

**URBAN FORMATIONS IN MANJERI (1790-1920):
A HISTORICAL ENQUIRY**

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Submitted to the University of Calicut for the award of the Degree of

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Under the faculty of

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Submitted by

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DECEMBER 2024**



DECLARATION

I **ROSHNA P.P.**, do hereby declare that this thesis entitled, '**Urban Formations in Manjeri (1790-1920): A Historical Enquiry**' is based on the original work done by me under the guidance of **Dr. C.A. Anaz**, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Farook College (Autonomous), and has not been included in any other thesis submitted previously for the award of any degree. The contents of the thesis are undergone plagiarism check using iThenticate software at C.H.M.K. Library, University of Calicut, and the similarity index found within the permissible limit. I also declare that the thesis is free from AI generated contents.



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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled, **Urban Formations in Manjeri (1790–1920): A Historical Enquiry** submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, University of Calicut is a record of bonafide research carried out by **Roshna P.P.**, under my supervision. No part of the thesis has been submitted for the award of any Degree before.

I also certified that the corrections/ suggestions from adjudicators have been incorporated in the revised thesis.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.E.M	-	Basel Evangelical Mission
B.R.P	-	Board of Revenue Proceedings
C.B.D	-	Central Business District
C.M.O	-	Correspondence on Mappila Outrages
C.S.H.M	-	Centre for Social History of Malabar
C.S.I	-	Church of South India
C.U.P	-	Cambridge University Press
E.I.C	-	East India Company
G.O	-	Government Order
H.M.S	-	Hidayathul Muslimeen Sabha
N.I	-	Native Infantry
O.U.P	-	Oxford University Press
P.W.D	-	Public Works Department
R.A.K	-	Regional Archives Kozhikode
R.D	-	Revenue Department
S.M.S	-	Subordinate Medical Service

URBAN FORMATIONS IN MANJERI (1790-1920): A HISTORICAL ENQUIRY

(Research Scholar : **Roshna PP**)

under the Supervision of **Dr. C.A Anaz**, Assistant Professor & Head,
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ABSTRACT

Urban history is an enquiry into the economic, political, social, and spatial systems. Urbanization is the process by which rural communities grow to form cities, or urban centers. A city needs to be placed in its regional, national, and trans-national context. The process of urbanisation entered a new phase with the coming of European colonial traders to India. The coastal areas as ports-cum-trading centres became important initially for trading purposes and new cities came up in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The nineteenth century saw cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras become political centres as British empire consolidated itself in India. When we study urban history, it was largely missing the history of small towns. This is an important initiative to study a small town like Manjeri , emerged as a urban centre in nineteenth century.

The work is organized into six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction which displays the general outline of the work. It examines the research problem, methodology, scope, and scheme of the study. It also examines the theories and reviews literature connected with this study. In the second chapter deals with the geography and the historical background of Manjeri. The boundaries of the town, population, natural resources, flora and fauna etc. the third chapter focused on the British administration and Manjeri became the capital of Ernad Taluk. The fourth chapter explores the agricultural development, trade and commerce, market, development of industries, emergence of more job opportunities, migration etc. the fifth chapter examines the emergence of urban middle class and their way of life, development of urban infrastructures like roads, public buildings, bungalows, communication and technology, institutionalization of medicine, etc. which played a



significant role in shaping the town is examined. sixth chapter is the concluding part of this study.

The growth of a town is a multifaceted phenomenon driven by a combination of economic, social, political, and geographical factors. These factors are interrelated, creating a dynamic interplay that propels the process of urbanization. This thesis has explored the historical development, demographic changes, economic transformations, and infrastructural advancements that that collectively contribute to the urban spatial formation of Manjeri.

Through this study, the researcher finds out that Manjeri is often serve as transitional zones, where the rural countryside blend into urban spaces, resulting in a mix of agricultural residential and commercial land uses.

A key aspect of the development of Manjeri is its proximity to the hinterland and to the geographical position. Here both the city and hinterland were impacted by one another.

The town served as a vital connection between the port town of Calicut. It was situated at a crossroads. This illustrates Manjeri's significant contribution to trade with Calicut port.

Keywords: Urban centre, rural communities, space formation, Hinterland, transitional zone, crossroads.



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മഞ്ചേരിയിലെ നഗര രൂപീകരണം (1790-1920):

ഒരു ചരിത്ര അന്വേഷണം

(റിസർച്ച് സ്റ്റോളർ : റോഷ്ന പി.പി.,

റിസർച്ച് ഗൈഡ് : ഡോ. സി.എ. അനസ്, അസി. പ്രൊഫസർ & ഹെഡ്, പി.ജി. & റിസർച്ച് ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെന്റ്, ഫാറൂഖ് കോളേജ്, കോഴിക്കോട്)

സംഗ്രഹം

സാമ്പത്തിക, രാഷ്ട്രീയ, സാമൂഹിക സ്ഥലവ്യവസ്ഥകളെക്കുറിച്ചുള്ള അന്വേഷണമാണ് നഗരചരിത്രം. ഗ്രാമീണ സമൂഹങ്ങൾ നഗരങ്ങൾ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ നഗരകേന്ദ്രങ്ങൾ രൂപീകരിക്കുന്ന പ്രക്രിയയാണ് നഗരവത്കരണം. ഒരു നഗരം അതിന്റെ പ്രാദേശിക, ദേശീയ, അന്തർദേശീയ പശ്ചാത്തലത്തിൽ സ്ഥാപിക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ട്. യൂറോപ്യൻ കൊളോണിയൽ വ്യാപാരികൾ ഇന്ത്യയിലേക്കുള്ള വരവോടെ നഗരവത്കരണ പ്രക്രിയ ഒരു പുതിയ ഘട്ടത്തിലേക്ക് പ്രവേശിച്ചു. തുറമുഖങ്ങളും വ്യാപാരനഗരങ്ങളും എന്ന നിലയിൽ തീരപ്രദേശങ്ങൾ വ്യാപാര ആവശ്യങ്ങൾക്ക് പ്രധാനമായിത്തീർന്നു. പതിനാലാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടിൽ കൽക്കട്ട, ബോംബെ, മദ്രാസ് തുടങ്ങിയ നഗരങ്ങൾ ഇന്ത്യയിൽ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് സാമ്രാജ്യം ഉറപ്പിച്ചപ്പോൾ രാഷ്ട്രീയ കേന്ദ്രങ്ങളായി മാറി. ഇത്തരത്തിൽ നഗരചരിത്രം പഠിക്കുമ്പോൾ, ചെറുപട്ടണങ്ങളുടെ ചരിത്രം കൂടുതലായി കാണാൻ കഴിയുന്നില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെ പത്തൊമ്പതാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടിൽ നഗരകേന്ദ്രമായി ഉയർന്നുവന്ന മഞ്ചേരിപോലുള്ള ഒരു ചെറിയ പട്ടണത്തെക്കുറിച്ച് അറിയാനുള്ള ഒരു പ്രധാന തുടക്കമാണിത്.

ആറ് അധ്യായങ്ങളായാണ് ഈ പ്രബന്ധം ക്രമീകരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നത്. ആമുഖമാണ് ആദ്യ അധ്യായം. ഇത് പഠനത്തിന്റെ ഗവേഷണപ്രശ്നം, രീതിശാസ്ത്രം, വ്യാപ്തി, പദ്ധതി എന്നിവ പരിശോധിക്കുന്നു. രണ്ടാം അധ്യായത്തിൽ മഞ്ചേരിയുടെ ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രവും ചരിത്രപശ്ചാത്തലവും പട്ടണത്തിന്റെ അതിർത്തികൾ, ജനസംഖ്യ, പ്രകൃതിവിഭവങ്ങൾ, സസ്യജന്തുജാലങ്ങൾ എന്നിവ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്നു. മൂന്നാം അധ്യായത്തിൽ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഭരണകൂടത്തെ കേന്ദ്രീകരിച്ച് മഞ്ചേരി, ഏറനാട് താലൂക്കിന്റെ തലസ്ഥാനം എന്ന നിലയിൽ അവലോകനം ചെയ്യുന്നു. നാലാം അധ്യായം കാർഷിക വികാസം, വ്യാപാരം, വാണിജ്യം, വിപണി, വ്യവസായങ്ങളുടെ വളർച്ച, തൊഴിൽ അവസരങ്ങളുടെ

ആവിർഭാവം, കടിയേറ്റം മുതലായലവ വ്യവേക്ഷണം ചെയ്യുന്നു. അഞ്ചാം അധ്യായം മധ്യവർഗ്ഗത്തിന്റെ ആവിർഭാവവും, മുതലാളിത്ത ജീവിതരീതിയും, നഗര അടിസ്ഥാന സൗകര്യങ്ങളുടെ വികസനവും പരിശോധിക്കുന്നു. ആറാം അധ്യായം ഈ പഠനത്തിന്റെ നിഗമനമാണ്.

ഒരു പട്ടണത്തിന്റെ വളർച്ച സാമ്പത്തികവും സാമൂഹികവും രാഷ്ട്രീയവും ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപരവുമായ ഘടകങ്ങളുടെ സംയോജനത്താൽ നയിക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ഒരു ബഹുമുഖ പ്രതിഭാസമാണ്. ഇത് നഗരവൽക്കരണപ്രക്രിയയെ മുന്നോട്ട് നയിക്കുന്ന ചലനാത്മകമായ ബന്ധം സൃഷ്ടിക്കുന്നു. ഇവയെല്ലാംതന്നെ മഞ്ചേരിയുടെ നഗരരൂപീകരണത്തിൽ കൂട്ടായ സംഭാവന നൽകുന്നു. ഈ പഠനത്തിലൂടെ മഞ്ചേരി പലപ്പോഴും ഒരു ട്രാൻസിൾണൽ സോൺ ആയി പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നതായി കാണാം. ഇവിടെ ഗ്രാമീണ നാട്ടിൻപുറങ്ങൾ നഗര ഇടങ്ങളുമായി കൂടിച്ചേരുകയും ഇത് ഭൂവിനിയോഗങ്ങളുടെ മിശ്രിതത്തിന് കാരണമാകുന്നതായും കാണുന്നു.

മഞ്ചേരിയുടെ വികസനത്തിന്റെ പ്രധാനകാരണം അതിന് ചുറ്റുമുള്ള ഗ്രാമീണ മേഖലകളാണ്. അതുപോലെതന്നെ കോഴിക്കോട് നഗരവുമായുള്ള സുപ്രധാന ബന്ധവും മഞ്ചേരിയുടെ വളർച്ചയിൽ ഗണ്യമായ പങ്ക് നിർവ്വഹിക്കുന്നു.

താക്കോൽ വാക്കുകൾ: നഗരകേന്ദ്രം, ഗ്രാമീണ സമൂഹങ്ങൾ, ഹിന്ദുർലാന്റ്, സ്ഥലരൂപീകരണം, ട്രാൻസിൾണൽ സോൺ, ക്രോസ് റോഡുകൾ.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Towns and cities have acted as focal points in the cultural landscape of India. Today urbanization refers to population shift from rural to urban areas. In the historical context, urbanization also referred to the process by which the rural world spawned a new kind of settlement called the city. The study of urban history is an attempt to study both the processes. Urban and rural do not refer to separate and distinct processes in history. Once the city was invented, 'rural' simply refers to a form of specialization. Cities cannot be understood without their rural hinterland and rural neighborhoods cannot be understood without discovering its links with the city. So, the study of urban history generally becomes the study of changes in legal-institutional, demographic, and cultural processes. Urban history is an enquiry into the economic, political, social, and spatial systems that created a form of settlement. A city needs to be placed in its regional, national, and trans-national context. "Urbanization is the process by which rural communities grow to form cities, or urban centers, and by extension the growth and expansion of those cities. Cities are thus seen as a site of communication and cultural interaction, whose significance for local as well as global relations and process of exchange should not be underrated."¹

Urbanization is unique in its own way, and so it is meaningless to look for a universal model. Urbanization is a complex process with ecological, economic, social, political and psychological bearings. The term 'Urban Revolution' was introduced in the 1930's by V. Gordon Childe, an Australian archaeologist.²

¹ Christina Lutter, *Spacing History, Historizing Culture: Urban History, Cultural Studies and Vienna*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2012, p. 9.

² The word 'revolution' must not of course be taken as denoting a sudden violent catastrophe, it is used for the culmination of a progressive change in the economic structure and social organization of communities that caused, or was accompanied by a dramatic increase in the population affected an increase that would appear as an obvious bend in the population graph were vital statistics available. See, V. Gordon Childe, *The Urban Revolution*, the town planning review, vol-21, No-1, April 1950, p. 3.

“Childe’s concept in fact describes the transition from agricultural villages to state-level urban societies. These changes which occurred independently in several parts of the world is recognized as one of the most significant changes in human socio-cultural evolution. The birth of cities is connected with innovations in agriculture and also more significantly in governance and the management of highly concentrated population.”³

S.C Misra points out that space-men ratio and occupational heterogeneity are the two factors that differentiate a city from village. This implies that cities are not merely dense concentration of people, but concentration of people engaged in diverse occupations.⁴ Eric Lampord too underlines occupational heterogeneity as a dominant trait of urban character when he writes that the urban character derives more from the variety of activity than from sheer number. He sees the city also as a community with legal entity and possessing laws and institutions form to itself. Mumford looks at the city as a structure specially equipped to store and transmit the goods of civilization and sufficiently condensed to afford the maximum number of facilities in a limited space.

There was no urban center in India without the substantial presence of merchants, long distance trade and artisanal production and in no civilization towns grew independent of trade. Trade is invariably related with market. Market served as focal points in society. They were more than means of the circulation of goods. They also served as foci for the dissemination of knowledge. The history of civilization is also the history of urbanization. From the earlier times Mesopotamia to the Indus Valley and China, from Egypt to Greece and Meso-America, urbanization has always been a part of ancient culture.⁵ But it has not been uniform all over the world. During the following ages have witnessed localized growth in different

³ Christopher B. Boone and Ali Modarres, *City and Environment*, Temple University Press, 2006, p. 3.

⁴ S.C.Misra, *Urban History in India, Possibilities and Perspectives*, in Indu Banga(ed). *The City in Indian History*, Delhi, 1991, p.11.

⁵ Gorden Child, *op.cit*, p. 17.

stages. Generally it is an age-old process, the ways in which it takes place and the rate with which it happens have been changing over times.

The medieval urbanization process in Europe initially suffered a setback with the fall of Rome. But the new cities that emerged were different from the ancient one. The urban community now was mainly composed of merchants and artisans. With the changing socio-economic organization and with improved technology the city structure was also largely changed. When we analyse the advancement of urban development in western culture, it occurred not only in response to the technological aspects of industrialization of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but also as a consequence of the transformation of the social structure where renaissance values contributed in building up a civilization more complex and far flung than any one that preceded it. London and Paris, the two major metropolises were also growing rapidly during this time. From the sixteenth century onwards, markets were both numerous and important markets are not institutions functioning mainly within an economy, but without they are meeting place of long-distance trade. Local markets proper are of little consequences. Moreover, neither long-distance nor local markets are essentially competitive in each other, and consequently there is, in either case, little pressure to create traditional trade in the so called international or national market.

A consideration of the extent and organization of the market for agricultural produce is naturally essential to any serious study of an agrarian economy. “The available evidence on the internal trade of Mughal India is by no means small. It ends, however, to emphasize the trade in high value goods, with which we are not directly concerned.”⁶ The closely knit national market of today is clearly the creation of the railways. The most obvious limitation to long-distance trade is set by the means of transport.⁷ Bullock carts, camels, and pack-oxen carried goods on road that were little more than tracks, though distinguished in the case of the major

⁶ Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India 1556-1707*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, p. 68.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

highways. Henry Pirenne points out that towns grow with the growth of trade, particularly long-distance trade, and secondly, that the entire development of society, the growth of a new social order, the capitalist order, is predicted on a kind of division of labour between the cities and the towns and the countryside merely supplying the raw materials and the food stuffs.⁸ Dr. Nandi has pointed out that “the towns in India started reviving in the 11th century and that feudalization in the early period did mean a considerable growth of agriculture.”⁹

A turning point in the history of urbanization was reached during the late eighteenth century in the world. With the beginning of Industrial Revolution, the nature of urbanization itself underwent a major change transforming the very concept of a city. It was a real breakthrough as the implementation of insentient energy and machinery in the newly established industries brought about an enormous growth in productivity. The morphology is mainly dominated by religious and feudal power, from a society dealt with administrative, religious, and limited market activities, the city got transformed in to one in which economic activity took over in importance where a capitalistic system possessing distinct class segregation started functioning. During this period, in third world countries like India the whole process assumed a different shape due to colonization. The Portuguese, Dutch, English and French setup towns and cities in their areas they colonized. Thus grew several cities like Johannesburg, Colombo, New Amsterdam, Batavia, Calcutta etc. from localized growth the spread of cities now became more even. By the mid nineteenth century all the continents had many towns and a high percentage of population. San Francisco, Vancouver, Baltimore, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Nairobi, Cape Town, Addis Ababa, Sydney, Bombay, Madras, and Hong Kong were a few of these new cities.

The pattern of small towns would differ from region to region and area to area. “The growth of the *qasbah* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is

⁸ Satish Chandra, *Social Change and Development in Medieval Indian History*, Har-Anand Publication, New Delhi, 2008, p. 65.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

emphasized. Moreover, whereas in the Sultanate period a *qasbah* was a village with a fort, in the 16th and 17th centuries, a *qasbah* was a village with a market”.¹⁰ So the entire concept of the *qasbah* changed during the period. To an extent, this was closely linked to the position of the small towns because the small towns not only acted as markets and centers of sale of agricultural produce but also developed as centres of handicrafts. The metallurgical base of the small towns in the upper Ganga valley enabled the Afghan soldiers to be equipped with muskets as also their other requirements.¹¹ In South India one of its cultural centers located in an extremely rich agricultural hinterland and one which has always had extensive overland and overseas trade links.

The modern phase of India’s urban history has its beginnings, ironically, in the period during which Mughal supremacy was at its heights. This period witnessed the growth of several minor and major port cities having the presence of several foreign trading groups and other indigenous merchant classes. Many British and other European and non-European residents together with the educated and affluent Indians, formed the urban elite of colonial period in India. Another aspect of colonial urbanization was the change in the architectural designs and pattern of buildings and the introduction of modern utilities. The concept of Bernier, “that Indian cities were merely military camps was not supported by the evidence at our disposal. Another interesting conclusion which emerged was that the extent of urbanization in India during the seventeenth century was much higher than what it was in British India at the beginning of the century”.¹² So the nature and process of urbanization during this period is qualitatively different from the nature and structure of urbanization during the medieval period. The impact of industrialization, of world market, of colonialism, and of imperialist drain is very clearly noticeable in this period. The course of urbanization after 1800 AD in all parts of India was determined by British colonial economic policies and social attitudes.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Urban studies are a recent area of research in social sciences. Scholars still cast their light on the past to cover village societies and peasants with shadowy darkness. Although during the nineteenth century revolutions turned parts of the world upside down and thrust peasants into history's limelight, the notion that village communities are by nature inert and change only under the impact of urban initiative remains deeply ingrained in the scholarly attempt.¹³ When we try to locate the exact period of the emergence of urban trends in the history of Kerala it would be a very difficult task. Spatial organization of the urban areas has shown some new developments in the urban form. The earlier centers retained the features of medieval towns where a farming element was present.

There is a view that urban centres in Kerala developed only with the colonial period. It has been pointed out in a recent study that both in the ancient and medieval periods one fails to identify any indigenous dynamics of urbanization in Kerala. This was mainly due to lack of development of the pre-requisites of urban growth such as centralized political power and technological improvements. It was the colonial initiative for systematic trade and political sovereignty that finally led to the emanation of spatial divide in the region. But much before the advent of colonial powers there were brisk trading centres in Kerala which had all the general traits of contemporary urban areas.

During the seventeenth century, Manjeri being the centre of agricultural prosperity, a town adjacent to Nilambur forest ranges and a good market of rural products acquired great significance. Moreover, when Manjeri turned out to be a part of Calicut ruled by Zamorins, it became the peripheral area of commercial and administrative centre. In conceptualizing urban growth in medieval Kerala one can see a series of developments in technological advancement. Social organization, political orientation, monetization of trade, accounting and allied areas of activities. This study while contemplating on colonial Manjeri, also involves an attempt to trace out the characteristic features of Manjeri as an early colonial urban center where all

¹³ David Ludden, *Early Capitalism and Local History in South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1985, p. 3.

the parameters of a medieval urban center like circulation of coins, transport and communication facilities, markets and towns, separate streets and merchant quarters and a well functioned city administration existed.

In this thesis mainly covers the time span of 1790 - 1920 of Manjeri because the understanding of the transformation from a rural settlement to an urban centre. The period 1790 -1920 marks Manjeri's gradual shift from a traditional agrarian settlement into an emerging town with administrative commercial and educational functions. The invasion of Mysore sulthan and later British control significantly altered Manjeri's political and administrative structure. By the early 20th century Manjeri had become part of wider political currents, including nationalist ideas and resistance to colonial policies.

Research Problem

The urban space a fundamental question which the thesis seeks to answer is, what is the structure of the urban centre of Manjeri? Is it emerged based on economic growth? How the urbanization process impacted the life in Manjeri?

The urban space of Manjeri formed because of many factors which are not properly known to us. What were the main factors that caused the emergence of urban centre in Manjeri? How did these factors help for the process of urbanization in Manjeri?

What is the role of British administration in the construction of urban spaces? How did the capitalist potential form in the nineteenth century under colonial rule? What forced the people from the nearby areas to migrate to this town?

Conceptual Framework

Urbanism in a way of life, once it confined to the historical central city, has been spreading outwards, creating urban densities and new “outer” and “edge” cities in what were early suburban fringes and green field or rural sites. In some particular areas, urbanization has expanded on even larger regional scales, creating giant urban galaxies with population sizes and degrees of “polycentricity” far beyond anything

imagined only a few decades ago. In some cases city regions are coalescing into even larger agglomerations in a process that can be called “extended regional urbanization”.¹⁴ In a more hard sense, urban area or centre is a place where actions like exchange of services and ideas take place. It is a place for agricultural processing mills or small scale industries, a place for community and production services, a place for fair or hat (periodic market) or social gatherings and place for transport service or break of bulk service. All these activities act as complement to each other and are considered as a total strength of market force.

Urban history is one of the many areas of knowledge that encompass geography, history, sociology, economics, political science, and many others. The concept of urban history goes beyond the simple description of cities to encompass the study of how cities emerge and develop over time. A study of this nature requires a thorough understanding of history as well as several other areas of study. Generally, cities can be classified based on their population and area. Despite the emergence of urban history as an independent field of knowledge, urban history and its study are restricted to the study of population and surrounding area. From a historical perspective, the development of cities was a revolutionary process that led to the creation of civilizations by connecting cultures. The agricultural relationship was the most important component of this process. Villages and agriculture served as supportive elements for the city, therefore facilitating the development of the revolution. Societies established within the city, which are primarily based on trade and commerce, are indirectly linked to agriculture. Traditionally, farmers have dominated the rural areas, while government officials, traders, artists, religious leaders, and intellectuals have dominated the urban centers. Facilities are provided by the city administration to the people who reside within the city limits. These services are provided as a result of the region's wide range of resources. This part consists of detail discussion on key terminologies used in this study and the relevant desktop studies. The appropriate theories and their relevant in this study also discussed.

¹⁴ Niel Brenner, *Theses on Urbanization*, in Public Culture, February 2013, p. 87.

Urban geography

Urban geography is, largely, what urban geographers do. While this may not be a very helpful point, it does reflect the subject's lack of precise definition. However, it is possible to recognize several concerns common to many urban geographers. These concerns may be summarized as being of three types. "Descriptive concerns involve the recognition and description of the internal structure of urban areas and the processes operating within them or the relations between urban areas. Interpretive concerns involve the examination of the different ways in which people understand and react to these patterns and processes, and the bases these interpretations provide for human action. Explanatory concerns seek to elucidate the origins of these patterns and processes. This involves an examination both of general social processes and their different manifestations under particular local circumstances."¹⁵ Urban geography mainly seeks to explain the distribution of towns and cities and the socio-cultural similarities and contrasts that exist between and within them. If all cities were unique, this would be an impossible task. However, while every town and city have an individual character, urban places also exhibit common features that vary only in degree of incidence or importance within the particular urban fabric. All cities contain areas of residential space, transportation lines, economic activities, service infrastructure, commercial areas and public buildings etc. In different world regions the historical process of urban evolution may have followed similar processes, such as those of suburbanization, gentrification and socio-spatial segregation, are operating within cities in the developed world, in former communist states and in countries of the Third World to affect a degree of convergence in urban landscapes. "urban geography may be defined as the study of cities as systems within a system of cities".¹⁶

In approaching the concept of urban it is useful to draw a distinction between the question of what is an urban area, and what is urbanity. This is more than an

¹⁵ Tim Hall, *Urban Geography*, Routledge, London, 1998, p. 21.

¹⁶ Michael Pacione, *Urban Geography Global Perspective*, Routledge, London, 2001, p. 22.

exercise in semantics. The distinction between the urban as a physical entity and the urban as a quality helps us to understand the complexity of urban life and illuminates different approaches to the study of cities. The only static thing about cities is that they are always changing. Classifying and understanding the processes of urban change present problems for geographers and others studying the city. Cities, since their inception, have always demonstrated gradual, piecemeal change through processes of accretion, addition or demolition. This type of change may be regarded as largely cosmetic, and the underlying processes of urbanization and the overall structure of the city remain largely unaltered. However, at certain periods fundamentally different processes of urbanization have emerged; the result has been that the rate of urban change has accelerated, and new, distinctly different, urban forms have developed.

Peri-urban

The word ‘peri-urban’ may understood to apply in different circumstances because there is no single satisfactory definition of this word. However, broadly speaking, the word has come to be used in three different ways, such as, to denote a place, a concept or a process.¹⁷ “As a place, it refers to rural fringe areas surrounding cities. The terms used to describe such locations are peri-urban settlements, rural urban fringe, urban outgrowth or hinterland. Since they bear the spillover of urban expansion, they are an extension of the main city”.¹⁸ Specifically, it is more consider as the peri-urban zone as an extension of the city rather than as an entirely separate zone. Conversely, the peri-urban zone should also be considered as part of the adjacent rural hinterland area for purposes of a interconnected approach to rural research and development since there are two-way influences and interactions.¹⁹ “Peri-urban has thus come to serve as a term to denote the intermediary zone between the ‘rural’ and the ‘urban’, that is, a geographical space where the rural

¹⁷ Narain V, Nischal . S, *The Peri-Urban Interface in Shahpur Khurd and Karnera, India*, Journal of Environment and Urbanization. Vol-19, 2007, p. 261.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

¹⁹ Mcgregor. D, D. Simon and D. Thompson, *The Peri-Urban Interface: Approaches to Sustainable Natural and Human Resource Use*, Earthscan, London, Vol-xxiv, pp. 9-10.

meets the urban. This is echoed in terms that have similar connotations in other languages”. It is nearest to the equivalent term peri-urban in German it is urban land lichen zonen (urban rural zones); and in Afrikaans it is ‘buitestedelik’ (outer city or beyond the city). In East Asia the term often used is 'desakota' (city village),²⁰ are highlighting the peri urban to means a space where both rural and urban features co-exist. Peri urban areas are not only characterized by a geographical, but also social and institutional transitions. Socially, peri urban areas are very dynamic in nature, where in social forms are constantly created, modified and discarded.²¹ They are understood to be areas of social constrict or intensification where the density of social forms, types and meanings increases, instigating the conflict and resolutions. Because the change in land use and the economic diversity and interests that this engenders, social groups tend to be heterogeneous and in constant transition. local farmers, informal settlers, industrial entrepreneurs and urban middle class commuters may all co-exist in the same locality, though with different and competing interests, practices and way of living. Much of these social dynamisms and flux comes from the presence of migrants and new settlers. These social changes and transformations further have spin-off effects in terms of the range of economic activities that they nurish.

Peri urban settlements continuously draw migrant labor that seeks employment in nearest towns and cities, including to the heterogeneity of the population. It is also common for relatives of peri urban people to migrate to the peri urban settlements in search of better living conditions, social amenities or jobs in nearest towns. This, in turn, lead to a demand for rented accommodation in these Migration processes have played an important role in the emergence of ‘Urban

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²¹ For example, rural itself is not a single category but a complex continuum. Rural areas share the common characteristics of comparatively few people living in the area, limited access to large cities and some time even to smaller towns, and considerable travelling distance to “market areas” for either work or everyday living activities. They exist along a continuum, however, from more rural to less rural and vary extensively based on the following factors: proximity to a central place, community size, population density, total population and economic/ socio-economic factors. Seen in, David L. Jaquinta and Alex W. Drescher, *Defining Peri Urban: Rural-Urban Linkages and Institutional Connections*, January, 2000, p. 4.

Agglomerations' around large cities like Delhi as well.²² Migration was found to be an important feature as well as driving force of the peri urbanization processes in all five cities in India namely, Chennai, Chandigarh, Ahmedabad, Patna and Guwahati. Many of these migrants engaged in construction and other economic activities that had come to take shape in the emerging cities. An important observation made on migration in the peri urban literature is that rural out-migrants do not generally directly go to large cities.²³ Instead, a series of moves is involved, called 'step migration', wherein rural migrants move first to villages or small towns and successively to more urban environments.

Rurban / Ru-urban

Before Fifty years, the French sociologist Henri Lefebvre already described "urbanization as a 'total' phenomenon that has suspended the rural–urban divide and thus the historical categories of urban and rural".²⁴ While, the urban and the rural continue to co-exist, that they are organized in specific elements that we call '*rurban*'. To understand *rurban* as the continuous reconfiguration of material flows, practices, contexts of meaning, and spatial structures. Accordingly, "the '*rurbanisation*' requires, first, the simultaneous and equal attention to rural and urban practices, spatial structures, and imaginaries. Secondly, the *rurban* substantiates the ambiguity of the categories rural and urban and critically re-evaluates their associated attributions".²⁵ The examination of '*rurbanity*' mainly implies a permanent re-shaping within complex and highly dynamic relationships between the rural and the urban. By defining this state as an independent factor of study, constituted in the dialectical gap between the categories of urban and rural but

²² K.C. Sivaramakrishnan, A. Kundu and B. Singh, *Handbook of Urbanization in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2007, p. 54.

²³ Iaquina and Drescher, *op.cit*, pp. 4-5.

²⁴ Stuart Elden, *There is a Politics of Space Because Space is Political: Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space*, *Radical Philosophy Review*, Vol-10, No-2, 2007, p.103.

²⁵ Ellen M. Hoffmann, Nikolaus Schareika, Christoph Dittrich, et al, *Rurbanity: A Concept for the Interdisciplinary Study of Rural-Urban Transformation*, in *Sustainability Science*, Vol-18, May 2023, p. 1739.

an object, this concept makes an ontological contribution to that field which can be operationalized for interdisciplinary research.²⁶

The fusion of the words ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ has been previously reported. The terms ‘*rurban*’ and ‘*rurbanisation*’ can be traced back to the sociologist Sorokin, who referred to them in 1929 as a terminological invention of C. P. Galpin in 1918.²⁷ Lacour and Puissant, analyses the changing relationship between the rural and the urban under conditions of globalization. They described “a process of ‘realization of the urban’ and the result of this development as a state of ‘*rurbanity*’. Accordingly, this strand of literature talks about *rurbanism*”.²⁸

The elaborated concept of ‘*rurbanity*’ points to the fact that, “when rural and urban elements come together, intermingle, and assemble, they give rise to characteristic spatial, social and environmental phenomena that share a number of similarities, irrespective of the local context”. The blend of commercial and residential building structures, parks, roads, street-lining trees, and agricultural fields in both locations demonstrates that similar ‘*rurban*’ patterns are emerging in geographically, socially, and politically unrelated regions. The concept makes it possible to lay out a roadmap how the emergence and development of these phenomena can be analyzed when taken up as an object of interdisciplinary research.²⁹

‘*Rurbanity*’, viewed through the framework of socio–ecological systems, highlights the interconnections of the material with the social, of the social with the

²⁶ Nassif Nazeer Thaickavil, *Land Use Model for Rural-Urban Transition in Kerala*, National Conference and Seminar on Innovations in Engineering & Technology, February 2020, p. 1.

²⁷ Ellen M. Hoffmann, *op.cit*, p. 1739.

²⁸ “Rurbanism” as a process integrating the urban with the rural, so that there is a co-evolution of the countryside and the city that is embedded within it. Whereas here the concept generally prefers the noun ‘*rurbanity*’. The suffix-ism, derived from the Latinisms, denotes a doctrine, a principle or a faith system. The suffix-ity, on the other hand, forms abstract nouns from adjectives, referring to a quality, a state, measure, or distribution of something, thus meaning a ‘condition or quality of being’.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1740.

symbolic, and of the social–material with the spatial, forming habitats that are marked by a high degree of direct and planned human, socially, and culturally constituted intervention. At the same time, ‘*rurbanity*’ is also usually studied as an assemblage at work to explore why some connections are enabled while others become dysfunctional. This question, though, cannot be answered once and for all because, the notion of assemblage and following knowledge built from prior empirical research, we must understand ‘*rurbanity*’ as an arrangement that is the spatio-temporally specific condition for its own re-arrangement. To understand “*rurbanity* as a state of being and becoming, its study requires a conceptual language that is capable of grasping phenomena that are not fixed, are transient, have no clear-cut boundary between an inside and an outside, are more than one thing at a time, and do not only follow linear causalities. One of the processes that characterizes ‘*rurbanity*’ and would be highlighted by an assemblage approach is ‘bricolage’, as described by Claude Lévi-Strauss”.³⁰ A ‘bricoleur’, by contrast, would take whatever is available and use it in the best possible manner. His “set of tools and material is always finite and is also heterogeneous. They each represent a set of actual and possible relations; they are 'operators' but they can be used for any operations of the same type”.³¹ This idea of ‘bricolage’ implies a high motivation for the local recycling of resources, whereas engineering might rather rely on external inputs.

‘*Rurbanity*’ is related to spatial features, but not to a specific location. It can be used to analyse transformations in highly contested peri-urban fringes as a response to economic and administrative conflicts, as well as to balcony or rooftop gardening in densely populated urban areas as an expression of cultural values. As a concept to better understand the interdependence and dynamics of nature, society, structures, and processes that shape rural and urban transformations, ‘*rurbanity*

³⁰ ‘Bricolage’ on the technical plane, mythical reflection can reach brilliant unforeseen results on the intellectual plane. Mythical thought is therefore a kind of intellectual ‘bricolage’ which explains the relation which can be perceived between the two. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, translated by George Weidenfeld and Nicholson, University of Chicago Press, 1962, p. 11.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

enables us to overcome the increasingly blurry divide between the rural and the urban in a rapidly urbanizing world. This concept implies that “social–ecological entities in a *rurban* mosaic constantly create multiple transient solutions for securing their existence”.

In Kerala, the settlements are highly dispersed, forming a continuum rather than distinctly urban or Rural spaces. This structure challenges the traditional urban planning models that rely on clear boundaries between rural and urban areas. T.T Sreekumar argues that Kerala’s high population density and the close proximity of urban services within traditionally rural areas blur these distinctions and these regions exhibits characteristics of both urban and rural areas, making it a “*rurban*” space.³²

Core-periphery

The existence of a core-periphery structure, that implies in the spatial dimension like space and place, the socioeconomic development is usually uneven. Beginning from a geographical perspective, “the regions known as the “core” are advanced in various areas, while other regions described as the “periphery” serve as social, economic, and political backstages, backyards, and supply sources or - in some cases - are even subject to degradation and decline. Furthermore, the level of development has a negative correlation with distance from the core”. The states economies, that have gone through various stages of development at the beginning and with the fastest pace have become wealthy core regions and growth poles. Those states and regions where these processes have been slower become or remain the poor periphery.³³

³² The term “*rurban*” reflects a shift where rural areas increasingly exhibit urban characteristics while maintaining rural roots, it highly driven by technology, migration, and new socio-economic dynamics. Sreekumar mainly discussed the “*rurban*” concept is an intersection of rural and urban development, particularly in the context of Kerala’s socio-economic landscape. See, T.T Sreekumar, *ICTs and Development in India: Perspectives on the Rural Network Society*, Anthem Press, U.K, 2011, p. 126.

³³ M. Klimczuk-Kochańska, A. Klimczuk, *Core-Periphery Model*, in: S.N. Romaniuk, M. Thapa, P. Marton (eds.), *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Global Security Studies*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham 2019, p.1.

Critical analyzing the core-periphery model focuses on the results and outcomes of the disproportions and asymmetry of the relationship and value of various indicators related to the level of regional development. The terms “center” and “core” are often used as synonyms. “Peripherality is perceived negatively, and peripheral areas are regions that may generate challenges for the core and may even be deemed to require political interventions from time to time”.³⁴ This model is of interest to different groups such as geographers, scholars of regional studies, town planners, economists, sociologists, as well as practitioners and experts in the field of development studies.

The core-periphery concept was developed in the 1950s by Prebisch within the framework of the United Nations Economic Commission of Latin America. Prebisch started using the terminology of “core” and “periphery” already in 1929. “He describes these notions as two broad and contrasting regional categories, that is, the economically developed center and the undeveloped periphery”. These terms are interconnected but also defined by various internal features such as wage levels, production structures, export composition, and other similar attributes. “Prebisch’s concept is still often presented in the literature as the foundation of the dependency theory”.³⁵ Prebisch argued that theories and models stemming from the developed world or the center were not applicable in the non-developed world or the periphery due to its different in situations and historical experiences.³⁶ Importantly, the ideas of Prebisch had a tremendous results on both economic policy and strands of development thinking all over the world. He highlighted that unequal exchange is causing the flow of surplus value from periphery areas to core areas.

³⁴ For e.g., regions with a predominantly agricultural structure, regions deprived of natural resources, regions located far from the main transport routes, depopulated regions, and regions where large-scale enterprises have been liquidated resulting in mass unemployment and other social problems. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

³⁵ Esteban Perez Caldentery and Matias Vernengo, *Raul Prebisch and Economic Dynamics: Cyclical Growth and Centre-Periphery Interaction*, CEPAL Review, 118, April 2016, p. 10.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11

The core-periphery model was also put forward by John Friedmann, He further developed this concept in 1966 by underlining the role of spatial distances from the core. Moreover, it can be noted that “Friedmann’s model combines elements of the export-based approach presented by Douglass C. North (1955) and parts of Gunnar Myrdal’s (1957) theory of cumulative and circular causation with the “spread effect”, whereby development spreads from city to the suburbs and all adjoining areas and the “backwash effect”, whereby the development of the city tends to gather resources and labor force away from surrounding areas and that may degrade these places”.³⁷

This model of regional development mainly focuses on spatially diversified development. It recognizes the tendency by the most competitive entities to locate their manufacturing and services activities in the most developed regions. Economic centers or the core areas dominate over peripheral areas not only in the economic sphere but also in the political and cultural fields. The core, which is usually a ‘metropolitan area’, contributes to the development of the periphery even as, at the same time, it is subordinating it in the social and economic dimensions. Centers typically have a high potential for innovation or improvement and growth, which shapes the geographic diffusion of innovations.³⁸ To sum up, “according to Friedmann’s model, the development potential of a given region or country is determined by the stimulating effect of regional growth centers, the construction of infrastructure, and the provision of support from central areas to less developed regions. An advantage of the model is that the assumptions of this theory are also

³⁷ M. Klimczuk-Kochanska, *op.cit*, p. 3.

³⁸ The diffusion innovation theory was introduced by Rogers in 1962. It focuses on understanding how, why and what rate innovative ideas and technologies spread in a social system. The end result of this diffusion is that people, as part of a social system, adopt a new idea, behavior, or product. Adoption means that a person does something differently than what they had previously. The key to adoption is that the person must persevere the idea, behavior, or product as new or innovative. It is through this that diffusion is possible. See, Tahir Ahmad Wani and Syed Wajid Ali, *Innovation Diffusion Theory*, journal of General Management Research, vol-2, issue-2, July 2015, pp.98-100.

applicable to different spatial scales, that is, from local and regional through to the national and global scale.”³⁹

The concept of the core-periphery model is also part of Wallerstein’s theory, which he proposed in the 1970s to explain the genesis and functioning of capitalism while also seeking to interpret the phenomenon of globalization. This theory assumes that “the world-system is a specific spatial and temporal entity, including various political and cultural units that are functioning based on certain specific principles. An essential element of this theory is the core-periphery hierarchy, whereby discrepancies in interests and inequalities result from the domination of the vibrant center over the weak periphery.”⁴⁰ Regarding other issues, this theory is quite like Prebisch and Friedmann’s approaches. However, in Wallerstein’s theory, “center and periphery are inextricably linked together in both material and sociocultural terms. Wallerstein shows that the core regions are innovative and play an active role in international trade, export capital, generate high incomes, and have high productivity and stability of the political system”. The core area is the site of the exchange of products between the monopolized and free-market zones and the flow of profits to the former. Peripheral areas are less innovative, have low incomes and productivity, are dependent on capital import, have a minor role in international trade, and they are politically unstable. Therefore, in this approach, peripheries are more dependent on the centers and disadvantaged by unequal terms of trade. Moreover, Wallerstein distinguishes semi-peripheries that are interpreted as a kind of buffer zone between the center and the periphery. Even if the semi-peripheral countries and regions experience the highest mobility, their prospective promotion to the status of a core region is decided primarily by international or governmental

³⁹ M. Klimczuk-Kochanska, *op.cit*, p. 5.

⁴⁰ World system theory developed as a generalized approach to the study of intersocietal contact, and originated with the work of Immanuel Wallerstein, who studied the emergence of modern capitalism. Wallerstein claims that rich core capitalist societies succeeded by exploiting poorer peripheral ones. In between are semiperipheral societies, a precarious global middle class. The periphery therefore can only advance through global revolution that will end the world capitalist system. See, Daniel Chirot, *World System Theory*, in *International Encyclopaedia of The Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 2015, p. 748.

interventions. Some of the semi peripheries were previously the central areas, while some have advanced from the periphery. In Wallerstein's opinion, "the countries of the periphery and the semi-peripheries that build for a comparative advantage on cheap labor stand to lose the investment thus attracted. Labor costs will increase in time on a global scale due to the depletion of the resources of the rural population."⁴¹

From a historical perspective, the core-periphery model is related to the processes of industrialization and urbanization that deepened the split between core and peripheral areas. Regions with attractive geographic and communication locations benefited from industrialization and became core areas that drew in economic entities seeking economies of scale, exerted demand for an increasing amount of labor resources, attracted external capital, and effectively competed for these resources with the periphery. As a result, at the other extreme, peripheral regions were established that have lost most of their labor resources and which are not attractive to external capital due to the monofunctional structure of the local economy. Most of the rural areas are in this group, except for those located near large urban centers. Core areas also become clusters of economic activity, sources of innovation, and gatherings of the creators of innovation sometimes described as the "creative class".⁴² Excessive costs, especially of introducing technological innovations, are a barrier to their transfer to peripheral regions.⁴³

Theoretical Perspectives

⁴¹ Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, University of California Press, 2011, p. 344.

⁴² The economic need for creativity has registered itself in the rise of a new class, which was called the "creative class" by Florida. He defined the core of the creative class to include people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music, and entertainment whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology, and new creative content. Around this core, the creative class also includes a broader group of creative professionals in business and finance, law, health care, and related fields. See, Richard Florida, *The Rise of The Creative Class*, Basic Books, New York, 2002, pp. 15-16.

⁴³ M. Klimczuk-Kochanska, *op.cit*, p. 7.

Several theories have been developed to describe and explain the pattern, process, and direction of urbanization. Theories and models give a clear-cut picture of the theoretical concept of the study of urbanization. Following models are relevant in the present study. The ‘concentric zone model’ also known ‘Burgers model’ is one of the earliest theoretical models to explain urban structures. It was created by sociologist ‘E.W. Burgers’, there is a tendency of the growth of any town through an essential expansion from the centre so as to form a series of concentric zone or circles. “The concentric zone model depicts urban land use in concentric rings: the Central Business District (or CBD) was in the middle of the model, and the city expanded in rings with different land uses.”⁴⁴

‘Sector Model’ (Theory) was conceptualized by the economist ‘Homer Hoyt’ (1939) with the same division in the form of sectors rather than concentric circles. This pattern of city growth can be explained in part by a sifting process. According to him, “this theory was intended as a modification of Burgess's theory (Concentric Zone Model) of town development. Hoyt has suggested that zones expand outward from the town centre along rail roads, highways and other transportation routes.”⁴⁵

According to ‘Multiple Nuclei Model’, towns tend to grow around not one but several district nuclei, it was developed by ‘C.D. Harris and Ullman’ in 1945, with ten distinguishable types of areas: “central business, wholesale and light manufacturing, low income residential, medium income residential, high income residential, heavy industry, outlying business, residential suburb, industrial suburb and commuters area.”⁴⁶

‘The central place’ concept is the main basis of understanding the urban centres and neighborhoods and their inter linkages. The central place theory was put

⁴⁴ Tim Hall, *op.cit*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ John McDonagh, *Theories of Urban Land Use and Their Application to the Christchurch Property Market*, in The Property and Land Economy Institute of New Zealand Newsletter, May 1997, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁶ Chauncy D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman, *The Nature of Cities*, in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol-242, Nov, 1945, p. 8.

forwarded by 'Christaller' in 1933.⁴⁷ His work concerns basically with the finding of the general laws which govern the size, numbers and distributions of urban areas. In the similar area with equal contact in all directions under perfect competition, the central place provides goods and services to the surrounding areas that are in a three-sided pattern. 'The ideal form of the hinter land region is a hexagon'. The basic unit in the central place system is a settlement. Each central place provides goods and services to its surrounding areas which is called central function of urban of city. Besides above-mentioned theories some of the other theories and models are developed in the contemporary urban study. Therefore, all models are useful to study the urban growth and urbanization situation in the present day.

Hypotheses

1. Urbanization is a complex movement. The factors such as political unity, administrative consolidation and strong agricultural base, expansion of trade, naturally led to the development of urban centres. That the urbanism takes place through the congregation of population in each space or locality. It is assumed that several historical and developmental changes occurred in the urban formation of Manjeri.
2. Manjeri shared a symbiotic relationship with its rural hinterland. The hinterland plays a critical role in the development of cities. A city's development is dependent upon what the hinterland produces and what market facilities are available in the area.
3. The pace and process of urbanization are changing as the political and administrative nature of cities change. Political and historical changes in Manjeri directly affected its nature and urbanity.

Source

This study used various sources that usually merit the attention of academic research. The present study has utilized both primary and secondary source

⁴⁷ Leslie J. King, *Central Place Theory*, in Grant Ian Thrall (ed.), *Web Book of Regional Science*, Regional Research Institute, West Virginia University, 1985, p. 19.

materials. Apart from the oral evidence, careful effort has been made to collect information from the available records such as administrative records, census reports, record from municipal office, settlement register, newspapers, handwritten journal, archaeological reports etc.

Objectives

1. To trace the historical roots of the urbanization of Manjeri.
2. To find out the growth and development of a town in a colonial situation.
3. To analyses the multiple spatial processes went into the shaping of the city of Manjeri.
4. To examine the geo-political and socio-cultural factors for the urbanization of Manjeri.
5. To analyze the comprehensive picture of the trading centres, including market facilities and the geophysical set up in which they flourished.

Methodology

The work is crafted with a sound methodology of historical research. It was necessary to follow an inter-disciplinary method to understand the life of the people in the urban space. the study choosen the time frame from 1790-1920, because 1790 mark Manjeri as a cusbah of Mysore Sultans and 1920 mark a major political event especially the manjeri political conference. this time element is fundamental to the urban formation of manjeri. It was seen that the conventional method in historical research is in capable of helping urban studies. Findings in major discipline in social sciences and humanities are useful to understand the life of the people in the city today. These are to be used in historical research to understand the formation of the Manjeri town. Urban geographic theories are useful to frame the origine and growth of a urban centre. Data on colonial policy and administration were collected through archival research as various archives in Kerala and outside provide a mine of information on this subject. Sociological and anthropological tools of fieldwork and interviews were widely conducted for tapping primary and reliable data, for which methods of oral history research had been of great value.

Review of Literature

The number of books and literature directly connected with the topic is very limited. There are few works available to understand the general history of Manjeri in the form of gazetteer, manuals, district handbook, non-authentic history works etc. colonial authorities made different kind of understanding about Kerala for their administrative necessities they published the core of their studies in the form of Manuals, Gazetteers, books and reports etc. Among the most important work about Malabar was done by William Logan in his '*Malabar Manual*' Malabar has been considered as a political unit. The manual has reproduced most of the traditions and myths of the region. The flora and fauna, the patterns of productive plots and the kinds of settlement have been delineated in the manual. The work called *Malabar District Gazetteer* by C.A. Innes, is a comprehensive and authoritative gazetteer of Malabar. It depicts the geographical and historical background of districts, socio economic and cultural aspect of the populace, agricultural and industrial developments, land tenures, administration of justice, and educational activities etc. Another work titled '*A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*' by Ward and Conner. It gives vivid details of the geographical and statistical survey of the Malabar region. The descriptive details in the Memoir helped to understand the wide geographical and topographical knowledge of Malabar. The *Malappuram District Gazetteer* by C.K. Kareem is another comprehensive work. This work gives an outline of the history of the people, agriculture, banking, trade, commerce, local-self-government, public health, etc.

The study of towns and urban centers can be traced back to a handful of pioneering and towering canonical works, such as, Jacob Burckhardt's incomparable *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, though admittedly about renaissance culture, is a book deeply grounded in a select number of Italian cities as sites for the emergence of novel, aesthetic notions, new ways of thinking about the state, civic festivals, and the like. Maitland's enduring *Domesday Book and Beyond*, while grounded in institutional history, pays significant and path breaking attention to urban centre or emerging English towns. Henri Pirenne's paradigmatic work

Medieval Town” helped shape the way in which we have studied urban medieval history over the last century and a half.⁴⁸

The recent works that make truly novel contributions to urban history and the studies on cities in India are the following. The work titled *Trade, Ideology, and Urbanization* by R. Champakalakshmi. This book studies two relatively unknown phases of urbanization in South India in the early historical and the early medieval periods. She analyses the reason or urbanization not merely in terms of the economy and demography but also colonial imperialism and the bhakti ideology in this process.⁴⁹ C.A. Bayly’s *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the age of British expansion, 1770-187*, analyses the relationship between rulers, commerce and market centered parts of the countryside. “It shows the development of merchant bodies and pressures on the service gentry contributed to conflicting forms of urban solidarity”.⁵⁰ Yogesh Sharma and Pius Malekandathil’s *cities in medieval India*, focuses on the significance of urbanization in medieval India, through the aspects of the ‘rural-urban continuum’ and divide, power assertion, spatialization, social segmentation, as well as the aspects of culture and human activity.

Meera Kosambi’s *Bombay in Transition: The growth and social ecology of a colonial city, 1880-1980* is primarily a case study of Bombay’s spatial growth and social development. Its spatial configuration receives detailed attention, in addition to studying many aspects of the cities form, she examines population changes, as well as ethnic and linguistic groups and the location of their settlements. Stephen Legg’s, *Space of colonialism: Delhi’s urban governmentalities*, looks a critique of colonial governmentality on the basis of the lived space of everyday life and draws on the governmentality theories and methodologies followed by Michel Foucault. Swati Chattopadhyay’s, *Representing Calcutta modernity, nationalism and the*

⁴⁸ Teofilo F. Ruiz, *Urban Historical Geography and the Writing of Late Medieval Urban History*, in Carol Lansing and Edward D. Wiley, (ed.), *A companion to the medieval world*, Blackwell Publication, U.K, 2009, p. 397.

⁴⁹ R.Chambakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300*, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 8.

⁵⁰ C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1983, p. 8.

colonial uncanny, deals with the two inter-related concerns about the city, like, a ‘proverbial city’ and changing nature of the city’s public spaces. She questions the very idea of colonial cities as creation of colonizers, and the model of colonial cities as ‘dual cities’, split in ‘black and white’ areas, in favour of a more complicated view of the topography. Janaki Nair’s *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalores Twentieth Century*, provide a comprehensive study on the city of Bangalore that relates to three levels of analysis, “that of the conceived city, the perceived city, and spatial practice.”⁵¹ The book also describes the styles and forms of contemporary urban democracy and the city as the site of a continuous redefinition of Indian citizenship.

Manuel Castells’ two most influential books were *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach* (translated into English in 1977) and *The City and the Grassroots* (1983). Both books were concerned with the relations between economic and social structures and spatial structures. “The Urban Question provided a very abstract and theoretical reading of these relations, something for which Castells was frequently condemned by his critics.”⁵² He was particularly concerned with the role of the state as a regulator of urban crises. These crises, he argued, following a well-worn Marxist tradition, derived from the contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode of production. ‘The City and the Grassroots’, as the name suggests, was a subsequent attempt to include human agency within his Marxist framework. This he attempted through several case studies of urban social protest movements and their influence within urban change. The city and the Grassroots was a recognition that dominant class ideologies and the imperatives of economic relations were not unproblematically stamped across space. Rather, spatial relations reflected the patterns of resistance and opposition that these imperatives met. For a more complete analysis of these relations between economics, society and space it was important that this resistance was recognized.

⁵¹ Janaki Nair, *The Promise of The Metropolis: Bangalores Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. 11.

⁵² Neil Brenner, *op.cit*, p. 86.

Classic texts such as Jane Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* and Mike Davis's *City of Quartz* continue to animate discussions of contemporary urbanism, and more recent, popular books on cities, such as Edward Glaeser's *Triumph of the City*, Jeb Brugmann's *Welcome to the Urban Revolution*, and Richard Florida's *Who's Your City?*, along with documentary films such as *Urbanized* and *Megacities*, are widely discussed in the public sphere.⁵³ In all these works, there is a severe indictment of technological success and the inhuman scale of modern cities. Indeed, it was the large-scale delinquency of the poor in large American cities, the breakdown of family life and neighborhood communities.

The early work of David Harvey's '*Social Justice and the City*', represented an attempt to read historical cycles of urban development as a reflection of the resolution of crises of overaccumulation within various 'circuits of capital'. This is an approach that attempts to link urban restructuring to wider processes of economic restructuring. It focuses upon the built environment as a destination for investment, the profitability of which is linked to the state of the wider economy. Harvey argued that "investment in, and hence production of, the built environment occurred when an over-accumulation of capital in manufacturing and commodity production caused returns in this sector to fall. This made land and property an attractive alternative investment."

Important works from the 'California School' have included Allen Scott's *Metropolis: From the Division of Labour to Urban Form* (1988), Ed Soja's *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (1989) and *Third space: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real and Imagined Places* (1996), Mike Davis's *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (1990) and Frederick Jameson's *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1992). More popular accounts that have explored notions of new processes of urbanization in cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Tokyo and, to a lesser extent, London have included Deyan Sudjic's '*The 100 Mile City*' (1993).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

To these may be added a host of articles in academic and professional journals, magazines and newspapers by the authors listed above and many more.⁵⁴

Some of the most important works of Chicago school included Robert Park, Ernest Burgess and R.D. McKenzie's '*The City*' (1925), Ernest Burgess' '*The Urban Community*' (1926), H. Zorbaugh's '*The Gold Coast and the Slum*' (1929) and H. Hoyt's '*One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago*' (1933). Chicago was a new city at the time; it had grown rapidly and owed much of this growth to industrialization. Models of urban structure, most famously Burgess' "concentric zone model" and Hoyt's "sector model", were based on this research, and inevitably reflected the structure of the city and the forces that created it. The influence of these models on Mann's (1965) 'Model of the British city' is obvious.⁵⁵

There are some prominent works on Kerala's urban history such as *Studies in Kerala History*, written by Elamkulam P.N Kunjan Pilla, he describes the ancient cities of Kerala like, Miziris, Tondi, Vanchi etc. and most of these ancient cities emerged with the Roman trade and other trade networks. M.G.S Narayanan's *Calicut: The City of Truth*, it deals with a comprehensive understanding of Calicut and its transformation from a regional trading centre to a highly influential power centre in Kerala. Rajan Gurukkal in his *Social Formation of Early South India*, provide an incisive analysis of social formations in South India and especially Kerala from prehistoric time to early medieval period. It also examines the transformations from a agro-pastoral to agrarian social formation through exploring the fields of economy, technology, and historical process of state formation. K.N. Ganesh's *Keralathinte Innalekal*, deals with the production process in early medieval period and he argued that by the sixteenth century, as a result of the arrival of Europeans and the internal growth of manufacturing in Kerala the traditional mode of production has been changed.⁵⁶ These changes played an important role in the modernization of Kerala economy. K.N Panikkar's *Medieval society and social*

⁵⁴ Tim Hall, *op.cit*, p. 12.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁶ K.N. Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2015, p. 71.

change in Kerala, emphasis on the social and economic transformations that influenced the development of urban centres in Kerala, and it through light on Kerala's unique historical, social and cultural conditions of medieval Kerala. *Perspectives on Kerala History*, by P.J Cherian (ed.), analyzed the socio-economic impact of trade on urban growth and local economy. K.S. Mathew in his book *Society in Medieval Malabar A Study Based on Vadakkan Pattukal*, reconstruct the history of Kerala between fifteenth and seventeenth centuries and it provide useful information on the social and political situation in Malabar in the so called medieval period.⁵⁷ T.T Sreekumar's *Urban Process in Kerala 1900-1981*, deals the socio-economic dynamics of urbanization and the challenges that cities face due to rapid urbanization growth. It provides a critical analysis of the impact of the use of information technology in development projects in India.

Framework of the study

The present study has six chapters. The first chapter is an introduction which displays the general outline of the work such as, research problem, objectives, methodology etc. It also examines the theories and reviews literature connected with this study. The second chapter deals with the geographical peculiarities of Manjeri like, the geographic boundaries, topography, population, natural resources etc. In the next chapter which is the third one deals with Manjeri developed as a administrative centre in nineteenth century and emerging various administrative institutions of Manjeri. The fourth chapter deals with the economic growth of Manjeri like trade and commerce, agriculture, market, industries, occupational communities, etc. The fifth chapter discussed the socio-cultural factors that led to the growth of an urban centre in Manjeri. Role of middle class, education, healthcare and institutionalization of medicine, transport facilities, communication and technology which played a significant role in shaping the town is examined. Subjects like transport and communication, lighting, telegraph, are examined. The sixth chapter is the concluding part. It engulfing the concluding session of this study and through this part the study trying to narrate her closing relate with this endeavor in addition there is a selected bibliography, glossary, maps and figures etc.

⁵⁷ Itinerario, Vol.5, Issue.1, March 1981, p. 118.

Scope of the Study

The urban studies major draws on the insights and approaches of a range of disciplines, including sociology, geography, political science, anthropology, economics, and history. The scope of this study is to obtain a proper understanding of the extent, patterns, and trends as well as the socio-economic and formation of urban space as a characteristics of urbanization. This study encompasses a detailed examination of the development, transformation, and impact of urban centre within a specific region over time. Historical development of urban centre through investigation into the origins, growth and structural changes of urban centre in Manjeri. This might include indigenous and colonial influences, economic and social dynamics, cultural and political influences to understand the broader pattern of urbanization. Conducting in-depth case studies of Manjeri and its neighborhoods within the region to highlight unique aspects of urban development or to explore broader trends at a micro level. When we study urban history largely missing the history of small towns, so this is an important initiative as a major intervention in the study of small towns.

Significance of the study

Urban studies is a multi disciplinary field of study that offers students an in-depth understanding of cities, the processes that give rise to them, and their social and environmental consequences. Urbanization happens at a scale and pace never seen before in human history. To understand society today, we must ask urban questions. These were significant from an economic, political, and cultural standpoint, and they demonstrated a distinct national character in the process. The history of urban formation of Manjeri focuses on the multi-faceted processes of the existing populations concentrate in urban localities over time, and on the social, political, cultural, and economic features of a regional town. Most urban scholars focus on the “metropolis”, or especially important city. There is much less attention to small cities, towns, and suburbs. However, the micro level study of small town are much more important to understand the nature of urban process in a state like Kerala.

CHAPTER 2

MANJERI IN THE MAKING: LAND, PEOPLE AND GEOGRAPHY

Kerala is distinct from its adjoining areas in its physical and human geography. As a narrow strip of land between the Arabian Sea to the west and the Western Ghats to the east, Kerala occupies parts of the Western Ghats and adjoining coastal plain along the southwestern corner of the Indian peninsula. The province of Malabar is supposed to have formed a part of Kerala, being one of the fifty-six *Deshams* or kingdoms.¹ The physical setting of Kerala including its latitudinal position, orography and placement with respect to sea and mountain has played an important role in the patterns of human settlement, cultural and economic development.² Landscape and ecological variations within short distances underscore the significance of land forms, underlying geology, climate, drainage and interactions of geology, topography and climate as manifested in the development of soil and natural vegetation.

Kerala extends from 8° 18' North latitude to 12° 48' North latitude, and from 74° 52' East longitude to 77° 22' East longitude. This latitudinal position controls the receipt of solar insolation, length of day and night, and overall climate there by impacts the productivity of land and water including the growth of plants and crops.³ The coast line of Kerala is 560 kilometers long and nearly straight in North West-South and South-East direction indicating structural control. An average of 69 K.M land area supports 1 K.M length of coastal areas. This has a profound impact on the productivity of coastal waters. The territory of the state may mainly be classified into three natural areas like, the highland, the midland and the lowland. The Western

¹ H.S. Graeme, *Report of the Revenue Administration of Malabar dated 14th January 1822*, Calicut, 1898, p. 1.

