Chapter 4
Popular Responses

4.1 Introduction

Urban history is a specific field that invites more balanced and nuanced consideration in the historical investigation and examines the social structure of cities and towns in the process of urbanisation. The history of urbanisation focuses on the process by which the existing population concentrate themselves in urban localities, over the period and the social and cultural contexts of cities and towns.¹ As far as an urban society is considered, it is entirely different from rural society because people belong to different classes, different occupations, and also different cultures. A city comprises of large number of people living nearby and also the permanent buildings, nexus of streets and transportation facilities etc.² According to Robert Park, ‘the city and the urban environment represent man's most consistent and, on the whole, his most successful attempt to remark the world he lives in more after his heart's desire’.³

Although there is lot of difference between urban and rural areas, they are closely related. The main difference is that the urban people give more importance to non-agricultural products. Neither the city nor the village can live with the support of each other. In certain agricultural areas,

¹ In his Ironta Mukhamulla Nagaram, Benyamin talks about the difference between the village and city life. He says that city life is suffocating but village life is a tranquil one. See Benyamin, Irontamukhamulla Nagaram, (mal.), (Travelogue), Vattoly Nirmala, Hiprint Pvt. Ltd., Thrissur, 2015, p. 97.
³ David Harvey, Spaces of Capital Towards a Critical Geography, Edinburg University Press Ltd., Edinburg, 2001, pp. 203-204.
they specialise in particular agricultural products such as apple, wheat, cotton etc.⁴

Regarding the cities, there would be people from various kinds and jobs but most of the people in village will be peasants. The geographical factors will also affect them. In addition to that the peasants can distribute their agricultural products in city markets. In this way the rural farmers can enter into a wider economy.⁵ It is possible to see various institutions, classes and groups in the city. Religious diversity can be seen in village than the city and occupation is more important in the city.⁶ Urbanization happens due to the migration of people from rural area to the urban centre. Urbanization increases the demand for agricultural products and it brings change in the urban life. It brings change in the rural side too.⁷ The competition between business people in part of the city culture and the customers also become a part of it. There are difficulties in defining a city or a town due to the complexity in the character and size of urban spaces.⁸

The townsmen and their culture happened in all periods of human life. The urbanization of the eighteenth and nineteenth century occurred due

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⁵ The Majority of the middle class population is more modest in urban origin. See Sujatha Patel, Kushal Deb (ed.,), *Urban Study*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011, p. 146.
⁶ Ibid., p. 23
⁸ It is difficult to find any good definition of a town writing on this subject in the report on the census of 1881, McIver says: ‘Town is ordinarily a word of somewhat vague in application, and there is some difference of opinion as to appropriate definition any village over 5,000 inhabitants was termed as a town (Book No.C/33, Si No.1715 census of India, 1891, vol. XIII, Madras, the *Report on the Census* by H. A. Stuart of the Indian Civil Service, Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, Madras, 1893).
According to industrialization. According to geographers, climate, landform features, vegetation, surface and soil influence urbanization. The interaction between environment and human beings will positively benefit the growth of a city. The interference of people from different walks of life also bring the growth of a city. The presence of foreigners is the one of the factors that supports the culture beyond the urban-rural contact.

In the social system of a city, we can see people of economically rich and socially high class living in the opposite side of the economically poor and socially low classes. It means, an urban society includes two divergent groups and the difference in their standard of living and mutual interest. Naturally, there are two types of cultural patterns. One is leisure class and reflecting a certain degree of refinement and the other of the labouring class reflecting a certain degree of crudeness. Hence, the urban culture has to be viewed in different patterns and culture. All the more urbanization is a continuous process which is carrying an even at the present scenario.

The birth of urban spaces were from the village societies in ancient India. It is clubbed with the issues of feudalism and caste hierarchy. The birth of the trading communities resulted in the origin of cities in India. It is explained in the books like Manasaram (written in the eighth century A.D) that the ancient Indian cities had a particular structure. The city center will be a place around the royal palace and the temple. The houses of noble men

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11 Ibid., p. 184.
and Brahmins surrounded this area.\textsuperscript{12} There were fortifications around this epicenter of religious and political power centre.

Though agriculture is the primary fact that pivoted the development of a city, there are differences in the case of cities like Kozhikode. The geographical factor played an important role in shaping the Kozhikode city. It was a marshy-bushy area and it became a port city with the reign of Samuthiri. Manavikraman, the first Samuthiri, had built his Kovilakom and fort by keeping the Thali temple at its center. The city is called Vikramapuram which was the capital of his country. As the place has a kovil and a kotta (fort) this place came to be known as kovil kotta and later it transformed into koyilkotta. It is believed that, the name was gradually transformed into Kozhikode. In the course of time, Arabs called the place ‘koyilkoothu’, Tamilword ‘kallikotte’ and the Portuguese word ‘Calicut’. ‘Calico’ a rare fabric exported from Kozhikode was famous all over the World. The Portuguese called Kozhikode as Calicatta as the land of calico cloth.\textsuperscript{13} The goods of Malabar like teak, timber, fabric, etc., were exported to Arab-Persian regions from Beypur Port, in Kozhikode, in the seventh Century A D which made the city of Kozhikode very popular in the international race market since the early medieval period.\textsuperscript{14}

The relation between Arabs and the people of Beypur, Kozhikode and Kadalundi became stronger since they began to import teakwood from the Nilambur Forest and gold ore from the Beypur Port. A community of Arab-

\textsuperscript{12} M. G. S.Narayanan, Charithram Vyavaharam Keralavum Bharathavum, (mal.), Current Books, Trissur, 2015, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{14} K. Balakrishna Kurup, Kozhikodinte Charithram, Mithukalum Yatharthyangalum, (mal.), Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode, 2000, p. 157.
Muslims, named *khalasimar* appeared in Kozhikode due to the particular trade activity. The Arabs played an important role in the transformation of Kozhikode into a big city due to their commercial and religious interaction.\(^{15}\) It is believed that the Muslim religious missionaries, Ibnu Habib and his followers had helped many families in Chaliyam and Beypore to migrate to Kozhikode. Sulaiman, the author of *Sylsilath-Uthavarikka*, notes the Muslim population in Kozhikode as very less. There were a lot of mosques in Kozhikode, noted Hokkal, the traveler who visited Kozhikode in Tenth century AD.\(^{16}\) Chempaka Lakshmi in her *Trade Ideology and Urbanization* discusses the tendency of the South Indian villages to become cities. According to Chempakalaksmi, this was due to the support of kings to trade and commerce. Kozhikode passed through the process of urbanization through the Arab trade.\(^{17}\)

Earlier these Kings were focused much on the agricultural oriented villages and hamlets but they began to encourage trade and commerce in Eighth and Ninth Centuries. As a part of this, the trade relations between various countries, foreign trade and the formation of new trade communes made the growth of urban cities faster\(^{18}\). When *nattukotta chettimar* progressed as a powerful trade commune in Tamil Nadu, Muslims carried over the same position in Malabar.

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\(^{17}\) The Port had played an important role in the development of Kozhikode. Ibn Batuta had marks Kozhikode Port as one of the biggest ports all over the World. See *Nagarasabha Vikasana Rekhakal*, vol. 163, Kerala Samsthana Asoothrana Board, Trivandrum, 1977, p. 21.

\(^{18}\) Interview with Dr. B. Bindu, Department of Anthropology, Kannur University. Interview held on September 2016, Monday at 9:30 A.M.
Later, from the beginning of Ninth to the middle of Twelfth Century, Porlathiri had ruled Kozhikode coastal regions and the areas adjacent to it. From Eighth Century onwards Kozhikode began to acquire the pace of a city. At the end of Ninth Century Porlathiri began to reside Kuttichira near Kozhikode coastal area. He had also built a canal across Kallayi and Varakkal. Later the banks of this canal came to be known as Puzhavakku. Many of Pollathiry’s decisions regarding the trade helped to transport pepper and other such commodities from the inner part of Malabar to Kuttichira through Chaliyar River via Kallayi and to improve trade. And the Muslims trades gained a big profit by selling these products to the traders from Arabia, South-East Asia, and China. In Puzhavakku, there were markets named as MarikkarKadavu, Pandarkkadavu, Puzhavakku, Pattutheruvu, and China Bazar. Money lenders and rice merchants from Gujarat began to settle near the North of Kuttichira and the place began to known as Gujarati Street. Muslim elites had built mosques in Puzhavakku. Krishnayyer says that Kozhikode city had founded as a complete city in 1304. As the palace situated in the place it came to be known as ‘KoyilKodu’ by the navigators. And that might be changed to Kozhikode later.\textsuperscript{19}

These kinds of inter-regional trades helped Kozhikode to work as a city due to the high demand of its commodities in the foreign lands. In the middle of thirteenth Century onwards Samoothiri’s reign began and the trade and commerce became stronger due to the influence of Arab traders and Muslims be are the prominent trade commune of the area. Arabs had the monopoly of pepper trade with the Europeans. Samoothiri had assigned

\textsuperscript{19} Edakkad, Puthiyangadi, Kurubrakkattusseri, Kacheri, Nedungottooru, Valayanad, Kasaba, Kariyamkunnu, Kalathilkunnu, Nagaram, Panniyanakara, these were the popular desam including Calicut City.
the duty of export and import to a Muslim officer Shah Bender Koya.\(^{20}\) There were Muslim traders in Kozhikode at the time who could able to buy the whole goods that contained in a vessel. When Samoothiri had conquered and settled in the palaces of Porlathiri, Muslim tradesmen had built new houses in both the sides of Valiyangadi.

Both the trade with the Arabs and the support of Muslims made Samuthiri more rich and powerful. Manavavikraman who came into power in 1466 decreed to built a palace in the east of Puzhavakkku and west of Mittayitheruvu and named the place as Vikramapuram.\(^{21}\)

The travelers like Ibnu Bathootha, Abdul Razak, Manwan, Nicholo Kondi and so on who visited Kozhikode had noted that coconut as a prominent agriculture of the area and at least thousand coconut palms are there for each farmer. The other important information is that they noted that the Ruler belonged to Nair community and many of his subjects are Muslims.\(^{22}\) They also noted that the Muslim trades of Kozhikode is so

\(^{20}\) Mappila Muslims of Kozhikode had supported Samuthiri in his powerful reign. Shah Bender Khoja or Koya were the Muslim elites who held power and wealth equally and there were number of Shah Bander Koyas among the Muslims of Kozhikode. (Dr. P.B. Salim, N.P. Hafis Muhammed, M.C. Vasisht (ed.) Malabar Paithrukavum Prathapavum, (Mal.), Op. cit., p.112.

\(^{21}\) The Magistrate forward a report from the Kazi (Priest) of Calicut about the disposal of four Arab slave girls entrusted to his care by person one among the girl was married to Pakrotty a Mopila and the other three girls fell sick and died. This incident is available from primary source and it shows the relationship existed between Arab and Native population. (Madras Correspondence, vol.2289, pp.583-600 KSRAK).

\(^{22}\) The explorer Barbaroza, who reached Kozhikode in 1502, says about the Nair community of the region; "Nairs are the noble and aristocratic community of the region. They never mingle with the people of low caste people. They themselves know that they are of blue blood. They never have a morsel from any of the houses except another Nair. The untouchables or the lower caste people should give way to the Nairs on the public path otherwise they have the right even to kill the lower caste people. Muslims were the most powerful commune in regarding the trade and commerce in Kozhikode and Nairs were like that in the social life. (K.Balakrishna Kurup, Kozhikodinte Charithram Mithukalum Yadarthyangalum, (Mal.), Op. cit., p.164.
wealthy that they could even able to buy the whole goods that came in a vessel. They also described about the security of the Kozhikode port and could able to see many valuable goods of Abysenia, Zinbad, Sansibar etc, in Kozhikode. They also talks about the prominent difference of Kozhikode port with the other ports, that in the other ports when the vessel reaches the port the wind might move it to many other directions and had plundered by the Pirates but in Kozhikode not such incidents happened as it was completely safe. They have noted that commodities like ginger, pepper, various leaves, spices etc, were available in the market. The diplomatic and secularistic attitude of the Samoothiri kings was important in the development of Kozhikode as a prominent commercial town in the World. Thus, along with the growth of trade and commerce, Kozhikode developed as a wealthiest town and renowned city for its exemplified secular character. Kozhikode grew as a major trade city as she was built up with a strong relation of fraternity and fellowship between countrymen of various nations, tongues, castes and creed and which bounded together both eastern and western culture and civilization in the medieval period.23

The Portuguese traders landed at Kozhikode through the sea in 1498. It is to be said that the decline of Kozhikode as a commercial town began with the arrival of Vasco da Gama, the first Portuguese Captain. Vasco da Gama wished to attain complete control over the Kozhikode port by expelling Chinese and Arab traders from the market. Samoothiri rejected the demand of Gama and they sought the help of the chieftains of Kannur and Kochi. Cabral and Albukaruque, who came after Gama, attacked Kozhikode. They set fire to the port city and its culture which was built in more than a

century. The Dutch and French and at last the English also reached Kozhikode after the Portuguese. At last the English East India Company established control over entire Malabar after signing the Treaty of Sreerangapattanam in 1792.\textsuperscript{24}

## The population of the *Nagaram* ascertained by the Census Report

<table>
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<th>Year of Census</th>
<th>Number of Industrial Houses</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Population per 100 acres of occupied land</th>
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25 *Survey Settlement Register*, Calicut Taluk Desam, No. 38, Nagaram, KSRAK.
The Population of the Kasaba\textsuperscript{26} ascertained by the Census Report \textsuperscript{27}

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year of census</th>
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<td>36995</td>
<td>76981</td>
<td>42744</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{26} Arab word meaning a town or the capital of a district.

