keeping the price low and as political powers they quarrelled to monopolise the trade. The second development was the attempt of Court of Directors to take pepper cultivation to Visagapattanam in 1790. It would be interesting to study that due to high price of Malabar pepper in early 1790's the Court of Directors proposed the establishment on its behalf of pepper plantations in the hilly areas of Visagapattanam. The land for the purpose was to be obtained on from the Zamindars of that region. But the plan was later on abandoned.⁸¹

As rulers the Company ignored its responsibility to its subjects and were not concerned about their welfare and prosperity and tried to monopolise the pepper trade against the interest of the peasants and petty traders. But this monopoly failed due to several factors and eventually the Company was obliged to give up the monopoly by the declaration of April 1793. As per the above declaration the southern division cultivators of Malabar were free to sell their pepper to anyone they liked but in the northern division partial monopoly was sought to be retained and the Company reduced its claims to one half of the produce.⁸² This pepper was collected through the merchants and the price was fixed by the government. Again the price offered was not the market price but a monopoly price. In A.D.1795 Agnew wrote to Robert Taylor that "It is vain to suppose that because the Malabar province belongs to the Company and its inhabitants will prefer receiving from the company 150 rupees when they can get upwards of Rs.200 elsewhere".⁸³ He further observed that there was a combination of the merchants of Calicut and Tellicherry to keep up the price of pepper. This had induced the traders not to deliver in any tender. The price of

81

Commercial dispatch from England to Madras, Vol.No.2-A, 1790, p.170.

82

Treaties and Engagements, *op. cit.*, part II, 21st. April ,1793, p.181.

83

Letter from Agnew to Robert Taylor, dated 26th. July, 1795, M.Vol.No.8831, pp.96-97.

old pepper was Rs.215 per candy of 640 lbs. When the seasons opens and *Dinghies* arrive from Muscat the price would rise to Rs.225⁸⁴

After the pepper monopoly was abolished in 15th April, 1793, the Company entered into contract with big merchants of northern Malabar mainly for obtaining pepper. Consequently the Company's commercial interest was left at the mercy of these contractors. Under the partial monopoly scheme, the price paid by the Company was Rs.100 per *candy* in 1792 and 1793⁸⁵. But in the open market the Company was forced to pay Rs.200 in 1793. In the same year the company contracted with Moosa, Bappan, Banara chetty and Bewarasoby chetty for 1000 *candies* of pepper at the rate of Rs.200/ per *candy* of 600 lbs.⁸⁶ The company also contracted with Eussef Bin Salim, an Arab trader, to supply the Company 3000 *candies* of pepper at the rate of Rs.205/- to be delivered to the commercial Resident at Calicut on or before June 1793⁸⁷

Mahe bordered with the best pepper producing districts of Malabar and until its capture the greater part of pepper produced went to that port. Quoting Maccay, nephew of Chokkaran Moosa, Buchanan in 1800 reported that after the capture of Mahe the trade went to the Company and it annually exported 4,000 *candies* to Europe directly and to Bombay and China. The remainder was exported by native merchants to Surat, Cutch, Sind and North-West India. Considerable quantity was exported to Muscat, Mecca, and Aden

84

Ibid., p. 98.

85

Letter from Chokkaran Moosa, Mooppan and Dewary Bandarak to the northern division superintendent. M. Vol. 8331, dated 21st January, 1798, p. 31.

86

Treaties and engagements, *op. cit.*, LXII, p. 211.

87

M. Vol. No. 8331, p. 103.

Jeddah by private traders.⁸⁸ Most of them were dependents of Moosa.⁸⁹ The Company before 1792 collected the pepper through the big merchants like Chokkaran Moosa and other seven merchants. These merchants through their agents partly collected the pepper from petty merchants and partly from cultivators directly. From South Malabar the pepper was collected through small traders. There was a chance of the traders exploiting the cultivators using the advancing (putting out) system. But merchants said that their profit was from buying the pepper at 640 lbs a *candy* and selling at 600lbs per *candy*.⁹⁰ Due to the cheapness of French freight services and also due to less restrictive trade in Europe the French were able to offer Rs. 200/ to Rs.230 per *candy* for pepper. The British were able to offer only Rs. 150 per *candy*. This vast difference in price attracted all the pepper sellers to Mahe. The Company's vigil failed to prevent the movement of pepper to Mahe.⁹¹ All the foreign residents of Cochin were prohibited from trading within the Company's limit.⁹²

In Southern Malabar the Company entered into contract with an Arab trader Essak who agreed to deliver to the Company before 31st March, 1794, 4000 *candies* of pepper at Calicut at the rate of Rs.200/. In the event of non- fulfilment of the contract, one lakh Rupees was to be imposed as fine.⁹³ (see table 4.2 for pepper price) In 1794 Essoph, an Arab merchant sold pepper to the Company at Rs.200/ per *candy*.⁹⁴ M\ s Brown and

88

Buchanan ., op.cit., p.531.

89

Ibid., p.532.

90

Ibid., p.533.

91

Letter from R. Rickards , Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 12th July, 1803 to the Board of Revenue Fort St. George .M. Vol. No. 2298. p. 58.

92

Principal Collector to James Durmond M,Vol, No.2233, p.300.

93

Mr .Agnew to Robert Taylor, Calicut, dated 2nd November, 1793. M.Vol.No.8331, p.115.

94

Denier and Chacooty agreed to deliver 6000 *candies* of pepper by 1st June ,1795 at the rate of Rs.200 per *candy* of 600 lbs. Out of this 3000 *candies* would be supplied to the Commercial Resident of Calicut and balance 3000 *candies* to the Tellicherry Commercial Resident. The Company also entered into an agreement with Essof Bin Saleem for the supply of 3000 *candies* at the rate of Rs.205 per *candy* of 640 lbs.⁹⁵ This was an indication that by the end of the 18th century the pepper production of Malabar was around 10,000 *candies*.

The price of pepper was considerably high during 1790's. There were several reasons behind the price hike of the 1790's. Far from the East India Company succeeding in establishing its monopoly or even favourable terms of trade it was the merchants and the Rajas who combined together to establish a veritable monopoly. It was reported that there was a combination of merchants of Tellichery and Calicut to keep up the price of pepper.⁹⁶ If anybody attempted to undersell them, then they would ruin him.⁹⁷ These merchants brought pepper at cheaper rates from the cultivators and sold at a higher price to the Company⁹⁸ The Company never tried to purchase pepper directly from the cultivators for fear of losing the advance that had to be given to the cultivators. Less profit and less risk was the Company's policy. The merchants bought the pepper by a *candy* of 680 lbs and sold it to the Company at 640 lbs, unless otherwise specified in the contract.⁹⁹ In 1796 it was

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.212.

⁹⁶ M.Vol.No. 8831, p.100.

⁹⁷ Letter from Agnew to Robert Taylor, Calicut dated 2nd November, 1793, M.Vol.No. 8331,p.82.

⁹⁸ George Parry to the Governor in Council in Bombay, M, Vol.No. 8331, p.82 .

⁹⁹ Nightingale, *op .cit.*, p.78.

Malabar Custom Collector's letter to the Board of Trade, M, Vol.No. 2186, p. 11. Buchanan *op.cit.*, p.533.

reported that the merchants bought the pepper at an average price of Rs.160 per candy, whereas the merchants contracted price averaged around Rs.200 per *candy*¹⁰⁰ and the merchants earned a profit of 25%. However Buchanan in 1801 gave a different account of the petty traders of the interior of the district. They advanced money to the cultivators for the delivery of pepper. If the money was advanced 6 months before the delivery, their profit was around 87½ %. In case of four months advance the profit declined to around 66%.¹⁰¹ It is quite obvious that since the petty traders were advancing money, they were in a better position to control not only the price but also the weight of the *candy* of pepper that the merchants bought from the cultivators without giving any advance.

Another reason for the rise in pepper price in the early 1790s was the fall in production in Malabar due to internal disturbance, especially by Pyche Raja of Kottayam, which produced one half of the total pepper production in northern Malabar. The highest quality of pepper exported by the Company in the 1790's from Malabar was 4778 *candies* of 600lbs in 1798¹⁰² There was also a fall in the production of pepper in Bantam and Lampung of Indonesia during 1780's and 1790's due to internal disturbances.¹⁰³ By the end of the 18th century production declined in Sumatra also.¹⁰⁴ Moreover the recurrence of piracy in the Sunda straits and British naval blockade during the Napoleonic wars adversely affected the supply of Indonesian pepper to the European markets.¹⁰⁵ This increased the

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Letter from the Joint Commissioners to the Supervisor, 15th May, 1796, M.Vol.No.8331, p.115.

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Buchanan, *op.cit.*, p.523.

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Millburn. *op. cit.*, Vol.II, p.325., Buchanan, *op.cit.*, p.531.

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Bastin.J, *op .cit.*, p.33.

¹⁰⁴

Ibid., p.43 .

¹⁰⁵

demand for Malabar pepper. Increasing country trade on the western coast was also some time attributed to the increase in the price of pepper in 1790s.¹⁰⁶

However, by the beginning of the 19th Century “The black gold” (pepper) lost its world market and there was a fall in price in Malabar. The fall in price was not a phenomenon confined to Malabar only as there was a fall in price of pepper in the English markets.¹⁰⁷ The loss of market was due to a variety of causes such as increased production in the Malaysian Archipelago and Indonesia, East India Company’s indifferent economic policy and contemporary world political condition. In the beginning of the 19th Century Sumatra’s share in the production of pepper was 50% whereas Malabar’s share was only 8% of the total production of pepper in the East.¹⁰⁸ In 1824 Malabar, including Travancore and Cochin, was producing only 9% of the entire eastern production of pepper.¹⁰⁹ According to John Phipps, by the beginning of the 1830’s the share obviously went further down as 9% of the entire eastern production now became the share of the whole of western India¹¹⁰. He had estimated the pepper production of Eastern Islands at 3,30,000 *picules* (one picule=72 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs) and the western coast of India at 30,000 *picules*. The above data show that the share of Malabar in the eastern production of pepper was not significant.

Malabar pepper lost its Bengal market to the pepper from eastern islands. The pepper from Malabar and Eastern Islands was sold in Calcutta as high as Rs.20/per factory *maund* in 1804/5. But the price gradually declined. The Eastern Island pepper was cheaper

Ibid., p.32.

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Furber, H., *op.cit.*, p.175.

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Bastin ,J., *op.cit.*, p.21.

¹⁰⁸

Ibid., 34.

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Nicholas Trailing, *British Policy in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, 1824-1871*, Oxford, 1969, p.133.

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John Phipps, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

than Malabar pepper. In 1812 Malabar pepper was sold at Rs.10/ per factory *maund* at Calcutta whereas pepper from eastern Islands was selling only at Rs. 8 ½/ per mound. ¹¹¹ The Governor General had rejected the suggestion of the Principal Collector of Malabar that the Company annually buy 2000 *candies* of Malabar pepper for Calcutta as the pepper from Eastern islands was cheaper than Malabar pepper.¹¹² The Court of Directors had authorized an investment in Malabar pepper for the season 1810/11 to prevent the extirpation of the pepper vines. The price of pepper at the London market was less than 7 pence per pound and the Company's unsold stock was 9 million pounds. ¹¹³

This did not mean an absolute decline in the production of pepper in Malabar. In fact the production and export of Malabar showed a gradual and slow increase despite the fall in price with the minimum exportation by sea being 2220 *candies* worth Rs.268719 in 1810, the maximum being 17,334 *candies* in 1845-46, worth Rs.10, 44,558. This was the highest quantity exported and maximum value obtained during the first half of the 19th century. For the quantity and value of pepper exported during the first half of the 19th century see **Appendix no. I**. It had been estimated that pepper exported by ports under the Madras Presidency per year was between 500-700 *candies* ¹¹⁴

None the less the decline in terms of world production was striking. It reflected the inability of Malabar to hold on to its production in the international market. It is significant that a large number of pepper plantations were started in Malaya, Malacca,

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¹¹² Export ware house 4th July, 1812, M.Vol.No.2256, p.229.

¹¹³ M, Vol.No. 2256,8th ,July ,1812, p.225.

¹¹⁴ Extract of a letter in the Commercial Dept .from the Court of Directors to the Governor in Council at Bombay dated 10th July, 1811, M.Vol.No.2463, p.42.

M .Vol.No., 2194, p.29.

Sumatra, and Java in response to the high prices of pepper in the 1790's and even before. As against this, there were no big pepper plantations in Malabar except one at Randatharrah. This was started by the Company in 1797, later it became one of the biggest cinnamon plantations in Asia.¹¹⁵ In Malabar pepper was cultivated in small plots. Moreover, Europeans were not permitted to hold lands in Malabar till the 1830's and this obviated the possibility of European capital being invested in big pepper plantations in Malabar.

During the early part of the 19th Century the Company found that the Americans, who maintained no settlement in northern Sumatra, carried a considerable trade in pepper.¹¹⁶ They were chiefly from Boston and Salem in U.S.A.¹¹⁷ and were under selling the Company in the European markets. Americans, whose carrying rate was less than the Company's, shipped about 5,000 tons of Susu pepper to Boston and from there it was carried to the Caribbean and Europe generally through the Mediterranean and Levantine ports.¹¹⁸ In the beginning of the 19th Century, the Company lost interest in the pepper trade and stopped investment in Malabar because the Company's warehouses in London were over-stocked by unsold pepper. The result was the sudden fall of price of Malabar pepper to Rs.120/ in 1800.¹¹⁹ The price of pepper in London market slumped from 15 5/16 d in September 1801 to 9 11/16 in September 1803. In September 1805 it went down to 8 ¾ d.¹²⁰

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Sreedhara Menon, .A., *op. cit.*, p. 345.

¹¹⁶

Nicholas, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

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Bastin .J., *op. cit.*, p.26.

¹¹⁸

Bastin.J., *op.cit.*, p.26.

¹¹⁹

Buchanan ,*op.cit.*, p.535.

¹²⁰

Nightingale, *op.cit.*, p.125.

The Milan and Berlin decrees of 1806/7, which closed the continental market for British Goods, further brought down the price in London and Malabar.¹²¹ In 1806 the pepper price in the London market slumped to 8 ½ d per pound.¹²² The price of pepper in Tellichery in 1806 was only Rs.80/ per *candy*.¹²³ In 1806 the government was forced to grant a remission on lands producing pepper and temporary suspension of the export duty until the first half of January 1807.¹²⁴ In the same year the Court of Directors suggested Malabar pepper to Canton. But the Madras commercial department objected to it as the price of pepper in Fort Maribor was lesser than that of Malabar pepper.¹²⁵ Moreover there was fluctuation in the Canton market. The government measures did not give much impetus to pepper trade and the price around 1809/ 10 was Rs.80/- per *candy*.¹²⁶ The Court of Directors authorized an investment in the Malabar pepper for the season 1810-11 to prevent the extirpation of pepper vine¹²⁷ and forbade further shipment of pepper to Ceylon(This was to prevent further increase in the pepper stock of London). The annual export of pepper to Ceylon for cinnamon investment varied from 200-500 *candies*.¹²⁸ The price of pepper in Malabar

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New Cambridge Modern History, Vol.no.9,Cambridge 1971,p.326-327.

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Bastin ,J., *op. cit.*, p.23.

¹²³

Letter from the Northern sub Collector to the Principal Collector of Malabar, 8th August,1806,M.Vol.No.2176, p.29.

¹²⁴

Letter from the Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Malabar Principal Collector, M.Vol.,8332, p.17.

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Commercial dispatch from Madras to England dated 15th, October, 1809, Vol.No.5. p.168.

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General report.Vol.No.15, 1st ,October, 1809, p.141.

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Court of Director's letter to the Governor in Council, Bombay, M. Vol, 2463, p.41.

¹²⁸

M.Vol.No. 2463, pp.21- 23.

continued to fall considerably. In 1831 the selling price of pepper was Rs. 32 per *candy* of 680 lbs.¹²⁹ It was the lowest price of pepper quoted during the first half of the 19th century.

The Governor of Madras had attributed the decline of pepper trade to the high pepper vine tax and high export duty.¹³⁰ The pepper was assessed at 1/3 of the produce and besides a duty was besides levied on all pepper exported at the rate of 11 ½ % on a high tariff. In 1804, the assessment was reduced to 1/6 of the produce and by the orders of the government dated 11th April, 1806, the assessment was abolished altogether. At the same time the article was exempted from export duty for few months up to the 1st January, 1807, when the collection of the duty recommenced.¹³¹ However the government was not ready to loose the tax from pepper cultivation and it proposed to levy either a quit rent on the land or high export duty.¹³²

Madras Presidency government was very much interested in the extension of the pepper vine cultivation and took note of the fall in trade, and drop in price from early 19th century and the destruction caused by Pyche rebellion. The Malabar Principal Collector Thomas Warden and the Governor of Madras Presidency took some steps to ameliorate the sufferings of the producers and to boost the trade. An extension in cultivation would increase the government land revenue and export would bring export duty. However, the decision regarding the Company's purchase of pepper was made by the Bombay Government and its Commercial Resident in Malabar. Their actions were purely to protect

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General report.Vol.No.14, p.223.

¹³⁰

Letter from the Secretary to the Madras government to the Malabar Principal Collector dated 12th May , 1806, M.Vol.No.8332, p.18.

¹³¹

Letter from the BOR, Fort St.George, dated 31st, July, 1809, to the Governor -in-Council, reporting the revenue settlement of Malabar for 1807/08.

¹³²

Letter from the Secretary to the Government., Fort St. George, to the President and Members of the BOR. Fort St. George dated.6th March ,1806.BORP.Vol.No.423.P.1594.

the commercial interest of the Company and not the welfare of the people of Malabar. On one hand the Company stopped the purchase of Malabar pepper from the early 19th century and on the other hand it maintained heavy export duty based on unrealistic custom tariff which was always above the current market price of pepper. This had discouraged other foreign merchants from purchasing Malabar pepper for exportation .Lack of buyers resulted in the fall in price of pepper and pepper cultivation became unprofitable. This had discouraged further extension of pepper cultivation. In 1806 Thomas Warden proposed to reduce the high export duty on pepper, which was introduced to keep away the Company's European and native competitors from dealing with Malabar pepper. Thomas Warden recommended that either the Company should reduce the high export duty imposed on pepper or the Company should buy pepper from Malabar. He wanted the Company to restart investment(purchase) in Malabar pepper to protect the pepper cultivation which had become unprofitable .The Governor had ascribed the high tax on pepper vine and high export duty responsible for the crisis in pepper cultivation which was no more profitable. He was of the opinion that high export duty was responsible for the loss of commerce which was once valuable to the people of Malabar. The Governor hoped that once the duty and taxes were rationalized, the superiority of Malabar pepper would bring back the commerce to Malabar.¹³³ In 1807 T. Warden had calculated the total annual production of pepper at 3500 *candies* and at Rs.80 per *candy* the value of total production was Rs.2,80,000.However, as per the custom house record the export by sea in 1807 was 6802 *candies* of 560 lbs. (**See Appendix. no. I**) But the export duty collected was 11½% on the custom tariff rate of Rs.150 per *candy*. The high export duty collected on the basis of high tariff rate had boosted the export price to (80+17.25) Rs. 97.25 instead of (80+9.20) Rs.89.20. Thus an exporter had to pay an extra duty of Rs.8.05 per *candy*. Thomas Warden

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had suggested to reduce the custom tariff from Rs.150 to Rs.100 per *candy*.¹³⁴ This heavy duty was imposed for the purpose of repressing private trade or to eliminate competition from private traders.¹³⁵ Later the Company stopped purchasing Malabar pepper as the London market was overstocked. At the same time company maintained high export duty which discouraged European private traders from purchasing Malabar pepper. Heavy land tax, high export duty, low demand and falls in price discouraged pepper cultivation and caused great hardship to the peasants. The Board of Revenue recommended the suspension of export duty because of the depressed market both in India and Europe. This was also aimed at protecting pepper cultivation. It is assumed that this step would enable the Malabar merchants to supply distant markets at a cheaper rate.¹³⁶ The export duty varied in accordance with the country to which pepper was being exported 15% duty was imposed on pepper exported to British colonial and Asiatic foreign ports, 18% when exported to European states or U.S.A, 2 ½ when exported to England and 5% when exported by land to native states and 16% to the French settlement of Mahe.¹³⁷ Out of total average export of 8751 *candies*, 3953 *candies* were exported to British and Asiatic ports which paid 15% duty, 176 *candies* exported to foreign ports which paid 18% duty, 1514 *candies* were exported to U.K and it paid 2 ½ % duty another 1784 *candies* were exported to U.K from Bombay .Total average export by sea was 7427 *candies*. Exportation by land was 1231 *candies* and export to Mahe was 93 *candies*. In addition to this, a double duty was imposed

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General Report, Vol. No.13, p.105.

135

General report. Vol.No.12, 5th, October, 1806. p.84.

136

Letter from the BOR to the Governor in Council, 30th, March, 1813, M.Vol.No.2498, p.221.

137

Report of the Principal Collector, Calicut.5th. August, 1826. M.Vol.No.4046, p.43.

if pepper was exported in foreign bottoms under clause 8.section XVII.Reg.II of 1812.¹³⁸ The latter duty was introduced according to the order of the Court of Directors.¹³⁹ Such a high duty on an article which was facing world competition was a tax on the consumption, as well as on production especially in the case of pepper.¹⁴⁰ Even though Mahe was restored to the French on 27th Jan, 1817¹⁴¹ the average annual *export of pepper to Mahe during 1819 to 1823 by land and sea was only 93 candies*. The lowest quantity of 82 candies was exported in 1825/26.¹⁴² This was one of the glaring examples of how the Company's commercial policy affected the external pepper market of Malabar. Mahe had been the centre for the export of Malabar pepper during the 1780's and 1790's. By 1826/27 the Malabar merchants started to export pepper direct from Malabar ports instead of sending through Mahe and this resulted in the reduction of land customs¹⁴³.

As for the economic policy of the Company, it may be mentioned that the tariff rate of pepper never agreed with the market price which was highly fluctuating. The tariff valuation of pepper in 1809-10 was Rs.150/ per *candy* while the market price never exceeded Rs.100 per candy.¹⁴⁴ Murdock Brown, later a free trader at Mahe, complained that on exportation of pepper to Mahe, he was charged 18% on the tariff valuation of Rs.85/ per *candy* while the real value at market rate was only Rs.62.¹⁴⁵ Sheffield, the Principal

¹³⁸ M.Vol.No.4822 , p.15.

¹³⁹ Phillips. C. H. East India Company, 1784 -1834 (Oxford.1961), p.109.

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Holt Mackenzie's, Memorandum on the Abolition of Transit Duties, British parliamentary papers,1831-32,session,Vol.No.9.Appaendix.No.146.

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M.Vol.No.2435, p.43.

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M.Vol.No.4046, p.198.

¹⁴³

M.Vol.No.4800, p.114.

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General Report dated 1st October, 1809, Vol.No.15, p.123.

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Collector of Malabar, recommended, in order to enable the Malabar pepper to compete in foreign markets, a fluctuating and *advalorem* tariff rate and a reduction of the duty on pepper passing to Mahe from 18% to 15%.¹⁴⁶ The Court of Directors ordered an investment in Malabar pepper during March and April 1815 probably anticipating an end to the Napoleonic War.¹⁴⁷ The Company during 1813 and 1814 had made an investment in pepper. In 1815 it was to the extent 3,700 candies at the rate of Rs 98 per *candy* or Rs.3, 62,600. In 1816 the investment was 3,650 *candy* at Rs.105 per candy or Rs.3, 83,250.¹⁴⁸

The Tellicherry merchants reported that in 1814/15 the price paid by them to the cultivators was from Rs.86 to 109 per candy or the average of Rs.97.5. In 1815/16 the price was from Rs.78 to Rs.113 (average Rs.95.5) and in 1816/17 from Rs.73.5 to Rs.89 (average Rs.81.5) making the average of 3 years Rs.91.5. Not satisfied with the information from the traders, the Collector had directly collected the rates from the cultivators of the pepper producing areas of Cotiote (Kottayam), Irevanad and Tellicherry and the average rate was Rs.89/ per candy.

The European merchants found an alternative pepper market in Travancore where the government, with an effective commercial department, had established a monopoly in pepper around 1743/44.¹⁴⁹ The Travancore government collected all the pepper at Alleppy (port town) and sold to the highest bidder. Later the monopoly was

¹⁴⁶ General report, dated 3rd January, 1829 Vol.No.42 & 43, p.153.

¹⁴⁷ M.Vol.No.4822, p.15. General report Vol.No.42&43, p.154.

¹⁴⁸ Commercial despatch from England to Bombay, 3rd January, 1815, Vol.No.1, p.48.

¹⁴⁹ Report from Mr .I. Vaughan, Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 13th, July 1817, to the Board of Revenue Fort St.George, reporting on the revenue derived from pepper, Cassia, etc. in Malabar, BORP.Vol.No.759, p.8089.

Ashin Das ., *op. cit.*, p. 34 and also see Buchanan, *op.cit.* ., p.457.

abolished and an export duty of Rs.15% per *candy* was substituted¹⁵⁰ and supplied to the foreign ships in Alleppy at a fixed price, inclusive of carriage and packing charges.¹⁵¹

In 1823 the demand for Malabar pepper was dull, because the French government prohibited the import of British colonial produce.¹⁵² The Collector of Malabar pleaded that the foreign merchants should also be treated on the same footing with the British merchants. This suggestion was to lure them back to Malabar pepper.¹⁵³ The French export of pepper from Travancore from 1823 to May 1826 was 3672 *candies* of 500 Ibs whereas from Tellicherry, Mahe and Connannore during the same period French exported only 1326 *candies*.¹⁵⁴ It was said that the merchants of Tellicherry had imported pepper from Eastern islands for re-exportation as it was cheaper than Malabar pepper.¹⁵⁵ But the researcher has come across only one instance during the period 1820-1850 when pepper worth Rs.16, 000 was imported from Malacca settlement in 1841/42.¹⁵⁶

Despite the fall in price, Malabar pepper in the first decade of the 19th century saw gradual revival of export in pepper trade. The quantity exported was increasing as shown in the following table. The quinquennial (1804-1808) average quantity of pepper exported was 5178 *candies*. **(See table 4.3)** In the next quinquennial period, ending 1813/14

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¹⁵¹ Velupillai, T.K., *Manual of Travancore*, Vol.No.3. Trivandrum, 1940, p. 595.

¹⁵²

Letter from the Principal Collector to the Board of Revenue, dated 27th, December, 1828, M.Vol.No.8332, P.474. Buchanan.*op.cit.*p.457

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General report Vol.Nos.42&43, p.150.

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Malabar Collector's letter to the BOR, M.Vol.No.4822, p. 15.

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General Report.Vol.Nos.42& 43, p.151.

¹⁵⁶

Letter from the Board of Trade to the Collector of Sea Customs in Malabar., M.Vol.No.2464,p.237.

¹⁵⁶

M.Vol.No.7905,p.80.

,the quantity fell to 2537 *candies*. There after the quantity exported increased and the maximum quantity exported were 12870 *candies*. In 1832/33 the export was 14269 *candies* and in 1833/34 the export was 10545 *candies*.¹⁵⁷ In 1844/45 the quantity exported was 12870 *candies*. The biggest quantity annually exported was 19851 *candies* in 1855/66 and this was followed by 17334 *candies* in 1845/46. In 1849/50 the quantity declined to 14221 *candies*. **(See table 4.4)** This demonstrated that with the increase in pepper export points at increased production. But the price of pepper did not keep pace with the increase in production and export. During 1833-56 the price was between Rs.50-63 per *candy*.

In fact the price was declining as described above and as shown in the table. The price in the chart was calculated from the custom tariff. This fall in price would have been higher than what was shown in table as the custom tariff was higher than the market rate. However it gave an indication of price fall. Thus a product which was getting a price of Rs.200 in 1797 lost its market and the prices started to nosedive. The price after 1807 was around Rs.80 per *candy*. After 1828/29 it fell below Rs.60 and in 1831 it was as low as Rs.32 per *candy* of 680 lbs.

2. Cardamom

Cardamom was another important spice and agricultural produce exported from Malabar. It is a wild growth in its production and cultivation, which was limited to the taluq of Wayanad. Wayanad cardamom was considered as the best in the world. It was not an article of internal, coastal and overland export trade. Some quantity of cardamom reached Malabar from Coorg but it was not as good as Wayanad cardamom. From the time immemorial the cardamom was a royalty in Malabar .In Canara it was the property of the

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ryots.¹⁵⁸ The lands which produced the cardamom paid no tax. The cardamom was some time under the direct management of the government and sometime under farming. The collection was farmed to the highest bidder (farmer/renter), to whom the cultivator was compelled to deliver the whole produce.¹⁵⁹

When the market price was from Rs.800-1000/per *candy* of 640 lbs, the government directed farmers that the growers should be paid from 550- 700rupees per *candy* .The contractors evaded these instructions to a great extent by putting on an enhanced value on the coin in which he paid to the producer or by compelling the peasants to take goods in lieu of money. It was reported that not even one hundredth part of the produce was consumed by the natives.¹⁶⁰ For many years the settlement made by .T.H. Baber, Northern division Sub - Collector in 1807-08 existed between the government and proprietors of the lands on which the cardamom trees stood. According to the settlement the proprietors had to give the whole produce to the government .For half of the produce the government paid Rs.1150 per *candy* of 720 lbs. Due to increased production of cardamom and other causes the price of cardamom had declined. Mr. I. Vaughan, the Principal Collector of Malabar made a settlement with the producers/proprietors that agreed to pay for the half of the produce at the current price cardamoms actually sold in the coast.¹⁶¹ It had been reported that when the market price of cardamom was from Rs.800 -1000 per *candy* of 640 lbs the government had compelled the growers to part with it at a price varying from Rs.550-700. The price the producers received was further slashed by the farmers (renters) who

¹⁵⁸ Malcolm Lewin's evidence before the Select Committee on the Affairs Of the East India Company,1831-32 session,(B.P) Book.No.9.Vol.No.XI,p.240,par. 2808.

¹⁵⁹ Letter from the Cardamom Department to the Board of Revenue, 12th September, 1821, M.Vol.No.4790, p.45.

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¹⁶¹ Evidence before the Lords op.cit., p.215, S-21.

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H.S.Graeme'sReport-1822- op.cit.,p.255,par 1316

arbitrarily put an enhanced value on the coin in which they paid the producer.¹⁶² In 1819 Mr. Vaughan suggested that the cardamom collected from Malabar should be sent to Bombay rather than selling to Calicut merchants by public sale. He was of the opinion that the Calicut merchants would offer a low price thereby reducing the profit of the Company. The merchants offered Rs.500 per *candy* of 640 lbs and out of this the *ryots* share amounts to Rs.350 leaving the Company only Rs.150 per *candy*. Formerly the Company was getting Rs.450 per *candy*.¹⁶³ The Principal Collector of Malabar in 1827 made a settlement with the producers of cardamom according to which they were paid at Rs. 600 per *candy* while the prices in the coastal towns were Rs.700 per *candy*.¹⁶⁴ A Parsee Merchant Dara Shah Cursetjee had rented the cardamom farm of Malabar for 1833/34 to 1835/36 the above amount and the average annual rent for the above three years was Rs.21,000.¹⁶⁵ For cardamom farming (**see table 4.5**).

The biggest quantity of annual export of cardamom was 210 *candies*, amounting to Rs.1, 03,896, in 1811 at the rate of Rs.495 per *candy*. However, during 1820/21, 149 *candies* of cardamom were exported valued at Rs.1, 41,721 at the rate of Rs.951 per *candy*, showing an increase of Rs.457 per *candy* or Rs.52% more than that of 1811. (For the quantity and value of cardamom export **see Appendix. no. I**) But in 1833/34 same quantity of 149 *candies* was exported for Rs.12, 666. showing a fall in price. The

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Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs Of the East India Company, 1831-32 session, (B.P) Book.No.5.Vol.No. VIII. p. 73.

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Letter from the Principal Collector , Mr.Vaughan, to the BORP, 22nd November, .1819, Vol.No.840, p.10578.

¹⁶⁴

General Report, Vol.Nos.46-49, p.529.

¹⁶⁵

BORP.Vol.No.1378, 5th September 1833., p.317.

smallest quantity exported was 21 *candies* valued at Rs.16,454 in 1805 and the price was Rs.783.5 per *candy*.

As per the quinquennial average the biggest quantity of 154 ton was exported in 1849/50 and the average price as per custom tariff was Rs.337 per *candy*. (see table 4.5). The lowest was 61 candies in 1804-08 period and the tariff value per *candy* exported was Rs.844.

3. COCONUT

Coconut was an important agricultural produce closely connected with the agrarian economy of Malabar and was also an important agrarian commodity exported from Malabar. In between 1804 1852/53, with exception of 1846-49, the number of coconuts exported was 1,23,56, and 13,123. The government obtained revenue in the form of land tax and export duty. Its production, price and export were closely connected with large number of people, labour, cultivators and land lords. As per the quinquennial average based on the custom house accounts the export of coconut was high in 1813/14. (For the quinquennial and annual export of coconut see table 4.6 and 4.7) There after that it slumped in 1818/19 to 18683454 numbers. It continued to rise since then as shown in the chart and graph. The volume of coconut export depends on production and demand. However increase in production and export did not bring corresponding economic benefit for the peasants as the prices were fluctuating and in 1850's the price was declining. Decrease in price for such an important agricultural produce had adversely affected the economic prosperity of Malabar.

4. COPRA (Dried coconut kernel)

Copra, the dried kernel of coconut, was pressed in the mill to extract coconut oil. Coconut oil was one of the important agricultural manufactures of Malabar. It was exported from Malabar in increasing volume. As per the quinquennial average, the lowest

quantity 4905 candy worth Rs.129252 was exported in 1804-1808 .Thereafter the volume of export went on increasing

As per the quinquennial average, the highest quantity of 13129 candies of copra valued at Rs.312479 was exported in 1844/45. It was mainly exported to Bombay and its overland export was very negligible. Increase in the volume of export indicated that the production of copra was increasing. With every year the export of copra was increasing and it was remarkable in 1850's. The highest annual quantity was exported in 1852/53 when 31,144 candies worth Rs.5,50,279 was exported. For the quinquennial and annual export and the price of copra (**see table 4.8 and 4.9**). Even though there was increase in production and export the price (as per custom house tariff) did not increase correspondingly and in fact it declined as shown in the table and graph. The fall in price was drastic depriving the cultivators of any advantage from increased production.

5. Betel Nut

Betel nut was another important garden produce exported by sea. This was also exported by land to Coimbatore and other eastern districts. Volume and value wise it was not an important agricultural produce. For details about the quinquennial value and quantity of export refer to **table 4.10**

6. Paddy and rice

Perhaps no other agricultural produce had been subjected to such a drastic increase in export as paddy. Malabar was a district deficient in the production of paddy in late 18th century. During the early part of the British rule it depended on other regions for food grains to feed its population. But this situation had undergone a sudden change with increase in area under cultivation resulting increased food production. In 1804 its export of paddy was only 12080 moorah valued at Rs.24,160. In 1812/13 it jumped to 5, 86,010 moorah and compared to 1804 it marked an increase of 4751%, with in a short period of

8years. No other agricultural produce marked such a drastic increase in export during the period of study. In 1824/25 the export was 5,12,128 moorahs, an increase of 4140%.The highest quantity of 17,99,312 moorah was exported in 1845/46 and this was 14,780% over the export of 1804. **(see table 4.11)** This was an exceptional case as the export declined after 1841/42 But overall export of paddy declined since 1850's. This decline in export was caused either by decline of production in Malabar due to untimely rain or lack of demand from areas which traditionally imported Malabar paddy or due to excessive price in Malabar. (The reason behind has been explained in the chapter **No. VII** under price). In 1849/50, 1850/51 and 51/52 there was fall in production between 15-40 % due to unseasonal rain. This resulted in the increase in price and fall in export. In 1849/50 the export was worth only Rs.3376. In 1850/51 the export was worth Rs.35,306. In 1851/52 there was low external demand and the export was less. In 1852/53 the price was high due to famine like condition in Travancore and Cochin. This had discouraged the export. In 1853/54 considerable quantity was exported to Cochin, Coimbatore and Travancore by land and sea. But no account is available on this overland export. The export by sea was 21,492 *maunds*. In 1854/55 there was a sudden increase in export and 541151 maunds worth Rs.7,30,554 was exported. In 1854/55 there was huge export to Bombay irrespective of what had been carried by land and back water to Cochin, Coimbatore and Travancore. .Again there was no record of export by land. The condition was reversed in 1855/56. The rain failed in 1855 and the total rain fall in that year was only 63 inches. The failure of rain had adversely affected the paddy cultivation and production. The taluqs of Palakkad, Themmalpuram, Nedinganad, Kootanad, Betutnad and Chavakkad, the paddy producing taluqs of south Malabar, suffered the most. The problem of deficit production was further aggravated by the exportation of large amount of grain by land and sea to Coimbatore, Cochin and Travancore. This had pushed up the prices of grain. Due to huge scarcity and

extraordinarily high prices Malabar was once again forced to import large quantities of grain from Canara, Bombay and other parts belonging to it. Out of 11, 07,800 Indian *Maunds* imported 9, 03,000 were imported from Canara, and 2, 04,800 from Bombay and its subordinate parts. This was the first time, since Malabar started to export grains, such huge import of food grains was made.

The quinquennial average export of paddy (**see table 4.12**) shows that the export of paddy increased drastically between 1808-1814. The quinquennial average was 2, 21,328 *moorahs*. This proved that in Malabar the paddy production was increasing. The highest quantity of 3, 26,615 *moorah* was exported in 1828/29. There after it showed ups and down. In 1838/39 the export was 2, 48,491 *moorahs*. The volume of trade in paddy was determined by external and internal factors.

6. ARROW ROOT

Arrowroot was another agricultural produce exported from Malabar. This trade was not of much significance. Though a low value product, as shown in the **table 4.13**, its volume of export was increasing from 1804. In 1804 -08 quinquennial period 536 candies worth Rs.13, 419 was exported. Thereafter in every quinquennial year the volume of export was increasing. The maximum quantity of 2273 candies was exported in 1849/50. However the price did not keep pace with the increase in production and export. It showed ups and down. In 1804-08 the price per candy was Rs.25. In 1813/14 quinquennial period the price rose to Rs.31 and there after it declined. In 1849/50 period it was Rs.19 per candy. This product did not play any significant role in the economic life of Malabar. This was mainly cultivated in Wayanad, Eranad and Walluvanad taluqs.

7. TURMERIC

Turmeric was another low value agricultural produce exported from Malabar. It was mainly cultivated in Wayanad taluq. Its contribution in the export earning of Malabar

is insignificant. This agricultural produce also suffered from fall in price as shown in the **table 4.14**. The price and quantity annually exported fluctuated marginally as shown in **table 4.15**.

8. Dry ginger

Dry ginger was another important spice exported from Malabar. Data in this regard are available from 1824/25. Volume and value wise it was an important spice next to cardamom. This product was also exported by overland routes and the information in this regard is very scanty (Ginger was extensively cultivated in the taluqs of Eranad and Walluvanad). As the product or the land on which it was cultivated was not subjected to a land tax there were no data regarding the extent of cultivation and the total produce. From 1844/45 the weight was given in Cwt, which was converted into candies of 560 lbs at the ratio of 5cwt to one candy of 560 lbs.

As shown in the **table 4.16** the annual export was increasing from 1824/25. However the quantity declined from 1832/33 and picked up later. The increase was drastic from 1844/45. The quantum of export during 1850's was very high and the maximum quantity of 8485 candies was exported in 1854/55. The price of dry ginger declined from Rs.49 per candy (in 1826/27) to Rs.20 per candy in 1850's. As the price decreased, which was almost 60% compared to 1826/27 price of Rs.49 per candy, it had deprived the peasants of any economic advantage which they ought to have gained from the increased production and export.

9. Coffee plantations

Several coffee plantations were started in Wayanad by European planters from the middle of 1830's. The land required for the plantations were either purchased or took on lease. It was reported that initially the planters could not get land for plantations because most of the hills suitable for the plantation were in the name of different goddesses and the

local Jenmis (Land lords) were reluctant to lease it. Most of the early plantations were in the vicinity of Kalpetta, Mananthavady. Some of the early planters were M/s.Parry&co,Magrath ope,W.Garrow,J.Morris,ⁱ M/s.Richmond &co. I.Forests. R.G. Lancaster,Mr.J.W.Good Win. The Government at Fort St.George and the Malabar district administration rendered all help to the European planters in getting suitable land from the big land lords and chieftains.

The coffee plantations were not subject to land tax, but coffee gave a duty on exportation. The average produce of coffee per acre was 7 or 8cwt in Wayanad. In Ceylon it was 5 to 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. But M/s. Parry and co. of Kalpetta claimed the yield was 18 to 20 cwt per acre. Average price of estate was 100 to 200 rupees per acre. Fertile and uncultivated waste land was valued at Rs.3 to 5 per acre. The export of coffee in 1844/45 was worth Rs.25, 222 ,in 1851 /52 Rs.135,653,in 1852/53 it was worth Rs 1,76,822. In 1854/55 coffee worth Rs. 2, 43,964 and in 1856/57 for Rs. 4, 50,008 was exported. For the quantity and value of coffee export (**see table 4.17**).The Coffee cultivation and export was increasing very fast in Wayanad. 9see table.no.4.The custom tariff rate was between Rs.17-19 per cwt.(112 lbs).In 1844/45 it was Rs.63 per cwt. This is an indication that the price of coffee started falling since 1850.

Malabar's export in agricultural product was increasing from 1804. The quinquennial average of the value of export had almost doubled with in a period of 40 years. The value is based on the custom tariff rate which was often higher than the actual market price. Real export of Malabar in agricultural produce was higher .As there were no reliable records on the overland export trade the real volume and value of the export of agricultural produce could not be accurately ascertained. Fall in price of high value article like pepper, cardamom and the later fall in volume of export of paddy were some of the factors for the decline in the total value of export. Despite all these drawbacks the export

value was increasing. The value had increased from Rs.12, 89,530 in 1804 to Rs.23, 92,429 (quinquennial value) in 1849/50. **(see table 4.18)**. This was an increase of 86% in the export of the agricultural produce of Malabar with in a short span of 45 years. There were ups and downs in the total value of export depending on the volume and value/price of the article exported.

Simultaneous with increase in production, the export of agricultural product was also increasing. But most of the articles suffered fall in price. The increase in production did not correspondingly bring any economic benefit for the cultivators because of the fall in price. The peasants had to pay the land tax, which was assessed in kind and collected in cash based on a commutation rate which did not take into account the fall in price. Thus the peasants suffered both on account of fall in price and high and irrational land tax.

CHAPTER V

LAND REVENUE

In Malabar land revenue was the most important source of income for the East India Company. Land tax was the major component of the land revenue, this along with several other minor sources of revenue constituted the land revenue. Therefore whenever land revenue is mentioned it denotes land tax. During the early British period land tax comprised the fixed tributes of Cochin Raja and Arakkal Beevi, *moturpha* (professional tax) *Sayer*¹ and some other miscellaneous taxes. In due course some of these sources of revenue were separated from land revenue and put under different heads. In 1802/03 *abkary*² was brought under a separate head.³ The abolition of tax on pepper vines in 1806/97 amounted to an annual reduction of about Rs.1, 20,000 in the land revenue *Jama*(demand). Later the transfer of Cochin Raja's annual fixed tribute of Rs.1,00,000 to the treasury of the British Resident of Travancore in 1808/09⁴ and the partial separation of *moturpha* from land revenue in 1820/21 and full separation in 1825/26⁵ resulted in the fall of the share of land revenue in the total revenue collection. From time to time the land tax collection charges, which formed of 10% of the total land tax demand was added to or separated from the *Jama*. All these measures effected corresponding fall in the land revenue demand. From 1825/26 the annual land revenue mainly consisted of land tax, Beebi's fixed tribute Rs.15,000 and knife tax (very often below Rs.15,000) and land revenue from Cochin possessions and some other trifling miscellaneous taxes⁶. Compared to the land tax, other sources of revenue under land revenue were very insignificant.

¹ *Sayer* was an indirect tax collected from Malabar. All the collections from inconsiderable sources were brought under the general term *Sayer*. This was separately shown from 1809/10. See Appendix.No.II

² The term *Abkary* is applied specially to the duty on spurious liquors. This was separated from land revenue from 1807/08

³ Letter from Mr.I.Vaughan, dated, 20thAugust,1822 to the BOR ,Fort St.George,M,Vol.No.4805.p.69.

⁴ Sullivan ,J Report on the Provinces of Malabar and Canara,29th , January ,1841. to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St.George(Calicut-1916) par.3.

⁵ *Ibid.*,par.3.

⁶ For the sources of land revenue in 1823/24 see table.No.5.3.

The relevance of land revenue in the total revenue collection of Malabar is revealed from the fact that in the early part of the British rule it contributed about 94% to the total revenue of the Company.⁷ Later, with the introduction of non- agricultural taxes like salt and tobacco monopoly and the separation of *moturpha* and *Sayer* from the land revenue, the share of the land revenue declined to 67% of the total revenue collected from Malabar. Land tax, on an average, contributed 95% to the annual land revenue collection. In 1856/57 wet land (paddy) cultivation contributed 69.60%, garden cultivation 26.30% and dry land cultivation 4.10% to the land tax collection.⁸ Since land tax was the main source of income for the Company and as 75% of the population was involved in agriculture, in this chapter emphasis is given to a detailed study of the land tax/land revenue administration under the Company. Topics discussed are the early confusion in the land tax administration under Company, the principle and magnitude of land tax assessment in different surveys conducted under the Company, unequal assessments, commutation rates, total land tax demand and collection in different years, category wise collection from wet, garden and dry land (hill)cultivation and taluq wise collection for few years. Anomalies in the land tax administration are also discussed.

Malabar was officially annexed by the English in March 1792 as per the treaty of Srirangapattinam and was put under the Bombay Presidency. No immediate step was taken for the direct administration of Malabar and it was temporarily left to the Rajas and Chieftains. Lord Cornwallis, Governor General of India, in his order dated 23rd March 1792⁹ directed the Bombay Governor to appoint Commissioners from Bengal and Bombay (known as Joint Commissioners). This was to enquire into the resources and condition of

⁷ See Appendix No II.

⁸ Statistics for 1856/57 are taken from the Malabar land revenue settlement report for 1856/57, M.Vol.No.7954, p.64. In the early period land revenue collection from dry land cultivation was less than 2%

⁹ The Commissioners from Bombay and Bengal were together known as Joint Commissioners. The Bombay Commissioners, initially, were 2 members and later with appointment of William page the strength rose to three. The Bengal Commissioners joined the Bombay Commissioners in December 1792. Logan op.cit., p.475.

Malabar and to suggest ways for its administration and safeguard the Company's interest. In pursuance of the Governor General's above order, the Bombay Commissioners were appointed by General R. Abercromby, the Governor of Bombay Presidency on 20th April.¹⁰ They immediately started the work and its members were W.G Farmer (a senior merchant) and Major Dow (the Military Commandant of Tellicherry). The Bengal Commissioners Jonathan Duncan and William Page later joined the Bombay Commissioners only in the month of December 1792.¹¹

Before the arrival of the Bengal Commissioners, Farmer and Dow (Bombay Commissioners) had entered into agreements with the former Rajas and Chieftains of Malabar for the administration and collection of land revenue for 1792/93. They first made settlements with the northern Rajas of Kadathanad, Chirakkal and Kurumbranad for the payment of a fixed tribute. This mainly consisted of land revenue as the Rajas under the above agreement were prohibited from collecting money in the form of gifts and imposing fines. Later they entered into agreements with Southern Rajas and Chieftains. The Rajas were placed in the revenue management of their respective district and allowed to collect land revenue on the basis of Arshed Beg's settlement. The agreement between the Bombay Commissioners and the Rajas of the north and south were for a period of one year.¹² This was to utilize the influence of the Rajas and their knowledge of their respective kingdoms for one year to maintain peace and collect revenue.¹³ But later developments proved that this was a false hope entertained by the Company. South was mostly under Zamorin (Calicut Raja) and north was under the local Rajas. Zamorin agreed to collect 50% of Arshed Beg's

¹⁰ Logan, *op.cit.*, p.475.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 523.

¹² Written agreement of Chirakkal Raja dated 17th April 1793 given to Mr.Duncan, at Balipattanam, the capital of the Raja, regarding the tax collection of Chirakkal, M.Vol.n.8759, p.350. Translation of an agreement in Persian by the Kadathanad Raja, dated 30th June 1793, and his further clarification and request for removing the error dated 2nd September, 1793, M. vol.No. 8759, p.351. In the agreement it was agreed that the Company take 6/10th of rent and land owner 4/10th

¹³ Krishna Ayyar, K.V, *The Zamorins of Calicut* (From the earlier times down to A.D.1806) First published in 1938, Calicut University edition- 1999, p.240.

supposed Jama from the lands leased to him. Here 50% means, suppose 3 *fanams* were assessed for one *parah* of seed sown, then only 1 ½ fanam was collected.¹⁴ But Farmer reported that Zamorin had collected 3/4th of Arshed Beg's *Jama* (revenue demand) and in some places 6/10th of Arshed Beg's *Jama*. The drawback of this agreement between the Company and the former rulers of Malabar was that the Company had fixed the tribute each of these Rajas had to pay to the government but there was no fixity to the amount the Rajas ought to collect from cultivators. The corrupt *Canangoes* and Diwans¹⁵ could not successfully prevent the extortion of the former rulers of Malabar. This led to clash over tax collection between the cultivators and Chieftain's tax collectors.

The Joint Commissioners' agreements of 1793/94 with the Rajas and other Chieftains were also for one year. Farmer's minutes of early 1793 said that it was the wishes of the Bengal and Bombay government to conclude a permanent settlement with the Zamorin¹⁶. In 1793/94 the *jama* was prepared under the Joint Commissioners from Bengal and Bombay. The Rajas were initially permitted to take 1/5th of the gross collection and later 1/5th of the net collection for their own expenses besides taking 10% of the land for charges of collection. The problem with these arrangements was that the Rajas were generally not acquainted with the management of their own districts and therefore obliged to leave their affairs to the managers¹⁷. These managers were more concerned about their emoluments rather than the reputation of their masters. In consequence the Rajas fell into arrears. This was, despite the fact that the country was fully adequate to pay the rents and probably the

14

'January 1793, M.Vol.No.1666-A, p. 565.

W.G. Farmer 's minutes of 25th

15

Dewans were appointed in the revenue department to help the Supravisor and Superintendents. Logan ,*op.cit.*, p.495.

16

1793, M.Vol.1666-A p.205.

W.G.Farmer's Minutes, 25th January

17

Major.Macleod, *The Jamabandy report of the Division of Coimbatore and the Province of Malabar*, Dated .18th June 1802. Calicut Collectorate press,1911, p.7,par. 35.

whole was realized from the ryots.¹⁸ Initially the Commissioners failed to implement any mechanism to prevent arbitrary collection of land tax by the Chieftains.

Being an agricultural district the life of the people and economy of the area was woven around agriculture and agricultural land. Therefore all measures taken with regard to land were of great concern to the people. Even though the Company had decided to adopt Arshed Beg's settlement it was totally ignorant about it and failed to get a detailed and complete account of it. After the treaty of Srirangapattinam, Tipu informed the Company that he had lost the Malabar *Jamabandy (settlement)* account in Srirangapattinam and only provided information about the total revenue collection (known as Tipu's schedule) made from Malabar¹⁹. The Company could not believe the Rajas and there was nobody in the Bombay administration who knew in detail about Malabar and Arshed Beg's settlement.²⁰

Malabar land tax administration was very complex and unique because of its peculiar land tenures and land relations which existed nowhere in British India. Much effort is required to properly understand the complexities of land relations. Unfortunately the Commissioners from the beginning were in a hurry to safeguard the economic interest of the Company and were mainly concerned about the collection of maximum land tax and were not worried to study about the ancient and established land relations, land customs and traditional sharing of the produce. Without understanding the Malabar situations, the Bombay Commissioners entered into agreement with Rajas and took some measures pertaining to land which had far reaching consequences. A new situation emerged under the Company's rule. All those landlords, Chieftains and Rajas who took refuge in Travancore had returned to Malabar after the expulsion of Tipu from that region. They as landlords put

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, par.35.

¹⁹ M.Vol.No.1661, 21st, August, 1792. p.30.____

²⁰ . *Ibid.*, p. 30.____

claim to their traditional share of the *pattom*²¹ which the cultivators were giving to the government as land tax. Since the cultivators could not escape from the payment of land tax, they had to meet the landlords demand from their share of the produce. Similarly landlords' claim in many cases consumed *kanakkarar's* share of the *pattom*. The *janmis* were armed with new British law which gave them absolute ownership on land (as landlord) with power to evict the cultivators and *kanakkarar* either at the expiry of lease period or on the pretext of non-payment of rent. Under the above circumstances the cultivators and *kanakkarar* had no other option but to yield to the *janmi's* capricious demands. Here started the conflicts between the landlords and peasants.

Before the introduction of Arshed Beg's settlement, the Commissioners ought to have acquired some knowledge about it and the Malabar conditions. But the Joint Commissioner's were ignorant about it. This was clear from Mr. Farmer's minutes recorded, three months after the commencement of his work, on 11th June 1792. He remarked, "...we are as much in the dark as on the first day of our arrival except the districts leased to the Rajah of Kurumbranad as to the real value of the country."²² It was at this juncture the Bombay Commissioners authorized the Zamorin, Southern and Northern Rajas and Chieftains of South Malabar, as per the treaty of 1792, to collect land tax on the basis of Arshed Beg's settlement. This ignorance of the Commissioners was exploited by the Rajas, Chieftains and the landlords who were not well disposed to the idea of parting a portion of their *pattom* (rent) as land tax. While Commissioners were frantically looking for information about Tipu's land revenue settlement, the landlords, Chieftains and Rajas were equally intense in preventing the Commissioners from obtaining any information about it. The result was that these landed classes very often along with corrupt native revenue officers of the Company misled the Joint Commissioners about the total produce, total

²¹ The fixed proportion as agreed to between a *Janmi* (landlord) and cultivator to be given to the *Janmi* as his share or rent. The proportion is paid in kind or in cash depending on the agreement.

²² Minutes of Farmer and Dow dated 15th June, 1792 M.Vol.No.1661, p. 218.

pattom (rent) and traditional sharing of the produce and the essence of Tipu's settlement. The Commissioner's vulnerability could be gauged from their letter to the Governor General of India. It reads as follows "...the great difficulty we laboured under from the total deficiency as to the means of real information reduced us to the disagreeable predicament of being either grossly duped by the Zamorin's ministers or framing arrangements much inferior to the hopes entertained of the country."²³ Landed aristocracy not only tried to prevent the former revenue officers of Tipu from providing valuable information to the Commissioners but also supplied fabricated accounts of Tipu's land assessment and settlement to the Joint Commissioners.

One of the former revenue officers of Tipu, Oudhoot Roy who worked in Malabar had informed the Joint Commissioners that Zamorin's Chief Minister, Swaminatha Pattar, had destroyed all land tax settlement accounts and records of Tipu that were kept at the Calicut *Cutchery* (government office)²⁴. This was corroborated by Singam Pillai who was the former head of Calicut *Cutchery* under Tipu. All the accounts that were kept in the *Suddar Cutchery* of Calicut were taken away by Kesava Pillai (*Diwan* of Travancore) and the Calicut Raja and were either concealed or destroyed. Zamorin's Chief Minister Swaminatha Pattar was particular in removing the former employees, revenue administrators and collectors of Tipu from Malabar for fear that they would reveal the actual collection to the British which he considered to be detrimental to the Zamorin.²⁵ Singam Pillai deposed before William Page and Charles Boddam that the statement which

²³ Letter from the Commissioners to Lord Cornwallis, G.G of India dated 14th August 1792, M.Vol.No.1661, p.480.

²⁴ Evidence of Oudhoot Roy, former revenue officer of Tipu, to the first commissioners. He worked under Suddar Khan, Arshed Beg Khan, Booddo Khan as *Mootsedy*. He was in the Calicut *Cutchery* for 15 years and was well informed about Tipu's land revenue administration of Malabar. After the expulsion of Tipu from Malabar he entered the service of Zamorin. He was expelled from Zamorin's service by Swaminatha Pattar for fear that he would reveal to the British about the revenue potentialities of Zamorin's territory. Logan reported that the Joint Commissioners were misinformed about Tipu's settlement by Oudhoot Roy. Letter from Boddam and Page to the Commissioners, dated 19th Feb. 1793, M.Vol.No..1666-B-p.480.

²⁵ Evidence given before Boddam and W.Page by Singam Pillai, former head *Mootsedy* of the Calicut *Cutchery* under Tipu 17th February, 1793, M.1666-B, p.485.

Swaminatha Pattar formerly delivered to the Commission as the *Jamabandy* (settlement) of Arshed Beg khan was fabricated by Swaminatha Pattar for the purpose of deceiving the Commission and to prevent their making any minute enquiries into the real value of the Country²⁶. Similarly Mr. William Page and Charles Boddam had informed the Commissioners that the revenue account provided by the Palakkad *Achen* (Palakkad Raja's Minister), which was purported to be that of Arshed Beg, in reality was a fabricated one. The ryots had informed them that that they would readily pay Tipu's jama to the Company's servants rather than to the Achen's.²⁷ The Company was so exasperated with the Malabar affairs that W. G. Farmer called a meeting of the Chiefs and *Parvathiers*²⁸ (village tax collectors) in Calicut on 26th August 1792 and warned them that "... Company with great efforts had liberated you from the tyranny of Tipu Sultan. In return for the protection assured by the Company you should pay the assessment quietly and peacefully, failing which the Company would withdraw the protection and deliver back the country to Tipu in exchange for more valuable countries".²⁹

Later the Joint Commissioners claimed that they had obtained from Jinnea, a Brahmin accountant of Tipu,³⁰ a statement of land revenue account claiming to give details of Arshed Beg's settlement of the southern portion of the district for the year 1784-85³¹. Under Tipu North Malabar was surveyed by Anand Row and south By Arshed Beg. In the north the assessment was on the presumption that the government was entitled to half of the produce. This was nearly the same as Arshed Beg's settlement in the South. Based on

²⁶ Letter from Boddam and W. Page to the Commissioners, dated 19th Feb. 1793. M.Vol.No.1666-B-p.510.

²⁷ Letter from Mr. William Page and Charles Boddam to the Commissioners dated 10th March, 1793, M.Vol.No.1666-C. p.834.

²⁸ Every taluq was divided into divisions. Each division had a *Parvathiar* and Menon. Parvathy was responsible for making the collection agreeable to the jama kistbandy of the year. Menons were responsible for maintaining revenue accounts. Letter from the Principal Collector to the Northern Sub Collector, 28th May, 1803, M.Vol.No.2312, p.27.

²⁹ W.G. Farmer's meeting with Chieftains and *Parvathiers* at Calicut, 26th August, 1792, M.Vol.1661, p.520.

³⁰ Minutes of Farmer and Dow, 15th June 1792 M.Vol.No.1661, p 219.

³¹ Logan, *op.cit.*, p.624.

these findings the Joint Commissioners proceeded to discuss the principles on which the settlement was based. Being satisfied with its general correctness, they directed its adoption for Southern districts. In the north also they followed the principles of assessment followed by the Mysore Sultans. Future settlements of Malabar were based on this. However this assessment was unequal and unjust and continued to operate during the entire period of the Company's rule leading to agrarian problems. Most of the problems the Company had to undergo were originated from peculiar land conditions of Malabar. In Malabar the land tax was not a tax on the land under cultivation but on the produce of the land in case of the wet land and the number of trees in case of garden lands. In wet land the produce was calculated from the quantity of the seed sown in a particular area, its outturn multiples i.e. the yield and the fertility of the soil. In Malabar the land under cultivation was not physically measured and the extent of a paddy field was known by the quantity (*parah*) of seed required to sow it i.e. Like 10 *parah Kandum*³² or 15 *parah Kandum*. Ten *parah Kandum* means that extent of wet land which required 10 *parahs* of seeds to sow it. This peculiar system was of the root cause of all problems pertaining to wetland tax. Had it been the extend of the land under cultivation which was taxed, then the Mysore rulers and the Company would have directly measured it and assessed the tax. But finding out the seed sown and produce and *pattom* was the most impossible thing in Malabar due to the corruption of native revenue officers and their collusion with dishonest landlords. As a result the Company never correctly ascertained the actual seed requirement, the actual produce and the actual *pattom*. Every thing was based on estimation, which led to inequality in the wet land tax assessment and future agrarian problems in *Malabar*. Arshed Beg's settlement plan for wet land was as follows. Suppose one *parah* of seed sown would produce in a year 10 *parahs* of paddy, whereof 5 ½ *parah* would be given to the cultivator

³² *Kandum* or *kandam* is a division of the wet (rice) land. It is also spelled as *Candum*. It is also called *nilam* and *padam* Logan, Vol. ii, p. cxc.

and $4\frac{1}{2}$ remain (*pattom*) to be divided between the government and landlord. One *fanam* per *parah* was fixed as the *Jama* and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *parah* went to the landlord and 3 to the government.³³. This was equal to taking 3 gold *fanams* per *parah* of seed sown. But in North the government took $3\frac{5}{16}$ *fanams* per *parah* of seed sown. Here it was pure estimation. It is illustrated as follows.

Suppose one *parah* seed sown produce ten *parahs of paddy*, then it is divided as follows.

To the cultivator	=	$5\frac{1}{2}$ <i>parahs</i>
To Government(tax)	=	3 <i>parahs</i> at 1Gold <i>fanam</i> / <i>parah</i> =3 <i>fanam</i> .
To the landlord	=	$1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>parah</i> at 1 gold <i>fanam</i> = $1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>fanam</i>
Total		10 <i>parahs</i> .

An additional demand of 10% of land tax as charges of collection, which was the practice under the Company, had reduced the proprietors' share by half a *parah* to 5 *parahs* and subsequently increased the government share by half a *parah* to $3\frac{1}{2}$ *parahs*. So the government (land) tax was 35% of the gross produce of 10 *parahs*. The above pattern of the sharing of the gross produce under Mysore Sultan was also corroborated by Oudhoot Roy in his evidence before the Joint Commissioners.³⁴

Arshed Beg's system of assessment and pattern of the sharing of the produce between the tenant, landlord and the government continued in British Malabar with some regional variations. The government either assessed the seed sown (in South Malabar) or the *pattom* (rent) for land tax (in North Malabar) and converted it into money rental by applying a commutation rate. The government's assessment in case of wet land was 3- 5 gold *fanams* per *parah* of seed sown depending on the yield of the soil . In some other cases the yield of one *parah* of seed sown was estimated and the produce was shared

³³ H.S .Graeme , *Report on the Revenue Administration of Malabar*, Dated 14th ,January 1822, par .119.

³⁴ Logan, *op.cit.*,p.611.

between the tenant / *kanamdar* and landlord (*pattom*) on an established pattern and a portion of the *pattom* which formed government's share (land tax) was converted into money rental. The government's share of *pattom* varied from 60% in South Malabar to 72% in North Malabar. The government's share in South Malabar was later raised to 65% of the *pattom*.

Most of the problems which haunted the British Malabar were of colonial contribution and they were due to the wrong decisions taken by the colonial administrators immediately after the annexation of Malabar. The Governor General of India had adopted two measures immediately after the annexation of Malabar which had far reaching negative socio-economic impact over the people of the region. The first was the decision taken to put Malabar under the administrative control of the Bombay Presidency. Malabar with large number of perennial rivers, sea ports and production of valuable condiments was commercially, economically, geographically and strategically an important possession for the colonial government on the western coast of India. Moreover, Malabar was a volatile region whose inhabitants were very sensitive to their customs and traditions. As such its administration should have been in a systematic, orderly and responsible way and important decisions should have been taken after serious and proper deliberation. Unfortunately the early decisions taken by the Company were detrimental to the interest of the region and the people. Putting Malabar under faraway Bombay Presidency, whose administrators were not familiar with Malabar conditions, was an error committed by the Governor General. There was nothing common and binding between these two places except commerce. Their decisions regarding the land tax administration and currency systems³⁵ created socio economic problems in Malabar. Putting Malabar under Madras would have been an appropriate action because of its proximity and language familiarisation. Besides Malabar

³⁵ The confusion crated by the Bombay administration in the currency system of Malabar is discussed in chapter viii under currency.

had extensive overland trade with the adjoining districts of the Madras Presidency. However, the Company was in a hurry to control the commerce and exploit the resources of Malabar and did not properly evaluate the consequences of putting Malabar under the Bombay Presidency. Lord Clive in his minutes said that “... annexation of Malabar to the distant government of Bombay was a mistake. The military establishment and commercial department were retained under the Bombay establishment.”³⁶

The appointment of Commissioners from Bombay and Bengal was the second error committed by the Governor General³⁷. These Commissioners were totally ignorant about Malabar land revenue administration, proprietary rights on land, land tenures, land relations and customary sharing of the produce. Due to these drawbacks, they took two wrong decisions pertaining to land which had far reaching socio-economic repercussions in Malabar. The first was with regard to the ownership of land and the second was with respect to the land revenue administration. The Joint Commissioners, through the proclamation of 28th October 1793, recognized the *Janmis* (landlords) as the absolute proprietors of land.³⁸ In fact, under the ancient systems *Janmis* were not the absolute proprietors of land. According to the several century old customary land relations the *Kanakkaran /Kanamdar* (mortgagee) were the co-proprietors of land along with landlords.³⁹ The *Janmi*, *Kanakkaran* and cultivators had equal rights on land. The Commissioners consulted only the *janmis*

³⁶ Lord Clive's minutes recorded on 5th, September, 1801,(British Parliamentary papers). Book no.3.p. 125.

