HISTORICAL ATLAS OF MALABAR FROM 1800 TO 1956

A Minor Research Project (MRP) Report submitted to University Grants Commission (UGC)

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DECLARATION

I, Jineesh.P.S, do hereby declare that this Minor Research Project (MRP) entitled *Historical Atlas of Malabar from 1800 to 1956*, submitted to University Grants Commission (UGC), is a bonafide work carried out by me and no part of this work has been submitted earlier for the award of any degree, diploma, or any similar recognition or title.

Madappally, Jineesh.P.S
15-11-2015.
PREFACE

The Historical Atlas of Malabar from 1800 to 1956 is a Minor Research Project (MRP) undertaken by me with the financial backing of University Grants Commission (UGC). The theme was conceived during the course of a class room discussion with students on the landscape of Malabar. When certain students of post-graduate programme raised some relevant queries on the colonial legacy in India, I thought of taking up the presence of British Malabar as a case study to enquire into the ‘colonial making of India’. Malabar largely benefitted from its colonial masters over the period of time. She even provided necessary revenue for the sustenance of colonial state system. The unique colonial experience of Malabar re-shaped the history of land in the later years.

The present report is the outcome of a substantially long journey and in certain occasions there were slips and diversions. The report is delayed a lot for which I alone is responsible. Despite that there were a good number of people who provided help and support to me for making it in the present form. It was the University Grants Commission (UGC), New Delhi provided the necessary funds required for the present endeavour. I do acknowledge my sincere gratitude to them. In the preparation of the report, I received suggestions from Dr.K.N.Ganesh, Professor and former Head of the Department of History, University of
Calicut. I record to my heartfelt thanks to them. Dr. Ramdas and Prof. Abhilash Malayil, my friends at CKGM Govt. College, assisted and supported me during the times of confusion. My colleagues at the Department of History, Govt. College, Madappally are always do extend their backing and I thankfully remember all of them. My family members, Appa, Amma and all others supported me through the pursuits. My dearest and ‘constructive nuisances’- Samy and Poupee-were also there to make this as it is.
INTRODUCTION

Malabar had a unique colonial experience unlike other segments which made modern state of Kerala in 1956. Due to the direct control of the land by the British from Madras, the region had exhibited intense political activism and proactive towards progressive movements. Colonialism, at least in the case of Malabar, acted as an agency of cementing the landscape by a process of administrative integration. Their governmentality could not be confined to issuing orders of purely political nature. Instead most of the colonial state decisions had unforeseeable repercussions on the social fabric of the land. They were the agents of ‘a levelling process’, in which educational avenues were opened up for all.

In the initial years of British in Malabar they had concentrated in trading activities, as they did in other parts of the country. Their primary concern is to procure commercially important items from the land and export them to the European market. In order to store the locally collected items, they had built pandikasala-s and most of such buildings could be found in the coastal areas. It was due to the proximity to sea ports, from where the indigenous items were exported to the European markets. In order to maximise their gain they began to have plantations in Malabar. Such plantations were one the important areas of colonial
investment. Politically, they had to meet the challenges of Tipu Sultan in Malabar in the last decades of the 18th century. Similarly, the British presence had jeopardised the mercantile and colonial ambitions of the French. They too had resorted to check the political expansion of British. The French extended their backing to the Mysoreans. Tipu Sultan was known to have loved and appreciated the activities of the Jacobins. For that matter the British success in the Third Anglo-Mysore war and the Treaty of Srirangapattanam, which followed then, was crucial as it handed over politically united Malabar to them.

In 1792, as per the provisions of the Treaty of Srirangapatnam, the British established their domination over Malabar and it became a part of Bombay Presidency. In 1793, for administrative convenience they divided Malabar into northern and southern divisions with Tellicherry and Cherpulasserry as the headquarters respectively. Later on 21st May, 1800, Malabar was transferred from Bombay to Madras. Major Macleod became the first principal collector of Malabar and did take over charge on 1st October, 1801. From 1792 onwards the British had been engaged in the documentation of Malabar and the first of this series could be *The Joint Commissioners’ Report on Malabar (1792-93)*. The Joint Commissioners’ observations of Malabar underlined the segmented and divided nature of Malabar. The establishment of British political
authority over Malabar was significant as the region experienced several structural changes in the period followed.

As a preliminary to our study, the first chapter entitled as *Malabar: Landscape and People* is devoted to draw a structure of the plot and it is attempted to comprehend the landscape and people of Malabar. The physical features which shaped the habitual pattern in Malabar along with the various groups of people in the region are discussed in the chapter. The second chapter, ‘*Constructing* Malabar: A Case Study of Lt. Benjamin S Ward’ is meant to sketch how Lt. Benjamin Swain Ward could construct the landscape of Malabar through his *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*. It is resorted to understand the methodology by which Ward could construct Malabar like a sculptor. Historical Atlas of Malabar from 1800 to 1956, the third chapter, is an attempt to sketch the changes in social, economic, cultural, political landscape of Malabar during the period under discussion. The discussion is concentrated on the colonial classification of Malabar into nine taluks. The major changes occurred in Malabar during 1947 and 1956 are also detailed here. In the conclusion, it is stated that the colonial endeavours were instrumental in carving out the landscape of Malabar out of its obscurity. The colonial administration was instrumental in bringing changes in all walks of life spreaded over economic, cultural, political and social landscapes. The
same could not be continued, with its then vigour, by the rulers during the immediate period after the attainment of independence.

The major sources for present endeavour are largely the colonial records, especially the surveys and gazetteers prepared by the British officials. William Logan’s *Malabar*, C.A. Innes’ *Malabar Gazetteer*, Lt. Benjamin S Ward’s *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar* etc., are elaborately used for preparing about the colonial legacy on Malabar. They amply shed light on the life of people in Malabar. The settlement records kept at the Regional Archives, Kozhikode are also helpful to understand about the impact of colonialism in Malabar. The maps available in the website of Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) are also helpful in providing cartographic accounts of Malabar over the period of time.
CHAPTER I

MALABAR: LANDSCAPE AND PEOPLE

The region of Malabar has been undergone a long historic period of making and remaking. The term ‘Malabar’ had been used in multiple ways and the earliest references could be found in the travelogues of the Arabs. Later with the arrival of the Europeans the region became integrated to the global market and their administrative interventions determined the history and culture of Malabar. A sharp distinction could be visible in the history of Malabar by 1800, when it came under the direct rule of the British. Despite its diversified historical experiences, the landscape of Malabar did remain more or less intact. The attempt follow is to understand the geographical features of Malabar and how it determined the history of the region.

The origin of the word ‘Malabar’ could be ascribed to the travellers who visited the land even since the ancient time onwards. Cosmos Indicopleustes, the Egyptian merchant who believed to have visited the land during 522 AD-547 AD, used the word *Male* to call the land and it was a great emporium of trade. It was repeated with slight variations by the travellers up to twelfth century AD. The Arab travellers had the
credit of calling the land as *Malabar*. Al-Biruni was the first to call the land as Malabar. The later Arab travellers used words like *Minubar, Mulibar, Munibar* etc., to denote the land. The same term had been used by the Europeans who visited the land in the succeeding period. They used *Minubar, Minibar, Milibar, Mulibar, Melibar, Melibaria, Malabaria*, etc. These terms could be identified as the corrupted form of the word *Malabar* which was an outcome of the combination of Dravidian and Persian or terminologies. The term *Mala* is of Dravidian origin with having the meaning heap or hill or mountain. *Bar* is a Persian word bearing the meaning land or country and Arabic *Barr* meant a continent. The origin of the term Malabar was an outcome of the trans-marine contact maintained by the land and geographical features were of great role in naming the region. Eventually, Malabar became the land of hill and it is indicative to the geographic determinant of the region.

The location of the region of Malabar is also problematic. The Arab geographers had used the term to denote the land which existed from Goa to Cape Camorin, because, there are no evidences to Arabs’ knowledge about the high ranges of Kerala. They might have used the term to call a huge strip of land, from the Goan coast to Cape Camorin. The identification of Malabar with the northern districts of Kerala is of

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1 M.T.Narayanan, *Agrarian Relations in Late Medieval Malabar*, Northern Book Centre, New Delhi, 2003, p.xvi
Colonial origin. The British, who assumed the control over the region with 1792, incorporated the land with Madras Presidency. In their records they marked the boundaries of Malabar in a clear manner. They record South Canara in the north, Coorg, Mysore, Nilgiris and Coimbatore in the east, Kochi in the south and Arabian Sea in the West. The most notable aspects of the tract of land are the Western Ghats and Arabian Sea. The name of the region could be assigned to its proximity to the Western Ghats or Malai. Under the British, Malabar was divided into nine taluks of Chirakkal, Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Calicut, Wynad, Ernad, Valluvanad, Ponnani and Palakkad.

The geographical features of a region are intrinsically related to the making of its history and culture. In the case of Malabar, the Western Ghats did play a leading role in shaping its distinctiveness from rest of the regions. The Western Ghats run parallel with the coast from the extreme north of the region. The Western Ghats are rich with great variety of fauna and flora. Along with that, there are certain peaks in the Western Ghats at Malabar and they include Mukurti Peak (8380 feet), Nilgiri Peak (8118 feet, Gulikal hill (8096 feet) Anginda Peak (7828 feet), Vavul Mala (7677 feet) and Vellari Mala (7677 feet). Along with these

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hills, there are certain outlying hills. The most important among them are: Pranakkod (1792 feet), Ananga Mala (1298 feet), Pandualur Hill (1533 feet), Urot Mala (1533 feet), Ezhimala (720 feet). The historical significance of these peaks and hill lies on the fact that they housed several ruling groups. Along with that, several tribal groups dwelled in these places. Further, certain rivers and rivulets originated from these hills. In that sense, they had determined the course of the history of the region. The Western Ghats act as the barrier which prevents the easy entry of outsiders. But the passes of the Western Ghats like Palakkad gap, Thamarasseery Pass, Perambadi Pass etc., permitted the outsiders to access the land and shape the culture and history of the land.

The next crucial factor which shaped the culture and history of Malabar is the Arabian Sea and its coast. The western coastal line has roughly been measured at the length of nearly one hundred and fifty miles. The Arabian Sea prevented the easy entry of outsiders and historians say it as an ‘instrument to ensure the isolation of the mainland’\(^3\). But despite its isolating mission, the coastal region of Arabian Sea performed the role of ‘integrating agent’. The lengthy coastal line of Arabian Sea is connected with rivers and backwaters in the interiors. The littoral currents determined the inflow of water into

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the rivers and backwaters. They in turn created a littoral-riverine network of connectivity. From the time immemorial travellers and traders identified the region of Malabar and they even frequented the land. Several strategic locations like Ezhimala, could be found in the coastal line of Arabian Sea⁴. It would be right to say that the modes of isolation also made the integration possible.

The most notable aspect of the geography of Malabar is its river system. It consisted of rivers, backwaters and canals. The river system in Malabar was notable in respect of the connectivity and the trade carried out by using them⁵. They provided the easily accessible mode of conveyance and cargo transportation during the colonial period and before. Logan has noted that the river system in Malabar was “the easiest and cheapest and almost only means of communication in times when wheeled traffic and pack-bullock traffic was unknown”⁶. The important colonial centres of in Malabar had also been benefited from the river system of the region. Pre-British European powers like the Portuguese, the Dutch etc, did establish their domination in the riverine regions of the Kolathiris⁷. The same could be found in the case of the

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⁵ See Appendix I for details about major rivers in Malabar.
French who made Mahe as their headquarters. Thalassery was the prime centre of the British in Malabar.

A detailed description of the river system of Malabar is essential to understand their role in shaping the history and culture of the region. The northern most of the rivers in the British Malabar is the Nileswaram River, which is about forty seven miles long and most parts of the river remain in the South Canara. The river and the areas flooded by it did constitute the northern most part of the Kolathiri kingdom. The next important river in the northern part of Malabar is Ezhimala River. The river has a length of about thirty miles. It originates in the ghat mountains and loses itself in a number of creeks to the east and north-east of the mountain. The creeks convert the mount peninsula into an island due to tidal movements.

