

**War in City Scape:  
Popular Responses in Kozhikode, 1914-1918**

**Thesis  
submitted to the University of Calicut  
for the award of the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in History**

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## **Declaration**

I, Remya. K., hereby declare that the thesis **War in City Scape: Popular Responses in Kozhikode, 1914-1918** is a bonafide record of research work done by me and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any other degrees.

C U Campus

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## **Certificate**

**Dr. Sivadasan. P.**  
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This is to certify that this thesis '**War in City Scape: Popular Responses in Kozhikode 1914-1918**' is a bonafide record of genuine research done by **Remya. K.**, under my guidance. No part of the thesis has been submitted before for the award of any degree.

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**Dr. Sivadasan. P**  
(Supervising Teacher)

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The subject chosen for the research study is a novel one in the field of modern Kerala history. It is part and parcel of the urban studies which has not made any significant advancement in the case of Kerala. This is a micro study of the larger problem of the First World War and the colonial world. It was difficult for me to convince all concerned regarding the availability of source materials and possibility of arriving at conclusions. The sincere support received from various corners made me bold to make the defense and pursue the work without any hinderence.

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## Glossary

<i>Adhikari</i>	:	Head of a village
<i>Amsam</i>	:	A modern land revenue division in Malabar
<i>Bazaars</i>	:	Markets
<i>Bharathamahajanasabha</i>	:	Indian National Congress
<i>Brahamavidya</i>	:	Theosophy
<i>Brahmin</i>	:	A priestly caste in the four caste classification in Hinduism
<i>Chaliya</i>	:	The caste of weavers
<i>Cherumakkal</i>	:	Slaves and agricultural labourers
<i>Inam</i>	:	A gift presented or given by a ruler
<i>Kakki</i>	:	It was a soil coloured cloth used mainly at the time of 1 <sup>st</sup> World War
<i>Kalarippayattu</i>	:	A martial art from learn from the kalari
<i>Kalari</i>	:	Centres imparting training traditional martial arts school
<i>Kasaba</i>	:	Meaning a town or the capital of a district
<i>Kovilakam</i>	:	Residence of a king
<i>Maidanam</i>	:	Open space accessible to the public
<i>Misravivaham</i>	:	Intermarriage
<i>Misrabohanam</i>	:	Inter-dining
<i>Samuthiri</i>	:	Title of the kings of Kozhikode
<i>Tali</i>	:	one the four divisions of ancient Kerala Temple (Perinchalloor, Payyannur, Paravur and Chengannur). It also means a Siva temple representing the purification of the locality through this duty.
<i>Taluk</i>	:	A revenue sub division of a district
<i>Tharavad</i>	:	Traditional joint family
<i>Thiyya</i>	:	A caste in Malabar and identified as toddy tapers
<i>Vakil</i>	:	Lawyer

## Chapter 1

# Introduction

The world witnessed a destructive war in between the years 1914-1918. It started in Europe and gradually spread to the other parts of the World. The War affected people all over the World during this period in multiple ways. Thus it became a global war. The battle known as the First World War lasted for four years and it killed not only large number of people but also spoiled huge quantity of resources. It not only changed the map of the World but also effected revolutionary changes in the everyday life of the people.

The First World War made fatal effect on the Indian society and politics. The Home Rule Movement and the unity of Indian National Congress with the Muslim League as per the Lucknow Pact was also an outcome of the World War. The War was not merely an affair of the army in the battlefield. It seriously affected the life of the people even in the regions which were not involved in the War. The market was seriously affected by the War. If it was damaging for many, the War brought fortunes to a few in the World. The Russian Revolution was a by product of the World War and it helped the Russian people to fight autocracy and landlordism with the help of Socialist ideology. The people of Malabar also came under the influence of the War in direct and indirect ways.

When compared to other wars, the First World War was totally different. In one sense, the First World War was an imperialistic war. In his book, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* V I Lenin has pointed out why the First World War was as an imperialistic war. The War was not



limited to a particular area or part of the World and hit even the huts in the most backward regions.

The First World War could make changes in the society of Malabar and its people. As a part of the War, many people were recruited and related changes occurred in their families which is to be studied in detail. Due to all wars children and women suffer innumerable miseries. Being a British colonial city, Kozhikode experienced direct impact of the War which is not explored well in historical research. The coastal city depended upon commercial crop cultivation and institutions of the German Basel Mission had to face severe impact of the World War.

Malabar was entirely different from the other districts of the Madras Presidency and its geographical and cultural aspects forced the colonial government to take special measures to control and monitor everyday life in the city. The Kozhikode city came into being under the patronage of the kings of Kozhikode called *Samuthiri*. The city was well known for its commercial activity which attracted the early *Samuthiri* kings to occupy this port town. In course of time, the city attracted Arabians, Chinese and other trading groups to the port town and thereby it became a trading point connecting the eastern and western worlds. The flow of forest goods from the interior parts of Malabar increased the significance of the town. In the later period, the fame of the city caused for the arrival of European traders especially Vasco da Gama in 1498.

The cultural and political contributions of the *Samuthiri* rulers, presence of traders and goods from different parts of the World, traders from Arabia and the presence of different religionists began to shape the life of the people in the city. The intervention of Mysorean supremacy under

Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan also made deeper impact upon the city life in the eighteenth century. Many the people came to Kozhikode for trade activities and settled in the town. Along with these, short term settlements also became a serious factor in shaping the culture in the city. The Kozhikkode port became famous all over the World due to the export of pepper, spices, cloths, and the import of gold, silver, dates etc. Traders like *koya*, *keyie*, *marakkar* and traders from Gujarat like *settumar* and *chettimar* from Tamilnadu also influenced the transformation of Kozhikkode into an international trade point.

Significant research about the city life has not taken place in the study of Kerala history. A thorough study can tell us the history of the city and shaping of life in the city. The arrival of the Basel Mission, the birth and expression of modernity through art, political activity, capitalism, print culture etc., are to be explored to study the city life in the time of the World War.

The First World War brought to Kozhikode untold miseries and fortunes to many people. The stoppage of commercial activity brought famine and poverty in the urban and rural areas. The studies on cities are very limited in Kerala. Urban studies is an emerging subject in Kerala and it requires an interdisciplinary approach. M. Raghavan's *State Failure and Human Miseries A Study with Special Focus on Famines in British Malabar* is a useful examination of the urban life in Malabar. Malabar became a district of the Madras Presidency since 1800.

During the First World War, the colonial government was trying to control public opinion and was intervening in the public space in an increased strength. The geographical and communal importance of the

Kozhikode city compelled the government to prevent political gatherings in the town. The Manachira Maidanam, a public space in the city was controlled by the police to prevent the empowerment of the public sphere during the World War. The Tali Road incident to open the public space to the untouchables and the Home Rule Movement in Malabar had become a threat to the British government.

It was in the context of the First World War, the Second Malabar District Political Conference was held in the Kozhikode town on 23 April 1917. C.P Ramaswamy Aiyer, the Secretary of the All India Congress Committee presided this Conference. P.Achuthan, K.P Kesava Menon, T.V.Sundaram, K.P.Raman Menon etc., were in charge of the Reception Committee of this Conference. The organizing committee requested the District authorities the Mananchira *Maidanam* to conduct the Conference. The government denied the *maidanam* and it became a subject of debate in the nationalist circles in Malabar. Later the Conference was held at the Tennis Court of K.P Raman Menon in the same schedule. This assembly of nationalists in Kozhikode was an important threat to the colonial government in Malabar during the World War.

C.P.Ramaswamy Aiyer addressed the Conference and portrayed the character of colonialism in India with special emphasis on Malabar. He stressed the drain of wealth from India and the help offered by the Indian people to the British in the World War. The denial of the *maidanam* for a nationalist activity was seriously discussed in the public spaces in Malabar and it compelled the nationalists to think about the requirement of a nationalist public space in Malabar. Because of the attitude of the government towards the conference, the proceedings gave care to organize

revolutionary activities like the conduct of *misrabojanam* and launched a movement to open the approach road leading to the Tali Temple for the use of the under privileged people in the city. This was an important change in the style of political activity in Kerala. There are evidences to say that the intervention of railways during the colonial period also altered the city life in Kozhikode.

This study also aims to understand the work of masonic orders in the city space during the World War. These forces were engaged in exploring favourable forces in the city life. The Scout Movement the Theosophical Society, various clubs, are examples for such activities. The deployment of War Lecturers in the town and disturbances among the *mappilamar*, toddy tappers, workers in wood factories, etc., requires serious investigation to explore popular responses during the War. The War also produced serious rumours which communicated news and among the people during the War. Recruitments to the army, indenture labour, changes in the market, knowledge of the world geography. Journalism and reading habit etc., also requires examination.

The city became crucial to the British because of the presence of the German Basel Mission and its factories. The city space was subjected to serious change under the hegemony of colonial system in the nineteenth century. The intervention of the Basel Evangelical Mission also acted as a strong force in the formation of the urban life in the modern period. The schools, hospitals, weaving and spinning units, factories and commercial shops seriously influenced the cultural life of the people in the city scape. The Basel Mission was capable to control the technological knowledge of the people and their daily life. They opened shops, factories, schools, hospitals

etc., which along with goods spread the knowledge about the outside World in Kozhikode and other towns in Malabar.

