The relationship between people and their experiences, and the grounds which they occupy comprise various social and cultural fields, such as education, politics, science or sport. According to Foucault each field can be taken as a piece of territory, or a space within society that gets used in particular ways. Each field lays down rules and procedures, assigns roles and positions, regulates behaviors and what can be said, and produces hierarchies\(^1\). The transformation of land and labour into commodities in the colonial phase produced certain new fields of experiences and assigned different roles and codes, which ultimately affected the socio-economic organization of society, social institutions and values. The chapter tries to focus on those types of social institutions and fields that acted as the tools and channels of power maintenance, which in turn also gave way for the emergence of an urban society in the colonial space of Calicut.

**Missionary Activities and the Shaping of the Social Space**

Protestant Missions in the nineteenth century flourished at the same time of British colonial expansion. It is recorded that till the year 1813 they did not permit other nationals to spread Gospel in India. The British Parliament while renewing the contract of the East India Company in 1813, a bill permitting the Christian missionaries to do evangelical work in the colonies was passed. They were permitted to work in the expectation that the conversion of the local people would also change their consumer habits. As the sole purpose of parliamentary enquiries of 1813 was to discover ways and means of replacing indigenous produce by British substitutes in the Indian market, they assumed that ‘Missions’ can be used as arms for implementing the colonial policies in India\(^2\). It was in this background the Basel German Evangelical Missionary Society sent

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their first missionaries to India. The first three German Missionaries named Rev. Samuel Hebich, Rev. John Lenher and Rev. Christoph Griener belonging to the Society left for India from Portsmouth on the 12th of July 1834 reached Calicut on 13th October 1834. They were welcomed by the then District Judge of Calicut, R. Nelson but after accepting the reception they proceeded to Mangalore where they were assigned to start a missionary field by the BGEM Society.

The Mission got established at Calicut only in 1842 with the coming of Rev. J.M. Fritz from Tellicherry field to Calicut. The same year itself he started his activities among the marginalized sections of the society. The major obstacle he found in preaching the Gospel of Jesus among these people was their illiteracy. Therefore he aimed at their upliftment and the first task before him was to establish ‘native schools’ for imparting basic education to the people of his missionary field. With this motive he started a Malayalam school in 1843 at Kallayi where the total attendance was 60 scholars. Along with this a Tamil school at Calicut and another Malayalam school at Annassery also were established. Though the Kallayi School and other schools had considerable strength, most of the students were irregular in attending the class. Poverty was the main reason behind the absence of scholars in the schools. Since most of the students were from the poorer class, they left the school whenever an opportunity was offered for earning the livelihood. So the reports of BGEM say that it was a hard labour for the missionaries to get this people educated. The Missionaries soon realized

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6 Third Report of BGEM for the year 1843, pp. 60-61.
7 Sixth Report of BGEM for the year 1846, p. 62.
that once these converted groups are provided with a minimum standard of living, and then only the objective of the Mission could be achieved. In an early statement the goal of the Basel German Evangelical Mission was described as follows:

“We have come together ..... to set up a missionary institute in our city which has the simply great purpose to conduct regular courses to appropriately train and prepare students who may then be sent out to promote a beneficial civilization and to proclaim the Gospel of peace in various regions of the heathen world where the English and Dutch missionary societies have long been working with auspicious success”8.

This description makes a civilizing mission an explicit aim of the founders. Before the arrival of Rev. Fritz to Calicut, the then Collector of Malabar F.F. Clementson had prepared a scheme to rehabilitate the Nayadies, a wandering tribe of Malabar and South Canara, as a part of their policy of civilizing mission. His successor, E.P. Thompson requested the BGEM missionaries working in North Malabar to shift their head quarters to Calicut to work among these tribes, who were found in the outskirts of Calicut city. It was at this time that Rev. Gundert, Rev. Fritz and others reached Calicut after their evangelical works in Badagara, Chombala and Quilandy. In the fifth report of BGEM the Mission stated that it was a strenuous job to work among the Nayadies and the task was to change them from idle beggars into a labouring class and useful men. These people had hitherto procured their food by begging and stealing9. In the initial attempts these Nayadies, accustomed to their own way of wandering life did not like this new way of life. Realizing that this arrangement did not produce the expected result, H.V. Connolly, the then Malabar Collector requested Rev. Fritz to open

9 Fifth Report of BGEM for the year 1845, p. 57.
an elementary school at Codacal, a village 30 miles south of Calicut and another one at Calicut in 1848 attached to the old native school at Kallayi. The rehabilitation measures continued and the missionaries were given so many lands for settling the converts there. The unused plots at Quilandy, Annassery and Chombala in the Calicut taluk were cleared and brought under cultivation\textsuperscript{10}. These new spaces of training and disciplining taught those Christian ethics, morality and principles of life which makes a person subservient to God and the Church. It also contributed skilled and well disciplined human capital to the colonial establishments in the later days. If a baptized person or family found retrograding to their old caste vices they were send to Calicut for counseling and necessary corrections were made on them. For example, sending of a baptized couple named Andreas and his wife Salome from Vettuva community to Calicut for counseling is found reported in the letter send from the Tellicherry station in 1845\textsuperscript{11}.

So Calicut, the headquarters of all major colonial institutions of Malabar, the Basel Missionaries also made it as their main centre of activities in Malabar and built a Mission Compound in the Kariankunnu Desom of Calicut Municipality. Later, the Basel Mission church (today’s C.S.I. Cathedral) built in 1855, the Mission Quarters, a Girls School and Boarding, Poor home, etc. were also included in the Mission Compound. Most of the teachers of the educational institutions were Christians either trained persons from converted indigenous groups or the missionaries. In the Middle-Schools, apart from the religious education the teachers were also assigned to teach Geography, History, Arithmetic, Geometry, as well as English and Sanskrit\textsuperscript{12}. Gradually the people got attracted to the new educational system and the missionaries established

\textsuperscript{10} For more details, see A. R. E. Sneham, op.cit., pp. 34-35.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. 52.

\textsuperscript{12} Twenty-Sixth Report of BGEM for the year 1865, p. 27.
schools in various places of the Calicut taluk. It was not only a matter of attraction but also of their intense desire to get into the forefront of the society as most of the people who got converted to Christianity were from the lower castes. By becoming a Christian, they were ‘offered’ all the privileges by the missionaries what they hitherto never experienced. Once closed due to the absence of students, the vernacular school for heathen boys\textsuperscript{13} got reopened at \textit{Puthiyangadi} in July 1865 under a Christian master\textsuperscript{14}. This place was actually a Muslim dominated area and their children were restricted from going to Mission school. But soon the missionaries were able to reach the caste Hindu community and also drew converts even from the Muslim community\textsuperscript{15}. Many among them were soon chucked out from their families. These destitutes, who denounced their castes, became a “castles society” and had no other option for livelihood but to depend upon the missionaries for protection and existence. It was in this background the Mission started many industrial establishments like the Carpenter’s Shop, Weaving Establishment, Tile Factories, Dyeing Industries and Industrial Institutes where technical know-how was imparted to the locals by German experts.

In the boys and girls boarding schools, the forenoon session was dedicated to lessons and in the afternoon session boys were assigned for field work like garden work, and the girls was given training in sewing, knitting and crochet work\textsuperscript{16}. The accounts of the Carpenter’s Shop at Calicut states that the shop had good progress than in the preceding years and many young men who got trained from the Industrial

\textsuperscript{13} In the Reports of BGEM, the non Christian natives were referred as ‘heathens’. See Glossary for more details.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Twenty-Sixth Report}, op.cit., p. 64.