Taliparamba river is comparatively a less significant river in the region and it has 41 miles in length. The main branch of the river is navigable in all seasons. The river passes through Pazhayangadi, which means the ‘old bazzar’, and run in a course parallel to the sea. It finally meets the stronger current of the Valapattanam river. It has been noted that “a large tract of fertile garden land has been formed by the continuous action of the littoral currents damming up the mouth of this

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It could be argued that the commercial importance of Pazhayangadi could be assigned to the connectivity assured by this river. Valapattanam River is the most notable river in the north Malabar region. The river has three branches. The first branch is very famous due to the presence of the trading community of Muslims. This branch, indeed, joins the tidal part of the main stream and is itself navigable for country crafts and boats almost to the foot of the Ghat Mountains. The place has got a considerable number of Muslim populations with having a good number of mosques. The settlements records of Irikkur attest that the Muslims constitute the majority of the region and it could be due to the trading endeavours carried out by them. It is evident that the Muslims were benefitted from the trans-regional trade with Mysore and Coorg. At Iritti, the other two branches of the river meet. The lengths of these two branches have been noted as 32 and 28 miles. The River was of great commercial importance both to the indigenous ruling houses as well as to the Europeans and it could be evidenced in the form of forts built by them. In the south bank of the river at Valapattanam, for instance, Kolattiri had erected a fort. The fort believed to be designed by the Europeans as its architectural features do attest it. In the west at a place called Madakkara the British had built a fort and it was meant to

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protect the commercial interest of the English East India Company. It is a historical fact that the British did carry out their administration in India, primarily by centring on the forts. The primary settlements of the British in India like, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras did have forts for administration of the British settlements\(^\text{10}\).

Anjarakandy river has of prime importance in the region. The river, indeed, originates in the heavy forest land on the western face of Wynad ghat slopes. After having a course of 40 miles, the river divides into two branches and thus forms the island of Dharmapattanam or present Dharmadam at its junction with the Sea. The place Dharmadam has of great importance in the history of Malabar. At Anjarakandy, the British had made certain experimental works in crop cultivation. The British had started an experimental garden for the growth of various spices. The British even did propose a plan a factory at Dharmadam by giving up their settlement at Tellicherry\(^\text{11}\).

Another stream which played a significant role in the political history of Tellicherry is Tellicherry River and it was also alluded as Kodoli river. The river formed the boundary of the erstwhile French settlement of Pandakal. The river is measured as fourteen miles in length and it was


navigable to the country crafts. Mahe river was another important river in Malabar. Having originated from the dense forests of Wynad Ghats, the river falls into the sea at Mahe. One could reach up to Parakkadavu which is far about 20 KM.

Kotta river constitutes one of the important river in the region. The name Kotta river believed to have got due to the presence of a *kotta* (fort) of Kunhali Marakkar in the entrance to the Sea. The river originates from the Western Ghats and it has 46 miles length. It is navigable at all seasons for boats as far as Kuttiyadi. The river ensured the connectivity to a large tract land by various canals and rivulets. The Vadakara canal, made in 1843 connected to the commercial town of Vadakara. The same is being done by the Payyoli canal to Payyoli. At Payyoli the Kotta river is called as Akalapuzha. Elathur river is another important river in Malabar. It is 32 miles in length.

One of the most notable man-made canal in Malabar is Conolly canal. The canal was constructed by and under the directions of H V Conolly, the then Collector of Malabar and was completed in the year 1848. The Canal was 11.4 KM long and it connects Korapuzha river in the north and Kallai river in the south. The Canal was the brainchild of H.V.Conolly and it was visualised to provide an alternate route between commercially important Korapuzha and Kallai river. The British spent a
huge amount for the realisation of the Canal and Conolly had plans to extend it further. But the work was stalled, when he was killed by group of Muslims.

The Kallayi river is another significant stream in Malabar. The river has of prime importance to the timber industry emerged in the banks of it. Beypore river is one of the most notable river in Malabar. The two main branches of the river rise respectively in the Kunda mountains on the Nilgiri plateau and the other on the lower ranges of south-east Wynad. The two streams do unite in the midst of Nilambur, where the British established the famous teak plantation. After receiving several important feeders during its course, the river finally outlets into the Arabian Sea at Beypore. It is notable that Beypore was the old terminus of the Madras Railway south-west line. The Kadalundi river is united to the Beypore river by a creek and thus formed the island of Chaliyam. The Kadalundi river comes from the western slopes of the Nilgiri mountains and of the Silent Valley range. During monsoon season the navigation of country crafts could possible even up to Malappuram. The British made unsuccessful attempts to connect Kadalundi river with that of backwaters and creeks of the Ponnani River in the 1850s.

In terms of the length the Ponnani river is treated to be the longest of rivers which discharge water into the Arabian sea in Malabar. The main
stream is measured about 156 miles long and it has primarily three tributaries. The Ponnani canal with the backwaters of Velliyan kod and boat traffic is by these means possible from the railway at Tirur down to Trivandrum. The Velliyan kod and Chavakkad backwaters are of great importance in shaping the political and social life of the people in Malabar. Chettuvai River formed the natural boundary which demarcates the erstwhile British Malabar from the princely state of Kochi.

The region of Malabar has benefitted to have a good coastline. It is noted that “the seaboard of Malabar trends north-north-west by south-south-east throughout its length of 150 miles”\(^\text{12}\). The notable ports on the Malabar Coast are Valapattanam, Kannur, Thalassery, Mahe, Calicut, Ponnani etc. The littoral currents flow from south to north in the south-west monsoon and southwards at other times.

The foregone description is meant to show the wide network of river system spreaded across Malabar. The region was largely connected through the water networks and it has had great impact in shaping the history and culture of Malabar. From the aforesaid enumeration it is evident that the region has got good number of rivers and most of them do originate from the Western Ghats. A large terrain from the present district of Kasargod to Thrissur did include in the erstwhile division of

Malabar. The river system consisted of rivers, lakes, natural canals and artificial canals played a pivotal role in shaping the history of Malabar. The major habitation settlements in Malabar could be identified on the banks of these rivers. Several megalithic monuments have already been discovered. A number of megalithic burial sites have already been documented and reported from the northern part of Malabar. The path breaking discoveries in Malabar were made under the initiative of the British. William Logan excavated Megalithic monuments at Banglamotta paramba and Trichchambaram near Taliparamba in Kannur district and unearthed typical megalithic assemblages including pots and iron implements. Robert Sewell has furnished a taluk wise distribution list of Iron Age burials. This is the only available comprehensive list of the archaeological sites of Malabar. Most of

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14 P.J.Cherian (ed.), Op.cit., p., Pp 181-183 (see the drawings of the sepulchres between these pages)


16 Ibid., The list of Sewell is very much useful to conduct field research either for the relocation of the listed sites or for the discovery of new sites. Interestingly most of the sites found recently, are located in the adjacent or surrounding spots of the reported sites. For instance, a cluster of megaliths including umbrella stone, urn
these Iron Age settlements were on the banks of rivers. Along with that it is also noticeable that several centres of worship are located on the banks of rivers. During the colonial period these river network in Malabar ensured the connectivity even to the hinterlands and by which ensured the supply of spices needed in the European markets.

**Geological and Soil features**

European administrators and chroniclers did make detailed analysis of the soil types of Malabar with special emphasis on its geomorphological features. It is noted that “the plains of Malabar consist for the most part of a low laterite tableland”\(^\text{17}\). Except in the Ponnani, red loam is the most important type of soil. The soil types of the region did determine the nature of survival of the people. When the soil did not permit for cultivation, they resorted to do some other jobs. For instance, in the coastal region the alluvial deposits, inundated by the annual floods caused by the monsoon, was a mixture of river sand and silt. They are light sandy soil slightly impregnated with salt and are suited to coconut cultivation.

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\(^{17}\text{C.A.Innes, Op.Cit., p.9.}\)
Colonial records do show that most of the all taluks of Malabar with the exception of Ponnani, the chief soil type is loam\textsuperscript{18}. In the Kottayam taluk, for instance, loam constitutes 96.80, sand 2.73 and clay 1.85\textsuperscript{19}. This has continued more or less the same except Ponnani, where they are 39.89, 51.06 and 4.15 respectively. The loamy soils of the region are lateritic in their origin. Laterite when they are exposed to extreme weather rapidly disintegrates into component parts. The white or yellow clay in this soil has a fertile potential and they contain of iron and potash. Consequent to weather conditions like the monsoon the laterite parts are washed down and they did reach to the paddy fields from the hills. The fertility of the paddy fields in the surrounding areas of the hills is ensured by the annual rainfalls. In Malabar we could see garden crops like coconuts, areca nuts, jack fruits, mango etc. Spices like pepper, cardamom etc., are normally cultivated in the high ranges. It is evident that the soil types did determine the items of cultivation and it in turn the means of livelihood of the people in the area.

The analysis of geographical features alone will not be fruitful and further it would lead to geographic determinism. We should focus on geographic features in relation to human inhabitation. In the case of Malabar the caste values and other social practices did determine the

nature of human inhabitation. In such juncture a discussion on human
geography with emphasis on settlement pattern is of crucial importance.
In Malabar, as other parts of Kerala, social life was largely regulated by
the caste values. It could be evidenced in their habitation practice also.
The caste groups in service to the temples were lived as clusters and they
did not mingle with the people on a large scale. Those who engaged in
agriculture largely lived as inter-mingled with other caste groups. That
could be the most important aspect of the settlement pattern in Malabar.

**Human Geography and Settlement Pattern**

The district of Malabar under the British did show a settlement
pattern in which most of all religious communities had established their
habitation centres. As we stated in the outset of the chapter the
geographical features had been played a leading role in determining the
settlement pattern featured by the inter-mixing of various religious and
intra-religious groups. In this section an attempt is made to
understand the aspects of human settlement pattern in Malabar. It is
stated that “Malabar is the most densely populated districts in the
Madras Presidency, the average number of inhabitants to the sq.mile was
481, being exceeded only in the Tanjore district and being much above

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the average of the Presidency as a whole”\(^{21}\). The region has had mixed territories in terms of the density of population, as it had areas with having densely populated places like Ponnani taluk and least populated regions like Wynad. Barring the clusters of castes like Brahmins (agraharams-s) and Saliyas (theru-s), most of other caste and religious groups did dwell together. It is evident that Malabar exhibited a mixed culture and it was primarily due to the mixed population\(^ {22} \).

The human geography of Malabar would be pivotal importance as it is an indicator to the total culture of Malabar. The importance sources for looking at the human geography are the settlement registers and the census reports published from time to time. The census of 1901, for instance, records that 68 percent of the people were classified as Hindus, 30 percent as Muslims and 2 percent as Christians. The Settlement Reports of various desam-s do speak of the nature of property ownership in British Malabar. In the case of Malabar they further attest the property ownership of the people of the lower strata of the society. Malabar, like any other parts of Kerala, during the colonial period exhibited a museum of castes and religions.

The most notable dictum which ruled the social practices of people during colonial period was purity and pollution\textsuperscript{23}. It was strictly followed by the castes in Hindu religion. Inter-caste and intra-caste pollutions were practiced. It is noted that “every man considers himself polluted by the touch of one of a lower caste; and there are castes of low in the social scale which mutually convey pollution to each other\textsuperscript{24}”. The upper stratum of the society was consisted of the caste Hindus who had enjoyed control over the forms of social power like temples, land, state system etc. The Brahmins or \textit{Nambutiri-s} were in the top of the social hierarchy as they controlled the most of the land resources as the custodians of both \textit{dewaswam} and \textit{brahmaswam} lands. The \textit{Nambutiri-s} had usually performed \textit{pooja-s} and other ceremonial rituals in order to propitiate the almighty. The social power of the \textit{Nambutiri-s} was ensured their identity as the custodians of temple property and mirror images of the almighty. Their power was mediated through social practices.

They were sub-divided into various like \textit{Pattar-s}, \textit{Embrandiri-s}, \textit{Tamburakkal-s}, \textit{Adhyan-s}, \textit{Visishta Nambutiri-s}, \textit{Samanya Nambutiri-s} etc. The \textit{Pattar-s} were originally from the East Coast, but majority of them


settled in and around Palakkad. Most of the pattar families were well educated and had owned large tracts of lands. They lived in cluster like agrahara-s and it further provided corporate nature to their life. The Embrandiri-s had performed Hiranyagarbha and settled at Arathil, Cheruthazham, Pilathara and Chirakkal in the northern parts of Malabar\textsuperscript{25}. Tamburakkal-s were one of the important sub-caste among the Nambutiri-s of Malabar and the most notable one is Azhvanchery Tamburakkal. There were Ashtagrihattil Adhyan-s, believed to have the eight important Nambutiri tarawadu-s, in which four (Kalakkandam, Mathur, Melattur and Kulukkallur) were located in British Malabar. There were Visishta Nambuturi-s with having two groups called agni-hotris and Bhattatiris. The former was specialised in performing yagam-s and the latter did engage in the study of philosophy, logic etc. The term Samanya Nambutiri was an indicator to their social position. They were the lowest of the Brahmin or Nambutiri hierarchy and were called as “the Nambutiri proletariat\textsuperscript{26}”. Being the custodians of the temples and their property, the elites of the caste had enjoyed a respectable status, but the social condition of the lower groups like the Samanya Nambutiri-s was similar to that of the outcaste Hindus.

