It is a fact that with the arrival of the British, India found herself placed in an entirely new political situation, where she was subjected to a class of rulers who always remained alien, not only by origin and character, but also within the social and cultural life of the country. Once the British had achieved a position of dominance, the period up to independence witnessed a steady expansion of the presidency capitals and the imposition of a colonial model of urban development on secondary cities throughout the British Raj. These cities played various roles as administrative capital, cantonment, port city, and as centre of industrial activities.

Prior to the beginning of colonial era in the late eighteenth century, the English had already set up factories, settlements and warehouses in the coastal belt of Malabar. Though their commercial interests mixed up with political ambitions began to operate from the Tellicherry fort, the Seringapatnam treaty of 18\textsuperscript{th} March 1792 of C.E. gave them the opportunity to shift their political seat to Calicut, the old capital of Zamorin rulers. Being an urban palimpsest, Calicut, to them appeared as a suitable centre for power exercise and as a most influential town in Malabar. For the first generation of the colonial officials who stationed at Calicut, the city and its immediate environs were unmapped and poorly known. But gradually, British knowledge of the city began with the writings of many officials like Graeme, Logan, Ward and Connor and Innes and Evans.

**Institutionalization of Power and the Shaping of Political Space**

The colonial knowledge of the territory is determined by geographic representations and most especially by map. Together with the cartographic sketches and land surveys and settlements, the knowledge of a particular space achieved new dimensions and produced entirely a new space. The space thus produced not only
represented legitimizing efforts of a power group, their sway over a territory but also became the manifestation of their imperialism over the economy, culture and society of the conquered territory. The task of drawing up the master plan and other locality maps was placed under the charge of teams of colonial architects and planners and the responsibility for implementing the plans was typically assigned to colonial public works departments on the ground in the colonies. Most of the District Gazetteers, Memoirs, Survey Reports and Manuals produced during this period, contained a brief introduction about the city and the taluk, along with the geographical location, population data and the major landmarks of the city. Calicut, in the form of text, thus appeared as a big urban centre, with all civic amenities, recreations, trade, and other social and cultural institutions. The Pymashi accounts of 1806 say that Calicut taluk was divided into twelve hoblies, comprising one hundred and twenty seven desams or villages. Later it was settled as twelve hoblies, sub-divided into twenty-one amsoms which contained one hundred and twenty eight desams. In 1860, when the taluks of Malabar were reorganized, the number of amsoms was registered as thirty five, but in 1866 six more amsoms were transferred to Calicut taluk from the Kurumbranad taluk and now the total number of amsoms were fourty-one. The taluk was bounded on the

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1 In 1815, Collin Mackenzie as appointed the Surveyor-General of India to control the surveys of the three presidencies. His duty was not to conduct survey himself, but to avail and appropriate the surveys made by others, to arrange and select the materials and to form maps of provinces, or of Divisions comprehending a certain extent in latitude and longitude. The land surveys and the process of mapping can be viewed as a part of the broader goal of understanding the empire they created in India. In the arena of education and knowledge, the surveys were a principal means by which the British held themselves to be superior to the Indians and therefore worthy of the territorial sovereignty which they had acquired. Mathew H. Edney, Mapping an Empire: the Geographical Construction of British India 1765-1843, (New Delhi: 1999), pp. 1-36.


4 G.O. No. 2362, dated 5 September 1866, Revenue Records, (Folded), B. No. 193.
north by the Kurumbranad and Wayanad taluks, on the east by Wayanad and Ernadu taluks, on the south by Ernadu taluk and on the west by the Arabian Sea. As per the census report of 1881, the approximate area of the taluk was 339 square miles⁵ and by 1905 it was re-estimated as 379 square miles⁶.

According to colonial writings, Calicut was illustrated as the capital city of Malabar district under Madras Presidency. From 1792 to 1800 it was placed under Bombay Presidency. Several chiefs of Malabar who maintained quasi-political relations with the East India Company were then allowed to continue as the feudatories of the Company and more or less they acted as independent authority in the areas confined to them. This led to the anti-British sentiments which culminated in the Pazhassi Rebellion. The situations in Malabar had forced the company to transfer the province on May 21, 1800 from Bombay Presidency to the Madras Presidency to concentrate more on Malabar. As a result Major Macleod was appointed as the Principal Collector of Malabar District and he initiated the implementation of colonial policies in Malabar, with Calicut as the seat of all administrative activities⁷.

The basic facts contained in the aforesaid narratives on the city included the marking of its location in Latitude 11⁰ 15’ North and Longitude 75⁰50’ East⁸. As per the records of 1858, the limits of the town of Calicut was extended from the Connolly canal on the east to the sea beach on the west and the Warakkal temple on the north to the Kallayi River on the south⁹. The municipal system of government in Calicut which

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⁸ William Logan, op.cit.
⁹ *Revenue Records*, 18-12-1858, Bundle No 98, Serial No. 6, R.A., Calicut.
came into existence on 3 July 1866\textsuperscript{10} as per the Town Improvement Act of 1865\textsuperscript{11} divided the city into seven divisions or wards included in four *amsoms* that is *Nagaram*, *Kasbah*, *Katchery* and *Edakkad* for administrative purpose\textsuperscript{12}. This shows that the city limits was further extended to north to include the *desams* of *Pathiyangadi* and *Edakkadd*. In the south, the spatial limit of the municipality was extended to cover a portion of *Panniankara Desom*, and the south-eastern boundary included a portion of *Valayanad* and *Kottooli desoms*. The *Nagaram Desom* formed the nerve centre of the city where all the business activities, major settlements, main administrative centres of recreations, bus terminal, railway station etc. held. The chief suburbs of the city were West Hill in the north and Kallayi in the south. Thus the city limit of Calicut during the period of colonial rule included the *Nagaram Desom*, *Kasbah*, *Kalathinkunnu*, *Kariankunnu*, *Katcheri*, *Kurumbrakatteri*, parts of *Valyanad Desom* and *Kottioli Desom*, *Nedungottur* and *Edakkad*. *Nagaram Desom* is the head quarters of the city of Calicut with an area of 844 acres and 71 cents. The settlements of the Portuguese, Dutch, English and the French belonged to the *Nagaram Desom*. Other major landmarks of this *desom* includes the Municipal Market, *Aanakkulam*, District Court, Salt and Abkari Town Hall, *Mananchira Tank*, *Trikkovil Lane*, *Huzur Cutchery*, *Kotta Paramba*, *Pattusala Theruvu*, and the Railway Station\textsuperscript{13}. The Kasbah Desom mainly comprises of

\textsuperscript{11} A Municipality was created for the purpose of raising local taxation and it is authorized to levy taxes on houses, maintenance of roads, lighting and conservancy, establishment of schools, providing scavenging services and so on. The Towns Act of XXVI of 1850 authorized the provincial government to introduce local administration in any town if the inhabitants of the town were desirous of making better provision for improving the town in any manner. The Towns Improvement Act of 1865 created municipalities in the State and by 1866 there were 29 Municipal towns in the Madras Presidency and Calicut was one among them. See *Proceedings of the Madras Government, Public Department* 11 September 1869; *The Madras Municipal Manual- A Hand Book*, M.51.
\textsuperscript{13} Settlement Registers, No. 38, pp. 1-4.
modern Chalappuram and its nearby places. The boundaries of this desom are Nagaram in the west, Prayancheri Desom in the east, Kariankunnu in the north and Panniyanakara in the south. The total area of Kasbah Desom by settlement is 276 acres and 37 cents. According to the Settlement Registers, Kalathinkunnu Desom is situated about half a mile north of Nagaram. With 786 acres, and 61 cents of area, this desom covers the Munnalingal area, Kotati Paramba, English Church, and the Satramulla Kovilakam Parambu. The Kariankunnu Desom with 366 acres and 86 cents of area is surrounded by Nagaram in the west, Kasbah in the south, Parayancheri in the east and Kalathinkunnu in the north. The Basel Mission Church, B E M School, Asoka Hospital etc. belong to this desom. Katcheri Desom is situated about 2 miles north of Nagaram where the cantonment, race course, and the West Hill railway station serve as important landmarks. The extent of this desom is 993 acres and 35 cents. Next is the Kurumbrakkatteri Desom, which is situated half a mile north-east of the Nagaram with a total area of 508 acres and 50 cents. The present Malaparamba, and civil station localities comes under the limits of Nedungottur Desom which lies further north–east of the Nagaram Desom. This Desom also had many European bungalows and other institutions. The extent of this desom is 799 acres and 16 cents. The Edakkad Desom lies in the urban–rural fringe of the northern part of the city with an area of 939 acres and 94 cents. In the beginning of the twentieth century the town had an area of 13 square miles and stretched for 6 miles along the coast. Besides being a municipality, a cantonment and the headquarters of all branches of administration, it became the seat of