### **Research problem**

This study intends to understand the life and culture in a colonial town during a World War. An attempt is necessary to examine the everyday life of the people in the city scape of Kozhikode during the First World War. The research study is an attempt to find out people's attitude towards the War recruitment and other activities during the War and how it changed the society in Malabar. The study also attempts to explore War time rumours, political consciousness, print culture etc., in the city scape of Malabar. The colonial government undertook the duty of constructing pro- British feeling in the city surroundings and cautioned the people about the threat of German forces. The ordinary people were seriously affected by the closing down of Basel Mission shops, industries, schools and hospitals with the commencement of the War. All these shaped the life in the city scape which played a determinant role in shaping the post-World War life not only in Kozhikode but in the whole of Malabar. This study become very important when the World is living under the threat of globalization War and diseases. The result of the study would help experts to take preventive measures in the cityscape before the outbreak of such holocausts.

### **Hypothesis**

The First World War can be considered as an imperial war and as a result of the War, the Malabar society was subjected to significant transformation. Through recruitments many people were able to participate in the War. The city faced all kinds of miseries related to the War, like famine, poverty unemployment etc.

The people got the courage from the national movement and they turned against the British. The nationalist wanted to occupy the public space which was controlled by the elites in the city. With the arrival of the Basal Mission, the standard of the life of the people became better. Industrialization also became better in the city due to the intervention of German industries. The people participated in these firms and industries inspite of their caste, religious differences.

### **Objectives**

- To find out the reasons for the transformation of the World War into an imperialistic war
- To what extend the plans of Britain against Germany worked out
- To state the contribution of the people of Malabar during the World War  
Reference
- Explore the possibilities of urban history in Malabar
- To understand the process of colonial intervention to create favourable attitude among the people during the First World War.
- To understand the change in the everyday life of the people in the city.
- To understand the attitude of British government towards the German missionaries of Basel Mission during the First World War.
- To examine the defense tactics of the colonial government in the port city.
- To examine the role of war rumors in the life of the people in the city.
- To understand the impact of the First World War on the national movement in the city space.
- To understand the birth of nationalist public space, reading habit and anti-colonial sentiment in the vernacular in Kozhikode.

## Chapterisation

The thesis is set in six chapters and the first one states the research problem, hypothesis, chapterisation and review of literature. It forms as the introduction of the study. Although the World War was an affair in Europe, it had a greater effect on the life of the Malayali people. No attempt has been made to study the role of Malayalies in the World War. The people of Malabar participated in the War, both in terms of human resource and financial assistance to the imperial government. In this milieu, the second chapter entitled *The First World War: An Imperialist Conflict* attempts to read the commencement of the War in Europe. It also discusses the spread of War supplements by British India.

V I Lenin's observation that the War was an imperialistic is explored to understand the involvement of capitalist forces in the World War. Moreover the chapter also tries to find out the role of science and technology in the War. The third chapter entitled *The First World War and Malabar* talks about the contribution of Indian landlords and feudatories in the War and to what extend the people of Madras participated in the War. Above all this, it also discusses the War recruitment in Malabar and the attitude of the people of Malabar towards the War. The chapter also attempts to see the way in which the British attracted common people to the military service.

The fourth chapter entitled *Popular Responses* talks about the influence of War in Kozhikode. It talks about the suffering of the people of Malabar due to the World War. This study also discusses political changes, influence of the Indian National Congress, the Home Rule movement, District Political Conference at Kozhikode, agitation for the public space, the scout movement, etc.

The fifth chapter entitled *Industry, War and Urban Life* discusses the influence of Basel Mission and its involvement in the industrial life in the city and changes it brought in the lives of the people in Kozhikode. It also talks about changes that happened in the Basel Mission during the War and in the post War World.

The Last Chapter which is the conclusion of the thesis, fields the findings of the investigation.

### **Review of Literature**

There are numerous secondary literature discussing the First World War. Apart from historians the history of the First World War is examined by various writers, archival records, newspapers, gazetteers, pamphlets, administrative records, research thesis etc. All these attempt to tell the history of the World War in various ways. Along with these, few interviews were also conducted to collect data from scholars and activists. Various books and research articles were also used to have an understanding of the research problem identified. Newspapers and gazetteers are used as primary sources and books and other literature are used as secondary sources.

The ***War-Lecturer's Handbook*** is an original source material which talks about the participation of people in the War. This book deals with Indian soldiers who recieved Victoria Cross during the War. The War Lecturers were trained teachers deployed in the colonies to preach pro British news in the town and village spaces. It acted as a handbook for these trained preachers.

V I Lenin's ***Imperialism is the Highest Stage of Capitalism*** is a theoretical work on the question of imperialism and the World War. This



book deals with the question of capitalist competition for capturing resources and markets in the World. Lenin points out that the competition would lead to a global war between the imperialist nations and it was the high stage of capitalism. Similarly, M. Prabath Patnaik's in his ***New Imperialism*** also explores the severe competition in the market and the birth of the First World War.

In her book ***Words as Weapons: Propaganda in Britain and Germany During the First World War***, Alice Gold Farbmarsquissays that the British government used propaganda as a tool to win the War. In ***Technology Development in Coalition: The Case of the First World War Tank***, Elizabeth Green Halgh deals with the use of technology during First World War. It also discusses military tanks developed by Britain against the German, during the War in between 1917-18.

Aravind Ganachari in his book ***First World War: Purchasing Indian Loyalties, Imperial Policy of Recruitment and Rewards*** deals with War recruitments in India during the First World War. This also discusses the attitude of women towards the War. ***The Impact of the First World War on British Society*** by Arthur Marwick is about the social, political, economical changes that happened in European society during the War. Similarly the ***Kerala Sanchari, Kerala Pathrika, Nasrani Deepika, West Coast Spectator*** and ***Jenmi*** also deal with problems of price like, poverty, scarcity etc., in the Kozhikode city during the War. M. Raghavan's ***State Failure and Human Miseries: A Study with Special Focus on Famine in British Malabar*** deals with the famine occurred during the War. Moreover, this study looks at the attitude of the state towards the problems during the War. David Harvey's

***Spaces of Capital Towards a Critical Geography*** and James A. Quinn's ***Urban Sociology*** deals with the question of life in the city in a historical perspective,

Jurgen Hebaromas in his ***The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry in to a Category of Bourgeoisie Society*** deals with the public spaces. The public society is a means to form a public opinion in a social set up. And as the public form a very large section of every society, some special propaganda media will be required to talk and communicate with them. Thus newspaper, magazines, radio, television etc., become part of the public media. This has become very useful to explain the expansion of the public sphere in the cityscape of Kozhikode during the War. N. M Namboothiri in his work ***Samoothiri Charitrathile Kanappurangal*** (1987) explored the history of Kozhikode. It provides information about the city of Kozhikode in the pre-modern period. M.G.S Narayanan in his ***Calicut: The City of Truth Revisited*** gives an elaborate analysis of the structure of Kozhikode city. M.R Nair explains the condition of human life in Kozhikode and used a different style to describe the city life. K.V Krishna Ayyar, P.K.S Raja, T.B Seluraj and many other scholars have examined the history of Kozhikode city in various phases. T.V Sundara Ayyer also gives information about the political events in Malabar during the First World War.

A K Pilla, an active Congress and Socialist worker in the early twentieth century nationalist movement in Malabar wrote ***Congressum and Keralam*** in connection with the fiftieth year of the Indian National Congress in 1935. He discusses the national movement elaborately the Second District Malabar Political Conference held in Kozhikode city in 1917. Similarly K. P KesavaMenon in his ***Kazhinjakalam***, T.VGopalan in his ***Kerala Bardoli***, E.M. S Namboothirippad in his ***Keralathile Deseeya Prasnam***, Moyyarth Sanakaran in his ***EnteJeevitha Katha*** etc., explains the life of the people in

Malabar and Kozhikode during the War. M.P. NarayanaMenon, K.P KesavaMenon etc., became active in political work with particular situation emerged in Kozhikode during the War.

Jaiprakash Raghvaiah in his *Basal Mission Industries in Malabar and South Canara* debates how the Basel Mission industries changed the Malabar society. Moreover Samuel Aron's autobiography deals with the development of spinning industry in Malabar under the initiative of the Basel Mission. The educated women could become independent and they became aware of their individual freedom and rights through the activities of the Basel Mission.

### **Methodology**

The work follows a scientific and analytical method. Archival records and secondary sources are used to substantiate ideas and findings in the thesis. The use of inter-disciplinary approach helped to improve the study. An inter disciplinary methodology was required due to the shortage of archival records to tell the life in the city in the period 1914-1918. Field research was conducted with interviews and house visits. The archival documents received during the field work were very useful during the research work. The study of the urban space forced to look into the methods of research study followed in Anthropology and Sociology.

### **Relevance of the study**

The study of the popular response of the city dwellers towards a global war will help us to understand the popular responses during the time of a global catastrophe. The urban life in Kozhikode city is shaped by the involvement of the global society since the early period. Moreover it is important to see the migration of Malayali people to different parts of the

World to find out a life even in the twenty first century. In this context, the response of a Kerala cityscape to a global war is to be investigated in a detailed manner. The present study becomes highly relevant in the above context.

## Chapter 2

### **The First World War: An Imperial Conflict**

A hundred years' back the World witnessed a destructive War in between the years 1914-1918. It started in Europe and gradually spread to other parts of the World. The War affected the people all over the World in multiple ways. Thus, virtually it became a global war though the political fight took place only in some parts of Europe and Asia. The War changed the life of the people even in the regions which were not directly involved in it.