\textsuperscript{27} Survey Settlement Register, Calicut Taluk Desam, No. 35 Kasaba, KSRAK
List of Property Holders in the Calicut City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the land*</th>
<th>Government Jenmam (G) Private Jenmam(PJ)</th>
<th>Name of the proprietor or Inam the or Manager of the institution which land belong</th>
<th>Inam No.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Panachinkal Parambu</td>
<td>PJ</td>
<td>Kizhakke Kovilakath Valiyathampuratty</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Thiruthiparambath Parambu</td>
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<td>Manavikraman Samoothiri Rajavu</td>
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<td>PJ</td>
<td>Rarichan Moopan</td>
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<td>Rarichan Moopan</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Dimarsthalam Parambu</td>
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<td>Ambadi Kovilakath Valiyathampuratty</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Musliyarakam Parambu</td>
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<td>Rarichan Moopan</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>Kizhakke Kovilakathu Valiyathampuratty</td>
<td>46</td>
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4.1.1. Financial Problem and other Social Issues in Kerala during the time of First World War

During the First World War, financial catastrophe endangered political issues in the Indian villages. The laymen began to anticipate greater tumults in politics and economy. One of the preeminent reasons that led the financiers to recall their loans and restrain new ones was the commercial

²⁸ *Survey Settlement Register*, Calicut Taluk, No. 34, Valayanad Desam, KSRAK.
²⁹ *Survey Settlement Register*, Calicut Taluk, No. 35, Kasaba Desam, KSRAK
³⁰ *Survey Settlement Register*, Calicut Taluk, No. 38, Nagaram Desam, KSRAK
crisis expected during the War.\textsuperscript{31} The result was the birth of issues like scarcity of food grains, severe famine, etc. The scarcity in food was partially the result of the world struggle, and every nation faced severe economic problem. In India, this was accentuated by the failure of crops in large areas.\textsuperscript{32} The transport of food was retarded by deprivation of rolling stock on the railways and lack of ships. The great advance of wages during the War enabled many to face the crisis without much suffering but there were millions who were unaided and failed to support themselves and their families.\textsuperscript{33}

During the World War, the prices of various commodities like rice, salt, kerosene etc. went up sharply that made the people suffer devastatingly. In addition to that, issues such as poverty, famine, increase in the crime rate, and various pathogenic diseases also blew on the people severely. The First World War affected the financial condition of Thiruvithamcore State also. During the course of the War the condition of rice availability became pathetic.\textsuperscript{34} The state produced only one third of the required amount and for the remaining two third of rice, Thiruvithamcore had to depend on imports from British India and elsewhere.

During the years of War, unemployment also increased drastically and the number of educated unemployed men steadily increased. The economic

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Harvest field}, February, 1919, vol. XXXIX.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Harvest field}, February, 1919, vol. XXXIX.
\textsuperscript{34} The Indian states and Travancore among them placed their rich resources in men and money at the service of the paramount power. The people of Thiruvithamcore showed their bravery in many battle fields. See T. K. Velu Pillai, \textit{A History of Travancore}, Trivandrum, vol. I, 1941, p. 210.
recession was also considered an important factor for unemployment.\textsuperscript{35} The War affected agricultural and industrial sectors too, and this led to insecure labour conditions because famine and inflation were also badly upsetting their daily life, and this heaved labourers of Thiruvithamcore into a miserable living condition.\textsuperscript{36} Incendiary and black market also made the people's life miserable.

4.1.2. Inflation and Export of Food Grains

The people believed that the shortage of food grains and coir was due to the increase in the export of these goods since the commencement of the War. The following details prove that it was a completely wrong notion. About sixty five thousand six hundred and twenty eight tons of food grains was imported from Madras Port during the months of April, May, June and July in 1914. In 1914 the same was only 2046. 1191303 tons of food grains were exported from all over India. But it was 219072 during the period of the War. Out of this, a large portion was imported from Burma. It was a wrong that the amount of the food grains exported to the foreign countries before the commencement of the War was more. But on the contrary, it was much lesser in quantity. In addition to this, the government had imported wheat from Australia during this time. Although rice from Burma was imported through the Madras Port and it was only a small fraction. Only 37659 tons of food grains were imported through the Madras Port during April, May, June and July in 1913. 150573-ton food grain was imported in the same port in


the year 1919. From these data it is evident that the inflation was not due to the increase in the import of food grains. Increase in the price occurred due to the following reasons:

1. Notes and coins were printed more than the limited number
2. Loss in agricultural production in the previous year
3. Price will be increased in a country where the supply of the money is greater than the available food products

During the period of War, there was an industrial boom, a large number of individual enterprises and companies sprang up without adequate capital, knowledge of business, and management proper organisation etc. But later these industrial enterprises and companies automatically disappeared with whatever they had acquired as soon as the recession started. During this period the new registration of companies also gradually declined. It means the depression affected almost all sections like traders, agriculturalists, owners of small scale and medium size industrial establishments.

People from all the age groups were fascinated about the War news. Among them there were groups who underpinned both German and British allies. The War adversely affected the common people a lot, the price instability of various products were intensified by the policy of the War and the people strived to live in such a situation. Majority of the people who were well off in the society were merchants. There were people who got land revenue from the tenants. But the price hike actually blessed them also.

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39 Ibid.
When they declared the age as a good one, the common people dared not to speak against that.  

4.1.3. War and Poverty in Travancore Fort

War affected those countries which were not directly connected and the situation. Thiruvithamcore was also not different from that. Around one lakh people lost their job as the estate owners, British and other business entrepreneurs had started to stop their ventures slowly. Even the labourers in the village were also suffering from the loss of job. Before, the landowners with at least ten or twenty coconut palms and cultivation of pepper and ginger on small scale could live properly with an average financial soundness.

The people who indirectly exported such things had to face a big trouble during the War. Many people lived by selling coir but they also began to face recession and got into trouble. The farmers who led a rich life began to face poverty as the existing economic scenario brought the prices of ginger, pepper, coconut etc., down. Many people had stored these things in bulk quantities and the price decrease troubled them too. Almost all the newspapers reported these changes in the society. The pro-British print media spread news that the both the British and Indian governments were helping merchants in the difficult situation.

The article 'Poverty in Travancore' in Malayala Manorama describes the condition of people in Travancore, during the time of First World War,

42 Jenmi, Pusthakam VII, No. IX, December, 1914.
43 Jenmi, Pusthakam VII, No. IV, December, 1914.
and asks for urgent measures from the government to solve these problems. And it is pointed out that, the First World War mainly affected the laymen class such as labourers, peasants, tenants and middle class people. There were a number of factors, for the widespread poverty among the people, like stagnation of foreign trade, closing down of factories, plantations etc.\textsuperscript{44} And due to the effective use or deployment of police forces and collection of agricultural goods by the government and the special schemes introduced to protect the pepper, arecanut, coconut and coir products, not only labourers but also agriculture was also affected the First World War and they also wanted protection from poverty. It means that the War created acute crisis in the daily life of people in Travancore.

4.1.4. Malabar Situation

During the First World War the life of the people in Malabar was badly affected in all walks of daily life. The \textit{New India} reported on January 23, 1915 that Malabar was more affected by the War than any other districts in the Madras Presidency. Besides most acute economic distress, serious crimes were reported.\textsuperscript{45} Marine war increased the prices again. Due to the marine war, the import of rice from Burma was stopped. Price of local paddy was only four or five anna, but before the war, it was increased to an amount of one rupee. Along with this, the price of Match boxes and kerosene was out of question. Oil was taken from things other than the usual coconut. Poverty and epidemics had spread among the people.\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{44} Jenmi, vol.VII, No.IV, 1914, pp.107-112.
\textsuperscript{45} New India, January 23\textsuperscript{rd}, 1915, TSA.
\textsuperscript{46} P. Narayanan Nair, \textit{Aranoottandilude} (Autobiography), (mal.), Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 1999, p. 32.
Women folk were interested to know about the War and at the same time literates read the news by themselves. When will be the end of this damn War? That was the question of the women folk. Everyone was scared that the hale and hearty people will be forced to join army. Some had gone abscond and no one knew whether they were forced to join in the army or they had joined themselves. Some were ready to join army when they were threatened by poverty. A submarine named Emden began to appear in the territorial waters of India in this time. It became a nightmare for Indians of the time as Emden attacked a large number of ships. The bombardment of Madras Port, cannoning of Bombay, sight of fights near the sky of Kochi etc., due to the presence of Emden increased fear in the minds of the people.

4.1.5. Inflation in the Kozhikode City

Kozhikode is considered as one of the most important taluk in Malabar under the control of the colonial government. The other important towns in the district were Palakkad, Tellichery, Kannur, Cochin, Badagara, and Ponnani. During the War Kozhikode faced so many problems. There were a number of newspapers like Manorama, Kerala Sanchari, Andraprakasika, West Coast Reformer, West Coast spectator, etc., which

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47 During the War time people suffers poverty and unemployment which made their life miserable. (Kerala Bharathi, Kottayam 22nd January 1918, TSA).

48 Sensational news spread at the time was the expulsion of the Kochi king from his throne. It was also said that he was forced to do this. It was happened at the time when German submarine was seen in the sea of Kochi. A lot of developmental activities had done at his time. He stood at the side of conservatives when it came for certain rituals. The trail of Kuriyedathu Thatri also occurred at his time. It is sure that the thing that forced him to descend from the throne was not the matters regarding home rule. The news spread that the British had the power to change feudal lords according to their decision. See P. Narayanan Nair, Aranoottandiloode (Autobiography), (mal.), Op.cit., p. 33.
reported the pathetic condition of the people in Kozhikode.\textsuperscript{49}

There are different opinions regarding the miserable condition of people during the War. First is the decrease of the imports, and the second one is the failure of crops that created a scarcity which resulted in the prevailing high prices of food and other necessary commodities.\textsuperscript{50} It was a fact that the total annual produces of grain in Malabar was insufficient to feed the people of Malabar. There were so many reasons like the shortage of import occurred by the diversion of railways and rolling stock for military purpose and the resultant limitation of traffic.\textsuperscript{51} Another situation faced by the people during the War was the high rates of necessary articles. The price of rice and other necessary articles had gone very high in Kozhikode and it made the life of poor people so miserable. The government didn't take any step against this.\textsuperscript{52} The authorities didn't call even a conference of merchants to discuss the problem. C A Innes once made a plain statement

\textsuperscript{49} The traditional Kozhikode city had a big bazaar from the western wall of the royal fort to the sea-shore. The fort was one mile in circumference. The area between the present day Palayam Road in the south, Mananchira \textit{Maidanam} in the north, Cherutti Road in the west and the Cannanore Road in the east was occupied by the fort which contained the palace of the Zamorin and some religious and secular institutions. There were separate streets for weavers, potters, flower merchants etc. The entire city was planned and constructed according to the traditional principles of medieval silpa texts. Separate quarters for foreigners and different sections of dignitaries, functionaries and communities were set apart as prescribed in those texts. New palaces were constructed when the number of the members of Samoothiri family increased. These new palaces were situated to the south east of Kozhikode. See Dr. M. R. Raghava warrier, ‘The Rise and Growth of Calicut’ in \textit{Proceedings of the South Indian History Congress}, Calicut University, 1991, p. 29.

\textsuperscript{50} The poem ‘Unnanilla Uduppanilla’ by Vallathol Narayana Menon explains poverty suffered by the people due to the War. In this poem it is described that the condition of women who had no cloths to receive her son-in-law. She committed suicide to escape from the miserable condition. See M. Gangadharan, \textit{Malabar Kalapam}, (mal.), D. C. Books, Kottayam, 2009, p. 78.

\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Manorama}, Calicut, 5\textsuperscript{th} April, 1918, TSA.

\textsuperscript{52} Starvation is the characteristic of some people not having enough food to eat. See Amartya Sen, \textit{Poverty and Famines}, Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, p. 1
that they cannot tolerate any artificial price rise. They also gave an information that there were plenty enough of stocks in various godowns which were hoarded by merchants to make the price high.\textsuperscript{53}

About the scarcity of rice in Malabar a \textit{Manorama} correspondent wrote on 24\textsuperscript{th} August that the scarcity of food would lead to the starvation and death of the people before attaining Home Rule.\textsuperscript{54} These newspapers reported the agony of life in the society and the government told the people to wait till the War was over.\textsuperscript{55}

It was Malabar which contributed more to the War Loan. This did not satisfy the collector. He stated that the War Loan was not adequate when compared to the wealth of the nation. People complained that the District Collector could not understand real picture of the miserable condition of the common people by making visits to the houses of land lords. Newspapers told the collector to visit village and houses of the ordinary people.\textsuperscript{56}

In his book \textit{Kadathanadan Tharavadukal Jeevithangal}, K. K. N. Kurup has described how horrible the life of the people in the country was during the First World War. The price of the things was so high and no one had money with them and the price of the agricultural product became so less. The land lords tried to seize \textit{varam} from the poor tenants. Most of the middle class people became so poor.\textsuperscript{57} The \textit{West Coast Spectator} on the topic "The falling weights and measures in Calicut" on 2\textsuperscript{nd} March wrote that

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{West Coast spectator, Calicut, January 11\textsuperscript{th}, 1916, TSA.}
\textsuperscript{54} It was the time of the Home Rule political agitation in Malabar with its centre at Kozhikode.
\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Manorama, Calicut, August 24 1917, TSA.}
\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Manorama, Calicut, August 24\textsuperscript{th}, 1917, TSA.}
the people were already suffering by unemployment, high price for necessary articles etc. They were also facing another evil that was false weight and measures. A correspondent told that he himself was victimised twice by a cloth seller whose measuring yard was too short by nearly two inches. The problem of false weight and measure was not new and it had existed for a long time. The officials could not visit local shop keepers to check their weight and measures to solve this problem. There was an officer called Windle who undertook such an operations at West Hill and Nadakavu.58

The Manorama on 17th September stated that increasing rise in the prices essential goods caused hardship for the people and the authorities did not take steps for a reasonable price to an end of the troubles faced by the people in Malabar. They also referred about the riots in Tanjore, Nagapatanam and other places and about dacoits in Malabar.59 A merchant correspondent in Kerala Sanchari wrote on the same subject on 18th September (1918) and he pointed out that the rise in price was not due to a fault from the part of merchants instead it was due to an increase in the freight of articles difficult to transport. It was due to the increase in the cost of labour.60

There was a meeting of the merchants at Kozhikode and the Deshabhaktan stated that the meeting conducted by merchants of on 8th November 1918 a statement was made that they had only a small stock of food stuffs which was going to end by ten days. The Deshabhaktan on 12th reported that rice was no more available from other districts and people

58 West Coast Spectator, Calicut, March 2nd, 2918, TSA.
59 Manorama, Calicut, September 17th, 1918, TSA.
60 Kerala Sanchari, Calicut, September 18th, 1918, TSA.
would die out of starvation. Rice could not be imported from Rangoon and it also added that the government or the collector did not take any precaution during this crisis.\textsuperscript{61}