\textsuperscript{25} T.K. Gopal Panikkar, Malabar and its Folk, Asian Educational Society (Reprint), Madras, 1995, p.54.
The umbrella caste of *Ambalavasi*-s was constituted of petty temple services and their social prowess added due to the proximity to the temple. It consisted of *Pushpagan*-s, *Chakkiyar*-s, *Pothuval*-s, *Pisharodi*-s, *Variyar*-s *Marar*-s etc. They were mainly engaged in menial services to the temples ranging from providing flowers to the temples to the drum beaters of the temples. The *Pushpagan*-s, the etymology could be their relation to *pushpam* or flower, were entrusted to supply the necessary flower items for the temple ceremonies. They were also named as *Punambi*-s, *Nambissan*-s, *Pattarunni*-s or *Unni*-s. The female members of this group were called as *Pushpini*-s and they had officiated the *tali kettu* ceremony of the *Nair* girls. *Chakkiyar*-s were another group in the *ambalavasi*-s who engaged in the recitation of and commentary on the passages from the *Purana*-s and *Itihasa*-s. They performed *Chakkiyarkuthu* and the performance was exclusively done to amuse the elite castes. They resorted to link the current events with that of the past and by which a good quantity of social criticism was mediated though it. The temples had *Koothambalam*-s and the entry was restricted to the caste Hindus. *Pothuval*-s were another group in the *Ambalavasi*-s and they were divided into two as *Akapothuval* and *Purapothuval*. The *Akapothuval* perfumed in-temple services and the

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27 Biju Mathew, *Pilgrimage to Temple Heritage*, Ernakulam, 2013, p. 346
*Purapothuval* did the services outside the temple. The former escorted the idol when it carried in procession and the latter were drum beaters (*chendapothuval*-s).

The *Varier*-s were entrusted to sweep the temple premises. Their houses were called as Variyam and the womenfolk were called *Varassiar*-s. It is noted that this group was “perhaps the most progressive among the *Ambalavasi*-s, some of the members having received a Western education and entered the learned professions\(^{28}\). The *Marar*-s or *Marayar*-s were the drummers who beat a kind of drum called *pani* in the temples. The caste groups included in the umbrella caste of *Ambalavasisi*-s had enjoyed considerably a respected social position and it was primarily due to their affiliation with temples. Arguments have been proposed that they had enjoyed control over large tracts of lands received in lieu of their services to the local rulers\(^{29}\).

*Samanta*-s came next in the social structure and they were adorned the ruling groups. In Malabar *Samanta*-s included groups like *Nambiar*-s, *Unnitiri*-s, *Adiyodi*-s, *Eradi*-s, *Vallodi*-s etc. There were also *Nair*-s with the title of *Nambiyar*-s and *Adiyodi*-s. The members of this caste were the rulers of Calicut, Valluvanad etc. The nairs constituted the middle

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\(^{28}\) C.A.Innes, O.pcit.,p.113.

class in the Hindu society and they were largely venerated in the society. Nearly All nairs were concentrated in agriculture, and the upper sub-castes were soldiers in the service of the local Rajas and all of these were ‘caste Hindus’.

Thiyyas or Ezhavas constituted the next caste of importance in Malabar Hindu society. Though many of them were labourers, some engaged in small tenant cultivation. William Logan made a linguistic exercise to trace the etymology of Thiyyas or Ezhavas. To him ‘tiyar’ might be a corrupted form of *dwipar*, which means ‘islanders’. Similarly, Ezhavar might be from *simhalar*, or *sihalar* or, *cingalese*. He was hinting that Thiyyas might have come from Sri Lanka. In the caste hierarchy the artisan castes like blacksmiths, carpenters, kammalars, etc., enjoyed similar to that of the Thiyyas. They largely performed adjunct to agriculture. Astrologers, traditional physicians and launderers were ‘upper polluting castes’. Below them were the depressed castes, who form about fifteen percent of the Hindu population. They formed the primary producing class as they worked in

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31 Ibid., p. 411.
the field. Despite their work, they were denied of rights to use public roads and temples. They were ‘polluting’ castes.

In the pre-colonial and even during the initial years of colonialism, the settlement pattern in Kerala, of which Malabar was a part, was largely centred on temples. It has been explained in conjunction with the emergence and proliferation of caste identifies\textsuperscript{34}. It was alluded that most of the caste groups sprang up with having temple as the nucleus. It is evident that temple administrators and the servitude caste groups around it was the backbone of societal life in Malabar as other parts of Kerala. They normally lived as clusters, with the concentration of their own caste groups. Their settlement centres could normally be found in the vicinity of temples. They did not and could not mingle with the people who performed ‘non-scriptural’ professions. The servitude classes of the temple were normally venerated in the society.

Similarly, there was another world, rather a parallel universe, where we could see the ‘polluting classes’ did inhabit. They were denied rights for worship, travel on common roads etc. Even their presence or sight could and did pollute the caste people. They were not included in the temple documents or any other scriptures. They were, in a sense, people

beyond the scriptures or documents. They tilled the field and worked so hard. Despite their primary producing class identity, they were subjected for the exploitation of the caste Hindus. Social tensions were the norms of the period and the British had to take over such a society in Malabar. They were, primarily, a mercantile community, who thought of making use of the condition of Malabar for their enrichment. The chaotic and complex social condition in Malabar could not facilitate them in that end. They had to devise methodologies for conquering and taming the wild minds of Malabar. For that matter they had to study of land and people. They had to document and measure the land.

They used their intellectual and technical know-how to understand Malabar. Several colonial bureaucrats and ‘men in service’ devoted their time and effort in creating an ‘administrable Malabar’ with specified geographical limit and documentation. They used trigonometrical knowledge in constructing Malabar out of its obscurity. Though several scholar-bureaucrats devoted their effort for that matter, it was Lt. Benjamin Swain Ward, who stands aloof from the rest in constructing Malabar with the help of trigonometric and cartographic understanding. He stood as an epitome of that spirit.
CHAPTER II

‘CONSTRUCTING’ MALABAR: A CASE STUDY OF LT. BENJAMIN. S. WARD

British Colonialism had shown much interest in identifying the geographical distinctiveness of Malabar and such efforts, in effect, created the region of Malabar as a specified landscape out of the chaotic traditional understanding. Several colonial officers like C.A. Innes, F.B. Evans, William Logan, Lt. Peter E Conner, Lt. Benjamin Swain Ward etc., were some of the figures who had conducted extensive studies on and of Malabar. Out of these studies one of the most remarkable was that of Lt. Benjamin Swain Ward. He was a colonial surveyor who, indeed, surveyed the land of Malabar in July 1824 and the outcome of the survey came out under the title *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar* in 1906. Being a colonial bureaucrat, Lt. Benjamin Swain Ward was assigned the task of conducting the survey of the land of Malabar and his endeavours, at that direction, gave a specific identity to the land of Malabar in the political map of British Empire. The attempt follows is intended to examine the historical potential of the work *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar* and how it was instrumental in sustaining the colonial power in Malabar. In practical exercise he had used trigonometrical and cartographic understanding for ‘constructing’ Malabar out of its traditional chaotic and complex social life.
The knowledge/power analysis pragmatised by Michael Foucault and the notion of ‘investigative modality’ suggested by Bernard S Cohn are being used in the analysis of the texts authored by Lts. Ward and Conner. Michael Foucault has developed a thorough basis for his knowledge/power analysis. He believed in the intricate connection between knowledge and power. Foucault firmly upholds the view that power produces knowledge (and not simply encouraging it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations”¹. A close and serious examination of power manifestations across the world would reveal that power could be established only thorough the making of knowledge. We can argue that knowledge alone does not make power and it could be mediated through the society.

In the sustenance of the British colonialism in Malabar, the imperial masters had to develop a comprehensive knowledge about the landscape and the region for which they planned to integrate with the

‘global empire where sun never set’. Foucault postulates that the mechanisms of power have been accompanied by the production of effective instruments for the formation and accumulation of knowledge, methods of observation, techniques of registration, and research apparatuses of control\(^2\). In that sense we can argue that the knowledge/power analysis could be used for finding out the reason for which the colonial surveys and other methods of data collection had been carried out in Malabar.

We can find a dialectical relation between colonialism and knowledge production. It has been properly and nicely acknowledged by Nikolas B Dirks. He states that “colonial knowledge, both enabled conquest and was produced by it; in certain important ways, knowledge was what colonialism was all about”\(^3\). In the intentional changing of knowledge into power, the colonial state did several experiments. Their interventions could be found in fields like representations, certifications, documentations, investigations, writing histories etc., and each of them became tools to build the ‘colonial machine’. We would like to use the notion of ‘investigative modality’ of Bernard B Cohn to look at the


\(^3\) In his forward to Bernard S Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British In India*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996,p.IX,
method by which Lt. Benjamin Swain Ward collected data with regard to the regions constituted the modern state of Kerala, in general, and Malabar, in particular.

Bernard S Cohn, having influenced by the knowledge/power analysis of Foucault, suggested ‘investigative modality’ to indicate the gathering of data about the subjects and its transformation into power manifestation. He affirms that “an investigative modality includes the definition of a body of information that is needed, the procedures by which appropriate knowledge is gathered. Its ordering and classification, and then how it is transformed into usable forms such as published reports, statistical returns, histories, gazetteers, legal codes and encyclopaedia”.

For the study of the region of Malabar, Lt. Benjamin S Ward used surveying as a method and by which he gathered all information about the land and its people, which had been utilized by the colonial masters for framing their policies in the region. The following attempt is to understand the construction of knowledge about Malabar through surveying by Lt. Benjamin S Ward and how it was instrumental in sustaining the power of the British in the region.

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The arrival of Lt. Benjamin S Ward and surveying of the region of Malabar could not be analyzed isolation. It should be viewed as a part of the ‘expansion of Europe’ which started in the 15th century. In the expansion of European capitalism, the region of Malabar had great significance since the pioneer navigator Vasco Da Gama landed in the region. Since then the Europeans had been targeted the region and they frequently visited there. Hence, we believe that a segment is to be there to describe the important notices of historical significance on Malabar. However, the intention is not to conduct a stock taking of European notices about the region of Malabar. So we intend to have a section devoted to look at the important modern writers on Malabar.

However, our intention is not to present a comprehensive analysis of modern works done on Malabar. Since the description of Lt. Benjamin S Ward is largely concerned about the landscape and people of Malabar, we would like to make a categorical narration of important works done on the landscape of Malabar. The systematic study of Kerala’s landscape began from the 16th century onwards\(^5\). One of the important notices

belonged to our present framework is that of Ludovico de Varthema⁶, an Italian merchant who lived and traded a few years from Calicut. Another notable piece of writing related to the present exercise is done by Duarte Barbosa⁷. It is further noted that “Barbossa’s activities enabled him to travel far and wide in the Malabar region and his clear understanding of the territorial extent of Malabar is a result of his travels⁸”. It means that he could develop firsthand information about the region of Malabar as he travelled across Malabar. But his observations about the people of Malabar were jaundiced by religion. He described about the 18 castes and placed them in hierarchical order. But descriptions about them largely confined to their customs and occupations. His description has a defect since it does not mention to resource centres in the region.

Among the other Portuguese writers, Tom Pires gives the best account of the landscape of Malabar⁹. The arrival of the Dutch provided a new dimension to the documentation landscape in Kerala. Johan Nieuhof, who accompanied the Dutch commander Van Goens during

⁸ Ibid.,p.182.
⁹ Ibid.
1661-1662, gives a fuller description of the landscape\textsuperscript{10}. Unlike early travelers, he could distinguish between caste and religion. He treated the Hindus and Muslims as separate identities.\textsuperscript{11} The Portuguese remain economically and religiously motivated observers. But the Dutch perceived the Malabar Coast in terms of resources and commodities that could be purchased and transported. To the latter, the landscape was a business space.

The most important study on the landscape of Malabar was done by Francis Buchanan, who visited the land under the orders of Lord Wellesley during 1800-1801. K N Ganesh equates the study of Buchanan with that of ‘survey modality’ explained by Bernard S Cohn\textsuperscript{12}. Buchanan visited the region through the land route. In the measurement of land he did use the *parai-kandam* and tried to convert it into square kilometer. But it is noted that the values of forest lands were assessed not in terms of their ability to sustain the livelihood of a population that included tribal people, or their value in terms of the surplus collected by the landlords, but purely on the basis of the saleability and potential for


export a product\textsuperscript{13}. However, none of these writers could do justice to the task of documenting the land in terms of their geographical setting, resource concentration and habitual pattern. The relevance of Lt. Benjamin S Ward has to be assessed in this point of time.