The World War fought in 1914-1918 also known as the First World War or the Great War, or a global war was mostly centered in Europe.<sup>1</sup> The War began on 28<sup>th</sup> July 1914 and lasted until 11<sup>th</sup> November 1918, more than nine million combatants and seven million civilians died as a result of the War. There are so many factors for starting First World War like aggressive nationalism, military alliances, militarism, lack of an international organization etc.<sup>2</sup>

The First World War had begun with the death of two prominent individuals. Serbian Gavarnie Principe assassinated Arch Duke Francis Ferdinand, who was the heir apparent to the throne of Austro- Hungarian Empire, and his wife. The First World War which began on 28<sup>th</sup> July 1918 ended on 11<sup>th</sup> November 1918. The War could destroy the peace of the twentieth century. Millions of innocent men were killed. Among 700 million soldiers involved in the War, almost hundred million lost their lives. Thirty

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<sup>1</sup> D.F. Fleming, *The Origins and Legacies of World War I*, George Allen and unwin limited, London, 1968.

<sup>2</sup> *Kistna Pathrika*, Masuli Patam, October 5<sup>th</sup> 1918, TSA.

million were wounded severely.<sup>3</sup> Millions of people died of poverty and epidemics during and after the War. A number of cities were destroyed completely. Agro- industrial economy was ruined. But at the same time consequent on the War tremendous changes had taken place in the field of science and technology. The League of Nations as a world organisation came into being after the War. Countries such as Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman Empire etc., were destroyed by the War. The War was followed by economic depression and the rise of fascist movements. The word 'First' was not attached to the World War till the beginning of the next world war in 1939.<sup>4</sup>

## **2.1 India and the First World War**

Indians helped Britain in the First World War. There were so many reasons for the participation of India in the First World War. The first reason is the loyalty of Indians to the King Emperor. As prominent Boer soldier, General Smuts, who defeated the Germans in South West and East Africa spoke on May 15, 1917 that 'according to the theory of British constitution the King was not merely their king but he was the king of all British colonies. The British king represented every part of the whole Commonwealth of Nations.'<sup>5</sup> The British government had announced that it was the duty of Indians to be loyal to the King, and help him in the World War, and render their service to every man in England, Australia, Canada, or in any other part

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<sup>3</sup> *Andhra Pathrika*, Madras, September 28<sup>th</sup> 1918, TSA

<sup>4</sup> *Sampad Abhyudaya*, Mysore, September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1918, TSA.

<sup>5</sup> *The common Wealth Nations* were the places which were under the colonial domination of Britain.

of the British Empire.<sup>6</sup>

The second reason why Indians help British in the First World War is that India forms part of the Empire, and also the conclusion that India's advance as a nation depended upon the defeat of German ideas, and finally the defeat of Germany was a necessary requirement for the economic advancement of India.

### **2.1.1 India forms part of the Empire**

The British Empire was not considered as an ordinary Empire like Austria, Germany or any other empire which had previously existed in the history of the World. All empires of the past have aimed at the formation of one united nation under particular individuals. They were founded on the idea of what is called assimilation, of trying to force different human beings in to the same mould, so as to form one uniform people. But the British Empire had nothing in common with these types of ideas. According to the justification of the colonial state, It was not a nation, but a great Common Wealth of Nations. It does not seek to standardize the nations composing it, but to develop them into greater nationhood.<sup>7</sup>

The British articulated that the British Empire does not mean that the people and nations composing it lose their identity and national life. According to them, the British Empire actually meant that under its protection, each nation within the great circle of the Common Wealth may

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<sup>6</sup> General Smuts' speech on May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1917 given in the *War Lecturer's Hand Book* (ed.), Central Publishing Board, Simla, n.d., p. 63. (Tamilnadu State Archives, Egmore, herein after TSA)

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

find the opportunity to develop fuller, richer, and more varied life, according to its own plan.<sup>8</sup>

The British also declared that, if Indians support British they would get freedom and liberty, and India would develop at the world level after the War. But India's economic advancement depends upon the defeat of Germany because Germans wanted monopoly of trade, control of the industry, and drive out all competitors'. Germany, according to Britain wanted to get the entire line of trade under their control and they also wanted other countries to depend upon their mercy. If Indians support Britain, Indians would be rewarded with freedom and liberty.

### **2.1.2 Turkey and the First World War**

Immediately after the commencement of the War, Turkey joined the German alliance. There was a peculiar reason for the formulation of this move. Britain knew that they cannot win the war without the support of Muslims. This made the Indian Viceroy and the British Prime Minister to give Muslims several promises for support. These promises said that Britain had no plan either to drive Turks away from their capital, or to conquer their prosperous lands or their holy places. It was promised that a fair decision will be taken at the end of the War.' The Turkish Muslims trusted these words and they helped Britain in all possible ways. The non-Muslim communities in India showed their solidarity towards the Muslims and Khilafat committees were founded all over India. Non-Muslims were also acted as the leaders of the Khilafat movement. For instance, the secretary of the Khilafath

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<sup>8</sup> General Smuts said, "And every nations who have fought against you like my own, must feel that they and their interests, their language, their religions, and all their cultural interests are as safe and as secure under the British flag as those of the children of your own household and of your own blood". *Ibid.*, p. 69.



committee in Kozhikode was U. Gopala Menon. Those who stood to construct communal harmony took the lead in the establishment of khilafath committees. Later, khilafath committees were formed jointly with the Congress committees in local provinces. The unified activities of these movements had created panic in the colonial authorities. Various kinds of petty cases were charged in the names of the Khilafath activists in places like Ponnani and Thalipparamba in Malabar. The number of political activities was very limited during this time. The colonial state tried to charge police cases in the names of these activists. In his autobiography, Moidu Maulavi states that 'in order to keep him aback from the political activities, the police had approached even his aged mother and at last it was solved by a lot of discussions'. He also adds that 'there was no other place obliging than Kozhikode in Kerala for political and social activism. So that was the significance of Kozhikode at such a historical juncture'.<sup>9</sup>

It was generally believed that British people had suffered several setbacks and financial sufferings during the First World War. News spread by soldiers who participated in the War added fuel to it<sup>10</sup>. Whether this was true or false, many Muslims in Malabar considered it true. The idea further strengthened when the British troops in Malabar were called back and their remaining possessions were auctioned out. It was also felt that the British were now not strong enough to maintain their supremacy in India. Another news spread was that the British had demolished several holy places of the Muslim in Asia. Indian Muslims believed that the ruler of Turkey was their religious head. They had a close contact with Turkey as they went for the

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<sup>9</sup> E. Moidu Moulavi, *Moulaviyude Atmakatha* (mal.), Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society Limited, Kottayam, 1981, pp. 17-20.

<sup>10</sup> In the paper *Malabar Islam* also mention the issue of Turkey in the First World War (*Malabar Islam*, Cranganore, February 5<sup>th</sup>, 1915, TSA).

*haji*. Sources also say that the demolition of the holy places was false news. However, the Muslim held it to be true.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.1.3 Silk Letter Conspiracy

The Silk Letter Conspiracy was a movement during the First World War to dispel British from India and to turn the War in support of the Turkey Sulthan. The movement got such a name because the message was written in a silk cloth which was kept inside the coat of the messenger.<sup>12</sup>

The pan-Islamic Movement of Turk revolutionaries had given birth to this movement. The pan-Islamic movement was begun as a move against the interference of the westerners in Asian and African Islamic nations in the nineteenth century. And its aim was to set the Islamic people against the Christian Europe. Turkey joined the alliance of Germany in 1914. As the Khalif, the Sulthan of Turkey proclaimed *jihad*<sup>13</sup>, the Indian Muslims stood against the British. It was planned to set Indian Muslims and Muslim soldiers in British army against the British government. The leaders of Indian pan-Islamic movement had met in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. In order to influence the Sulthan of Afghanistan and to invite him to join with the Turks, there was a mission in Kabul named the Turk-German Mission. At the same time, the renowned revolutionaries like Raja Mahendra Prathap and Barkkathullah had given them whole hearted support. By considering Kabul as the centre of the movement, the leaders made a strong network of followers inside and outside India. Through the network, they had

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<sup>11</sup> K. Gopalankutty, *Malabar Padanangal* (mal.), The State Institute of Languages, Thiruvananthapuram, 2007, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> N. P. Nayar, *Jalianwala Durantham* (mal.), D. C. Books, Kottayam, 1988, p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> It is a holy war conducted by believers of Islam against unbelievers.

distributed anti-British pamphlets in India which were printed in Kabul and Germany.

Meanwhile, the Punjab Government received few silk letters from a messenger in 1916. Thus, the government came to know about the movement and its plan. Subsequently, there was mass arrest following the incident and thus the silk letter movement came to an end.

#### **2.1.4 America and the First World War**

America had played a very important role in the First World War. The very first thing was that America had given big amounts to the allied powers in to support war efforts. Most of the borrowed amount was spent in America itself. Second one was the help in terms of human resources. America had helped united alliance with a large number of men to the submarines. Britain reached at the brim of poverty in 1917.<sup>14</sup> During this time, a fleet of war ships had reached British sea and it was a great relief to Britain. America had also increased the number of army men. America was decided to increase the strength of their army and as a part of it somany people came forward to register their names. In connection with the many people was sent to foreign countries and other groups was sent to the revolutionary front of France.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> In April 1917, America became a part of the War. They began to give military training for their men even one year before that. Around two lakh soldiers were there in 1917 in the War and it was increased in the later years. See *The Great War*, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1920, PP.71-73.