³⁷ This was despite the fact that Bombay Commissioners were working in Malabar for some time in different positions and not familiar with land relations.

³⁸ Logan., op.cit., p.612.

³⁹ In Malabar *kanam* originally meant supervision or protection. Later a mortgage or lease. Logan ., Vol .ii, clxxxvi *Kanakkarar* was a holder of kanom tenure ,a person who has lent the kanam Logan, op. cit., p.p 611,612 This was a redeemable right. The holder of kanam tenure has been differentially spelled as *kanakkarar*, *kanakkaran* and *kanamdar*. A *kanakkaran* usually took land from landlord for cultivation against the payment of an advance known as *kanam* money. For this advance an interest was paid known as *kanam* interest .At the expiry of the lease period the *Janmi* may renew it by receiving a renewal fine or may lease it out to those who made a higher offer. In the later case the advance was returned to the first *kanamdar*. Logan described the *kanamdar* as a 'cultivating farmer'. The *kanamdars* either cultivated the land himself or sub leased it to other tenants. In the later case he acted as a middleman between the cultivator and landlord.

(landlords) regarding the ownership, total produce, *pattom* (rent) and the proportion of the *pattom* that were to be divided between the government (i.e. the land tax), and the landlord. The Commissioners did not interact with the *Kanakkarar* and the cultivators. In consequence of these developments the *Kanamdar* and the cultivators could not convey matters regarding their ancient rights over land. In fact only the landed interest which gained from the alien colonial power was the landlords. The big landlords got most of their interests accepted by the authorities. This was the beginning of the agrarian problems of Malabar.⁴⁰ The Commissioners' act also later created social tensions and communal disharmony in the district. Subsequently the British revenue authorities realized the mistakes committed by them but were reluctant to rectify them for fear that it would disturb the equilibrium already achieved in Malabar and hinder the smooth collection of land tax. The twin objectives of the British were to take large shares of the agricultural produce as land revenue and while achieving this they were interested in creating a superior right holder of land (LandLords) who acted as their agents in Malabar. Second error was the introduction of Arshed Beg's land revenue settlement under the Company without studying its merits and demerits. This was an exclusive act of Bombay Commissioners before the arrival of the Bengal Commissioners. As mentioned earlier the East India Company did not evolve any independent system of land tax administration in Malabar. The Company simply adopted Mysore Sultan's land revenue administration like principle and magnitude of land tax assessment and commutation rates without any substantial changes. Tipu's system of land revenue settlement was evolved and implemented in 1783/84 by Arshed Beg, the head *Amildar* (civil and military administrator) of Tipu in South Malabar. This is also known as Arshed Beg's settlement.

⁴⁰ Logan ., *op. cit.*, p.612.

Arshed Beg's settlement was defective in several ways. No proper survey was conducted under the Mysore rulers. The actual produce was not ascertained and assessment was based on the supposed (estimated) produce. The Mysore administrators did not take into consideration the then prevailing pattern of the sharing of the produce and *pattom* (rent). It has been pointed out that before the Mysorean conquest of Malabar the *pattom* had been equally shared between the *kanakkaran* and the landlord⁴¹ Tipu's officers made the *pymashy* (survey) and the settlements on the principle that the soil wholly belonged to the sovereign and the people who cultivated the land were only renters. The essence of Mysore settlement was taking a chunk of the *pattom* (rent) as the land tax. In the absence of landlords who took refuge in Travancore to escape the wrath of Tipu, the cultivators and some time the *kanakkarar* readily shared the *pattom*, mostly landlord's share, with the Mysore government. Rather landlord's share of the *pattom* was given to the government as land tax. At times this had exclusively eaten in to *Janmi's* (landlord's) and at times *Kanakkarar's* share of the *pattom*. Moreover nepotism and corruption were part of Arshed Beg's settlement. Mysore revenue officers were bribed by the locals and at times by the *Rajas*⁴² either to get their land under assessed or moderately assessed or to make reductions in the annual tribute of (Northern) *Rajas*. The lands of those who did not bribe the revenue officers were subject to indiscriminate assessment. This anomaly was not rectified during the Mysore rule. The British by adopting Mysorean settlement willfully contributed to the continuation of this anomaly. The British also refused to rectify the inequalities in the assessment which it had inherited from Tipu under some pretexts. Further this settlement of

⁴¹ Logan , *op.cit.*, p.612.

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T.
Warden's Report to BOR. Letter from the Deputed Commissioners (Charles Boddam and W. Page) to the Commissioners, dated.9th, March,1793.BORP.Vol.No.281-A,p.,4968. ext particular reference was pertaining to the reduction in the Tribute paid to Tipu by the Northern *Rajas*, when Tipu's *Amildars* were bribed . M.Vol, No.1666-c, p.880.

Tipu was unpopular among the landlords of South Malabar as previously they had not been subjected to the payment of land tax. The peasants of South Malabar, especially the Mappila cultivators at times revolted against the Mysore land revenue policy. Some areas like Palakkad were under assessed while other areas like Eranad and Walluvanad were over assessed. The Company failed to ascertain the veracity of Tipu's alien land revenue system before its implementation and enforced Arshed Beg's settlement vigorously with the backing of the British force and judiciary.

The wetland assessment was not uniform in Malabar and varied from nadu to nadu.⁴³ The assessment varied in proportion to the yield of the land. The proportion of the government share of the *pattom* (land tax) slightly varied in South and North Malabar. Different patterns of the sharing of the *pattom* or the assessment of wet land tax were followed; English East India Company did not make any reduction in Tipu's wetland tax in Malabar. In 1801 Thomas Warden, the Sub-Collector of the sub division of Palakkad, Conganad and Manoor reported that the highest produce in his district was 15 fold. He had reported that where there was no loan or under simple *pattom* the cultivator was eligible for 4/5th of the *pattom* (here *pattom* was 1/3rd of the gross produce) to discharge the government revenue and 1/5 to the landlord as rent. Here the cultivator was eligible for 2/3rd of the gross produce and the remaining 1/3rd was the share to be divided between the landlord and the government⁴⁴.

In the Naduvattom, where the land was fully assessed, the 4/5th of the *pattom* was entrusted to cultivator by the landlord to pay the land tax. As it was not sufficient enough to pay the government tax because of the low price of the grain, the cultivator was very often forced to encroach upon his 2/3rd of the gross produce, which was considered as "the cultivator's share" to clear the revenue obligation. Here the landlord's share was safe as

⁴³ A territorial division or region.

⁴⁴ Graeme's report, *op.cit.*, par.116.

it was the immediate occupier of the land (cultivator) who was responsible for paying the taxes. The price of paddy was 3 *parahs* and some time 3 ½ and 4 *parahs* per (gold) *fanam*. At the later end of the season it was 1 ½ *parahs* to a *fanam*⁴⁵. Where the assessment was disadvantageous to the landlord, the landlord simply took 1/5th of the *pattom* as his share and asked the ryots to pay the government revenue. Since the government took the tax in cash it was the burden of the cultivator to arrange adequate fund to pay the land tax. Payment of tax in kind would have saved him from all the exploitations. The government fixed a high rate for the conversion of its share of the *pattom* into cash. This rate was very much higher than the market price. Therefore, the cultivator had to sell more paddy to meet the government's demand. According to Warden the sharing of the produce was as follows: Cultivator received 2/3rd (10/15th) , 1/5th of the remaining 1/3rd (1/15th) of the produce was given to the *Janmkarn* (landlord) and 4/5th of 1/3rd or 4/15 of the gross produce went to the government.

Mr.Wye.J,Collector of the subdivision of Betutnad(Vettathnad), Eranad and Sheranad in his report of 4th Feb.1801 reported that 50 % of the produce was the clear *pattom* out of 100 *parahs* of produce. Out of this 50 *parah*, *Kanam* or mortgage interest was reduced. He reported that if one *parah* of seed produce 10 *parahs* of paddy, then the division of the produce was as follows:

	<i>Parahs</i>
To the cultivator of the soil	- 5 ½
To <i>sirkar</i>	- 3
To the landlord	- 1 ½

If 10% Of *kudywashy* (collection charge) is included then

To the cultivator	- 5
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⁴⁵ Graeme's , report, *op.cit.*, par.117-119. It must be around the months of May , June and July when the prices are high.

To the sirkar including 10%	-	3 ½
To the landlord	-	1 ½

Here the *pattom* was 50% of the total produce and the government's share of the *pattom* was 70% (including 10% collection charges.) The irrational commutation rate very often boosted the government share of the *pattom* to 100%. In this case the extra 30% of the *pattom* were to be borne either by the cultivator or the *kanakkarar* whoever agreed to make the tax payment. He reported that per *parah* of seed sown 3 gold *fanam* assessed or one *fanam* was taken per *parah* as the government share. He reported that in Nedinganad due to surprising fertility of the soil the tax on one *parah* of seed sown was three to five *fanams* depending on the fertility of the soil or production.

If the wet land was under the *kanam* tenure then the sharing of the produce between the tenant/ *kanamdar* ⁴⁶, government and landlord of Kizhakkumpuram of the Middle division of Malabar followed a certain policy. It also demonstrated that how the high commutation rates that were used to convert government's share of *pattom* and at times *janmi's* share of the *pattom* into a money rental/cash and the use of special *parahs* (known as *Janmi parah* or *pattom parah*) used to measure *pattom* were harmful to the interests of the cultivators. High commutation rate and special *parah* very often compelled the cultivator/ mortgagee to pay an additional amount (if paid in cash) which was very often equal to 20-30% of the *pattom* to satisfy the government and landlord. It also points to the factors responsible in depriving the cultivator of the produce kept for his subsistence. To a question from Mr. James Hodgson, Acting Assistant of the Middle section of Malabar, one Chatan panikkar of Cheloor *tarah* (a section of a village community) replied in 1797 that he had been holding a paddy ground of deceased (late) Cutchery Namboori (Nambbodiri) for a *kanam* of 425 *fanams* for 45 years. For this wet land a *pattom* of 145 *parahs* of paddy

⁴⁶ If the land was under *Verum pattom* (simple rent), then the landlord received the *pattom* directly as there was no intermediary between the landlord and cultivator.

was fixed. Here the *parah* used was of 11 ½ *edangalies* (Macleod seers) instead of usual 10 *edangalies*. The interest on *kanam*, government *nigudi* (*tax*) and landlords share were converted into money at the rate of 1 ½ new gold *fanams* (3 ½ new gold *fanams* made one rupee) per *parah* of the *pattom*.⁴⁷ As the paddy land was under the *kanam* tenure first the *pattom* was fixed and from it the *kanam* interest was deducted and after that government *nigudi* (land tax) was defrayed and paid by the cultivator and the balance of landlord's share was paid in money ..

	New gold <i>fanams</i> .
Total <i>pattom</i> of 145 <i>parahs</i> @ of 1 ½ New gold <i>fanams</i> per <i>parah</i>	218
<i>Kanam</i> interest of 21¾ <i>parahs</i> (15% of <i>pattom</i>)	33
Balance 123 ¾ <i>parahs</i>	185
Govt. land tax 90 ½ <i>parahs</i> (62..% of <i>pattom</i>)	135
Landlord's share 33 ¼ <i>parahs</i> (23% of <i>pattom</i>)	51

Here no information is available about the total produce and total measure of the seed sown. The *Kanamdar* (mortgagee) had to measure out an extra 15% of paddy since the *Janmi parah*, the special *parah* used by *Janmis* to measure *pattom* was 15% larger than the usual *parahs* of 10 Macleod seers /*edangalies*. The *kanam* interest formed 15% of the total *pattom* in kind and the remaining *pattom* was shared between the government (62%) and landlord (23%). Including the *kanam* interest the landlord's share was 38% of the *pattom*. Here the *kanam* interest was roughly 8% of the *kanam* amount. Since the volume (measure) of *parah* was fixed at 11 ½ *edangalies* (Macleod seers) instead of usual bazaar measure of 10 *edangalies*, the cultivator had to shell out extra (123 ¾ x 1 ½ =) 185 *edangalies* and @ of 10 *edangalies* to a *parah* it came to 18 ½ *parahs* .At the rate of 1 ½

⁴⁷ Evidence of Chatem Pannikar ,a cultivator and mortgagee of Cheloor *thara* , Kizhakkumpuram of the Middle division befor Mr.James Hodgson,Acting Senior Assistant of the Middle division of the province ,dated.29th July 1797, M.Vol.No.8768, p.285.

rupees per *parah* for 18 ½ *parahs* he paid an extra amount of 27 ¾ *fanams* (Rs.7.90). This amount was shared between the government (Rs.5.60) and the landlord (Rs.2.30). Not only the government's share (tax) of the *pattom* was converted into money rent at 1 ½ new gold *fanam* per *parah*, but also that of the landlord's share of the *pattom* was converted into cash (*fanam*) at the same conversion rate. Moreover the commutation rate applied was higher than the market price of paddy. In 1796/97 the price of 100 *parahs* of paddy in the Betutnad (Vettathunad) taluq (in South Malabar) was quoted at Rs.28½ per 100 *parahs*⁴⁸. Throughout the first half of the 19th century, the average price of 100 *parahs* of paddy never exceeded Rs.28.⁴⁹ In the present case the commutation rate was Rs.42.85. Here the *Kanomdar* (lessee) had to pay an additional 33% because of the difference in the commutation and the market price of paddy. Another negative factor for the cultivator was that the cultivator / *Kanamdar* was forced to sell his produce immediately after the harvest, when the price in the market was very low, to pay the land tax and landlord's share (in cash). Thus, very often the peasants had to sell that portion of the produce which had been kept for his family's subsistence to meet the demands of the government and landlord. There were occasions when the cultivators had to sell even the seed to meet the payment to the government and the landlord.

Apart from the *pattom* very often the *kanamdar* (mortgagee) had to pay the *Vishnu paddy*⁵⁰ to the landlord. In this case from the total *pattom* first the *kanam* interest was deducted and to the balance amount *Vishu paddy* (already fixed by custom or agreement) was added. From this the government revenue was paid. The remaining balance was given to the landlord. Not all the *kanamdars* paid the *Vishu pady*. Some time the *pattom* was not enough to pay for the *kanam* interest after paying the government tax. On

⁴⁸ Letter from J. Smee, Collector of Betutnad dated 29th, August, 1797 to the Second Commissioners of Malabar on the taxation of Betutnad, M. Vol. No. 8767, p.78.

⁴⁹ See table No.7.5

⁵⁰ *Vishu* is a spring festival. *Vishu pady* is a *Vishu* gift.

examination of one Madhavi kutty by Hodgson, she deposed that she had taken some paddy field from Vasso Namburi (Vassu Namboodiri) on a *kanam* tenure for which she paid a *pattom* of 10 new gold *fanams* from which she paid the tax of 8 ½ *fanams*, the remaining 1 ½ *fanam* was not enough for her *kanam* interest⁵¹. Here land tax consumed 85% of the *pattom*. She had requested Mr. Hodgson to take over her *kanam* properly and return her *kanam* money. In one instance some landlords who returned from Travancore, after the expulsion of Tipu from Malabar, sought the help of the Government in getting back their land from the *Kanamdars* against the return of *kanam*(lease) money because the *kanamdars* refused to pay the landlord's share⁵². This was the peculiar situation developed in South Malabar after the expulsion of Tipu and annexation by the Company. Here the landlord's share formed the land tax and the *kanamdars* refused to share the balance produce (*pattom*) left after the payment of land tax with their former landlords. The high assessment and high commutation rates had eaten a lion share of the cultivator's produce and there was hardly any thing left to share with the landlords. But the landlords with the backing of the British court insisted that the cultivators /*kanamdars* should pay the landlord's share, failing to oblige it would lead to eviction for rent arrears. This was the beginning of the landlord tenant conflicts and agrarian problems in Malabar.

The Joint Commissioners continued in Malabar till October 1793 and there after that it was dissolved. The period of the Joint Commissioners was a turning point in the land revenue history of Malabar. Later socio-economic problems of Malabar had its roots in the decisions made by the Joint Commissioners. Their inept handling of Malabar affairs and their bungling, confusion, ignorance and helplessness could be evaluated from Lord Clive's minutes recorded on 5th September, 1801. Lord Clive summed up "...the civil

⁵¹ Evidence given before Mr. James Hodgson, Acting Senior Assistant of the Middle Division of the Province, by different *kanamdars*(mortgagees) of Cutcherry Namburi of Thamaracherry. dated. 29th July 1797, M. Vol No. 8768, pp. 285-297.

⁵² Petition from the Brahmins of Betutnad to Hodgson, dated 28th September, 1797, M. Vol. No. 8769, P. 323.

government introduced in Malabar was based on the findings of the first Commissioners appointed for the affairs of Malabar. Their information was of speculative nature with hypothetical proposition of improvements. This was based on information provided by native interpreters and interested servants of native Rajas. The Government formed on that arrangement was administrated under a supervisor and two superintendents. Very soon a (second) commission was formed to execute the office of supervisor, to prevent fraud and corruption.”⁵³

From March 1793 Malabar was administered by a Supervisor and two Superintendents. Calicut was the seat of administration of the Supervisor and the headquarters of the Northern Superintendent was Tellicherry and Southern Superintendent was Cherpulassey. The Second Commissioners were appointed in 1797 and they continued in Malabar till 30th, September 1801. On 1st October Major William Macleod took over the administration as the first Principal Collector of Malabar. In May 1800 Malabar was transferred from Bombay Presidency to the Madras Presidency.

Even though the Company had implemented Arshed Beg’s settlement in Malabar it was aware of its defects. During the period of its administration of Malabar the Company tried to ascertain the actual produce of the land and the actual *pattom* received by the landlords. This was necessary to fix the government’s share of the *pattom* which formed the land tax. The land tax was fixed on the basis of classification of land and assessment of the produce. The principle of assessment was to be implemented through survey and settlements. Survey and assessments were carried out by native revenue officers. Its success depended on the integrity of the surveyors and native revenue officers and the honesty of the landlords who made the declaration about the total produce and *pattom*. The native revenue officers of the Company were corrupt and dishonest. They, in

⁵³ Lord Clive’s minutes recorded on 5th ‘September, 1801, (B.P). Bookno.3. p.125.

collusion with the interested parties, very often concealed the truth about production and *pattom*. This was rampant in the wet land assessment of South Malabar. In 1833 the Principal Collector of Malabar while reporting to the BOR regarding the taluq of Chavakkad (in South Malabar) wrote that “.... So completely are the interests of the inhabitants and the public servants linked together in one common cause to prevent all enquiries which they think may terminate to their prejudice”.⁵⁴ Every new survey and assessment provided an opportunity to the native revenue officers to enrich themselves. Perhaps nowhere in British India there was such an unholy alliance between corrupt revenue officers and deceitful landed interests as in Malabar. The result was that almost all surveys made under the East India Company failed to achieve its objectives. Rather it created more problems and confusions and as a result these *pymashy* were not considered for implementation. Finally the Company had to settle for the invented settlement of Arshed Beg. Company in its 65 years rule of Malabar failed to make a fool proof survey and assessment and to remove the anomalies in the settlement of Arshed Beg. The actual produce and *pattom* was never ascertained either by Tipu or by the East India Company. This was one of the main causes for over and under assessment and the subsequent agrarian problems of Malabar. This was the contribution of the corrupt native revenue officers of the Company who were directly responsible for the implementation of government orders.

The Company made several surveys to evaluate actual produce and *pattom* received by the landlords. But all these surveys failed due to the deception of the landlords and the dishonesty of native revenue officers of the Company. The Company won the war against Tipu in Malabar, but were defeated by their own corrupt native revenue officers who chocked all attempts of the Company in making a perfect survey and assessment. The first *pymashy* (assessment) under the Company was conducted during 1793/94 - 1794/95 and

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Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar to the Board Of Revenue, dated 18th, January ,1833, BOP, Vol.1353, p.1121.

was carried out by the native revenue officers known as ‘*Canangoes*’.⁵⁵ It was known as *Canangoes pymash*. Altogether the government had appointed 34 *Canangoes*. The *Canangoes* were to make collection of land revenue along with Raja’s agents and to make land revenue survey of the country. Since *Canangoes* worked without any supervisors and check, these officers were bribed and they neglected the enquiries.⁵⁶

The *Canangoes pymash* was not orderly, not honestly and the majority was not based on any proper survey and it was totally defective. Under the *Canangoes* survey there was no clear demarcation of the shares of the cultivator and the landlord. Lands were either under assessed or over assessed or entirely omitted from corrupt motives, from ignorance or fear.⁵⁷ In some cases the entire rents of the land were assessed to the land tax leaving not an iota to the proprietor. In some other cases more than the full rents were assessed to the revenue (land tax). Some lands were wrongly charged against some supposed person. Produce was taxed upon lands when that produce was never known. The same lands were written in the accounts of separate districts⁵⁸. The Zamorin’s agents had also complained that the *Canangoes Pymashy* account of M.E.969 (1793/94) was not based on any estimate of the produce and the means of land. They further revealed that the *Canangoes* sat in their houses and prepared the *pymashy* on the basis of the levy made in Tipu sultan’s time (Arshed Beg’s settlement). In this survey and assessment the *Canangoes* were assisted by great land holders and persons of property. These people’s land was under assessed and poor people’s lands were over assessed. The Zamorin’s agents attributed the great revenue arrears of 1794/95, 95/96 and 96/97 to the wrong *pymashy* of the *Canangoes*.

⁵⁵ The *Canangoes* establishment was formed in 1793 to keep the accounts in the districts, to check and act as local assistants, guides and intelligence gatherers to the servants of the company and to check upon the undue exaction of the Rajas. Logan .*op. cit.* p .492.

⁵⁶ Major.Macleod’s report of 1802, *op.cit.*, p7.,par 35.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, par.35.

⁵⁸ Rickard’s report to BOR on a new *pymash* dated 17th. June,1803, M.Vol.2312 , p 67.

⁵⁹ The second Commissioners on 5th January 1797 found that the revenue administration in Angadipuram district was in total disorder. The Commissioners realized that the accounts provided by the *Canangoes* of the district and the *Menons* (village accountants) were fabricated.⁶⁰ The Second Commissioners observed that “...there was nothing unique in *Canangoes pymash* and in substance it was only the reproduction of Tipu’s rate and principle of assessment”.⁶¹ The *Canangoe’s pymash* was not implemented.

The Commissioners in the early stage were looking for a permanent Zamindari-like settlement with the Zamorin and other Rajas and Chieftains. Later they resolved to have a quinquennial settlement. The settlement was made in 1794/95 by the Supervisors and Superintendents with the Rajas and Chieftains for land revenue collection for a period of five years ending in 1798/99. The collections were made jointly by the Company and Rajas and Chieftains. There are two opinions regarding the *pymash* on which the quinquennial settlement was made. According to one, it was based on the *Canangoes pymash* and according to different opinion it was based on that of Arshed Beg Khan. In principle the *Canangoes pymash* was based on Arshed Beg’s settlement. In A.D.1794/95 first year of the quinquennial settlement the *Jama* (demand) was prepared by an inspection of several Districts. In 1797/98 all the Zamorin’s territory, except that of Eranad, was taken from him in consequence of the troubles by the Mappila tenants. The one-fifth of the revenue was given to the Zamorin even after the takeover of his country. Later this one-fifth became the allowances or the pensions (Malikana) of the former rulers. The quinquennial lease expired in 1798/99.⁶² Most of the Rajas were removed from their

⁵⁹ Warden’s 1813 Report. However the average collection of land revenue during the period of quinquennial settlement was 92% and there was no big arrear. See table.No.5.1.

⁶⁰ M.Vol.No.8762, 15th January-1797, p.45.

⁶¹ Second Commissioner’s deliberation, Calicut, 15th October 1797, M.Vol.No. 8769, p.30.

⁶² The quinquennial lease expired in M.E. 974 or A.D 1798/99. Most of the Rajas were removed from their management consequence of their falling into arrears. In the quinquennial lease the one fifth was calculated on the gross jama but after the expiration of the leases, the allowance seems on reference to accounts to have been calculated on the realized jama (net jama) after deducting 10% for charges of collection. This charge of collection was 10 % of the land tax (Jama) and collected apart from the land tax. Major Macleod adopted the same and Rickard recommended its continuance to the end of the present

management consequence of their falling into arrears. The Rajas were pensioned off by giving 20% of the land revenue demand (Jama). During the period of the quinquennial lease one fifth was calculated on the gross *jama* but after the expiration of the leases it was calculated on the realized Jama- (net collection) after deducting 10% for charges of collection. This additional 10 % was collected from the cultivators or *kudians* ⁶³. During the entire period of this settlement with the connivance of the Canangoes, the Rajas and their employees made the collection as they liked. There was no way to check the exactions of the revenue collectors of the Rajas. ⁶⁴

When the quinquennial settlement was entered into with the Rajas, considerable amount was deducted from Tipu's *jama* of each district, under the head of 'ruined estates'. This land was to be brought under cultivation within five years and the revenue was to be added to the *Jama* in 3 proportions on the 2nd 3rd and 4th years of the agreement which terminated with the year 1798/99. Many of the above estates were later brought under cultivation but no land tax was collected from this due to the corruption practiced by native land revenue officers of the Company and cultivators. This was a source of income for the native revenue officers and cultivators and landlords. The only addition to the *Jama* during the quinquennial was the *Ballankenth*, or 1/10th allowed to the Rajas for the expenses of collection. ⁶⁵ C.A. Innes mentioned a (second) *pymashy* of 1798-99 under J.Smee. No information is available about this survey and settlement. This was most likely to have been made by the village officers. It was not of any significance and was not implemented. ⁶⁶

year with the commencement of the new year .Letter from Rickard dated 9th, May, 1803, to the BOR, M. Vol.No. 3132, p.37.

⁶³ M.Vol.No.8212 , p.155.

⁶⁴ Letter from Rickard dated 9th, May, 1803, to the BOR, M. Vol.No.3132, p.37.

⁶⁵ Letter from Mr. Thomas Warden, Sub-Collector, dated 5th July 1803, to the First Judge and Principal Collector of Malabar, M.Vol.No.2230, p.57.

⁶⁶ C.A.Innes. *Malabar Gazetteer*. (1908) Second re-print Trivandrum (1997) p.328.

After the transfer of the province to the Madras Presidency all the Bengal and Bombay Presidency employees were sent back to their original place of employment except M/s. Starchy and Hodgson. Most of the important officers who made early survey and settlement of the province belonged to the Bengal and Bombay presidency. The Madras Presidency government was confused and ignorant about the magnitude and mode of land tax assessment to be adopted in Malabar .It was also undecided about how the new assessment should be introduced after the transfer of Malabar province, from Bombay Presidency to it in A.D.1800. On 30thSeptember 1801 the Second Commissioners left Malabar and on 1st October Major Macleod took charge as the first Principal Collector of Malabar⁶⁷ . A letter sent by the Board of Revenue, Fort. St. George, to Mr. Major William Macleod, the first Principal Collector of Malabar Province clearly exposes the dilemma of the Madras administration. Macleod was informed “ ... the records and maps with the several reports of the Collectors will furnish you with information respecting the prevailing usages of the country, will expose how imperfectly the Company’s authority has been established, how little accurate knowledge obtained, and how subject the officers of government have been to the imposition of native agents of the country”⁶⁸ . The BOR continued to observe that that the “ *Pymashee* or survey on which the existing revenue was settled, that it was admitted to have been partial and unjust both in regard to the *Batti* grounds(wet land) and prem or garden products”.⁶⁹

. 1801-02, Major Macleod framed a new *Jamabandy* (settlement) by which the government revenue was augmented⁷⁰. The Board of Revenue of Fort. St. George had communicated to Macleod as follows “Since the government was not sure of the actual share of the government from the gross produce of Malabar, and the rates of assessment to

⁶⁷ T.Warden’s report of 1813. par.36.

⁶⁸ Letter from Board of Revenue, Fort St. George to Major. William Macleod, the Principal Collector of Malabar dated 12th March 1801,M.Vol.No.2207.P.143.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.145.

⁷⁰ T. Warden’s 1813 report .*op. cit*; par.36.

be levied on the taxable produce of the district it was decided by the Madras Presidency to leave the annual regulation of those rates to the discretion of the Collector.”⁷¹ Therefore, the Principal Collector Macleod was given a free hand in making the new settlement. He considered the Malabar land tax as very low compared to other districts and therefore ordered new survey and assessment which was to be completed within forty days. This was again conducted by corrupt native revenue officers resulting in large scale irregularities and increased the tax burden of the people of Malabar. The assessment was as defective as the former one. Compared to the previous assessment Macleod’s new assessment increased the tax burden by 14.58%. Apart from this On 31 August 1802, Major William Macleod, fixed (on erroneous data) the exchange rate of twenty three current coins, then issued and received into the public treasury, as they were rated in the district of Coimbatore . In consequence of this development, the value of gold *fanam* was lowered by 20% and silver *fanam* by 10%.⁷² This on an average lowered the value of currencies by about 15%. The result was a massive upheaval by the natives which compelled Macleod to resign abruptly. He handed over the charges of the district to Mr. Rickards, Principal Judge of the Court of Adalat. Major Macleod was relieved in March 1803 by Mr. Rickards .

Rickards cancelled the assessment of Macleod and reverted to the Second Commissioners, assessment of 1800/01 and the restored old rates of exchange. In 1807 the Revenue department of the Madras Presidency reported to the Governor in Council that the general assessment of the land in Malabar continued to be regulated according to the standard determined by the Commissioners for the Malabar year M.E. 976(1800-01) and restored by Mr. Rickards in A.D.1803/04.⁷³ The Governor in Council in 1803 objected to the district Collector’s proposal to lower the assessment introduced by Macleod in Malabar

⁷¹ Letter from the Board of Revenue , Fort St. George to the Principal Collector of Malabar,dated.13th ,February, 1803.M.Vol.No.2224, p.110.

⁷² See Chapter no.VIII on Currency.

⁷³ Report to Lord William Bentinck, Governor in Council, Fort St. George from the Secretary to Government.Dept of Revenue,BORP, 29th January 1807,Vol.No.439, p.801. M.Vol.No.2534 ,p.5.

as it would be taken as an appeasement of the insurgents and also it would be construed as the weakness of the government. However the government asked the Collector to send his proposal through BOR regarding the revision of the principles on which the assessment of revenue was to be based.⁷⁴ To remedy the grievances of the natives about unequal and over assessment, on 17th, June 1803 Rickards submitted a proposal to the BOR containing the principles for a new *pymash*. It was approved by the Rajas, Nambudiris(Nambbodiris), Mukystans, principal land holders of Malabar and the BOR. Rickards was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Warden in 1804 as the Principal Collector of Malabar. Rickards, new assessment was embodied in a proclamation issued by Warden in 1805⁷⁵

The aim of the new settlement was to adopt a uniform system in calculating the *pattom*. Under the new system from the gross produce of wet land, the seed and equal quantity for the expense was deducted. From the remaining, one third was given to the *kudiyar*(cultivator) and the residue (*pattom*) was to be divided in the proportion of six – tenth to the government as land tax and four-tenths to the janmakar. Thus the government took 60% o the *pattom* as land revenue and landlord’s share was 40% of the *pattom*. It is illustrated as follow Illustration of Rickards Assessment⁷⁶

(Quantity of seed)		(Outturn multiple)	=	(Gross Produce)
5 <i>Parahs</i>	X	15	=	75 <i>Parahs</i>
Deduct Seed			=	5 <i>Parahs</i> (–)
Deduct Expense			=	5 <i>Parahs</i> (–)
Balance <i>Parahs</i>			=	65 <i>Parahs</i>
One Third to cultivator for profit			=	21 ^{2/3} <i>Parahs</i>
Remainder 2/3 rd as <i>pattom</i>			=	43 ^{1/3} <i>Parahs</i>

⁷⁴ Letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George to the Principal Collector of Malabar, dated .18th March ,1803, M.Vol.2225, P.65.

⁷⁵ Logan, Treaties, Vol.II.p.cclxii-cclxiii.

⁷⁶ Logan *op. cit*; p .665.

60% of 43 1/3 (<i>pattom</i>) as land tax	=	26 <i>Parahs</i>
40% of 43 1/3(<i>pattom</i>) to landlord	=	17 ^{1/3} <i>Parahs</i>

Here also the cultivator had to pay an additional 10 % of the land tax as collection charges. Cultivator's share of the gross produce was 42.27%, government land tax 34.62% of the gross produce and the landlord's share formed 23.11 % of the gross produce. From garden land one third of the produce was assigned to the *kudiyān* (cultivator), and the remainder (*pattom*) was equally divided between the government and landlord. On dry grain production the government's share was half of the *varam*.⁷⁷ The government expected that the landlord's would supply the government a true and faithful account of the *pattom* received by them. The accounts received from the *janmis* in 1805/ 06 as per the 1805 proclamation was generally known as *Janmi pymash*. On the basis of *Janmi's* above account ,Warden made a survey of all the wet lands and the accounts prepared between 1806 and 1810 were known as Hindu or *alva pymash*.. However, no settlement was made based on Rickards principle.⁷⁸

In 1813 Thomas Warden, the Principal Collector, reported that the land tax collected in Malabar was founded on the Commissioner's *jama* or rental of Malabar year M.E.976corresponding with the year 1800-01. That *jama* was founded on the quinquennial settlement which was made with the Rajas of Malabar in 1794-95(M.E.970) and that quinquennial settlement was founded on the *Jamabandy* (settlement) which was framed by Tipu's head *Amildar* Arshed Beg Khan in the Malabar year M.E. 959 (A.D.1783-84).⁷⁹

In 1818 Mr. H. S. Graeme was appointed the special Commissioner to introduce a new system of police and magistracy and to improve the revenue administration of Malabar. He worked in Malabar till 1822 and submitted a report in 1822 which is

⁷⁷ Rent given to the landlord

⁷⁸ C.A.Innes,*op.cit.*, p.331.

⁷⁹ Warden's Report of 16th, June, 1813, par.35.

considered as the most illustrative work on Malabar land revenue system. He appointed *Deshadhikaris* (village officers) to make a new *pymash* based on enquiry. He proposed to take 65% of the *Verumpattom* (actual rent) of wet land as land tax, for garden lands he adhered to Rickards assessment of 50% of the *pattom*, the *pattom* being 2/3rd of the gross produce in South Malabar and 2/5th in North Malabar as the share of the government. He made no specific proposals about *punam* (hill land or dry land) cultivation and *ellu*(*gingili oil seed*)cultivation .With regard to *modan*(*hill paddy*) he proposed not to take more than the present 20% of the gross produce. This was approved by the government and Graeme was asked to implement it. Graeme's attempt for the revision of the wet land assessment was a failure⁸⁰.The reason was that he depended on the *Deshadhikaris* to get the information about the total produce and *pattom*. These *Deshadhikaris* were corrupt to the core.The inhabitants also did not give the true account of produce and *pattom*. The *Deshadhikaris* were terribly backward in wet land survey, corrupt, inefficient and not obedient. Their accounts were grossly false beyond deception. They also underrated the garden produce and made fortunes. The *Deshadhikaris* were solely responsible for the failure of *Deshadhikaris pymash*. Six years of hard work which consumed time, energy and money finally turned to be a loss due to the non co-operation of the landed interests and the corruption of the native officers. Clementson, the Principal Collector of Malabar in 1835 proposed to accept Mr. Graeme's suggestion of taking 65% of the *pattom* or net landlord's rent of wet land. The BOR also endorsed it. However Mr. Clementson did not agree to Mr. Graeme's proposal that the government's demand should be restricted to 50% of the *pattom* of waste land brought under rice cultivation.⁸¹ This was because the government's demand in North Malabar was not uniform and it varied from 15-to 72 % of the *pattom*. In the south great inequality prevailed where a certain number of *parah* of *pattom* was

⁸⁰ C.A.Innes.op.cit., p.336.

⁸¹ BORP.9th July,1835, Vol.No.1457, p 6940.

assessed for a parah of seed sown .This was assessed at different rates with an addition of 10 % of charges of collection.⁸²

Later Principal Collectors were jittery about the accuracy and reliability of Warden's and *Deshadhikaris* survey. In 1832/33 then Principal Collector stated that the accounts of Mr. Warden's survey and that of the *Deshadhikaris* which was conducted under the immediate orders of Mr. Graeme, were imperfect and many of them inaccurate.⁸³ The Collector further complained that together with the various transfers and alterations which had adequately taken place in the estates of many of the ryots it was impossible to prepare the *Koolwar* (individual) accounts which were much required and without which no satisfactory enquiry could be made as to the extent of each estate and the general condition of ryots.⁸⁴ Coming to 1854 H.V. Conolly, the Principal Collector of Malabar, reported that the proportion of the gross produce of wet lands taken for assessment of Government tax varied from 30to 50% .In addition to this 10% of the *Jama* was taken on account of 'charges of collection'.⁸⁵

The confusion prevailing in the administration about the Malabar land revenue survey and assessment is reflected in the following remarks of the BOR "... Of the quality and quantity of the land upon which the assessment is levied we appear to be as ignorant now as we were 40 years ago".⁸⁶ The Court of Directors, in their letter dated 17th August 1835 also lamented the "lack of survey and information".⁸⁷ In 1839 W.E.Underwood, the Acting Principal Collector of Malabar reported that"..the revenue of the paddy land of

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Malabar Principal Collector's revenue settlement report of the District for the1832/33sent to the BOR, dated 13th February, 1834, BORP, Vol.1834, p.1109.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* , p.1109.

⁸⁵ B.O.R P, 29th June.1854.Vol.No.2425. par 8962.

⁸⁶ Proceedings of the BOR dated 19th July 1835,BORP.28th November,1839 Vol.1684.p. 17843 par 41.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

Malabar was assessed on the same manner as they were during the Mohamedan government and upon the principles fixed by Arshed Beg khan".⁸⁸

In 1866 J.Cameron, Asst.Collector of Malabar reported that Arshed Beg Khan's system was the basis of the present revenue system and the attempt at Zamindary system was known as Quinquennial settlement. It was an entire failure and Major Macleod in 1802 made a ryotwari settlement of the whole district on the basis of Arshed Begs Accounts.⁸⁹ _____

In Malabar the land tax was very exorbitant because of the high rates of assessment and illogical commutation rates. The government took more tax than what it ought to have during the conversion of tax assessed in kind into a money rental. This was due to the irrational commutation rate which had no relevance to the market price of agriculture produce especially paddy. This commutation rate was fixed during the time of Tipu and inherited by the British through Arshed Beg's settlement. It continued throughout the Company's period without any change. In some reports there was mention about rationalizing the commutation rate with respect to the market price of paddy and other products. A change (reduction) in the commutation rate should have naturally reflected in the total land revenue *Jama* (demand) of that year or the succeeding year. But the Scholar did not come across any such change (reduction) in the *Jama*. Therefore it can be safely presumed that there was no reduction in the commutation rate and Tipu's rate operated in Malabar without any change. The Acting Collector of Malabar in 1839 reported that the price of paddy received by the ryots paying revenue to the government during the last ten years in many taluqs were lower than the commutation prices⁹⁰. In 1854 the Principal

⁸⁸ Revenue settlement report of Malabar for 1838/39 by W. E. Under Wood, Acting Principal Collector of Malabar, 16th October 1839, BORP. 28th November, 1839 Vol. No. 1684. p. 17819, par. 12.

⁸⁹ Cameron, J., *Report on the village Chevayur*, 1866, p. 15.. This statement of Cameron is doubtful because Macleod introduced his own assessment which was later cancelled by Rickards.

⁹⁰ Letter from the Acting Collector of Malabar to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, Fort. St. George, 24th January, 1839, M. Vol. No. 7563, p. 22.

Collector reported that the commutation prices of Malabar district for *nunjah* or wet lands were fixed at the time of Mysore rulers and since then it remained unchanged/ unaltered.⁹¹

A fixed commutation rate disproportionate to the varying market price was a source for the exploitation of the peasants by the landlords and government. The price of paddy during the reign of Tipu was high and to some extent Tipu's commutation rate was near to the market price of paddy. But later from the beginning of the 19th century the price started to fall and the government did not correspondingly lower the commutation rate to match the market price. In 1814/15 Thomas warden the Principal Collector of Malabar had reported that the average market price was 47% below the *circar* (Government) commutation rate⁹². Therefore the cultivators were compelled to pay an extra 47% of the tax. This process continued whenever the price was low. Very often the cultivators were asked by the landlords to pay their share of the *pattom* in cash on the basis of the commutation rates used for converting *pattom* into land tax or at a rate fixed by the landlord's. In both cases it was higher than the market prices of paddy. Payment of the landlord's and government's share (land tax) of the *pattom* in kind would have saved the cultivators of the hardships they were subjected to. The high and unequal tax assessment became more severe and obnoxious due to the conversion to money rental. Even though the government's share of the *pattom* (land tax) was very often reported to be 60-65 % of the rent (*pattom*), in most cases it exceeded that estimation due to irrelevant commutation rate⁹³. The government's demand in North Malabar was not uniform and it varied from 15- to 72 % of the *pattom*. Reclaimed waste land brought under cultivation under *cowle* (agreement) was assessed at 65% of the *pattom*.⁹⁴ But in reality the government's share of

⁹¹ Letter from the Malabar Principal Collector to the BOR, Fort St. George, B.O.R P. 29th June.1854.Vol. 2425, par. 8962.

⁹² Settlement report for 1814/15 ,M,Vol.No.4058, pp,23-30

⁹³ Revenue Settlement report for 1834/35, BORP,10th March,1836, Vol.No.1494, p.4282.

⁹⁴ BORP, 9th July,1835, Vol.No.1457, p 6940.

the *pattom* was more than the above mentioned percentage because of the commutation rate. In Malabar the commutation rate varied between Rs.11-7-0 and Rs.45 per 100 *parahs* of paddy. It differed in different *amsoms* (villages) and some time within the same village there were more than one commutation rates. (For the commutation rates of different taluqs see **table 5.7**). The commutation rate was the highest in the northern taluqs of Cavay, Chirakkal and Kottayam and lowest in the southern taluqs of Palakkad, Themmalpuram and Nedinganad. But the price of paddy in Malabar was far below the commutation rate. **(for the price of paddy see table 7.1 and 7.3)**. However, there appears to be a different commutation rate for government escheated lands where the government was the landlord and there was no intermediary. In 1838/39 the Acting Principal Collector reported that the established rate for the commutation of government share in an escheated wet land was Rs.17-2-3 ½ for every 100 *parahs* of paddy⁹⁵. The landlord's maintained a separate commutation rate (rate of conversion) for converting their share of the *pattom* to money. W. E. Under Wood, Acting Principal Collector reported that Rs.19-9-0 was the rate of conversion usually prevailed in Eranad between the landlord and tenant in commuting the proprietor's share of the *pattom*.⁹⁶ The Government's commutation rate in Eranad was Rs.17-2-0 and the difference was Rs.2-7-0 per 100 *parahs* of paddy. Apart from this the landlord's used special *parah* (*measure*), larger than the market *parah*, to measure the landlord's share of the *pattom* (rent).

A typical example of the sufferings of the tenants and landlord's due to high commutation rate is reflected in the following complaint. In a petition submitted by 123 ryots and landlord's of the taluq of Kootanad (South Malabar) on 6th *Kanny* M.E 1021 (22nd September 1845/46) they complained to the Malabar Collector Mr. H.V. Conolly about the irrational commutation prices (rates) that were prevailing in the area. They

⁹⁵ Jambandy settlement report of Malabar for 1838/39 by W. E. Under Wood, Acting Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 16th October, 1839, BORP.28th November, 1839 Vol.No.1684. P.17819, par 12.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, par.12.

submitted that Tipu Sultan introduced a grain tax and collected it in money at the rate of $1\frac{1}{4}$ *fanam* per one *parah* of paddy due to government.⁹⁷ In this case the commutation rate of Tipu ($1\frac{1}{4} \times 100(\text{parahs}) = 125 \text{ fanams}$, at of $3\frac{1}{2}$ *fanams* per rupee the commutation rate) was Rs.35.71 per 100 *parahs*. But the Company had raised the commutation rate from $1\frac{1}{4}$ *fanams* to $1\frac{3}{8}$ *fanams* and demanded the payment at that rate. Here the new commutation rate under the Company ($1.38 \times 100 / 3.5 = 39.43$ i.e.) was Rs.39.43 per 100 *parahs* .⁹⁸ This was an increase of about Rs 3.72 per 100 *parahs*. Formerly the ryots were selling 2 *parahs* to raise one $1\frac{1}{4}$ *fanam* and now due to the cheapness of paddy and due to increase in the commutation rate they were compelled to sell 3 *parahs* of paddy (instead of 2 *parahs*) to raise $1\frac{3}{8}$ *fanams* to pay the government tax. The complaint continued that since the prices of coconut and betel nut had fallen and as there was no other income the ryots were forced to sell their ancestral properties to pay the government taxes in money. Further, they complained that the exorbitant government's demand had eaten into the ryot's capital needed for the expenses of cultivation and as a result the ryots were forced to lay a greater portion of their land waste. Now the landlord's and the ryots requested the Collector either to undertake a fresh survey of the land or if the tax imposed in the days of Tipu could not be disturbed then the revenue might be collected either in grain or in the bazaar price, if in money .They further said that it was in the year M.E 953(1777/78) during the reign of Tipu Sultan the system of demanding payment of land tax in money at the rate of $1\frac{1}{4}$ *fanam* for every *parah* of paddy due to government was introduced. As there was no fall in the market price of paddy between M.E. 953 (1777/8) and 970 (1794/95) the ryots did not find any difficulty in paying the government share of tax. But since 970 (1794/95) up to the present

⁹⁷ Petition from Oony Ramathe Sheva Ramen Namboodry and 122 others, the inhabitants of Kootanad taluq to Mr.H.V.Conolly ,District Collector of Malabar on 6th *Kanny* M.E.1021. (22nd, September, 1845/46),M.Vol.7533. p75.

⁹⁸ In Malabar the average market price of 100*parahs* of paddy in 1844/45 was Rs. 25. The price started to increase after 1853/54. see chapter vii on price and table no.7.5 for the price of paddy ..However in the commutation table no.5.6 in Kootanad it varied from Rs. 17 to Rs.21.38. per 100 *parahs*.

time (1845/46) paddy was sold in the market at the above rate ($1\frac{3}{8}$ *fanams*) only in three or four years and in all other years it was sold at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{1}{4}$, 2, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ *parahs* for a *fanam*, thus making an average $2\frac{1}{2}$ *parahs* for a *fanam*. Or the price of one *parah* was half a *fanam*⁹⁹. Proportionate to the increase in the land tax under the Company, the yield did not increase. They further represented that since the revenue payments for a long time had been made at the rate of $1\frac{3}{8}$ *fanams* per *parah*, the ryots were forced to sell all their property to make the revenue payment and they were reduced to very distressing circumstances.¹⁰⁰ In a reply dated 2nd October, 1845, to the above petition Mr. H.V. Conolly informed them that the government could not make a survey for Kootanad taluq alone and the tax fixed in the days of Tipu were being levied for the last many years.¹⁰¹

Not only the commutation rate of paddy but also that of pepper was very high which rendered the pepper cultivation unprofitable. In 1806/07 the commutation rate of pepper in the district of Malabar for the payment of tax was Rs.150/ per *candy* whereas the market price was Rs.80. Mr. Thomas warden, the district Collector of Malabar suggested to the Board of Revenue to reduce the commutation rate to RS.80.¹⁰² Later the pepper tax was abolished and substituted by an export duty collected on the basis of a high tariff rate again disproportionate to the market price of pepper.

The landlord's paid the land tax where ever land was favourably or moderately assessed. This was the case with the taluq of Palakkad where the land tax was paid by the landlord as the taluq was very lightly assessed and the commutation rate was very low. Otherwise it was left to the *kudiyar* (cultivator) who had to bear the weight of high assessment and high commutation rates. In 1854 H.V, Conolly, the Principal Collector of Malabar reported that the commutation prices of wet land were fixed after consultations

⁹⁹ Petition from Oony Ramathe Sheva Ramen Namboodry and 122 others, op.cit., p.79.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.80.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.81.

¹⁰² Jamabandy report of Malabar for 1806/07 from the Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 5th, October 1807, BORP. M. .Vol. No. 2534, P .56.

with the Rajahs and other Chieftains and with reference to the then local selling prices.¹⁰³ This consultation could have been conducted either by the Joint Commissioners in 1793 or by Thomas Warden in 1805 during the time of *Janmi Pymash*. At that time the price of paddy was comparatively high (see table 7.1) A high commutation could have been endorsed by the landed aristocracy as it was beneficial to the landlord's and the government. Interestingly the cultivator or the mortgagees (*kanamdars*) who paid the *pattom* and at times the land tax were never consulted by the British authorities before endorsing Arshed Beg's commutation rates.

In 1834/35 the Principal Collector found that in some taluqs the government share rose to 72% of the total *pattom* instead of the assessed 65 % because of high commutation rate. Therefore the Collector ordered that the commutation price be reduced from Rs.41 ½ to Rs.30 per 100 *parahs* of paddy.¹⁰⁴ It is not clear whether the reduction was effected throughout Malabar or applied to those taluqs where the government's share of *pattom* rose to 72%. This was a reduction of 27.71% in the commutation rate and as such it should have reflected in the land revenue demand (*Jama*) of that year or the succeeding years. Rather than showing any decrease the land revenue demand was increasing. (see table 5.1) In fact, from 1835/36 onwards the land revenue *Jama* recorded a gradual and steady increase. (see table 5.1) This clearly establishes that no reduction was made in the commutation rate in 1835 as reported by the Collector and the rate fixed during the time of Tipu continued throughout the period of the East India Company.

There were several complaints about the commutation rates and the Government of Madras took up the matter for serious discussion. In 1852 the Madras government through the BOR drew the attention of different distinct Collectors of the

¹⁰³ .B OR P 29th June.1854.Vol.No.2425. par 8962.

¹⁰⁴ Malabar Principal Collector's revenue settlement report of A.D.1834/35,BORP,7th January 1836,Vol.No.1480, p.438.

Madras Presidency regarding the bearing of the commutation rates on the conditions of the people. The Collectors were asked to observe and ascertain with precision how far the condition of the ryots had been affected by the prices of grain during the last few years¹⁰⁵. The Collectors were also asked to express their opinion whether the ryots required any relief and if so in what way and to what extent it should be met.¹⁰⁶ The Collectors were asked to deal with the matter most urgently. But no revision of commutation rate was effected until 1858.

The unequal and heavy land tax assessment of Arshed Beg continued to operate during the British period and was aggravated by the corrupt practices of the native revenue officers. The government did not take any step to rectify these errors and to ameliorate the sufferings of the peasants even though it had been operating for several decades. This was despite the fact that several Collectors and Commissioners recommended resurvey and resettlements to remove the defects. H.s Graeme reported that any attempt to equalize the existing inequalities and make the demand uniform and moderate would terminate all benefits enjoyed the Rajas and important landlord's. Therefore they were against a new survey and assessment. Moreover, the government thought that new survey would be affected by lack of competent surveyors.¹⁰⁷ Sir Thomas Munro was in Malabar in 1817 and informed the government that a new assessment would be unpopular in the country (Malabar).¹⁰⁸ Later while advocating revision on rice land Thomas Munro observed that "original assessment was extremely unequal, and what is a greater evil, it was in many places much too high. This inequality had not grown up gradually but was created at once by taking in some cases 10 and in other 90% of the landlord's rent". He had ruled out

¹⁰⁵ Letter from the Secretary, BOR, Fort. St. George, dated 8th November 1852, to different district collectors of the Madras Presidency, M. Vol. No. 7588, p. 79.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1106.

¹⁰⁸ Jambandy settlement report of Malabar for 1838/39 by W. E. Under Wood, Acting Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 16th October 1839, BORP. 28th November, 1839 Vol. 1684, p. 17855.

equalization of assessment or revision would lead to distress and would not adversely affect the image of the government.¹⁰⁹ H.S. Graeme on his first visit to Malabar recommended a reduction of land revenue to the extent of Rs.171,620 upon rice lands and wanted to be compensated by tax on pepper vine for Rs.1,20,000/.¹¹⁰ However, in his 1822 report he said "...a revision of the present assessment has a tendency to shake the public confidence in the stability of the system. The infraction of faith to those whose have made private or public purchases or mortgages or to who land had been made over to by the decrees of court under the idea of the assessment being permanent. And the proof from the proprietors own accounts that the survey instead of benefiting the inhabitants generally would produce a large increase of revenue and the tendency of all settlements of this kind to become unequal".¹¹¹ Mr. Clementson, Principal Collector of Malabar ,was of the opinion that new survey and settlement“ would be strenuously opposed by the Rajas and the principal landlord’s as well as by the *curnums* of the villages(village accountants) and native public servants of the *cutchery*(taluk office) who being natives of the province had a direct interest in throwing obstacles in the way of a measure, the result of which would be the detection of the surreptitious profits which as land owners they and their ancestors may have enjoyed for nearly half a century”.¹¹² The discussion regarding new survey to revise and equalize the land revenue assessment started long back since 1815 and in the1840’s the discussion was going on without any solution. In 1815 T. Warden reported to the BOR that he was doubtful whether any real good could arise from a new assessment. He informed that throughout South Malabar the government assessment absorbed more than one half of the proprietor’s rent (net rent). His argument was that the government would be the sufferer of the new

¹⁰⁹ Sullivan- J. Report ,*op.cit.* para 11,12. He was of the opinion that the alteration should have taken place in 1822 and in 1840 almost 18 years had elapsed and much property had changed hands alteration of assessment impossible.

¹¹⁰ Graeme’s report ,*op.cit* ;para 1245,1258,1261.

¹¹¹ Graeme’s report, *op.cit.*, para. 1161.

¹¹² Letter from Mr.Under Wood ,Acting Principal Collector of Malabar to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue 2nd. October 1839,M.Vol.no.7562, p.133.

assessment. Where the new tax would be higher than the existing one the mortgagee would complain loudly against the new assessment. He (mortgagee) would argue that he had sunk considerable capital on the land under the conviction of the unalterable state of the government assessment and any increase of that assessment must reduce the income which he was justly and legally entitled to on the capital so sunk.

The Colonial mindset regarding a new survey and assessment could be understood from Under wood's opinion that "in a country like this (Malabar) where property right to the soil is traced by the tradition to the era of its creation where the government assessment upon it has remained unaltered for a series of years it is better perhaps to let the assessment remain unequal as it is than to the risk of more complicated evils by attempting a new one on more equal principles".¹¹³ Moreover, the Court of Directors did not want to disturb the prosperous condition of the district by introducing new assessment.¹¹⁴

The government was not prepared to risk its revenue and the tranquility of the district by ordering a new survey and settlement. Further, it was afraid that revision of assessment would antagonize and alienate the powerful Rajas and the landlord's who gained the maximum from the present system. Moreover, the government found that numerous interests were involved in the land and it would be dangerous to disturb it after 50 years. It was reported that in the district there was peace and prosperity and any suspicion by the people, who were easily excitable, would lead to disturbance and unsettling effect.¹¹⁵ The other factor was that the rise in price of agricultural produce from 1832 had benefited the ryots and facilitated easy payment of land tax and *janmis* share. The landlord's and the government were also satisfied with the new developments. Gradually the tenants stopped

¹¹³ Jambandy settlement report of Malabar for 1838/39 by W. E. Under Wood, Acting Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 16th October 1839, BORP, 28th November, 1839 Vol.No.1684. p.17859.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 17859.

¹¹⁵ Letter from Mr. Under Wood, Acting principal collector of Malabar to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue 2nd October 1839, M.Vol.No.7562, p.133.

demanding for a new survey and assessment and the government endorsed the opinion of the BOR that the rice land survey was of secondary importance. The result was that this anomaly in the land revenue administration continued and no revision of assessment was effected during the period of study.

Just like excess assessment there were frequent complaints from landlord's and cultivators about the assessment of uncultivable lands. The Principal Collector of Malabar Mr. Sheffield reported in 1829 that the cultivators were compelled to pay for lands which, for reasons beyond the control of proprietors, were prevented from cultivating.¹¹⁶ This had made the existing rice land assessment unpopular. The rice land assessment despite the irregularities remained unaltered for nearly half a century. The middleclass ryots were the sufferers as they were compelled to pay taxes for the lands which they could not cultivate due to different factors. They were reduced to extreme poverty. Some of these lands were abandoned since the time of their ancestors. The government sold their productive land for the recovery of the arrear of uncultivated lands. The Collector further continued that the proprietors or occupants of the uncultivable lands, for which they were compelled to pay taxes had in writing relinquished the lands to the government. This was a voluntary act as it was impossible to cultivate such lands. This was a proof to the impossibility of cultivating the land. Such lands were handed over to the taluq servants with orders to find occupants for the surrendered lands.¹¹⁷ _

The lands belonging to poor ryots were some time permitted to lay fallow during some unfavorable conditions. However, lands belonging to the rich landlords were not permitted to remain fallow for a long time as either the proprietor themselves or the

¹¹⁶ Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar Mr. Sheffield to the BOR, BORP, 30th April, 1829, Vol. 1187,

p. 4126

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4131.

revenue servants procured fresh occupants.¹¹⁸ In the latter case, the tenants were left to settle with the proprietors for their usual share of the gross produce.¹¹⁹

The Malabar land revenue demand (*Jama*) did not show any abnormal increase during the period of study. Slight variations were recorded either due to shifting of revenues from one source to another head.¹²⁰ It was almost static during the entire period. Slight differences are noticed in the *Jama* and collection of land revenue in different reports. This was in most cases due to the inclusion of previous year's arrear or due to the inclusion of extra revenue. Very often these variations were less than one percent and not taken for consideration by the Scholar. In 1792/93 the lowest amount of demand of Rs.9,25,142 and collection of Rs.7, 61,669 (82.33%) were recorded. This low demand was due to the fact that the settlement with the Rajas and Chieftains were made only in the middle of the year. Moreover it was immediately after the transitional period between the expulsion of Tipu (in 1790) and the British take over of Malabar in 1792. Apart from this the country was not settled after the turmoil of 1790-92 which witnessed conflicts between the landed aristocracy and the tenants over *pattom*. The revenue accounting year (*fusly*) was from 1st July to 30th June. In the second year of the administration (1793/94) the settlement was made by the Joint Commissioners and the demand was Rs.18, 16,928 but the collection was Rs.14,88,898. This was a sudden increase in the *Jama* but collection was only 81.95% of the demand and it was the lowest rate of collection made in Malabar. Next year (1794/95) the *Jama*(demand) under the first year of the quinquennial lease, suddenly dropped to Rs.13,34,502 and the collection was Rs.12,37,564 (92.74%). Thereafter from the ensuing year the demand slowly increased. After the expiry of the quinquennial lease and the takeover of Malabar administration by the Company, the demand increased. In 1800/01,

¹¹⁸ Report from the Sub -Collector of Malabar to the Acting Secretary, Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, dated.27th September, 1843,.BORP.Vol.No.1895. p. 19038.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* p.19038.

¹²⁰ The shifting of Cochin Tribute to Travancore, abolition of pepper tax in 1806/06, the separation of Moturpha in 1820/21 and 1825/26.

after the transfer of Malabar to the Madras Presidency the demand increased to Rs.17,79,398 and the collection was 16,70,405 (93.87%). The land tax demand and collection between 1792/93 and 1800/01 ,when Malabar was under the Bombay Presidency, was low compared to the later period when it was under the Madras Presidency. The average annual collection of revenue from A.D. 1792/93 to 1800 whilst subject to Bombay Presidency were star pagodas 3,89,252 (at Rs.3½ per star pagoda it was Rs.13,62,382) and from 1801 to 1808 whilst subject to Madras Presidency government the average annual collection was star pagodas 6,04,569 (Rs.21,15,992/).¹²¹ (see table 5.1)

In 1801/02 William Macleod, the first Principal Collector of Malabar introduced his new settlement and the land revenue demand had gone up by 14.58% to Rs.20,83,131¹²². This was the highest land revenue demand during the period of study. Despite the high demand and peasant uprising 96% of the demand was collected in 1801/02. Next Principal Collector Rickards had restored the Commissioners Jama. Next year (1802/03) the demand was Rs.18,03,351 and the collection was only Rs.15,69,225 (87.02%) . This demand proved that Macleod's increase in *Jama* was not totally reversed. In fact only 10.20 % of the increase was reversed and 4.38% of increase was maintained. As per the direction of the Governor in Council under dated 11th April 1806, lands under pepper vine were exempted from assessment and it was estimated that it would cause a reduction of Rs.13,12,50¹²³. This reduction was effected in the *Jama* of 1806/07 and as a result the *Jama* of that year was Rs.17,87,082 showing a net decrease of Rs.104055 compared to the *Jama* of Rs.18,91,187 of 1805/06. This difference had risen from remission of tax from pepper vines. Actual reduction estimated was a sum of Rs.133514.

¹²¹ Report from the Department of Revenue , Fort St. George to the Governor in Council, dated 7th July 1808, on the revenue settlement of Malabar for 1807/08, BORP. Vol.468, pp.515-5152.

¹²² Warden's 1813 report gave the *Jama* at Rs Rs.23,40,810 see . Warden , *op .cit.*, par. 37.

¹²³ Ja bandy report of 1805-06 of the Province of Malabar sent to the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George , 27th, October, 1806, BORP, Vol. No.435, p. 6878.

It was reported that the loss from land revenue would have been more but for the extended cultivation and improved state of the province.¹²⁴

Thereafter up to 1819/20, the annual *Jama* hovered around 17 lakh rupees. After that the annual land revenue demand was between 16 -15 lakh rupees. In between 1815/16 and the 1818/19 the land revenue collection was around 90% of the demand and this was due to high production and low demand for agricultural produce and subsequent fall in price¹²⁵. Thomas Warden in 1817 reported that considerable difficulties were experienced in realizing the land revenue in 1815/16 in consequence of the inhabitants not being able to obtain a ready market for their grain because of the abundance of crops of the year and the difficulty in disposing it.¹²⁶ The Collector reported that “the extraordinary abundance of crops” in 1814/15 had been “universal throughout India”. In Malabar, a season so productive was never before known.¹²⁷ This difficulty was mainly experienced in South Malabar where most of the wet lands were situated. The land tax collection was easier in North Malabar because of the good price received for the garden produce. Garden cultivation was the major agriculture of North Malabar and apart from this the Company made frequent investments in pepper which was mainly cultivated in the northern districts.¹²⁸

In addition to the price factor low tax collection was ascribed to the appointment of Graeme’s Commission. After the appointment of the Commission the cultivators were reluctant to pay land tax in anticipation of low assessment and tax

¹²⁴ . M.Vol.2534, p.55. par 21

¹²⁵ The Jamabandy statement of Malabar for 1816/17, BORP Vol.No.781 12th, January 1818 p.1052.

¹²⁶ Extract from the Proceeding of the BOR, Fort.St.George, dated . 17th March, 1817, discussing the report from Mr. Tomas Warden on the revenue matters of Malabar for 1814/15 dated 29th January 1816. M.Vol.no.4716, P.124.

¹²⁷ Extract from the proceedings of BOR ,Fort .St.George 17th March 1817, discussing the Revenue report for the 1815/16 from Mr.Thomas Warden, dated .9th February, 1817, from the District Collector of Malabar M. Vol. No. 4718 p.192.

¹²⁸ The Jambandy statement of Malabar for 1816/17, BORP, 12th January, 1818, Vol No.781, p.1052.

reduction. From 1824/25 the tax was collected with ease and this could be attributed to increase in price between 1823/24 and 1826/27.¹²⁹ During this period the percentage of land tax collection was very high (97%). This trend continued up to 1830/31 when due to low price once again there was fall in the realisation of land tax. In 1830/31 and 1832/33 the collection were successively 88 % and 84% of the demand. Mr .Huddleson, the Principal Collector attributed the decline in the revenue demand of 1830/31 to the substitution of local bazar prices with the standard commutation rates¹³⁰. But the real cause for the decline in revenue collection could be due to the fall in price of paddy between 1827/28 to 1830/31¹³¹ Thereafter the government did not find any difficulty in realising land revenue. From 1832/33 there was a phenomenal change in the land revenue collection due to the price rise for paddy and garden produce and the government very easily collected the land revenue. The average annual collection of land revenue between 1832/33 and 1856/57 was 99.15% of the revenue demand. For the percentage of land revenue collection (**see table 5.1**). Land revenue collection between 1843/44 and 1853/54 were done with ease. The total land revenue demand during the above period was Rs. Rs.1,64,44,569 and the collection was Rs.1,64,24,497. The revenue arrear during these period was only Rs.1533 i.e. 0.0094 % of the demand. This was the amount after deducting Arakkal Beevi's tribute balance of Rs.14939. Very often the land revenue arrear was on account of this tribute only. This proved that the government had collected almost the whole of land tax in the 1840s and early 1850s without arrear.

¹²⁹ See table 7.2.

¹³⁰ BORG, Vol. No.1387, p.13813. Comparing to the previous year the fall in Jama in 1830/31 was only Rs.68,950. and in the succeeding years it recovered (see table no.5.1) The later Collectors reported that in Malabar Tipu's commutation rate continued throughout the Company's period.. This reduction by Huddleson could have been a temporary measure as in the later years there was tremendous increase in price of paddy and people stopped complaining about it. When ever the price was low then the people made representation about high commutation rates.

¹³¹ See table 7.3.