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14 Ibid., No. 35, pp.1-6.
15 Ibid., No. 37, pp.4-31.
16 Ibid., No.29, p.2.
17 Ibid., No. 28, p. 2.
19 Ibid., No. 26, p.2.
20 The Tour Report of the Fifth Tour of Arthur Lawley, Governor of Madras, to Malabar, September 13th to 24th 1907, p. 57.
the District Judge of Southern Malabar, the Registrar of Calicut, and the Executive Engineer of the West-Coast division. There were two District Munsiffs and two subordinate Judges. The District Judge of South Malabar had his court here. The town was also the headquarters of the Income Tax Officer, Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies and Assistant Director of Fisheries\textsuperscript{21}. The other important offices which functioned from Calicut were the office of the Assistant Commissioner of Salt and Abkari, office of the Land Records Superintendent of Coimbatore, Nilgiri and South Canara\textsuperscript{22}. The general landmarks of the then city consisted of the Mananchira Tank and the ground in the centre of the town, and round them were the Collector’s office, the District Court, the Madras bank, the Municipal Hospital, the Basel Mission High School and the Church, the Govt. Commercial School, the Basel Mission Weaving Establishment etc. The ware houses and the mercantile offices, the Light House, along with Bungalows of European residents stood facing the sea, from northern pier to the Malabar Club in the south of the coastal road\textsuperscript{23}. Thus the central area of the city was used to accommodate many colonial institutions and missionary establishments while the outskirts showed the growth of new settlements together with many indigenous and European constructions.

The surveys and resurveys produced many maps of the city of Calicut and its suburbs. The micro level sketching of city maps divided the localities into various desams and identified every nook and corner of the city. But they found it difficult to design a master plan for the city because the streets were so congested and narrow and not encompassing to the then requirements of the city. The restructuring of the city in a


\textsuperscript{22}The Tour Report of the Fifth Tour of Arthur Lawley, p. 59.

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., p. 58.
ring pattern began from two central parts; one around Mananchira and the other encircling the Valiyangadi. The city then grew northwards to the cantonment area of West Hill and then to south to Panniyankara. With the establishment of Pierce Leslie and Company and other European cottages and Bungalows, the limits of the city to the east got extended. The extension of railway line to Cannanore spatially divided the city into two blocks. The opening of Kallayi, Vellayil and West Hill railway stations contributed for the urban spatial continuity within the municipal limits. The commodity movements and vehicular traffic between these stations made the spaces adjoining it livelier.

The colonial buildings of this era were not without political significance. Their classical forms representing the Victorian and gothic styles stood as symbols of a conquering militarism and a culture and a race which considered themselves superior. Many European Bungalows constructed in the various localities, some were on the hill tops; the barracks situated at East hill, the District Jails, Travellers’ Bungalows and rest houses, all civil buildings etc appeared as the visual symbols of power, influence, control and dominance. The colonial constructions like the Mission Bungalow, the Town Hall, and the Weaving establishment, St.Vincent Industrial Institute, Beach Hotel, and Mission Hospitals etc were designed in a uniform pattern resembling the colonial character which was prefabricated in Europe and built according to the indigenous conditions. These buildings typified by the verandas, big windows with French glass styles, huge doors with upper clerestory windows, side aisles, wooden floors and tops with tiled roofs, the wooden staircases etc. worked well in warmer climates. Most of these buildings were painted white in colour, may be to represent the colour of the ruling elites and these building were furnished with Malabar Teak and

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Rosewood. Today, if we visit any colonial bungalows or institutions in Calicut or any other colonial cities of British imperialism we can easily identify the colonial character of that structure by looking at the furniture placed there because of the common carpentry features implemented on it. This uniformity in all colonial art and architecture straight away leads to some questions like how far these visual representations served the colonizers to construct and legitimate their colonial power and how these were instrumental in controlling the subjects of the colonial state. The attempts of legitimization were continued through the process of naming the buildings, roads and other points of significance in the city. The name given to the buildings like the ‘Victoria Jubilee Hall’ (present town hall), ‘Prince of Wales Dispensary’ and the ‘Prince of Wales Chattrams’ were intentionally named to retain its colonial character. Likewise efforts were made to name some open spaces inside the city on colonial lines. For example, the Mananchira ground was given the name ‘Prince of Wales Ground’ for commemorating the royal visit of British Prince to Calicut in 1906. Almost in every colonial city we can see places and buildings named after any colonial personalities. Likewise, in Calicut certain roads were named after the European Collectors of Malabar. They are the Evans Road, Robinson Road and the Francis Road.

Meanwhile, the indigenous wealthier groups also adopted these styles in construction of their dwellings and private buildings. A good example for this is the Asoka Hospital building, built in1930 by Dr.V.I.Raman, a western educated medical practitioner of the city. But the big houses constructed by the elite natives were an amalgamation of both Indian and European styles. It was either a compromise between

25 G.O.No. 797, signed by C.A.Galton, dated October 10, 1890. The town hall was also known as Salt-Abkari Hall.
26 Revenue Files 1901-1905, B. No.17, Sl.No.3.
27 The Madras Medical Register for 1938, Madras Medical Council, 1939, p. 137.
the two styles and the introduction of this new type of architecture in the city can be roughly traced back to the end of 1920s. Heidegger, by relating dwelling to building argues that buildings express the human capacity to organize the environment within which they live, in terms of locations that are meaningful. It is through confrontation with the building of another culture that we can recognize their otherness’s. This definition highlights that the built environment is the product of political hierarchies and is expressive of these hierarchies. The works of Foucault and Deleuze also identifies architecture as the means of controlling populations.

a) The Cantonment

West Hill, situated in the Kacheri amsom, which is 3 miles away from the centre of the city, formed the cantonment part of the Calicut city. The Barracks in the East Hill, an elevated area lying to the east of the Kacheri amsom housed the British Infantry Detachment and Collector’s Bungalow. This area was completely put under the surveillance and this hillock became a symbol of power exercise. Earlier, this hillock accommodated the bungalow of the District Collector and a European bungalow known as ‘East Hill Bungalow’ where a trial court with a small underground jail for keeping trial prisoners was functioned. After the murder of Connolly, the District Collector, in 1855 the Collectors bungalow was shifted to the East Hill Bungalow and the old bungalow as decided to house the army. Apart from these two buildings, there were some other buildings in the locality belonging to the Agents of the East India Iron Company (Messrs. Dymes and Co.) and the Government used it for military purposes.

29 The Cantonment or the permanent military station was the institutionalized form of settlement for the military representatives of British colonial power in India from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. See Antony D. King, Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment, (London, 1976), p. 97.
by paying a rent of Rs. 200 a month for the buildings erected there. As it was an expensive job, the authorities decided to buy it by paying an amount of Rs. 40,000 since the government felt the threat of an attack and rebellion from the Mappila quarters. So expecting a dangerous situation resulting in serious breaches to the peace in the city the Commander-in-chief was requested to station a company of European infantry from the regiment of Cannanore. Thence the barracks was extended and several native people were forcefully evacuated from the locality by paying limited amount of compensation. Several petitions were filed by the natives for these forced acquisitions but were in vain. Subsequently, the barracks and its nearby places together formed a cantonment area where there were recreational institutions, military canteen, and ball court, military dispensary, camping and exercising ground, arm store, workshops, gun sheds and horse lines existed. A Race Course was built at West Hill in 8.5 acres of land which belonged to the Warakkal temple under the Zamorin of Calicut, at a rent of Rs.26-13-6 in 1865. Here it should be noted that the amount given as rent to the European company of East India Iron Company was very high when it is compared with the land rent paid to the Zamorin. Some more lands were also acquired near to this plot for the purpose of parade and cricket ground. On the coastal side of West Hill, the beach was reserved as the camping ground or Butt Point of the army. Another issue of dispute was on the action of acquisition of temple lands of Warakkal near to the race course for the construction of transport lines and sheds for the animals of the cantonment. But the site was finally selected and approved to construct the elephant lines and mule’s stables for

31 The plots acquired were originally known as Parethazhathil Paramba owned by P. Govinda Nambi and P. Narayana Nambi; R. Dis File, B. No. 98, Sl. No. 16, 1911.
32 Revenue R-Dis Files, B. No. 10, Sl. No. 19 and 20, 1904, Kurumbrakkatucheri desom, Katcheri amsom, Survey field no. 7 and 8.
the military purpose\textsuperscript{33}. Thus the cantonment space became the centre of spatial seclusion to the indigenous groups and the place represented a space of power exertion from the hillock to the sea in the northern part of the town. The colonial authorities also insisted the municipal councilor to keep the locality in good sanitary condition. The incinerator at West Hill was condemned and later at the time of its reconstruction, strong objection came on pointing to its proximity to the West Hill Barracks\textsuperscript{34}.