<sup>15</sup> C. P. Hill, *American Aikya Nadinte Charitram*, trans.,Kuttanad, K.Ramakrishna Pillai (mal.), Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 1993, pp. 258-259.

The very first American army reached France in 1917. They joined united alliance defended the progress of Germany under the leadership of General Pershing. In July 1917 they took part in a crucial marine war<sup>16</sup>. The American military fought meticulously even when the spring was progressing. German generals thought that the War will end even before the American military reach the European land. But things went against that and their failure had begun. The military of both the united alliance and Germany were tired of the War. Although the new Americans could energetically fight in the war field they faced a lot of loss. The American army lost about 50,000 soldiers and 2,06,000 were severely injured.<sup>17</sup>

A very important thing to be noted was that the American government had imposed several restrictions on the internal affairs too. This interference had affected all the walks of life in America. Compulsory military training was one of the important effects in the context of the War. The task of rail-road construction went to the government. William Mcadoo became the new rail-road Director General. 2,00,000 million dollars were incorporated for the requirement of War. The accumulation and expenditure of this amount was under his control.<sup>18</sup> In America, one third of the amount was collected from the tax. Liberty loans, or the war bonds, filled up the

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<sup>16</sup> In *Malayala Manorama* of the 6<sup>th</sup> February also mention about the Neutrality of America in the First World War and about the contribution given to Britain. (*Malayala Manorama*, Kottayam, February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1915, TSA.

<sup>17</sup> America played an important role in the First World War. In France, British armies almost broke under the heavy attacks in March 1918, and it was the fresh, huge American army that provided the superiority necessary for victory. If Americans did not help, it was very difficult to fight with Germans. Vide Bernadotte Schmitt, *The First World War, 1914-1918*, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 103, no. 3, (June 15, 1959), www.Jstor.org. Accessed on 12-5-2016, 9.24 A.M, p. 329.

<sup>18</sup> C.P. Hill, *American Aikya Nadinte Charitram*, *Op.cit.*, pp . 258-259.

remaining amount. He made a huge campaign for the accumulation of this amount all over America<sup>19</sup>.

The American government regulated the industrial sector under its strong curb. The production of essential commodities had been cut short. America had to face days without wheat and meat<sup>20</sup>. Public information committee was appointed in order to control the citizens and its director was George Creel. He worked all the way to create a negative impression about Germany and a positive attitude to help the war. The suspects were caught and severely punished. Severe laws were made against spies and traitors. Eugene Debs, the socialist leader, was punished for ten years imprisonment. All these laws, which were proclaimed by Woodrow Wilson, were against the right to freedom of expression as envisaged in the constitution. These actions expressed the imperialist character of the World War<sup>21</sup>.

Woodrow Wilson remembered the participation of the United States in the First World War and also for the role he played in bringing peace. In 1914, the Americans perceived the War as something that takes place far away even though they were shocked by its outbreak.<sup>22</sup>

The German army declared in 1915 that all ships around the British Islands would be sunk. Wilson warned the German leaders that he would never forsake the right of the US to conduct trade in the seas. He also

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<sup>19</sup> Arthur. S.Link, (ed.,) *The Impact of World War I*, Harper and Row Publishers, London, 1969.

<sup>20</sup> *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan* stated that Indians were Intelligent and they also argued that nobles and other Indians should come forward to help Britain. In their war efforts like America (*Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, Madras September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1918, TSA).

<sup>21</sup> Jere Clemens King, (ed.,) *The First World War*, Harper and Row Publishers, London, 1972, PP.271-273.

<sup>22</sup> K. P. Krishna Pilla, *Americayum Canadayum* (mal.), D. C. Books, Kottayam, 1977, p. 60.

warned them against any loss that may occur to the Americans or American ships<sup>23</sup>.

In the spring of 1915, the German sunk Lusitania, a British ship that had 1200 passengers including 126 Americans. This generated much revengefulness among the Americans. But the Germans agreed that they would limit the War by submarines and there was peace for the time being. People felt that Wilson saved America from the War and it helped him with elections in 1916.

But this hope of peace didn't last long. Germany began to unleash its sea war. In April 1917, five American ships were sunk. Then Wilson urged the Congress to declare war. America entered the war field with its army, labour and industrial power. By October 1918, there was 17.5 lakhs of American soldiers in France.<sup>24</sup> The entry of America, thus enlarged the imperial manifestation of the World War and it had reflections in other parts of the World.

### **2.1.5 The First World War: A Theoretical Understanding**

Though the First World War was fought in Europe, the fact is that many Indians contributed it manually and financially. Douglas Hurd is of the opinion that the War nullified the prospects of the resurrection of Germany. Hurd opines that it was England's role and victory that led to the victory in the War. It is said that the British kept away their enemy countries in Asia

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<sup>23</sup> *Andhraprakashika*, Madras, January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1918, TSA.

<sup>24</sup> Most of the American considered it an European War in the beginning. But, soon, the economic relations brought them also into the War. The American experts wanted the U S to declare war on the foes as it had advanced huge sums to the Allies. But the war lasted long and the trench warfare needed huge funding. The powers had to gather more funds. See Chengannur Sankara Warriar, *Loka Nagarikathayude Charithram* (mal.), National Printing Works, Trivandrum, 1975, p. 736.

and Africa from War in order to protect their commercial interests. He also describes how the German naval force that was not even half of the British navy was slowly weakened. However the German historian Fritz Fischer does not agree with this argument. Fisher says that Germany was forever afraid of Russia and it is the fear of Russian army that led Germany to attack France. But both these arguments have serious flaws. The role of the third world nations in the First World War was significant. India thought of taking part in the War when internal matters were really pressing. The Indian National Congress was in an effort to establish own-government. The truth was that the capital for the War was raised by the Indian elite and not by the Englishmen.<sup>25</sup>

One lakh *gurkha*<sup>26</sup> men joined the Indian soldiers from Nepal alone for the First World War. It was thus that the title *gurkha* army was used. The aim of the British was to prove the might of the empire by using the army in Britain and its colonies. Britain was ready for any soothing talks with Indians to ensure their support in the War. Even the wives of Indian army officers weaved woolen clothes for the British, which were later exported to France.

The First World War would be the first war in the world to create countless women nurses. It can also be said that a new chapter in social service, medical science and hospital, began with the First World War. It was a surprise that most of the women who served the handicapped and mortally wounded lived to a ripe, old age of hundred. Nurses tried not to drive the enemies away but to bring them closer and most of them had more

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<sup>25</sup> P. Krishnuni, 'Samaadanam Oru Viswasam Mathramanu', vol. 92, no. 18, *Mathrubhumi Supplement*, July 2014, pp. 14-15.

<sup>26</sup> Natives of Nepal who were excellent in Martial acts. They were disciplined and highly dedicated.

than one love affair. There was a mutual exchange of languages and cultures during taking care of the war victims. The leaders in war time medical services were the Red Cross Society and the St. John Emergency Care of England. Many of them wrote down their daily memoirs. K.E. Luard's memoirs reveal that for him, war was not just the destruction of courageous, youthful men but also that of the families that sent them to the War. Only few women were audacious enough to cover the faces of those who die on the hospital beds and to carry off their bodies on stretchers to dispose them off. This was because the Nurses were emotionally close to the victims they cared for. Luard was of the habit of talking about dreams to those nearing death. It was a truth that the love of the women was not just mere service; their maternal love had given new life to many stranger soldiers at times<sup>27</sup>. Anne Powel's *Women in the Warzone: Hospital Service in the First World War* analyses the stories and memoirs of many such nurses.

### **2.2.1 War Propaganda in Malabar**

Britain feared Germany during the World War. So they used their most treacherous plans against Germany. At the time of the War, there were two groups among the people in Malabar and a majority supported the Germans. The colonial state knew it very well. So they used the most high and influential individuals among the people to do pro-British propaganda. After that through journals like *Jenmi*<sup>28</sup> and several War supplements they made a notion that Germany was the cruelest nation and Britain as the savior country. In these publications, they never blamed nations who supported Germany. Instead, they blamed Germany by accusing that

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<sup>27</sup> Santanu Das, *Touch and intimacy in the First World War Literature*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2008, P.192-193.

<sup>28</sup> *Jenmi* Magazine dealing only about landlords.



Germany was responsible for the War. Britain used War campaigns as a tool to get the support of the people and they succeeded in that<sup>29</sup>.

### **2.2.2 Wellington House and the British Propaganda**

During the First World War, Germans poured out propaganda in the form of posters, leaflets and pamphlets, in an attempt to deface Germany. But at the same time, the British government was greatly disturbed by the virulence of the German campaign, which was specially directed towards influencing the United States of America.<sup>30</sup>

At the end of August 1914, the matter was raised in the British Cabinet. Lloyd George, British minister urged the importance of setting on foot an organization to inform and influence public opinion abroad and to confute German mis-statements and sophistries. On 5<sup>th</sup> September the cabinet decided that steps were to be taken without delay to counteract the dissemination of false news abroad by Germany. Though there had been no peace time precedent, the cabinet accepted the need for an organization to co-ordinate propaganda directed at foreign opinion for the duration of the War.<sup>31</sup> There was increased intervention in Malabar through various cultural practices to ensure support of the people to Britain. These interventions manifested in the city of Kozhikode in various ways<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> The British Government had appointed so many C.I.D to investigate whether the people of Colony joining the side of Germany. (*Swadesha Mithran*, Madras, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1918, TSA).