In 1851/52 the total demand inclusive of Beevi's fixed *Peshcush* of Rs.15,000 was Rs.16,45,740 and collection was Rs.16,29,716 (99.88 %) In 1852/53 the demand was Rs.16,47,820 and the collection was Rs.16,23,818 (99.46%) .The arrear was mainly due to the non payment of Beevi's *Peshcush*. (See table given below)

STATEMENT SHOWING TEN YEARS (1843/44 - 1853/54) AVERAGE LAND REVENUE DEMAND, COLLECTION AND BALANCE ¹³²

Total Revenue demand (1843/44- 1853/54)	Rs.1,64,44,569	Percentage
Collection	Rs.1,64,24,497	99.88 %
Balance written off	Rs. 3579	0.02%
Balance including the <i>peshcush</i> of Beevi	Rs .16,492 *	
Beevi's Balance	Rs. 14,939	
Balance excluding Beevi's <i>peshcush</i>	Rs. 1553	0.0094%

* Arakkal Beebi's (Cannannore) fixed annual *peshcush* was Rs.15,000.

In 1853/54 the demand was Rs. 16,09,444 and the collection was Rs.15,80,829(98%) . Here also the arrear was mainly due to the non payment of Beevi's *Peshcush*. In 1854/55 the total land revenue demand was Rs.16,42,160 and the collection was Rs.15,62,251(95%). (see table 5.4 and 5.5). The drought like condition of the previous year could have retarded agricultural production which resulted in the low production. This year also entire Beevi's *Peshcush* was in arrear. It was very often said that Malabar land

¹³² Malabar Jambandy Report and statement for 1854-55,M. Vol. no. 7953 , par.24. Also see table no.5.8.

tax, especially wet land tax was very high and it was disproportionate to the yield from the land. But the average land revenue collection from 1792 to 1856/57 was 95.86% of the demand. From 1832/33 the land revenue collection was 99.19% of the demand. Then how was it possible to collect the tax with ease especially after 1832. Even at the peak of price rise the market price of paddy was far below the commutation rate. That means the tax payers were having other sources either in the form of currency or kind (paddy) in meeting the extra tax demands. Very often this extra demand was met from that portion of paddy kept for subsistence or for the expense of cultivation. It was also possible that unaccounted paddy could be used to pay the exorbitant land tax. The income from land which was not brought under assessment helped the cultivators and landlord's in the easy payment of the tax. In 1802 Macleod reported that when the quinquennial settlement was entered into with the Rajas considerable amount was deducted from Tipu's Jama of each district under the head of ruined estates. This land should be brought back under assessment in 3 proportions on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th years of the quinquennial agreement which terminated with the year 1798/99. However, no addition was made to the Jama on account of the above exempted ruined estates up to the time of Commissioners in any of the *Jamas* of the South districts excepting the inclusion of the *Ballankenth*, (1/10 of the *Jama* allowed to the Rajas for the expenses of collection)¹³³. Definitely these lands were later brought under cultivation but not brought under assessment. In 1803 Thomas Warden reported that "...it has been since discovered that a considerable quantity of the lands struck out earlier was since brought back to cultivation and was not included in the *Jama*. This had been a source of profit to the native officers employed in the collections, to the Cutchery gumastas (office clerks) and to the cultivating ryots"¹³⁴.

¹³³ Major .Macleod, The Jambandy report of the Division of Coimbatore and the Province of Malabar, Dated. 18th June 1802. Calicut Collectorate press, 1911,p. 3, par. 9.

¹³⁴ Letter from Mr.Thomas Warden ,Sub-Collector, dated 5th July, 1803, to the First Judge and Principal v Collector of Malabar, M.Vol. No.2230, p.57.

It was a fact that the government did not get a true account of the total produce and *pattom*. H.S. Graeme reported that about 9, 50,000 *parahs* of *pattom* were not brought to account in South Malabar. Therefore, income from this unaccounted land especially wet land or hidden produce and *pattom* was partially consumed and partially used for paying the exorbitant land tax or making wealth. Further, Malabar recorded drastic increase in the area under cultivation, production and export of paddy from the second decade of the 19th century. Compared to 1804 the value of paddy exported had gone up by 4751% in 1812/13 and by 9554% in 1845/46. The increase in the quantity of paddy exported was 14,780% in 1845/46. **(see table 4.11 and also Appendix no. I for the export of paddy)**. Then from where did the paddy reach the Malabar ports for export? The import during these periods was very negligible. Hill paddy was internally consumed and never exported. The answer is that there was surplus production of paddy but it not brought under assessment. Proportionate to the increase in area under cultivation and production there was no corresponding increase in the total land tax demand and collection during these periods. The tax from wet land was more or less constant during the period of this study as shown below. The following table shows that there was no substantial increase or decrease in the annual wet land tax demand and collection from 1802 to 1879/80. The wet land tax in 1802, 1856/57 and 1879/80 was almost similar to Hyder's rental of Rs. 11,87,521. There was no substantial change in the Malabar wet land assessment and collection for almost 110 years i.e. from the time of Hyder Ali to the period of British imperialists. (1770 to 1880). Also **(see table 5.2)** for wet land tax collection.¹³⁵

WET LAND TAX COLLECTION DURING DIFFERENT PERIODS

Year	Tax Collected (Rs.)
	11,87,521 (Hyder's wet land rental)

¹³⁵ There is no continuous data for wet land tax collection.

1802	11, 81,751 (Macleod's <i>Jama</i>) ¹³⁶
1823/24	11, 12,425
1832/33	11, 24,060
1845/46	11, 21,978
1854/55	11, 30,385
1879/80	11, 65,921

(The above figures are taken from the settlement reports of corresponding years. The figure for 1879/80 is included for academic interest.)

It is reported that until 1832/33 the land tax demand of each village on account of rice land was almost a fixed one and since 1833/34 when the annual settlement was introduced, very little variation had taken place.¹³⁷ Moreover it is reported that in Malabar wet land tax did not undergo any annual variation or from year to year except for new cultivation brought under assessment¹³⁸ (see table 5.2 for wet land tax collection). In Malabar one year's settlement differed very little from that of another and these settlements were made by the *Tahsildars*, and never by the European authorities with the aid of their *sheristadars*.¹³⁹ All these developments endorse H.S. Graeme's statement that in Malabar the entire produce or *pattom* was not brought into account. A substantial portion of the *pattom* was concealed and this had been used to neutralize the pernicious impact of high land tax.

The break up of land revenue collection in 1823/24 shows that it comprised of land tax collection from wetland (Rs.1151176), garden Rs. (Rs.3,17,954), dry grains (Rs. 24161), betel nut (Rs.59139), Jack tree (Rs.52584), Arakkal Beevi's fixed *peshcush*

¹³⁶ Major. Macleod, The Jamabandy report of the Division of Coimbatore and the Province of Malabar, Dated. 18th June 1802.(Calicut Collectorate press,1911) p.3,par 9. Hyder's rental on account of wetlands amounted to Rupees 11,87,521. B O R P, 29th June,1854.Vol.No.2425, par 8962.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 4131.

¹³⁸ Revenue settlement report of Malabar for 1825/26, sent by the Collector to the BOR, Fort. St. George, dated. 15th, September, 1826. M. Vol. 4813, p. 6.

¹³⁹ Letter from The Principal Collector of Malabar Mr. Sheffield to the BOR, BORP, dated 30th April, 1829, Vol. 1187, p. 4131.

(Rs.15,000) tax from Cochin(Rs.4760) and apart from this there was the house tax¹⁴⁰ of (Rs.90,1305.32). Total revenue collection from land tax alone was Rs.16,05,005 (93.60%) .Later the house tax, which formed 5% of the land revenue in 1823/24 was detached and merged with *moturpha*. (see table 5.3)

Statistics are available to show taluq wise land tax demand and collection for 1851/52, 1852/53, 1853/54 and 1854/55. (see table 5.4 and 5.5) In Malabar the wet land tax demand was almost static. The demand and collection did not vary much and there was no progressive increase or decrease. There were ups and downs in the land revenue demand and collection and the difference was not remarkable. The intensity of taluq-wise tax demand and collection in 1823/24 was almost similar to those of 1851/52, 1852/53 and 1853/54 and 1854/55. Even after three decades it did not undergo any substantial change in demand and collection as shown below.

LAND REVENUE DEMAND AND COLLECTION

Year	Demand (Rs.)	Collection(Rs.)
1823/24	1695135 ¹⁴¹	Not available
1851/52	1645 740	1629716
1852/53	1647820	1623818
1853/54	1609444	1580829
1854/55	1642160	1562251

The Southern taluqs accounted for most of the wetland cultivation, production and wet land tax.. Wet land cultivation was the main source of land tax. Among the Southern taluqs Nedinganad, Themmalpuram and Palakkad were the leading taluqs contributing to wet land tax. Wayanad was the biggest taluq with lowest population and

¹⁴⁰ House tax was a component under *moturpha* which was separated from land revenue in 1825/26.

¹⁴¹ Total revenue collected in 1823/24 as per the land revenue table 5.3 is given as Rs. 1695135 . As per one return in fusly 1233 (1823/24) table 5.1 the demand is given as Rs. 1681787 The difference was Rs.15116.This could be probably due to the inclusion or exclusion of Beevi's annual pescush of Rs.15,000. and the extra revenue or the collection of previous years revenue. The difference in the demand and collection is very common in Malabar revenue collections.

lowest tax contribution. Among the northern taluqs the tax contribution from Cavay and Chirakkal taluqs was low comparing to Kottayam, kadathanad and kurumbranad taluqs. Dry grain cultivation was prevalent in the northern and southern taluqs. But it was very less compared to garden cultivation. Taluq-wise land tax demand, collection and balance helped to trace the problems of the magnitude of assessment and complaints of over assessment. **Table No. 5.3** reveals that Nedinganad and Palakkad paid maximum wet land taxes of Rs1,33,612 and 1,07,941. As usual Wayanad paid the lowest wet land tax of Rs.33,094. The northern taluqs contribution to the wet land tax was very low but its share in the garden land and house tax was very high. Among the northern taluqs Kurumbranad taluq contributed the highest tax (including a house tax of Rs.5903) of Rs.1,37,335. This was the second largest tax contribution in the district. Taluq-wise wet land tax collection is available only for a few years (**see table 5.2**). This helped to find out the magnitude of assessment in each taluq.

As mentioned earlier in Malabar there were *niguthi* seed (assessed seed) and *niguthi pattom* (assessed *pattom*). Information is available for taluq wise seed sown and *niguthi pattom* for 1851/52, 52/53, 53/54, and 54/55. From the total tax collected and the total quantity of seed sown the tax per parah of seed was calculated. The tax collected per parah of seed sown in different taluq is compared. This helped to find out the taluqs which were over assessed and those under assessed. There were variations in the assessment in different taluqs. The average tax collected per parah of seed sown was Rs.4 (**see table 5.6**). Commutation rates varied in inverse ratio with proportion taken of the *pattom*. Taluq with low assessment rate had high commutation rate and taluqs with high assessment rate had low commutation rate. In the early period the price of paddy and rice of the region was also considered in fixing the commutation rate. But later fluctuations in the price was not considered. In the Cavay and Chirakkal taluqs the commutation rate was very high with 41

½ to 45 rupees for 100 *parahs* of paddy and was assessed at Rs. 3.02 and Rs.3.32 per *parah* of seed sown¹⁴² . Eranad and Walluvanad taluqs with commutation rates ranging from 14 ½ to Rs.17 (see table 5.7) were assessed at Rs.4 ¾ and Rs.5 ½ per *parah* of seed sown. Themmalpuram with the commutation rate of Rs. 12 ¼ was assessed at Rs. 7 ¾ per *parah* seed.¹⁴³ This was the highest rate of assessment. Nedinganad with a commutation rate of Rs. 11 -7-0 to RS.14 ¼ the assessment per *parah* of seed sown was Rs5.39. The sub-Collector of the southern division of Malabar reported that the taluqs of Palakkad, Themmalpuram and Nedinganad were notoriously lightly assessed.¹⁴⁴ In the Chavakkad taluq the commutation rate was Rs.21 -7-0 and the seed assessment was only Rs.1.70 per *parah* of seed sown. This was the lowest assessment in Malabar. The total seed sown in Malabar in 1851/52 was 2, 83,351 *parahs* and the wet land tax collection was Rs.11, 38,670 giving an average tax of Rs.4.02 per *parah* of seed sown. In 1852/53 there were 2,84,012 *parahs* of seeds and the tax collection was Rs.11,39,911, the tax per *parah* being Rs.4.01 . The average seed assessment was Rs.4 per *parah* of seed sown. For 1853/54 and 1854/55 the assessed *pattom* of each taluq was given. Total assessed *pattom* in 1853/54 was 17, 96,096 *parahs* and it produced a wet land tax of Rs. 11, 57,166 .In 1854/55 the total assessed *pattom* was 18, 07,686 *parahs* and revenue was Rs.11, 25,097. In both the years the average revenue per *parah* of *pattom* was Rs.0.64 or Rs.0-10-0 (10 annas) (see table 5.6).

In Malabar the per capita income derived from agricultural and non-agricultural tax was falling from 1827 census. It was Rs.1.52 in 1827 and thereafter it was

¹⁴² For the assessment of seed and *pattom* see table No.5.4 and Commutation rates see table.no.5.6.

¹⁴³ It has been reported that the people of Palakkad and Themmalpuram were generally lightly assessed and taxed and the tax was on one crop. The reason given was that Ramalingam Pillai , the *Amildar* of Tipu, was the native of Palakkad and he had deliberately under assessed Palakkad because most of his relatives owned land in Palakkad . Letter from H.V. Connolly ,Principal Collector of Malabar to the BOR,18th July 1854.M.Vol..7574, p. 50.. According to Macleod Ramalingam Pillai was Hyder's Muttasuddies (Macleod 's report.*op.cit.*,par.20.

¹⁴⁴ Report from R.N.Chatfield, Sub Collector of Malabar to .H.V.Conolly, the Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 10th September,1853.M.Vol.7951,p.127 par.11.

slowly declining. In 1848/49 it was 1.24 and in 1856/57 it was 1.06. (See table 5.9). Similarly the per capita revenue from non-agricultural taxes was also declining. In 1827 it was 1.21 and in 1848/49 it was 1.06 and in 1856/57 it was 0.09. The per capita revenue from the total revenue collection of Malabar was also decreasing. In 1827 it was 2.21 and in 1848/49 it was 2.06 and in 1856/57 the per capita revenue was 1.09. The increasing population, stagnant land revenue and abolition of some indirect taxes like tobacco monopoly and later sayer were some of the factors for the fall in per capita revenue.

To conclude in Malabar the Company did not develop and implement any independent principle for land tax assessment and settlement. Arshed Beg's settlement was the base for all experiments of land tax assessments and settlements under the Company. From 1783/84 up to 1857/58 Arshed Beg's settlement was in force in Malabar. Under it the produce and not the land was assessed to tax. The East India Company did not effect any reduction in the land tax of Arshed Beg. Rather it marginally increased the land tax in Malabar. In South Malabar 65% and in North Malabar 70% of the *pattom* were taken as the government share (land tax) of the *pattom*. An additional 10% of the land tax demand was taken from the cultivators as charges of collection. In South Malabar the seed sown was assessed and in North Malabar the rent was assessed to tax. In Malabar there was no physical measurement of land and the extent of land under cultivation was not known. Lack of information about the actual gross produce and the yield of the land was the root cause of all problems and errors in the land revenue system. The problem with Arshed Beg's or the Second Commissioner's principle of assessment was that the land tax was demanded or fixed on the estimated gross produce of the seed sown and the actual produce was never ascertained. Both Arshed Beg and later the Commissioner have made settlement upon estimate. The seed needed to sow a particular area of wet land was estimated, its gross produce was estimated at ten fold of the seed sown (out turn multiple), and the expense of

cultivation and the shares of the government, landlord and the tenant were estimated. When this estimate was carried into practice it paved the way for great inequality in assessments. The revenue settlement and the tax fixed was not concluded upon any sound principle which led to the inequality in the tax assessment and collection in each taluq, each *Umshom*¹⁴⁵ and each *Deshom*¹⁴⁶ of Malabar. The miscalculation regarding the quantity of seed requirement resulted in the low and high wet land assessment that occurred throughout the district. The government collected more tax than what it ought to have because of an irrational commutation rates. This compelled the tax payers to pay an additional amount as tax varying from 20-30% depending on the market price. A new assessment based on survey by measurement and calculation of the gross produce by ascertaining the actual outturn of the crop of each description would have solved the problems. But the early surveys and settlements were inaccurate and not dependable due to the corruption of native revenue officers and the false accounts provided by the landlord's. Several administrators of Malabar proposed survey of rice lands to find out the actual gross produce and for fixing the share of the government, landlord's and tenants and they differed in some particulars. Later the government was not willing to conduct a new survey and assessment due to various factors. The Colonial government refused to rectify the anomalies in the land revenue system for fear of alienating the powerful Chieftains and landlords. It was also afraid that any new survey and settlement would disturb the equilibrium it had achieved in Malabar which in turn would adversely affect the revenue collection. Therefore government had finally decided to leave the inequality in land tax assessment and collection as such intact and the peasant's sufferings and exploitation continued unabated.

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¹⁴⁵ *Umshom* is also spelled as *Amsom* . It is the division of a *nadu* ;an administrative unit equal to a village.

¹⁴⁶ *Deshoms* is also spelled as *Desam*, a unit of an *umsom*.

CHAPTER - VI

NON-AGRICULTURAL OR INDIRECT TAXES

Non-Agricultural taxes also contributed huge revenue to the government exchequer, next to the land revenue. The intensity, harshness and the importance of these taxes could be realised from the fact that during the period of study, on an average, non-agricultural indirect taxes contributed 33%¹ of the total revenue collection of Malabar. At times (in 1838/39) it accounted for 50% of the total revenue collection. This tax was collected from different sources. A detailed study of the sources and measures adopted by the government to realise this revenue would reveal how far these taxes were injurious and how this affected the socio-economic life of the people. The English East India Company on realizing that it could not further enhance the land tax started to search for other means by which it could augment its revenue. The result was a massive shift from direct to indirect taxes, which transferred the fiscal burden still more on to the shoulders of the poor. The non agricultural taxes consisted of salt and tobacco monopoly (monopoly taxes), *Sayer* (miscellaneous taxes), *abkary* (tax on spirituous liquors), sea customs, *moturpha* (professional tax), and stamp and transit duty. Monopoly tax consisted of income from salt and tobacco monopoly which was introduced to enhance the government's revenue. Combined together the salt and tobacco monopoly taxes accounted for 24%² of the average annual total revenue collection of Malabar during the period of this study. The Company re implemented some of the taxes collected by the former Rajas in a more systematic and vigorous form with the help of stringent administration to the great disadvantage and sufferings of the people. Some of the non-agricultural taxes were very often exorbitant and were more harsh, oppressive and exploitative in nature than the land tax. When land tax had adversely affected the agriculturalists and peasants, these new taxes affected almost the

¹ See Appendix no. II for the total revenue collection of Malabar during 1792-1857.

² See Appendix No.II and table No.6.

entire population of Malabar. The peasantry of Malabar were exposed to the repressive agricultural and non-agricultural taxes. The operation of the taxes like monopoly and transit duties had interfered with the internal, overland external and coastal trade of Malabar. Non-Agricultural taxes had been derived from the following sources:

1. **Salt monopoly**
2. **Tobacco monopoly**
3. **Sea customs**
4. **stamp**
5. **Sayer**
6. **Abkary**
7. **Farms and licenses**
8. **Moturpha**

With the political and administrative control in the hands of the Company Malabar started to feel the effects of the authoritarian and alien colonial rule. The determination of the government to enhance the public revenue led to the introduction of the salt and tobacco monopoly in Malabar. Next to land tax monopoly tax was the most important source of revenue for the company. This monopoly was an indirect tax imposed on every section of the society irrespective of their affluence. Since this was an instrument not of commerce but of taxation, the resultant steep increase in the price of these articles of general consumption fell very heavily upon the lower strata of the population especially peasants, agricultural slaves, farm workers, free labourers and poor people. The monopoly had some time increased the retail price at which the people got the salt to above 600% and tobacco up to 700%. A measure of the heaviness of this incidence is provided by the fact that the salt and tobacco monopoly, during its operation, contributed 24% of the total revenue of Malabar. Of this figure salt contributed 9% and tobacco 15%. To the government

it was a source of revenue but as far as the people of Malabar were concerned it was a socio-economic evil which interfered with their lifestyle and had eaten up a good portion of their earnings. Perhaps no other economic policy of the British government was as harmful and repressive as the monopoly taxes. The salt and tobacco monopoly has been separately studied as its operation and implications were differently felt by the people.

1. SALT MONOPOLY

In this part of the work the researcher traced the history of the introduction of salt monopoly, the manufacture and its retail price before the monopoly, monopoly purchase price and its retail price from government salt depot, the price paid by the consumers, the working of the monopoly system, the socio-economic impact of the monopoly and the income the government obtained from the monopoly. Though the revenue generated from salt monopoly was less than that of tobacco this monopoly was injurious to the life and existence of the people as salt is an unavoidable part of day to day life. The salt monopoly was economically more harmful to the region and the people as it banned the private manufacture of salt, enhanced its retail price many fold and interfered with the internal and overland external trade. As a result of the monopoly, thousands and thousands of salt pan workers, tenants and land lords, who were engaged in the manufacture of salt, were thrown out of employment. The increase in monopoly retail price required the involvement of huge capital for trade in salt. As it was the main article of Malabar's external trade with Mysore, Coorg and Coimbatore and at times with Madurai, the monopoly interfered with Malabar's trade with these areas. As Mysore and Coorg depended on Malabar for their supply of salt, the monopoly was indirectly extended to these areas.

Before the introduction of the monopoly, salt requirements were met mainly with local manufacture and some imports from Arabia, Bombay, Goa, Mecca and Maldives. The internal manufacture was adequate to take care of the local demands and the

imported salt, which was said to be superior to the local salt, was partly consumed in Malabar and partly re exported to Mysore, Coorg and at times to Coimbatore. Its manufacture and trade was independent and devoid of any government control. In 1800 Mr.Wye, the Collector of Betutnad, Parapanad, Sheranad and Velatre district informed Francis Buchanan that in his district there were 18,544 *cannies* of salt ground. A *canny* is a ground measuring 12 feet by 8 feet and paid a land tax of one old gold *fanam*. *Cannies* of larger or smaller measure were taxed accordingly³. According to the information received by Buchanan from Calicut the production of salt was 2096 Winchester bushel. It was reported that during 1798 and 1799 about 40,000 *parahs* of salt was exported by sea (300 *parah* was roughly equal to 1 Madras grace). According to Buchanan 40 *cannies* of ground produced 380 bushels of salt worth 224 old gold *fanams* (3 ½ old gold *fanams* =1 rupee i.e the rate per bushel was 0.58 *fanams*)⁴. It has been estimated that to work in a salt field of 360 *cannies* it required 20 workers, that is 10 male and 10 female of *Vaytuvan* caste and one worker was sufficient to look after 18 *cannies* of salt grounds. In 1805 Thomas Warden reported that in Malabar there were about 93000 salt pans and each measured about 150 square feet. On a rough calculation in 1805 these salt pans produced about 141614 Cwt⁵ (one cwt = 112 lbs. Total 15860768 lbs) of salt, which at 9256 ½ lbs to a Madras grace was 1713 Madras grace (82.68 cwt = 1 Madras grace). This was adequate to meet the local demand. The land revenue from these salt pans amounted to Rs.5, 600 which was paid in species. By applying Buchanan's information that 6 *cannies* paid a land tax of one old gold *fanam*, the land tax of Rs.5000 in 1805 was collected from 1,20,000 *cannies* which according to Buchanan's estimate provided employment to 6666 labours of the *Vaytuvan* caste. The salt itself was the property of the proprietor of the salt pans and he disposed it as

³ Francis Buchanan, *op. cit.*, Vol.No.II, p.460.

⁴ *Ibid.* p.481.

⁵ Letter dated 13th, May 1805 from M r .Thomas Warden, Principal Collector of Malabar to the BOR, Fort St. George, M.Vol.No.2321, p.176.

he liked⁶. The average import in 1804 before the monopoly was 18542 cwt, i.e. 224 ½ Grace. The average price of salt sold during the 6 years before the introduction of salt monopoly from 1800/01 to 1805/06 was Rs.28 per Madras grace⁷ (see table 6.1). The average retail consumer price of salt in the interior before the monopoly was Rs.45 ½ per Madras grace. Foreign salt imported from Goa, Bombay and Mecca being of better quality was sold at Rs.47 ½ to 70 per grace.⁸ Only the affluent section of the society preferred it. About 1/3rd of the imported salt was re-exported to Coorg, Mysore, Wayanad and some times to Coimbatore. This salt was imported as a part of trading activities or as ballast and the import was not because of inadequate production of salt in Malabar.

After the introduction of the monopoly, manufacture and import of salt except on government account was prohibited and salt needed for Malabar was mainly imported from Bombay⁹. Gradually salt manufacture was stopped in Malabar and the labourers, peasants and land lords involved in it were thrown out of employment.

The salt monopoly was established in the Madras Presidency, except in Malabar and Canara, by Regulation I of 13th September, 1805.¹⁰ In Malabar the salt monopoly was introduced in November 1806 and abolished in 1871. The Collector of land revenue had the charge of the salt monopoly. The first sale of the salt was the monopoly of the government¹¹. The average price of salt bought by the Company for the monopoly from the contractors in Malabar was about Rs.30 per Madras grace. In Malabar the government on receiving the salt at its depots paid a price called *kudivaram* (price paid by the

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁷ T. Warden. Report on the Revenue system of Malabar, 16th, June, 1813, (Calicut) par. 4.

⁸ . Letter dated 13th, May 1805 from Mr. Thomas Warden, Principal Collector of Malabar to the BOR, Fort St. George, M.Vol.No.2321, p.177.

⁹ David Hill's letter to T. Hyde Villiers, Papers laid before the select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company –1831-32 Session (B.P), Book No.9, Vol. No. XI, (para V),P.323. Malcolm Levin's evidence before the select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company –1831-32 Session Vol. No. XI, Book No.9, *op. cit.*, P.241.

¹⁰ Thomas, P. J., *Growth of Federal Finance in India –1833-1939*, (Oxford 1939), P.42.

¹¹ . Letter from the BOR to the Governor in Council, Fort. St. George, dated.5th, October 1807, Report on the revenue settlement of Malabar for 1806/07, M.Vol.,2534,p,55. Logan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, P. 370.

government to the producer). The price varied from 2 *annas* and 2 *pice* to 3 *annas* 7 *pice* per *maund*¹² or Rs.16½ to 27 per *grace*. The average price of salt per *grace* bought by the Company for 5 years (1816-1821) is given in **table 6.2**¹³. The above table clearly shows that indigenously manufactured salt was the cheapest of all salt available in Malabar. It was 48% cheaper than salt from Bombay and 44% cheaper than the Mecca salt. The indigenous production was adequate to meet the local demand. But the government preferred foreign salt and restricted the indigenous manufacture probably to prevent smuggling. Later indigenous manufacture was stopped. The monopoly salt was sold out from the government depots established mainly in the coastal towns in any quantity throughout the month. This system differed from that of Bengal where only a limited quantity was determined by the government to be sold by auction held monthly.¹⁴ This measure was tantamount to establishing a sub monopoly in Bengal salt, as only people with big capital could bid in the auction. In the Madras Presidency the monopoly price of salt was fixed, whereas in Bengal the monopoly price could not be fixed because of the system of auction. The only principle governing the fixation of the price was that it should not be as high as to interfere with consumption.¹⁵

The monopoly price, the price at which salt was sold from the government depots, the first sale, consisted of the cost of the article and the government duty (monopoly profit). The price of salt under the monopoly system could be categorized into three sections. The first was the monopoly procurement price at which the government purchased the salt for the monopoly from the suppliers. The second was the monopoly price at which salt was first sold by the government through its depots located in the coastal regions to merchants. The third was the consumer price, the rate at which the people bought the salt

¹² David Hill's evidence before the select Committee, 1831-32, Book No.9, *op. cit.*, P.117.

¹³ General Report, Vol. No. 30, 3rd, January, 1822, (Par 1503), P.212.

¹⁴ David Hill's evidence before the select Committee, 1831-32 Book No.9, *op. cit.*, Par 1366, P.119.

¹⁵ Thomas, P.J, *op. cit.*, P.41.

from a chain of traders. When the monopoly was introduced, the monopoly price was originally Rs.70 per grace throughout the presidency.¹⁶ However, in Malabar it was initially Rs.70 per grace but later increased to Rs.88 and Rs.94 ½ per grace. In 1809 it was again raised to Rs.105 per grace, which constituted a rise of 50 % (see table 6.3). As the enhanced price reduced the consumption of salt, the price was reduced to Rs.70 in 1820 a reduction of 33.38%.¹⁷ But it was reported that the retail price of monopoly salt fell only by 11.13%, i.e., only 1/3rd of the amount relinquished by the government went to the consumer and 2/3rd of it being absorbed by the dealers through whose hands the article passed.¹⁸ In 1828 the price was again raised to Rs.105¹⁹. In 1844 the inland (transits) duty in the Presidency was abolished, and in order to compensate the loss suffered from the abolition of the transit duty the price of salt was raised to Rs.180 per grace or Rs.1 and 8 annas per *maund* (120 maund = one grace)²⁰. This rate was for the Madras Presidency but according to one report in 1843/44 there was a sudden enhancement in the price of salt in Malabar from Rs.105 to Rs.218- Anna 12 per grace and this was an increase of about 108%. This increase in price interfered with trade. The Mysore *Benjaras* (grain traders) regularly brought grains and coffee from Mysore and Wayanad to Tellicherry and Calicut and in return they took back salt to Mysore. It was reported that in 1844 they returned from Malabar to Mysore without taking salt because of the high price²¹. There existed a vast difference between the price at which the government bought salt for monopoly and the rate at which it was sold from the government depots. The price of imported salt in 1842/43 was only Rs.31-1-7. In 1843/44

¹⁶ T. Warden, *Report on the Revenue system of Malabar*, 16th, June, 1813, Calicut, 1916, par 4. Thomas, P.J, *op. cit.*, P.41.

¹⁷ General Report, Vol.Nos. 46 - 49, 3rd. February, 1831, Par. 614.

¹⁸ James Mill's letter to T. Hyde Villiers, Papers laid before the Select Committee, *op.*, *cit.*, 1831-32 Session (British Parliamentary Papers), Book No. 9, P.276. Petition submitted by the Madras Native Association and others, 10th December, 1852 and referred to the Select Committee on Indian territories, 1852-53 Session (British Parliamentary Papers), Vol. No. XXVIII, Book No. 13, Appendix No.7 P.438.

¹⁹ Thomas, P.J, *op. cit.*, P.132.

²⁰ *Ibid.*,

²¹ BOP. Fort St. George, 24th, February, 1845, Vol .N0.1956, p.2525.

the price of salt bought for monopoly was Rs.35-11-7 per grace and the monopoly selling rate at the depot was Rs218 $\frac{3}{4}$. The difference between the monopoly procurement price and monopoly selling (retail) price in Malabar in 1843/44 was Rs.183, a difference of 611%.

When there was free trade in salt before the monopoly, the Bombay salt was brought in *pattamarah* (big trading boat) and sold to the Malabar merchants. In the return journey, they took back Malabar produce. Even after the monopoly this pattern continued but only contractors supplied the salt to the government and this had restricted the free trade. The Collector reported that a contract for the monopoly supply would be a severe blow to the trade in the district. Under the monopoly the salt suppliers/contractors were able to control the supply price as mentioned below.²² Saleh Prabhu, a monopoly salt supplier of South Canara, in his memorandum to the Collector of Malabar explained the mechanism of the monopoly salt purchase in Malabar. In every month a proclamation was issued declaring the rate at which Bombay salt would be purchased by *Cirkar* (government) in that month. In the event of this rate being very low people refrained from bringing salt to Malabar. In the next month another proclamation would be given increasing the rate. Wherein the salt was brought in abundance and the *Cirkar* (government) was obliged to purchase it at higher rates. But that salt which did not reach Malabar ports in time would be sold to government at cheaper rate proclaimed by government in the third month.²³ Even then also the *ryots*, the indigenous manufactures of Malabar, refrained from bringing salt as in the first month. For this reason the rate was again enhanced and so on the subsequent month. The people might bring salt or discontinue doing so according to the rate which was increased or decreased. That by this practice the *Cirkar* happened to buy at high rate a considerable quantity of salt and an insignificant quantity at a cheap rate.

²² Letter from the Collector of Malabar dated, 12th September, 1839, to the BOR requesting the Boards permission to enter into a contract with Saleh Prabhu of Canara for the supply of Monopoly salt. BORP. Vol. No. 1675, p. 13439.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 13442.

The introduction of salt monopoly on one hand had enhanced many fold the price of salt and restricted its manufacture in Malabar. Malabar produced adequate salt for its internal consumption and exported the surplus by sea and land route. Though Malabar could have enhanced the production of salt to meet any additional requirements including for the monopoly requirements, the government was interested in getting it from outside thereby rendering a large number of people jobless who were involved in the manufacture of salt. The average annual consumption during the first three years of monopoly, 1805/06 -1807/08, was 904 grace.²⁴ The volume of home consumption was also increasing. The average annual public sale for home consumption (in Malabar) during the first 5 years of the monopoly was 1605 grace. The share of Malabar salt in it was 1357 grace or 85% of the requirement was met by Malabar salt.²⁵ The average sale for home consumption between 1811/12- 1815/16 was 1499 grace in which the share of Malabar salt was only 377 graces (see table 6.4). Here the supply of Malabar salt had declined from 85% to 25% within a short period of three years. This drastic fall in the production was due to monopoly restriction in the manufacture. The remainder of 1122 grace was imported from outside Malabar. This was a turning point in the socio-economic life of Malabar because even though it was capable of producing the required salt the monopoly restriction prevented it. The average annual consumption in Malabar was estimated at 1611 grace in 1818.²⁶ The demand for salt was increasing. The home consumption in 1830-31 was 2073 grace. This increase in use could be due to increase in population, cattle, for agriculture and drying fish.²⁷ In 1850/51 the home consumption was 2,39,489 Indian *maunds* (2902 grace), and in 1851/52 the home consumption was 2,32,694 Indian *maunds* (2820grace) (One Indian

²⁴ BOP, 12 Oct.1818,Vol.No.805, p.11157.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.11212.

²⁶ BOP,Vol.No.805, p.11157

²⁷ BOP, 12 Oct.1818, Vol.1324,10th May, 1832 , p.114

maund = 82 ½ lbs, 112 Indian maund= One Madras grace. Here one Indian maund = one cwt.).

Thomas Warden, the Principal Collector of Malabar in his revenue settlement report of 1807/08 stated that the monopoly price of salt should not be increased because the price paid for the indigenous manufacture was lower than other districts. He was of the opinion that any increase in the price would affect the consumption. Low price would encourage greater consumption and in consequent the revenue would also increase. The purchasing price paid by the government for the salt of every taluq was regulated upon the liberal average of the retail price.²⁸ The monopoly retail price paid was the same throughout the province which bore heavily on the inhabitants of those districts where salt used to be procurable at a very moderate price.

The price charged from the consumer or rather the retail dealer varied considerably both in time and place.²⁹ The inhabitants living in the interior could not obtain the article at the coastal price. Charges of carriage, profit of several intermediate retailers, loss from wastage and other incidental expenses had very often raised the price several fold above the monopoly price³⁰. In 1844 the inland depot price of salt was 50 % higher than the coastal price. After the enhancement of the price in 1855 this anomaly was removed. The uniformity in price was achieved after a 75% increase of the coastal depot price and 16.50% increase in the inland depot price (**see table 6.5.**).

Apart from the operation of monopoly, the price of salt in the interior was especially enhanced as a result of distance from the coastal depots and the high cost of carriage. The government itself maintained different prices for salt sold from the coast and interior depots as mentioned above. To transport one grace of salt 50 to 60 bullocks were

²⁸ Report from Thomas Warden, the Principal Collector of Malabar, on the revenue settlement for 1807/08, to the BOR.Fort St.George. BORP, Vol.No.467, p. 4593.

²⁹ General Report, Vol. No. 52, P,52.

³⁰ T,Warden, 1813 Report, *op.cit.*, P3.

needed.³¹ Apart from increasing the price, the process of transportation also resulted frequently in the adulteration of salt before it reached the consumer. In 1843/44 the monopoly procurement price was only Rs.35.75 per grace. Monopoly selling price from the government depot was Rs.218.75 and the difference of Rs.183 was the profit of the government that included the charges of administration. Now to this price another 70% is to be added which, according to Thomas Warden, was to cover the cost of transportation, loss during storage and profit of several intermediaries. This additional 70% pushed the consumer price of salt to Rs.371 per grace (of 9256 ½ lbs). If a reasonable hike of 50 % was added, instead of the above mentioned 70%, then the consumer price would be Rs.328 or Rs.0-An.0- pice.8 per lbs (12 pice constituted one *anna*). This was the price the interior people had to give for one lbs of salt in 1844. In the coastal area the price would be only around 25% above the monopoly retail price. The annual requirement of salt for a labour family was calculated as 72 lbs by Thomas Warden in 1813. At the rate of 8 pice per lbs the family had to spend Rs.4 ¾ in a year for salt. The consumer price in 1805 before the monopoly was one pice per lbs for indigenous salt and 1 ½ pice per lbs for foreign salt. When the pre monopoly consumer price of 1805 was compared with that of 1855, it shows that the consumer price of salt had gone up to 650%. In 1839 the collector reported that due to the monopoly the price was high at 2 ½ pice per lbs³². This was the monopoly depot selling price. Absence of government salt depots in the interior was another factor for the high consumer price of salt in the interior. Most of the depots were on the coastal towns like Chavakkad, Ponnani, Calicut, Tellicherry and Cannannore. The government took almost 42 years to establish inland depots. In 1848/49 inland depots were established at Ottapalam, Palakkad and Alatoor³³. In 1852/53 the prices in the interior depots like Ottapalam, Palakkad

³¹ . Malcolm Levin's evidence before the Select Committee, *op. cit.* P.241.

³² Letter from the Collector of Malabar dated.12th Sept 1839, to the BOR requesting the Boards permission to enter into a contract with Saleh Prabhu of Canara for the supply of Monopoly salt. BORP. Vol.No.1675, p.13439.

³³ Letter from the Secretary, Fort St. George dated.4th April 1850, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, forwarding the report on extra sources of revenue of Malabar for fusly 1258 (from the Collector

and Alatoor and coastal prices were reduced in order to assimilate it with adjoining Cochin depot. But still the inland depot price was higher than coastal depot (**see table 6.5**). Earlier in Cochin the price was lesser than Malabar. Thereafter sales in the interior depots increased as shown below. The Collector reported that the selling prices were increased in all inland and coastal depots in October 1855 and the sales were nevertheless on the increase³⁴.

Considerable trade was going on in salt between Malabar and Coorg, Mysore, Coimbatore, Neelgiris and Mahe. These salts were exported from coastal depots located at Cannannore, Tellicherry, Calicut, Ponnani, Chavakkad and Cochin. Limited quantities were exported from inland depots located at Arricode, Ottappalam, Palakkad and Alatoor. Mysore and Coorg were landlocked kingdoms surrounded by territories directly controlled by the Company and they had no direct access to sea and their nearest ports were Calicut and Tellicherry. This peculiar geographical condition and trade connection with Malabar forced them to buy monopoly salt at high price from Malabar there by extending the monopoly to those areas. The salt was carried to these places through different passes

The sale of salt was increasing in Malabar. Salt sold in Malabar was mainly consumed internally and a portion was exported by land to Mysore, Coorg and Mahe shows that the quantity of internal consumption .It showed fluctuation between 1844/45 and 1856/57. In 1844/45 the internal consumption was 2202 grace and in 1855/57 the consumption was 1995 graces. (**see table 6.6**). But the consumption in 1856/57 was abnormally high at 3240 graces. No exact reason is available for this sudden increase in the sale of monopoly salt. Figures from 1844/45 to 1854/55 showed that about 25% of salt sold in Malabar was exported to Mysore, Coorg and Mahe during this period. There was fluctuation in the export to Mysore, Coorg and Mahe.

of Malabar) BORP. Vol.No.2235, P. 5014.

³⁴ Revenue settlement report of the Malabar Collector for 1855/56, 20th September.1856
M.Vol.No.7954,p..212.

112 Indian *maunds* of 82 ½ lbs constituted one Madras grace of 9256 ½ lbs.M.Vo.l.No.7952, p.150.

The monopoly profit was calculated by deducting the gross charges from gross collection. The gross charges were the cost of monopoly salt (inclusive of transportation) and charges of superintendence. The retailers added their profit to this which pushed up the price further. The difference in consumer price before and after the introduction of monopoly was Rs.282 per grace. The consumer price of Rs.45 per grace, the price of salt in 1805 before the monopoly was compared with consumer price of 1844. The monopoly (depot) price in 1844 was Rs.218 $\frac{3}{4}$ and the monopoly consumer price in the interior was Rs.328. The latter price was calculated by adding 50% (transportation charges, wastage and profit of different retailers) to the depot price of Rs.218 $\frac{3}{4}$. This difference in consumer price of salt, between the pre monopoly consumer price of Rs.45 per grace and the monopoly consumer price in 1844 was 629%. That is the consumer price of 1844 was 629% higher than the 1805/06 pre monopoly price. This drastic increase in price of an article essential for life took place within a span of 38 years. The quinquennial average revenue from salt monopoly indicates that it was increasing gradually. In 1808/09 the average was Rs.97,949 and in 1857/58 this had gone up to Rs.3,79,279, an increase of 287% in the monopoly revenue within a period of 50 years. For the quinquennial revenue from salt monopoly (see table 6.7). It has been increasing rapidly from 1813/14, 1838/39 and 1857/58.

The government had earned enormous profit from the salt monopoly. The table No.6.8 shows the charges of purchase of monopoly salt, charges of superintendence, (total charges), gross collection and net revenue and gross profit earned by the government from the salt monopoly. Before the monopoly the only income the government received from salt was the land tax from the salt pans which was only Rs.5,000 in 1805, just before the introduction of monopoly. However after the introduction of monopoly the revenue (monopoly profit) received from it were many times higher than the land tax received from

the salt pans. The average net monopoly profit for 10 years from 1841/42 to 1852/53 (with two years break in 1844/45 and 45/46) was Rs.2,45,008. This monopoly profit was 4900% higher than the gross land revenue of Rs.5000 the government obtained from salt pans, in 1805, before the introduction of monopoly. The annual net profit of the government for 10 years between 1841/42 and 1852/53 varied between 165-493%. The percentage of net revenue, with reference to the gross collection, varied from 69-83% and the net monopoly profit during the period of 1841/42-1852/53 varied from 165-493%. In certain years the revenue from salt monopoly formed 18% of the total revenue of that year (1854/55). The average annual profit of Rs.2,45,008 was the indirect tax paid by all sections of Malabar population, labours, peasants, land lords and traders, irrespective of their income. More profit means more sufferings and more hardship for the Malabar people. This was one of the most harmful effects of the colonial rule in Malabar.

The introduction of salt monopoly and the stoppage of salt manufacture in Malabar had severe socio-economic implication leading to the sufferings of the people. Several British administrators of Malabar had warned the BOR of the Madras Presidency of the adverse consequence of the stopping of indigenous manufacture of salt. But their concern was mainly about the loss of revenue from the stoppage of the manufacture and closing of the salt pans and not about the sufferings of the people. Probably they did not estimate the huge income from the monopoly. Thomas Warden in the early stage of the monopoly had objected to the suggestion of BOR to restrict the manufacture of the salt in Malabar. The reason he put forward was that most of the salt pans were heavily mortgaged and any restriction would cause severe hardship to the proprietors and their creditors. Any stoppage of production would cause loss of land revenue to government as it had to remit the tax on non-working pans.³⁵ Therefore he had recommended the continuance of salt

³⁵ Letter from the BOR to the Governor in Council, Fort, St. George, dated 5th October, 1807, reporting the revenue settlement of Malabar for 1806/07, M, Vol. N0.2534, p. 55.

manufacture in Malabar. Mr. Warden further explained about the difficulties experienced by the interior people in obtaining monopoly salt. He said they were exposed to considerable expense and inconvenience by having to cross several rivers, in travelling from the interior to distant stations to buy salt for their domestic consumption.³⁶ He was of the opinion that the establishment of salt stations in the interior, apart from giving public easy access would benefit public revenue by increasing the sales.³⁷ But such inland depots were established about 42 years after the introduction of monopoly. Warden was more concerned about the revenue aspect and not concerned about the life of thousands of workers and their family, who were thrown out of employment as a result of the monopoly. He was only concerned about the proprietors, their creditors and the government revenue and not about the workers and their family. Commissioner Graeme, in 1821 suggested the encouragement of home manufacture to increase consumption in Malabar. He pleaded that the home manufacture of salt would remove the suffering of the people, who had been manufacturing salt before the monopoly.³⁸

The Board of Revenue suggested that the Collector should give a trial to the indigenous manufacture of salt and to improve its quality. Later on, salt to a small extent was indigenously manufactured under the supervision of the salt department. But a great share of the monopoly salt was imported from Bombay. As a natural consequence of its exorbitant price following the introduction of monopoly, salt was also illegally manufactured, besides being smuggled into Malabar from the nearby French settlement of Mahe. This illegal manufacturing, in spite of penal legal provisions, was particularly resorted to by the workers who had previously been employed in salt pans and had been

³⁶ Letter dated 23rd June, 1807, from Mr. Thomas Warden, Principal Collector of Malabar to the BOR, Fort St George, BORP, Vol. No. 449, p. 6040.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6041.

³⁸ General Report, 3rd, January, 1822, Vol, No. 30, P. 210, Par, 1500.

thrown out of employment. Poor people living in the coastal areas always tried to buy this salt because it was cheap. But it was inferior in quality and injurious to health.

2. Tobacco Monopoly.

The tobacco monopoly in Malabar offers a significant example of the concern of the Company's servants in harnessing every possible means of augmenting their revenues. This clearly emerges from David Hill's letter to T.Hyde Villier. On being asked "Whether there is any thing particular to Malabar and Canara which warrants tobacco monopoly there and not elsewhere", he replied, "owing probably to the wet climate, the use of tobacco is universal throughout Malabar and Canara, and the plant is little, if at all, grown in those provinces. Besides they are easily accessible only by particular land routes or by sea. These circumstances afford facilities to the collection of high revenue on tobacco, which does not exist elsewhere. The paramount consideration which warrants the highest revenue we are able to collect there than elsewhere is that with all we can do our revenue is still too small. It also affords some special warrant for the tobacco monopoly in Malabar and Canara, that the land revenue there is lighter than in other districts."³⁹

The government ordered the introduction of tobacco monopoly in Malabar on 28th, June, 1806. The BOR's instruction in this regard to the Malabar Collector was issued on 25th, July, 1806. But the monopoly took effect only in January 1807 as the Collector was aware of the serious consequences of the sudden and abrupt introduction of the monopoly in Malabar. Moreover the Collector had postponed its introduction for sometime as he wanted to be informed about the traders in tobacco. Moreover the Collector wanted to introduce the monopoly without exciting disgust among the traders and common people.⁴⁰ The monopoly was introduced in order to make good the loss from the abolition of town duties.⁴¹ The

³⁹ David Hill's letter to T. Hyde Villiers, 28th January, 1832, (B. P), Book No. 9, Par. X, P.324.

⁴⁰ Letter from the BOR to the Governor in Council, Fort. St. George, dated 5th, October, 1807, Report on the revenue settlement of Malabar for fusly 1216, M, Vol.No.2534, p.55. General Report, Vol.No.13, 10th, October, 1807, P.104, Par 750.

⁴¹ General Report, Vol. Nos. 12, 25th, February, 1807, Par 382.

monopoly was abolished on 1st January, 1853, by the proclamation of 9th, November 1852. The maximum revenue from non-agricultural tax was derived from tobacco monopoly.

Before the monopoly, tobacco needed for Malabar was imported from Coimbatore by private merchants, subject to a duty of 8% at Palakkad and it could be obtained at Rs.50 per *candy* of 680 lbs.⁴² After the introduction of the monopoly it was supplied from Coimbatore sometimes by agents of the Collector of Coimbatore and some times by contractors. The contract system was abolished in AD 1828/29.⁴³ For the effective implementation of tobacco monopoly in Malabar and Canara, a monopoly in the trade of tobacco was introduced in Coimbatore by regulation 8 of 1811.⁴⁴ According to Malcolm Lewin, there was no monopoly in Coimbatore, except in one kind, which was supplied to Malabar.⁴⁵ As per the monopoly, the Coimbatore ryots cultivated tobacco under license and they were obliged to deliver it to the government at a price fixed by the government. This injurious system was abolished in 1817.⁴⁶ Mr.Thomas Warden, the Principal Collector of Malabar in the beginning of the tobacco monopoly in 1807 informed the BOR that he could procure tobacco for 1806/07 period at a cost of Rs.47 to Rs.58 per *candy* of 640lbs and could be issued to vendors at Rs.210 per *candy* to be retailed by them for Rs.228 per *candy*.⁴⁷

Tobacco needed for the monopoly was supplied by the tobacco merchants of Coimbatore and Palakkad at very low rates. There was stiff competition among the tobacco suppliers of Palakkad and Coimbatore to acquire the monopoly supply contract. The rate and terms and conditions offered varied. These were procured by the district Collector through proclamation. In 1816 Bisram Singh, a tobacco supplier of Palakkad, had offered to

⁴² H.S. Graeme's Report, *Op. cit.*, P.255.

⁴³ M. Vol. No. 4800, P. 150.

⁴⁴ A.R. Mac Even, *Report on the Re-settlement in the Malabar Province* (Madras 1930),p.17.

⁴⁵ Malcolm Lewin's evidence, *op. cit.*, (Par 2813), P.241.

⁴⁶ General Report, Vol. No.44, P.186.

⁴⁷ BORP, 15th September, 1807 vol.No.453 , p.7719.

supply tobacco at Rs.59.5 per candy of 680 lbs. He offered to buy tobacco from Coimbatore ryots at reasonable price. He had already sent 1470 *candies* to Ponnani as part of quantity required and that the cost of which will not exceed Rs.47.5 per *candy*. However Samy Chetty, Comara Chetty and Angan Chetty, merchants of Coimbatore offered to supply 3000 *candies* of 640 lbs at Rs.33.25 per *candy*.⁴⁸ On 8th, January 1818 Bisiram Sing Soukar of Palakkad wrote to the Principal Collector of Malabar Mr.Vaughan, that as per the proclamation of the Collector, the former was ready to supply the Monopoly Tobacco needed for Malabar from Coimbatore. Further he agreed to supply from 1818, 2000 *candies* of 680 lbs of the *wadamayoum* tobacco (a particular type of tobacco which was in demand in Malabar) to the Ponnani depot at about Rs.52.50 per *candy*. He would keep ready another 1000 *candies* at Pollachi and Coimbatore to supply to Cochin at Rs.41.25 per *candy*. This he would collect from the *kudians* (cultivators) of Coimbatore without molesting them. He wanted the contract for 5 years, because the advances that would be made to the *kudians* could not be realized in one year. He further stipulated that the government should not collect any custom duties from him. He would pay a security of Rs.10,000.⁴⁹ However M/s. Soobray Chetty, Ramaswamy Chetty of Coimbatore and Iyya Chetty and Burian chetty of Soonda Coimbatore in a letter to the Principal Collector of Malabar on 29th January 1818, agreed to supply 2000 *candies* of tobacco per year needed for the monopoly for 1817-18 to 1819-20, at Rs.48 ¼ per *candy* of 680 lb at Ponnani.⁵⁰

Great disparities existed in the price at which tobacco was bought in Coimbatore and its monopoly price in Malabar. It has been reported that the monopoly in the first instance raised the monopoly price at which tobacco was sold from government

⁴⁸ Letter from the Coimbatore collector Mr. J. Sullivan to the Malabar Collector, dated 27th March ,1816, M.Vol,2261, p.13.

⁴⁹ BOP,vol.No.782. p.1755.

⁵⁰ M.Vol.No.2265,p.349.

depot by 300 to 400% and owing to abuses in the management, often by 700 to 800%.⁵¹ But the fact was that even in the first sale itself, from the government depot, the monopoly had directly increased the price from 380% to 502% as shown in the **table 6.9**. This profit was calculated from the monopoly purchasing rate and first sale from the government depots. The addition of the profit of several retailers had pushed up the price to about 800%. This was the difference between the monopoly procurement price and final consumer price. Compared to salt monopoly the government got high profit from tobacco monopoly.

It was reported that the monopoly price of tobacco in Malabar during 1816 was Rs.237½ per candy while it was sold in Coimbatore, lying at a distance of 25 miles, for Rs.17.50 to Rs.21 for the same and the price of smuggled tobacco was about Rs.30. According to the report of the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, the cost of a *candy of* tobacco in Coimbatore was about Rs.22 while the monopoly price at Palakkad in Malabar, a distance of 25 miles, was Rs.175.⁵² There were representations against such oppressive increase in the price of tobacco. As a result of these protests the government reduced the monopoly price of tobacco in February 1816 from Rs.288 to Rs.175 per *candy*. The government, however, had no control over the retailers. Consequently, in that very year, in spite of reduction of the price by the government, tobacco was sold at 200% higher than the monopoly price of Rs.525. This was 765% more than the pre monopoly selling price of tobacco i.e., Rs.60.⁵³

H.S. Graeme reported in 1822 that since the introduction of the monopoly the consumption of tobacco among the increasing population of Malabar had decreased by 40%. According to him the cost of the tobacco brought from Coimbatore varied between Rs.34 and 50 per *candy of* 680 lbs. But its selling price at big depots of Palakkad, Ponnani

⁵¹ Report from the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, 1831-32 Session, Vol.No. VIII, P.74.

⁵² Report from the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, 1831-32 Session, B.P.Vol. No. VIII, P.75.

⁵³ General Report, Vol.No.22, 6th, January, 1812, P.135, par 692.

and Calicut was Rs.161/ per *candy* and Rs.169.75 at the smaller depots. Licensed vendors were authorized to sell at Rs.175, but retailers without any license sold it at about Rs.220 per *candy*⁵⁴. In 1822 itself the monopoly price was raised from 157½ rupees to Rs.175 per *Candy*⁵⁵. During all these periods the price of tobacco in Coimbatore varied from 15 to 20 rupees, according to quality. However in Malabar it was retailed at Rs.202 per *candy*. Moreover, it was inferior in quality. In the beginning of the 1840's it was observed that in some places, which were removed from supervision, retailers managed to sell tobacco at an exorbitant rate of Rs.360 per *candy*. The manner in which monopoly operated to the utter disadvantage of the consumer is brought out by the fact that about this time the best contraband tobacco was sold in Malabar at Rs.100 per *candy*.⁵⁶ (see table 6.10).

This great difference in the price of an article which had become almost a necessity of life held out an irresistible temptation to smuggling. In 1813, Thomas Warden, then Principal Collector of Malabar, had Calculated the consumption of tobacco in Malabar at 1700 candies, of 680 lbs. Almost one third of this i.e. 500 candies was estimated by warden to consist of contraband supplies.⁵⁷ Upon the recommendation of the BOR the Governor ordered to reduce the monopoly price of tobacco to Rs.140 per *candy* of 560 lbs or Rs.160 per *candy* of 640lbs. Accordingly he had fixed the profit of the retailer at Rs.19.25 per *candy* of 640 lbs, making the monopoly price to the consumer 157.75 *candy* of 560 lb or Rs.180 *candy* of 640 lbs. However, Warden suggested the consumer price of Rs.192.50 *candy* of 640 lbs. The BOR agreed to Rs.178. The average production of Coimbatore was 2000 candies and out of which only 500 candies were locally consumed⁵⁸. This state of affairs causing hardships to the people and providing a virtually endemic cause for smuggling called for attempts at reforming it. One such effort was made by Sheffield,

⁵⁴ H.S. Graeme's Report, *op. cit.*,P,256.

⁵⁵ General Report, Vol.No.31, Para 1073, P. 186.

⁵⁶ Revenue Dispatches from England, Vol .No. 24, 1st , March ,1843.

⁵⁷ General Report, Vol.No. 17 , P.94.

⁵⁸ Extract from the minutes of the Governor .in Council.M.2261 p.231.

then Principal Collector of Malabar, who introduced on 12 March, 1827, a new system for conducting sales of tobacco. This system, he claimed, reduced the consumption price of tobacco by 60%. According to this system the taluq sale of tobacco was superintended by the Tahsildars, who were supplied indents for the tobacco required for their respective Jurisdictions (taluk). The tahsildars were entitled to a commission on the sales.⁵⁹ This commission was stopped after the abolition of monopoly. Thus the government acting in turn as buyer and distributor did away with the professional retailer by making the tahsildars retailers. This method increased the revenue from the tobacco monopoly by 40%. Sheffield's system, however, made provision for individuals to buy tobacco for their bona fide personal use from the government depots. A certain number of vendors were to be appointed in each town and village, their profit being 12% and the maximum retail price not exceeding Rs.202, annas 4 per *candy*. The tobacco monopoly operated disadvantageously for the consumers, the majority of whom were poor people. They were not only legally barred from cultivating tobacco but also were compelled to sell the tobacco cultivated to the government. It was reported that tobacco was cultivated to a small extent, for personal use by the people of Wayanad but this under the monopoly was prohibited.⁶⁰ Tobacco being an article of daily consumption, they were also obliged to pay for it an artificially raised exorbitant price. This was particularly unjust for the poor people because tobacco provided for them a possibly inexpensive relief from the cruel drudgery of their hard existence. Workers could not go through their daily work without it⁶¹. The consequences were that smugglers in bodies of 50 or 100 traversed the country, plundering wherever they went and occasionally overpowering the police. There were instances of whole villages in Coimbatore district being burned by them when the *ryots* refused to sell them their tobacco. The government had reported the monopoly had increased the expenses of the judicial

⁵⁹ General Report, Vol.No. 42, p.223.

⁶⁰ T. Warden's Report, 1813, *op., cit.*, p.16.

⁶¹ H.S. Graeme's Report, *op., cit.*, P.256.

department for law charges, maintenance of prisoners and increase of police establishments.⁶² The Collector of Coimbatore complained of the hardships of the ryots in his districts through the previous mode of supplying Malabar by contract system. In 1842/43 and 1843/44 the tobacco needed for Malabar monopoly was supplied by the Coimbatore Collector and the quantities were 3439 and 3264 *candies* at the rate of Rs.25.25 and 30.25 per *candy*.

The quinquennial average of tobacco (**see table 6.11**) showed that the gross collection was increasing rapidly. In the first quinquennial ending in 1811/12 the gross collection was Rs.1,99,249. In the last quinquennial ending 1851/62 it was Rs.4,88,230. The highest quinquennial average of 1846/47 was Rs.5,59,423. Among all the taxes tobacco monopoly was very oppressive and it generated high revenue to government after the wet land tax. The government had exploited the particular geographical condition of Malabar to impose the tobacco monopoly to enhance the government revenue at the cost of the sufferings of the people of Malabar. Tobacco monopoly was abolished from 1st January 1853 and the gross collection from 1st, July 1852 to 31st December 1852 was Rs.230784.⁶³ Tobacco monopoly contributed 20% of the total revenue of Malabar during the years 1844/45 and 45/46.

An attempt has been made by the scholar to calculate the impact of the salt and tobacco monopoly on the working class of Malabar. Among the Company's servants Mr.Thomas Warden, the Principal Collector in 1813 tried to analyse the income of a labour's family and the amount they spent for buying monopoly salt and tobacco. He had calculated that a labour with four children and wife (total 6 members) annually consumed 36 seers (72 lbs) of salt, each member 6 seers. According to MacLean on the western coast people used more salt and he calculated the annual consumption of salt per head at 18 lbs⁶⁴

⁶² Revenue Dispatch from England, 1830, Vol.No .30. Para 25& 26, P.406.

⁶³ H.V. Conolly to BOR 28th January, 1854, BОРP.Vol.No.2408. P. 3035.

⁶⁴ Maclean, .Vol. II .*op.cit* .p.436.

and the family of six people consumed 108 lbs. He had reported that Malabar was the only western coast district where no salt was manufactured.⁶⁵ The salt was used for the consumption of human beings and cattle. In order to calculate the total consumption of the family the scholar has taken the average of Warden's and MacLean's estimate of annual consumption of salt for a family of six members at $(76+108/2)92$ lbs. Warden, based on the price of salt in 1813 had calculated the cost of 72 lbs of salt required for a family at Rs.1½. But the scholar has calculated the price of 92 lbs of salt, based on the price of 1844 at 8 pice per lbs, Rs.3 and anna 13. Warden calculated that this family also consumed tobacco at 1½ lbs per head and total tobacco needed for the family was estimated at 7½ lbs and the cost was calculated at Rs.5. This was too low an estimate and the scholar estimated the requirement at 2 lbs per head and the annual family consumption at 10 lbs. At Rs.360 per candy the cost of 10 lbs was Rs.6. Warden calculated the wages of a common labour in north Malabar at Rs.5 per month and annual wages Rs.50 assuming that he got work for 10 months in a year. The annual wages of the woman were calculated at Rs.30 and the two children at Rs.15 per annum got Rs.30. The total income earned by the four members of the family was calculated at Rs.110.⁶⁶ Thomas Warden had erred in calculating the monthly salary of a common labourer of North Malabar at Rs.5 (for details see chapter on Prices and wages). In Malabar the agricultural and non-agricultural wages did not increase in the first half of the 19th century, where as the prices of grains and other essentials had increased many times. The annual family wages of an agricultural and non agricultural family during the period of study never exceeded Rs.65. The family had to spend annually Rs.3½ for salt and Rs.6 tobacco and Rs.1 as house tax and another one rupee for professional tax (coolies and agricultural workers exempted) and for bridge and ferry tolls. Thus a total of Rs.11½ was taken away from his wages by the government as indirect taxes. This constituted about

⁶⁵ *Ibid* ., p .442.

⁶⁶ T Warden ,Report on the Revenue system of Malabar,16th ,June 1813, (Calicut) Par. 4.

18% of his wages. In fact the workers would have spent more because Mr.Warden had calculated the annual pre monopoly family spending for salt and tobacco monopoly at Rs.2. This proved that monopoly operated against the interest of labours and peasants and they were the hard hit section of the society. This was an example of the economic impact of the pernicious system of colonial administration of Malabar.

3. SEA CUSTOMS

Sea custom revenue constituted another important source of non-agricultural taxes. Its magnitude depends on the quantum of export, custom tariff rate and the rate of export duty. Lack of export due to low production or due to production in other areas or fall in price of articles exported and subsequent reduction in tariff rate and lowering of custom duty and government regulation had affected the revenue from sea customs. The sea customs had been gradually increasing since 1801. The export for highest amount of Rs.2, 84,787 was collected in 1842/43 (**see Appendix No. II**). However, the collection decreased from 1847/48 and the collection in that year was merely Rs.27, 542. The decrease in sea custom collection in 1848 was due to the abolition of port to port duties and introduction of differential duties under the provision of Act V of 1848. There were 24 seaports in Malabar.⁶⁷ This Act was introduced towards the end of March 1848 i.e. two months before the trading season of 1847/48 was closed. In 1848/49 its operation embraced the whole year therefore the great deficiency in this branch of revenue (**see table 6.12**). Differential duty was introduced towards the end of March 1848.⁶⁸ However, this duty failed to compensate the loss from the abolition of port to port duty and in 1848/49 the charges of collection was 57.60 % and the net revenue from sea custom was only Rs.11,657

This clearly indicated that the port to port duty contributed the major share of the sea customs and this duty, during its existence had hampered coastal trade of Malabar.

⁶⁷ Report from the Collector of Malabar to the BOR reporting about the extra sources of revenue for 1848/49, BORP dated 4th April 1850, Vol.No.2235, p. 5013.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.5014.

From 1846/47 onwards the accounts of the sea customs department showed gross collection, charges of collection, drawback, total charges, net revenue and percentage of charges which were enclosed in the collectors report on extra sources of revenue sent to the BOR.

In the event of the confiscation of merchandise or goods, the net sale proceeds were to be divided on the following proportion 1/5 between the custom collector and his deputies in the proportion of 2/3rd to the collector and 1/3rd to his subordinates, 2/5 to the informer, 2/5 to the company.⁶⁹ The quinquennial average revenue from sea customs (see table 6.13) shows that the revenue from this source was increasing. From 1814/15 quinquennial period the increase was substantial. However from 1849/50 it declined sharply. In 1855/56 the collection was only Rs.58189. Sea customs contributed 7% of the total revenue of Malabar during the period of study.

4. STAMP REVENUE

Stamp revenue was another non-agricultural tax collected from Malabar. Volume-wise its contribution was very insignificant and less oppressive than other taxes. Its average contribution to total Malabar revenue during the period of study was 7%. These stamp papers were used for issuing licenses to tobacco, abkary, salt dealers, other farmers of revenue collections and various use in the legal field. Although there was no mention of stamp in the settlement reports, in 1821/22 the Collector mentioned the hardships faced by the inhabitants of Malabar. Mr. M.I.Vaughan reported that the stamp tax caused suffering to the people of Malabar because of the dampness of the climate and long duration of wet season. The paper used for stamps were of very inferior quality and most perishable in nature. The collector requested the BOR that, that part of section V Regulation XII, 1816 which relates to persons desirous of having instruments executed on vellum parchment or other material instead of paper or *cadjam* (dry palm leaf) should be modified, and this right

⁶⁹ M, Vol, 2212, p. 375.

extended to all size of stamp papers. At present the tobacco licences were given on stamped paper. As these documents were always called upon to produce, they were subject to wear and tear. The Collector suggested that instead of papers stamped *cadjam* should be issued.⁷⁰ He sought that Collector should be authorized to call back all licenses in paper and substitute it with *cadjams*. And also the right to replace *olah* licences (licenses issued in *cadjam*) when they were injured free of all charges for the new one, the *olah* (certificate) being produced. The income from stamp revenue was very small in amount. This was the smallest of all revenue derived in Malabar and the charge of collection was also comparatively small. The stamp revenue figure for 1846/47 to 1848/49 shows that total charges collection was less than 9% (see table 6.14). Unfortunately not much information is available about this branch of revenue. The quinquennial average of stamp revenue (see table 6.15) starting from 1808/09 shows that revenue from this source was gradually increasing. It rose from Rs.18354 in 1812/13 to Rs.64634 in 1852/53. The annual stamp revenue collection was also increasing. In 1808/09 it was Rs.15162 and in 1854/55 the stamp revenue was Rs.1, 11,279 and in 1855/56 the stamp revenue was Rs.1, 12,762. The stamp revenue was increasing after 1853/54 (see Appendix No. II).