**The Municipal Administration**

Urban areas are demarcated by the limits of the jurisdiction of the local self government, such as the Corporation or the Municipality. After the formation of the Municipality of Calicut in 1866, it took ninety-six years to get raised to the position of a Corporation\textsuperscript{35}. But when the activities and the performance of the Municipal administration in Calicut is considered from its inception to the first half of the twentieth century, it is clear from the records that the Council adopted timely measures in each and every sector to deal with the problems resulting from urbanization. It was ranked sixth among the towns of the Madras Presidency with an income amounting two and a half lakhs of rupees derived mainly from taxation. The revenue income of the Calicut municipality during the official year of 1868-69\textsuperscript{36} was Rs. 30, 593-4-3 and in 1885-86 it showed an increase to Rs. 56, 925\textsuperscript{37}. In 1908, the income from taxation was Rs. 80,000 and in 1913 it was Rs.1, 44,000. A considerable increase of Rs. 2, 67, 685 is

\textsuperscript{33} The transport lines and Mule’s shed was built, but due to a dispute on issue of ownership over land proposed for elephant line, the project was later abandoned by the military authorities; Revenue Files, B. No. 29, Sl. No. 10, 1890.

\textsuperscript{34} Administration Report of Calicut Municipality, 1920-21, B. No. 5, Sl. No. 137, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{35} Calicut was declared as ‘Corporation’ on 1 November 1962; Calicut City Directory, op.cit., p.25.

\textsuperscript{36} Proceedings of the Madras Government, Public Department, dated 11 September 1869, p.64.

\textsuperscript{37} William Logan, op.cit., p. CCCXXXI.
registered in the year of 1936 but in 1940 it was only Rs.1, 70,707\textsuperscript{38}. Logan’s Manual gives a complete details about the sources from which the municipality derived its income\textsuperscript{39}. The duties of the Municipality included the construction and repair of hospitals, dispensaries, lunatic asylums, choultries, markets, drains, seers, tanks and wells, maintenance, cleaning and lighting of the streets and bridges and other means of communication etc. The Municipal Council as also assigned to undertake measures of public utility aimed to promote the safety, health and comfort of the people. Imparting training and appointing of medical practitioners and vaccinators, the sanitary inspection of the town, the registration of births and deaths, the payment of salaries, leave allowances, pensions and gratitude also was vested with the municipality. The Act known as the Town Improvement Act III of 1871 placed the Municipal Commissioner in a more responsible position and reduced the interference of the government. But at the same time provisions were made for the government to appoint a European officer as a working member of the municipality and to conduct the election of Commissioners’ by vote from the tax payers of the city\textsuperscript{40}.

The Council, thus elected three-fourths of its members and the remaining one-fourth was appointed by the Government. Later on the official element in the strength of the Council was gradually withdrawn and with the implementation of the Madras

\textsuperscript{38} Statistical Atlas of the Malabar District, 1908, 1913, 1936 and 1940-41.

\textsuperscript{39} William Logan, op.cit.

\textsuperscript{40} This act was later suspended and The Madras District Municipalities Act (act IV of 1884) came into force. The Act of 1884, for the first time used the term ‘Municipality’ in the title. All the Acts passed up to this time were styled only as ‘towns improvement Acts’. It also adopted the new terms ‘Council’ and Councillors’ in lieu of the old terms ‘Commission’ and ‘Commissioners’. In 1909, the Royal Commission on Decentralization appointed to study the working of local self-government and its decentralization recommended more powers to the local-self governments, conducting of regular and systematic elections and approval of large grants for big projects in the municipalities. It was further boosted by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1918, which recommended financial liberty to the local bodies, allowing them to have full liberty to impose and alter taxation. See S.V. Desika Char, (ed.), Readings in the Constitutional History of India, (New Delhi, 1983), pp.377-385,
District Municipalities Act of 1920⁴¹, the nomination of Government officials was completely stopped and the strength of the Council arose from 24 to 32, which composed entirely of non-officials⁴². According to this new Act of 1920, the Municipal Council of Calicut consisted of the representatives of all major communities including the Parsi and the Anglo-Indians. The administration report of 1920-21 says that a ‘Public Works Committee’ was organized for scrutinizing the estimates of projects prior to its submission before the Municipal Council for sanction. A Building Committee to check the applications received for licenses to erect buildings, and a committee to design measures regarding town-planning also were formed⁴³. The Council was reconstituted under the new Act of 1920 with effect from 13 May 1921⁴⁴. Tax on buildings and lands were fixed at 9 ½ percentage of the annual rental value. Profession Tax and Company Tax were fixed according to Schedule IV of the Municipal Act of 1920. The Act of 1920 was amended with the District Municipalities Act of 1930. Under Act X of 1930, the Government nomination of one-fourth of the total strength of the Council has ceased altogether and the Council then composed of only elected members⁴⁵.

**Population Growth and the Urbanization**

The level of urbanization of the country as a whole or of any state within it may be measured from data provided by the Census. Researchers depend to a considerable extent on the census as a major source of secondary data for setting an insight into the

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⁴¹ The contents of this Act is published in the *Acts passed by The Governor of Fort St. George in Council in the year 1920* and ‘The Madras Town-Planning Act of 1920’ is described in 19 pages.  
⁴² *Proceedings of the Madras Government, Public Department*, 1921, p.64.  
⁴⁵ T.G. Rutherford & K.N. Krishna Swami Ayyar, op.cit., p. IXI.
temporal and spatial aspects of the urbanization process. The first regular all-India Census was taken in 1881. Though the Government of India had earlier attempted many times to conduct a detailed census in India, they were not centrally supervised or compiled ones and moreover did not cover all the areas of India.\(^{46}\)

Considering the demographic interpretations of urbanization, an attempt is made here to analyze the demographic changes that took place in the colonial space of Calicut city for making a thorough appreciation on the degree and tempo of urbanization during the period under study. The Graeme’s Report speaks of a census taken in Fusly year of 1216 (1807-08) in Calicut Taluk, where “there are 76, 172 souls of whom 18, 884 are Nairs, 18,044 Tiyers, 17, 932 Mappilas, and 7414 slaves” and “the extent of the taluk being about 168 square miles the population is at the rate of 453 persons for every square mile”\(^{47}\). In Logan’s work, the total population of the city according to the 1871 census is recorded as 48,338. In his words the data was not accurate as it embraced only the population of the Nagaram, Kasaba and Kacheri amsoms\(^ {48}\). It was with the census of 1881, the whole amsoms and desoms lying within the limits of municipality were considered for the census survey of the Calicut city. In the census reports, the population of each decade is classified on religion basis. But the data given below covers the total number of population in each decennial census conducted in the city.

\(^{46}\) The Government of India was instructed by the colonial government in London in 1856 to organize a census, but owing to the revolt of 1857 the matter was taken up only in the 1860’s. The census of North-Western Provinces (1865), Central Provinces and Berar (1866), Bihar (1867) and Punjab (168) and of the three Presidency towns, Madras in 1863, Bombay in 1864 and Calcutta in 1866 were taken during the period between 1863 and 1867. But between 1867 and 1872, censuses were conducted in as much as the country as was then possible. This series of census is commonly known as the Census of 1872. It was not, however, a synchronous census nor did it cover all the areas of India. For more details, see S.R. Maheswari, *The Census Administration under the Raj and After*, (New Delhi, 1996), p. 15.

\(^{47}\) H.S.Graeme, op.cit., p. 80.

\(^{48}\) William Logan, op.cit., p. CCCXXXI.
Table 1: Demographic Chart of Calicut Municipality and Calicut Taluk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Years</th>
<th>Calicut Municipality</th>
<th>Calicut taluk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>57,085</td>
<td>2,05,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>66,078</td>
<td>2,37,682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>76,981</td>
<td>2,55,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>78,417</td>
<td>2,71,032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>82,334</td>
<td>2,90,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>99,273</td>
<td>3,47,817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>1,26,352</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1,58,724</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Various Census Reports

a) Percentage of Urban Population

The equation to find out the percentage of urban population in Calicut taluk is,

\[ PU = \frac{U}{P} \times 100 \]

Where PU is the percentage of urban population; U is the urban population; and P is the total population.

Therefore, for example if we take the census report of 1881;

\[ PU = \frac{57085}{205962} \times 100 = 27.71\% \]
b) **Ratio of Urban-Rural Population**

Ratio of urban-rural populations indicates the tempo of urbanization. Therefore, it is useful for historical comparisons. This is calculated as follows:

\[ UR = \frac{U}{R} \]

Where UR is the urban-rural ratio; U is the urban population; and R is the rural population. Then,

\[ \frac{U}{R} = \frac{57085}{148877} \]

Therefore, \( UR = 0.38\% \)

The percentage of population growth in the Calicut Municipality according to the census reports of the decennial years starting from 1881 to 1951 can be found with help of the following equation;

\[ 100 \frac{Py2 - Py1}{Py1} \]

\( Py2 \), Denotes the population of ‘Year 2’ in a frequency table and \( Py1 \), the population of ‘Year 1’.