As stated at the outset of the paper, the core emphasis of the present attempt is to look ‘architectural identity’ of Lt. Benjamin S Ward exhibited in the survey of Malabar started in 1824, which resulted in the creation of *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*. In the printed version, we can find the names of both Lt. Benjamin S Ward and Lt. Peter E Conner as the authors of the works. Hence, it is essential to have a description about its authors. Lt. Benjamin S Ward was born in 1786 and after his apprenticeship at the Observatory Survey School he was deputed to assist John Mather in the Mysore Survey in 1801. From October 1804 onwards he assisted Colin Mackenzie in many surveys and was promoted as Sub Assistant in 1805. He joined the XXIV Native Infantry and put in charge of Observatory Survey School in 1811. As an achievement of his painstaking works, Colin Mackenzie entrusted him the duty of the Survey of Travancore in 1816 which was completed in 1820. In 1824 he started the survey of Malabar. After the completion of

\textsuperscript{13} *Ibid.* pp.189-190.
surveys at Madurai and Trichnapally, he resigned from service. Soon he proceeded to South Africa, where he died in 1835 at the age of fifty.

In order to conduct the survey of both Travancore and Cochin, Lt. Benjamin S Ward was assisted by Lt. Peter Eyre Conner. He was born on 20th August, 1794 and did get training at the Madras Military Organization. In 1810s his experience as a surveyor got enriched since, he participated several leading surveys. In order to conduct the survey of Kalahasti-Tirupati, in 1810, he was directed to assist James Garling. He had also served in the Goa Survey during 1811. Due to his expertise and knowledge, once again he got the opportunity to associate with James Garling in the survey of Sonda district. Another notable survey carried out by Lt. Peter E Conner was that of Coorg. He joined Lt. Benjamin S Ward in the survey of Travancore on 22nd December, 1817. By the end of 1820, the Travancore survey was completed and Lt. Peter E Conner was transferred to Hyderabad. He died of cholera on 29th April, 1821.

We would like to state that confusion does persist with regard to the authorship of the work *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*. Generally, the names of both Lt. Benjamin S Ward and Lt. Peter E Conner are assigned as the authors of the work *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*. But we can see that, even though both of them belonged to the department of
the Surveyor General, the work was seemed to be authored singly by Lt. Benjamin S Ward. It is noted in the editor’s preface that in the available printed copy, the authorship is attributed to Lts. Benjamin S Ward and Peter E Conner. But on a verification of the facts and later records on the survey, it has to be concluded that this work was undertaken by Lt. Ward alone. The Malabar survey was started by Lt. Ward in July 1824. Lt. Conner was died on 29th April, 1821. Hence, it could not be said to be joint work of Lts. Benjamin S and Peter E Conner

In order to understand the methodology and the style of narration of Lt. Benjamin S Ward, it is essential to make a brief sketch of the two volumes of Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States apart from the work A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar. We can see that Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States written by Lts. Ward and Conner has made a significant contribution to the geographical and topological knowledge of Travancore and Cochin regions. The credit of the work lies in the fact that it was written at a time when the geographical knowledge was not developed as at present. In the history of Modern colonialism, we can see that surveys were conducted to meet the revenue, commercial and military demands of the colonizers. But the

works under present consideration, apart from being their status as colonial texts, they provide clear indications to the socio-economic life of the people in the regions.

*The Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States* (Vol.I) is notable on account of its description of the regions concerned. The work begins with a description of the name of the region. The authors do subscribe the Parasurama legend with regard to the formation of region\(^{15}\). Since their prime intention was to assess the extent of the region, they proceeded to document the width of the area. Special attention is given to the distribution of surface and it is being measured in square miles\(^{16}\). We can see exactness and accuracy in these descriptions and it could not be found elsewhere. Throughout the narration with regard to the extent and number of regions, the authors are very much concerned about the accuracy and we can find several instances for it\(^{17}\). It could be found in the description of details with regard to the persons who paid land taxes


\(^{16}\) *Ibid.*, p.3

\(^{17}\) The total area of the Travancore principality has been measured as 6,730\(^{3/4}\) Sq. Miles and it consists of 2,908 villages. *Ibid.*, pp.3-6.
and garden taxes\(^{18}\). While discussing the composition of the towns and principal places the authors make caste and religions as the classification categories. The places like Pandalam\(^{19}\), Mavelikeray\(^{20}\), Kaviyoor\(^{21}\) etc., were some of the important Nair dominating regions. The Brahmin concentration of the region of Vaikkom has been rightly acknowledged\(^{22}\). Similarly, the Christian domination and the churches in and around the area have been properly documented by them\(^{23}\). The places of worship of the Hindus have been referred as pagodas\(^{24}\). We can argue that the authors were highlighted the caste and religious orientation of the occidental regions and by which they cater to the colonial need of making a segmented society.

While describing the topography of the region, they gave pre-eminence to the sources of water in the region. A section is devoted to describe the rivers in the regional state of Travancore. The monsoon fed nature of rivers in the region has been noted by them. The description

\(^{18}\text{Ibid.}, pp.67-68.\)

\(^{19}\) Pandalam is mentioned as Pundalum. See \textit{Ibid.}, p.12.

\(^{20}\) Mavelikkara is referred as Mavelikeray. See \textit{Ibid.}.

\(^{21}\) The place of Kaviyoor is called as Kavioor.

\(^{22}\) The name of the region has been written as Vyekkum. \textit{Ibid.}, p.15.

\(^{23}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p.16.

\(^{24}\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp.10-18.
further included details with regard to the origin, extent, the cultural importance, the agricultural significance etc., of the rivers. In making the region water rich, the lakes do play a great role and it has been understood by them. A good piece of narration could be found on them. While identifying the region as one depended upon the control of water and irrigation systems, the authors share the view of Carl Wittfogel on Oriental Despotism\textsuperscript{25}. While explaining the natural features of the region, they speak about the abundance of the region in having a diversified forest. The involvement taken by the government in the administration of the forest resources, especially the timber has been noted\textsuperscript{26}. The government understood them as the sources for making money. In order to substantiate their data the authors have used tables showing details.

In the work we can find a section devoted to the treatment of agriculture. They show the primitive nature of agriculture by stating that “agriculture here is equally rude as in other parts of the peninsula”\textsuperscript{27}. The social base of the cultivating folk largely consisted of the Nairs with the exception of southern districts where the Vellalars engaged in


\textsuperscript{27}\textit{Ibid.},p.56.
agriculture\textsuperscript{28}. The fields were classified on the basis of the seed capacity and they referred to fields with two to three thousand purras of land\textsuperscript{29}. We can see that in certain occasions the ‘colonial bureaucrats’ within the writers overcome their personality as independent surveyors. Furthermore they had a clear idea about the land and its yield since it had high demand for fixing the land tenure. Hence we can argue that the surveyors were more concerned about the revenue of the empire.

However, in this work we can find certain points worthy of being mentioned. In certain occasions the judicious historian’s mind in them points to their limitations. For instance, the authors have no hesitation to say that they were unable to trace the successive steps that led to the war which took place in 1808\textsuperscript{30}. They were not attempted to make any hypothetical explanation to the political developments in 1808. Furthermore, the authors do have a modern outlook with regard to the position of women in the then society. They mention that the stature of women is inferior to that of their neighbours\textsuperscript{31}. It makes very clear that

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{29} Purras mentioned is equal to parrahs, a unit of grain measurement in traditional Kerala. \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Ibid.}, p.95.

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Ibid.}, p.122.
the authors had the ‘critical eye’ to look at the condition of women in that society.

A close study of work under consideration would reveal that there are certain methodological and factual errors committed by them. Methodologically, the authors were not much concerned about the language of the indigenous people. They did not make an attempt to paraphrase the Malayalam words into English. It might be due to the reason that, the work was written for the pragmatic purpose of understanding the Malayalam speaking people than to find out their meanings. For the authors, the local language seems to be a handicap in the proper understanding of the indigenous people. They also made certain factual errors which need to be explained. For instance, cherrikul is the designation given to those lands on the summit and slopes of hills that have been leased for cultivation\(^\text{32}\). But, the cherikkal lands refer to the lands kept and managed by the ruling houses or chiefs\(^\text{33}\). Another factual error committed by the authors is related to the identity of Kaniayans and Panans. They observe that “the kunneans and paunans are

\(^{32}\) Cherikkul refers to the Cherikkal lands in Kerala. \textit{Ibid.}, p.66.

merely divisions of the *Eelavar* tribe*"*34. But despite these limitations the authors could keep justice to the task of surveying. This work instead of dealing with the minutest details of the regional states of Travancore and Cochin, discusses the general features, both geographical and topological, of the two native states.

The next work under present consideration is the *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States* (Vol.II). The work has two parts, in which the first deals with the regional state of Travancore and the second is on the native state of Cochin. Unlike the first volume of the present work, this book largely deals with the specific details of the territorial divisions within the regional states of both Travancore and Cochin. The first part of the work contained descriptions about the eighteen districts or *Mandapathumvathukkal* in the regional state of Travancore which starts from Augusteshuer to Changanachairy35. The constraints of time and space do not allow us to detail all aspects of the districts mentioned in the text. We would like to present a general frame of description found


in the book. The narration of each district or *Mandapathumvathukkal* is fashioned in such a way with notes under various sub-headings, the name of the person who conducted the survey and a table showing the multi-dimensional aspects of the district.

The first part of the description starts with a note on the extent and boundary of the district. It states the location of the district with its boundaries. While stating the boundaries they were specific to the presence of geographical factors like sea\textsuperscript{36}, hills and mountains\textsuperscript{37}, and backwaters\textsuperscript{38}. Apart from that, specific mention is made to the nearby indigenous ruling houses. The description further makes indication to the extent of the district and it is being noted in square miles. The extent of the cultivable land, especially paddy and coconut cultivation, forest land, coastal region etc., is also referred. The historical importance of these notices lies in the fact that, they helped us to understand the extent of paddy cultivation during the period under discussion and the changes happened in the field of agriculture in the succeeding years.

Notes on the divisions and the subdivisions of the districts constitute the next item in the text. It refers to the internal divisions of


the districts in the regional state of Travancore and it has been attested by later historians\(^{39}\). They further refer to the capitals of each district, forts in the districts, market places, rivers, water reservoirs, mountains, hills, woods, cattle, animals, minerals, mines etc. It would be argue that they largely focused in the matters of economic importance in the regional state of Travancore, since it was of great relevance in the revenue generation and its administration.

The whole survey of the eighteen districts in the regional state of Travancore had been carried out by a team under the leadership of Lt. Benjamin S Ward and it is being indicated by his name with signature. In order to substantiate and to explain more lucidly they have given a table detailing all aspects of importance. The table contained details like the number of villages, estimated extent under paddy cultivation, population in square mile, number of houses, paddy fields with \textit{virippu} and \textit{mundakan}, number of \textit{puray kandums}, number of \textit{purayidams}\(^{40}\), number of garden holders, coconut, areca and jackfruit items under revenue to the government, toddy shops, number of agricultural implements,


\(^{40}\) From 9\textsuperscript{th} Century onwards we can find the notices of \textit{Purayidams} or house sites owned and occupied by individuals. For more information see M.R.Raghava Varier, \textit{Further Expansion of Agrarian Society: Socio- Economic Structure}, in P.J. Cherian (Ed.), \textit{Op.Cit.},p.82.
bullocks, cows and buffaloes, reservoirs and wells, religious buildings, public buildings etc. The second section of the table does contain details on Census which was mentioned as Chanashoomaree. Different heads of caste and religious importance have also been included in the table. and traditional caste hierarchy in Kerala with Brahmin at the top etc., are also incorporated in the table. The last inclusions in the list seem to be so interesting since, it include the total number of males and females in the regional state of Kochi.

The table given at the end of each section provides us enough space for interpretative exercises. The table does contain details with regard to quantity of houses in each villages and towns. A close examination of the data would compel us to conclude that density of population was decided by the agricultural production of the region and it had impact on other developments. For instance, Aulopolay in the Umbullapolay district had 3517 houses since the region consisted of 363343 coconut, areca and jack fruit trees under revenue to the Government and the region has 882 religious buildings. It makes quite evident that the agriculturally productivity was the basis of all

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41 Chanashoomaree is the equal word in Malayalam to indicate Census.


43 Ibid., p.179.
developments. Furthermore caste wise statistics of the inhabitants of the region is also given and the details gathered could be corroborated with Samuel Mateer’s Native Life in Travancore⁴⁴.

The second part of the *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States* (Vol.II) deals with the native state of Cochin. Unlike the region of Travancore, the Survey of Cochin was more due to effort of Peter E Conner. Out of the fourteen surveys mentioned in the work, nine were done by Peter E Conner. Furthermore in the table appended to the text, Peter E Conner added additional information on the location of villages marked in terms of their distance from the religious important places like churches, pagodas (temples) etc. It attests the importance given to religious centres by the colonial surveyors. From the foregone analysis we could find that a typical style of description was developed by them. They were much concerned about the extent and boundary of the regions they surveyed. Agricultural productivity of the region was another qualification for being studied a land. But the narration on human habitation, largely,

confined to religiously important places like pagodas (temples), churches etc. But exceptions could also be found45.