\textsuperscript{15} Rev. Gundert speaks about a Muslim youth named Baker from Tellicherry, who has adopted Christianity and when his conversion created problems in the community, his uncle at Calicut persuaded him to get back into the faith by offering him a good job at his business centre at the town of Calicut. It should be noted that, in those times Calicut was an attraction to the youngsters. \textit{Fifth Report of BGEM for the year 1845}, p. 50.

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Thirty-Third Report of BGEM for the year 1872}, p. 37.
Institute run by the missionaries were recruited to the Shop. From there they earned much to cover their expenses. Once they acquired a minimum standard of living they preferred city life and got settled in the city. This marked a change in the number of population in the city and the industrial wage earning class with consumer habits began to spend their money and the city opened its prospects to cater the needs of this new emerging urban class.

The missionaries received many funds and favours from the colonial state. In the initial stages of rehabilitative measures, large paddy fields were acquired by the State and at a very low rate these fields were given to the early converts to make them more industrious and earn their livelihood. Their children were sent to the boarding schools run by the missionaries at town. The Malayalam school of 1843, the first protestant institution established in Calicut was supported by H.V. Connolly. The accounts showing the donations received from October 1847 to October 1848 gives the list of some colonial officials who supported the missionary ventures by giving donations.

Several Government grants-in-aid were provided to the missionary educational institutions. Donations were received from many European firms operating from Calicut. For instance, Frank and Company gave Rs. 145-04-06 as donation to the Mission in the year 1871. The upgrading of the educational institutions was done annually. It is recorded that the High School at Calicut was attended by 385 pupils in the end of the academic year of 1895 and a good number of these belonged to the wealthy and socially notable families of the city. Since the Mission schools contained

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18 According to a report H.V. Connolly gave Rs. 119 in 1847 and Rs.200 in 1848. T.W. Goodwyn and R.S. Robinson donated Rs. 100 each to the missionary fund. Ninth Report of BGEM for the year 1849, p. 49.
19 Thirty-Third Report, op.cit.
20 Fifty-Sixth Report of BGEM for the year 1895, p. 87.
a heterogeneous group of students it also maintained the homogenous character of the missionary establishments and the students who were studying in these schools felt a lot of affinity towards the Christian missionary systems. How these students were later utilized by the colonial government can be understood from the example of the Thiyya community at Calicut. The bulk of the non-Christian students who studied in these schools of Calicut were from the Thiyya caste. Their complaint to Lord Pentland during his visit to Calicut, against the denial of admission to them in the Zamorin’s college of Calicut owned by the high caste was tactfully met by giving them admission to the Basel German Evangelical Mission College at Calicut. The result was that by the end of the 19th century, the English educated Thiyyas were largely recruited for the subordinate services by the authorities. As they had agricultural lands given on lease by the government, they became food contractors to the British army and amassed wealth. Gradually a professional group of architects and civil contractors emerged out from the Thiyya community and some of its members even rose to the highest bureaucratic positions like the officer of the Deputy Collector available for an Indian in the 19th century. By that time, the Nairs and other higher castes had changed their attitudes and government service became the common ground for competition for every caste and creed. These colonial trained indigenous groups to a great extent remained loyal to the British till the early part of the twentieth century.

In spite of the homogeneous character exhibited on the basis of the teaching techniques and learning process in the schools, the reports of the BGEM about the conversion and their activities present a different picture. The students of these

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21 Fifty-Eighth Report of BGEM for the year 1897, p.93.
22 Report of the Eighteenth tour of Lord Pentland to Mangalore, Calicut, Madura and Trichinopoly, Madras, 1918.
institutions were listed in the nominal role on the basis of their religion and caste, and the arrangements of these lists revealed their intention to exhibit the success of their task of civilizing the ‘heathen communities’ of this space. Same system was adopted in the other missionary establishments like weaving and tile manufacturing industries, carpenter’s shop etc. According to another report of BGEM, the benefit achieved by the establishment of industries in connection with mission work is described in this way... “the difficulty of crossing the barriers of caste and tradition is lessened by the provision of a means of a maintenance for the converts; people not accustomed to order and regularity are trained to the habits of industry and devotion to duty; the nobility of work is taught in a country, where handicraft has long been despise; opportunities for bringing spiritual and moral influences...” This is a clear example for the Western perception of the East, of what Edward Said exposes in his most provocative work, Orientalism. Thus these institutions taught the lessons of loyalty, obedience, western morality, hygiene, nutrition and above all, Christianity. The report also mentions about the material advantage that they achieve in the shape of monetary contribution to the Mission treasury.

26According to Edward Said, Orientalism is not an objective study of the East. On the contrary, it is a body of knowledge created by the Westerners to suit their imperial interests. The European imperialists realized that the best way to dominate the East or Orient is to understand it. Therefore, they promoted Oriental studies. The Orientalists thus started the tradition of studying a region by means of its own language and writings with a view to establish Western domination. Orientalism was thus a corporate institution for dealing with the Orient, a Western style of dominating and having authority over the Orient. Orientalism asserted the superiority of the West over the East. Between 1700 and 1850 European imagination divided the world into two radically opposed camps: West and East. In this new conception, the West was imagined as superior to the East. It was rational, democratic, independent, progressive, dynamic, hard working, honest, masculine and mature. The East was then cast as irrational, despotic, unfree, backward, lazy, passive, deceitful, feminine, immature, corrupt, superstitious, stagnant and unchanging. The East was branded as permanently inferior. For more details see, Edward Said, Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient, (New York, 1987).
Along with the industrial establishments and educational institutions the missionaries also opened hospitals and other health institutions as a part of their charity service. The Mission entered into the medical service in 1886 with Dr. Leibenderfor as their first medical missionary. He started his work from Calicut because the congested atmosphere of the city was frequently visited by epidemics like Plague, Small Pox, Cholera and Dysentery. According to Leibendorfor, even in the urban society of Calicut city the people often resorted to the practice of taking patients to the heathen sorcerers especially in the case of snakebites and rabid-dogs bite. In the country-sides there were so many superstitions about Small Pox, Cholera and Epilepsy. T.K. Gopala Panikkar describes the superstitious beliefs associated with goddess Kali over all infectious diseases, which were prevalent in the then society. In 1890, Cholera raged for four months in Calicut and nearly 3000 people were died. It was followed by Small Pox and Typhoid. The poorer classes of the city were hard hit by this and a good number succumbed for want of proper food and nursing. In that year the Mission Hospital at Calicut town was visited by nearly 30,000 out-patients and 145 in-patients.

In the initial stages of health ministry, Dr. Leibendorfor consulted the patients at his own residence and gave medical and surgical aid. In the year 1890, it was found necessary to build a hospital in a small scale with accommodation for in-patients. After the retirement of Dr. Leibendorfor in 1895, Dr. W. Stokes took the charge of the work. According to his report of 1895, treatment were given to 28,915 out-patients and 221 in-patients and had performed 31 surgeries in the Mission hospital. The surgeries consisted chiefly of the removal of tumours, abscesses, lip cancer, cataract and labour.

29 Fifty-First Report of BGEM for the year 1890, p. 66; Fifty-Sixth Report of BGEM for the year 1895, p. 90.
cases. About half the numbers of these surgical operations were done without chloroform and is reported successful\textsuperscript{30}. Another effect of the working of medical mission was that many native women were trained and appointed as nurses and lady assistants in the mission hospital. This transformation of getting attached to the western medical practices and keeping away the superstitious practices became the very nature of the colonial urbanism that developed in the Calicut city. The hospitals also inculcated a sense of hygiene and cleanliness in the minds of the colonized people.