For example: \( Py1 = 57,085 \) and \( Py2 = 66,078 \)

\[ X = 100 \times \frac{66078 - 57085}{57085} \]
= 15.75%

Table 2. Population Growth in Percentage in Calicut Municipality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Percentage of Population Growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881-1891</td>
<td>15.75370062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1901</td>
<td>16.50019674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1911</td>
<td>1.865395357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1921</td>
<td>4.99509035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1931</td>
<td>20.57351762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1941</td>
<td>27.27730601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1951</td>
<td>25.62048879</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The graphical representation given below shows the decennial increase in population on the basis various census reports. This can be taken as an index to mark the level of urbanization that took place in the Calicut Municipality during the period under study. Many people got attracted to the administrative jobs in the city and some others came to city in search of their fortunes and career at many industrial establishments opened by the Basel Evangelical Mission and native entrepreneurs. To this, the opening of Calicut Railway Station facilitated the movements of human capital to the city on a large scale and a rapid rise in the floating population was recorded.
The graph shown below indicates a sudden fall in the percentage of increase in the urban population in 1901-1911. But the period ranging from 1931 to 1941 marks a high growth rate in the percentage of increase in urban population. So the fluctuations in the percentage of urban population show the urban anomalies that were taking place in the spatial structuring of the city.

Graph 2: **Graphical Representation of Population Growth**
According to the section VII (1) of the Madras District Municipalities Act of 1920, the number of Councilors to be elected to the Municipal Council of a City having a population of more than 50,000 but not exceeding 100,000 was fixed as 32. Thus Calicut Municipality with a population of 82,334 got 32 councilors\(^{49}\) and by 1941, it was raised to 36 councilors.

**Shaping the Economic Space**

**a) Transportation and Communication Networks**

Human movements and commodity flows are the main instruments through which spatial organization of economies gets articulated. Since distance acts as a limiting element of human movement and spatial interactions over places and regions, the introduction of modern means of transport and communication reduced the physical distance considerably. The construction of numerous highways and railway lines during the colonial period linked various cities and many interior villages of India.

By the nineteenth century, the city attained great progress in the field of transport and communication. The colonial rulers gave great importance to the development of roads since they were needed to link the other important towns and production centers for facilitating the transfer of raw materials and other goods. The changes on communication and transportation systems were almost synonymous with the development of technologies to improve the efficiency and speed with which the central regions could communicate with the periphery. The Tamarassery ghat road which connected Calicut to south Wayanad and Seringapattanam (route no.38, 39), Sissappara ghat road (route no.37), Calicut–Trichur road (route no.257), Calicut-Nilambur-Gudalur road (40) and Calicut-Cannanore-Mangalore coastal road that

stretched from Calicut port to South Canara district were the important roads that connected Calicut with the other centers of production and exchange during that period. The road constructed to the district of Todanad, commonly known as Nilgiri Hills, via Areekod, Nilambur, Karkur Ghat and Gudalur brought the commodities like ghee, wax, honey, garlic, opium, mustard seed, Vasamboo, peas, adjoovan seeds, dammer, hill turmeric, Cheakoy and Sandalwood.

The construction and the maintenance of the roads inside the city were done by the Municipality for which the Presidency government allotted funds and grants. The total mileage of the roads under the council during 1920-21 was 70 miles. Since most the roads were remnants of the pre-colonial city, it became necessary to reconstruct it along with widening to meet the changing requirements of the city. Many roads were thus widened and extended to reach out all the quarters inside the municipality. Before concretizing the roads the municipality used to water the roads in order to avoid the dust. Watering of roads was done in two time intervals using municipality Lorries. In the morning session from 7.30 to 12.00 noon, the major roads watered were the Koyyassan Road, Oyitti Road, Pavamani Road, Court Road, Municipal Office road, and Empress Hotel Road. In the afternoon between 2 to 5.30, Evans Road, Beach road, some parts of Empress Hotel Road, Municipal Office Road etc were watered. In 1940, the Council allotted thousand rupees in the budget of Municipality for watering process. Some roads were metalled while others were laterite roads and graveled roads. The Beach Road always had the threat of erosion by the sea. As this road connected the Post Office, the new Customs House and the quarter where the merchants’ offices and ware houses were situated, municipality had to spend a huge amount of money for its maintenance.

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51 H.S.Graeme, op.cit., p. 20.
amount every year for the maintenance of the beach road from being washed away by the sea\textsuperscript{53}.

Tolls were levied on main roads and ferries according to the rule 21 of schedule IV of the Madras District Municipalities Act of 1920. Tolls were managed by the District Boards and half the net receipts were paid to the Municipal Council yearly. The Hackney Carriage Act dealing with taxation on carriages, animals and carts was in force in the municipality but it was worked in lieu with the Police Department. But the ferries were maintained by the Council. The toll rates at ferries were based on the type of vehicles and according to the classification of ferry\textsuperscript{54}. The municipality also maintained Traveller’s Bungalows and Rest Houses inside the city. The rest houses outside the city were under the supervision of the District Board. The traveller’s bungalow at Nagaram Desom, rest house at \textit{Mayanad} and the “Prince of Wales \textit{Chattram}” (Inn) were maintained by the municipality. The rest houses at \textit{Vennakode, Puthuppadi Beypore, Cheruvannur, Tamarasseri} provided comfort to highway travellers and also served as a source of income to the District board. There were private inns run by native landlords at many highways. But these facilities were mainly meant for the government officials and foreigners and not for the ordinary tradesmen or traveller\textsuperscript{55}.

If the inland navigation is taken into consideration, the British were much brilliant in making use of the water channels, since they played an important role in resource mobilization from the very remote inland areas to the port. Moreover they understood the possibilities of numerous harbours and satellite ports lying in the vicinity of Calicut that could be made use for the defense purpose also. The idea was

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Revenue Files, B. No. 13, Sl. No. 68, 1904.}
\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Revenue Files, B. No. 262, Sl. No. 27, 1922.}
\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Travellers’ Bungalows, Rest Houses and Chattrams in the Madras Presidency,} Madras, 1916, pp. 7-8.
first enunciated by H.S. Graeme. He identified the continuity of water passages from Quilon to Calicut and further north and can be better used during monsoons when the sea is impassable\textsuperscript{56}. So, as to their plans to connect all the rivers and other water channels flowing through Malabar, steps were taken to construct canals between rivers thereby to facilitate an un breaking water navigation system in Malabar. The best example is the construction of a canal to link Korapuzha in the north and Beypore River in the south. This was initiated by the then Malabar Collector H.V. Connolly and later this Elathur-Kallayi canal became popular as ‘Connolly canal’ in the history of Calicut. The plan and estimate of the canal was submitted in 1845 and got approval in 1846. The fast track way of completion and the opening of the canal in 1848 and the subsequent busy traffic experienced in the canal showed the momentousness of the absence of a water transport system inside the city till the day. Graeme, in his report says that the two rivers, Korapuzha and Beypore River (Chaliyar) which bound the northern and the southern extremities of the Calicut taluk are convenient for transportation of firewood to the coast, and latter was of much in use in conveying grain to the port of Calicut\textsuperscript{57}. The pepper and other spices growing in the north-eastern parts of Wayanad hills were brought to the coast through Kuttiady River and Korapuzha. Hence the opening of this canal facilitated the easy co-ordination of commodity flow to Calicut port. Connolly canal also had an extension to the Valiyangadi or Big Bazaar and flowed to reach Kallayi River. It can be stated explicitly that this link, known as ‘Bazaar Canal’, was utilized for commodity movements from and to the Valiyangadi\textsuperscript{58}. Some records of 1883, related to the land acquisition of Calicut railway station speaks that Logan had

\textsuperscript{56}H.S.Graeme, op.cit., pp. 24-25.
\textsuperscript{57}Ibid., pp. 80-81.
\textsuperscript{58} This canal is also known as ‘Robinson Canal’, named after the Malabar Collector W. Robinson (1856-1858).
suggested a plot near to Valiyangadi because of its proximity to the Bazaar Canal\textsuperscript{59}. His opinion was that the canal can be utilized for bringing the construction materials to the site and it can also be utilized as drainage for the proposed railway station. As per the settlement records, near to this a particular space was known as Puzhavakku, but, at present we cannot trace the dried up bed of any water body in this locality\textsuperscript{60}. The field study, corroborated with the archival records identified and confirmed the huge drainage connecting Valiyangadi, which go further south by passing through the present railway colony premises, as the remnants of the old Bazaar canal. Another inland water communication that connected Calicut to Areekod, Edavanna, and Nilambur etc, was busy with large paddy boats thatched in with a semi-circular roof of leaves carried 1 to 4 tons of cargo to Calicut port. Most of these paddy boats belonged to the wealthy merchants of the city\textsuperscript{61}. All the cargoes were brought to the port for shipment and the remnants of the pier constructed in 1871 and the lighthouse constructed in 1847 even today arouse the memories of the heydays of a port city.