As stated elsewhere, an analysis of A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar46 would help us to substantiate the space of Lt. Benjamin S Ward not only as a colonial surveyor but also as a prodigy who could distinguish the identity of Malabar in the political and administrative landscape of India. Before proceeding, we would like to state a brief note on the region of Malabar, since it was essential for us in our present endeavour. The name Malabar has been alternatively assigned to the landscape of Kerala from the time of Cosmos Indicopleustus (6th Century AD). It is observed that the name is reminiscent of the word Malanadu which literally means ‘the hill country’47. But when it comes to the modern times, the name Malabar ascribed to denote the northern segment of the present Kerala state and its formation was essentially related to the campaigns of Tipu Sulthan. The treaties of Srirangapatam, after the defeat of Tipu Sulthan in the third edition of Anglo-Mysore conflict and signed on 22nd February and 18th March 1792, provisioned

to transfer the region of Malabar to the English\textsuperscript{48}. Consequently, on the basis of the recommendations of General Ambercromby, Governor of Bombay, two commissioners, Mr. Farmer and Major Dow were appointed to carry out administration in Malabar.

Since then, the region witnessed the gradual development of an administrative structure which initiated their active intervention in all aspects of life. In 1792 Jonathan Duncan and Charles Boddam were appointed as Joint Commissioners. On 30\textsuperscript{th} March 1793 the rule of the Superintendent came into being with two administrative divisions called northern and southern with headquarters at Tellicherry and Cherpulasserri respectively. In 1800 the control of Malabar was handed over to Madras from the Bombay presidency and Major Macleod became the first principal collector on 1\textsuperscript{st} October, 1801. The years followed witnessed several studies, enquiries and surveys meant to gather information about the people in the region as the colonial ruling house believed that it alone could make the empire eternal. The compilation of *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar* should be analyzed in this framework.

Several surveys and studies have been carried out in Malabar before the endeavours of Benjamin S Ward. So it is necessary note about

the surveys that preceded to that of *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*. The first planned survey of the English in the region of Malabar was carried out by Captain Reynolds who had accompanied Lt. Col. Hartley, who led the campaign against Tipu Sulthan. His intention was to prepare a map of Malabar to facilitate the anti-Tipu campaigns. He prepared a map of Malabar and made a *Survey of the Malabar Coast and Calicut Country*\(^4^9\). In 1792 John Johnson, of the Bombay Engineers Group, surveyed the boundaries of Malabar. Later in November 1792, Lt. George Lobey Emmitt of Bombay Infantry started a survey of Malabar with the assistance of Lt. Bryce Moncrieff and Lt. Charles Woodington of Bombay Engineers Group and the final report was published in July, 1793. His survey was named as the *Survey of the Northern Superintendency* and it included the details of Coorg, Wayanad and Mount Eli (Ezhimala) with the coast as far as Nileswaram. As a part of the survey they also prepared the maps of the northern and southern districts of the Malabar province. The experiences that Lt. Bryce Moncrieff had while assisting Lt. George Lobey Emmitt helped the authorities for being deputed him to conduct a survey of the Southern province of Malabar in October 1795. It is noted that the survey of Malabar from 1790 to 1823 by Lt. George Lobey Emmitt and Lt. Bryce

Moncrieff was inadequate in details and it did not provide a complete or reliable map of the Malabar region\textsuperscript{50}.

As stated at the outset of the paper, there is confusion with regard to the authorship of the work \textit{A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar} and indications are quite evident to the authorship of Lt. Benjamin S Ward. The survey was reported to be started in 1824, three years after the death of Lt. Peter E Conner. The time of the survey conducted also worth to be noted. Lt. Benjamin S Ward conducted the detailed survey of the land of Malabar in 1824 after the Kurichya revolt and, possibly, the survey had an intention to prevent the occurrences of such other ‘disturbances’ against the British empire in future. Lt. Benjamin S Ward begins the book by giving a general description of the province of Malabar. It is noted that “this province in the western coast of India extends from 10\textdegree{} 12’ to 12\textdegree{} 15’ north latitude and between the parallels of 75\textdegree{} 10’ and 76\textdegree{} 50’ East Longitude. The identification of Malabar in terms of its geographical positioning, i.e. latitudinal and longitudinal basis, could be found here and such a documentation of Malabar is unprecedented.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid.
The description proceeds by giving further details on the region of Malabar. It is stated that the region is divided into 18 Taluks or districts, containing 2,222 Deshoms\textsuperscript{51} or villages, few or none of them are compact, the houses being scattered on the skirts of the cultivation. We can see that in the description, the author does give importance to the locally used administrative terms like Desams and it makes clear that being a colonial bureaucrat the author is attempted to trespass into the traditional administrative terminology of Malabar. The knowledge about the traditional administrative system of Malabar, with its merits and demerits, would definitely help the British to exert their power more effectively on the people. The data were being collected through the modality of investigation.

In the narration, instead of stating ambiguous data, the author was inclined to give specific figures. For instance it is stated that ”by the census taken in 1827, the whole population amounted to 10,22,215 which gives 160 individuals to the square mile.....Its superficial area is 6262 square miles, 788 is estimated to be under rice cultivation and 120 square miles by extensive gardens”\textsuperscript{52}. The validity of the above reference


lies in the fact that exact details of demography and land utilization were given for the first time. It was to serve the colonial need to provide the real numerical strength of the people in the region. The details of the land utilization were to fix the revenue and such matters of administration.

Lt. Benjamin S Ward could not escape from the colonial project of segmentation in terms of casteism. The imperial writers were fond of identifying India as a nation made of religious, caste and such other fragmentary elements. The same idea is being shared by Partha Chatterjea in his *Nation and its Fragments*. In the narration of *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, the various caste groups were identified along with the centres of their habitation. The coastal towns were largely inhabited by Mopla merchants and Mookwars or fishermen and the principal towns or sea ports were Tellicherry, Calicut, Cannanore and

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Ponnany (Ponnani) inhabited by various castes\textsuperscript{56}. But we can see that the towns, being the cosmopolitan landscape, provided the conveniences of habitation to everyone irrespective of their caste position. The painstaking nature of the survey is evidenced when the author provides a lengthy description on the nature of paddy cultivation in the region.\textsuperscript{57}

While tracing the economic history of the region of Malabar during the late 18\textsuperscript{th} and early 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries we can rely on \textit{A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar}. The table given at the end of the description contains information related to the imports and exports two and from Calicut and Tellicherry. A table is also given to substantiate the volume of trade\textsuperscript{58}. An analysis of the table would reveal that both Calicut and Tellicherry maintained balance trade in favour of them. Furthermore, Tellicherry imported more than what did in Calicut. It might be due to the high concentration of English at Tellicherry than in Calicut. Further, Calicut ranked ahead of Tellicherry in exporting, since they could gather the exportable items from its interior regions. A note is also given about the climate of the region of Malabar. The ‘general description of the province


\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Ibid.}, p.3-4.

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.16-24.
of Malabar’ is concerned more about to explore the commercial potential of the region. The descriptions are designed or fashioned in such a way to cater the colonial aspirations of making use of the commercial potential of the region.

After the ‘general description of the province of Malabar’ the author provides a lengthy and nicely organized description on the fourteen taluks in Malabar. The description starts with the Kuvvoy\textsuperscript{59} taluk and ends with Chowkkad\textsuperscript{60} district. It is also structured in the same way as did in the Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States (Vol.II). The author explains about the geographical features (like mountains, hills, passes, soil types etc), conveniences for connectivity (like roads, canals etc.) and sources of water (like rivers, water reservoirs, tanks etc). In addition to that a lengthy table is appended at the end of each description and it does contain indication to the location of villages spread in a taluk or district. It is being given on the basis of their longitudinal and latitudinal positioning.

A reading of the narrations made in this text would convince us about the painstaking effort carried out by them to compile this work.

\textsuperscript{59} Kuvvoy indicates to present day Kavvayi in the present district of Kannur.

\textsuperscript{60} Chowkaad means Chavakkad in Thrissur district.
Descriptions on each point were prepared by giving due care and attention. The narration indeed provides a photographic image of the Malabar society during the period under discussion. Throughout the text, places were being located on the basis of their longitudinal and latitudinal positioning\textsuperscript{61}. While explaining places like capitals, markets and other important regions due importance is given to the habitation of religious and caste groups\textsuperscript{62}. The descriptions do help us to create a picture of Malabar with special emphasis on its landscape, trade routes etc., during the late 18\textsuperscript{th} and early 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries.

To conclude, the survey of Malabar conducted by Lt. Benjamin S Ward in 1824 has served the colonial purpose of knowing about the region to be ruled. The data were being collected by conducting surveys and investigations about the land and its people. The information collected about the land and people by means of investigative and survey modalities have been fed the colonial masters to frame their policies. Hence, we witness the transformation of knowledge into power. Furthermore, colonialism in its task of state building encourages the


\textsuperscript{62} \textit{Ibid.},p.41,p.61,p.82,p.100-101,pp.125-126,pp.146-147etc.
process of ‘otherisation’\textsuperscript{63} and it was carried out by the colonial machinery itself. The years that succeeded the period of Lt. Benjamin S Ward witnessed more direct rule of the colonial masters.

However, there were several points worthy to be applauded. Firstly, the description of the work did underline the effort that had been used for writing this book. The author had collected the information on all aspects of the society from the people themselves. Measurements about distances were taken directly by the survey party themselves. In addition to that he had talked to the indigenous people in their languages and it is evidenced in the increased use of Malayalam words in the text. The present work may be called as the first one which effectively and scientifically used the longitudinal and latitudinal descriptions of places. The work, indeed, is an attempt to construct the region or landscape of Malabar, which has been thematised for several unscientific and ahistorical explanations and expressions earlier. We argue that the credit of making Malabar out of the traditional notices definitely lies with

Lt. Benjamin S Ward. Furthermore, we can also see that many works on the region of Malabar in the late 19th century have done on the model explored by Lt. Ward in *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*. An artist who can draw according to the description of Lt. Benjamin S Ward could definitely re-enact the regional landscape of Malabar during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.
CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF MALABAR FROM 1800 TO 1956

The term ‘Malabar’ has been used in different ways to express the locality, the culture, and even historical developments. ‘Malabar coast’, in historical contexts, is in current to express the land stretched from Goa to Cape Camorin. Such a narration is oftenly misleading in the present context. ‘Malabar’ in the case of Kerala is used to denote Malabar district as part of the Madras Presidency and a detailed discussion has already been undertaken. The British ascertained the political control of Malabar in 1792 as a consequence of the Third Anglo-Mysore War. The credit for making Malabar as a politically unified segment could be vested with Tipu Sultan. Much before the British assumption of political control over Malabar, several English business men and explorers had been maintained and monopolised lucrative easterly trade. The British political control over Malabar could be seen as an extension of British mercantilism coupled with political ambitions. Under the British, there were nine taluks in Malabar as the political divisions despite several other micro-political units prior to it. Chirakkal, Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Calicut, Eranad, Ponnani, Valluvanad, Palakkad and Wynad were the nine taluks in Colonial Malabar.

1 C.K.Kareem, Kerala under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, Kerala History Association, Cochin, 1973, p.91-93.
Chirakkal was the northern most taluk in Malabar district. It was on the frontiers of Coorg and South Canara and it was included in the northern division of British Malabar. The region was well known for its geographical features. The region has been marked with generally terrain with limited ups, notably Ezhimalai, the prominent place found frequent references in both literary as well as oral traditions. The eastern parts of the Taluk are significant due to dense forest. The Valapattanam River is the most important river in the taluk. It is “noted that the river has discharged the greatest volume of water into the sea”\textsuperscript{2}. It is reported to be 70 miles long and timber from the eastern parts was floated to the mainland through the river. The river had played a crucial role in the elevation of Valapattanam as the important trade centre.

In terms of connectivity the taluk had experienced the benefits of colonial governance as there were several railway stations. The important stations in Chirakkal taluk were Edakkad, Cannanore, Baliapattanam or Azhikkal (present-day Valapattanam), Kannapuram, Madayi (present day Pazhayangadi) Kunnimangalam (present day Ezhimala) and Payyannur\textsuperscript{3}. From there the southern railway runs to South Canara. Unlike the development in railway, the roads in the taluk

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{3} See Appendix II for further details of important railway stations in Malabar.
\end{flushright}
were not in good condition. The intra-connection of roads inside the taluk constituted only a small percentage. To Innes and Evans “the taluk is badly off for roads, its 93 miles being only a small fraction of the total mileage of the district”\textsuperscript{4}. Though the taluk could make certain significant progressive advancements in the field of connectivity, especially in terms of railway expansion, the references do indicate that the roads were in dilapidated condition and the itinerants had to suffer a lot\textsuperscript{5}.