² Srikumar Chattopadhyay, *Geography of Kerala*, Concept Publishing, New Delhi, 2021, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*

Ghats which range along the eastern border constitute the highland. Thick forests cover it and the forests are interspersed with plantations. The lowland stretches along the coastline on the western side of the state. Paddy is extensively cultivated here. The midland is sandwiched between the lowland and the highland. Here the soil is laterite may be seen in the valleys broken intermittently by isolated hills and also the plains leading to the forest-clad uplands. The region is rich in agricultural produce, paddy, tapioca, spices and cashew being the most important crops.⁴

Malabar, one of the important districts of Madras Presidency situated on the west coast of India, lies between North latitude 10° 15' and 12° 18' East longitude 75° 14' and 76° 15'⁵ and stretches along the shore of the Arabian sea for a distance of 150 miles, bounded on the north by South Canara and on the east from Coorg, the Nilgiris and Coimbatore by the western ghats, an almost continues mountain wall broken only by the Palghat gap. Area 5765 square miles, population (1891) 2,363,035.⁶ The administrative headquarter of the district are at Calicut. Malabar proper is made up of the nine talooks of Chirakkal, Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Calicut, Wayanad, Ernad, Walluvanaad, Ponnani and Palghat.⁷ Among these Ernad is one of the important Talook in Malabar district.

Early History of Manjeri

Manjeri arena is the fertile land of historical stance, Manjeri is significant because of its name, which has been recorded for a long time in history. As mentioned in the poet Pulikotil Hyder's *Narinayattu* the area may have turned into a

⁴ A. Sreedhara Menon, *Survey of Kerala History*, DC Books, Kottayam, 1967, p. 13.

⁵ C.A. Innes, *Malabar Gazetteer*, Kerala Gazetteers Department, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997, p. 1.

⁶ *Manual of The Administration of The Madras Presidency in Illustration of the Records of Government and the Yearly Administration Report*, Vol. II, Madras, 1885, p. 99.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Manchery,⁸ where the animals used to roam the forest. In the colonial records we can see the name Manjeri originated from the term *mancheri*.⁹ Even when the place name remains the time period of the area and have pre- historic evidence of human habitation in Manjeri. From the facts that some evidence of pre historic evidence of human habitation the neighborhood of Manjeri, especially from Nilambur. So, it can be assumed that paleolithic human habitation may have existed in Manjeri as well. The *Malayapanikka'* family belonging to the tribal community is still present in *Malamkulam* area near Manjeri.¹⁰

The megalithic monuments found near Manjeri are the living symbol of the glorious history and cultural past of Manjeri. The earliest evidence from Manjeri we have a *Thoppikal* or hat stone dates to the megalithic age. The most important of these are the forms made of large stones which are associated with the iron culture. Hat stones, umbrella stone, urn burial and rock cut chambers are examples of iron culture. The *hat stone* situated in Patterkulam near Manjeri is the important one, because William Logan, commissioned by the British Government to write an additional masterpiece on the history of Malabar, gave a pictographically representation of the *hat stone* at Patterkulam in his *Malabar Manual*. Logan referred to it as 'cobblestone' but he called it a hat stone.¹¹ After this Robert Sewell wrote about the megalithic ruins at Manjeri.¹² There is also many stone caves, rock-

⁸ *Manchery* is the colloquial term for the *valley of deer*, during the ancient period it's full of thick forests and the animals roamed to this area, especially the deer's and this area is called as the deer valley or *Manchery*. Generally, people think that the term 'Manjeri' is derived from the term *Manchery*. In most of the colonial records Manjeri is spelled as *Munjery*, especially before the period of 1880s.

⁹ The term *manchery* is the combination of the two Malayalam terms *man* and *chery* (*man* means 'deer' and *Cheri* means 'loose earth'), seen in, Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency in Illustration of the Records of Government and the Yearly Administration Reports, Vol. III, Madras, 1893, p. 528.

¹⁰ *Malapanikkars* were also named as *Malakkaran* because they lived on top of the hills. The name *Malakkaran* as a synonym for the *Malamuthan* community who lived near *malapanikkar* sanctuaries. They mainly hunter gatherers of forest resources such as honey, wild potatoes, and firewoods etc. see *Vikasana Rekha*, Manjeri Municipality, Manjeri, 1996, p. 56.

¹¹ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. 2, Government Press, Madras, 1887, p. 192.

¹² *Ibid.*

cut chambers and urn burials have been found during the accidental excavation while cutting for agricultural purposes.

Kerala was also part of ancient Tamil land. Kerala became in the hands of *Cheras* under the region of *movendar*. It is possible to see information about mentioning Ernad in Sangam literature in which Tamil land is mentioned. It is seen in the mentioning of Manjeri in the *Danapathra* which was made on the 34th reign year of Cheraman Perumals, otherwise called Bhaskarakavi's, writings about Ernad. It was 6 Naduvazhis (they were under Perumakkars) who signed as witness for the *Chepped*, written for Jewish headman in Kodungallur, named Joseph Rabban, from capital Mayikkodu during years 999-1000.¹³ *Manavela Manaveeya* is also included in it. One thing is clear from that: Manjeri and Ernad were under the *Samadars* of Perumal in the 10th century. A fact is also obvious here: Karikkad and Trippanachi, the nearer place of Manjeri, were Brahmin living centres. Valluvanad and Ernad was under the rule of village elders. They use to elect Rakshapurusha once in twelve years at Thirunavaya. He held supreme power over the lords. It was when there started to have a brawl that the king of the neighbouring country was invited to play the role of the mediator. It was the beginning of Perumal Era. Perumal divided his empire to princely states and gave power to lords. Kaviyoor Moosath, brahmana minister of Valluvanad was the chairman of princely states of Malappuram, Nilambur, Manjeri, and Kottakkal. It continued till thirteenth century.

After the Perumal period, when Swaroopams emerged, Manjeri became part of the Nediyrippu Swaroopam. Manjeri was important because of its agricultural prosperity, as a town of the forest fringes including Nilambur, and as a market centre for inland products. Moreover, Manjeri also became a peripheral area of the commercial administrative centre that included Kozhikode after it became a part of the Zamorins. It is also the main strategic location of the Zamorin's kingdom. Ernad became a separate princely state at the very beginning of Naduvazhi positions in Kerala. Samoothiris assumed the title *Kunnala kone* which means king of hills and seas. The Sanskrit form of this title is "Samudhri" this is called *samoothiri* in

¹³ A Sreedhara Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 152.

Malayalam. The head of the house was known as *Nediyirippu Mutha Eradi*, a title which is enjoyed by the fifth in rank from Zamorin. Under the Chera rulers of Tiruvanchikulam the *Mutta Eradi* governed Ernad with the title of *Ernad Udayavar*.¹⁴ *Eralpad* is the youngest Mura Thampuran of the Zamorins of Calicut. Ernad-Eralkul Nambiyathiri Thirumulpad is the full name of the second position in the Nediyirippu swaroopam of Zamorins.¹⁵ If *Samoothiripad* there will also be a third position called *Munnalpad*.

With the rise of Zamorins, all the territories were distributed to the vassals for administration. That is why the Manjeri Kovilakam was prominent in Ernad and the eastern side of Ernad the Nilambur Kovilakam made its prosperity. The Manjeri Kovilakam established in the seventeenth century, it had never faced any significant opposition or interference from any side, it was one of the major plus point for the glory of Manjeri Kovilakam in medieval period.

From 1498 onwards, the Portuguese reached Calicut and other territories and started brutal measures to break the trade monopoly of Malabar with Arabs. The Portuguese used every means possible to break the centuries old relations with the coastal people, Arab traders and Zamorins. Even the Kunjali Marakkar, who killed by the Samoothiris' naval forces, were kept in the shadow of disbelief, and subjected to a brutal death. The Muslims entered the interior areas of the country amid the conflict on the coastal areas. They started a new life in agriculture, many groups from Yemen traveled through the river Chaliyar and Kadalundi and reached many places to settle.

The British reinstated the Zamorins, but they continued to incur huge tax arrears, they were given *Malikhana* and made subjects. In 1800, although the Ernad and Cheranad were two separate countries. But these two countries were merged

¹⁴ K.V Krishna Ayyar, *Zamorins of Calicut: From the Earliest Times Down to A.D. 1806*, Norman Publishing, 1938, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵ The five 'Stanams' are: - (1) Samutiri Tirumulpad (2) Ernad Elamkur Nambiyathiri Tirumulpad, (3) Ernad Munamkur Nambiyatiri Tirumulpad, (4) Edattaranad Nambiyatiri Tirumulpad, (5) Netiyirippil Mutta Eradi Tirumulpad. The *Edattaranad Nambiyatiri Tirumulpad* and the *Nediyirippu Mutha Eradi Tirumulpad* are generally called *Edatralpad* and *Nedutralpad* respectively. See, *Ibid.*, p. 9.

into one in 1860. In 1856 a part of Walluvanad and a part of Cheranad were annexed and reorganized under the Kozhikode revenue division. During the nineteenth century, Manjeri is the headquarters of Ernad Taluk, the Ernad is bounded on the north generally by the ridge of ghats from Wayanad for 48 miles, on the north east by the crest of the Nilgiris and Koondah mountains for 28 miles, to the south east and south by Walluvanaad talook for 47 miles, Pandaloor range of hills and a portion of the Tirurangady defines the limits on this side, to the south west from the Shernad Talook for 28 miles, to the west and north west by the Calicut district for 33 miles, the ridge of the lofty range of mountains called Wawoot running south from the ghats, and the Pannycode range to the west defines the limit for 22 miles; it's all parameter being 184 miles, and contains a superficial of 655 3/4 square miles 62 1/2 occupied by wet cultivated rice lands, 316 of timber, forests and mountains, the remainder by low ridges, mostly covered with wood in the western portion of the populated tracts.¹⁶ By the late census taken of the population, including children, it would give 210 individuals to the square miles, but confined mostly to the western area of the district.¹⁷

Connecting Manjeri with Rural Neighbourhood: Geographic Advantage and the Pattern of Interaction

Manjeri is a centrally located area and also the capital of Ernad. To the south east 1/4 of a mile from Manjeri is a pagoda on a low hill, and immediately below it is a *kovilakam*¹⁸ or palace of a Tirumulpad, a secondary class of princess. Areacode situated at North 31 West 10 miles from Manjeri. Edavanna on the North 11 East 7 1/2 miles, Mampad on North 23 East 10 miles, from Manjeri all the towns mainly situated on the south bank of the Beypore river or river Chaliyar having regular streets and a mosque at them. Kondotty situated on North 78 West 10 3/4 miles from Manjeri, is another town on the road to Calicut, here also a mosque and it is the residence of the 'Tangal' or high priest. Nellikuth on the south 83 east 4 3/4 miles on

¹⁶ Ward and Conner, *Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, Kerala Gazetteers, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995, p. 112.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ It is the Principal Manor, Estate or Palace of a Princely Class Live.

the north bank of Kadalundy river, it is a street of Mappila house's, vendors of salt and other articles brought from the coast. Malappuram on the south 40 west 5 1/4 miles, is a long street of houses with a mosque. Nilambur on the north 32 east 14 miles on the left bank of the Chaliyar River.¹⁹

Manjeri is surrounded by a network of small villages, which covered the area with dense vegetation, including paddy fields, coconut groves, plantations reflecting the agricultural backbone of the region. Agriculture is the primary occupation of these villages; in addition they involved in small-scale industries which contribute to the local economy. People here often rely on the resources available in their immediate environment, and they had limited access to modern amenities and infrastructures. The small villages surrounded by Manjeri are, Anakkayam, Pandikkad, Valluvambram, Kavanooru, Wandoor, Areacode, Cheramba (Karuvarakund), Nilambur, etc. the detailed description are given the following table.

Table 1: List of Neighboring Villages of Manjeri.²⁰

Name of village	Distance from Mnajeri	Total area	Population	Major Crops
Anakkayam	1 mile west	2180Acr, 50 cent	1664	Paddy, ginger, coconut, Arecanut, Jack and Modan
Nellikuth	3 mile east	1200Acr, 31 cent	986	Paddy, Ellu, Ginger, Pepper, Coconut, Arecanut and Modan.
Payyanad	3 mile east	3919Acr 6cent	2124	Paddy, Modan, Ellu, Ginger, Pepper and Coconut.
Narukara	2 mile south-west	839Acr, 65cent	610	Paddy, Modan, Ginger, Coconut, Arecanut and Jack.

¹⁹ Ward and Conner, *op,cit*, p. 113.

²⁰ The List of Neighbouring Villages of Manjeri is mainly taken from the Survey and Settlement Register of Deshams in Ernad taluk.

Name of village	Distance from Mnajeri	Total area	Population	Major Crops
Vettikattiri	4 mile east	1605Acr, 2cent	647	Paddy, Modan, Ellu, Ginger, Pepper, Coconut and Arecanut.
Vengallur	1 mile west	500Acr, 72cent	526	Paddy, Pulses, Ginger, Coconut, Arecanut and Jack.
Kavanur	8 mile North-west	2584Acr, 31cent	2210	Paddy, Modan, Ellu, Chama, Coconut, Jack, Arecanut and Ginger.
Valluvambram	6 mile west	1122Acr, 44cent	1429	Paddy, Coconut, Ginger, Arecanut and Jack
Areacode	12 mile north-west	13767Acr, 64cent	1249	Paddy, Modan, Chama, Ellu, Ginger, Coconut, Jack and Arecanut.
Cherumba (Karuvarakundu)	17 mile east	7242Acr, 13cent	1911	Paddy, Ginger, Plantain, Jack, Modan, Gingelly and Chama.
Arukidaya	1 mile south	716Acr, 29cent	1058	Paddy, Ginger, Coconut, Arecanut, and Jack.
Vakkettodi	3mile west	563Acr, 24cent	447	Paddy, Ginger, Coconut, Arecanut and Jack.
Kottupatta	3 mile west	719Acr, 24cent	876	Paddy, Coconut, Jack and Arecanut.

The above table mentioned about the neighbouring villages of Manjeri from 1891, and it is mainly listed some nearest villages there are some other villages like, Thiruvali, Wandoor, Nilambur, Kalikavu, Edavanna and Pandikkad are also the neighboring villages and rich hinterlands of Manjeri. Manjeri is the one of the nearest towns or core urban centre to these all villages and these villages are contributed to the agricultural growth and local economy. These villages make this town as a hub of socio-cultural and economic activities, and it acted as a gate way of rural interiors of Malabar. The blend of tradition and modernity is the unique feature

of this town. Neighboring villages are mainly included in the hinterland area of Manjeri. These rich hinterlands made this town an urban centre in the nineteenth century.

The hinterland, tributary region, either rural or urban or both, is closely linked economically with a nearby town or city. A hinterland is generally defined as a geographic and economic region where the town or city receives its commodities for export and distributes the commodities imported from overseas countries or foreland. Discussing the historiography of the hinterland, Aitya H. Kidwai made a summary examination of various types of hinterlands: a) immediate hinterland i.e., the port area and port town itself, b) primary hinterland where the export exerts a commanding role, c) secondary hinterland from where the majority of commodities and traffic directed to the main port; d) advantage hinterland, i.e., in times of competition with other ports the one port has more influence in the region; e) commodity hinterland, i.e., port deals with particular commodities only.²¹ The Indian town was built on altogether different lines. It did not have a fort or a harbour. Within the settlement, there were two distinct areas, one oriented to the water, and the other to the hinterland.²² Any city can be seen as a gateway for cities, with their markets, obviously facilitating the movement of people and goods.²³ Here obviously we can say that Manjeri is a town oriented to the hinterland.

Large cities have multiple functions, their locations made them important marketing centres. The larger trading towns still held periodic fairs and shipped goods through their ports overseas or along rivers and canals. Although all towns had multiple sites for sales linked to particular goods and to sites of production in their hinterlands.²⁴ Dilip K. Chakravarti characterized the urban centers, as first

²¹ P. Vasumathy Devi, 'Seaport-Hinterland Connections the Medieval Malainadu Experience', *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol. XXXVIII, March 2011, pp. 26-27.

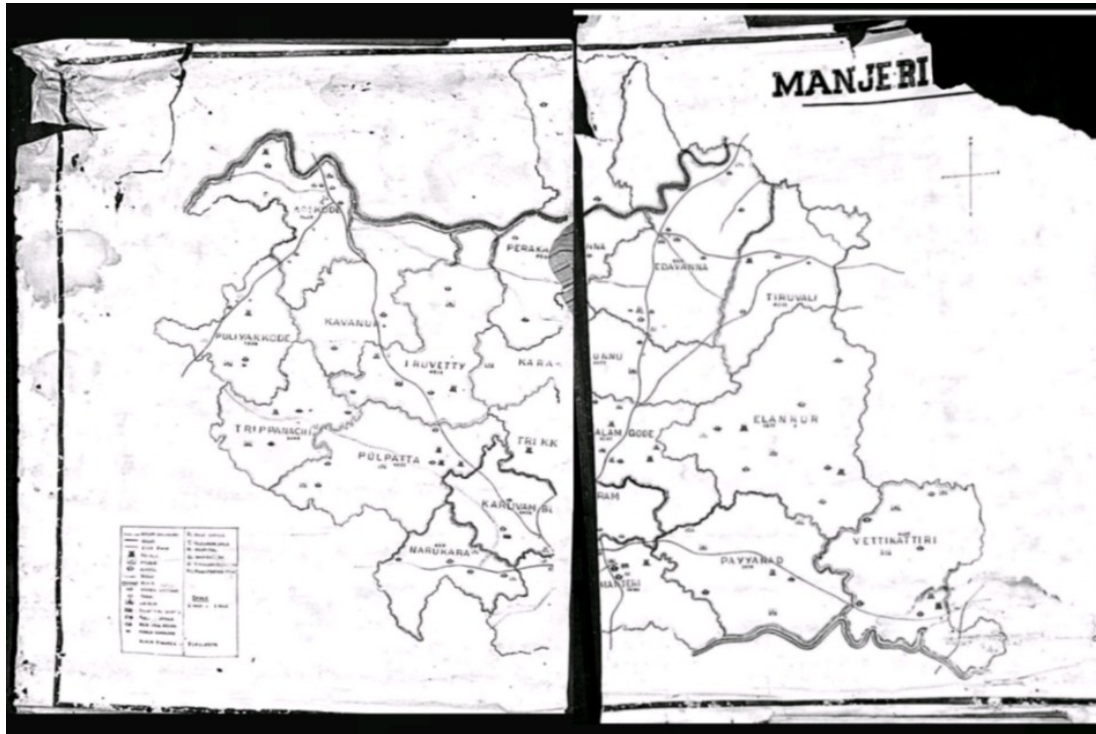
²² Radhika Seshan, 'Secondary Ports and Hinterland', In Rila Mukherjee (ed.), *Vanguards of Globalization Port-Cities from the Classical to the Modern*, Primus Books, Delhi, 2014, p. 114.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁴ Andrew Less and Lynn Hollen Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe 1750-1914*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2007, p. 22.

being the centre of political power, second, by large agricultural hinterlands, and third, by their location along well-developed trade routes.²⁵ For instance, Manjeri was a centre of political power, had a large agricultural hinterland, and well-developed trade routes along its geographic location.

Figure 1: Map of Manjeri.



Source: No. 50, Selected Maps, Regional Archives Kozhikode.

Topography

Kerala is characterized by an asymmetrical topography. Its landform is dominated by undulating, subdued hills and steep scarp slopes, and its altitude ranges from below mean sea level to 2,694 meters above mean sea level. Kerala's location and altitudinal variations have endowed the state with a wide range of agro-

²⁵ Brajadualal Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1994, p. 185.

ecological conditions.²⁶ The state has three distinct elevation zones known as the lowland, midland and highland regions. The lowland region ranging from nearly level to gently sloping is a strip of land running along the coast bordering the Arabian Sea, and it occupies approximately 10 percent of the total area. This region is characterized by marine landforms consisting of beach ridges and beaches with swamps and lagoons.²⁷ The lowland region is well known for its backwaters with extensive rice fields and coconut plantations. The midland region, with altitude ranging from 7.5 to 75 meters above mean sea level, is made up primarily of valleys, flat-bottomed valleys and gently to moderately sloping areas account for 42 percent of the land mass. The terrain is undulating with numerous rivers, small hills, and valleys. A variety of seasonal, annual and perennial crops are grown in its mainly laterite soil. In the highland region with its ranges of steep hills, altitude ranges from 75 to 750 meters above mean sea level. This region constitutes above 43 percent of the state's land mass, it is covered with forests and drained by small streams. The soil varies widely in depth and texture. Plantation crops including tea, coffee, rubber and cardamom are grown in the highlands.²⁸

Manjeri is situated on low ground, but environed by hills, it appears in fact to be just at the commencement of the hilly country which merges with the Nilgiris range.²⁹ The neighbourhood consists of a series of hills and valleys of which the farmer is almost bare of trees, and afford pasturage to the herds of cattle with which the country abounds, and their soil is laterite, and broken here and there by boulders of granite.³⁰ The latter the low ground on the other hand is rich and fertile, having a soft loamy soil and abundantly supplied with moisture owing to the annual fall of heavy rain.

²⁶ P.S. George and S. Chattopadhyay, 'Population and Land use in Kerala,' *Growing Population, Changing Landscapes: Studies from India, China and United States*, National Academy Press, Washington DC, 2001, p. 79.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁹ *Annual Report of the Civil Dispensaries Session 1868-69, Madras*, 1869, p. 102-103.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

The topographical report of Manjeri is prepared by captain A.E. Brook (acting major of brigade of Malabar) in 1844.³¹ This report describes the following.

*Munjerry is a small Moplah village in the Ernaad talook of the province of Malabar, between six and seven miles from Mallapooram in north, northeastern direction. And about thirty-three miles east by south of Calicut, it is in the north of small hills and beautifully situated... there is a Talook Cutchery and a large travellers bungalow which is south ward, it was formerly occupied by the late Major Watson, it is built with laterite stone and mud, the roof is thatched and has mud floor, with some alterations and additions it might be converted into a temporary Barrack for forty or fifty European. The Bazaar, a large Market is on in once a week at which supplies and provisions of all kinds are procurable. The temperature is very little cooler than Mallipooram. The road from Calicut is very good, but to Mallipooram is bad in many places. The soil is laterite and stones of the best description for building can be proved within fifty yards of it, there are few wells which contain good water, at a short distance from it.*³²

According to this report most of the buildings, markets, roads, and water resources, are traced from the nineteenth century onwards, and we can get a clear picture of the situation of Manjeri, from these reports we can understand that it was not a small village but comparatively a small town of nineteenth century. Manjeri is also characterized by an asymmetrical topography. Its landforms is dominated by undulating high hills, gentle slopes, sleeper slopes and plains. Manjeri generally has an area of 5,31,147 hectares among these 45.87 percent are high hills and the 16

³¹ This Topographical Report of Manjeri is introduced and first used by this research work, and this offers new insights into the history of Manjeri. This is a handwritten report, in relatively good condition, kept in the Regional Archives Kozhikode. It was written by Captain A.E. Brook, he is detailing his experience of this area, and this report is a valuable addition to the understanding of time period, geographical location, and relevant historical events of Manjeri and this report can build a broader picture of the nineteenth century.

³² *Madras Correspondence File*, Vol.7354, dated 20th March 1844, RAK.

percent are sleeper slopes. 17 percent are field, and 5 percent are plains. It shows some significant changes that occurred in land use.

Table 2 : Nature of Land in Manjeri

No.	Nature of Land	Area	Percentage
1	Highland	2436.79	45.87
2	Sleeper Slopes	846.00	15.87
3	Gentle Slopes	816.49	15.27
4	Plains	290.76	5.47
5	Ground (field)	921.43	17.35

Source: *Vikasana Rekha*, Manjeri Municipality, 1996.

Topographically Manjeri was distributed into highland, lowland and plains. The major nature of landform is highland, which means 45.87 percentage of total land is highland. 17.35 percentage of total land is field, or the land used for agriculture. The other part of the land is mainly slops and plains.

a) River and water resources

Kerala is rich in water resources. There are forty-one west-flowing rivers in Kerala in addition to three east-flowing flowing. Only four of the rivers exceed a hundred miles in length. They are the Bharatappuzha (156 miles), the Periyar (142 miles), the Pamba (110 miles) and the Beypore or Chaliyar (105 miles).³³ The rivers of Kerala have considerably influenced it's historical and cultural development. They figure in one way or another in the history and cultural life of the people of the state. Several places of historical and cultural importance are located on the bank of the rivers. Tirunavai, the place where the famous pan-Kerala assembly called 'Mamankam' was held under the presidency of the zamorins of Calicut till the latter half of the eighteenth century, is situated on the bank of the Bharatapuzha.

The Beypore or Chaliyar is the principal river in the Ernad region. It's also called as the *Ponpoya* or Gold River, it rises on the mountain south of Neduvattom pass, meanders through Waynad, and rushing down the Ghat and in its devious

³³ A. Sreedara Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

windings of 63 miles through this division, receives before reaching Nilambur on its right bank, the Kalakkanpoya, Carcoor Poya and the Sholayar and the Karimpoya on its left bank north east 3 miles of Nilambur is a formidable river.³⁴ The river is navigable all the year to Areecode, but boats go up with ease to Nilambur during rainy season. Small boats at these seasons go further up to the Edakkara 12 miles north east of Nilambur, attended with much labour and difficulty owing to the rapidity of the stream, and the numerous rapids occasioned by the rocks in different parts, the bed below Nilambur is from 180 to 250 yards wide banks bold with wood and a luxuriant grove of Areca and other trees at intervals.

Kadalundy River

The Kadalundy River flows west south of Manjeri. It has several serpentine windings, and after a very circuitous course for 22 miles passes into the Shernad Talook, and in its course for some distance defines the limit common to the Walluvanad division. Its bed is excessively narrow and rocky, with high banks fringed with wood and groves of Areca etc. at intervals. The Kadalundy River, which is connected with the Beypore River by a creek, flows down through the Ernad and Walluvanad Talooks from the wilds of the silent valley, and it empties itself into the sea at Kadalundy after a course of some 75 miles. An attempt, continued down to 1857, was made by several collectors to complete an uninterrupted system of water communication from Badagara in Kurumbranad to Trivandrum in Travancore, by constructing a navigable canal from this river to one of the arms of the Ponnani river; but the cutting through still in existence is impossible except for the smallest boats at the height of the monsoon.³⁵ The oily mud which oozes up from below into the water of the canal, is the great obstacle to navigation. In rainy season the Kadalundy River is navigable for small boats as far as Karuvarakundu at the foot of the ghats, but in the dry weather they cannot ascend higher than Puttoor Amsam in Ernad Taluk.

³⁴ Ward and Conner, *op.cit.*, p. 114.

³⁵ C. A. Innes, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

b) Mountains, Hills and Forests

More than one-half of the superficial area of the Ernad Taluk is overrun with woods, hills and mountains. The eastern portion comprehending the Nilambur Valley, formed by the ghats and Koondah Mountains and the Wawoot range extending to *Chekumalai*, a high saddle hill Northeast of Areacode, contains teak and other timber in inexhaustible quantities, and it is mostly from this valley that the largest timber is obtained. In the western portion the ridges running in different directions is here and there plain the greatest portion covered with inferior wood and low jungle. The most remarkable hills in the interior are the Pandaloor and Orutmalai ranges, the ridge of the Pandaloor hill defines the limit common to Walluvanad and that of the latter from the Shernad Talook whole covered with dense forest. Paulamulla east of the Pullanoor Bazar 1 mile is a conspicuous sugar loaf, that commands from its summit an extensive view of the surrounding country besides the above there are many others too numerous to be mentioned.³⁶

c) Mines, Minerals and Manufactures

Iron ore is found in different parts of the District, but very little of its is smelted, there being only eleven places for working it. Gold ore is found in all the beds of the rivers and streams, running down the ghats into the Nilambur valley. One of the principal branches of the Beypore River, is literally called Golden River, from the idea that the largest portion of that mineral is washed down the stream during the rains. During the earliest segment of ancient gold mining in India, major production came from placer deposits gold was recovered through washing or panning of river sand or gravels. With the advent of metallurgical knowledge, gold was recovered by in situ mining of quartz reefs and auriferous base metal ores.³⁷ Modern geological surveys which commenced in the nineteenth century during the colonial period, have identified a large number of ancient gold mining and metallurgical sites in India. These kinds of mines occurred in the form of shallow

³⁶ Ward and Conner, *op.cit.*, p. 115.

³⁷ A. K. Grover and M. K. Pandit, *Ancient Gold Mining Activities in India: An Overview*, Geological Survey of India, Jaipur, 2014, p. 2.

pits, trenches, inclines, vertical shafts and underground mines with different levels and galleries. A report on gold mining of 1831 states that,

The collector hears that a place 3 miles from Manjeri in the Ernad Talook is the best in Malabar for gold dust. The metal is stated to be found there in considerable quantities and of a finer quality than in Wayanad.³⁸

Among this report it is assumed that the metal is found in the beds of the river Kadalundy near Manjeri. The gold is one of the important metals found from this area and it is widely used during this period. The manufacturers consist of some cloth of an inferior quality. Oils from the coconut, castor and sessamon jaggery and arrack from toddy in small quantities.³⁹

Apart from gold and iron, the mineral wealth of Malabar is in significant. Mica is fairly common, and seams of coal or rather carboniferous strata occur at Beypore, Cannanore and near Trithala in the Ponnani Taluk.⁴⁰ Of building stones of the common sort the district has great store. Grey granite of excellent quality crops out at frequent intervals. Laterite is universal, and on account of its cheapness is in great demand for buildings, culverts and bridges.

d) Soil and Productions

Soil is the topmost part of the land surface, which is used for all activities and the bulk of human food supply depends on the qualities of the top 15 to 30 cms of soil. Lying over the bedrock at different depths this complex mixture of animal, vegetal, and mineral matter is one of the four prime requisites of life.⁴¹ Soil is primarily influenced by parent material (underlying rock), climate, relief, slope, drainage, vegetation cover, animal activities and perhaps time. Time to develop balance among all these parameters is critical to soil formation.

³⁸ *Madras Correspondence File*, Vol. 4902, 1831, RAK.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁴⁰ C.A. Innes, *op.cit.*, p. 18.

⁴¹ Chattopadhyaya, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

Kerala's predominating Precambrian crystalline rocks, tropical weathering, and formation of laterites, transgression, and regression in the geological recent past, dense vegetation cover, long hours of sunshine, and abandoned rainfall all have contributed to the development of complex soil patterns. There is a general spatial correlation between landforms and soil. Traditionally, soils in Kerala have been classified into ten broad groups based on morphological features and physicochemical properties. These are coastal alluvium, red loam, riverine alluvium, greyish Onattukara soil, brown hydromorphic soil, hydromorphic saline soil, acid saline soil, laterite soil, black soil, and forest loam.

Table 3: Broad soil types of Kerala

Soil-type	Textual class
Coastal alluvium	Sandy loam
Red loam	Loam
Riverine alluvium	Sandy loam
Acid saline	Silty clay
Hydromorphic saline	Clay
Brown hydromorphic	Clay
Grayish Onattukara	Loamy sand
Laterite	Sandy loam
Black soil	Loam
Forest loam	Clay loam

Source: *KSCSTE 2007a, Vol.1*, pp. 57-65; Government of Kerala, 1978.

The soil on the western area of Ernad, and on the heights is red intermitted with gravel and the laterite or pudding stone. The origin of laterite has been much discussed since the name was first invented by Dr. Buchanan in the year 1800.⁴² The latest explanation is that it has been formed in Malabar by the decomposition of gneiss and the partial rearrangement by the mechanical action of water of the resulting materials. In other words, it is properly a soil rather than a rock, and the

⁴² C.A. Innes, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

low laterite hills which bulk so largely in the landscape of the district are in reality gneissic hills covered with layers or caps of laterite of varying thickness.⁴³ In the sallies of cultivation it is a rich brown and very rye of gravel, as is also the stripes of cultivation far in the interior. In the forests and mountains, it is a rich black mound, owing to the constant falling of decayed leaves and rotten wood. Granite is conspicuous on the face of the ghats and the mountains to the east, where it is seen to form a perfect barrier, falling in precipices almost perpendicular. In the interior naked rocks are seen in many areas, but they are almost all a harder species of laterite. The productions generally are rice of various sorts; several species of dry grain and pulses, coconuts are abundant and thrive only in the western portion. Pepper is produced but not in such abundance as in the district along the coast. The supary is cultivated in large quantities about the central parts and groves,⁴⁴ luxuriantly on the banks of all the rivers, very little is observed to the east of Nilambur, the timber of many descriptions, also bamboos. Honey and bee's wax are the productions of the mountains and forests. Paddy is mainly cultivated in Manjeri and other products like cashewnuts, arecanut, coconut, pepper, ginger etc. In Manjeri 354 acre 84 cent are wet land. And 218 acres 84 cents are garden land, the following table shows the land use pattern of Manjeri in detail.

Table 4: Land use Pattern of Manjeri

	Govt. Janmam	Private Janmam	Inam land	Total
Total Wet	.....⁴⁵	224Acr,54 cent, 1033Rs 7An	130Acr,30 cent, 669 Rs 2 An	354 Acr, 84cent 1702 Rs 9An
Garden	.....	218Acr, 72cent	12 cent 6 An	218Acr, 84cent

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴⁴ Ward and Conner, *op.cit.*, p. 118.

⁴⁵ In this thesis, the dash symbol (...) is used in tables, figures, and transcribed records indicate instances where data is not available in the original sources. the use of the dash does not imply that the information deliberately omitted, negligible or zero rather it signifies that the relevant data was not recorded, missing, illegible, or could not be verified from the primary or secondary source materials consulted.

	Govt. Janmam	Private Janmam	Inam land	Total
		330Rs 11An		331Rs 1 An
Occupied Dry	2 Acr, 34cent 2 Rs	191Acr, 4cent 177Rs 14 An	2 Acr, 7cent 2Rs 1 An	195Acr, 45cent 181Rs 15An
Un occupied Dry	.....	1184Acr, 75cent	..... .....	1184Acr 75cent
Poramboke.	49Acr, 20cent	.....	.....	49 Acr, 20 cent
Total Wet Garden Dry & Poramboke	51 Acr, 54cent 2 Rs	1819 Acr, 5cent 1542Rs	132Acr, 49cent 671Rs 9An	2003Acr, 8cent 2215Rs 9An
Unregistered and unassessed	.....	.....	.....	7Acr, 32cent

Source: *Survey and Settlement Register of Manjeri Desam*, No.173 of Ernad Taluk, Malabar, Calicut, Madras, 1905.

The cultivation is mostly of wet land and large crops of rice are grown. Numerous groves of trees give the country a well-wooded appearance, it consists chiefly of jack fruit, betel nut, banians and numerous plantain trees. The production of Manjeri is rice, coconut, betel nut, black pepper, jack fruit and teak. The latter grows in great abundance in Nilambur.

Demography

According to the Census of 1891, the population of the Malabar District was 2,652,655 or nearly 50,000 more than in any other district of the presidency. During the proceeding decade, the numbers had increased by 12.16 percent, or at a rather slower rate than the average for the Presidency.⁴⁶ During the decade from 1871 to 1881 there was an increase of 4.6 per cent, and for the whole period of twenty years one of 17.3 per cent. In the following table shows the distribution of population in relation to the total area and movement thereof in different parts of the district.

⁴⁶ *Statistical Atlas of Malabar*, Madras Government Press, Madras, 1871, RAK, p. 5.

Table 5: Distribution of Population

Taluk	Population in 1891	Loss or gain of population per cent		
	Per Square miles	1871 and 1881	1881 and 1891	1871 and 1891
Wayanad	93	-30	-12.0	-39.1
Chirakkal	480	+5.9	+14.0	+2.5
Kottayam	423	+15.	+17.9	+36.6
Kurumbanadu	565	+7.1	+16.5	+24.3
Calicut	701	+8.5	+15.4	+25.2
Ernad	419	+2.8	+14.6	+17.9
Ponnani	1152	+4.3	+14.4	+19.9
Walluvanadu	345	+5.3	+7.9	+13.5
Palghat	697	+5.1	+8.7	+14.2
Cochin	1187	+7.7	+11.0	+19.5
Laccadives	5318	....	....	...
Total	475	+4.5	+12.1	+17.3

Source: *Statistical Atlas of Malabar*, Madras Government. Press, Madras, 1871, Regional Archives Kozhikode, p. 5.

The population is remarkably dense, averaging, for the district proper 533 per square mile of total area and in the Ponnani Taluk being more than double that number. Distributed according to their religions, 69.15 percent, of the people are Hindus, 29 percent Muslims and 1.8 percent Christians. The Musalmans increased during the last decade overall by 18 percent, and chiefly Mappilas or persons of mixed race.⁴⁷ They are most numerous in the Ernad Taluk.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ This thesis employs different terms such as Muslim, Muhammedans, Mappilas and Moplah are denote the Islamic community and the followers of Islam as they appear in Historical sources and scholarly writings. These terms are not used randomly rather than each carries a specific historical regional and contextual significance. The term *Muslim* is use than general and inclusive term to denote the followers of Islam irrespective of region, ethnicity or liquistic identity. The term *Muhammedan* and *Moplah* found in colonial administrative records and early European writings is retained in this thesis only when quoting or referring to such historical documents. The term *Mappila* is used particularly in the regional context of Malabar and refers to the Muslim community of Kerala, especially those Historically associated with trade agriculture and

The Survey Report of 1891 indicates that Manjeri *Amsam* consisted of only 2483 people, but in the 1901 census it increased to 3310 and which means that by only ten years the population in Manjeri increased by 827 people. Manjeri *Amsam* was formed in 1934 and we observe that gradual migration of people from rural areas to the town after 1921. In 1891 the total number of Hindus in the *Amsam* were 1436 and it rose to 3704 people and Mohammadans was 1015 in 1891 which rose in 1951 to 3445. We can assume that the number of Muslims increased considerably.

Table 6: Population of Manjeri

Year of Census	Total Population			Religion			Population per 100 acres of occupied land
	Male	Female	Total	Hindu	Muhammadans	Other	
1871	....	....	8094	4,430	3,663	1	...
1891	6115	6332	12,447	6,609	5,846	34	324
1901	...	...	15,629	...	...	56	431

Source: *Census Statement of population of 1871, Survey and Settlement Register of Manjeri Desam*, No.173, Ernad Taluk, Madras, 1905

The analysis of change in population density over a time often gives an insight into the ability of an area to attract people into it. The common reasons for increase of population in an area are either natural increase in population or net migration into that area. The natural increase in population is attributed to the demographic momentum while the in-migration into an area is caused close to the economic momentum created by the area.⁴⁹ The density of population of the district is 677 persons per sq.km. which is slightly higher than the overall density of 655 persons per sq.km. for the state. At the turn of present century, the density of population of the district was only 192 persons per sq.km. it showed steady increase

coastal settlements. These terminologies are used in this thesis with careful attention to historical context and regional specificity.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.6.

⁴⁹ State Urbanization Report, *Kerala A study on the Scattered Human Settlement Pattern of Kerala and its Development*, Department of Town and Country Planning, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 2012, p. 45.

over the last eight years⁵⁰. Rural and urban growth rate of the Malappuram district are 28.50 and 42.39 percent respectively which are also higher than the state average.⁵¹

A settlement considered as a village at one census might become a town at a subsequent census. Since the 1961 census, a settlement is normally considered a town if it satisfies three criteria; (1) a population of 5000 or more (2) a population density of at least 400 per sq. km and (3) at least 75 percentage of the male workers should be engaged in non-agricultural work.⁵² In considering these points from the period of 1871, Manjeri have population in above 8000 and 60 percentage of total population are engaged in non-agricultural activity.

The inhabitants of Manjeri are chiefly Nairs (Hindus) and Mappilas, the descendants of Arabs. Among them the Nairs prevails a great laxity of morals and the Mappilas are the predominant race and profess 'Mohammedanism'.⁵³ There is a Mappilas street, which consists of some twenty houses. They are filthy in their habits, quite illiterate and quarrelsome, and subsist by trading and cultivation. The majority of Nairs are cultivators. There is also a third class, the subjects of an illicit slavery, they are called 'Chermas', a downtrodden race in appearance and their females are not permitted to wear any covering above the waist.⁵⁴ The people generally reside in valleys and their houses are not in rows, but on detached pieces of land with large compounds planted with jack fruit, coconut, betelnut, and other trees of the palm kind. The houses are very rudely constructed, low and ill ventilated and bordered by paddy fields. The following table will show the details of inhabited houses in Manjeri.

⁵⁰ *District Census Handbook Malappuram*, Part XIII A&B, s.33, 1951, p. 20.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² K.C Sivaramakrishnan, Amitabh Kundu and B.N Singh, *Handbook of Urbanization in India: An Analysis of Trends and Processes*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 18-19.

⁵³ Annual Report of the Civil Dispensaries, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Table 7: Number of Inhabited Houses of Manjeri in 1891.

Desams	Number of Houses
Manjeri	430
Karuvambram	118
Melakkam	179
Kottupatta	180
Vakkettodi	85
Arukizhaya	178
Nellikuth	192
Payyanad	408
Narukara	106
Anakkayam	335
Total	2,211

Source: *Survey and Settlement Register of Manjeri Desam*, No.173 of Ernad Taluk, Malabar, Calicut, Madras,1905.

The above table discusses the number of inhabited houses in Majeri, among these the Manjeri Desam had the highest number of inhabited houses. The Payyanad Desam has the second highest number of houses and Vakkettodi Desam has the lowest number of houses. During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the number of houses increased and this increase is clearly shows the development of housing facilities in this area.

Climate

The climatic condition of Kerala governs latitudinal and longitudinal position, placement with respect to ocean and continent, and orography in combination. The climate of Kerala has also exercised its influence on history.⁵⁵ The diversity of the physical features of the state has resulted in a corresponding diversity of climate. The mountain ranges have a cool and bracing climate throughout the year, while the plains are hot and humid. Though the mean temperature is only 90° F., It is oppressively hot in the plains in summer. The average level of annual rainfall in the state is quite high, being in the neighborhood

⁵⁵ A. Sreedhara Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

of about 96". Significantly, the state gets rainfall both from the southwest and the northeast monsoons. The southwest monsoon starts towards the end of May or the beginning of June and fades out by about September while the northeast monsoon commences in October, dry weather setting in by the end of December. The highest rainfall in the state occurs in the high ranges of the Idukki district where it amounts to over 200."

The climate of Malabar is hot an excessively damp, but is on the favorable to men and animals, whilst vegetation thrives and grows with rank luxuriance, except in the south of the district where the Palghat gap allows the hot land winds to blow unimpeded, and vegetation receives a severe check in the dry months. The seasons are extremely regular. Towards the end of March thunderstorm begin, especially amongst the mountains, and as the season progresses the western winds from the sea gain in force until towards the end of May the south-west monsoon seats in and the regular rains begin, and continues with greater or less force till towards the end of September, though during October the reading monsoon continues to bring rain to the district. There after rain becomes less frequent the country dries up, and in December the dry weather has as a rule fairly set in. According to the *sastras*, the district should have eight months rain; intermittent in April and May; copious from June to October; and intermittent from October to early December; but the riots deem rain in February or March as necessary to prepare the land to be sown in March or April.⁵⁶

The climate of Manjeri is on the whole peculiar to the western coast, but it is somewhat drier than that of Calicut, probably from its lying rather more inland.⁵⁷ The hot season commences in February and lasts till May, when the southwest monsoon sets in.

Rainfall

The season during the year was favorable. The rainfall, though abundant was untimely. The rainfall was registered at several rain-gauge stations, there are mainly

⁵⁶ Statistical Atlas of Malabar, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

⁵⁷ Annual Report of the Civil Dispensaries, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

thirteen rain-gauge stations in Malabar during this period.⁵⁸ Manjeri was also one among the rain gauge station. The rainfall registered at the several rain-gauge stations during the two years is shown in the table below.

Table 8: Rainfall Registered at the Rain-Gauge Stations.

Stations	Total rainfall in inches		Total number of rainy days in 1892-93
	1891-92	1892-93	
Cannanore	92.71	167.49	138
Tellicherry	119.99	208.20	149
Badagara	96.71	177.81	137
Vayitiri	157.97	165.58	147
Manantoddy	83.76	114.03	133
Calicut	101.82	147.22	134
Tirurangadi	104.43	153.88	145
Manjeri	110.95	132.31	132
Nilambur	83.77	132.20	130
Angadipurom	99.45	139.15	147
Palghat	72.92	77.40	111
Ponnani	102.42	134.72	118
Cochin	111.13	141.85	152

Source: *Administrative Report of Malabar*, Board of Revenue, Madras, 1893.

The heaviest rainfall was recorded at Tellicherry, and as usual Palghat had the least. The rainfall recorded at Manjeri is 110.95 inches in 1891-92, then 132.31 inches in 1892-93. The total number of rainy days in Manjeri is 132. So, the rainfall was fairly favorable to the climatic condition of Manjeri. It was generally favorable to agriculture production. The rainfall may occur in many variations during the years because of the climatic conditions, it will show in the following table. Kerala receives rainfall almost every month. The average rainfall of the year is about 114.5 inches but is far heavier in the north than in the south of the district and is much lighter at Palghat than elsewhere in the district, whilst in the Wayanad it is heavier still. The district average mentioned includes a fall as low as 77.8 inches in 1881, and one as great as 156.6 inches over the whole district in 1882.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Administration Report of Malabar*, Board of Revenue, Madras, 1893, p. 8.

⁵⁹ *Statistical Atlas of Malabar*, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-4.

Table 9: Variations of the Rainfall, 1870 – 89 (in inches)

Recording stations	Year of period	Jan-mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Taliparamba	Max,1882	1.72	0.60	7.00	47.27	64.05	16.97	9.80	7.36	5.22	...	160.89
	Mini, 1881	0.10	...	6.65	14.90	15.79	31.15	6.70	0.94	7.87	...	82.10
	Avr,1879-89	0.22	1.60	7.08	36.69	33.76	17.53	7.88	4.06	4.06	0.65	114.31
Cannanore	Max 1878	0.05	1.36	8.60	41.70	23.65	47.92	26.00	10.80	6.30	0.16	166.42
	Min 1881	...	0.06	4.45	13.60	11.79	30.82	7.00	1.99	8.81	0.45	78.92
	Avr ...	0.86	1.98	7.72	38.67	33.09	18.83	9.35	7.11	3.52	0.60	122.03
Kottayam	Max 1878	...	2.64	7.45	42.04	27.89	39.91	27.60	14.66	3.57	1.20	166.26
	Min1881	...	1.37	10.52	14.29	11.94	27.66	6.86	3.74	6.59	...	82.99
	Avr 1870 83	0.76	2.71	9.93	37.56	35.24	17.24	9.68	6.67	2.67	0.62	123.50
Tellicherry	Max 1888	...	7.65	21.41	79.27	42.22	33.88	4.50	3.92	7.90	...	200.75
	Min 1881	...	1.37	8.71	13.28	10.96	27.15	6.66	4.17	7.10	...	79.40
	Avr ...	0.66	3.15	10.06	41.50	34.37	18.41	10.53	7.70	4.17	0.91	131.46
Madagara	Max 1878	...	0.87	4.76	44.22	29.60	40.31	25.16	9.98	6.46	0.20	160.55
	Min 1881	0.05	1.44	10.16	11.13	13.34	21.68	6.60	3.99	11.21	0.05	79.64
	Avr ...	0.99	2.41	8.00	38.05	31.49	16.46	8.95	7.72	4.75	0.55	119.35
Chovayur	Max 1878	...	2.34	6.22	42.28	26.27	34.59	17.59	14.18	7.68	2.57	163.62
	Min 1881	...	...	3.46	11.11	20.98	24.77	6.54	4.34	7.62	...	77.82
	Avr ...	0.64	2.59	9.99	38.48	27.98	14.79	8.76	9.22	3.98	1.02	112.45
Calicut	Max 1878	...	3.70	13.02	48.66	26.35	34.14	21.28	13.70	3.67	1.25	165.77
	Min 1881	...	0.32	3.05	13.39	18.39	23.95	5.99	4.30	4.89	0.02	74.30
	Avr ...	0.97	2.86	10.34	30.26	28.39	14.90	9.01	9.23	4.21	1.24	118.13
Tirurangadi	Max 1882	2.54	0.02	30.30	39.65	43.76	12.39	5.95	16.53	7.41	0.12	158.67
	Min 1881	0.05	0.04	3.32	11.36	13.94	16.44	7.98	3.67	7.23	0.10	64.13
	Avr ...	0.55	2.53	10.87	32.49	26.19	13.59	8.40	10.20	4.60	1.19	110.61
Ponnani	Max 1878	...	9.76	9.84	38.71	23.23	31.96	18.20	8.63	6.03	1.58	146.93
	Min 1876	1.26	0.60	4.15	17.10	10.36	7.17	3.26	3.83	2.68	0.55	59.96
	Avr ...	1.66	3.76	10.69	28.91	22.67	12.44	8.00	9.82	5.16	1.18	104.29
Cochin	Max 1882	6.47	0.96	18.67	37.79	41.98	16.59	11.70	17.05	7.63	2.75	161.59
	Min 1876	4.00	4.05	9.18	27.82	27.29	6.27	8.03	3.09	2.61	...	92,34
	Avr ...	3.52	5.06	13.05	30.27	21.73	12.04	10.82	13.32	6.29	1.82	117.92
Manjeri	Max 1882	...	1.24	16.91	37.90	42.89	13.78	6.54	18.41	10.43	0.90	149.00
	Min 1881	0.20	...	5.05	10.27	18.50	20.87	6.01	4.91	7.65	0.26	73.74
	Avr ...	0.92	2.86	8.03	28.79	27.37	15.24	6.10	10.89	6.00	0.99	109.19

Note: Max - Maximum, Min - Minimum, Avr - Average.

Source: *Statistical Atlas of Malabar*, Madras Government. Press, Madras, Regional Archives Kozhikode, p. 18.

The above table explains the variation of rainfall during the period in between 1870 to 1889 and it discusses the minimum, maximum and average period of rainfall in each stations. Among these Manjeri got its maximum rainfall in 1882, which means total rainfall is 149.00 inches. Then the minimum rainfall in 1881 that is the total rainfall is 73.74 inches. During these periods Manjeri got its average rainfall is 109.19 inches. It means rainfall should be well distributed throughout the periods.

Flora and fauna

The flora of a district, which ascends through every variation of soil and climate from the purely tropical zone on the coast to the cold mountain tops of the higher ranges of the western ghats, with a rainfall now here less than fifty inches and often more than three hundred demands systematic and expert investigation.⁶⁰ Coconut palm is of course the characteristic tree, but jack, mango, cashew nut, the talipot palm, areca, and others too numerous to mention are common. But some variety of plant species of Manjeri is used for many purposes like medicinal, house construction, food etc.⁶¹ Out of these plants of Manjeri about 122 are put into various uses by the local people or are known to be used for a variety of uses mentioned below table.

Table 10: Tree Flora of Manjeri

Uses	Name of the Species
Avenue Tree	<i>Albizia chinensis</i> , <i>Albizia lebbek</i> , <i>Albizia saran</i> , <i>Bauldinia variegata</i> , <i>Grevillea</i> , <i>Robusta</i> , <i>largerstroenia</i> , <i>Spcosa</i> , <i>levcaena</i> , <i>leucoceplda</i> .
Fodder	<i>Caryota Urens</i>
Food	<i>Anacardium occidentals</i> , <i>Annana reticulate</i> , <i>A.squamosa</i> , <i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i> , <i>A.hirsutus</i> , <i>A.incisus</i> , <i>Carica papaya</i> , <i>Carissa carandas</i> .

⁶⁰ C. A Innes, *op.cit.*, p. 18.

⁶¹ Dr. Kishor Kumar, *Taxonomic and Ecological Studies on the Tree Flora of College Kunnu Manjeri Malappuram*, Minor Research Project, UGC, Banglore, 2016, p. 71.

Uses	Name of the Species
House Construction	<i>Areca catechu</i> , <i>Bambusa bambos</i> , <i>Cocos nucifera</i> , <i>cycas circinalis</i> .
Medicinal	<i>Anacardium occidentale</i> , <i>Annona muricata</i> , <i>Azadirachta indica</i> , <i>Carey's arborea</i> , <i>cassia fistula</i> , <i>cinnamomum verum</i> , <i>ficus hispida</i> , <i>holigarna arnottiana</i> .
Miscellaneous uses	<i>Areca catechu</i> , <i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i> , <i>Azadirachta indica</i> , <i>Bambusa bambos</i> , <i>Tectona grandis</i> , <i>sterculia gutlatu</i> .

Source: Dr. Kishore Kumar, *Taxonomic and Ecological Studies on the Tree Flora of College Kunnu Manjeri*, Malappuram, Minor Research Project, UGC, Banglore, 2016.

Malabar affords another example of the well-known rule that a wet climate is unsuited to cattle. Buffaloes, indeed, for which no climate seems too damp, and no rainfall too heavy, thrive, and bear the burden of most of the arduous work into the field, but the indigenous breed of cattle is miserably weak and undersized. Bullock and buffaloes in hard work are fed on paddy straw, the rest are driven out to graze on the laterite hills near the coast and in the jungles at the foot of the ghats. There are no sheep in Malabar except in the drier parts of Palghat, but goat is universal.⁶²

Generally, the geographical features like land, people and environments are play a crucial role in determining the location, development, and prosperity of an urban area. Because these features are more influence in accessibility, trade, resources, and sustainability of this area. In the case of location and accessibility the town Manjeri was situated between two major rivers such as Chaliyar and Kadalundi, and it is surrounded by lots of small villages or rural hinterlands. These kind of hinterlands or tributary regions are closely linked economically with the nearby town or city. That's make Manjeri a more important town in South Malabar. Topographically, Manjeri has asymmetrical features and undulating plains and mountains, the plains are easier for construction and other transportation facilities.

⁶² C.A Innes, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

While mountainous areas also help natural protection for this town. The town is also close to natural resources like forests, minerals, and fertile land are better to positioned for economic growth. Manjeri is always a mild climate that are more conducive to human settlement and agriculture. The population growth of Manjeri is increased day by day, because of availability of the geographical features and locational advantages of this town. After analysing the geographical features of Manjeri in this chapter, we can clearly say that, the geographical features are shape the economic, social, and environmental aspects of this town makes its an important urban centre in South Malabar.

CHAPTER 3

MANJERI: THE CENTRE OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION FROM THE LATE EIGHTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Administration and Urbanism

Colonialism significantly influences contemporary city planning, economic and political structure, and institutions in cities in many developing countries. In addition to designing and regulating the urban morphology, colonial administration focused on providing urban infrastructure and services. Colonialism is mostly viewed as the military occupation of territory by capitalist powers to influence capital accumulation with minimum effort. Consequently, various political and technical principles were consciously applied to towns and cities in the late nineteenth century. The emergence of all the towns and cities in colonial India was almost entirely devoted to administrative, political, and social functions. In principle, regarding the colonialists, cities with economic, political, and administrative centrality formed the major places for planning and developmental attention.

There are several interpretations of town forms in seventeenth-century India. One view of the urban system of Mughal India is represented by Irfan Habib, whose accounts of the highly developed commercial and financial service sector suggest a relatively high level of urbanization in the western Gangetic plains.¹ Such urban centers were an outcome of the high proportion of the gross output of land that was taken as taxes and channeled to the centres of military and fiscal administration. Another view of the Mughal urban system suggests a hierarchical core-periphery relationship between the largest of the towns on the one hand and the countryside

¹ Tirthankar Roy, *An Economic History of Early Modern India*, Routledge, New Delhi, 2013, p. 104.

and the smaller towns on the other. K. N Chaudhuri, designates Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Patna, Burhanpur, and Ahmedabad the 'Primate cities' of the empire, but he does not discuss the position of the smaller towns. It is implied that the smaller regional centres did not matter to the rate and scale of urbanization partly because they were few and much smaller on average, and partly because they were related to the core cities in the same fashion as the countryside, that is, as a dependent periphery.² In South India, the towns did not necessarily possess all these features. Some of them displayed different ones such as the presence of a temple that served as a cultural and manufacturing hub. They were also on average smaller in population and clusters of villages specializing in an industrial commercial occupation such as weaving sometimes acquired town-like features.³ That is they became hubs of administration, craft activity, commerce and banking. In both North and South India, town and country were deeply interdependent.

Colonialism introduced new expanding professions to the colonized cities, including urban planning, law, surveying, administration, and public health. Even before the emergence of recognizable areas, military engineers were responsible in the nineteenth century for laying out the new colonial ports and towns. In principle, colonial governors and ruling elites had the political authority to determine the physical form of these cities and towns. Meanwhile, the central functions of the British were aimed to serve colonial administrative and economic interests. Municipal governance in colonial cities in the nineteenth century also went through a progressive conversion through the incorporation of new local government legal frameworks. The rules and practice of colonial urban management were blamed for creating residential racial and class segregation, and the displacement of the poor to the city's peripheries. The major impact of this colonial imperialism and industrialization led to systemic changes in the layout, institutions and social interaction in older urban forms and new towns established under the modern colonial regimes.

² *Ibid.*, p. 105.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Early nineteenth century the colonial accumulation of wealth through commercial activity could be channelized into administrative development at Manjeri. This had an impact on urban development. From an urban sociological perspective, Manjeri is representative not so much of a colonial city with its colonial or indigenous spatial dualism but is an easily recognizable capitalist city with class differentiation determining its spatial pattern. So the following part of this chapter will discuss the administrative developments at Manjeri and how it emerged from a colonial encounter.

Early scholarship on the Indian city constructed the city as the stage on which wider debates over nationalism, colonialism, and capitalism could occur. Many other accounts of the Indian city emerged from histories of labor, the police, industrialization and nationalism. More recently, urban history has turned to more thematic concerns, both by using new material and new categories of analysis. The commercial and administrative activities of the East India Company led to the growth of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, the last having originally been a group of significant villages. Some of the military cantonments such as Cawnpore (Kanpur) developed at a spectacular rate.⁴ Variations on the theme of race and urbanization have been at the heart of studies of the new centers for administration and recreation established by the British. Hill stations emerged as a result of theories about the impact of the climate on the bodies of British officials. Kennedy, in his work *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj* charts the symbolic and socio-political functions of the hill stations during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, arguing to the British in India these communities were much more than mere pleasure spots. Particularly after the revolt of 1857, they became political and military headquarters and cantonments for colonial troops. Kennedy argues that the isolation of British authorities at the hill stations reflected the paradoxical character of the British raj, attempting to control its subjects while remaining separate and

⁴ A. L. Basham, *The Civilization of Monsoon Asia*, S. Chand and Company, New Delhi, 1974, p. 66.

aloof from Indian society.⁵ Scholars have also studied the more directly coercive elements of colonial social control, David Arnold argues the creation of a British constabulary in India was a powerful coercive tool of British colonialism. He targets the use of police force against dacoits, nationalists, Adivasi hillmen and urban proletariats and reveals through the organization and social composition of the constabulary, how internally as well as externally, the police force mirrored the underlying character of the colonial system as a whole.⁶ Stephen Legg demonstrates that carefully calibrated police arrangements were a routine part of colonial governmentality, of a piece with several other forms of segregation and distribution in space desired by colonial planners.

Michal Foucault described the governmentality project as seeking the general technology of power that assured the states mutations, development and functioning. Governmental rationalities emerged that had political economy as their main form of knowledge, the population as their target for regulation and apparatus of security as their essential mechanisms.⁷ The "biopolitical" approach to space by Foucault, the use of space to regulate populations. Foucault states that a town, the problem of the town was at the heart of the different mechanisms of security, and that "urban objects" were the essential condition for the rise of policing as an art of Government. Power can be exerted over space and, seeing as all power creates resistance. The intransigent landscape can be considered as a resistant and inseparable demand of governmental apparatus. It is this notion of space as a stubborn, alive and problematizing medium that will inform the chapter the follow. The colonial city typically had lower densities of population, was more sanitary, streets were wide and laid out according to plans and buildings had a non-traditional architecture. This contrasted with the indigenous parts of the city, for instance, the Casbah in Algiers, or the so-called Black Town of Calcutta. These parts were more

⁵ D Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj*, University of California Press, London, 1996, p. 2.

⁶ David Arnold, *Police Power and Colonial Rule Madras 1859-1947*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1986, p. 43.

⁷ Stephen Legg, *Spaces of Colonialism Delhi's Urban Governmentalities*, Blackwell, USA, 2007, p. 9.

crowded, the streets were often narrow, and winding, houses and markets were laid out in traditional ways and often seen as insanitary and disease prone. Duality in the colonial city seems self-evident. Even so, there were processes that cut across both parts of the city and the ways in which the ‘difference was maintained was neither static nor self-evident. Swati Chattopadhyay has argued that the repeated demarcation of ‘white town’ from ‘black town’ in Calcutta was aimed more at papering over disturbing similarities than in describing differences.⁸

The unevenness of power resources in different parts of the city cannot be understood as a settled or stable relationship. The city has been seen as a site for the dramatic confrontation between power and, sometimes violent, resistance. Mike Davis’s work depicts the ways in which the elite of Los Angeles have made the city, through gated communities and the positioning of police stations, into a literal war zone.⁹ The approaches to the study of the 19th century cities are influenced by the currents of colonialism and capitalism leading to the emergence of industrial cities, canal colonies, hill stations, inlands, etc. Cities also emerged as centers of spectacles, sites of nationalist movements, religious conflicts, and places of agitations of the working and depressed classes.