**From Road to Rail**

On March 12, 1861, when the first train ran from Chaliyam to Tirur, covering a distance of 30.5 kilometers, it opened not only a new age in the colonial history of Malabar but also inaugurated a new means of colonial exploitation, a fulfillment of colonial ambition to connect the core with the peripheries where a large amount of resources were hitherto left unexploited. The significance of Beypore or Chaliyam as the terminal point is understandable, as all the first railway stations in the country were port cities – Mumbai in 1853, Kolkata in 1854 and Chennai in 1856 and trains from

\textsuperscript{59} Proceedings of the Municipal Council, October 20, 1883, Revenue Records, 1858-1922.

\textsuperscript{60} Settlement Register, Nagaram Desom, No.38.

\textsuperscript{61} Routes in Madras Presidency, op.cit., p. 508.
these port cities ran with the intention of the procurement of resources from the interior hinterlands and to reach the ports more rapidly. The motivation behind the opening of railway line to Beypore was also the same. The whole parts of the locomotive were embarked from England to Madras and from there the Pattemaris of Beypore brought them to the port at Chaliyam. The project task was assigned to the South Indian Railway Company based at Thiruchirappally. At first the plans were to extend the line further south. The extension of line from Tirur to Kuttippuram was completed on 1 May 1861 and the Kuttippuram-Pattambi sector on 23 September 1861, finally reached Podanur on April 14, 1862. By this time the line from Madras had already reached Madukkarai near Podanur. In short, the No. 1, Madras Mail from Madras, bound to Beypore terminated its inaugural journey at Chaliyam Terminus on May 12, 1862. Naturally a boost up in the export trade at Beypore was recorded.

In 1866, when the town of Calicut was declared as a Municipality, it was decided to extend the line further north to connect Calicut, the capital city of Malabar with the Presidency Capital, Madras. Therefore, after a period of 26 years of the opening of the railway line to Beypore, the train from Madras reached the city of Calicut on 2nd January 1888\textsuperscript{62} thereby opening new vistas and prospects of urban life in the city. The extension of the South-West line of the Madras Railway to Calicut involved the construction of a 9 miles of line and the abandonment of 2 ¼ miles together with terminal station at Beypore, thus hindering the fortunes of Beypore and Chaliyam\textsuperscript{63}. But the Feroke and Kallayi bridges were not completed at the time of opening, the passengers were transshipped at the Feroke Bridge, and at Kallayi the train

\textsuperscript{62} Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Railway Branch, Madras Presidency, 1887-1888, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid; also refer Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Railway Branch, Madras Presidency, 1884-1885, p. 5.
crossed the river on a diversion\textsuperscript{64}. The Feroke Bridge of six 130 feet spans was opened for rail traffic on 5\textsuperscript{th} March 1888\textsuperscript{65}. Though the decision of Sir John Hawshaw, the chief engineer, to carry the cylinders down to rock delayed the work of Kallayi Bridge\textsuperscript{66}, nevertheless it was opened for public traffic in May 1889\textsuperscript{67}. The Kallayi Bridge, an engineering marvel of the colonial government, consisted of three 130 feet girders supported on iron cylinders of 12 feet in diameter carried to depths of 53 and 62 feet in the piers. The Whipple-Murphy type girders with a double system of bracing were erected on the banks of the river and were rolled over into their final positions on the piers\textsuperscript{68}.

The formal declaration of the substitution of Calicut for Beypore as the Western Terminus of the Madras Railway was done in August 1884. The total cost estimated for the project was Rs.12, 53,802 of which the Local Fund Board of Malabar and the Municipal Commissioners of Calicut agreed to contribute an amount of Rs. 1, 35,000. The cost of the land was provided by the government which was estimated at Rs. 1, 70,000\textsuperscript{69}. By 1886 the construction of all the small bridges were completed. In the initial stages of survey, the authorities found it difficult to select a site for the Calicut station because the proposed line was passing through the most congested areas of the city. Finally the new station came into existence by the end of 1887. The Railway Report of 1887-88 says that some parts of the abandoned railway buildings of Beypore were transferred to Calicut for the construction of engine shed, carriage shed and fuel

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{65} Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Railway Branch, Madras Presidency, 1888-1889, p.16.
\textsuperscript{66} Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Railway Branch, Madras Presidency, 1886-1887, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{67} Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Railway Branch, Madras Presidency, 1889-1890, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{69} Report of the Year1884-1885, p. 5.
shed. The aforesaid report also says that the Beypore Company of “Madras Railway Volunteers” (the railway cops) moved with the railway staff to Calicut and they were permitted to use the range and drilling ground of the Malabar Corps. Thus it was renamed as ‘Calicut Company’ with 3 non-commissioned officers and 23 men in efficient category and 7 men in non-efficient category.\(^\text{70}\)

According to the time-table of trains published on 6\(^\text{th}\) August 1890, two trains were allotted to run between Calicut and Madras and vice-versa. One was “Mixed and Passenger” and the other was a Mail Train. The timings of the trains were like this:

**Calicut to Madras**

1) Mixed and passenger: 11.50 am (dep.) --------- 19.00 pm (arr.).

   Total hours of running were 31 hrs 50 minutes.

2) Mail Train: 8.10 am (dep.) --------- 7.00 am (arr.).

   Total hours of running were 22 hrs 50 minutes

**Madras to Calicut**

1) Mixed and passenger: 6.45 am (dep.) --------- 13.00 pm (arr.).

   Total hours of running were 30 hrs 15 minutes.

2) Mail Train: 17.45 pm (dep.) --------- 15.35 pm (arr.).

   Total hours of running were 21 hrs 50 minutes.\(^\text{71}\)

The reduction of the duration of the journey of the mail train was brought into effect in the time-table published on 1\(^\text{st}\) April 1890. The number of third-class passengers booked by all trains from Calicut to Madukkarai showed considerable increase in passenger traffic after the extension of line to Calicut.

\(^{70}\) *Report of the Year 1887-1888*, op.cit., p. 11.

\(^{71}\) *Abstract Time-table of trains on the South-West Line*, Madras Railway, 6 August 1890, Revenue Records (*Folded type*), B. No. 197, Sl. No. 14, 1890.
1885---Beypore to Madukkarai-- 657, 116.

1886--- -- 696, 904.

1887--- -- 810,922.

1888---Calicut to Madukkarai ---1, 130, 913.

1889--- ---1, 246, 088.

1890--- ---1, 131, 136.72

As per the Administrative Report of the railway Branch for the year 1890-91, that year showed a decrease in the third class passenger traffic due to the spread of Cholera in the western areas and to the suspension of traffic for few days in October 1890 owing to severe floods between Podanur and Calicut73. Still the Calicut-Madukkarai section maintained second position in the number of passengers among the two sections of Madras Railways. The first position was given to the Madras-Jolarpet section. The goods traffic of provisions and vegetables also showed an increase of 2,351 tons between Erode and Calicut74. Betel nuts and pepper were taken to Salem and Bangalore from Calicut75.