The taluk has had enjoyed a significant position in the economic life of British colonialism in Malabar. Anjarakkandi, being the renowned British plantations in Malabar had produced spices of high quality\textsuperscript{6}. It is also noted that “the pepper grown in the north and north-east called as ‘Taliparamba pepper’ had great demand in European market. Since the taluk has extended even up to the high ranges, fine quality cardamoms also produced. It is noted that such spices had attracted even the attention of international markets in Europe and elsewhere\textsuperscript{7}. Punam cultivation had been practiced for subsistence.

The taluk has had certain centres of popular attraction and the first notable being the Anjarakkandy plantation and it is in the amsam of the

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., p.417.  
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., pp. 275-276.  
\textsuperscript{6} See Appendix III about Colonial plantations in Malabar.  
same name. The establishment of the plantation was the outcome of the British decision to set up a multi-crop spice plantation. In 1797 the English East India Company had taken a open a plantation of coffee, cinnamon, pepper, nutmeg, cassia, sugarcane and sandalwood plants.\(^8\) It was an outcome of the Company desire to make use of the climatic condition of Malabar, which was conducive to cultivate spices which had high demand in European market. The idea of having a multi-spice plantain was the brainchild of Murdoch Brown, who had joined in the Company’s service in 1793. However, the Company having realised to have plantation as an expensive endeavour, in 1799 decided to hand over it to Murdoch Brown. In 1802, Major Macleod, the then Collector of Malabar, undertook the survey and leased out the plantation to Murdoch Brown for 99 years. Anjarakkandy plantation was instrumental in spreading the habit of spice cultivation all across Malabar and elsewhere. It is noted that coffee was first grown here (Anjarakkandy) in Malabar and from there it seems to have been introduced into the Wynad at Mananthavady some time before 1825.\(^9\) In this plantation lower caste people were used as workers.\(^10\) The Anjarakkandy plantation has, in fact, reshaped the history and culture of the locality as it provided

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enough employment opportunities to the people in the vicinity. Furthermore, it supplied spices to the European market for a long time.

Another notable building in the erstwhile Chirakkal taluk was Fort St. Angelo. The Fort has significant place in the history of British colonialism in Malabar\(^\text{11}\). The origin of the fort could be ascribed to the Portuguese, and the exact date of it construction is a point of contention. The basic structure upon which the later Fort was erected could be made somewhere in the first decade of the 16\(^{\text{th}}\) century. It is believed to be built around 1507\(^\text{12}\), but has been suggested somewhere a previous date, around 1505\(^\text{13}\). The available information indicates that the construction of the fort was started on 23\(^{\text{rd}}\) October 1505 in the land granted by Kolatiri. A Portuguese engineer named Thomas Fernandez was in charge of the construction of the fort\(^\text{14}\). It was under the instruction of Francesco De Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy of India.

With the formation of Dutch East India Company in 1602, several Dutch maritime missions entered in Malabar Coast. In 1607 a Dutch ship under the leadership of Jannes Crane anchored Kannur coast an Ali Raja

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\(^{11}\) See Appendix IV for details of Forts in Malabar.


requested him to help them against the Portuguese\textsuperscript{15}. Meanwhile the navel supremacy of the Portuguese was declining in Malabar. Finally the Dutch could capture the Fort St. Angelo from the Portuguese on 15\textsuperscript{th} February 1663. They reported to have repaired the damages caused to the fort and an army of 200 soldiers was stationed there to protect the fort\textsuperscript{16}. Due to the domestic developments in Netherlands, the Dutch had lost interest in Malabar and in 1772 they sold out the Fort to the Arakkal Raja\textsuperscript{17}. Now we witness one of the interesting developments in the history of Malabar. It is stated that a great fort built by the pioneer European power came to the hands of the only Islamic dynasty in Kerala\textsuperscript{18}.

The English power in Malabar politics was evident from the beginning of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century onwards. The English, who already had established a fort and a powerful settlement in Thalassery by the year 1708, had an eye on the Fort St. Angelo at Kannur. The attacks of Tipu Sultan by using the Fort compelled the English to go for a military action. Consequently a fleet led by Brigadier Norman Meclios left from Thalassery for Kannur. They reached Kannur on 9\textsuperscript{th} December 1783 and started assaulting the areas where the Arakkal family had commercial

\textsuperscript{17} K.M.Panikar, \textit{Malabar and the Portuguese}, Bombay, 1929, p.88.
control. They delivered powerful attacks on Fort St. Angelo and also on the Kannur port. Finally on 14\textsuperscript{th} December 1783 the British success over the Arakkal resistance completed\textsuperscript{19}. They had taken control over the Fort St. Angelo and also the commercial possessions belonged to the Arakkal royal family. Hence, the Fort St. Angelo built by the Portuguese, after transferring its ownership to the Dutch and Arakkal royal family, now came to the hands of the British. Now, the Fort St. Angelo is being maintained and protected by the Archaeological Survey of India.

Kottayam was the next taluk after Chirakkal in the northern part of the erstwhile Malabar district. Administratively, there were 49 \emph{amsam-s} and 227 \emph{desam-s} in Kottayam taluk. Geographically speaking the taluk stretched from Coastal region to the high ranges with dense forests\textsuperscript{20}. The taluk was abundantly drained by rivers like Anjarakkandy river, Mahe river, and even certain branches of the Valapattanam river. Since Kottayam being the headquarters of Pazhassi Raja, the local ruler who shook the very basis of the British, the taluk has certain significance in the colonial fabric of the British\textsuperscript{21}. Similarly Thalassery was one of the important colonial settlements not only in Kerala, but also in India. The taluk could develop specific modalities of connectivity, precisely in the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[20] More details could be ascertained from \url{http://www.thalassery.info/history.html}.
\item[21] Margret Frenz, *From Contact to Conquest: Transition to British Rule in Malabar 1790-1805*, New Delhi, 2003, p.84.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
forms of railway and roads and it could be named as the blessing of British colonialism.

The taluk had both strategic as well as commercial importance as its proximity with the French Mahe and its easy connectivity to Mysore. Mahe, a French settlement located around 8KM from Thalassery, was significant as a determining factor in Anglo-French relations. Similarly, the roads from Kottayam taluk led to Mysore and it could be termed as one of the widely used roads in erstwhile Malabar\(^\text{22}\). Unlike most of the taluks in colonial Malabar, Thalassery seems to be one of the well connected taluk. In their cognitive level, it is assumed that, the inhabitants of Kottayam could be ranked in the highest stratum as nearly 22% of the total population could read and write\(^\text{23}\). It was, probably, a significant and countable number at that point of times.

Thalassery is one of the most important settlements of the British in Malabar. In terms of size, it is noted that Thalassery ranked third after Calicut and Palakkad. It is treated to be one of the full-fledged settlements with officials of all categories like revenue, police, health, judiciary etc. Due to its trans-marine trade transactions, a port officer was also stationed in Thalassery. Along with that, the region had housed

\(^{22}\) P. J. Cherian (Ed.), *William Logan’s Malabar Manual*, Kerala Gazetteers’ Department (Reprint), Thiruvananthapuram, 2000, p.64.

several financial institutions including Madras bank. Demographically, Thalassery had the population of 30349 in 1931\textsuperscript{24}. Thalassery was a full-fledged settlement of the British and it was well-connected with Coorg and Mysore.

The position of the British in Thalassery was of strategically important since their arch-rival French had stationed Mahe, which was very nearby. The English resorted to strengthen their possession at Thalassery through constructing a fort. The construction of the fort was finished in 1708. The fort later became the nerve centre of British colonial administration in north Malabar. Even today the fort attracts the attention of people in and outside of the state. It is also interesting to see that Thalassery had enjoyed a considerable importance in the colonial bureaucratic apparatus. It became evident with the division of Malabar into two divisions, viz., Northern and Southern with headquarters at Thalassery and Cherpulessery respectively, on 30\textsuperscript{th} March, 1793\textsuperscript{25}. Consequently, the region of Thalassery had begun to play a crucial role in the shaping of the nature of British colonialism in Malabar and it has left certain remnants of eternal nature. The presence of colonialism in the region has largely reflected in the cultural traits of the people of Thalassery and its influence could also be seen in various

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p.456.

fields like colonial gaming, food habits, amusement, print and publishing, literary genres, connectivity, education, etc\textsuperscript{26}.

Kurumbranad is the next taluk and it was the southernmost taluk of North Malabar. The taluk is now included in the Calicut revenue district and spreaded in the Vadakara and Koilandy Taluks. The most notable rivers of the taluk were Mahe river, Kottapuzha and Agalapuzha. The chief mode of conveyance prevalent in the taluk then was waterways and the canals connect the Kottapuzha with Vadakara on the north and Agalapuzha in the south ensured uninterrupted connectivity with Calicut. During the pre-British times, the parts of taluk were divided into the \textit{nadu-s} like Kadathanad, Payyanad, Payyormala, and Kurumbranad, and some portions of Thamarasseri.

Kadathanad was the most famous of the \textit{nadu-s} in the Kurumbranad taluk. The n-ad has been located in between the Kottapuzha and Mahe river. The exploits of the heroes and heroines in the n-ad have been thematised in the Northern Ballads\textsuperscript{27}. The origin of the family could be assigned to the union of princess of Kolatiri and scion of the royal house

\textsuperscript{26} Jineesh.P.S, \textit{Living with the White men: Cultural Impact of Colonialism in British Malabar} in the conference proceedings of National Seminar on \textit{Colonial State, Capital and Labour in India}, organized by the Department of History, Pondicherry University on 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} March, 2011.

\textsuperscript{27} K.V.Achuthanandan (Ed.), \textit{24 Vadakkan Pattukal} (Mal.), Kottyam, 2003, p.77.
of Porlatiri. Hamilton reported to have visited the place by around 1703 and paid respect to the Raja and called him as ‘Ballanore of Burgarie’. Lokanarkavu constitutes the most important institution in the sacred landscape of Kadathanad. The kavu has been picturised in the Northern Ballads in association with the exploits of the heroes and heroines.

One of the notable places in Kadathanadu is Chombala. Being a Christian settlement the place was instrumental in spreading the benevolence of Christianity among the local people. The settlement was reportedly come into being in 1848 with a small church which later became one of the prime centres of the activities of the Basel Evangelical Missions in Malabar. The centre was instrumental in proselytising the local community into Christianity. The associated developments of the church in during the course of time endorse the multiple ways by which the integration of local community to Christianity was achieved. The philanthropic nature of Christianity was epitomised with the setting up of an orphanage in the settlement. “There is a large orphanage-the only

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29 See Appendix V for further details of important temples, mosques and churches in Malabar.
one of its kind in Malabar- for 106 Malayali girls. The reason(s) for the presence of orphanages need to be interrogated. Along with that they equipped the local community with small craft expertise. The weaving centre associated with the settlement was eyed at the Saliyas, the weavers of Kerala. To provide education to the local community in the vicinity of the settlement, a lower primary school with the intake of 160 students was also established. The Chombala settlement had its outstations like Mahe, Vadakara, Perambra, and Karakkad.

The other two important places in Kadathnadu are Kottakkal and Kuttipuram, the first being the headquarters of Kunhali Marakkars, and latter as the seat the ruling Kadathanad royal family. The Kunhalis, the popular title assigned to members of the Kunhali Marakkars, had the uniqueness of using their command over sea in countering the Portuguese menace. The Kunhalis were reported to have established their settlement in the northernmost region of the Zamorins and they utilised the traditional knowledge about seafaring to resist their ‘business competitors’, i.e., the Portuguese. The remnants of their settlement could be found even now.

One of the distinctive settlements in the region in terms of the possession in the region was Mahe as it was under the colonial heyday of the French. The place assumed a significant place as it was from where the French colonial possession ended only in 1951 much even after the attainment of Indian independence in 1947. Mahe was comprised of ten desam-s, out of which three were attached to the settlement itself four in the northern bank of the river which together called as nalutara. The remaining three were called as Fort St. George, Great Kallayi and Little Kallayi. The French settlement was materialised in 1725 when the local town of Mayyazhi was captured by Mahe de Labourdonnais. The place had been a bone of contention between the British and the French. There were several instances in which both of them competed to each other to make sway over the region\textsuperscript{31}. In the latter half of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century the region was thrice taken by the British but was restored to the French. But the British enjoyed sway over French Mahe from 1793 to 1817. The French, even during the reign of its ever powerful emperor Napoleon Bonaparte could not assert their political domination over their eternal enemy country Britain.