Hakkim Cholayil narrates the pain of the 1914 society in his novel \textit{1920 Malabar}. When the people came out to buy things they came back with vacant bags. Many took rice and papaya from the courtyard without permission. There occurred scarcity for kerosene oil. Many people took away bananas and jackfruits etc., from the land owned by the \textit{Namboodirimar} or landlords.\textsuperscript{62} Such people were punished severely by the land lords and it became a common sight in War time Malabar.\textsuperscript{63}

During the war time the high price of necessary articles led the common people to suffer lot of miseries. But authorities did not pay any importance to this matter. On 5\textsuperscript{th} November, the \textit{West Coast spectator} commented on the high price of goods in Kozhikode. It said that there was delay in the supply of wagons in the equitable distribution of grains in districts. It showed that the Department of Civil Supplies had almost broken down like the affairs in Mesopotamia.\textsuperscript{64}

\textsuperscript{61} Desabhakthan Madras, November,, 12\textsuperscript{th} 1918, TSA.
\textsuperscript{63} According to Nehru, during the end of the First World War, it was an air of suppressed anxiety that prevailed in India. The property and glory of the capitalists rose. A number of capitalists in the upper echelons earned more money and might. However majority of the people were not lucky like them. Their aim was to reduce the burden of their life. The peaceful and constitutional protest gained momentum. People started talking with confidence about self rule and self determination. Unrest was prevalent among the multitudes, especially among farmers. The bitter memory of forceful conscription of the Punjabi villagers into the army was still lasting. The action of trapping patriots in conspiracy cases and suppressing them led to detest in everybody. The soldiers who returned from distant war fields were not mere dolls. They grew mentally. There was dissatisfaction among themselves as well. See Prof. C. K Moosad, \textit{K. Madhavan Nair}, (mal.), Mathrubhumi, Calicut, 1987, pp. 48-49.
\textsuperscript{64} \textit{West Coast spectator}, Calicut, November, 5\textsuperscript{th} 1918, TSA.
The Manorama of 17th December reported that if the freight between Burma and Madras was reduced, it would help to secure a reduction, of annas in the price of bags of rice and also remarked that the freight to Malabar to be reduced. The merchants were willing to buy paddy and rice from Burma. And it said that when the war was over, the easiest step that could be immediately adopted for safety of the people is to reduce freights at least temporarily.\textsuperscript{65}

On 4th December, the Andraprakasika under the title ‘food stuffs and Malabar’ wrote that ‘the collector of Malabar did not import rice from Burma and the members of the Political Conference held at Kozhikode expressed their inability to advance money and open their shops’.\textsuperscript{66} The Kerala Sanchari wanted to control rise in the price of essential commodities by the interference of government. They also congratulated the efforts taken by His Highness of Baroda who allocated 10 lakhs to Travancore for allotting 5½ lakhs rupees without interest to export rice from Burma for meetings the needs of the people.\textsuperscript{67}

The First World War is mentioned in Uroob’s novel Sundarikalum Sundaranmarum.\textsuperscript{68} In the War period two types of people lived in the society. Some were on the side of Germans and the other supported the British. The British exploited Indians in order to overcome loss in the War. After the War, the price of local items came down. The price of rice and coconut became far less than what was earlier.\textsuperscript{69} The pepper trade went to

\textsuperscript{65} Manorama, Calicut, December, 17th 1918, TSA.
\textsuperscript{66} There was a political conference at Kozhikode in 1917. See the Andhra Prakasika, October, 4th Madras, 1918, TSA.
\textsuperscript{67} Kerala Sanchari, Calicut October, 30th 1918, TSA.
\textsuperscript{68} Uroob was a prominent Malayalam novelist.
\textsuperscript{69} Urub, Sundarikalum Sundaranmatrum, (mal.), Current Books, Thrissur, 1996, p. 140.
the hands of Indonesians. The money sent by soldiers from Iran, Iraq, and Mesopotamia stopped. Most of them had returned and faced unemployment. This situation compelled them to sell their dress, boots, trunks and starvation became a part of their life. Thefts and murder increased tremendously. The increased theft and murder gave the lawyers their high time. People believed that British were responsible for the economic crisis and unemployment. After the First World War this led to a grudge towards them. But they also believed that they would get protection. When the government knew about this, they sent more secret investigative agents and more circulars. They took additional steps for protection. Military marches were held in the town to prevent anti-government activities. The First World War made the life of the people miserable to the worst level. It is a fact that famine was one of the main problems faced by the people of Malabar and it was high in the rainy season and it lead ignorant people to crime. The government did not take immediate steps to relieve people from the enormous rise in price of rice, cloth, and kerosene oil and other necessaries of life.

The Kerala Pathrika pointed to the duty of local legislative councils by cultivating modernization and not to complain about the prices of foreign articles. It also said that even the ordinary people could understand the deterioration of indigenous industries and steps to improve them.

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70 Ibid., p.141.
71 Kerala Pathrika, Calicut, April, 6th 1918, TSA.
72 Kerala Sanchari, March 5th, 1919, TSA.
73 Kerala Pathrika, Calicut, April, 6th 1918, TSA.
4.1.6. Rise in the price of salt at Kozhikode

Another problem was that the poor person faced in the suburban areas of Kozhikode was suffering of the rise in the price of salt and kerosene. The price hike of oil, salt, and textile were not due to their scarcity but it was deliberately created by the merchants who had an eye on the profit. They also suggested the need of passing a law regulating the price of goods as done in England.\(^74\) A new tax on salt was the most hardest as it affected the common people. They also observed that, these taxes was necessitated by War.\(^75\) The *Kerala Sanchari* reported that ‘there was nothing to be wondered if the people revolted against salt law. Salt was an essential item for not only human beings but also for domestic animals. It was why the lower class people clamoured for the abolition of tax on salt because it was the poor that suffered from it most.\(^76\) The *Nazrani Deepika* points out that instead of increasing duty on salt, the government was to increase the duty on the liquor still further. They also observed that government policy of increasing the revenues by unobjectionable means without curtailing expenditure on education, medical aid etc.\(^77\)

The *Kerala Patrika* demanded increase in the amount of taxes upon the rich people and cancellation of taxes on necessary goods.\(^78\)

\(^74\) *Kerala Sanchari*, Calicut January, 2\(^{nd}\) 1918, TSA.
\(^75\) *Manorama*, Calicut, March, 4\(^{th}\) 1916, TSA.
\(^76\) *Kerala Sanchari*, Calicut, March, 1\(^{st}\), 1916, TSA.
\(^77\) *Nazrani Deepika*, March 5\(^{th}\) 1916, TSA.
\(^78\) *Kerala Pathrika*, Calicut, March 4\(^{th}\), 1916, TSA.
4.1.7. Rise in the price of kerosene

The Manorama reported that worst news are being received from various places regarding the price and scarcity of kerosene. Kozhikode also faced the difficulty and it was an unforeseen calamity. In order to get rid of the forthcoming misery of the people, the government had to take precautionary steps.\(^79\) Many newspapers wrote about the rise in the price of kerosene. The Manorama wrote that the price of kerosene oil varied from 3½ to 4 anna per bottle and the abuses in connection with the sale of kerosene persisted for a long time.\(^80\) The same newspaper reported that the price of kerosene oil rose unprecedentedly and the collector did not give special attention to this matter.\(^81\) Kerosene had become an essential good in the life of the people in the city. These vernacular newspapers cautioned the government that anti-government feeling was mounting in the city scape and rural sides in Malabar due to shortage of food and spread of poverty and diseases.\(^82\)

4.1.8. War and Epidemics in the Municipality

During the First World War, especially in 1918, a number of epidemics were spread in Kozhikode. The reasons behind this were lack of sanitations, heavy rains, nearness to the sea etc. The vernacular newspapers reported this especially, small-pox, cholera, and plague which made the life of people miserable in Kozhikode.\(^83\) The government paid least attention to these

\(^{79}\) Manorama, Calicut, February, 25\(^{th}\) 1919, TSA.

\(^{80}\) Manorama, Calicut, January 28\(^{th}\), 1919, TSA.

\(^{81}\) Manorama, Calicut, January, 28\(^{th}\) 1919, TSA.

\(^{82}\) Manorama, Calicut, September 10\(^{th}\), 1918, TSA.

\(^{83}\) M. Raghavan, *State Failure and Human Miseries, A Study with Special Focus on Famines in British Malabar*, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi, 2016, p. 74.
mortal diseases spreading in the town space. Even though plague was mostly seen in Palakkad town, all other epidemic was seen in Kozhikode.\textsuperscript{84} There were many romours related to the small-pox which broke out during the War. The real situation was far severe than these rumours. Vernacular newspapers clamoured for preventive action by the government.\textsuperscript{85}

The \textit{West Coast Spectator} wrote that Kozhikode was witnessing the raging of a virulent type of small pox and the sanitary authorities didn't take any necessary steps to prevent the spread of this disease. The \textit{Manorama} reported that there were issues related to leprosy by the intermingling of lepers with other people. They supplied food products and used public places which led to the spread of the disease to other people and government did not take any action to prevent the spread of disease.\textsuperscript{86}

Another endemic disease sprouted out during the time of the War was 'Spanish flue'. During the First World War, it spread through soldiers accommodated in congested barracks. The younger ones among them were exposed to the disease more. These diseases made a tremendous decrease in the number of agricultural labourers. The shortage of staff in medical service made the situation worst. Many of these officials in medical service were already deputed for medical duty in the army. This increased the difficulty of the people and new deceases like typhoid also appeared in the city scape.

There were one General Hospital, one Women's Hospital, a Small Pox Hospital, a Cholera Shed and a small Dispensary at Kallai in Kozhikode. Two

\textsuperscript{84} \textit{New India}, Madras, March 14\textsuperscript{th} 1916, TSA.
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{West Coast Reformer}, March 2\textsuperscript{nd} 1917, TSA.
\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Manorama}, Calicut, March 31\textsuperscript{st} 1916, TSA.
hospitals among them accommodated ninety two patients.\textsuperscript{87} Due to the outbreak of the epidemic 1659 patients were admitted in the hospital. There were numerous people treated as out-patients. The number of patients increased day by day.\textsuperscript{88}

The district medical sanitary officers had denied these reports by saying that all these are were exaggeration of the situation and inferred that all the deaths were caused due to natural reasons. The surgeon general, who put up a report to the governor general, reported that ‘he inspected the hospital and everything was in great order’.\textsuperscript{89} The city scape was suffering from poor drinking water, absence of proper drainages, insufficiency of night– soils disposal facilities and the indifference of the administration in taking up disease control measures. Most of the people had relied upon public or wells for drinking water. The private house holders maintained these wells. They never cleared or protected it properly. The people used these wells for cleaning, bathing, cooking food etc. These kinds of multi-purpose use made the drinking water polluted. Lack of proper drainage system in urban areas was the other public health problem. The Kozhikode Municipality was the best example for this. The garbage was piled up in the uncleaned drainages. This caused to increase mosquitoes and other

\textsuperscript{87} Several people died of starvation and unemployment during the First World War. Authorities used to keep birth and death records during this time. It was the village authorities who maintained such records. Birth was recorded immediately. Without waiting for the births to be recorded, they conducted regular updating. Certain abbreviations were used to indicate different social sections. For example, native Chritisians (Swa. krit), Hindu (Hi), and Muslims (M. Muhammadiya) etc.. These registers were sent to the taluk offices in every calendar year and they kept them for 20 years. See Bundle No. 205, 1914, Birth Registration Corporation, Kozhikode

\textsuperscript{88} M. Raghavan, \textit{State Failure and Human Miseries, A Study with Special Focus on Famines in British Malabar}, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi, 2016p. 76.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., p. 77.
Garbage spread all over the street in the city. But the district administration never tried to appoint sweepers to clean the street. The unmoved garbage in the drainage blocked the flow of muddy water.

*Manorama* reported that Calicut was facing serious problems due to the lack of sanitation facilities and they also argued that by giving awareness to the students, this problem can be solved and it is the responsibility of teachers to give awareness about sanitation among their students.91

The disposed night soil all over the street became the source of many health issues in the Kozhikode town. Only three incinerators were erected in the municipality to burn night soil into ashes. But the government never allowed a fund for this work. The government did not appoint enough staff and carts to help the cleaning work. The municipal authorities received complaints regarding the removal of garbage from the residential areas and roads. One of the methods was to dumb the collected garbage in the incinerator, mix with saw-dust, burn and to sell the ashes. But the incinerators never got the required amount of saw-dust because the house holders were using it as cooking firewood. Another was to inclusion of carbolic acid and kerosene oil to burn the night soils. As it was an expensive method, this did not work out. And the other method was to dig trenches. But as the authority did not get a proper space for this, this did not work out.

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91 *Manorama*, Calicut, July 13th, 1917, TSA.
The shortage of scavengers made the situation worst. The Kozhikode municipality had announced that it was ready to arrange private scavengers if the required residences were ready to pay them.

In order to fight deceases, the government began to encourage vaccination as a precaution to these endemic diseases. But this also failed due to the following factors. The non-availability of sufficient vaccination staff and the counter movement against vaccination by the illiterate public made vaccination objectionable.

*Keralapathrika* reported that the British Government were providing vaccination for, several diseases but people were not ready to accept this vaccination as they suspected British authorities. So they depended on traditional medicines. This was happened in Calicut during the First World War\(^92\).

The Annual Administration Report of the Madras Presidency in 1918 noted that inspite of the increase of epidemics in Kozhikode, two male and one female vaccinators were there in the city. The women members of conservative families did not allow the male staff to vaccinate them. Many of these people considered that vaccination was an unscientific method to prevent the spread of deceases. Those undergone vaccination tried to nullify the effect by applying salt and chilly powder in the injected area in the body.