By 1893 it was decided to extend the line from Calicut to Tellicherry and Cannanore, a distance of 52 miles76. The survey was completed in 1895-96 and a total estimate of Rs. 90, 70, 611 was forwarded for immediate sanction77. The permission was accorded in January 1898 to commence the construction on the first 26 miles out of

74 Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Railway Branch, Madras Presidency, 1892-1893, p. 8.
75 Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Railway Branch, Madras Presidency, 1895-1896, p. 15.
76 Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Railway Branch, Madras Presidency, 1894-1895, p. 5.
Calicut. The work got accelerated in full swing and the line reached Cannanore in 1902 and finally by 1907 it ended up at Mangalore.78

Today’s second platform was the entrance of the station and the third platform served as the platform for passenger trains. By 1902, a goods train yard and so many shunting tracks were constructed in western side of the station. The extensive survey conducted for railway department demanded the acquisition of huge acreage of land and this culminated in the establishment of a ‘Railway Colony’ in the western part of the station. This colony consisted of Rail Institute, railway hospital, school, plays ground, roads, recreation centre and the quarters of the railway staffs, appeared like a township and was situated amidst of the commercial part of the city close to Valiyangadi. When the extension of the line to further north was decided, a station at West Hill was built to incorporate the cantonment area. The extension towards north had another motive of linking the port of Tellicherry and the British cantonment city of Cannanore with Calicut.

b) Industrial Establishments and Entrepreneurs

During the British rule, Calicut was not merely the political capital, but was the centre of all economic activities. A comprehensive picture of changes that came about in the economic field of Malabar in the form of assimilation of capital needed for industrial growth, the bringing together of modern ideas, the centralization of labour power and the growth of technology can be seen in the history of Calicut of the colonial period. The colonial policies took a different turn in the 1850’s from what it was then. The land revenue, along with the trade surplus formed the major financial capital for the colonial activities. It was during this period the beginnings of plantation agriculture

under European initiative and capital investment occurred in Kerala79. Subsequently the hilly tracts lying in the eastern portion of Calicut’s hinterlands rapidly got transformed into tea and coffee plantations. The European penetration into the forests of Wayanad and its subsequent clearing for making plantations produced new landscape spatialities required for the development of capitalism. They planted coffee and tea and factories were set up for processing tea and coffee as quality items for export. They held their offices at Calicut for the smooth carriage of their products from the hilly tracts to the port as the roads down to Calicut were good and numerous by the time. Keeping an eye on this business, many companies from the other parts of South India moved to Calicut. One among them was the Pierce Leslie and Co. Messrs. Parry and Co., who was the pioneers in the development of Wayanad coffee business, sent crops of a number of estates for curing at Calicut by Pierce Leslie and Co. But when the Parry and Co., started own curing works down in the ton of Calicut on the site of present District Court, Pierce Leslie and Co. moved to Karaparamba and took a large plot for lease from the Zamorin and started a cashew processing unit80. Thus the cashew which was grown widely in the hinterland of Calicut was collected to the processing unit and the dexterous fingers of Malabar girls made it a valued product for export. Pierce Leslie and Co. was the agents of many tea estates like Achoor Estate, Cottanad Estate and East India Tea and Produce Co. Ltd in Wayanad. All the major tea and coffee estates in Nilgiris also made Pierce Leslie and Co. as their agents and a great deal of plantation trade thus went through the Calicut Port81. Like Pierce Leslie and Co. there were in Calicut many reputed European firms like William Goodacre and Sons, Harrison and

Crossfield, Volkart Brothers, Aspin Wall and Co., E & S Company, and Madura Company. The Spencer & Company which owns the largest high class retail store in South India had a branch at Calicut\textsuperscript{82}.

The Basel Evangelical Mission that came to Calicut in 1834 integrated industrial activities with missionary work, education and health\textsuperscript{83}. They concentrated their work in the areas of tile manufacturing, spinning and weaving, carpentry and in the establishment of small-scale tool industries. The influence of western technology as well as concepts of management was brought about in these fields through the initiative of the missionaries. The demand for the products of weaving establishments like table cloth, napkins, towels etc. showed an increase in the succeeding years since its establishment at Calicut in 1859\textsuperscript{84}. To make a corporate management, the Weaving Establishment, Carpenter’s Shop and Tile factories were brought under the general supervision of Mr. C. Pflaiderer in 1877 and it was called as “Mission Industrial Establishments, Calicut”\textsuperscript{85}. It is to be noted that most of the missionaries of Basel Evangelical Mission came from a rural and artisanal background\textsuperscript{86}. Only a few belonged to the category of professionals. So they started training the natives who accepted the Christian faith and their efficiency in coordinating the daily operations of the Mission establishment took the firm to the fore front of the industrial scenario of the then Calicut. In the initial stages of operation, the clothes and garments produced at Weaving Establishment were disposed at Messrs. Frank and Co., Madras, and they

\textsuperscript{82} The Investor’s India Year Book, VIII edition, 1919, p. 395.
\textsuperscript{84} Thirty-Sixth Report of BGEM for the year 1875, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{85} Thirty-Eighth Report of BGEM for the year 1877, p. 63.
returned the half of the percentage as subscription to the Mission. The funds to this industry were allotted from the Mercantile Committee at Basel. In fact, the Weaving Establishment was begun with object of providing a living for the converts, to prevent their habit of roaming about the country and to provide a period of trial for inquiries about Christianity regarding the sincerity of whose beliefs the Mission was doubtful. Most of the workers were converted Christians from the native population. The heavy orders from all parts of the empire necessitated increase in production and number of looms were increased from 170 in 1896 to 190 in 1907. The out turn of the year 1906 was 274, 542 yards while it was only 4, 532 yards in 1859. In 1892, a tailoring department, under European management was attached to the Establishment and in 1902 Inner ware and Embroidery departments were also added. Although the industry faced great competition in cloths made by machine looms, demand for hand-made goods held high. It would be interesting to note that the Khaki dye was invented by Basel Mission Weaving Establishment and they were the first to manufacture Khaki fabrics which became very popular at the time of World War and the Calicut industry had exported a huge volume of Khaki clothes. Later, this firm came to be known as “Common Wealth Weaving Factory”. Another important industry flourished under the Basel mission Establishments is the Tile works, which brought a thorough change in architecture patterns of the city. The site for a tile factory at Puthiyara in Calicut was bought in 1873 and it was Mr. Feuchter, who started this industry after an “indefatigable labour of imparting training to 10 Christians, 8 Hindus, 4

87 Thirty-First Report of BGEM for the year 1869, p. 67.
88 Thirty-First Report of BGEM for the year 1870, p. 15.
90 Ibid., p. 115.
91 Sixty-Fifth Report of BGEM for the year 1904, p. 81.
92 Thirty-Fourth Report of BGEM for the year 1874, p. 70.
Mohammadans, 3 Catechumans and 15 Hindu boys. In 1903, the products of Tile Works were represented at an exhibition held in Madras and has won some prizes. By this time most of the constructions used the tiles made from this industry. The high demand and the increased production resulted in the congestion of the space. So they decided to shift the industry to Feroke on the banks of River Chaliyar.

Sir Frederick Nicholson’s Fish Caning Station at Calicut involved in the business of sea-food processing. Sardines, prawns, and much other type of fish were marinated, cooked and placed in air-tightened tins with labels and was sent to market. There were fish curing yards in the northern side of the beach road. The dried fish and the fish-oil produced at Calicut were in great demand overseas. The Kerala Soap Institute also owes its origin to efforts of Sir Frederick Nicholson. The gross profit earned by the institute in 1929-30 was about Rs. 8 lakhs. The major brands produced were Wash well Soap, Toilet Soap, Bar Soap, Fish oil Soap and the Vegetable oil Soap had a high demand in all parts of India and even from abroad. During the war it also catered to defense requirements. According to the colonial records, the most noteworthy event in the history of the Kerala Soap Institute was the appointment of the Institute as the soap-makers to Earl of Wellington, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. He even permitted the institute to market the soap known as “Viceregals Lodge Soap” under the name “Wellington Soap”. It is so surprising that the colonial authorities resorted to maintain their sovereignty in the colonized territories even by branding a product under the name of the member of the royal hierarchy. Another undertaking in the same field was the Calicut Soaps and Candles Company Ltd., registered in 1926.

93 Thirty-Fifth Report of BGEM for the year 1874, p. 52.
94 Sixty-Fourth Report of BGEM for the year 1903, p. 70.
95 Revenue Files, B. No. 188, Sl. No. 18, 1890.
97 Report of the Department of Industries, 1933, Madras, p. 22.
with a capital of Rs. 3 lakhs\textsuperscript{98}. The Imperial Chemical Industries India Ltd., the producers of highest grade chemicals for sugar factories had a branch at Calicut\textsuperscript{99}.

Along with the missionary and European establishments, several local industrial ventures also flourished in the suburban area of Calicut, thus widening the limits of the town. These indigenous undertakings included the Tiruvannur Cotton Mills, The Calicut Tile Works, and the Malabar Hosiery. The Malabar Spinning and Weaving Company established at \textit{Panniyankara} in November 1883 started with a capital of Rs. 6,00,000\textsuperscript{100}. Seth Nagji Purushotham Company and Ibrahim Kareem and Sons started in 1880 and 1897 respectively were the pioneers in the field of cloth umbrella manufacturing in the city. The iron ribs of the umbrella and the cloth were imported from Germany or England and the factories only made the sticks and handles from thin bamboos obtained from local forests\textsuperscript{101}. The traditional umbrella making communities of \textit{Paanan} and \textit{Parayan} were hard hit by the demand for cloth umbrellas in the market. The world-renowned timber industry of Kallayi played a great role in the economic development of Calicut. In these mills the timber logs are sawn into different types of finished planks, reapers and sleepers for use in the railways. C.A. Innes, the Malabar Collector remarked that “next to Madras city, Calicut has the largest business in furniture-making in the Presidency”. He certifies the existence of so many furniture shops inside the city where tables, chairs, almirahs, shelves and cots were made and sold\textsuperscript{102}. The New Malabar Timber Yard and Saw Mills Ltd. at Kallayi had its registered office at Madras under Parry and Company. The West Coast Saw Mills was under the joint partnership of V.V Bhanumukha Moodr, V.V. Balakrishna Moodr, and B.S.