5. SAYER.

Sayer was another indirect tax collected from the Malabar people. All the collections from inconsiderable sources were brought under the general term *Sayer*. This was also an important source of income for the colonial government. On an average it accounted for 3% of the total revenue of Malabar during the period of study. The main sources of this revenue were inland customs duty collected at the land border, transit duty, licenses fees and market tax. The transit duty was a custom duty collected at the entry points of the land borders. In Malabar there was no town duty and only transit duty was collected

⁷⁰ . Report on the Revenue settlement of Malabar for 1821/22 from the District collector Mr.I.Vaughan, dated, 20th August, 1822 to the BOR, Fort St. George, M, Vol. No.4805, p.80.

as per Regulation XII of 1803. *Sayer chowky* (check post) was a custom house station. During early period it was under land tax but later *sayer* was collected separately from 1807/08. The collection of customs had been rented out since 1813. It was given to the highest bidder. They established one main *chowky* (Check post) at Palakkad and several other subordinate *chowkies* at roads which enter Malabar. This duty was a great clog to internal and over land external trade of Malabar and was also a source of harassment of the traders. Much time was wasted at the custom *chowkies* for packing and unpacking the articles to compare the goods with that of the *rawnah* (certificate) issued by the custom officers of the place of origin of the commodities. The duty was to be levied on all goods except company's good like salt, tobacco, sandal wood, Cardamom, Company's timber and goods for Cochin Rajas personal use. On the merchandised passing through the customs *chowkies* these customs *chowky* people imposed heavy duty over what had been prescribed by the government regulations. The merchants of Travancore and the British Resident of Travancore complained that heavy duty was imposed on goods transited from Coimbatore to Cochin through Malabar.⁷¹ The merchants of Thattamangalam (in Palakkad) were *Chetties (Chetty)*, *Putters (Tamil Brahmins)* and *Rowthers (Muslims)*.⁷² The part of the transit duty system which permitted the levy of an additional duty upon an enhanced valuation of all goods which passed from eastern districts like Madurai, Salem and Madurai and Coimbatore was exploitive in nature and paved the way for fleecing the traders by the custom farmers and their agents at custom *chowkies*. Almost the whole duty was collected at the *Chowkies* at Palakkad the great inlet from the Carnatic into Malabar.⁷³ Piece goods from Coimbatore and other eastern districts like Tinnelvely (Tirunelvely) constituted the bulk of goods imported into Malabar from Tamil country. They were destined for exports

⁷¹ Letter from the Secretary to Government to the BOR dated 16th September., 1814., BORP, Vol 617, p.11887.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.12043.

⁷³ Board of Revenue Proceedings, Fort St. George, 27th March, 1837, BORP, Vol.No.1553, p.3374.

by sea through the Malabar ports. These goods on export through the Malabar ports were eligible for drawbacks. The tariff value for one bale of piece goods at Palakkad, which was 25 miles from Coimbatore, was 75% higher than it was at Coimbatore. The merchant first paid a 5% at Coimbatore upon the tariff of that place. Then after travelling 25 miles his good was opened, compared and an additional 5% was imposed on additional valuation. But if the goods were for export by sea the 10% collected was returned and a fresh 2½% was imposed upon a third valuation. In the absence of export the people of Malabar had to pay 10% extra on enhanced rate. These goods on export through the Malabar ports were eligible for drawbacks. The statement of the Malabar Collector dated 7th, January 1836 regarding the amount of inland duty returned (drawback) on the piece goods exported by sea, was nearly Rs.33, 937. In 1831/32 the drawback was RS.28, 771, 1832/33 the drawback was Rs.32, 439, and in 1833/34 it was Rs.40, 602. The total draw back was Rs.1, 01,812 and the annual average was Rs.33, 937 during the above mentioned period. This drawback amounted to 27.53% of the total inland duties collected.⁷⁴ At Palakkad 5% of the inland tariff was collected as tax. According to the sea custom rules only 2½ of the tariff value was to be collected as export duty at the sea port. The difference of collection between the collection at Palakkad and sea custom i.e. 2½% should be returned to the exporter, but it rarely happened. There was much difference between the inland and sea tariff. Only 1½% of the land custom, instead of 2½% was returned as draw back.⁷⁵ This being the case, it was clear that the sum returned as drawback (2½%) was 1/40th part of the value of the goods themselves. Taking this drawback of the Rs.34,000 (as given above) then the total value of piece goods (textiles) of Coimbatore and other districts exported through Malabar ports would come to Rs.13,60,000 per annum in the years given above.⁷⁶ But it was a known fact that this Palakkad rates were higher than the original tariff valuation as certified by the

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.3374.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.3377.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.3378.

Rawnah accompanying the goods in transits to the extent of about 80%.⁷⁷ The government auctioned to the highest bidder the right to collect inland customs duty. In 1830 one Chidambaram Iyer son of Koopayyan of Wadakumtarah *umshom* (Village) of Palakkad taluq had taken the farm of land customs liveable at Palakkad *Chowky* (check post) and other subordinate *chowkies* for 3 years for Rs.3,60,000 (Rs.1,20,000 per annum). This was 3 years from 13th July 1830 to 12th July 1833. If it was only for one year the amount was only Rs.1, 15,000. He had to collect the duties according to the tariff of the government. But the government agreed that it would not ask for the statement of his profits. This deprived the government of the chance to verify the farmer's imposition of duty at the *chowkies*.⁷⁸

The *sayer* was separately collected from 1809/10. Transit duty contributed the major portion of Sayer revenue. The trade in piece goods between Coimbatore, Salem, Madura and Malabar contributed a great part of the income from transit duty. These piece goods were not consumed in Malabar but re-exported through Malabar ports. The quinquennial average shows that the revenue from this source was increasing. The collection was very low up to 1816/17 and thereafter it increased. The highest quinquennial amount of Rs.1,23,507 was collected in 1836/37. **(see table 6.16)** The revenue from the *sayer* duty drastically declined after its abolition in 1844. During quinquennial period ending 1851/52 it was only Rs.118 and in 1857/58 the *sayer* collection was surprisingly low at Rs.75.

The total average annual revenue from internal transits duty from 1830/31 – 1834/35 was Rs.1, 25,208.⁷⁹ The transit duty was a great source of exploitation of the people of Malabar and this was corroborated by the evidence of David Hill. Mr.David Hill in his evidence before the select committee informed that “ *I believe, however, that no part of our*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.3378.

⁷⁸ Chidambaram Ayyan's agreement (*moochika*) executed on 12th July, 1830, in favour of Mr. Sheffield Principal collector of Malabar, BORP, Vol.No.1245, p. 116.

⁷⁹ Letter from Mr.Clementson, Principal Collector of Malabar to BOR. Dated 3rd May 1836, BORP, Vol. NO.1503, 12th May, 1836, p.7055.

fiscal regulations is more harassing to those affected by it than the inland transit duty and that none brings so small an amount into the treasury in proportion to what it takes from the people and therefore I am convinced that it would promote the prosperity of the country if we could dispense with it by falling upon some exceptionable substitute”.⁸⁰ The land customs and sea customs establishment had separate customs tariff for the same product. For instance the land customs tariff of gingili seed was Rs.300 per candy and the rate of the sea customs tariff was Rs.210 per *candy*.⁸¹ The government of India from the middle of 1830’s was seriously considering the abolition of the transits duties. The Customs & Post Office Committee of Calcutta in a circular in 1835 to the Principal Collector of Malabar stated that the transit duties generated considerable income in the four Presidencies and as such it could not be abolished without a commutation taxes or tax of less objectionable character.⁸² In reply to the above circular the Principal Collector replied that because of the peculiar circumstances of Malabar no town duty was levied. The Collector stated that since Malabar was a maritime district all imports and exports pay the sea customs duty and in as much a town duty would be so obnoxious. He requested that no town duty should be imposed as with exception of Palakkad and Manathavady in Wayanad, all the towns of Malabar are situated on the sea coast such as Connannore, Tellicherry, Vadakara, Quilandy, Calicut, Parappanagady, Tanore, Ponnani, Chavakkad and Cochin. These towns were principal markets for the sale of the produce with in the districts. As the entire produce was not consumed locally, they were exported by sea to other markets. It was from this export the people of Malabar got species for the payment of land revenue. Therefore any imposition of a town duty on the produce of Malabar, which already had paid a land tax, would be an additional tax. Such measure would be ruinous to the interest of *ryots*

⁸⁰ Papers laid before the select committee, Letter from David Hill Esq. to T. Hyde Villers Esq. Dated 28th Janaury 1832, British Parliamentary papers. (Collins East India), IUP .Book No.9, p.321.

⁸¹ Letter from P. Clementson to BOR, 26th, August 1833, BOP, Vol.No1378, p.38.

⁸² Circular from the Custom and Post office Committee of Calcutta to the Principal Collector of Malabar dated 13th, May, 1835, BOP .Vol,No, 1503, 12th, May 1836, p.7057.

(peasants). Moreover, the inhabitants of this province were subject to heavy indirect tax in the form of salt and tobacco monopoly. As long as these monopolies continued it would be hard to saddle them with a tax on other measures of life. Even though the town duty was a substitute for transit duty, the latter did not fall heavily on the article of internal consumption. But as duty on the goods imported at the frontier towns of bordering Coimbatore, Mysore and Cochin Raja's territories which passes through the districts for exportation by sea than on those actually consumed, the proportion between the two being 8% and 20% .The introduction of town duty in addition to sea custom, salt and tobacco monopoly would fall heavily on the inhabitants.⁸³

The abolition of transit duty by the Act no.VI of 1844 was a great relief to the people of Malabar as it saved them from another vexatious tax like salt and tobacco monopoly and moturpha. Reg.VII of 1844 stipulated that the duties hitherto levied in the province of Malabar and Canara under the denomination of *Sayer* or any other term comprised under the description of land customs shall be abolished.

6. ABKARY

The term *Abkary* is applied specially to the duty on spurious liquors. Its share in the total revenue of Malabar was 2%. It is the revenue derived from the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. The present source of *abkary* revenue was mainly from duty on the manufacture and sale of country made spirits or *arrack* .This included the tax on the sale of coconut and Palmyra toddy. In Malabar spirit was distilled from toddy. The government had no control over the sale and the price of *arrack*. The revenue was paid by toddy dealers, arrack and liquor renters. (see table 6.17) for arrack rent for different places for 1846/47 and the average of three previous years farming rate. In 1846/47 it was given for Rs.37, 155 while the average of the previous 3 years was Rs.38081. The highest rent of Rs.8, 000 was

⁸³ Letter from the Malabar Collector to the Committee for Customs And Post office,dated.25th. June 1835,BORP, Vol.No1503,12th ,May 1836, p.7060.

received from Calicut and the lowest rate of Rs.513 was obtained from Palakkad town.⁸⁴ In the coastal towns of Calicut, Cannannore and Tellicherry licences had been farmed annually to the highest bidder in case of toddy sale. In the interior districts neither the farming nor *aumane* (*under* direct government control) was in effect. But toddy drawers annually pay the established knife and pot tax.⁸⁵ There was no arrack renting in the taluqs of Eranad, Walluvanad, Chavakkad and Betutnad. Presence of large Mappila population in these taluqs may be the reason for no arrack renting in these taluqs. The high rate of renting (9.5%) in Wayanad taluq was very perplexing due to the following peculiarities of Wayanad. The population of Wayanad was very low. Comparing to other taluqs only about three percentage of Malabar population lived in Wayanad. Majority of them were agricultural slaves and agriculture was not extensive and troops stationed was with drawn and coffee plantations had just started and wages paid to farm labourers in Wayanad were very low comparing to other taluqs and the purchasing capacity of the population was very weak. Due to all these factors the high rate of spending on arrack in Wayanad was really amazing. The only reason could be that the cool climate of Wayanad induced the people to consume more arrack. The starting of big coffee plantations from early 1840's could be another reason for high arrack rate in Wayanad. Formerly large number of troops were stationed in Wayanad who consumed liquors. But in 1843 the Principal Collector of Malabar reported to the BOR, while reporting about the coffee plantations of Wayanad, that formerly a large force was stationed at Manathavady (Manathavady) and which, when reduced, vacated and closed the camp.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Report from Mr .H .V. Conolly, Collector of Malabar dated.10th. July, 1846 to the BOR, BORPVol.No.2035, p.10568.

⁸⁵

par.1313.

Graeme's report,*op.cit.*,

⁸⁶ Letter from the collector of Malabar to the BOR dated 6th. April, 1843, M.Vol.No.7511, p.96.

Separate statement for extra sources of revenue was also sent to the BOR included *abkary* also. It gave total settlement and gross collection, and very often gross collection exceeded the settlement rate because in some cases previous years arrears were collected and included in the current collections. As *abkary* was farmed no charges of collection were involved. There was not much difference in settlement and collection. In some years 1846/47, 1848/49 (see table 6.18) the collection exceeded the settlement amount. Since the *abkary* revenue was farmed there were no charges of collection and the entire collection was shown as net revenue. The revenue from *abkary* was almost constant during the period of study. The quinquennial average shows that the amount was almost constant and on an average it was above Rs. 60000 thousand.

7. FARMS& LICENCES

Farms and licenses were another source of revenue under non-agricultural taxes and on an average during the period of study it contributed 2% of the total revenue collected in Malabar. Up to 1806/07 it consisted of arrack and toddy, tobacco, ferry farms, gold dust, cardamoms and Iron farms. In 1807/08 arrack and toddy were separated from it and was put under Abkary. Similarly Tobacco monopoly was separated from it in the same year. Thereafter the farms and licenses revenue were obtained from ferry farm, Cardamom, gold dust, hill and iron farms. In this chapter the researcher has studied the revenue the government received from these sources and how far it was harmful to the people and trade. Volume wise it contributed only 2% of the total revenue of Malabar and 1% of non-agricultural taxes. But the revenue from these sources operated like indirect taxes. Farming the right to collect ferry and bridge tolls interfered with the day to day life of the people and hampered the trade. Though the magnitude of the revenue was less the farming system reduced the collection charges and very often it was less than 2% of the settlement rate.

(A) Ferry Farm

Bridge toll and ferry tax formed a part of the revenue collection under Farms and Licenses. The ferry taxes and bridge tolls were oppressive in nature and put the people and the traders of Malabar into untold sufferings. Lack of well developed and proper transportation system was exploited by the government to supplement their revenue by subjecting the entire section of the population including the Europeans. The government in order to meet the expenses of constructing bridges introduced the ferry taxes. The right to collect this tax was auctioned to the highest bidder. This paved the way for exploitation and oppression of the people by the renters. Foot passengers and traders using the bridges were forced to pay bridge toll. Those who suffered the most were the poor people, coolies and daily labours. This was an impediment to trade and commerce as many trading centres were located on the coastal area and to reach there the traders had to cross several rivers and bridges which required the payment of this tax. It was paradox that despite several district Collectors' report about the adverse and detrimental effect of this tax, the agony of the people, the exploitation by the farmers or renters, the negative impact on trade and commerce, their recommendation for its abolition was not considered and this oppressive tax continued to operate for several years. Volume wise its contribution to the total revenue was less than 1% of the total Malabar revenue but it was a tax which indirectly restricted the free movement of the poor and the coolies.

The people of north Malabar suffered the most from this pernicious system. The magnitude of this evil would be realized from the fact that in north Malabar alone there were 64 ferries which collected taxes. Traders and coolies at times had to cross several ferries and bridges in a day and they had to pay the tax at every point. As far as the coolies were concerned it acted as a tax on their wages as mentioned here under. The levy of toll was annually rented and yielded upwards of Rs.36,000 which was carried to the credit of government and repair of bridges as well as several commercial and military roads. The

Collector had informed that, this ferry toll did not exist in any other district in the Presidency except in Malabar and South Canara. In South Canara the tax was only Rs.3000 and *moturpha* collection was only Rs.9000 per annum.⁸⁷ **(see table 6.20 for revenue from different sources of farming)**

In between 1807/08 to 1812/13 the average annual revenue from farming was Rs.20000. However later it was reported that the annual farming was around Rs.36000, an increase of 76%. The actual collection was high and there was no account of it. Very often the farmers ignored the government direction about the rates stipulated for the collection. Most of the reports and complaints pertaining to the ferry tax and bridge toll had come from Tellicherry area and about the Eringoly Bridge. In 1840 the Sub Collector of the northern division of Malabar in his letter to the Principal Collector had drawn the latter's attention to the sufferings of the ordinary people, coolies and traders living around Tellicherry because of the tolls imposed on people crossing the Eringoly bridge on foot and on bullocks. This bridge was situated one mile east of Tellicherry, on the Tellicherry- Manathavady road leading to Wayanad taluq and Mysore. Tellicherry was the chief port town and trading centre in north Malabar and situated on the sea coast and is only 3 ½ miles from the Mahe ferry on the south.⁸⁸ One mile and a quarter from Tellicherry there was the Coodacadavoo bridge on the east. This tax had increased the prices of nearly all necessities of life at Tellicherry because of the ferry or bridge tolls which the coolies bringing fire wood, grain and vegetables had to pay. This tax was so heavy that it amounted to from 25 to 50 % of the prices of the commonest and most bulky articles and fell most heavily on the poorest classes who were least able to bear it.⁸⁹ The Sub Collector further requested the Principal Collector to recommend to the BOR to abolish the tax on foot passengers crossing

⁸⁷ Letter from Mr. Clementson, Principal Collector of Malabar, to the President and Members of BOR, dated 30th August, 1836, M.Vol.No.7560, p.151.

⁸⁸ Letter from the N. Division Sub Collector to the Principal Collector of Malabar dated 22nd, April, 1840, M.Vol.No.7501, p. 31.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.31.

Eringoly Bridge except those conveying loads of grain, salt and sandalwood. The toll on this bridge was mainly derived from bullocks laden with these articles. The second item, salt, an article of reverse trade exported to Mysore and sandalwood was exported by sea. The Sub Collector informed the Principal Collector that if the tax was not abolished, then the Mysore merchants would detain their bullocks loaded with grain and sandalwood on the eastern side of the Eringoly bridge and send their merchandise by porters to Tellicherry, only a distance of one mile and receive, by return coolies, the salt for Mysore. The *Benjaras* and other traders would bring down grains to the coast and take back salt to the interior from Tellicherry.⁹⁰ On purchasing salt from government depot at Tellicherry they were furnished with a *rawanah* (certificate), stating that they were to pass into the interior free of further duties of every description. But even before passing one mile, they were asked to pay forty *reas*⁹¹ (one *anna* and seven pies) per bullock previous to passing the Eringoly ferry. This was nothing but an extra price imposed on salt, which had already been subjected to monopoly price. The bridge toll collected at Eringoly bridge from foot passengers, bullocks during 1836/37 and 37/38 is given in **table 6.22**. The revenue collected from bullocks and *bundies* (*bullock carts*) in 1838 was Rs.2500/ and from coolies and foot passengers Rs.1000. The eringoly brick bridge fell in 1839⁹² and later it was reconstructed. In 1838/39 the ferry tax was auctioned for Rs.15,698. This tax was extremely oppressive on the people who were subject to the hardship of paying a high toll for every ferry they crossed.⁹³

The intensity of the ferry tax could be understood from the following instance.

A man's load of fire wood was sold at 5 Bombay copper *pices*. (one silver *fanam* = 10

⁹⁰ Letter from H.V.Conolly, Acting Collector of Malabar, to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, Fort St.George, M.Vol.,No.7563, p.139.

⁹¹ 400 reas constituted one rupee.

⁹² Letter from Mr. Clementson, Principal Collector of Malabar, to the President and Members of BOR, dated 30th August, 1836, M.Vol.No.7560, pp.34-35.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.35.

pice, 50 copper pice = 1rupee.) One copper *pice* or 1/50 rupees was the toll at Eringoly Bridge. Here 4 *pice* was the price of the fire wood consisting of the collie's hire for cutting and bringing it to the market. The toll therefore was a tax on wood cutters and it was one fourth ($\frac{1}{4}$) of their daily wages. In case the firewood cutter coolie could not return to Tellicherry on the same day due to sickness or other causes, and then he had to pay additional half a copper *pice* to pass the bridge unloaded and one copper *pice* loaded. Thus unloaded coolie on a total had to pay $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pice* out of his daily wages of 4 *pices* and that constituted $37\frac{1}{2}\%$ of his wages. Boys and girls could only bring fire wood worth 2 to 4 copper *pices*, but they had to pay one copper *piece* as toll and therefore their labour was taxed about twice as heavily as grown up people even though they could not bear it. In the interim it was a direct tax on labour as it had to be paid before the article was brought to market. It also affected the free intercourse between one village and another. Passing traveller was taxed and there were instances of loss of life by persons trying to avoid the ferry toll by swimming the river. Here the renter was the sole interpreter and sole judge of what constitutes a cooly load. A small bundle of cloths or 3 or 4 cooking vessels was very often construed as a coolies load. A foot passenger with a small bundle was forced to pay 1 *pice* (1/50 rupee) instead of $\frac{1}{2}$ copper *pice*.⁹⁴ The BOR Secretary suggested that no load under 28lbs be considered as a coolly load.⁹⁵ The Principal Collector in the above letter had recommended to the BOR to abolish the toll for all foot passengers over the Eringoly bridge because it was on the line of direct communication between Tellicherry, a large town and port, and the interior. Eringoly bridge being close to this town, it was far more burdensome than any other tax of the same kind. The inhabitants of Tellicherry both European and native were so oppressed by the toll that they had offered to raise money to build and keep it in repair a toll free bridge.⁹⁶ The toll bridges in south Malabar were

⁹⁴ Letter from the Principal Collector dated 22nd. April, 1840 to the BOR , M.Vol.No7504, p.24 .

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.25.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.26.

Codovally bridge one mile north of Calicut on the road to Cannannore and Kallay bridge close to and south of Calicut on the road to Beypore. But neither of these was on the line of communication with the interior.⁹⁷ The revenue department had forwarded a letter, pertaining to the ferry farms and tolls in Malabar, from the Principal collector of Malabar, to the Chief Secretary, to the Government at Fort St. George, requesting him to lay it before the Governor in Council.⁹⁸ In that letter the Principal Collector Mr. Conolly, had proposed that the tolls on the principal bridges throughout Malabar be abolished. The BOR did not endorse the suggestion of the Collector to abolish the ferry tax and the bridge tolls. However, the BOR was willing to consider the letter from Mr. Goodwin's, northern sub Collector, letter dated 22nd April 1840 submitted with the Acting Principal Collector's recommendation of 3rd June, 1840 for the abolition of toll on foot passengers crossing Eringoly bridge and to confine the toll on bullock *bandies*. It would be a great relief for the poor.⁹⁹ The BOR reported it was worthy of consideration and asked it to be implemented after further investigation by the Collector. The ferry tax was collected in Cochin also. The ferry charge between Vypin Island and the Main land was 4 *reas* per person.¹⁰⁰

The Governor in Council had consented to exempt foot passengers from the toll on crossing the Eringoly bridge and agreed to consider uniform rate of toll on all passes, bridge and ferries and were under the consideration of the Board of public revenue.¹⁰¹ Mr. Goodwin, the Sub Collector of the northern division of the district, requested the Collector to allow the inhabitants to construct and maintain a good bridge over the river at their own expense and it should be toll free. Even the foot passengers were compelled to pay toll. In 1848 the Malabar collector Mr. Conolly had requested the permission of the BOR to abolish

⁹⁷ M. Vol, 7504, p.25.

⁹⁸ . Letter from the Secretary, BOR to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George. dated. 29th April, 1841, M, Vol. No. 7577, p. 227.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁰⁰ M. vol. 2232, P. 64.

¹⁰¹ Extract from the Minutes of consultation dated 29th May, 1841, from the Chief Secretary. M, 7570, p. 76.

the toll levied on foot passengers at the Coduvally bridge between Tellicherry and Cannannore.¹⁰²

Cardamom Farming

Cardamom was another important source of revenue under Farms and Licenses. It was a plant of wild growth and its production and cultivation was limited and mainly confined to the Wayanad taluq. In Malabar from time immemorial the cardamom was the property of royalty and in Canara it was the property of the *ryots*.¹⁰³ The land which produced the cardamom paid no tax. It was some time under the direct management of the government and some times under farming. The collection was farmed to the highest bidder (farmer/renter), to whom the cultivators were compelled to deliver the whole produce. There were ups and downs in the amount of cardamom farming depending on the government share of the produce. The government had reduced their share of demand on cardamom from 4/10th introduced by Macleod in 1801/02, to 6/10th in 1811/12.¹⁰⁴ In some years government took the entire production as its share. The government fixed each year the rate at which the farmer should collect the cardamom from the cultivators or landlords.¹⁰⁵ The producers did not even get the low price fixed by the government as the contractor evaded the payment of government rate to a great extent by putting on the enhanced value on the coin in which he paid to the producer or by compelling to the peasants to take goods in lieu of money.¹⁰⁶ Not a one hundredth of part of the produce was consumed by the natives. The government derived revenue at two points from cardamom first from farming and second from export in the form of export duty. Usually the contract

¹⁰² Letter from M.V .Conolly, Principal Collector of Malabar to the BOR dated.5th ,January ,1848 M.7570, p.5.

¹⁰³ Malcolm Lewin's evidence before the Select Committee on the Affairs Of the East India Company,1831-32 session,(B.P) Book.No.9.Vol.No.XI, p.240, par 2808.

¹⁰⁴ Letter from the Secretary Board of Revenue, Fort St.George, dated 31st ,January,1087, M.Vol.No. 2534, p.30.

¹⁰⁵ Letter from the Cardamom Department to the Board of Revenue, 12th ,September, 1821, M.Vol.4790, p.45

¹⁰⁶ Evidence before the Lords *op. cit.*, p.215.

for farming was given for three consecutive years. For example the cardamom farming for 1833/34 to 1835/36 was given to a Parsee merchant Dara Shah Cursetjee for the above three years at the rate of Rs.21,000 per each year.¹⁰⁷ Revenue from cardamom farming was not significant and on average the annual farming rate was around Rs.20,000. Apart from the farming revenue the government received custom duty from cardamom export also

Gold dust farming

Gold dust farming was another source of income for the government collected under the head of Farms and licenses. This gold processing was mainly confined to Wayanad taluq even though gold ore was found in the bed of the rivers and streams running from the Ghats into the Nilambur valley of the Eranad taluq. The revenue from this source was very insignificant and on an average it generated an annual income of Rs.2500 (see table 6.20). This was a dwindling industry. For some years it was under *aumanee* and some years under farming. Thomas warden in 1810/11 had reported that the exact extent of mines from which gold dust in Wayanad was collected had never been exactly ascertained. The smallness of revenue was attributed to the want of labourers acquainted with the process necessary to be observed in sifting the sand the knowledge was confined to the particular tribe. The jungle tribes from the remote period used to work gold from sands of rivers which were some time mixed with gold. Several companies were formed for gold mining and extensive blocks of estates were purchased but later there was no serious work in the mining industry. The starting of coffee plantations in Wayanad had provided better employment to the tribes who worked in the uncertain mining industry. Later the gold mining industry collapsed.¹⁰⁸ Later the government stooped the farming as the revenue derived from it was not worth taking the risk.

Hill produces and iron farming

¹⁰⁷ BOPV.Vol.No.1378, 5th. September 1833, p.110.

¹⁰⁸ Logan,Vol.No.II, Appendix XXI, p.cccxxviii.

These were another insignificant source of revenue raised under farms and licenses. Iron farming was given up from 1809/10 as the revenue obtained from it was very negligible. The industry had become very unprofitable due to importation from Europe. It was iron ore was found in parts of Eranad taluq .In the early part of the 19th century there was crude iron processing in this taluq. Buchanan had given a detailed account of Malabar iron industry in 1800 and the process of extraction of iron from iron ore.¹⁰⁹ Later the revenue from iron farming dwindled and it was given up. The revenue from farms and licenses was very low compared to other non-agricultural taxes. The quinquennial averages show that the revenue from Farm and Licenses was high during 1809/10 period. This was due to the inclusion of revenue from tobacco monopoly under Farm and Licenses later this was separated in 1807/08. The average quinquennial revenue from farms and licenses during the period of study was Rs.60,920. The annual revenue from this source was not steady and it fluctuated depending on several factors which influenced revenue from individual items. In Farms and Licences, abkary and *moturpha* settlements and gross collections were given. Very often the gross collection exceeded the settlement amount. In such cases the gross collection was given in the consolidated statement.

8. MOTURPHA

Moturpha, the term in Arabic means handicraft. Initially it was a tax levied on manufacturing and trading community. Later it became a professional tax subjecting workers and their tools to the payment of tax. The looms of weavers, artisans, cotton cleaners, shepherds, gold and iron smiths, carpenters, stone cutters, *papadam* makers and bullock cart drivers were taxed. It was one of the most obnoxious and oppressive taxes imposed on the common people of Malabar by the colonial government. Like salt monopoly this tax had brought almost all inhabitants of Malabar, irrespective of their affluence under

¹⁰⁹ . Buchanan, *op. cit.*, Vol. No.II. pp. 436-440.

its purview .But people from the lower strata of the society suffered the most. Under *moturpha* a large section of the population was subjected to more than one tax.

House tax

This constituted the major portion of the *moturpha* tax collection. As a part of *moturpha* collection in 1803 the government proposed a new house tax to be collected from the people of Calicut, based on a new *pymashy* to meet the expense incurred by the police establishment. Ware houses and shops were assessed at 2½% per annum on their estimated value. All the dwelling houses the value of which equalled or exceeded 200 *verary fanam* (Rs.57) were taxed at 1% per annum on the estimated value. All dwellings the value of which was under 200 *verary fanam*¹¹⁰ were taxed at 2 *verary fanam* per annum. Later this was extended to all over Malabar and house tax was the main source of *moturpha* tax.¹¹¹

The *mothurpha*, which was blended with land revenue, was partly separated from it since the commencement of 1820/21¹¹² and fully separated from 1825/26.¹¹³ In some cases the taxes collected from Malabar was as low as Rs.29 (from *papadam* makers) and as high as Rs.81,998 (house tax). As per the settlement report of 1821/22 the Moturpha tax apart from the following source mentioned in **table 6.25** was also collected from the lime makers, vegetable vendors baskets, tear tribes man head, basket makers knife, and ablution performers.¹¹⁴ Even though knife tax was a tax on the tools collected from the toddy tapers belonging to the Thiya community, it was not found in the list of *moturpha* contributors as it was put under land revenue. However the amount collected is discussed under knife tax. This part of the tax was severely oppressive as even poor people had to pay this tax which

¹¹⁰ These were the indigenous gold currency of Malabar. 3 ½-4 fanams constituted one rupee.

¹¹¹ Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar to BOR, dated 15th July, 1803, M, Vol.No.2312, p.87.

¹¹² Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar dated 28th September, 1821 to the BOR, reporting the revenue settlement of 1820/21, M.Vol.No.4805, par.10.

¹¹³ P.Clementson's report, 31st, December, 1838, p.9.

¹¹⁴ Revenue settlement report for 1821/22, M, Vol No.4805. p.58.

was exorbitant. In the Kottayam taluq particularly in Dharmapatnam *umshom* (village) the houses of several poor people were taxed as high as Rs1½ and 2 each, which was a source of much grievances. These taxes were reduced to 4-8 *annas* in 1848/49.¹¹⁵ This reduction was only 17-25%. By the order of the government dated 12th May ,1851 it decided to discontinue the demand of the tax on all houses that were taxed below half a gold *fanam* or annas 2-3-and was implemented from 1851/52.¹¹⁶ The Tamil Brahmins of Palakkad were exempted from the house tax . The predecessor of Mr.Chatfield proposed to bring the patter Brahmins (Tamil Brahmins) under the influence of the *Moturpha* by taxing the houses of their *grammoms* which would fetch about Rs.6000 per annum.¹¹⁷ The magnitude or severity of the house tax could be realized from the fact that in 1854/55 and 1855/56 ,on an average ,the house tax formed about 74% of total *moturpha* tax collection. **(see table 6.25)**

Papadam kallu or grinding stone tax was an extraordinary tax introduced throughout Malabar. The greatest portion of this tax was paid by widows and others who had no steady means of support. The tax varied from one *fanam* to two *fanams*, each stone with references to presumed circumstances of the owners. Apart from this grinding stone tax the *papadam* makers also had to pay a tax. During 1854/55 and 1855/56 the average tax paid by them was Rs.195. The Sub-Collector recommended its abolition as the demand for *papadam* was neither great nor constant. The Sub-Collector observed that *moturpha* was one of the most oppressive taxes and its collection was more or less associated with scenes of wrong and oppression committed by local officers and it should be abolished.¹¹⁸

Loom Tax

¹¹⁵ Malabar Jamabandy (settlement) report and statement for 1854-55 for the district, M.Vol, 7953, par 41.

¹¹⁶ Report From Mr.H.V. Conolly ,Collector of Malabar to the Secretary to the Board Of Revenue, Fort St.George on the extra sources of revenue for 1850/51 ,20th January,1852,B.O.R.P.Vol,2319, p.2400, Par.15.

¹¹⁷ Report from R.N.Chatfield, Sub Collector of Malabar to Mr.H.V.Conolly, Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 10th September, 1853. M.Vol ,No.7951, p .127, par17.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p 128.

Loom tax was another important source of *moturpha*. Weaving was not an extensive profession in Malabar even though weavers were found in almost all taluqs of Malabar but generally in small numbers. In Malabar the weaving industry was disintegrating in the face of challenge from machine made European cloths and threads. In 1844 the condition of weavers was described as very pathetic. There is not much data about the weaving industry and the community. In 1800 Francis Buchanan reported that there were about 1000 houses in Collongode (in Palakkad taluq) and most of them were occupied by Tamil weavers of Coicular caste. They had imported all the cottons required from Coimbatore.¹¹⁹ While discussing Palakkad he informed that there were only few weavers who made only coarse cloth. The manufacture was inadequate to supply the needs of Malabar. The weavers were mostly from Tamil country and were either Devangas or Coicular. Buchanan reported that the total numbers of looms employed in the whole district based on the returns of the Collector amounted to 552 numbers.¹²⁰

According to a report of 1854 the total numbers of loom in 1850/51 was 3633, in 1851/52 it was 4105 and in 1852/53 the number rose to 4260. Thus the number of looms was increasing in Malabar. The revenue from loom tax was also increasing. The maximum number of looms was located at the south western taluqs of Palakkad and Themmalpuram followed by Nedinganad. Proximity to Coimbatore, presence of large numbers of weavers, dry weather, single crop cultivation and extensive manufacture of cloth could be some of the reasons for the presence of large numbers of looms in Palakkad and Themmalpuram. The agricultural taluqs of Eranad, Sheranad, Betutnad, Kootanad and Walluvanad recorded the lowest number of looms. In these *talus* majority of the population were involved in agriculture. This along with the presence of large number of Mappila community could have attributed to this low number of looms. As per the above table each loom on an average paid

¹¹⁹ Buchanan, vol .No.II, op. cit., p.346.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.360.

a tax of 15½ *anna* in 1850/51. This declined to 14½ *anna* in the next two years. (see table 6.26) The loom tax was not uniform. It was the highest in Kurumbranad with Rs.1 and *anna* 4, followed by Palakkad, Themmalpuram and Kadathanad and Betutnad. In north Malabar some cotton cloths were manufactured. The tax was the lowest in Eranad with 9 *anna* followed. Mr. Conolly in 1844 reported that during the previous three years there was a small increase in the number of looms in Malabar. This was partly due to the discovery of clandestinely worked looms and partly owing to immigration from Cochin country. The tax on each loom on an average was Rs 0-14-5. It varied from Rs.0-4-7 to Rs.1-6-10.¹²¹ The Collector recommended a reduction in loom taxes to ameliorate the sufferings of the weavers. The Sub Collector of North Malabar in 1843 reported about the pathetic condition of the weavers of north Malabar. All of them belonged to the single caste of *Chaliars* and were in a pathetic condition. Although the profits of the business and the total number of looms had increased during the last few years, they were in a melancholic and depressive condition.¹²² Various factors had contributed to their decline over which the poor weaver had no control. The introduction of English thread, cheaper in price and equal or superior in quality and appearance and durability, the falling in demand for indigenous cloths and the costliness of their product had almost ruined the sale of cloths and thread, the product of indigenous manufacture.¹²³ Thus an occupation, which had given employment to each member of the family, ceased. Reduced consumption of indigenous cloth, distress and poverty had compelled the poor manufactures to buy necessary European thread. For this they took temporary loan from wealthy Mappila merchants at exorbitant rates to be repaid after the manufacture and disposal of the cloth.¹²⁴ The Sub Collector requested the

¹²¹ Letter from Mr. Conolly, Principal Collector of Malabar to Mr. E. B. Lovell, Acting Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George, 19th August, 1844. B.O.R.P. Vol.No.1928, p.11529.

¹²² Letter from Mr. F. H. Crozier, Sub Collector of North Malabar to Mr. H. V. Conolly, Principal Collector of Malabar, 3rd August, 1844, M. Vol. No. 7516, p. 139.

¹²³ Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar dated 28th September, 1821 to the BOR, reporting the revenue settlement of 1820/21, M. Vol. No. 4805, p. 140.

¹²⁴ Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar dated 28th September, 1821 to the BOR, reporting the revenue settlement of 1820/21, M. Vol. No. 4805, p. 141

Collector to advance temporary working capital to the weavers against good security to save the weavers from the destructive system of borrowing from merchants at exorbitant rates.

In 1844 Mr. H. V. Connolly reported that the manufacturing of cotton cloth had never prevailed in Malabar to any extent. In Palakkad, which borders Coimbatore some cloths of sufficient value were made to be exported to Bombay. Everywhere else the manufacture was worth for home consumption. The rich people purchased fabrics of Madurai, Salem and Tinnelvely, which were brought in large number.¹²⁵ Thus the weaving industry was declining and disintegrating due to loom taxes, competition from European textile goods and threads and lack of patronage from locals. The government did not take any steps to protect the industry and the weavers.

The *moturpha* settlement for 1854/55 was Rs.1,11,217¹²⁶ and for 1855/56 was Rs.1,11,577. In 1855/56 Rs.5,461 was remitted on account of poverty and of houses and shops which were no longer in existence.¹²⁷ Every year the *moturpha* revenue was settled and collected. In some years there were arrears, but it was a meagre amount. The government did not incur any expense or charges on account of *moturpha* collection as shown in the **table 6.27**. Total settlement amount was shown as net collection.

Moturpha tax had been collected for several years since 1792 but started to show separately from 1817/18, even though officially it was partially separated in 1820/21 and fully separated from 1825/26. Its full separation from the land revenue was officially stated as 1825/26 but from 1822/23 it showed a sudden increase thereby showing that in Malabar it was fully separated from 1822/23. In that year the collection was Rs.107111 and in the previous year it was Rs.21671. After that it was almost constant and above one lakh rupees except in 1827/28, 28/29 and 30/31 when it was only around Rs.90, 000. The quinquennial average of *moturpha* had shown an increase. In the first quinquennial period

¹²⁵ Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar to BOR, dated 15th July, 1803, M, Vol .No.2312, p. 11528

¹²⁶ Malabar Revenue Settlement Report for 1854-55, M.Vol.No.7953, par 41.

¹²⁷ Revenue Settlement Report for 1855/56, M, Vol.No.7954, par.23.

ending in 1821/22 it was Rs.21,214. In the next quinquennial average it was Rs.1,02,241 and in the following quinquennial averages it remained at around Rs.1,10,000. The *moturpha* collected in 1828/29 and 1830/31 were less because of cholera. It was imposed on poor people. Tobacco and salt monopoly and *moturpha* fell very heavily on poor people. Apart from the monopoly taxes and professional taxes the people also had to pay the house tax.¹²⁸ The stone cutters and Brick layers of Tellicherry had complained to the BOR that the Assistant Collector of Tellicherry and the Collector of Malabar had asked them to pay a professional tax to government. They informed that the average daily wages of a brick layer when employed with locals varied from 80 *reas* to a quarter of a rupee (400 *reas* = 1 rupee). If a master layer was employed with the locals then he was paid a quarter of a rupee and 20 *reas*. When employed with a European was 1 quarter and 40 *reas* to 1 quarter and 60 *reas*. During monsoon they had only 2, 3 or 4 days work per month and most of them had no work at all during monsoon. Even after the monsoon they had work only for 5, 10, 15, 20 or 25 days work per month. A stone cutter cuts not more than 20 or 25 stones per day. If any of them fall sick they would not get any salary. Apart from maintaining their family the workers had to pay for the value of their implements and their repair. They reported that there was no professional tax during the time of Warden, James Vaughan, and Sheffield (all Principal Collectors of Malabar). They had no constant work and the emoluments were very low. It was reported in 1840 that for non-payment of *moturpha* taxes the labours were kept in confinement in the police stations and Tahsildars *cutcheries* (offices) from 2 to 10 days .and were not allowed to work. The Tahsildars had attached one or two utensils used to eat and single copper lamp and if such articles were not found implements were seized and sold.¹²⁹ This demonstrates the pernicious operation of a pernicious system of tax collection. The government's determination to enhance its revenue at any cost led to the introduction of

¹²⁸ M.Vol.No.4058, p.59.

¹²⁹ Petition of the Brick layers and stone cutters of Tellicherry to the Revenue department dated 15th, January, 1840, M.vol.No.7515, p.83.

several non-agricultural indirect taxes. Very often these were taxes on consumers and users. These indirect taxes at times contributed up to 50% of the total revenue the government collected from Malabar. In many fields the operation of non-agricultural taxes had adversely affected the economic growth of the region especially the internal and overland external trade. It was pernicious to the life of the workers, peasants and common people of Malabar as it had deprived them of their hard earned income. In some cases it was more oppressive than the land tax as it brought the entire population of Malabar under its net and common the people suffered the most. The government's intention was to increase the revenue and it was not concerned about its disastrous effect on the region and people. The government revenue increased during the period of study and it filled their coffers and proportionate to it the savings of the ordinary people dwindled and their sufferings increased.

CHAPTER VII

PRICE OF PADDY AND RICE

Malabar, being an agricultural district, prices of consumable commodities always have an impact on the economic condition of the people of the region. In this chapter the researcher has studied the price movement of paddy and rice during the period of study. The researcher has given emphasis to a micro study of the price structure in order to understand the gravity of price fluctuation on the life of the people of the region. Therefore, annual price movement and factors behind it are studied. The researcher argues that the study of quinquennial and decennial prices is not sufficient to gauge the impact of the price movement on the peasants and common people whose day to day life was affected by slightest variation in price. Moreover, the study of the annual price variation helps to evaluate the excess land tax collected due to difference in the commutation and market rate of paddy. The price rise also adversely affected marginal agricultural peasants and the poor who purchased grains from the market for their subsistence at the lean period. It is true that high prices helped the cultivators in clearing their land tax obligations but adversely affected the poor segment of the society.

The price of rice and paddy has been taken for the analysis of price in the Malabar region due to the following reasons.

1. Rice was the staple food of the people of Malabar.
2. Paddy (Unhusked rice) was the major agricultural produce and revenue-generating commodity. Majority of the people (75%) were involved in agriculture and most of them were connected with the wet land (paddy) cultivation either as landlords or as tenants or as agricultural workers and traders. Therefore, the price fluctuation of rice and paddy had great impact on the earnings and the livelihood of the people of Malabar. Higher prices facilitated easy land tax collection from the region.

3. Apart from the above, land tax was assessed in kind (paddy) and collected in cash based at a (fixed) commutation rate, which was very often higher than the market price thereby compelling the cultivators to pay more towards land tax. An understanding of the price would help to calculate the difference between the market price and the commutation rate. This difference was tantamount to the excess tax collected from the peasants; also this helps to gauge the magnitude of exploitation of the peasants due to the difference in the market price and commutation rate of paddy.

4. Moreover, paddy was a commodity used as a medium for the payment of wages. This wage in kind was not always sufficient to maintain the family. Increase in price had adversely affected the poor and the workers who were paid in cash.

In order to study the price fluctuation scientifically the annual extent of cultivation and the production is required. But in Malabar no such data are available because of the peculiar Malabar land revenue system. The only available information regarding the annual price of paddy and rice was provided by the annual revenue settlement reports of the Malabar Collectors sent to the Board of Revenue. The scholar has extensively used these sources. Apart from this the limited data available on the export of paddy and rice from 1804 to 1837/38 are used to cross check the information available in the settlement reports that in some particular years the increase in export influenced the price rise. The graph on paddy export and price of paddy justifies the argument that export of paddy and rice were also responsible for the increase in price.

Based on the availability of data on prices, the price movement of paddy/rice has been studied in two phases. The first part is from 1792 to 1807-08 and the second part is from 1808-09 to 1857-58. For the study of the first part, there are no continuous data. Available data comprise custom house records (custom tariffs), information from merchants, leading landlords and occasional references from the district Collectors, Sub

Collectors and BOR. However, from 1808 onwards continuous data were available on price movement from different sources. The main source was Malabar Collector's *Jamabandy* (annual revenue settlement) reports of different revenue accounting years (1st July to 30th June) and the letters sent to and received from the Board of Revenue (BOR). The minutes of consultation in the BOR or the Board of Revenue Proceedings (BORP), Fort St. George, Madras (Chennai) also provided valuable information about the prices. This source had also given vital information about rain falls, production and prices of grains and factors responsible for the increase and decrease of prices of paddy and rice. In most cases the prices were not given directly in the settlement reports, but just provided information that the prices of one particular *fusly* (revenue year) was certain percentage above or below the prices of the previous *fusly*. In such cases the prices are calculated from preceding or succeeding year's data.

The price movements are generally controlled by production and demand. In Malabar the production, in the absence of irrigation systems, was controlled by the rainfall. Adequate, surplus or lack of production of food grains guided the price movement in Malabar. Similarly surplus or scarcity of production in the adjoining districts of South Canara, Coimbatore, Cochin and Travancore and export demand or lack of demand from Bombay and Coromandel Coast had also influenced the prices of grains in Malabar.

In the early part of the Company's period, Malabar was importing grains for its population. But the situation changed from the end of the 1st decade of the 19th century and Malabar became a surplus district exporting grain to other parts of the country especially to Bombay, Coromandel Coast, Cochin, and Travancore and occasionally to Coimbatore. This is clearly evident from the increase in the export of grains during the first half of the 19th century¹. In this chapter a study has been made about the annual and monthly and regional

1 See Appendix No. I for the export of agricultural produce of Malabar and table no.4.11 and table No.7.5

price of rice and paddy with available data. The scholar has also calculated the annual, quinquennial and decennial average price variations in order to make a minute study of the factors responsible for the price variations.

For the first part of the study of price movement in Malabar (1792-1807/08) the researcher has mainly depended on the price of paddy as there was scarcely any reference to the price of rice during this period. Even for paddy, no detailed and continuous information was available for the period from 1792 to 1808. However, scattered information about the price of paddy was available for this period. According to Chavakkad custom house information on the price of one *Parah*² of paddy in the month of *Thulam* in M.E. 969 (September/October, A.D. 1793/94) in that part of South Malabar was 2 *annas* per *Parah* or 200 *annas* or Rs.12½ for 100 *parahs*³. Thereafter the prices started to increase. In 1796/97 the price of 100 *parahs* of paddy in the Betutnad taluq was quoted at Rs.28½ per 100 *parahs*⁴. On 12th June, 1797, the price of 100 *Parah* of paddy as per the custom house record of the middle division of Malabar was reported to be Rs.30⁵. This marked an increase of 140% compared to the 1793/94 price⁶. This was also an indication that the price of grains in Malabar was increasing towards the end of the last decade of the 18th Century. It was reported that in 1798 an unusual drought in Malabar pushed up the prices⁷. This was the only reference to drought in Malabar during the period of study. In 1799 Mr. Thomas Warden, then an assistant at Palakkad, reported that the price of 100 *parahs* of paddy in Palakkad was Rs.15⁸. In the Palakkad and Themmalpuram taluqs of Malabar the price of

2 . *Parah* is a measure used for the measurement of grains in Malabar. One *parah* contains 10 Macleod seers or roughly 10 *edangalies*

3 M.Vol.No. 8110, p. 91.

4 . Letter from J. Smee, Collector of Betutnad dated 29th August, 1797 to the Second Commissioners of Malabar on the taxation of Betutnad, M.Vol.No.8767, p. 7 8.

5 The price in South Malabar was always lower than the North Malabar.

6 M.Vol.No. 8190, p. 57. The Custom house tariff rates did not always truly reflect the market price of grains.

7 Second Commissioner's Report, BOPR, 23 July, 1801, Vol.291, p.8621, par.9.

8 Letter from Thomas Warden to the Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 21 June, 1799, M.Vol.No. 8181, p, 288. See regional variation of the price of paddy and rice.

grains was always lower than those in the other parts. In 1800, according to the custom house report, the highest price (custom tariff rate) of 100 *parah* paddy was quoted at Rs.50 and the lowest price at Rs.40. (For the price of paddy from 1793-94 to 1808, see table 7.1 and G.3) But the custom house price was always above the market price. It was reported that the difference in the value appearing in the custom records subsequent to 1803 was partly owing to the increase in price of rice but much more to the new tariff prices. According to the new tariff rate the value of every article was since calculated and the tariff price was known to be always higher than the true price⁹. The prices were very often low in the interior taluqs and high in the port towns which were the trading centers for grains. In 1801 the Collector of Canara informed Mr. B. Hodgson, the Collector of Chirakkal and Cannannore that there was severe scarcity of rice in Mangalore and other regions of South Canara. He was apprehensive that this was bound to raise the price of paddy and rice in the northern taluqs of Malabar consisting of Cavay, Chirakkal, Kottayam, Kadathanad and Kurumbranad as the latter taluqs imported grains from South Canara¹⁰. In 1801 the price of 100 *parah* of *nelle* (paddy) in the district of Kottayam for 1st, 2nd and 3rd sort was reported to be Rs.30, Rs.20 and Rs.16¹¹.

The native merchants of Kottayam and Irevanad of the Northern Division of Malabar in 1801 informed the District Collector that the previous five years average price of 1000 *edangalies* (100 *parahs*) of paddy in the Kottayam taluq was Rs.31 and in Irevanad it was Rs.36¹². Thomas Warden, the Collector in charge of Malabar reported in December 1803 that the rain had failed in 1800, 1801 and 1802 and this had adversely affected the agricultural production and pushed up the prices of grain in Malabar¹³. In 1807 the

9 Report on Canara by Alexander Read, Collector of Canara, BOR (Miscellaneous,)Vol. No.22, Appendix to the Thackeray's report on Canara and Malabar, p. 243

10 Letter from the Collector of Canara to B. Hodgson, Collector of Cannannore and Chirakkal, dated 30th September 1801, M.Vol.No. 2214, p.106.

11 . M. Vol. No. 2210, p.177.

12 . M. Vol. No. 2204, p 65.

13 Letter from Mr. Thomas Warden to BOR dated 22nd May 1803, M.Vol.No. 2312,p.89.

Northern Division Magistrate and Judge had informed the Principal Collector of Malabar that the price of grain had gone up because of an embargo imposed on the export of rice from South Canara to Malabar. This prohibition was to facilitate the export of rice to Coromandel Coast which had suffered food shortage. He further added that the native land revenue Collectors of North Malabar were purchasing grain and he was not sure for what purpose it was. Since the price of grain was high in Malabar, he had asked the Principal Collector not to export rice from Malabar as it would result in further increase of the price of rice¹⁴.

In a letter to the Collector of South Canara ,in December 1807, the Northern Division Magistrate and Judge of Malabar informed the former that the prohibition on the export of rice to Malabar was responsible for increasing the price of rice by 30% in Malabar ¹⁵. He further reminded the Collector that Malabar did not produce adequate grain for its population. It was met with supply from Canara and Coorg. Naturally an embargo on export to Malabar would increase the price in Malabar. According to him the objects of the merchants in exporting the Canara rice to Malabar could be of two fold. One was to take advantage of high price prevailing in Malabar and the other was to re-export it to Coromandel Coast¹⁶. Grains from Malabar were exported to Coimbatore and Coromandel Coast whenever there was scarcity in that region which led to increase in price of grains in Malabar. In 1808 the price of paddy was Rs.29 per 100*parahs*. From 1810/11 the price started to decline. In 1811/12 it declined to Rs.19 per 100 *parahs*¹⁷. This could be attributed to the increase in production and lack of demand. However, the export of paddy increased from 1806 as shown in the **table 7.5, G.5 and Appendix No:I**. The study of price in the

14 Letter from the Northern Division Magistrate and Judge to the Principal collector of Malabar, dated 17th March 1807, M.Vol.No. 2178, p.113.

15 Letter from the Northern Division Magistrate and Judge to the Principal collector of South Canara, dated 11 December, 1807, M.Vol.No. 2178, p. 154.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*,

first phase can be summed up as follows: The prices which were very low at the time of the annexation of Malabar in 1792, started to increase at an accelerated rate and within four years, i.e. in 1797, the price of paddy had gone up by 140% compared to the price of 1792/93. Thereafter the price went on increasing. Several developments like the drought in Malabar in 1798, the failure of rain in Malabar during 1800-1802 period, the scarcity of food grain in South Canara in 1801, the famine in the Madras Presidency in 1799 and again between 1804 and 1807, the scarcity of food grains in the Coromandel coast in 1807, the prohibition imposed on the exportation of rice from South Canara to Malabar in 1807 had kept the price of paddy and rice very high in Malabar at the end of the 18th century and during the first decade of the 19th century. By 1807 the price of paddy was hovering around Rs.30 + or – 5% per 100 *parahs*. From the foregoing discussion it can be concluded that during the period 1792 to 1808 the price of grain was steadily increasing. The increase was very steep between 1797-98 and 1807-08. No single factor could be attributed to the erratic changes in the prices.

The researcher has almost got uninterrupted information on the prices of paddy and rice from 1808/09 to 1857/58. The data on price movements and the factors responsible for price fluctuation were mainly taken from land revenue settlement reports and Board of Revenue proceedings. The annual settlement reports of land revenue were prepared by the district collector and sent to the Board of Revenue, Fort. St. George. Most of this information mentioned the price of one Madras grace of rice¹⁸. The price of one Madras grace (of 9256½ lbs) of rice in 1808/09 was Rs.203¹⁹. This was due to the low production in Malabar and the prohibition imposed on the export of rice from Canara to Malabar. This year the export of paddy from Malabar was only 52137 *moorahs* worth Rs.1,04,274. In this year it was the lack of production and not the export which boosted the price. But in

18 One Madras grace contains 9256½ lbs or roughly 4510 seers

19 The price of rice for 1808/9, 1809/10, 1811/11 was given in Star pagoda and *fanam* and for the sake of uniformity it was converted into Rupees at 3 ½ rupees per star pagoda

1809/10 the price was Rs.238 per grace and in the succeeding year (1810/11) it suddenly dropped to Rs.142 per grace. No explanation is available for this steep rise and fall in price which was about 40% (For the prices of rice **see table 7.2**). However, Malabar started to produce enough grain from 1809 and there was a sudden jump in the export. For the quantity and value of export of paddy and the price of paddy **see table 7.5, G.5**. This sudden increase in production could be disproportionate to the internal and external (export) demand contributing to sluggishness in price from 1810. One trader of Tellicherry reported in October 1810 to his master at Calicut that the price of grain had started to fall every day with the arrival of new crops. Southern paddy could be purchased at 118 or 119 *fanams*²⁰ for a *pody*²¹. The price of *nadden* or country paddy was at 115 or 116 *fanams* per *pody*. This could be for 100 *parahs* as 118 or 119 *fanams* was equal to Rs.23½ or 23¾. However, the average price of paddy in 1810/11 was Rs.20 per 100 *parahs* and the difference in price is tolerable as the price in north Malabar, including Tellicherry, was always higher than the district average. In 1811/12 there was slight increase in the price of rice and the rate was Rs.144 per grace. In the next year 1812/13 it rose to Rs.150 per grace and then slowly started to decrease and the price of rice in 1813/14 was Rs.140 per grace (**see table 7.2**) Incidentally Malabar reported the highest quantity and value in paddy export during the period of study in 1812/13. The volume exported was 5,86,010 *moorahs*²² worth Rs.11,72,021. To export such a huge quantity Malabar should have produced more. There was no import of paddy into Malabar during these periods. The surplus quantity that remained in the internal market after the huge export should have pushed down the price. This could be the reason attributed to the fall in price between 1810 and 1819/20. In 1813/14 the export was less comparing to the previous year and the fall in price continued.

20 Letter from one Ahamad kutty of Tellicherry to his master Assen Ally (Ali) of Calicut, dated 24th October 1810, M. Vol. No. 2253, p. 40 .

21 *Pady* is a grain measure very rarely used in Malabar About 6.6 pady constituted one *parah*

22 One *Moorah* was equal to 42 pacca seers or roughly 4.2 *parahs*.

Hereafter the volume of paddy exported gradually decreased up to 1823/24
(see table 7.5 and G.5)

Mr. Thomas Warden, the Principal Collector of Malabar in his settlement report of 1814/15 stated that the price of rice had fallen by 20% compared to the previous year and the price was Rs.122 per grace. He further added that “notwithstanding, it was not my intention to recommend any remission of revenue. Extra servants were sent to keep watch over the ryots while they cut their grain and to make them dispose of it without delay in satisfaction of the arrears of the preceding year and the result of such sales was on the average price was 47% below the *circar* (Government) commutation rate”²³. The Collector continued, “Immediately after the harvest the grain prices were very low in the market due to the arrival of surplus grain from the harvest. Cultivators were desperate to sell their grains in order to pay the *kists* (land tax installments)”²⁴. The Collector was not concerned about the plight of the ryots, but was worried of the government revenue.

In 1815/16 the price of grain further fell to Rs.116 per grace and it was the lowest price quoted in Malabar during the period of this study (1792-1857). Therefore this is taken as the base price for further study of price movements. This extraordinarily low price was due to abundance of production in Malabar and adjoining districts and lack of export demand in 1815/16. In this year there was a sudden fall in the quantity exported from Malabar (see Appendix.No:I). Thomas Warden, the Principal Collector of Malabar, anticipated difficulty in the land revenue collection because of the low of price and non availability of market for Malabar grain. In anticipation of difficulties in the collection of land revenue, the Principal Collector sought the permission of the government, through the BOR, to avail of the services of the police officers in collecting the land revenue from the

23 · The tax was assessed in kind and collected in money based on a commutation rate fixed by the government. This commutation rate was very often above the market price of grain and the cultivators were forced to sell more grain to raise adequate money to pay the land tax. M. Vol. No. 4058, pp. 23- 30.

24 *Ibid.*,p.30.

defaulters²⁵. This request was, however, turned down by the government. But the Collector T. Warden in his letter to the BOR dated 9th, February, 1816 reported “---notwithstanding this (low price) it is not my intention to recommend any remission of revenue”²⁶. It appeared that considerable difficulty was experienced in realizing the revenue of 1815/16.²⁷ Not only the abundance of production in Malabar but also surplus production in South Canara had led to low price in the northern Taluqs of Malabar. **(See table 7.2** for the price of rice from 1808/09 to 1858/59) Mr. I. Vaughan, Assistant Collector of the Northern Division of Malabar reported in February 1816 that due to abundance of crop in 1814/15, there was low price of grain in Cavay and Chirakkal taluqs²⁸. The low price was still more affected by the abundance of crop in South Canara. The ryots of north Malabar found it difficult to dispose of their grain to pay the land tax. Mr. I. Vaughan suggested that collateral security should be taken from the ryots of the *Hoblies* or *deshams* for each other in the payment of land tax²⁹. From 1816/17 the trend slowly reversed and the price started to increase very slowly. The export was also gradually increasing. In 1816/17 there was an increase of Rs.2 in the price and the price was Rs.118 per grace. In 1817/18 the price was Rs.119 and in 1818/19 the increase was substantial and the rate was Rs.138 per grace. Compared to 1815/16, the increase was Rs.22, an increase of 19%. In 1819/20 there was a steep increase in the price of grains. The price of rice went up to Rs.192 per grace, and compared to the previous year this was an increase of 39% and compared to 1815/16 the increase was 65%. In this year the export also increased. In 1820/21 the price further increased to Rs.196 per grace. This was the highest rate quoted in the 1820's and compared to 1815/16, within a short span of 5 years; the increase in price was 69%.

25 Letter from T. Warden ,Principal collector to the Board of Revenue dated 20th December, 1815, BORP Vol. No. 704, p. 89.

26 BORP, 19th Feb. 1816, Vol. 708, p. 1634.

27 Malabar Collector's land revenue settlement report for fusly 1225(1815/16), BOR Proceedings dated 17 March ,1817, p. 37. Letter from T. Warden to BOR, dated 29th, January, 1817, M. Vol. No. 2534, p. 210.

28 Letter from Mr. I. Vaughan, Asst. Collector of Tellicherry to the Principal Collector, 24th Feb. 1816, M.Vol.No. 2261, p. 29.

29 *Ibid*, p. 30.

Thereafter the price started to decline in the early 1820's. Between 1821/22 and 1825/26 two rates for the price of rice are available with a slight difference and for these periods the average of the two prices per grace were taken. In 1821/22 the price declined to Rs.179. In 1822/23 the price was Rs.171. In 1823/24 the price rose to Rs.180 and 1824/25 recorded the highest rate of the decade, i.e. Rs.197 per grace (average). Compared to 1815/16 this amounted to an increase of 72%, within a period of 9 years ³⁰. The year 1824/25 recorded the second highest export of paddy and the volume of export was 5,12,128 moorahs worth Rs.8,36,204. Thereafter in 1825/26 the price declined to Rs.185 per grace and the reason given by the District Principal Collector was that the rain was abundant and the production of paddy was surplus. The district Collector reported that this abundance of production did not reduce the price as there was huge export demand for the grains and the cultivators got a good price for their products³¹. The export of paddy was 3,89,238 moorahs worth Rs.6,64,668. However, the garden produce suffered from lack of rain in July, but due to good demand for coconut and betel nut and the growers got fair price for their products. Due to plenty of rain in 1826/27 the paddy crops were remarkably abundant. But due to equally good harvest in the areas which were usually supplied by Malabar with rice, there was an enormous decrease in the export of rice during this year. The export of grain was only worth Rs.3,70,970 and this was less than the value exported in 1825/26³². This lack of export market had affected the price in Malabar. As a result the price had fallen to Rs.171 per grace, 7½% less than the price of 1825/26. The garden production was also plenty and there was a good demand for coconut and betel nut throughout the year and the cultivators got good prices for them. The Collector reported that such a good season

30 Revenue settlement report, for fusly 1234 (1824/25), M.Vol.No. 4085, P. 325.

31 Revenue settlement report for fusly 1235 (A. D. 1825/26), M.Vol.No. 4813., p. 12.

32 Revenue report for fusly 1236(A. D. 1826/27), M.Vol.No. 4814, p. 6. But according to the statement of export, Appendix.No.I , paddy worth Rs.3,53,489 was exported. See table No.7.5.

was not known to Malabar in recent times ³³. In 1827/28 the South-West monsoon commenced on 6th June and as a result of adequate rain the first (*Kanny*) crop was good. The north-east monsoon failed resulting in partial failure of the second (*Makarom*) crop. Less rice was exported than the previous *fusly* because of the abundance of production in Konkan and Maratha country, the dependencies of Bombay, the areas which usually received (imported) rice from Malabar³⁴. As a result of the prices which started falling since 1825/26 continued and in 1827/28 the price of rice was only Rs.142 per grace. Compared to the previous year, the fall in price was 17%. This was the lowest price quoted in the 1820's. The price continued to be low throughout the season. The fall in price in 1827/28 compared to 1825/26 was 6½% below the average price³⁵. Despite the fall in price, (price of rice was Rs.142 per grace) the land revenue collection in 1827/28 was Rs.15,87,736 out of the land revenue demand of Rs.16,01,759, leaving a balance of only Rs.14,023. No balance was outstanding in Eranad and Walluvanad taluqs and in the Nedinganad taluq the arrear was only Rs.11³⁶. All the garden productions were abundant, but there was no proportionate fall in demand for them. However, the export demand for the staple products of Malabar was more than the previous year.