<sup>30</sup> M. L. Sanders, 'Wellington House and British Propaganda during the First World War', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 18, no. 1, March 1975, Cambridge University, <http://www.Jstor.org>. Accessed on 12-5-2016, 09.20 A.M, p. 119.

<sup>31</sup> For the next two years, Wellington House was the main centre of British propaganda organisation.

<sup>32</sup> Britain had distributed somany pamlets criticizing Germany in their colonies during First World War. (*G.O.No.789* April, 17<sup>th</sup> 1915, TSA)

### 2.2.3 Words as Weapons: The British War Propaganda

Understanding the danger to the empire, the British skillfully used all eight basic categories of propaganda methods.<sup>33</sup>

No.	Propagation Method
1	Stereotypes (bull-necked Prussian officers)
2	Pejorative names (Huns, Boches)
3	Selection and omission of facts (evacuations called 'rectifications of the line' and retreats unmentioned).
4	atrocities stories (Belgian nuns raped hands of babies severed)
5	Slogans (war to end wars)
6	One-sided assertions (small victories inflated, large defeats censored)
7	Pin pointing the enemy (German Militarists)
8	The 'band wagon effect' (all patriotic people join the Army)

### 2.2.4 War Propaganda in Malayalam

The British planned effective war propaganda during the First World War. According to the *Mein Kampf* 'the failure of German war propagation was clear as daylight. This failure inspired Hitler to study more about propagation of ideas. According to Hitler, German intelligentsia was not ready to learn from these because they thought themselves as superior to others in intelligence. Germany fought for lofty things in war and fought for

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<sup>33</sup> Alice Goldfarb Marquis, 'Words as Weapons: Propaganda in Britain and Germany during the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 13, no. 3, (July 1978), Sage Publications Limited, <http://www.jstor.org>. Accessed on 4-5-2016, 08.59 A.M, p. 486.

the independence, pride and better future of the nation. According to Hitler, a nation devoid of self-pride will lose independence'.<sup>34</sup>

For Germany, the War was for existence. Thus the propagation unit had to pave way for success rather than exhorting for fighting the aim of the existence of Germany. Propagation meant the real fact brought in front of the people. Propagation was only a tool for an aim and it was to be presented in a very simple method and it meant propaganda was to be popular. It was to be presented in such a manner that the last in the society also must get it easily.<sup>35</sup> During a war the lowest sections in the society receives the best attention.

The propaganda is successful on the basis of how far it addresses the popular feelings and how well prepared its presentation is. That is the only criterion to evaluate it; the certificate of a few artists or intellectuals is of no use in this case. The art of propaganda is to convey the messages in such a way that it touches the heart of everyone in the society and catches everyone's attention.

A good example of the wrong way of propaganda that done by the German and Austrian newspapers by depicting their enemies mean and by ridiculing them. The low estimation of the rival itself was essentially a fault. The German soldiers understood this when they faced their enemy in the

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<sup>34</sup> See Ralph Manheim, *Hitler's main Kampf*, Hutchinson and Co.Ltd., London, 1936, P.161-169.

<sup>35</sup> Once the preparation for war with well equipped weapons was ready, all the six continents and the five seas got tangled in a war-like situation. A unit of German soldiers crossed Belgium and entered France hoping to grab more territories with the help of the Allies, Italy left the central powers and started her attempt to capture the German colonies in the East and declared war against Japan and Germany. See Chengannur Sankara Warriar, *Loka Nagarikathayude Charitram*, National Printing Works, Trivandrum, 1975, p. 736.

battle field. And the result was catastrophic. Now, each German soldier felt that he was being deceived. Instead of inspiring this finally demoralized them.<sup>36</sup>

On the contrary, the British and American propaganda was psychologically effective. By imagining the Germans as barbarians like the Huns who destroyed Europe in the fourth century, they were preparing their soldiers to face any kind of atrocities in the battle field. Thus, all that they experienced in War was only what was expected. As they found what they knew War right, they became more revengeful. Even the destruction spread by the German weapons was only what was expected.

In effect, British soldiers felt nothing that they heard earlier wrong. The Germans experienced the opposite. Finally, they had to convince themselves that what they were told by their own men was all wrong. This tragedy was a result of the German inability to understand the significance of propaganda. They did not know that the best available brains were to be used for the task. Their propaganda became an example for how it should not be done.

They were able to achieve a kind of moral unity through the stories of the German invasions and terror. This was a more in full understanding of the popular psychology. The declaration that Germany alone was responsible for the War was apt to popular sentiments. It was a lie but people believed it.

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<sup>36</sup> Adolf Hittler debates the significance of propaganda in the War. See Ralph Manheim, *Hitler's main Kampf*, Hutchinson and Co.Ltd., London, 1936, P.161-169.

### **2.2.5 War Propaganda in Malayalam**

From 28<sup>th</sup> August 1914 onwards the Belgium Commission published various reports. All cruelties done by the Germans were explained in it. Following are the crimes done by the Germans according to the report of the Commission:

1. The Germans massacred thousands of innocent Belgian women and children
2. Molested thousands of women
3. When the Germans enter the town they attack and burgle the pubs or houses to get booze
4. When the German soldiers looted the wealth of Belgium and send abroad all of them to their motherland, the German authorities were well aware of the fact.
5. They had done a lot of other crimes along with the plunder
6. They destroyed the whole town
7. Thousands of men were massacred A number of innocent men were kept in the custody of the German army to bring the Belgians into the control of Germans. and if any Belgian tries to do any offense, Germans will kill an innocent one in their custody
8. A lot number of people have been abducted and they were forced to do many acts against Belgium and in support of Germany. No one heard anything of such kidnapped people.
9. Enforced a high tax on the towns and villages. Whenever the German army faced defeat in front of the Belgian army, German army tormented the Belgians in the name of that defeat
10. They destroyed a number of monuments

11. Germany had denied all the customs regarding war. Among them the most important one was that they put the Belgians in between them and their enemies in the war field
12. But the German government never tried to analyze these things at all. They had appointed a committee to enquire whether there is anything happened against the war law in Belgium. They took the decision against the Belgians according to the reports they got from German soldiers and officers.<sup>37</sup>

They had reported that the German soldiers behaved in utmost good manner. But the guilty of the German soldiers could be proven from the evidences collected by the German commission itself. In short, no matter whether it is Germans or British in the case of threatening people with no respect whether they belong to one's own country or any other country. The aim in front of them was the gaining of the victory.<sup>38</sup>

It was believed that the Austrian government's suspicion whether the murder of the Austrian King and Queen was with the sanction and help of certain ministers was a reason behind the War. The incident was described in Malayalam literature. Even though Austria's suspicion was real, this reason was only a silly, immediate cause of the War.<sup>39</sup> It was not serious enough to divide the European nations into two opposite fighting leagues and finally leading to the War. Wars like this were never fought to test the powers of two forces. In fact, they were wars between the opposing ideas and ideologies in the minds of entirely opposite people. The war was fought

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<sup>37</sup> The Malayalam literature of the early twentieth century did pro-British propaganda by explaining the cruelties of the Germans through the style of the *Mahabharatha* story. Vide C. Krishna Panikkar, *Belgium Parvam* (mal.), n.d., p. 65.

<sup>38</sup> C. Krishna Panikkar, *Belgium Parvvam* (mal.), (n.d.), p. 67.

<sup>39</sup> K. R. Krishna Pillai, *Europile Yudham- I* (mal.), (n.d.), p. 3.

between Germany's desire to win the World and establish its autocracy and the opposite league's desire not to fall into the hands of the enemy and to uphold their freedom and masculinity. It was the war between worst ideologies and ideal ideologies; the war between manpower and rationality. The cause of the war was Germany's excessive greed itself.

By this time, Germany had become England's direct enemy. England never had to face such a powerful enemy as Germany. Germany was a rich country. Germany's material prosperity gained out of numerous handy works and unlimited trade was enough to make the other countries envious and frightened. No country had a large and skilled army force as Germany. Germany was next only to England in their naval force. With the use of science and technology like chemistry, they created many arms and armaments like sepelin aeroplanes which terrorized their enemies.<sup>40</sup>

For the other countries, the German policy was unjust. The German government never hesitated to be treacherous in its dealings with other countries. Germany threw to wind the justice and promises when it came to its case. They believed in the 'survival of the fittest'. Because of its selfishness, its fundamental belief was to better Germany by hook or crook, harming the other countries. The three ideas well laid in the German mind were the reasons for the War. (1) Glorification of war (2) Germany's right to sovereignty over the World (3) Germany's disrespect to pledges. They were of the belief that however strong their promises are, that are never above the welfare of their nation.<sup>41</sup> Thus, there was a conscious effort to depict Germany as an evil force in Malayalam literature.

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, (n,d), p. 4.

<sup>41</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 13.