\textsuperscript{31} Olympia Shilpa Gerald, \textit{From Mayyazhi to Mahe.. a Magic History}, in \textit{The Hindu Daily}, (Puducherry Edition), 28\textsuperscript{th} November, 2013.
Another place of importance in Kurumbranad taluk was Pantalayani Kollam. In popular usage the place was also called as Pantalayani and it was identified as a prominent port city even during the days of Pliny. Even during Sangam period the place was named as one of the brisk port city. The colonial records do speak of the region as a Muslim dominated one since it was the place where “Malik Ibn Dinar had founded a mosque and he appointed his own son as the qazi of it”. In terms of its mercantile activities, the Pantalayani port had set to make its presence in the crest of the maritime history of Malabar and it was attested by the frequent reference to it in the travelogues of itinerant travellers. Pantalayani Kollam was said to be “a beautiful and large place abounding with gardens and markets”. Similarly, there is a powerful agreement among the scholars who are working on pre-colonial Malabar that, instead of Kappad, Vasco da Gama anchored at Pantalayani Kollam. The Portuguese attempted to establish their heyday in the port city and it brought their frequent conflicts with the Muslims who had already

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32 See Appendix VI for details of important trading centres in Malabar.
36 With regard to the origin of the place name Kappad, it is locally believed that Kappad is the corrupted from Kappakadavu, which means ‘the shore where tariffs need to be paid’. That might be the reason by which Vasco da Gama had left the shore immediately as the local ruler might have demanded for tariffs.
established as the custodians of the port city. These arguments underline the commercial pre-eminence of Pantalayani Kollam.

The confluence on Kotta river and Agalapuzha assigns Payyoli some sort importance during colonial times. The British treated it as a emerging station with having certain offices and travellers’ bungalow. In terms of demography Payyoli was a Muslim populated area. Near to Payyoli we found the Kizhur Siva Temple and in the annual festival of the temple stage the famous cattle fair. Fairs in pre-colonial times attracted scholarly attention and they are treated to be the symptoms of the expanding agro related market system in Malabar. The fairs were the markets of temporary nature, where the products from the nearby hilly, midland and coastal regions were brought in. The cattle fairs are the outcome expanding agricultural system as the cattle were mainly in the fields as well as for pulling the carts. The cattle fair at Kizhur was famous as the cattle’s were brought even from distance places like Coimbatore etc. The next locality of importance in the talukm was Quilandy. In the colonial administrative structure, Quilandy was the headquarters of the

38 K.M.Panikkar, Malabar and the Portuguese, Voice of India, New Delhi, 1929, pp.165-166.
39 A discussion on fairs and markets in pre-modern Kerala could be found in K.N Ganesh, Kunchan Nambiar: Vakkum Sahooхватum (Mal.), Vallathol Vidyappeedam, Sukapuram, 1996. He undertook the textual reading Thullal songs and underlined Nambiar’s satirical treatment of different institutions and practices of the period including markets and fairs.
Deputy Tahsildar. The place, due to its proximity to the Pantalayani Kollam was largely populated by Muslim merchants.

Calicut is the next taluk in colonial Malabar. Though it was the smallest taluk in terms of its length and breadth, it has great historical significance since it was the capital of colonial Malabar. The name of Calicut is eternalised as it was the nerve centre Zamorin’s activities\textsuperscript{40}. Calicut, being a renowned port city had attracted the attention of traders as well as travellers since the time immemorial. Zamorin’s prowess was largely depended on him as the ‘custodian of the Calicut port. It is noted that the two rivers-Beypore river and Elathur river and the river systems developed out of them and even the Connolly canal ensured the port-hinterland connectivity in not only in colonial Malabar and even after that\textsuperscript{41}.

The most important city is Calicut itself. It was a full-fledged colonial city with all administrative and judicial executive machineries. In Calicut, during colonial times, there were several educational institutions ranging from primary schools to colleges and even vocational training centres\textsuperscript{42}.

\textsuperscript{40}K.V.Krishna Iyer, \textit{The Zamorins of Calicut}, Calicut (Reprint), 1999, p.76.
The sacred landscape of Calicut consisted of several temples. Varakkal temple had attracted thousands of people from various parts of Malabar in the month of Thulam, when they performed ancestral rites there and took bathe in the Arabian Sea nearby. Tali temple is also significant in Calicut. The heterodox religions like Islam and Christianity had their centres in Calicut. The most notable mosques were Kuttichira Jamat mosque, Shaikhinte Palli and Pazhaya Palli. Similarly, there were Anglican and Basel Mission churches in Calicut. The presence of mosques and churches are indicative of the substantial presence of Muslims and Christians in Calicut. The Calicut port was famous for trans-marine trade with the West and most of these Christians and Muslims had specialised in various jobs related to Calicut trade.

One of the most notable port cities in Calicut taluk was Beypore. It is noted that the port was not largely used by the Europeans, but, the colonial Gazetteers could find the domination of indigenous vendors and traders in the port. Further the place was emerged as a shipbuilding centre with the settlement of communities specialised in it. The colonial railway experiment in Malabar was started with a rail line to Chaliyam.

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43 More details on Tali temple could be ascertained from http://www.calicuttalimahakshetra.com
near Beypore from Tirur in 1861\textsuperscript{45}. The items of trade from Beypore included tanned skins, tobacco, coconuts, salt, rice, and rails.

The largest taluk in Malabar in terms of its length and breadth was Ernad. Geographically, there were several hills and dense forests which automatically made it as the region of pristine dwellers. Similarly, the Chaliyar puzha and Kadalundi Puzha made the inland navigation possible. The South Indian Railway was well connected and spreaded in the taluk. In the pre-colonial times Ernad was comprised of erstwhile South Parappanad, Ramnad, Cheranad and Ernad\textsuperscript{46}. Interestingly, iron smelting and gold washing were reported to be existed in the taluk. “Iron is smelted by a rude process and in small quantities in Chembrasserri and Tuvvar and gold washing has been carried on the Beypore River above Nilambur from time immemorial\textsuperscript{47}”. Place names line ‘Karuvarakundu’ may be an indicator to presence of ‘karuvan’ or blacksmith in the locality\textsuperscript{48}.

There are a good number of important places in Ernad taluk. Chaliyam, being the first terminal of Madras Railway in Malabar, had lost its prominence when the railway was further extended to Calicut in

\textsuperscript{46} A. Sreedhara Menon, \textit{A Survey of Kerala History}, p.47
\textsuperscript{48} More details could be obtained from http://keralapaithrukam.blogspot.in/2015/03/sthalanamangal-mithran.html
1888. The name of Farook emerged as a prominent place was due to the efforts of Tipu Sultan. He made Farookabad as a planned town with the intention of making it as his capital in Malabar. There are numerous tile factories in Farook. Malappuram was included in the Ernad taluk and it was the headquarters of the Malabar Special Police (MSP), meant to curb and deal the menace of the ‘jungle mappilas’49. Along with that, it was a cantonment area with the concentration of full-fledged military and police forces. Mambram in Ernad taluk has great importance in anti-colonial resistance of the Mappilas of Malabar. The news of British attack on Mambram mosque was the igniting factor of the Revolt of 1921. Mambram, being the centre of Mambram Thangal’s activities, was centre of pilgrim for the Muslims. Mambram thangal was highly venerated among the Mappilas of Malabar and they treated the mausoleum at the Mambram mosque with great respect. In the sacred landscape of Malabar, Mambram mosque had great prominence.

Under the British Manjeri was elevated a prime centre of colonial state system. Being the headquarters of the taluk, there were several offices and amenities like hospitals, schools could be found at Manjeri. Manjeri was one of the centres of the Mappila outrages in the pre-1921 period. In the 1921 Revolt, the rebels looted the taluk treasury and they

carried away a sum of six lakh rupees. Nilambur, included in Ernad, has got very famous teak plantations. Teak was largely planted under the aegis and direction of the British since it was in high demand not only in Malabar, but even exported to Europe. Cherupuzha, a notable river in Nilambur, helped the transportation of teak planks to Beypore from where it reached to Europe and elsewhere. Nilambur was also an important centre of 1921 Revolt, where the rebels had to fight simultaneously against men of Nilambur Tachcharakavil Thirumulpad, one of the powerful landlord and against the British state in the form of Malabar Special Police (MSP). It was indeed, a struggle ‘against lord and the state’.

Tirurangadi was another place included in erstwhile Ernad taluk, where the 1921 rebellion was so strong. The rebellious mob on 21st August 1921 ransacked the police station at Tirurangadi. It is interested to note that Tirurangadi got its name from the enriched trade tradition it has carried forward. It is noted that there was a brisk and extended market owned and controlled by the Muslims on the banks of river Kadalundi, which was alluded as ‘Tiruvana Angadi’. Wandur is another

important centre of 1921 Revolt. There were reported to be violent clashes between the British and the rebels during the course of 1921 Revolt in places like Pandikkad, Kalikavu, Karuvarakkundu, Pookottur etc.

Ponnani becomes the next taluk in British Malabar. It is significant that under the British, the region emerged as an important centre of Colonial rule in Malabar. The region, being the ‘headquarter of the Muslims of Malabar’\(^{53}\), was a hard target for the British to crack and capture. Demographically, Muslims constituted the majority community, as they were about 40% of the total population\(^{54}\), and they shared the land with the Nambutiris, Syrian Christians etc. Bharatapuzha is the important river the taluk. During colonial times there were 121 *amsam*-s and 460 *desam*-s in Ponnani taluk.

Chavakkad is an important town in Ponnani taluk. It is interesting to note that there are several *jaram*-s\(^{55}\) in Ponnani and the important one being that of Haidros Kutti, the commissioner in the service of Hyder Ali, but was reported to be killed by his own master\(^{56}\). There could find a Syrian Christian Church at Enamakkal in Ponnani taluk and it was


\(^{54}\) See Census of India 1931, Volume XIV, Madras, Part II, p.4.

\(^{55}\) *Jaram*-s are the mausoleums where the dead bodies of the important or religiously personalities among the Muslims were buried.

\(^{56}\) Innes and Evans..p. 478.
believed to be founded by St. Thomas. At Sukapuram, near Edappal, there is temple believed to be consecrated by Parasurama. The temple had engaged in a feud with Panniyur faction of Nambutiris.

Guruvayur, one the prime centres of Vaishnavite in South India, was included in the erstwhile Ponnani taluk. Guruvayur Sreekrishna temple is square in shape and it has four gates: kizhakke nada, patinjara nada, thekke nada and vadakke nada. The great Ekadasi festival of the Guruvayur Sreekrishna temple is conducted annually in the Malayalam month of *Vrishchikam* (November-December) and it attracted devotees from all over Malabar.

There was an important town in Ponnani taluk in the same name. Demographically, Muslims constituted more than 95% of the total population. Ponnani is the residence of the Makhdum Thangal, the spiritual head of the Muslims all over Malabar. There were several mosques and madrassa-s to provide education to the Muslim children. Similarly, Ponnani was a centre of proselytization to Islam. Tanur, included in Ponnani taluk, was a minor centre of the British and there it

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could find the large scale conversion of Mukkuvars and Mukayas (fishing communities) to Christianity.

Tirur is another significant town in Ponnani and being the prime centre of the British, it became a full-fledged town. It has most of all the offices and was connected to other places via roads, railways and waterways. In Tirur, the most famous temple is Trikkandiyur Siva temple, and Hindus in the locality and nearby highly venerated the deity. It is interesting to note that it was the birth place of Thunchath Ramanujan Ezhuthachchan, the father of Malayalam language. 60

Valluvanad is the next taluk and it had the history of being the territory ruled and governed by Valluvakonathiri. The major rivers of Valluvanad are Kadalundipuzha, Bharatapuzha, and Thuthapuzha. Colonial connectivity modalities like railway were very strong in Valluvanad. The South Indian Railway runs along the bank of the Ponnani river (Bharathapuzha). 61 It was in 1860, the taluk of Valluvanad was come into being with 317 desam-s and 118 amsam-s. 62 The fame Angadippuram rests on the Thirumanthamkunnu temple and it is one of the earliest known temple in Kerala. Along with that there is the famous Puthanangaddi mosque at Angadippuram.

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62 Ibid., p. 494.
Attappadi valley, in the Valluvanad taluk, is largely inhabited by various hill tribes like Irulars, Kurumbas, Badahas etc. They are lived as cluster of huts called as ur-s and there were around 105 such ur-s in Attappadi. The ur-s were ruled by the Muppan-s or the village headman. Another important place in Valluvanad is Kavalappara and it was the residence of the Kavalappara nair. Traditionally the family had traced their origin to the departure of the last Perumal to Mekkah. Prior to his departure the last Perumal divided and donated his property among his kinsmen and friends. When the Nair of Kavalappara reached there, all the lands were distributed and only a block of twelve square miles of rocks left remaining, which nobody wants. The Nair accepted it and gave the name ‘Kavalappara’ or ‘false rock’\(^63\). It was at Vaniamkulam, another important place in Valluvanad, the biggest and famous weekly fair in Malabar was held\(^64\). The market, which belonged to Kavalappara Nair, had attracted people from all across Malabar and even outside.