Low price continued to prevail throughout 1828/29. The price of rice was Rs 145 per grace. This low price of rice was due to diminished external demand for rice, in pursuance of good production in countries to which Malabar exported rice. The export was less. There was good rain in August, but only 1½ inch rain in September 1828. Such low rain had not been reported for the previous 19 years³⁷. The price of rice in 1829/30 was Rs.132 per grace. It was Rs.38 less than last ten year's average. This was the lowest price

33 Revenue settlement report of fusly 1235 (1825/26), M.Vol.No. 4813, p. 13.

34 Revenue settlement for 1237(1827/28)BORP.Vol. No. 1279 p. 2374.

35 BORP, 30th April, 1829, Vol. No. 1187, p. 4126.

36 BORP, Vol. No. 1283, p. 4101.

37 Revenue settlement report of 1828/29, M.Vol.No. 4815, p. 12.

quoted in Malabar since 1815/16. Compared to the 1824/25 price of Rs.197 per grace, the highest in the 1820's, it was 32% less. The grain price had fallen by 32% within a short span of 5 years. The average price for ten years from 1820/21 to 1829/30 was Rs.170 grace. From 1826/27 to 1832/33 the export of paddy was less. Decrease in the price of grain in 1829/30 compared to 1825/26 was 6½% below average price ³⁸. In 1829 (M. E 1005) the ryots of Betutnad informed the Tahsildar that since last 8 or 10 years the price of paddy and coconut had been falling. They were forced to sell their gold, silver ornaments and copper utensils in 1827/28 and 1828/29 to pay the land tax. As per the present commutation price of paddy the peasants had to sell 130 to 150 *parahs*, instead of 100 *parahs* (8 seers each) of paddy to pay a land tax of 100 *fanams*. (Here new gold *fanams*, 3 ½ *fanams* made one rupee and 100 *parahs* cost Rs.28 ½). Apart from this, the peasants had to pay an addition of 5 or some times 10% of the land tax as collection charges. This was equivalent to 7 ½ to 15 *parahs* of paddy. The present garden tax levied on 1000 coconuts was 30 *fanams*. It was 50% above the market price³⁹. The Collector of Malabar reported that the depression had been increasing every year since 1827/28⁴⁰. In 1831 the Principal Collector reported that the inhabitants of Malabar could not discharge their revenue obligation due to over assessment and fall in prices for the last three years (1828/29, 1829/30, 1830/31). This was corroborated by Malcolm Lewin's evidence before the select committee dated 10th, May, 1832 that there was considerable fall of prices in Canara and Malabar in late years ⁴¹

In 1830/31, the South-West monsoon started on 15th May and the rain was seasonal and adequate resulting in surplus production. But the price of rice continued to be low at Rs.144 per grace. This was not only due to surplus production in Malabar but also due to depressed market condition controlled by external factors. Fall in the prices of every

38 BORP Vol. No.1283, p. 4101.

39 M. Vol. No. 4058, p. 59.

40 BORP, Vol. No. 1279, p.2374.

41 British Parliamentary papers ,Irish University Press 1973, Book no. 9 p. 240.

description was experienced in that year throughout the province. This in turn could be attributed to the increased production of rice and garden produce in the Konkan (Canara) and Maratha region and other dependents of Bombay,⁴² which traditionally were dependent on Malabar for rice, coconuts, copra and coconut oils.

The prices started to increase from 1831/32. The failure of periodical rain in 1831/32 had the effect of increasing the prices of all agricultural commodities. Despite lack of export demand, the price of rice had gone up to Rs.180 per grace in 1831/32. This, compared to that of 1830/31, was an increase of Rs.36 per grace (20%) and the increase was 56% compared to 1815/16 base price. This continued until the *Kanny (August/September)* crop came to market in early October. This did not benefit the ryots as they had been compelled to sell their produce immediately after the harvest when the price was always low⁴³. William Logan reported that about 1831-32 a most important change took place in Malabar. The prices which were abnormally low just then began to rise in 1831-32. He had reported 15% increase in price after the settings of rains⁴⁴. Logan attributed the arbitrary evictions of tenants by their landlords for higher rents, to the increase in price since 1830/31. But the fact is that in Malabar the prices were increasing right from 1819/20 **(see table 7.4 and G.4)**. Arbitrary eviction was against Malabar customary laws. The eviction, that took place with the backing of British judiciary and administration, could be due to complex factors and certainly the increase in price was one of the factors.

In 1832/33 drought like condition developed in Malabar due to the late setting of the South-West monsoon on 9th, June, 1832 and partial failure of North-East monsoon. Despite these developments both crops reaped in August/September and January/February were adequate. But the export of large quantity of grain to Colombo and Coromandel Coast

42 Revenue settlement report for fusly 1239(1829/30), M.Vol.No. 4815,p 29.

43 Letters from the Malabar Principal Collector to the BOR, dated 29th June and 25th July, 1833, BORP, Vol. No. 1387, 7th November, 1833, p. 13940.

44 Logan, Malabar, op.cit., Vol.No. I . pp. 614-- 615.

and the partial failure of the second crops added to the shortage of this product. This had the effect of raising the price of rice by 12% compared to the previous year. The price of rice had gone up to Rs.202 per grace. This was 53% above the price of 1828/29 and 74% above the base price of 1815/16.⁴⁵ From the deficiency of garden production the prices of several garden products had gone up by 30% above the prices of the preceding year. Speculation of the failure of the North-East monsoon had the effect of daily increasing the price of rice. In December 1832 the Principal Collector of Malabar had anticipated, that due to scanty rain in October 1832, the average crops would fall short by 1/3rd of the usual quantity. He had reported that the price of grain rose rapidly on account of the expected failure of second crop (due to the failure of North-East monsoon) and great demand for exportation to Colombo and Coromandel Coast. According to him the price was increasing almost daily. The price of common rice at Ponnany, port town and the principal grain market in the District, on 8th December 1832 was Rs.197 per grace and in the next day i.e. on 9th December 1832 it rose to Rs.206 per grace⁴⁶. This was an increase of 4.57% in one day and was quite unusual and abnormal in Malabar. Such an increase in price was not reported in Malabar during the period of study. It was reported that good stock of the grains avoided the scarcity during the monsoon seasons⁴⁷. The daily rise in price of rice had fallen hard upon the poorer classes.

The Malabar Collector reported in January 1833 that the State of Cochin, in anticipation of the deficiency in grain production from the second (*Makarom*) crop, had prohibited the export of rice to Chavakkad in South Malabar. Usually a great quantity of rice was annually imported from Cochin to Chavakkad and other southern taluqs. This prohibition resulted in the increase of the price of rice. In South Malabar the price of one

45 Malabar Principal Collector's Revenue settlement report of *fusly* 1242 (1832/33), dated, 15th January, 1834, sent to the BOR, M. Vol. 4817, p. 2.

46 Letter from the Collector of Malabar to the BOR, dated 10th, December, 1832, BORP, 20th December, Vol. no. 1349, p.13557.

47 *Ibid.*, p.13557.

grace of rice (superior quality) at Chavakkad was Rs.206 and at Ponnany was Rs.176.⁴⁸ Due to the above prohibition of Cochin State the grain Merchants had imported rice from Canara. The price of Mangalore rice at Cochin market was Rs 240 per grace and the price of coarse rice of Cochin was Rs.210 per grace⁴⁹. The Collector reported that in 1833 large quantities of rice was exported from Wayanad to Mysore and he was afraid that it would lead to scarcity in that taluq. In that year the exportation from Palakkad to Coimbatore and other eastern taluq was not great. This resulted in the fall of the market price of rice in Palakkad from Rs.150 to Rs.120 per grace. However, at Ponnany the market price continued to be the same at Rs.176. In the end of January 1833 the price was Rs.172½ per grace⁵⁰. This once again demonstrated that in the interior regions like Palakkad and Themmalpuram the rice was sold at a lower rate than at the coastal port towns. In 1833/34, despite adequate and timely rain (only 84 inches in 1834) and abundant grain production, the price compared to the previous year, went up and the price of rice was Rs.227 (calculated) per grace. This was 96% above the 1815/16 price. The increase in price was mainly attributed to increased exportation of grains to Coimbatore, due to scarcity there. In 1833/34 the export of paddy and rice was high at 2,99,026 moorahs worth Rs.3,34,781. The prices of garden produce had also gone up by nearly 20%, which had amply compensated for the produce above noticed. The gardens were affected due to lack of rain in the previous year. The Collector reported that the increase in price for the last three years was a blessing in disguise for the administration as it had enabled the ryots to discharge government demand with punctuality. The Collector reported that during 1833/34 not a single ryot was not placed in confinement nor any real property was sold to realize the government revenue⁵¹. The Malabar Collector had reported that the usual high prices which cultivators and traders obtained for grain and

48 Letter from the Principal Collector on Circuit at Chavakkad to the BOR, dated, 18th January 1833, BORP dated 31st January, 1833, Vol.No.1353, p. 1390.

49 BORP, 11th February 1833 Vol. no. 1354, p. 1394.

50 Letter from the Principal collector on Circuit at Chavakkad to the BOR, dated 31st January 1833, BORP dated 10th January, 1833, Vol.No.1353, p. 1410.

51 Revenue settlement report for fusly 1243(1833/34)BORP, 8th. January ,1835, Vol.No.1437, p.392.

all garden produces during the year compensated the deficiency in production and enabled them to pay the government demands⁵². There was no mention about the impact of this price on the life of common man and workers. As far as the price movement of rice in Malabar was considered, the period from 1829/30 to 1833/34 was a crucial one. The prices of all articles had been increasing very rapidly since 1829/30. Within a short period of five years (1829/30 to 1833/34), the price of rice had gone up by 70%. This was occasioned by the lack of timely rain and consequent poor production and increased export demand due to poor production in areas which traditionally imported Malabar rice. Compared to 1829/30, the price had gone up to 36% in 1831/32, 53% in 1832/33 and 70% in 1833/34. **(See table 7.4 and G.4)** Here the price of 1829/30 is compared with the prices of succeeding period. The price increase between 1830/31 and 1831/32 was 25%, and that between 1831/32 and 1832/33 was 17%. The rise in price in 1833/34 over the 1832/33 price was 12.5%. The price was increasing very fast from the beginning of the third decade of the 19th century affecting the common people of Malabar and creating social tensions, agrarian problems and economic imbalance. The gainer from this development was the government because the increase in price facilitated the easy collection of land tax. On the other hand the increase in price made the life very miserable for the poor and working class whose wages was paid in cash. The wage structure was constant throughout the period of graph, signifying the increase in price of rice between 1829/30 to 1833/34.

The season in 1834/35 was favourable. Partial failure of the North-East monsoon had to some extent affected the second crop in Palakkad and Themmalpuram. In 1834 the total rain was only 84 inches. There was a great demand for garden produce and the increase in price of garden produce was 8%. But the demand for grain was less than

52 Land revenue settlement report of fusly 1242(1832/33) from the Principal Collector of Malabar to the BOR, dated 15th January, 1834, M. Vol. No. 4817, p.2.

1833/34. Adjoining districts of Malabar, due to the failure of crops in 1833/34, had imported more rice from Malabar. This had prevented a drastic fall in price of rice. The drop in price was only 4% below last year's increase of 12½%. Therefore the price of grain was Rs.217 per grace⁵³. The price of paddy was unusually high at Rs.27 per 100 *parahs*. The total rain fall in 1835 was 106 inches. The season was highly favourable for paddy and gardens resulting in abundance of production except pepper. The prices of garden produce kept up owing to external demand. But due to lack of external demand the prices of paddy fell by 26%. According to this information the price of rice in 1835/36 was Rs.161 per grace⁵⁴. The abundance of paddy production in that year compensated the fall in price.

During 1836/37 the rainfall was 91 inches and due to abundance of production and lack of export demand the price of coconut fell by 27%. The price of grain increased and the rate of paddy was Rs.25 per 100 *parahs*. The price of rice was Rs.175 per grace and this was calculated from the price of paddy. In 1837/38 the season throughout the year was favourable and all the crops were abundant. There was fall in price of rice. However an excessive exportation by sea and land had prevented a big fall in price of rice and the price was calculated at Rs.168 per grace⁵⁵. **(See table 7.2 and Appendix no.I)** In 1838/39 the rainfall was only 68 inches. Drought- like condition prevailed in Malabar and the price of grain was calculated at Rs.182 per grace. The price of paddy was also high at Rs.26 per 100 *parahs*. In 1839/40 the South-West monsoon was abundant. Total rainfall in 1839 was 151 inches, the highest during the period of this study. Despite the annual heavy rainfall the second crop was a failure due to the failure of the North-East monsoon. The favourable prices which rice and coconut bore in 1838/39 continued with slight upward variation

53 Revenue settlement report for 1244(1834/35) BORP, 7th January, 1836, Vol.No.1387, p. 421.

54 Revenue settlement report of the District Principal Collector of Malabar for fusly 1245 (1835/36) dated 29th May, BORP, Vol.No.1559, p. 6073.

55 Revenue settlement report of Malabar for fusly 1247 (1837/38) BORP, dated 7th, March 1839, Vol. No. 1650, p.3408.

throughout the year. The price of rice in 1839/40 was calculated at Rs.216 per grace⁵⁶. The price of paddy was also high at Rs.27 per 100 *parahs*. No detailed information is available about the factors which contributed to the high prices of grain in 1840/41. Price of rice per grace was Rs.203 (calculated) and the price of 100 *parahs* of paddy was Rs.25. The rainfall in 1840 was 92 inches. In 1841/42 the South-West monsoon was set in by the end of May 1841. The total rain fall was 114 inches. The South-West monsoon was adequate and timely but the North-East monsoon failed. The second crop was not plentiful but there was ample supply of grain in the district. The lack of export demand caused by abundant production in areas which traditionally supplied Bombay with grains resulted in the fall in price of grain. The average market price was 8% less compared to the previous year. The price of grain was Rs.188 per grace. Fall in price of grain was compensated by good price for the garden produce which helped the ryots to meet the government demand.

56 · Revenue settlement report of Malabar for fusly 1249 (1839/40), from the Acting principal collector to the BOR, BORP, proceeding dated 1st April, 1841, Vol. No. 1751, p. 4561.

In 1842/43 the South-West monsoon was set on 26th May, 1842. The rain was seasonal and sufficient. Total rain fall was 132 inches. The first crop was abundant. The second crop failed due to lack of rain in October (2½ inches only). The price was Rs 179 per grace⁵⁷ and was less than the previous year's price. In 1843/44 the season was not a favorable one. Abundance of South-West monsoon produced floods and in some places injured the first crop. Lack of North-East monsoon, except unseasonably good rain in December, injured the second crop. Total rainfall in 1843 was 127 inches. The supply of grain was an average one and there was no shortage of grain. The quantity taken out of the district, by sea and land was almost equal to that of the previous year. The market price of rice was Rs.188 per grace, about 5% higher than that of 1842/43 price. This was due to the increased external demand. There was a net increase of 6 lakh rupees in the export compared with 1842/43. This enabled the ryots to pay the government demand/tax promptly⁵⁸. The price of 100 *parahs* of paddy in the Edattarah *deshom* of Palakkad taluq in March 1843 was Rs.19 and 2 *annas*⁵⁹. These figure tallies with the price of paddy for 1843. In 1844/45 South-West Monsoon set in on 22nd May 1844 and the first and second crops of paddy were plentiful. The price had still risen higher. The price of rice in 1844/45 was Rs 201 per grace. It was about 7.5% above the previous year's price and 73% above the price of 1815/16. This increase in price was due to the increased external demand⁶⁰. The prices of garden products also rose to the same extent. This according to the Collector enabled the ryots to pay the government demand/tax promptly.

In 1848/49 there was deficit rainfall in Malabar. The total rain in 1848 was 78 inches. This was 48 inches below the average of the previous five years. The South-West

57 Report of the Principal Collector of Malabar on the revenue settlement of 1843/44, B.O.R.P, 29 May, 1845, Vol.No.1968, P. 6690 .

58 Report from. Mr. H.V.Conolly, Principal Collector of Malabar to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, Fort St George. on the revenue settlement of Malabar for the fusly 1254(1844/45).Board of revenue proceedings(27th October,1845)Vol.No.1991,p.1460,par.3.

59 . BORP, 14th ,January, 1850,Vol.No.2225,p.618.

60 · Settlement Report from Mr.H.V.Conolly, Disrtict Principal Collector of Malabar to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, Fort St. George1844/45.BORP,27th October,184 5 Vol.No.1991,p.1460,par.3.

monsoon was set in the middle of May and there was total failure of rain in June and July and the *Kanny* (first) crop was very scanty. Similarly lack of rain from North-East monsoon between October and November affected the *Makarom* (second) crop. In consequence of it the grain production was 30% below the usual quantity⁶¹. Interestingly the price of rice did not increase much, the increase was only 4-5% and the price of rice was Rs.188 per grace. - This was one rupee less than the previous fusly. But in 1848/49 the price of paddy was Rs. 26 per 100 *parahs*, 5% above that of the previous year's price of Rs.25 per 100 *parahs*. This has further proved that in 1848/49 the price of grain had gone up by 5%⁶². This, along with want of grain in the export market, caused a deficiency in the quantity exported by sea, amounting to nearly Rs.40,000 rupees in value. However, abundant production in garden produce compensated the two bad harvests of grain. Despite the fall in production in 1848/49, Rs.16,32,017 was collected as land tax out of the total demand of Rs.16,46,659. In 1849/50 the rainfall (in 1849) was sufficiently favourable for the first and second paddy crop and fully made up the deficiency of 30% production of the previous year. This resulted in a trifling reduction in the market price of 3% as compared with the high price of previous year. The price of rice was Rs.180 per grace.⁶³

In his revenue settlement report for 1850-51, the Malabar Collector reported that due to lack of export demand there was a fall in the prices of grain in the district. The price of rice was R s. 165 per grace and paddy was Rs.22 per 100 *parahs*⁶⁴.It was the lowest price recorded in the 1850's. The rainfall in 1850 was only 87 inches. The price was 42%

61 Report of H.V. Connolly, Principal Collector of Malabar on the revenue settlement for fusly 1258(A.D.1848/49), dated .16th, November, 1849, to the BOR, Fort St. George, BORP. Vol.No.2240, p. 7066.

62 *Ibid* ., p. 7066

63 Revenue settlement report from Mr.H.V.Connolly, Collector of Malabar for the Fusly 1259. (1849/50)to the BOR, Fort St.George.BORP,14thApril ,1851,.Vol.No.2281, p.5191

64 Revenue settlement report of 1850/51, BORP, Vol.,No 2314 , p.1247.

above the base year (1815/16) price of rice⁶⁵. It has been reported that in the Madras Presidency during 1850-51 the price was very low⁶⁶

The total rainfall of 1851 was 122 inches. It was abundant but not timely. Absence of timely rain was injurious to grain production. Late setting of monsoon on 4th June, heavy rain in June and July and absence of rain after July adversely affected the first and second crops of 1851/52. The fall in production was 15% less than the previous year. Crop was less, especially in the taluqs of Nedinganad, kootanad, Betutnad, Chavakkad and Walluvanad. In the above mentioned taluqs the production was less by 30 to 40%. The failure of paddy crops in 1851/52 raised the price of rice by about 2½% above the price of 1850/51. The price of rice in 1851/52 was Rs.169 per grace. Fall in production did not enhance the price because there was no export (external demand). However, it was 10% below the last five years (1846/47 to 1850/51) average price of Rs.188⁶⁷.

The prices quoted during 1846-1851 were the same as the average selling price of the 1st and 2nd sort rice as it obtained in the four principal towns of the district Viz. Palakkad, Ponnani, Calicut and Tellicherry. The rate hitherto entered in the settlement reports was the average market price of all parts of the district⁶⁸.

From 1852/53 the prices of grain increased drastically and initially it was due to famine like condition in Travancore and Cochin. In 1852/53 something almost resembling famine in Cochin and Travancore had its impact on the prices of grains in Malabar. It considerably raised the price of paddy in Malabar especially in the Southern Taluqs. It was sold at the rate of Rs.73 for 1st sort and Rs.66 for 2nd sort for Madras grace⁶⁹. The average price of paddy per 100 *parah* was Rs.22. This was only one rupee above the

65 *Ibid.*, p. 1249.

66 Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, *Memorandum on the progress of the Madras Presidency during the last forty years of the British Administration*, p.no.58, first published in 1893 (Madras), AES (1988)

67 . Report from the District Collector of Malabar to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George on the land revenue settlement of Malabar, Fusly 1261 (1851-52) B.O.R.P. Vol.No.2356, p.354.

68 *Ibid*, p. 354, par.6.

69 320 *parahs* of paddy constituted one Madras grace of paddy.

price of 1851/52. But the price of rice increased drastically and it was Rs.182 per grace. This increase was 57% above the price of 1815/16. The real impact of the development in Travancore and Cochin was felt in 1853/54. Even though the rain in 1853 was 120 inches there was a partial failure of South–West monsoon in July, August and September⁷⁰. (For price variations between 1851/52 and 1858/59 **see table 7.6 and G.6**) In 1853/54 there was a sudden increase in the price of grains in Malabar. The average town price of rice in 1853/54 in the four principal towns of Palakkad, Ponnani, Calicut and Tellicherry was Rs. 234 per grace. Compared with the average price of five antecedent years, the result was an increase of Rs.57 per grace. Compared with the 1815/16 price the increase in 1853/54 was 102%. This sudden increase in price was due to the export of rice by land and sea to Coimbatore, Cochin and Travancore⁷¹. The average price of rice in 1853/54 was Rs.234 per grace. This exceeded the price of 1852/53 by Rs 39 per grace. (**For the prices of paddy see table 7.3 and G.1,G.2**) The price of 100 *parahs* of paddy in 1853/54 was Rs.34 and in 1852/53 the paddy price was Rs.22. According to another information the price of 430 *parahs* or 2866 *padies*⁷² of paddy in 1853 was Rs.159 or the price of 100 *parahs* of paddy was Rs.37⁷³. Apart from private individual's export to Coimbatore, Cochin and Travancore (of which there was no account) by means of land and backwater, an excess of about 21, 492 Indian *maund* was exported by sea.⁷⁴ This drain upon the stock along with deficient production due to unfavorable season was responsible for excess of price mentioned above. In 1854/55 the wholesale price of grain in the principal towns of Malabar was Rs.276 per grace. This was 18% above the high price of Rs.234 per grace of 1853/54⁷⁵. Further it was 48.5% above the

70 ⁷⁰. Report from R.N. Chatfield, Sub Collector of Malabar to Mr. H.V. Connolly, Collector of Malabar, 10th September, 1853. M. Vol. No. 7951, p.127.

71 Land revenue settlement report of Malabar for fusly 1263(1853/54) from the Collector of Malabar to Mr. Cunliffe, Sub Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort. St. George, 2nd December, 1854, M. Vol. No. 7952, par. 4.

72 *Pady(pody)* is a grain measure very rarely used in Malabar. 6.6 *pady* constituted one *parah*.

73 Raghavayangar .*op.cit.*, p.68 .

74 *Ibid.*, par. 7.

75 Malabar Jamabandy (land revenue settlement) Report for Fusly 1854-55 , M. Vol. No. 7953, P.7.

average of previous 5 years (1849-1853) price of Rs.186 and was 138% above the base price of 1815/16. The price of 1854/55 was the average for the whole district, which did not differ much from the similar return for 1853/54. This rise in price was due to huge export to Bombay irrespective of what had been carried by land and back water to Cochin, Coimbatore and Travancore⁷⁶. About 54,115 Indian maunds were exported in 1854/55⁷⁷. In 1855/56 the price was very high due to the failure of rain. The rain failed in 1855 and the total rainfall in that year was only 63 inches, the lowest during the period of study. Compared to the previous five years average rainfall of 110 inches, the deficit was 48 inches. The failure of rain had adversely affected the paddy cultivation and production. The first crop was not abundant and the second crop was a failure. The taluqs of Palakkad, Themmalpuram, Nedinganad, Kootanad, Betutnad and Chavakkad suffered the most. The problem of deficit production was further aggravated by the export of large amount of grain by land and sea. This led to increase in the wholesale price of rice. The average selling price in the principal towns of Palakkad, Ponnany, Calicut, Tellicherry and Cannannore in 1855/56 was Rs.304 per grace. This price was 10% above the high rate of Rs.276 of the previous year and 48½% above the average of the five previous years, (1850/51- 1854/55), average rate of Rs.205 per grace. It was 162% above the base price of 1815/16. The average prices of paddy for the whole district comprising 16 Taluqs and 432 *Umshoms* were less than the average prices that prevailed in the four towns of Malabar. But it was lesser than the rates shown to have prevailed in the principal towns. This year recorded the highest price of paddy of Rs.40 for 100 *parahs*. As per the town average, the price of the 1st and 2nd sort of paddy was Rs.129 per grace or Rs 255 for a grace of rice.⁷⁸ This price of rice was lesser than the actual price of Rs.304. According to the above information the value of one

76 *Ibid.*,p.8.

77 Malabar Jamabandy report for 1854-55,M.,Vol.No.7953 , P.87.

78 Report on the revenue settlement of Malabar for the fusly 1265(1855-56) from the District Collector of Malabar to the Secretary, Board of Revenue , Fort St. George, 25th September,1856, M.Vol.No.7954, Par. 8.

Madras grace (320 *parahs*) of paddy was Rs.129 and therefore the price of 100 *parahs* of paddy should be Rs.40. The western part of Malabar was dependent on Palakkad and Themmalpuram, the granary of Malabar, for large supplies of grain .In 1854/55 owing to the general scarcity of grain in other parts of Malabar, the grain production of Palakkad and Themmalpuram would have found its way to Ponnani and other parts. Paddy was also exported to Coimbatore and Cochin which also suffered from the shortage of grain production. In the current year the production in Palakkad and Themmalpuram was low due to the factors mentioned above. This pushed up the prices of grain in Palakkad and Themmalpuram. Simultaneously due to the huge scarcity and extraordinarily high prices in Malabar large quantities of grain were imported from Canara, Bombay and other parts belonging to it⁷⁹. Out of the total 11,07,800 Indian *maunds* of paddy imported 9, 03, 000 *maunds* were imported from Canara and 2, 04, 800 *maunds* from Bombay and its subordinate parts. This enabled the native merchants to carry it to more favourable markets and helped to regulate the prices of Malabar bazaars by this timely supply ⁸⁰. Due to this the prices never exceeded Rs.2 and Anna 12(2 $\frac{3}{4}$ rupees) per *maund* in the Malabar market. This was the first time, since Malabar started to export grains; such huge import of food grains was made. This act had prevented a famine condition in Malabar. The rice exporting Malabar imported rice from Bombay and Canara.

79 *Ibid.*, par .10.

80 *Ibid.*,par.11.

In 1856/57 there was a marginal fall in the wholesale price of paddy and rice. Favourable South-West monsoon helped to reap a good first crop. But the North – East monsoon failed and the second crop was a failure. Agriculture in the taluqs of Chavakkad, Kootanad and Betutnad was adversely affected. In the principal towns of Malabar like Palakkad, Ponnani, Calicut, Tellicherry and Connannore the average price of rice was Rs.296 per grace. This was 2.7% below the rate of 1855/56⁸¹ and 27% above the average price of previous five years. However, in Palakkad the price of rice was quoted at Rs.351 per grace. This was 18½% more than the average annual price. No explanation was given for this unusual development. Probably grains could have been exported to Coimbatore due to low production there. Palakkad was experiencing hardships from short production in the previous and current year. Since July 1857 the prices have gradually increased to almost famine prices⁸². The partial failure of the second crops and the unexpected early South-West monsoon were responsible for this condition. The current prices were the average from 432 *Umshoms* (villages). The local prices of the district average was Rs.120 for a grace of paddy or Rs.237 ½ for a grace of rice while the town prices one grace rice amounted to Rs.296-9-7 or about 2½% more, this constituted a heavy tax on consumer. During 1857/58 the price was abnormally high and resembled famine prices. The price of the second sort of rice per Madras grace was Rs.332 and in 1858/59 the price for one Madras grace of second sort rice was Rs.367⁸³. The prices of grains, especially those of rice recorded an abnormal increase in 1850's. The lowest price of the 1850's was recorded in 1850/51. In that year the price of rice was Rs.165 per grace. After that the prices in the 1850's marked a steep ascendancy. The prices since 1853/54 was almost equal to famine prices and the rate of increase was

81 Jamabandy (revenue settlement) report for fusly 1266(A.D.1856/57) from the Acting collector of Malabar to the Acting Secretary to the Board of Revenue. Fort St.George, 10th August 1857, M.Vol.No.7955, Par.4.

82 *Ibid.*, par. 9.

83 Report of A.J.D. Sim, Secretary to B.O.R to the President of Military Finance commission, 26th December 1859, p/314/53, MBRP, 26th December 1859, pp.550-551.

very high and unusual as shown in the **table 7.6, G.6**. The prices of rice in 1857/58 and 1858/59 were 101 % and 122% above the price of 1850/51. This period marked the steepest increase during the period of study. Taluq wise prices were more accurate, relevant and dependable than the average prices of the important towns of Malabar or the district average prices. The town prices of paddy and rice were always above the district average prices. Study of taluq prices would help to understand the regional price variation which was too glaring in Malabar. Even though the district average prices of paddy and rice are available from 1808/09 onwards, information on taluq prices of paddy and rice was not available during this period. However, data on the taluq wise price of paddy for 12 years, from 1841/42 to 1852/53, were available. This was a crucial period as the prices fluctuated drastically during 1840's and 50's. Unfortunately scanty data were available on the taluq wise prices of rice. The average taluq price of 100 *parahs* of paddy for 12 years (1841/42 to 1852/53), (**see table 7.7**) shows that the price was the highest in the Northern Taluqs of Chirakkal, Kottayam, Kadathanad at Rs.30, followed by Cavay and Kurumbranad Rs.28 each and Calicut Rs.26. Incidentally in the northern taluqs the main agriculture was garden land cultivation. Most of the paddy cultivation was confined to the southern taluqs of Eranad, Walluvanad, Nedinganad, Betutnad and Chavakkad. The price of paddy was the lowest in Walluvanad and Nedinganad Taluqs with Rs.16 per 100 Para. This was followed by Themmalpuram and Palakkad with Rs.18 and 19 per 100 parah. All these Taluqs were in the southern division of Malabar. In Eranad it was Rs.21. The district average price for 100 *parahs* of paddy between 1841/42 and 1852/53 (for 12 years) was Rs.23 per 100 *parahs*. For the sake of comparison of prices, the prices of the northern taluqs are compared with the taluqs of Walluvanad and Nedinganad (taluqs with lowest price). Here the price of Walluvanad and Nedinganad, (Rs.16) per 100 *parahs*, is taken as the base price. On comparison it is revealed that the prices were 88% higher in Chirakkal, Kottayam and

Kadathanad, 75% higher in Cavay and Kurumbranad and 63% in Calicut. In the Taluqs of Themmalpuram and Palakkad the price was 19% and 13% higher than the average base price. It is now proved that within the same district there was great variation in the prices grains, varying from 88% to 13%, depending on their location. The average monthly price of paddy from the figures of 1809 to 1826 shows that the price was the lowest during October and November. This was due to the arrival of the paddy and rice from the first (*Kanny*) crop reaped in the months of August/September which fully arrived in the market pushing down the prices in October and November. Therefore the lowest prices of rice of Rs.146 and Rs.144 per Madras grace are reported in those months. (**See table 7.8**) Even before that the grains partially arrived in the market by September leading to partial decline in the price. The lower price Rs.163 in the month of September was due to it. Moreover, the cultivators were desperate to sell the grains immediately after the harvest to pay the land revenue *kists* (installments) and rushed to the markets in the above months which caused the fall in price. Therefore the price was the lowest during the months of October, November. From December the prices started to increase through January. The second crop was reaped in January/February and the price did not increase in these months. From March onwards price started to increase reaching the highest rate of Rs.179 in June due to South-West monsoon and scarcity. These high rates continued in July and part of August. From September onwards the price started to decline as explained above. Just like rice the paddy prices were low from August to January. From February the price increased. During May /June the price was high and during July/August the price was the highest. The month of *Chingam* (July/August) was the monsoon and festival month and this could have pushed up the prices. The quinquennial and decennial prices are also calculated. They are helpful in the study of the price movement in a band of five and ten years starting from 1808/09. These studies are more useful in analyzing the price movements over a long period

particularly with reference to land revenue collection. However, these are not helpful in assessing immediate repercussion of price movement on the ordinary people and daily wage earners who were paid in cash. In the first quinquennial average the price of rice was Rs.175 per grace. It was a bit high due to abnormal high prices in 1808/09 and 1809/10. For the quinquennial price (**see table 7.9**). In the next quinquennial average between 1813/14 to 1817/18 the rate was Rs. 123 per grace. It was the lowest in the first half of the 19th century. Next quinquennial averages between 1818/19 and 1822/23, 1823/24 and 1827/28 the average were Rs.175 each. There was no big increase in prices between these years. The next quinquennial average was Rs.161 per grace between 1827/28 and 1832/33 showing that the prices declined during this period. The quinquennial period ending in 1837/38 the price drastically increased to Rs.180 per grace clearly indicting that the prices were rising by the end of the 1830's. Prices further rose during early 1840's pushing the quinquennial average to Rs.194 per grace. Throughout the 1840's the prices were increasing and the quinquennial average ending in 1847/48 was Rs 202 per grace, the highest. The average price during the next quinquennial period between 1848/49 to 1852/53 was Rs.177 per grace due to decline of price during this period. The average price for the last quinquennial between 1853/54 and 1857/58 was Rs.288 per grace clearly indicating the price of rice was exorbitant during this period of years from 1850/01 to 1857/58. There was no significant fluctuation in the quinquennial price and the only exception was the last quinquennial. The quinquennial price of paddy also exhibited similar ups and downs during these period. The price change was drastic by the middle of 1850's when 100 *parahs* of paddy were sold for 40 rupees.

The decennial prices for paddy and rice during the period of study showed alternate upward and downward tendencies. In the first decennial period 1808/9- 1817/18, the average price for 100 *parahs* of paddy was Rs.20 and the price of one grace of rice was Rs.149. For the decennial price (**see table 7.10**). In the next decennial period ending in

1827/28 the price of paddy rose to Rs.25 and the rice to Rs.175 indicating that price was increasing during the 1820's. This was due to increase in price under circumstances explained earlier. In the next decennial period ending in 1837/38 the price declined to Rs. 24 for paddy and to Rs.170 for rice per grace. This was against the ground reality that in the early 1830's price was increasing. During the next decennial period ending in 1847/48 the price of paddy remained the same but the decennial price of rice increased drastically to Rs. 198 per grace. Thereafter in the next decennial (1848/49 to 1857/58) the average price was Rs.249 per grace. The decennial price analysis proved that the price of rice had been increasing since the beginning of the 19th century. Between the first and second decennial average the increase was 17%. The decline between the second and third decennial was 3%. The increase in price between the third decennial and the fourth decennial was 16% and in the last decennial it (Rs.233) was 18%. In fact in Malabar the decennial average price was increasing and the difference between the first and the last decennial was 56% for a period of about 50 years. This may not be a very big increase over a period of half a century. But the fact is that the poor and the peasants could not survive the price hike in two consecutive years. The price variation demonstrated in the quinquennial and decennial study appears to be well within the anticipated price band. The difference in the decennial average for a period of about 50 years (1808/09 to 1857/58) was 50%.

This price variation is tolerable. However, the actual effect of price variation of could be evaluated only through the study of annual variation. From the above information a conclusion could be arrived at that the price movement in Malabar, as usual, was controlled by the principle of supply (production) and demand. Production in turn was controlled by rainfall. Timely and adequate rain ensured a good produce. Excessive and untimely rain was injurious to agriculture. The price movement during the period of this study was erratic and very often controlled by local and regional factors. The prices, which were very low at the

time of the annexation of Malabar in 1792 started to increase very rapidly at the end of the 18th century due to different factors, which were already discussed. This trend continued into the first decade of the 19th century. All these years Malabar was importing rice to feed her increasing population. But from the second decade of the 19th century the cultivation expanded and production increased. Malabar started to export grains to other regions after meeting the requirements of her own increasing population. Increase in production did not bring down the prices of grain as there was simultaneous external demand and, as a result of it, large quantities of paddy and rice were exported.

The price of rice was very high in beginning of the 19th century especially in 1808/09 and 1809/10. This probably could be the continuation of high prices which prevailed in the early years of the 19th century which was the result of deficient rain in Malabar and due to drought and famine in the different parts of the Madras Presidency. From 1810/11 there was a sudden fall in the price. In 1815/16 it reached the lowest ebb of Rs.116 per grace from Rs.203 per grace in 1808/09. This was the lowest price recorded in Malabar during the first half of the 19th century. Therefore the price of 1815/16 is taken as the base year price for the purpose of comparison. The factors responsible for the fall of the price had already been explained. Thereafter the prices were ascending and they reached the highest point of Rs.197 per grace in 1824/25. This was 72% above the 1815/16 price and this high price was reached within a short span of 9 years. Thereafter the price once again started to decline from 1825/26 and in 1829/30 it reached Rs.132 per grace. This was the lowest price recorded in Malabar since 1815/16. Once again the price started to increase and the annual percentage of increase was high (**see the table 7.2**). From Rs. 132 per grace in 1829/30 the price increased to Rs.227 per grace in 1833/34. During 1820's the price was comparatively low and the quinquennial and decennial price will testify it. Logan attributed arbitrary eviction and agrarian problems to the price rise from 1830's. There was a gap of 4

years between 1836/37 and 1839/40 when there were no direct data available for the prices of rice. But the availability of the price of paddy for this period helped to calculate the tentative price of rice during this period. Since the ratio of the price of 100 *parahs* of paddy to one Madras grace of rice was 1:98, this was used to find out the price of rice for the above period. This was correlated with the information available in the settlement reports. In the 1830's except for 1832/33 and 1833/34 the price was comparatively low. Logan reported that the prices were increasing from 1831/32.

During 1840's there were ups and downs in the prices. The lowest price for rice was Rs.179 recorded in 1842/43 and the highest price was Rs.217 recorded in 1846/47. Thereafter the price was on the decline due to the factors already explained. The price increase recorded was between 55% and 87% above the base price of 1815/16. Even though in the 1840's the prices all over India started declining due to the impact of gold and silver prices, such development could not be noticed in Malabar. The price of rice in Malabar remained very high during the 1840's and it was guided by local and regional factors.

As far as the price movement was concerned the 1850s was a crucial period as it recorded the highest price fluctuation in Malabar during the period of study. In 1850/51 the price of rice was Rs.165 per grace. It was the lowest price recorded in Malabar since 1835/36, when the price was at Rs.140 per grace. It was reported that the all India price was on the decline during this period. However, in Malabar the price started making a sudden increase since 1850/51. As mentioned earlier the price within a short span of 8 years (1850/51 to 1857/58), had increased by 101% compared to the 1850/51 price. The price (for 2nd sort rice) in 1858/59 was Rs.367 per grace and this was 190% above the base price of 1815/16 and comparing to 1851/52 this was an increase of 122%. The increase was partly due to crop failures caused by untimely and inadequate rain and partly due to export demand. Malabar the population, production of grain and its prices increased. But there was

no corresponding increase in the wages for the agricultural labours. The price of essentials like grain, salt and tobacco increased which had an adverse impact on the people of Malabar. Simultaneously they had to pay a professional tax which affected all kinds of people. Ferry taxes (tolls), fluctuation in exchanges, unequal land assessments, and unrealistic commutation charges were some of the experienced by the people of Malabar under the British rule.

CHAPTER VIII

MALABAR CURRENCY SYSTEM

Currency played an important role in the economic activities of a region as currency was a commercial instrument. Malabar was not an exception to this argument. Thousands of years of direct trade with different regions of India and other countries paved the way for the introduction of a large number of coins of different countries of varying denominations and intrinsic values into Malabar before the Mysore invasion and later British annexation in 1792. A large number of currencies with different denomination and varying exchange value made the system in Malabar confused and unique. Different currencies performed varied specialized function¹. Commercialisation of Malabar agrarian economy, increasing population and trade required the availability of more currency. In Malabar there was a variety of different qualities and types of coins. This had led to heterogeneity of currency in Malabar. In the absence of a unified currency for the whole of British India,² in Malabar there were 29 gold, 10 silver and 2 copper coins respectively in circulation during the first decade of the 19th century.³ Most of these coins were received into and issued out of the government treasuries in Malabar. Such large number of coins, which had highly flexible rates of exchange, was a great clog to Malabar's trade with the other regions of India⁴. Further it had created problems in the administration, payment of taxes and wages and interfered with the trade and commercial activities. It had also exposed the ignorant people of Malabar to the exploitation of shrewd money changers, *Shroffs*, who

1

Frank Prelim. Mint technology and Mint-out put in an Age of Commercialisation, *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 42nd, Session, 1981. Hereafter cited as "Frank. P"

2

The currency of entire British India was unified in 1835.

3

Letter from the Mint Master, Fort. St. George, to the Principal Collector of Malabar, 29th June, 1807, M. Vol. No. 2179, p. 87.

4

Malabar Joint Commissioners report, *op .cit.*, par 248.

did a big business in money changing, sometime with the connivance of revenue the and treasury officers. Government further aggravated this problem by their policy of arbitrarily altering the government rates of exchange⁵ of using current coins, without taking into account of its bazaar rate of exchange. This had negative impact on public revenue, trade and commerce and payment of wages to the troops. In a similar way, the government policy of withdrawing from circulation of certain coins, which were peculiar to Malabar, and remitting them to other places particularly to Bombay as Bullion created scarcity in that particular coin and had artificially enhanced its value in the internal market.

It is interesting to trace the brief history of the introduction of different coins into Malabar. Most of these coins, which were in circulation during the last quarter of the 18th century and early part of the 19th century, were Indian in origin and others were foreign coins issued either by their trading companies or their home government. Some were brought in by free traders who carried extensive direct trade with Malabar. The most significant coins used in Malabar were gold and silver *fanams* of different nomenclature issued by the local and regional rulers of Malabar and the English East India Company at Tellicherry. These *fanams* were mostly for local use and were not generally current in other areas. Gold coins were current south and silver in north Malabar. “*Malabar Fanams*”⁶ were the local coins most prevalent in Malabar. They were both silver and gold. In order to

5

A currency during the period of study had two exchange values. The government received it into the treasury and issued out at rate fixed by the government known as *government rate of exchange*. In the bazaars the *shroffs*(money changers)and traders had fixed a different rate for each currency and known as *bazaar rate of exchange*. The values differ from 2 to 7%.The government rate of exchange was almost static whereas the bazaar rate of exchange had undergone daily fluctuation.

6

Here the researcher used the term *Malabar Fanams* in order to differentiate it from other South Indian *fanams*. It was differently spelled as “*panam*” and *fanam*.According to Graeme the term is Dravidian in origin, which means money in general.(H.S.Graemes, *Glossary of words and phrases relating to land revenues and land tenures in Malabar*.(Madras-1882)pg.8. According to K.P Padmanabha Menon the term *fanam* derived from Sanakrit “*pana*”.Before the arrival of Vasco da Gamma only the Zamorin had got the right to mint coins in Malabar. .K.P.Padmanabha Menon; op cit; Vol. -II,pg.406.In ancient South India there were 16 *fanams* of several denominations. Srinivasa Reghava Iyengar, Ancient South Indian Coinage, *Indian Historical Quarterly*,Vol. 3,No.1, March 1927, p.49.

understand the importance of *fanam* in the Malabar currency system one should have an idea about the nature of coins in circulation in Malabar during the last quarter of the 18th century. *Verary Fanam and Cannannore Fanams* were the most important gold coins of Malabar at the time of Hyder Ali's invasion of Malabar⁷. *Verary Fanam* was issued by the Zamorin at his Calicut mint⁸. The value of *Cannannore gold fanam*⁹ was 4 per Surat rupee and 2 ½ rupee to revenue account *Hoon*¹⁰ of 10 *fanams*. This was largely current in north Malabar and presumed to be issued by the Arakkal Royal family of *Cannannore*. The government received the *Cannannore Fanam* into its treasury at an enhanced value of 3 7/8 *Fanam* per rupee. But 4 *Fanam* was the money changers' rate at which they issued Surat rupees against the *Fanams*¹¹. The *shroffs* received the *verary fanam*, which was later called old *verary fanam* at 3 6/8 per rupee while they paid it to the government at 3 5/8 *fanams* per rupee. Thus the gaining was 1/8 *Fanams* upon each rupee. In this transaction the profit of the *shroffs* was 3-4 % per rupee.¹²

7

The first Malabar Joint Commissioners report, op.cit., para,95

8

The *old Verary* was issued by the Zamorin at his Calicut mint before the Mysore invasion. After the defeat of Tipu ,he resumed the coinage of *verary fanam* from 1790/91 and known as new (gold)*verary fanam* and was 6 grains Tory weight.Logan.op.cit,Vol. No.I.pg.648.But soon the mint was put under the control of the Supervisor of the first Joint Commissioners. First Joint Commissioners report,op.cit.,par. 265.

9

There was no detail information about the *Connannore gold fanam* in the Malabar records. This was coined by the Arakkal Royal family and went out of circulation during the British period.

10

Hoon was an imaginary coin used for the convenience of keeping accounts, Joint Commissioners report,op.cit,para,95. Thomas Warden's Report-1801,op.cit.,pg.10. But it is argued that *Hun* was a Persian corruption of the old Kanarese,which means gold, and hence a Hindu gold coin worth about 8s.(Rs.4); *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. No.XXII.Dharwar (Bombay –1844)p.319. According to J.Smee *Hoon* was an imaginary coin in which the revenue accounts of Malabar used to be kept and was equal to Rs.3. J.Smee:Report on the survey and assessment of Malabar,21stAugust,1799,(Calicut).C. D. Maclean, (Ed); *Glossary of the Madras Presidency*.(First published in 1893), First AES reprint (1982)p.571.

11

Joint Commissioners report, *op. cit.*, Par 96.

12

Ibid. Para. 96 .This was during the re establishment of Hyder's power in Malabar.

The Mysore Sultans during their rule introduced their own coins which were in circulation in Malabar apart from the above *fanams*. It continued in circulation for several years even after their exit from Malabar. After the establishment of Hyder's rule in Malabar, in 1779-80 he ordered that on the one side of the *verary fanam* (H) in Persian should be stamped in allusion to his name and the coin came to be called *Hydree fanam*.¹³ There was no difference in value between the the *Hydree* and *verary fanam*. *Hydree hoon*¹⁴ or *pagodas* were also used during this period and each was equal to 4 rupees or 14 ½ *Hydree/verary Fanams* .But the *shroffs* took 15 *fanams* for one *pagoda/hoon* and 3 6/8 *Hydree Fanam* for one rupee thus fixing their own profit¹⁵.

Tipu Sultan on his accession discontinued the minting of the *Hydree fananam* and *pagoda / hoon* from 1786/87(M.E.962) and introduced *Sultany fanams*¹⁶. But the *Hydree fanams* and *Hoon* continued to circulate and used by the people in their transaction. *The Sultany fanams* very soon lost its value in Malabar and the fall in value to some extent was attributed to the subversion of Tipu's authority in Malabar. The Joint Commissioners had recorded its exchange value to a rupee in different years and is given below:

Year	M.E	Value to a rupee
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¹³

Ibid. Para 97.

¹⁴

The accounts were kept in *Hoons ,fanam, cash and Rea*. *Reas* was an imaginary coin. There was no actual coin of this name. But the term was used in the old Malabar revenue accounts.400 (four hundred) were equal to a rupee. This was introduced by the Bombay administration.Smee,M, Report dated 21st August on the survey and assessment of Malaabr,. Grame's Glossary of words(.12 *pice*= one *anna*,16 *anna*= 1 rupee,3 ½ rupee=I *star pagoda*)

¹⁵

Joint commissioners report ,*op.cit.*,par97

¹⁶

Evidence of Govind Pervani,aBrahmin of Randatarrah, before the First commissioners regarding Arshed Beg's Settlement, dated 10th, May ,1793, M.Vol. No.8759,p.344

1786/87	962	3 1/8 per rupee (12 ½ per <i>sultany hoon</i> of 4 surat rupee) ¹⁷
1787/88	963	3 2/8 per rupee (13 per <i>sultany hoon</i> of 4 surat rupee)
1788/89	964	3 3/8 per rupee (13 ½ per <i>sultany hoon</i> of 4 surat rupee)

This rate of the *sultany Fanam* continued till 1790/91 when Zamorin on restoration introduced a new *verary fanam* from his mint.¹⁸ This *verary fanam* was known as *new verary Fanam* or *new gold fanam* in order to differentiate it from the (old) *verary fanam* issued by Zamorin prior to Hyders's invasion. This ten new *verary fanam* was 1 ½ grain superior touch of metal to the old *verary fanam* apart from being 1/100 superior in weight.¹⁹ In the first year of the introduction of the new *verary fanam* its value was 3 2/8 to a rupee and was considered to be the same value to *sultany fanam*. But in the next year its value fell to 3^{3/8} to a rupee and in 1792/93 the value fell further to 3 ½ per rupee²⁰. Despite its superiority in weight 10½ *verary* was equivalent to 10 *Sultany fanam*. The value of the new *verary fanam* was 10% above that of the old *verary fanam* at the time of its issue and by the end of 1792 the difference was 12%. Several reasons were attributed to the debasement of the new *verary fanam* which will be discussed in due course. The Second Commissioners in 1800A.D reported that the difference between the old *fanam* and new *fanam* was 14.29%. There was one *Sultany Chakram* that was current in Malabar during the Mysore rule and there is not much information about it. However the First Commissioners made occasional reference to it regarding its exchange value. In a letter to the Travancore Resident, the Malabar Commissioners informed him that the actual value of *Sultany*

¹⁷

Joint commissioners report, *op. cit.*: par 97

¹⁸

In that year the Zamorin got the right to mint gold *Fanam* for one year at the Calicut mint from the Company on payment of Rs.15, 000. From next year the Company directly managed the Calicut mint

¹⁹

Ibid., par97

²⁰

Ibid., par.97

chakram was 3 rupees, but usually the people wrongly calculated the other way around, that is 3 *sultany chakram* to one rupee. Very often the Tipu's assessment was in *Sultany chakram*, for example Tipu's officers calculated the revenue of 3 divisions of Palakkad at 48,000 *sultany chakram* and valued by Zamorin's minister at Rs.50,000²¹ .

After the annexation of Malabar in 1792 A.D, the English East India Company brought it under the Bombay Presidency .Hereafter Malabar lost its independent status in overseas external trade, as 80% of its external trade was channeled through Bombay merchants²². The Bombay merchants and their agents on the Malabar Coast virtually monopolized the Malabar trade. The Bombay Presidency's control and Bombay merchants' monopolization of Malabar trade from 1792 led to the introduction of Bombay, Surat and Maratha coins into Malabar. Thereafter Bombay, Surat and Maratha rupee and *pice* (copper) coins were the most acceptable coins in Malabar after the Malabar *fanams*²³. Many European coins were also accepted into the Malabar treasuries but their circulation was mainly confined to big merchant class and money changers. The local Malabaris had no infatuation for those coins and they continued to stick to Malabar *fanams*.

The East India Company issued a new *verary fanam* from its Calicut mint in 1793. This gold *fanam* very soon lost its intrinsic value as discussed below. There was an interesting account of the debasement of this gold *fanam* also known as *verary fanam*²⁴. It

²¹

Letter from the First Commissioners to the Travancore Resident Mr. George Powney , datedt.29th July 1792,M.Vol. No. 1661, p.388.

²²

Mohammed Hussain,.A., M.phil dissertation, "The Trade and Commerce of Malabar during the First Half of the 19th Century". Un published M.Phil dissertation, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University,1978, p.2.

²³

Ibid., p.92.

²⁴

There was no indication how the new *verary fanam* minted by the Zamorin(New gold coin) in 1790-91 was differentiated by the public from the newgold fanam issued by the company from the Calicut mint in 1793.Probably the cutting, shape and the image on the coin could have helped in differentiation of

was reported that the debasement started with the Company's rule. According to Mr. Ewer, it was partly attributed to the commercial ignorance of Dundas and partly to the vested interest of W.G. Farmer, Supervisor and in charge of the Calicut Treasury, and other Company's servants²⁵. This debasement was considered as one of the greatest evils of the Company's rule of Malabar. This could be due to decline in purity, quality of fabrication and appearance and lack of proper control over the minting process. Initially the market value of the *Fanam* was 3 ¼ to a Surat rupee. In September 1793 its value dropped to 3 ½ to a rupee. As a result the revenue, which the Company received in *fanams*, was of less value than it ought to be²⁶. The Company's soldiers were worst hit by this development as it had depreciated their pay²⁷. They were paid according to the old government exchange rate of 3 ¼ gold *fanam* to a rupee whereas its market value was 3½ gold *fanam* to a rupee. This adversely affected the purchasing capacity of the soldiers and they made several representations to their commanding officers about the falling purchasing capacity of *Fanam*. W.G Farmer gave a different explanation for the falling value of new gold *Fanam*. According to this explanation, the Calicut *verary fanam* was current throughout Tipu's territories. After 1792, Tipu was deprived of Malabar and his revenue officers refused to receive this *fanam* except at high discount. And it led to the pouring back of *fanam* to Malabar from Tipu's territories leading to the debasement of *fanams*²⁸. Mr. Ewer also made a study of the debasement of the *fanam*. He demonstrated that 3 *Venetians* were equal in

different gold coins. It seems both of them had the same exchange value.

²⁵

Nightingale, *op cit*, p 98. Ewer was one of the Court of Directors, and attributed the debasement of *new fanam* to one of the greatest evils of the company's rule in Malabar.

²⁶

Second commissioners report, *op.cit.*, p.38.

²⁷

Nightingale ,*op .cit.*, p 98.

²⁸

Ibid., p. 99.

weight to 27 *fanams* or 3 *Venetian* had the same value as 27 *fanams*. But when 3 *Venetians* were equal to Rs.15/, 27 *fanams* were equal to only Rs.7 ½ and in fact it ought to have fetched Rs.15. This could be due to low intrinsic value of gold *fanam*. Mr. Ewer said that the debasement started when Farmer was in charge of the Calicut mint and he derived great benefit from it²⁹. He informed Mr. Henry Dundas that the Accountant General of Bombay, Mr. Henry Fawcet, one of the partners of Bruce Fawcet & Co, had used his position to make profits from the fall in value of *Fanam* and also probably from the difference in government and bazaar rate of exchange. The Bruce Fawcet & Co. was said to have made a profit of at least 10% by sending goods to Madras and remitting the produce of them in *star pagodas* to Malabar. In Malabar there existed a difference in the bazaar rate of exchange of *anam* to rupee and *star pagoda* and the official rate of exchange as explained above. This yielded a handsome profit to the remitter³⁰. Even though it was not discussed by Mr. Ewer the mechanism of the transaction could be like the following. The official rate was 3 ¼ *anam* to a rupee and the bazaar rate was 3 ½ to a rupee. The difference was 7-8%. The Company brought rupee from Madras and exchanged it in the Malabar bazaar at 3 ½ *fanams*. In this way the Bruce Fawcet & co. gained ¼ *fanam* more for every rupee exchanged. With this *fanam* the company took bills on Bombay from the Malabar government treasuries by paying 325 *fanams*(government rate) instead of 350 *fanams*(bazaar rate) for 100 rupees. Thus the profit for 100 rupees are 25 *Fanams* or 7.75 % or roughly 7 ¾ rupees. Out of this a fraction of 1-2% was used for paying the bill commission. Even after that the above Company received a neat profit of 5-6%.

²⁹

Ibid p. 99.

³⁰

Ibid.

Malabar had to pay a heavy price for her commercial proximity with Bombay. With the increase in trade between Bombay and Malabar at the turn of the 18th and 19th Centuries, a large number of coinages of low and shoddy manufacture of Maratha region found its way to Malabar. It was said that the debasement of Malabar *fanam* started with Mr. Dunda's effort to correct the above debasement of Malabar *fanams*. In fact his efforts aggravated the problem and made the condition worse. Dundas purchased, at a low price, a large number of rupees at Bombay and sent them down to Malabar where they were circulated at a nominal price far above their real value. This action of Dundas had far reaching and adverse impact in Malabar for a long time. This was followed by the Bombay merchants who, in order to make profit, sent ocean of Bombay and Marathi rupees to Malabar.³¹ It was said that Maratha Deccan region was studded with mints which produced coins and the mints were without any effective control³². A large number of fake and counterfeit rupees found their place in these consignments and flooded Malabar with this counterfeit Marathi rupee. It was reported in 1797 that Malabar was full of Bombay and Marathi rupees and a large number of them were fake and current in Malabar³³. The debasement of the Malabar *Fanam* and the flooding of Malabar with fake Bombay and Marathi rupees was the contribution of the Bombay administration to Malabar. This affected the earning and savings of the Malabar people who were not in a position to identify the original rupee from the fake. This was corroborated by the Second Malabar Commissioners who in 1799 reported that Malabar was flooded with fake Bombay and

³¹

Ibid ;p .99. In Malabar these Marathi rupees were known by the name-Ukkeri, Thuttu, and chanthodi. Letter from Malabar Commissioners to Kadathanad Raja -1st, June, 1799. (*Kadathanad Records*, Manuscript No.65, Kept in the Department .of History ,Calicut University).

³²

Frank.P., *op.cit.*, p.356.

³³

Letter from the Kadathanad Raja, Udaya Varma to the northern division sub-Collector, Tellicherry. June, 1797. Kadathanad Records, No.60.

Marathi rupees. The Commissioners warned that it should be prohibited immediately or would cause heavy loss to the people of Malabar³⁴. In 1798/99 the Kadathanad Raja ,Poladry Udaya Varma, complained to the Second Commissioners that only *Thuttu Rupia* of Maratha country was available in Malabar and when the revenue was paid in that currency the government treasury rejected it³⁵. There was even a scarcity of the *Thuttu rupia* and the people were suffering .The Raja asked the Malabar administration to take action immediately. The people of Malabar were again affected by the fake Bombay and Maratha rupee in 1830's. Due to Malabar's extensive trade with Bombay, the Bombay rupee was the most extensive coin used in circulation in Malabar after the *fanams* and unfortunately most of them were counterfeit. It was not easy for the Malabaris to differentiate the original and fake coins which they received for their produce. Very often they came to know about it only during the payment of taxes. Apart from the fake Bombay and Marathi rupee, in the North Malabar there was a large number of fake government silver coins, which were struck by the Cotiote (Kottayam) rebel, Pyche (Pazhazi) Raja. It was reported that the fake silver coin was so abundant that scarcely any other coin was to be seen north-ward³⁶. In 1819 the Principal Collector of Malabar reported to the Board of Revenue that these fake silver coins of Pazhazi Raja along with the late fake coins of Tipu's rupees and fake Marathi and Bombay rupee had done serious injury to the commerce of Malabar³⁷. By the end of the 18th century in Malabar only Bombay rupee, next to Malabar *fanams*, dominated the

³⁴

Kadathanad records (Manuscript)No.65,*op.cit.*,

³⁵

The Kadathanad Raja UdayVarma's letter to Mr. James Stevens, northern division Collector , Tellicherry, about the non availability of good currency in Malabar, dated, 12th May,1799 A.D. Kadathanad Records.No.66.(Manuscripts, Dept..of History ,Calicut university)

³⁶

B. Hodgson, *Report on Connanore and Cheracul*. 1801, (Calicut) P.59.

³⁷

Letter from the Collector of Malabar to the BOR,27th September,1819,Vol. No.2833, pp.8-9.

circulation and no other coin was to be seen. This was partly due to Malabar's extensive trade with Bombay and partly due to the non-availability of Malabar *Fanams* especially the gold coin. Malabar collector in his revenue settlement report of 1824/25 stated that Malabar was once again flooded with counterfeit and defective coins called *Chapee, Soolakee and Grabee*, the coinage of Bombay mint. These coins were drilled and filled with lead which even the experienced *shroffs* failed to detect. The Bombay treasury rejected these coins even for the least flow, even though it was the acknowledged coin of their own mint, and returned to Malabar. Finally the Bombay government agreed to accept this coin except that it was filled with lead at a discount of 3%³⁸. This was an injustice imposed on the hapless people of Malabar especially the ignorant *ryots* and petty traders who had experienced untold sufferings and loss. All the loss was suffered by the people of Malabar and the Collector said that the Government could not be expected to take upon themselves the loss³⁹. For every Surat rupee exchanged or remitted the Malabar people suffered a loss of 3%. The Collector kept a regular account of every sum thus paid with the name of the individual who paid. He did so in the hope that one day as an act of justice the government would reimburse the additional amount paid by the people for no fault of theirs. Again there was complaint about the fake Bombay rupees flooding the Malabar province in 1838. The Malabar Principal Collector in a letter to the Accountant General of the Madras presidency, Fort St. George complained about the poor quality of the Bombay rupee or commonly called Surat rupee and the presence of a large number of fake currencies in Malabar⁴⁰.

³⁸

Revenue settlement report of Malabar for the fusly 1234(1824/25) sent to the Board of Revenue Fort St. George, M, Vol. 4805, p.316.

³⁹

Ibid., p.319.

⁴⁰

Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar to the Accountant General, Fort St. George, 9th November, 1838, M. Vol. No.8345, P.19.

In Malabar the land and other taxes were assessed and paid by the public in gold coin. The minting of the gold coin was stopped in 1796. The growing population, increasing trade, expanding markets and improving economic activities needed more gold coins which were the favourite coin of Malabar people. But its supply and availability did not keep pace with the demand resulting in people turning to the Bombay rupees, but to their misfortune these were mostly fake coins.

In Malabar during the last decade of the 18th century there were both silver and gold *fanams*. The gold *fanams* were the old *verary* and new *verary fanams*. Very often this *fanams* were simply denoted only as old and new gold *fanams*. In the southern division of Malabar it was the gold *fanam* that were generally current and in which the revenue settlement was made and the revenue was paid⁴¹. In the northern division of Malabar silver (Tellicherry⁴²) *fanam* was more in circulation and was used by the ryots for paying their taxes⁴³. But the revenue department reported that *verary fanam* was currently used in Malabar and in which revenues were paid and *Juma (assessment)* was framed⁴⁴. Both gold and silver *fanams* contained considerable alloys. In the gold *fanams* silver and copper were used as alloys and in silver *Fanam* copper was used as alloy⁴⁵. It is not clear how the distinction between the old and new *fanam* was made. In 1801 it was reported that there was no mint in Malabar and the coinage of New gold *fanam*, 3 ½ to a rupee, was discontinued in

⁴¹

Wye.J,*op.cit.*, p.20.

⁴²

The *Tellicherry fanam* and *Silver fanam* were one and the same and issued by the East India Company's factory at Tellicherry.

⁴³

Starchy's Report on the northern division of Malabar ,1801,(Calicut-1908)p.45., Buchanan,*op.cit.*,p.539.

⁴⁴

General Report dated.15th February,1808, Vol. No.14, p.158.

⁴⁵

W. Wilburn, *Oriental Commerce*, London , 1815, p.32.

1796⁴⁶. The value of the Malabar *fanams* remained unaltered throughout the first half of the 19th century and 3 ½ new gold *fanams* constituted one rupee and 4 old gold *fanam* made one rupee. 5 silver *fanams* were equivalent to one rupee. One silver *fanam* was equivalent to 10 *fanams*(*Madras Fanam*). 3 ½ rupees were equivalent to one *star pagoda*. The old verary *fanam* was equivalent to 4 *annas* and one new verary *fanam* was equivalent to 4 *annas* and 3 pies. Three *annas* and 3 pies made one silver *Fanam*⁴⁷. These *annas* and pies were issued from the Madras mint.

In Malabar there was a large number of coins of lower denominations. Abundance of small coins was considered to create problem for the administration and also for the people. There were Bombay copper *pice*, 12 ½ *pice* to one old gold *Fanam* and 14 ½ *pice* to one new gold *Fanam*. Ten Bombay *pice* were equivalent to one silver *fanam*⁴⁸. In Tellicherry during the first decade of the 19th Century there were 2 copper coins called *tar* and *pice*. Two *tars* were equivalent to one *pice* and 10 *pice* constituted one silver *fanam*⁴⁹. 5 silver *fanam* constituted one Bombay/Surat /Arcot rupee. In Calicut 16 silver *tars* constituted one gold *fanam*. Both copper *pice* and *tars* were coined in England. After Malabar *fanams*, the Bombay copper and Bombay *pice* were the most accepted coin current in Malabar at the rate of 50 to a rupee. Wilburn reported that during the first decade of the 19th century in Tellicherry ,there were two kinds of *fanams*. One was a small gold coin with considerable copper and silver alloy and other a silver coin⁵⁰. Milburn reported that even

⁴⁶ B. ORP, 5th March, 1801, Vol. No. 2276, p. 2593.

⁴⁷

Spencer. J. Smee and A. Walker' *Report on the Administration of Malabar* (Second commissioner's report) 1801, Calicut, 1910 p. 37. Logan, *op.cit.*: Vol. No. I, p. 673.

⁴⁸

Second Commissioners report, *op.cit.*, p. 38, K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *op.cit.*, Vol. No. II, p. 407.

⁴⁹

W. Milburn, *op.cit.*, p. 322. According to Buchanan it was *Tarrum*, Buchanan, *op.cit.*, p. 540.

⁵⁰

Ibid., p. 323. This gold coin could be the *Connannore* gold coin mentioned in the first Joint commissioners

though in the official rate of exchange, 350 rupees was equivalent to 100 *star pagoda*, while buying goods in Malabar 450 rupees needed for 100 *star pagoda*⁵¹. However the researcher did not come across any such information pertaining to *Star pagoda* rupee exchange value.

In the Palakkad region of the Malabar district the most acceptable coin was *Palakkad Kass*. It was a copper coin of small denomination. The right to mint the coin was auctioned every year and was given to the highest bidder. In 1801 it was given for Rs.2700⁵². The *Kass* was issued in the beginning of the Malabar month of *Chingom* (August/September) and its value was 22 *Kass* to the verary *fanam*⁵³. The person farming the coinage fixed his own particular stamp on the coin. The value of the *Kass* to the *Fanam* at this rate existed till the month of *Makarom* (January/February). In that month there was a fair in which people disposed of their *Kass* at the rate of 24 *Kass* to the *fanam*. The rate of the *Kass* would after the conclusion of the fair sale or exchange further fall in another fair and pass for 26 or 28 *Kass* to the *fanam*. After the conclusion of the fair, the sale or exchange of this *Kass* became free and common to all and the new and old *Kass* indiscriminately passed at one and the same rate⁵⁴. According to Buchanan the value of the *Kass* in relation to the *fanam* was 40th part of the *Fanam* towards the end of the year⁵⁵.

report (No.6&7), and probably minted by the Arakkal Royal family of *Connannore*. There was no later mention of this gold coin in Malabar records.