Identifying ‘*Qasbah*’: The Significance of Manjeri in the Late Eighteenth Century

The *Qasbah*¹⁰ is a unique entity in the geopolitical history of South Asia. Much like a city or village, it has been an administrative, geographic, and cultural unit. The word *Qasbah* or *qasba* originates from Arabic, meaning ‘to divide’ or ‘to cut up’. Other meanings are more applicable to include ‘a city’, ‘a chief town’, ‘the

⁸ Swati Chattopadhyay, *Blurring Boundaries: The Limits of White Town in Colonial Calcutta*, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol.59, No.2, June 2000, p. 156.

⁹ Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums*, Verso, London, 2006, p. 16.

¹⁰ Although *qasba*, *casbah*, *cusbah*, *kasba*, and *kasbah* are some of the many versions of the word, *qasbah* is the only consistent spelling followed here, unless other texts are being quoted.

interior of a country’, or ‘a citadel’.¹¹ According to lexicographer John T. Platts, a *qasbah* is a ‘township’ or ‘a large village or a small town particularly inhabited by decent people or families of some rank’. Other lexicons similarly define the word. In colonial sources, such as Wilson Glossary, *Kasbah* is defined as ‘a small town or large village, the chief or market town of a district’, and *kasbati* as ‘an inhabitant of a *kasba*’.¹² In Indo-Persian terminology *qasbah* has come to mean a settlement smaller than a town and bigger than a village.

In the pre-modern Indian Ocean realms, Kenneth Hall argues that ‘small secondary cities’ provide a valuable window into social, cultural, political, and economic processes. However, C.A. Bayly is among the first to provide insight into *qasbah* as not merely commercial centres and marketplaces but as crucial to the social history of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries northern India. He defines them as ‘the most obvious bottom rung of the urban hierarchy’, serving as ‘the residence of gentry’ who were distinguished for ‘their social, legal and economic status.’¹³ Ravinder Kumar, in his work on the social history of modern India, briefly discusses the importance of *qasbah* and *qasbah* gentry. He defines the *qasbah* as ‘bigger than more substantial villages with a market for surplus agricultural produce and a base for lowermost echelons of bureaucracy and a religious centre of greater or lesser importance’. Although he focuses on economic characteristics, he does point out their social significance as religious centres. British administrators viewed *qasbah* in a provincial hierarchy: states divided into districts, districts into tahsils, and tahsils into parganas. *Qasbah* mark an even smaller unit; most official British records do not even categorize or refer to them as *qasbahs* but submerge them into other

¹¹ M. Raisur Rahman, *Locale, Everyday Islam, and Modernity: Qasbah Towns and Muslim Life in Colonial India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2015, p. 28.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹³ It focused on the makeup of the Indian economy from the late eighteenth through to late nineteenth centuries, it problematizes the concept of *qasbah* as an important unit of the Indian trading and marketing network. Bayly uses the term ‘country town’ for *qasbah* and describes them as a part of the urban hierarchy, differentiating them from *haats* (periodic peasant markets) and *ganjs* (fixed markets), both rural. See *Ibid.*, p. 10; C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars in Northern India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, p. 111.

categories. The British chose to use *qasbahs* as their administrative headquarters for surrounding villages, as place to collect revenue and house service gentry.

During the late eighteenth century Manjeri was a '*qasbah*' of Mysore Sultans.¹⁴ After zamorins rule Tippu's battle to Malabar is one of the most important events that changed the history of Manjeri. The entry of Haider and Tipu which militarized conflict and led to the emergence of a new group among the Mappilas called 'Moopans',¹⁵ just like Manjeri Athan Kurikkal, Athan Kurikkal was a tenant of the Raja of Manjeri, he had lands in Payyanad himself and had not paid any payments of rent since 1774. The Mysore Sultans, Hyder Ali and his son Tippu also targeted Malabar in their quest to conquer Southern India. On the first invasion of this province by the troops of Haider Ali Khan about the year 1760 it was found to be parceled out into several independent sovereignties, the principal of which were the rajah of *Kolathiri* comprising Cherical Kottiote and Kadathanaad to the north, and the *Samoothiri's* and Palghat in the districts south of the Colah river. In the year 1766 Hyder Ali Khan was induced on the invitation of Ali Rajah of Cannanore to invade Malabar.¹⁶ In person by the routes of Koorg and in a very short time overran the whole country excepting the two small northern districts of Randatharra and Koringottu (the one under the protection of the French government of Mahi, the other a dependency of the factory of Tellichery) and Cochin, the Rajah of which made his peace with Hyder by an early submission.¹⁷ All the other Rajahs and Chiefs, having resisted his arms, were generally dispossessed by the conqueror and most of them compelled to take refuge in Travancore. Zamorin could not resist Hyder Ali and he committed suicide by setting the palace on fire, prompting his family members to flee. Hyder Ali then seized power and sent his 3000 soldiers to various parts of the new territory he had conquered and returned to Mysore. But the

¹⁴ J. Rejikumar (ed.), *The Joint Commissioners Report on Malabar 1792-93*, Kerala State Archives, Thiruvananthapuram, 2010, p. 88.

¹⁵ Dilip M. Menon, 'Houses by Sea: State-Formation Experiments in Malabar 1760-1800', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.34, No.29, July 1999, p. 2000.

¹⁶ J. Spencer, J. Smee and A. Walker, *A Report on The Administration of Malabar dated 28th July 1801*, Calicut, 1910, p. 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

guard in Malabar seized this opportunity and rooted all these soldiers. A furious Hyder Ali returned and stationed an army for administration with Manjeri as his centre.

Towards the latter end of 1782 Tippu Sultan dispatched Arshad Beg Khan as general commandant and manager of all the civil and revenue concerns of the whole Malabar. Regarding Mysorean administration it will not be superfluous to enter somewhat into detail, because since the whole of the British subsequent arrangements for the realization of the revenue of the southern parts of Malabar, have been founded upon Tippu's settlements and investigation of the resources of the country. They imposed land tax and officials were appointed to collect it properly. Production and distribution in Malabar and Ernad were carried out according to the procedures and rules which were traditionally derived and existed from time to time. But Hyder Ali for the first-time levied land tax and fixed the settlement in favor of the tenant. This has had wide-ranging implications for different groups.

Tipu Sultan introduced various measures for the economic prosperity of his country and wellbeing of his people are admitted even by his bitterest enemies. Sir Thomas Moore, based on personal experience wrote, "when a person travelling through a strange country finds it well cultivated, populous with industrious inhabitants; cities newly founded, commerce extending, towns increasing and everything flourishing to indicate happiness, he will naturally conclude it to be under a form of government congenial to the minds of the people. This is a picture of Tippu's country, and this is our conclusion respecting its government".¹⁸ Another observation worth quoting is of Sir John Shore who became Governor-General in India succeeding Lord Cornwallis. "The peasantry of his dominion", wrote he, "are protected and their labors encouraged and rewarded".¹⁹ James Mill who had no reason to exonerate Tipu sultan concluded that "his kingdom was the best cultivated and its population the most flourishing in India". But Dodwell is of opinion that

¹⁸ C.K. Kareem, *Malabar Under Hider Ali and Tippu*, PAICO, Cochin, 1973, p. 18.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

“though the English found signs of prosperity within its domains, these were certainly due to no inspiration of his own”, yet he also agrees that there was all-round prosperity and progress in the domain of Tippu sultan.²⁰

The revenue administration of Mysore sultans is highly influenced by the socio-economic realm of Malabar. In Malabar society, where human beings were looked down upon, the Mysoreans began their revenue settlement with the cultivators directly. When the state demanded land tax and made a comprehensive survey of the lands which were hitherto unknown to the people of this land. The burden of tax did not fall on the shoulders of the peasants, and it was taken out of the *Pattom* or rent paid by the *Jenmi*. Answering a question of Joint Commissioners of Malabar, the Zamorin had to admit, “I know Tippu’s *Jumma* to be a just one all over the country and a burthen neither upon me nor upon the districts.”²¹ The dry lands were exempted from taxation. The revenue of Southern Districts was collected by Arshad Beg Khan, the following figure will show the revenue settlement of the southern districts in detail.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 213

Figure 2: Particulars of the Jumma of the southern districts settled by Arshed Beg Khan.

No.	Place	Collected Amounts		
		Hoons	Fanam	K.A.S
1.	Cusbah/Calicut	5,885	09	0
2.	Beypore	6,000	00	00
3.	Parappanad	7,200	00	00
4.	Ramanad	11,635	08	00
5.	Kurumbanad	11,935	00	00
6.	Valluvanad	10,006	06	00
7.	Sheranad	13,000	00	00
8.	Eranad	42,000	00	00
9.	Venkattycotta	10,000	00	00
10.	Vettathunad	24,000	00	00
11.	Vellatre	25,807	09	00
12.	Kapul/Capual	5,050	00	00
13.	Venacar/Wanarkar	5,980	02	00
14.	Neringanad	33,719	07	00
15.	Kurumporai nad	6,000	00	00
16.	Kvalappara	8,251	09	00
17.	Choughat	45,000	00	00
18.	Ponnani	8,000	00	00
19.	Koorimnad	25,135	04	00
20.	Paynaad	14,130	00	00
21.	Payyurmal	16,400	00	00
22.	Thamarassery	11,064	00	00
23.	Chettuva	12,997	00	00
Total		4,05,264	06	08

Note: Arshad Beg Khan Jamma for 1784/85, According to this Jumma estimate for the Southern Countries of Malabar is exclusive of Palakkad.

Source: J. Spencer, J. Smee and A. Walker, *A Report of Malabar dated 28th July 1801*, Calicut, 1901, Regional Archives Kozhikode.

The revenue collected from southern districts is depicted in detail on the above picture. Among these particulars Ernad is the 8th and which clearly shows that 42,000 Hoons collected from this area. The highest *Jumma* collected mainly in the areas of Choughat and Ernad.

These records “The Paimashi Negudi of forty-two Tarah’s in Manjeri amounting to 122,235 *fanams*, 5 *vishams*, the Balla Krutch²² 12,223 *fanams*, 8 *vishams*.”²³ Tax free land also existed in this period, which means Tipu Sultan donated rent free land to the temple’s mosques and religious institutions in Ernad and allover Malabar.²⁴ The following table will show them in detail.

Table 11: Rent free land donated by Tipu Sultan

Sl. No	Name of Donees	Location	Purpose	Extend of land in acres
1	Muthakunnath Durga Bhagavathi Temple	Manjeri <i>Amsom</i>	Devadeyam attending the usual ceremonies of land the temple	42.25 wet land
2	Apiraya Siva Temple	Manjeri <i>Amsom</i>	Devadeyam attending the usual ceremonies of land the temple	2.25 wetland
3	Vakatodi Karinkali	Manjeri <i>Amsom</i>	Devadeyam attending the usual ceremonies of land the temple	7.20 wetland

Source: C. K. Kareem, *Malabar Under Hyder Ali and Tippu*, PAICO, Cochin, 1973, p. 18.

²² Bullakurch: to defray the expenses of collecting the land revenue Tippu made the ryots pay ten per cent in addition to the amount of their actual tax. This is continued by the British and constitute the village service fund. The land being private property in Malabar it is impossible to allot Inams, as in other districts so village officers are paid in money. Seen in J. Smee, Report on the Survey and Assessment of South Malabar, Calicut, 1871.

²³ William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, Malabar Manual, Vol. III, Kerala Gazetteers, Thiruvananthapuram, 1998, p. 252.

²⁴ C. K. Kareem, *op.cit.*, p. 201.

There are mainly five temples in Manjeri *Amsom* is constituted under the rent free land of Tipu Sultan. The Muthrakunnath Bhagavathi Temple is one of the important temples in Manjeri and it is associated with Manjeri Kovilakam. Kovilakam was the main trustee of this temple. Apiary (Arukidayya) Siva temple is one of the greatest Siva temples in Manjeri and it is situated in Arukidayya because of that it's called as Arukidayya temple. The purpose of them are mainly for the *devadeyam* attending for the usual ceremonies of the temples and the total extend of land is 54.9 acres wet land.

Manjeri was one of the centres that served as the military headquarters of the Malabar administration of the Mysore Sultans. Under the yoke of Tippu's government, "The Kurikkal Mappila family of Manjeri rose (1785-1786) in rebellion against Arshad Beg Khan Tippu's Principal Officer."²⁵ Athan Kutti Kurikkal and his father Moideen Kutti Kurikkal fought against Tippu. It is said that in 1784, soldiers were stationed at 'Kunnin cherivu' now where the Manjeri NSS College is located. Were fired from Payyanad Angadi and the army retaliated. Ahmad Kurikkal, who was later Payyanad *Adhikari*, has testified that he kept the bullets pierced in the wall. At the end of the fight both and their relatives were arrested by Arshad Beg Khan Tipu's Malabar Governor and took them to Seringapatam and imprisoned. In 1790 Moideen Kutti Kurikkal died in prison, the body was buried there. During the Third Anglo-Mysore war the British captured Seringapatam and freed the Athan Kutti Kurikkal and their relatives from the prison. Tipu Sultan had plans to train his army in the lightning quick marks manship of the Kurikkal, but never got chance to do so. Athan Kurikkal again came to Payyanad, the Zamorin assigned him to collect taxes in Ernad. In 1797, 'for motives of policy' the East India Company appointed him as the head of a police establishment consisting of 100 men.²⁶ He managed to combine an insertion into the existing hierarchy replacing the Raja of Manjeri, with an incorporation into the revenue and administrative innovations of the Mysorean period. This force was abolished in 1800 on the organization of captain Watsons police corps. Athan Kurikkal and his

²⁵ William Logan, *op.cit.*, p. 254.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

brothers committed a great many outrageous and even attacked Mr. Waddell, the Southern Superintendent on his way from Manjeri to Orampuram and being in a state of rebellion. The British offered a reward of rupees 5000 for his capture. In 1802, he and his followers in a house at Pattambi, were captain Watsons, police surrounded and killed.²⁷

The Mappila groups attempts to create political formations in Malabar came in the aftermath of the incursions made from Mysore by Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan between 1766 and 1792. In a region without a 'model' of monarchical centralization, or of an elaborate revenue collecting stricture, aspirants to state formation could not just fit in or hijack they had to innovate.²⁸ In that sense, the idea of proliferation of revenue collecting intermediaries who emerge in the shadow of erstwhile authority as 'portfolio capitalists' assumed by Bayly and Subrahmanyam.²⁹ To sum up the argument it was a region, the political institutions that emerged were dependent on the volatile profits of commerce.

The British took over the commercial monopoly of the area. Because of this the local villagers maintained a bitter antagonism with the Sultan's. It was used by them to make quarrels between Hindus and Muslims, then Malabar became under British rule through the signing of the treaty of Seringapatam with Tipu, during this time Manjeri fell into the centre of anti-capitalist struggle in Malabar.

British Administration

Malabar witnessed far-reaching changes in its administrative, political, and economic life through the British intrusions, economic exploitation, conquests and oppressive measures etc. Till 1800, Malabar formed a part of the Bombay presidency. There after Malabar was brought under the Madras Presidency and became one of the twenty-seven districts of the east while Madras presidency.³⁰ The

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Dilip M. Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 1995.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ J. Rejikumar, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

government of the presidency consisted of the governor and the three-member council. In 1786, a board of trade and a board of revenue were established, each consisting of three members, a member of the council being the president.³¹ The board of trade oversaw the commercial affairs of the company. But this board was abolished in 1825. The presidency was divided into districts, each district being again subdivided into several taluks. The magistrates and collectors were the chief executive heads of the districts. He possessed enormous powers and duties relating to revenue and taxes, police, jail etc. During the colonial and imperial machinations of the Europeans, finally the British could emerge themselves as the greatest imperial and colonial power in Malabar. The British fought a series of battles against Mysore Sultans like Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. Through the treaty of Seringapatam in 1792 ended the third Anglo-Mysore war then the British got the control over Malabar. On the acquisition of Malabar, Lord Cornwallis, the Governor General of India directed Sir Robert Abercromby and the Governor of Bombay to make necessary arrangements for enforcing British authority.³² Accordingly, William Samuel Farmer, a senior merchant and Major Alexander Dow, the military commandant at Tellicherry were appointed as commissioners for the administration of the area. They were specially directed to report on the administration of justice, collection of revenue, commercial regulations, and military stations. They were authorized to establish a temporary scheme for internal administration until the introduction of a new permanent system. They were vested with broad administrative responsibilities including deliberation, control and superintendence.³³

Articles of agreement between William Gamul Farmer and Major Alexander Dow on the part of the English East India Company and Zamorin concluded at Calicut in 18th August 1792, on the basis they concluded the following things,

of the countries ceded by Tipoo sultan there remain sundry places in the four divisions of Calicut, Betutnaad, Ernaad and Choughat; the zamorin has

³¹ V. Ismail, *Administration in Colonial Malabar*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Calicut, Calicut, 1997, p. 60.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³³ *Ibid.*

further represented that in the district leased to the rajah of kooremnaad there are two talooks which are particularly desired by him as being family places called Barrakumpooram and Kehakumpooram. On a representation of to the rajah of Koorummanad the willingly consent to surrender these two talooks. As per an account herealter entered, are to be delivered over to the zamorin for one year from the first day of the Malabar month Canny, year 968 answering to about the 1st of September 1792 English, with full power to make the collections, administer justice and all other rights ceded Tipoo Sultan to the English company for which the said zamorin agrees to pay to the honorable company by the hands of such persons as they may appoint the sum of Rupees four lacs, sixteen thousand, three hundred and sixty six one quarter (Rupees 416366-1-0).³⁴

Malabar was ceded along with other tracts to the East India Company and placed under the Bombay Presidency. Several chiefs who had been in quasi political relations with the company previous session, continued in the position of feudatories for a few years and exercised more or less independent authority within their own limits. This led to difficulties culminating in the Cotiote Pychee (Kottiot, Pazhazi) Rebellion in 1796, a Commission was appointed, consist of four members with which the supervisorship was incorporated.³⁵ The feudatories were deprived of all administrative authority, their lands being secured to them in full proprietary right and a special allowance (*Malikhana*) made to them. The Governor of Bombay introduces a temporary arrangement for the administration of Malabar province. William Samual Farmer, one of the commissioners was appointed as the first supervisor and chief magistrate of the province, under him two superintendence were appointed for northern and southern districts with headquarters at Tellicherry and Cherpulassery.³⁶ The two superintendentship were abolished in 1800, and a number of European Collectors were appointed, one to every district or taluk. At the

³⁴ J. Spencer, J.Smee and A.Walker, *op.cit.*, p. 1.

³⁵ *Manual of The Administration of The Madras Presidency in Illustration of the Records of Government and the Yearly Administration Reports*, Vol. II, Madras, 1885, p. 106.

³⁶ V. Ismail, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

end of that year the province was transferred to Madras Presidency. The Commission was finally abolished in September 1801, and the districts placed under a Principal Collector and three Subordinate Collectors, who are respectively designated as sub-collector, head assistant collector, and special assistant collector, besides whom, there are one or more European assistants, one Deputy Collector in charge of the treasury at the *Sudder* (headquarters) stations and three separate deputy collectors in charge of the Wayanad, Ponnani and Cochin Taluk respectively.³⁷ A special assistant collector appointed for the Mappila country has his headquarters at Malappuram. The military outpost, while a European deputy collector who is also a district *Munsiff*, has charge of the mountainous taluk of Wayanad and resided at Mananthavaddy.

The British agents require to be established as generally as possible over the face of the country, so that every branch of the administration may be either executed or controlled by them. In this point, the following arrangement or division of the province into separate circle of collection and superintendence.

Table 12: Division of the Malabar Province into Separate Circles of Collection and Superintendence

Divisions	Administrative Officials	Districts
Northern Division	1 Sub collector 1 Assistant	Cherikkal including Cannanore, Randaterra, Cotiote, Tellicherry and all the sub divisions of that Talook and Mahe, Irvenaad, Kadathanaad.
Center Division	1 Sub collector 1 Assistant	Cooteeary, Payoormalla, Pynaad, Koorimnaad, Polwye, Wynaad
Southern Division	1 Sub collector 1 Assistant	Polnaad including Calicut, Beypoor, Parepnaad, Shernaad, Betutnaad, Choughat and Chetwa.
Eastern Division	1 Sub collector 1 Assistant	Ernaad, Velatree, Narenganaad, Palghat including Kavalapara.

Source: *Papers on the Administration of the Malabar District*, Minute of the Governor Lord William Bentinck dated 22nd April 1804, Calicut, 1907, P.4, RAK.

³⁷ *Manual of the Administration Madras Presidency, op cit*, p. 106.

This division of the province into Circles and Departments is not to be considered as excluding the principal collector from exercising detail authority, he should be vested with full power to take upon himself the details of any circle or department, to institute any local enquiries or to send any order to local subordinate officers, in all cases where he may deem the exercise of such authority advisable, expedient or useful. In short, the principal collector should have the fullest authority over the sub collectors.

Malabar has been from time to time, subject to certain special revenue arrangements including a tobacco monopoly, a land tax on pepper, and a government form of cardamoms gold washing and the like. All these have been now abolished, in 1802, the judiciary was separated from executive administration. A provincial court was established at Tellicherry presided over by three judges. Two of whom periodically went on circuit. Zillah courts were established at Tellicherry and Calicut, and a registers court at Calicut.³⁸ In 1812 an auxiliary zillah court was established at cochin. All these courts were abolished in 1843. Civil and sessions courts were established at Tellicherry and Calicut, a subordinate court at Calicut and principal *Sudder* Ameens court at Tellicherry and Cochin. In 1862, the subordinate court at Calicut was converted into a principal *Sudder* Ameens court. In 1873, the designation of the courts was changed. The civil and sessions judge became district and sessions judge of North and South Malabar. The principal *Sudder* Ameens became subordinate judge. District *Munsiff* courts were established in 1816. Previous to this, there had been commissioner's courts at some of the outlying stations. The number of districts *Munsiff* courts has varied from time to time.

The judicial courts consist of the two district courts of North and South Malabar, three sub-courts, eighteen district *Munsiffs*, one district magistrate, two joint magistrates, three assistant magistrates, four deputy magistrates, thirty two sub magistrates (including taluk *Sherishtadar* Magistrate) and three bench of Magistrates.³⁹ The police administration of this period is also established very well.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

There is a central jail at Cannanore, besides three district jails at Tellicherry, Calicut and Cochin, and twenty-two lock-ups. The total cost of this department to government in 1882 was about Rupees 82,000. The aggregate strength of the police in 1883-84 was 1,504 men, costing Rupee 1,72,946 giving one constable to every 3.8 square miles and to every, 1572 inhabitants.⁴⁰ The following part of the chapter will discuss the administration of each department separately, especially in the area of Manjeri.

Talook Cutchery

The *Cutchery*⁴¹ or office became the nerve center of the British colonial empire in India at the turn of the nineteenth century. The emergence of this office form was associated with the English measuring rod of land settlement, the 'cat - o - nine - tails', and piles of documents.⁴² In the *Cutchery* documents were written to the inhabitants of a district. In the *Cutchery* documents written, revenue collected, and petty criminals flogged and fined. The administrative office was reimagined at a distance from the bazaar, which rendered these intricate the relationship of credit into various registers of corruption.⁴³ This reimagination allowed new conceptual objects such as landed property to govern the regulation of public and social spaces.

British observers of the time satirized the *Cutchery* contradictions as a theatre of the absurd, giving full reign to the ambivalence with which they regarded their supplicants and their intermediaries. Scholars have tended to depict the contradictions of the *Cutchery* as the contrary pulls of bureaucratic imperial integration and local "influence". Robert Frykenberg, among the earliest to identify

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ In the *Cutchery* the offices are all below, and generally crowded with petitioners, *Omedwars* [sick, hopefuls], loiterers, *Carcoons* [clerks], peons, *Sibbundies* [armed irregular peons], and rogues of all kinds and castes. The desks are like the common tables of a mercantile clerks, from which orders are delivered on magisterial and revenue affairs. All is public, no one can be prevented from petitioning. See. Bavani Raman, *Document Raj Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial South India*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2012, p. 23.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

district administration or the Huzur cutcherry as a key node of the British Empire, argued that European officers and English paper knitted these offices into metropolitan circuits of bureaucratic rationality, but the cutcherry's native employees and its vernacular records constantly undermined these modes of integration.⁴⁴

Frykenberg's lens of localization and integration perpetuates an abiding vision of the colonial bureaucracy that depicts European officer - protagonists at their wits end, unable to content with an administrative structure that is silently eaten away by the white ants of caste solidarity, corruption, and secrecy among their native to wealth accumulation by upper caste cutcherry Brahmans and magnates, presents certain problems.⁴⁵ The narrative of primordial Indian caste obscure how cutcherry management reinvigorated and nurtured caste. An undifferentiated terrain of local influence masks how the cutcherry produced and intensified the "locality" as a governable spatial entity on terms different from preceding administration.⁴⁶

More recently, what Frykenberg characterized as centralizing versus localizing forces in administration has been analyzed as the tension between rational and vernacular process of everyday state building. Sudipta Kaviraj's influential formulation that the colossal structure of colonial "rationalism" "had feet of vernacular clay" has provided one way to think how a state built on exemptions conceptually separated a vast lower bureaucracy from a narrow band of European officer's.⁴⁷ Kaviraj suggests that because the enormous administrative underworld was considered too vast and ultimately, too insignificant to be transformed, the British essentially underwrote the "precapitalist authority" that continues to cast its troubling shadow over post-colonial structures.

The company *Cutcherry* installed a new hierarchical order of administration organized through district (*zillah*), subdistrict (taluk), and revenue village (*gram*)

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

level offices.⁴⁸ The location of the district cutcherry illustrates the ambition of the new type of state. The British built many new cutcherry offices at a distance from the settlement and its bazaar or housed the offices in forts or the palaces of deposed kings. The man called the *Sheristadar*⁴⁹ was an all-powerful manager who supervised the day-to-day work of the collectorate office. *Cutcherry Sheristadar* was the main channel of communication between common people and European officers. They were responsible for making revenue settlements.

Taluk Cutcherry at Manjeri

Taluk *Cutcherry* of Manjeri (Ernad) constructed in the year 1799-1800.⁵⁰ The building measures 32 feet in length, 8.16 breadth, 47 Height and 11x11.8x97 were the total measure of the building. The building with earthen back work and is furnished with Teak wood and Bamboos. The roof of this building repaired during the years 1810-11. There are many times repaired or renovated the *Cutcherry* building during the colonial period. One of the letters (Figure 3) to the collector of Malabar send by the executive engineer, west coast division, this letter described, the repair of the *cutcherry* building and he requested for the sanction and allotment of funds the accompanying estimate of Rs.2120 for repairing the taluk *Cutcherry* of Manjeri in 1886.⁵¹ The executive engineer himself inspected the building and find out that the roof of the building in a very decayed state.⁵² After his inspection the collector sanctioned the grant for repairing the building.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

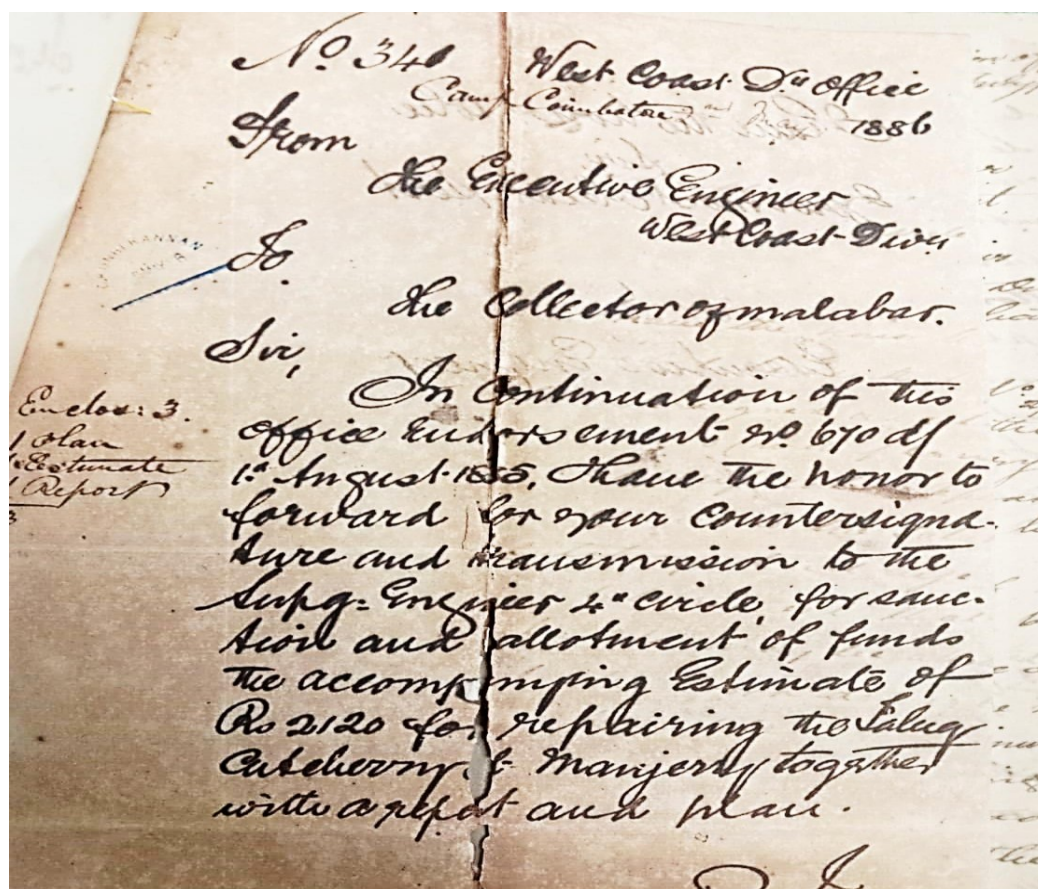
⁴⁹ The term '*Sarishtadar*', is originally from Persian, which means "record or file".

⁵⁰ *Madras Correspondence File*, Vol. 2343, Dated 27th June 1815, RAK, p. 161.

⁵¹ *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File*, No3.46, Dated 2nd May 1886, RAK.

⁵² *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File*, No-1993, Dated 18th May 1886, RAK.

Figure:3 : Construction of Taluk Cuchery



Source: Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File, No-346, Dated 2nd May 1886, RAK.

Repair and renovation of taluk cutcherry continued throughout the nineteenth century, which means the maintenance and importance of the taluk cutcherry is highly essential for the administrative purposes.

Tahsildar was the supervisor of the taluk cutcherry, and at the subdivisional levels "tahsildars" (formerly *Amildar*; in Tamil: *Taciltar*) supervised subdivisional Cutcherries.⁵³ The tahsildars formal functions were myriad, and he too was assisted by a cutcherry of scribes. Munro describe him as essential to the cultivation of land, the collection of revenue, and the settling of disputes. This office viscerally yoked upper caste power to coercing structures of colonial rule. The *Tahsildars* almost always Brahman were mostly of the Vaishnavite sect and appointed by collectors.

⁵³ Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File, *Op.cit*, p. 38.

They were associated with paper-writing notes, hearing petitioners, overseeing accounts and were armed with the apparatus of punishment, whips and the *kai-k-kitti*, an instrument used to crush the knuckles of revenue defaulters.⁵⁴ The tahsildar underlings approached him with their hands on their lips, a quintessential ritual gesture of caste subordination, bowing and saying *Chittam* (your will).

Beneath the subdistrict Cutcherry lay a vast army of subordinates such as village headmen and the village accountant- scribes, the grama *kanakkupillai*, the *kanakkan* or *Karanam*. Stationed at the bottom rungs of the cutcherry order, the *kanakkupillai* kept the records that formed the lynch pin of the entire revenue apparatus. *Kanakkupillai* were usually upper caste educated men who supervised local police functionaries - the *Talaiyar*. They were assisted by the '*nirgunti*' and '*vettiyan*', usually from lower caste groups, who managed irrigation channels and the chain (*cankili*) used for measuring land.

Administration of Justice and Police

After acquiring Malabar, the joint commissioners endeavored with untiring zeal to formulate a framework for the rejuvenation of the general administration, revenue collection and judiciary. Emphasis was laid on the institution of regular courts of law, both civil and criminal. Cornwallis and his successor Sir John Shore attached great importance to the success of the nascent system in Malabar. The correspondence between Cornwallis and Sir Robert Abercrombie reveals that they felt the institution of a regular administration of justice to be advantageous to the British. Mr. Farmer, Major Dow, Mr. Page, Jonathan Duncan, Charles Boddam and others did the preliminary preparations for the administration of Justice. The supervisors and superintendents were given judicial authority along with executive and police functions. The periodical circuits of the above officers formed a distinctive feature of the new judicial system. Preparation of the civil code was undertaken by the joint commissioners. The provincial courts of *Adalats* were empowered to frame standing rules and orders for the administration of justice subject to their ratification by the Chief Magistrate in the court of appeals.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Lord Cornwallis changed the judicial practices and effected a separation of the revenue and judicial functions of the district collector. The Apex court of the presidency was separately designated as Sadr and *Foujdari Adalat* in its dual capacity of a civil and criminal court. The institution below was designated as a provincial court when it dealt with civil suits and as a circuit court when it decided criminal cases. The *Zilla* court which came next was again a civil and Magisterial court. The appointment of native commissioners was left to the discretion of the *Zilla* Judges. They received much of the burden of the *Zilla* Judges in the trial of petty suits. The native commissioners had to submit a monthly report to the *Zilla* Judge. There were four provincial courts of appeal, each having three English Judges. In 1802, the Sadr Adalat was constituted. In 1807, commissioners ceased to be the chief Judge and the latter was selected from among the covenanted civil servants. There are altogether about 46,000 village *Munsiffs*, but of these, only about 23000, say five percent are reported to have entertained civil suits. So, if the figures are correct they would give roughly about suit per *Munsiff* for the presidency and a little less than twenty suits per *Munsiff* of those who exercise civil jurisdiction. The following table will show the number of village *Munsiffs* in Malabar.

Table 13: Number of Village Munsiffs in Malabar.

Year	Number of Village Munsiffs	
	South Malabar	North Malabar
1876	46	17
1877	49	9
1878	60	11
1879	63	14
1880	72	10

Source: *Report of the Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in the Presidency of Madras for the year 1880*, Madras, 1881, p. 19.

The average total number of village *Munsiffs* in Malabar is 420, including the South and North Malabar. The above table clearly shows the number of village *Munsiffs* in Malabar, with separate descriptions of north and South Malabar. The

number of village *Munsiff* increased in South Malabar during these periods, but in north Malabar there is no a clear increase. The jurisdiction of village *Munsiff* is actually exercised in south Malabar comparing with North.

The operation of Civil Courts Act, 1873 which extended the pecuniary limits of the jurisdiction of district *Munsiffs* is very clear in its effect. The work of these courts at once increased and has continued to increase. The work of 1880, although less than in the preceding year is above the average since the introduction of the Act.⁵⁵ In June 1880, the officiating district judge of South Malabar recommended certain changes in the jurisdictions of the district *Munsiffs* of Angadipuram, Nedunganad and Manjeri, with a view to give the Northern half of Valluvanad Talk to Angadipuram and the southern half to Nedunganad. The collector of the district having concurred in the arrangement as being the most convenient one in consequence of the transfer of the court from Pattambi to Angadipuram, the High court, under section II, Act III of 1873, sanctioned the changes recommended with effect from 1st October 1880.⁵⁶

District Munsiff Court Manjeri

The establishment of the law courts in India came as a necessary, inevitable instrument of colonialism for the smooth functioning of the administrative machinery. Before the close of the nineteenth century, Malabar was roused to a new judicial era with district courts at Calicut and Tellicherry, subordinate judge's courts at Calicut, Palghat and Cochin and nearly two dozen district *Munsiff*'s courts in the south and north Malabar taken together. As, a court proper, with all the functions of a regular judicial tribunal, the court of the district *Munsiff* is the lowest in grade, but it is at the same time the most important to the country, as it is widely distributed, and is thus the chief court of first instance open to the people. There are 106 such

⁵⁵ Report on the Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in the Presidency of Madras for the year 1880, Madras, 1881, p. 20.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

courts in the Madras Presidency, giving an average of five to a district.⁵⁷ Twenty-five first-grade district *Munsiffs* draw rupees 400 per month, twenty-five second-grade rupees 300, twenty-five third-grade rupees 250, and thirty-one fourth-grade rupees 200. District *Munsiffs* are selected from native officers of experience who have risen in the subordinate ranks of the judicial department or from members of the native bar. The district *Munsiffs* jurisdiction extends to suits the value of which does not exceed 2500 rupees, and he is also invested with a small cause jurisdiction over suits up to 50 rupees in value.

The following table will show the details of the Manjeri District *Munsiff* from 1852 to 1856.

Table 14: The Civil Work Performed by The District Munsiff of Manjeri

Year	Designation and name of the officer	Total number of suits disposed of the year	Total number of suits disposed of on their merit.	Average number of suits disposed on the year
1852	Chepoo Menon District Munsiff	319	163	19
1853	Mr. Thomas Ballard DM	147	84	19
1854	Parakal Kondymenon	207	93	19
1855	Acting DMW.C. Stuart, acting DM	557	247	20
1856	W.C. Stuart „ „	564	260	21

Source: *Report of the Suddur Udalat on the Administration Civil Justice Under the Madras Presidency for the year 1852 to 1856.*

⁵⁷ Manual of Administration of Madras Presidency in Illustration of the Records of the Government and the yearly Administration Reports, Vol.III, Madras, 1893, p. 212.

The civil works performed by the various judicial officers like, Chepoo Menon the district *Munsiff* of Ernad from 1st January to 29th September 1852,⁵⁸ during his time he disposed of 319 suits. Mr. Thomas Ballard, from 1st January to 25th March and from 24th June to 5th August 1853, was disposed of 147 suits and the average number of suits disposed during this year is nineteen. Parakal Kondy Menon, acting district *Munsiff* from 1st January to 21st May 1854,⁵⁹ disposed of 207 suits, and the average number of suits disposed of this year is nineteen. Mr. W.C. Stuart, acting district *Munsiff* for the year 1855, disposed of 557 suits and the average number of suits disposed this year is twenty. In 1856 the number of suits disposed is 564 and the average number of suits disposed in a year is twenty-one. The number of suits increased during these five years and the number of suits disposed has also increased, and the average number of suits disposed in year is also increased. so, the period from 1852 to 1856 the civil work is highly increased, and the judicial performance also well developed in an institutionalized format during the nineteenth century onwards.

The District *Munsiff* Court was reconstructed during this period, some other buildings also constructed this time related to the district *Munsiff* that is the building for the advocates in the court. The advocates of the district *Munsiff* court requested the district collector for construction of a separate building for them in 1885. In this letter written by the advocates named, Ramakrishnan Namboothiri, Kunjunni, Koman, Achuthan, Narayanan etc. all of them are the advocates of *Munsiff* court Manjeri and they send this request for the recommendation of the district judge Mr. Wilkinson, he met them at Manjeri on 19th December 1884.⁶⁰ He ordered them to build a shed on the nearby Government plot for their use. On his recommendation they sent a request to the district collector of Malabar for constructing a building for their own expense. The proposed site for this building is near to the *Munsiff* court and the area of the western side of taluk cutcherry. The collector sanctioned the

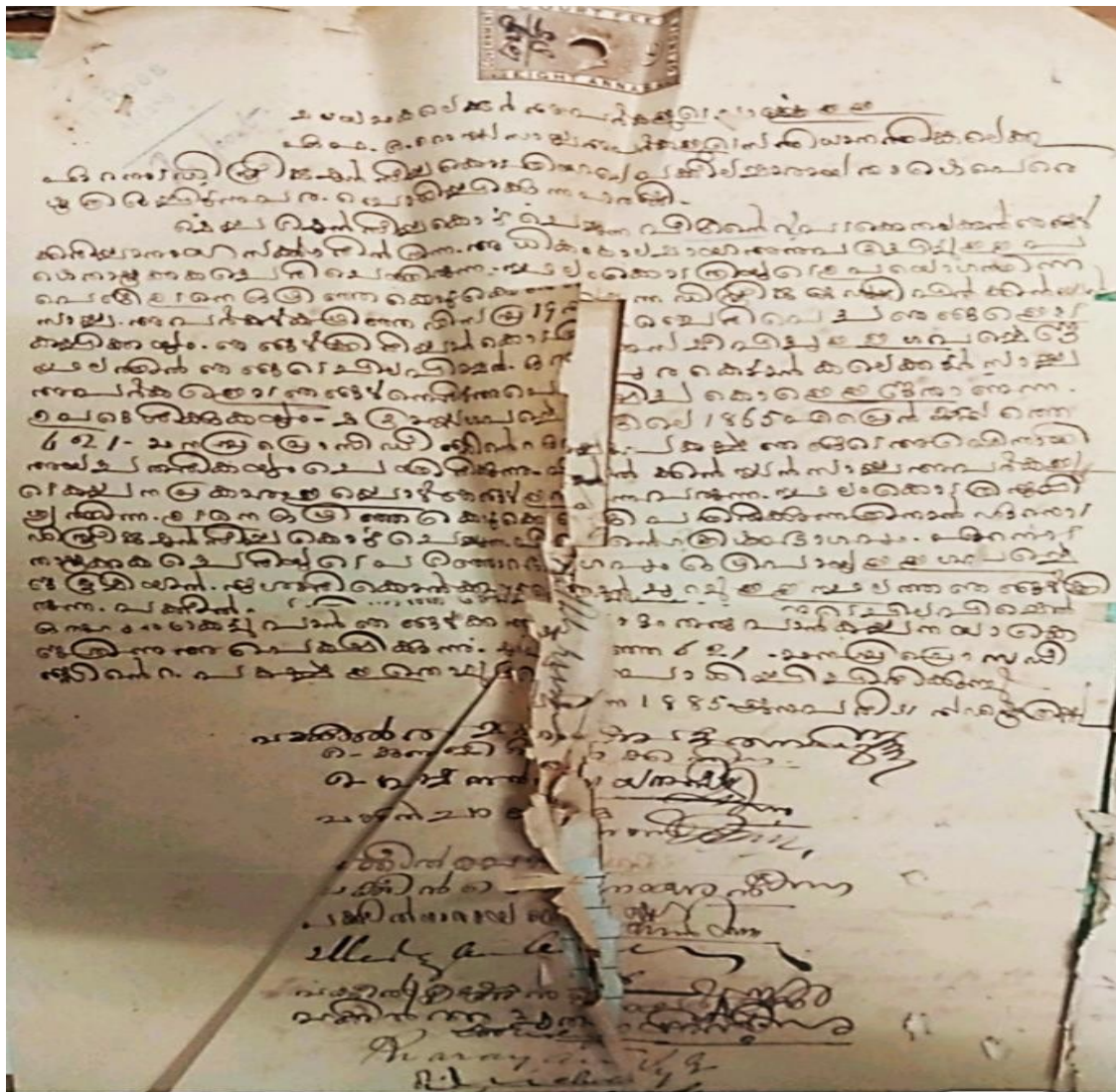
⁵⁸ *Report of the Sudder Udalat on the Administration of Civil Justice Under the Madras Presidency for the year 1852*, Madras, 1854, p. 30.

⁵⁹ *Report of the Sudder Udalat on the Administration of Civil Justice Under the Madras Presidency for the year 1854*, Madras, 1855, p. 31.

⁶⁰ *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File*, No-1029, Dated 31st January 1885, RAK.

grant of a piece of land measuring 40x28 for site of an office for the use of the pleaders of the district *Munsiff* court Manjeri on 25th April 1885.⁶¹ The expense of the proposed building is taken by the advocates himself. Which clearly shows the influence and power of the advocates in the society.

Figure 4: Record of Construction of Building for Advocates



Source: *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File*, No-1029, dated 31st January 1885, Regional Archives Kozhikode.

⁶¹ *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File*, No2222, Dated 22nd May 1885, RAK.

Police Station and Sub Jail

The system of police which was found to prevail throughout southern India when the British first occupied it was the ancient hereditary *Cauvaly* system. Under these certain predatory sections undertook to protect the property of the remainder and even to make good losses incurred by them. But on the other hand, the *Cauvalgars* levied contributions and taxes from all property to which this system was applied. Their demands took different forms; for instance, a portion of the crops, rate on houses, a transit duty on articles transported by the roads, and even tax on professions, for the “*Moturpha*” tax was originally a *Cauvaly* tax.⁶² It is not known precisely in what principle it was decided where this system should prevail and where not, probably it was a matter very much of geographical accident and mutual compromise. In the larger part of the presidency, the *Cauvaly* system was in the main a useful and regulated village watch and ward, to which little exception could be taken; but in the southern Tamil districts, the oppressive part of the system predominated. Here the heads of the *Cauvaly* races levied individual exactions of all kinds over wide areas, and with little or no regard for a ‘quid pro quo’ in the way of protection. Measures were taken in the early stages of British administration, in the direction of suppressing such abuses. The Inam lands of the poligars were resumed, and their levy of contributions was interdicted. Many years however elapsed before clandestine oppression was put an end to. In all these cases the local village watch or ‘*Stala Cauval*’ itself was retained and it constitutes the village police of the country at the present day, under whatever local appellation it is known. By Madras Regulation XI of 1816, the village police were placed under the head of the village and became a valuable agent of the Magistrate in the administration of the country.⁶³

Since the regulation of the general police, the village police have been brought into effective co-operation with that body. The current police organization in the Madras Presidency had been in existence for around the 1860s. The report of the Torture Commission in 1855 made certain what had for some time previously

⁶² *Manual of Government and the Yearly Administration Reports*, Vol. I, Madras, 1885, p. 187.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

been a matter of rumor and discussion, namely that there was an urgent necessity for police reform in this presidency. The Mofussil police then existing were described by the commission in very disparaging terms and a reform was at once projected. The court of directors in 1856 concurred with the views put forward by the local government and the establishment of a department distinct from the revenue and Magisterial departments, consisting of a chief commissioner with twenty district superintendents and twenty assistant superintendents was sanctioned in a dispatch of 9th June 1857. Mr. William Robinson of the Madras civil service, who had minutely studied the question of police organization in England and elsewhere, was appointed chief commissioner in 1858 and subsequently took the designation of Inspector-General of Police.⁶⁴

The new constabulary was introduced in the district of North Arcot in 1859, and early in 1860, the work of reorganization was extended to all districts except those of the Northern Circa, where the measure was postponed till 1861. The new force was organized very much on the Irish model.⁶⁵

In Malabar, a further reason for constituting modern police force was most clearly demonstrated by the assassination of Conolly, the District Magistrate of Malabar, by a gang of Mappilas in September 1855.⁶⁶ It was, therefore, the shock of Conolly's assassination, coupled with similar indications that the administration was quite out of touch with the mood of the people, which prompted the government of

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ The Irish model was designed to suit the interests of the propertied classes in an industrial society, the model of the metropolitan police was not intended for export to Britain's colonies, though the idea of using police rather than troops for colonial control was an attractive one for reasons both cost and effectiveness. For the colonies a different police model was devised, originating with the colonial police in Ireland in the early nineteenth century. The Royal Irish Constabulary was intended to crush agrarian unrest and sporadic terrorism directed against British rule. Unlike the metropolitan police it was armed, organized on semi-military lines, housed in barracks, and kept under the direct orders of the colonial government. This model was applied to the British colonies either when a new territory was annexed or when a shift in the socio-economic character of the colony necessitated new controlling devices. See in, David Arnold, *The Police and Colonial Control in South India*, Social Scientist, Vol.4, No.12, July 1976, p. 4.

⁶⁶ *Correspondence on Moplah Outrages in Malabar for the Year 1853-1855*, Vol. II, Madras, 1863, p. 76-77.

Madras to set up a police constabulary. In Malabar and Canara no real village police establishment existed before 1868.⁶⁷ The establishment of the police force in Manjeri started in the late eighteenth century because the Zamorin placed Attan Kurikkal as the head of a police establishment consisting of 100 men in 1797. This force was abolished in May 1800 on the organization of Captain Watson's police corps.

Captain Watson's Police Corps

Captain Watson generally called *Munjery Watson*,⁶⁸ appointed as the head of the new police corps, with Manjeri as its headquarters in May 1800. Manjeri was the headquarters of Captain Watson's corps as stated by Captain A.E. Brook 5th regiment N.I, acting major of a brigade of Malabar and Canara, in his report he says that;

*Munjery was formerly the headquarters of the late major Watsons brigade, the remains of some building are still visible, a pensioned subadar of one of the brigade points out to me the place where the sepoy's being.*⁶⁹

Based on the above statement, we can clearly argue that Manjeri was its headquarters. Most of these troops were appointed for the collection of revenue because the government of Bombay on acquiring the province of Malabar in 1792, reinstated most of the chiefs in their possessions, fixing at the same time, a moderate assessment on their lands, but the revenue was not paid, and frequent petty insurrections took place⁷⁰. This kind of petty insurrection highly affected South Malabar, especially Manjeri. The police establishment at Manjeri was started from 1800, on the arrival of the detachment Watson requested permission to retain the additional number of peons recruited at Manjeri and other places⁷¹. The Watson

⁶⁷ *Police Administration Report 1869-70*, RAK, p. 28.

⁶⁸ '*Munjery Watson*' is called for the military station he occupied, more details see, *Manual of Administration of Madras Presidency, op.cit.*, p. 27.

⁶⁹ *Madras Correspondence File*, Vol.7354, Dated 20th March 1844, RAK, p. 2.

⁷⁰ W.J. Wilson, *History of the Madras Army*, Vol.III, Madras, 1883, p. 28.

⁷¹ *Madras Correspondence File*, Vol.2210, Dated 3rd March 1801, RAK, p. 34.

Corps was mainly appointed for the collection of revenue of these areas with the assistance of a new corps of armed police, consisting of 500 men, whom he trained and equipped in a fashion much resembling the present constabulary force.⁷² Moreover, in addition to regular troops, Captain Watson organized his famous *Kolkars* or police, a body of 1,200 men, who rendered most conspicuous service in dealing with the small parties of rebels who infested the low country and laid waste the property of all peaceably disposed persons.⁷³

Captain Watson, the chief architect of the *kolkar* force had great respect for them and their service.⁷⁴ Many of his letters to the higher authorities testify to his attitude towards these native servants of the Company. He always argued for better pay and allowances to the *kolkar*. In 1802 Captain Watson's police surrounded Attan Kurikkal and his followers in a house near Pattambi and killed.⁷⁵ Watson's police *kolkar* force was the chief instrument for the suppression of the rebellions of Malabar, especially in South Malabar, in the early years of the nineteenth century.⁷⁶ He constructs a military road from *Ariakote* to *Porauze* by the route of Manjery for the convenience of the military stores, and he states the construction of the road is progressing and that some of the inhabitants of *Ariakote* have shown a determined unwillingness to execute the work allotted to them.⁷⁷

The introduction of the new police under Act XXIV of 1859 was the most important feature in the administration of the district during the past years. In May 1860, Captain Blomfield, the superintendent of North Malabar, commenced rising and training men at Calicut, and in the short period of three months he was able to

⁷² William Logan, *op.cit.*, p. 529.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp.539-40.

⁷⁴ Haridasan. V, *An Agent of the State: The Transformation of Kolkar in Colonial Malabar, 1800-1947*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Calicut, Calicut, 2020, p. 87.

⁷⁵ William Logan, *op,cit*, p. 252.

⁷⁶ Haridasan.V, *op.cit.*, p. 88.

⁷⁷ *Madras Correspondence File*, Vol.2209, Dated 3rd February 1801, RAK, p. 149.

assume police charge of nine *Amsoms* of the Calicut taluk.⁷⁸ Captain Menzies, superintendent of South Malabar, joined in October 1860 and he has been actively and successfully engaged in rising training men and taken charge of Ernad, Shernad, Walluvanad and Nedungad in South Malabar.

Manjeri Sub-Jail

The jails in the Madras Presidency are recognized under the following classifications and are regulated by Act V of 1869.⁷⁹

1. Central jails
2. District jails
3. Subsidiary jails
4. Special jails, such as Her Majesty's Penitentiary at Madras and the European prison at Ootacamund.

Central jails shall be confined to all prisoners sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for periods of one year and upwards, and prisoners sentenced to transportation. Prisoners sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for any period less than twelve months may subject to the orders and authority of the inspector general of jails, also be confined in such jails.

In district jails shall be confined ordinarily to all prisoners sentenced to imprisonment for periods exceeding one month and not exceeding one year, civil prisoners, and all persons committed for trial to the sessions court. In subsidiary jails shall be confined prisoners committed to custody pending trial or preliminary investigation before the magistracy and all persons sentenced to imprisonment for one month under, provided that, in cases of overcrowding in subsidiary jails such prisoners may be sent to district jails. Police may have act as different duties, among these the guarding of subsidiary jails and the prisoners therein shall be carried out by

⁷⁸ *Revenue Administration Report of 1860-61*, No.3183, Dated 18th June 1861, RAK, p. 61.

⁷⁹ *Rules for the Management and Superintendence of Jails in the Presidency of Fort St. George, Madras*, 1883, RAK, p. 1.

the police, and the police guard shall be responsible for the safe custody of the prisoners both while the prisoners are in the wards and while they are removed for labour, to the cookhouse, latrine etc. The police shall not interfere in matters of jail economy. Their duties shall be limited to guarding prisoners and to assisting in case of refractory behaviour on the part of the prisoners. In subsidiary jails in which the police have been relieved of the duty of guarding by the employment of a regular force of warders, special rules for the regulation of this warder establishment shall be laid down by the inspector general of prisons. The following figure shows the list of subsidiary jails in Malabar;

Table 15: The List of Subsidiary Jails in Malabar

Taluks	Subsidiary Jails	Resident Officer
Cherakal	Taliparamba	3 rd class magistrate
	Cherakal	2 nd class magistrate
Kottayam	Koothparamba	3 rd class magistrate
	Tellicherry	1 st and 2 nd class
Kurumbranad	Badagara	2 nd class magistrate
	Quilandi	3 rd class magistrate
Calicut	Calicut Taluq	2 nd class magistrate
	Calicut town	1 st and 2 nd class
Ernad	Manjeri	2 nd class magistrate
	Tirurangadi	3 rd class magistrate
Walvanad	Perintalamanna	2 nd class magistrate
	Cherpulassery	3 rd class magistrate
Palghat	Palghat	1 st and 2 nd class
	Alatur	magistrate 3 rd class magistrate
Ponani	Betutpoodiangadi	3 rd class magistrate
	Ponani	1 st and 2 nd class „
	Choughat	3 rd class „
Cochin	Cochin	2 nd class magistrate
	Anjengo	3 rd class magistrate
	Tangasheri	3 rd class „

Taluks	Subsidiary Jails	Resident Officer
Wynaad	Manantoddy	1 st and 2 nd class
	Vythery	magistrate
	Gudalur	2 nd class magistrate
		2 rd class magistrate

Source: *Report on the Administration of the Jails in the Madras Presidency in the Year 1873*, Regional Archives Kozhikode.

The total number of subsidiary jails in Malabar is twenty-three. Manjeri and Tirurangadi are the two subsidiary jails in Ernad taluk. Among these Manjeri is a more important subsidiary jails in Malabar during 1873 with the residence of a second-class magistrate. The exact date of the establishment of the Manjeri sub-jail is not known, but after the 1870s we got information about the sub-jail. A letter sent to the Chief Secretary on the escape of a prisoner from the sub-jail at Manjeri in 1897, the letter states that;

on 31st August there were 59 prisoners in the manjeri sub jail. They were given their evening meal and put back into their cells for the night. The jail guard consisted of the in-charge officer and the sentry. The sentry was only armed with a bayonet, as there is a rule that only side arms should be worn by sub-jail sentries during the day. Shortly before 6.PM cholakkara Mammad asked to be let out of No.2 cell in order to get his chamber pot. The warder let him out as he was putting him back, all the prisoners in the cell made a rush and prevented the door from being shut. Two of them, Katungoth cheriya veeran and Palayan pulakkal Kunhamad got out and made for the police arms. The remaining occupants of the cell soon overpowered the warder and the sentry and joined their companions.⁸⁰

In this report we got a detailed description of the Manjeri sub-jail and detailed list of the prisoners and how they escaped from the jail with the arms of guards. In addition to the arms of the jail and treasury guard there were five rifles

⁸⁰ *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File*, No.1446, Dated 5th September 1897, RAK, pp. 132-133.

and three swords belonging to a party of reserve constables who had come to Manjeri for escort. As soon as the prisoners got arms, they commenced firing in all directions. The noise of this firing was heard by the in charge of the adjoining traveler's bungalow. He was fired on and had no means of retaliating. He was therefore assisted by inspector Rahiman khan to escape to the house of Mr. R.Y. Kunjayan, the acting tahsildar.⁸¹ With this report enclosed was a plan of the Manjeri sub-jail, prepared by the Special Assistant Collector Mr. Vibert.

According to this plan Manjeri sub-jail is near to the taluk office, taluk treasury, and the adjoining areas of the traveler's bungalow. It consists of five cells. Cell number one includes seven prisoners, cell two with eight prisoners, only one prisoner in cell third, cell four includes twenty-one prisoners, and cell five includes twenty-five prisoners during this period. Cell four and five is larger than the other three cells.

The following table shows the number of prisoners in Manjeri sub-jail during the years of 1873 and 1880.

Table 16: Number of Prisoners in Manjeri Sub-Jail

Year	Average daily number of prisoners.		Number the jail will hold		The remaining number of prisoners at the end of the year.	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1873	2.50	.07	14	6	4	....
1880	3.90	.01	18	10	2	....

Note: Surplus prisoners were kept in the remand ward and in the two female wards which were then vacant.

Source: *Report on the Administration of the Jails in the Madras Presidency 1873 and 1880*, Regional Archives Kozhikode.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

The jail can hold both male and female prisoners during these periods, and there is an increase in the average daily number of male prisoners, but the number of female prisoners has not increased. The number of holding prisoners also increased. The strength and holding capacity of a jail will be increased means the influence of law and order and the present condition of the society also affect these factors. The increase of an efficient legal system was showing the development of a forwarding society.

Revenue Administration

During the British period, the revenue administration was founded on the commissioner's *Jumma*, or rental of the Malabar corresponding with the year 1800-01. That *Jumma* was founded on the quinquennial settlement which was made with the Rajah of Malabar in the year 1794-95, and that quinquennial settlement was founded on the *Jummabundy*, which was framed by Tippu's head *Amildar* Arshad Beg Khan in the year 1783-84.⁸²

In almost all of Malabar, cultivation is carried on by the natural rains as they fall owing to excessive and untimely rain the pepper crop suffered to some extent in the Kottayam Taluk, and for the same reason the Kanni crop also did not thrive well in Calicut and Ernad Taluks. In Kottayam, the Kanni crop was good, but the *Makaram* or second crop suffered from insufficiency of rain. In Walluvanad both the crops were fair, but the outturn is reported to have been poor. With these exceptions, the crops were generally fair in period of 1892-93. The total extend of land cultivated during the year was 1,082,440 acres against 1,037,575 in the previous year, showing an increase of 44,865 acres in the year.⁸³ The increase occurred chiefly in the Taluks of Kurumbranad, Walluvanad, Ponnani and Ernad. There was also a slight increase in the Taluks of Chirakkal, Kottayam and Palghat. In Wayanad and Calicut the figures returned show a decrease as compared with the

⁸² Thomas Warden, *Report on the Revenue System in Malabar*, Dated 16th June 1813, Calicut, 1916, p. 7.

⁸³ *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No.325, Dated 3rd August 1893, RAK, p. 2.

previous year. The cultivation of sugarcane is carried on to a small extent in some Taluks.

The numerous roads that there are, owe, their existence to the zeal and preserving activity of Major Macleod in this undertaking. There have been some handsome, useful and substantial bridges erected over rivers, otherwise inconvenient of passage, which are very credible to the subsequent revenue administration. These works require to be extended more inland for the benefit of the native population, and to be less confined to the sea coast.⁸⁴ The construction and repair of bridges and roads, and the improvement of water communication, cannot however be expected to be executed with the spirit and efficiency which the commerce of the country and the convenience of the inhabitants demand, unless a fund, such as the ferry farm, or a certain portion of it, is expressly set aside to be appropriated to these purposes, and a periodical report is require from the collector and the engineer of the province in committee, of the state of the road and bridges.

The appropriation of the funds, and the Magistrate is empowered and required by a law to oblige the inhabitants to make such common repairs as may be within the compass of their means, an unless it is made the duty of the Judge in circuit, to inform government of the condition of the roads and bridges during their tour. Such works though highly useful in their general effect, are not immediately indispensable to the realization of the revenue, and they are apt to be neglected by the local officers unless not only support and encouragement, but a spirit and example of activity originate and are maintained at the source of authority, and it is made incumbent upon the subordinate department to attend to them. Mr. Wye, Collector of the Shernad, Vellatre and Ernad Districts, alludes in a report to the revenue board on 4th February 1801, he states, “that there are several passes in the southern division, into the upper country, which, if cleared away, and encouragement given, would doubtless introduce the Mysore into this coast, and those of this into the upper country. Two of those passes, the one in Ernad called the

⁸⁴ H.S. Graeme, *Report on the Revenue Administration of Malabar*, Dated 14th August 1822, Calicut, 1898, p. 23.