### 4.1.9. Robbery and Black Market

Another problem faced by Kozhikode during the First World War was theft and robbery.\(^93\) It created socio-economic and political problems in the

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\(^92\) *Keralapathrika, Calicut, January, 5\(^{th}\) 1918, TSA.*

\(^93\) *West Coast Spectator, Calicut July 18\(^{th}\) 1915, TSA.*
city. Ordinary people began to take away goods from the houses of upper classes. Several houses faced cattle theft and the fish market also faced problems of robbery.⁹⁴ This problem negatively affected the industries. The situation silenced industrial activities in the town. The native financiers were also not interested in lending money to shopkeepers and it affected the market and manufacturing units.⁹⁵ Prominent writer, O. V. Vijayan in his novel Thalamurakal has explained the life of the people during the First World War. He wrote that robberies and theft had made the people's life miserable. The report of the Madras Government wrote about the situation of 1916 with the following words:

people are becoming litigious. Great increase in civil litigation was seen. Crimes were increasing. People began to approach the police. Political agitation increased, conducted, on novel lines. The year marked by a considerable increased in political agitation, conducted on novel lines. These were frankly and every effort was made by distortion of history as well as of contemporary facts to stir up against the government and against the European community.⁹⁶

On 25th August, the Manorama reported increasing train thefts, especially in female compartments. It also suggested that the planks, attached to the carriages reserved for women should be removed and the police should pay more attention to their duties. The number of strangers

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⁹⁴ Kerala Pathrika, Calicut, April 15th 1917, TSA.
and beggers increased in the city and it is reported as a nuisance problem for the city dwellers during the War period.\textsuperscript{97}

This period also experienced black marketing in the town. In the post World War period also, life was seriously threatened by hoarding and black marketing. In 1919 a group of people had looted such places. The major market in the town, Valiyangadi experienced these unethical issues which might have doubled the pockets of many commercial agents in between 1914 -1918.\textsuperscript{98}

Being a colonial government which was alarmed by the threat of other capitalist countries, the British government paid little attention to the issues of the people in Indian towns and villages. In short, the life of the people became miserable day by day.

\textbf{4.1.10. Emden Fear}

Many words we use in our daily life today are inherited to us from the lived experiences of those who lived before us. Many of these words have become so integrated to our daily life though they are the constructs of dominances and subordinations. The word 'Emden' representing a big object of manufacturing fear in Malayalam is one among them. ‘Emden’ is a port city in western Germany and this city is remembered in the World today after the name of a ship which became a nightmare to the British forces during the First World War.\textsuperscript{99}

\textsuperscript{97} \textit{West Coast Spectator,} Calicut, September 21\textsuperscript{st} 1916, TSA.


\textsuperscript{99} \textit{Malayala Manorama,} September 21, 2014.
This war ship got the name ‘Emden’ as it was a result of the sponsorship made by the people of Emden in Germany. The Emden Ship was powered by ten canons that could turn 360 degrees and was with two big torpedo tubes. It also had an efficient wireless system that could smell the presence of faraway enemies in the sea. Emden became an asset of the German Navy in 1910.\textsuperscript{100}

When the First World War begun in 1914, the Emden was in the Quavchev point of China, Karl Von Muller, a German was the Captain of the ship. He was designated as one of the efficient officers of the Royal German Navy.\textsuperscript{101} The Emden declared its presence by sinking few British ships and it became a serious threat to the fortunes of the British forces in the water. Emden could soon make the British fearful by sinking any ship that came on its way and by capturing their wealth. It was for the first time the British supremacy in the ocean was being threatened.

All the land near the Indian Ocean was under the control of the British colonial regime during the time of the commencement of the World War. All oceans were generally dominated by Britain with the help of its advanced naval technology. This supremacy was challenged by Emden. As feared by the British in India, the German Warship SMS Emden lead by Captain Karl Von Muller and his crew of 330 members bombarded the city of Madras with 125 Shells on 14\textsuperscript{th} September 1914. A ship taking rest in the port also was sunk by the Emden.\textsuperscript{102} Shells thrown from the Emden destroyed the tanks of Burma Oil Company, two Crude Oil tankers, a railway wagon, the staff

\textsuperscript{101} Frontline Magazine, Sept. 5, 2014, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{102} Revenue Records, Bundle No. 204, Sl. No. 35, KSRAK.
quarters of the Madras Port Trust and the building of the Madras Sailing Club. The thickly populated areas of the Madras city like Binny Road, Pooumalli High Road, Vepperi, parts of the George Town, Royapuram and Nunkampakkam in the Madras city were attacked by the shells. The total loss was estimated by the British as high as 30,000 pounds. This was beyond the calculations of the colonial government in South India.

There were losses to human lives also due to the submarine attack. Five people were killed in the attack on September 14 and 26 people were wounded. The attack lasted for two hours and then Emden left the coast. At that time people could not identify the attacking ship or understand the Emden war. They only knew that a ship called Emden attacked them and there was no eye witness to the incident. The media reported the event only two days later as war time censorship was prevailing. This generated huge numbers of rumours in the urban space and thousands of people fled from the city. People feared that Emden could come back at any time. Soon it became a public talk that the Emden was someone which could attack anyone. In the daily life of the people in the coastal areas in Tamilnadu and Kerala, 'Emten' and 'Emendan' were the terms used to refer to the Emden fear.

The ship began its journey from the coast of China and the Captain of the ship, Muller heard that the Japanese ships were in search of Emden in the water. Suddenly he pointed his ship in English ship colour, and also added one more Chimney to it to escape from the eyes of the searching ships. They also put a British flag on it. Thus, it began its journey through Japan Sea. When they saw a Japanese ship coming in their way, all persons

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104 Mathrubhumi, September 17, 2014.
in the ship came out and greeted the Japanese and wished for the victory of the British ruler in the War.  

When the threat of Japanese overcame, the navigator changed the colour of ship, and removed the added chimney from it. After a long period of hiding near the Java and Sumatra Islands, the ship entered the Bay of Bengal. Muller had received up to date information about the ships sailing through the seas, through the telegraph.

In the Bay of Bengal, Emden captured six ships and travelers of these ships were transferred to one ship and remaining five ships were drowned in the sea. Muller is said to have showed concern about these people and they were taken to the Hugli River in Bengal and then the Emden continued its journey. A coal ship of Germany named Marcomanies was moving along with Emden. Within two hours from the Hugli River, the Emden captured a British commercial ship after shifting its people to Marcomanies.

The Emden suddenly reached Madras and started firing. As a result, a part of the post office building near the harbour was completely damaged. Subsequently, the kerosene pond near it got fire and the fire spread to nearby buildings. At this time, firing started against Emden from the Madras

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106 Emden was a German Submarine which became a serious threat for Indians also, after Madras was bombarded, many ships sank and lot of destruction was caused. This news gave rise to terror among the citizens. See P. Narayanan Nair, *Aranoottandiloode* (mal.), Kerala Sahithya Academy: Trissur, 1999, p. 32.
107 Emden was the first German ship which was competent of giving is powerful competition and threat to the British Navy and 20 British commercial ships were destroyed by it. See E. Sreedharan, K.P. Devadas (ed.,), *Loka Charithram* (mal.), Part. II, State Institute of Languages, Thiruvananthapuram, 2007, p. 367.
Port. When the firing started the lights of Emden were turned off in order to escape from the enemies and journeyed towards the South.\textsuperscript{108}

Emden reached Pondicherry on the same night. It did not do any attack there when they moved more further southwards, Emden got information about a Japanese ship, Chikama, was nearby in search of Emden. Then Emden changed its way by surrounding Ceylon and reached the Indian Ocean. On the way, the Emden captured two commercial ships in the sea.\textsuperscript{109}

Muller, the Captain is said to have showed concern towards his prisoners. By the 27\textsuperscript{th} August 1914, Emden reached up to the Lakshadweep Islands in the Arabian Sea and it captured four more ships. People and articles in those ships were transferred into one ship and the remaining three ships were drowned in the sea.\textsuperscript{110} The prisoners of the commercial ships were also shifted to this ship. The ship was taken to the port of Colombo and Emden continued its journey.

Between October 15, and 18, the Emden captured eight ships from somewhere near Minicoy and occupied its food articles and people of these ship were taken to a ship named Egbert and other five ships were

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\textsuperscript{108} The major incident on the night of 22 September 1914 was damage caused by the shells of the German Cruiser 'Emden' in Madras port. It caused a slight damage, but it created so much of panic and rumors among the people (N. Magani Devi, M.A. Dissertation \textit{Madras city during First World War}, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai, 2007, p. 6).

\textsuperscript{109} 'Emden' which was a German ship, sank many ships in the in the Indian Sea and attacked the Madras city directly during the First World War. In memory of the attack on the Madras High Court building an engraving is placed where the bullets were fired. See B. Madhava Menon, \textit{Europile Yathrakal}, (mal.), Mathrubumi: Kozhikode, 1988, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{110} Emden was sighted twice in the Arabian sea, in defense of the German Emden, the British had detailed one whole unit of their navy consisting many ships. See P. K. B. Nair, \textit{Vismarikapetta Viplavakari: Dr. Chempaka RamanPillai} (mal.), Mangalodayam, Trichur, pp. 84-167.
\end{flushleft}
destroyed. 111 Egbert was taken to Cochin Port and Emden continued its journey with the remaining one ship. Emden again reached Eastern Sea and at that time Frank Muller came to know about the news of a Russian ship nearby. This ship was sailing in the sea to capture Emden. Franc Muller once again gave British colour to his ship and added on more chimneys to it. By this time the Emden destroyed the Russian ship by using Torpedo. A French ship which came to help the Russian ship was also destroyed. 112 Even though eighty five people died on other side, Emden escaped the life of two hundred and fifty people.

These cruel activities of Emden created a fear in the minds of people. People living in coastal areas feared that they might be attacked by the Emden at any point of time. It also led to decline of sea born trade in India, Burma and Ceylon. The price of goods shoted up due to this and it created problems in the daily life of the people. It also created a situation of deflation and famine. The attack of Emden in Madras was for a short time. Due to the fear of attack by Emden, people from Madras moved to nearby villages in groups and in order to transport these huge numbers of people, the railway company had to employ few more trains. 113 The Emden fear of townsman spread to the minds of people living in the country side. In all spheres, the people talked about Emden and the ways to escape from the attack of this monster ship. In this occasion, the Madras government continuously attempted to please the people. The governor of Madras

111 Emden had a special efficiency in smelling the enemy's posts. Britain, Australia, Russia, France and Japan embarked on a combined hint for the Emden. See Malayalam Manorama, September 21, 2014.

112 The allies in the War sent about sixty warships to search for the Emden in all the oceans. But Emden was famous for its strategic moves and it moved from the Pacific to the Arabian Sea without disturbing the search of the enemies.

rushed to the city and toured all places immediately after the Emden attack.\footnote{K. R. KrishnaPilla, *Europile Yudham*, (mal.), p. 51.} He also ordered to the police officers including the commissioner of the city that they must be always vigilant about the safety of the town. He also placed two huge ships which was much bigger than the Emden in the Madras Port. Gradually, the people who left the town because of Emden fear began to return to the town. Life in Madras reached to a peaceful state but thousands of people living on the coastal areas still lived in fear.

After travelling for one week in the Arabian Sea, the Emden again reached the Bay of Bengal on the eastern side of India near to the Andaman Island. There was a small island named 'Koko', where there was a telegraph office under the control of Britain. In November 1914, the Emden reached this island and began to destroy the telegraph office. An Australian ship named 'Sydney' was anchored not so far from the Emden. The navigator of Sydney heard about the attack of Emden in Koko Island and within two hours, the Sydney reached Koko Island and resisted the attack of Emden.\footnote{Eric Van Muller, a good strategist was the Captain of Emden. He sent more than 20 ships to safe places. The captured officers were treated well and were provided decent stay and food. They were also given a set of play cards too. This Prussian captain of 41 years of age could thus win the hearts of even his enemies. *Malayala Manorama*, September 21, 2014.} The Emden was destroyed by the attack of Sydney and more than 200 Germans were killed and thirty people were wounded in this attack. The remaining people were taken as prisoners by the British government.\footnote{The term Emden became popular among the languages of the South 'Emden' was used to refer to someone was brave and efficient not only that, after the destruction of Emden the family members of the crew on ship started adding the term Emden to their names. See B. Madhava Menon, *Europile Yathrakal* (mal.), Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode, 1998, p. 94.}
The Malayala Manorama which published the attack of Emden on 30 September 1914 wrote:

“the German Cruiser warship Emden, after causing much havoc in Madras, destroyed five more ships. One of the five ships was taking coal for a British navy ship. Four of the ships were sunk and the fifth was sent to land with people in all the five ships. All the five were British ships. A close relative of the German king is present in the Emden. He sent the men of the destroyed ships after felicitating them only. People are full of appreciation for the good manners of the crew of the Emden. One of the ships was caught at Gali near Ceylon in the evening of 25th September. The second ship was caught 200 Miles West of Colombo and the last ship was caught 150 kms away from Minicoy lying West-South of Kerala. It is hoped that it would be a British ship if anybody defeats Emden. (The Japanese are also out in search of the Emden). Somebody asked the Captain of Emden what he would do if some other warship get near the Emden and the answer was that Emden is not able to stand a sea war and thus if a strong enemy get nearby, it would run away like a devil. This is what our Madras correspondent telegraphed us just before the time to print the newspaper today.117

The natives of the Kozhikode town also feared the Emden. Records say that the shops at Valiyangadi used to close down before the fall of the night due to tis fear. Captains feared to start their ships from Kozhikode because of the Emden threat. News that the Emden had reached

117 Malayala Manorama, September 30 1914.
Lakshadweep Island doubled the fear. A news in the Mithavadi of C. Krishnan in 1914 said:

“On 29th November, the four British ships named Tymeric, Kinhland, Ribera, and Foyan are sunk near Minicoy islands. The two ships Graffiwel and Barasalare captured. An officer of Emden stated: The English will catch us. But we would run away like a devil.”\(^{118}\)

The Mithavadi reported the speech of Pentland, the Governor of Madras, in the Government House:

“To search for the Emden in the Bay of Bengal, in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific Ocean is to search for a pin lost in a basket of hay. Our ships are out in search for the Emden thus I believe that Emden will not come back to Madras. All the government officers shall return to Madras within two weeks. Britain, Russia, Japan and Austria jointly tried to defeat Emden. They were there to catch Emden at any cost.”\(^{119}\)

After the victorious journey of one hundred and twenty days, the Emden fell on 9th November 1914. The Emden reached Keksoe Islands in Indian Ocean in order to destroy the British Radio Station located there and was destroyed by the bigger and more powerful Australian Warship ‘HMAS Sydney’. It was the fourth funnel added by the Emden to disguise itself as Yarvoth proved fatal to Emden as it helped the Sydney to identify the ship.\(^{120}\)

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\(^{118}\) T. B. Seluraj, Kozhikodinte Paithrukam (mal.), Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode, 2011, p. 159.