51

Wilburn, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

52

Warden. T. Report of 1801, *op. cit.*, P.11.

53

Verary fanam here mentioned must be new *fanam* as Buchanan had reported that only new *fanam* was current in the Palakkad region. Buchanan, *op. cit.*, P.345.

54

Warden, T.1801 Report, *op. cit.*, P.12. During the period from *chingam* to *Kumbam* (7 months) every person wishing to exchange *fanam* in the bazaar was required to receive it from the farmer at the *Kass* at which his *Kass* might be current at that time. The new farmer usually bought the *Kass* of the old farmer at rate of 150 old to 100 new gold *fanam*, and he is liberty to take it wherever he can find them passing in the Malabar bazaar's. The old *Kass* he either re-coins a new- or reserves them till the month of *kumbom*, when new and old passing without distinction

55

Buchanan, *op. cit.*, P.353.

Thomas Warden in 1803 gave the exchange rate of silver *Fanam* and Palakkad *Kass*⁵⁶

Tellicherry silver *Fanam* 17 ½ = 1 *star pagoda*

Palakkad copper *cash* 490 = 1 *star pagoda*

42 Madras *Fanams* = 1 *Ikery pagoda*⁵⁷ or *star pagoda*⁵⁸

H.S. Graeme in 1822 reported that there were large numbers of small coins in Malabar than were necessary. Many of them looked similar to each other in appearances but differed in value. Only experienced people (merchants and *Shroffs*) could differentiate them. Many of the coins were not received into the treasury. People from the lower strata of the society like cultivators, petty traders and agricultural laborers were subjected to great deal of fraud by money changers and tax collectors⁵⁹. A common inhabitant or a tenant receiving a coin in the course of the sale of his produce found that coin was not received in the treasury. Then he was forced to change it with *Shroffs*, at a loss, for some other coins which were accepted by the treasury⁶⁰. Mr .I. Vaughan, the Principal Collector suggested to withdraw these coins and to impress them with same stamp fixing a value. Graeme's recorded that there was little objection to the introduction of Madras rupees, *fanam* and *cash*. Apart from this, there were 10 numbers of silver *fanams* in circulation in Malabar during early 1840's. They were

⁵⁶

T. Warden's letter to the BOR dated 4th November, 1803, M.Vol. No. 2233,p.12.

⁵⁷

Ikery was the old name for Bednore and the *Ikery pagoda* was valued at 4 rupees.M.Vol.No.1666-B, p.418.

⁵⁸

In the Madras Presidency 80 *cash* constituted one (Madras) *Fanam* ,and 42 *Fanam* was equivalent to 3 ½ rupee =one *star pagoda*. East India company and other companies kept 12 (Madras) *Fanams* to one rupee But the natives took 12 *Fanams* and 60 *cash* to a rupee and 44 *Fanams* and 50*cash* for a *star pagoda*. The bazaar rate of *Star pagoda* fluctuated between 35 to 45 *Fanams* .The *star pagoda* was a gold coin

⁵⁹

Graeme's report on Malabar, op. cit., 1822, par.1344.

⁶⁰

Ibid., par.1344.

1. Old Tellicherry *fanams* (coined in 1799),
2. New Tellicherry *fanams* (coined in 1805),
3. Pyche silver *fanams* (minted by Pyche Raja),
4. Cannannore *fanams* (Arakkal Royal family),
5. Pondicherry *fanams*,
6. Old Bombay *fanams*,
7. Bombay *fanams* (of subsequent coinage),
8. Danish *fanams* (Another coinage),
9. Danish *fanams* (of different period),
10. Danish *fanams* (Again of different period).

No specific period was given for the Danish *fanams*. Out of the silver *fanams*, new Tellicherry, Cannannore and old Bombay silver *fanams* were the description of *fanams* most in circulation in Malabar. The others were very rare specially no.5, 8, &9⁶¹. This information revealed that in the 1840's, silver *fanams* coined in 1799 and in 1805 were still in circulation, showing how Malabaris continued to show their infatuation for silver *fanams* coined almost 40 years back. The scholar has not come across any information about the silver *fanams* that were minted after 1805. The exchange rate of old and new gold *fanam* did not undergo any change even in 1819

It was reported that the foreigners no longer found it profitable to bring their merchandize to Malabar market so long as the coin in which they were paid was inferior in quality and many of them were fake. Likewise the commanders of the ships, who did not want goods in return for their cargo, would not accept Malabar *fanams*⁶². Malabar's trade with the Coramandel coast, northern parts of India, Persia, Arabia, China, and Europe was

⁶¹ 61

⁶² Ibid; par1346.

⁶²

Wye, J .W., *op.cit.*, p,20.

all paid in cash for their commercial transaction. But the case with Canara specially was different as Malabar imported more than what it had exported to Canara. For this, remittance was made in coins which were current in Malabar and Canara. Because of the latter's proximity, most of the regional coins current in Malabar and Canara were almost the same. But Malabar's trade with Bengal was unfavorable, particularly during the last decade of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century. Malabar imported more than what it had exported to Bengal. Since the coins current in Malabar were not acceptable in Bengal, there arose the problem of remittance. It was reported that money could be remitted only at a loss of 8-10% which formed the profit of the *Shroffs* and the wealthy men, who arbitrarily fixed a value on the Malabar coins and the commission on the bills⁶³. This was an impediment to Malabar's trade with Bengal.

This topic is taken here for study as this can be considered as a vital point for discussion in the present study. The District Collectors of Malabar had given information about the exploitation of peasants by the revenue officers and *shroffs* in the payment of land tax in gold *fanams* and the big illegal business carried over by the revenue officers and treasury *shroffs*. In 1819 the District Collector reported that out of five species of new gold *fanams* only three were received in the treasury and two were rejected. The appearance of these coins and the mark on it were so much alike that only experienced *shroffs* could distinguish them⁶⁴. The ignorant were easily cheated by the *shroffs* who only knew the relative value of these coins. The *parbuthies* (Village officers) from experience could differentiate them. Poor *ryots* who were ignorant and incapable of differentiating the coins were exploited by the revenue officers and money changers. These *ryots* were very often

⁶³

Joint Commissioner's report, *op.cit.*,p..248.

⁶⁴ Letter from the Collector of Malabar to the Board of revenue,BORP, 27th-September, 1819,Vol. . 833,p.8411, par. 8-9.

obliged to pay from 1 to 8 percent above the land tax.⁶⁵ For example, a *ryot* when sold his produce got 100 *fanams*. But the *parbuthy* refused to take the *fanam* on revenue payment saying that these *fanams* were of 2nd or 3rd sort and then fix a value 7 or 8% below its actual value. Apart from this, he demanded a premium for passing this *fanam* to the treasury. The *ryot* was unable to find new *fanam* or in doing that again he would be subject to additional imposition, and would pay the premium⁶⁶. The above receivable three coins had different values. The collector reported that the first sort *fanam* seldom reach the treasury as it was shared between the *parbuthy* and taluq *cutchery* officers. The revenue officers would in connivance with the treasury *Shroffs* used to push inferior coins into the Company's treasuries⁶⁷. The silver *fanam* was counterfeited which affected its value. The impression on them was very coarse and was easily counterfeited. In the neighboring Canara 5 ½ *fanam* was equivalent to one rupee instead of usual 5 *Fanams*. The Collector informed the BOR that the rejection of Bombay currency would be harmful to the interest of Malabar as it had extensive trade with Bombay⁶⁸. The peasants were also exploited by the merchants when their produce were sold or when the merchants advanced money to the peasants (putting out/ advancing system) for their produce like pepper, coconut and other *spices*. When the merchants advanced money to the peasants for their produce, they usually benefited in two ways, (1) by arbitrarily fixing a value for the coin in which the payment was made (2) By getting the produce at a cheaper price due to putting out system (advance payment).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, par.10.

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⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, par.12.

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⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, par 13.

⁶⁸

Ibid., par.14.

The *Shroffs* played a very important role in the currency system of Malabar due to large number of coins and its varying and fluctuating rates of exchange. They earned enormous profit in money changing and trade in currency mainly by manipulation. The government rate of exchange was not acceptable to the *Shroffs* and they fixed their own market value on each of the currencies based on very complicated calculation which was very often based on the intrinsic value of the currency. Peasants, ordinary people and petty traders never understood the mechanism involved in fixing the value of coins and simply paid what the *Shroffs* demanded. They fixed a premium on coins which were in high demand and exchanged certain other coins, which were not in demand, at a discount. Perhaps no other establishment played such an important role in the economic activities of a region, in its trade and commerce and day to day activities of its people as that of the *shroffs*. In Malabar there were several types of gold *fanam*, which the ordinary people could not differentiate and their ignorance were exploited by the *Shroffs*. Presence of large number of fake coins was a blessing in disguise for the *Shroffs* as exchanging it was another source of income for the *shroffs*. Most of the *Shroffs* of Malabar were from the *Chetty* community, followed by the Konkan Brahmins and few Gujarathis. The government appointed *shroffs* in the district and taluq treasuries for testing the currencies and fixing its value. Very often they join hands with the revenue officers in fixing an arbitrary rate for the currency in which the peasants paid their revenue. The multiplicity of gold *fanams* and other gold coins in Malabar provided ample opportunities for the *shroffs* to exploit not only the ignorant *ryots* and common man but also the government itself. Further, this reflects the magnitude of problems created in the economic life of Malabar by numerous coins of different intrinsic value. Petition from one of the former *shroffs* of the Calicut treasury to the BOR throws light on the activities of the *shroffs* and the abuses that was going on in that treasury. Apart from the taluq and village officers, the *Shroffs* employed in the district

treasuries were also involved in cornering good quantity of gold coins by substituting them with inferior coins. It had been alleged by one Madur Boodam Chetty, the former *shroff* and inhabitant of Calicut, Bisram Singh, the present *shroff* of Calicut treasury had great influence over the Principal Collector of the district. The *shroff* very often misused this influence. It was alleged that Bisram Singh took for himself the good gold coins coming from the revenue collection.⁶⁹ He paid the *Malikana* (pension) of the Rajas in other inferior coins. In this way he got a profit of about Rs.2,000 per annum. Bisram calculated that the *shroff* annually earned a profit of 15 to 16 thousand rupees by indulging in the above malpractices⁷⁰

In Malabar, apart from the gold and silver *fanams*, Bombay rupees and Bombay copper *pices*, there were several other gold and silver currencies of other regions in circulation which were accepted in the treasuries. They were the *Hydree*, and *Sultany*⁷¹, *Ikery fanams*: and several other gold, silver and copper coins⁷². The gold coins were *Ikery*, *Bahadry*, *Sultany*, *Ahamada*, *Portonovo* and *star pagodas*, *Venetians*, headed *Venetians*, old and new *verary Fanam*, old and new Bombay *Mohur*, *Inoidores* or gold plates, *Anundry* and *Inahoned Shaur Inade*. Silver coins were Spanish dollars, Company rupee, *Chellavary*

⁶⁹ Petition from Madur Boodam Chetty, former *shroff* of Calicut, to the BOR, Fort. St. George, M. Vol. No. 2269, p. 185.

⁷⁰

Ibid., p. 186.

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During Hyder's conquest, about the year 1774, there were two gold fanams only. (1) *Cannannore* and (2) *Verary fanam*. When Hyder's government had been established he ordered that *Verary fanam* should be stamped on one side 'H' in Persian letter and be called *Hydree fanam*, although not different in value. After Hyder's death Tipu ordered in 1786/1787 the coinage of *Hydree fanam*, and the discontinuance of *pagodas*, thereafter introducing *Sultany pagodas* and fanams- 3-1/8 to a rupee or 12 1/2 to a *Sultany Hoon* or *pagoda*. (Second Commissioner's Report, op. cit., P. 38) Logan, op. cit., Vol. No. I, P. 648.

⁷²

Letter from the Mint-Master, Fort St. George to the Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 29, June 1807, M. Vol. 2179. P. 87.

and Arcot rupee⁷³, *Inadar* single rupee and silver *fanams*. Copper coins were Bombay copper *pice* and Palakkad copper *Kass*. Fifty Bombay copper *pices* =1 rupee. 140 Palakkad *Kass* was equal to one rupee. Surat, Company and Pondicherry rupee got the same value and silver in make.

As early as 1807 the Accountant General of the Madras Presidency had complained to the Malabar Collector that Malabar had too large a number of coins in circulation and that it should be reduced. Accordingly the government by a Proclamation ordered that *Ikery*, *Venetians*, *Headed Venetians*, *Inahoned Shaur Inader*, gold coins and Spanish dollars, Pondicherry rupees, *Chellawary* and *Arcot rupees* of silver would be considered to have ceased and they would neither be issued from nor received into any of the Public treasuries after 20th ,November ,1807⁷⁴. But from Mr. Clementon's report it appears that around 1839 AD a good number of above gold coins, which were withdrawn from circulation had continued to circulate in Malabar⁷⁵ even though they were not accepted in the treasuries. This clearly demonstrated, that even if the British India government did not accept certain coins in to the treasury, they continued to be used by merchants, shopkeepers and common people in their commercial transactions.

The government policy of withdrawing certain coins from circulation particularly in Malabar, created problem in the payment of taxes and in the payment of wages to the troops. The Tellicherry rupee was withdrawn from circulation in Malabar in

⁷³ Edgar Thurston, *History of the coinage of the territories of the East India Company in the Indian peninsula*. (Madras 1870), P.36. According to Thurston ,Arcot rupee was issued from Arcot by the English Company and by the French at Pondicherry. The former was current for 30 strivers and the latter was 1-3% better than the former. Arcot rupee was a silver coin, later coined at Fort.St.George, and weighed about 176.4 grains and contained 166.477 grains of fine silver. Its sterling value was 23 ¼ d. It was divided into 16 *annas* or 192 *pies* like other rupees.

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From the diary of Commercial Resident, dated 30th, October 1807, M.Vol,2136, Treaties and engagements –XX, op; cit., Part II, CCLXIII, P.377.

⁷⁵

P. Clementson, *op .cit.*, p..28

1807⁷⁶. Since it was withdrawn from circulation of the district without informing the Military paymaster great inconvenience was felt by the troops, and the paymaster was left with a large sum of Tellicherry rupees⁷⁷. Remitting coins current in Malabar to other places artificially enhanced the value of the coin. The same difficulty was experienced when *Chelwany (Chellavary)* rupee was withdrawn from circulation without informing the Commanding officer of the troops of Malabar and Canara⁷⁸. When a coin is withdrawn from circulation then it would not be accepted and issued out of treasury, where as it would be current in the market. Withdrawal from circulation would not artificially enhance a coin value while scarcity or high demand of a coin would enhance its value. The old gold *Fanam* was prohibited from circulation in Malabar from December 1838 by the order of the Accountant General of Fort St.George⁷⁹. Within 7 months of this act 21,528 Spanish dollars of the value of about Rs.47,274 and 3,98,616 old gold *fanams* valuing Rs.99,654 had been accumulated in the Malabar treasuries. The withholding of old gold *Fanam* acted prejudicially in Malabar in two ways. It kept locked a part of the circulating capital, peculiar to the district and gradually rendered the new gold *fanam* in current in Malabar. By 1838 there were about 3,12,137 old gold *fanams* of the value Rs.89182 was lying in the treasury⁸⁰. Similarly the stoppage of issuing of the old Bombay copper *pice* from the Malabar treasuries, which was the only component of silver *fanam*, adversely affected the

⁷⁶ .

This Tellicherry rupee could have been issued by the English East India Company from the Tellicherry factory. M.Vol. No. 2178, p.130.

⁷⁷ .

Extract from the minutes of the Governor in Council in the Military Department. March 1807, M.,Vol. . 2178, P.131.

⁷⁸

Letter from Torbes, Commanding in Malabar and Canara to the Military Secretary dated 23rd. August 1807, M,Vol,2178, p.132.

⁷⁹

Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar to the Accountant General dated 8th; August, 1839.M, Vol. .8347, p.19.

⁸⁰

Ibid., p.328

value of the silver *fanam* current in Malabar⁸¹. The silver *fanam* after the withdrawal was only received in the bazaar, in payment of articles purchased, at 9 ½ old *pices*, whereas the established rate was 10 *pices*. This involved a loss of 5% in a rupee. This severely affected the poor people⁸².

Even before the above order of the Accountant General of the Madras presidency in 1838, the government treasuries in Malabar in 1824/25 refused to receive gold *fanams* in the payment of taxes. The Malabar Collector in his revenue report of 1824/25 had reported that with great difficulty he was able to persuade the government and revenue treasuries of Malabar to accept the gold coins of Malabar, which were arbitrarily rejected during the payment of revenue without assigning any reason. According to the Assay master these coins were of intrinsic value superior to many coins received by the treasuries and *shroffs*⁸³. No one was able to give a satisfactory reason for this rejection of gold *fanams*. Once again gold *fanam* was accepted by the treasuries and *shroffs*.

P. Clementon, the Principal Collector of Malabar in 1838 reported that in consequence of the scarcity of the gold coin the price of gold had gone up by 8-9% above what existed in 1806. The price of silver started to drip down by 5% until the assimilation of currency in 1835⁸⁴. Silver in bullion was taken to Coimbatore and other eastern districts and sold there for Company's rupees (old Madras currency). This coin was in great demand for

81

The Bombay copper *pice* was withdrawn by the order of the Accountant General of Fort St. George. Letter from the Malabar Principal Collector to the Accountant General, January, 1838, M, Vol. .8343 P.93.

82

Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar to the Accountant General,, Fort St.George, 9th ,November, 1838, M.Vol. No. 8345, p.19.

83

Revenue settlement report from the Collector of Malabar for the fusly 1234(1824/25) to the Board of Revenue, M.Vol. No.4805, p. 316.

84

P.Clementson's report.*op.cit.*,para. 26.

the purchase of cloth. Mr. Clementson had reported that the currency of Malabar had not undergone any change. The coins peculiar to the district and its value corresponding to Bombay rupee did not undergo any change.

New or veraroy gold <i>Fanam</i> 3 ½	=	1 Rupee
4 old gold <i>Fanam</i>	=	1 Rupee
5 silver <i>Fanam</i>	=	1 Rupee
50 Bombay copper <i>pice</i>	=	1 Rupee
10 Bombay copper <i>pice</i>	=	1 silver fanam

It is reported that around 1825 a *great deal of gold coin such as old and new gold mohurs bahadry and sultany, Ikeri and Venetians* were in circulation in Malabar with the following exchange rate.

1 Old Gold Mohur	=	16rupees.
1 New Gold Mohur	=	15 Rs.
1 <i>Bahadry,Sultany,Ikery pagods</i>	=	4 1/8 Rs
1 Venetians	=	5 Rs.

In 1838 M.Clementson reported that most of the above coins had disappeared and available few could be procurable against a premium only. In 1830 gold *mohurs* worth ten lakh of rupees were shipped from Malabar to Bombay. Clementson reported that disappearance of this gold coin did not adversely affect the resources of the country. The introduction of Company's rupees (whole-half and quarter) in 1835 had eased the situation⁸⁵.

The Bombay Government withdrew old copper *pice* and substituted it with new copper *Pice* of the same value. Fifty old and new Bombay copper *pice* were equal to one rupee, and this was the copper in general circulation in Malabar. Apart from this there

⁸⁵

Ibid., para.27.

was the copper *Kass* of Palakkad (Palakkad *Kass*) 112 of which were equal to one rupee. Bombay *pice* was entailing a loss of 2 Bombay *pice* upon exchange with each rupee. In 1838 then Principal Collector Mr. Clementson said that the withdrawal of old Bombay copper *pice* would be harmful to the *ryots* as they still had large amount of it with them. Moreover the re-coining of old Bombay copper coin into new would cause heavy loss to the government⁸⁶. The recall of old Bombay *pice*, which was to be replaced by half and quarter *anna* and *pice* did not satisfy the Malabar people⁸⁷

STATEMENT SHOWING THE RATE OF EXCHANGE OF NEW COPPER COIN

AT THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS OF MALABAR IN A.D.1838 IN BUYING &SELLING A RUPEE⁸⁸

	Palakkad		Kootanad		Calicut		Tellicherry		Cannannore	
	Buying	Selling	Buying	Selling	Buying	Selling	Buying	Selling	Buying	Selling
1/4 Anna	32- 0	32 -0	32 -1	32 -0	32 -0	31 -9	32 -3	32 -0	32 -0	32 -0
1/2 Anna	64 -1	64 -0	64 -1	64 -0	64 -0	63 -1	64 -6	64- 0	64 -0	64 -0
One rupee	0- 193	0-192	0 -193	0-192	0- 192	0 -190	0-194	0-192	0 -192	0 -192

Travancore Chakram was not acceptable to the people of Malabar. The silver in the *Chakram* was inferior. The bazaar exchange rate for *chakram* was 1 Company rupee = 29 ¼ to 29 ½ *chakram*. But the official exchange rate was 28 ½ *chakram* to one rupee⁸⁹.

The Madras Presidency government tried to reform the currency system for a long time since the introduction of Rupee *anna pice* which replaced *star pagoda –fannam-*

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Letter from P.Clementson to the Deputy Accountant general fortSt.George, 30th August 1838,M..Vol. . 7137, p.152.

⁸⁷

Clementson report., *op.cit.*, para-28.

⁸⁸

1-Letter from Mr.P.Clementson, Collector of Malabar, to the Board of Revenuedated.11th,November A.D.1838,M,Vol. 7137, p.242.

⁸⁹

Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar to BOR dated 4th January, 1840, M.Vol. No.7139, p.4.

cash. But the Malabaris had special infatuation for Malabar *fanams* and next to that they struck to Bombay currency of Bombay rupee and copper *pice*. H.V .Connolly, the District Collector of Malabar had reported in July 1843 that the local coins of Malabar were the subject of much correspondence between the Malabar Collectors and the authorities at the presidency⁹⁰. He referred to a letter addressed to the Accountant General of the Madras presidency under date 7th ,August, 1827 A.D. by then Principal Collector of Malabar; Mr. Sheffield. This letter gave a detailed account of Malabar's local currency. It was shown in that letter that the revenue settlement of the district was originally made in gold *Fanams*, which afterwards was converted to rupee at 3 ½ new gold *Fanams* and 4 old gold *Fanams* per rupee⁹¹. It was at these rates they had been received in and issued out of treasuries for a number of years. Mr. Sheffield forcibly recommended the necessity of allowing the continuance of these local coins and the impracticability of withdrawing them with out heavy loss to the Government in re-coining them. Mr. Conolly in 1843 endorsed the view taken by Mr. Sheffield in 1827.A.D. and pleaded that if the Government wanted to replace the *Fanams*, with Company rupees and *annas* it should be done gradually. In such an event he wanted his treasury should be supplied with large quantities of double and single *annas* otherwise the want of small silver coin would be felt by the public. In December 1843, in reply to the Accountant General's letter dt.31st October 1843, Mr.Conolly , the principal Collector of Malabar stated that as per the Accountant General's above mentioned letter, he would discontinue the issue of old and new gold *Fanams* as soon as he received small silver coins (*Annas*) for one lakh rupees which was remitted through the ship H.B. "*Thalia*"⁹².

⁹⁰

Letter from Mr .H. V. Connolly, Principal Collector of Malabar to the Accountant General, Madras Presidency ,dated 13th July,1843, M.Vol,7142, p.182.

⁹¹

Ibid., p.183.

⁹²

Ibid., p.184.

Further replying to a query the Collector had provided the value of the average annual silver and gold coins received into his Calicut treasury for the three years 1836/37, 1837/38, 1838/39, as follows:

New Gold <i>fanams</i>	Rs. 3,90,000 ⁹³
Old Gold <i>fanams</i>	Rs. 11,000
Silver <i>fanams</i>	Rs. 2,95,000

Total	Rs.6, 96,000

The above figures demonstrate that new gold *Fanam* was the most accepted and current coin in Malabar followed by silver *Fanam* in the late 1830's and the old gold *Fanam* was on the phase out stage. The Collector in the same letter estimated that one fourth of the above amount or Rs.1,74,000/ was in circulation and eight times as much or say 12 to 15 lakhs of rupees be fairly estimated as the value of local coins in possession of the Rajas and others in the district. Out of this 2/3rd might be in new gold *fanams* and nearly the whole of the remaining third was in silver *fanams*⁹⁴. The gold *fanams* in circulation in Malabar during 1830's were coined on or before 1796 and silver *fanams* coined on or before 1805 as there was no mention about the minting of these coins after the above years. The government policy of sending the gold coins to Bombay and the natives' act of melting this gold coin created scarcity for gold coins in Malabar in the 1840's.

93

Letter from Mr. Connolly, District Collector of Malabar dated 27th, July, 1843, to the Accountant General of the Madras Presidency, M, Vol. 7142, p.294.

94

Ibid., p.295.

From the beginning of the 1840's there appeared scarcity of gold coins in Malabar. The Principal Collector reported that a large portion of the gold *fanams* had been melted down leading to the scarcity of the gold coin in Malabar around 1843 .A.D.⁹⁵. It was reported that the gold coin had become so rare that it bore a premium of from 6 to 10%, according to the relative intrinsic value of the *fanam*⁹⁶. It was not clear whether the increase in price of gold led to the melting down of gold coins by the public and the *shroffs*, which subsequently led to the scarcity in gold coins or an increase in consumption of gold by an increasing population led to the melting of gold coin and scarcity in it. It was around this period the government had decided to withdraw gold coin from circulation. And also there was considerable remittance of gold and silver *Fanam* to Bombay in the early 1840's without corresponding remittance back to Malabar. Gold *Fanam* had become so rare in circulation that its remittance into the treasury was as poor as shown below

Remittance of gold *Fanam* into the Malabar treasuries in⁹⁷

Fusly 1249 (1839/40)	Rs. 25,605
Fusly 1250 (1840/41)	Rs. 6,591
Fusly 1251 (1841/42)	Rs. 662

Total	Rs. 32,858
Average	Rs. 10,952

By every year the remittance of gold coin into the treasury was shrinking as demonstrated from the above table. The availability of gold coins in the treasury in 1843

⁹⁵

Ibi., p.295.

⁹⁶

Ibid., p.296.

⁹⁷

A.D was only Rs.715. Thus gold coin was disappearing from circulation from the beginning of 1840's and it could be attributed to the above mentioned factors. The remittance of gold *fanam* in to the Tellicherry treasury by the end of 1830's was very trifling showing that the circulation of gold *fanam* had become very negligible in north Malabar by that period. In 1837 there were only 3 *Sultany pagoda* and 170 old gold *fanams* (Rs.42-4-7) and 2,528 new gold *fanams* (Rs.722-4-7) and 86,847 silver *fanams* (Rs.17,374) in the Tellicherry treasury showing that gold *fanams* were being phased out of circulation in north Malabar. However silver *fanams* continued its circulation in north Malabar⁹⁸. The absence of gold *fanam* in the treasury did not mean that gold coin was totally out of circulation from Malabar. The gold coins could be with wealthy people like Rajas and chieftains and big merchants. Moreover, as explained earlier, the syndicate of revenue officers and *shroffs* would have diverted the gold coins from treasury to the money changers or traders in coin. Moreover a good amount of gold coin was shipped out of Malabar by the government agencies to Bombay as part of financial adjustments without reciprocal return in gold coins leading to shortage in that coin. Melting and hoarding of gold coins due to the increase in price of gold from early 1840's also had contributed to the scarcity of gold coin. By the middle or even end of 1840's Malabar gold *fanam* lost its importance as the favourite coin of Malabaris. The unified British India currency was not a favourite of Malabaris. But this currency would have definitely found its way slowly to Malabar with the disappearance or scarcity of gold coins.

A large portion of the revenue of Malabar was annually sent in specie to Bombay. The average remittance from Malabar to Bombay was about 12 lakh rupees⁹⁹. This included current and non current coins. In April 1818 the Accountant General of Fort St. George asked the Malabar Collector to hold in readiness for shipment to Bombay the largest amount in current and non current coins. He was further reminded that not a rupee

⁹⁸ M.Vol.No. 7493, p.93.

⁹⁹ J. Sullivan's Report, *op. cit.*, P.21.

should unnecessarily be retained from the service of Bombay government¹⁰⁰. The Malabar Collector in 1817 sent to Bombay, treasure worth Rs.14,80,696 which constituted current coins worth Rs.14,76,887 and 90% of them were gold coins¹⁰¹. This remittance of the treasure from Malabar to Bombay was a result of financial adjustment between the Madras and Bombay governments. But Mr. J. Sullivan, the Principal Collector of Malabar, in his 1841 report cautioned the Madras government of the injury being done to Malabar commerce because of this remittance. To quote him “that something was radically wrong in this financial arrangement” was proved by the facts (among others) Viz., that in 1833/ 1834 while there was an export of government treasure from Malabar of Rs.10,16,129 to Bombay, in the same year there was an import of private treasure to Malabar from Bombay to the tune of Rs. 6,32,504. The amount of drafts from Bombay in that year upon Malabar treasury did not exceed Rs.35,000. In 1835/36the public remittance to Bombay from Malabar amounted to Rs.10,10,376 while the import from Bombay was Rs.4,27,592 and the drafts were for Rs.35,800¹⁰². In 1840/41 Company exported to Bombay silver coins worth Rs.8,75,000 without any corresponding import of treasure¹⁰³. In 1841/42 the Company’s export to Bombay was exclusively in treasure, gold coins worth Rs.13,93,000 silver Rs.13,82,500, and copper coins worth Rs.10,500¹⁰⁴. There was no import of treasure in that year. In 1844/45 the Company exclusively traded in treasure and exported to Bombay silver worth Rs.4,40,223¹⁰⁵. Absence of gold coin in that treasure was an indication that gold coin

¹⁰⁰ Letter from the Accountant General ,Fort St.George,dated ,29th ,April,1818,to the Principal Collector of Malabar,M.Vol.No. 2195, p.603.

¹⁰¹ Letters from Bombay Castle Treasury Committee to Malabar Collector. Figures taken from M.Vol.No. 2193, P.349; M.Vol. No. 2194, P.597. M.Vol. No.2195, P.63.

¹⁰² J.Sullivan’s Report, *op.cit.* ,p.22.

¹⁰³

M.Vol. No.7904, pp.210-17.

¹⁰⁴

M.Vol. No.7905, p.21.

¹⁰⁵

M.Vol. No.7906, p.157.

was either out of circulation by that period or was deliberately paid into the treasury neither by the public nor the revenue officers by 1845. This heavy drain of precious metals, gold *fanam*, from Malabar, had affected the economy and trade of commerce of Malabar. To some extent the drain in gold and silver was compensated by limited imports of silver and gold from the Red Sea. Since only a portion of these came in the shape of current coins, there was a constant tendency towards the artificial enhancement of the value of that coin in which all the revenue was paid. The vacuum in the currency of Malabar due to the withdrawal of gold and silver *fanam* was filled by the Bombay and Madras currencies. The problem in depending on the Bombay currency was the presence of counterfeit coins in it. Gold coin was not only a currency but also a medium of the savings and investment of the people of Malabar. As a coin its remittance (drain) could have been replaced by other currencies but shortage of gold and silver coin deprived the Malabaris of a coin for which they had special likening.

The Madras government took several steps towards unifying and improving the Presidency's currency system. Had there been a uniform currency, it would have saved the government and traders of the expense of re-coinage, in case of remittance of money from one part to another, where the currency of former would be considered merely as bullion, excepting at mints¹⁰⁶. This unification of currency, of course, would have been at the expense of the livelihood and profit of a large number of *shroffs*, whose profit, in a considerable degree, depended upon the variety of different coins in circulation¹⁰⁷.

106

Holt Mackenzie's evidence before the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, 28 February 1832 Session (B.P) , Book No.7, P.37.(IUP)

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Major-General Sir John Malcolm's evidence before the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, 1832 Session, VI- Political & Foreign, *East India Company* (Printed 16 ,August 1832).

According to the proclamations of 1806 and 1808, denominations of 5, 3, 2 and single *fanams* (here Madras *fanams*) with inscription in Persian, Telugu, and Malayalam were minted¹⁰⁸. Apart from *fanams* the government issued double *dubs*, 24 of which were equivalent to one rupee and single *dubs* 48 of which constituted one rupee, half *dubs* 96 of which made one rupee and quarter *dubs*, 192 of which to a rupee. None of the above coins were ever mentioned as current in Malabar. In addition to the above coins 40, 20, 10 and 5 cash were also issued. From December 1807 to 1811, apart from the above coins, the 5, 2 and single *fanams*, 4 *annas*, 2 *annas*, double, single, half, quarter and one eighth of rupees were coined in the Madras Mint¹⁰⁹. A proclamation on 9th, June, 1812 stated that the coinage of double rupees, half and quarter *pagodas* should be discontinued. But according to E. Thurston these coins continued to be in circulation and issued and received at all public treasuries, even during the later quarter of the 19 century¹¹⁰. The Accountant General of Madras presidency asked the government of the Presidency to withdraw from circulation the old and new Madras *fanams*.

A major reform in the currency system of the Madras Presidency was introduced by a proclamation dated 7th, January, 1818. This was issued by the Governor in Council of the Madras Presidency, as per the direction of the Court of Directors. According to the declaration, Madras Silver Rupee constituted the standard coin of the Madras Presidency and all public accounts were converted into Rupee, *Annas* and pies (One rupee = 16 *annas*, 1 *anna* = 12 pies,) from *star pagodas*. The exchange rate was Rs.350 per 100

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E. Thurston, *History of East India Company Coinage*, (Calcutta, 1893, P.13. According to him the mention of the 3 fanam was a mistake as he could not find the above fanam, P.8.

¹⁰⁹ E. Thurston *.History of the Coinage of the territories of the East India Company in the Indian peninsula*. (Madras 1890) P. 44.

¹¹⁰

Ibid., p. 53.

*star pagodas*¹¹¹. Hereafter all government payments were made in rupees. According to the new reform the new coinage of Silver was consisted of the following coins Rupee, Half Rupee, Quarter Rupee, Double *Anna*, and *Anna* and its content, alloy and weight is given in the chart below¹¹². The government also issued gold Rupee, 15 silver rupees constituted one gold rupee. Gold coin consisted of Rupee, Half Rupee and Quarter Rupee of the following weights given in the chart. A copper coinage of 12 *pice* for one *anna* was also issued¹¹³. The coinage of *Star pagoda* was discontinued from 1818 but continued to be accepted in to the treasuries at the existing rate. Till 1818, the Malabar revenue accounts were kept in *Star Pagodas/ Hoons, fanams* (Madras) and cash. Usually the Malabar ryots paid the land taxes in gold (in south Malabar) and silver *fanams*(north Malabar) equivalent to the value of *star pagodas*. At the Presidency, these accounts were converted into *star pagodas*, Madras *anams* and cash.

In the Madras Presidency 80 cash constituted one (Madras) *Fanam*, and 42 *fanams* were equivalent to 3 ½ rupee =one *star pagoda*. The *star pagoda* was a gold coin and weighed 52.56 grains and the gold was 19 ½ carat fine and contained 42.048 grains of fine gold. East India Company and other companies kept 12 (Madras) *fanams* to one rupee but the natives took 12 *fanams* and 60 cash to a rupee and 44 *fanams* and 50 cash for a *star pagoda*. The bazaar rate of *Star pagoda* fluctuated between 35 and 45 *fanams*. It has been reported that the introduction of quarter *anna* and half *anna piece* of the Madras mint was not acceptable to the people of Malabar as they were accustomed to Bombay *pice*¹¹⁴.

¹¹¹ Letter from the Accountant General of Fort St. George to the Malabar Principal Collector, 6th, March, 1818, and 6th June, 1818, M, Vol, 2195, Pp.433,533. The Imperial Gazetteer, Vol.IV, p.516.

¹¹²

Proclamation by the Governor in Council, Fort St. George, Public Department, dated 7th January, 1818, p.150.

¹¹³

Ibid. p.151.

¹¹⁴ Examination of the *Shroffs* of Malabar, M. Vol. No.7137, p.29 dated February 1838. Letter from Mr. Clementson, P.C. of Malabar to the Accountant General of Fort St. George, dated 8th February -1836, M. Vol. No.7135, p.19.

In 1829 the currency of Bombay was equalized with that of Madras by the adoption of Company (Arcot) rupee of 180 grain rupee (165 grain pure silver and 15 grain alloy), with half rupees, quarters, eights and sixteen in portion. The sixteenth was *anna* and eighth the double *anna*. The new coinage of gold consisted of rupees, halves and quarters of the same weight and fineness as the silver rupee. The coinage of *pagoda* was discontinued¹¹⁵. The new gold rupee, valued at mint price of gold in England, was worth Pound 19s 4d. and the silver rupee was worth 1s.11.4d.

A step further in the unification of British Indian currency was achieved when in 1835 by the declaration of the Governor- General in Council, a uniform currency was introduced for the whole of British India¹¹⁶. The Madras rupee the value of which was nearly equal to that of Farukhabad rupee was adopted as the new Indian coin. Irrespective of all these measures the Malabar continued to use the traditional *fanams*. In 1838, Clementson, then Principal Collector of Malabar, reported that the currency of Malabar had never undergone any change irrespective of the unification of currency¹¹⁷. He had given the coins peculiar to the district viz., new gold fanam, silver *Fanam*, Bombay rupee and Bombay copper *pice*. The exchange of the above *fanams* to rupee remained unchanged. But compared to 1807, there was a considerable reduction in the number of the other coins current in Malabar.

PREMIUM

Since all the coins which were currently in circulation in Malabar were metallic, the availability and the fluctuating price of the base metal of the coin or the scarcity or demand of a particular coin made them put a premium on that particular coin. In 1801 it was

¹¹⁵ MacLean, Glossary of the Madras Presidency, op.cit., vol .No .III, p.571.

¹¹⁶ *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. No.IV, p.516.

¹¹⁷ J.Sullivan's Report , op., cit., p.28.

reported that in *Cannannore*, the Company's (Bombay) copper *pice* bore a premium of 6% and upwards, as it was the only coin received at par with silver *fanam*¹¹⁸. During 1805 there was a scarcity of silver *Fanam* at *Tellicherry*, *Cannannore*, and *Kuttumparampa*¹¹⁹. This caused great inconvenience to the public and troops. In order to bring back the silver coins into circulation, the northern Collector ordered the *shroffs* to give a premium of 1% on the exchange of silver *Fanam* with *Porto-Novo pagoda* and *Bombay Gold Mohurs*, the coins of most enhanced rate. In fact the actual premium in the market for the exchange of the above coins was 2-4%¹²⁰. The *shroffs* did exchange of the coins at a lower premium, because they were afraid of the government.

The local coins of Malabar, gold and silver *fanams*, were not current in any other district except the rupee at Bombay. Here the rupee mentioned was probably the *Tellicherry rupee*. So far the researchers have come across only one instance, when there was a mention of the *Tellicherry rupee*. The *Madras Presidency coins* such as *star pagodas*, *gold Mohurs*, the Company's or *Madras rupees* always bore a high premium in Malabar. Once it was as high as 14%. But the current rate (in 1838) was from 3 to 10%. There was a great demand for these coins, because it was eagerly bought by the merchants when it made its appearance in Malabar for the purpose of sending it to *Coimbatore* and *Salem* with which Malabar had extensive trade in cloths¹²¹.

The premium payable for the exchange of one rupee was some times $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$

Bombay copper pice of 50 per rupee is here referred to and the rupee mentioned here was

¹¹⁸ Hodgson's Report, *op. cit.*, P.57.

¹¹⁹ The Principal Collector T.Warden got the permission of the Governor in Council to coin *silver fanam* because of its scarcity at *Tellichery* under a government seniorage of 1%. And he was reminded not to mint more coins than necessary. General Report, 15th, February, 1805, Vol. No. II, p.27. (Para 163 and 165).

¹²⁰

Letter from the Northern Division Sub-Collector to the Principal Collector of Malabar, 26th, July, 1805, M, Vol, 2196, p.35

¹²¹

P.Clementson's Report, *op. cit.*, P.6.

the Bombay rupee¹²². This applied to both filed and unfiled rupees. The quarter *anna* was only received in the bazaar as a 3 quarter Bombay *pice* and the pie as a quarter of Bombay *pice*¹²³. Both filed and unfiled coins were current and accepted in the Market. The maximum deficiency in the weight of a filed rupee was $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of a new gold *Fanam* in ten rupees. The *Fanam* was six grains of torry weight. The premiums for both were the same.

DISCOUNT

Sometimes the coins in Malabar were also passed at a discount. These coins were mostly clipped or filed¹²⁴ and were of Bombay origin. For example the *shroffs* appointed by the Bombay government to examine their remittance to Bombay, refused to take the *chapee* and *Solakee* rupee except at a discount of 3%. Thereafter the Malabar revenue officers also refused to accept them in revenue payment¹²⁵. As a consequence of this restriction the *ryots* were compelled to exchange any rupees of this description at a loss of 2-6%. Thereupon the government of Madras directed the Malabar Collector to accept the above rupees in revenue collections¹²⁶.

RATES OF EXCHANGE

In the absence of a uniform currency, and because of the abundance of currencies, there was always a fluctuation in the rates of exchange for the same currency in the same district and in the adjacent districts. This led to a two-tier exchange rate, one the government (established) rate for the payment of wages to the troops and other employees

¹²² - Evidence given before the Collector of Malabar by the *Shroffs* of Calicut, M.Vol.No.8343, p.95.
¹²³

Evidence given by Sarapady Row Chetty, Ondiyar Balasamy Chetty and 3 others before the Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 21st, February 1838, M.Vol.No.7137, p.29.

¹²⁴ The marks of several coins were nearly affected. The government, in order to ensure the legal value of these coins, instructed the revenue officials to punch or cut with a file the edge of all suspicious coins, which bear upon them a proof of sterling value. These coins were some time rejected in payment and were not current in the bazaar. H.S.Grame's report, op. cit., Para.264. Calicut *shroffs* evidence, op., cit., M, Vol. . 8348, 1838, P.95.

¹²⁵ Revenue dispatch from England to Madras, 23rd, October 1833, Vol. No. 13, P.43.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.44 .

of the revenue and other establishment, receiving taxes, commutation rates (rates at which the tax in kind was converted into cash) and for disbursement of coins to other places and for the bills of exchanges. The other was the bazaar rate of exchange fixed by the *shroffs* and traders, who were reluctant to accept the government rate of exchange.

These different rates of exchange had exposed the commercial class as well as the common people to the vexations of continuous variations. The rate of exchange was fixed by the Governor-in-Council with the advice of the Board of Revenue, and then the list was sent to the district Collectors. This rate usually did not take into consideration local conditions (as fluctuations) even though different rates of exchange prevailed in different districts of the Presidency. The unnatural (here the researcher means that with respect to their intrinsic value) distinction of currencies must have aggravated the fluctuations of exchange and by the charge of recoinage which frequently was a burden on the commerce¹²⁷. It is reported that the value of coins, particularly gold coins, underwent daily and almost hourly fluctuations¹²⁸. The coins were received at different rates and the rate was seldom, if ever, fixed entirely with respect to their intrinsic value¹²⁹.

The demand and exchange rate for different coins fluctuated so widely presumably on the arrival of visiting ships from different regions. In the months of November, December and January merchants who had bought cloths from Manapara and Palayamcotta, exchanged for Venetians, Porto-Novo *pagodas* and *star pagodas*, the silver *fanams* which they had received in payment for their merchandize¹³⁰. The merchants of Cottar (in Travancore) if they expected ships from Bengal, then they would demand Sicca rupees and they demanded ducats from the Muscat boats¹³¹. From November to March large

¹²⁷ Holt Mackenzie's evidence on the affairs of the East India Company, 1832 Session, *op. cit.* (British Parliamentary Papers) Book no. 7, p. 37.

¹²⁸ B. Hodgson's report, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹²⁹ General report, Vol. No. 14, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

¹³⁰ J. Strachey's Report, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

¹³¹ Ashin Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 83. Ducat was a European coin. Its weight was almost same as *pagoda*. The value of ducat was Rs. 4, while that of *pagoda* was about Rs. 3 ½ (Galletin, *op. cit.*, P. 84).

quantities of rice were imported from Canara and Bombay and Surat rupees, *Bahadry hoons* and copper pies were in demand. The *shroffs* and others availed themselves of the demand¹³².

MACLEOD'S –RATE OF EXCHANGE

Major William Macleod, the first Principal Collector of Malabar, had arbitrarily changed (reduced) the rate of exchange (value) of gold *fanams* and other coins in which tax was paid. This created trouble due to (1) interfering with the bazaars rate of exchange. (2) from rectifying with the bazaar rates without making a deduction to the *ryots*, equivalent to the loss occasioned by the difference in old and new rates, in the tax payment. During this period revenue was collected in *fanams* whereas in the bazaar, where the agriculturalists sold their produce, the rupee was the general standard of exchange¹³³. On 31 August 1802, Major William Macleod, fixed (on erroneous data) the exchange rate of twenty three current coins, then issued and received into the public treasury, as they were rated in the district of Coimbatore. The table so promulgated lowered the value of gold *fanams* (new) from 3 ½ to 4-7/32 a rupee i.e., a reduction of 20%, and of silver *Fanam* from 5 to 5 ½ a rupee i.e., 10% lower than the original rate¹³⁴. In other words this act of Macleod had increased the revenue liability on those *ryots* who paid in gold *fanam* by 20% and 10% in silver *fanams*, while the producers got in the market for their produce the old established rate of 3 ½ gold *fanams* and 5 silver *fanams* per rupee, because the shop keepers ignored the proclamation¹³⁵. The *ryots* who paid in *fanams* which was converted into pagoda at too high a rate found that their payment fell short of government calculation. As a result of this increased the exchange rate of the *star pagoda* the *ryots* had to pay more gold *fanams*. The nominal revenue in *pagoda* was higher than the actual revenue in *fanams*. Macleod made

¹³² Strachey, J., *op. cit.*, P. 45.

¹³³ This action of Major Macleod got the sanction of Governor-in-council, General Report, 8th, October 1802, Vol. No.8, P.23, Par, 175..

¹³⁴ Logan, *op. cit.*, Vol.I, P.543.

¹³⁵ Logan, *op. c it.*, P.544.

the *ryots* pay 14 ½ *Fanam* instead of old rate of 12 ¼ *Fanam* per *star pagoda*. (*Star pagoda* and *Fanam* were the currency in which the revenue accounts were kept in the Madras presidency). The government suffered heavy loss due to alteration in the value of coins¹³⁶. Macleod ventured into this measure because of his presumption that Malabar *fanams* were over-valued by the government and thereby the government incurred losses by accepting revenue in gold *fanams* at an exorbitant value against the *star pagodas*.

The new rate of exchange took effect from 15th, May, 1802. When the *ryots* paid their revenue in *fanams* to the treasuries, they were told that according to the new rate of exchange they had to pay more. The result was an organized resistance, during the early part of 1803 and the Collector abruptly resigned. The new Collector Rickards established the old rates of exchange¹³⁷.

The exchange operated uniformly against the Malabar district in so far as the *Fanam*, one of the worst gold coins in India, containing parts 17.50 of copper and 29 of silver, was so dear to the Malabaris. Old *veraray Fanam* was equal to 4 *annas*, new *veraray* was equal to 4 *annas* 7 *pies* and one silver *Fanam* was equal to 3 *annas* and 3 *pies*. Because of the difference in the rate of exchange that existed in Malabar and other adjacent districts for the same coin, the merchants particularly the *shroffs* used to send coins from one district to other districts, where they expected a profit due to the different rate of exchange. This resulted in a great trade on coins, which in some cases, amounted to 25% of the total commerce of the districts¹³⁸.

A tax on the transit of these coins was a profit to the government. There existed a difference in the rate of exchange between *Porto-Novo pagoda* and Bombay gold

¹³⁶

Letter from Rickards to the BOR dated 2nd, June 1803, M, Vol. 2312, p.5.

¹³⁷

Ibid., p.545.

¹³⁸ General Report, Vol. No. 13 & 14, P,103, Par, 657.

Mohur. For example in Canara the exchange rate of gold *Mohur* was Rs. 15 while in Malabar it was Rs.16. Similarly the rate of exchange of *star pagodas* for *Porto novo pagodas* in Coimbatore was 100:108, whereas the rate in Malabar was 100:116¹³⁹. The result was a great commerce in the *star pagoda*. In order to establish the Coimbatore rate of exchange in Malabar, the government had sent one lakh of *star pagodas* to Malabar at the rate of 120 *Porto novo pagodas* to 100 *star pagodas*. This was 4 *star pagodas* higher than what was obtained in Malabar. Therefore the government's profit was 4000 *Porto novo pagodas*. In order to pay for the *star pagodas*, the government called back from circulation the *Porto novo pagodas* at the rate of 117 *pagodas* and 27 *fanams*, which was one *Porto novo pagoda* and 27 *fanams* higher than the existing rate of exchange i.e., 116. Therefore the net profit of government in this transaction was 2847 *Porto novo pagodas*¹⁴⁰ (4000-1153= 2847). Here the government acted as a money changer and trader trying to exploit a favourable rate of exchange.

The sufferers of the different rate of exchange for the same coin were the government employees. The government rate of exchange very often did not match the bazaar rate of exchange and it created problems for the Company's servants and in other transactions. The gravity of the problem could be evaluated from a letter written by the northern division Judge and Magistrate to the Principal Collector of Malabar in 1816. In that letter he complained that the shop keepers in the bazaar refused to accept the *star pagodas*, the rate at which it was issued to him and rate offered by them was lower than one fixed by the government¹⁴¹.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, P,103 . Report from the Board of Revenue to the Governor of the Madras presidency dated.15th February ,1805, ,BORP,Vol. No.211, p.170.

¹⁴⁰

General Report, Vol. No.11, 31st, January ,1806, p.170, Par, 374.

¹⁴¹ Letter from the Judge and Magistrate of northern *Zilla*, to the Principal collector of Malabar,dated.12th August,1816,M,Vol. 2192, p.121.

The worst sufferers of the different rates of exchange were the troops, who were removed from place to place and very often the government found it difficult to supply them with the local coins¹⁴². The troops at Cannanore were paid in gold *Mohurs*, *Bahadry pagodas* and Surat rupees. This meant considerable loss to the troops. The gold *mohur* was issued at 4 *star pagodas* and one rupee, or fifteen Arcot rupees at 12 *fanams* and 68 ½ cash each rupee, but in the bazaar the above rupee was current only at 12 *fanams* and 40 cash each (or at 50 Bombay copper *pices* of 20 cash each). This resulted in a loss of 5 Madras *fanams* and 28 ½ cash in each gold *Mohur*¹⁴³. In the government rate of exchange one Madras *fanam* was equal to 80 cash whereas in the bazaar, it fetched only 79.8 cash thereby causing a loss of 0.2 cash in each Madras *fanam*. Now the total loss sustained by a sergeant, who was paid a salary of 372 Madras *fanams*¹⁴⁴ Or Rs.28 and 12 *Fanam* and 2 cash, during 1815 in Cannanore was as follows. The loss suffered by the sergeant was 10 *fanams* and 67 cash because of the difference in the rate of exchange of the coin in which the salary was made and its actual rate of exchange in the bazaar i.e.2.92% of his total salary. Apart from this loss, he suffered another loss when he exchanged gold *Mohur* for another coins. This was a loss of one Madras *Fanam* and 20 cash,¹⁴⁵ i.e.100 cash or 0.60% of the value of the gold *mohur*. Therefore when Rs.28 *Fanam* 12 and cash2 was exchanged, the total loss incurred by the sergeant was 174 cash or 2 Madras *Fanam* and 18 cash or 0.65% of his salary. Therefore the total loss suffered by the sergeant was 13 Madras *Fanam* and 5 cash or 3.57% of his total salary.

¹⁴²

Holt Mackenzie's evidence, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁴³ Proceedings of the Special Committee held by the order of Colonel Forbes, Commanding the Province of Malabar and Canara, under the instructions from the Commander-in-chief, to investigate the complaints of the men of His Majesty's 89th regiment on the subject of the loss experienced by the troops in coins issued to the troops at Cannanore dated 18th December 1815, M, Vol.,2193, P. 2 Madras *star pagoda* passed in the bazar at Cannanore for surat rupees 3-9*fanam* and 50cash. Arcot rupee was worth 1Surat rupee and 60 cash .M.Vol.No. 2193, p.7.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, P.6

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, P.2.

In 1817 Mr.I.Vaughan, the Principal Collector of Malabar reported that there was always constant dispute about the value of the *fanams* i.e. the old and new *Fanam*, the former 4 to one rupee and later 3 ½ to one rupee in the treasury. There were 4 sorts of new *fanams*, which the *shroffs* say in every respect equal in value and containing a similar quantity of gold and smaller proportion of alloy and no less than 9 different kinds of old gold *Fanam*. Mr. Thomas Warden, during his tenure as the Principal Collector, refused to accept no more than 2 new gold *fanams* and 2 old gold *fanams* in his treasury. Because of this, the people of south Malabar experienced greatest difficulties in paying the revenue. He further said that the *shroffs* and money changers exploited the people and sought the permission of the Board of revenue to accept all this coins without discrimination¹⁴⁶

The constantly changing rate of exchange for the currencies that were in circulation in Malabar was a source of constant confusion and exploitation. The sufferers were the *ryots* (peasants), small traders and common people. The *shroffs* and other money changers made huge profit from exchanging and trading in money.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE

Bills of exchange had always been an essential part of commercial transactions which facilitated the transfer of funds between districts of the same Presidency or with places outside the Presidency. The number and availability of such bills depended on a variety of factors, mainly on the intensity of trade between the two places, on which the bills were drawn, and the funds needed by merchants in these places. For example, when bills were available on Bombay and Calcutta from Malabar, these were not procurable for places like Goa, because the Malabar merchants did not need any fund there, as Malabar's

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Letter from Mr. Vaughan ,Principal Collector of Malabar ,dated 1st September,1817, BORP,Vol.765, p.10144

trade with that place was very insignificant¹⁴⁷. During the first decade of the 19th century bills on Bombay on 30 days sight were discounted at 7% against Malabar¹⁴⁸. Before the unification of Bombay and Madras currency, the bills on Madras and adjoining districts bore a high premium, but after the unification, the profit derived by those who had trafficked in coins and bills or bills on Bank notes decreased and the bills were cashable in 1838 at a discount of 2 or 3%¹⁴⁹.

The government as well as private traders issued bills on Malabar. Extensive transaction on bills and species was carried on between merchants residing in Malabar and Bombay and the adjoining districts of Coimbatore, Salem and Mysore¹⁵⁰. Apart from these independent remittances by private merchants, Bombay government had drawn bills upon Malabar Collector's treasury, in favour of merchants to a large extent. During 1837/1838 the aggregate bills so drawn amounted to Rs.3,10,000 and in 1838 (up to 31st December 1838) the amount was Rs.3,88,000¹⁵¹. A good portion of the cash sent to Malabar went to Coimbatore and Salem for the purchase of cloths. As bills on Coimbatore and Salem were not easily procurable, money was sent by the coast Merchants to their agents in those districts by treasury persons. This practice was reported to be increasing with the increase in piece goods brought down from those places. Mr. Clementson, Principal Collector of Malabar reported that the practice was increasing with the increase in the quality of piece goods imported from these districts¹⁵². The merchants of Bombay and

¹⁴⁷ Letter from Dinurs to T. Warden, Principal Collector of Malabar, 12th, April, 1809, M. Vol. 8333, P.173.

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J. Strachey's Report, *op. cit.*, P.45.

¹⁴⁹

P. Clement son's Report, *op. cit.*, P. 6.

¹⁵⁰

Ibid., p.6.

¹⁵¹

Ibid., p.7.

¹⁵²

Malabar complained about the delay they very often experienced in getting the fund released from the concerned treasuries, concerned for any delay blocked their capital for the time being¹⁵³. By paying the money into the General Treasury at Madras, one could obtain a bill for any amount on any treasury inside the Company's territories. Similarly any official or common people would put money in any Collector's treasury and get a draft upon any other¹⁵⁴. The bills drawn in the government treasury either in favour of private or government affairs, indicated the currency (*Star pagoda, Pagoda, dollar, or rupee* etc) in which it was drawn, in which it was to be paid as well as the exchange rate of the currency which would be given to the party¹⁵⁵.

In 1838 Mr. Clementson reported that mercantile transaction was extensively conducted on credit¹⁵⁶. Mr. H. V. Connolly, the Principal Collector of Malabar, gave a detailed account of different aspects involved in issuing the bills by Bombay government on Malabar. Mr.H.V.Conolly had informed Mr. R. T. Webb, the Accountant General of Bombay in A.D 1846, that there was a practice of sending down money by sea to Malabar by merchants or their agents¹⁵⁷. This was due to the non availability of Bills on during certain periods on the treasuries of Malabar at Bombay. Further this was to avoid the delay

¹⁵³ P.Clementson's Report, *op. cit.*, P. 6.

¹⁵⁴ 6. Letter from the Acting Principal Collector of Malabar to the Accountant General of Fort St.George, 14th, November 1839, M, Vol. .,8347, p.139.

¹⁵⁵ Letter from the Assistant Collector, Tellicherry, to the Principal Collector of Malabar, 9th, September, 1839, M, Vol. .8347, p.3358 .

¹⁵⁶ Given in the Bombay Chief Secretary's bill upon James Vaughan, Malabar Principal Collector, 23rd January 1817, M, Vol. No. 2193, p.63.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7,par 32.

Letter from Mr. H. V. Connolly ,the Principal Collector of Malabar to Mr. R. T. Webb, the Accountant General of Bombay, dated 18th August1846,M,.Vol. 7145, p.186.

in the realization of money. Independent of the bills being at 10 days sights, the post from Bombay to Malabar took 8 to 10 days. Thus a total of 18 to 20 days were taken before the amount of the bill could be realized¹⁵⁸. However the Pattamaras, during fair season or when strong northerly winds prevailed, it took only 5 to 6 days to reach from Bombay to Malabar Coast. This afforded the merchants quick means of getting their funds. Moreover this method cost them little expense as the *pattemars* (big boats) generally belonged to the merchants themselves¹⁵⁹. Thus private parallel money transfer was going on between Bombay and Malabar and mostly carried on the behalf of Bombay merchants and their agents in Malabar. This flow was more from Bombay to Malabar as Bombay merchants monopolized Malabar's external trade and Malabar exported more than what was imported. Since it was beyond the control of government agencies this type of money transfer also might have played a role in sending fake Bombay and Marathi currencies to Malabar.

Usually the bills were drawn in favour of the District Collector and paid within the date stipulated even in the absence of the Collector. There were only two subordinates treasuries in Malabar one at Tellicherry and another at Cochin. Depending on the availability of funds, the Collector permitted the merchants to draw the bill at either of them. Mr. Conolly in order to cut down the money realization period of the bills informed the Accountant General of Bombay that future bills should be issued at three days sight instead of ten days sight¹⁶⁰. During the period of one year from August 1845 to July (ending) 1846 the money sent from Bombay to different ports in Malabar was as follows. Cannannore Rs.1,62,000, Tellicherry Rs.96,000, Vadakara Rs.1,500, Quilandy Rs.5,500

¹⁵⁸

Ibid., p.186.

¹⁵⁹

Ibid., p.187.

¹⁶⁰

Ibid.,

Calicut Rs.4,21,650, Tanur Rs.12,050,Ponnany 18,700,Chavakkad Rs.2000, Cochin Rs.47,400 total amount was Rs.7,66,800.¹⁶¹ Calicut received the maximum fund from Bombay and was the important trading centre on the Malabar Coast where the Bombay merchants wanted to have more funds. This fund may not be exclusively for *trading* with Malabar district as a portion of the bills could be diverted to Coimbatore and Salem for the purchase of piece goods. The eastern districts exported the piece goods to Bombay from Malabar ports.

Apart from bills from Bombay, there was a practice of locally issuing the bills. At times these bills were dishonored. In 1793 Mr.Agnew ,the Collector General of South Malabar, issued a bill on the Atchin of Palakkad favouring Mr.Wesley ,the pay Master, which was not honoured by the Atchin. Then Mr. Wesley was compelled to take money from other source at a discount of 3%¹⁶². The Malabar Second Commissioners informed the Bombay Governor that the army personnel could make remittance by investing their money in the funds of the government by bill on government payable 30 days after sight. These bills were optionally deferrable and bore an interest from the expiration of the sight at 9% per annum or transferable by bills on supreme govt¹⁶³. Some merchants of Malabar occasionally got bills issued on the Madras Presidency. One Bukia Towgee had received a set bills of exchange on the Madras presidency on 11th May 1798 from Sallah Bahandas on account of (1) Bemjee Sevjee for a set of bills for Rs.6000 (2) from Chocara Moosa for Rs. 3500, (3) from Manserjee Ratanjee , a toddy farmer of Tellicherry, for Rs.1250. There

¹⁶¹

Ibid., p.188.

¹⁶²

Letter from Wesley to Agnew , 21st Feb.,1793,Palakkad,BOR,Vol. 734, p.743

¹⁶³

Letter from Second Commissioners dated 25th June1799, to the Bombay Governor, Second Commissioners diaries (public) 1799.M,Vol. .1677-B, p.72.

was no mention about the exchange charge and duration of the payment, or on which treasury it was drawn¹⁶⁴.

Usually Bills on London were issued at sights varying from 3 to 6 months. It was sometime not issued on London office of the English East India Company. For example, Mr. Thomas Warden, Principal Collector of Malabar, in his letter to the BOR, Fort. St. George, enclosed a set of Bills on London for Rs.10000/ on M/s Poacher &Co of London at six Months sight (being the 2nd installment of payment in discharge of Mr. Brown's debt to Honorable Company for the lease of *Randaterrah* plantation) at the exchange of 2 shilling and 2 pence per Bombay rupee¹⁶⁵.

Mr. Murdock Brown had sent Rs.2000/- to Ayyakutty pattar, the accountant of Porladiri Raja of Kolathunad through one Payyan. Payyan was actually given Rs.2009 i.e. Rs.9/ could be the commission paid to Payyan. It is not sure whether *Payyan* was a carrier or Bill exchanger¹⁶⁶. In May 1803 one Sooba Rayya took Rs.20,000 draft on Bhavany in Coimbatore¹⁶⁷.

Bills were used by Malabar and Bombay merchants for transferring funds mainly for trade. Not much information about bills on London is available. Similarly there was scarcity of information about transfer of fund between Malabar and Madras through bills. However, with the improvement in piece goods trade fund transfer between Malabar and eastern districts like Coimbatore Salem, and Madurai had increased. The fact that there

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M.Vol. No.8182, p 232.

165

Letter from Mr.T.Warden to the BOR dated 8th February, 1815, BORP,Vol.669, p.1966.

166

Kadathanadu records,No,2, ,M.E.967-Edavam 20,(3rd , June,1791) Department of History, Calicut university,

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M.Vol.No. 2312, p. 43.

was no reference of Bills on Mysore and Trichy and this may be due to Malabar's low volume of trade with these areas.

Malabar's century old free trade, especially the export of condiments, with different parts of India and other countries were responsible for the presence of large number of foreign and regional currencies in Malabar. They brought Bullion and specie. They were used for minting Malabar local coins. These coins continued to circulate even after the annexation by the English East India Company in 1792. The absence of a uniform currency even under the Company's rule perpetuated this situation. Malabar's tragedy started with the administrative control of Malabar by the Bombay Presidency¹⁶⁸. Hereafter Malabar's overseas external trade was controlled by the big Merchants of Bombay or their agents on the Malabar Coast. Malabar's 80% of overseas external trade was channeled through Bombay and very often the payment was made in Bombay or Marathi rupees. The loss of Malabar's political independence was followed by their loss of commercial freedom. The Malabar traders had no other alternative but to yield to the whims and fancies of Bombay merchants. Hereafter Bombay currencies started to dominate the Malabar currency system. The negative aspect of this development was that many of the Bombay and Maratha rupees remitted to Malabar were fake and counterfeit.

This debased the Malabar *fanams* and created problems in trade and commerce and payment of taxes. This was partly due to the commercial ignorance of Bombay establishment in Malabar and partly due to willful activities of them. Putting Malabar under the Madras presidency since 1800 did not solve the problems. The Madras currency was not the favourite coin of the Malabaris. The Bombay currency continued to dominate Malabar due to latter's commercial proximity to Bombay. The Government policy of arbitrarily changing the government rate of exchange, withdrawing Malabar *fanams* from circulation,

¹⁶⁸ Immediately after the annexation Malabar was put under the administrative control of the Bombay Presidency. It continued to be under Bombay till 1800 when it was put under the Madras presidency. Malabar ports could be easily accessed from Bombay than from Madras.

remitting Malabar gold coins to Bombay without reciprocal return of gold were some of the evils of the British administration of Malabar. The presence of numerous coins with daily changing exchange rate exposed the *ryots* (peasants), common people, petty traders and soldiers to the exploitation of the *Shroffs* and revenue officers and *shroffs*.