Caracoor, and another a little to the northward of Mannar, were well frequented in the late Sultans government.”⁸⁵

The land tax which had hitherto been partial became general throughout the province in 1776-77 because of Hyder’s conquest. Arshad Begs general assessment as 7,43,031 *Purrah* of seed sown are though stated to produce 2,31.481 Hoons to government, which turns out at about the rate of 3 Fanams per *Purrah* of seed whilst in regard to betelnut, coconut and jack trees and the pepper vines, the principle of Arshad Begs Regulation of tax on the articles is stated to have been, that one moiety of the value there of should be received by government, it being deemed reasonable to observe thereon this difference of proportion in what had been fixed for the grain taxation, because of the much greater labor and expense required in bringing these respective products of maturity.⁸⁶ Mr. Wye reckons “50 out of 100 *Purrah* produce to be the clear Pattum which the *Jenmakar* usually receives which quantity is only reduced in proportion to the *Kanum*, or Mortgage, interest which he may have to pay to the Mortgagee.”⁸⁷

Mr. Baber, Collector of the sub-divisions *Vuddakkumpoorum* and *Kelakkumpoorum* or of Northern and Southern divisions of the Calicut District and *Porway*, in his report to the revenue board of 31st July 1801 enumerates the various produce of these districts and notes the rates of such as are assessed. It will show the following table.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

Table 17: Assessed rate of various produce in Malabar

Produce	Fanam
Nelly for sowing per Purrah	2 ½
Modern hill paddy, one-fifth of the whole produce.	
Eloo or gingelly oil one-fifth.	
Coconut trees 2	1
Soopary trees 6	1
jack trees each	1
pepper vine each	1
Cardamums, one-fifth of the produce.	1,2 and 3
House tax	

Source: H.S. Graeme, *Report on the Revenue Administration of Malabar*, Dated 14th August 1822, Calicut, 1898, p. 34.

He adds that except for Nelly in the *Poruwye* District, which is 3 *fanams* per *Purrah*, the rates are universally the same. Several of the district Tahsildars state that they were in the practice of acting under an order received from collector, not to collect anything beyond the fixed Jumma. The increase in the land revenue is not so much from new sources of wealth having been opened, not so much from the cultivation of lands never before cultivated, as from the existing sources of revenue having been obstructed at the former period by disturbances in the province, which, the subsequent tranquility, has caused to flow again, but the increase is nevertheless creditable to the revenue administration and may be ascribed to the mildness and justice of it. In the land revenue along the increase has been Rs. 157150-1-67 or 10 3/16 per cent.

The following figure shows the *Jamabundy* of the Ernad Taluk which was ceded to the honorable English East India Company by Tippu Sultan. when by the treaty of 1792 he made it over to the company.

Table 18: Jamabundy of Ernad Taluk

Country	Hoons	Fanam	Annas	Hoons	Fanam	Annas
Cusba or Munjery	13,515	0	4 ¼			
Mullapooram	6,608	7	6			
Moreyoor or Morgoor	11,117	3	2			
Wullularycote or Aricode	10,130	0	0			
				41,371	0	12¼

Source: J. Rejikumar (ed.), *The Joint Commissioners Report on Malabar 1792-93*, Kerala State Archives, Thiruvananthapuram, 2010.

Talook Treasury

The greater part of the revenue of a district was collected by village officials and it is periodically remitted by them to the taluk treasury where it was shroff and credited in the accounts. Of the remaining revenue the greater part is also paid into Taluk treasuries. “a taluk treasury is also situated at the headquarters of each district, very few items of revenue are paid directly into the Huzur treasury.”⁸⁸ The payments are mostly made from the Huzur treasury though for convenience various officials are allowed to draw money from Taluk treasuries. Each taluk treasury prepares classified accounts of its transactions. These accounts are incorporated with the Huzur accounts and with the other taluk treasury accounts once a month. There are various Deputy Tahsildars offices in each district that collect certain kinds of revenue and remit their collections to the nearest taluk treasury. These transactions are not incorporated in the government accounts until the remittance is received and credited to the taluk treasury. These Deputy Tahsildars are not allowed to make any payment from their collections which must be remitted in full.

⁸⁸ *The Madras Sub-Treasury Manual*, Madras, 1915, p.1.

The Sub-Treasury is in the general charge of the Tahsildar or Deputy Tahsildar as the case may be, and the appointment of an executive subordinate in the person of the taluk *Sarishtadar* or Head accountant does not relieve the tahsildar in any way of the responsibility for the proper and efficient working of the sub-treasury. The Tahsildar or Deputy Tahsildar is personally responsible to the collector for the due accounting of all monys received and for the safe custody of cash, notes, stamps, securities and other government property. When the Tahsildar or Deputy Tahsildar is not on tour, he is the “sub-Treasury officer.”⁸⁹ When the Tahsildar is on tour the Taluk head accountant or Taluk *Sarishtadar* is the sub-treasury officer.

Division of Duties

While the Tahsildar is at headquarters he should sign all accounts, returns, and fair copies, and approve all sub-treasury correspondence, though the signing of pay orders on vouchers, acknowledgments on challans, posting in accounts, etc. may be left to the head accountant. The Tahsildar must personally open the double lock store of coins when it is necessary to give out any cash in the morning or to put away the collections of the day in the evening which are more than the amount allowed to be kept under single lock.

The head accountant is in immediate charge of the sub-treasury, he should sit in front of the doors of the strong room and in sight of the shroff. Every challan presented should be at once handed to him and he should make an entry of it in his number book and should give it a serial number and watch its due entry into the accounts. He should examine every evening balance in his sub-treasury under a single lock and sign the Shroffs cash balance register and the Shroffs cash balance sheet with a certificate on the letter that the balance has been found correct. He should also compare the balance in the daybook with the balance in the Shroffs balance sheet and sign the daybook. During his absence, the next senior officer, that is the head Gumastah, should discharge all his duties, including the examination of

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

the sub-treasury. The daybook should be countersigned by Tahsildar whenever he is present at headquarters.

Stationary Sub-Magistrate: The duties and responsibilities of the stationary sub-magistrate, with whom the Tahsildar leaves his sub-treasury keys during his absence on tour, are mainly confined to the custody of the Tahsildar keys and opening and shutting the main store and the double lock stamp almirah. When the Tahsildar is on tour at the end of the month the officer holding the Tahsildar, keys must examine the closing cash balance and sign the cash balance report. On no account whatever should he allow the key to the main store of coin out of his custody, and he must be present while the safe or chest is open and while money is being put into or taken from it. Similarly, he must retain possession of his key to the double lock stamp almirah, and he presents it whenever it is opened.

The Clerks in Charge: The clerk in charge of the daybook makes an entry in the daybook of all challans and vouchers for which there is no subsidiary register. Every evening, he obtains the total of the various subsidiary registers and records them in his daybook he also makes a note of all receipts and payments on a rough journal and fair copies them into a classified sheet ready for posting. The clerk in charge of the sub-treasury registers and demand collection and balance statements, must check and initial all chalans and vouchers relating thereto and enter the amounts in the subsidiary registers and demand collection and balance statements. The subsidiary registers must be totaled every evening and the total given to the daybook clerk for entry in the daybook.

The Shroff: the Shroffs duties consist in making and receiving cash payments.⁹⁰ He is responsible for bad coins as well as for overpayments made by him. He should maintain a simple cash book, without subordinate registers, in which each receipt and payment is posted at the time of making it. He should also make a cash balance register, post registers for the receipt and issue of coins and notes, and prepare a daily balance sheet. The shroff should not hold more money than is required for the day's transactions.

⁹⁰ *The Madras Sub-Treasury Manual*, Madras, 1903, p. 4.

The following table shows the number and strength of Taluk treasuries in Madras Presidency.

Table 19: Number and Strength of Taluk Treasuries in Madras Presidency during the year 1885

District	Number of Taluk Treasuries	Strength of Taluk Treasuries		Proposed Saving			Cost Per menses
		Head constables	Constables	1 st Class constables	2 nd class constables	3 rd Class constables	Rs. A.P.
Ganjam	3	3	18	3	7	..	68.0 0
Vizagapattam	2	2	12	2	2	..	28.0 0
Godavari	10	10	60	5	9	..	96.0 0
Kistna	11	11	62	6	7	7	142.0 0
Nellore	9	9	54	5	5	5	107.0 0
Kurnool	7	8	48	5	9	...	103.0 0
Bellary	8	8	48	5	11	...	117.0 0
Anantapur	7	7	39	4	7	...	81.0 0
Cuddapah	11	11	66	7	15	...	161.0 0
North Arcot	9	9	54	6	6	6	129.0 0
Chingrlput	6	6	36	4	4	4	86.0 0
South Arcot	8	8	48	8	8	9	178.0 0
Tanjore	9	9	54	9	9	9	193.0 0
Trichnopoly	5	5	30	3	3	4	71.0 0
Madura	6	6	36	4	4	4	86.0 0
Tinnevelly	9	9	54	6	12	...	132.0 0
Salem	9	9	52	6	6	6	129.0 0
Coimbatore	10	10	60	6	7	7	42.0 0
Malabar	9	9	54	4	5	5	99.0 0
South Canara	5	5	30	3	3	4	71.0 0
Total	153	154	915	101	139	70	2,222.0 0

Source: *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, Dated 14 October 1885, No.2882, Regional Archives Kozhikode.

According to the above table, there are nine taluk treasuries in Malabar during the period 1885. The strength of treasury guards in the Malabar District is

mainly divided as the following, one head constable is appointed in each treasury and the total strength of constables is fifty-four, there are four first class constables, five-second class constables and five third class constables. The total cost for the maintenance of these guards is 99 rupees and 8 ana per month.

There are 150 Taluk treasuries in the whole Madras Presidency, among these there are nine Taluk treasuries in Malabar (see table 20). Manjeri treasury is one among the important treasuries in Malabar. The Taluk treasury of Manjeri is situated near the Taluk cutcherry and other Government buildings surrounding it. Currently, the treasury is situated in the same place.

Table 20: List of sub-Treasuries in Malabar

No.	Sub-Treasury	Remarks
1.	Calicut	S
2.	Chirakkal	S
3.	Choughat	H
4.	Cochin	T
5.	Ernad (Manjeri)	S
6.	Kottayam	S
7.	Kurumbranad	S
8.	Palghat	S
9.	Ponnani	S

Source: *The Madras sub-treasury manual*, Madras, 1904, p. 169.

Note:

- T = Tahsildar; no stationary sub-magistrate
S = Tahsildar and stationary sub-magistrate.
H = Deputy Tahsildar; sends account current to Huzur.
D = Deputy Tahsildar; sends account to -----
E = Deputy Tahsildar; sends daily sheet to ---- where it is at once incorporated.

Among the above list of sub-treasuries in Malabar there are nine sub-treasuries and Manjeri is one among them and it was under the tahsildar and

stationary sub-magistrate. Among this list, most of the sub-treasuries were under the Tahsildar or stationary sub-magistrate. Choughat is under the deputy Tahsildar and Cochin is under Tahsildar but, no stationary sub-magistrate.

Administration of the Registration Department

During the colonial administration in Malabar, the registration department played a significant role in land revenue collection and administration. It was established by the British to systematize land records and document property transactions for ease of revenue collection. The department ensured the recording of landownership, tenancy, and other related details to streamline the taxation system imposed by the British government. The work of registration is so uncertain, it is so utterly impossible, because of the estimate of the exact number of instruments that will be presented for registration in any particular month, while the requisite agency for copying purposes is not always available in an emergency, the arrears cannot perhaps be avoided at times under any system. Mr. Beverley states that on a full and careful consideration of the subject, he is of the opinion that “the Bengal system of fixed establishments is the best and most economical, provided that sufficient discretion be allowed to the registrar general in sanctioning the employment of extraordinary agency, when absolutely required, and that no unnecessary delay is suffered to occurred in reporting any unusual pressure of business in the local offices.”⁹¹

The Bengal sub-registrars and their establishments consequently cost 50 percent of the fees, and this result is absolutely identical with that of the opposite system pursued in the northwest provinces and Madras, where the sub-registrars receive 50 per cent out of which they have to maintain their establishments. In the Madras Presidency there were originally 326 Deputy registrars, of whom 148 were Tahsildars, 152 were sub-magistrates, three were other officials and 23 were non-officials recommended by the collectors of certain Districts. The number was shortly after increased to 331 by the appointment of five cantonment magistrates as deputy

⁹¹ H. Morgan, *Report on the Administration of the Registration Department in the Madras Presidency for 1867-68*, Madras, 1868, p. 18.

registrars.⁹² It was found however that these officers were unacquainted with the vernacular language of their districts.

The registration sub-district of Manjeri was constituted in 1864.⁹³ Based on this division the *amshoms* also transferred between sub-districts. The transfer of Malappuram *amshom* to Manjeri from 1st December 1895.⁹⁴ The division of registration districts and sub-districts was constituted by the judicial notification of 23rd December 1864. Manjeri also included this notification which shows the following list.

Table 21: List of Registration Sub-Districts in Malabar Constituted in 1864

No	Sub-District
1	Allatur
2	Anjengo
3	Betutpudiyangadi
4	Calicut
5	Chalipoya
6	Cherpalcheri
7	Chevyur
8	Cochin
9	Gudalur
10	Kolongode
11	Katungal
12	Mannarghat
13	Manjeri
14	Palghat
15	Perindalmanna
16	Ponani
17	Tangasseri
18	Tirtala
19	Tirunali
20	Tiruvangadi

Source: *Government of Madras Legislative Department Local Rules and Orders Made Under Enactments Applying to the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, Madras, 1898, p. II.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁹³ *Government of Madras Legislative Department Local Rules and Orders Made Under Enactments Applying to the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, Madras, 1898, p. 74.

⁹⁴ This Transfer of *Amshom* to Manjeri Sub District is Made Under the Judicial Notification No.428, 11th November 1895, see more details, *Ibid.*, p. 77.

The above table shows the registration sub-districts in the Calicut District of Malabar, there are twenty sub-districts in Calicut District, among this list Manjeri and Thirurangadi are the two important registration sub-districts in Ernad taluk. This division helped to establish a structured system of land revenue collection and administration, which formed the basis of land records that are used in the regions. The sub-districts play a crucial role in land administration and revenue collection. It is responsible for maintaining land records, registering property transactions, and ensuring proper documentation related to land ownership and transfers within its jurisdiction. Additionally, it helps in the implementation of government policies and programs at the local level, contributing to the overall governance and development of the region.

The amount of registration in the general and district registry offices is usually small. It is in the Madras Registry Office and in the sub-registry offices in the provinces that the bulk of the registration takes place, and in these, it will be seen that the number of registrations is considerably in excess of that of the years 1869-70.⁹⁵ The most important sub-registry offices are those named in the table. there were thirty-seven offices in 1868-69 in which the number of registrations was above one thousand. There were 37 such offices included in this report. During this period there were 288 sub-registry offices in the whole Madras Presidency. Among these 288 sub-registry offices the bulk of registration takes place in these 37 sub-registry offices. According to this report, Calicut has 1,192 registrations but Manjeri has 1,409 registrations, and all the sub-registry offices in Malabar the number of registrations was above 1000. The aggregate number of instruments of all registered throughout this presidency was 1,33,963 in 1869-70, which shows an advance of 12 percent, on the registrations of the previous year. The average cost of each registration was about two and a half rupees. The great bulk of registration occurs as might have been expected in the districts of Malabar and Tanjore.

⁹⁵ H. Morgan, *Report on the Administration of the Registration Department in the Madras Presidency for 1869-70*, Madras, 1870, p. 2.

Table 22: Important Sub-Registry Offices in Madras Presidency.

Offices	Registrations	Collections		Offices	Registrations	Collections	
		Rs.	As.			Rs.	As.
Combaconum	3,490	8,824	12	Chevayur	1,491	2,437	
Madura	3,200	8,121	4	Kolangod	1,458	3,555	
Tinnevelly	3,015	8,266	12	Betutpudiangadi	1,444	2,475	
Kuttangal	2,672	5,201	4	Manjeri	1,409	2,549	
Badagara	2,446	4,592	8	Sattur	1,332	3,644	
Trichinopoly	2,424	5,322	4	Cherpulacheri	1,312	2,707	
Kuttiadi	2,235	4,780	12	Mayaveram	1,227	3,931	
Trivadi	2,081	4,789	8	Sireevilliputtur	1,215	2,929	
Kadirur	2,665	3,769	4	Calicut	1,192	2,691	
Nagapattam	1,957	5,575	12	Coimbatore	1,172	2,565	
Palghat	1,892	4,598	8	Udipi	1,169	3,258	
Udayamkunnu	1,761	3,342	0	Trichendur	1,154	2,489	
Perindalmanna	1,752	3,483	8	Nanguneri	1,092	2,375	
Tenkarai	1,733	4,145	4	Quilandy	1,039	1,938	
Ponani	1,655	3,115	8	Ambasamudrum	1,059	2,642	
Teruvengadi	1,612	2,955	4	Trivalore	1,044	2,733	
Tanjore	1,607	4,605	4	Nannilam	1,035	2,996	
Mangalore	1,540	4,597	8	Cuddalore	1,003	2,375	
Shermadevi	1,519	3,220	8				

Source: H. Morgan, *Report on the Administration of the Registration Department in the Madras Presidency for 1869-70*, Madras, 1870, p. 2.

During the time of 1875 there are three registration sub-districts in Ernad taluk, likely Manjeri, Tirurangadi and Edavanna. The whole *Amshoms* of Ernad Taluk is divided between each of these sub-districts. The following figure shows it;

Figure 5: List of Amshoms Divided Between Three Sub-Districts.

1 Manjeri	1 Opuittu	1 Sukulam
2 Irumpuzhi	2 Anangattiri	2 Papanantti
3 Trikalangode	3 Chittod	3 Nannambra
4 Vallambaram	4 Napram	4 Nelava
5 Arimbra	5 Karath	5 Vallikunna
6 Nediyrrippa	6 Karumarakad	6 Nannur
7 Puthiyathod	7 Cherasa	7 Papanjani
8 Melmuri	8 Karanur	8 Kallu
9 Kizhmuri	9 Karakunna	9 Ashinjalam
10 Ponnala	10 Sinnath	10 Chelambra
11 Payyanad	11 Nambatt	11 Cherkara
12 Pandikkad	12 Melambur	12 Karippur
13 Porur	13 Wandur	13 Alakara
14 Elankur	14 Chemburashippi	14 Kaluagur
15 Puthur	15 Kuzhinanna	15 Vengara
16 Indianur	16 Kolathur	16 Kannamangalam
		17 Urakamvelmuri
		18 Valakulam
		19 Kattakal
		20 Shyjalam
		21
		22

No: of Amshoms ab
present

21

17

Source: Malabar Collectorate Records, Dated 20th March 1879, RAK

The number of *Amshoms* being to each registration subdistrict is, in Tirurangadi there are twenty *Amshoms*, Edavanna and Manjeri included sixteen *Amshoms* each. The main *Amshoms* belonging to Manjeri Sub-District is, Manjeri, Irumpuzhi, Trikalangode, Vallambaram, Arimbra, Nediyrrippa, Puthiyathod, Melmuri, Kizhmuri, Ponnala, Payyanad, Pandikkad, Porur, Elankur, Puthur and Indianur.

These three offices completed a lot of registrations, this will be discussed in the letter dated 20th March 1879, written by the registrar of Calicut to William Logan, the District Collector of Malabar. The letter discussed the detailed number of registrations done in the last three years of these three registration sub-districts of Ernad taluk. The following table will show them in detail.

Table 23: The Number of Registrations in 1875-1878.

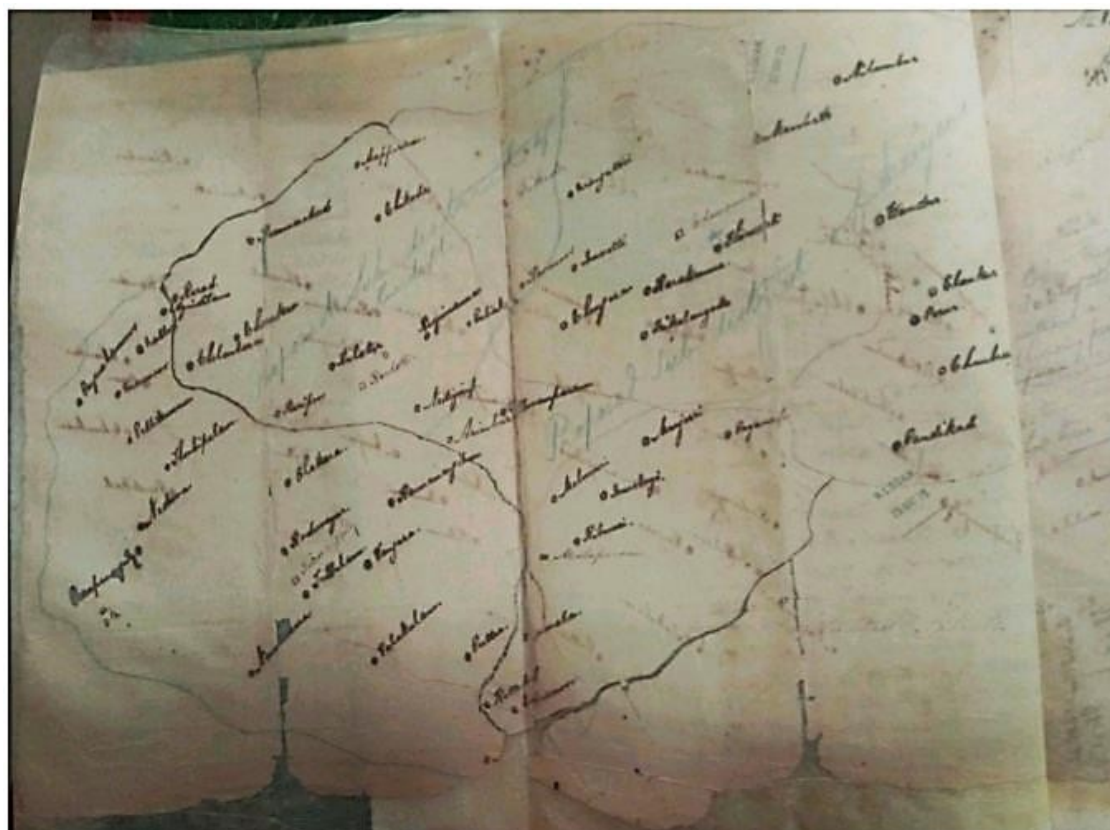
Year	Name of sub-districts		
	Tirurangadi	Manjeri	Edavanna
1875-76	4,404	3,122	1,722
1876-77	4,482	3,474	1,665
1877-78	4,584	3,344	2008

Source: *The Letter to Malabar Collector, No- 36*, Malabar Collectorate Records, Dated 20th March 1879, Regional Archives, Kozhikode.

The number of registrations done during the period from 1875 to 1878 is shown in the above table and there are a lot of registrations done in Ernad taluk, especially the three registration sub-districts. The high number of registrations is mainly done in the Tirurangadi Sub-District, where the total number is 13,470. In Manjeri the total number of registrations is 9,940. The highest number of registrations was done during 1876-77 in Manjeri. In Edavanna the total number of registrations is 5,395. Generally, Manjeri is one of the leading registration Sub-Districts in Malabar.

The administration of the registration department is very well and smooth. There is a day-by-day increase in registrations Ernad especially, in the Manjeri sub-district. The smooth functioning of the administration of the registration department, clearly divide the *Amsoms* between each sub-district. In 1875 William Logan prepared a map of sub-districts in Ernad. The following figure will show them in detail.

Figure 6: Map of Registration Sub-Districts in Malabar



Source: *Malabar Collectorate Records*, Dated 20th March 1879, RAK

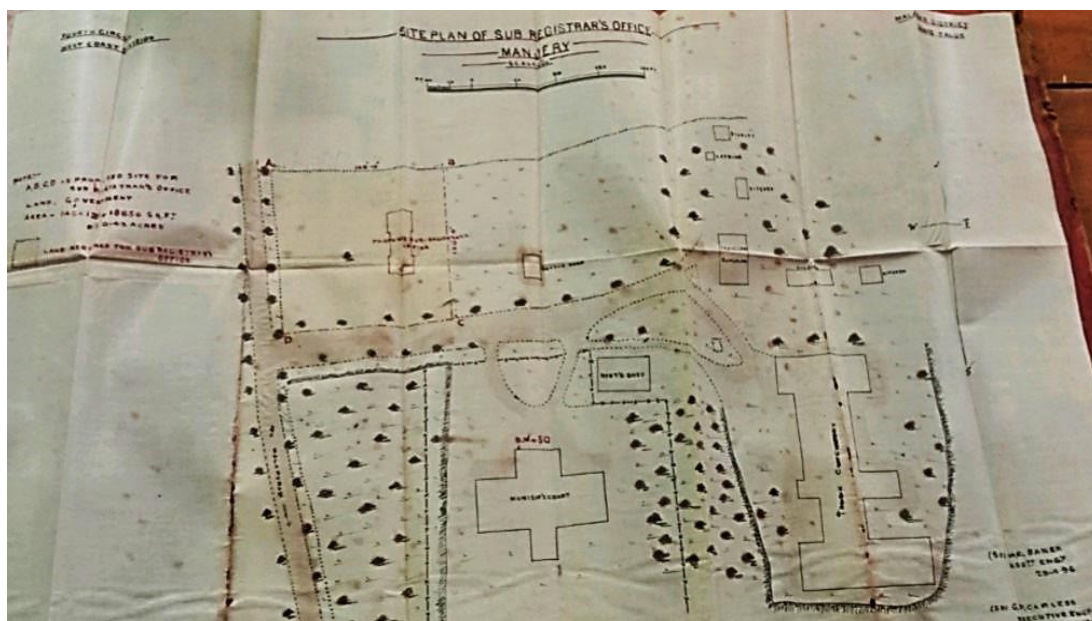
The Construction of Sub-Registrar's Office

The construction of the sub-registrar's office at Manjeri has been sanctioned in G.O. No 2657 dated 16th September 1896.⁹⁶ The site for the construction belongs to government land and the construction work was transferred to the executive engineer of the west coast division of Calicut. The executive engineer West Coast Division is requesting that the site required for the construction of the sub-registrar's office at Manjeri, From the letter of Mr. C.W. Wood, the executive engineer of the West Coast Division, proposed a site survey showing the extent and boundaries of the land required for the sub-registrar's office at Manjeri.⁹⁷ Based on this site survey, they prepared a site plan of the sub-registrar's office (figure 7).

⁹⁶ *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File, No-2323*, Dated 7th December 1896, RAK.

⁹⁷ *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File, No-2398*, Dated 18th December 1896, RAK.

Figure: 7 : Site Plan of Sub-Registrar's Office Manjeri



Source: *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis file, No-2603, Dated 21st December 1896, Regional Archives Kozhikode.*

Note: ABCD is proposed site for the office

Land: Government

Area: 145*130

According to this plan, the proposed site for the sub-registrar's office is marked as ABCD, and the total area required for this office is 145*130 feet and 18850 square feet. For this plan, the required area is 0.43 acres of land, and this area is marked in a square shape on the left upper side of the plan. The South of the proposed site is situated in the district *Munsiffs* court and Taluk catcherry is situated in the East South direction. Currently, the sub-registrar's office is situated in the same place.

Tahsildar of Ernad wrote a letter to the district collector of Malabar stating that, "the site measuring 145 feet X 130 feet required for the construction of the sub registrar's office at Manjeri."⁹⁸ He is reporting that the work has been made to the

⁹⁸ *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File, No-156, Dated 18th January 1897, Regional Archives Kozhikode.*

public works department. After the construction of the sub-registrar office, the administration of the registration department is more proper and well manner.

The focus on governance and administration draws attention to both the technical and bureaucratic organization of governments and the state and the processes and structures that shape and constitute broader relations of power, domination, and authority. These processes are particularly important in urban areas, for it is in cities that the full effects of economic restructuring and globalization have been most keenly felt. The urban governance is primarily concerned with the processes through which Government is organized and delivered in towns and cities and the relationships between state agencies and civil society.

This chapter illustrates the way the administration and the colonial Government worked, especially in the revenue, justice, policing, and other infrastructural developments. Generally, it gives a picture of Manjeri as the brash arrogance, yet undeniable beauty of the headquarters or capital town constructed in 1799-1800. The issue of colonial urbanism has been further complicated by the diffuseness and ambiguity surrounding the concept of the 'colonial city'. In tracing this we can say that 'the true colonial city' is only for the city which emerged during the rapid industrialization of the nineteenth century, the prime example being the colonial port city.⁹⁹ In the case of Manjeri, the town became the new political capital of the pre-industrial colonial phase. The creation of these kinds of new urban centres was necessitated by the exigencies of administrative and military control and by climatic conditions. It's a kind of peripheral coastal town, superimposed on the new route network, with a new centrality and accessibility to the interior region.

⁹⁹ Meera Kosambi, 'Colonial Urban Transformation in India,' in Mushirul Hasan and Narayani Gupta (ed.), *Indias Colonial Encounter*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1993, p. 278.

CHAPTER 4

GROWTH OF A REGIONAL ECONOMY: DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND COMMERCE FROM NINETEENTH TO EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Economic change in colonial India followed a definite pattern, from food gathering nomadic to settled agriculture, from agricultural production as conditioned in part by long-term ecological determinants, to the contradictory implications of late colonial intensified commercialization. Colonial structures and policies affected all these levels, their salience becomes more obvious as we enter the domains of commerce, industry and finance.¹ The economic forces that have given rise to the development and continued growth of cities are numerous and complex. At the most basic level, they have had to do with the development of agriculture and trade and the emancipation of a large proportion of the population from the daily tasks of providing food and subsistence. Freed from these subsistence activities but dependent on enjoying the products of other men's labor, the city dwellers have been able to develop trade and commerce and all the financial and political arrangements needed to support those activities. With the subsequent accumulation of wealth within the cities there also came the development and patronage of the arts and cultural activities.

Stewart Gordon and Frank Perlin attempted to rethink the political economy of eighteenth century and succeeded in portraying a polity within which state power was commercialized, a substantial market existed in rights to surplus, and where records of far greater detail and regularity were maintained.² C.A. Bayly argued that the eighteenth century was the period of a commercial economy of small market-towns and their gentry in this area and that even as had been the case in the Deccan, Mughal decline may not have meant a decline in either productive or commercial

¹ Sumit Sarkar, *Modern Times India 1880-1950*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2015, p. 167.

² Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Merchants, Market and the State in Early Modern India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1991, p. 13.

activity.³ Moreover, Bayly advanced for North India the notion but it also advanced for other parts of India by Wash Brook, Ludden, Stein and others. The major impact of the colonial state was probably felt not in the mid-eighteenth century, but rather later in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Scholars have begun to study the development of regional urban and economic systems to sharpen their understanding of how different cities develop along different lines over time and how such local processes relate to broader, systemic ones. Each of these "new regionalists" defines regions by economic and functional, as opposed to less precise political, social, cultural, or environmental criteria.⁴ For them a regional system is a set of interdependent urban units that facilitates the production and exchange of goods and services around an entrepot by means of specialization, integration, and differentiation among its units. What distinguishes such a framework from earlier endeavors to understand regional systems, in particular 'Central Place Theory', is its emphasis on understanding urban places not as units in a rigidly organized functional hierarchy but, rather, as particular places constantly interacting with the system around them.⁵

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

⁴ David R. Goldfield, 'The New Regionalism,' *Journal of Urban History*, Vol.10, Issue.2, February 1984, pp. 171-186; Timothy R. Mohany, 'Urban History in a Regional Context: River Towns on the Upper Mississippi, 1840-1860,' *The Journal of American History*, Vol.72, No.2 (September 1985), pp. 318-339.

⁵ At the bottom of the hierarchy in early modern western Europe even small villages had butchers, carpenters, shoemakers and perhaps a miller and a minister. Larger villages and towns boasted in addition bakers, innkeepers, a barber, a schoolmaster, perhaps a lawyer and a doctor, weavers, a clothier. The county town or provincial city had a far wider range of those engaged in dealing and administering, representatives of the upper echelons of the church and the professions and finer subdivisions of crafts and trades which appear undifferentiated in smaller centers. A major regional center, great port, or a fortiori a capital city took the process of specialization a stage further, once more paralleling the degree of differentiation to be found lower down the hierarchy but adding new titles to the list of distinctive forms of livelihood which could find a demand for their services. Characteristically this demand, though most intense within the great city, did not arise exclusively within it. An enclosure negotiation in Lincolnshire might find its way eventually to the Court of Chancery. Spitalfields silk goods commanded a market in Westmoreland as well as Westminster. Goods and service flowed in both directions through the channels of trade and communications. See, Lislle J. King, *Central Place Theory*, Regional Research Institute, West Virginia University, 1985, p. 13.

The studies of settlement patterns and trading areas made by geographers, and sociologists in particular, suggested that there were generalizations that could be made about these patterns. As postulated by Walter Christaller and later applied by others to dynamic American conditions, Central Place Theory argues that over time a dense matrix of small agricultural depots evolved, by means of upward-moving competition, into a hierarchy of functional urban types. When a town's functional development stopped, it hardened into a "real type," sharing similar characteristics with other towns that stagnated along with it. It informs one about typical structural characteristics among a large group of units and illuminates the detailed process, frozen in that town's current structure, associated with a particular stage in the larger, universal process of urbanization. The cornerstone of Christaller's theory was the idea of a functional interdependence between a town and the surrounding rural area. This was by no means an innovation in the fields of settlement studies and rural sociology, as has been noted already, but Christaller formalized the notion in a decidedly new way. Upon the basic premise that "the chief profession, or chief characteristic, of a town is to be the center of a region", he constructed a completely new framework for the study of settlement geography. Christaller did not ignore the fact that in contrast to central places per se, there exist various other types of settlements—for example, the "pointly bounded places" such as agricultural villages, or the "areally bounded places" which include mining towns, bridge and fortress towns, harbors and ports, border and custom towns—but these other places were disregarded in his discussion. The focal point of Christaller's attention was the central place with its central goods and services.⁶

In most regional systems the relative functions of any unit were neither stable, continuous, nor internally derived, but flexible, discontinuous, and often caused by external factors. Instead of maintaining for long periods a stable functional position in the hierarchy of towns and cities as is usually assumed, many towns, especially those toward the center of the regional hierarchy, fell in rank while others rose, and still others had up and down careers through different stages of

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

regional development. A wide variety of scenarios, in which skipping of stages of development, acceleration or deceleration of normal development, and juxtaposition of new functions with the remnants of past ones were commonplace, unfolded.⁷ In the context of such a varied reality, these kinds of studies, perceived as samples, lose much of their representativeness and thus much of their general explanatory power.

Rather than analyze a town in relative isolation, therefore, we must learn how that town has interacted with and functioned within the regional system of towns of which it is a part. The interaction of the town with the system, its responses to larger forces of economic change, and the responses of townsmen to the disruption caused by such externally directed change ought to be the center of attention and the point of comparison with other regional histories.

The urban settlements of the interior had a different structure than similar settlements of the coastal region. The towns of the interior lacked centers of industrial activity within their social matrix⁸. The predominant economic activity in such settlements was of a mercantile character, and this activity related to the distribution of consumer goods, which entered the country through the port cities or were fabricated through indigenous industrial enterprise. Again, such urban overseas markets through the mediation of the port cities. Quite often, also, the towns of the interior housed substantial artisan classes, whose craft activity met the consumer requirements of the regions in which they were located.⁹ The following part of this chapter deals with the growth of the economy of an interior town like Manjeri.

⁷ Timothy R. Mohany, *op.cit.*, p. 319.

⁸ Ravinder Kumar, *The Making of a Nation: Essay in Indian History and Politics*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1989, p. 162.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Development of Agriculture

Throughout the colonial period, agriculture provided a livelihood to more than two third of the employed population in India.¹⁰ The artisans lost export markets in the nineteenth century, peasants and merchants gained export markets. The primary sector thus employed around 70 percent of the economically active population throughout the colonial period, and its output largely determined trends in national income. Therefore, with agricultural production, followed by revenue, rent, and tenancy, then commercialization and indebtedness, and finally agrarian structures, forms of labor, and conditions of famine.¹¹ There are different classes of lands existed like, wetlands, garden and drylands the bulk falling under the first two classes. The wet land is cultivated solely with the aid of the falling rain. It is practically devoted to the growth of paddy. The garden land is that on which trees, chiefly coconuts, areca nuts, jack and mangoes as well as pepper are grown. The dry land is not cultivated every year, and the process of converting this sort of land into wetland is constantly going on, the land being lowered and terraced until it is fit to grow paddy on Samai is the only dry cereal grain at all extensively grown, and is found especially in south Malabar.¹²

Next to paddy, coconut is the most important crop in the district, occupying some 18 percent of the whole area of crop raised. They are found especially along the seacoast. Arecanuts occupy about one-sixth of the area under coconuts, and other fruit trees, of which the jack and mango are the chief, but these trees are grown mixed together in gardens. Pepper is also grown in coconut gardens. In South Malabar, turmeric, ginger, and country arrowroot are grown extensively. In the southern Taluks of Ernad, Walluvanad, Palghat and Ponnani, where paddy and other field crops are most extensively cultivated, cattle are comparatively numerous. As the number of young stocks are remarkably small in proportion to the number of cows and she-buffaloes, it appears that most of these are imported animals. The

¹⁰ Tirthankar Roy, *The Economic History of India 1857- 2010*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2020, p. 99.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.106.

¹² *Statistical Atlas of Malabar*, Madras, 1876, p. 5.

supply of cattle for the Taluk of Ernad is obtained chiefly from the Coimbatore district. The agricultural stocks of Manjeri will be shown in the following table.

Table 24: Agricultural Stocks of Manjeri for the year 1899-1900

<i>Desams</i>	Stocks					Carts	Plough
	Bullocks and he-buffaloes	Cows	She-buffaloes	Young stock	Sheep and goats		
Manjeri	1010	796	27	687	695	60	418
Kidangayi	1280	806	10	831	146	10	639
Karuvambram	1289	806	10	831	146	10	639
Melakkam	1289	806	10	831	146	10	639
Kottupatta	1010	796	27	687	695	60	418
Vakkettodi	1010	796	27	687	695	60	418
Arukidaya	1010	796	27	687	695	60	418
Nellikuth	752	549	43	629	327	...	....
Payyanad	752	549	43	629	327	...	...
Narukara	1280	806	10	831	146	10	639

Source: *Survey and Settlement Register of Manjeri*, No.173 of Ernad Taluk, Calicut, 1905.

The total number of agricultural stock of Manjeri for the years 1899-1900 was noted in the above table. Pasturage is obtainable for the cattle on the unoccupied dry lands. He-buffaloes are better adapted for working in the paddy fields than bullocks. Water for the cattle is obtained from channels, tanks, and wells.

The *Amsam* of Manjeri is formed with the *Desams* of Anakkayam, Arukizhaya, Kottupatta, Vakkettodi and Vengallur *Desams* of old revenue settlement. The chief crops cultivated in this area are paddy, ginger, coconut, arecanut, and jack. The following table will show the total area of agriculture and agricultural landholders of Manjeri.

Table 25: Agricultural Landholders at Manjeri for the year 1891

Name of Desams	Total Area	Occupation			
		Agriculture land holders	Laborers	Weavers	others
Manjeri	2009acr, 84 cent	684	594	9	1232
Anakkayam	2180 acr, 50cent	582	465	10	657
Vakkettodi	563acr, 24cent	267	158	....	22
Arukizhaya	716acr, 29cent	278	211	11	561
Kottupatta	719acr, 24cent	226	234	20	326
Melakkam	159acr, 80cent	338	387	7	280
Nellikuth	1200acr, 31cent	460	334	6	136
Payyanad	3919acr, 6cent	841	793	12	473
Narukara	839acr, 65cent	262	216	...	132
Vengallur	500acr, 72cent	296	134	...	96

Source: C.A.Innes, *Survey and Settlement Register of Manjeri Desam*, No.173, Ernad Taluq Malabar, Calicut, Madras, 1905.

The above table widely discussed about the various occupations at Manjeri, among these Payyanad is the main area of agriculture activity and highest number agricultural landholders is also here, Manjeri is in the second position. According to the Inam Register, there are 123 kind of *Nilams* are Inam lands in Manjeri.¹³ The full assessment of these land is Rupee of 132-5-10 should be paid annually. This amount will be liable to be revised if or general revision of the wet assessment of the district or neighborhood is made. So that each of the assessment that would paid on these land in common with there will be determined and half the assessment here of may change a leviable on them.¹⁴ There are a vast area of Manjeri is cultivated, among

¹³ Inam Register compiled by J.W. Robinson, the Inam Commissioner of Ernad Taluk in 1885-86, according to him the total number of lands in Manjeri are 146.11 these do not affected in the day of old *Paimashi* records. There are no documents whatever, but all the land appears as land in the old agreements collected to in the Inam commissioners letter dated 13th August 1863 no. 40, approved by *Inamdar* and they have been hold as each for in a period of 50 years. They are core area and Inam for each area and the condition of the Inam are fulfilled. See in, J.W. Robinson, *Inam Register*, Malabar Collectorate Office, Calicut, 7th February 1866, pp. 50-52.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

these the assessed land and unassessed lands are also existed. Most of the land is cultivable land in Manjeri, the following table will show them in detail.

Table 26: Land Distribution of Manjeri

Total Area	17280 acre
Total population	8094
Number of houses	1590
Cultivated area Assessed	1838 acre
Unassessed	836 acre
Area cultivable but uncultivated	11895 acre
Uncultivated area	3211 acre

Source: *Census Statement of Population of 1871 in each village of the Malabar District, Madras, 1874.*

The major parts of the lands are cultivated with paddy, and plantations of Coconuts, pepper, areka and jack trees. Turmeric is cultivated in the Shernad, Ernad, Calicut, and Coormenad. The quantity annually exported averages from 415 to 1320 Candies.¹⁵ In almost all of Malabar, cultivation is carried on by the natural rains as they fall, and by the streams which continue to flow sometime after them. There are no natural or artificial lakes, or tanks, except what is constructed for cattle or for the benefit of ablution. It seems impossible to detain water for any length of time at a sufficient elevation for the purpose of irrigation. Mr. Baber, Collector of Malabar, in his report to the revenue Board of 31st July 1801 enumerates the various products of the district and notes the rate of such as are assessed.

¹⁵ *Madras Correspondence File, Vol.4903, Dated 9th September 1835, RAK, p. 225.*

Table 27: Assessed Rates of Agricultural Produces

Produce	fanams
Nelly for sowing per purrah	2 ½
Moden or hill paddy, 1/5 th of the produce	1
Eloo or gingelly oil 1/5 th	1
Coconut trees 2	1
Soopary trees 6	1
Jack trees each	1
Pepper vine each	1
Cardamum 1/5 th	1

Source: *Revenue Administration Report*, 1861.

The rates are universally the same, that in such of the Northern districts as he had been in, he had observed no difference but on the contrary in the Southern particularly Nerunganud, owing doubtless to the surprise fertility of the soil, the Nellyvary from three to five fanams per purrah. Mr. Strachey reviews the financial administration of Hyder and Tippu in the Southern districts of Malabar, and stats that “it was not until the year 952 A.D, 1776-77 a regular Pymachee appears to have been made, that in *Purumbas* the object of assessments were pepper, betelnuts, coconuts, and jack fruit. A certain quantity of these articles under the factitious head of a full bearing tree of the description that produced them was entered on the Sirkars accounts and taxed at a fixed rate.”¹⁶

Agriculturist loans are available for the advancement of agriculture and improvement of facilities in Malabar. Every year applications for loans are received, there are six applications for loans aggregating Rs.13900, which were received in 1891-92, among these applications some were disposed of the year.¹⁷ In these cases,

¹⁶ H.S Graeme, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

¹⁷ *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, No.325, Dated 3rd August 1893, RAK, p. 2.

the applications were withdrawn by the parties and some cases the applications not being bona fide were rejected. In one case the property offered as security did not belong to the applicant, while in another the security tendered was insufficient. Of the loan of Rs.700 granted under the Land Improvement Act to Khan Bahadur Ahmad Gurukkal of Manjeri in 1891-92, a sum of Rs. 100, the repayment of which fell due during the year has been recovered.¹⁸ The average wage of agricultural labourers in the district in towns remained the same as in 1891-92, but the wage of skilled and unskilled labourers in the rural tracts shows an increase of 10 and 2 pies respectively. There was also a rise of 3 pies in the hire for draught bullocks and of 4 pies in the hire for carts.¹⁹

Paddy

Irivetty is the highest area of rice cultivation in Manjeri, the Government share of *Patum* is valued at Rs. 17-1-58 per 100 standards *Purrahs* the average price adopted for this *Hoblee*, amounts to Rs. 36-2-88 ½ percent, and leaves to the proprietor Rs. 13-1-11½. According to the *Jenma Pymash* account of 1981, the revenue bears the proportion of Rs. 129-2-92 percent, to the whole verum *Patum*, valued at the above rate by which a loss is sustained by the proprietor of Rupees 29-2-92.²⁰ In the seven *Hoblee*s of Manjeri Karikkad, Wandoor, Nediripoo, Chengara, Elankoor, Iryvetty in three *Deshams* out of 11 of the *Edeady Hoblee* and in 11 *Deshams* out of 17 of the *Mapooram hoblee*, an additional assessment an account of *Modun* or hill rice cultivation, was imposed of ½ *Inam* for every local *Purrah* of the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁰ The *Purrah* in use in this district is smaller than the *purrah* which is said to have been prevalent, or to have been adopted in fixing the *Hozoor Nigguddee*. The *Hoblee Menons* and some respectable inhabitants declare that the *Purrah* of the *Janma Pymash* account of 981 is the smaller *purrah* in use in the district but explanations on this point are by no means satisfactory. In tracing the operation of the original principles of the assessment is adopted for the large *Purrah* in conformity with the information, and because the assessment would it applied to the smaller *Purrah*, much exceed the value of the *Patum* an excess which does not from the general state of the representations of the inhabitants appear to be the case, with the exception of the *Nedirippoo Hoblee* in which there are complaints of individuals, apparently well founded, of the assessment being high in consequence of accidents from torrents, the uncertainty of crops from the land being too elevated.

seed of assessment of the low rice land, that is ½ fanam upon every three fanams.²¹

The following table will show the price of rice in detail.

Table 28: Average Annual Price of Rice at Manjeri

Year	Price
1874-75	13.3
1875-76	13.2
1876-77	10.5
1877-78	10.0
1878-79	9.6
1879-1880	13.0
1880-81	15.8
1881-82	15.9
1882-83	15.1
1883-84	16.6
1884-85	13.6
1885-86	13.3
1886-87	14.8
1887-88	17.1
1888-89	16.7
1889-90	13.0

Note: Price of Rice in Seers of 80 Tolas Per Rupee

80 Tola = 1 Rupee

Source: *Statistical Atlas of Malabar*, Madras.

The standard price of rice for the district has been fixed at 13.8 Seers per Rupee, the warning rates of rice for the district has been fixed at 11.0 Seers per Rupee, and the scarcity rates or rice for the district has been fixed at 8.3 Seers per Rupee.²² According to the above table, the maximum price at Manjeri is 17.1 in 1887-1888, And the lowest rate is 9.6 in 1878-1879. The price level does not reach the scarcity rates, it shows the availability of rice in the area. As a great deal of the

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²² *Statistical Atlas of Malabar, op.cit.*, p. 20.

food supply of the district is imported, prices depend to a great extent upon the prices ruling at the places from which it is usually imported into this district.

An examination of the price of rice in the years from 1793-94 to 1808-09, shows an increase of 132 percent. From the period of 1808-09 to 1849-50, the lowest price of rice in 1815-16, at this time rice was sold for Rs. 166 per 9256.5 pounds of Madras Grace measuring cup.²³ Here we can see the market rate of 76.79 pounds of rice per rupee. This rise in price was not confined to the market prices alone, this increase was also due to the commutation prices used by the company government to collect land taxes based on money rates of '*Pattas*' and to pay wages to their sepoys. Market prices in the district are kept high by the increasing cash flow coming into the economy mainly in the form of favorable trade balance.²⁴

Coconut Trees

Coconut is the second important crop of Malappuram District. The original assessment on coconut trees was supposed to be equal to the *Patum* but from the difference between the customary price in settling the *Patum* is Rupees 7-2-0 the mile nuts and the average current price the original assessment was its subsequent modifications leaves a share to the proprietor or to the tenant whichever has the management of the garden of Rupees 13-3-20 per cent. On the *Patum* taking the average of the whole Talook there is this proportion in every Hoblees of the Talook. In the *Hoblee* of Karikkad where the assessment is the highest, and the revenue on coconut trees bears to the Vallichal Mana *Patum*, according to the *Jenmam Pymash* account of 981 the proportion of Rupees 125-1-46 by which loss is sustained by the proprietor of Rupees -1-46 ½ percent.

Betelnut

The cultivation of this crop can be further developed into extensive areas as this does not require more land because these can be planted as an understorey in

²³ Abilash Malayil, *Rayatuvari: Company Statum Political Economyum*, Other Books, Calicut, 2022, p. 103.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

arecanut and coconut plantations. In the areas of Wandoor the assessment is the highest, and the revenue on betelnut trees bears the proportion of Rupees 82-2-63 $\frac{1}{4}$ percent. On betelnut the original assessment with its subsequent modification is not more than Rupees 44-2-44 $\frac{1}{2}$ percent, of the *Patum* leaving the proprietors share as high as Rupees 53-1-35 $\frac{1}{2}$ and this proportion is the same in every *Hobles* of the Ernad Taluk. The *Hobles* of Malappuram in which the assessment is the most moderate, and the revenue on betelnut trees bears to the Vallichal Mana *Patum*, according to the *Jenma Pymash* account of 981 the proportion of Rupees 48-3-94 $\frac{1}{2}$ percent, leaving to the proprietor Rupees 57-0-5 $\frac{1}{2}$. The whole Taluk of Ernad, the revenue on betelnut trees takes Rupees 55-1-93 percent.

Jack Trees

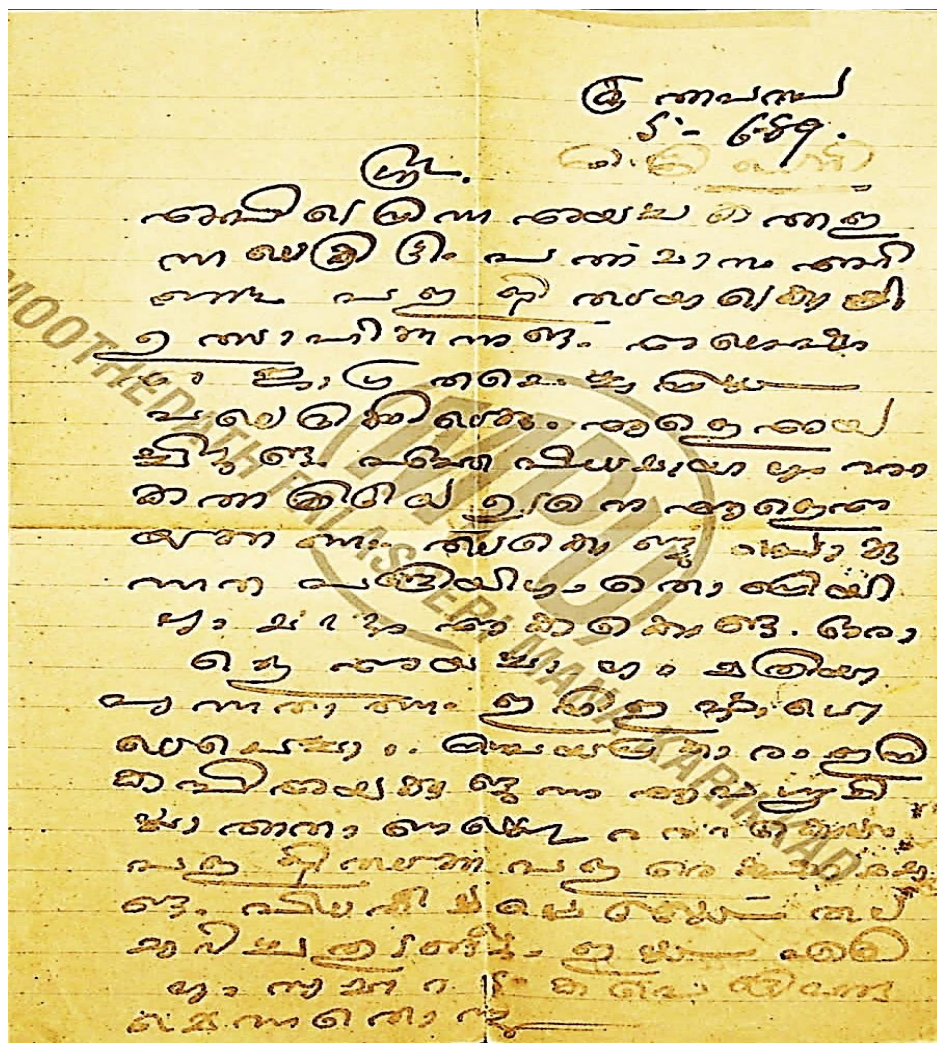
On jack trees, there is no prevailing rate of calculating the produce between *Jenmakara* and their tenants, which might be contrasted with the selling rate, the original assessment must appear in the account as fully equal to the *Patum*, and with the subsequent modifications it exceeds it by Rupees 0-1-50 percent, and this proportion is the same in every *Hoblee* of the Taluk. In the *Hoblee* of *Wandoor* in which the assessment is the highest, and the revenue on jack trees bears to the *Patum*, according to the *Jenma Pymash* account of 981 the proportion of Rupees 206-1-17 percent. In the *Hoblee* of Nediripoo where the assessment is the most moderate, and the revenue on jack trees bears to the *Patum*, according to the *Jenma Pymash* account of 981 the proportion of Rupees 46-2-81 $\frac{1}{4}$ percent, leaving to the proprietor Rupees 53-1-18 $\frac{3}{4}$. In the whole Taluk the revenue on jack trees is Rupees 67-3-83 per cent. According to the *Jenma Pymash* account of 981, leaving to the proprietor Rupees 32-0-17.

Pepper

The pepper is one of the most important cultivations in Manjeri, especially in the areas of '*Thudiyannmala*'. The complete details of this pepper cultivation are available in a contract agreement between Palasseri Mana Sankaran Namboothiri and Mangalasseri Damodaran Namboothiri in 1889 (see Appendix). On this agreement, the pepper cultivation is spread in 370 Acres of three hills like

Thudiyamala, Thanikkal Kunnu, and Oothalakkal Mala. For starting this pepper cultivation, the pepper vines are taken from Thaliparamba, around 12000 pepper vines buy from Thaliparamba for Rupees 5 for a thousand vines. This pepper vine was taken through the waterways from Thaliparamba to Edavanna, and then cattle vehicles were used from Edavanna to Manjeri, it was described in the letters of Sankaran Namboothiri (see figure 8). The pepper assessment in the Northern division of Malabar is understood to have been founded on the principle of taking one-half of the gross produce, whilst in the Southern division the whole *Patum* or rent, was professed to be taken at a rate prevalent from a long time back between proprietors and tenants.

Figure 8: Letter of Shankaran Namboothiri



Source: Privatet Records Collection, Moothedathu Palassery Mana.

The prosperity of agriculture is the backbone of the economy, and this growth of agriculture leads to a self-sufficient market system in Manjeri. A substantial volume of trade in agricultural commodities passes through the periodic Markets. However, there is little or no control exercised by any authority on the transactions or trade practices. Often the only control exercised is the levy of market charges on carts or headloads of commodities or livestock brought for sale.

Money and Market

A Marketplace or market is a location where people regularly gather for the purchase and sale of provisions, livestock, and other goods, in different parts of the world, a marketplace may be described as a souk (Arabic), bazaar (Persian), etc. Some markets operate daily and are said to be permanent markets while others are held once a week or on less frequent specified days such as festival days and are said to be periodic markets. The form that the market adopts depends on its locality's population, culture, ambient and geographic conditions. The term market generally means "A regular gathering of people for the purchase and sale of provisions, livestock, and other commodities." The market includes all business activities which involved in the flow of goods and services from producers to consumers. Trade both on sea and on land in pre-colonial southern India was carried on in two commodities, on the one hand, the high value, goods that for decades caused historians to for Asian trade with the brush of a 'splendid but trifling' activity.²⁵

Braudel and Raynold have made a systematic study of European market towns between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Their investigation shows that in regional district markets were held once or twice a week while daily markets were common in larger cities. A good number of local histories of individual market towns can be found. However, more general histories of the rise of market towns across Europe are much more difficult to locate. Clark points out that while a good deal is known about the economic value of markets in local economies, the cultural role of market town has received scant scholarly attention. In his classical work the

²⁵ Sanjay Subramaniam, *The Political Economy of Commerce Southern India 1500-1650*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2004, p. 46.

Mediterranean he says: without markets and roads there would be no town's because movement is vital to them. Towns had to be dynamic to survive. They owed their existence to the control over physical space they exercised through the network of communications emanating from them, the meeting of different transport routes, their continual adaptation to new conditions and the way in which they developed slowly or rapidly.²⁶

Towns represented a form of power also. Wherever there are towns, there will also be a form of power, protective or coercive, whatever the shape taken by that power, or the social groups identified with it. Just as there could be markets without towns the village fair was the most typical example, there could also be power independently of towns, but it acquires through them an extra dimension, a different field of application.²⁷ The coercive power extended not only to the countryside but to smaller towns and even towards the state during phases. It included political power, as well as social, economic, and cultural power. Towns were also the first centers of class struggle between the artisans and the bourgeoisie.²⁸

Braudel deals at length with the relationship between the town and the countryside. The town had to dominate the countryside for its survival, food and manpower. The need for food is obvious. It has been calculated that in medieval times in Europe on the basis of village efficiency, a town of 3000 needed thirty villages to supply its food. The medieval town was unhealthy; it could not maintain even its normal population without replenishment from the countryside.²⁹

The bazaars and fairs are mainly in the retail trade in rice, betel leaves, pulses, oil, pepper, milk, jaggery and fabrics, cotton, thread, fruit, Salt, artisan's goods took place. Buchanan wrote that in good parts of the country, the inhabited

²⁶ Satish Chandra, *State Pluralism and the Indian Historical Tradition*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2008, p. 76.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75-76.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76-77.

places with weekly markets were at a distance of two or three miles one from another.³⁰ Some regional division of labour arose. The Malabar pepper and other spices were in demand all over Southern India and in the foreign markets.³¹ There was not enough rice in Malabar and the import of rice there from Gujarat, the Coromandel coast and Bengal continued to be important.³² The trade in food grains indicates the existence of a surplus and deficit area and contradicts theories which postulate a uniform pattern of self-sufficiency for the entire sub-continent. It is not known whether any of the inter-regional flow of food grains was meant for the rural consumers. Urban consumers in the deficit areas, both rich and poor were evidently dependent for at least part of their requirements on ‘imported food.’³³ The average price of the principal food grains and of salt during the coast average are given the below table.

Table 29: Price of food grains in Malabar

Food grains	Year	
	1885-86	1886-87
Rice	12.88	14.17
Paddy	29.92	31.84
Raggi	18.40	25.78
Wheat	10.84	10.27
Ulundu	13.18	13.25
Horse gram	19.77	21.67
Salt	12.03	12.43

Source: *Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File*, No.505, 1887.

The price of food grains is calculated mainly in seers of 80 Tola per Rupee. Here the price increased for all food grains during the years of 1885-1887. The price of rice, the staple article of food, has slightly risen from Rupees 485 in April 1864 to

³⁰ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol.2, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1807, p. 352.

³¹ Ashindas Gupta, *India and the Indian Ocean World Trade and Politics*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004, p. 21.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³³ Kerala State Gazetteers, Vol.2, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1989, p. 580.

Rupees 490 in 1885. The improvement in the price is another index to the favorable condition of the season and support of the favorable condition that the people through a propounded year. Generally, the grain measures of Malabar are calculated as the following.³⁴

2 *Ayak* = 1 *Oyak*

2 *Oyaks* = 1 *Oory*

2 *Oories* = 1 *Nazhi* or 32 ½ *Tolahs*

4 *Nazhi* = 1 *Yedangazhi* or 130 *Tolahs*

10 *Yedangazhi* = 1 *Parrah*

Market prices in the district are kept high by the increasing cash flow coming into the economy mainly in the form of favorable trade balance. Scholars like Kathleen Gough have suggested that the practice of cash cropping and bartering of agricultural products in Malabar was a result of the demand for land tax from the Company Government.³⁵ Government taxation is an important means of surplus production, but this revenue collection by the state even if it can be seen as arbitrary serves as the primary cause of surplus production.

Still, almost certainly the economic needs of the pre-colonial rural Kerala like the rest of India were met mostly from its own produce distributed through customary arrangements rather than through exchange. The inter-local trade both the country-to-town and inter-town flow of commodities was essentially a short distance version of the inter-regional trade. A variety of items entered into the inter-regional trade. Of these Malabars trade in pepper, ginger, cardamom, radix China and wild cinnamon appear to be of importance merchants from Bijapur and the Carnatic procured pepper at Cochin and Cannanore. Spices as well as areca nuts, coconuts and palm candy were regularly carried in Malabar ships or by *Chetti* merchants to Coromandel, the Konkan coast, and Gujarat. The trade between Malabar and Gujarat mainly trade in pepper for opium and cotton was disrupted when the Dutch

³⁴ *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, Madras, 1885, p. 516.