\(^{119}\) Ibid., p. 159.

\(^{120}\) Mathrubhumi Supplement, July 2014, p. 33.
The right hand lieutenant of Captain Muller was a Malayali; Chempaka Raman Pillai.\textsuperscript{121} There is a story that tells that the Co-Captain of Ship Emden knew Tamil and he had spoken to a fisherman whom he met at the shore that he was a native of Travancore and had joined German Navy in order to defeat the British Army. There is a chance that the Emden Ship, which was a nightmare of the British Navy during its life tenure of four months, had got the service of Chempaka Raman Pillai. Chempaka Raman had such an influence on the German government during this time. He had made use of all the possible ways to defeat the British force. It is said that Chempaka Raman was the co-captain of the submarine ship named Emden.\textsuperscript{122} During the War he had written in \textit{Pro-India}:

“A movement that can wipe out the British rule had emerged in India. During the last ten years it had accumulated its maximum strength. Millions of young men are there behind the movement. And a lot of martyrs and fighters have been born from it. A lot of efficient and altruistic leaders are there in it. If the Movement is a success within no time Britain is going to lose India. It will create a great commotion in the field of politics and the boarders will be changed. The Empire of Great Britain will become a memory. New Movements and powers will be born”.\textsuperscript{123}

Fascinated by the intelligence of Chempaka Raman, the Kaiser of Germany had made Chempaka Raman a higher official in the German Army.

\textsuperscript{121} Chempaka Raman Pillai was a great patriot who courageously fought for the freedom of India and dedicated his life for the same. The slavery of India pained him a lot. That made him an anti-British and he worked in Germany. The government had declared a reward of 10,000 pounds to those who helped the arrest of Chempaka Raman Pillai. He died at the age of 42.

\textsuperscript{122} P. K. B. Nair, \textit{Chempaka Raman Pillai (mal.)}, Mangalodayam, 1967, p. 85.

\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 86.
By commanding Emden, the fear factor of British Navy, Chempaka Raman had smote blows on the British force many times. He formed a troop of volunteers out of the Indian soldiers imprisoned by the German army and he used it against the British force. But the British army defeated the new Indian troop formed by Chempaka Raman when it reached at the boarder of Turkey.\textsuperscript{124} 

This great cynosure who fought for the freedom of the motherland after reaching Germany escaped when Emden was captured. Then he managed to reach Germany, the German ruler, King Kaiser received him like a great hero. Until the transfer of power and the independence of India, he continued in Germany as a privileged person.\textsuperscript{125} The fall of Emden was a relief not only to the English but also to the people of Malabar. However the name of Emden echoed all through South India. It generated fear in Kerala too. In Tamil, Emden was known as Tamil Viruthan, means an efficient one. In Malayalam, it was known as Emakandan means a giant one who can defeat even Kala, the messenger of death.\textsuperscript{126} The people of Malabar had a tinge of respect towards this battle ship named Emden.\textsuperscript{127} Mothers of small kids used the name ‘Emden; to make their children eat and sleep. The word ‘Emden’ became a synonym of fear in Malayalam. The term is also used in


\textsuperscript{125} P. Ramachandran, \textit{Indian Desheeya Prasthanathile 15 Viplavakarikal} (mal.), Palakassery Publications: West Mundakkal, Kollam, 1990, pp. 6-8.

\textsuperscript{126} In his \textit{Jeevitha Samaram}, C. Kesavan writes that the word Emden influenced Malayalam literature. See C. Keshavan, \textit{Jeevitha Samaram} (mal.), Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-operative Limited, Kottayam, 1968, p. 221.

\textsuperscript{127} T. B. Seluraj, \textit{Kozhikodinte Paithrukam} (mal.), Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode, 2011, pp. 157-159.
the same meaning in other languages like Tamil, Malaya, and many other dialects even today.\textsuperscript{128}

4.2. National Movement in Malabar

The Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 to fight for the cause of nationalism. The influence of this national movement reached Malabar, very slowly. Many educated people and landlords participated in the annual meeting of the Indian National Congress. At the end of the nineteenth century itself the representatives from Kerala used to participate in the annual meetings.\textsuperscript{129} C. Sankaran Nair a Keralite had presided the thirteenth annual meeting that took place at Amaravathi. It did not make any progress of Congress activities in Kerala. In 1903, a meeting was held in Kozhikode presided by Vijayaraghavachari to plan the Malabar participation in the Congress movement.\textsuperscript{130} After the partition of Bengal in 1905, India witnessed revolutionary movements which had it impacts in Malabar too. C. Kunhirama Menon took the lead in starting organized activities of the Indian National Congress. The changed situation in the second decade of the twentieth century enhanced the enmity of the people towards British.\textsuperscript{131} The number of educated people attracted towards Indian nationalism also increased in Malabar. The result was the filtration of congress ideology through the print media among the reading public.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{128} Op.cit., p. 397.
\item \textsuperscript{129} Dr. K. Gopalankutty, ‘Malabarilai Deshiya Prasthanam’ in Dr. P. B. Salim, N. P. Hafis Muhammed (ed.), \textit{Malabar Paithrukavum Prathapavum} (mal.), Mathrubhumi: Kozhikode, 2011, p. 209.
\item \textsuperscript{130} K. Damodaran & C. Narayana Pillai, \textit{Keralathilai Swathantraya Samaram}, (mal.), Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1957, p. 9.
\item \textsuperscript{131} Ibid., pp. 9-10.
\end{itemize}
4.2.1. The Theosophical Society

Annie Besant reached India in 1893 to campaign for the Theosophical Society. She entered political activity by experiencing the inactiveness of Indian politics. The Congress party followed a policy of achieving sympathy of the British government. As an experienced political activist, Besant was not satisfied by the approach of the Indian National Congress. She argued that the right to vote and self-rule are to be won not by the mercy of the colonial government. Besant called to recapture the old glory of India by encouraging swadeshi and achieve a bright future for India. She became the President of the Indian National Congress in 1917.\textsuperscript{132} Besant’s involvement in the Congress activities were one of her many sided activity. Besant formulated groups in order to co-ordinate all political associations in India. She published newspaper called the \textit{New India} and a weekly named \textit{The Common Wheel} from Madras.\textsuperscript{133} The Home Rule League launched by Annie Besant aimed at the establishment of self-rule for the Indian people.

\textsuperscript{132} Britain and France had a good relation. Although Indian government was not interested in War, the government showed an interest to help Britain. Indian elites wanted to gain independence from Britain in return of assistance in the War. Meanwhile, Annie Besant and Tilak started a movement called the Home Rule. But Muslim League was not interested in imparting help to Britain. Maulana Abdul Kalam tried hard to bring Muslims and Hindus together. His newspaper \textit{Arhilan} had also spread this ideology. This had a large publicity among the Urdu speaking public. The Lucknow Pact was formed in the Lucknow Congress in 1916 in relation to this ideology. The first layout of the pact was passed in All India Congress Committee held in Allahabad under the chairmanship of Mothilal Nehru. He was also satisfied to bring both the divisions together. But Tilak was against this. He became a mere Hindu rationalist and he lost his nationalist attitude. The meetings held in Bombay in 1915 had made both Muslim League and Congress two different movements. Tilak’s Home Rule League began in April 1916 with the main aim as the independence of India. Annie Besant had formed All India Home Rule League. Indian independence was the aim of this too. Although Nehru involved in the activities of both the groups, he worked in alliance with Annie Besant. The speeches of Annie Besant inspired Nehru. See Maman Philip, \textit{Jawaharlal Nehru} (mal.), Deepam Book Club, Vennikulam, 1989, pp. 19-20.

As a result of the Home Rule movement, the idea of nationalism and swaraj entered in the small literate circles in Malabar. A branch of the movement was started in the Kozhikode city. The meeting of political groups including the Indian National Congress took place at Palakkad, Kozhikode, Tellichery and Vadakara from 1916. These activities in Malabar were limited to the lawyers, landlords and the literate middle class activists. These people were not full time politicians and they came to these conferences due to the special situation emerged due to the World War. The feudatories and lawyers financed these conferences due to their connection with the political groups involved in the movement. It is also important to say that the Swadeshi movement and the call for swaraj also influenced them. T M Nair started Justice against New India to represent the voice of the Dravidian people in South India. The anti-Brahmins expected the revival of Brahminical feudalism by the achievement of self-rule or swaraj. The result was the birth of a new political movement in south India called the Non-Brahmins movement under the leadership of T. M. Nair which stood against the Brahmins and the Indian National Congress. Pentland and his

136 The Non-Brahmins conducted a conference on 20th November, 1916 at the Victoria Public Hall in Madras. This conference was attended by thirty Non-Brahmin headers like C. Natesa Mudaliar, Secretary of the Madras Dravidian Association Etc. It brought together two well-known leaders T. M. Nair and P. Thyagaraja Chetti to form a Non-Brahmin Political action group. And the primary objective of this was the establishment of the South Indian Peoples Association and to publish newspapers in Tamil, English, Telugu to highlight the viewpoints of Non-Brahmins in the Madras Presidency. The conference proposed to establish a political association under the banner of the South Indian Liberal Federation and also started to start Justice. These people were against Annie Besant and they started to conduct propaganda against the Brahmin dominated political activity. See V. Murali, ‘M. C. Rajah and Non Brahmin Movement in Madras’ in D. Daniel (ed.,) Proceedings of the South Indian History Congress, Thanjavur, 2014, p. 133.
friends supported all their behind. All these actions were not strong enough to weaken the Home Rule movement.\textsuperscript{137}

The Russian Revolution of 1917 changed the history of the World. Though, it took a number of years to reach the voice of the revolution in other countries. The second Malabar District Political Conference was held in April 1917 at Kozhikode. This political conference was a turning point in the history of Malabar and it was a significant incident in the national movement in Kerala. Kozhikode was the administrative headquarters of the Malabar district of the Madras Presidency in colonial India. Modernity in the form of institutions like industries, film-railway companies, administrative mechanism, libraries, educational institutions, army movements, the work of the Basel Mission etc., were present in the city. The conference of 1917 took place at Kozhikode when the debate about the modern public sphere was taking place in India. The conference held at the town is to be read in this wider context.

The conference held in 1916 at Palakkad was the first political conference held in Kerala with a nationalist aim. The conference held in 1917 at Kozhikode was the second one in this series\textsuperscript{138}. These district conferences held in various places Malabar linked the people in Kerala with the political consciousness born in major cities in India.\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{137} Moyarath Sankaran, \textit{Indian National Congress} (mal.), Kerala Sahithya Academy, Thrissur, 2012, pp. 112-113.


\textsuperscript{139} In 1913, the Muslim league had argued for an autonomous government under the British rule. The Home Rule League, under Lokamanya Thilak and Annie Besant, had also advocated for such a requirement. But the government came to know that the Home Rule movement strengthened the nationalist spirit, Annie Besant was arrested in July 1916. As a reaction to this a protest meeting was held by the Congress at Kozhikode in August. See K. Balakrishna Kurup, \textit{Kozhikodinte Charithram: Mithukalum Yatharthyangalum} (mal.), \textit{Op.cit.}, p. 179.
The ideology of the Indian National Congress was first introduced among the people in Malabar through the publications like the *Kerala Pathrika* and *Kerala Sanchaari* as the Bharatha Mahajana Sabha. Chenkulathu Kunhi Rama Menon had attended the Congress conference held at Culcutta in 1886.\(^\text{140}\) Elites like T. Manavikraman, C Kunjirama Menon, and Rarichan Mooppan attended the conference held at Madras in 1887. When the Congress conference was held at Madras in 1894, Manava Vikrama Raja had presented a resolution against the interruption of the British government in the private property of the landlords of Malabar. A small Congress District Committee was active in Kozhikode from 1906. It was a committee of lawyers, landlords and other elites in the city.\(^\text{141}\) It is seen that a congress conference was held in Kozhikode in 1900 and was attended by Ananda Charlu. There are references to say that Bipan Chandra Pal visited Kozhikode in 1902 and his association with the Brahma Samajam workers in the town.\(^\text{142}\) The Luknow Conference held in 1899 decided to do propaganda to spread the Congress ideology all over India. A committee visited Kozhikode in 1904 under the leadership of P Vijayaragavachari. Thus, the congress activity was initiated in Kozhikode. Manjeri Iyer, Appu Nedungadi, C. Krishnan, K. P Raman Menon etc., became active in the movement in Kozhikode town. Later, K P Keshava Menon, K Kelappan, and K Madhavan Nair also joined the group.