From time immemorial Malabar had trade relations with foreign countries and she should have revived bullion in return for the export of condiments. But there is no information about the fate of this bullion. Part of it should have been used for importing grains and other essentials in the pre-colonial period. Part of it should have been taken out by the Mysore rulers in the form of tribute and land tax. A portion would have been used by the locals for making ornaments for which no data is available. But during the British period a large number of gold coins were taken out in the form of remittance. This had led to the scarcity of gold coins in Malabar. Gold *fanams* were not only a currency but also a medium in which the savings and investment of the Malabar people were kept. As a coin, its remittance (drain) could have been replaced by other currencies but the shortage of gold coin deprived the Malabaris of a coin for which they had special liking. Malabar currency system was confused due to the presence of large number of currencies with almost daily fluctuating value. Some of the government policies and their ignorance about the system aggravated the problems. The presence of counterfeit Maratha currencies, government policy of arbitrarily fixing a high exchange rate for the currencies, suddenly withdrawing from circulation of current coins and remitting it to other places, remitting gold and silver coins to Bombay, as a part of tribute to London without reciprocal return, Government's refusal to receive Malabar fanams in the treasury in the payment of land tax, and government officers (*Shroffs* and revenue officers) fixing a low value for the fanams in which the *ryots* paid the taxes were some of the evils of the Malabar currency system. Government's attempt to solve some of the problems worsened the situation. The ultimate

sufferers of this confusion were cultivators, poor people, workers and petty traders. They were exploited by the tax collectors, Shroffs and big traders. The government failed to provide any relief to the people of Malabar from the ills of currency system.

A detailed study is needed to assess the role of *shroffs* in the economic system of Malabar, the role of Malabar traders in depriving the peasants of the produce by making use of different exchange and the putting out system, and how far the currency system was injurious to the interest of the peasants and the petty traders.

CHAPTER – IX

SUMMATION

This chapter presents the findings of the present study. The population of Malabar was growing very fast during the first half of the 19th century due to long duration of peace, stability and tranquility, favourable climate, adequate and timely rainfall, availability of large tracts of fertile and cultivable soil, abundant agricultural production and absence of famine. The growth of population triggered all around economic activities like extension of cultivation, increased agricultural production, increase in the volume of trade and commerce, formation of towns and markets and improvement in the transportation systems. This increasing population also supplied a large number of cheap agricultural labourers and influenced price movements and government revenue collection from agricultural and non-agricultural taxes. The majority of the people (75%) were agriculturalists. Malabar population was homogenously distributed throughout the taluqs except Wayanad. The annual growth rate varied in different censuses. The density of the population was high compared to other districts. In Malabar itself the density of the population was high in the southern agricultural taluqs. The coastal taluqs had a high density of population. Wayanad was the lowest populated and most backward taluq. It seems that Malabaris were strongly attached to their soil and region. During the period of the present study no large scale migration of people within or to outside Malabar or to it was noticed. Religion-wise categorization of the population as per the 1856/57 census showed that the Hindus formed the largest segment of the society constituting 72.69%, followed by the Mappilas (Muslims) 25.82% and Christians 1.47% and others 0.02% of the population. As per the 1832/33 census the slave population constituted 13% of the total population of Malabar. After the abolition of slavery in 1843 the slave population was not separately shown and was included in the Hindu community. However, there were occasional

references to the slave population in the reports of some Collectors. The rate of the growth of all religious communities was almost uniform and no religious group showed any abnormal growth.

In Malabar the male female sex ratio was almost equal and almost constant in all taluqs and in all religious groups. Occasional outbreak of epidemics like cholera and small pox took heavy toll of life. The increasing population was a blessing in disguise for the government as it enabled the government to enlarge the tax net which enhanced the direct and indirect tax collection. Based on the study of this chapter there is much scope for a thorough demographic study of the 19th century Malabar and for a comparative study with 20th century demography. This would throw much light on the growth of religion wise population and the demographic changes due to the migration to Malabar from Travancore and Cochin especially that of the Christian migration from central Travancore to north Malabar and Wayanad during 1930s and 1940s.

The researcher brings forth the idea that all forms of agriculture including wet, garden and dry land cultivation were expanding in Malabar during the period under study. As the government did not maintain any record regarding the extent of land under cultivation in acres it is not possible to give the exact area under cultivation in Malabar during the period under study. However, the researcher in order to prove that agriculture was expanding depended on other sources to prove that in Malabar there was a tremendous expansion of agriculture. This has been proved from the fact that Malabar which was importing grains during the early period of the British rule, i.e. in the 1790s and the first four years of the 19th century, later started exporting large quantity of agricultural produce especially grain from the second decade of the 19th century. This trend continued throughout the first half of the 19th century with occasional variations depending on production and external demand. This clearly proves that agricultural production especially wet land (grain)

cultivation was increasing and was surplus in Malabar. To export more grain Malabar should have produced more. To produce more grain, in the absence of modern techniques of farming, more land should have been made available for cultivation. Similarly, wet, garden and hill land tax demand and collection were increasing and this is yet another clear proof that land under cultivation was increasing. Likewise garden cultivation was expanding during these periods. This has been proved from the increase in the number of coconut, areca nut and jack trees and increased export of the first two products. Since the 1830's, with the increase in the prices of agricultural produce, more and more wasteland was reclaimed and brought under wet and garden land cultivation under *cowle* (agreement) granted by the government. There is reliable data to show that the extent of dry land (hill) cultivation was increasing. The number of ploughs and cattle were increasing during the period under study extension of agriculture and surplus production was due to the hard work of the peasants but it did not improve their living condition. Eventhough there was an increase in the area under cultivation, there was no proportionate economic prosperity for the peasants and agricultural workers, who constituted the vast majority of the Malabar population. This was because of high land tax and non-agricultural indirect taxes which deprived the peasants and agricultural workers of a lion share of their earnings. This extension of agriculture was accelerated by increasing population, external demands, availability of cheap labour, increasing prices from the 1830s and land tax exemption, for few years, for the waste lands brought under cultivation. The government did not give any impetus to agriculture in the form of agricultural loan (*Taccavi*).

The findings regarding the trade in agricultural produce show that it was increasing every year. Integration of Malabar with the other parts and markets of the British India had opened up new markets for her agricultural produce. The unhindered movement of agricultural produce within and outside the district helped the cultivators either in getting

a competitive price for their produce or helped the cultivators by absorbing their surplus produce. The trade in the agricultural produce, apart from good weather and surplus production, was largely controlled by external demands. Improvement in the means of transport and communication system under the Company had reduced the cost of transportation and helped the peasants to move their produce to nearby markets or port towns which helped them to get a competitive price for their produce. The volume and value of export trade in agricultural produce like paddy, rice, coconut, areca nut and spices and agricultural manufacture like copra (dried kernel) and coconut oil was increasing during the period of study.

The East India Company's administrative measures at times interfered with trade. The Company's attempt to monopolize the procurement and export of Malabar pepper in 1790s failed. Rather than the Company it was the big native and some Arab pepper traders of Malabar who had established a monopoly in the internal pepper trade and the Company was forced to buy pepper from the Malabar merchants at a price fixed by the latter. Very soon the Company lost its interest in the Malabar pepper trade at the fag end of the 18th and by early 19th century and it stopped purchasing Malabar pepper for export. This was due to lack of demand in the European markets and there was heavy stock of unsold pepper at Company's store houses in London. Apart from this there was huge pepper production in Malaya and Indonesia which was cheaper than Malabar pepper. Slowly Malabar pepper lost its world market. It started to lose even the Indian markets as some Calcutta merchants started to import pepper from South East Asia. The Governor General of India refused to accede to the request of Malabar Collector to direct the Bengal Government to purchase pepper required for Bengal from Malabar. This shows the official apathy to come to the rescue of Malabar at the time of distress. Over production in South East Asia and slump in the international pepper trade had led to the fall in the price of pepper in the

world market. This was reflected in Malabar where the price of pepper fell by 101% between 1797 and 1802. This resulted in severe economic loss for the Malabar cultivators especially of North Malabar which accounted for the major production of pepper.

The East India Company's trade regulations and economic policies at times adversely affected trade in agricultural produce. The government was more concerned about revenue rather than the growth of agriculture, trade and the interests of the peasants. The government's policy of imposing high export duty based on high tariff rates, which was very much higher than the market price, on agricultural produce like pepper at times had created problems for the trade, traders and the producers (peasants). Discriminative and high export duty based on high tariff increased the export price of Malabar pepper in the international market in the 1st decade of the 19th century. As a result foreign merchants looked for alternative source of pepper supply. This was one of the reasons why Malabar pepper lost its world markets. Several Collectors of Malabar informed the government about the harmful effect of the high custom duty and tariff on Malabar agricultural produce and export trade. But no step was taken to rectify this anomaly. Similarly the transit duties, custom duty formalities and interpretation of custom regulations at the frontier custom houses and at the port of loading in the coastal trade interfered with the overland external and coastal trade. Malabar pepper price did not increase during the period of study. However there was increased production and export trade in pepper. This did not bring corresponding economic benefit to the cultivators due to the fall in the price of pepper. Wayanad cardamom was also losing its price and world market. The fall in the price of pepper and cardamom was a severe blow to the Malabar economy and the earning of the people. After the annexation of Malabar in 1792 Bombay became the emporium of Malabar's overseas export trade and about 81% of Malabar's overseas trade was channeled

through Bombay. From this period the traders of Malabar lost their role as leading exporters of Malabar produce and the Bombay merchants started to monopolize the export trade.

The volume of export of the agricultural products increased from 1804 and to a great extent it was guided by production, price and demand from other regions. The value was based on the custom tariff rate which was often higher than the actual market price. Real export of Malabar in agricultural produce was higher than the available data based on overseas export. As there were no continuous records on the overland export trade with Coimbatore, Coorg, Travancore and Cochin, the overall total volume and value of the export of Malabar agricultural produce could not be accurately ascertained. Fall in price of high value articles like pepper, cardamom and later fall in the volume of the export of paddy were some of the factors for the decline in the value of export. Despite all these drawbacks the export value of agricultural produce was increasing. The value increased from Rs.12,89,530 in 1804 to Rs.23,92,429 (quinquennial value) in 1849/50. The quinquennial average of the value of export almost doubled within a period of 45 years. There were ups and downs in the total value of export depending on the volume and value/price of the article exported.

The trade in rice and paddy, condiments, coconut, copra and betel nut was increasing. Here it was not the tax payer, and the cultivator, who had gained from this development. It was the intermediaries and big merchants who were benefited as the cultivator was hard pressed to sell his produce in the market or to the merchant from whom the cultivator already had taken an advance for the supply of produce. The advancing system, fixing arbitrarily a high price for the coin in which the advance was made by the merchants, varying standards in weights and measures, corruption of land revenue officers, and market fluctuations in price were some of the negative factors which deprived the

peasants of their earnings. The government did not take any measures to protect the peasants from these evils.

Land revenue was the main source of income for the colonial government. The East India Company did not introduce any reforms in the principle and magnitude of land tax assessment. It simply adopted the principle of land revenue assessment and commutation rate of Arshed Beg, the Military and Revenue administrator of Tipu in Malabar, without any substantial change and enforced it with vigor with the backing of the British force and Judiciary. The government was totally ignorant about the Malabar land revenue administration under the Mysore rule. It was not aware of the principle and magnitude of assessment. The Joint Commissioners were misguided by the agents of the former Rajas. They, along with the Principal landlords of Malabar did not provide any information sought by the Company's administrators regarding land tax. Finally the Joint Commissioners claimed that they had obtained from Jinnea, a Brahmin accountant of Tipu, a statement of land revenue account claiming to give details of Arshed Beg's, settlement of the southern portion of the district for the year 1784- 85. All the future principles of assessments and settlements in Malabar under the EIC were based on Arshed Beg's settlements. However, in 1822 Mr.Graeme, special Commissioner on Malabar had questioned the correctness of the Joint Commissioner's settlement and stated that the Joint Commissioners had been misled to believe that the settlement was more orderly and systematic to follow. The British adopted a wrong stand, supported with legislations that recognized the Malabar *Janmis (landlord)* as the absolute proprietor of the land. In fact the *janmis* had only common rights on the land along with the cultivator and the mortgagee. This was the beginning of the agrarian conflicts in Malabar. Arshed Beg's *Jamabandy* (settlement) continued to operate in Malabar during the entire period of East India Company's rule. The land tax was a tax on the produce and not on the land under

cultivation. Again the tax was on what the land can produce and not what do they produce or the assessment on the supposed production of the land based on the classification of the soil. Neither Arshed Beg nor the EIC ascertained the actual produce of the soil. Every thing was based on estimation, like the quantity of seed sown, produce and *pattom*. It was based on this estimation that tax was fixed which resulted in unequal assessment and collection. The corruption of native revenue officers aggravated the problem. The assessment and settlement was not based on any actual survey. Some survey was conducted and was not genuine and dependable. This was one of the causes responsible for the agrarian problems of Malabar. In south Malabar, where the main agriculture was the wet land cultivation, the seed assessment was in practice that is the seed used to sow was assessed to tax. In north Malabar the net rent received by the landlord or the proprietor of the land was assessed for tax. Several district Collectors of Malabar represented the government to remove the anomaly in the land tax system through new survey and assessment. The government refused to rectify this anomaly saying that it would annoy the powerful landlords and would disturb the peace and stability of the district. The government was afraid that it would adversely affect the revenue collection and encourage the tenants against the landlords. The sufferers were the poor peasants who paid the land tax. The landlords' *pattom* (rent) was always safe. In North Malabar the *pattom* (rent) was assessed for tax whereas in south Malabar the seed sown was assessed for tax. Most of the anomalies in assessment occurred in south Malabar where wet land cultivation was the main agriculture. Apart from this some taluqs in south Malabar were heavily assessed and some were lightly assessed. For example the taluqs of Eranad, Walluvanad, Betutnad and Nedinganad, which recorded high Mappila concentration, were highly assessed and the taluqs of Palakkad and Themmalpuram were very lightly assessed. For one parah of seed sown the rate of tax were differently collected in different taluqs. In Eranad the tax was 15.62 annas, Sheranad 17.62 annas, Betutnad 18

annas, Nedinganad 19.80 annas and in Walluvanad 25.60 annas while in Palakkad it was 7.62 and Themmalpuram 7.44 annas. In the taluqs of Eranad, Walluvanad, Nedinganad and Betutnad, which frequently witnessed Mappila revolts, had high concentration of Mappilas. In these taluqs almost ninety per cent of the population was agriculturalists, both Hindus and Muslims, who always complained about heavy and unequal assessment, high rates of land tax, and oppressions of the landlords and arbitrary eviction of tenants. But the Mappila tenants were louder in their complaint. The land tax was assessed in kind and collected in cash based on a commutation rate fixed initially by the Mysore rulers which did not undergo much change under the Company. The commutation rate was always higher and did not vary according to the market price of the paddy. As a result the cultivators had to pay more than the assessed tax by way of selling more grains to meet the government land tax demand. As all the peasants simultaneously rushed to the markets to sell their fresh harvest (paddy) to raise adequate funds for tax payment this had further pushed down the prices forcing them to sell more paddy. Apart from this the jugglery of the *shroffs* (money changers and some time money lenders) and the nexus of the revenue collectors and treasury officers who often, under valued the coins in which the land tax was paid and the changing exchange rates of coins very often forced the peasants to pay an additional 4-6% to fulfill the government land tax demands. Wherever the assessment was moderate or low, then the landlords directly paid the land tax. Otherwise very often the land tax was paid by the cultivating peasants. The available data shows that the government, on an average, collected about 95% of the land tax demand from Malabar and the collections from the Mappila taluqs were often without arrears and sometimes the arrear was less than 1% of the total demand.

The Company was able to collect the land tax from Malabar almost without much arrears. This was achieved with the assistance of anti peasant and draconian British

laws which had deprived the peasants of their hard earned income and they remained impoverished. Ignorance about the actual produce, over assessment, corruption, irrational commutation rate and faulty currency systems and changing rates of exchange forced the peasants to pay more as land tax than what they ought to have paid in usual course. The lack of tenurial permanency prevented the cultivators or tenants from improving their lands, especially garden lands. This was because the landlords with the help of British judicial system, which very often stood for the landlords, evicted the tenants from the lands which the tenants had developed, on flimsy reasons. This in due course discouraged the development of agricultural land especially garden lands. The government neither provided any loan for the development of agriculture nor did it construct any artificial irrigation systems for extending agriculture and increasing production. The government's revenue policy was never intended to safeguard the interest of the common people and peasants. The land revenue system and judiciary worked against the interest of the peasants who contributed the bulk of the government revenue that is the land tax. The government's economic policies did not give any impetus to the economic growth of the region. Colonial government's land revenue systems and land revenue legislations had created social and communal tension which continued throughout the East India Company's rule.

The English East India Company on realizing that it could not further enhance the land tax had introduced a set of indirect taxes like salt and tobacco monopoly, *sayer*, *moturpha*, ferry taxes and bridge tolls. All these were oppressive taxes also made the peasants, workers, poor people and coolies contribute to the government exchequer disproportionate to their income. Among the indirect taxes salt and tobacco monopoly (tax) was the most obnoxious one and no other economic and administrative measures of the colonial government were as injurious and oppressive as this monopoly. The salt monopoly had restricted the manufacture of salt in Malabar. Before the monopoly salt required for

Malabar was indigenously manufactured and it was very cheap. The monopoly forced the people to buy imported monopoly salt at an exorbitant rate. Peasants and labourers who were previously employed in the manufacture of salt were thrown out of employment. The monopoly had increased the consumer price of salt in some places by 600-800% depending on its distance from the coastal salt depots. Salt monopoly in Malabar had enhanced the salt price in Mysore and Coorg, two princely states, as they were dependent on Malabar for salt. Salt monopoly had also interfered with Malabar's trade with these princely states. It had adversely interfered with the livelihood of petty traders who were involved in salt trade. Now they had to employ more capital to carry on the trade which was beyond their capacity. Similarly the tobacco monopoly, another obnoxious economic measure of the EIC, was introduced only in two districts of the Madras presidency, Malabar and south Canara. The purchase and sale of tobacco was put under government monopoly. Before the monopoly tobacco needed for Malabar was imported from Coimbatore at a very low price. The monopoly had enhanced the retail price of this essential article by 600-700%. The tobacco monopoly had affected all those who consumed it irrespective of their socio-economic status. The most affected were the wetland agricultural workers and agrarian slaves who badly required tobacco to work in the wet climate.

Apart from the monopoly, the *sayer* was another indirect tax (miscellaneous) collected in the form of transit duty. This was a great clog to Malabar's internal and overland external trade. The ferry tax and bridge toll were collected from all including the common man and poor labourers and coolies who were ferried or who crossed a bridge. This was the most harmful and oppressive of all taxes collected in Malabar. Another vexatious indirect tax was *Moturpha* (Professional tax). The poor workers belonging to the lowest strata of the society were also compelled to pay this tax. This was collected from self employed people except coolies and as such was a professional tax which was very

oppressive in nature. House tax, which formed a part of *moturpha*, was collected from all those who possessed a house above a stipulated value, irrespective of their affordability. This was a source of perpetual complaint.

Non-agricultural indirect taxes were a source of severe drain on the earnings of the people of Malabar and it proved that the colonial government would go to any extent and adopt any anti-people economic measure to increase its revenue. At some instances it was more oppressive and exploitative than the land taxes. The most affected were the poor and the agricultural workers whose wages either declined or remained static whereas their contribution to the government exchequer increased in the form of indirect taxes and it amounted to about 14% of the annual wages of their family. The government never took any steps to ameliorate the sufferings of the poor.

In Malabar the prices of agricultural produce particularly that of grain was increasing during the period of study. The price movement was erratic. In the beginning of the 19th century the price was very high. It started to fall thereafter towards the end of the first decade of the 19th century. The price of grain was the lowest in 1815/16. The comparison of prices of different years with that of the base price of 1815/16 showed that the price was increasing with fluctuations. In Malabar the price movement was guided by production and external demand. Surplus production in Malabar and in the areas which used to import grains from Malabar very often lead to decline in price. In Malabar the increase in price of agricultural produce from 1830s was a curse to the tenants as it led to clash between greedy landlords and their tenants for higher rents. As a result of the increase in the price of paddy and garden produce (coconut, betel nut and areca nut) from early 1830s, the greedy landlords started to evict their tenants, very often on flimsy ground, from the lands in which the tenants and their family had worked hard for several years and developed it. The actual cause was to lease out the land to new tenants who offered a higher rent to the landlords.

Most of these evictions were not in tune with customary land relations and land holdings but was in tandem with alien judicial systems. Abnormal price increase was recorded in early 1830s and from 1853/54. In Malabar itself the price was not uniform. In north Malabar the price was sometimes 80 % higher than the south. Similarly the price was high in the coastal port towns and low in the interior areas including Palakkad and Themmalpuram. There was also seasonal variation in the prices. Whenever there was an increase in price the district administration was happy because it facilitated easy collection of land revenue and the government was not bothered about the impact of the rise of price on the poor and the working class. Very often the increase in the price of agricultural produce did not benefit the cultivators and in several cases the real benefactors were the merchants who manipulated the price and the government who easily collected the taxes. It is observed that excessive or lack of rainfall or untimely rainfall had on many occasions adversely affected the production leading to increase in the price. Eventhough timely and adequate rain helped in getting a good harvest it did not push down the price of grains as the price movement was also related to external demand.

The study of Malabar currency system revealed that Malabar had a complex and confused currency. The system was complicated because of the presence of a large number of coins originated or issued by different rulers and trading Companies. Malabar had its own tri metallic coins and each had its own area of circulation. Old and new gold *fanam* was the preferred coin of the South Malabar, silver *fanam* in North Malabar and copper *kasu* in the Palakkad region. Some of the government measures had caused great inconvenience and loss to the people. Flooding of Malabar with fake coins from Maratha countries had affected the currency system and exposed the people to the mechanization of money changers. Some of the measures of the Company had adversely affected the people. The arbitrarily lowering of the value (exchange rate) of *fanams* against rupee forced the

people pay more towards land tax. The withdrawal from circulation of coins current in Malabar, remittance of gold and silver *fanams* to Bombay, and stopping the circulation of Malabar gold *fanams* were some of the decisions of the Company which affected its internal value and led to the sufferings of the people. Re-coinage of fake currency involved a loss of 40% of the value of the coin. The arbitrary and unscientific lowering of the government rate of exchange (rate of value) of Malabar gold and silver *fanams*, in which the tax was paid by the people, compelled the peasants to pay more towards tax obligation. The government's reluctance to mint Malabar gold and silver *fanams* created a shortage in those coins which interfered with trade. The sudden withdrawal from circulation of the coins that were current in Malabar left a large number of such coins with the local population, which was not accepted in the government treasuries. Later these coins were exchanged by the *shroffs* at a discount and the percentage of discount was loss to the people. The Malabar treasury later in the 1830s stopped issuing out to circulation the gold *fanams* which it received as a part of tax payment thereby creating a shortage in gold *fanams* and artificially enhancing its value. The remittance of Malabar gold and silver *fanams* along with bullions to Bombay without any backward remittance adversely affected the economy, trade and commerce of the region and created shortage in gold coins. At times people were forced to exchange coins at a premium for coins which were in shortage. In the absence of banks the government treasuries helped in the transfer of funds by issuing bills on other places. Absence of a uniform currency system and wrong economic policies of the colonial government adversely affected Malabar' economic development, trade and commerce and exposed the poor people to the exploitation of the money changers.

The government did not adopt any specific positive policy for promoting the economic growth of Malabar including agriculture. The aim of the British colonial government was to create an economic system that would promote a type of

development for India which would at the same time be of benefit to England. The British government geared the Indian economy to suit the British national interest and all development in Malabar should be treated as the part of this policy. The main objective of the government was to collect as much money from the people in the form of land revenue and as speedily as possible. This along with the Company's ignorance of Malabar's system of land holdings and land relations contributed to the early confusion in the land revenue systems. As a result, the Malabar peasants were deprived of all their traditional control over land and the produce. The poverty of Malabar peasants could be traced to the wrong colonial land revenue and other economic policies and the lack of interest in promoting the economic development due to the very nature of the government. Human desire and will was mainly responsible for increased agricultural output. It was also the result of maximizing production for consumption or accumulation of capital or for trade. Agriculture and commerce promoted each other. In Malabar the agricultural development was not followed by general economic progress. Extension of agriculture and expansion of both internal and external trade did not bring corresponding prosperity to the increasing population of Malabar. Any development in Malabar's human and material resources only suited the interest of the British Colonial government and it did not support the people. The growth of Malabar economy and agriculture was slow even though it gave an apparent impression of progress and attracted attention but the basic problems of poverty, low wages, unemployment, direct and indirect heavy tax collection during the EIC's rule remained unchanged. The economic and administrative policies willfully adopted by the government resulted in the systematic looting of the wealth of the region. On an average, during the period of study, the company annually collected a net amount of about Rs.25,00,000 (rupees twenty five lakhs) from Malabar through direct and indirect taxes. This was not reinvested in Malabar and formed a part of tribute to London. This drain of the wealth of the area

prevented the accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth by a few individuals in Malabar particularly by chieftains, big landlords and big merchants was not a parameter of the economic prosperity of the region under the colonial rule. To conclude Malabar was economically exploited by the colonial rulers.

Source: The figures for 1804 to 1837/38 are taken from P.Clementson's report. The quantities are given in candies, mounds and pounds. For the sake of uniformity these have been converted to candies of 560 lbs.The figures for 1840/41,1841/42, 1844/45, 1845/46 and 1849/50 are taken from different settlement reports and M,vol.no.7904,7905,7906, 7907 and 7915. The quantities are given in C.w.t . In the present table, however these have been converted into candies of 560lbs. The quantity and value of the export of Sappan wood and Ghee are not of significance and are of doubtful origin and hence it is not included in the study in chapter 4.

APPENDIX – III : TABLES

2.1. THE POPULATION OF MALABAR ACCORDING TO VARIOUS CENSUSES & THE RATE OF GROWTH OF POPULATION BETWEEN TWO ADJACENT CENSUSES AND THE AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATE.

Census Year	Population	Increase in population comparing to previous census	No. of years between 2 adjacent census	% of growth between two adjacent census	% Of average annual growth rate between 2 adjacent census
1766	140000				
1802	465594	325594	36	232.57	6.46
1808	700000	234406	6	50.35	8.39
1822	927000	227000	14	32.43	2.32
1827	1022215	95215	5	10.27	2.05
1830/31	1113497	91282	4	8.93	2.55
1832/33	1098129	-15368	2	-1.38	-0.69
1839/40	1162989	64860	7	5.91	0.84
1843	1222000	59011	4	5.07	1.27
1848/49	1318398	96396	5	8.29	1.66
1851/52	1514909	196511	3	14.91	4.97
1856/57	1602914	88005	5	5.81	1.16
1861/62	1709081	106167	5	6.62	1.32
1866/67	1856378	147297	5	8.62	1.72
1871	2261250	404872	5	21.81	4.36
1881	2361110	99860	10	4.42	0.44
1891	2648172	287062	10	12.16	1.22
1901	0	0		0.00	0.00
1911	3004519	356347	20	13.46	0.67

Source: For the population of 1830/31 and 1832/33, M.Vol.no.7560, p.93. For the 1843 census, H.V.Conolly's report dated, 27 June 1848, to BORP.M.Vol.No.7570, p.135. and Clementson.P, *A Report on Revenue and Other Matters Connected with Malabar, 1838*, Calicut, 1914, p.15. BORP.Vol.No. 1464, p.9182. M.Vol.No.7570, M.Vol.No.7586,p.7. The censuses of 1839/40, 1851/52, 1856/57, 1861/62, 1866/67, 1871, 1881, 1891, and 1911.

2.2. THE PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN TALUQ WISE AND TOTAL POPULATION OF MALABAR BETWEEN THE CENSUSES OF 1832/33 AND 1856/57.

Talug	Annual growth rate					
	1832-33	1856-57	% of increase in population in between the censuses (23 years)	Average annual growth rate	Density of population as per the census of	
					1832-33	1856-57
Cavay	63082	91881	45.65	1.98	121	176
Chirakkal	54683	80277	46.80	2.03	411	604
Kottayam	68400	106319	55.44	2.41	140	218
Kadathanad	61825	90210	45.91	2.00	319	466
Kurumbranad	73665	103509	40.51	1.76	186	261
Calicut	80444	123354	53.34	2.32	307	472
Eranad	68512	97351	42.09	1.83	104	148
Sheranad	64396	103869	61.30	2.67	388	626
Betutnad	73837	100696	36.38	1.58	426	582
Kootanad	56254	85936	52.76	2.29	462	707
Chavakkad	81661	94823	16.12	0.70	609	708
Nedinganad	89470	117819	31.69	1.38	313	412
Walluvanad	60856	99894	64.15	2.79	70	114
Palakkad	87934	134523	52.98	2.30	220	336
Themmalpuram	66337	94760	42.85	1.86	225	321
Wayanad	35891	50765	41.44	1.80	31	44
Cochin	9109	11326	24.34	1.06		
Mahe	1773			0.00		
Cannannore	0	15602				
Total	1098129	1602914	45.97	2.00		

Source: The censuses of 1832/33 and 1856/57.

2.3. SEXWISE POPULATION OF MALABAR ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT CENSUSES.

Census Year	Male	Female	Total	% of males	% of females	Difference	Madras presidency	
							Male	Female
1830/31	561172	552325	1113497	50.40	49.6	0.80		
1832/33	546665	547263	1093928	49.97	50.21	-0.24		
1839/40	599371	563618	1162989	51.54	48.46	3.08		
1849/50	680397	638001	1318398	51.61	48.39	3.22		
1851/52	763932	750977	1514909	50.43	49.57	0.86	51.2	48.8
1856/57	812190	790724	1602914	50.67	49.33	1.34		
1861/62	857180	851901	1709081	50.15	49.85	0.30	51.23	48.77
1866/67	931040	925338	1856378	50.15	49.85	0.30	50.92	49.08
1871	1134889	1126361	2261250	50.19	49.81	0.38	50.28	49.72
1881	1168440	1184287	2352727	49.66	50.34	-0.68		
1911	1477176	1527343	3004519	49.17	50.83	-1.66		

Source: Censuses of the corresponding year.

2.4. TALUQ WISE DISTRIBUTION AND DENSITY OF MALABAR POPULATION.

Talug	% of population distribution as per the census of				Density of population			
	1832/ 33	1839/ 40	1848/ 49	1856/ 57	1832/ 33	1839/ 40	1848/ 49	1856/ 57
Cavay	5.77	5.28	5.53	5.73	121	118	140	176
Chirakkal	4.91	4.57	4.40	5.01	420	409	447	618
Kottayam	6.23	6.56	6.62	6.63	140	157	179	218
Kadathanad	5.65	5.20	5.41	5.63	320	313	369	466
Kurumbranad	6.74	6.59	6.56	6.46	186	194	218	261
Calicut	7.35	6.52	7.31	7.7	308	290	368	472
Eranad	5.81	6.03	6.39	6.07	97	107	128	148
Sheranad	5.89	6.29	6.60	6.48	389	441	525	627
Betutnad	6.75	6.98	6.76	6.28	427	470	515	582
Kootanad	5.14	5.10	5.02	5.36	463	488	545	707
Chavakkad	7.46	7.25	6.61	5.92	609	629	650	697
Nedinganad	8.24	9.01	7.78	7.35	315	367	359	412
Walluvanad	5.56	6.10	6.04	6.23	70	81	91	114
Palakkad	8.04	8.78	8.67	8.39	220	255	286	336
Themmalpuram	6.12	5.69	6.32	5.91	227	224	283	321
Wayanad	3.28	3.13	3.02	3.17	30	31	34	44
Cochin	0.83	0.71	0.81	0.71		5523	7151	
Mahe	0.14	0.20	0.15					
Cannannore				0.97				
Total	100	100	100	100	175	186	211	256

Source: Censuses of 1832/33, 1839/40, 1848/49, 1856/57.

2.5. AGRICULTURAL AND NON AGRICULTURAL POPULATION OF DIFFERENT TALUQS AS PER THE CENSUS OF 1856/57.

Talug	Population of different taluqs of Malabar	Agricultural population	Non-agricultural population	Agricultural Population (percentage)	Non-Agricultural population (percentage)
Cavay	91881	71369	20512	77.68	22.32
Chirakkal	80277	55023	25254	68.54	31.46
Kottayam	106319	61369	44950	57.72	42.28
Kadathanad	90210	74037	16173	82.07	17.93
Kurumbranad	103509	90412	13097	87.35	12.65
Calicut	123354	71711	51643	58.13	41.87
Eranad	97351	85988	11363	88.33	11.67
Sheranad	103869	96857	7012	93.25	6.75
Betutnad	100696	59043	41653	58.63	41.37
Walluvanad	99894	99377	517	99.48	0.52
Wayanad	50765	46767	3998	92.12	7.88
Cochin	11326	5952	5374	52.55	47.45
Cannannore	15602	704	14898	4.51	95.49
Palakkad	134523	77272	57251	57.44	42.56
Themmalpuram	94760	56148	38612	59.25	40.75
Nedinganad	117819	108391	9428	92.00	8.00
Chavakkad	94823	75863	18960	80.00	20.00
Kootanad	85936	59968	25968	69.78	30.22
Total	1602914	1196251	406663	74.63	25.37

Source: census of 1856/57.

2.6. DENSITY OF MALABAR POPULATION IN DIFFERENT CENSUSES.

Census year	1830/31	1832/33	1839/40	1848/49	1851/52	1856/57	1861/62	1866/67	1871	1881
Density	178	175	186	210	242	256	274	297	361	376(408)

Source: The censuses of the corresponding year.

2.7. TALUQ WISE DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AS PER THE CENSUS OF 1832/33.

Taluq	Total Percentage Of					Total	% of the of Malabar Population in each taluq
	Hindus	Slaves	Hindus & Slaves	Muslims	Christians		
Cavay	76.57	9.25	85.82	14.18	-	100	5.77
Chirakkal	70.29	7.02	77.31	22.11	0.58	100	4.91
Kottayam	67.12	3.32	70.44	27.51	1.62	100	6.23
Kadathanad	66.52	0.71	67.23	32.66	0.014	99.90	5.65
Kurumbranad	66.35	14.39	80.74	20.25	-	100.	6.74
Calicut	68.4	10.54	79.01	19.93	1.08	100	7.35
Eranad	23.73	34.52	58.26	41.74	-	100	5.81
Sheranad	39.12	14.12	53.24	46.76	-	100	5.89
Betutnad	44.54	9.94	54.49	45.51	-	100	6.75
Kootanad	59.23	15.98	75.21	24.24	0.55	100	5.05
Chavakkad	62.23	2.87	65.1	26.13	8.77	100	7.46
Nedinganad	71.27	20.94	92.21	7.79	-	100	8.24
Walluvanad	44.88	19.55	64.44	35.54	0.02	100	5.56
Palakkad	80.51	11.28	91.98	7.96	0.06	100	8.04
Themmalpuram	80.97	11.71	92.68	7.07	0.25	100	6.12
Wayanad	35.78	60.71	96.49	3.65	-	100	3.28
Cochin	26.04	0.68	26.82	6.24	66.94	99.8	0.83
Total							100

Source: The census of 1832/33.

**2.8. THE RATE OF GROWTH OF DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES OF MALABAR IN
BETWEEN THE CENSUSES OF 1832/33 AND 1856/57.**

Census year	Total Malabar population	Religion (Hindus)	Proportion of the religion in Malabar population-%	% of increase in the proportion	% of the growth in population comparing to previous census	Average annual growth rate
1830/31	1109929	823993	74.02			
1832/33	1093928	816969	74.68	0.66	-0.85	-0.28
1856/57	1602914	1165174	72.74	-1.94	42.62	1.78
1881	2361110	1678054	71.07	-1.67	44.02	1.76
1911	3004519	2008063	66.83	-4.24	19.67	0.66
% of increase in Hindu population between 1832/33 and 1856/57 census=42.62%						
Muslims (Mappilas)						
1830/31	1109929	272175	24.52			
1832/33	1093928	261131	23.87	-0.65	-4.06	-1.35
1856/57	1602914	414126	25.84	1.96	58.59	2.44
1881	2361110	643602	27.26	1.42	55.41	2.22
1911	3004519	942803	31	4.12	46.49	1.55
% of increase in Muslim population between 1832/33 and 1856/57 census=58.59%						
Christians						
1830/31	1109929	17094	1.54			
1832/33	1093928	15828	1.45	-0.09	-7.41	-2.47
1856/57	1602914	23614	1.47	0.03	49.19	2.05
1881	2361110	39097	1.66	0.18	65.57	2.62
1911	3004519	53012	1.76	0.11	35.59	1.19
% of increase in Christian population between 1832/33 and 1856/57 census=49.19 %						
Total growth in the Malabar population between 1832/33 and 1856/57 censuses =46.53%						

Source: censuses of 1832/33 and 1856/57.

3.1. WET LAND TAX COLLECTED IN DIFFERENT YEARS

VI

Fusly	Year	Tax amount (Rs.)
1233	1823/24	1112425
1234	1824/25	1118171
1235	1825/26	1112657
1236	1826/27	1112967
	1827/28	
1238	1828/29	1119678
1239	1829/30	1124997
1241	1831/32	1123293
1242	1832/33	1124060
1248	1838/39	1111311
1249	1839/40	1111535
1251	1841-42	1118649
1252	1842-43	1118855
1253	1843-44	0
1254	1844-45	0
1255	1845-46	1121978
1256	1846-47	1126585
1257	1847-48	1128325
1258	1848-49	1123576
1259	1849-50	1131479
1260	1850-51	1130897
1261	1851-52	1131846
1262	1852-53	1130783
1263	1853-54	1106516
1264	1854-55	1130385
1265	1855-56	1159038
1266	1856-57	1161448
1289	1879/80	1165921

Source: Settlement report of different years.

**3.2. STATEMENT OF THE VALUE OF THE EXPORT OF RICE AND PADDY
FROM MALABAR BY SEA.**

YEAR	VALUE OF EXPORT (RS.)	% OF INCREASE IN EXPORT VALUE COMPARED TO 1804	QUANTITY EXPORTED (IN MOORAH)	% OF INCREASE IN QUANTITY COMPARED WITH 1804
1804	24,160	-	12,080	-
1812/13	11,72,021	4751%	5,86,010	4,751%
1824/25	8,36,204	3361%	5,12,128	4,140%
1845/46	23,32,425	9554%	17,99,312	14,780%

Source: Statement on the Export of Agricultural produces from Malabar, Appendix.No.I.

**3. 3. THE NUMBER OF GARDEN TREES AND THE TOTAL LAND TAX ASSESSED IN
MALABAR BETWEEN 1831/32 TO 1837/38 AND FROM 1852/53 TO 1854/ 55.**

Fusly	Year	No: of Coconut trees	No: of Betel nut	No: of Jack trees	Total No. of garden trees	Tax Amount (Rs.)
1241	1831/32	37,61,948	28,65,648	3,15,951	69,43,547	4,16,151
1242	1832/33	37,62,061	28,65,651	3,15,989	69,43,701	4,11,099
1243	1833/34	36,94,784	27,50,514	3,07,058	67,82,356	4,04,857
1244	1834/35	37,78,219	27,39,179	2,93,295	68,60,693	4,11,526
1245	1835/36	38,85,534	29,02,097	2,90,032	70,77,663	4,22,200
1246	1836/37	39,59,557	30,36,938	2,84,335	72,78,831	4,28,295
1247	1837/38	39,38,934	30,08,978	2,81,396	72,79,308	4,25,959
1262	1852/53	39,77,359	29,91,205	2,80,167	72,48,731	4,28,296
1263	1853/54	39,77,455	29,90,131	2,77,205	72,45,773	4,27,463
1264	1854/55	39,78,439	29,86,968	2,77,435	72,42,842	4,25,507
1289	1879/80	45,97,808	32,01,189	3,34,753		

Source: For the period from A.D.1831/32 to 1837/38, BORP.Fort St.George,Vol,No. 1650, pp.3411&3412. For 1852/53, 1853/54, M.Vol.No.7952, par.4. For 1854/55, M.Vol.No.7553, par. 18, For 1879/80 Logan,Vol.II. Appendix.XIII, p. clxxi, clxxvi. also letter from the Collector of Malabar to the BOR, settlement report of 1832/33, dated, 15 january, 1834, M.Vol.No.4817, p.26.

**3.3.A. ABSTRACT SHOWING EXTENT OF WASTE LANDS ANNUALLY RECLAIMED ON
COWLE FOR A SERIES OF YEARS COMMENCING FROM FUSLY 1243 (1833-34).**

Years	For rice cultivation		For gardens	
	No. of lands	Extend (cawnies)	No. of lands	Extend (cawnies)
1833/34	14	97.5	4	105
1834/35	13	105.5	4	205
1835/36	36	93	10	161
1836/37	35	170	4	192
1837/38	71	300	37	569
1838/39	66	459.5	30	625
1839/40	48	139.5	13	163
1840/41	43	135.5	38	211
1841/42	120	410	123	1122
1842/43	48	204.5	62	444
1843/44	44	117	65	270
1844/45	102	605.5	69	970
1845/46	122	329.5	212	890
1846/47	273	596	405	2352
Total	1035	3763	1076	8279
Garden land = 10,947 acres				
Wet land = 4,975 acres				

Source: BORP.Vol.No.2108, p.15335.

VIII

3.4 DRY LAND CROP PATTERN IN DIFFERENT TALUQS OF MALABAR BETWEEN 1847/48 AND 1849/50.

Year	Modum			Ponum			Gingily seed		
	1847/48	1848/49	1849/50	1847/48	1848/49	1849/ 50	1848/49	1848/49	1849/50
	Extent (cawnies)	Extent (cawnies)	Extent (cawnies)	Extent (cawnies)	Extent (cawnies)	Extent (cawnies)	Extent (cawnies)	Extent (cawnies)	Extent (cawnies)
Taluq									
Cavay	1024	953	857	1085	10655	10371	900	597	404
Chirakkal	1805	1820	1659	439	466	403	256	193	139
kottayam	539	546	526	5674	6233	6056	248	218	143
kadathanad	1193	1062	905	1005	1186	1195	407	454	232
kurumbranad	1698	1892	1584	963	1151	1053	1315	1526	842
Calicut	1461	1448	1286	87	65	67	1304	1393	682
Eranad	3263	3481	3053	300	306	269	1894	1946	1297
Sheranad	2665	2794	2191	0	0	0	1764	1228	2982
Betutnad	2133	2281	1651	0	0	0	1343	778	688
Kootanad	1595	1961	1380	0	0	0	789	542	423
Chavakkad	125	129	112	0	0	0	163	168	164
Nedinganad	5394	6076	5273	0	0	0	4107	4383	2789
Walluvanad	4230	4595	4265	0	0	0	3549	3241	2266
Palakkad.	2161	3431	2600	0	0	0	2120	2153	1451
Themmalpuram	1360	2080	1451	0	0	0	3124	3389	2513
Wayanad	0	0	0	19	24	0	0	0	0
Cochin	12	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0
Mahe	0	15	14	0	0	0	0	9	4
Total area in cawnies	30658	34564	28807	9572	20086	19414	23290	22218	17019

1 cawny = 1.3223 Acres.

Source: Settlement reports of 1847/48, 1848/49, 1849/50.

**3.5. THE PERCENTAGE OF DIFFERENT CROPS IN THE DRY LAND CULTIVATION
(1840/41 - 1856/57).**

Fusly	Year	% of ponum Cultivation	% of modum Cultivation	% of gingily seed Cultivation
1250	1840/41	32	36	32
1251	1841/42	30	39	31
1252	1842/43	28	44	28
1253	1843/44	25	42	32
1254	1844/45	27	40	32
1255	1845/46	31	44	25
1256	1846/47	33	40	27
1257	1847/48	26	42	32
1258	1848/49	26	45	29
1259	1849/50	35	45	20
1260	1850/51	33	41	27
1261	1851/52	33	38	28
1262	1852/53	33	39	28
1263	1853/54	32	40	28
1264	1854/55	24	45	30
1265	1855/56	27	43	31
1266	1856/57	23	46	31
Average		29.11	42.60	28.29

Source: Annual settlement reports of above years.

3.6. THE TOTAL AREA OF EACH TALUQ, AREA OF EACH TALUQ UNDER DRY LAND CULTIVATION AND THE SHARE OF EACH TALUQ IN THE DRY LAND CULTIVATION DURING DIFFERENT PERIODS.

Talug	Total area of the Talug in cawnies	% of total area of the talug under Dry land cultivation		% of the share of each talug in the total dry land cultivation of Malabar			
		1853/54	1854/55	1851/52	1852/53	1856/57	Average
Cavay	333440	3.14	3.26	17.32	19.82	13.63	16.92
Chirakkal	85120	2.13	1.97	3.40	3.01	2.93	3.12
kottayam	312000	1.34	1.91	8.79	10.99	8.54	9.44
Kadathanad	123840	1.02	1.39	3.55	4.23	2.88	3.55
Kurumbranad	253440	1.09	1.17	5.41	5.39	5.34	5.38
Calicut	167360	1.19	1.58	3.88	3.20	5.19	4.09
Eranad	419680	1.22	1.17	7.43	8.77	8.06	8.09
Sheranad	106080	2.41	2.68	5.75	4.66	5.68	5.37
Betutnad	110720	1.75	2.27	4.73	3.69	3.61	4.01
Kootanad	77760	2.30	2.93	3.25	2.53	3.75	3.18
Walluvanad	560160	1.27	1.41	10.59	10.57	13.98	11.71
Wayanad	742400	0.00		0.03	0.03	0.00	0.02
Palakkad	256000	1.28	1.27	6.45	4.80	5.46	5.57
Themmalpuram	188800	1.71	1.81	6.10	5.57	5.79	5.82
Nedinganad	183040	5.02	5.32	12.93	12.35	14.95	13.41
Chavakkad	85760	0.15	0.25	0.39	0.38	0.21	0.33
Total	4005600	1.42	1.57	1.83	1.73	2.74	2.10
Total area				=	6259 sq.miles		

Source: settlement reports of the corresponding years.

3.7. EXTENT OF DRY LAND CULTIVATION IN MALABAR, A.D.1823/24 TO 1856/57

XI

Fusly	Year	Ponom		Modom		Oil seed (gingily)		Total	
		Extent (Cawnies))	Amount (Rs.)	Extent (Cawnies)	Amount (Rs.)	Extent (Cawnies)	Amount (Rs.)	Extent (Cawnies)	Amount (Rs.)
1233	1823/24								25,448
1234	1824/25								24868
1235	1825/26								26323
1236	1826/27								28247
1237	1827/28								30,835
1238	1828/29								28987
1239	1829/30								31928
1240	1830/31								
1241	1831/32								25910
1242	1832/33								33863
1243	1833/34								33744
1244	1834/35								55728
1245	1835/36								51566
1246	1836/37								48833
1247	1837/38								44416
1248	1838/39								59568
1249	1839/40								53596
1250	1840/41								61822
1251	1841/42	22212	21306	25500	30608	22348	17296	70060	69210
1252	1842/43	22625	20982	29651	32560	23948	17724	76224	71266
1253	1843/44	20086	18692	31458	30788	19648	14383	71192	63863
1254	1844/45	17674	16172	29670	28982	22541	16673	69885	61827
1255	1845/46	18962	17203	27863	26632	22164	15710	68989	59545
1256	1846/47	20288	17470	28488	28502	16499	11543	65275	57515
1257	1847/48	23950	21568	29657	31038	19774	13826	73381	66432
1258	1848/49	19295	16885	31120	32446	23296	16982	73711	66313
1259	1849/50	20090	16957	34572	30909	22227	15515	76889	63381
1260	1850/51	19147	16302	28813	26555	0	0	47960	42857
1261	1851/52	20804	18196	26002	25045	17197	15478	64003	58719
1262	1852/53	21884	19193	25179	23991	18616	12457	65679	55641
1263	1853/54	22278	19529	27862	26950	19206	12893	69346	59372
1264	1854/55	13828	11226	25705	21183	17311	11644	56844	44053
1265	* 1855/56	17356	14,566	27739	23,549	19962	12,709	65080	50,824
1266	* 1856/57	19015	16,178	38212	36,850	25735	15,068	82962	68,096
Average		19968	17652	29218	28537	19405	13744	68593	57008

*- extent in acres.

Source: Clementson, P., *Report on the revenue and other matters connected with Malabar*, 31 December, 1838, par.8. BORP.Vol.Nos.1650, 1844, 1895,1991,2108,2281,2196,2240,2356, M.Vol.Nos.7953, 7954.

**3.8. THE POPULATION AND NUMBER OF PLOUGHS IN DIFFERENT TALUQS OF MALABAR
AS PER THE CENSUSES OF 1838/39, 1848/49 AND 1856/57.**

Talug	1838/ 39		1848/49		1856/57		%of increase in ploughs between 1836/37 and 1856/57
	Total Population	No. of ploughs	Total population	No. of Ploughs	Total population	No. of ploughs	
Cavay	61,398	3,885	72929	4290	91881	5612	31
Chirakkal	53,175	2,783	58048	3087	80277	3364	17
Kottayam	76,306	5,840	87335	5992	106319	5717	-2
Kadathanad	60,514	3,804	71343	4147	90210	4942	23
Kurumbranad	76,697	5,047	86523	5542	103509	7136	29
Calicut	75,845	3,695	96362	3784	123354	6389	42
Eranad	70,101	7,807	84205	9817	97351	12634	38
Sheranad	73,095	6,678	86981	8144	103869	9922	33
Betutnad	81,226	8,113	89093	8673	100696	9337	13
Kootanad	59,320	4,992	66171	5922	85936	7260	31
Walluvanad	70,921	10,980	79594	12628	99894	13896	21
Wayanad	36,424	5,668	39772	6341	50765	6743	16
Cochin	8,284	0	10727	0	11326	0	0
Mahe	2,275	82	1932	87	15602	0	0
Palakkad	102,060	8,928	114343	10522	134523	11101	20
Themmalpuram	66,210	6,581	83340	8621	94760	9420	30
Nedinganad	104,843	12,439	102542	13274	117819	15159	18
Chavakkad	84,295	3,464	87158	3359	94823	3616	4
Total	11,62,989	100,786	1318398	114230	1602914	132248	24

Source: The censuses of 1838/39, 1848/49 and 1856/57.

**3.9. THE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER PLOUGH IN THE DIFFERENT TALUQS OF MALABAR
DURING DIFFERENT YEARS AND THE PERCENTAGE OF DISTRIBUTION OF PLOUGHS.**

XIII

Taluq	No. of persons per plough as per the census of			No. of agriculturalist per plough as per 1856/57 census	% of the distribution of ploughs in the taluqs as per 1856/57 census
	1838/39	1848/49	1856/57		
Cavay	16	17	16	13	4
Chirakkal	19	19	24	16	3
kottayam	13	15	19	11	4
kadathanad	16	17	18	15	4
kurumbranad	15	16	15	13	5
Calicut	21	25	19	11	5
Eranad	9	9	8	7	10
Sheranad	11	11	10	10	8
Betutnad	10	10	11	6	7
Kootanad	12	11	12	8	5
Walluvanad	6	6	7	7	11
Wayanad	6	6	8	7	5
Cochin	16		16	13	0
Mahe	28	22	16	13	0
Palakkad	11	11	12	7	8
Themmalpuram	10	10	10	6	7
Nedinganad	8	8	8	7	11
Chavakkad	24	26	26	21	3
Average	12	12	16	9	100

Source: Census of 1838/39, 1848/49 and 1856/57.

3.10. THE PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN POPULATION AND PLOUGHS BETWEEN THE CENSUS OF 1838/39 AND 1856/57.

XIV

Taluq	% of increase in population	% of increase in ploughs.
Cavay	33	31
Chirakkal	34	17
Kottayam	28	-2
Kadathanad	33	23
Kurumbranad	26	29
Calicut	39	42
Eranad	28	38
Sheranad	30	33
Betutnad	19	13
Kootanad	31	31
Walluvanad	29	21
Wayanad	28	16
Cochin	27	0
Mahe	85	0
Palakkad	24	20
Themmalpuram	30	30
Nedinganad	11	18
Chavakkad	11	4
District average	27	24

Source: Census of 1838/39 and 1856/57.

3.11. THE COMPARISON BETWEEN THE PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN PLOUGHS AND CATTLE IN THE DIFFERENT TALUQS OF MALABAR BETWEEN 1838/39 AND 1848/49.

Talug	1838/39		1848/49		%of increase in ploughs and cattle between 1838/39 and 1848/49	
	No. of Ploughs	No. of Cows, Bullocks and Buffaloes	No. of ploughs	No. of Cows, Bullocks and Buffaloes	plough	cattle
Cavay	3,885	25,164	4290	27536	9	9
Chirakkal	2,783	17,334	3087	18553	10	7
Kottayam	5,840	25,530	5992	27628	3	8
Kadathanad	3,804	20,161	4147	21388	8	6
Kurumbranad	5,047	33,061	5542	31939	9	-4
Calicut	3,695	16,700	3784	17299	2	3
Eranad	7,807	38,765	9817	49123	20	21
Sheranad	6,678	28,089	8144	32069	18	12
Betutnad	8,113	30,383	8673	32781	6	7
Kootanad	4,992	17,960	5922	22758	16	21
Walluvanad	10,980	47,162	12628	54160	13	13
Wayanad	5,668	30,355	6341	34343	11	12
Cochin	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mahe	82	496	87	502	6	1
Palakkad	8,928	30,894	10522	38144	15	19
Themmalpuram	6,581	26,769	8621	37083	24	28
Nedinganad	12,439	49,921	13274	57485	6	13
Chavakkad	3,464	16,948	3359	17992	-3	6
Total	100,786	455,692	114230	520783	12	12
Plough : cattle	1:4.5		1:4.5			

Source: Census of 1838/39 and 1848/49.

4.1. THE QUANTITY OF DIFFERENT ARTICLES EXPORTED BY LAND DURING DIFFERENT YEARS.

Products	Year				
	1828/29	1829/30	1830/31	1831/32	1832/33
Coconuts (Nos.)	47,875	65,600	62,700	59,060	30,325
Copra (candies)	none exported by land				
Coconut oil (candies)	60	77	82	63	59
Betel nut (Nos.)	6,211	7,024	7,421	73,770	5,522
Cardamom (candies)	none exported by land				
Dry ginger (candies)	710	189	290	419	169
Turmeric (candies)	292	117	169	207	129

Source: Revenue settlement report of Malabar for 1832/33 sent to the BOR, Fort St. George, dated 15 January, 1834, M.Vol.No.4817, p.5.

4.2. THE PRICE OF PEPPER IN DIFFERENT YEARS.

Year	Rates at which Sheranad cultivators sold Pepper to local merchants Per <i>candy</i> of 600 lbs (Rs.).	Rates at which Sheranad Merchants sold their pepper to Calicut merchants at 640 lbs per <i>candy</i> (Rs.).	Rate at which Zamorin Raja's agents collected Pepper at 620lbs per <i>candy</i> (Rs.).
1790/91	110	150	80
1791/92	110	155	80
1792/93	105-130	160	90
1793/94	105-110	160	90
1794/95	110-110	160	90
1795/96	120-120	170	100
1796/97	120-120	175	100
Year	Rate at which Company collected pepper from Malabar since 1792.		
1792	100 (Monopoly Price offered by the Company to the Rajas)		
1793	200 (Company's contracted price with the big merchants)		
1793	130 (price given to the cultivators by the Company as per partial monopoly system)		
Year	Contract price paid by the company to merchants (Rs.).	Year	Rates paid to the cultivators by the Kottayam and Tellicherry merchants per <i>candy</i> (Rs.).
1793	200-260 (price at Mahe after its capture by the British in 1793)		
1794	200	1814/15	86-109
1795	200-205	1815/16	78-113
1796	200	1816/17	73.5-89(Average Rs.91.5).
Year	Market price of pepper (Rs.).	1829	62
1800	120	1830	32 (<i>candy</i> of 680 lbs.)
1802	100		
1803	105		
1807	80		
1809	80		
1810	80		

Source: The price for 1790-97 is taken from M.Vol.No.8210, p.223. rates taken from the head mookiastan of Sheranad. 20 tulam =1 *candy*. Other rates from different settlement reports.

4.3. THE QUINQUENNIAL QUANTITY OF PEPPER EXPORTED AND THE PRICE AS PER THE CUSTOM TARIFF.

Year	Quantity in <i>candies</i>	Price per <i>candy</i> (Rs.)
1804-08	5178	131
1813-14	2537	118
1818-19	7174	92
1823-24	6539	108

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1828-29	7728	84
1833-34	10348	51
1838-39	10743	57
1844-45	12870	60

Source: Appendix.No.I.

4.4. QUANTITIES OF PEPPER ANNUALLY EXPORTED AND THE PRICE (CUSTOM) PER CANDY.

Year	Quantity in candies	Price per candy (customs)
1849/50	14221	60
1851/52	14485	61
1852/53	16339	61
1854/55	11102	61
1855/56	19851	61

Source: Appendix.No.I.

4.5. THE AMOUNT FOR WHICH CARDAMOM WAS ANNUALLY FARMED.

Year	Amount (Rs.)
1828/29	28525
1829/30	42505
1830/31	35215
1831/32	20050
1832/33	10500
1833/34	20800
1834/35	21000
1835/36	21500

Source: settlement reports of respective years.

4.6. QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGE EXPORT OF COCONUT AND PRICE AS PER CUSTOM TARIFF.

Year	Quantity of coconut in Numbers	Value (Rs.)	Custom tariff rate per 1000 coconuts.
1804-08	20547531	312867	15
1813-14	36683454	245658	18
1818-19	18683454	402205	27
1823-24	23183404	320500	14
1828-29	29895873	412667	14
1833-34	29592136	328092	11
1838-39	26941070	379667	14
1844-45	35193397	480191	14

Source: Appendix.No.I and settlement reports of the years.

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4.7. QUANTITY OF COCONUTS ANNUALLY EXPORTED FROM 1844/45.

Year	Quantity of coconut in Numbers	Value (Rs.)	Tariff rate/1000
1844/45	44652351	622975	14
1845/46	34842985	479430	14
1849/50	38228020	503462	13
1851/52	38463000	502046	13
1852/53	38647000	505434	13
1853/54	NA	NA	NA
1854/55	28764522	378828	13
1855/56	23460075	312801	13

Source: Appendix.No.I.

4.8. QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGE EXPORT OF COPRA AND THE PRICE AS PER CUSTOM TARIFF.

Year	Quantity in candies	Total Value (Rs.)	Price of one candy (Rs.)
1804-08	4905	129252	26
1813-14	8365	206938	25
1818-19	7594	188772	25
1823-24	14116	241427	17
1828-29	17579	297974	17
1833-34	17319	263482	15
1838-39	12082	198638	16
1844-45	13129	312479	23

Source: Appendix.No.I and settlement reports.

4.9. STATEMENT ON THE ANNUAL EXPORT OF COPRA FROM 1849/50 AND ITS PRICE.

Year	Quantity in Candies	Total Price (Rs.)	Price of one candy (Rs.)
1849/50	25494	543665	21
1851-52	30557	534767	18
1852-53	31144	550279	18
1853-54	NA	NA	NA
1854-55	21507	376373	18
1855-56	25520	446596	17

Source: Appendix.No.I and settlement reports.

4.10. QUINQUENNIAL EXPORT OF BETEL NUTS.

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Year	Quantity in numbers
1808	4118725
1813-14	9668645
1818-19	3507540
1823-24	44296040
1828-29	9752470
1833-34	8040824
1840-41	8952360

Source: Appendix.No.I and settlement reports.

4.11. THE GROWTH IN THE ANNUAL EXPORT OF PADDY FROM MALABAR.

Year	Value of export (Rs.)	% of increase in value comparing with 1804	Quantity exported (moorah)	% of increase in quantity comparing with 1804
1804	24,160	-	12,080	-
1812/13	11,72,021	4751%	5,86,010	4751%
1824/25	8,36,204	3361%	5,12,128	4140%
1845/46	23,32,425	9554%	17,99,312	14,780%

Source: Appendix.No.I and settlement reports

4.12. QUINQUENNIAL EXPORT OF PADDY AND THE PRICE AS PER CUSTOM TARIFF.

Year	Quantity in Moorah	Value (Rs.)	Price per moorah (Rs.)
1804-1808	46355	92710	2
1813-14	221328	442654	2
1818-19	133379	266758	2
1823-24	169932	301483	2
1828-29	326615	515776	2
1833-34	211899	272733	1
1838/39	248491	312332	1

Source: Appendix.No.I.

4.13. QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGE EXPORT OF ARROW ROOT AND TOTAL VALUE AS PER CUSTOM TARIFF RATE

Year	Annual quantity exported in candies	Rate (Rs.)	Price per candy(Rs.)
1849/50	693	11142	16
1852/53	406	6939	17
1853/53	448	7384	16
1854/55	752	12786	17

Source: Appendix.No.I .

4.14. QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGE OF THE EXPORT OF TURMERIC AND THE VALUE AS PER CUSTOM TARIFF.

Year	Quantity in Candies	Value(Rs)	Price per candy as per custom tariff
1804-1808	536	13419	25
1813-14	656	20612	31
1818-19	1319	23964	18
1823-24	1583	22410	14
1828-29	1398	21617	15
1833-34	1393	21101	15
1838/39	1443	23215	16
1844-45	2208	46182	21
1849/50	2273	43776	19

Source: Appendix.No.I.

4.15. THE QUINQUENNIAL EXPORT OF DRY TURMERIC IN DIFFERENT YEARS.

Year	Quantity in Candies	Rate (Rs.)	price per candy(Rs)
1804-08	386	11735	30
1813-14	932	25854	28
1818-19	858	25595	30
1823-24	425	13423	32
1828-29	823	25036	30
1833-34	294	5097	17
1838-39	643	15906	25

Source: Appendix.No.I.

4.16. QUANTITY OF DRY GINGER ANNUALLY EXPORTED FROM 1824/25 WITH RATE.

Year	Quantity in candies.	Value	custom tariff rate
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			Per candy
1824-25	809	39,166	48
1825-26	1289	59,940	47
1826-27	1,888	91,916	49
1827-28	1,900	94,002	49
1828-29	1,329	59,690	46
1829-30	1,001	27,584	28
1830-31	945	30,898	32
1831-32	1,710	53,261	32
1832-33	879	26,222	30
1833-34	968	32,219	33
1844-45	1958	57332	29
1851-52	6,863	1,38,960	20
1852-53	7,568	1,53,969	20
1854-55	8485	169700	20
1855-56	7059	141193	20

Source: Appendix.No.I .

4.17. THE EXPORT OF COFFEE FROM THE PORTS OF TELLICHERRY AND CALICUT IN CWT.

Year	Wayand coffee exports Duty realized
1840/41-1843/44. (Average of 4 years).	54 ½ (Cwt.)
1844/45	399
1845/46	1696
1846/47	927
1847/48	3465
1848/49	7286
1849/50	4957
1850/51	8713
1851/52	7229

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1852/53	8223
1853/54	15540
1854/55	13855
1855/56	23041

Source: Robinson, W., *Report on the History, Condition and prospects of the taluq of Wayanad*, 22 August, 1857., Calicut, 1917.

4.18. THE QUINQUENNIAL VALUE OF TOTAL EXPORTS IN THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE OF MALABAR.

Year	Value (Rs.)
1804-1808	12,89,530
1813-14	17,27,385
1818-19	16,40,475
1823-24	17,09,204
1828-29	19,99,416
1833-34	14,85,316
1838/39	16,09,686
1844-45	18,36,246
1849/50	23,92,429

Source: Appendix.No.I .

5.1. MALABAR LAND REVENUE DEMAND, COLLECTION, BALANCE AFTER REMISSION AND PERCENTAGE OF COLLECTION.

Year	Demand (Rs.)	Collection (Rs.)	Balance after remission	% of Collection
1792/93	925142	761669	163473	82.33
1793/94	1816928	1488898	305632	81.95
1794/95	1334502	1237564	74091	92.74
1795/96	1373327	1239784	110686	90.28
1796/97	1408834	1348022	37955	95.68
1797/98	1446834	1307360	20210	90.36
1798/99	1566419	1400084	166335	89.38
1799/00	1626603	1566940	59664	96.33
1800/01	1779398	1670405	108993	93.87
1801/02	2083131	1999582	83548	95.99
1802/03	1803351	1569225	234126	87.02
1803/04	1870732	1758720	112013	94.01
1804/05	1879536	1832915	46621	97.52
1805/06	1891187	1774717	116421	93.84
1806/07	1787082	1748007	39075	97.81
1807/08	1806258	1781252	25000	98.62

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1808/09	1761171	1712960	3210	97.26
1809/10	1715874	1710204	5670	99.67
1810/11	1711174	1699972	11203	99.35
1811/12	1710186	1686937	23250	98.64
1812/13	1706385	1657547	48838	97.14
1813/14	1705538	1650132	55405	96.75
1814/15	1706859	1631957	74902	95.61
1815/16	1644682	1481530	163132	90.08
1816/17	1705436	1548408	157028	90.79
1817/18	1703728	1538956	164772	90.33
1818/19	1704634	1532540	172094	89.90
1819/20	1704647	1598425	106222	93.77
1820/21	1681731	1587599	94133	94.40
1821/22	1681559	1616913	64647	96.16
1822/23	1683206	1581165	102041	93.94
1823/24	1681787	1523682	158106	90.60
1824/25	1696309	1601330	94979	94.40
1825/26	1578993	1549596	29397	98.14
1826/27	1581469	1563906	17562	98.89
1827/28	1579587	1553765	25821	98.37
1828/29	1587586	1571815	14964	99.01
1829/30	1602567	1587736	14024	99.07
1830/31	1533617	1349854	182958	88.02
1831/32	1587577	1335816	250953	84.14
1832/33	1581509	1554467	26235	98.29
1833/34	1602166	1584088	17272	98.87
1834/35	1606122	1600394	4921	99.64
1835/36	1613315	1607460	5048	99.64
1836/37	1611884	1605913	5148	99.63
1837/38	1622883	1611658	10402	99.31
1838/39	1626040	1623901	2139	99.87

Continuation on next page

Year	Demand (Rs.)	Collection (Rs.)	Balance after remission	% of Collection
1839/40	1635588	1631384	4204	99.74
1840/41	1648619	1633677	14942	99.09
1841/42	1652948	1642121	10827	99.34
1842/43	1640718	1630639	10079	99.39
1843/44	1640105	1619012	21093	98.71
1844/45	1638506	1619676	18830	98.85
1845/46	1645465	1620637	24828	98.49
1846/47	1650400	1641132	9268	99.44
1847/48	1653079	1640463	12616	99.24
1848/49	1646659	1632018	14641	99.11
1849/50	1642176	1621133	21043	98.72
1850/51	1644842	1621642	23200	98.59
1851/52	1645747	1629723	16023	99.03
1852/53	1647866	1638953	8913	99.46
1853 / 54	1609444	1580830	28614	98.22
1854 / 55	1700680	1615303	85377	94.98
1855 /56	1679639	1655975	23664	98.59
1856 / 57	1714594	1693459	21135	98.77
TOTAL	107356560	102913547	4179616	95.86

AVERAGE	1651639	1583285	64302	95.86
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Source: Appendix.No.II and settlement reports.