Another element to missionary efforts to acquire converts was the conscious effort to educate women. In the process, missionaries hoped to covert not just their female pupils but also the future generations as these students will pass on what they had learned to their own children. The school started by Rev. Fritz served as a boarding school for girls were they got educated to meet their future tasks as wives and mothers\textsuperscript{31}. It does not mean that they were educated simply to play their roles as wife and mother but they were taught the western lessons of home science and were given technical training also. Women were employed in large numbers in the Basel Mission industries where they were given low wages comparing to the men folk, still found comfortable when they started earning. The ‘Bible Women’, who were the local ambassadors of the Mission in Malabar paid visit to the households and catered the spiritual needs and provided counseling to the converted women folk. These native charity women received partial support of the British government and the Foreign Bible Society. The first native Bible women of Calicut, Martha Vatcharan and Orphu Deborah visited the houses of Christians and non-Christians and taught the women various subjects. The Sunday Schools they started for non-Christian girls inspired their

\textsuperscript{30} Reports of Dr. Stokes and Report of Dr. Knobloch, Medical Mission, (Calicut, 1895), pp. 57, 92.

\textsuperscript{31} The Fifth Tour Report of Sir Arthur Lawley to Malabar, September 13\textsuperscript{th} to 24\textsuperscript{th}, 1907, p. 94.
parents to send them to schools. Thus these women evangelists were silently shouldering the colonial task of the upliftment of women folk along with the European missionaries.

The colonial plan of shaping the socio-economic space of the colonized territory was thus largely instrumentalised through the work of these missionaries. The missionary institutions like Weaving establishment, Mission Hospital, The Basel Mission Boys High School and Basel Mission Girls High School and Boarding, the Tile factories, BGEM College, the St. Mary’s Church and the Basel Mission Church became the major landmarks of the city and also became the determining features of physical and social parameters of urbanization, that took place in Calicut during the colonial period.

The work of the Mission suffered a serious setback with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 when the German missionaries were asked to leave their stations for the internment camps. During their absence, the management of the institutions of the Basel Mission fell into the hands of the South India United Church. This arrangement continued until 1926, when the Mission was permitted to return to its stations.

**City as an Educational Hub**

The task of educating the indigenous peoples of colonial empires was a double-edged sword for all concerned. Since they had justified the acquisition of colonies on grounds that they were going to uplift or “civilize” the indigenous peoples, the

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32 The ‘Whiteman's burden’ and the civilizing mission are interrelated concepts, which proclaimed the superiority of the Whiteman and the west. Many members of the western societies believed that their state had a moral obligation to carry the blessings of their religion
colonial masters realized the need to make good on at least some of their promises. Moreover, given the size of the territorial empires in question, the colonizers also realized that they could not hope to govern or fully exploit their vast holdings without help from the western-educated members of the local population, who could be called on to fill lower level clerical positions in government or business. Since they hoped to run their empire as cheaply as possible, the colonial authorities opened only limited numbers of government-run schools, preferring instead to rely on missionaries for the bulk of education and the so-called civilizing efforts. This led to the creation of parallel and occasionally conflicting educational systems because missionaries did not always share official views about the role of education, the curriculum content, or the language of instruction. By the early years of twentieth century, we can see the missionaries increasingly resenting the colonial power’s imposition of restrictions on their activities.

The primary school opened at Kallayi by the BGEM was transferred to a more spacious building in Calicut town and in 1872 it was raised to a middle school and in 1878 to a high school. Gradually the high school developed into a second grade college in 1907. Soon after its opening Professors were appointed for teaching English and civilization to ‘backward’ peoples. Inspired by this idea countless missionaries, soldiers, capitalists and administrators tried to bring the light of western civilization into the strange and unknown lands. This ideology was later theorized by Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) in his poem *The Whiteman's Burden*. Kipling, who was referred to as the ‘prophet of imperialism’ asked his country man to shoulder what he called the Whiteman’s burden. Similarly, Jules Ferry, in France, said superior races have the duty of civilizing the inferior races.” These concepts created the notion that imperialist expansion was very noble. See Thomas Pinney (ed.), *Kipling’s India: Uncollected Sketches, 1884-88*, (London, 1986).


35 *Sixty-Ninth Report of BGEM for the year 1908*, p. 47;The government gave the land for BGEM College under the Land Acquisition Act. The design of the college was done by G. Benner, the architect of the Mission and was formally opened by the then Malabar Collector
Natural Science. The hostel attached to it consisted of 20 commodious rooms provided for boarding, for recreation like gymnastics, together with a multi-cuisine kitchen and a mess hall. Since the students belonged to various communities including the Brahmans, vegetarian and non-vegetarian food were prepared and served separately. Preference was given to the students of college classes but the students of the school department were also admitted according to the availability of space. Usually 50 to 60 students were accommodated in the hostel and it was of a great help to the students who came from the remote areas of Malabar\textsuperscript{36}. On the breaking out of the First World War; the college was then handed over to the management of native Christians. But the acute financial crisis put the native management on strain and found difficult to run the institution. Finally in 1919, the Madras Christian College took over the charge of BGEM College at Calicut. After the war when the missionaries were allowed to come back to India, the management of the college was handed back to the Basel Mission in April 1927\textsuperscript{37}.

Another important institution which offered higher education in Calicut was the Kerala Vidyasala, better known as the Zamorins College built by the then Zamorin of Calicut in June 1877\textsuperscript{38}. It was started as a small English school for the education of boys of leading families. A small portion of the Zamorin’s palace at Tali was used as the class rooms for the school and an oxford graduate named Cecil M. Barrow was appointed as Head Master. In August of the same year, the Government of Madras expressed the utmost satisfaction with the enlightened and liberal action of the Zamorin,

\textsuperscript{36}A.P. Knapp on 8\textsuperscript{th} June 1906. A residence for the manager was also built adjacent to the college. Rev. W. Muller took the charge of the institution and the college was given the affiliation to the University of Madras in 1908.
\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., pp. 47-48.
\textsuperscript{38}Madras District Gazetteer, Malabar District, 1933, p. 38.
\textsuperscript{39}Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 27\textsuperscript{th} January 1880, p. 139.
and in recognition of the public spirit of the leading member of native society and moreover, a person who enjoyed the *Malikhana* from the government, made a gift of Rs. 1,815 for the purchase of a small library, Physical Science apparatus and physiological diagrams and models. In February 1879, the institution was affiliated to the University of Madras as a second grade college. Since then its management was handed over by the Zamorin to a Board of Management of five members. Three of the members were the *Stanis* of the Zamorin family’s hierarchy. The other two were a Brahman and a Nair, the former a government official nominated by the Zamorin with the Collector’s sanction and the latter the Chairman or the member of the Municipal Council. The institution provided hostel facilities for the students coming from distant regions.

With a view to promote the education among the Mappilas a special assistant to the District Educational Officer was appointed in 1926. There were one secondary school, one middle school and one higher elementary school for them in Calicut. An orphanage and a boarding house were also opened in Calicut under private initiative for Mappila children. Schools were also established by various Muslim organizations functioned in the city like the Himayath-ul-Islam Sabha. Actually these boarding houses attached to each institution itself were the centers of disciplining and coercive techniques were used to mould the behaviour of each student.