## 2.2.6 Britain against Enemy Countries

Britain feared that Indian people were supporting Germany during the World War. Germany had agents even in villages since the country had trade contacts with India. German merchants were doing commerce in villages, bazaars etc., and German missionaries were spreading a German form of Christianity and a German form of civilization in several countries. In addition to this, the Germans also maintained good relationship with Muhammadan people all over the World. But the Indian princes and educated people supported the British.<sup>42</sup> In fear of the German popularity in India, the British government passed many Acts during the time the World War. Some of them are:

1. An Act to prohibit or control trading by hostile foreigners and hostile firms and for other purposes.<sup>43</sup>
2. An Act to provide for the trial by court martial of foreigners for offences against the defense of India rules.<sup>44</sup>
3. An Act to provide further power to prohibit or restrict the import and export of goods to and from British India.<sup>45</sup>
4. An Act to control factories and other firms under the Governor General.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> T. G. Hodger, *A Short History of the First World War*, Mac Millan, London, 1921, pp. 29-30.

<sup>43</sup> *Fort St. George Gazette* (here after FSG), October 3, 1916, Kerala State Regional Archives, Kozhikode, hereafter *KSRAK*.

<sup>44</sup> *FSG*, April 4, 1916, *KSRAK*.

<sup>45</sup> *FSG*, October 3, 1916, *KSRAK*.

<sup>46</sup> *FSG*, December 10, 1916, *KSRAK*.



5. An Ordinance to provide for the control of persons entering British India whether by sea or land.<sup>47</sup>

### **2.2.7 Britain and the War Supplement**

In order to turn people against Germany, Britain had distributed war supplements even in India. One War Supplement issued by the British government talked about the cruelty of Germans. These pamphlets accused that Germany was responsible for the commencement and spread of the War and its spread to Russia and France. When Germany behaved cruel to Belgium, which was comparatively a small country, Britain joined with Belgium against Germany. Some of the supplements compared this war with the *mahabharatha* battle. It said that when *kurukshethra* battle was extended to eighteen days, the World War extended more than that. In such write-ups the British were displayed as a good force working for the well-being of the mankind. It also added that the British was going to win the war as always and it was a principle that the British will win all important wars fought by them. The situation of Germany was going to be very pathetic as Britain had captured most of the places belonged to Germany during the War. This literature explained that Britain had imprisoned all Germans who tried to flee from the war field and captured weapons used by German forces. It concluded that Germany lost at least a million soldiers in the war field.<sup>48</sup>

Germans were living in many countries including India but all of them were captivated during the War. German ships couldn't sail properly as British ships were waiting with its flag of destruction everywhere. Thus, it

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<sup>47</sup> FSG, September 5, 1914, KSRAC.

<sup>48</sup> FSG, September 10, 1918, KSRAC.

was not possible to help the Germans who were living in different countries. The story told that Germans were becoming weak day by day during the War. As the English vessels had protected ships of other countries, the people belonging to these countries supported the united alliance. This united alliance was thus able to win the war. These countries sent manual strength, canons and guns, food crops and war vessels. The English in return appreciated them with all efforts. The British population in totality fought the War and colonies also supported war efforts in an effective way<sup>49</sup>.

### **2.2.8 Display of Germany Misrule**

Britain ruled India with the help of a large number of British and Indian forces. Similarly, Germany also ruled many small countries in the World. Britain and the united alliance had conquered those countries ruled by Germany. Those countries which were ruled by Britain were known 'colonies'. In English language, the country to which people of another country migrates in order to live or to rule, was known as a colony. Most of the German colonies were originated during the middle of the nineteenth century. Britain explained the 'failure of Germany in the administration of colonies'. It meant that Germany couldn't rule their colonies well. The particular way in which the German people were trained by their country was pointed out as the reason for the cruelty against other nationalities.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> In *Malayala Manorama* an article entitled "*German Rule over her colonies*" They argued that the European colonies consider their colonies only as a source of raw materials and they were not in civilizing or enlightening the savage population of the colony. But there were also instances of some social reforms initiated by Britain like abolition of slave trade etc. (*Malayala Manorama*, Kottayam, September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1918, TSA.

<sup>50</sup> In an article about the War in *New York Times*, the reasons for why Germany should definitely be defeated in the war was discussed. These arguments explained that Germany was going to perish and the country was unable to fight the enemies. Quoted in *Mithavathi*, vol. XIII, no. 12, p. 7.

British literature explained that those who refuse to serve the army in Germany were treated as low class people and this made them more aggressive<sup>51</sup>.

Quite against this, the same literature attempted to display the humaneness of the British government and forces of the united alliance during the War. It was said that the German had forced the Muhammedan people of East Africa to convert their religion and to work for the Germans. It also warned that, if Germany enter India, the situation of Indians will not be much different than the people of France and Germany. The British warned that Indian women, temples and mosques of the country will be attacked and destroyed by the German forces. Against these, the literature said that the British army conquered places like Bagdad and Jerusalem but showed due respect to the beliefs and places of worship of the natives. The British were not ready to attack cities as they feared their guns might destroy places of worship inside the city. This propaganda was done to gain the support of the Indian people towards Britain<sup>52</sup>. Indians were offered rewards for support in the following way:

1. They can join the waged army
2. They can join the Indian army
3. Either they can pay money directly to the loan of war or they can buy the war promissory notes through mail
4. They can help the government by not collecting silver

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<sup>51</sup> *Mukhbir-i-Dakhan*, Madras September 25<sup>th</sup>, 1918, TSA.

<sup>52</sup> During the War period News paper like Kerala Kesari published article supporting British and opposing Germany. And it also praised America for supporting Britain and urged India to act like America by supporting in the War. (*Kerala Kesari*, vol.4, no.24, 1904, p.609).

5. They can help the government by not travelling in the train, but only if required
6. By using home products than the foreign products they can rely upon the ships lesser, thereby those ships can be used for the war
7. Indians have to lend a helping hand in the war in order to live a secure and prosperous life without a war for the entire world.

These rewards were made to cheat the Indian public and to ensure the support of the people in favour of Britain. The literary propaganda was effectively used to brain wash the educated intelligentsia and the reading public<sup>53</sup>. Among the ideas used, the major theme was depiction of Germany as an evil force to be eliminated from the World. These were relevant to the people in Malabar due to the fact that there were German people present in the terrain as missionaries of the Basel Mission during the commencement of the War. There were huge numbers of people associated with Basel Mission industries, schools and factories in Malabar during this period.

### **2.2.9 A Sad Story of a Big Nation**

In a War Supplement published in Malayalam, the British told that Germany was responsible for the breakdown of Russia. It said that Russia was the biggest state in Europe in accordance with the area and demographic strength. There is a land named Siberia in the eastern side of Russia which was also under the control of Russia. There was an extensive area of agricultural lands in both these places. Britain accused that German intervention in Russia was the reason for all troubles in Russia during the World War. All these show that, the British government was intervening in

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<sup>53</sup> *Hindu Nesan*, Madras, January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1918, TSA.

the cultural life of Malabar by distributing literature and doing public propaganda. The result was the entry of politics, especially international politics even in the nook and corners of the Indian society. In some places it created adverse effects by producing anti- British sentiments. This was the reason for the widespread pro German and Pro Russian support seen in Malabar during the First World War. This has got increased relevance in the case of the Kozhikode city as it was the hub literary activities in Malabar.

#### **2.2.10 *Janmi* monthly and the First World War**

An important Malayalam publication in Malabar, the *Janmi* took special interest in publishing news related with the World War. Being a publication of the land lord class in Malabar it stood to protect the interests of Britain.<sup>54</sup> The result was the filtration of the War information through the land lord class to the ordinary masses. Among the news printed in *Janmi*, there were news related to the events in Austria, Russia and other countries in the World. This naturally widened the known World of the Malayali public. Special attention was given to portray Germany as a cruel nation in the magazine. Germany's attempt to attack France, Belgium and England was published with due importance in the magazine.<sup>55</sup> These were attempts to intervene in the public opinion in Malabar. The imperial motives of Britain forced the country to make false propaganda to ensure the defeat of Germany even in the countries which were not involved in the War.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> *Janmi*, vol. VII, no. 4, 2014, p. 112.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, P.112.

<sup>56</sup> Prabath Patnaik, *Puthiya Samrajyathwam* (mal.), transl., Insight Publication, Kozhikode, 2014, p.67.

### 2.3.1 Technology in the First World War

The World had changed too much during the World War. As result of this, the War in the twentieth century was different from the earlier battles. The World was united into a common place due to technological and commercial connections. The connection made by colonialism was also important. Germany had become an advanced nation in Europe in terms of technology<sup>57</sup>. Since Germany used advanced technology it could expand its commerce which alarmed its neighbours.<sup>58</sup> The city of Kozhikode also experienced this advancement of German technology in the nineteenth century itself through the Basel Mission. Industries, printing, schooling, health care etc., underwent significant transformation in Malabar under the influence of the Basel Mission. This definitely made reflection in the events related to the World War in the city scape.

### 2.3.2 First World War and the Use of Poisonous Gas

Being an imperialistic war, the First World War, in comparison to the other wars took place with innovative warfare and technology. The World War which took place in between 1914 and 1918 saw the betterment of ammunitions and their use. Aeroplanes, submarines and poisonous gases were the new introductions in this War. Among these, the use of poison gases was the most important.<sup>59</sup> Malayali reading public took interest in understanding this information during this time. There were endeavours from the side of the colonial government to use children and pro-British

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<sup>57</sup> *Sampad Abhyudaya*, Mysore, April 12<sup>th</sup>, 1916, TSA.

<sup>58</sup> Bernadotte E. Schmitt, 'The First World War, 1914-1918' in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 103, no. 3, (June 15, 1959), <http://www.jstor.org/> Accessed on 12-5-2016 09:24 A M., p. 322.