5.2. WET LAND TAX COLLECTION IN DIFFERENT YEARS.

Fusly	Year	Tax amount (Rs.)
1233	1823/24	1112425
1234	1824/25	1118171
1235	1825/26	1112657
1236	1826/27	1112967
1238	1831/32	1119678
1239	1832/33	1124997
1241	1831/32	1123293
1242	1832/33	1124060
1248	1838/39	1111311
1249	1839/40	1111535
1251	1841-42	1118649
1252	1842-43	1118855
1253	1843-44	
1254	1844-45	
1255	1845-46	1121978
1256	1846-47	1126585
1257	1847-48	1128325
1258	1848-49	1123576
1259	1849-50	1131479
1260	1850-51	1130897
1261	1851-52	1131846
1262	1852-53	1130783
1263	1853-54	1106516
1264	1854-55	1130385
1265	1855-56	1159038
1266	1856-57	1161448
1289	1879/80	1165921

Source: Settlement reports of different years.

5.3. DIFFERENT SOURCES OF LAND REVENUE IN 1823/24.

Taluq	No. of villages	No. of people Holding Pattas	Rice land (Rs.)	Dry Grains (Rs.)	Coconut Trees (Rs.)	Betel nut (Rs.)	Jack trees (Rs.)	House tax (Rs.)	TOTAL
Cavay	22	8411	51629	2338	8176	1359	2965	6957	73424
Chirakkal	21	4465	50828	782	16890	1111	2456	6376	78443
kottayam	28	13020	46517	1337	31220	5799	7212	15580	107665
kadathanad	31	9792	36833	477	55123	4679	5007	5986	108105
kurumbranad	33	7485	59201	210	53149	10345	8527	5903	137335
Calicut	34	10121	51518	344	40981	4911	6205	8446	112405
Eranad	26	8449	70014	10159	10764	8366	3567	4387	107257

XXV

Sheranad	24	10045	78317	3012	13817	5149	4150	5331	109776	
Betutnad	29	10758	58716	2096	33598	3287	4174	6876	108747	
Kootanad	31	8021	78141		4818	2366	1780	2986	90091	
Walluvanad	16	8240	83893	929	1962	5273	1746	6503	100306	
Wayanad	295	2511	33094						33094	
Mahe		290	1077	7	433	118	205	430	2270	
Cochin	33								0	
Palakkad	21	16670	107941	851	835	410	562	2886	113485	
Temmalpuram	24	6930	33094	923	580	265	337	1219	36418	
Nedinganad	137	13279	133612	553	1811	3337	2850	6411	148574	
Chavakkad	432	10229	49582	143	43797	2355	841	3853	100571	
Total		148714	1151176	24161	317954	59130	52584	90130	1695135	
Total No. of pattas	148969							Cochin	4760	
								Beebi's peshcush	15000	
									Total	1714895

Source: M.Vol.No.4085, p.250.

5.4. STATEMENT SHOWING THE TALUQ WISE DEMAND, COLLECTION AND THE BALANCE OF CURRENT REVENUE OF THE YEAR.

Taluq	1851/52			1852/53		
	Demand (Rs.)	Collection within the fusly 1261 (Rs.)	Balance (Rs.)	Demand (Rs.)	Collection within the fusly 1262 (Rs.)	Balance (Rs.)
Cavay	97475	97350	125	97538	97413	125
Chirakkal	80006	79742	264	80145	80106	39
kottayam	84502	83887	615	85074	85074	0
kadathanad	101481	101446	35	101723	101685	38
kurumbranad	113825	113608	217	113641	112580	1061
Calicut	103157	102139	1018	102841	102596	245

XXVI

Eranad	97448	97397	51	98398	98351	47
Sheranad	92483	92416	67	92502	92400	102
Betutnad	106681	105578	1103	106400	105367	1033
Kootanad	86714	85247	1467	85315	84062	1253
Walluvanad	112811	111843	968	113636	113559	77
Wayand	32558	32437	121	32269	32269	0
Cochin	14194	13577	617	14457	14219	238
Mahe	2568	2568	0	2572	2572	0
Palakkad	132622	132493	129	134074	133931	143
Temmalpuram	123581	123581	0	124631	124569	62
Nedinganad	132499	132478	21	134132	133986	146
Chavakkad	116135	111929	4206	113511	109079	4432
Cherikkal	15000	10000	5000	15000		15000
Total	1645740	1629716	16024	1647820	1623818	24041

Source: M.Vol.No.7953, p.15.

**5.5. TALUQ WISE LAND TAX DEMAND, COLLECTION AND BALANCE IN
1853/54 AND 1854/55.**

Talugs	1853/54			1854/55		
	Demand (Rs.)	Collection (Rs.)	Balance (Rs.)	Demand (Rs.)	Collection (Rs.)	Balance (Rs.)
Cavay	93814	93787	27	94584	82379	12205
Chirakkal	79237	79194	43	79478	70907	8571
kottayam	81317	81299	18	82627	78597	4030
kadathanad	99830	89339	10491	100882	88524	12358
kurumbranad	113238	112463	775	109364	102618	6746
Calicut	102435	102306	129	110831	110466	365

XXVII

Eranad	96914	96889	25	93569	93523	46
Sheranad	96697	96616	81	96752	96707	45
Betutnad	98164	97983	181	100848	100731	117
Kootanad	92835	92111	724	100040	96043	3997
Walluvanad	112730	112699	31	113784	112873	911
Wayanad	30604	30569	35	30201	30132	69
Cochin	16408	15829	579	19838	18583	1255
Palakkad	134807	134599	208	135150	134875	275
Temmalpuram	124181	124092	89	124844	124695	149
Nedinganad	129634	129634	0	135240	128313	6927
Chavakkad	91599	91413	186	99128	92285	6843
Peshcush of Beebi	15000	0	15000	15000	0	15000
Total	1609444	1580829	28615	1642160	1562251	79909
Percentage		98%	1.78%		95%	4.87%

Source: M.Vol.No.7953, p.15.

XXVIII

5.6. LAND TAX GENERATED FROM SEED SOWN AND PATTOM.

NUMBER OF PARAHs OF SEED SOWN IN DIFFERENT TALUQs OF MALABAR DURING 1851/52 AND 1852/53 AND THE LAND TAX GENERATED FROM EACH PARAHs OF SEED IN DIFFERENT TALUQs.								NUMBER OF PARAHs OF PATTOM COLLECTED FROM EACH TALUQ AND THE LAND TAX GENERATED FROM EACH PARAHs OF PATTOM OF IN DIFFERENT TALUQs.							
Taluq	1851/52			1852/53			Commutation rate per 100 parahs of paddy Rs. An	1853/54			1854/55			Nigudi seed / Nigudi patom (k/e)	
	Parahs of seed sown	Land tax(Rs)	Land tax per parah of seed sown	Parahs of seed sown	Land tax(Rs)	Land Tax per parah of seed sown		pattom Parahs	Amount (Rs)	Land tax per parah of pattom	Pattom parahs	Amount (Rs)	Land tax per parah of pattom		
Cavay	21740	65754	3.02	21845	65878	3.02	41 8	159373	66579	0.42	160132	66697	0.42	7	
Chirakkal	14291	47394	3.32	14298	47405	3.32	41 8	110900	47626	0.43	110970	47535	0.43	8	
kottayam	11930	41919	3.51	11940	41918	3.51	41 8	99481	43211	0.43	99910	43346	0.43	8	
kadathanad	10923	37638	3.45	10935	37807	3.46	40 0	95501	38424	0.40	95676	38455	0.40	9	
kurumbranad	14747	60054	4.07	11842	59959	5.06	19 8	66522	61428	0.92	63986	59011	0.92	5	
Calicut	15147	50469	3.33	15184	50530	3.33	17 2	60344	51288	0.85	65602	56398	0.86	4	
Eranad	13364	73358	5.49	13370	73488	5.50	17 2	75282	76095	1.01	72868	73647	1.01	5	
Sheranad	17879	60621	3.39	18016	60646	3.37	14 4	57145	65156	1.14	57191	65167	1.14	3	
Betutnad	23112	73729	3.19	23029	73743	3.20	14 4	62458	71807	1.15	62417	71767	1.15	3	
Kootanad	20364	76631	3.76	20367	76616	3.76	17 2	218005	82517	0.38	218374	82546	0.38	11	
Walluvanad	20792	98869	4.76	20798	98909	4.76	14 7	61848	100105	1.62	61893	100150	1.62	3	
Wayanad	6666	33441		6749	32556			6516	32254					0	
Mahe	298	982	3.30	298	982	3.30								0	
Cochin	0	0		0	0			0	0		0	0	0.00	0	
Palakkad	24624	127603	5.18	25782	128924	5.00	278 4	270824	131289	0.48	271207	130577	0.48	11	
Themmalpuram	15199	119175	7.84	17255	119624	6.93	12 4	256450	120597	0.47	257070	120963	0.47	15	
Nedinganad	22226	119904	5.39	22229	119911	5.39	12 4	96751	120516	1.25	96821	120522	1.24	4	
Chavakkad	30049	51129	1.70	30075	51015	1.70	11 7	98696	48274	0.49	98844	48316	0.49	3	
Grand Total	283351	1138670	4.02	284012	1139911	4.01	21 7	1796096	1157166	0.64	1807686	1125097	0.62	6	

Average land tax generated per parah of seed sown= Rs.4. Average Revenue of land tax from one parah of pattom= Rs. 0.64 or 10 annans.

The revenue generated from each parah of seed and the commutation rate of corresponding taluqs are given to make a comparative study. It is found that proportionate to the land tax assessed the commutation rate increased or decreased.. In the northern taluqs the tax assessed was low but the commutation rate was high. In the southern taluqs of Palakkad and Themmalpuram the assessed tax varied but the commutation rates were low. Palakkad and Nedinganad were the taluqs with low tax assessment. Themmal puram tax per seed sown was the highest but commutation rate was very low assessment and low commutation rate. Chavakkad was the taluq with lowest assessment in the whole of Malabar and with highest commutation rate in South Malaabr. Taluq of Eranad had high tax rate and commutation rate was also high.

Source: BОРP.Vol.No.1450, p.1117.

5.7. HIGHEST AND LOWEST COMMUTATION RATE FOR 100 PARAHS OF PADDY.

Taluq	Lowest commutation price		Highest commutation price	
	Rs.	An	Rs.	An
Cavay	41	8	41	8
Chirakkal	41	8	45	0
kottayam	41	8	45	0
kadathanad	40	0	40	0
kurumbranad	19	8	23	12
Calicut	17	2	17	2
Eranad	17	2	17	2
Sheranad	14	4	30	0
Betutnad	14	4	22	8
Kootanad	17	2	21	6
Walluvanad			14	7
Wayanad				
Mahe				
Cochin				
Palakkad	12	4	12	4
Themmalpuram	12	4	12	4
Nedinganad	11	7	14	4
Chavakkad	21	7	21	7
AVERAGE	22	6	25	3

There being several commutation prices in one and the same taluq, the minimum and maximum are shown in this statement. To convert the rate of 100 parahs or 1000 Macleod seers into Madras Grace or 3200 Madras Measures multiply it with 3.2.

Source: M.Vol.No.7952, p.33 & Board of Revenue Proceedings, BORP.Vol.No.29 June 1854, p.8957.

5.8. THE DEMAND, COLLECTION, BALANCE AND REMISSION OF LAND REVENUE DURING THE FUSLIES 1253-1266(A.D.1843/44 - 1856/57).

Fuslies	Year	Demand (Rs.)	Collection (Rs.)	Balance (Rs.)	Remission		Outstanding	
					Rs.	An.	Rs.	An.
1253	1843/44	1640104	1639158	947	925	21		
1254	1844/45	1638505	1637968	538	472	66		
1255	1845/46	1635187	1634594	594	560	34		
1256	1846/47	1650400	1649860	540	508	33		
1257	1847/48	1653079	1652996	84	33	50		
1258	1848/49	1646659	1646495	164	83	81		
1259	1849/50	1642176	1641287	889	577	312		
1260	1850/51	1644842	1644337	505	287	218		
1261	1851/52	1645747	1645330	417	134	283		
1262	1852/53	1647866	1632474	15393		15393		
1263	1853/54	1609444	1580829	28614				
1264	1854/55	1642160	1562251	79908				
1265	1855/56	1679639	1655975	23664				
1266	1856/57	1714594	1693459	21135		5288		
TOTAL		23090402	22917013	128593	3579	16491		

The huge balance of Fusly 1262, 63, 64, 65 and 66 was due to the non-payment of Cannannore Beebi's annual peshcush of Rs.15000.

Source: M.Vol.No.7953, p.111.

5.9. PERCAPITA LAND AND TOTAL REVENUE COLLECTION IN MALABAR.

Census Year	Population of Malabar	Land revenue collection	Percapita Land revenue collection	Non-agricultural tax collection	Percapita non-agricultural collection	Total revenue collection	Percapita Total revenue collection
1827	1022215	1553765	1.52	1887525	1.21	3441291	2.21
1830/31	1113497	1349854	1.21	1749822	1.30	3099676	2.30
1832/33	1098129	1554467	1.42	1758349	1.13	3312816	2.13
1839/40	1162989	1631384	1.40	2036713	1.25	3668097	2.25
1843	1222000	1619012	1.32	2039009	1.26	3658021	2.26
1848/49	1318398	1632018	1.24	1726438	1.06	3358456	2.06
1851/52	1514909	1621642	1.07	1215581	0.75	3407819	2.10
1856/57	1602914	1693459	1.06	159304	0.09	1852763	1.09

Source: Table No.2.1 and Appendix.No.II .

6.1. THE PRICE OF MALABAR SALT PER GRACE BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION OF MONOPOLY.

Year	Price of Malabar salt per grace (Rs.).
1800-01	19 ½ - 31
1801-02	19 ½ - 28
1802-03	19 ½ - 27 ½
1803-04	19 ½ - 39 ½
1804-05	19 ½ - 28
1805-06	18 ½ - 28

Average price Rs. 28 per grace.

Source: T.Warden report on the Revenue system of Malabar, 16 June 1813, (Calicut) par. 4.

6.2. THE AVERAGE PRICE OF SALT PURCHASED FOR MONOPOLY (1816-1821).

Area from where salt was imported.	Price per Grace Rs - An - Pice
Bombay	38 15 5
Canara	35 5 11
Goa	24 2 6
Mecca	36 0 0
Malabar (Indegenous manufacture)	19 10 7

Source: General report, Vol.No.30, p.212.

**6.3. THE MONOPLY (WHOLE SALE) PRICE OF SALT SOLD FROM GOVERNMENT DEPOTS
IN DIFFERENT PERIODS.**

Year	Price per grace (Rs.)	Comments
1806	70, 87½, 94½	
1809	105	50% Increase
1820	70	33.38% reduction
1828	105	
1844	218 ¾	The Increase was to compensate the loss from transit duty abolition in 1844

Source: Thomas, P.J., *Growth of federal finance in India 1833-1939*, p.132. BORP.Vol.No.1956, p.2525. General Report.Vol.Nos 46-49, par.614.

6.4. TOTAL HOME CONSUMPTION, INDIGENOUS PRODUCTION AND IMPORT OF SALT BEFORE AND AFTER THE MONOPOLY (quantity given in madras grace).

Year	Home consumption	Indigenous production	Import
1805(Before monopoly)		1716	224
1806-11(During Monopoly)	1605(average)	1357 (85%)	248 (15%)
1811	1497	377 (25%)	1122(75%)
1818	1611		
1830/31	2073		

More information about home consumption is given in Table.no.6.6

Source: BORP.Vol.No.805, pp. 11157, 11212. BORP.Vol.No.1324, p.114.

6.5. THE PRICE OF SALT SOLD FROM COASTAL AND INLAND DEPOTS IN 1854/55 AND THE INCREASE IN PRICE IN 1855/56.

Coastal depot.	1854/55 Rates per Indian .maund Rs-An-Ps	1855/56 Rates per Indian .maund Rs-An-Ps
Chavakkad	0- 9 - 2	1 -0- 0
Cochin	0- 9 - 2	1 -0- 0
	Increase 75%	
Inland Depots		
Ottapalam	0- 13 - 9	1 - 0- 0
Palakkad	0- 13 - 9	1 - 0- 0
Alatoor	0- 13 - 9	1 - 0- 0
	Increase 16.50%	

In 1844 the Inland depot price was 50% higher than the coastal depot price. After 1855 the coastal and inland depot price was brought in par In 1855/56 the retail rate of monopoly salt was increased (1855 October) and therefore two rates are given for that year, first the old rate and then the revised rate and the quantities of salt sold as per each rate in that year.

Source: M.Vol.No.7954, par.32.

**6.6. SALT SOLD FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION AND FOR OVER LAND EXPORT TO
MYSORE, COORG AND MAHE.**

Year	Quantity of salt sold in malabar for internal consumption in Indian maunds	Quantity of salt sold in Malabar for internal consumption in grace	Quantity of salt sold in Malabar for export to Mysore, Coorg, Coimbatore and Mahe (Indian maunds)	Total quantity of salt sold for internal consumption and for over land Export to Mysore, Coorg, Mahe	Total sale of salt in grace
1844/45	246666	2202			
1845/46	205931	1839			
1846/47	233724	2087			
1847/48	239474	2138			
1848/49	248293	2217			
1849/50	232694	2078	104776	337470	3013
1850/51	239489	2138	100846	340335	3039
1851/52	239814	2141	86,003	325817	2909
1852/53	248602	2220	84,518	333120	2974
1853/54	238641	2131	105044	343685	3069
1854/55	223128	1992	139772	362900	3240
1855/56	223400	1995			
1856/57	362920	3240			

112 Indian maunds of each weighing 82 1/2 lbs constituted one Madras grace.

Source: M.Vol.No.7952, p.150.

6.7. THE QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGE REVENUE FROM SALT MONOPOLY.

Year	Amount (Rs.)
1808/09	97,949
1813/14	1,88,416
1818/19	1,97,632
1823/24	1,87,427
1828/29	2,08,678
1833/34	2,55,030
1838/39	3,22,602
1843/44	3,41,464
1848/49	3,42,835
1854/55	3,34,656
1857/58	3,79,279

Source: Appendix No.I.

6.8. THE GROSS COLLECTION, TOTAL CHARGES, NET REVENUE AND PROFIT FROM SALT MONOPOLY IN MALABAR FOR DIFFERENT YEARS.

Year	Gross Collection (Rs.)	Charges for purchase or Manufacture (Rs.)	Charges of superintend	Total Charges (Rs.)	Net Revenue (Rs.)	% of Charges	% of net Revenue	% of Net profit
1841/42	318894	8654	7109	93651	225243	29	71	241
1842/43	340020	87608	6905	94513	245507	28	72	260
1843/44	307717	89825	7046	9687	210846	31	69	218
1844/45	390710							
1845/46	302520							
1846/47	346724	52070	6354	58424	288300	17	83	493
1847/48	365731	53262	10006	63268	302463	17	83	478
1848/49	362509	103756	10648	114404	248105	32	68	217
1849/50	336693	117592	9318	126910	209783	38	62	165
1850/51	339647	69488	8425	77913	261734	23	77	336
1851/52	319666	75586	17449	93035	226631	29	71	244
1852/53	320834	73210	16158	89368	231466	28	72	259
AVERAGE	337639				245008			

Source: percentages of charges and net revenue are calculated with reference to gross collection. Report from the Malabar Principal Collector to the. BOR.Fort St. George, BORP.Vol.No.2319, p.127.

6.9. PERCENTAGE OF PROFIT THE GOVERNMENT RECEIVED FROM TOBACCO MONOPOLY.

Category	Year					
	1841/42	1842/43	1843/44	1846/47	1847/48	1848/49
Gross collection (Rs.)	527308	548070	541952	560101	572835	543165
Charges of purchase(Rs.)	107038	98656	87048	119554	116277	82703
Charges of superintend(Rs.)	22227	22127	23852	27573	25775	26700
Total charges(Rs.)	129125	120782	110900	147457	114055	109464
Net Revenue(Rs.)	398042	427287	431051	412643	430779	433763
Percentage of charges	24.50%	22%	20.46%	26%	19.75%	20%
Percentage of profit	408 %	454 %	489 %	380 %	502 %	497 %

Source: Report from the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, 1831-32 Session, Vol.No.VIII .

6.10. THE PRICE OF DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF TOBACCO IN EARLY 1840'S AT COIMBATORE AND MALABAR.

Rate of different specification of tobacco	Rate per candy of 640 lbs (Rs.)	% of difference in price of tobacco in Malabar.
Price of tobacco at Coimbatore	15-20	
Price of smuggled tobacco in Malabar	100	400
Monopoly retail price at Depots	202	910
Retail consumer price(in remote area)	360	1700

Source: H.S. Graeme's report, General report Vol.Nos.17, 31.,Revenue dispatches fromEngland.Vol.No.24.

6.11. THE QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGE OF GROSS COLLECTION FROM TOBACCO MONOPOLY.

Year	Amount(Rs)
1811/12	199241
1816/17	324505
1821/22	341460
1826/27	414010
1831/32	464062
1836/37	481266
1841/42	534006
1846/47	559423
1851/52	488230

Source: Appendix No.I.

6.12. THE GROSS AND NET COLLECTION FROM SEA CUSTOMS.

YEAR	1846/47	1847/48	1848/49
Gross Collection	1,52,789	1,19,598	27,541
Charges of collection	23,930	24,826	15,661
Drawback	2,751	447	223
Total charges	26,681	25,273	15,884
Net Revenue	1,26,100	94,325	11,657
Percentage of charges	17.5%	21.15%	57.60%

Source: Report from the Collector of Malabar to the BOR reporting about the extra sources of revenue for 1848/49, BORP dated 4 April 1850, Vol.No.2235, p.5017.

6.13. QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGE REVENUE FROM SEA CUSTOMS.

Year	Amount(Rs.)
1804/05	188386
1809/10	172885
1814/15	214510
1819/20	261788
1824/25	249576
1829/30	249036
1834/35	205050
1839/40	266623
1844/45	234088
1849/50	73182
1855/56	58189

Source: Appendix No.I

6.14. THE GROSS COLLECTION, CHARGES AND NET REVENUE FROM STAMP.

Year	1846/47	1847/48	1848/49
Gross collection	40,096	41,367	52,179
Charges	2,372	2,884	4,684
Net Revenue	37,772	38,483	47,495
% of Charges	5.95%	6.97%	8.97%

Source: Revenue settlement report for 1848/49.M.Vol. No. 7954, par 40.

6.15. SHOWING THE QUINQUENNIAL REVENUE FROM STAMP.

Year	Amount (Rs.)
1812/13	18354
1817/18	24643
1822/23	45076
1827/28	57391
1832/33	47825
1837/38	51702
1842/43	55860
1847/48	43732
1852/53	64634

Source: Appendix No. I

6.16. THE QUINQUENNIAL REVENUE FROM SAYER.

Year	Amount (Rs.)
1811/12	48404
1816/17	67061
1821/22	81484
1826/27	93915
1831/32	119792
1836/37	123507
1841/42	120476
1846/47	25092
1851/52	118
1857/58	75

Source: Appendix No.I.

6.17. THE RATE AT WHICH ARRACK WAS FARMED IN THE FOLLOWING TALUQS.

Taluq	Amount bade in 1846/47	Average of last 3 years.
Calicut	8,000	9,333
Palakkad	513	440
Cochin	4,350	4,246
Cavay	2,900	2,787
Chirakkal	4,585	4,800
Kottayam	5,905	6,029
Tellicherry	5,605	5,602
Kadathanad	1,900	2,066
Wayanad	3,400	2,776
Total	37155	38081

Source: settlement report for 1846-47.

**6.18. THE ANNUAL SETTLEMENT, GROSS COLLECTION AND NET REVENUE FROM
ABKARY.**

	1841/42	1842/43	1843/44	1846/47	1847/48	1848/49
Settlement	70,679	73,142	62,663	62,392	63,176	65,844
Gross collection	69,251	72,504	61,650	65,418	63,123	65,854
Charges	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil
Net Revenue	69,251	73,331	61,650	65,418	63,123	65,854
% of Charges	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil

(There is slight difference in the total settlement and net revenue as per table no4.18 and with the figures given in the Appendix No.II on total revenue.)

Source: BORP.Vol.No.1956, p.531.

6.19. THE QUINQUENNIAL REVENUE FROM ABKARY.

XXXVII

YEAR	AMOUNT (Rs.)
1811/12	64033
1816/17	62192
1821/22	57338
1826/27	65410
1831/32	67108
1836/37	61765
1841/42	63230
1846/47	62016
1851/52	66485
1857/58	69480

Source: Appendix No.I.

6.20. THE GOVERNMENT REVENUE FROM FERRY, GOLD DUST, CARDAMOM AND IRON FARMING DURING DIFFERENT YEARS.

Year	Ferry farm	Cardamom	Gold dust	Hill/Iron farms.
1807/08	19285	10805	2177	2876
1808/09	20506	19824	2481	2940
1809/10	18438	19922	2558	2219(no iron farm from this year)
1810/11	21038	23296	2558	2135
1811/12	23012	27695	2866	2191
1812/13	19610	15750	2513	2289
1815/16		21546	2212	2093
1816/17			2212	2044
1831/32	43059			
1832/33	39000			
1833/34	30634			
1834/35	36505			Gold dust & Hill produce clubbed from 1835/36
1835/36	36700			3494
1836/37	15698			3494
1837/38				3494
1838/39				3367
1839/40				3368
1844/45				3420
1852/53				3359
1853/54				2433

Source: Data from 1807/08 -1812/13 T.Warden's Report dated 5 October 1807, M.Vol.No.2534, p.55., M.Vol.No.4790, p.45., BORP.Vol.No.1378, 5 September, 1833, p.117. and Settlement reports of different years.

6.22. THE AMOUNT OF TOLL COLLECTED AT THE ERINGOLY BRIDGE.

Year	1836/37	1837/38	1838/39

XXXVIII

Description Bullocks & carts(bandies)	Rs.2500	Rs.2600	Rs.2400
Coolies and Foot passengers	Rs.900	Rs.1000	Rs.1100
Total	R.3400	Rs.3700	Rs.3500

Source: settlement reports of 1836/37, 1837/38 and 1838/39.

6.23. THE QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGE REVENUE FROM FARMS AND LICENSES.

Year	Amount (Rs.)
1804/05	72188
1809/10	132651
1814/15	38296
1819/20	33270
1824/25	54589
1829/30	66955
1834/35	58204
1839/40	58509
1844/45	46597
1849/50	52189
1855/56	56675
Average Rs.= 60920	

Source: Appendix No.I.

6.24. THE SETTLEMENT, GROSS COLLECTION AND CHARGES OF FARMS AND LICENSES.

Year	1846/47	1847/48	1848/49
Settlement (Rs.)	55, 407	52,856	50,886
Gross Collection	56,549	53,408	50,652
Charges	609	720	652
Net Revenue	55,940	52,688	49,999
% of charges	1.07%	1.35%	1.29%

Source: Letter from the Secretary, Fort St.George dated.4 April 1850, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, forwarding the report on extra sources of revenue of Malabar for 1848/49 from the collector of Malabar, BORP. Vol.No.2235, p. 5019.

6.25. TOTAL AMOUNT OF MOTURPHA COLLECTED FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES DURING 1854/55 AND 1855/56.

	Items	1854/55	1855/56

XXXIX

TAX on (Rs.)	Houses	81988	81831
	shops and ware houses	11412	11567
	oil mongers	4434	4575
	gold smiths	558	567
	Carpenters	1530	1552
	black smiths	619	619
	Braziers	111	119
	Potters	257	251
	Looms	3539	3504
	Grinders	27	26
	Iron founders	112	115
	cloth cleaners	32	32
	boat owners	1881	1877
	fishing net	2636	2763
	Barbers	70	70
	washer men	160	159
	papadam makers	191	200
	Bakers	7	7
	copper smiths	8	6
	Sawyers	575	584
	late rite cutters	122	122
	brick layers	80	80
	granite stone cutters	0	0
	bullock owners	1757	1704
	buffalo owners	1343	1509
	cart drivers	55	54
	Total tax assessed	113504	113893
	Remission	2284	2329
	Net-collection	111220	111564

Source: M.Vol.No.7954, p.93.

6.26. TOTAL NUMBER OF LOOMS AND TAX DERIVED FROM EACH TALUQ DURING AD 1850 TO 1853.

Year	1850/51		1851/52		1852/53	
	No looms	Tax Rs. An.	No Looms	Tax Rs. An.	No Looms	Tax Rs. An.
Taluq						
Cavay	247	196 00	246	195 00	246	194 09
Chirakkal	272	200 12	278	204 15	285	206 14
Kottayam	204	189 00	212	192 08	214	194 02
Kadathanad	206	306 00	311	311 00	316	316 00
kurumbranad	370	405 06	376	409 06	371	404 04
Calicut	197	133 09	229	154 06	226	153 06
Eranad	51	29 02	49	28 00	52	29 04
Sheranad	95	93 11	108	108 00	115	110 04
Betutnad	113	113 06	115	116 09	125	124 09
Kootanad	21	14 04	32	14 13	34	15 11
Walluvanad	43	37 06	45	50 00	58	47 02
Wayanad	0	0	0	0	0	0
Palakkad	769	790 04	809	807 02	844	841 02
Themmalpuram	726	812 00	968	979 06	1031	1008
Nedinganad	308	176 00	316	180 09	330	194
Chavakkad	4		4	4	4	4
Mahe	7		7	5 0	8	5 08
Total	3633	3504 6	4105	3749	4260	3848 4

Source: BORP.Vol.No.1928.

6.27. THE SETTLEMENT, GROSS COLLECTION, CHARGES OF COLLECTION AND NET REVENUE FROM MOTURPHA.

Year	1846/47	1847/48	1848/49
Settlement(Rs.)	1,17,319	1,17,000	1,16,278
Gross collection	1,17,405	1,17,702	1,16,119
Charges of collection	Nil	Nil	Nil
Net revenue	1,17,405	1,17,702	1,16,119
% of charges	Nil	Nil	Nil

Source: Revenue settlement report for 1848/49 .Letter from the Secretary, Fort St.George dated 4 April 1850, to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, forwarding the report on extra sources of Revenue of Malabar for 1848/49 from the Collector of Malabar BORP.Vol.No.2235, p.5020.

6.28. QUINQUENNIAL MOTURPHA COLLECTION IN MALABAR FROM A.D.1817/18.

YEAR	(Rs.)
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XLI

1821/22	21214
1826/27	112041
1831/32	102241
1836/37	111222
1841/42	111604
1846/47	116728
1851/52	114384
1857/58	111574

Source: Appendix No.I.

6.29. TOTAL REVENUE DERIVED FROM SALT AND TOBACCO MONOPOLY AND THE PERCENTAGE OF EACH IN THE TOTAL MONOPOLY NET REVENUE COLLECTION.

Year	1841/42	1842/43	1843/44	1846/47
Tobacco	398042 (64%)	427287 (64%)	431051 (68%)	433763 (60%)
Salt	225243 (36%)	245507 (36%)	210846 (32%)	288300 (40%)
Total (Rs)	623285 (100)	672794(100)	631897(100)	722063(100)

Source: prepared from table No's. 6.8 and 6.9.

7.1. THE PRICE OF PADDY FROM 1793/94 TO 1808/09.

Year	Price per 100 <i>Parahs</i> (Rs.)	Increase/decrease comparing to the previous price (Rs.)
1793-94	12.50	
1796-97	28.50	+16.00
1797-98	30.00	+1.50
1800-01	40.00	+10.00 (Custom House Record)
1801-02	31 to 36.	- 9 to - 4.00
1808-09	29.00	- 7.00

Source: M.Vol.No.8110, M.Vol.No.8767, M.Vol.No.8190, BOP, 23 July 1801, Vol.No.291.

7.2. PRICE OF ONE MADRAS GRACE OF RICE AND THE PERCENTAGE OF DIFFERENCE IN THE PRICE IN DIFFERENT YEARS WITH RESPECT TO THE BASE YEAR PRICE OF (Rs.116) 1815/16.

XLII

Fusly	Year	Price of one Madras grace of rice (Rs)	% of increase or decrease in price since 1815/16
1218	1808/09	203	
1219	1809/10	238	
1220	1810/11	142	
1221	1811/12	144	
1222	1812/13	150	
1223	1813/14	140	
1224	1814/15	122	
1225	1815/16	116	(Base year price)
1226	1816/17	118	2
1227	1817/18	119	3
1228	1818/19	138	19
1229	1819/20	192	66

XLIII

1230	1820/21	196	69
1231	1821/22	179	55
1232	1822/23	171	48
1233	1823/24	180	56
1234	1824/25	197	70
1235	1825/26	185	60
1236	1826/27	171	48
1237	1827/28	142	23
1238	1828/29	145	25
1239	1829/30	132	14
1240	1830/31	144	25
1241	1831/32	180	56
1242	1832/33	202	75
1243	1833/34	227	96
1244	1834/35	217	63
1245	1835/36	161	35
1246	1836/37	175	51
1247	1837/38	168	45
1248	1838/39	182	57
1249	1839/40	216	87
1250	1840/41	203	75
1251	1841/42	188	63
1252	1842/43	179	55
1253	1843/44	188	63
1254	1844/45	201	74
1255	1845/46	215	86
1256	1846/47	217	88
1257	1847/48	189	63
1258	1848/49	188	63
1259	1849/50	180	56
1260	1850/51	165	43
1261	1851/52	169	46
1262	1852/53	182	57
1263	1853/54	234	102
1264	1854/55	276	160
1265	1855/56	304	188
1266	1856/57	296	180
1267	1857/58	332	216
1268	1858/59	367	251

Source: BOP, 8 January ,1835, Vol.No.1437, M.Vol.No.4817, p.2. BOR(Miscellaneous).Vol.No.1214. and settlement reports of different years.

**7.3. AVERAGE ANNUAL PRICE OF PADDY AND RICE IN MALABAR FROM
A. D. 1808/09 TO 1856/57.**

Fusly	Year	Price of 100 parahs of Paddy (Rs.)	Price of one Madras grace of rice (Rs.)	Proportion of the rate of 100 parahs of paddy to one Madras grace of rice
1218	1808/09	29	203	7
1219	1809/10	30	238	8
1220	1810/11	20	142	7
1221	1811/12	19	144	8
1222	1812/13	19	150	8
1223	1813/14	18	140	8
1224	1814/15	17	122	7
1225	1815/16	16	116	7
1226	1816/17	16	118	7
1227	1817/18	16	119	7
1228	1818/19	20	138	7
1229	1819/20	27	192	7
1230	1820/21	27	196	7
1231	1821/22	26	179	7
1232	1822/23	23	171	7

XLIV

1233	1823/24	25	180	7
1234	1824/25	27	197	7
1235	1825/26	27	185	7
1236	1826/27	24	171	7
1237	1827/28	23	142	6
1238	1828/29	21	145	7
1239	1829/30	20	132	7
1240	1830/31	21	144	7
1241	1831/32	25	180	7
1242	1832/33	25	202	8
1243	1833/34	28	227	8
1244	1834/35	27	217	
1245	1835/36	20	161	
1246	1836/37	25	175	price of rice from 1836/37 to 1839/40 was calculated by multiplying the price of the paddy of that year by 7, the average proportion of 100 Parahs of Paddy to one Madras Grace of rice
1247	1837/38	24	168	
1248	1838/39	26	182	
1249	1839/40	27	216	
1250	1840/41	25	203	
1251	1841/42	22	188	9
1252	1842/43	23	179	8
1253	1843/44	24	188	8
1254	1844/45	25	201	8
1255	1845/46	26	215	8
1256	1846/47	27	217	8
1257	1847/48	25	189	8
1258	1848/49	26	188	7
1259	1849/50	24	180	8
1260	1850/51	22	165	8
1261	1851/52	22	169	8
1262	1852/53	22	182	8
1263	1853/54	34	234	7
1264	1854/55	(Not available)	276	
1265	1855/56	40	304	8
1266	1856/57	37	296	average proportion of paddy to rice 7'
1267	1857/58	43	332	
1268	1858/59	45	367	

The formula used to convert 100 parahs of paddy into one Madras grace of rice $100 \times 3.20 \times 1.98$. The proportion of the price of paddy to rice is 1: 1.98. 1.98 *parahs* of paddy gives one *parah* of rice or 1.98 Madras grace of paddy gives one Madras grace of rice. Table show the drastic increase in price of rice between 1829 and 1834.

Source: BORP, 8 January, 1835, Vol.No.1437, M.Vol.No.4817, p.2., table No.7.2 and several settlement reports.

7.4. INCREASE IN PRICE OF RICE BETWEEN 1829 AND 1834.

Year	1829-30	1830-31	1831-32	1832-33	1833-34
Price / Madras Grace (Rs.)	132	144	180	202	227
% of increase in price from 1829/30	0%	9%	36%	53%	70%
% of Increase with reference to the preceding year	0%	9%	25%	17%	12.5%

Source: M.Vol.No.4817, BORP, 7 January, 1836, Vol.No.1387, BORP.Vol.No.1559.

7.5. THE GROWTH IN THE ANNUAL EXPORT OF PADDY FROM MALABAR.

XLV

Year	Value of export (Rs.)	% of increase comparing with 1804	Quantity exported (moorah)	% of increase in quantity comparing with 1804
1804	24,160	-	12,080	-
1812/13	11,72,021	4751%	5,86,010	4751%
1824/25	8,36,204	3361%	5,12,128	4140%
1845/46	23,32,425	9554%	17,99,312	14,780%

Source: Appendix.No.I and settlement reports.

7.6. THE PRICE OF ONE MADRAS GRACE OF RICE BETWEEN 1850/51 AND 1858/59 AND THE PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN ANNUAL PRICE, COMPARING TO THE LOWEST PRICE (RS.165) OF 1850/51.

Year	1850-51	1851-52	1852-53	1853-54	1854-55	1855-56	1856-57	1857-58	1858-59
Price/ grace (Rs.)	165	169	182	234	276	304	296	332	367
%of increase since 1850/51	0	2%	10%	42%	67%	84%	79%	101%	122%
%of annual increase	0	2%	7.7%	28.6%	20%	10%	- 2.7% decrease	12%	10.5%

Source: M.Vol.No.7951, M.Vol.No7952, M.Vol.No7953.

7.7. AVERAGE TALUQ PRICE OF 100 PARAHS OF PADDY FROM 1841/42 TO 1852/53 AND THE PERCENTAGE OF DIFFERENCE IN PRICE IN DIFFERENT TALUQS WITH RESPECT TO THE LOWEST PRICE (OF RS.16) OF WALLUVANAD AND NEDINGANAD TALUQS.

Taluq	Price per 100 parahs (Rs.)	% of difference in price
Cavay	28 (North Malabar)	75
Chirakkal	30 „	88
Kottayam	30 „	88
Kadathanad	30 „	88
Kurumbranad	28 „	75
Calicut	26 (South Malabar)	63
Eranad	21 „	31
Sheranad	25 „	56
Betutnad	22 „	38
Kootanad	20 „	25

XLVI

Walluvanad	16 „	0
Wayanad	20 „	25
Palakkad	19 (South Malabar)	19
Themmalpuram	18 „	13
Nedinganad	16 „	0
Chavakkad	23 „	43
Average price	23	

Source: Price details of paddy from 1841/42 to 1852/53 are calculated from the data taken from, BORP. Vol. no. 1350, Vol. No. 2425, M. Vol. No. 7952, M. Vol. No. 7953, p. 158.

**7.8. AVERAGE MONTHLY PRICE OF ONE MADRAS GRACE OF RICE FOR 18 YEARS
(1808/09-1825/26).**

Month	Monthly price (Rs.)
January	164
Feb	167
March	169
April	171
May	172
June	179
July	170
August	167
September	163
October	146
November	144
December	164

Source: Price of rice from 1808/09 to 1825/26 was taken from BOR (Miscellaneous). Vol. No. 1214.

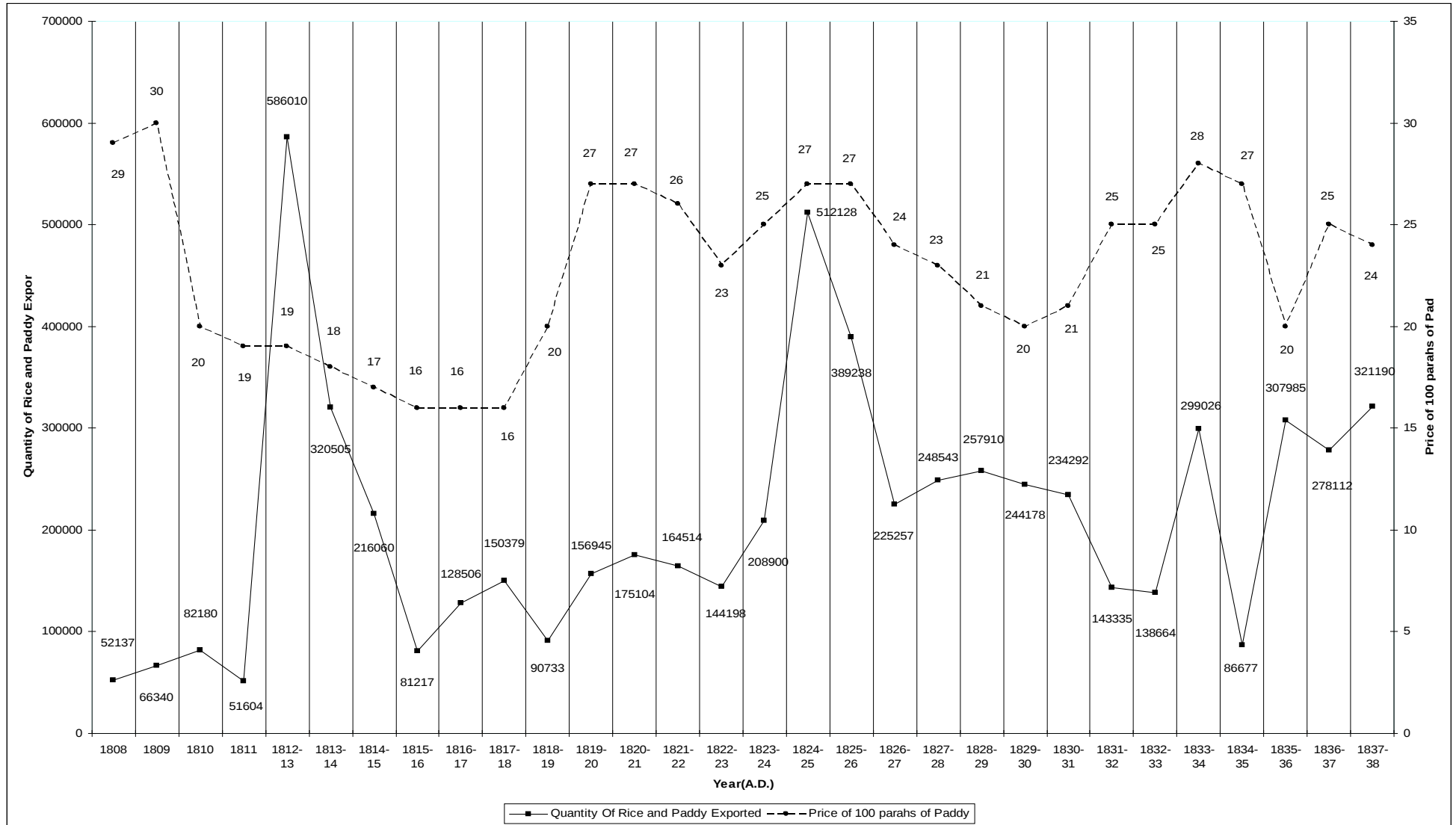
**7.9. QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGE PRICE OF RICE PER MADRAS GRACE STARTING FROM
1808/09 TO 1852/52.**

Year	1808/09	1812/13	1817/18	1822/23	1827/28	1832/33	1837/38	1842/43	1847/48	1852/53
Price(Rs.)	175	123	175	175	161	180	194	202	177	177

Source: prepared from table No. 7.2.

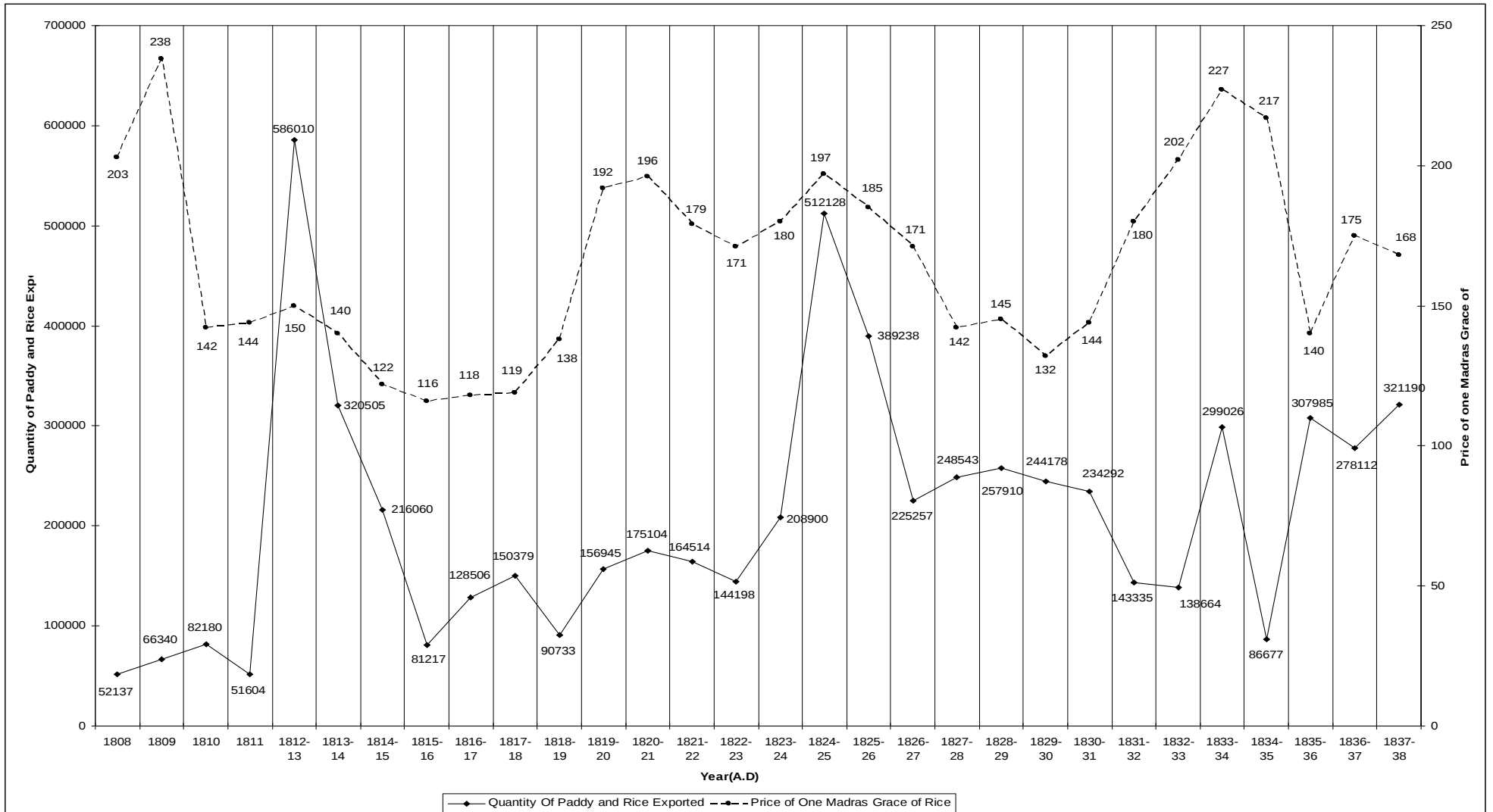
APPENDIX – IV : GRAPHS

G.1. PRICE OF 100 PARAHS OF PADDY CORRESPONDING TO THE VOLUME OF PADDY EXPORTED



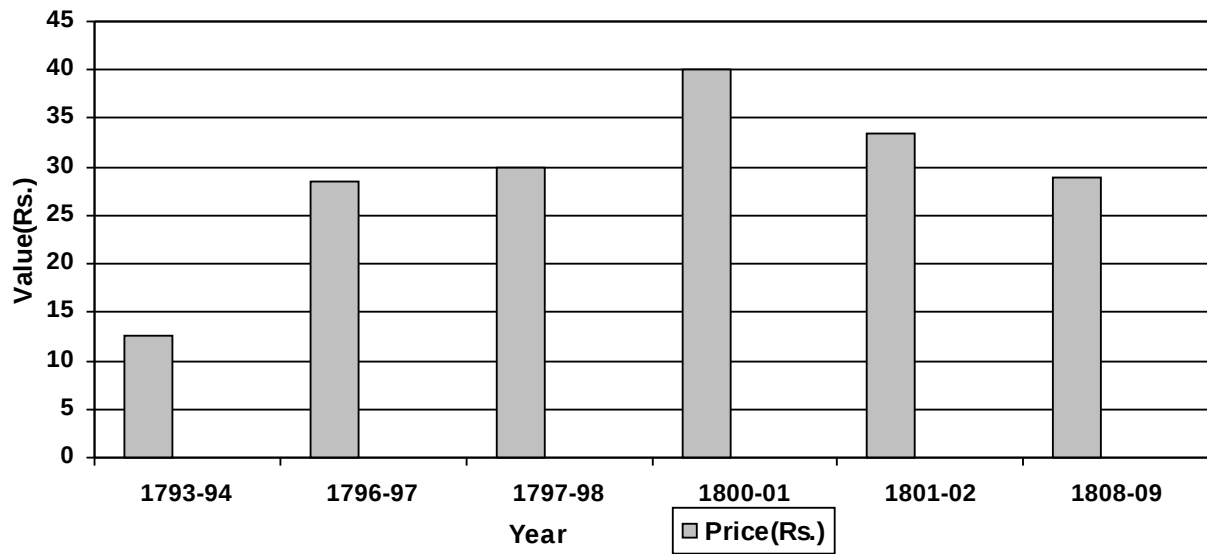
Source: 7.3.

G.2. PRICE OF ONE MADRAS GRACE OF RICE CORRESPONDING TO THE VOLUME OF PADDY EXPORTED.



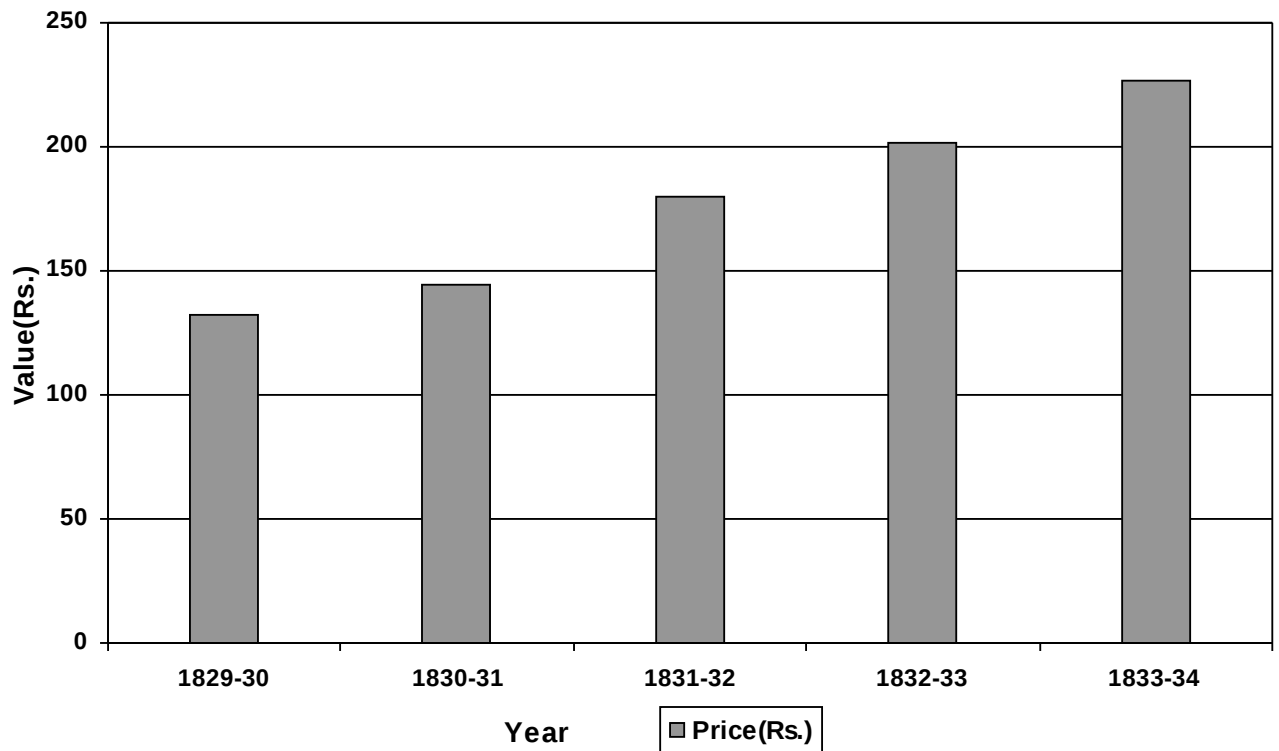
Source:7.3.

G.3. THE PRICE OF PADDY FROM 1793/94 TO 1808/09.



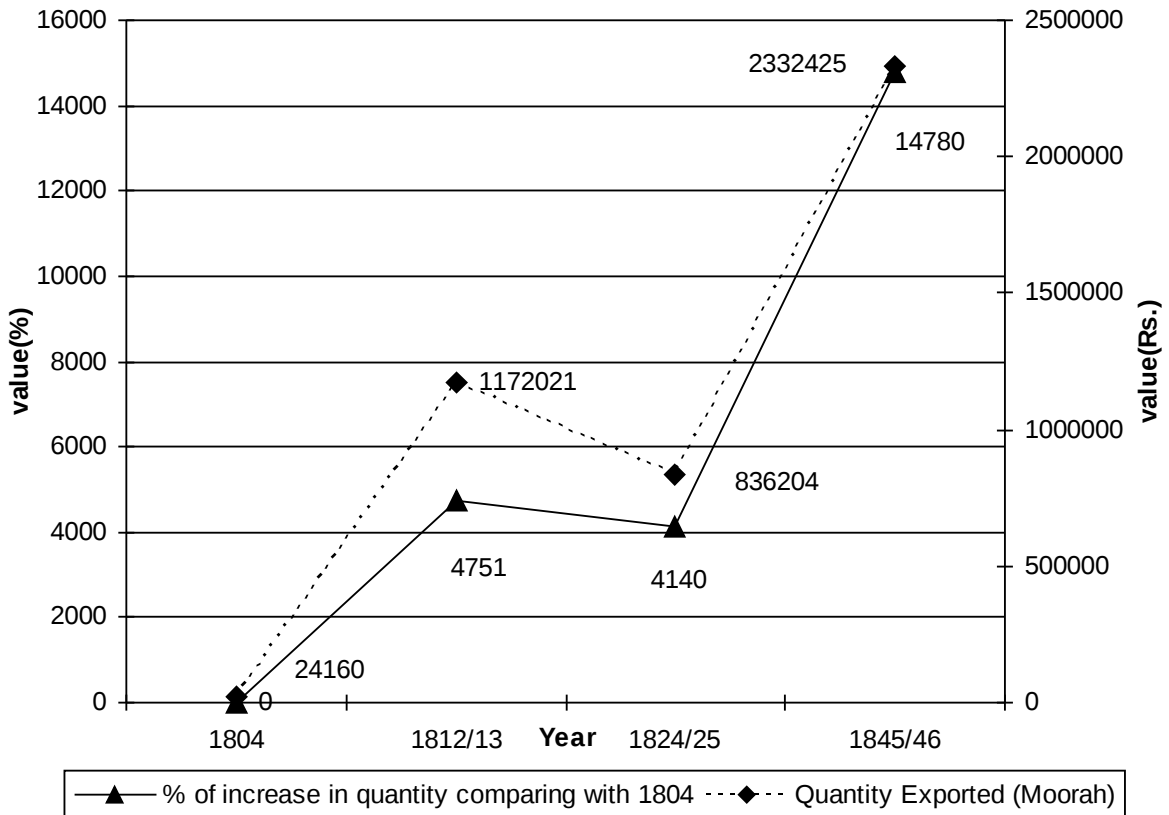
Source: 7.1.

G.4. INCREASE IN PRICE OF RICE BETWEEN 1829 AND 1834.



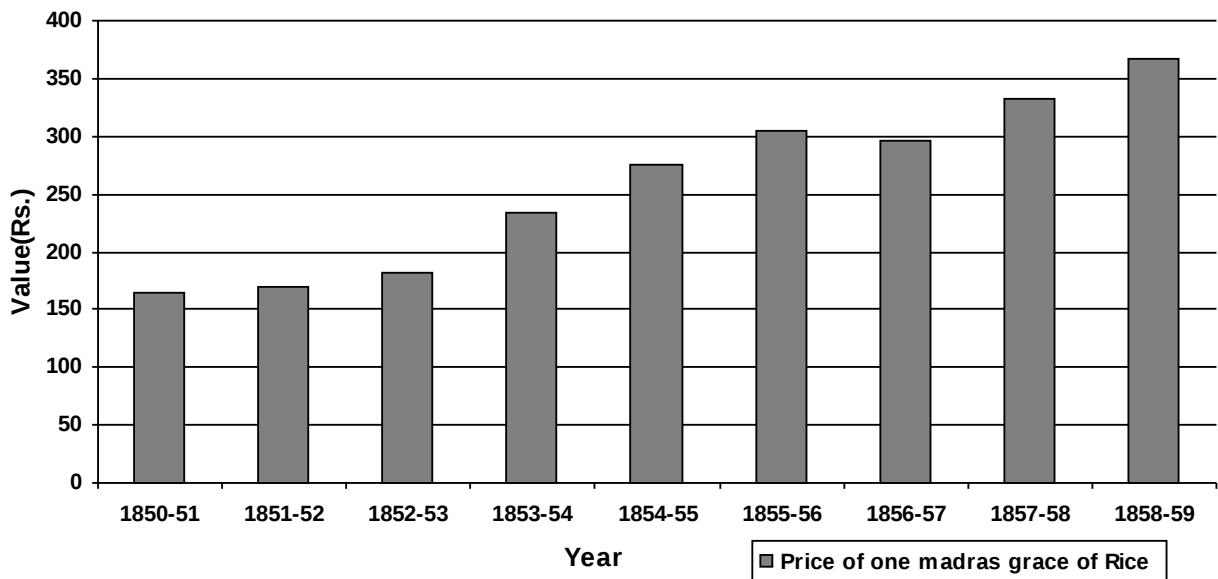
Source: 7.4.

G.5. THE GROWTH IN THE ANNUAL EXPORT OF PADDY FROM MALABAR.



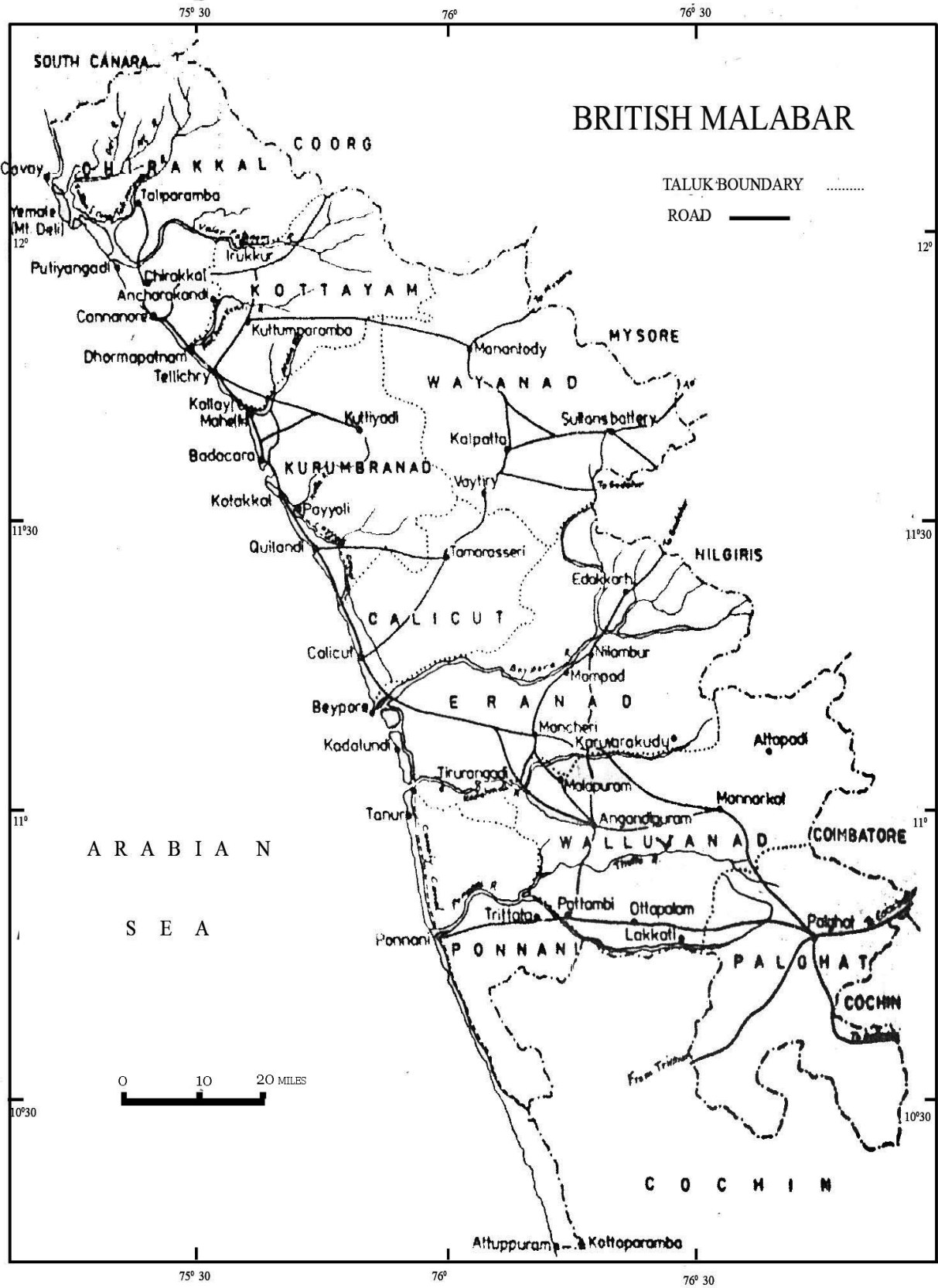
Source:7.5

G.6. THE PRICE OF ONE MADRAS GRACE OF RICE BETWEEN 1850/51 AND 1858/59 AND THE PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN ANNUAL PRICE, COMPARING TO THE LOWEST PRICE (RS.165) OF 1850/51.



Source: 7.6.

APPENDIX - V : MAP



BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES (manuscripts)

A. BOARD OF REVENUE PROCEEDINGS (Volume numbers).

211	1248	1650
212	1249	1675
228	1279	1751
281A	1283	1834
288	1324	1844
291	1325	1895
391	1326	1928
421	1327	1956
423	1328	1967
435	1329	1968
449	1330	1991
453	1331	2035
467	1332	2042
494	1333	2108
640	1334	2196
647	1335	2225
669	1336	2235
704	1337	2240
708	1338	2269
734	1349	2276
759	1353	2281
765	1354	2319
781	1374	2356
782	1378	2374
805	1387	2395
833	1407	2408
840	1437	2425
935	1457	2435
1187	1464	2531
1237	1480	2833
1245	1503	4101
1246	1553	
1247	1559	

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1160 A&B	2232	4800	7523	7951
1661	2233	4802	7524	7952
1663	2253	4801	7525	7953
1666A	2256	4805	7526	7954
1666 B	2261	4813	7527	7955
1666 C	2265	4814	7528	8110
1677 B	2269	4815	7529	8181
2136	2295	4817	7530	8182
2176	2298	4822	7531	8190
2178	2312	7137	7532	8210
2179	2319	7139	7533	8211
2186	2321	7135	7534	8212
2192	2425	7137	7535	8331
2193	2435	7142	7536	8332
2194	2463	7145	7553	8333
2195	2464	7493	7560	8337
2196	2498	7499	7562	8343
2204	2534	7501	7563	8345
2206	2951	7511	7570	8347
2207	2954	7515	7574	8348
2210	3132	7516	7577	8524
2212	4046	7517	7586	8759
2214	4058	7518	7588	8762
2224	4085	7519	7904	8767
2225	4716	7520	7905	8768
2229	4718	7521	7906	8769
2230	4790	7522	7915	8810
				8831

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