An attempt was made by the BGEM missionaries to open a separate school for the Christian students from other denominations. In spite of the opposition from the catholic priest, Mrs. Huber opened an English School for Portuguese and Indo-Briton

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40 Ibid., p. 108; The above description is enough to understand the condition of the erstwhile Zamorin rulers of Calicut under the colonial rule.
girls in November 1848. Though it was attended by twelve pupils, amongst whom three were Parsi girls, it was closed in 1851 due to the lack of sufficient number of pupils. The attempt for imparting education to girls was met with success with the establishment of the Girls High School by Rev. Fritz in 1846. The strength of the school in the later years showed the interest taken by the families to educate their female children. In 1887 the total strength was 95. In 1887 it was increased to 103, while in 1902 it rose up to 172 and in 1907 it was 283\(^42\). The Roman Catholic Girls School was founded in March 1862 by Rt. Rev. Michael Antony, vicar apostolic of Mangalore. He brought with him two European-French and Italian-nuns from the Mother House at Mangalore in order to open the schools which the Catholic population in Calicut was longing for a long time. In 1871, the Rt. Rev. Mary Ephraim, who had succeeded Bishop Michael Antony, brought along with him another batch of European nuns who belonged to the Third Order of Carmelites. Gradually in 1904, a fine two-storied building was raised at a cost of more than Rs.17000. The school worked under the Code of Regulations for European schools. Students were given training for government departmental examinations and government scholarships were awarded to the deserving students\(^43\). The St. Josephs School at Calicut lying near to the Portuguese Church was the only high school for European boys in the Taluk. But admission was not limited to the European boys only but many students from other communities were also admitted. According to the school register of 1929, there were 190 European and Anglo-Indian Boys studying in the school and the total strength was 260\(^44\).

As per the Proceedings of the Board of Public Instruction, there were 44 elementary schools functioning in Calicut city in 1917. Among these 25 schools were

\(^{42}\) Arthur Lawley, op.cit., p. 95.

\(^{43}\) Ibid., pp. 97-99.

\(^{44}\) Madras District Gazetteer, op.cit., p. 41.
aided and 1 was unaided. The Municipality maintained 16 schools. The total strength of all these schools was 4,820, where the Municipal Schools alone had 1,740 students. The number of students attending all the education institutions of the city was 8,738 and approximately the number of the outstation students was 500\(^45\). This shows the attitude of the people to get educated and this educated community of the city was the promoters of urbanity in the then Calicut city. The Municipal council demanded increased subsidies to open more schools in the town. Earlier, all the 16 Municipal Schools were held in rental buildings. In 1913, government passed Rs.17, 800 for the construction of the buildings. The council added Rs. 6,640 to the construction fund\(^46\). Thus initially the construction of 8 schools was completed and the request for a provincial grant for the construction of remaining schools was also granted as the colonial authorities found that the city is best serving as a supplier of human capital necessary for the working of the colonial government.

The aspirants of technical and business education found their way to Calicut City when institutions on technical and business education were established in the city. The government reports say that the Government School of Commerce at Calicut was the only institution of its kind maintained by the government in the Presidency. On the reduction of the Government Training College at Calicut to the status of an Upper Secondary Training School in 1894, government sanctioned a proposal of the Director of Public Instruction to utilize a portion of the funds thus set free for establishing this school to impart instruction up to the intermediate grade in the following five commercial subjects embrace in the Government technical Examination Scheme under the head of “commerce”, namely Book-Keeping and Accountancy, Commercial

\(^45\) The Eighteenth Tour Report of Lord Pentland to Mangalore, Calicut, Madura and Trichinopoly, October 14\(^{th}\) to 25\(^{th}\), 1917, p. 83.
\(^46\) Ibid., p. 84.
Practice, Banking and Economics, Commercial Geography and Short Hand. Later portions of Advanced Accountancy and Auditing were included in the course for Book-Keeping and of Commercial Law in the course of Business training. The school was located in the northern portion of the building occupied by the Upper Secondary Training school. In 1889, the government sanctioned the opening of a vernacular commercial class intended primarily for the benefit of young men of the Mappila community of whom a large proportion were merchants and traders. In 1907, the total strength of the school was 303, but a new building became necessary when the total strength showed an increase of 300 students more than the previous year, who had come not only from the 16 districts of the Presidency but also from Hyderabad, Bombay, Bengal, Rangoon and East Africa. Students were trained for the Madras Government Technical Examinations in commercial subjects and for the Diploma in Commerce. The standard of the course and the examinations were equal to the senior grade tests in England for Society of Arts, the London Chamber of Commerce and the Chartered Accountants.

The Government Industrial School which was started on 19th July 1929 provided courses in mechanical engineering and cabinet making. The duration of the course was five years and short term courses in motor-car driving and maintenance were also conducted. A good workshop equipped with several items of additional machinery for providing efficient practical training was set up in the institute. This school also had the presence of out station candidates. There were many other technical institutions like

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47 Arthur Lawley, op.cit., p. 79.
48 The First Tour Report of Lord Pentland to Coimbatore and Malabar, April 8th to 22, 1913, p.113.
49 Revenue Files 1921-1930, B. No. 256, Sl. No. 9, 1922.
50 Lord Pentland, op.cit.
51 Ibid., p. 114.
52 Report of the Department of Industries for the year 1931, Madras, p. 61.
the Government Training School for Mistresses\textsuperscript{53}, The Calicut Commonwealth Trust Embroidery School, and The Technical Institute of Carpentry were some of them. The Kerala Soap Institute at Calicut provided instruction in soap-making to candidates intending to make soap manufacture as their profession. The students under training were given instruction in laboratory practice for six hours a week\textsuperscript{54}. Thus the growth and spread of education and educational institutions under the initiatives of the municipality, missionaries, private individuals and other organizations inside the town affected physical and social outlook of the city and the change in attitudes of the individuals produced new spaces of urban social relationships and actions.

**Public Health and Sanitation**

High rate of population increase, densification of urban living space, insufficient water supply and massive drainage and sewerage difficulties were the major urban problems in colonial India. To counter the problems of the urban growth, medical specialists, military experts and other professionals referred to European politics of health, hygiene and security which were part of a wider sanitation discourse to remedy the evil effects of urbanization in English cities. Consequently, the principles of European urban sanitation were transferred to India even though without any environmentally related modifications\textsuperscript{55}. The Government of India Act XXXVI of 1850 regulated the fiscal income of the towns in British India for the first time. By 1858, the act had been applied in 352 towns. Because of the exorbitant increase of the ‘India Debt’ after the Rebellion of 1857, the Government of India was urged to decentralize its

\textsuperscript{53} Revenue Files 1921-1930, B. No. 253, Sl. No. 28, 1921.

\textsuperscript{54} Report of the Department of Industries for the year 1930, Madras, p. 117; Report of the Department of Industries for the year 1929, Madras, p. 28.

fiscal system. This included the transfer of public works to municipal bodies and the enlargement of the municipalities’ financial basis. Therefore the municipal budget then onwards included the estimates on conservancy, road-canal repairs, lighting, sanitation and health facilities etc. Thus public health and sanitation became a major concern and municipal planners took many progressive measures to improve public health by eliminating dark and damp environments, believed to be the breeding places of virulent diseases.

The Municipal Council maintained two municipal hospitals, one ayurvedic hospital and three allopathic dispensaries. The Calicut Municipal Hospital was built in 1893 near to Mananchira tank at a cost of Rs. 14,620. The main building was arranged in six wards to accommodate 48 male patients. An out-patient department was built in 1895. In the year 1912, there were 1059 in-patients and 27,833 out patients and the hospital had performed 1,670 surgeries in that year. The foundation stone for a Women and Children Hospital was laid by Lord Ampthill in October 1901 and was opened for public service on October 16, 1904. The hospital situated at Kottaparamba was at first maintained by the Municipal Council but in 1919, it was handed over to the government. Thus in 1920, it became a Government Hospital for Women and Children. The civil hospital and Dispensary at Calicut was frequented by all classes of people. In 1868, there were 286 in-patients and 3,946 out-patients and in the next year it was increased to 410 and 6,353. The frequent visits of various epidemics also may be reason for the increase of patients in the hospitals. When Dr. Leebendorfer was nominated to the municipal council, he advised the authorities to introduce vaccination against small pox in the city. Thus as per the section VIII of the Draft bill insisting

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56 The Third Tour Report of Lord Ampthill to Malabar and South Canara, October 9th to 30th, 1901, pp. 167-168.
 compulsory vaccination, all the parents of the city were asked to take their babies of six months after birth, to a public vaccinator and get vaccinated and again a week afterward he/she should be taken for inspection. It was made compulsory and the neglect to do this was considered as a punishable offence with a fine of Rs. 50. But the responses were severely criticizing. It demanded that the vaccinator should go round the public houses and vaccinate the children there itself. Hence the charge of coordinating the vaccination project was enforced upon the Officer in-charge of each amsom, Tahsildar and Divisional officers\textsuperscript{58}. Health Inspectors and Health assistants made frequent visits to various localities and births and deaths were asked to report at the office. Small pox vaccine and Cholera vaccine were bought to Calicut from the Guindy near Madras\textsuperscript{59}.