<sup>59</sup> During the time of First World War Germany was the most advances nation in Europe. *Sanathana Dharmam* (mal.), vol. XVI, no.1, January 1926, p. 13.

agents to watch the city scape, ports, sea shores etc., to prevent the entry of strangers and anti- British people in Malabar during the War period.

### **2.3.3 Entry of Tanks and Submarines**

The army tank was a war vehicle was developed by Britain during the First World War. The sub marine was developed by Germany. Both became determining factors during the World War. The threat of a submarine attack on India was always expected by the Indian government. The result was the much debated Emden rumour and panic in the coastal towns in India during the World War.<sup>60</sup> The Emden panic might have made similar panic in Kozhikode as it was a major town under the control of the British government. These new technological non Malayalam words made significant transformation in the print language in Kerala during the First World War.

### **2.3.4 Result of the Colonial War**

Far reaching results occurred in the colonies due to the First World War. The colonialists considered colonies as a valuable treasure which can be used at the time of the War. A lot of soldiers were recruited from the colonies like India and Africa for the western war fronts. Thousands of Vietnamese were brought to France for digging trenches and other activities during the War. The sea war, especially the attack of the German submarines, had destroyed the commercial relation between the Europe and India. From there onwards it became difficult to sell machineries required for the colonies. This situation helped America and Japan positively. Their export to the colonies had increased tremendously. Along with the empowerment

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<sup>60</sup> Sak Bushom and Thimothi Beeli Ignatius, 'Nalpathu Yudha Bhoopadangaal' in *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol. 92, no. 18, July 2014, p. 37.

of the economic- political relation with China, they militated to the countries like Indonesia and Philippines. Life became troublesome in Asia and Africa. The restriction in selling agricultural goods was a big blow on the peasants and prices of goods increased. At the same time the national bourgeoisie got an upper hand in the country. In order to keep away America and Japan from the markets, many governments helped the bourgeoisie in an increased way. They had also done multiple actions to promote small scale industry in the country.<sup>61</sup> The bourgeoisie demanded participation in the formation of government and other reforms. The Indian National Congress in its Lucknow Conference demanded increased power for the regional governments, chances for Indians to occupy higher positions in the army, right to control taxation, and strict regulations in the economic matters related to India. The Home Rule League was planned in India to campaign for this agenda under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Thilak and Annie Besant<sup>62</sup>.

The imperialist powers had to use new methods to regulate the movements of trade unions and labourers born out in India during the War. In order to get the support of the rich and bourgeoisie classes, the colonial powers offered a number of promises. These imperial forces were international in character and were watching all developments in the World. Anti-imperial movements were started in some parts of Asia and Africa during the War.

#### **2.4.1 The Tide of Revolution in Russia**

Adding strength to the transformation in the public space, the Russian revolution of 1917 influenced the people of Asia and Africa in a powerful

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<sup>61</sup> *Loka Charitram*, History Institute in the Science Academy of Soviet Union, Prabhatam Printing and Publishing Company Limited, Trivandrum, 1977, pp. 619 – 622.

<sup>62</sup> *West Coast Spectator*, Calicut, February 27<sup>th</sup>, 1919, TSA.



way during the First World War.<sup>63</sup> The Russian revolution of 1917 was solace to the working classes and the peasantry and the subaltern class in the World. In order to get a stronger position in the colonies, the British imperialists gave more importance to the preferences of imperialist nations and they were ready to become part of the imperialist set up in India. The British government had given support for these Indian imperialist devotees in order to make a ground support in India from among them. In the other words, these imperial devotees, instead of making British rule weak, they tried to make it powerful through the political context which existed then.

Here comes the importance of Russian revolution because the commotion made by the revolution had reached even the third world countries. The Russian revolution was one of the important reasons which influenced the Malayalees to act against the World War. The agonies in life appeared with the outbreak of the War helped the people to understand their strength and weakness.

The Russian revolution of 1917 was one of the greatest events happened in World history. The modern world was eagerly observing each and every change that happens in Russia. If the situation in the country was not favourable, these changes could not have happened. The Russian revolution did not take place in a day but it was the outcome of increasing sense of liberty, patriotism and sacrifices.<sup>64</sup>

The slow pace of the War affected the economies of most European countries. Food stuff availability decreased. Standard of living fell beyond control. The bourgeoisie made profits boundlessly. This opened the eyes of

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<sup>63</sup> *Swadesha Mithran*, Madras, March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1917, TSA.

<sup>64</sup> K.P. Kesava Menon, 'Russian Sambrajyathinte Adapadanam' in *Mathrubhoomi Supplement*, July, 1932, p. 4.

the commons. This convinced them about the real nature of the imperialist war. Thus, even though the police and the army were increasing their terror, there was growing discontent against the war and capitalism in Russia and other countries.<sup>65</sup>

There were many street demonstrations in Germany by the second year of War. There were many labour strikes in France and Germany. In 1916, there was a revolt in Ireland against the British rule. It was ruthlessly suppressed by the British army.

The Czarist Russia was incapable to face the War and the economic crisis and shortage of food stuff was the worst in Russia. Russia also failed to give proper supply of food and weapons to her soldiers. The ration to the soldiers was cut step by step. In addition to all other hardships, they faced now starvation also. Moreover, the Russian military supply wing was highly corrupted and the stories of corruption further demoralized the soldiers. The starving women left homes and began to loot food shops. There were anti-war demonstrations in streets. The labour strikes now received a political colour<sup>66</sup>.

On the anniversary of the 'Bloody Sunday' in 1916, there was a labourers march in Petrograd (St. Petersburg had changed its name to Petrograd just before. Its war with Germany). They marched in the streets shouting revolutionary songs and 'down with the war". Unrest was spreading among the cultivators of the rural areas too. The artisans of Kazakhstan and Central Russia began their revolt against the colonial Czarist

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<sup>65</sup> *Hindu Nesan*, Madras, March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1917, TSA.

<sup>66</sup> C.R.M. F. Crutwell, *A History of the Great War 1914-1918*, Oxford University Press, London, 1936, P.418-422.

regime<sup>67</sup>. The bourgeoisie smelt the military setbacks Russia was suffering and the impending revolution. Thus, they also rose in revolt. A section of the landed nobles also joined them forming 'Progressive Block'. They wanted a government that could win the confidence of the people, and defeat the revolution. But the rulers just ridiculed these demands<sup>68</sup>. Even the Petrograd city which had a twenty lakh population in it had a reserve of wheat that was sufficient for just ten days by February. Women stood for hours in the queues before the bread shops in acute cold. The Bolsheviks pamphlets that read "Down with Czarism", "Down with War" and "Long live the World Labour Fraternity" filled the streets of Petrograd.<sup>69</sup> The people in Malabar were also influenced by the news coming from Russia and it also influenced the formation of political consciousness. This sense was also a factor determining the mode of social life in Kozhikode during the World War.

#### **2.4.2 Reflections of the Russian Revolution**

The concept of class developed in the minds of the people in Malabar as a result of the Russian revolution and the First World War. K. Rama Krishna Pillai had written about Karl Marx socialism in the *Atmaposhini* magazine<sup>70</sup>. Thus, Marxism began to influence the intellectuals during the World War in Malabar. When the War had begun labour meetings were held

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<sup>67</sup> Paul Hastings, *Between the Wars*, Benn limited, London, 1968, P.17-24.

<sup>68</sup> See *Desamata*, March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1917, TSA.

<sup>69</sup> M.G.S Narayanan in his book, *Janadhipathyavum Communisavum* examines the participation of democracy in the formation of the Bolshevik government in the Soviet Union. For details see M. G. .S. Narayanan, *Janadhipathyavum Communisavum*, Poorna Publications, Calicut, 2014, pp. 22-23.

<sup>70</sup> Swadesabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai an active Journalist and Political Activist. He was the editor of Swadesabhimani. He coined the term '*Samashtivadam*' instead of Marxism.

in various part of the Madras Presidency, under the Home Rule Movement. The Toddy Tapers of Thalassery and sawmill workers of Calicut become organised during this period.<sup>71</sup> pamphlet named *Sandhya Kalathe Rashtreeyam* was distributed among reading public which imparted the message of the Russian revolution. The *Pauran* of Travancore reported the matter in 1917 itself. Moreover, K. Ayyappan wrote about the labour class in Russia.<sup>72</sup> The British authorities saw this as solidarity of the Indian labouring class with the people of Russia. The *Sahodaran*, magazine of K. Ayyappan became popular among the common people more than the *Mithavathi* started from Kozhikode in 1913 under the leadership of C Krishnan. K. Ayyappan was a social reformer and a rationalist. His 'Ezhavodbodhanam' is a well renowned poem, in which he heralded the youth of Kerala for a revolution in the way of October Revolution.

Labour strikes took place at Vaipin, Mulavukaadu, Malippuram, Njarakkal and Kochi during the War. In order to defend this situation, the British government had sent a letter to Kochi government with the title threat from the Bolshevik party. This letter reported that the unemployment in the coir-copra industry will lead to Bolshevik revolution in Kerala and so it was necessary to regulate the spread of such pamphlets that supported the Russian revolution. This was an advice received by the Kochi diwan C. Vijaya Ragavacharya on 3<sup>rd</sup> April, 1920. The soldiers who went abroad during First

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<sup>71</sup> P.Sivadasan, *Keralacharitram Sambavangalilude*, (mal.), Deshabimani Book House, Thiruvananthapuram, 2007, P.105.