The next taluk is Palakkad and it was the most easterly taluk in Malabar. Palakkad gap has placed significant role in determining the physical features of the taluk. Bharatapuzha flows through the taluk and

\(^{63}\) K.K.N.Kurup (Ed.), *Kavalappara Papers*, University of Calicut, Thenhipalam,1984, p.105.

\(^{64}\) *Vaniam Kulam Panchayath Vinjaaneeyam (Mal.)*, The Local History of *Vaniyamkulam Panchayath*, Ottappalam Taluk, Palakkad District, Kerala Council for Historical Research, Thiruvananthapuram, 2001, pp.34-36.
at the eastern side it joins with Kollangod River. South Indian Railway runs through the northern half of the district and the place is mainly connected to Madras, Pollachi and Dindigul. It was in 1890 it was made as a taluk with 113 *amsam*-s and 138 *desam*-s. A fort is found at Palakkad. Alathur was one the important centre of colonial administration in Palakkad with all sorts of offices and other infrastructure of governance. Along with that a railway station was set up at Olvakode. It is significant to note that Velimala in Alathur was one the great trigonometrical stations in Malabar\(^6\). Along with that it was a prime centre of the Roman Catholics in Malabar. They had a church there and two tile factories could also be found. There were two large settlements of Jains at Muthupattanam and Machalapattanam in Palakkad itself. Vadakkancheri, in the taluk had Roman Catholic Church and a Basel Mission Chapel.

Wynad is the ninth taluk in British Malabar. There are a host of rivers and streams in the taluk and the most significant being the Kabani River. Though it is the tributary of Kavery, it drains all of the taluk. The taluk is the home of many of the supposed aborigines of Malabar. In terms of connectivity, road was the chief modes of for it. The most important road was the one which from Calicut to Mysore via

Thamarasseri pass, Vythiri and Sulthan Batheri. There was another road from Mananthavady to Gundelpet in Mysore. Among the many important places in Wynad, Mananthavady was significant one, as it was the headquarters of the taluk. All the important colonial offices could be found at Mananthavady.

In the initial years of the 19th century, Mananthavady was a military station and by the 1812 Kurichiya Revolt, but they were ransacked by the rebels. The colonial planters could exploit the plantation potential of Wynad by around 1830 or 1840 and it was in the field of coffee plantation their first attention was made. Thirunelli temple is one the important one in the sacred landscape of Wynad. Valliyoorkavu, is the place where the large numbers of adivasis used to come to offer prayers. Similarly there were certain Jain temples at Sulthan Bathery.

Politically, a significant change occurred in 1947 in the form in Indian independence. The British rule commenced in Malabar in the last decade of the 18th century ended when they decided to hand over India to Indians. But not many changes could be visible in Malabar. As in the past it continued to be as a part of the Madras presidency. Though anti-British national movement was strong in Malabar, they lagged behind Thiruvithamkur and Kochi in realising Aikyakerala. States and rulers of both princely states could not passively. Consequently, on 1st July 1949
both Thiruvithamkur and Kochi joined and formed Tiru-Kochi state. It did not induce the nationalists in Malabar. Later in the general elections held in 1951, the Congress could not successfully deal the alliance formed between the Communists and Kissan Mazdur Praja Prty (KMPP). Congress could win only in four seats out of thirty seats to the Madras assembly from Malabar. When states were re-organised on linguistic basis in 1956, Malabar was also integrated with Tiru-Kochi to form modern state of Kerala. In the general elections to Kerala Legislative Assembly held in February-March 1957, the communists won the majority and EMS Namboodiripad became the first Chief Minister of Kerala on 5th April 1956 and thus marked the beginning of new Kerala.
CONCLUSION

The significance of a region in history could be understood only by means of a voyage or voyages through the pages of the past. We need to have an unbiased attitude or an objective historical approach to do justice to past. History is, usually, about those who could succeed, but seldom do speak ‘for and of’ the defeated. No history could be taken as an unchanging or ‘in built’ one, free from continuous process of making and remaking. We need a ‘third eye’ to understand whole process that gave shape to specific identity to a region. Malabar as a region has to tell a story of its making and remaking.

The term Malabar itself had been used in multiple ways and the earliest references could be found in the travelogues of the Arabs. With its rich and diversified historical experiences during the pre-colonial times, the region passed into the age of colonialism. The region has had the uniqueness of being the place where the footprints of the first colonialists were marked. Vasco da Gama’s discovery of new sea route has heralded a new episode in global colonialism. Though they were followed by the Dutch and the French, it was the British who could succeed to hold the administration of Malabar for quite a long time. They usurped Malabar from the Mysoreans under Tipu Sultan in 1792.
and by 1800 they made it as a part of Bombay presidency, which later
handed over to Madras.

The landscape of Malabar was more or less remained intact even
during the British times. The geographical factors including, a long
coastline, an extensive river system, periodical monsoons, the mountain
passes, the streams, etc., blessed Malabar to have a hospitable
environment, even the alien Europeans could not resist that temptation.
The society of Malabar with its diversified profession based caste system
was primarily featured by the notion of ‘purity and pollution’. The
societal structure was horizontally and vertically segmented on caste
lines. It could be witnessed even in habitation patterns. The caste
groups akin to temple and its owners had to live as clusters in the
vicinity of temples themselves. But host of the populace was outside the
purview of temples as they were ousted by branding as ‘untouchables’.

The societal life was marked with intense complexity and chaos. The
then native administrative system also encouraged it. The British had
to deal with such a complex and caste-ridden society. They devised a
technique of understanding the people of Malabar thoroughly and for
that matter they conducted surveys and documentation of landscape.
Though several such endeavours were done, the most notable one was
under the leadership of Lt. Benjamin Swain Ward. His documentation of
Malabar could be found in *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, in which a

carved out a landscape out of the obscurity.

The British, in a sense, brought Malabar polity in modern lines. They

established a system of governance on the basis of well accepted

principles. Instead of the ‘mouth orders’ of the past ruling houses,

written canons and laws showed path in administration. Though the

common people did not benefit much due to the new Raj, they could at

least see the changes around them from a close distance. For

administrative convenience, the British divided Malabar into nine taluks:

Chirakkal, Kolathunad, Kurumbranad, Wynad, Calicut, Ernad, Ponnani,

Valluvanad and Palakkad. Each of these taluks had a different tale to say.

Despite the geographical differences, each of these taluks had a similar

habitual pattern. Exclusive dwellings of the caste Hindus and intermixed

habitation centres of low caste people paralleled in each of these taluks.

The economic landscape of Malabar during the period under discussion

was characterised basically by tilling and trading. Professional

specialisation gave sustenance to caste system. In the social landscape

we could see the caste hierarchy which again divided horizontally as sub-

castes. The sacred or ritual landscape was characterised by the presence

of various centres of worship, i.e., temples, mosques and churches. Being

a region with devotional leaning the worshipping centres in Malabar
attracted people from all over Malabar and even outside. Several educational centres of the Christian missionaries, under the colonial aegis, encouraged the spreading of education to all. The monopoly of certain caste groups on education became tale of the past. Curriculum was shaped in tune with the pragmatic needs of the people.

Similarly, colonialism stitched up the broken landscape of Malabar by means of roads, railways and waterways. In Malabar, the British had carried out the making and up-keeping of these connectivity modalities with the help of their revenue. These constructions were preceded and even paralleled with the British documentation of the land of Kerala with having much importance to the documentation of landscapes. The presence of the British had brought ‘connectivity raj’ in the region of Malabar.

With the attainment of Indian independence, Malabar did not experience any structural change. It continued to remain as part of the Madras presidency. In Thiruvithamkur and Kochi there were demands and even movements for unified Kerala. On 1st July 1949 both Thiruvithamkur and Kochi became joined and formed Tiru-Kochi state. Such developments did not have any repercussions in Malabar. In the general elections held in 1951, the Congress could not successfully deal the alliance formed between the Communists and Kissan Mazdur Praja
Prtly. Congress could win only in four seats out of thirty seats to the Madras assembly from Malabar. When states were re-organised on linguistic basis in 1956, Malabar was also integrated with Tiru-Kochi to form modern state of Kerala. In the general elections to Kerala Legislative Assembly held in February-March 1957, the communists won the majority and EMS Namboodiripad became the first Chief Minister of Kerala on 5th April 1956 and thus marked the beginning of new Kerala.
APPENDIX I:

MAJOR RIVERS IN MALABAR
MALABAR DISTRICT

MAJOR RIVERS:

A) VALAPATTANAM PUZHA
B) ANJARA KANDI PUZHA
C) MAHE PUZHA
D) MAHE PUZHA
E) AGALAPUZHA
F) KABANI PUZHA
G) BEYPORE PUZHA
H) ELATHUR PUZHA
I) KADALUNDI PUZHA
J) CHALIYAR
K) BHARATHAPUZHA
L) KADALUNDI PUZHA
M) BHARATHAPUZHA
N) BHARATHAPUZHA
O) KOLLENGODE PUZHA

1. CHIRAKKAL
2. KOTTAYAM
3. KURUMBANAD
4. WYNAD
5. CALICUT
6. ERNAD
7. PONNANI
8. VALLUVANAD
9. PALAKKAD
KOTTAYAM TALUK

MAJOR RIVERS:
A) ANJARAKKANDI PUZHA
B) MAHE PUZHA
MAJOR RIVERS:
A) BEYPORE PUZHA
B) ELATHUR PUZHA
VALLUVANAD TALUK

MAJOR RIVERS:
A) KADALUNDI PUZHA
B) BHARATHAPUZHA
MAJOR RIVERS:
A) BHARATHAPUZHA
B) KOLLENGODE PUZHA
APPENDIX II:

IMPORTANT RAILWAY STATIONS IN MALABAR
MAJOR RAILWAY STATIONS:
A) CALICUT
B) KALLAYI (BEYPORE)
APPENDIX III:

MAJOR COLONIAL PLANTATIONS
1. CHIRAKKAL
2. KOTTAYAM
3. KURUMBANAD
4. NYYAD
5. CALCUT
6. ERNAD
7. PONNANI
8. VALLUVAIAD
9. PALKKAD

MAJOR COLONIAL PLANTATION,
A) ANJARAKKANDI PLANTATION
CHIRAKKAL TALUK

MAJOR COLONIAL PLANTATION:
A) ANJARKANDI PLANTATION
APPENDIX IV:

IMPORTANT FORTS IN MALABAR
CHIRAKKAL TALUK

MAJOR COLONIAL FORT:
A) FORT ST. ANGELO
KOTTAYAM TALUK

MAJOR COLONIAL FORT:
A) THALASSERY FORT
PALAKKAD TALUK

MAJOR FORT:
A) PALAKKAD FORT
APPENDIX V:

IMPORTANT TEMPLES, MOSQUES AND CHURCHES IN MALABAR
MALABAR DISTRICT

IMPORTANT TEMPLES, MOSQUES AND CHURCHES:

A) CSI CHURCH, CHOMBALA
B) LOKANARKAVU
C) KEDUUR SIVA TEMPLE
D) THIRUNELLI TEMPLE
E) VALLIYUR KAVU
F) VARAKKAL TEMPLE
G) TALI TEMPLE
H) KUTTICHIRA MOSQUE
I) TRIKKANDYUR TEMPLE
J) GURIYAYUR TEMPLE

1. CHIRRAKAL
2. KOTTAYAM
3. KURUMBANAD
4. WYNAD
5. CACOFT
6. ERNAKULAM
7. PONNANI
8. VALLUVANAD
9. PALAKKAD
KURUMBRANAD TALUK

IMPORTANT TEMPLES AND CHURCHES:
A) CSI CHURCH, CHEMBALA
B) LOKANARKAVU
C) KIZHURO SIVA TEMPLE
MAJOR TEMPLES AND MOSQUES:
A) VARAKKAL TEMPLE
B) TALI TEMPLE
C) KUTTICHIRA MOSQUE
APPENDIX VI:

MAJOR TRADE CENTRES IN MALABAR
MAJOR TRADE CENTRES:
A) VADAKARA
B) PANTALAYANI KOLLAM
MAJOR TRADE CENTRES:
A) CALICUT
B) DEIPORI
MAJOR TRADE CENTRES:
A) PARAPPANANGADI
B) TIRURANGADI
VALLUVANAD TALUK

MAJOR TRADE CENTRES:
A) VANIVAMKULAM
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