With the establishment of the Public Health Department in 1925, registration of vital statistics had improved in the town. At the same time, the transformation the city had, also carried many pathological features which were the direct effects of urbanization. Even though the municipal government had adopted so many measures to drive out the epidemics from the city it was continuously threatened by the visits of plague, cholera, smallpox etc.\textsuperscript{60} The threat of rabid dog bite was solved through the provision laid down in the Town Nuisance Act of 1889 to kill the stray dogs in the city\textsuperscript{61} by using the methods of ‘clubbing’ and poisoning. The teashops, hotels, Sweet meat shops, fruit shops bakeries and other places where food articles were sold in the city was inspected by the Health Officer and were charged for food adulteration and stocking of rotten things, if found\textsuperscript{62}. It is reported that the number of bakeries, hotels

\textsuperscript{58} Revenue Records (Folded Type) 1858-1890, B. No. 213, Sl. No. 6, 1880.
\textsuperscript{59} Interview with Smt. Kamalam, Retd. Health Assistant, Kozhikode Corporation, on 15-01-2008 at her residence.
\textsuperscript{61} For details, see the Appendix.
and aerated water factories were increasing in large numbers in the city limits as there were enough customers for the products sold there. A Government Order of Public Health Department in 1939, Calicut municipal area was declared as free from plague.

In an urban setting, concentration of more people in an area means more sewage and garbage generated and also an increase in the demand for basic amenities like drinking water, drainage, pathways etc. As many parts of the city were an extension of the medieval structures, the municipal council often found difficult to make alterations. For the purpose, the congested areas of the city were marked and attempts were made to renovate these areas. To improve the sanitary condition of the Gujarati quarters the council acquired a number of old and dilapidated buildings on the southern side of the narrow road from the Beach to the Alva Street. The proposal to widen the street which runs across the Gujarati area was passed with an estimated cost of Rs. 71,338.

The Mananchira tank was used for water supply inside the town but it was found insufficient to quench the thirst of the city. Numerous tanks in the city during the Zamorin’s period were filled up by this time as a result of the rapid growth of urbanization. Many plans and estimates were submitted for better drainage facilities but the unplanned growth of the city made it difficult to implement. The municipality found places for ‘night soil’ trenching grounds at Puthiyara but the nasty stench from these grounds often polluted the surrounding atmosphere. Because of the complaints received from the urban dwellers the Council decided to move the trenching ground outside the city. Thus the people living in the outskirts of the city became the victims of this nasty stench and later when the town limits were extended people found that their

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63 Ibid.
64 G.O. No. 4319, Public Health Department, dated 24-11-1939.
65 Revenue Files (F-Dis.), 1922, B. No.261, Sl.No.32, File No.R13624/22.
wells were becoming contaminated. The land chosen for trenching ground was a plot named Vadakke Ekkalaya Paramba under survey number 97/A of Cheruvannur Desom. Incinerators were used to burn rubbish and ‘night soil’ and the ashes were sold to private individuals for making manure. Public latrines were constructed in the market places and at the slum areas of the city. Private scavenging was also practiced inside the city. Later, the municipality promoted the construction of private latrines with septic tanks. Before that a separate group of people called Thotties were used to collect the night soil pots from each locality and they carried it on their head to the incinerators.

The colonial government insisted the municipal authority to adopt city beautification measures. A plan for the construction of ideal avenues, which would give ample shade overhead, carry the rain down the trunk and be free of branches near the ground, were prepared. The tree selected for this purpose was the coconut trees since it assured permanent revenue apart from shade. As soil of the city limits consisted of sand with a good deal of laterite, planting coconut, Casuarinas and Portia trees along with mango trees were preferred for the construction of avenues. The first road on which this was implemented was the beach road. According to the reports, the beach road was very pretty with groves of coconut palms on both sides. It was not possible to see much of Calicut town from the top of the light house on account of the numerous palms. Actually these types of avenues named nadakkavu existed during the Zamorins period and the beach area in those times itself had such types of avenues as certified by the foreign travellers.

66 Revenue Files 1921-1930, B. No. 261, Sl. No. 32.
68 P.M. Lushington, Memorandum on the Planting and Maintenance of Avenues, Malabar District, 28th May, 1906, p. 4.
Urban Crime, Law and the Colonial Institutions

Crime in colonial systems carried socially constructed meanings, peculiar to the particular relationships of dominance and control that colonization implies. Those meanings differed from colony to colony and from colonial power to colonial power as they preserved essential common characteristics of social control and authority\textsuperscript{70}. Since 1833, there began in India, the codification of laws. The most important of the codifications were the Indian Penal Code of 1860 and the Criminal Procedure code of 1861.

The lack of more recreations during the period under discussion when comparing as we have now, made the urban people, which were constituted to large extent by a floating population soon got attracted to certain types of vices like alcoholism, gambling, usage of hazardous drugs etc which ultimately led to crimes like murder, dacoity, robbery and forced abortion. Thus in the wake of rapid social changes, the incidence of crime has gone up tremendously in the city. Most of these groups of criminals lurking in the damp and dark corners of the city became the customers of the prostitutes who by this time had become more prevalent in the town\textsuperscript{71}. At the decennial census of 1911 prostitutes were curiously included in the major class of ‘unproductive labour’, together with beggars, vagrants, habitual receivers of stolen goods and cattle – poisoners. Hence the criminals of city included the prostitutes and a female jail was built close to the Sub jail at Calicut. In 1930, the Madras Suppression of Immoral

\textsuperscript{70} The analysis of the constructed nature of crime has been taken to another level of sophistication by Foucault, who focus on the ‘technologies of power’ has emphasized the connections between modern institutions, such as prisons, hospitals and mental asylums; and the creation of social categories such as criminals, the sick and the insane. Geoff Danaher, op.cit., pp.46-62.

\textsuperscript{71} Revenue Records, Crime Report, 1885, B. No 211, Serial No.17, File No.168.
Traffic Act was implemented in the city and it was amended in 1940 which declared that using girls below the age of 18 for prostitution as a criminal offence.

The habit of drinking liquor was noticed among the students of schools in that time\textsuperscript{72}. Most of them were from other places and were very much attached to the fancies of city life. Juvenile crimes were also reported. So the authorities enforced a wide variety of regulations through criminal laws and local ordinances. As the law was used as a coercive force, supported by the power of the colonial state, to help secure order, to promote capitalist development, and to restructure social relations, obviously, this process of the implementation of new set of laws and regulations was often referred to as the “civilizing mission” of colonialism. To legitimize this mission, colonial powers sought to import Western laws so that traditional customs and rules would be replaced with those assumed to be more civilized. A court complex was come into existence for the trial of civil and criminal cases. Today’s sub jail was built during this period with separate cells for male and female prisoners. The rows of buildings and the iron barred cells of the prison as constructed in the typical colonial architecture will take us to the Foucaultian perspective of discipline as a negative force where the process of disciplining is tied up with punishment and coercive behavior\textsuperscript{73}. The police stations at Nadakkavu, Meenchanda, Cusbah and Nagaram controlled the crimes and maintained discipline and peace in the city. The presence of beggars and ‘criminal lunatics’\textsuperscript{74} in large number in the crowded streets of Calicut gave way for the establishment of another colonial institutions ‘the Asylums’. As the lunatics and beggars were found unproductive factors of the city by the colonial officials and also found a threat to the peaceful life in the city, they were sent to the Lunatic Asylum. Earlier Hysteria,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Forty- Fourth Report of BGEM for the Year 1883}, p.71.
\item Geoff Danaher, op.cit., pp. 52-53.
\item Revenue Records, 1881, B. No 108, Sl. No.1, File No.124.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Epilepsy and other nervous diseases were attributed to the mischievous influences of the spirits and the people were fared of these persons. Though the asylums acted as curing institutions, the individuals who were arrested on political charges, particularly during the time of Mappila Revolt and Malabar Rebellion, is said to have sent to the asylums by reporting them as criminal lunatic. In asylums the inmates were trained to get engaged in certain activities like weaving, gardening and goat rearing. A mental hospital was opened on 28th May 1872 at Puthiyara with an accommodation for 200 male and 62 female patients.