\textsuperscript{100} William Logan, op.cit., p. CCCXIVI.
\textsuperscript{101} \textit{Madras District Gazetteers}, pp. XXI-XXII.
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{Malabar District Gazetteer}, 1906, p.253.
Triparantaka Moodr, the biggest timber merchants and entrepreneurs of Calicut. The timber mills of Kallayi got large contracts from the military authorities. In Calicut and Beypore 50 wooden ships of an aggregate tonnage of 8,500 tons were built last year, and 24 ships of an aggregate tonnage of over 5,000 tons were under construction during 1917. Though the war demands revitalized the ship-building industry of Beypore and Calicut, the teak plantations proved to be a colonial measure of exploitation not only for building war ships but also for constructing the rail sleepers\textsuperscript{103}. The Barami family of Calicut was the pioneers in the ship-building industry.

The products which were made in the urban pockets were brought to city for sale. These includes the Hookka pots (exported from Calicut to Arabia and Persia) of Koyilandy, lamp-stands in brass and coconut shell, candle sticks in various designs, flower vases, ash trays, and finger bowls. Calicut exported Beedies (local cigarettes) to Ceylon. There were small scale oil and flour mills in many parts of the Municipality.

**Electrification of the City**

The electric lighting transformed the domestic spaces of the city. The credit of bringing the electric power to Calicut town actually goes to Kanjullaveettil Chandu Menon, son of O. Chandy Menon, hailing from Chalappuram. Being a Chartered Electrical Engineer, and the pensioner of the colonial government who had worked as Divisional Engineer in Telegraph Section, he applied for the electrical license to supply electricity in town limits, as per the provisions of section 3 of Indian Electricity Act IX of 1910\textsuperscript{104}. Here it should be noted that the nineteenth century light was a part of industrial process and it also became a commodity that was packaged, measured,

\textsuperscript{103} Proceedings of the Calicut Municipality, August 9, 1918.

standardized and sold. So he published the copies of the full text of the draft license in the newspaper as per the requirements of rule 13 of Indian Electricity Rules 1922. Since the enterprise was an expensive issue, the draft was published in the three successive issues of ‘The Champion’, the leading English newspaper in circulation in the proposed area of power supply to attract the attention of the wealthier community of the city\textsuperscript{105}. At first, the area of supply included the city limits, but later a request was submitted to exclude two areas from the proposal, Panniyankara and West Hill, the suburbs of Calicut city. The reasons for this were, these two places were lying in the southern and northern extremities of Calicut Municipality and is separated from the city by a long stretch of coconut gardens and paddy fields. So it was certain that the income from these areas, where only few suburban residences situated, would not be profitable. The huge amount of money required for the construction and the maintenance of long lines to these isolated spaces also forced him to request so. Thus the areas that came under the “Calicut electric License of 1926” were confined to the beach road from the south pier to north pier, from beach road crossing Valiyangadi up to the Mariamman Kovil at Palayam., the Court road, the Sweet meat bazaar, Robinson road and the roads rounding the Mananchira\textsuperscript{106}. In short, the area which got electrified first was the central part of the city including the Central Business District. The electric energy was, at first, restricted to domestic purposes only and charges were applied to all consumers. It became a commodity and the distributors had to canvass people for taking connections. Naturally, in the beginning, the power supply illuminated the opulent houses of the richer class in the town\textsuperscript{107} and the first consumer was a physician named Achyuthan\textsuperscript{108}. Coal and oil were used to operate the generator, which was stationed at Kallayi.

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{106} Draft License, The Calicut Electric License of 1926, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{107} Madras Records, B. No. 10, Sl. No. 62, dated 05-07-1930.
By the second half of 1930, government offices and other buildings including the Government Women and Children Hospital were also begun to electrify. The increased demand made the electric Company to apply for the extension of area of supply. Thus the area of power supply for further extended to Malabar Christian College in the north to Kallayi timber yard in the south. In 1933, another leap forward took place in the city’s electrification process, when Madras based company named West Coast Electric Supply Corporation, with their heavy electrical equipments and systems turned their attention to Calicut. When it started operating under the license issued by the Govt. of Madras Presidency, the licensed area of supply was further increased and included the Karaparamba region and nearby lying some other local panchayats also. Eventually, the urban spatialisation process of the town acquired new status and created new suburbs. The company used rail posts of 90 pound; each worth nearly Rupees Thirty and copper conductors of best quality was used. Most of the equipments and gadgets including electric metres were imported from England by various companies like Aaron and Company of Britain. So the cost of these equipments, the shipment charges and the custom duties etc. were levied by the

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108 Interview with Sri. Venkateswara Swami (78 years old), Retired Accounts Officer, KSEB, on 17 August 2008 at Hotel Hyson, Calicut. He was a former staff of West Coast Electric Supply Company.


110 Map showing the Area of power supply. Madras Records, B. No. 10, Sl. No. 105, dated 11-11-1930.

111 West Coast Electric Supply Corporation was an electricity supplying company owned by a Madras firm named Chandrie And Company. At Calicut, it started operating in 1932. It had its office near to the present Bethanniya C.S.I. Women’s hostel and a building (now abandoned and partly ruined) adjacent to the present day railway station bridge was used to accommodate the generators and other equipments. Soon they started a substation at Mankavu.

112 The undertaking order was given by K.B. Menon to West Coast Electric Supply Corporation as per the G.O. 136 W, dated 12 January 1934.

113 Madras Records, B. No. 15, Sl. No. 48, dated 30-08-1933.

114 Interview with Sri. T.S. Sahasranamam (76 years old), Retired Executive Engineer, KSEB, on 16-08-2008 at his residence. He started his career as an employee in West Coast Electric Supply Corporation on 16-01-1956.
company in the form of consumer bills and meter rents. A statement of the volume of energy generated and sold at Calicut city during the period from 9th February 1934 to 31st March 1935 shows that the company was prepared to meet the expanding demand for power supply as the number of consumers who possessed enough financial capacity to meet the heavy electricity bills were increasing on the other side.\textsuperscript{115}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Total energy generated in kilowatt hours</td>
<td>2,96,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Public Lamps</td>
<td>11,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bulk supply to French Area</td>
<td>10,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>By Special Contract</td>
<td>45,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Consumers by meter for lighting purposes</td>
<td>1,01,918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Consumers by meter for power purposes</td>
<td>24,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total energy sold out</td>
<td>1,94,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surplus on hand</td>
<td>1,02,202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But the situation did not remain the same as the pace of urbanization got accelerated with the launching of various projects inside the city. Towards the end of 1930’s consumption on the part of industries began to grow higher than the preceding years. The authorities were very much aware of the city’s potentialities of economic and industrial development, but the only factor which hindered the development was the inadequate power supply. As the industrialization process was in full swing, the population size also increased side-by-side. So the increased consumption on both

\textsuperscript{115} Madras Records, B. No.17, Sl. No.57, dated o9-10-1936.
domestic and commercial sectors made it inevitable a regular supply of energy generated by a hydro-electric project. Finally, a proposal was submitted before the authorities requesting the extension of *Pykkara* plant supply to Calicut, via Coimbatore, under the initiative of West Coast Electric Supply Corporation\textsuperscript{116}. Since it was the war period, all the provinces were advised to restrict their capital expenditure. Hence it became hard to get enough funds for the project. Still the work began in 1940 and was completed in 1946.

The creation of ‘artificial environment’ by the process of electrifying the city, not only brought a large space under illumination but also resulted in the increase of working hours of employees in the factories. The increased production provided the colonial government more opportunities to expand the vista of their foreign trade and commerce. The term ‘artificial environment’ is used here to define the early situation of the town when the oil-lamps were used in the streets and the daily activities inside the city were confined mainly to the natural light. Before electrification, the municipality supplied oil-lamps to keep the main parts of the city in motion and a ‘Light-Inspector’ was put in charge to supervise the lighting work\textsuperscript{117}. In the process of its physical development, each and every structure became the new landmarks and people began to name these new spaces which accommodated such particular structures, according to the function it performed. The spots, where lamp-posts were situated became locally known as *Vilakkumkaal* or lamp-posts. Such a spot has been identified near to the old small pox hospital which lies in the *Kalathinkunnu Desom*, further north to the main commercial centre\textsuperscript{118}.