³⁵ Abilash Malayil, *op.cit.*, p. 144.

established a monopoly over the pepper and opium trade.³⁶ The essential aspect of the trading structure was the establishment of direct merchant's relations between producers of goods and the tradesmen. The traffic of trade lay in the hands of highly qualified merchants: firstly, trade was run privately, i.e. with little support from the rulers. Secondly, the merchants enjoyed a considerable degree of political freedom and thirdly, the ports were politically neutral.³⁷ This meant that the merchants had a relatively free hand while pursuing their trading activity, and that they were not placed under any state control. According to Ashindas Gupta, the rulers joined together with the merchants in order to keep out the Europeans from trade. In accordance with traditional customs, if the merchants exported their goods above all pepper to neighboring regions, then the rulers received *cunkam*, which would have been lost had the purchase of goods been made by Europeans.³⁸ The most striking difference between pre-modern and modern trade can be found the differing time cycles of trade and in the various degrees of dependency upon goods. Pre-modern trade was essentially less centralized than the trade of modern times.³⁹

There are many fairs and *Melas* all over the state. These fairs are periodical markets held once a year, and usually associated with important religious festivals attached to either a temple, church or mosque and of a duration of one to two weeks. In some of the major fairs and *Melas*, traders from within and outside the state display their wares for sale. The average attendance in these fair's exceed more than a lakh.⁴⁰ In addition there are also largely attended cattle fair's in Quilandy (like the kizhir fair) and occasionally exhibitions of a general nature. In the areas adjacent to tribal settlements, handicrafts of tribals are also put on sales. Articles of everyday

³⁶ Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, *Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol.2, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 1983, p. 99.

³⁷ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean an Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, p. 16; Margret Frenz, *From Contact to Conquest Transition to British Rule in Malabar 1790-1805*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003, p. 66.

³⁸ Ashindas Gupta, *op.cit.*, p.108; Margret Frenz, *op.cit.*, p. 66.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Kerala State Gazeteer, *op.cit.*, p. 583.

use are mostly sold in the fairs and Melas.⁴¹ The importance of fair's and Melas lie in that they are " the meeting ground of livestock and agricultural commodities, of many religions and cultures, crafts and motives from far and near, of ideas and design, workmanship, excellence and finish, of tools and appliances, of trends of the future and vanishing practices of the past, of adaptability and local variation, of skill and imagination. They show what an extensive network of seasonal and perennial market village fairs still provides to native craftsmanship and industry. Secondly, they help to connect economic streams with social and religious movements. Thirdly they suggest how a succession of small fairs in a time series culminate in a very big fair, almost always in the heart of a particular area, and how this big event gradually subsides through another time series of small fair's so that an endless cycle of trade, social and religious interest is kept in motion. Fourthly they insinuate a great deal about the situation of the artists and manufacturers, the mode of providing their goods, the usual rate of their labour, any particular advantages they may enjoy, their comparative affluence with respect to the cultivators of the land, their domestic images, the nature of their sales and the regulations respecting their markets. Fifthly they can very greatly help in reconstructing the trade routes, the nature of conveyance of goods by land and water and the means by which they can be facilitated, especially by making or repairing roads. Indeed, they represent a great cultural heritage.

Manjeri: As A Centre of Trade and Commerce

Manjeri was one of the important towns in South Malabar. Manjeri became a town not because of many industries, it was a commercial town and administrative centre for the Mysoreans and the British in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the colonial period, Manjeri became the nodal point of anti-colonial revolts and in 1920 Manjeri was capable of accommodating one thousand and three hundred people as delegates in the Manjeri political conference. With this conference, Manjeri became a sensitive town in colonial attention. Thus, the Manjeri town grew with historical junctures which diverted the history of Kerala. The

⁴¹ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Charithram Publications, 1981, p. 256.

everyday life in the urban space was watching all these and it was this population that made the town an urban space.

The market played a significant role in the growth of trade and the urban economy of Manjeri. Different types of markets in Malabar like *Anthichantha*, *Aazhchachantha*, and *Nalangadi*, were the common marketplaces in premodern society. In addition to these occasional markets there developed permanent bazaars or markets exchanging goods such as rice, vegetables, fruits, salt, pepper, oil, textiles, etc. of daily life. Barter was the common form of exchange, all the goods were supposed to be brought to the market by head or shoulder load, by pack animals or by water. It is believed that the local markets in Malabar were monopolized by the Mappila merchants.

The establishment of weekly markets is one of the major developments of colonial economy of Malabar in nineteenth century. Because the District Collector of Malabar directs the establishment of weekly markets, and he states that, “the most eligible places should be fixed for weekly market in order to give facilities to farmers to dispose of their produce.”⁴² But many years before the arrival of British, the weekly markets had existed at Manjeri.⁴³ Francis Buchanan has described the major marts in Malabar, which are, Colicodu (Calicut), Tiruvanangady, Panyani (Ponnani), Parupanada, Tanore, Manapuram, Velatire, Manjery, Putenangady, Shavacadu (Choughat), and Cochi (Cochin).⁴⁴ It clearly shows that from the beginning of nineteenth century Manjeri was one of the merchant marts in Malabar. William Logan has recorded in the *Malabar Manual* that a weekly market was held in Manjeri and it was generally well attended.⁴⁵ The marketplace in the town was managed by the Manjeri Kovilakam. Due to political fragmentation and the emergence of numerous subdivisions in Malabar, neither the merchants nor the local elite were able to control or dominate the production of goods. The government has restricted the market from time to time to charge rent and fines for using and

⁴² *Madras Correspondence File, Vol. 2308*, Dated 7th July 1802, RAK, p. 149.

⁴³ Interview with, K.M.A Shukoor, (55), Manjeri, 5th January 2022.

⁴⁴ Francis Buchanan, *op.cit.*, p. 359.

⁴⁵ William Logan, *op.cit.*, p. cciv.

disobeying rules and imposing some inland customs that may affect on trade. The Revenue Board give the description of inland customs as, ‘the collector is asked to state for the information of government, what inland duty of betelnut, pepper, cardamom, sandalwood, nutmeg and cassia pay and what in his opinion would be the result of the joint operation of the land and sea customs on the trade in those articles, if the present system is adhered to and no reduction of the sea customs takes place as proposed by the collector of the sea customs’.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, trade was supplied the Rajas in Malabar with an important source of income: the route duty on goods, *Chunkam*, was charged at the borders for transporting goods.⁴⁷ So all the locations where the tax was collected came to be known as *chungam*, indeed Manjeri and the areas near this place have a number of places with the same name. However, no direct land taxes were taken from the population. In the Manjeri market imposed a special tax it called *chandapanam*, it is mainly collected from the traders who come to sell their products⁴⁸. This *chandapanam* is collected by the *Kovilakam* and the amount of each product varies depending on its quantity and size. Generally, the government collected a tax called *Motarpha*, a tax on Bazaars and fairs.⁴⁹

The Manjeri market was famous for the transaction of banana and betel leaves. Bananas as the major product transacted in the market, because there is a reference that, as a part of a post-death ceremony in “*Azhiranazhi Kovilakam*” near Mankada, two thousand bunches of ‘*Nenthran Bananas*’ were sent as requested by them, it was mentioned by Sankaran Namboothiri in his diary.⁵⁰ A variety breed in *Nenthran* banana called as *Manjeri Kullan* was available in the market.⁵¹ It was also seen in a letter sent by the *Vellalpad Thamburan* of *Azhiranazhi kovilakam* to

⁴⁶ *Madras Correspondence File, Vol. 2272, Dated 25th September 1820, RAK, pp. 79-92.*

⁴⁷ Margret Frenz, *op.cit.*, p. 66.

⁴⁸ Interview with, Unnikrishnan Namboothiri, (75), Karikkad, 20th August 2022.

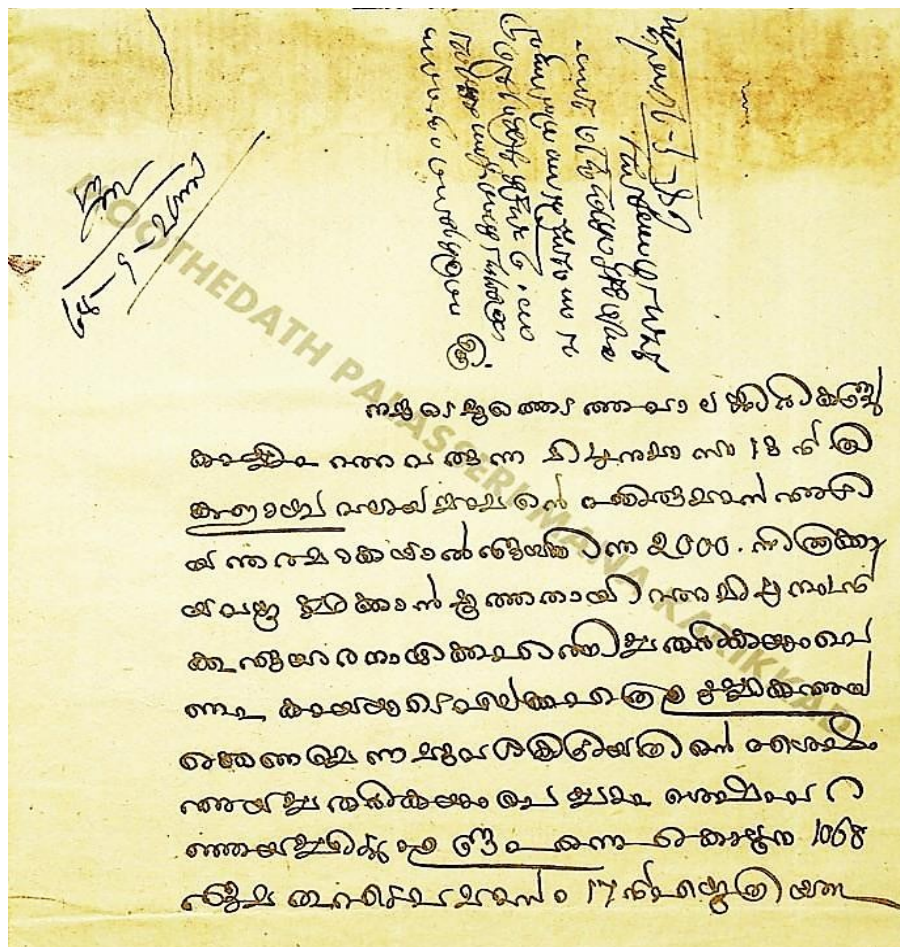
⁴⁹ The term *Motarpha* is intended to include all personal and professional taxes and taxes on Bazaars and fairs. It does not include the tax on houses and godowns, or any tax levied on topes, trees or other growing produce of the soil. Seen in, *Madras Correspondence Files, Vol- 4907, Dated 4th January 1821, Regional Archives Kozhikode, pp. 5-13.*

⁵⁰ Diary of Sankaran Namboothiri, dated 1st June 1892.

⁵¹ Interview with, Ashoka Pisharody, (72), Manjeri, 15th August 2024.

Sankaran Namboothiri, this letter clearly shows the transaction of banana from the Manjeri market. This letter also discussed the rate of bananas, and they are ready to pay. People from other areas also requested him to buy the products from the market. The following figure will show them in detail.

Figure 9: Letter sent by Vellalpad Thampuram of Azhiranazhi Kovilakam.



Source: Private Records Collection, Moothedathu Palassery Mana, 1897.

The other important commodities transacted in the market were tapioca, vegetables, coconut, areca nut, cashew nut, Jack fruits, tuber crops etc. The important agricultural commodities transacted with their peak marketing season, annual arrivals. commodities were brought mainly from the neighboring areas like Malappuram, Kondotty, Wandoor etc. Merchants in bullock carts arrive at Manjeri with banana produced at Edavanna, Malappuram, Areacode, Pandikkad etc. And

betel leaf was brought from Tirur and Payyanad. Arecanut brought from Edavanna is also famous. Products sold in the Manjeri market re distributed to the markets at Malappuram, Kondotty and Wandoor. The marketplace was a centre of communication between people coming from faraway places and these spaces played an important role in linking the people with the outside world.

Lots of smithies are associated with this market, from there iron weapons like knives, axes, and other weapons used for agricultural activities are made from these smithies.⁵² It is because Manjeri is one of the most important areas of the settlement of iron smiths and the availability of iron from the nearest areas of Manjeri. Buchanan found that there was a group of blacksmiths in town making swords, spears, knives, and guns. The consensus of the whole of Kerala about the knives made from Kollengode, Malappuram, and Manjeri, among these some of the most important knives are *Ilavanjeri Koduval* (sword), *Pokkini Kathikal*, *Malappuram Kathi*, *Nilambur pootu* (keys), *Manjeri ksuraka kathi* (Razor Knives).⁵³

Generally, Manjeri is considered as the central marketplace, where the products come from the local areas or its interiors. Manjeri is the confluence of commercial activities of various local *Angadis* at Wandoor, Pandikkad, Nilambur, Kalikavu, and Karuvarakundu. Then the imports and exports are mainly done through the entrepot or especially, in the port town like Calicut. In the entrepot town or river mart, one could distinguish three strata among men of commerce. At the lowest level were the petty retail sellers, at the top the wholesale merchants, and in the middle those who bought wholesale from the latter and sold to the retailers in small lots. Among the former, specialization in commodities appears to have been very advanced, with shops dealing exclusively in salt, drugs and spices, hemp, meat, brass vessels, conchshell products, cloth, etc. Caste occupations may have influenced such specialization; it certainly did so in the case of shops where artisans

⁵² Interview with, Fathimakutty. N.T, (78), Manjeri, 24th January 2022.

⁵³ Dr. Dileep Kumar K.V, 'Angadiperuma Athava Upabogathinte Charithram,' In, Dr. N.M Namboothiri and P.K. Shivadas (ed.), *Kerala Charithrathinte Nattuvazhikal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2009, p. 506.

retailed their products.⁵⁴ The uncrowded town of Manjeri is the rarest view in those periods and its also seen in now a days. This mercantile system (see figure 10) makes Manjeri as an urban centre in south Malabar during the nineteenth century. However, the shop and the regular bazar were mainly urban institutions and limited in number, except in big towns. Some shopkeepers had a regular establishment, others had no stall but a permanent plot of land in the marketplace, and still others no such permanent sitting place.⁵⁵

Figure 10: Mercantile System in Manjeri



In this mercantile system of Manjeri, the commodities reached the central marketplace either the cultivator directly reached with commodities, or the local merchants purchased commodities from the local markets. Various sorts of other commodities were collected by the merchants from the important entrepots on the

⁵⁴ Dharma Kumar (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India 1757-1970*, Vol.2, Orient Logman, New Delhi, 1982, p. 274.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Malabar coast, especially from Calicut. Manjeri market is also a collecting point of the forest goods, from here it reached the entrepots through the transactions of traders. The mercantile system of Manjeri was one of the important reasons for the growth of the Manjeri town, and the way trade was organized in the period deserves special mention. Some of the merchants like *Konginis*, *Chettis* had settled down at Manjeri, especially with their families for the sake of trade. The settled area of *chettis* is called as *Chettiyangadi*, and the settlement of *Chettis* in this area can also see even now. The Muslim merchants of Manjeri, in their trading activities *Nairs* were help them, because they were good in accounting. The merchant in the entrepot performed a vital stock-holding and distributive function, aided by their agents (brokers) and the buyers to whom they advanced cash. Their involvement was direct in wholesale inter-district trade and in the marketing of products of regional specialization, and indirect in town-country trade (through the mediation of commissioned agents and petty traders).⁵⁶ In the course of the nineteenth century, they also became the main channel for the internal and external trade.

The brokers also played an important role in the Manjeri market. It was quite interesting the way in which agreement between the seller and buyer was reached through the medium of the broker. He covered the right hand of the seller with a piece of cloth and with his two fingers next to the thumb touched the joints of fingers of the seller, everything under the piece of cloth, without the people around noticing anything. By touching the finger, they counted from one to any number upwards and the amount at which the seller agreed to sell his commodities would be fixed thus secretly.⁵⁷ Then the transaction was done, and the broker got a good sum in the business. In every Wednesday this region gets filled with huge crowds from various places. This market paved the way for people to transact commodities, culture, and ideas. These public spaces are a site of interaction of people who played their role in the resistance against colonialism.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁵⁷ Interview with, Tharamannil Ali, (86), Manjeri, 8th December 2023.

Mercantile groups: Mappila Merchants

The Mappila community originated primarily as a result of the West Asian contacts with Kerala, which was fundamentally based upon commerce, especially the “spice trade”. The Mappila merchants mainly controlled the riverine trade and most of the coastal traffic. They mainly dealt in rice, spices and slaves along the coast and began to traffic in military men as well, not to mention armaments and gunpowder.⁵⁸ Several Mappila entrepreneurs had assumed control over the networks of trade and had established links with the merchants on the coast. Moreover, they had gained control over an incipient labour market as military contractors or access to men through their connections with the coast. The merchants on the coast had expanded the scope of their operations from dealing in agricultural produce alone to the profitable supply of men to employers. Seventy percent of the population of Manjeri were Mappilas, and most of them were rich merchants, and people who carried on the occupations needed to facilitate trade—headload carriers, money lenders, boat men, cart men and so on. During this time the prominent Muslim families in Manjeri emerged such as Kurikkal, Korambayil, Chakkiparamban, Vallanchira, Avunjippuram, Kormath, etc.

Chetty’s

As *Chetti* was a title given to merchants, *Nattu-chettigal* and *Tala-chettigal* are supposed to have been groups of merchants, but they seem to have been soldiers who guarded the *Ainurruvar*’merchants.⁵⁹ The “Sarkar Periyapalayam” inscription records that the members of *Ainuruvar* and *Pedinen-vishayam*, including *Chetti*, *Chetti-Viraputtirargal*, *Malaimandalattu-pala-nagarangal*, who met in the precincts of a shiva temple as the assembly of the *Padinen-vishayam*, decided the charity together with the groups called “*Nattu-chetti*”, and “*Talam-chetti*”.⁶⁰ In later periods,

⁵⁸ Dilip Menon, ‘Houses by the Sea: State Formation Experiments in Malabar 1760-1800,’ in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, No. 29, July 1999, p. 2001.

⁵⁹ Noboru Karashima, *South Indian Merchant Guilds in the Indian Ocean and South East Asia*, in Herman Kulke, K. Kesavapany, Vijay Sakhuje, (ed.), *Nagapattinam to Suvernadvipa*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 2010, p. 139.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

these Chetti's were settled down in Manjeri, and their presence was mainly seen in the many areas, especially in the area called as *Chetti Angadi* and the Nelliparambu regions and there is a pond called *Chettiyar Kulam* these are the some evidences for they are settled down in these areas.

Konkini's

The Tulu/Konkini speaking *Konkini's* are one of the major trading groups in Manjeri. They mainly came from the region of Goa, both male and female merchants are there, they are generally look like very fair and beauty skinned, lengthy hair, tall body these are the physical feature of *Konkini's*.⁶¹ They are mainly traded with item vessels or plates are made with copper, they generally called as *Chembotti's*.⁶² During the twentieth century they were settled here and they started their own shops in Manjeri, it was in the Nilambur road it was started by the father of Mr. Tirunandhan, their family came from Goa. Later periods they started a hotel, and the traditional cuisine of *Tulunadu* was very popular and famous in Manjeri.

Artisans

The artisan class has played a significant role in the development of the commercial city. As an important part of the city, artisans such as those in Manjeri produce and manufacture a variety of goods. Artisans contribute to the economic development and prosperity of Manjeri. Craftsmen and skilled workers are vital components of the urbanization process. The ten characteristics of the city, described by V. Gordon Child, also include artisans. Places like Manjeri have a natural abundance of artisans, which is also a necessity for the city. One can find a wide variety of artisans in the city.

It is important to note that urban artisans were no different from their rural counterparts and had the same advantages and disadvantages. Castes and hereditary traditions were prevalent among these workers. Their tools and working techniques were advanced, and their production was nothing less than superior. This class was

⁶¹ Interview with, Sageer, (70), Manjeri, 5th July 2023.

⁶² Interview with, Chandran, (68), Trikkalangode, 15th August 2024.

satisfied with weaving, metalwork, woodwork, and certain forms of building crafts. The artisans at the time did not need to think about the elaborate requirements of the community. There was no doubt that the artistic value of these items was immense, and the skill of the Indian artisan in the long flow of work was regarded as extraordinary. In the past, business associations and craft traditions have created significant separation, and in some cases, the secrets of the crafts have disappeared with the craftsmen. These secrets would no longer be available to the next generation.

The condition of artisans was not good, nor did they get proper encouragement for development. In the case of the artisan who gained skill in his craft, he would have been subjected to such high pressure that he would not be able to leave. In addition, the artisans were required to sell their work at the lowest possible price and were discouraged from engaging in private business. Among other disadvantages, they were surrounded by poverty and impoverishment. Even after achieving the highest level of excellence in their art, they still were unable to live a good life along with their generations. The market for their creations was extremely limited, so the artisans were hesitant to make expensive and extravagant pieces since they knew that no one would be interested in purchasing them.

Division of labour

The division of labour or separation of a work process into several tasks, with each task performed by a separate person or group of persons. It is most often applied to a system of mass production and is one of the basic organizing principles. The division of labour is the motive for trade and source of economic interdependence. there is a marked division of labour, there will be a town. every town, wherever it may be, must primarily be a market. Without a market a town is inconceivable.⁶³ A city can be seen as a gateway, for cities, with their markets, obviously facilitate the movement of people's and goods.⁶⁴ Cities emerged from the

⁶³ Satish Chandra, *op.cit.*, p. 76.

⁶⁴ Rila Mukherjee, *Vanguards of Globalization Port- Cities from the Classical to the Modern*, Primus Books, Delhi, 2014, p. 112.

countryside as new forms of human settlements, whose inhabitants lived under conditions quite different from those of their predecessors and rural contemporaries. For Braudal, the dividing line between the town and the countryside was the market. As he says in *civilization and capitalism*, “where there is a town, there will be a division of labour, and where there is a marked division of labour, there will be a town”.

The scope of labour history has in fact been a crucial characteristic of the rich corpus of recent research. The work of E.P. Thompson altered the terms of radical labour studies. Dipesh Chakarabarty, the lone member of the subaltern studies group to write about urban workers, introduced the turn towards questions of culture associated both with the subaltern studies project and Thompson.⁶⁵ No serious South Asian labour historian after Chakrabarty has been able to ignore the intersections of community ties of caste and religion with class, or assume a simple, inevitable progression towards higher forms of class consciousness.⁶⁶ Raj Chandavarkar is clearly opposed to Chakrabarty’s cultural emphasis. The sporadic nature of labour militancy, the failure to develop stable organizations, and the dependence on middle-class leaders who were outsiders, all this was rooted much more in the extent and efficacy of capitalist cum colonial state repression.⁶⁷ Recently, the significant gendering of labour history in the work of historians like Janaki Nair, Samita Sen, and Chitra Joshi. Labour was an abundant resource in India, so the following table will show the division of labour in detail.

⁶⁵ Sumit Sarkar, *Modern Times India 1880-1950*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2014, p. 219.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁶⁷ In an essay of 1981, as well as an introduction to a work on oral history, Chandravakar made another significant departure from the general run of labour history studies, seen in, *Ibid.*, p. 222.

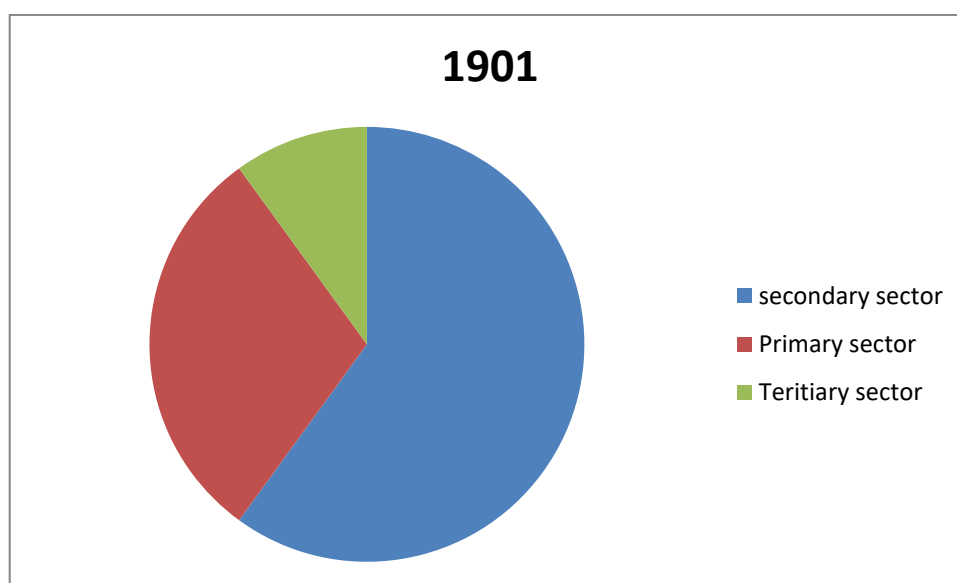
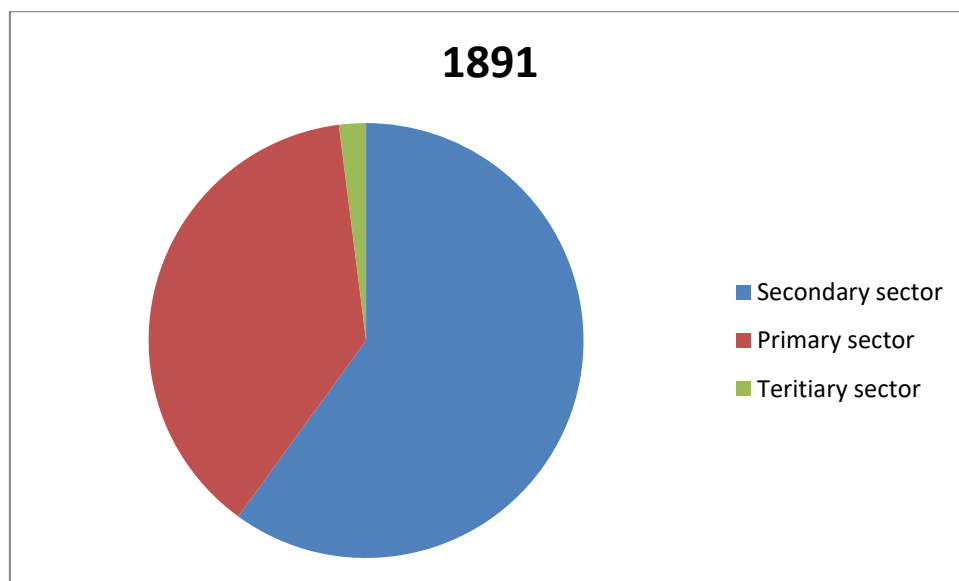
Table 30: Division of Labor at Manjeri

Occupation	Number of Occupants
Cultivators	866
Traders	107
Laborers	1215
Govt. service	42
Military	16
Learned	16
Minor Professions	19
Personal service	43
Construction	21
Metals	29
Others	19
Total	2393

Source: *Census Statement of Population of 1871 in Each Village of the Malabar District, Madras, 1874.*

There are various kinds of occupations in this area like, cultivation, trade and commerce, construction and manufacturing, laborers and public services and military, and other educational professions etc. among these the majority are laborers. In an economic condition we can classified these jobs into three sectors, primary, secondary and tertiary sector. Here we can see that the majority of tertiary sector, and primary sector is in the second position and secondary sector in the last (see figure 11). The extraction of raw materials industries comes under the primary sector, manufacturing comes under the secondary sector, and the tertiary sector of the economy generally known as the service sector.

Figure 11: Concentration of Jobs in Manjeri (1891 and 1901).



Source: These figures are made by the researcher

In comparing these figures, we can clearly show the majority of jobs concentrated in the tertiary sector in 1891 and 1901. The primary sector decreased from 38% to 30% in 1901, and the secondary sector increased from 2% to 10% in 1901. During the twentieth century these trend continued and the primary sector

decreased slowly and the growth of secondary sector increased due to the coming of many industries in the following period.

The economy of each city or town encompasses different sectors. While each sector has its own specificities, the fact that their production processes are encompassed within a limited geographical area. An urban economy is clearly demarcated from the rural economy due to the predominance of industrial and service sectors, as against the predominance of agricultural sector in rural economy, keeping these points in mind here the specificity of this area is the main factor for the influence of the service sector and agricultural sector. During this period, we can clearly argue that it is a Rurban economy in the late nineteenth century. Because in a Rurban economy, the service sector is high and industrial sector is in a growing stage and the agricultural sector is comparatively decreased than the tertiary sector.

Internal Migration

Migration means the physical movement of people from one location to another. The migration of people from rural to urban area is often for more job opportunities, better pay, or a better quality of life. During the late nineteenth century, many immigrants moved from the hinterlands and rural areas to Manjeri in pursuit of opportunity, jobs, and better quality of life. The most important factors affecting this movement to Manjeri are, firstly, the growth of trade and commerce.⁶⁸ The development of Manjeri as a trade centre is one among the factor for this migration, and people from the rural areas like Wandoor, Edavanna, Othayi and Kalikavu are attracted to the marketplace and come and settle here. This trade centre not only attracted the local people but also attracted external people from Tamilnadu and Karnataka. Because trading groups like, Chetty's, kongonis and Ravoothars have come and settled here in the late nineteenth century. The kongoni-speaking traders began to settle in various parts of Manjeri by clearing the hills and jungles. It can also be said that the Chetty's who came from the Nilgiris Gudalur side at the same time are also settled here. The market significantly influenced internal

⁶⁸ Interview with, Dr. M. Vijayalakshmi, (68), Manjeri, 10th February 2020.

migration by creating economic opportunities, access to goods and services and overall economic stability.

Secondly, the governance and administrative amenities influenced for the migration. The administrative centres are always well structured both socially and financially to offer people a better living. Infrastructure and transport services are more organized and frequent and there are more facilities for recreation too. The administrative centres can provide many job opportunities like, bureaucrats, clerks, peons, advocates, etc. Manjeri as an administrative centre it attracted many educated officials especially the advocates, most of the advocates are come and settled in Manjeri were Tamil Brahmins.⁶⁹ Most of these administrative officials, and clergy migrated from the other part of the area.

Thirdly, healthcare and educational services influence the rural people to migrate to urban areas. The establishment of hospitals and other healthcare facilities at Manjeri attracted the attention of people from the nearest villages, this hospital is the only institution in the field of healthcare in Manjeri and its nearest villages. Educational institutions like schools have only existed in Manjeri in the Ernad Taluk. The establishment of Rate School is one of the factors for the development of the educational system in this area. The development of the healthcare and educational system creates more job opportunities, and it also led to the migration of many doctors and teachers to this area. Generally, the region with superior healthcare and education facilities tend to attract and retain more migrants and it influences the economic trends within a country.

Finally, the transport and communication facilities are influenced by this migration. From the beginning of the nineteenth century transportation facilities like roads are well connected to the nearest villages from Manjeri. This helps the people to the ease of movement, and market access from the nearest villages is easily accessible to the town centre of Manjeri. Advancements in communication technologies like the postal system and telegraph are also helping to access remote areas. Communication technologies help to implement policies of the Government,

⁶⁹ Interview with, Mangalam Gopinath, (85), Manjeri, 12th February 2020.

and they can support regional development. So, the transport and communication facilities make it easier for individuals to move internally for better economic opportunities, social conditions and personal development.

During the twentieth century the migration from south Kerala to Malabar is another path changing shift in the history of Manjeri and the migration has been mainly in the area of Pyyanad in Pandikkad road.⁷⁰ Migration plays a diverse set of roles in and influences all aspects of the socio-economic, cultural, and political areas of Manjeri. The major result of this migration is the increase of population and in the regional level it is essential for assessing the true contribution of migrants to local economies. A region with superior in demographic and economic trends accelerates the urbanization process. Migration is said to have influenced the economy of Kerala in general and the economy of Malabar in particular. Large scale production of cash crops, the commercialization of agriculture and the massive increase in the production of cash crops such as rubber, ginger, pepper, areca nut and coconut should be added to this. A region with superior in demographic and economic trends accelerates the urbanization process.

Mining and Industry

The appearance of the mines and soils on the slope of the hills it is almost certain, as stated elsewhere that gold was worked in Malabar at a very early period. Even before the nineteenth century, the timber industry gave ample opportunity for a lot of people. Nilambur Valley and the adjacent hills were the main sources of timber, and they were floated down the Kotta River to Kottakkal and from there to Kallayi near Calicut. The Coir and coir melting was another important industry that prevailed in some parts of this district. The production of lemongrass oil was another important industry in which according to Innes, mainly Mappilas were engaged.⁷¹ The neighborhood of Angadipuram was the main supplier of lemongrass which is

⁷⁰ Varghese Thottakkad, *Malabar Kodiyettam Charithram Varthamanam*, State Institute of language, Thiruvananthapuram, 2015, p. 88.

⁷¹ C.K. Kareem, *Kerala District Gazetteers Malappuram*, Kerala Gazetteers, Trivandrum, 1986, p. 371.

the main raw material of this industry. The tile industry also made some progress in some parts of this district during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Brass, bell-metal and copper works were also prevalent in some parts of this area.

Iron Mining

Francis Buchanan reports the existence of iron smelting in some parts of the Ernad Taluk, and the hills of the country the ore is found forming beds, veins, or detached masses, in the stratum of indurated clay that is to be afterwards described, and of which the greater part of the hills of Malabar consists.⁷² The ore is composed of clay, quartz in form of sand, and of the common black iron sand. This mixture is forms small angular nodules closely compacted together, and very friable. It is dug out with a pick-ax and broken into powder with the same instrument. It is then washed in a wooden trough, about four feet in length, open at both ends, and placed in the current of a rivulet so that a gentle stream of water runs constantly through it. The powdered ore is placed in the upper end of this trough, and as the water passes through the heap, a man continually stirs it about with his hand. The metallic sand remains in the upper end of the trough, the quartz is carried to the lower end, and the clay is suspended in the water, and washed entirely away. The Mappilas buy it ready-washed for the furnace, and then what they put in one furnace costs him 10 *Fanams*.⁷³ The product of the smelting is 6 *Tulams* of iron, worth 8 or 9 fanams a *Tulam*, or from 48 to 54 fanams. The landlords in general prepare the ore with their own slaves and sell it to the smelters ready for furnace. The people who make the charcoal pay a trifle to the landlord for permission to carry on their business.

The names of land like *Irumbuzhi Paramba*, *Irumbuzhi Kavu* and *Kollariyara Parambu* in Manjeri are the presence of the iron in this area. The nearest villages in Manjeri also had the presence of rich iron deposits, like, Karikkad, Irumbuzhi, Karuvambram, and Karuvarakundu. Currently, we can also see the presence of *Ayirumada* at Karikkad. In local language, the terms *Irumbuzhi*, *Kollariya*, *Karu* are related to iron, which shows the presence of iron or deposits in

⁷² Francis Buchanan, *op.cit.*, p. 436.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

that area. Karuvarakundu is one of the richest areas of iron deposits and the origin of its place name came from this influence of iron⁷⁴. It is one of the finest qualities of iron deposits, and it was mainly used for the neighboring areas. Most of the metallic tools are made out of from the regions of Karuvarakundu and these kind of tools and weapons are used by the natives of Manjeri. the presence of 'kollan' or ironsmiths are another factor for these areas, in Manjeri the places like *Karuvambram*, and *Irumbuzhi Paramba* are the major concentrated area of the ironsmiths.⁷⁵

Gold Mining

The gold mining was started from the very old period in Malabar. The gold found in the Malabar province is washed down from the hills of Nilambur and South Wayanad. The most favorable time for exploring these tracts is from the beginning of March until the middle or end of April.⁷⁶ Mr. Sheffield, Principal Collector of Malabar, stated in a letter referred to by the committee which reported to the Government on the character and prospects of the gold fields of Malabar in 1833 that the collecting of gold had been farmed out in Wayanad and Nilambur valley for fifty years previously.⁷⁷ In the reports of a joint commission from Bengal and Bombay appointed to inspect the state and condition of the province of Malabar in the years 1792 and 1793, the commissioners refer very briefly to the occurrence of gold. In all treating the subject of royalties claimed by the Rajahs mention is made of "all gold ore" and also of "composition of gold of which last article some is found in the Nilambur".⁷⁸ Mr. A. F. Huddleston, the Principal Collector of Malabar, in his letter states that "*I mentioned about a month ago to major crewe, that all my people spokes of a place about 3 miles from Manjeri in the Ernad Taluk as the best in Malabar for gold dust. The metal is stated to be found there in considerable*

⁷⁴ Interview with, Ayisha Kundukavil, (80), Karuvarakundu, 15th May 2023.

⁷⁵ Interview with Madhavan, (72) Payyanad, 18th April 2023.

⁷⁶ *Madras Correspondence File, Vol. 4900*, Dated 12th February 1829, RAK, p. 225.

⁷⁷ *Report on the Gold Mines of the South-Eastern Portion of the Wayanad and the Carcoor Ghat*, Madras, 1880, p. 8.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

qualities, of a finer quality than in Wayanad".⁷⁹ The place called 'Choley mullah' is the heard spot and he inspected, and he mentioned the relative advantages of the place *Choley mullah*, because it was near to the ground of Manjeri and the Kakatode stream associated with this *Choley mullah*. There are plenty of coolies to be had in the neighborhood, these all things are made more advantages to this place.

The place called *Choley mullah*, is identified the scholars as *cholakkal* near Payyand. Cholakkal is a 3-mile distance from Manjeri, and the settlement of *Thattan community* or goldsmiths made the originality of this place. Typically, the goldsmith settlements are found near regions with a rich tradition of craftsmanship, trade and access to precious metals. For instance, goldsmiths are usually found in thriving urban centres where the wealth of the population could support such luxury trade. The concentration of goldsmiths in this area is more prevalent and it strengthens the place *Choley mullah* is currently the *Cholakkal*.

On the 15th of February 1831, Lieutenant W. Nicolson was appointed by the Government to search for gold in the mountains on the Malabar Coast, and with him was associated Mr. Henry Louis Hugenin.⁸⁰ Nicolson heard about the gold mining at Manjeri from the collector and he inspected the place with Mr. Hugenin. And the work going on an excellent way because of the relative advantages of the place. The work have been done with the leadership of the Tahsildar of Ernad and he gave instructions to the coolies (natives).⁸¹ The methods employed by the natives in washing the auriferous earths, whether by "ground-sluicing" or by *Pautties* (puddling troughs), their system of mining in quartz veins, if mining it can be called their plan of grinding the quartz as well as their final operation of "washing off."

⁷⁹ *Madras Correspondence File, Vol. 4902, Dated 22nd November 1831, RAK, p. 39.*

⁸⁰ *Report on Gold Mines, op.cit., p. 9.*

⁸¹ The men commonly worked in the gold mining are the Kurumbas, Moplabs, Panniars, Nairs, and Tiers. The Kurumbas and Moplabs are said to have worked the quartz veins, and there is reason to believe that their system of excavating the reefs were different, though their treatment of the stone was in all likelihood the same. Lieutenant Nicolson makes mention of the mines being worked by slaves, he says about the condition of natives like inhumanly and barbarously treated. See, *Ibid*, p. 10-11.

Nicolson accounts the value of the gold dust procured in this district is shown in the following table.

Table 31: The Value of the Gold Dust in Malabar

Places	Weight in new gold fanam	Rate at which the gold dust was purchased per 10 new gold fanam.	Amount value.
Kakatode in Manjeri	3501 ½	5 0 0	1750 12 0
Nilambur Valley	2738 ½	4 12 0	1300 14 3
Cadaloondy in Shernad Taluk	1561 ½	4 7 3 ½	695 7 3
Wayanad	3657 ½	4 3 3 ½	1537 12 2

Source: *Report on the Gold Mines of the South-Eastern Portion of the Wayanad and the Carcoor Ghat*, Madras, 1880.

The total amount value of the gold dust is Rupees 5287, 11 Ana and 5 paisa. Of this quantity, by far the greatest portion has been forwarded to the Madras Presidency. The *kakatode* stream, which rises in the *Moorkoorthi* valley and joins the Anakkayam river near Payyanad in the Manjeri area. The Anakkayam river, which has its source in the *Moorkoorthi* and *Koondah* mountains and forming the boundary between the Ernad and Walluvanad Taluks. The gold found at the places above mentioned is the purest that is procurable in the district, its touch being equal to 9 ½.

The gold mining in the form of narrow trenches, adits, and shafts along with underground extensions and occasional slag are recorded in quartz-magnetite granulite in the Manjeri area and Kappil and Mankada areas.⁸² Similar workings and slag dumps are found in quartz magnetite granulite of Kadannamanna area. During the earliest segment of ancient gold mining in India, major production came from

⁸² These mine workings occur in the form of shallow pits, trenches, large open-cast pits, inclines, vertical shafts and underground mines with different levels or galleries. The vertical narrow openings or shafts (lined or un-lined) were meant for different objectives viz. entry into the mines, haulage of ore, dewatering, ventilation etc. The ancient prospectors possessed the knowledge of 'fire-setting' to break the rocks for mining and ways for dewatering the sub-surface mine water. See, *Records of Geological Survey of India*, Vol.5, Calcutta, 1989, pp. 207-208.

placer deposits; gold was recovered through washing or panning of river sand or gravels. With the advent of metallurgical knowledge, gold was recovered by in-situ mining of quartz reefs and auriferous base metal ores.⁸³ Modern geological surveys, which commenced in nineteenth century during British period, have identified many ancient gold mining and metallurgical sites in India. Visible native specks, manmade depressions or chain of depressions sub-parallel or in strike continuity of the mineralized zones, dumps of crushed quartz or mine muck, stone grinding implements (pestles, mortars/ poly mortars, rock breakers or Mull ackers), in-situ pounding marks, ancient, panned rejects, slags and analytical auriferous anomalies etc. played important role in identification of these sites.⁸⁴

Local Industry

During the colonial period, employment was shrinking in small-scale industries. Important examples of traditional small-scale industries or handicrafts are handloom weaving, leather manufacture, and a variety of industries using metals, wood, and minerals. There were however a few small-scale firms that were modern in origin. Compared to large-scale industry, these were units of small scale, usually unregulated. Compared to traditional industry, these were usually of recent vintage, used machinery to a greater extent, and had a higher average scale. We can call this type 'modern small-scale industry'.⁸⁵ In the domestic manufacturers, economies of affection continued to reproduce themselves. Artisans, for instance, built their firms around social relationships that permitted stable family livelihoods and their firm's survival into future generations. Members of the family provided much of the needed labour, with females and children performing valuable tasks in the workshop. When an artisan could not obtain sufficient labour from his own family, he usually recruited within his caste. Caste organizations often worked to ensure that the group retained control over skills of a profession by punishing those who hired outsiders or who leaked manufacturing secrets. The laborers indebtedness helped

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁸⁵ Tirthankara Roy, *The Economic History of India 1857-1947*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006, p. 183.

master craftsmen maintain access to a stable and dependable work force at low cost and over extended periods of time and cut down on the likelihood of theft, which was a danger in industries that handled small, valuable goods.⁸⁶ The role of various artisan communities and craft men who were active as a part of the caste hierarchies of Malabar was very significant in creating a market for non-agricultural products in Malabar. They manufactured a wide range of goods in a manner that maintained export quality, and these made the market system of Malabar more active. In association with this, the handicraft industries have been instrumental in the growth of the major urban centres and various markets based on the diversity of products. They were also able to create more demand in various markets in and outside of Manjeri. Furthermore, all such products created rampant demands in various markets around the world through export trade.

There were several artisan communities, where traditional skilled workers prevailed along with the role of peasants as an important part of the economic system of Manjeri. Even, such settlements of some artisan communities themselves had been part of commodity productions and market distributions for the daily needs of the interrelated communities in Manjeri. The community called *Kushavas*, were focused on pottery throwing and its distributions in the market economic system. Their pottery products had a close association with the daily lives of the folks of Malabar and those products had a close nexus with the festivals and rituals of the folks. In addition to this, many other artisan communities existed here, and they had a close association with the manufacturing of tools by the materials of iron, gold, and other metals.

In Manjeri the skilled workers associated with iron works locally called *Kollan* or iron smiths. They had a close connection with agricultural tools and implements such as plough, knives, locks, mattock, and weeding spuds. The carpenter workers locally called *Asari*, the sculpturing was also common they also known as *Kallasari* along with such communities named *Musari* focused their

⁸⁶ Douglas E. Haynes, *Rhetoric and Ritual in Colonial India the Shaping of a Public Culture in Surat City 1852-1928*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992, p. 47.

works on the products associated with copper and brass metal works. Gold smiths or *Tattan* are also included in these skilled communities. They mainly associated with the jewellery works, these communities are settled in the Payyanad area, they traditionally working in this field. Their designed gold bangles are highly demanded in the market even now.⁸⁷ The major occupation of blacksmiths and carpenters in the colonial period was to supply and repair agricultural implements. As a result, carpenters and smiths often belonged to the same caste but different sub-castes. During the colonial period, new demand expanded for cutlery, metal tools, machine parts, and durable consumer goods. Small factories started to manufacture these items. Towns specializing in such goods expanded their industries. In general, the most important location of such new enterprises was the suburbs of the big cities, where the major demand arose.⁸⁸ Many who were blacksmiths by tradition entered these flourishing factory enterprises. Despite obvious differences, both agree that little of the new wealth found its way to producers, either town-based artisans or artisans and cultivators in the countryside. Merchants by contrast, particularly those in the long-distance commodity trade, prospered with the expansion of trade and the protection of the law, although continuing market fluctuations and competition from landed elites kept the prospect of failure at hand. Large landholders also fared well though again, not uniformly, since the pressures of the British revenue system meant insecurity, particularly after 1830. In this view, the economic growth in the region was a hot-house product, a result of an 'unnatural' demand for export commodities used to remit company and private funds to England, with little local consequence for employment, wages, and consumption.⁸⁹

Printing Industry

The closing decades of eighteenth-century print became significant in regions conquered by the East India Company. Printing as an expanding enterprise on the Kerala coast dates from the nineteenth century, and the printing industry

⁸⁷ Interview with Rajesh Kalyani, (55), Manjeri, 22nd March 2024.

⁸⁸ Tirthankar Roy, *op.cit.*, p. 207.

⁸⁹ Dharam Kumar, *op.cit.*, p. 269.

played an important role in shaping modern society. The first presses of the nineteenth century were funded by European Christian missionaries and by princely and British governments. Charles Mead, a printer-turned-missionary, established the first press of this generation in 1820 under the auspices of the London Missionary Society and later set up the Travancore government press. Benjamin Bailey, founder of the Church Missionary Society presses in Kottayam in 1821, cut the first Malayalam types in Kerala, built a wooden press to supplement the original press imported from Britain, and compiled an English-Malayalam dictionary.⁹⁰ Anderson suggests that the uniting of printing technology with capitalism or economic dynamism provided the impetus to carry common messages widely and relentlessly, while at the same time homogenizing languages and creating "national" mother tongues.⁹¹ The concept of "print capitalism" is underlying the concept of a nation, as a group that forms an 'imagined community', that emerges with a common language and discourse that is generated from the use of the printing press, proliferated by a capitalist marketplace.

During the colonial period the British Government started district presses, these printing presses are maintained for the purpose of turning out economically and expeditiously such Government printing as it is desirable to have done locally. The press should be applied first to the production of the District Gazetteer and work for the collector's office and then to that for other offices.⁹² Privet presses are also existed in this period and privet works are conveniently done by the privet presses. In 1860 there is a printing press had existed in Manjeri, it was owned by Arunachala Muthaliyar, he was a native of Chathurangapattanam of Madras. The Vidya Vilasa printing press of Arunachala Muthaliyar at Mnajeri was very famous during those periods. We got the evidence of this printing press from the Moothedathu Palassery Mana from the collections of Shankaran Namboothiri, he bought a printed

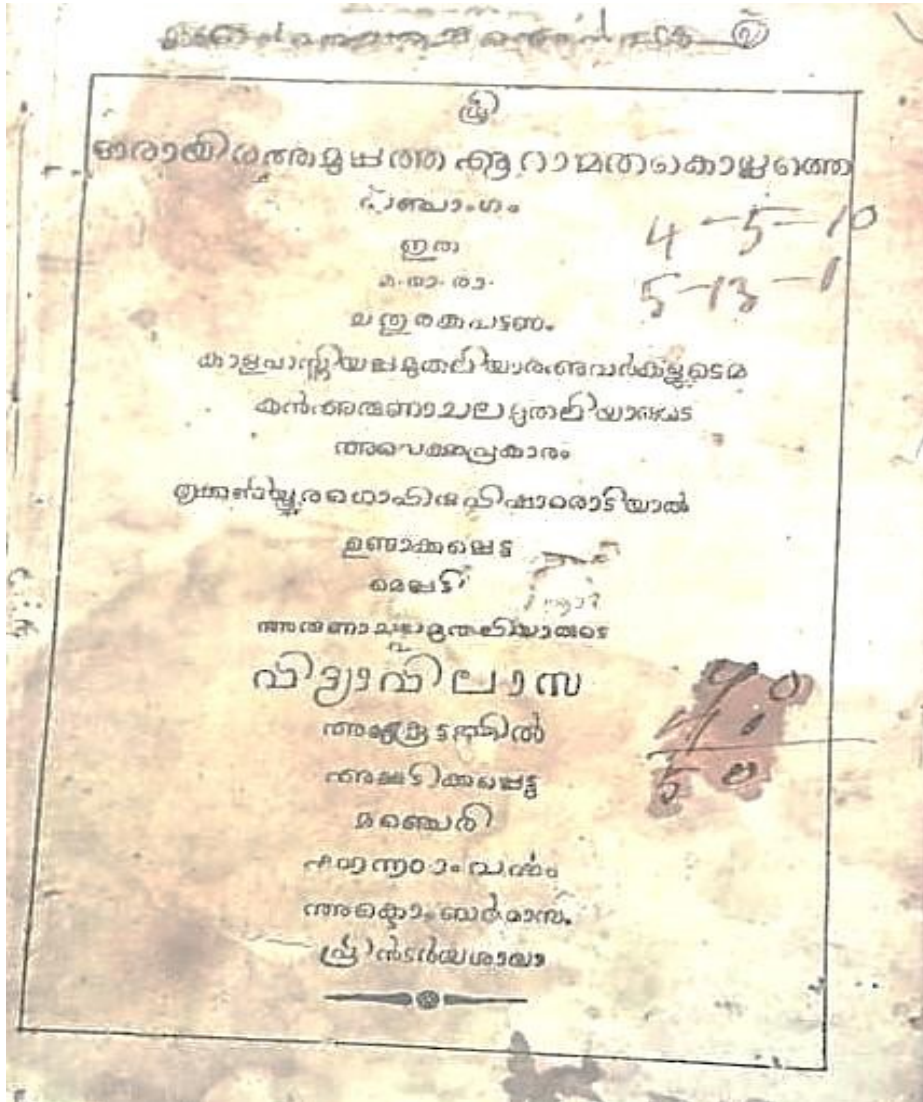
⁹⁰ Robin Jeffrey, *Testing Concepts About Print, Newspapers, and Politics: Kerala, India, 1800-2009*, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (May) 2009, p. 469.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

⁹² *Manual for District Presses in the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1901, p. 2.

Panchankam from this press and it was kept in his personal collections (see figure 12).

Figure 12: Panchankam Printed at the Vidya Vilasam Press Manjeri.



Source: Private Records Collection, Moothedathu Palassery Mana, Karikkad, 1860.

Motors Industries

Motor industries started in Malabar in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, because of the development of the roads and transportation networks. The most important motor vehicles used in Malabar are buses, cabs, cycles, lorries and cars. The buses was mostly used in the beginning of twentieth centuries in Malabar, with the establishment of Malabar motor vehicles. The Malabar motor vehicles was inaugurated in 1911, after the inauguration the motor industry of Malabar was developed very well, and the following table will show the details of motor vehicles in Malabar.

Table 32: Number of Motor Vehicles in Malabar

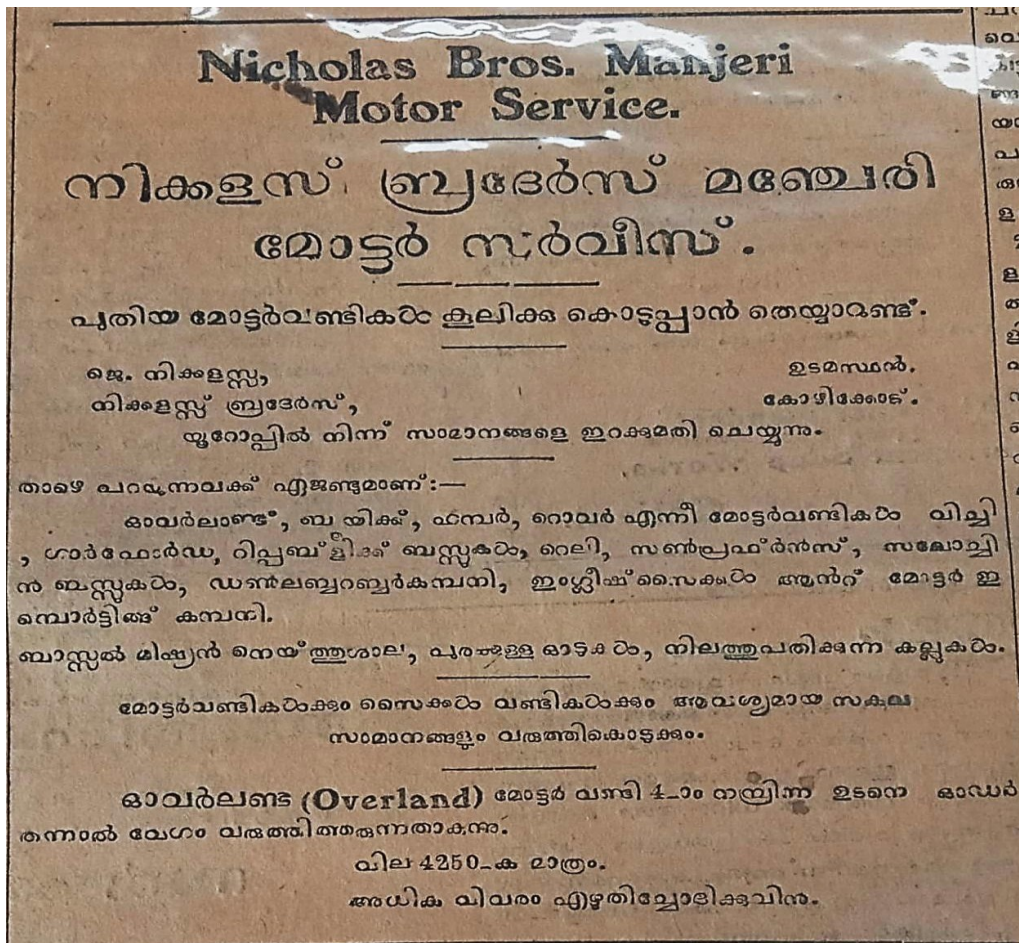
Motor vehicles	Number
Buses	245
Lorries	754
Cycle	107
Cars and other	1015

Source: *Report on the Administration of the Motor Vehicles Act (1939) and Rules and the Madras Traffic Rules for the year 1945-46*, Madras, 1947.

In Manjeri, the Manjeri Motor Service is started in the early twentieth century, and it was started by Ebinesser Nicholas and Jonathan Nicholas. The Manjeri motors started its service between Meppadi and Nilambur in 1915.⁹³ Salosen Motor Service of Jonathan Nicholas, Albert Motor Service of Sathyanathan Nicholas, Malabar Motor Conveyance of Samuel Nicholas, Leopard Motor Service are the other motor services of Nicholas brothers of Manjeri. These all companies conducted services between different routes in Malabar. The Manjeri motor service, they imported essential materials for buses and cycles from Europe (see figure 13).

⁹³ C. Balan, *Transport Infrastructure Development in Kerala During the Colonial Period 1800-1947*, Un Published PhD Thesis, Department of History, Calicut University, 1997, p. 78.

Figure 13: Manjeri Motor Service



Source: Malayala Manorama, March, 1920.

Most of these industries still survive and the availability of power or electricity is the most important factor that paved way for the speedy industrialization of the country. Currently, industrialization in Manjeri is a progressive growth, especially, after the establishment of industrial Estate at Manjeri. The industrial estate started during 1964 as a Kerala Government undertaking an investment of Rs. 4,69,819 was made for land, sheds, and development work.⁹⁴ In 1986 there are 12 units working in this estate under proprietary and partnership managements. The list of the 2 units is given the following table.

⁹⁴ C. K. Kareem, *op.cit.*, p. 382.

Table 33: Industrial Estate Manjeri

Name of Unit	Started year	Nature of Management	No.of persons employed in each unit	Capital Investment
M/s General Engineering Industries.	1967	Proprietary	4	25,000
M/s Allegro Rubber industries.	1968	Do.	6	2,00,000
M/s cool Well Refrigeration co.	1969	Do.	3	35,000
M/s Sastha Sawmills and wood industries.	1967	Do.	5	25,000
M/s Nicholas Rubber Factory	1970	Do.	5	3,00,000
M/s Yashik Rubber factory	1971	Do.	15	2,50,000
M/s K.M Match works	1974	Do.	20	35,000
M/s Poly Rubbers	1970	Do.	...	35,000
M/s Ideal Rubber Products	1975	Partnership	3	2,00,000
M/s baby Oil Mills	1972	Proprietary	3	20,000
M/s Shakti Industries	1975	Partnership	8	50,000
M/s Nellithan Industries	1975	Proprietary	3	15,000

Source: C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Gazetteers Malappuram*, Kerala gazetteers, Trivandrum, 1986, p. 383

Besides this industrial estate four more mini-industrial estates were also started in 1975-76. They are at Edavanna, Oorakam, Kokkur, and Cherukavu.

There is essential agreement between the two principal experts, Asiya Siddiqi, who approaches the question from the rural agrarian perspective, and C.A. Bayly, who is concerned with merchant groups in market towns and cities. Siddiqi argues that the mechanisms of advances, debt bondage, and the like, used by merchants, processors, and landlords to organize the production and marketing of agricultural produce, usurped all or most of the profits leaving little or nothing to compensate primary producers for their expanded efforts. Bayly's position is different to the extent that he stresses the political context of regional economic developments, concluding that local zamindars, and other land-based elites moved to

engross the profits of the period's economic developments to replace power and wealth lost to the British with the tightening of their administration.⁹⁵

The economic importance of the large village/small town (*Qasbah, Mahal*), the initial settlement of the dominant caste or location of the main fort in the case of conquest as the political and economic centre for surrounding villages. Although similar in appearance and dependent on agriculture to other villages, these centres were usually larger and had either a permanent bazaar or periodic markets. Artisans and cultivators continued to dispose of their produce at established *qasbahs* and periodic markets (*haths*) in the countryside, local merchants retailed their goods to rural buyers and wholesaled them to traders in intermediate bulking centres. These towns were important in turn, both for retail trade, and for their links to regional commercial capitals like Amritsar, Jaipur, and Nagpur which organized long distance trade into the Ganges valley.⁹⁶

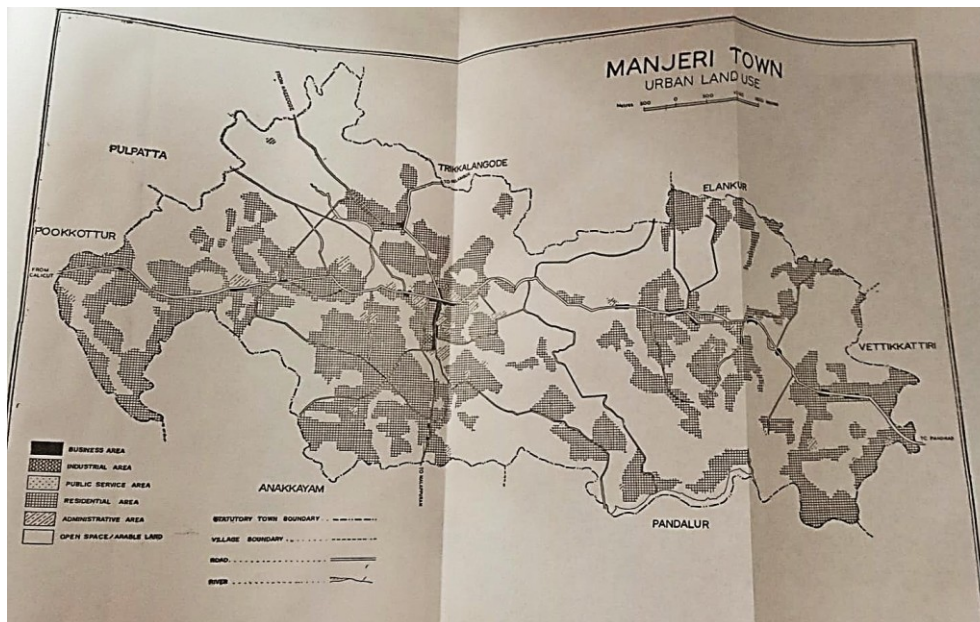
Thus urban areas grew in proportion to water, paddy, and labour supplies, service groups, artisans, merchants and workers of all kinds sought employment where investment in land. Urban buyers for rural products generated demand for rural products and labour. Urban financiers collected and transmitted government revenue to enhance “portfolios” that included land holdings, grain stocks, temple endowments, and on array of other assets that increased over time.⁹⁷ The late eighteenth century was a crucial period for merchants, markets, and trading structures. To better understand ties that bound late pre-colonial period and early colonial states alike to their agrarian base.

⁹⁵ Tapan Ray Chaudhuri and Irfan Habib, *op.cit.*, p. 269.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 249-52.

⁹⁷ Sanjay Subramanyam, *op.cit.*, p. 238.

Figure 14: Town Map of Manjeri



Source: Census Handbook 1951, Malabar District, Government Press, Madras, 1953.