The Changing Indigenous Space of the City

Here the term ‘indigenous space’ is used to represent the fields where the native people made their markings in the urban development of Calicut. The city’s development as an industrial centre is coexisted with its older function as a port city. Although it was well connected with the production and exchange centres, the new means of communication and transport systems with the construction of bridges and railway systems equipped the city with more powerful means to communicate with the peripheries and the distribution centres. The colonial measure of the extension of the Madras South-West Railway line from Beypore to Calicut and its expansion further north accelerated the ongoing process of transformation of Calicut from an old trade center to a developing city later. This line connected Calicut and Madras and the running of trains had a tremendous influence on the social and physical environment of the city. At the time of the surveys and land acquisitions for the railways people submitted many petitions to the authorities and the subject-matter of these petitions revealed their ignorance about the train that they were feared that their houses might

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75 Edgar Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, (Madras, 19060, p. 308.
catch fire because of the sparks come from the engine of the train\textsuperscript{77}. However the facility was later utilized by a lot of people. The trains to Madras served as a medium of transport for the aspirants of higher education on their way to England. The trains from Madras and other parts of the country were also helpful during the time of freedom struggle as the leaders were able to reach various centres immediately. The Bus transport system was introduced in Calicut city in the second half of 1930s by the owners of the C.C. Engineering Works named C.C. Cherutty, C.C Kunhukutty and C.C. Koru, popularly known as ‘C.C. Brothers’. They also had an automobile showroom at Calicut where they sold Furgo, Leyland, Willys Jeep and Bullet Bykes. By 1943, they completely got engaged in the operation of Bus service in the city. There were long route trips to Malappuram, Kannur and Wayanad along with the city service. There was a Road Traffic Board at Calicut to check the operations of the Bus service in Malabar. A bus stand was built and it was equipped with a bus waiting shelter, a latrine and a parcel room. The Themmalapuram Bus Transport Ltd. at Calicut requested the Board to supply a clock or time piece for the use at the Municipal Bus Station. This shows that the buses were given time schedules for service\textsuperscript{78}.

There were many tax-paying ‘social notables’ and ‘economic notables’ in the city who maintained high positions in the administrative departments and represented the municipal council\textsuperscript{79}. Their demands and activities always put the colonial masters under pressure. They were very much interested in bringing about changes in the society and did much for the urban development of Calicut. The civic demands for more urban reforms were started by the end 1920s. The electrification process of the city

\textsuperscript{77} Revenue Records, B. No. 25, Sl. No. 63, 1859.
\textsuperscript{78} Proceedings of the Public Works Committee meeting held on 18\textsuperscript{th} March 1940, Calicut Municipality.
\textsuperscript{79} Revenue Records, List of Taxpayers, Municipality of Calicut, 1881.
promoted the establishment of many native industries. The Dutta saw Mills, Star Tile Works at Kallayi, Ganesh Copra Mills, Premier saw mills, New Malabar Timber yard, Malabar Oil Mills, Karaparamba Oil Mills etc. were some of them. By 1940s, when the Pykara supply came to operate the government imposed many restriction on these native industries while the European firms enjoyed the privileges of the colonial government.

Through the contemporary letters and petitions and newspapers, the dialogue between the colonizer and the colonized and urban space in the colonial period represented thoughts in relation to real-and-imagined space. When the colonial officials attempted to beautify urban images in Calicut the native members of the Municipal Council always criticized them for the fact that they did not see the real urban life in the city and blamed their depiction of the land as counterfeit and phantasmagoric. This can be viewed as the growing civic contestations inside the city towards the end of 1930’s. The letters demanding the construction of bus stations with amenities as waiting shed, latrines, adequate lighting arrangements, the petitions for concreting some major roads due to the dust and pollution, the demand for more public spaces, departmental stores etc. showed the urge of the city dwellers to get into the new urban images. Actually all the public works were done after a careful study to scrutinize that whether the project is capable of generating a profit or not. This happened in the case of a project on opening of a tramway service between Beypore and Calicut in 1864. It was a native initiative but did not materialize. Another example was in connection with the laying of a new railway line between Calicut and Nilambur via Manjeri. On March 5th 1947, K.M.

81 Proceedings of the Public Works Committee meeting held on 18th March 1940.
82 Proceedings of Calicut Municipality, 29-02- 1940.
83 Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, Malabar, January 1864.
Seethisahib MLA of Madras Legislative Assembly asked in question to the then Agriculture Minister Venkitaratnam, about the delay on the part of the government in sanctioning the construction of Calicut-Nilambur track. Being fallen in heavy financial burden due to war, the answer of the government was that the project appears to be inutile as there are so many buses plying between Calicut and Nilambur and there are good roads between them.\(^{84}\)

Certain missionary records points out that the hike in land value and prices at Calicut town hindered their plan of widening the transport way to the factory. Hence they decided to move to Feroke, a suburb of Calicut city where the price of land and the cost of living they found cheap. They also build quarters for the native labourers with an intention to keep away their native followers from all temptations of city life of Calicut town.\(^{85}\) Continuous process of land acquisitions and the sale of properties made the land owning families rich. But at the same time many lost their houses and plots inside the city not only because of the acquisitions but also due to the increasing cost of living. The production of new spaces subsequently resulted in the gentrification process that took place in many parts of the city and new suburbs were created and the size of the urban-rural fringe also got increased. The figures of the cost of living index showed a steady upward trend in the price level during the 1940s.

**Cost of living Index for Calicut City 1941-1948**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{84}\) Madras records, Public Works department, B. No.27, Sl. No. 37, 1947.

\(^{85}\) *Sixty-Fifth Report of BGEM for the year 1904*, p. 81.
The money transactions and the surplus accumulation due to the increased economic activities resulted in the growth and development of banks in the indigenous space also. The *Nedungadi* Bank, opened in 1899 by T.M. Appu Nedungadi, the chairman of the Calicut Municipal council, was included in the original second schedule to the Reserve Bank of India Act of 1934 and it acquired the status of a Scheduled Bank on 5\textsuperscript{th} July 1935. The Co-operative activities were gradually developing in Calicut by this time. The Urban bank of Calicut started 1912, with the owners of the Calicut Furniture Company as the Directors, drew much customers from the entrepreneurial class of the city\textsuperscript{86}. The District Central Co-operative bank was established in 1917-18 and became the chief financing bank. It had a share capital of Rs. 1.14 lakhs in 1929-30, with a membership of 145 individual members and 556 societies, and secured deposits to the extent of Rs. 27 lakhs. The statistics of 1929-30 show that 56,000 people were the

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Year & Deposits (Rs.) \\
\hline
1942 & 150 \\
1943 & 213 \\
1944 & 232 \\
1945 & 258 \\
1946 & 281 \\
1947 & 331 \\
1948 & 394 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Revenue Records, 1921-1930}, B. No. 253, Sl. No. 54, 1921.
members of co-operative societies\textsuperscript{87}. There were non-credit societies also which aimed at the promotion of indigenous small scale industries. For the coir workers of Kallayi a society was started in 1920, and four more societies were started in Calicut in the succeeding years. A central society was started to co-ordinate their work and to act as their agent for joint purchase of coir and sale of finished products. By 1930, the city had 630 affiliated co-operative societies to 24 supervising unions\textsuperscript{88}.