When the Indian National Congress met at Madras in 1914, there was increased participation of the people from Malabar. Since the Madras Conference, there was close relationship between the Theosophical Society

and the Indian National Congress. Many theosophists under the leadership of Annie Besant, became active in the Indian National Congress. It was a landmark in the political history of India as the Theosophical Society had strong root all over India.\footnote{India demanded Home Rule as freedom was understood as the birth right of every nation. See Annie Besant, \textit{The Besant Spirit}, vol. IV, The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, 1939, p. 79.}

The \textit{swadeshi} movement, which began as a revolt against the Partition of Bengal made strong under currents all over India. Through the Theosophical Society and the Brahmah Samajam, the Indian National Congress also reached Kozhikode city. In the Congress meeting held in the Town Hall at Kozhikode in 1908, the usual Malayalam anthem that was sung in praise of the British raj had made a commotion among the members of the meeting. It was a symptom that shows a national spirit among the people.\footnote{\textit{West Coast Spectator}, November 11\textsuperscript{th} 1908, TSA.} It is also visible from the secondary records that, E Narayanan Nair also gave leadership in spreading the idea of nationalism through the Indian National Congress in Kozhikode in 1915. The Theosophical Society was active among the elites in the town since the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Blavatsky, H S Olcott, Annie Besant, visited the town to connect the city elites with the outside World.\footnote{In his ‘Ammayude Lokam Dukhamayam’ P. Sivadasan. P., is talking about Home Rule movement and Annie Besant. He says that she had played a prominent role in the Indian independence movement and she was even equated with Goddess Saraswathi by the people in Kerala. Along with this he is also discussing the entry of Brahmins in the Indian National Congress. Economic stability will be provided to the movement only with the participation of Brahmins in it. In short both British and Theosophical groups supported Brahmins for economic reasons. This was a strategic political movement. The Society campaigned for the British Ally and stood against German. All the above they spread that only supporting British will benefit Indians. (Dr.Sivadasan speech on the topic Ammayude Lokam Dukhamayam, in the UGC National Seminar, \textit{Marginalize and Mainstream: Problematising the Social History of Kerala}, Department of History, University of Calicut held on 24\textsuperscript{th} November 2015.}
The activities of Theosophy Society had begun in Kozhikode under the leadership of T Govinda Menon and Bamklasseri Ramunni Menon. The pioneers of Theosophy, H S Olcott and H P Blavatsky visited Kozhikode. H S Olcott mentions this in his autobiography *Old Diarly Leaves*. In 1889, the Arya Dharma Theosophical Society came into existence in Kozhikode under the leadership of T Govinda Menon.\(^{146}\) In 1902, the Shankaracharya Theosophical Society also came into existence in Kozhikode under the leadership Bamklasseri Ramunni Menon.\(^{147}\) The activities of the Theosophical Society attracted many in the town under the leadership of Hanumanda Rao, Sundara Rama Ayyar, and Manjeri Rama Iyer. This caused the spread of the idea that the decline of material life in India was due to British imperialism. The Theosophical Society established close connection between the landlords and the educated Brahmins in Malabar.\(^{148}\) The idea, Theosophy became present in the intellectual work of the elites in Malabar. During the time of the First World War, Annie Besant began to involve in Indian politics and it strengthened political consciousness in places like Kozhikode and Palakkad.

During this period, Annie Besant argued that H P Blavatsky and theosophical group has a curtail role in the spread of Congress ideologies among the public. These arguments became strong during the Congress conference held at Madras in 1914. It is to be noted that this was happening when the World War had begun to affect the life of the people in India.\(^{149}\)

\(^{148}\) The Theosophical Society was known by the name *Brahma Vidhya Sangham* in Malabar.
\(^{149}\) During the First World War, the British argued that the War was for bacward nations like India and the War will bring prosperity to the nation. In this situation, Annie Besant started the Home Rule League to demand self-rule for India. See C. K. Muhammed, *India Swanthaontryaythi Mumbum Pibum* (mal.), Guruvayurappan College Miscellany, 1954-55, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 66.
Annie Besant raised the slogan ‘Home Rule’ under the British rule. Thus, Kozhikode became the chief center of Home Rule activity in Malabar. The Annie Hall Theosophical Society, the city office of the Society in Kozhikode was inaugurated by Annie Besant on January 23, 1904. Annie Hall became the centre of the Malabar Home Rule League. This helped people like K P Kesava Menon, K. Raman Menon, Moyyarath Sankaran, M P Narayana Menon, Menjeri Rama Iyer etc., to involve in public activity in increased strength.

The first Malabar District Political Conference was held at Palakkad in 1916. It was chaired by Annie Besant and was coordinated by the landlords from different parts of Malabar. Lawyers, members of the Brahma Vidya Sangham, and landlords from Kochi and Travancore attended the Conference.

4.2.2. The Political Conference at Kozhikode

The Home Rule movement created political upheaval against the colonial rule all over the country and its reflections appeared in Malabar also. The discussion about the second session began after the conclusion of the Conference at Palakkad. At a meeting was conducted at Kozhikode to decide the venue and it was planned to conduct the second Malabar Political Conference at Kozhikode in 1917. A fifty member committee was elected for the conduct of the Conference.\footnote{A.K. Pillai, \textit{Congressum Keralavum}, (Mal.), D.C. Books, Kottayam, 1986, p.259-260.} This reception committee elected K. P. Raman Menon as the president and K. P. Keshava Menon, T. V. Sundarayyar, and P. Achuthan as secretaries. They decided to hold the Conference under the president ship of C P Ramaswami Aiyyar on 23\textsuperscript{rd} and 24\textsuperscript{th} April 1917.
The request of the committee to conduct the Conference at the Manachira Maidan in the city was rejected by the government. The activities of the Congress and the Home Rule Leage near the Hajur Office in the town was against the war time restrictions in the urban space. The exhibition of mass strength against the government in Kozhikode alarmed the colonial machinery. When the government rejected the demand, the committee decided to conduct the Conference in the Tennis Court of K P Raman Menon. Annie Besant was a special invitee in the Conference and hundreds of people waited near the railway station to receive her. Annie Besant and the President of the Committee were taken in grand procession along the Kozhikode Town from the railway station.\(^{151}\)

The Conference at Kozhikode was a fresh experience to the people in Kozhikode city. They saw educated people and elites attending the Conference and debating issues connected with the life of the people in India. The Conference was attended by thousands of people including 400 delegates. Official delegates and visitors were given separate tickets. Annie Besant, the Samoothiri raja, K. P. Raman Menon, C. P. Rana swami Aiyer etc., attended the meeting. The Conference debated their respect to the British king, the World War, administrative changes after the War, self-government for India, Arms Act, primary education, agrarian conflicts in Malabar etc.

Samoothiri, Kuthiravattath Kunhikuttan Thampuran and Rarichan Moopan, requested to C.P. Ramaswami Iyer to preside over the

\(^{151}\) The Home Rule Movement also spread in Malabar with the help of Congress. And their main policy is Self-Rule instead of freedom (Dr.Sivadasan, *Wagon Tragedy Kanal Vazhiyile Koottkuruthi*, (Mal.), Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam, Kottayam, 2015, p.33.)
Conference. In his speech, C.P. Ramaswami Aiyer spoke about the heritage of Kerala, the people, the need of India’s help to Britain, industrial development in India etc.

4.2.3. Proceedings of the Conference:

The Conference debated a resolution on the contribution of the people to the War Fund. M. P. Narayana Menon showed his opposition in passing this resolution. He stated his objection in giving money as War loan to the British without interest. Many delegates especially the young showed their discontent and joined with M. P. Narayana Menon. There was strong opposition to the stand of the youngsters and they stood with the government. The President was of the opinion that England was fighting the War for the well being of other small nations and not for their own benefit. Against the opposition of M. P. Narayana Menon, the resolution calling for support to Britain was passed with majority of votes. The Conference at Kozhikode witnessed the birth of a new generation of nationalists in Malabar. They became the heroes of the people and they opened the era of mass nationalism in Malabar. M. P. Narayana Menon argued that he was a well wisher of the king of England and his demand was interest for Indian money received in the form of War Fund by the British government. There was the demands of the landlords for increased membership in the Madras Legislature.

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152 The close Relation with Annie Besant had made Ramaswami Ayyer, a Strong Home Rule activist. See the West Coast Reformer, March 4, 1917, TSA).
154 Ibid., pp. 262-263.
the landlords and the middle class politicians to represent their demands in the public platform. Considering the request of king Rama Varma of Kadathunad, the Conference concluded with a decision to hold the next Conference at Thalassery in 1918.¹⁵⁶

The non-Brahmin group which became an active in South Indian politics considered the Conference at Kozhikode as a movement of the Tamil Brahmins and of the elites of the Pattar Community in Palakkad. They argued that Annie Besant and the Adayar group has nothing to do with the issues in the South Indian public sphere. C P Ramaswami Aiyer who spoke in the conference about the *grama sabha* in ancient Indian villages was interpreted as movement to restore the Brahmin raj in modern India.¹⁵⁷

The Conference at Kozhikode became a topic of discussion in the public sphere with the denial of the Mananchira ground. The British administration had banned public meetings in *Manachira* as war time restriction. The stand of the District administration increased the popularity of the Conference.¹⁵⁸ The conduct of the Conference in the Tennis Court of K P Raman Menon inspired the youth and the middle class intelligentsia in Malabar. Similar to the French Revolution of 1789, the Kozhikode Conference came to be called the Tennis Court Conference.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ *West Coast Spectator*, March 24, 1917, TSA.
¹⁵⁹ In France, the demands of the third estate composing of common men were opposed by the first and second estates. As a result, in June 1789, the representatives of the third estate declared themselves as the National Assembly of France. They took the oath in the Tennis Court in 1789. The French mob broke the Bastille Prison after the oath. This was the beginning of the revolution. See Garykates (ed.,), *The French Revolution, Recent Debates and New Controversies*, Routledge, New York, 2009, pp. 131-135.
One important change occurred during the Conference at Kozhikode was the propaganda activity of the summit.\textsuperscript{160} The activity spread political ideas into the lower strata of the society. The propaganda of the British officials in favour of the war had disturbed the civilian life. The Home Rule propaganda was parallel to the war campaigns of the British officials. The Brahma Vidhya Sangham which led the Home Rule agitation did the same type of propaganda in the city and rural sides. They distributed pamphlets and booklets among in the public space.\textsuperscript{161} Non-Brahmanism also became active by arguing that the Home Rule would lead to Brahminical hegemony again in the society. It was the time of the Dravidian movement launched by Dr. T. M. Nair in Tamil region. Nair argued that the Malabar District Conference held at Kozhikode was to restore Brahmin elitism in the society.\textsuperscript{162} He argued that the elites of the Pattar community of Brahmins and the aristocratic lawyers of Kozhikode are regulating the Malabar District Conference. The anti-Brahmin groups did not support the Conference. It was believed that the Manachira ground was denied to the Conference due to the interest of the non-Brahmins in Kozhikode.\textsuperscript{163} C. Krishnan, one of the leaders of the Thiyya community in Kozhikode also had the same opinion.\textsuperscript{164} The non-Brahmin activists argued that the Brahmins of Kozhikode is trying to Brahminize the Congress movement through the Home Rule propaganda and that is the reason they brought C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer to preside over the Conference. They even spread that these are the same Brahmins who drove away the non-Brahmins from the public and temple roads as untouchables.

\textsuperscript{160} Dr. Radhika C Nair (ed.), \textit{Kerala Charithrathile Avismarayeena Sambavangal} (mal.), D. C. Books, Kottayam, 2006, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{161} \textit{New India}, May 18, 1917, TSA.
\textsuperscript{162} \textit{West Coast Bulletin}, May 18, 1917, TSA.
\textsuperscript{163} \textit{Justice}, May 5, 1917, TSA.
\textsuperscript{164} \textit{Non Brahmin}, April 15, 1917, TSA
The caste system and un-touchability observed at the Tali Temple in Kozhikode was shown as the direct example. C. Karunakara Menon, a leading political activist was avoided from the Conference due to his non-Brahmin stand.

4.2.4. Emergence of New Leadership

The Malabar District Congress Committee was formed in 1916. K. P. Raman Menon who was a prominent lawyer at Kozhikode and K. P. Kesava Menon became the leaders of this committee. Kesava Menon was also the secretary of the Malabar District Home Rule League. Manjeri Rama Iyer was the president of the District Home Rule League movement. P.A. Kunhahamad was the Assistant secretary of the District Congress Committee and the Home Rule League. Thus, the Home Rule movement and the Indian National Congress joined together in Kozhikode which caused for the emergence of mass political consciousness in Malabar.

C. V. Narayana Menon called a meeting in the Town Hall at Kozhikode which was presided over by the Collector of Malabar, Evans. The leaders of the Home Rule League and Congress, K. Madhavan Nair Manjeri Rama Iyer and K. P. Kesava Menon were present there. Kavalappara Moopil Nair presented the subject of creating a War Fund which was to be handed over to the governor of Madras at the time of his visit to Kozhikode. Diwan Bahadur Kelu Eradi supported the statement. K. P. Kesava Menon who gave

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165 West Coast Reformer, March 10, 1917, TSA.
166 Non Brahmin, February 18, 1917, TSA.
a notice to protest against this resolution started to speak in Malayalam. The Collector who was presiding over the function barred him from speaking in Malayalam. But the audience wanted him to speak in Malayalam. As he was not allowed to speak in Malayalam, K. P. Kesava Menon along with his colleagues and a group of audience went out of the Hall. This incident created a great impact all over Malabar. A. Sreedhara Menon also pointed that, this incident happened under the leadership of K. P. Kesava Menon. K. Damodaran in his Keralathile Swathantrya Samaram also says that it took place under the leadership of K. P. Kesava Menon. After this incident, Annie Besant appreciated Kesava Menon for his courage.

There arguments that the protest incident in the meeting held at the Town Hall was led by M. P. Narayana Menon. According to E. M. S. Namboothiripad M. P. Narayana Menon was against the collection. This incident shows that young men and the growing middle class were not ready to obey the British ruler anymore. As a representative of the new middle class Narayana Menon protested against giving war debt to the British without interest. M P Narayana Menon tried to accommodate the concept of Hindu- Muslim unity as new ideal of the national movement.

172 K. Damodaran, Keralathilai Swathanthriya Samaram (mal.), Kerala Basha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1957, p. 10.
M. P. Narayana Menon became a noticeable personality of the government since that incident. This was the reason of his imprisonment in 1921.

The second Malabar District conference was held in Kozhikode in a period where the public spaces began to have discussions on a number of issues with a national spirit. The period began to realize that the government officials and public institution are for public service. A public agitation was raised against the exploitation of the government institutions by the British colonial system. The police, according to the debate were public servants. The Conference pointed out that the government system should be in the way that gives proper protection to the people. Moyyarathu Shankaran was an active delegate attending the Conference held at Kozhikode. He had pointed out that this Conference was held in a period when several secret agencies were appointed by the British administration in order to find out any movements that happens against the British administration.

The Conference launched a new culture of political activity which gave emphasis to the construction of the secular public sphere. The Conference held at Kozhikode became a model for the modern political activity in Kerala. The Pauran, which reported the Conference said:

“This kind of a Conference that brings the Indians together is exemplary. The involvement of leaders in the conference such as Annie Besant, His Excellence Zamorin of Kozhikode, C. P Ramaswamy Ayyer, K. P. Raman Menon and Rama Aiyer has to be praised.”

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176 Mathrubhumi, October 2, 1934.
177 West Coast Spectator, August 1, 1916, TSA.
The newspapers praised the Conference for the way in which the Conference was held. There was an inter-dining at the Annie Hall Theosophical Society in connection with the Conference. The young generation of political activists were inspired by this activity and they imitated it in the succeeding part of their political life. This conference also talked about the unity of tenants of the region in order to defend themselves from the cruelties of the landlords and warned a revolt against the feudal lords in the future. Though the newspapers like Yogakshemam supported the British government and feudal landlords, the second Malabar District Conference inaugurated political movement against feudalism and the British rule in Malabar.