\textsuperscript{116} *Madras Records*, B. No. 25, Sl. No. 10, G.O. 221 dated 23-01-1945; Also se G.O. No. 852 E/44-2 dated 31-03-1944.
\textsuperscript{117} *Administration Report of Calicut Municipality, 1920-21*, p.3.
\textsuperscript{118} *Settlement Register, Kalathinkunnu Desom*, No. 37.
As well as opening up new spaces and extending arenas of sociability, illuminated spaces were then considered as civilized spaces which were transparent and engineered to facilitate the proper and decorous presentation of self. On the other side the dark spaces where large numbers of indigenous dwellings were situated was characterized as the hidden corners of urban space where criminals lurked and poverty festered.

**Banking System in the Colonial Space**

To understand the history of modern banking in India, one has to refer to the “English Agency Houses” established by the East India Company. These Agency houses were basically trading firms and carrying on banking business as the part of their main business.\(^\text{119}\) Because of this dual functions and lack of their own capital (Agency Houses depend entirely on deposits for their capital requirements) they failed and vanished from the scene during the third decade of the 18\(^{th}\) century. The East India Company laid the foundations for modern banking in the first half of the 19\(^{th}\) century with the establishments of three banks; (1) the Bank of Bengal in 1809, (2) the Bank of Bombay in 1840, and (3) the Bank of Madras in 1843 in the three Presidencies respectively.\(^\text{120}\) As per the “Imperial Bank of India Act of 1920” the three Presidency banks were later amalgamated to form the Imperial Bank of India in 1921, a commercial bank owned by private share holders. Finally in 1955 the Imperial Bank was transformed into the present State Bank of India.\(^\text{121}\)

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\(^{120}\) Ibid.

\(^{121}\) The Bank of Calcutta, opened in 1806 was later re-designated as Bank of Bengal 1809. So the first banking institution in India under the colonial government is the Bank of Calcutta. After establishing the three banks in the Presidencies, they were brought under the Presidency Act of 1876 to eliminate obvious differences in their operations and to co-ordinate their
Since much of the commercial activities were centred at coastal towns, the Board of Directors of the Presidency banks decided to open branch banks at various port towns of India. After the successful functioning of the Cochin Branch in 1862, the authorities of the Bank of Madras were looking upon the transfer of cash balances of the other port towns of the Malabar Coast to the Cochin branch. The Board of Directors requested the Government to take necessary measures to transfer the cash balances of the Huzur treasury at Calicut to Cochin but the Governor in Council did not give sanction. This made the Directors of the Bank to submit a proposal on 21st July 1862 requesting the establishment of a new branch at Calicut. The proposal was granted as the demand for banking facilities in Malabar was high due to the increased volume of trade. The motivation behind this move of establishing branch banks at various towns was the procurement of the treasury business of the towns where their branch banks were located and moreover, the cash balances of the districts would thus become available to the bank. The Secretary of the State gave permission to open a branch at Calicut along with Kakinada in Andhra Pradesh. The then Agent of Cochin, Mr. Winscom, was assigned to supervise the launching activities of the branch at Calicut. Though the branch was opened on 10th October 1863, it was formally inaugurated and started functioning on 15th October 1863. The advertisement of the opening of Calicut branch was given in all newspapers in circulation in both Madras activities. See Amiya Kumar Bagchi, *The Evolution of the State Bank of India, The Roots of 1806-1876*, (Bombay, 1987), p. VI.

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123 Cochin is the first branch of Bank of Madras opened in Kerala.
125 Proceedings of the Madras Government, Finance Department, No.532 dated 21 July 1862, p. 46.
127 Ibid., p. 120.
128 Ibid., p.179.
129 Ibid., pp. 182-183.
and Bombay Presidencies. The first Agent of the bank to Calicut named Fitzgerald took the office on 18th November 1863.

By 1864, the Governor in Council decided to make Calicut as the centre of a new currency circle to Ootacamund (Ooty) which subsequently became the sub circle of currency issue to the districts of Malabar, South Canara and Coimbatore. This amazing growth of the Calicut branch which started with an initial capital of Rs.500, made the authorities to raise the position of the branch from a second class to the first class grade in 1866. The business made by the Calicut branch in the half year of 1866 as Rs. 30, 000-15-08 with a huge increase on profit. Thus it was categorized as an A grade branch which worked entirely with its own resources. Other grade B branches like Cochin and Mangalore were working with the Head Office Capital. Accordingly the salaries of the Agent and the staffs were also raised. Most of the staffs were recruited from the natives. Thus a wage earning working class has emerged in this sector also. The Sub Accountant of the Calicut branch received rupees eighty per month, while the salaries of the Shirff and Writer were rupees seventy and twenty respectively. At the same time the salary of a British Accountant was rupees two hundred and fifty per month.

Meanwhile the opening of the new branch at Tellicherry in 1877 put the Calicut branch on pressure when the Inspectors’ report on Calicut branch, dated 19th December

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130 Ibid., p.182.
131 Letter from Fitzgerald to John M. Iver, Secretary and Treasurer of the Bank of Madras, dated 16 November 1863.
133 Ibid., Letter from the Inspector of Branches, dated 19 July 1866, p.508.
134 Minute Book, Vol.6, p. 492.
135 Rooster Book, No.13395, 1851-1872.
136 Ibid.
showed a decrease in the business thus adversely affecting the bank’s reputation among
the authorities. Prior to the establishment of the Tellicherry branch, all the
transactions at Tellicherry port were done through the bank at Calicut. So, at first the
plan was to open a sub branch under the Calicut bank at Tellicherry but the authorities
realized the scope for a large profitable business at Tellicherry, a major trade station of
the British. Thus the opening of the Tellicherry branch affected the cash balances
and capital accumulation at Calicut branch as the transactions connected with the
satellite ports of Badagara and Azhikkal went to Tellicherry.

Later the Calicut Currency office was abolished with effect from 19th February
1910 and Rs.4 lakhs (Two lakhs in currency notes and 2 lakhs in cash) were made over
to the Bank under the Accountant General’s order for exchange purpose. Subsequently,
the Calicut branch became an Exchange Branch under the Bank of Madras. From the
available documents the public deposits of the bank from the year 1863 to 1878 held
often fluctuating; nevertheless the general financial condition of the bank marked an
upward trend. Many European companies established at Calicut became the
customers of the bank and it provided cash credit loans to the firms. The ‘Discounting
Bills’ were a sort of income to the bank on Bill of exchange. The trade at Calicut port
was not that much enterprising as it was in the bygone days. A major share of the trade
at Calicut port was taken away to Cochin, Ponnani, Beypore and Tellicherry. So
naturally the bank found much difficulty in the issue of Bills of Exchange and the
current accounts always remained fluctuating. The Inspectors report on Calicut branch
stated that the extent of the Discount business at the branch remained poor and the

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140 Letter from the Agent to the Collector of Malabar, dated 23 November 1911.
falling off was attributed to the opening of the new branch at Tellicherry. Still all the main firms of Calicut gave the bank all their business. Not only the European companies but also many Indian establishments also had their business with this Branch Bank of the Presidency. The Parsi business men of Calicut like Moolechand Roopchand, B. Burjojee, and N. Hirjee were given huge loans by the bank. But their failure to pay the loans back due to the fall in business, the bank resorted to recovery measures and much of the properties of these persons were taken by the bank. At the same time when the Pierce Leslie and Company failed to repay the advances given by the bank for a short period of time on the security of rice load kept at Tellicherry, the authorities were ready to give more time for remitting the advances.

Urbanization in itself presupposes the existence of a political structure and even Gordon Childe accepted the significance of a political authority in the urban context. The knowledge and the production of a new space under the Zamorin rulers resulted in the gradual development of the City of Calicut. But with the fall of this powerful ruling dynasty the city lost its authority to co ordinate the determinant factors of its urban process. This is evident from the writings of John Fryer who describes the pathetic condition of the city he witnessed at the time of his visit in the end of the seventeenth century. According to him, the whole physical structure of the city was in a topsy-turvy condition; still the citizens seemed to be urbane. So when the city’s spatial restructuring process begun with the tools, agencies and designs which carried the colonial imaginations, it changed the meanings of landscape production and the city dwellers were easily able to get adapted to the changing conditions. The colonial policy

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143 Ibid., p. 543.
144 Ibid., pp.170-195.
of decentralization of political power gave a municipal body of administration to Calicut and subsequently it became a platform where the queries of city life were registered. The council took necessary measures and aimed at the development of the City. The background of the introduction and development of transportation facilities, banking, industrial establishments, electrification etc were mainly aimed at the growth of British Capital. Simultaneously it changed the urban morphology of the city and the urban dwellers got acquainted with the facilities thrown open before them. The opportunities provided by the new urban environment attracted people from other parts of the country and the increase in population growth made the city more congested. As this chapter largely deals with the built environment only, a broad conclusion on urban life in colonial Calicut requires a deeper study into the social life of the then Calicut city.