Since Calicut is reputed as a major trade centre, there held a large number of Merchant’s Associations. The most important of these are the Calicut Chamber of Commerce and the Malabar Chamber of Commerce. The former was established in 1923 and was a member the Federation of Commonwealth and British Empire Chamber of Commerce, London, the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India, Calcutta, and the Madras Chamber of Commerce at Madras. The Malabar Chamber of Commerce was founded in the year 1929. Some of the leading businessmen felt the need for an organization to express the views of the Indian mercantile community and this Chamber which emerged as the result, had to face many odds against survival in the early years. The colonial government of Madras Presidency did not grant recognition to the Chamber for many years. Among the early Presidents of the Malabar Chamber of Commerce, many prominent personalities of Calicut were included. Dewan Bahadur P. Somasundaram Chettiar, the founder partner of the Malabar Spinning and Weaving Mills and the banker of the city was the first president. Sait Nagjee Amarsi, N.S. Krishnan, the founder of Star Tile Works, Kallayi, Guptan Nambuthiripad, and S. Chellam Ayyar were some among the prominent presidents of the Chamber\textsuperscript{89}.

\textsuperscript{87}Malabar District Gazetteers, Vol II, Madras, 1933, p. XXIII.
\textsuperscript{88}Ibid., p. XXIV.
\textsuperscript{89}Souvenir of the Malabar Chamber of Commerce, Calicut, 1966, pp. 1-3.
As the influx of various social groups to the city provided a cosmopolitan or multi-cultural identity to the city, these groups later played many decisive roles in the making of the urban Calicut. Most of the entrepreneurs of the city belonged to these groups. Among these the Parsi community deserves special mention. In the nineteenth century there were nearly 300 Zoroastrians in Calicut and after the formation of the Municipal council, a representative from this community was also nominated to the council. Cooverji Sohrab Dalal, a big businessman of Calicut from this community even became the chairman of the council. Initially, after migrating to Calicut they were engaged in the business of timber, tile, coir yarn, and plywood. The Dalals started the export of rosewood; the Hirjees were famous for their aerated waters factory and their soda in particular was believed by some to be even more recuperative than medicine; the Marshalls started the first rice, oil and coir factory in Calicut. Dr. Kobad Mugaseth was among the most respected medical practitioners of the city. It was Dhanjibhoy Mugaseth who bought land on Sweetmeat Street and built the Parsi Anjuman Baug at Calicut. The Baug includes a Fire temple, quarters of the priest, servant quarters and kitchens and the graveyard. Many commercial buildings lying adjacent to it were constructed by Ardeshir Cooverji Dalal in the first half of the twentieth century. The Parsi graveyard, sheltered by the trees and shrubs that encompass it, shows the earliest tombs dating back to the 1860s. A female ward was donated to the Lying-in hospital of the municipality by Danjibhoy Maneckjee in memory of his daughter. Many of these personalities were canvassed by the agents of the branch of Bank of Madras for opening accounts. But later when Hirjees failed to pay the loan amount back, the bank authorities confiscated his properties at Calicut and Vythiri. The present Mayor’s bungalow was the residence of the Mugaseth’s. It was Jamshedji Mugaseth who

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founded the Cosmopolitan Club in the city in 1898. Firoz Jamshetji Marshall made an entry in 1920 with the manufacture of motor accessories and spare parts in the city. These Parsee migrants had received the support of the local people in carrying on their business which flourished as years passed, and placed them in the upper echelons of the city’s social hierarchy. The Sindhi’s or the Multani’s were the traditional money lenders who came from Multan in the Sindh province of present Pakistan. They settled down all along the main Silk Street and lend money at short notice to customers with signed and dated blank cheques and the surety of a known trader. The Bohras, another migrant community of Calicut came from the Saurashtra region of Gujarat more than hundred years ago. Their traditional business was in timber and had export dealings with the Arabs. They have a mosque on South Beach Road. The Khalasi Muslims and the Pattani Muslims were a group of people who migrated during time of Tipu’s invasion. The Khalasis were held in great esteem for their ability to lift huge weights. The Pattanis were employed in the administrative jobs and also secured jobs in railways. Some Yadava families were bought to Calicut from Andhra Pradesh to serve buffalo milk in the European military barracks at Calicut. Soon they settled down here and continued their business of milk supply. Though these groups came to Calicut with different prospects, it was true to them that the city of Calicut was moving fast in its urbanization process and they were sure that Calicut would bring them good fortunes.

Besides the Parsi settlement, the main commercial centre of Sweetmeat Street incorporates one more settlement known as Bheed Bhanjan, of the Khankubj Brahmins who came from the Sagar city of Madhya Pradesh. They are also called as Misras. They are a religious group who maintains a Vairakhi Temple and a Hanuman Mandir at
On 29th August 1935, the ‘Mahabodhi Buddhist Mission’ was established at Calicut. The Mission had its office in the Customs road on beach side. C. Krishnan, Manjeri Ramayyar, Kottayi Kumaran and Dr. V.I. Raman were behind the establishment of the Buddhist Mission at Calicut. It had conducted a Sanskrit school in their ashram started on 30t April 1942 under the auspices of a public meeting held under the presidential ship of Chakrapani Naidu, the District and Sessions Judge, Calicut. The establishment of these social and religious groups produced new settlement patterns and spatial interactions in the urban space of Calicut.

The city was also not in short of various associations and social organizations that had many occupational interests. These associations and organizations played a major role in the development of the socio-economic scenario of Calicut through their voluntary works. Himayat-ul-Islam Sabha, Sahridayasabha, Y.M.C.A, Ladies Association etc were some among them. Sahridaya Sabha as an association devoted to the promotion of the study of the Sanskrit language and literature. A Sanskrit paper was published along with their lectures and pamphlets. The Zamorin Manavikrama Ettan Raja, an accomplished Sanskrit scholar and writer of Patinjhare Kovilakam was the president of this Sabha. The attempts of the Sabha to revive the study of Sanskrit language was continued by the members of the Arya Samaj and then by Buddhist Mission. They tried to maintain the legacy of Sanskrit language even in the process of westernization in the urban society of Calicut. The Himayat-ul-Islam Sabha stood for the emancipation of the Mappila community and their requests to open a Municipal Dispensary at Kuttichira and the raising of the Mappila Municipal School to the status

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92 Interview with Sumatrani Misra Maharaj, Head of the Vairakhi Matt, Calicut, interviewed on 07-10-2008 at Matt.
94 Dr. Raman Smaraka Mahabodhi Upahara Grandham, Sl. No. 1522, B. No. 36, Calicut, 1951, p. 196.
of a High school shows their active participation in the development of the Mappila settlements in Kuttichira locality.

The Missionary ventures like the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), and the Ladies Association also became instrumental in bringing up a western style of urban community in Calicut. Ladies Association organized meetings for the native women folk and trained them to make laces, kerchiefs and other types of apparels and cloths. Their products got a big sale in the market and they themselves started using such types of materials. Naturally it marked a shift from the old patterns of life and to the westerners it was the success of their mission to dress the colonized bodies. They were also taught to read books and moreover, the association was keen in inculcating in them the leadership qualities.