4.2.5. The Public Space

The Conference also lit the lamp of direct political action in Kerala. It was connected with the opening of the public sphere irrespective of caste and creed. The liberal public sphere originated as a space for public interest minded critiquing debates between the society and the state. The newspapers, periodicals, radio and television are the media of the public sphere. Public sphere can be defined as a space to formulate public opinion in social life. It works with logical arguments carried out by citizens and the democratic communication formulated through face to face discussions, writings, periodicals, newspapers and other public media. The appearance of the public space was the character of the urban society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century India. Habermas assigns two forms to the Bourgeois public sphere – literate public sphere and political public sphere. Though such magazines explicitly address everybody they were

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practically read only by an educated elite community. The literate public sphere never addressed the uneducated and illiterate in the society. Instead, it consists only of Doctors, government Officers, Lawyers, Professors and Scholars. This is in contrast to the 'open to all' democratic notion that public sphere envisions. As a result of the spread of modern literacy and the ensuing changes in the public sphere, the social role of the educated class increased. By this time, the growth of newspapers from an ordinary information exchange medium to a medium for critical debates led to the inclusion of another huge population into the public sphere.\textsuperscript{181} Hebermas points out that tea shops, hair cutting saloons, libraries, factories and other such work places were the cultural centers that synchronized and transmitted different opinions and reverberations of the laymen class. He equated it with the coffee house culture at the time of English Renaissance.\textsuperscript{182} These elements present in the modern colonial society in Malabar especially at Kozhikode constructed public opinion in favour of change in social spaces. The newspapers of Kerala had played a prominent role in the renaissance and reformation of the people in the last half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries.\textsuperscript{183} In \textit{The Indian Document: The Indigenous Public Sphere}, C A Baily considers the unusual kind of communication system created in British India during the War, included different fables, spoken information, cocktails etc, as a strong public space. He opines that these kinds of gossips were the way of communication at a time when there were no print media.

\textsuperscript{181} Ibid., p. 1412.
\textsuperscript{183} Ibid., p. 47.
In the case of Kerala, the growth of public sphere was not unique in form. It developed as a partner of capitalism, enlightenment, and the emergence of middle class. During this period, Kerala witnessed two important problems, one was the emergence of a group of people as a part of colonial modernity and another one was the protest raised by the lower caste people against the oppression of the upper classes. These movements resulted in the formation of caste organizations like the Nair Service Society, Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam etc. In the middle of these, there were contradictions in the activities of the community and caste organizations.\textsuperscript{184} With the establishment of colonial system in Kerala, the public space encouraged by it became the space of social and political activity. These activities clubbed with the programmes of the capitalist groups in the market. The public space was the platform of exhibitions, demonstrations, gatherings, cinema shows, circus, carnivals, political meetings etc., played an important role in the formations of the public sphere.\textsuperscript{185}

4.2.6. The City: An Open Public Space

The city is a very important place of public activity in the capitalist society. It was the city that linked the public and the market in the presence of the state. The spaces meant for public interaction is a crucial part of the city life. New products and skills both by private and public agencies were exhibited in these spaces. The open ground in a city is guarded by the laws and regulations of the state attempted to regulate public interaction. This space was also used by the state to demonstrate its authority over the people. These spaces were a new development in the modern industrial

\textsuperscript{184} Interview with Dr. K. N. Ganesh, December 23\textsuperscript{rd} Monday, 201, at 10.30 am.

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid.
town and later it extended to all towns and cities. In the Indian colonial context, this open space was called the 'Maidanam'.

The city administration wanted to control the population where ever they assembled. Along with the growth of the city, the administrations became more sensitive about the maidanam. The importance of the maidanam in the city increased much more in the later nineteenth century when the city was recognised and refurbished with an increasing Victorian look. The maidanam became a breathing space and acted as a center of public activity and the site of hosting events for public entertainment and thus transforming it as an essential feature of the city of life.

The maidanam has another identity which is rather distinct. The natives identified the space with the European way of living and perceived the maidanam as a metaphor for British occupations. But as a significant number of natives imbibed English educations and culture, they also started making incursions into this space. Over the years, well-do-do sections also started enjoying the flavour of this open space. The maidanam became that place to be visited in the afternoon for a leisurely walk or a coach ride, for gawking at the sahibs and the memsahib or to watch the sahib's cricket play or football. The maidanam was the place where one would go for enjoying circus shows, bioscopes, do marvel at the launching of hot air balloons, etc.

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188 Ibid., p. 11.
4.2.7. The Manachira maidanam

The Manachira maidanam has a history. The history of public spaces is the history of the people who live around it and who use the space for different purposes. Any discussion on the urban development in Kerala is incomplete without a discussion on the maidanam.\(^{189}\)

Kozhikode's first serious move towards urbanisation happened in the later part of the seventeenth century after the English gained firm control over the town in 1793. The city of Kozhikode was a busy trading centre where people from all parts of the world. The palace of the Samoothiri was the centre of the town and the Tali Temple attracted people of higher castes to live around it. The market was also adjacent to the palace and the people involved in it lived away from the town as in the market itself because of the rule of caste restrictions.

The invasion of Mysorean army in the middle of the seventeenth century changed the entire structure and the palace also disappeared from the city. The people space sometimes appeared in the site where the palace stood was occupied by the Mysorean forces and they required facilities including Mosque and temporary shed for their daily activities. This side came to be called Palayam. The open space gradually developed into an arena of public activity in the town and people of all castes and religions were free to use it. The administrative requirements of the Mysorean forces necessitated the emergence of public offices, public station on Qarba etc, around the open space on Palayam. This was a major change in the social structure on Malabar. The social system emerged under the Mysorean rule.

\(^{189}\) The term Manamchira is related to Mana Vikraman, the ruler of Kozhikode. The pond that is situated near the maidanam connects the name of the place Manachira. The term Chira means Tank.
was totally different from the conventional system existed during the period of Samoothiri rule in Kozhikode and Malabar. New Public spaces began to emerge in Malabar which violated the traditional caste rules of Pre-Mysorean Malabar.

The defeat of Tipu Sulthan and the Srirangapatanam Treaty of 1792 enabled the East India Company to undertake the administration of Malabar. The whole Malabar region up to the boundary of Kochi was kept under the Bombay presidency in 1800 as a district. The East India Company, to undertake the administration of Malabar kept the whole Malabar region up to the boundary of Kochi under the Bombay presidency and later shifted to the Madras Presidency in 1800 as a separate District. The East India Company didn't discontinue administrative reforms implemented by the Mysorean rulers. But they permitted the expelled feudal forces to reoccupy their land ownership in a new style as the agents of the company. They selected Kozhikode as the centre of Malabar District administration and necessary offices were opened in the same place used by the Mysorean administrators in the city. Interestingly this was Palayam and the space around the newly developed public space which was called Mananchira maidanam.

The maidanam became a site of conflict during the national movement in different levels. If the British Government was using the space to demonstrate their imperial power in the form of military drills and parades, the capitalist forces intervened in the society by using the

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191 The Bank office, Asoka Hospital, Palayam Mosque, District Education Office Building, Training College, Washer men's Centre, Cinema theatre, Insurance Office, Mission church etc. were established around the Mananchira maidanam. These offices and buildings were the central pillars of the modern city of Kozhikode.
maidanam space for exhibitions. The camping of touring companies and cinema shows also influenced the people to shape their understanding of the society. The nationalist forces in Malabar began to concentrate their activities in Kozhikode as the headquarters of the Malabar District. The jurists, merchants, lawyers, clerks, teachers and journalists camped in the city to organize an effective movement against colonialism. This movement was also involved in propagating new ideas for social changes in the society. Thus, the new cultural and literary movement in Malabar also had its centre in the Kozhikode city.¹⁹²

A committee was constituted to monitor different activities in the maidanam. Evans, collector of Malabar decided to entrust the management of the maidanam with this committee. This was a crucial time for the government in Malabar as it was the peak time of the First World War. The colonial authorities were attempting to attract the elites in the society to help the government in War activities and regulating the masses. Thus, the public spaces began to become the sphere of increased political activity in India. This committee divided the space of the maidanam in the following way. Saturday for the police, Friday for cricket, Monday for medical schools and native schools, Tuesday and Thursday for "Early" closes club, Wednesday for Guruvayurappan College. As per the demand of the collector, the maidanam was to be cleared off for the police and Malabar rifles and this provision was also included in the agreement.¹⁹³

¹⁹² The Manachira maidanam developed as a full-fledged public space by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The maidanam became the space for several cultural and political events during this period. But the importance of Manachira maidanam increased when it became the site of political events.

The nineteenth century in Malabar was a period of nationalist and colonialist interventions. The public space and the public opinion confronted the heavy pressures of various interest groups. The public exhibitions and the print media actively engaged in the public space to intervene in the public opinion. The space of Manachira maidanam played an important role in the formation of public opinion in Malabar. The social life in all respects in the Kozhikode city was influenced by the events in the maidanam.\textsuperscript{194} The maidanam was a public sphere in social life where individuals could come together to freely discuss and identity social problems and through that discussion influence political action.\textsuperscript{195}

4.2.8. The Tali Road Agitation: A Model for Upcoming Movements

The accessibility of the public place to all sorts of people without the difference of caste or religion was the demand of the modern society. The Conference of 1917 at Kozhikode lit the lamp of agitation for opening the public space for all in Kerala. This is very significant in the history of Kerala as the society was regulated by rules of caste and untouchability. The misrabhojanam held during the Conference also demanded such a modern public space in Kerala. The attitude of the Colonial government towards the Conference and the proceedings forced the conduct of revolutionary activities like misrabojanam and a movement to open the approach road leading to the Tali Temple for the use of under privileged people in the city.

\textsuperscript{194} The maidanam is an open ground meant for the assemblage of people for various purposes including sport activities.

\textsuperscript{195} The public places like the grounds lost its importance which made the people in the city to opt beeches for leisure activities. This opened up a new beech culture in Kozhikode city life.
This was an important step to effect change in the political activity in Kerala.\textsuperscript{196}

The Theosophical Society, according to its declared objectives didn’t give importance to the caste system. The members of the conservative classes were not ready to accept the entry of the marginalised in the public areas such as railway stations, industries, schools, libraries and so on. The most important thing to be noted in the conference held in the Annie Hall Theosophical Society in 1917 was the \textit{pandibhojanam}. Members belonged to different castes and religions participated in the community meal during the Conference and it was a revolutionary movement in the history of Kerala. This Kozhikode model was repeated in many parts of Kerala after the incident. The \textit{pandibhojanam} held at Pallippuram in Kochi was known by the name \textit{misrabojana kalapam}.\textsuperscript{197} The movement which began in the Malabar District Conference at Kozhikode reached all over Kerala as an activity integrated to the political culture. The principle of Theosophy became practical through the Home Rule movement and it reflected in the Calicut Conference. The lower caste people were not allowed to walk along the roads adjacent to the Tali Temple in Kozhikode. The right to use public spaces without the distinctions of caste and class compelled the nationalist to speak for opening the approach road leading to the Tali temple to the

\textsuperscript{196} The word Tali comes from the word \textit{Thalam} (Levelled ground) or firm land. The \textit{taliiadirimar} (Military Commanders under the Perumals) resided here. It is well known in history that during the time of the perumal, there were four \textit{taliiadirimar} who were charged with the administration of the four part of Malabar. There are four important \textit{talikal} known even today in Malabar, one of which is the notable Raman Tali. (By a Research scholar, \textit{Place Names of the Kozhikode Municipality}, the Zamorin's College Annual, 1951-52,vol. XXIII, no. 1, p. 33.

untouchable classes.\textsuperscript{198} The freedom of the lower classes in public roads in Malabar was the most important subject of discussion in the Conference. In the Conference, a resolution was passed for granting freedom of travel to the untouchables in the public spaces.\textsuperscript{199}

The Indian National Congress and the Home Rule Movement prompted the higher caste people to support the resolution in support of Temple entry and freedom of travel. K. Madhavan Nair, Manjeri Rama Iyer, K. P. Keshava Menon and C. Krishnan violated the prohibition rules in front of the approach road of the Tali Temple at Kozhikode and attempted to make the Conference decision practical. It was the commencement of a social revolution in Malabar.

The hero of the ‘Tali incident’ was C Krishnan, the chief editor of \textit{Mithavathi}. The entry of the lower class people through the road in front of the Tali Temple at Kozhikode was banned by A. J Thoran, who was the Estate Manager of this property. The Samoothiri had entrusted the management of \textit{kovilakam} properties to the government.\textsuperscript{200} The \textit{Mithavathi} in its editorial published:

‘Discussions are being held to prohibit the entrance of Thiyya Community through the road in front of Thali Temple. The Estate Collector had written a letter to the police to get permission of prohibition from the Samoothiri. But the Superintend of Police replied that the police do not have a role in it as it is a public road.


\textsuperscript{199} The Indian National Congress in its history met contradictory experiences in dealing with the issues of caste and religion. See K. M. Bahavudeen, Kerala \textit{Samoohya Gatanamattanagal} (mal.), Olive Publications, Kozhikode, 2015, p. 124.

Reliable sources said that Collector of the District, Evans had also the same opinion. But the police officials had given the instruction to the subordinates not to ban mobility of the people through the road even to the people who belong to ‘Cherumakkal’ community. Thoran, the Manger and the Samoothiri decided to use this as a chance to implement the Act of Prohibition.  

Boards of prohibition were placed at both the ends of the Tali Road on 1st November, 1917. The board prohibited the mobility of the castes lower than the Thiyya community. The news spread all over the city. By consulting Manjeri Rama Iyer and C. Krishnan decided to break the Law of Prohibition on the same day. Both of them entered the Thali Road in Krishnan’s horse cart named ‘Governor’s Cart’. By giving them applause, a group of people followed them. C Krishnan spread tar on both the boards displayed in the road and threw it into the temple.