In This chapter we can see the development of the economy of Manjeri, and this economic development leads Manjeri as an urban centre. Agriculture is the base of this economic development, and the increase of agricultural production led to the development of trade and commerce in Manjeri. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the market of Manjeri was highly important for the growth of the economy. Mappilas were the main merchant class in Manjeri and other trading communities had come and settled here. From the beginning of twentieth century industrialization and other modern technologies developed in Manjeri, especially the motor industries. Here the economy of Manjeri had a gradually developed through agriculture to industrialization. The eighteenth century had produced in the region an agrarian and commercial economy of *rurban* centers and transit points linked to port centres for export on the one hand and to internal commodity movements on the other.

CHAPTER 5

THE ROAD TO URBAN SPACES: THE SOCIETY, CULTURE AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY MANJERI

The urban areas feel alive with human activities like movement and interaction. Any city or town devoid of humans and other creatures is hard to imagine. Public spaces are essential areas of human interaction and make up a crucial element of the socio-cultural aspects of our urban areas. The development of a town in the late 19th and early 20th century saw few such spaces that encouraged interactions and cultural growth. A certain level of technological transformation thus becomes necessary before any urban center is possible. Most of the people residing in urban centres engage in activities that are not directly related to food production. These activities consist of social, cultural, industrial, commercial, religious, artistic, educational, military, political, or administrative functions. Such diverse activities require people to have different kinds of skills. This heterogeneity or diversity implies that there is greater social differentiation in the cities: "... urban centers are home to rich and poor, rulers and the ruled, buyers and sellers, craftsmen and traders."¹

Urban centers are also associated with centralized political authority and the state that needs to keep a count of the numbers of people in the urban centers for administrative purposes. Urbanism thus gave rise to bureaucracy and a class of people who are administrators on a full-time basis. This chapter examines the influences of urban spaces and forms on social relations in a socially cohesive society like the town of Manjeri.

¹ Louis Wirth, 'Urbanism as a Way of Life,' *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 44, No-1, July 1938, p. 17.

Rise of New Middle Class

The term middle class was used from around the mid-eighteenth century to describe those people below the aristocracy but above the workers. It is indeed a broad category, and different scholars, over the years, have given varying definitions on the subject. Classical Marxism is of not much use in understanding the history of the middle class. Marx did not elaborate on the white-collar class comprising office workers, supervisors, technicians, and innumerable others who are essentially a product of capitalist development. He did not anticipate the emergence of a welfare state within a capitalist society, and the consequent growth of an employee class providing the many welfare services such as education, public health, railways, road transport, post and telegraph as well as the growth of a bureaucracy overseeing them. Nor did he anticipate the emergence of a managerial class which forms an important element in the modern capitalist development.²

For Marx, the middle class had only a limited significance due to it being, in his view, a transient group with a minimal role in the revolutionary process. But that has not prevented a range of Marxist historians, over the years, from writing on the subject. And while doing so, unlike sociologists, they have sometimes resorted to non-economic criteria in defining the middle class. While writing on the middle class in England, Eric Hobsbawm observes that up to 1880, the middle class shared the following characteristics: they did not, except as leisure, perform manual labor: paid work prevented their women from becoming a lady; they have to possess some capital or property, however modest; they must employ others for wages at least as domestic servants; they would not be employed for service except by the state or church.³ Karl Marx referred to the middle class as part of the bourgeoisie (i.e. the petit bourgeoisie: or small business owners) when he described the way in which capitalism operates, in opposition to the working class, which he termed the “proletariat.”⁴ The term “middle class” itself has shifted in meaning over time,

² Sreejith. K, *Middle Class in Colonial Malabar*, Routledge, 2022, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Adam Hayes, *Middle Class: Definition and Characteristics*, in Investopedia, June 25, 2023, p. 2.

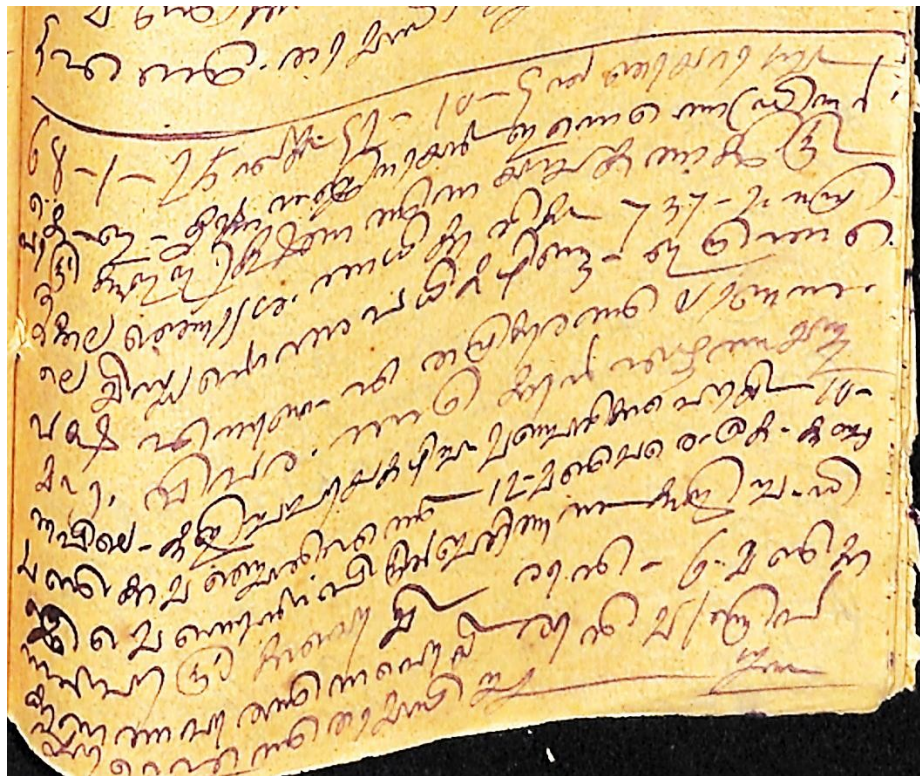
having once referred to persons who had the means to rival nobles to the contemporary meaning that is more akin to the upper end of the working class.

Louis Wirth in his book *Urbanism as a Way of Life* (1938) writes that living in a city affects the way we interact with each other, and it influences our personalities. He writes that the city is characterized by a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals, giving rise to various kinds of social relationships and patterns of behavior among the city dwellers. Further, Louis Wirth also argues that the city effects are wider than the city itself. Thus, the city draws the surrounding villages and even remote communities into its orbit. In other words, urbanism as a way of life is not peculiar to city dwellers alone as the influences of the city (i.e., the impact of urbanization) stretch far behind its administrative boundaries. In brief, urbanization in its demographic sense refers to the trends of growth of the urban population. In societal context and in its sociological sense, Urbanism denotes a distinct way of life typically associated with living in the city and the process of transforming rural ways of life into urban ones.

The middle class in Manjeri is mainly divided into two classes the one is professional class and commercial class. The professional class includes educated groups like government servants, military, police, advocates, doctors, and teachers, etc. the commercial class includes traders, merchants, and moneylenders, etc. the professionals or educated middle class was the highly influenced groups in the social structure, and the advocates and clergy's are possess high social status, They influenced the overall society. During the nineteenth century, so many educated people migrated and settled here. Especially the advocates, most of the advocates are *Ayyars* or *Tamil Brahmins*, who are migrated from the Tanjore and Tirunelveli regions of Tamil Nadu and Palakkad regions of Kerala. These group of people come and settle near Arukidazha and they establish a Brahmana *Samooha Madam*. In Manjeri the Brahmins are mainly included in the field of law and justice, medicine, etc. among these, Adv. Parameshvara Ayyar, Adv. Sesa Ayyar, Adv. Shankara Narayana Ayyar, Adv. Ramaswamy Ayyar, Adv. Rama Ayyar, Major Dr. Sundaram, and Dr. Shankaranarayana Ayyar are some of the prominent persons in

society.⁵ The members of this new middle class from the nineteenth century onwards did not shy away from imitating the lifestyle of the West, especially the parties and on. Small towns like Manjeri became part of the new economic order, and dinner parties of the new society also started to appear. It was the middle class that was different from the traditional society that encouraged these kinds of trends. We can get evidence for conducting “dinner parties” in the late nineteenth century by the members of the new middle class. From the diary of Sankaran Namboothiri, he got an invitation to a dinner party in 1892 from Mr. K.E. Krishnan Unni Nayar.⁶ Sankaran Namboothiri's reference to attending dinner parties in Manjeri is indicative of the new social order. The dinner parties like this were organized by the lawyers because they are growing financially day by day.

Figure 15: Dairy Document on Dinner Party



Source: *Diary of Sankaran Namboothiri*, 9th October 1892.

⁵ Interview with, Adv. T.K. Hamza, (87), Manjeri, 5th February 2022.

⁶ These diaries are kept in the possession of Palassery Mana Unnikrishnan Namboothiri, *Diary of Sankaran Namboothiri*, 9th October 1892.

The commercial class or merchant class was another group who were included in the middle class of Manjeri. Among this group include the Muslim merchants, *Chettis*, *Konkani's*, and other people associated with trading activity. Seventy percent of the population of Manjeri is Muslims, and most of these were rich merchants and laborers, which is also another reason for the development of Manjeri as a trading centre. The Muslim merchants were mainly traders of agricultural products, they brought the agricultural products from the rural areas and sold them in the markets. The *chakkiparamban* family was one of the most important Muslim trading groups in Manjeri, they are mainly collected the rural products into the interiors of Manjeri and sell them in the markets.⁷ *kurikkal*, *Kannurkkar*, *Avunjippuram*, *Korambayil*, *Kakengal* families they were the influential merchant class in Manjeri, and they also trading contact with coastal towns like Kozhikode. These Mappila merchant communities monopolized the inland trade between the rural villages and Manjeri.⁸ In short, we can see the monopoly of rich Mappila merchants in modern days also.

Konkan traders are other groups who come and sell their wares, and they are generally called *Koyappanmar*. Male and female Konkan traders are generally seen in the Manjeri market, their physical features of are generally attractive to the local peoples because they are 6 feet in height, wheatish colored, have long hair, half-dressed, women are wearing bangles, stone chains, nose ring, etc.⁹ Another major trading group was the Tamil *Chettis*, they are the prominent trading groups in Tamil Nadu and the Tamil literary works are also mentioned about the trade and commerce activities of *chettis*. The *chettis* were the promoters of oceanic trade and the formation of urban centers in Malabar.¹⁰ The *chettis* they are mainly the cloth traders; their cloth was very famous in the Manjeri market it is called as *chetti*

⁷ Interview with, Abdullah Nellikuth, (70), Nellikuth, 4th January 2022.

⁸ Interview with, Yousuf Haji Kakengal, (75), Manjeri, 11th April 2023.

⁹ Interview with, Sageer, (65), Manjeri, 5th January 2022.

¹⁰ K. N. Gopala Pilla, *Kerala Mahacharithram*, Reddiar Press, Thiruvananthapuram, 1949, p. 343.

mundu. Under the circumstances, the town soon acquired a cosmopolitan character with Muslim merchants, *chettis* and Konkan traders selling their wares.

The late nineteenth century development of educated professions seems essentially a subtheme in the history of the city. As a headquarter of Taluk administration, Manjeri naturally attracted men seeking jobs in the revenue establishments, post office, and the courts. In addition, a tiny number of people with English educations were able to establish lucrative careers in the independent professions, particularly law and medicine. The growth of these middle-class intelligentsia was one of the major reason behind the Manjeri political conference in 1920.

The Development of Urban Infrastructure

Infrastructure is an underlying basic foundation for any organization or system. It encompasses the fundamental facilities and systems serving a country, city, or other areas, which are needed for the functioning of a community or society, such as transportation and communication systems, water and drainage lines, and public institutions including schools, post offices and prisons of a city, the fixed installations form the urban infrastructure¹¹. Urbanization has been shaped by transport infrastructures, such as roads, transit systems, or simply walkways. Since each city has a different temporal process of accumulation and development of transport infrastructures, there is a wide variety of urban forms, spatial structures, and associated urban transportation systems. The urban infrastructure also included in the eighteenth century, all buildings and permanent installations necessary for the support, redevelopment and operations of military forces like barracks, headquarters, communications, stores port installations and maintenance stations.¹² In Malabar, we can see all these things in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The early period water ways assist humans largely to move from one place to another. The exchange of goods and other needs early man depend on rivers, seas

¹¹ Reddy Moola Atchi, *East India Company and Urban Environment in Colonial South India Madras 1746-1803*, Routledge, New York, 2022, p. 68.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

and other water bodies as the only source to assist. They crossed hundreds and thousands of miles to reach the far-off regions through the medium of water thereby leading to the diffusion of culture, various traditions, ideas, etc. In the absence of waterways to pass over mountainous regions or mountain ranges, narrow pathways were the only source of dependence in those days. Along with water transport, land transport gradually evolved. As human civilization advanced further, better means of transport, roads and railways as innovations entered. Among the various means of transport, road transport plays a prominent role. The construction of roads precedes all other activities directed towards the development of any area.¹³

The history and management of transport facilities in Kerala during the last two centuries is closely associated with the resource mobilization of the colonial State. Political and administrative requirements motivated the authority to undertake large-scale schemes of transport infrastructure development. An efficient transport and communication system remained an important segment of such a powerful state system. The growth of a colonial type of economy resulted in the demand for better and widespread means of transport which became an essential precondition for draw out the resources of the colonies. Transportation has an influence on the urban spatial structure and is shaping urbanization.

Development of Transport and Communication in Malabar

Kerala established international trade relations in the early days and the waterways which played an important role in movement of commodities from the hinterlands grew along with trade. The discovery of a new sea route in 1498 boosted foreign trade in Kerala. significantly, particularly on the Malabar coast.¹⁴ This gave rise to a series of port settlements along the coast. Forest and agricultural products constitute the bulk of exportable materials that were brought to the ports along the coast through rivers and interconnecting channels. As these resources were distributed all through Kerala and rivers provided a direct connection between the

¹³ *Manual on Village Road Construction*, Community Projects Administration, Government of India, January 1956, p. 1.

¹⁴ Chattopadhyay Srikumar, *Geography of Kerala*, Concept Publishing, New Delhi, 2021, p. 140.

hinterland and port the entire operation was in a decentralized mode and dominated by waterways. Vastly increasing the speed and availability of transport, it also lowered costs substantially, thereby permitting new opportunities for profit. Regional specialization began to occur, and trade expanded.¹⁵

The historical evolution of the transport system in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore were different.¹⁶ The development of road transport in Malabar also seems to have been influenced by military and law and order considerations to a large extent. For instance, the gun roads built by Tippu in the late eighteenth century and by the British in the first and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, during the Pazhazzi rebellion and Mappila riots, largely exhaust the list of important roads that existed in Malabar as late as the 1880s.¹⁷ There was a steady improvement in communications in Malabar under the colonial administration. The Pazhazzi Revolt gave an impetus to road-building activity and the interior areas of Malabar were opened by military roads.¹⁸ Some companies of the Madras pioneers worked in the district between 1810 and 1830 and undertook the construction of several roads like, the Periya ghat road being the most important. The road from Cannanore to Coorg was constructed in 1848-1851 and it was an important link in the communication system of the district. The rise of the plantation industry in Wayanad also gave a support to road building activities in north Malabar.

During various historical periods, Malabar witnessed the construction of roads under different rulers, including indigenous kings, colonial powers like the Portuguese, Dutch, British, each contributing to the development of transportation infrastructure differently. The British colonial period brought significant advancements in road networks, connecting various towns and regions for

¹⁵ Dharma Kumar (Ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India 1757-1970*, Vol.2, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1982, p. 737.

¹⁶ Chattopadhyay, *op.cit.*, p. 140.

¹⁷ Ibrahim, P, *The Development of Transport Facilities in Kerala: A Historical Review*, In *Social Scientist*, Vol.6, No.8, March 1978, p. 36.

¹⁸ Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers: Kozhikode*, Gazetteers Department, Trivandrum, 1962, p. 277.

administrative and commercial purposes. Today, Malabar boasts a well-developed road transportation system, evolving from ancient trade paths to modern highways.

Tipu Sultan conceived and largely implemented the idea of an extensive road network connecting all the important places in Malabar to reach even the most remote areas of the country. The confluence of all these roads was at Srirangapattanam.¹⁹ When Malabar came under the control of the English East India company many of the public roads under construction were abandoned. Massive road projects could only be implemented in an orderly manner. The colonial takeover of Malabar towards the end of eighteenth century had been aimed at the fulfillment of two objectives. The monopoly of pepper trade and direct appropriation of revenue. After acquiring Malabar in 1792, the East India company government explored all possible avenues to augment its revenue.²⁰

The numerous roads that there are, owe, their existence to the zeal and preservation activity of Major Macleod in this undertaking. There have been some handsome, useful, and substantial bridges erected over rivers, otherwise inconvenient of passage, which are very credible to the subsequent revenue administration. These works require to be extended more inland for the benefit of the native population, and to be less confined to the seacoast.²¹ The construction and repair of bridges and roads, and the improvement of water communication, cannot, however, be expected to be executed with the spirit and efficiency that the commerce of the country and the convenience of the inhabitants demand, unless a fund, such as a ferry farm, or a certain portion of it, is expressly set aside to be appropriated to these purposes, and a periodical report is required from the collector and the engineer of the province in committee, of the state of the road and bridges.

¹⁹ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Madrubhumi Publication, Calicut, 1887, p. 58.

²⁰ Balan. C, 'Resource Appropriation and Development of Transport Facilities in Kerala During The Colonial Period,' *In Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Vol. 67*, 2006, p. 738.

²¹ H.S. Graeme, *Report on the Revenue Administration of Malabar*, Dated 14th August 1822, Calicut, 1898, p. 23.

The appropriation of the funds, and the Magistrate is empowered and required by law to oblige the inhabitants to make such common repairs as may be within the compass of their means, and unless it is made the duty of the Judge in the circuit, to inform the government of the condition of the roads and bridges during their tour. Such works though highly useful in their general effect, are not immediately indispensable to the realization of the revenue, and they are apt to be neglected by the local officers unless not only support and encouragement, but a spirit and example of activity originate and are maintained at the source of authority, and it is made incumbent upon the subordinate department to attend to them. Mr. Wye, Collector of the Shernad, Vellatre and Ernad Districts, alludes in a report to the revenue board on 4th February 1801, he states, “that there are several passes in the southern division, into the upper country, which, if cleared away, and encouragement given, would doubtless introduce the Mysore into this coast, and those of this into the upper country. Two of those passes, the one in Ernad called the Caracoor, and another a little to the northward of Mannar, were well frequented in the late Sultans government.”²²

During this period, they mainly concentrate on the advantage of improving communication by land between the district of Todanaud (commonly known by the name of the Neelgherry hills) and the sea coast, and by back-water, between Calicut and Cochin.²³ the distance between Todanaud and the sea is about seventy miles, of which forty, or as far as Mombat, may be traveled by inland rivers. There is at present a road through the Numbhulcotah and Karkote passes, and by Nellembur and Mambat in the Ernad district, which leads to Calicut, the natural outlet for the trade of this country, and which is already traveled by bullocks, but it requires to be opened and to be rendered more secure, being infested with wild beasts. In south Malabar, Manjeri is one of the inland towns connected with roads from all the neighboring areas.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²³ *Ibid.*

Construction of Roads and Bridges in Manjeri

The transportation system in Manjeri primarily relied on traditional methods such as bullock carts, footpaths, and waterways. Bullock carts were the most common means of transporting goods within the region. These carts were used to move agricultural produce and other commodities to local markets and ports. The construction of roads started from the very earlier period in Manjeri, especially the Mysoreans period. During the colonial period the road from Calicut to Manjeri is one of the important road and it was repaired in many times. From the colonial records we can clearly see the details of this road, especially from the assistant in charge at Manjeri he proposes to repair the important road from Calicut to Manjeri, which is many places inundated and intersected with gullies.²⁴

As a trading centre and the administrative headquarters of the taluk, the town was well connected to the surrounding areas even before the Mappila outbreak. In 1796 Colonel Dow wrote in a minute:

*"The general disorder that has hitherto prevailed in the Mappila districts is greatly imputable to want of roads, which enabled them to trespass with security. The Mappilas hold all regular Government in aversion, and never appear to have been thoroughly subjugated by Tippu. This habitual dislike of subordination is not to be removed by methods of severity, which are likely to excite resistance. A large body of troops should be stationed at their quarters and their lurking places should be kept open by constructing roads."*²⁵

Manjeri was the hub of a road transport network because "all roads lead to Manjeri".²⁶ From the town of Manjeri, many of the surrounding areas were within a circle of 25 K.M diameter. Places like Malappuram, Pandikkad, Mankada, Areacode, and Edavanna are equal distances or 12 K.M from Manjeri. Kondotty,

²⁴ Madras Correspondence File, Vol. 2221, Dated 4th November 1802, pp. 99-101.

²⁵ Hitchcock. R. L, *Peasant Revolt in Malabar: A History of the Malabar Rebellion 1921*, Usha Publications, New Delhi, 1925, p. 14.

²⁶ K.K.N. Kurupp, *1921 Malabar Samara: Porattam Nadukal Nattuvazhikal*, Vol.II, Yuvatha Books, Calicut, 2021, p. 132.

Mokkom, Nilambur, Kottakkal and Perithalmanna are 24 K.M from Manjeri. Kozhikode, Parappanangadi and Mannarkkad are 47 K.M from Manjeri town. These three towns falls within a circle of 35 K.M radius from Manjeri as seen from the sky.²⁷

The development of transportation often depends on various geographical factors that can facilitate or hinder the movement of people and goods. So, it can be argued that the geographical factors that can influence the development of transportation. Because of the strategic location of an area or areas located at strategic crossroads, junctions or intersections of major trade routes tend to experience transportation development due to their potential as transit points. Manjeri is a transit point for the route between Calicut to Nilgiri hills. It is one of the earliest roads and it is repaired in 1802 because it is the important road from Calicut to Manjeri.²⁸

During the colonial period, it is one of the major routes for the travel of resources from the hills. Elegant avenues are planted along, almost all the roads intersecting the country in all directions. In 1828 the principal collector of Malabar, Mr. William Sheffield explored the route to Nilgiri hills from Calicut via Manjeri.²⁹ On this journey he was accompanied by “Captain Ward”, the surveying officer in Malabar, who do this area surveyed the whole of the road from the top of the Caracoor pass. William Sheffield started his journey on Monday 20th October 1828, he left Calicut at 10. PM. for Manjeri, he covered 31 miles and 4 furlongs to reach Manjeri and he recorded that, the road from Calicut to Manjeri is everywhere

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

²⁸ *Madras Correspondence File, Vol.2221*, 4th November 1802, RAK, p. 99.

²⁹ He start this journey to furnish the information required regarding the routes to the Nilgiri hills from Calicut and he think, it much responsible to others anything like a correct information of the country in the immediate certainty of the Ghats, mountains particularly of the tract beyond Nilambur from any nature of the district and the map belonging to his office is found to be incorrect, so he considered to undertake a journey of himself. The journey which necessarily prepare some days, he start his journey on 20th October 1828 from Calicut via, Manjeri, Nilambur, Gudaloor, and Ooty. Then he returns back from Ooty to Nilambur by road and Nilambur to Calicut through river Chaliyar, this journey ended on 2nd November 1828. Seen in, *Madras Correspondence File*, vol-4941, Dated 8th November 1828, RAK, pp. 13-14.

capable for carriages.³⁰ They spend two days in Manjeri and they started their journey to Nilambur on Wednesday 22nd October 1828, he left Manjeri at 3. P.M recorded that, the road was remarkably good except where a long range of paddy fields is eloped, and he suggested few bridges and roads are constructed the whole will be practicable for wheel carriages as far as Nilambur. Through this journey he clearly measures the distance from Calicut to Caracoor Pass, it will shown in the following table.

Table 34: Table of Distance Ascertained by Actual Measurement.

Place		Distance	
From	To	Miles	Furlong
Calicut	Mamally Kadavoo	6	6
Calicut	Karkancherry	12	6
Calicut	Kondotty	18	2
Calicut	Manjeri	31	4
Manjeri	Terikakoor ferry	15	
Manjeri	Nilambur	17	4
Nilambur	Karimpoya	4	1
Nilambur	Edookara	5	6
Nilamboor	Foot of the pass	19	8

Source: *Malabar Correspondence File, Vol.4941*, Dated 8th November 1828, RAK, p. 40.

According to the above table, Mr. William Sheffield measured the distances from Calicut to Manjeri, Manjeri to Nilambur, and Nilambur to the foot of the pass. The one from Calicut enters the district 2 miles W.N.W of the town of Kondotty, proceeds East, extensive field on the right, to Nediyrippu and winding over heights crosses the arm of a field to Pullanoor, a mosque and street of Bazaar then through a defile, between hills crossing extensive fields to Manjeri Bungalow 12 miles from Kondotty it is an elegant road.³¹ It will admit of wheel carriages thus far it now

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³¹ Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, Kerala Gazetteer Department, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995, p. 115.

proceeds south and passes a field ascends and descends to the Kadalundy River. The Anakkayam ferry crossing enters the Valluvanad District 2 miles from Manjeri.

The Anakkayam bridge was constructed in 1860, and the letter from the district engineer Malabar states that

*“he arranged the plan and estimate for building a Canadian Lattice bridge across the Anakai river between Munjerry and Angaddypuram, and Rupees 12,200 to be carried out from the local fund. Though the work has already been started and proposed to be carried out this year.”*³²

The road from Anakkayam bridge to Manjeri and Malappuram was repaired in 1866.³³ Another road to Tirurangadi strikes off from the former one mile from Manjeri crossing fields, ascends and winds considerably over heights, descends and crosses a deep nullah over a temporary bridge to Malappuram, a street of shops, many of them in the ruinous States, southwest 6 miles from Manjeri, from thence it continues west over heights, descends to a nullah which on crossing becomes the Shernad Taluk.³⁴ Another road towards Angadipuram leaves the Pandaloor hill on the right, meanders S.S.E 1 1/2 miles, crosses a field, and passes over low hills. Winds east 4 miles, and crossing several stripes of paddy land to Nellikuth angady, a small Bazar, passing a large stream to the east of that place, it enters the Valluvanad Talook this is an indifferent road, will admit only of laden cattle and foot passengers. The sum of 200 or 300 rupees, laid out on the construction of the road from Manjeri to Angadipuram, the expense for this purpose is taken from a portion of the ferry fund.³⁵

The inland road from Calicut enters the Ernad Taluk on passing the river Chaliyar to Pudiangady or Malappuram, from thence it winds east considerably the

³² *Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, No.12776, Dated 27th April 1860, RAK, p. 1.*

³³ *Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, PWD (Road and bridge), Jan-June 1867, RAK.*

³⁴ Ward and Conner, *op.cit.*, p. 115.

³⁵ *Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, PWD, Jan-March 1858, RAK.*

river on the left, crosses numerous fields and nullahs country very undulating to Areacode 6 1/2 miles from then south over undulating ground 2 miles, the road from Areacode to Porauze is one of the earliest routes in Ernad. Captain Watson constructed this road in 1801, and he reports that “it is practicable to construct a road from Ariakote to Porauze by the route of Manjerry for the conveyance of the military stores, the construction of the road is progressing and that some of the inhabitants of Ariakote have shown a determined unwillingness to execute the work allotted to them.”³⁶ Here the road is mainly used for the military purpose. Edavanna is carried off to the left, the road now descends crossing fields at intervals, passing through the *Desoms* of Kurracoon, Vettoor, Pulpatta, Karuvambram, to Manjeri southeast 8 miles, this road winds considerably some portion is very good and the whole space is very undulating, will however admit of wheel carriages with much difficulty.³⁷

The road from Edavanna to Wandoor was repaired in 1858 and the Assistant engineer reported to the acting collector of Malabar, the work was mainly done with the total expense of rupees 2-5-2, taken from the Huzur treasury.³⁸ The road from Manjeri to Wandoor passes over plain undulating ground crossing several stripes of cultivation and passing through the *Desoms* of Thrikalangode and Tiruvali, West crossing a narrow and deep nullah, ascends heights road continues through wood descends to the Pagoda of Wandoor on the left.³⁹ the Amsom Cutchery on a plain height 1/2 miles east of the temple the whole distance from Manjeri being 13 miles.⁴⁰ The bridge at Cannoth between Wandoor and Cholakkal was repaired in 1867, because this temporary bridge has been extremely swept away by a flood and

³⁶ *Madras Correspondence File, Vol. 2209, Dated 3rd February 1801, RAK, p. 149.*

³⁷ *Ward and Conner, op.cit., p. 116.*

³⁸ *Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File 1858, op.cit.*

³⁹ *Ward and Conner, op.cit., p. 117*

⁴⁰ *Innes C.A, Malabar Gazetteer, Kerala Gazetteer Department, Tiruvananthapuram, 1997, p. 88.*

Mr. I.N. Mawarus, Assistant Engineer submitted his report to the district collector of Malabar for repairing the bridge.⁴¹

Once all these roads, old or new, were built, they would be maintained in good condition using the labor power of the community. The oxen carts that carried the necessary goods should be taxed. The benefits of these collected tax money could be utilized for the road repairs. Most of the roads of Malabar are mainly constructed by using the local fund and ferry fund of the state.⁴² Manjeri as a city grows and develops, transportation systems play a crucial role in shaping their structure and functionality. Efficient road transport networks are essential for connecting various parts of the city and facilitating the movement of people and goods. Urbanization often leads to increased demand for transportation services, while transportation infrastructure can also drive urban growth by making areas more accessible and alternative for development. This interdependence between transportation and urbanization highlights the need for well-planned transportation systems to support sustainable and organized urban growth in Malabar.

Travelers' Bungalow

During the beginning of the nineteenth century the British built traveler's bungalows in Manjeri because it is one of the important areas between the routes from Calicut to Nilgiris hills. The bungalow at Manjeri was constructed in the year 1799-1800.⁴³ This bungalow is situated southward of Manjeri, and this bungalow was built with Teak wood and bamboo, there are mainly four main rooms in this bungalow, room to the westward is 53 in length, 8.16 in breadth, and 4.7 in height. The room to the northward is 91 in length, 8.16 in breadth and 4.7 in height. Room to the eastward is 16 in length, 4.16 in breadth, and 4.7 in height. The room to the southward is 21 in length, 4.16 in breadth, and 4.7 in height. Due to the decaying condition of the planks, beams, doors and roofs, it was repaired in 1810-1811, for the repairing of the building they used 30 logs of Teakwood. These kinds of

⁴¹ *Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, No. 421, Dated 24th May 1867, RAK.*

⁴² *Madras Correspondence File, op.cit.*

⁴³ *Madras Correspondence File, Vol. 2343, Dated 27th June 1815, p. 193.*

travelers' bungalows are well maintained in nineteenth century, then the last quarter of nineteenth and first half of twentieth century there is so many bungalows were constructed at Manjeri and its surrounding areas. The following table will show them in detail.

Table 35: List of Traveler's Bungalows in Manjeri

Place	Nearest Railway station	Accommodation	Furnished	Daily Charge
1. Manjeri	Tirur 24ml	Tiled; 2 rooms, 2 bathrooms, kitchen, and stable.	Furnished with chairs, tables and coaches.	Rs 1 for each adult and Rs 1-8-0 for married couple for halt of 3 hours or less, stabling alone for 4 Ana.
2. Manjeri (PWD inspection Bungalow)	Feroke 23ml	Thatched; 2 rooms, kitchen, stable and latrine.	Some furniture chairs and tables.	As 8 for an adult, As 12 for a married couple.
3. Pandikkad	Pattambi 24ml	Tiled; 2 rooms, 2 bathrooms, kitchen, and stable	Furnished with chairs, tables and coaches	Rs 1 for each adult and Rs 1-8-0 for married couple for halt of 3 hours or less, stabling alone for 4 As
4. Edavanna	Feroke 31ml	Tiled; 2 rooms, 2 bathrooms, kitchen, and stable	Furnished with chairs, tables and coaches	As 8 for an adult and As 19 for a married couple. For halt of 3 hours or less As 4, stabling alone As 4.

Source: Travelers Bungalows, Rest Houses and Chatrams in the Madras Presidency, Madras, 1916.

Without these bungalows, Manjeri had *Chathrams* and halting sheds for the use of travelers and traders. *Chatram* was constructed during the years 1866-67,⁴⁴ and it was mainly used by travelers and traders who came from outside of Manjeri. The halting shed at Manjeri was constructed from the local fund, and the fees levied for the halting shed are As 4 for single persons and As 6 for married couples. The following table will show the details of the halting shed for the five years.

Table 36: Receipts and Charges of the Halting Shed at Manjeri.

Year	Receipts			Charges		
1888-89	52	4	0	53	5	8
1889-90	39	8	0	70	14	3
1890-91	23	4	0	68	5	1
1891-92	18	8	0	77	6	10
1892-93	31	4	0	74	0	0
Total	164	12	0	343	15	10

Note: the figures included certain sums paid into the treasury in respect of the Manjeri as well as other sheds. Details of these sums relating to each of the items not being available, the whole of such payments have been included in these figures.

Source: *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, No. 624, Dated 28th August 1894, RAK.*

The above table gives a detailed description of the halting shed, and during these five years the total receipts are Rupee 164 and As 12, and the total charges are Rupees 343 as 15 Ps 10. So, these charges are remitted from the people who come to stay here. In 1894 the Government recommended that the local fund halting shed at Manjeri to be declared permanently exempted from payment of assessment.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ It was mentioned by Mr. Unniri Menon, inspector of Ernad, in his letter he wrote that Manjeri chatram was constructed twenty years before 1888, and there are some shops surrounded it for the use of the outsiders or the traders who came here for buying their essential materials. Seen in, *Revenue R-Dis File, No.6051, Dated 29th October 1888, p. 1.*

⁴⁵ *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, No.624, Dated 28th August 1894, pp. 1-2.*

Communication: Telegraph and Postal Services

The British colonial era saw the introduction of modern communication networks in India. Communication networks, comprising primarily of the telegraph and postal services, facilitated faster information exchange and established India's link with the rest of the British empire. These infrastructures were not just mere modes of transport and communication, but they played a crucial role in consolidating British control, enabling faster movement of troops, and streamlining administrative procedures. Generally, these communications were seen as tools to educate and modernize the Indian people. The late nineteenth century saw exponential growth in the communication networks in India.

Telegraph

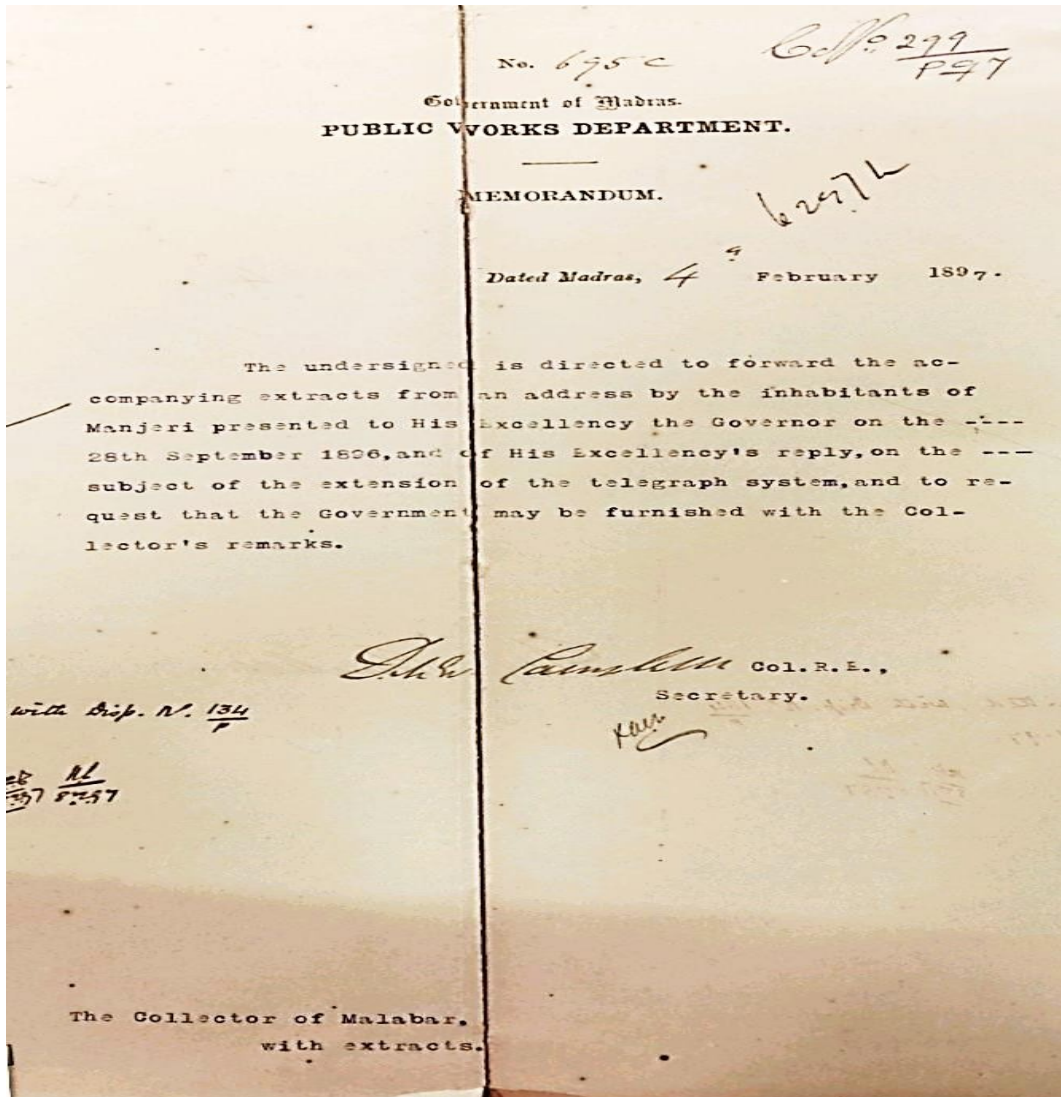
The East India Company had decided to construct a telegraph system along with the Railways and along the railway lines, In the resolution of the 14th November 1881 it was stated that “the government of India is willing and anxious to forward any scheme for developing and facilitating communication by telegraph, so far as this can be done without risk to the interests of the general tax-paying community, but in the interests of that community, it is essential that the telegraph service should be self-supporting.”⁴⁶ In Manjeri the telegraph system was introduced in the late nineteenth century. The request for the extension of a telegraph line at Manjeri was requested by the inhabitants of Manjeri in 1896. They respectfully suggest the expansion of the telegraph in the Ernad taluk, for its absence has been known to involve considerable danger and inconvenience in turbulent seasons. The reply to this request is very positive and the collector has immense pleasure in consulting this, and he asked them to point out some places which should be connected by telegraph.⁴⁷ After the establishment of the telegraph line at Manjeri,

⁴⁶ *Proceedings of the Government of India in the Public Works Department, Civil Works (Telegraph), No. 382, Dated 14th June 1882, p. 1.*

⁴⁷ *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis file, No. 379, Dated 10th February 1897, RAK, p. 2.*

the collector of Malabar undertakes the responsibility of the connection with the extension of the telegraph line from Manjeri to Nilambur.⁴⁸

Figure 16: Memorandum for the Extension of Telegraph Line at Manjeri



Source: Revenue R-Dis file, No. 379, Dated 10th February 1897, Regional Archives Kozhikode.

In addition to this, the collector received a petition signed by ten persons reporting that telegraph offices might be connected at Manjeri, Wandur and Pandikad. The government established communication by telegraph for the area

⁴⁸ Malabar Collectorate R-Dis file, No. 343, Dated 25th November 1903, RAK, p. 1.

between Malappuram, Manjeri and Pandikkad as well as other places.⁴⁹ Then the extension of the telegraph from Malappuram to Nilambur with intermediate stations at Manjeri and Edavanna was of course keep the government in closer touch with those localities. An extension of the telegraph from Angadipuram to Nilambur with intermediate stations at Pandikkad and Wandur was also a great convenience to the officials during Ramzan. There should be no difficulty in having, it guaranteed by the principal inhabitants in the neighborhood of the proposed telegraph offices. In the later period, the honorable P. Ratnasabhpati Pillai to the Collector of Malabar Mr. A.T. Arundel, in this report states that;

*“In view of the circumstances that the want of a telegraph office at Manjeri (Malabar) must have been greatly felt on the occasion of the late Mappila disturbances and escape of prisoners from the sub-jail, will government be pleased to take steps to establish a telegraph office at the above station”.*⁵⁰

Collector accepted this request and give permission to establish a telegraph office at Manjeri. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century communication by telegraph was very easily available in Manjeri.

Postal Service

The East India Company started establishing post offices in India. The East India Company opened its first post office in 1727. In 1774 Calcutta General Post Office (GPO) was established. The site where the GPO is located was actually the site of Fort William. The general post office was designed in 1864 by Walter B. Grenville, who acted as consulting architect of the government of India from 1863-1868. In 1786 Madras GPO was established, it functions in a building built in 1884. Taluq *Tappal* (postal service) were established in each taluk during the 1860s, then the postal establishments were revised, and an approximate estimate of the probable amount required for each taluk was on account of these establishments.⁵¹

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁰ *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File, No.377, Dated 21st February 1898, RAK, p. 1.*

⁵¹ *Circular Board of Revenue, No.1003, Dated 19th July 1861, RAK, p. 1.*

The Malabar postal system was introduced by the British. Before the establishment of the postage system in Malabar the local rulers communicated with the system of *Neetu*, the messenger helped the rulers to communicate with the other province rulers. The postal runner is called *anchalottakaran*. We cannot getting the evidences as to which year the British established the postal service in Malabar. The Calicut post office was the head office of all other postal offices. During the British period, there are 240 postal towns in Malabar.⁵² Ponnani Taluk had 44 postal towns, Palghat Taluk had 40 postal towns, Ernad Taluk had 9 postal towns, Walluvanad Taluk had 36 postal towns, Cherakkal Taluk had 25 postal towns, Wayanad Taluk had 36 postal towns, Kottayam had 9 postal towns. The following table will show the list of postal offices in Malabar.

Table 37: List of the Names of all District Postal Offices in Malabar.

Taluk	Stations
Kannur	Taliparamba
Cherikal	.....
Kottayam	.....
Kartanad	Vatakara
Kurumbranad	Quilandi
Calicut	Calicut
Shernad	Tirurangadi
Walluvanad	Angadipuraam
Ernad	Manjeri
Palghat	Palghat

Source: *Revenue R-Dis File, No.982, Dated 16th October 1861, RAK, p. 20.*

Privet letters are the main registered letters of the Manjeri post office, during July 1861 there are mainly 216 privet letters are registered from this office, with an amount of postage Rupee 10, As 19 and 6 Ps⁵³. Most of the other post offices in

⁵² Postal Directory of the Madras Circle, RAK.

⁵³ *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis file, No.982, dated 16th October 1861, RAK, p. 5.*

Malabar mainly registered the privet letters, only the Calicut post office deals with service letters. The fee of one Anna is allowed to the person who registers letters in the district post office. The post office at Manjeri had four Peons from the beginning, these Peons were appointed with a salary of Rupees five, and later government appointed two more Peons with a salary of Rupees seven and Rupees five respectively. The new Peons were appointed to convey the letter to Malappuram area.⁵⁴ As some remuneration for the extra service required of them, and as security for the delivery of the letters, every person through whom a district post letter might be delivered was authorized to levy, 'for his use' a delivery fee of one *pice* (one fourth of Ana). The persons through whom delivery was made were not servants of the post office, nor was the delivery of letters part of their ordinary duty.⁵⁵ The delivery of the letter is partly secured, and the payment to be made is known, the undue exaction is rendered more difficult. Where rural messengers or ordinary letter carriers are regularly employed for the collection and distribution of letters in a village or definite circle of villages, the places included in the rural delivery are within an ordinary postal delivery, and no extra fee should be demanded, but when letters are delivered by police or by village servants, the fee should be allowed⁵⁶. In Malabar, the district post offices are set up at Kathirur, Alathur, Edavanna, Chavakkad, Tirurangadi, Manjeri, and Angadipuram. The following table discusses the district post office in Manjeri and the list of dispatched and received letters in 1866.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁵ *Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, No.785*, Inward and Outward Letters in the Postal Department from January to December 1866.

⁵⁶ *Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, No.790*, Inward and Outward Letters in the Postal Department from July to December 1860.

Table 38: List of Letters in District Post Office Manjeri

Month & Year	October 1866	November 1866	December 1866	January 1866	February 1866	March 1866
Letter Dispatched	126	98	58	53	131	71
Letter Received	126	98	58	53	131	71

Source: *File No.785, Madras Correspondence File, Inward and Outward Letters in the Postal Department from January to December 1866*

The letters from the postal department in the Malabar district discuss post office matters. But it gives information about the nature of the post office. During the British period post office played a major role in the transformation of information to the colonial administration. The postal runners played an important role in the transformation of letters from sender to receiver. The British administration dominated through transport and communication, and it helped to dominate the countries very easily.

Urban Sociabilities from the late 19th Century

Education and Public Sphere

Education is an effective mode of cultural reproduction, it proved to be a reliable tool of ideological dominance. In combination with socialization practices the system of education privileges those members of society who by virtue of their location in the class system are the natural inheritors of cultural capital. Habermas's analysis of the emergence of a bourgeois liberal public sphere in Western Europe is suggestive of the study of the relation between the norms of communicative rationality and the distribution of political power in the non-western world.⁵⁷ The colonial administration in India had shown little interest in education before 1813

⁵⁷ T. Muhammadali, 'Colonial Education Public Sphere and Marginality in Kerala the Case of the Mappilas,' in Dr.V. Kunhali (ed.), *Kerala Society Historical Perceptions*, University of Calicut, Calicut, 2002, p. 86.

when the charter of the East India Company was renewed, and a modest provision was made for expenditure on institutions of learning. However, interest in education which was now expressed was conceptually consistent with the steps that had been taken earlier in matters of general administration.⁵⁸

The role of the British administration in the educational progress of Malabar was very feeble throughout the nineteenth century. One of the early ways of the British in the education of the madras presidency was that the court of directors sanctioned a permanent grant of 250 pagodas each for the three schools at Tanjore, Ramanadapuram and Shivaganga in 1787.⁵⁹ These schools were started by the Rajas of the respective principalities under the instruction of Christian missionaries. Later the missionaries established schools in 1814, 1817 and 1818 in different parts of Madras Presidency and asked for grants from the government. But the court of directors having no specific policy of education asked the Madras Governments to stand in the issue and this intervention of the court of directors forced the government to think actively on the educational condition of the presidency. The Madras administration began to take an interest in the private educational institutions in the state.

The British had no information regarding the educational situation of the Madras Presidency though they completed several decades of administration in South India. After the intervention of missionaries in education in Madras they decided to conduct a survey in this field. Sir Thomas Munro ordered an education survey in 1822 and after the survey, a report was submitted to the court of directors. In the opinion of the government, the total number of the indigenous school was about 12,498 in the Madras Presidency.⁶⁰ Munro took an interest in education in the presidency and proposed two principal schools in each collectorate and one inferior school in each talook, and to enquire and report on the measures to be adopted for

⁵⁸ Krishna Kumar, *Politics of Education in Colonial India*, Routledge, New Delhi, 2014, p. 15.

⁵⁹ K.S. Mathew and Joshy Mathew, *Education in Colonial and Post-Colonial Malabar 1920-2006*, Gyan Publications, New Delhi, 2017, p. 30.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

the general advancement of education. During the two years that this board continued in existence, 14 collectorate schools and 81 talook schools were set on foot together with a central school at the presidency⁶¹. The main object of which was to provide teachers for the collectorate schools. In all these schools the instruction was of a very elementary character, and the qualifications of the teachers generally were very low. In all, the vernacular language of the district was the medium of instruction, a very elementary knowledge of English, merely as a language being imparted in a few of the collectorate schools.

The Wood's Dispatch of 1854 was the turning point in the history of education in India. In tune with the recommendations of Charles Wood, the Government decided to start new Government schools and provide grants-in-aid to private educational institutions not only in India but also in the Madras Presidency. The Government also decided to start vernacular schools in the interior areas because of the belief that the instruction of the masses could only be conducted in the native languages.⁶² Of the 100 taluk schools sanctioned by the government, twenty-eight were brought into operation during the year. In Malabar, the first Anglo-vernacular school was established at Calicut in 1855 and the first grant-in-aid was provided in 1856 to a private Anglo-vernacular school. The first taluk vernacular school was opened at Ernad in 1856 and the aim of the school was to give education to the Muslims in Malabar. In the following year, the Government established five other taluk vernacular schools in Malabar.

After Wood's Dispatch of 1854, the responsibility of the Department of education was taken over by the director of public instruction. The colonial government started a new category of schools like 'Rate School' in different parts of Madras Presidency including Malabar in 1864-65. The establishment of these schools was commended with the sanction of government in March 1855 by Mr. G. N. Taylor, the sub-collector of the Godavari district.⁶³ According to the latest returns, the number of schools was 100, with an attendance of 2000 pupils. The

⁶¹ *Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1854-55*, Madras, 1855, p. 2.

⁶² K.S Mathew and Joshy Mathew, *op.cit.*, p. 32.

⁶³ *Administrative Report 1861-62*, *op.cit.*, p. ixxxvii.

schools have been supported almost entirely by a rate paid by the agricultural classes in the form of a percentage of the land tax. The original scheme provided that such persons not paying any land tax as might send their children to the schools, should pay a schooling fee, but the sums raised from this source have, it is understood, been inconsiderable, and the main burden of supporting the schools has fallen on the agricultural community. The imposition of the rate originated in applications which Mr. Tylor, writing in August 1854, reported that he had received from the inhabitants of certain villages offering to assess themselves for the purpose of supporting primary vernacular schools in their villages and it was sanctioned on the understanding that the proposal in each case should emanate from the village itself and that the amount to be levied “should be fixed by the inhabitants, who in a body should be required to signify their assent to the arrangement.”

In a report made by Mr. Taylor, the year after the scheme was sanctioned, he stated that

“in every instance in which a school had been established, the inhabitants had cheerfully offered to support, that every precaution had been taken to ascertain their real wishes in the matter, and that he had declined to open a school wherever there was the least hesitation or difference of opinion on the part of the community.” “Discontented spirits”, he observed, “will always be found, and as might have been expected, there have been a few complaints from the disaffected and appeals both to myself and to higher authority, which have received immediate attention, but have usually ended in the objectors consenting with the majority that the schools should stand.”⁶⁴

Manjeri Rate School

The government schools of the lower grade in the sub-divisions may be regarded as tolerably efficient. But it is probable that they will in the course of time be superseded by Rate Schools.⁶⁵ Of the Rate schools, that at Kottayam is the

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ These kinds of schools encouraged by the inhabitants of the area to contribute for the education of their children. The ryots voluntarily subjected themselves to a rate or subscription to maintain schools in their villages. This was very short-lived subject but

earliest established in November 1864.⁶⁶ A class has been formed here of the standard of a 4th class, the pupils do very well in English and translation, as well as in arithmetic and geography. The headmaster is trained and matriculated, and the others are certificated. At several of the Rate Schools in Malabar, the Mappilas a class who refuse to send their children to Government School's, are beginning to allow their children to attend. In this new section of the school's fund required for their functioning were collected from the local people and students in these schools were exempted from fees. The Government encouraged the villagers to contribute to the education of their children. The cultivators subjected themselves to a rate or subscription to maintain schools in their localities. In Malabar, the government had established twenty-three Rate Schools with 1551 children by 1870-71. The community-wise distribution of ratepayers and amounts paid by them are as follows.

Table 39: Number of Ratepayers, Pupils and Amount Collected 1870-71.

Classes	Number of Rate Payers	Number of Pupils	Amount of cess contributed		
Namburi Brahmins	567	1	1682	9	10
Other brahmins	2497	463	3589	6	10
Nayars	5500	817	11199	4	1
Other Sudras	987	77	1708	15	10
Mappilas	1926	29	3259	2	2
Total	11,477	1,387	21,437	36	33

Source: *Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1870-71*, Madras, 1871, p. 43.

has made history. It was novel to the Presidency, the idea of which Mr. Taylor got from the North- West Frontier Provinces and Bombay. The system of rate schools is directly connected with the Land-holding classes, who contributed for their maintenance. The experiment started with the special collection along with the regular revenue payments by the villagers. Seen in, J. Mangamma, *A Monograph on the Rate Schools of Godavari*, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1971, p. 1.

⁶⁶ *Report of Public Instruction of Madras Presidency for 1865-66*, Madras, 1866, p. cxxxv.

The ratepayers in many localities are so far from valuing the education offered them in return for the tax they pay that they seem to look at education as a greater burden than the tax itself. Official influence has kept up the attendance at not a few schools, but it is now found less effective than it used to be. To what extent ratepayers in Malabar are willing or able to avail themselves of the education imparted in the schools they support is seen in the above table. Of the Rate Schools, a few are moderately efficient, and some reach the standard of the fifth class of a Taluq school, for the most part, however, the schools stand in need of great improvement. The Rate System lost its voluntary aspect and was legalized with the Madras Education Act of 1863. The government started a special collection of rates along with the regular revenue payments by the land holding cultivating classes.

Manjeri was one of the earliest Rate Schools in Malabar and was established in 1866. Of the middle-class schools, some of them reached the standard of a developed taluk school. There are eight of these grades in the division, viz;

Table 40: Standard Schools in Malabar

Sl No	Name of schools
1	The Taluq school, Badagara
2	The Church Mission school, Cannanore
3	The Rate school, Manjeri
4	The Rate school, Cherpulacheri
5	The Rate school, Mulki
6	The Christian brother's school, Cannanore
7	The Roman Catholic school, Calicut
8	The Milagres Bishops school, Manglore

The inhabitants of Ernad Taluk submitted a petition to Mr. G.A Ballard, the district collector of Malabar, for the establishment of a school at Manjeri in Ernad Taluk, under Act of VI of 1863(Madras). The application was undersigned by the individuals of sixteen Amsoms in Ernad taluk, the *Amsoms* like, Painad, Pandikad, Chembrari, Porur, Elamkur, Vandur, Nilambur, Tiruvali, Manjeri, Karakunnu,

Erambuyi, Trikalangode, Puliakode, Kuzhimanna, Vengara, and Valuvaprom.⁶⁷

In this application they wrote that,

“we, the inhabitants of the Amsoms noted, being desirous of contributing our share of subscription for the establishment of a school at manjeri , in Ernad taluk, as well as for the monthly expenses required for its maintenance, pray for an order that the Madras educational Act No. VI of 1863 may be put in force in the aforesaid Amshoms. We desire that instruction in English and Malayalam may be imparted, such as is ordered to be provided in the Government Taluq schools.”

This application was approved by the Governor in council and draft a notification for the establishment of a school at Manjeri.⁶⁸ The construction of school building work has also been commenced at the spot of the south of Taluq Cutcherry.⁶⁹ The building is mainly constructed with mud walls and tiled roofs. For the building construction, they collected the subscription rates, the collected subscription rates shown in the following table.

Table 41: Subscription Rates Collected from the Landlords

Names	Subscription Rate
Karanamulpad of Manjeri	300 Rs
Kizheedathu Kittoo Nair	200 Rs
Comi Aidru Adighari of Wandoor	100 Rs
Kavungal Manhalacherry Nambooripad	100 Rs
Chettyarmal Onni shenai	100 Rs
Kutiprath Chemukutti Panikkar	25 Rs
Velenhaprath Syed Ajiar	25 Rs
TOTAL	850 Rs

Source: *Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, No.298, Dated 20th April 1866, RAK.*

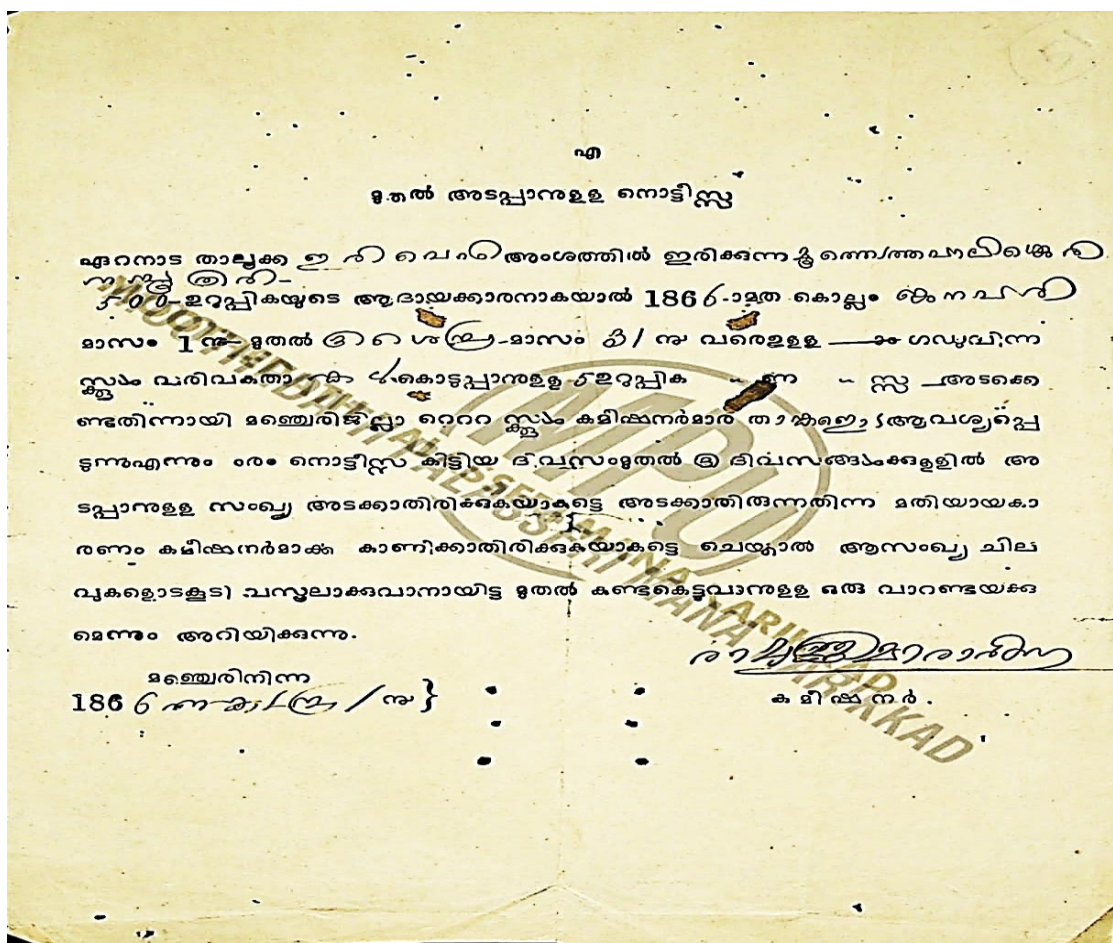
⁶⁷ *Proceedings of the Madras Government, Educational Department, No. 28, Dated 10th April 1866, RAK.*

⁶⁸ *Proceedings of the Madras Government, Educational Department, No. 99, Dated 10th April 1866, RAK.*

⁶⁹ *Malabar Collectorate Correspondence File, No.298, Dated 20th April 1866, RAK.*

The rate of subscription was collected from all landlords from the Ernad Taluk, the largest amount of rate is given by the Karanamulpad of Manjeri (300 Rs). The government collected a huge amount of subscription rates from the whole Taluk, and the above table gives some important subscription rates paid by the landlords. If anybody can't pay the rates, the government will try to pay them forcefully. Moothedathu Palassery Namboothiri got a memo for not paying the rates.

Figure 17: Memorandum for Paying Subscription Rates.



Source: Privet Records Collection, Moothedathu Palassery Mana, Karikkad, 1866.

The above notice is sent by Mr. Ramunni Marar, the Commissioner of Rate School at Manjeri, according to this notice Moothedathu Palassery Namboothiri will pay the rate of subscription from January 1866 to December 1866, an amount of 5

rupee within three days other ways the government will recover the wealth. So, it clearly shows, sometimes the landlords pay the rates forcefully.

The Deputy Inspector,⁷⁰ of Malabar speaks very highly of the success of the Rate School System in his divisions, and it certainly appears that a desire exists in several places on the western coast for the application of the Education Act. The Rate School at Manjeri was opened on the 1st of July 1866, the Deputy Inspector inspected it in July 1866. He observes that there is a large well planned walled schoolhouse, capable of accommodating 150 children's. The schoolhouse is amply supplied with good furniture, this school will rise to the full standard of a *zillah* school. The headmaster is a trained normal student from the Madras Normal school, has passed the first Arts Examination, and is preparing for the Bachelor of Arts Degree. The detailed description of the teachers is given in the following table.

Table: 42: Rate School at Manjeri

Name of Teacher	Salary	Qualification
K. Ramachandrayya	100 Rs	First Arts
G. Varghese	50 Rs	Matriculation
V. Eradi	25 Rs	4 th Grade

Source: *Report of Public Instruction of Madras for 1866-67*, Madras, 1867, p. cxxii.

The most important Rate School in Malabar, next to that of Palghat is the Manjeri Rate School.⁷¹ Manjeri is the *casba* town of the large and most important Taluk of Ernad, because of that the number of students has been risen from its beginning onwards, and the location of the town is favorable for the students can

⁷⁰ The Deputy Inspector of Malabar was appointed on the 22nd January 1866, the Inspector can at best find out only whether the children have attended any other school, and how many months they have been at the school they are examined in. but as to whether they have attended 15 days in each month or not, he has no other resources than the register, and for its trustworthiness he must depend upon on the honour of the master. Seen in, *Report of Public Instruction of Madras Presidency for 1866-67*.