The newspapers with wide circulation in the city show increase in the influence of the media. During the period of the national movement Calicut played a vital role in propagating the nationalist ideas through these papers and magazines. Through the print media, public meetings and debates, fellow members of the community were educated and their grievances were ventilated. The associations and its leaders, in order to achieve their ends and to make the public aware of the problems they faced, published articles and editorials in their periodicals and newspapers. The Kerala Patrika started in 1884 seems to have been the earliest newspaper published from Calicut. Kerala, Kerala Sanchari and Bharathivilasam were among the other newspapers published from Calicut before 1900. West-Coast Spectator started by G. Subbarao and the West-Coast Reformer were the two newspapers published in English from Calicut.

96 S. Ramachandran Nair, op.cit., p. 108.
97 Revenue Files, 1885, B. No.175, Sl.No.17, File No.17.
Chengulath Kunhiraman Menon, who was the editor of the *Kerala Patrika* used his paper to criticize the Non Co-operation Movement and Gandhiji. The *Manorama* (not *Malayala Manoroma*) published from Calicut also held the same view. *Mithavadi* was started by C. Krishnan. These newspapers also played a major role in shaping the city’s ‘public action agenda’. Most of the presses were owned by the natives and some among them were pro colonial but some publications marked the civic contestations against the colonial policies. This made the authorities to adopt controlling measures and thereby many restrictions were imposed upon the freedom of press. The Acts of 1930, 1931 and 1932 were some among them. The major printing presses of this period included Norman Printing Bureau, Spectator Press, P.K.Brothers, K.R.Brothers, Ramakrishna Press, Minerva Press, *Vidyavilasam* Press, *Mathrubhumi* Press, *Manorama* Printing Company, *Mithavadi* Press, West Coast Press, Empire Press etc. The *Mathrubhumi* was first published in 1923 during the period of the non-co-operation movement and it supported the freedom movement under Mahatma Gandhi in all its stages. The *Chandrika* was started as a Weekly in 1935 at Calicut and in 1939 it became a daily. The *Deshabhimani* too had the starting as a Weekly and was published in 1942; it was converted into a daily in 1945. Thus the people, along with the increasing adaptations to an urban culture also got an exposure to the political and socio-economic developments that were taking place in the other parts of the country. It was with the Civil Disobedience Movement that the city entered the maelstrom of the national movement. But years before that, the city witnessed many anti-imperial actions. For example, the walk out of K.P. Kesava Menon from the meeting organized at Town Hall for discussing on raising the war fund in 1917 was an act of resentment from the part of the public. The Kerala Congress Socialist Party formed in May 1934 had its office at

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99 *Collection of Malayalam Books*, Sl.no.111 to Sl.No.548.
Calicut. In December 1939 the Congress Socialist Party unit in Malabar was transformed into a unit of the Communist Party of India. By this time the colonial government had resorted to many suppressive measures. The rude policies adopted by the factory owners resulted in the formation of militant trade unions at Calicut and the city became a contested space. The *Tiruvannur* Cotton Mill Strike of 1935 and the Puthiyara Tile Workers strike of 1937 were some of the important strikes conducted by the trade unions.

The colonial intension of the creation of a consumer class was fully accomplished by the activities of the missionaries in Calicut. The advertisements of various commodities and the demand for it in the city showed the development of consumerism in the city. These advertisements were of an income to the municipal council in the form of tax. The advertisements also included the posters and small hoardings of various programmes and movies organized and shown in the city.¹⁰⁰

Various libraries functioned in different localities also became the centers of passing of public opinions. The *Desaposhini* Public Library at *Kuthiravattom*, the SenGupta public Library at *Puthiyara*, The *Desodharini* Library at *Malaparamba*, and the *Sanmargadarsini* Library at Gandhi Road etc. marked the city’s high standard in literacy and the emergence of a new scholarly class with rational ideas. But it was necessary for the libraries to secure the recognition from the authorities at Madras for its functioning.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, these spaces gave way to the production of a public sphere in the city. Many of the anti-colonial movements got its fillip from these institutions. There were centers for recreation and sports. The global diffusion of modern sports is considered as a lasting legacy of European colonial and commercial

¹⁰⁰Ibid., dated 16-02-1940.
expansion. But by 1930’s, sports lost its elite character and became a central aspect of popular leisure among colonized population. The Malabar European Tennis club (1840), and the European club built in 1864 on the beach road, The Rail Institute at Calicut Railway Station, the Race Course and the Cricket ground at West Hill etc. were owned by the Europeans and they played billiards, tennis and squash\textsuperscript{102}. \textit{Mananchira} ground was usually used for conducting hockey and football matches. Earlier this ground was used as parade ground under the direct control of the government and trespassers were warned of prosecution. In the initial stages playgrounds were used only by the authorities and the natives were assigned as helpers or the ‘picker boys\textsuperscript{103}. Later several native clubs like Malabar Cricket club, Universal Sports club, Young men’s Sports club etc sprang up in and around Calicut city during this period. The shops selling the sports goods were opened in the town as early as in 1930.

The urban way of life enjoyed by the people of the city also consisted of leisure and social recreations. As a consequence of participation in various groups and associations there was a wholesome growth in the personality of city-dwellers of Calicut. They started clubs for themselves as a response to the European clubs. The Cosmopolitan club started by Jamshedji Mugaseth, was open to all men not below to age of 21 and should have the capacity to pay Rs. 20 as an entrance fee and a monthly subscription of Rs.3 for ‘Resident Members’, who were residing within 5 miles and Rs.1 for the non-residents\textsuperscript{104}. The Malabar Club at Beach road and the Freemasons Hall of Masonic Lodge at East Hill were the two aristocratic clubs functioned in the city. At

\textsuperscript{102} Revenue Files, 1904, B. No.10, Sl.no.19, File no.19.
\textsuperscript{103} Interview with M. Hassan Koya, Retd. Record keeper, Malabar Collectorate, Calicut, interviewed on 02-11-2008 at Civil Station, Calicut. In his boy hood days, he was a picker boy at the European club at Calicut.
Malabar Club, both men and women were allowed with an entrance fee of Rs. 100 and for couples Rs.12 was fixed as monthly subscription. There was a provision to pay the fee in installments. But in Masonic Lodge only males were permitted and its membership activities contained lot of formalities\(^{105}\). So basically, these types of social recreation centres were mainly meant for the financially sound upper class people. The film shows arranged at Mananchira ground was another medium for recreation. The theatres were the mobile tents. There was separate seating in gallery for the rich people on payment of Rs. 6.00. Reserved tickets were charged Rs. 2 and the ordinary tickets were charged Rs. 1. The show was conducted by the Jose Electric Bioscope unit based at Thrissur. An advertisement came on Mithavadi newspaper says that special accommodation for Indian ladies will be provided in the tents and was intimated that movies will be changed daily\(^{106}\). So it should be noted that women from the upper class families always preferred separate green channels. At the starting of the Prince of Wales Dispensary at Panniyankara, a separate way fare was constructed on request of the ladies from the aristocratic families. So the urbanity that was in practice at Calicut city constructed various meanings and actions in accordance with the each and every section of the society. But altogether the city became a centre of a multitude of urban actions. The urban society and culture of Calicut as put forwarded by the disciplining of the colonial urbanism through the social engineering activities of missionaries later assumed its own identity by taking ‘hybrid’ turns in the indigenous space. The heterogenic character of the society and their exposure to various cultures and lifestyles affected the shaping of city’s urbanism. Thus the Calicut became the seat of an urban social life and the municipality of Calicut became an autonomous entity within the territory.

\(^{105}\) *Acacia*, Bulletin of Freemasons Club, (Madras, November 2000), pp. 48-64.

\(^{106}\) *Selected Records*, 1913, Sl. No. 147.