The Tali incident was a strong action taken against the prohibition of mobility of the lower class people and which gave strength to later movements. The act of C. Krishnan was a strong blow on the face of the Samoothiri and the British government. After breaking the law, the people of Thiyya Community had made a procession through the road for nearly two weeks. And they had a bath in the sacred pond of the Tali Temple. This pond

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201 Ibid.
202 A Board restricting the entrance of the untouchables was erected at the entrance of the road by A. J Thoran. As a reaction against this, C. Krishnan, Manjeri Rama Iyer, K. Madhavan Nair and K. P. Kesava Menon travelled through the road. See K. P. Kesava Menon, Samakaleenaraya Chila Keraleeyar (mal.), Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society Ltd, Kottayam, 1974, p.39.
was also prohibited to the untouchables. The most interesting thing is that a
group of Nair students had also followed the procession in support of the
untouchable classes.\textsuperscript{204} This shows that the Conference had generated a
secular public shere in Kozhikode under the leadership of the newly
educated middle class youth. The prohibition boards disappeared by the end
of November 1917 and it marked the beginning of a new renaissance
movement in Kerala.

A speech by Annie Besant at the Paran Hall on the untouchables and
the Political Conference in Kozhikode inspired the followers of Besant to
break laws. The criticism of the Non-Brahmins against the prohibition of the
Thiyya people in the Tali Road at Kozhikode was countered by the leaders of
the Conference. The Non-Brahmins had criticized the Brahmin
Theosophists for supporting the bureaucrats for ill-treating the Thiyya
people in Malabar especially by the prohibition at the Tali Road in
Kozhikode.\textsuperscript{205}

Theosophy had become popular among the educated young people in
Kozhikode under the leadership of K. Kelappan, E. B. Hill, a Theosophist and
the principal of the Samoothiri College, and Manjeri Rama Iyer. They wanted
to work against social inequality and the laws encouraging untouchability.
The youth supported these initiatives of the activists by the Kozhikode
Conference of 1917.\textsuperscript{206} In continuation of the progressive spirit, K.P. Raman
Menon presided over a conference at Kozhikode to oppose untouchability
and a resolution was passed in January 1919. Newspapers wrote about the

\textsuperscript{204} See K. R. Achuthan, \textit{C. Krishnan} (mal.), Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam,
\textsuperscript{205} \textit{Non-Brahmin}, Madras, April 21, 1917, TSA.
\textsuperscript{206} Kelappan Smaraka Grandha Prasathaka Samithi, \textit{Kelappan Smaraka Grandham}, (mal.),
Tali Road incident and supported progressive changes and modernity in Malabar. The *West Coast Spectator* of 3rd April 1917 reported the caste distinctions in Malabar. It wrote that:

"Thiyyas and other lower caste people can't go through the roads along the Tali Temple. But when they become Muhammed or Manual they can go through the same road. So they had impurity only when they belong to Hinduism."\(^{207}\)

Hinduism is based on toleration but in Kerala, we can't see this toleration, instead here we have a travesty of their toleration and a population supporting it. Tali is an important strange hold of Home Rule. The idea of Home Rule and New India influenced the brains of every people. We can see "Home Rule" and "Vande Matharam" written on the doors of houses.\(^{208}\)

The *Non-Brahmin* remarked that ‘Annie Besant was a real prophet and she expressed the view that the bureaucrats are afraid of Brahmins and it is right. The Malabar Congress Committee was transformed as a Home Rule body by the Brahmins of Kozhikode and they invited C.P. Ramaswamy Ayyar to preside over the Malabar Conference. This created fear for Brahmins as they did not allow Thiyyas to enter the king’s highway even though they shed their blood for the king and the Brahmins. But they saw even the very approach of Thiyyar was pollution.\(^{209}\) It claimed that the Brahmins were trying to protect their soul by flying away from the approach of the Thiyya. It called for treating other castes who see Thiyyar with

\(^{207}\) *West Coast Spectator*, Calicut, April 3rd, 1917, TSA.

\(^{208}\) *West Coast Spectator*, Calicut, April 3rd, 1917, TSA.

\(^{209}\) *Non-Brahmin*, Madras, April 15th, 1917, TSA.
contempt in equal contempt by the Thiyyar like Brahmins. It said that the Thiyyar must also seek the help of police man to keep out the Brahmin who approach a Thiyya temple. The Non Brahmin argued:

“It must be taken as challenge to protect the self-respect of the community and if it was not taken in serious they will continue as depressed classes’ the newspaper said. Let telegrams fly high, let the Thiyyas in Government services apply for leave and let a hundred of them, high and influential go to Mr. Gilman at Ootacamund and say that their scandal shall cease do not take this insults lying down. The Government is not to be guilty of setting up one class against another.”210

The Justice of 1st November 1917 stated under the heading "Right of way" to explain the right of all subjects belonging to all classes of his majesty to use roads maintained out of public funds in the Malabar District. According to Justice, the condemnation of certain classes of people as untouchable and unapproachable by superior caste has been a dominant feature of pre-British days.211 Some newspapers wanted to know whether the action of the Collector of Malabar had the sanction of the Madras government.212

The consciousness of entry in the public spaces without the distinctions of caste and class compelled the nationalists to speak for opening the Tali Road to the untouchable classes. During the Conference, social and political activists walked through the road in violation of the

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210 Ibid.
211 Justice, November 1st 1917, TSA.
212 Ibid.
restrictions and began a new movement for social change in Malabar. This kind of active political practice attracted many youth to the national movement after 1917. It was the first Civil Disobedience Movement in Kerala. The Conference held at Kozhikode in practice dealt certain issues which were disturbing the minds of the educated middle class and laid foundation for the making of modern Keralam in the later part of the Twentieth century.

4.2.9. Scout Movement and the First World War

One important activity which made the youth in Kozhikode active in public space was the Scout Movement. Even before the commencement the First World War the idea of Scout message was popular among the people due to the efforts of Theosophists. V. K. Krishna Menon, Manjeri Rama Iyer, etc. were the early leaders of this movement. They joined with the Scout Movement in Thiruvithamcore, Kochi, Allappuzha etc. In the opinion of Annie Besant, the aim of the Scout Movement was inculcation of patriotic feeling among the people of India as Sons and Daughters of India. It supported the British government by diverting the Indian youth from revolutionary activity and make them more loyal to the British.

The Scout Movement came to India in 1908 and several scout troops were started all over India among European and Anglo-Indian boys. The Baden-Powell association in India refused to admit Indian boys to scouting and the Indian nationalist leaders cautiously watched the activities of the

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Baden-Powell Scout Movement. The Indian realized that by introducing scouting in educational institutions the British were trying to establish the educational institutions as colonial institutions.\textsuperscript{215}

Baden Powell, the founder of Boy’s Scouts, had sent a letter to Annie Besant and said that it was not possible to establish units of scouts in India. The reason he pointed out was that there were not enough British officials to handle scouts in India. But she was not ready to go back from her venture. She fetched for some other way to fulfill her aim. Along with her fight for the Indian Independence she was also sacrificing her liberty to the land. She knew well that the British will try not to give independence in all the possible ways.\textsuperscript{216} All were sure of the thing that India will succeed in the fight for freedom. But when was India going to get freedom was the question.

The Scout movement argued that Indian people required adequate strength and discipline to become a free nation. The Scout movement believed that the space for superstitions was to be removed from the minds of Indian people. So through the scouts, Annie Besant planned to develop the sense of discipline and confidence in the minds of youth of India. Besant decided to start a unit by giving the young men proper training and guiding. Her target was students as she believed that the students of the time will be the citizens of the future. Annie Besant effectively used her oratory, administrative skill, spiritualism and Theosophy to spread the Scout


Movement among the Indian elite.\textsuperscript{217}

Annie Besant fought for opening the movement for the Indian youth and she was appointed as the Scouts Commissioner of India.\textsuperscript{218} V K Krishna Menon became active in public activity through the Scout Movement in Kozhikode. Annie Besant was very much impressed by the victory of Scout Movement in Madras that took place under the leadership of Krishna Menon. Besant authorized Krishna Menon to spread Scout work in Malabar by 1918. This enabled many to acquire training and become prominent in different walks of life.\textsuperscript{219} The Scout members actively helped the government to do propaganda of the War activities of the government.\textsuperscript{220} They also helped the authorities in War Fund activities.\textsuperscript{221} They sold War Stamps by conducting house to house visits in the rural and town areas.\textsuperscript{222} This was a propaganda activity undertaken by the government to ensure Indian support to the War. Annie Besant supported it to make India fit for Home Rule after the end of the War.\textsuperscript{223}

\textsuperscript{217} The Theosophical Society had given importance to the Scout Movement in order to create an obedient citizen group. It was possible to build up a group of obedient young men supporting the British government (Dr. P. Sivadasan’s speech entitled, Ammayude Lokam Dukhamayam, UGC National Seminar, Marginalized and Mainstream Problematising the Social History of Kerala, 24\textsuperscript{th} November, 2015, Department of History, University of Calicut.

\textsuperscript{218} I. K. K. Menon, Mahatmakal Mahalkrithikal (mal.), Kerala Sahithya Academy, Thrissur, 2007, pp. 9-11.


\textsuperscript{220} Kerala Sanchari, Calicut, March 14\textsuperscript{th} 1917, TSA.

\textsuperscript{221} Keralodayam, Thrissur, April 3\textsuperscript{rd} 1917, TSA.

\textsuperscript{222} Jaridah –i-Rozgar, Madras, March 30\textsuperscript{th} 1917, TSA.

\textsuperscript{223} The War and Our Duty said that the enemy may invade India with the help of Russians and it is our duty to help the British with more men and money. See Pratidwani, 1918, Thiruvananthapuram, TSA.
4.2.10. War Fund Stamp

In addition to the invitation of compulsory and voluntary contributions and recruitments, the colonial government undertook heavy propaganda to create pro British War propaganda in Malabar. The school children were used in large scale to do the propaganda work by instructing them to do the work of selling stamps and informal war duties. The British Government introduced the War Fund Stamp during the War. The rulers of the princely state also supported the British government and the War Fund stamps activities. They also introduced "War Fund Certificate and War Fund Medals. These medals and certificates inscribed the names of the donator and the amount donated to the War Fund. Those contributed 6 to 10 rupees was issued Nickal Medal and those contributed 11 to 120 rupees was given Silver Medal. To those who contributed 41 to 50 rupees was issued the Gold Medal.²²⁴

4.2.11. Observing Special Days

The War was informed in all towns and villages to collect fund for the government. This was the first attempt of the British government to attract the attention of the common people. One method used to attract the common masses and students was the observance of special days. Part of this, on 12th December 1917, the 'Our day' was celebrated in the Madras Presidency by the British government to ensure the participation of Indian people in the World War. It was celebrated to collect funds for the Red Cross work amongst the troops in Mesopotamia. A procession was held in the Kozhikode town with the portraits of the British King and Queen and Union Jack flags were carried in the processions headed by an elephant.

²²⁴ Kerala Pathrika, Calicut, March 12, 1917, TSA.
carrying the emblem of the Red Cross Society. The procession passed through the chief streets from the Huzur Office attended by many people. This procession was led by C. M. Rarichan Moopan, P. T. Raman etc. They sold miniature Union Jacks and collected money for the Red Cross Fund. There were student processions from different institutions in the town. Similarly there was a 'Our Day' celebration in the maidanam at Ernakulam. Our Day Flags and Button Holes were also sold in different parts of Malabar. A fair was also held in the maidanam to attract the people. There were a special functions in Thrissur, with the support of the government, students could collect an amount of 16,046 rupees to the War Fund. Thus, the War Fund collection was not an affair connected with the local people but was extended to all sorts of people in the urban and rural spaces.

4.2.12. Victory Celebration

The landlords and the people of all areas including Malabar decided to celebrate the victory of Britain in the First World War. The temples, churches and mosques were involved in it. The peace-celebration was a festival of all sections in the society. There was a special committee constituted in the Kozhikode Town for this celebration. Funds were raised for this purpose from Palakkad, Thalasseri and Chalappuram.

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225 All these activities were concentrated around public spaces and the Mananchira maidanam became a busy site of activity of various pressure groups.


227 Revenue Bundle No. 233, Sl. 21, KSRAK.
Rao Bahadur V Govindan, Assistant Director of Fisheries requested the collector to donate twenty four bags of rice to supply to the poor people of Thanur as part of the peace celebrations. It was decided to give full meal to poor people on this day. Miniature Union Jack Flags, Button Holes etc., were sold on the day of celebration. Various celebrations took place by the end of the War. E. Parameswaran Namboothiripad from Kurumuthur informed that he had received a letter regarding the peace proclamation rally to be held in Mananchira Ground on 1st December 1919. He pointed out that the people of Thaliparamba also wanted to celebrate the same and his presence was essential there. Vasudevan Namboodiri the ruler of Kadannamanna saluted the British King as 'Maharaja Manya Rajashree' and wrote about his plan to celebrate the British victory on 13th December 1919. He was planning to give food to three hundred school children and all poor children of the area. He also informed the plan of arranging a procession with the portraits of the British King and Queen on elephant backs. Rao Bhadur M. C. Krishnavarma Raja, M. C. Udayavarama Raja, Vallaba Raja, Thahsildar Venkitti Narayana Ayyer, C. Achutha Menon, Avunjikad Parameswaran Bhattathiripad, Cherumukku Namboodiri etc., decided to take part in the procession held at Mankada in Malabar. School children, teachers and the local people are said to have attended the procession to the Mankada kovilakam. These celebrations included competitions and games. In these meetings the patriotic song praising the British King was sung. It was called, Bhoopala Mangalam. The Secretary of the Yogakshema Sabha, Bhavadasan Namboodiri of Pulassery Mana at Kulakathur wrote a letter to the District Collector. This letter attested the loyalty of Yogakshema Sabha with the government. Rao Saheb A. L. Shiragavakar, Chairman of the Cochin Municipal Council wrote a letter to the Collect of Malabar. There were sweet
distributions and donation of special fund to help the returning soldiers in Malabar. Special prayers and ceremonies were arranged in the temples and mosques in connection with the celebration\textsuperscript{228}.

In short, the War touched the life of the people in every respect from 1914 to 1920. The tremor created by the War continued in the life of the people for a long time. The result was the response from the people in the form of involvement in political activity. Though it was limited to a small fragment of the middle class population, the ideological influence reached the lower strata of the city population.

\textsuperscript{228} Ibid.