⁷¹ *Report of Public Instruction of Madras for 1867-68*, Madras, p. clxxii.

easily reach there. The number of students in the Rate School at Manjeri will be shown in the following table.

Table 43: Number of Pupils Attended in Rate School at Manjeri.

Year	Number of Pupil				Average Daily Attendance
	Hindu	Muslim	Other	Total	
1866-67	70	3	1	74	56
1867-68	92	6	1	99	72
1869-70	52	6	2	60	49
1870-71	54	4	2	60	52

Source: *Report of Public Instruction of Madras for the year from 1866 to 1871.*

The attendance has risen from 26 in July 1866 to 74, nearly 174.6 percent. During the period 1867-68, the attendance has risen to 99 pupils, divided into 4 classes. The school passed on the whole a creditable examination. The headmasters want of acquaintance with Malayalam was however a serious drawback, and told unfavorably on the marks obtained by the highest class in translation. The commissioners here have always shown a capacity to conduct the affairs of the commission without requiring much extraneous aid. At the time of the last inspection, the school was under the charge of the second Master, who appears to have taken pains to improve attendance, as the number on the rolls was fifty-two.

Manjeri Union School

The Union School Manjeri was formerly a Rate middle-class school (established 1866).⁷² It was originally intended that it should be of the Zillah school standard. It's a handsome schoolhouse with all the necessary apparatus. The standard reached by the highest class is that of the fifth class of a Government Taluq school. Malabar contains a very large number of middle-class Union schools. The schools at Trittala, Enamakkil, Manjeri, and Alatur are reported favorable, Manjeri appears to be the most advanced and in fact, there was a desire at one time to

⁷² *Report of Public Instruction of Madras for 1873-74, Madras, p. 341.*

convert it into a High-Class school,⁷³ though such a step would be not merely altogether inexpedient, but even contrary to the expressed views of government.

Table 44: Annual Expenses of Rate School

Number of Peoples			Cost					
Classes	Pupils	Masters	Total Annual			Total Annual of educating each pupil.		
5	72	5	1723	13	1	24	15	9
Headmaster, G. Varghese, Matriculation, Salary Rupees 60.								

The school has a small preparatory matriculation class, with 5th standard. Among these five classes total of 72 pupils and 5 masters. Attendance increased and regular. The highest and lowest classes were favorably reported, but the others unfavorably. To attract pupils two measures have been adopted by the local fund board both of which are to be regretted in the first place a smattering of English is often taught, and in the second, either fees are altogether excused or merely nominal ones imposed. Unless an increased attendance can be got here, the establishment at this school ought to be on a much less expensive scale.

Table: 45: Number of Pupils Attended in Union School at Manjeri

Ros	Number of pupils				Average Daily Attendance
	Hindu	Mohammedan	Other	Total	
1871-72	67	3	2	72	59
1872-73	64	2	4	70	59
1873-74	62	2	....	64	56

Source: *Report of Public Instruction of Madras for the period of 1871 to 1874.*

⁷³ *Report of Public Instruction of Madras for 1872-73, Madras, p. 64.*

After 1873-74 the schools were to be supported from the general local fund, while local funds were to be relieved from the contribution hitherto required from them for the cost of deputy inspector and normal schools, which was resumed by the government as into a provincial charge. The Deputy Inspector's report is as follows, "this school, which was doing rather badly at the beginning of the year, is now making satisfactory progress. It has a good staff of masters, men of experience and training, who are disposed to work hard".⁷⁴ Generally, the Local fund Boards are the recognized managers of Union schools, so it's also called as Local Fund schools. The British started an educational institution in Manjeri to civilize the people but, it actually started at the request of the native people and they also paid subscription rates for the maintenance of the school. Actually, the thought of education has come from the progressive minds of the inhabitants of Manjeri.

Socio-Reform Movements in Manjeri

Social reform movement normally originates from the awareness or promises of liberal philosophies like, the 'suffrage movement', 'right to freedom' etc. The nineteenth century is often characterized as a century of progress as Manjeri became urban, commercial, and modern. A social reform movement generally occurs in an environment where there is an existence of the right to freedom of expression or right to free association. In Manjeri, the nineteenth-century social context, which led to the rise of middle-class people and more specifically the secular liberal or democratic norms, provided the impetus for social reform movements.

i. Hidayatul Muslimeen Sabha

The Hidayatul Muslimeen Sabha as a socio religious reform movement founded at Manjeri on 3rd June 1897. The first President of Sabha was a renowned Islamic scholar of Manjeri area, Musliyarakath Abdulla Musliyar, and the first secretary and treasurer was K. Kunjalan and K. Pokker respectively. The other members like, Korambayil Ahammed, Mammad Moyin Kurikkal, Vallanchira Knjahammed, Chulliyil Muhammed Haji and other 62 members are participated in

⁷⁴ *Report of Public Instruction of Madras for 1874-75*, Madras, p. cvi.

the joining meeting of Sabha. The committee members of Hidayatul Muslimeen Sabha aimed at the multi-faceted development of the poor, ignorant and downtrodden Mappilas and to bring their plights to the notice of authorities.⁷⁵ Sabha made many achievements in the cultural and educational fields. On 10th December 1897, the Sabha decided to start night school for the upliftment of uneducated Muslim adults. The most significant achievement of Sabha was the construction of a mosque at Manjeri in 1901. Mosques were the traditional learning centers of the Muslim community. Moreover, the educational status of the Muslim community was limited to the traditional way of learning at *Palli Dars*, schools attached to mosques, and so on. The Sabha documents that meetings were continually held to review the progress of Sabha and to discuss and formulate policies and strategies for further action. The following are the declared objectives of the Sabha during the time of its formation.

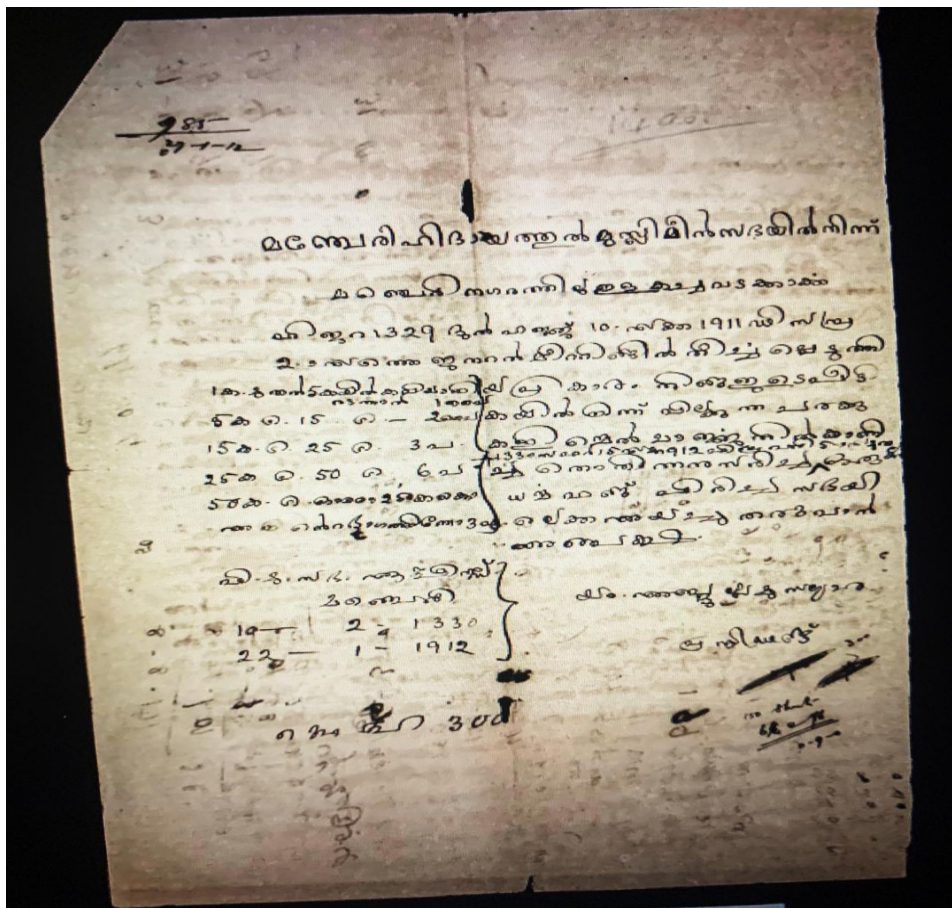
1. To promote religious and secular education, civilization, unity, loyalty to the king (Raja bhakti).
2. To extend charity and aims for the welfare of the Muslim community.
3. To buy properties and build structures for attaining the objectives.
4. To run Madrasa, print and publish textbooks for Madrasa.
5. To establish libraries, night schools, reading rooms etc.
6. To work for the goodness and betterment of Islam in accordance with the objectives of the Sabha as well as *shari'ath*.

Sabha collected funds from the upper-class society and especially from the merchants and traders of Manjeri town. The Sabha not only influenced educational matters but also for the upliftment of the entire section of society. As part of the

⁷⁵ Interview with, O Abdul Ali, (75), Manjeri, 18th February 2024.

active participation of Sabha in the economic activity it started some trading committees for the welfare of traders in Manjeri town.⁷⁶

Figure: 18: H M Sabha Fund Collection



Source: *Report of H. M. Sabha*, CSHM, Digital Archives, Department of History, Farook College, Kozhikode, 1911.

ii. Basel Evangelical Mission

The formation of Basel evangelical mission was the fulfillment of a pledge taken by a few believers in Basel town. It was the time of the Napoleonic wars. During the nineteenth century, India was ruled by the English East India Company, and they did not allow other missionaries. In 1883 Blumhardt, Basel mission inspector went to England and discussed the fortune of missionary activities in India

⁷⁶ *H.M Sabha Correspondence File*, CSHM, Digital Archives, Department of History, Farook College, Kozhikode, 1905.

with the British officials. Due to those discussions, the British Parliament allowed all the missionary societies to send their missionaries to India.⁷⁷ The Basel mission arrived in Malabar soon after the renewal of the East India Company chapter in 1883. They selected three missionaries to India. The first missionary to arrive there were Rev. Hebich, Lehner and Greener. Firstly, they went to England to study language, and they decided to set out to India on a ship named 'Malabar.' The first missionary landed at Calicut on 13th October 1834⁷⁸. They were welcomed by Nelson, the District General of Calicut, who gave permission to start their activities in Malabar. Samuel Hebich was no doubt the builder of Basel Mission in Malabar, but Dr. Herman Gundert was the visionary whose impact on the culture of Malabar was of such great value that for the people of Kerala. The arrival of Gundert improved the social, cultural, and educational development in Malabar.⁷⁹

Basel missionaries actively worked in Calicut, Tellicherry, Nettur, etc. Very soon they conducted their activities in Malabar. They started Basel mission camps in various places like Kasargod, Ponnani, Mullasserri, Chittattukara, Manjeri, Chavakkad, etc. The first Basel missionary who came to Manjeri was Rev. Singly, when Singly arrived at Manjeri he saw many Christians there and decided to construct a missionary Bungalow for the missionary purpose, for that he brought 9 acres of land from Manjeri Kovilakam in 1907 and constructed a western model mission Bungalow in 1909.⁸⁰

Nicholas's family of Manjeri was one among the famous Christian families of Manjeri, they were converted from the brahmin community with the influence of Basel Mission. This family is very much for the development of Basel missionary work in Manjeri. They built the CSI Church at Manjeri, that's why its called the "Nicholas memorial church". From the beginning their aim was to eradicate social

⁷⁷ Jaiprakash Raghaviah, *Basel Mission Industries in Malabar and South Canara*, Gian publication, New Delhi, p. 3.

⁷⁸ Fredrick Sunil Kumar, *The Basel Mission and Social Change Malabar and South Canara: A case study 1830-1956*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Calicut, 2006, p. 12.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Interview with, Rev. Joy Masilamani, (56), CSI Church Manjeri, 5th January 2022.

inequalities and made an egalitarian society. Then the following period the Basel mission worked for the improvement of downtrodden people and women's, for their upliftment mission started educational institutions it's called as "Panchamam School."⁸¹ The Basel missionaries led a new way of life, they introduced industrial schools in Manjeri, they also enriched the Malayalam language and literature. One of the most important contributions by Basel Mission in Manjeri was the publication of the first Malayalam novel 'Sukumari' written by Joseph Mooliyil, a member of the Nicholas family. It discussed the history of the Basel Mission in Malabar.

Institutionalization of Healthcare System

Before The arrival of Europeans in Malabar, the indigenous system of medicine provided the necessary healthcare to the people. These medical systems that had deep roots in the scientific and cultural traditions of India recognized various types of diseases and their treatment. With the beginning of colonial rule, modern medicine and healthcare were introduced into India. The British medical presence in India dates from 1600 when a small number of ship surgeons arrived on board the East India Company's first fleet.⁸² The number of British surgeons in India increased steadily as the Company extended its trading operations, but there was no regular medical establishment until 1763 when the Bengal Medical Service was formed. The Bengal service set fixed grades or ranks, and definite rules for promotion; it comprised 4 head surgeons, 8 surgeons, and 28 surgeon's mates. Medical services were soon formed on similar lines in the other two Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. In 1775 the medical services were expanded, and medical boards set up in each presidency to administer European hospitals. The wars of the eighteenth century also highlighted the need for assistants and orderlies in European

⁸¹ The *Panchamars* were considered the lowest in the society and apart from serving the upper caste landlords they were assigned common duties like removing dead cattle, cleaning drainage, and played pivotal role in death and funeral ceremonies. Due to the nature of their work, they were considered "untouchables" and lived in the fringes of village. Denied access to mainstream society, their very sight was believed to cause pollution.

⁸² Mark Harrison, *Public health in British India: Anglo-Indian preventive medicine 1859-1914*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1994, p. 7.

hospitals India.⁸³ From very early times, the Company employed Indians, and occasionally European soldiers, as compounders, dressers, and apothecaries. In Bengal, in the 1760s, these assistants were organised into a Military Subordinate Medical Service (SMS), and similar measures were taken in the other presidencies in the early nineteenth century. The expansion of the subordinate medical service (SMS) and the superior service in the first half of the nineteenth century paralleled British territorial expansion in India.⁸⁴ Writing in 1773, the East India Company surgeon John Clark found the coast of Malabar ‘temperate and healthy.’⁸⁵

During the nineteenth century, the healthcare system of Madras presidency was completely institutionalized with the civil hospitals and dispensaries, it was efficiently maintained with extracts from the reports of the medical officers in charge of these institutions, and from the inspection reports of deputy inspectors-General.⁸⁶ In every quarter of the Madras Presidency the superiority of European over native medicine and surgery is acknowledged, even by the Hakeems a result of well tested practical observation, not only as to ordinary diseases surgical and medical, but also of some happy cures in desperate cases abandoned as utterly hopeless by the native doctors. Instances of this kind have presented at almost every station, and they have operated powerfully in removing the natural prejudice in the

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁸⁵ According to Clark, the climate and air, even in the warmest months, causing no great inconvenience to health.8 Women, too, flourished in the salubrious climate of India’s south-eastern coast, and enjoyed ‘a remarkable immunity from the endemic and popular diseases of a warm climate’. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁸⁶ In the extracts from the dispensary reports, several instances will be observed, where in the native community have subscribed considerable sums not only for the building of dispensaries, but also for the dieting of the sick, for medicines, instruments etc, all which are gratifying proofs of the high estimation in which these dispensaries are now regarded. The first establishment of dispensaries in the populous towns of Nellore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Cuddapah, and Masulipatam the applicants for relief were few indeed, and in this respect at 1850s the contrast is very remarkable, for immediately on a dispensary being opened, the native sick poor flock to it not only in hundreds but it thousands. These hospitals and dispensaries are becoming more highly and more extensively appreciated from year to year even by the better classes of the native community, and by peoples of every caste, high and low. Seen in, *Report on Civil Dispensaries for 1853*, No. VII, Madras, 1855, pp. 1-2.

native mind against European medicine. The real object of this institution is nearly universally understood throughout the Talooks, to afford medical and surgical aid. The following table will show the important dispensaries and hospitals of Malabar in the nineteenth century.

Table 46: List of Hospitals and Dispensaries in Malabar (1800-1900)

Sl. No.	Year of Establishment	Name of Hospital/Dispensary
1	1860	Palghat
2	1861	Mananthody
3	1862	Calicut
4	1863	Ponnani
5	1868	Manjeri
6	1875	Vaythiri
7	1880	Badagara
8	1885	Nilambur
9	1887	Taliparamba
10	1887	Angadippuram
11	1887	Chowghat
12	1889	Kollengode
13	1890	Tamaracheri
14	1890	Tellicherry
15	1891	Sultan Battery

Source: *Report on Civil Dispensaries in the Madras Presidency for the years of 1860 to 1891*, Regional Archives Kozhikode.

A detailed map of Malabar shows the dispensaries included in the Appendix III, before these dispensaries, the influence of modern medicine affected the natives of Manjeri. Because, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, Manjeri witnessed a great influence on medicine and medical practices. Vaccination was one of the earliest but one of the most controversial forms of colonial medical intervention in India. Jennerian vaccination was introduced into India in 1802 and promoted with considerable enthusiasm by European officials like the governor of

Bombay, Lord Elphinstone.⁸⁷ During this time epidemics like, smallpox were highly contagious status in the whole of Malabar, and to prevent this disease the British introduced vaccines, but at this time most of the native people had some negative impression of this vaccine and they hesitated to use this. This was particularly so when they were forced to take the smallpox vaccination. This drug was introduced not through the agency of the regular medical establishment but by the postal department.⁸⁸ The vaccination drive was quite ineffective in dealing with the magnitude of the disease. The ratio of vaccinators to the population was too small to be effective. But this vaccination drive was started very early in Manjeri, the natives used this, and it was recorded by the colonial officers, the following figure will show the report.

Figure 19: Inoculation Report of the Following People for the Smallpox at Manjeri

The image shows a handwritten document on aged paper, titled "The Honorable Company" in cursive. Below the title, there is a heading "Inoculation Report of the Following People for the Smallpox at Manjeri". The document contains a table with three columns. The first column lists names in cursive, the second column contains numbers, and the third column contains more names or descriptions. The handwriting is dense and difficult to read. At the bottom of the page, there is a signature and some additional text.

Source: *Madras Correspondence File, Vol. 228, Dated 28th September 1802, RAK, p. 239.*

⁸⁷ Harrison, *op.cit.*, p. 82.

⁸⁸ Laxman D. Satya, *Medicine Disease and Ecology in Colonial India: the Deccan Plateau in the 19th Century*, Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 2008, p. 239.

The above inoculation report gives the details of the persons who were vaccinated during the period of 1802 in Manjeri. In this inoculation report, there are seventy persons included and their name and details are mentioned here. Some persons like, Mammed Kutty, Tekketodil Ebrahim, Pallealle Moideen, Kollekattu Marakar, Collatodiel Moideen, etc. so from these names we can assume that most of them are native peoples and how much the medical practices influenced the natives of Manjeri at the earlier times of nineteenth century. Vaccination had also to compete with a deeply entrenched and near ubiquitous form of inoculation against smallpox which, unlike vaccination, was sanctioned by Hindu and Moslem religions.⁸⁹

In eastern India, inoculation had its own special practitioners known as *Tikadars*, or ‘mark-makers’, who received payment for their services. Although British medical men had displayed some sympathy for the practice prior to the introduction of vaccination, inoculation was afterward regarded with hostility and almost universally derided as inefficient and dangerous. Even though vaccination technology had been in existence in Europe since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the colonial vaccination methods were quite primitive. The ‘arm-to-arm’ method was practiced along with the ‘needle vaccinator.’⁹⁰ However, most of the efforts at vaccination were made in urban centers and towns. Rural areas where the majority of the population lived remained outside the purview of these measures. This was primarily because the European population was concentrated in cities and towns. The other reason was the indifference of the colonizers and the state toward

⁸⁹ Harrison, *op.cit.*, p. 82.

⁹⁰ In the ‘arm-to-arm’ procedure, the mother was made to carry the infants from village to village and even house to house. The lymph from the child’s vesicles was extracted and administered as fresh vaccine. The lymph was thus contained in the arm and body of the infant who was carried around by the mother for a paltry sum of two Annas per mile. However, the vaccination department commissioned the use of the needle vaccinator for conducting this medical procedure. This instrument used by circle vaccinators consisted of six steel points inserted into a base handle. These needle points were attached to a plated spatula. Lymph was applied to the latticed scratches made by the needles. The people often viewed the vaccinators with great suspicion and dislike. This painful procedure was especially terrifying for children and the mothers objected to it. See, *Ibid.*, p. 247.

the health of the general masses.⁹¹ They tried to protect themselves from contact with the general masses by either restricting people's movement or confining them to isolated pockets. This attitude underlay the development of European medicine, whose aim was to protect the upper classes. The same approach was employed to protect European bodies in the colonies.⁹²

The establishment of charitable dispensaries in the 1830s was one of the earliest attempts to provide Western medical care for the Indian people. It was soon realized that these institutions could perform useful public health functions, in addition to their curative work. Dispensaries became local centres for vaccination against smallpox and for conveying Western ideas about sanitation and hygiene; and 'local sanitary amendments, such as the digging of tanks and wells, fencing them off, and filling up holes' apparently followed the opening of dispensaries in different parts of India. Many of these dispensaries owed their existence to Indian philanthropists, who provided the money for the building of dispensary houses and a monthly sum for their maintenance. By the 1860s, the fortunes of the landed notables who had sponsored these schemes were waning, and increasingly the sources of philanthropy became more diverse. In some cases 'native doctors' and medicines, and even the dispensary itself, were provided by government or some time by commercial organizations and sometimes by subscription from Europeans.⁹³ However, from 1870, as part of a move to reduce public expenditure, the colonial administration sought to distance itself from the running of dispensaries, which it felt should rely increasingly on local funds. hospitals and dispensaries were also a dread of the people. Largely serving Europeans these institutions were established to protect Europeans by vaccinating only those 'natives' who came into direct physical contact with the former. Hospitals and dispensaries treated both indoor and outdoor patients, but the local people seldom visited them. mortality rate among patients was high.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

⁹³ Harrison, *op.cit.*, p. 88.

Manjeri Dispensary

The dispensary was opened on the 1st of September 1868, when a very large number of patients. The dispensary was built on an elevated ground, close to the road, and occupied a commanding position, and south lies the Bazaar (consisting of about thirty houses), sub-magistrate and *Munsiffs* court, Travelers Bungalow and school, further from this in the same place peopled by a few brahmins and Nairs, on the north of the dispensary there were two buildings, one is an inn and the other a market where a weekly fair is held, some two hundred yards to the north of this market there is a mosque, and a small Mappila street consisting of some twenty houses.⁹⁴ The dispensary is situated in the centre of Manjeri (facing to road) to the advantage of all in the taluk. It consists of four wards in a line, one on the right is the female ward, on the left is the police ward, and the remaining two are the male wards occupying a central position. The police and female wards are connected to the central building by walking sheds. The dimensions of each are sixteen square feet, giving accommodation to six beds. The wards have verandahs on all sides. The surgery is situated betwixt the male wards, in front of this there is a hall and porch, to receive the out-patients. The police and female wards have each a bathing and store room at each extremity of the eastern verandah. Not requiring a separate storeroom for the police ward, it is sometimes used by the patients of the dispensary when there are too many. There is also a bathing room attached to the male ward on the northern extremity of the eastern verandah. On the southern extremity of the eastern verandah of the male ward, there is also a room originally intended as a bathroom, but it is then converted into a ward for low-caste *Chermas*.

The wards are sufficiently ventilated by doors and windows, the former half ventilated, and the latter fully ventilated. There is no ridge ventilation. The male wards have each a chimney, in which to keep fire in the wet season. The building is made of laterite, plastered with chunam, and roofed with tiles. As the floor of the wards was mud, it was quite impracticable to keep it always clean, especially in the

⁹⁴ *Annual Report of the Civil Dispensaries Session 1868-69*, No-XVIII, Madras, 1869, p. 102.

monsoon. The president of the local fund board to have the floor of the wards as well as the out-houses, with the exception of the cook-room, asphalted, who has accorded his sanction, and the work was completed during 1874.⁹⁵ The ground on which the dispensary is built measures 300 by 228 feet, it was given by a wealthy landlord of this place without rent. The dispensary was built partly with a government grant, viz., Rupees 3,450, and partly with private contributions amounting to Rupees 1,250. The work was pushed on with great speed by P. Ramoony Marar, the Tahsildar of Ernad Taluk, and was finished in a much shorter time, and at a cheaper cost than could be expected to be done by the public works department. The Tahsildar constructed all the buildings agreeably to the plan, and there was a balance of rupees 232-0-6, after leveling the ground, and rising mud walls on three sides, and making rails in the front for the protection of the compound. These are works over and above the requirements of the estimate. A sum of Rupees 284-8-0 was also collected from the inhabitants over the amount required for the building of the dispensary. The proceeds of the sale of the late civil dispensary at Malappuram amounted to Rupees 46. These two items, together with the balance mentioned above make up a total of Rupees 562-8-6. The sum is being used for the erection of a cook room, male and female privies, and a dead room. For the use of the dispensary, a well was also dug close to the dispensary compound, at the expense of the Tahsildar P. Ramoony Marar, who made it over for the dispensary as a good form in the nineteenth century. At the time of dispensary was opened, when a very large number of patients especially the poorer classes presented themselves for medical aid, from near and distant places. Caste prejudices prevail here to a very great extent, among the Brahmins and Nairs, consequently many of the out-patients coming from distant places, experience great inconvenience to put up in the neighborhood of the hospital. When cases beyond the skill of native Vydiance occur, they do put up with this inconvenience.

A meeting of the president and the members of the managing committee of the dispensary, and the wealthy inhabitants and village magistrates, was held on the

⁹⁵ *Annual Report of Civil Dispensaries for 1874*, Madras, 1875, p. 96.

5th of September 1868.⁹⁶ The inhabitants have agreed to contribute annually, according to their means, for the support of the dispensary. The president and the members have concurred in this method without requesting a large amount at once, seeing that the people lately paid about 12,000 Rupees for the civil dispensary at Calicut, and Rupees 1,534-8-0 for the building here. Taking into consideration the small amount of the fund, the large number of patients admitted into the hospital, the difficulty of obtaining the necessary articles of diet, the high price even for those few to be had here, and the deduction to be added from the fund for clothing, bedding, etc., the patients are not dieted so comfortably as could be desired.⁹⁷ The establishment consists of one ward cooly, one cook, and one sweeper, these are paid from the dispensary fund. The menial attendants attached to the police hospital, and paid by the Government, served also for the dispensary and they were sufficient for the requirement of the dispensary in the nineteenth century. As no house is to be had close to the hospital, Mr. Ballard, the collector of Malabar, has generously given Rupees one hundred for the building of a house close to the hospital for the medical subordinate, it will be constructed completely by the end of October 1868.

The extracts from the visitor's book of Manjeri dispensary, Mr. A. Macgregor, the collector visited on 6th April 1872, state that

the hospital is in excellent working order. The wards are overcrowded, but two new wards are in the course of construction, and likely to be available in a couple of months. Several patients are without cots, and an indent for 12 additional cots should be made, so as to admit the new wards being utilized. It is very desirable that there should be palliasses for at least a dozen cases, and to ensure cleanliness double that number must be kept. There should be indented for as well as an additional quantity of clothing, a list being sent of the number of suits on hand. A

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁹⁷ The diet consists of the following, rice for *conjee* 3 ounces, with chilly pickle for breakfast, Rice 12 ounces, vegetable 6 oz, with sufficient curry stuff in Dinner, Rice 12 ounces, vegetable 6 ounces, with sufficient curry stuff at Supper. On Wednesday and Sunday salt-fish one and half ounces, is also added for dinner. The people here not being accustomed to the use of pepper-water, it is substituted by 2 ounces of country vegetables. Extras, such as wines and spirits, chickens, are also given. Seen in, *Ibid.*

well has lately been built in the rear of the buildings, for which we are indebted to the liberality of the Tahsildar, and various necessary articles of furniture lately sanctioned have been furnished or are in course of construction. The want of menial attendance has been supplied by the appointment of an additional sweeper from the 1st instant. The energy and care exhibited by the Hospital Assistant in charge deserves all praise.

The popularity of the dispensary may raise the number of patients day by day, it will show the following table.

Table 47: Number of Patients at Manjeri Dispensary from 1868-1880.

Year	In-Patients	Out-Patients
1868-69	10	70
1869-70	63	651
1870-71	314	2267
1871-72	391	2411
1872-73	438	2834
1873-74	142	749
1874-75	.....	....
1875-76	718	6390
1876-77	530	5186
1877-78	601	10,186
1878-79	410	13,064
1879-1880	368	10,035

Source: *Annual Reports of Civil Dispensaries from 1868-1880*, Madras, RAK.

The above table shows ten-year records of the Manjeri dispensary. The number of patients in Manjeri dispensary was very high from its beginning to the 1880s, Comparatively the out-patients are higher than the in-patients, and the rate of recovery is also high. Among these the period 1874-75, we didn't get the details

because during this time the report is mainly collected from the first quarter of 1874. It is not only the number of natives, but the Europeans also included, during 1876-77 there were 35 Europeans in the out-patients and 2 Europeans in the in-patients. This increase in the number of patients shows how much medicine and medical practices have influenced the minds of natives and their knowledge of healthcare and diseases. No epidemic occurred during these years, The principal classes of diseases the in-patients were suffering from during these periods in the order of their importance were as, Fevers, ulcers, general dropsy, and skin diseases, and among the out-patients' fevers, bowel-complaints, ulcers, skin diseases, general dropsy, and wounds and injuries. The dispensary continues to be popular as usual, it is evident, from the increase in the number of patients treated, which has almost doubled since the opening of the dispensary.

The increased number of patients and the popularity of the hospital is rising day by day and the hospital building is renovated and maintained very well. During the 1890s the Tahsildar of Ernad requested his report dated 28th July 1896 regarding the site of the hospital at Manjeri, which was forwarded to the special assistant collector Malabar.⁹⁸

Manjeri Revolt and the Social Change

Whatever else a city may be, it is at the same time a place inhabited by a concentration of poor people and in most cases, the locus of political power that affects their lives. Historically, one of the things city populations have done about this is to demonstrate, make riots or insurrections, or otherwise exert direct pressure on the authorities. The structure of cities and towns has affected popular movements of this sort and conversely, what effect the fear of such movements has had on urban structure. Popular riots, insurrections, or demonstrations are an almost universal urban phenomenon.⁹⁹ The goals of these movements did become tinged with a broader conception of social change. They involved not only specific economic,

⁹⁸ *Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File, No-640, Dated 23rd August 1895, RAK.*

⁹⁹ Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'Cities and Insurrections,' *In Global Urban Development, Vol.1, Issue-1, May 2005*, p. 1.

political, and cultural rights but also a movement towards a different kind of society which seemed to have elements of both new and old. What was envisioned was a society controlled not by the hated cities and their over sophisticated intellectuals, especially lawyers and politicians, but controlled by small-scale rural villages. Cooperation would be emphasized, not competition; a uniform culture and set of values rather than moral relativism and pluralism; physical work on the land rather than urban occupational specialization; and communalism would reign rather than individualism, except for property, which would be individual, unlike the pre-feudal village. This is what apparently characterized the East European agrarian 'state of mind', as Jackson calls it, since it was not a fully articulated theory and ideology. But it also characterized some of the medieval movements, as the reader of Hilton's essay will see less so Hobsbawm's bandits, who seemed to be generally backward-looking.

There seem to be two sources of this kind of ideology.¹⁰⁰ First, the source may be the existence of ideological innovation in other parts of society. As Hilton notes, it is generally in urban centres, not in the country, that ferment of this kind begins. Wolf notes precisely the same thing; Marxists would of course agree; and we noted the same in our framework: 'changes in the degree of the radicalism of goals will occur in accord with more general changes in social ideology', and it is 'Its leadership, particularly its outside leadership, imparts to peasant movements such ideologies as they have, particularly in the case of radical ideologies. Secondly, susceptibility to radical ideologies is likely to be a function of the structure of rural society at any given moment of time, i.e., we see ideology as a part of the rural social superstructure, with new ones spreading according to the degree to which previously current ideologies do not fit the actual social facts.¹⁰¹ A peasantry that finds itself increasingly economically exploited by superior groups and institutions providing it no services in return, and with an ideology that provides no plausible justification for this, will be more susceptible to other ideal designs for society. In particular,

¹⁰⁰ Henry A. Landsberger, *Rural Protest: Peasant Movements and Social Change*, Macmillan, New York, 1974, pp. 39-40.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

anarchism envisaging abolition of the exploitative and oppressive state - will be attractive under these circumstances, as has been noted by Wolfs and by Hobsbawm in his writings.

The agrarian outbreak which happened 175 years ago is still hidden from the historical pages of Manjeri. The reason behind the struggle was the increase of tax hikes, fabricated cases, cancellation of agricultural mortgages, and ousting of Mappilas from the possession of landlords. On August 25 1849, the revolt was led by Athan Kurikkal and Kunji Koya Thangal, they were petty tenants and laborers with nothing to hope and nothing to lose. Even them belonged to respectable families were unable, by their exertion, to earn what would maintain them in the respectable condition of their family.¹⁰²

On the next day, August 26. A Mappila band moved to Pandikkad Kodassery to target Marat Namboothiri in his residence Marat Illam. On the way, they accidentally met Kannan Nair the caretaker of Namboothiri. The Mappila band member Karutha Unyali was not on good terms with him. Karutha Unyali had been suspected of having stolen paddy from Namboothiris field and this incident was reported to Namboothiri by Kannan Nair. But the case was withdrawn by Namboothiri thanks to the intervention of leader Athan Kurikal. Karutha Unyali shot him and another band leader hacked him down to death. Another reason was that Mappila band member Neelangara Ali's father Komu had a mortgage on the property of Marat Namboothiri, but unfortunately, the payment fell into arrears beyond the amount of the mortgage lien which resulted in a suit filed to cancel the mortgage and oust Komu from the possession.

After the murder of Kannan Nair, they reached Marat Illam. The object of the band was unquestionably an attack on Marat Namboothiri. But he escaped before the Mappila band reached his residence. Even though the band had searched the upper storeys of the *Illam*, they failed to find him. A servant of Namboothiri, Tachu had defended the band with a sword, but he was cut down on account of the

¹⁰² K.N Panikkar, *Against Lord and State Religion and Peasant Uprisings in India 1836-1921*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1992, p. 74.

resistance after that the band wasn't obsessed with any attempt against any one of Marat Illam. After they moved to Manjeri Karanamulpad probably known as Raja. During the time the Mappila band entered the Kunnath Temple there were around 100 people in the audience having the feast of Rajas birthday. The band had fired their gun into the air and in order to go out of the temple, all escaped but a Brahmin priest from Bakal who was deaf and didn't understand the gestures of the band had made, and an act of resistance led to his death.¹⁰³ But the unfortunate fate of the priest made the band leader Athan Kurikkal regretful and blamed his members for the unfortunate incident and warned them not to repeat it without his consent. Then he gave permission to remove the corps. More members from the inhabited places from Payanad, Nilambur and Porur Nenmeni joined the band which rose to 67 in number under Athan Kurikkal. The main motive behind occupying the Kunnath Temple was purely economic and social looting of tenants, because the Raja had decided to set up a new building and the renovation of temple at the expense of rupees 1850. But to meet the expenditure Raja renewed the documents of the mortgage tenants. This provoked the tenants, Kurikkal took upon himself the responsibility of "wiping off this sinful act". Kunji Koya Thangal stated that 'his reason for joining the people arose from the dictates of religion' for, when a number of Muslims are in trouble and danger, that is why they are ready to join and die.¹⁰⁴

On 27 August, 5th Native Infantry (NI) and civil police tried to contact the Mappilas but the defense of the band made the authorities call the 43rd Madras NI regiment force from Malappuram and Calicut under Captain Watt, Assistant Magistrate, Ensign Wyse and they marched to Manjeri. Captain Watt commanded Ensign Wyse to approach the Mappilas in the Temple, they had crossed the field and reached the temple. But before the order of the Ensign Wyse, one of the sepoys fired at the Mappila band, which resulted in turning 15 Mappilas against the British force with knives, spears and matchlocks which led to the loss of the British officer

¹⁰³ Interview with, Mangalam Gopinath, (87), Manjeri, 5th March 2020.

¹⁰⁴ K.N Panikkar, *op.cit.*, p. 90.

Ensign Wyse and six sepoys at the hands of Mappilas.¹⁰⁵ The rest had to run around to Kacheripadi and narrate to Captain Watt about the mishap that occurred. Captain Watt and his sepoys stayed in Kacheripadi and also eventually gave protection to the Manjeri treasury. On the other side, two of the rebels had lost their lives in the Athan Kurikkal band and after that, the rebels returned to the Pagoda victoriously. The tomb of Ensign Wyse, the 43rd Madras Native Infantry British soldier who died in the fight is still in the courtyard of the Boys High school in Kacheripadi Manjeri.

By this time British army sent a letter to Col. Bruce at Palghat for immediate assistance in the resistance of Europeans. Captain Watt wanted immediate help as the number of Mappilas was increasing day by day.¹⁰⁶ On September 3rd, the British troops arrived in Manjeri with a total strength of 300 but at the time Athan Kurikkal had arranged a ferry from Chittathu Parakadavu, a place near Anakkayam, and the band crossed the river and arched to Angadipuram Temple. The British troops easily obtained intelligence about the Mappila band, and they followed the band, after arriving at Angadippuram Temple the rebels burned the entire documents in the same manner they had done in Manjeri before. The writings of band leader Athan Kurikkal which were found in the Kunnath Temple give an insight into how social and economic factors were shattered by the British and landlords towards tenants. The government was ignorant of the intensity of grievance that the Muslims inhabiting the land part of Malabar have been suffering for years. The police with the indulgence of local landlords, fabricated false charges to target the tenants.

The outbreak of Manjeri was not a turmoil that sprang one day but it had started against the feudal system that had been exploiting tenants for a long time.¹⁰⁷ The average age of the rebels who participated in the outbreak was 22, which gives an insight into how youth experienced the suffocation of the suppression from the

¹⁰⁵ *Correspondences on Mappila Outrages in Malabar*, United Scottish Press, Madras, 1863, p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ *Madhyamam*, 2nd September 2022.

landlords and the British¹⁰⁸. The majority of those who took part in the outbreak were those who had been evicted from the land and those who had been imprisoned in cases of fraud. Tenants, laborers, carpenters, goldsmiths, and barbers were also included. They did not have any religious intentions but were only there to fight against the social and economic injustice of the feudal system and the British authorities. Because the objective situation of the social and political environment was against all sets of social norms which had no humanitarian grounds.

The neoliberal city does present progressive movements with new opportunities for building broad alliances and trans-local networks, but it also hampers the struggles of movements in peculiar new ways.¹⁰⁹ While the potential to help bring about fundamental change is clearly linked to contesting the global reach of capitalist accumulation, there are worlds of distance lying between the struggles in the global North and South, which need to be recognized by both theory and practice of urban movements. The effectiveness of this revolt in Manjeri depends on mainly three aspects of urban structure, how easily the people can be mobilized, how vulnerable the centres of authority are to them, and how easily they may be suppressed. Here the difference is urbanistic and depends on the size of the city and the pattern of functional specialization within it. Generally, the Manjeri revolt is mainly done against the uneven concentration of wealth in the hands of few, So the revolt is mainly the reflection of the fight against capitalism.

Urban Layouts of Manjeri

What makes urban society unique? What distinguishes urban society from rural society? We have already examined the concept of a city and the formation of a city. Throughout history, urban society has always been characterized by lavishness, grandness, prominent monuments, and the inclusion of various social groups. They played an influential role in society and the formation of layouts, as these groups are

¹⁰⁸ D.N. Danagare, *Agrarian Conflict, Religion and Politics: The Moplah Rebellions in Malabar in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, in *Oxford Journals*, No.74, February 1977, p. 119.

¹⁰⁹ Niel Brenner, Peter Marcuse and Margit Mayer, *Cities for People not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and The Right to The City*, Routledge, London, 2012, p. 78.

distinguished by their religion, caste, ethnicity, and region. As many historians have studied Indian society, it has been established that people with the same religion, caste, and occupation tend to live in the same geographical area. Manjeri was not an exception to this phenomenon, which had an impact on the urban layout of any Indian city. There is little information available concerning the layouts of indigenous cities in Modern India, but researchers believe that this can be obtained from the available sources.

To study urban society, however, it is necessary to understand how social groups in urban areas function. The city is a symbol of political power, therefore social groups gather in its shadow. Because of this, studying urban society from a traditional perspective is difficult. This is usually done in relation to the caste system. Thus, it is crucial to study the relationship that exists between the city's residents, its administration, and the state. Manjeri was a political center during the late eighteenth century, as well as a military, political, and economic center during the British colonial times. Consequently, in the modern period, Manjeri underwent some modifications, and it acquired some of the characteristics of other prominent Modern towns. We can determine the social structure of a city based on the prosperity of society. The following part provides an overview of the urban layout of the city.

The ordinary people or common people were the main inhabitants of this town. The town was also home to many soldiers and their dependents, as well as servants in addition to artisans and laborers. As was common in Indian society at that time, there was a practice of hiring many servants. The common people they were mainly lived in the streets in Payyanad, Kuthukkal, and Palakkulam areas in Manjeri.¹¹⁰ Most of these streets include twenty houses between the two sides of the road. Most of the houses are thatched and some are tiled, bamboos, teak and other kind of wood are used for this construction. The houses are associated with wells and sanitary facilities.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Yousuf Haji Kalathingal, (77), 26th January 2023.

The areas near Vellarangal (Kacheripadi), Arukidazha, were mostly inhabited the educated migrants who came from other parts of Kerala. The doctors, teachers, advocates and the educated middle classes settled here. the 'Agraharam' Arukidazha were the Tamil Brahmins who migrated from the Palakkad region settled here. Most of them are advocates and doctors, Mr. Shesha Ayyar, Manjeri Rama Ayyar were the most popular persons among these communities. Most of the public buildings are constructed in the Vellarangal (Kacheripadi) area, like the Taluk Cutcherry, district *Munsiff's* court, sub-jail, Treasury, Sub-Registrar's office, school etc. these public buildings are protected with walls. Stables were constructed near this public buildings, for instance the Europeans officials are used these stables. Southern part of this public buildings a traveler's bungalow was there, it was tiled, and bamboo and teak wood were mainly for the construction of the roof. It is well connected with water resources and sanitary facilities and well furnished. Stables also associated with this bungalow.

The roads and streets of the town are well connected with the people of neighboring areas and rural villages. *Athani's* (weight loads) are the common factor in Manjeri which can be seen in the sides of the roads. Wooden *athani's* and stone *athanis* are there, and some place names also associated with is *athani's* like *athanikkal*, *Marathani*, *Karikallathani*, etc. the presence of 'Kalthotti's' in the two sides of the roads is the unique feature of this town. These *Kalthottis* are mainly used for the people who come from the outside of this town and the neighboring villages, it is mainly used for the animals for drinking water, and they use the herding stations near the roadside. The local inhabitance or the people near the area maintained and poured water in these 'Kalthotti's', in consequently, the Kalthotti in Nilambur road was maintained by the Karikkad Illam.¹¹¹ The presence of 'Sathrams' or rest houses is also near the roadside and near the market. The carts that came to the market and for other purposes are mainly parked at the 'Petta' in Calicut Road. Nowadays it is the main lorry stand also.

¹¹¹ They appointed a servant for maintaining and pouring water in the Kathitti, and give salary for this duty it was mentioned in their accounts register, see accounts Register, Moothedathu Palassery Mana, Karikkad; interview with Unnikrishnan Namboothiri, *op.cit.*

The town of Manjeri has transformed vastly with time. With the advent of the Europeans, the medieval vestiges were lost, and the influence of colonial modernity swept in. It was the capital of the Ernad Taluk and the centre of administration and still remained as an important commercial centre. The works of the Hiadayathul Muslimeen Sabha and Basel Evangelical mission too brought about social and economic changes. The economic ventures of the mission created a new class of urban middle class and capitalist elite. The native entrepreneurs were also inspired by the activities of the Mission. And of course, there were the motor industries and wealthy traders and natives like, the Korambayil family. Along with them also emerged a class of professionals who worked in schools, administrative offices, etc. Thus emerged a new class beyond the limits of the traditional caste and it was this class that formed the 'elites' in nineteenth-century Manjeri. The opening of urban culture was through them. They were greatly influenced by the way of life of the British. The unfolding of urban characters was related to the establishment of certain institutions which were the creation of the industrial and capitalist influences of Britain. There were different spaces for domestic, social and public life. Such things as dinner parties, bungalows, theatres, roads, and post offices were all markers of urban life and contributed to it. In Manjeri, it was the British who introduced these concepts, and they readily accepted the native elites and consequently, there emerged a thriving urban culture in Manjeri.

Cosmopolitanism gradually emerged during the twentieth century, Influenced by the factors such as education, migration, trade, and political movements, etc. In Manjeri, cosmopolitan ideas mainly took shape around the mid-twentieth century, particularly with the emergence of political movements. The developments of institutions such as schools, tennis clubs, and social organizations in the region further contributed to fostering the sense of cosmopolitanism in Manjeri, especially the people from different walks of life who began to participate in various civic activities. After the spread of cosmopolitan ideas in society, various civic cultures such as parties, social gatherings, emergence of various clubs are developed. The cosmopolitan club of Manjeri established in 1945, the club has a royal heritage as Mr. P.M Tirumulpad belonging to the Manjeri *Kovilakam* has been

the person behind the concept of this club. The club started functioning as a Tennis club, in a court founded by the British in the mid-twentieth century. It represents a space for people from diverse backgrounds to come together socially, exchange ideas and promote communal harmony.

As a major town in Malabar, Manjeri was strategically significant and became a hub for mobilization and resistance activities. The social harmony between the different communities in resisting colonial rule further strengthened the national movement. The convergence of these factors ensured that Manjeri became an important centre for nationalist movement in Kerala during the 1920s.

CONCLUSION

The thesis *Urban Formations in Manjeri (1790-1920): A Historical Enquiry* seeks to understand the historical progression of a region in Malabar in the socio-cultural and economic arena. The scholarship on the towns in early modern period is uneven, because the rise and fall of towns illustrates state formation, state collapse changes in the relationship between business and politics, and the evolving links between the ports and the interior. Nevertheless, the evidence of urban history does allow us to draw out a few general patterns of change in economic history.

To study about towns, it is necessary to understand what kind of a settlement a 'town' was in the period. In that way we can see that, North Indian urban characteristics often occur together a garrison, a fort, courts of justice, a police force, a big bazaar, settlement of skilled artisans, bankers, a transit point in long-distance trade and the density of population increased sharply. In South India, the towns did not possess all of these features. Some of them displayed different features such as the presence of a temple that served as a cultural and manufacturing hub and they were also an average smaller in population when compared to north. Indeed, clusters of villages specializing in an industrial commercial occupation such as weaving. That's why they became hubs of administration, craft activity, commerce and banking. The recent urban patterns as the natural culmination of historical trends, further enriched by a significant British urban component. The indigenous evolutionary trends have been considerably distorted due to colonial interventions.

The process of urbanisation entered a new phase with the coming of European colonial traders to India. The coastal areas as ports-cum-trading centres became important initially for trading purposes and new cities came up in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The nineteenth century saw cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras become political centres as British empire consolidated itself in India. In this period, the process of urbanisation became smooth and widened the structure of economic opportunity had widened the social horizons of people with the introduction and development of new economic and

political institutions, new modes of communication such as telegraph, railways, advanced system of roads and waterways. The destruction of traditional cottage and small industries pushed rural artisans and labourers to urban areas for employment, either temporarily or permanently to the urban areas.

New process of urbanisation under colonialism changed urban centres with the spread of education and establishment of new institutions. Jobs like teachers, journalists, lawyers, etc. brought about a new worldview and urban centres gradually grew into centres of new social and political ideas, diverse economic activities and of heterogeneous populations. Various economic opportunities and occupational and social mobility became possible in urban India.

There are several factors that have contributed to the process of urbanisation in Manjeri. Firstly, the geographical features of Manjeri plays a crucial role in the urban processes, especially the topography, flat or gently rolling or it is dominated by undulating high hills, gentle slopes, sleeper slopes and plains. It is easier to build on and develop infrastructure. Conversely, regions with harsh terrains, like mountains or deserts, are less likely to support large urban centres. The low ground on the other hand is rich and fertile, having a soft loamy soil and abundantly supplied with moisture owing to the annual fall of heavy rain. This fertility of the land support agriculture, which can sustain a growing population. This agricultural surplus allows for a more significant number of people to live in towns rather than engage in subsistence farming.

The favourable climate conditions of Manjeri support agriculture, human health and comfort. Towns in temperate climates often have more stable food supplies and better living conditions. Proximity to water resources like, rivers, lakes, ponds, and wells provide essential resources for drinking water, transportation, trade, and agriculture. Manjeri is mainly situated between two major rivers, river *Chaliyar* flow through the north-west side and river *Kadalundi* flow through the east-south side of Manjeri. Many of the major cities and towns are developed near the water bodies and availability of water resources.

The availability of natural resources such as minerals, especially iron and gold, and timbers and forest products can drive economic growth and attract industries leading to urbanization. Manjeri is expanding fast; moreover, it is surrounded by populous rural areas with productive and rich agricultural hinterland. Such conditions give rise to many conflicts among rural and urban economies, values, and people. However, they also generate mutually beneficial complementarities in the rural and urban spheres. The net outcome is highly selective for different groups and different locations. The location of Manjeri at crossroads of trade routes or with access to the sea have the potential to become a major urban centre. Generally, the geographical factors like proximity to water, fertile land, favourable climate, accessible terrain, natural resources and strategic locations for trade and defence have all significantly contributed to the urban growth of Manjeri in nineteenth century.

Secondly, the growth of centralised political structure and administrative peculiarity helped way for the urbanization of Manjeri. The role of political frameworks and governance cannot be overlooked in the context of urbanization. Governments and political institutions have historically implemented policies and initiatives that encourage urban growth. The emergence of all the towns and cities in colonial India was almost entirely devoted to administrative, political, and social functions.

In principle, regarding the colonialists, cities with economic, political, and administrative centrality formed the major places for planning and developmental attention. The colonial governors and ruling elites had the political authority to determine the physical form of these cities and towns. Early nineteenth century the colonial accumulation of wealth through commercial activity could be channelized into administrative development at Manjeri. This had its impact on urban development. From an urban sociological perspective Manjeri is representative not so much of a colonial city with its colonial or indigenous spatial dualism but is an easily recognizable capitalist city with class differentiation determining its spatial pattern.

The approaches to the study of the nineteenth century cities are influenced by the currents of colonialism and capitalism leading to the emergence of industrial cities, canal colonies, hill stations, inlands etc. Cities also emerged as centers of spectacles, sites of nationalist movements, religious conflicts, and places of agitations of the working and depressed classes. Manjeri was one of the centres that served as the military headquarters of the Malabar administration of the Mysore Sultans. The establishment of the law courts, police, military, Taluk office in Manjeri came like a necessary, an inevitable instrument of colonialism for the smooth functioning of the administrative machinery.

The focus on governance and administration draws attention to both the technical and bureaucratic organization of governments and the state and the processes and structures that shape and constitute broader relations of power, domination, and authority. These processes are particularly important in urban areas, for it is in cities that the full effects of economic restructuring and globalization have been most keenly felt. The urban governance is primarily concerned with the processes through which Government is organized and delivered in towns and cities and the relationships between state agencies and civil society. Generally, it gives a picture of Manjeri as the brash arrogance, yet undeniable beauty of the headquarters or capital town constructed in 1799-1800. Moreover, urban areas often serve as political and administrative centres, concentrating power and resources that further drive their growth and development.

Thirdly, economic growth is the major outcome for the urban processes of Manjeri. The economic forces that have given rise to the development and continued growth of cities are numerous and complex. At the most basic level they have had to do with the development of agriculture and trade and the emancipation of a large proportion of the population from the daily tasks of providing food and subsistence. Freed from these subsistence activities but dependent on enjoying the products of other men's labor, the city dwellers have been able to develop trade and commerce and all the financial and political arrangements needed to support those activities. With the subsequent accumulation of wealth within the cities there also came the development and patronage of the arts and cultural activities.

Agricultural surplus production, which is an outcome technological intervention, is one of the factors which has paved the way for differentiation in occupations and growth of centralised political structures and resultant growth of urban centres. The cities were dependent on the hinterland of villages as source of sustenance from agriculture. The prosperity of agriculture is the backbone of economy, and this growth of agriculture is leads as a self-sufficient market system in Manjeri.

A substantial volume of trade in agricultural commodities passes through the periodic markets. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the market of Manjeri was highly important for the growth of economy. Mappilas were the main merchant class in Manjeri and other trading communities had come and settled here. The internal migration is often driven by the pursuit of better economic opportunities and improved living standards. This mass migration was not solely an economic decision but was also influenced by social networks and cultural ties. Industrialization, which began in the late nineteenth century, created a significant demand for labor in urban centres. Second half of twentieth century onwards the industrialization and other modern technologies are highly influenced the urbanization process of Manjeri, especially the motor industries. Here the economy of Manjeri had a gradually developed through the agriculture to industrialization.

Finally, the socio-cultural elements are paved way for the urbanization of Manjeri. The urban spatial formation of Manjeri has been significantly influenced by a multitude of socio-cultural factors throughout history. These factors, encompassing social norms, cultural practices, political frame works, have played a pivotal role in shaping the growth and development of the town. The emergence of middle class and lifestyle changes have played a significant role in driving urbanization. Manjeri has a long been centre of cultural exchange and innovation, attracting other peoples, intellectuals, artists, and entrepreneurs. The concentration of diverse populations in this area fosters creativity and the exchange of ideas, leading to cultural advancements and new forms of expression. Moreover, urban lifestyles often differ markedly from those in rural areas, with greater access to entertainment, dining, and social activities. This shift in lifestyle preferences has

been a powerful draw for individuals seeking dynamic and stimulating environments.

The development of social structures and urban planning has also been crucial in facilitating urbanization. Urban centres have historically been designed to accommodate a diverse population, with infrastructure and services tailored to meet the needs of social groups. The presence of educational institutions, healthcare facilities, and recreational amenities attracts people to Manjeri, offering them opportunities for personal and professional growth. Additionally, urban planning initiatives aimed at improving transportation, housing and public spaces have made the town livelier and more appealing. These developments not only enhance the quality of life for urban dwellers but also reflect the evolving socio-cultural priorities of society, such as the emphasis on education, health, and social welfare. As it continues to evolve, they become hubs of cultural production and consumption, further accelerating the process of urbanization.

The growth of a town is a multifaceted phenomenon driven by a combination of economic, social, political, and geographical factors. These factors are interrelated, creating a dynamic interplay that propels the process of urbanization. This thesis has explored the historical development, demographic changes, economic transformations, and infrastructural advancements that collectively contribute to the urban spatial formation of Manjeri.

Through this study, the researcher finds out that Manjeri is often serve as transitional zones, where the rural countryside blend into urban spaces, resulting in a mix of agricultural, residential, and commercial land uses. This phenomenon is called as *Rurban*, or a space that blends rural features with emerging urban functions. It functioned as an intermediate space where rural agrerian production and population interacted with emerging urban institutions, administrative structures, markets and mobility networks. It framing a transitional landscape between rural hinterland and later modern urban growth. Manjeri in the nineteenth century can be more accurately described as a rurban centre, although it also displayed some features of a *peri-urban* space. Here, this study states that Manjeri is one of the

earliest centres to characterised as a *peri-urban* area in Kerala. By addressing these areas, future research can contribute to more integrated, resilient, and sustainable development models, benefiting both rural and urban populations.

According to this study, the pace and process of urbanization are as the political and administrative nature of cities changes. A unique process of urbanization has taken place in Manjeri during its transition from eighteenth to nineteenth century. A historical relationship between the city and its hinterland has been observed through the study of urban history. A key aspect of the development of Manjeri is its proximity to the hinterland and to the geographical position. Here both the city and hinterland were impacted by one another. Nilambur, Malappuram, Areacode, Wandoor, and Pandikkad are developing as a sub-centres of Manjeri. So the peripheral part of Manjeri also appears to be changing. It shows that the interconnection between them.

However, Manjeri was not a very large city in nineteenth century, it was an extremely influential town, nonetheless. The town served as a vital connection between the port town of Calicut. It was situated at a crossroads. This illustrates Manjeri's significant contribution to trade with Calicut port. In political perspective, Manjeri was an important territory in the Malabar region. Consequently, Manjeri has been accorded political importance. due to its political and economic importance, it seems that the struggle against capitalism was mainly concentrated in this town that took place in the nineteenth century.

The thesis presented that the indigenous administrative towns carry forward old traditions and introduce the development of traditional cultures into new forms, because of their contact with British political administration. A true colonial town or city which mainly emerged during the rapid industrialization of the nineteenth century, the prime example being the colonial port towns. In that sense, Manjeri is not a complete colonial town it is a peripheral town with both indigenous and colonial elements. It situated on the periphery of a colonial coastal town (Calicut) with a new centrality and accessibility to the interior region.

Despite Manjeri's significance, scholars have not studied it from the perspective of urban history. Despite its may be a interior town, significant towns such as Manjeri should be explored. In addition to Manjeri, many other towns need to be studied. This study will make a significant contribution to the study of Indian urban history as it will re-establish the relationship between urban and rural areas. A town like Manjeri, which has always been a source of political conflict and is on a border, has different urbanization process. The political role in establishment and development of Manjeri is very significant, which is why the researcher is used political history to analyse the process of urbanization in Manjeri.

I hope that the research will add an extra dimension to the knowledge of urban history. It is also crucial to remember, however, that this is just the beginning of academic research. The research is expected to continue.

GLOSSARY

<i>Adhikari</i>	–	Village Revenue Officer, head of the amsam.
<i>Amsam</i>	–	Smallest administrative unit, part of a village.
<i>Angadi</i>	–	Shop, bazaar in town or village
<i>Anna</i>	–	Coin
<i>Anchal</i>	–	Post
<i>Anchal Ottakaran</i>	–	Postal Runner
<i>Apothecary</i>	–	Medical Officials
<i>Chantha</i>	–	A fair, weekly or annual market
<i>Chantha Panam</i>	–	Name of a Tax
<i>Chavady</i>	–	Village jails
<i>Chama</i>	–	Millet
<i>Chittam</i>	–	Your will
<i>Chumadu</i>	–	Weight
<i>Chumadu Thangi</i>	–	Petters Rest
<i>Cutcherry</i>	–	Judicial court
<i>Desam</i>	–	Subdivisions of taluks
<i>Gramam</i>	–	Village
<i>Gumastah</i>	–	Clerk / Peon
<i>Hobly</i>	–	Revenue division by grouping two or more villages
<i>Illam</i>	–	Residence of Namboothiri
<i>Inamdar</i>	–	The person who received in grant or as gift the lands for the extra ordinary service rendered to the ruler.
<i>Jamma</i>	–	Amount of tax to be collected for a year
<i>Janmakkar</i>	–	Proprietor/landlords

<i>Janmam</i>	–	Permanent ownership over land
<i>Janmi</i>	–	Landlord
<i>Karam</i>	–	Tax
<i>Karanavar</i>	–	Head of the family
<i>Karyasthan</i>	–	Manager
<i>Kadavu</i>	–	Ferry
<i>Kovilakam</i>	–	Palace or branch of the royal house
<i>Mappila</i>	–	Malabar Muslim, the word Mappila is an honorary title conferred on the early Muhammedan immigrants.
<i>Menon</i>	–	Village accountant
<i>Mooppan</i>	–	Chief
<i>Munsif</i>	–	A subordinate judge
<i>Nadu</i>	–	The area under a chief or king
<i>Nagara</i>	–	Town, a mercantile community
<i>Parambu</i>	–	Garden lands, orchard, or compound around most traditional Malayali houses
<i>Ruppika</i>	–	Cash
<i>Tahsildar</i>	–	Head tax official
<i>Taluk</i>	–	Subdivision of a district
<i>Thirumulpad</i>	–	Name of the Local Ruler
<i>Tolah</i>	–	Very small weight

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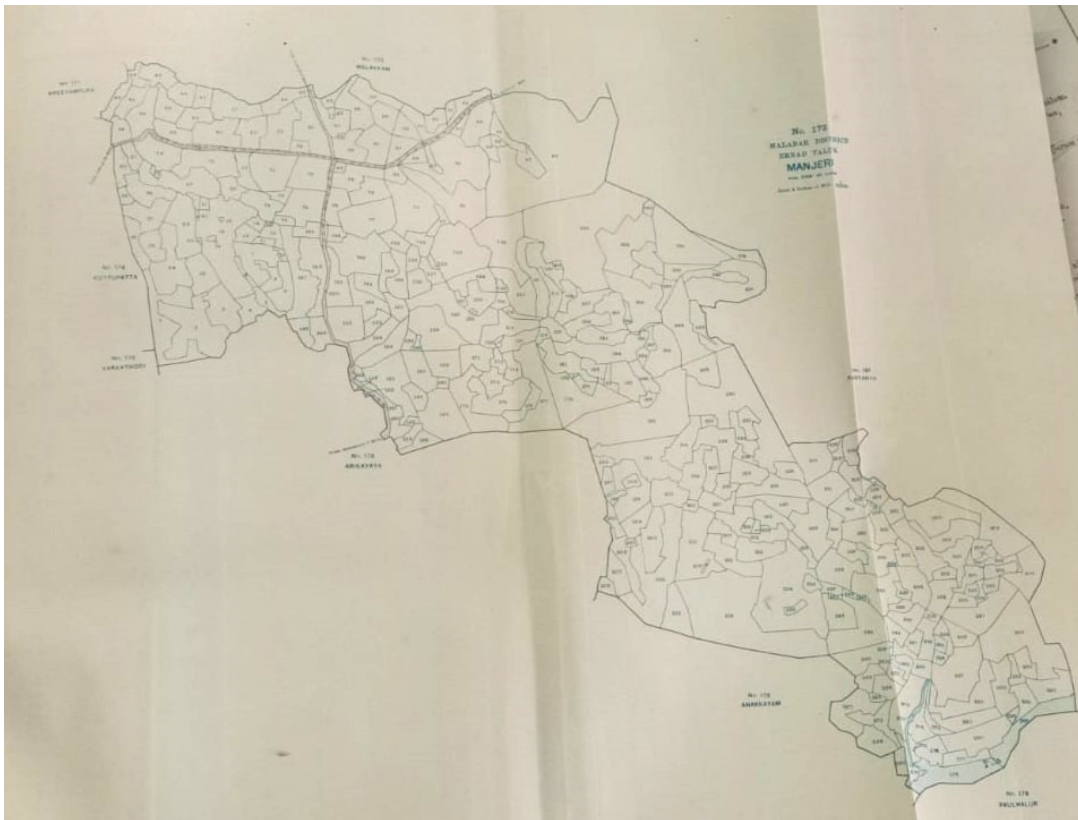
www.manjerimunicipality.lsgkerala.gov.in

<http://malappuram.nic.in>

APPENDICES

APPENDIX-I

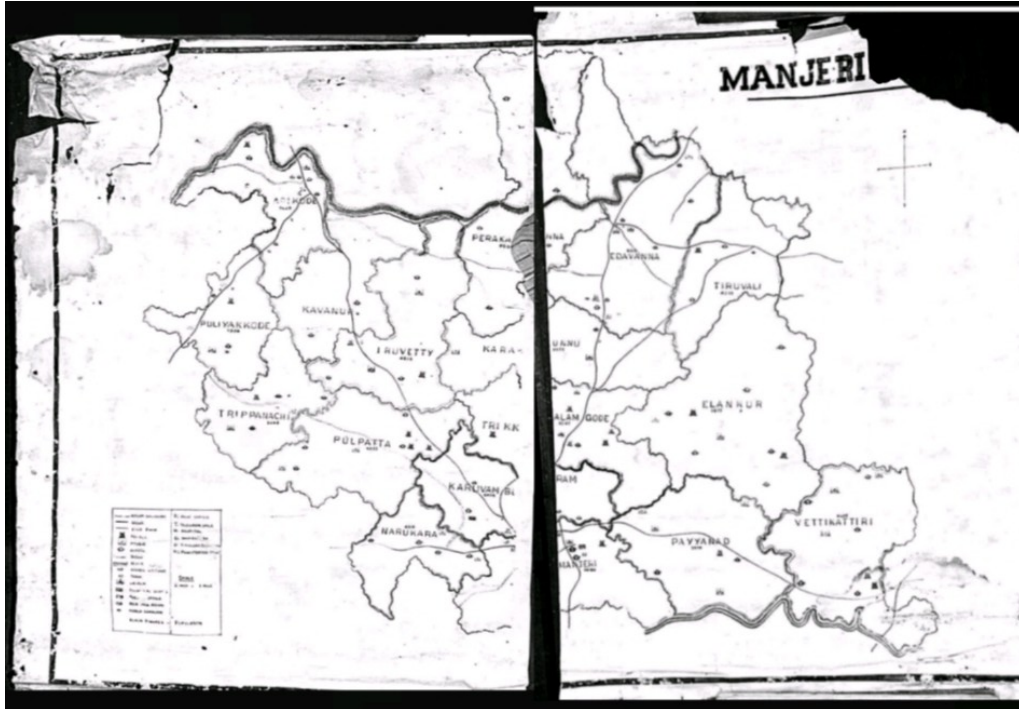
Map of Manjeri Desam 1891



Source: Settlement Register Manjeri, RAK

Appendix- II

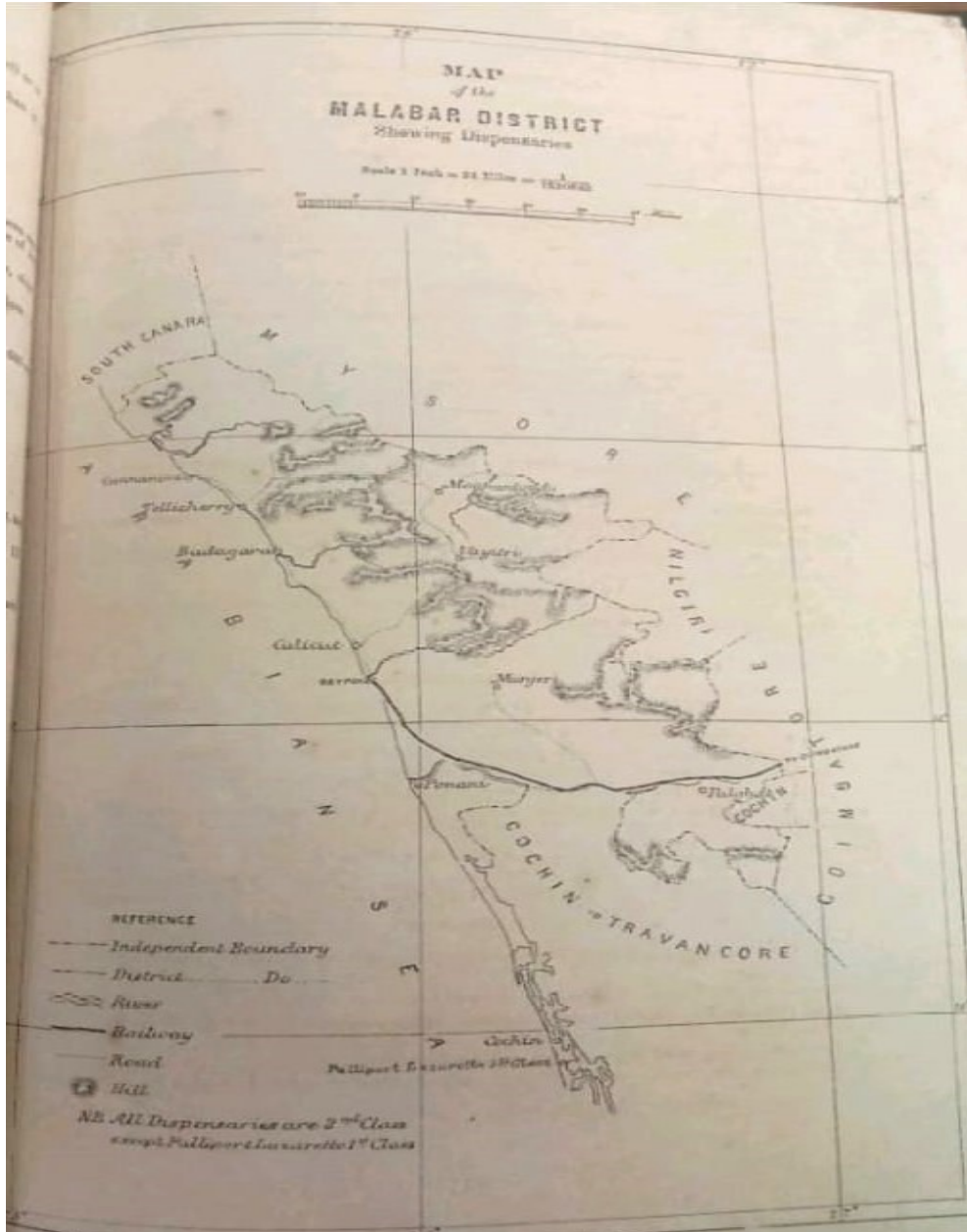
Map of Manjeri



Source: No. 50, Selected Maps, Regional Archives Kozhikode.

APPENDIX - III

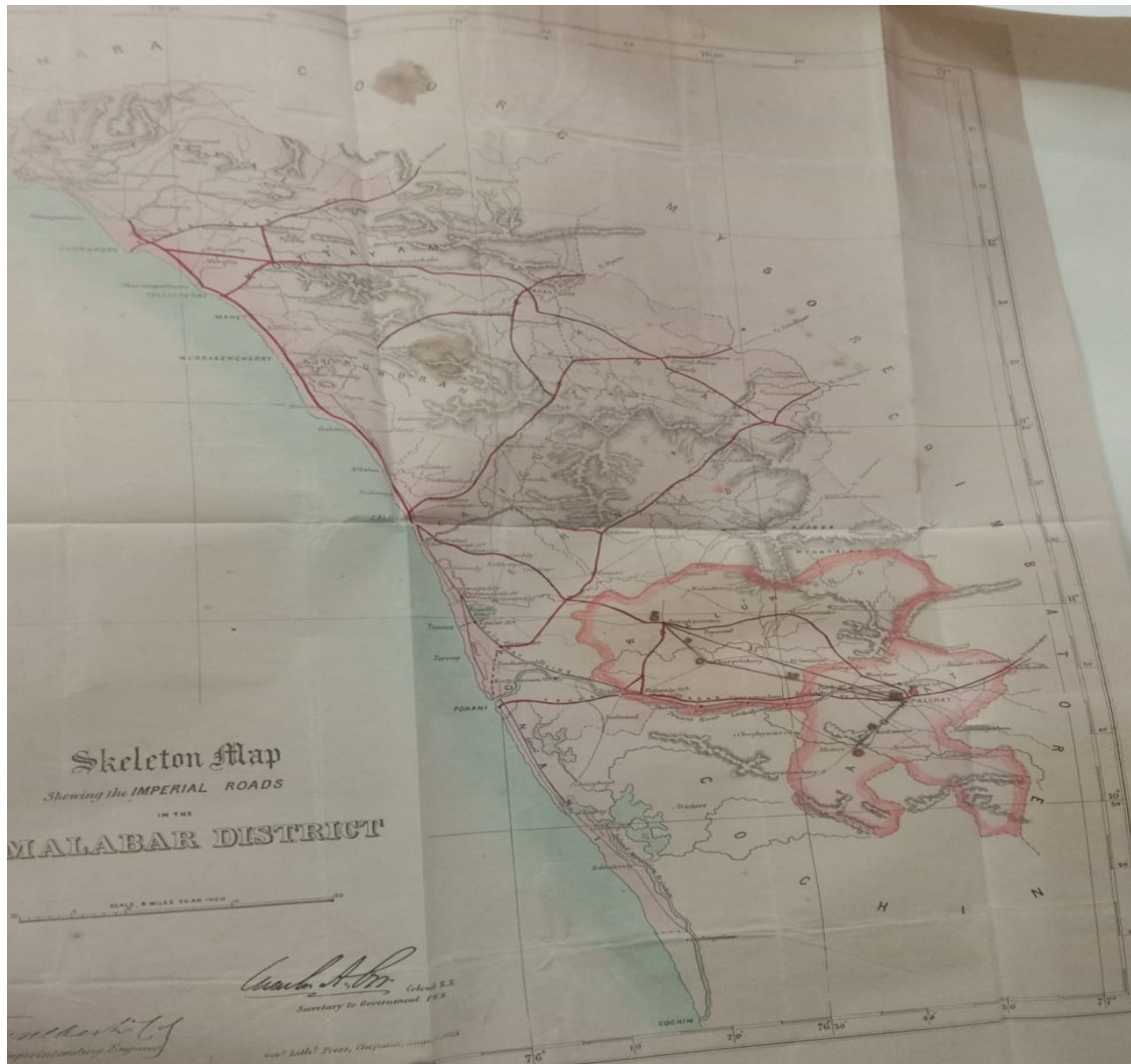
Map of Dispensaries in Malabar



Source: Annual Report of the civil Dispensaries Session 1868-69, No.xviii, Madras, 1869.

APPENDIX - IV

Map of roads in Malabar



Source: Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency in Illustration of the Records of Government and the yearly Administration Report, vol.II, 1885.

APPENDIX - V

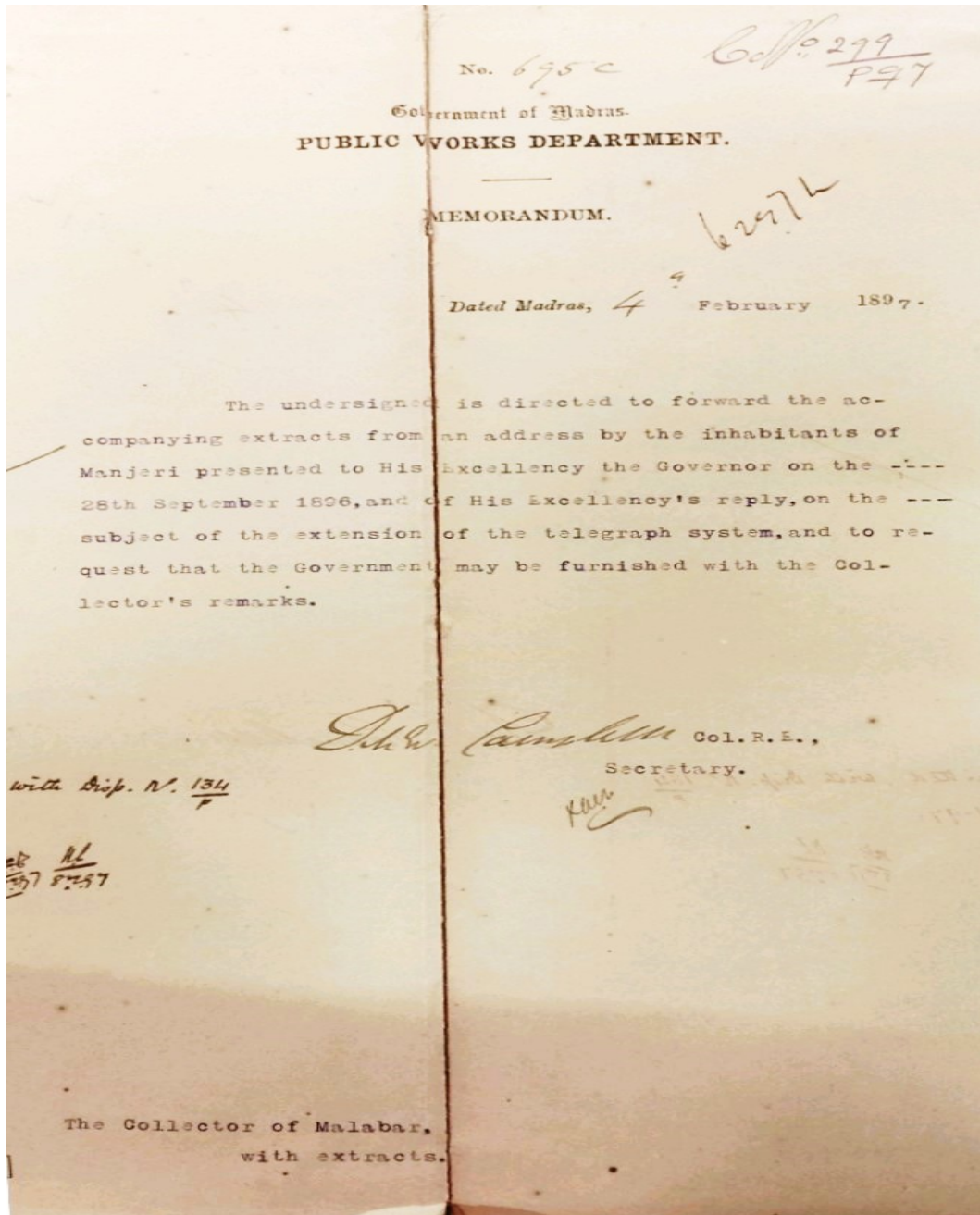
Jamabandi Report of Ernad

Ernad.			
For the year 970.			
Former Jamma of Arshed Beg Cawn is ... ..	.....	40633	5 33
Inc eased by present Canongos Paimashce ... ..	.....	2838	8 15
		43472	4 08
Deduct Viz.			
Included in former Jamma but the account of which is not paid ..	3874	5	28
Included in the Revenue of Vel- latry	1073	"	"
	4947	5	28
Terse Viz.			
Not cultivated Ground			
1980-8-10.			
Ground the Owners or Cultivators having died and deserted to be under the manage- ment of our Canan- goes } 3119-3-37	510	2	07
Allowance to Peer Zades ...	788	8	30
		10836	6 25
		32635	7 23
Deduct 1/5th		6527	1 20
		26108	6 03
Ditto for the year 971.			
The above Jamma brought down.	.....	26108	6 02
The last years Terse f r the ground not cultivated is	1980	8	10

Source: J Spencer, J. Smee and A Walker, A Report on the Administration of Malabar, Dated 28th July 1801.

APPENDIX - VI

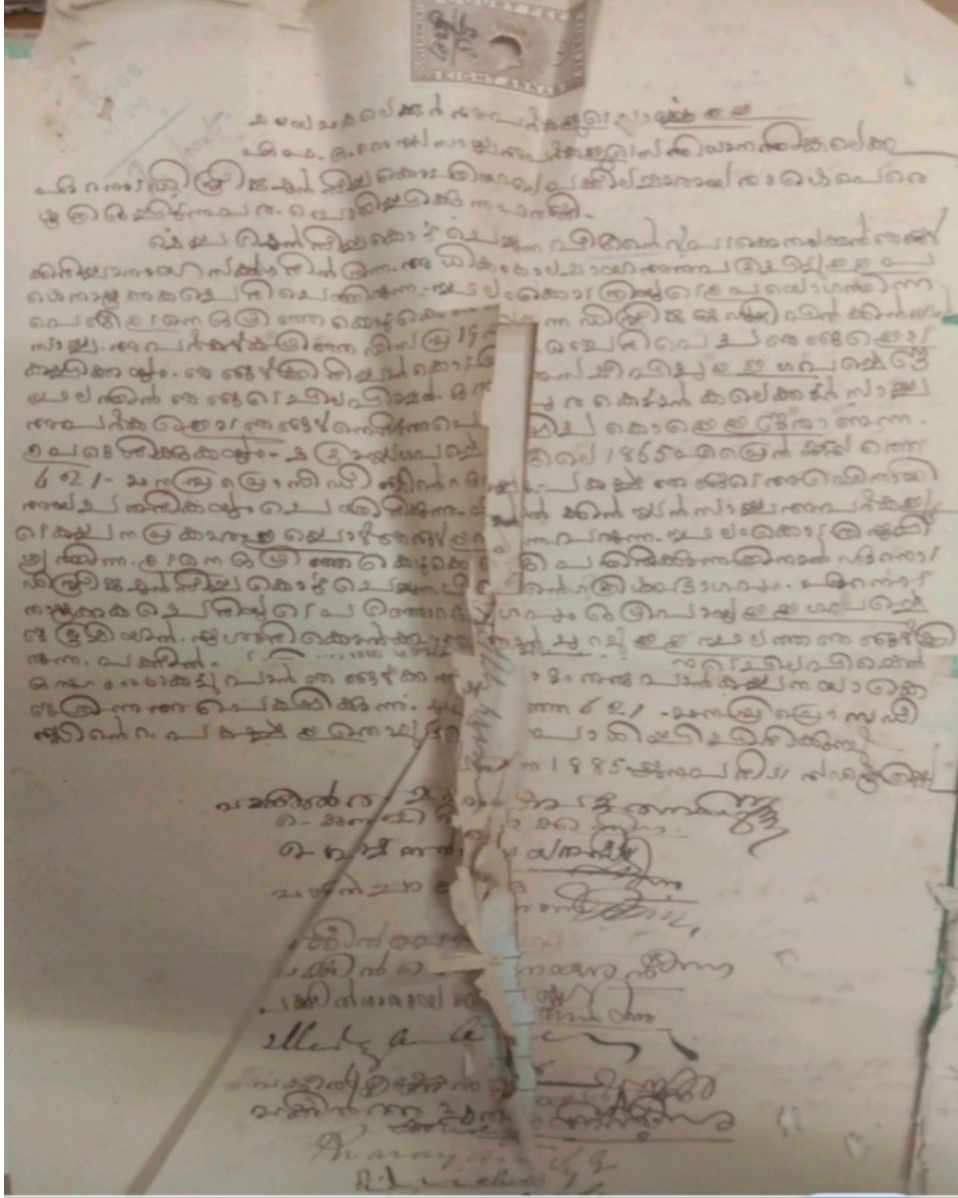
Establishment of Telegraph system in Manjeri 1897



Source: Malabar Collectorate R-Dis. File, No. 379, Dated, 10th February 1897, RAK

APPENDIX - VIII

Request for the construction of a building for the Advocates at Manjeri



Source: Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File, No.1029, Dated 31st January 1885, RAK.

APPENDIX - IX

Topographical Report of Manjeri

*Topographical Report of the Village of Manjeri
in the British Territory of Malabar by Captain
R. S. Brooke 5th Regiment M. I. Acting Major of
Brigade of Malabar and Canara.*

Manjeri is a small Malabar Village
in the British Territory of the Province of Malabar,
between six and seven miles from Mallipuzham
in a North, North Easterly direction, and about
thirty three miles East by South of Calicut, it
is in the midst of small hills and beautifully
situated, its population is only about 150, two
thirds of which are Europeans, but that of the Mu-
-slemans in its neighbourhood amounts to
nearly four thousand; there is a British Butchery
and a large Traveller's Bungalow which is seldom
used, it was formerly occupied by the late Major
Watson, it is built with laterite stone and
Mud, the roof is thatched and has Mud floors,
with some alterations and additions it might
be converted into a temporary Barrack for
forty or fifty Europeans, but at present the
rooms are too confined, the Windows too small
and the Walls are not high enough - It is situa-
-ted on an elevated piece of ground close to the
Butchery, and about one hundred and fifty
Yards from the Bazaar; a large Market is
held once a week at this Village at which
Supplies and provisions of all kinds are

presumably, the temperature is very little cooler than Mallipooram, the site I have selected for a Detachment of either Europeans or Natives is a small hill about sixty feet above the level of the plains, which is situated about three hundred yards from the Traveller's Bungalow in a Northerly direction, there is sufficient space for Barracks and Lines, it is much cooler than any other part of Mysore, the soil is laterite and some of the best descriptions for building can be procured within fifty yards of it, there are a few wells which contain good water, at a short distance from it, and it is conveniently situated from the Bazaar and Village. the Parade and Drill Ground is not far off. the road from Calicut is very good, but to Mallipooram is bad in many places.

Mysore was formerly the Head Quarters of the late Major Watson's Brigade, the remains of some Fortifications are still visible; A Pensioned Subedar of one of the Regiments pointed out to me the place where the Sepoy Lines had been. - It is I think better adapted for a Detachment of Europeans than Mallipooram, and it is near enough

APPENDIX - X

Particulars of the Jumma of the southern districts settled by Arshed Beg Khan.

(No. 1.)

Particulars of the Jumma of the Southern Districts settled by Arshed Beg
Khan.

	MOONS.	PNS.	KAS.
1st Kusba Calicut or Culiate ...	5,885	9	0
2nd Pypeor ...	6,000	0	0
3rd Perpnaar or Perupnaad ...	7,200	0	0
4th Ramnaar ...	11,635	8	0
5th Kurkumbra or Curkumbra ...	11,935	0	0
6th Wucumbra ...	10,005	0	0
7th Shernaar ...	13,000	0	0
8th Vuternaar, that is Ernaar and Malaporam ...	42,000	0	0
9th Venkettycotta ...	15,006	6	0
10th Betutnaad or Vettutnaad ...	24,500	0	0
11th Angarypoor, or Vellatira or Vellatro ...	25,307	3	0
12th Kapul or Capool ...	5,080	0	0
13th Venacar or Wanarkaar ...	3,980	2	0
14th Neringnaar or Neringnaad ...	33,719	7	0
15th Kurumbula, or Currumpoora ...	6,000	0	0
16th Kowpara (Nayrehip of) ...	5,281	3	0
17th Shawkaar (otherwise Choughant) ...	45,000	0	0
18th Poonany ...	8,000	0	0
19th Koorimnaar or Coorimnaad... ..	25,135	4	0
20th Pynaar ...	14,130	0	0
21st Pycormulla... ..	16,400	0	0
22nd Polwye or Porwye and Tambercherry ...	11,054	8	0
23rd Setwye Crungloor or a Chetwa and Cranganora. ...	12,997	0	8
Add Customs as above according to Jemar estimate .	45,000	0	0
Total of Arshed Beg Khan's Jumma for 1784/5 according to Jemars Estimate for the Southern Countries of Malabar exclusive of Paulghat...	4,08,264	5	8

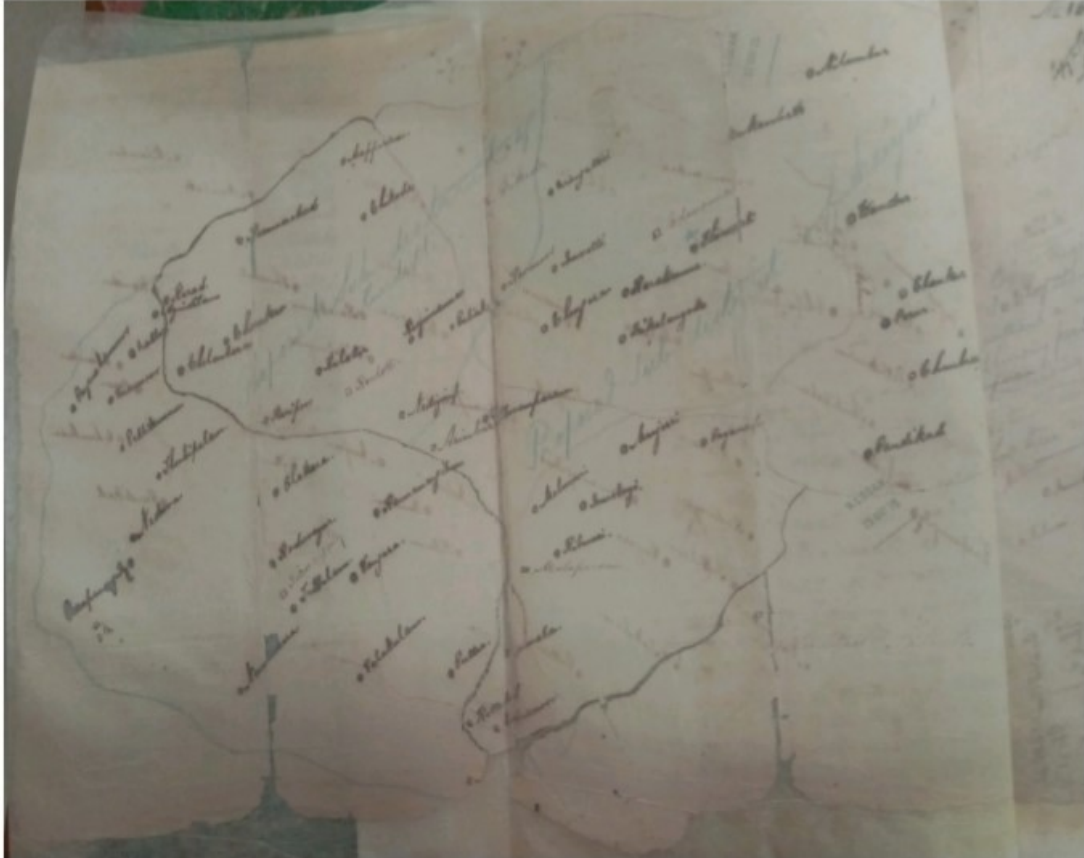
(True Copy)

(Signed) T. M. KEATE, Secretary.

Source: J. Spencer, J. Smee and A. Walker, *A Report of Malabar dated 28th July 1801*, Calicut, 1901, Regional Archives Kozhikode.

APPENDIX - XI

Map of Manjeri Registration Sub-Districts



Source: Malabar Collectorate Records, dated 20th March 1879, RAK.

APPENDIX - XII

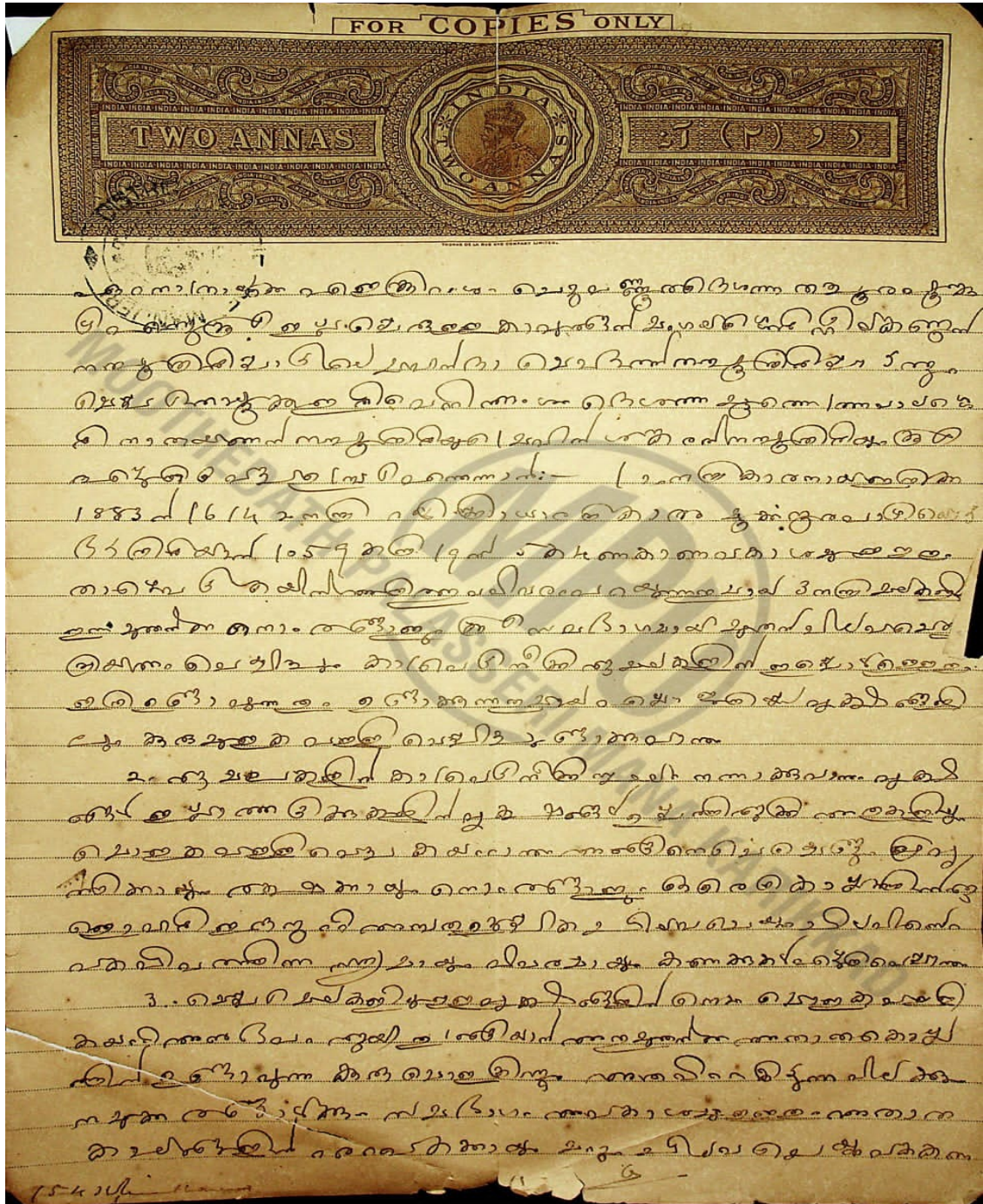
Site Plan of Sub-Registrar Office Manjeri

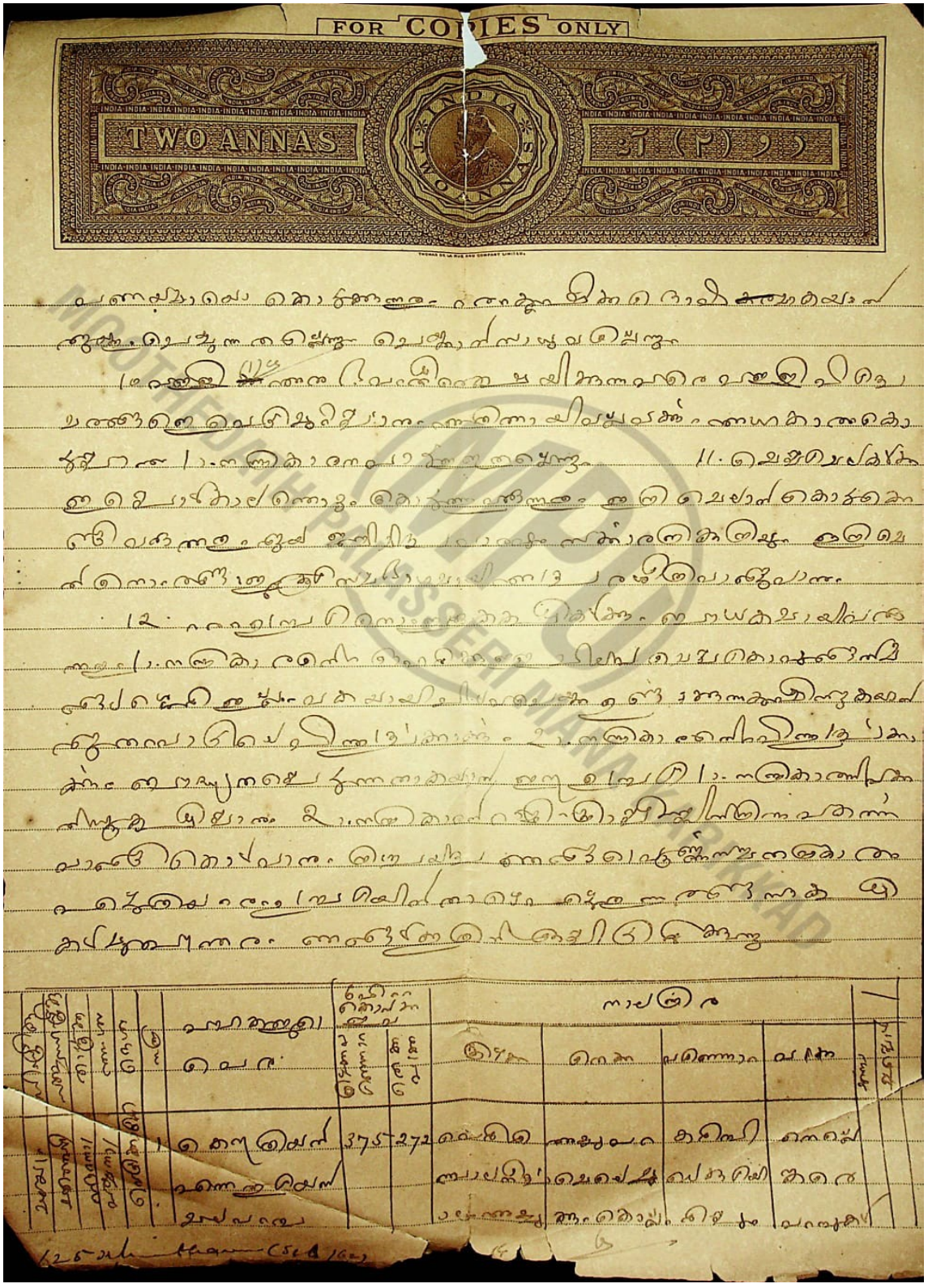


Source: Malabar Collectorate R-Dis File, No.2603, Dated 21st December 1896, RAK.

APPENDIX - XIII

Agreement of Pepper Cultivation





SOURCE: Private Records Collection, Moothedathu Palassery Mana, Karikkad.

Appendix - XIV

Letter on Pepper Transaction

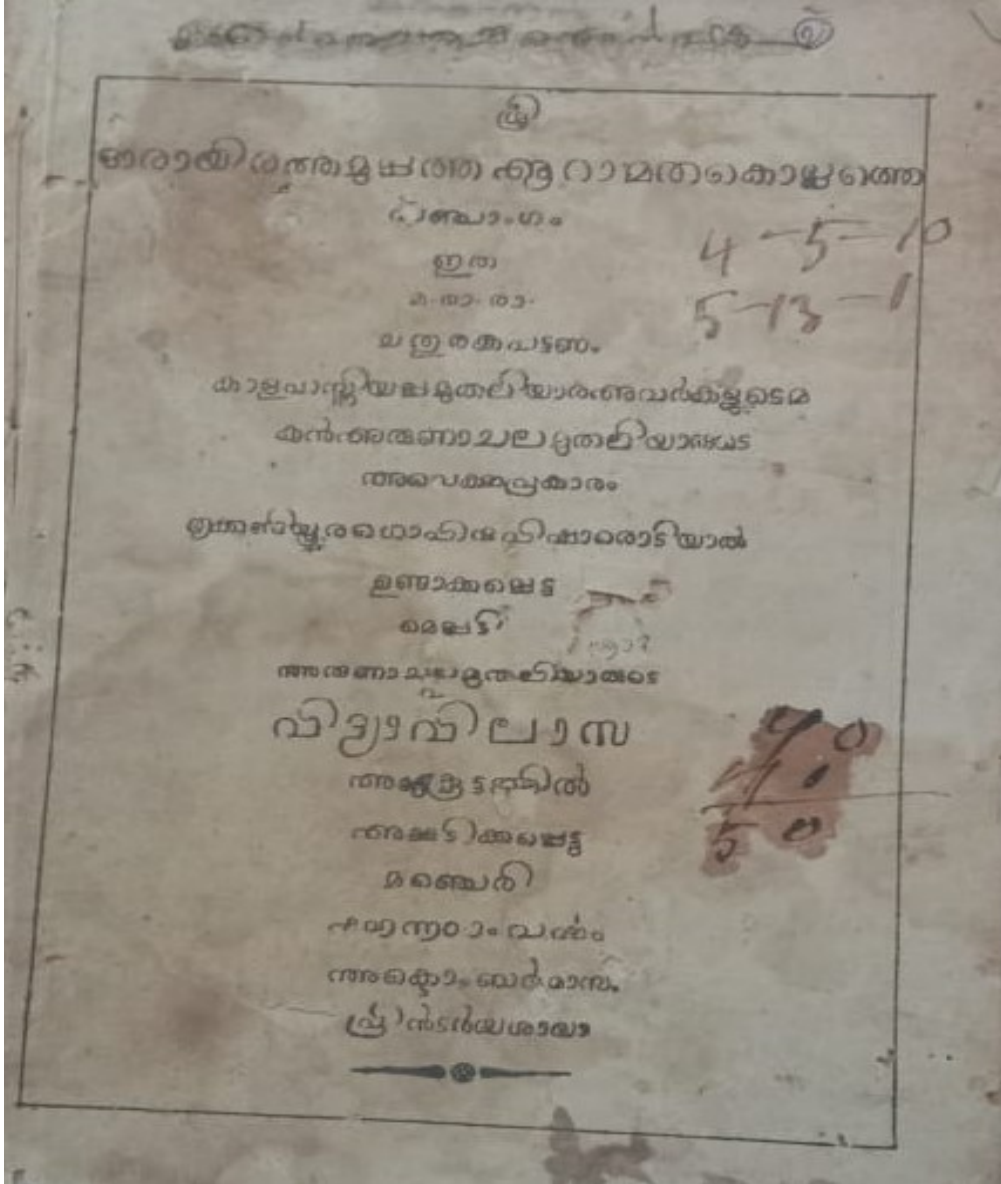
① അപരൻ
 5-689.

ശ്രീ. അവിരമന അയച്ച അക്ക
 നായകി ദി. പണച്ചാന അറി
 ഞാന പട്ട എ നഗരവെച്ചി
 ള അചിനനം. അയച്ച
 ഈ പട്ട എ നഗരവെച്ചി
 പല കൈക്കൊണ്ടു. ആകെ പല
 കിട്ടു. അങ്ങി വിധിച്ചു. അ
 മാന കിട്ടിയ ഉറമന ആകെ
 യാനം. സമയം സൂ. പല
 നന്ന പട്ടെച്ചിട്ടു. അതി
 ല്ലാ. ചില അക്കമെങ്കിലും. അ
 കെ അയച്ചു. എ. ഉറമന
 യാനം. അ. ഉറമന എ. പ
 യെച്ചു. അയച്ചു. അ. അ
 മി. അയച്ചു. അ. അ. അ
 ചു. അ. അ. അ. അ. അ
 പട്ട എ നഗരവെച്ചി
 ള. അ. അ. അ. അ. അ
 മി. അ. അ. അ. അ. അ
 ചു. അ. അ. അ. അ. അ
 പട്ട എ നഗരവെച്ചി

source: Private Records Collection, Moothedathu Palassery Mana, Karikkad.

APPENDIX- XV

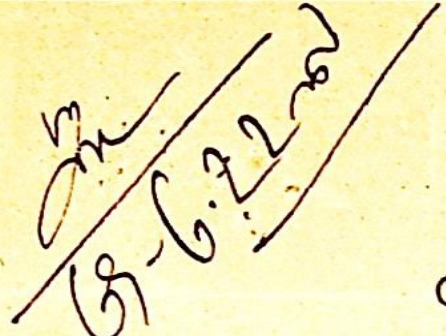
Panchankam printed at Vidya Vilasam Press, Manjeri in 1860

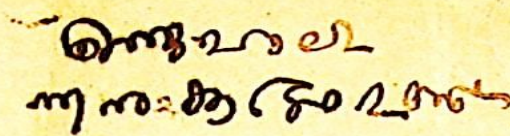



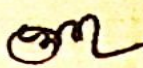
Source: Private Records Collection, Moothedathu Palassery Mana, Karikkad.

Appendix - XVI

Eranad Tile Factory





മൂത്തേടുകാരി കരയെ കരയെ
 നൂറുപാല ^{നൂറുപാല} കരയെ കരയെ
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Source: Private Records Collection, Moothedathu Palassery Mana, Karikkad.

Appendix - XVIII

Diary of Shankaran Namboothiri



source: Private Records Collection, Moothedathu Palassery Mana, Karikkad.

APPENDIX - XIX

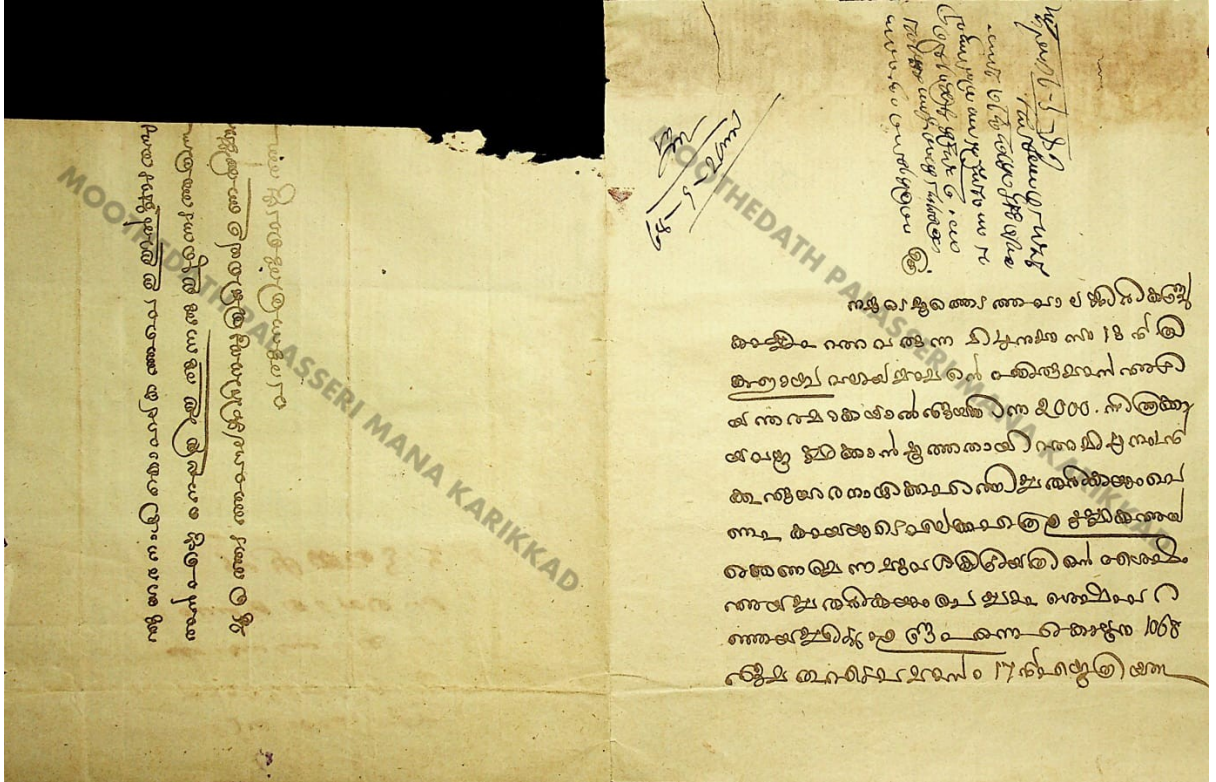
Diary Records on Banana Transaction



Source: Private Records Collection, Moothedathu Palassery Mana, Karikkad.

APPENDIX - XX

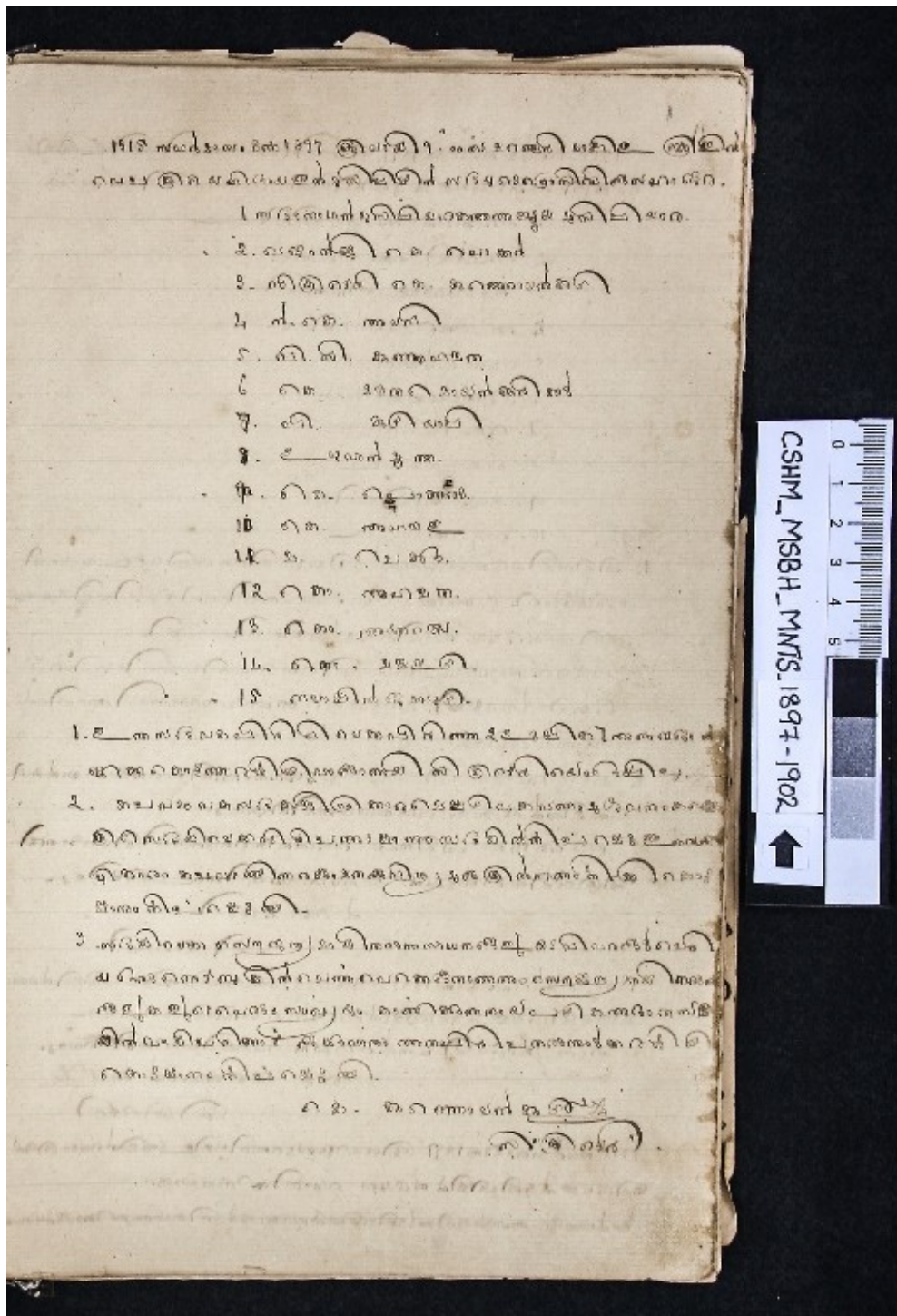
Banana Transaction (Letter)



Source: Private Records Collection, Moothedathu Palassery Mana, Karikkad.

APPENDIX - XXII

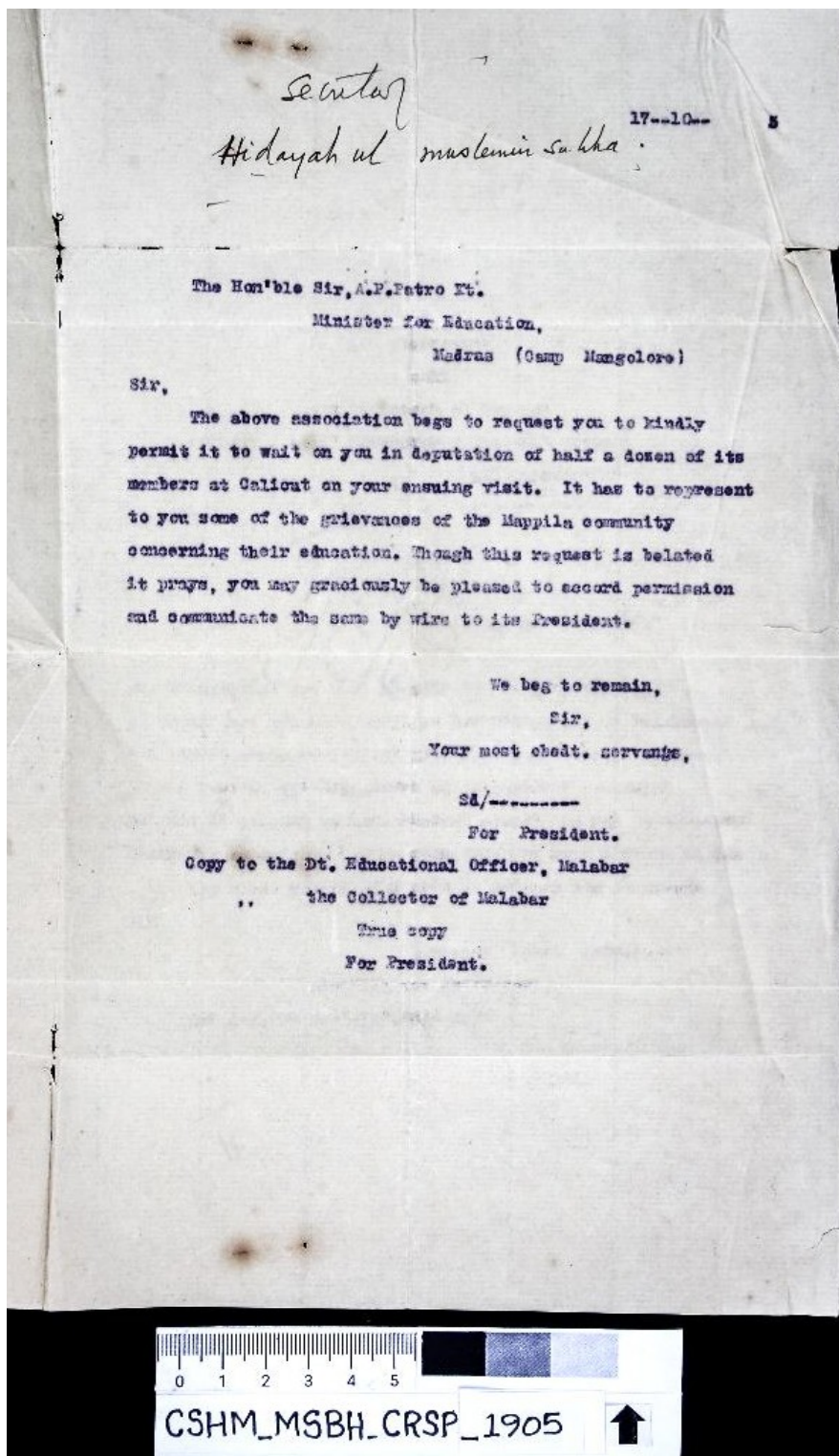
H.M Sabha Minutes 1897



Source: Minutes, MSBH, CSHM, 1897-1902.

APPENDIX - XXIII

Correspondence file, 1905



Source: Correspondence File, MSBH, CSHM, 1905.

APPENDIX - XXIV

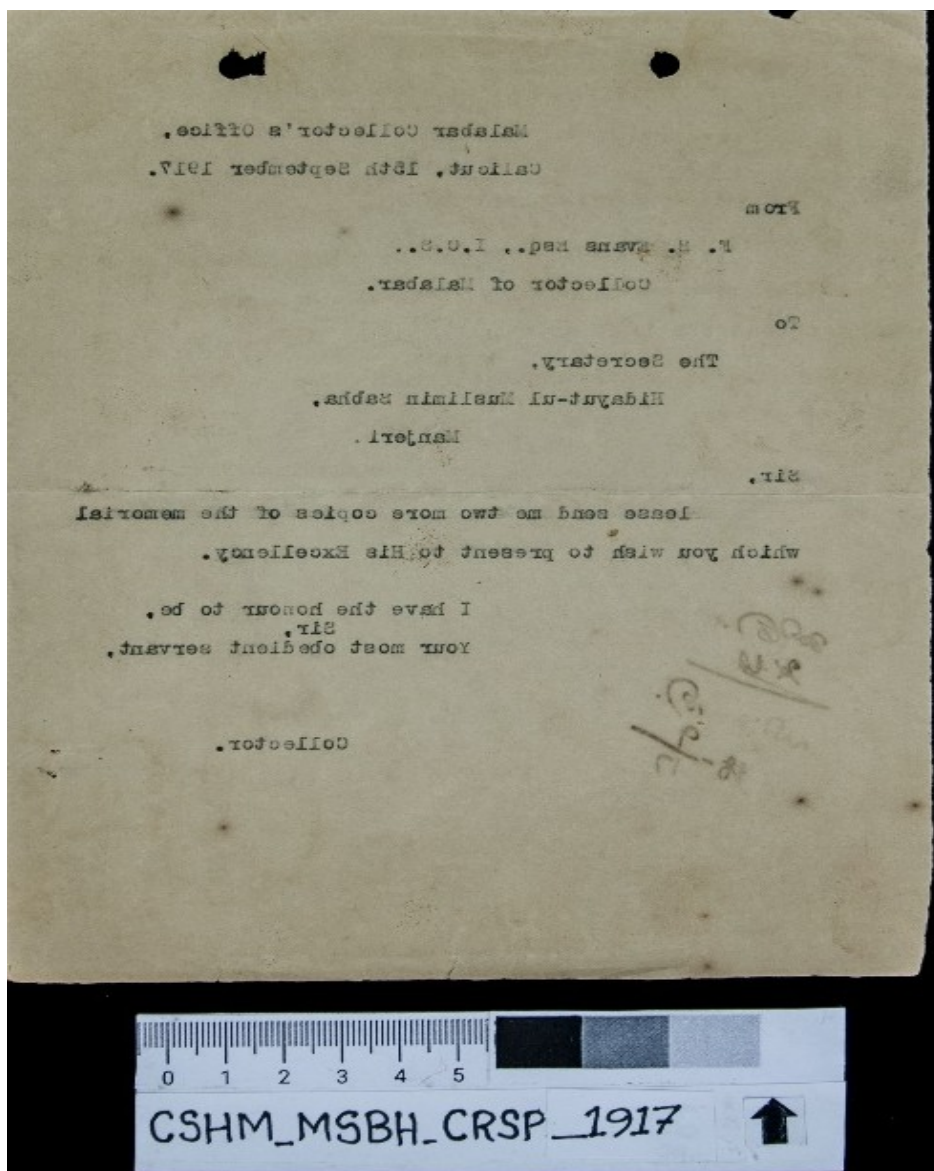
Minutes 1902



Source: Minutes, MSBH, CSHM, 1897-1902.

APPENDIX - XXV

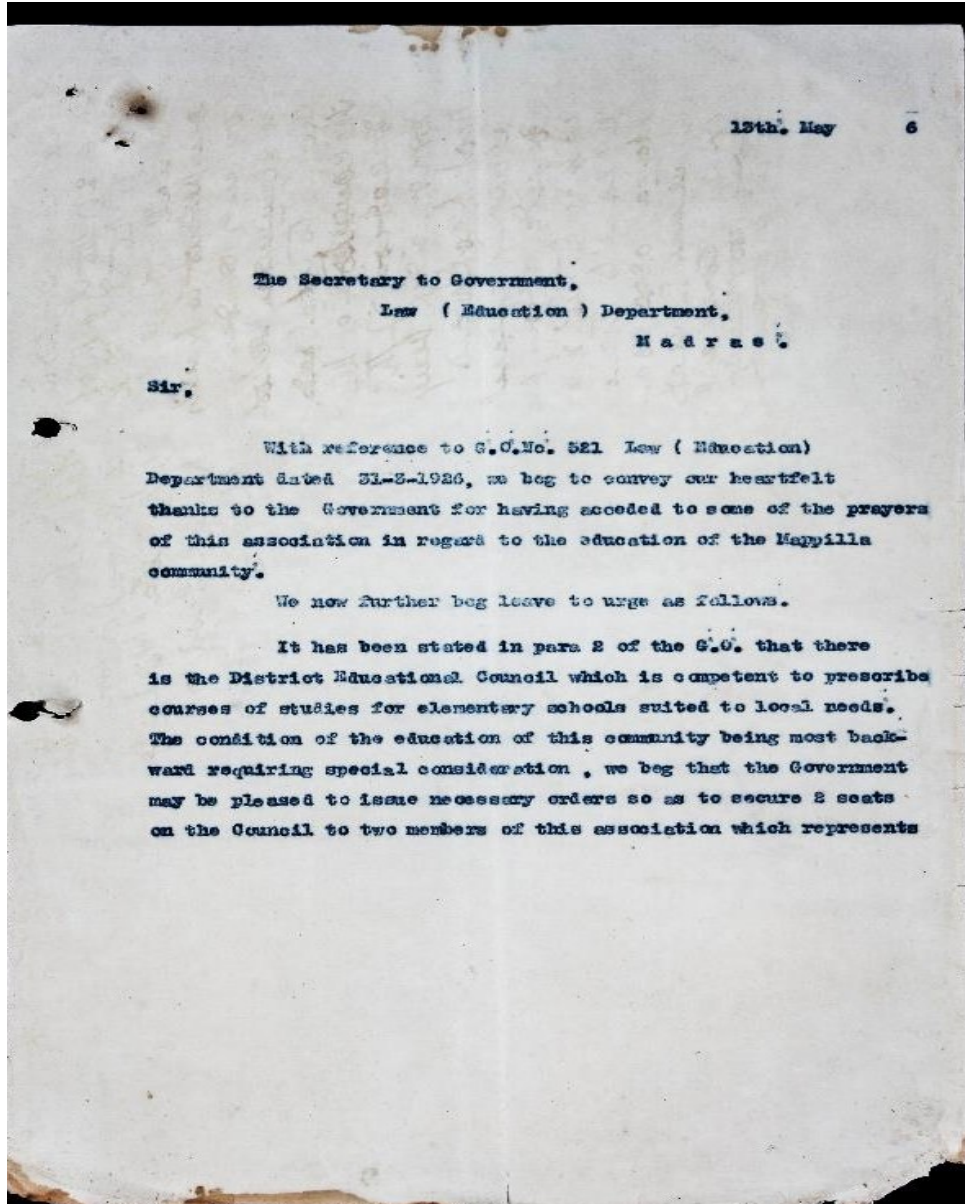
Correspondence file, 1917



Source: Correspondence file, MSBH, CSHM, 1917.

APPENDIX - XXVI

Correspondence file, 1906.



Source: Correspondence file, MSBH, CSHM, 1906.

APPENDIX - XXVII

Manjeri Town 1980



Source: Vallanchira Muhammed Ali, Manjeri, Manjeri Muncipal Council, 2015.

APPENDIX - XXVIII

Tomb of Ension Wyse



Courtesy: The Researcher

APPENDIX XX - IX

Manjeri Kovilakam



Courtesy: The Researcher

APPENDIX - XXX

CSI Bungalow



Courtesy: The Researcher

APPENDIX - XXXI

Hat Stone Manjeri



Courtesy: The Researcher

APPENDIX - XXXII

Cosmo Politan Club Manjeri



Courtesy: The Researcher

APPENDIX - XXIII

Participatory observation conducted by the Researcher



Courtesy: The Researcher