<sup>72</sup> P. Govinda Pillai, *Kerala Navodanam Madhyama Paravam* (mal.), Chintha Publications, Thiruvananthapuram, 2013, p. 80.

World War, enjoyed the economic benefits from their and it also created a aversion.<sup>73</sup>

The result was the emergence of a particular situation in Malabar leading to the increased participation of the common people in political activities. The study of the urban life in Kozhikode is to be made in this particular context as it was the most advanced literate centre in Malabar in the beginning of the twentieth century.

### **2.4.3 Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism**

For both the allies, the War of 1914- 18 was an act of conquer, looting, and plunder. In his book, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* V I Lenin says that imperialism was a continuation of the capitalist advancement. The free capitalist competition economy of the nineteenth century was replaced by the capitalist monopoly. Free competition is the most important aspect of capitalism and production. By the end of the nineteenth century, the capitalist mode of production advanced to a newer mode called the investment capitalism. The competition for market in the new face resulted in imperial conflicts throughout the World between various capitalist powers<sup>74</sup>.

Imperialism is the domination of capitalism which can be defined in two ways. At one end we can see the finance capitalism, which is created by a group of millionaire banks and a group of monopolistic capitalists. And at the other end the capital created by the diplomacy of colonization and the division of the whole world according to the power over each colonies. So

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<sup>73</sup> Omprakash and Sheethala Prasad, 'Thozhilali Prasthanam Bharathathil' in M. A. Krishnan (ed.), *Pragathi*, Jayabharath Press, Kozhikode, p. 27.

<sup>74</sup> V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Left Word Books, New Delhi, 2000, P.114-120.

we can reach at the conclusion that imperialism is the division of the whole world among the world's most powerful capitalist countries.

Thus, the First World War was an imperialist war. Capturing new economic territories were not the mere aims of the capitalist countries but they tried to keep their enemies from that success. These small conflicts paved way for the beginning of the world war, says Lenin. At the time, the labourers of each capitalist country were forced to choose either the War or a socialist revolt against the capitalist- imperialist of the country.<sup>75</sup>

#### **2.4.4 The First World War: An Imperial War**

When capitalism entered at its peak, imperialism, war became the inevitability of the situation. The corporate companies and banks began to impose power on all the capitalist countries. When the production increased they required new places to get raw materials for cheap rate and new markets to sell these commodities.<sup>76</sup>

By the end of nineteenth century, the whole globe was shared by all the corporate companies of the world. But the capitalism grew up inconsistently and uncontrollably. As a result of this the top most countries showed a negative growth and the many other countries experienced a tremendous growth. This made a change in the military and economic strength. So again it was a necessity to divide the world again. So the capitalist countries made this division through a strong war. So the War of 1914 was such kind of a war which happened when the capitalist countries wanted to divide the resources of the world among themselves. Everyone

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<sup>75</sup> Prabath Patnaik, *Puthiya Sambrajyathwam* (mal.), Insight Publication, Kozhikode, 2014, pp. 49-50.

<sup>76</sup> Somasekharan, *Stalinum Stalinisavum* (mal.), Mathrubhumi Printing and Publishing Co Limited, Kozhikode, 2012, p. 51.

was getting ready for such a war and those who support the capitalist ideology are responsible for this war. Although the two groups, Germany and Austria on one side and Britain, France and Russia, were getting ready for the War. In 1907, Britain, France and Germany made triple entente. Germany, Italy and Austria made another group. But in 1914, when the war broke out, Italy had joined the other ally. Bulgaria and Turkey had supported Germany and Austria.<sup>77</sup>

Germany got ready for the War in order to conquer the colonies of Britain and Poland, Ukraine and Baltic states from Russia. When the Bagdad railway line was built, Germany became a threat to the suburban areas of Britain. The growing Navy of Germany had also made Britain panic. At the same time, the Tsarist Russia had wished to divide Turkey. Russia plotted plans to conquer Dardanals strait. And all the more the conquer of Daleeshya was also a part of this plan. Like this, Britain had also thought to destroy Germany who had become a great threat to their power.

The German goods had overpowered British goods in the world market. Britain had wished to make a settlement in Egypt in order to conquer Mesopotamia and Palestine which were under Turkey. The Capitalists had never tried to inform about their preparation for the war to their own people. And when the war began, each capitalist country had tried

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<sup>77</sup> Colonialism is the highest stages in the development of capitalism. This development took place only in 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was necessary for capitalism to form nation states so as to destroy feudalism. All branches of commerce were controlled by billionaire capitalists, colonial lords divided the globe among themselves either in the form of colonies or by economically exploiting other countries. Britain tried to usurp Germany's colonies and Turkey, Russia tried to usurp Galate and Turkey and France granted Alsais-Lorraine region and the either banks of Nile. This was the nature of the War. The First World War was simply fought to defeat other countries. See V. I. Lenin, *Asiayude Navdhanam*, Prabatham Printing and Publishing Company (P) Ltd, Trivandrum, 1965, p. 60.

to convince their people that their neighbouring country had begun the War and by hiding the reality the government had cheated their people. Each capitalist country had stated that actually they were trying to defend the attack of their neighbouring country.

The Bolshevism theorized for a revolution in order to sabotage the capitalist governments who were fighting for peace. They advocated that the only possible way to bring peace back is to sabotage the capitalist power. Along with this, Mensheviks and socialist revolutionaries had raised the slogan “peace in the land”. But Bolsheviks stood against this and declared for a civil war against capitalist war. It was a declaration for the labourers who are wearing the military uniform and the other labour classes including peasants are to turn against their capitalist employer. Labourers have to sabotage the rule of these capitalists<sup>78</sup>.

Only then they will be able to bring peace back to the country by ceasing the War. Mensheviks and socialist revolutionaries had tried to protect the capitalist country but Bolsheviks stood against this attitude and declared to fight against the imperialist war of the country's own government. The Bolshevik policy was to vote against the war expenses, help our soldiers to build up a friendly relationship between the enemy soldiers at the war field, and consider all these activities as a weapon against the capitalist government. Lenin opined that the policy to act for the failure of the capitalist country should be the motive of the labour class of the entire world. Bolsheviks never stood against every war but only the war that fought for the imperial motives.

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<sup>78</sup> Tomas Krausz, *Reconstructing Lenin: An intellectual biography*, Aakar Books, Delhi, 2015, P.152-163.



#### 2.4.5 Reasons for the Imperialistic War

Lenin had foresighted that war was certain and inevitable. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early beginnings of the twentieth century, Capitalism assumed imperial nature. By the end of the nineteenth century, capitalist nations had their share. The War of 1914 was to extend the influence and to partition the World further by the imperial powers. The imperial powers who fought each other are themselves the reason for the war. On one side Britain and Austria and on the other side Britain, France and Russia held their armies ready. In 1907, Britain, France and Russia signed the tri-power alliance. Against them, Germany, Austria Hungary and Italy formed another alliance. In 1914, when the war broke out, Italy moved away from it and joined Britain's side. Bulgaria and Turkey supported Germany and Austria Hungary supported imperial powers.<sup>79</sup>

Germany made arrangements so as to seize colonies from Britain and France. Russia dreamt of making the transportation through the Mediterranean via Dardanes by dividing Turkey and capturing Constantinople. Britain's aim was to defeat Germany that drove away their goods from the world market<sup>80</sup>.

France joined the war to win over Germany's coal and iron industries. The imperial war was the outcome of the variations between the capitalist powers. When the war broke out, the socialist revolutionaries and the Mensheviks used the socialist flag as a cover so as to help the capitalist nations. Only the Bolshevik Party fought against the imperial war, standing untraversed in the revolutionary united nations ideology. The proletariat

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<sup>79</sup> Christopher Read, *Lenin A Revolutionary Life*, Routledge Taylor and Francis group, New York, 2010, P.111-112.

<sup>80</sup> T.H.Elkins, *Germany*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1960, P.92-93.

lined behind the Bolsheviks.<sup>81</sup> In short we see that imperialism is the monopoly of capitalism. We can say that the War that took place in between 1914 and 1918 were based on their competition in commerce among the powerful imperial countries. The group of thieves, like America, Britain, Germany and Japan, who wear weapons all over the body, are waiting to divide the money. They are the ones who compel others also to the field of war.<sup>82</sup>

The cruelties at the time of First World War were a matter of wonder. This was different from all the other war at least in three things. The first thing was that it never limited in one place. It affected the people from North Western Europe to Mesopotamia. Napoleon was also a part of it. So the war front was changed from Egypt to Russia. The War was extended from one place to another. There were not much countries fighting in it. Countries all over the world came to the war front. Although the colonies did not officially take part in the war, they participated in all possible ways. According to V I Lenin, the people from colonies after military training got a chance to see the world.

The First World War was not a war fought in the battle fields of Europe. It was an opportunity to all countries in the World to come under

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<sup>81</sup> In spite of the wide impact of Lenin's thought on the socialist movements in Europe, North American, and Australia, it is in the colonial and semi-colonial world of Afro-Asian that it has led to the most revolutionary consequences since the days of the October revolution. Even though the national liberation movements in the colonial countries had been initiated in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. it was during the First World War that the basis for the growth of powerful nationalist movements was laid in most of these countries. For details see Bipin Chandra, *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, Orient Blackswan, Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2009, p. 30).

<sup>82</sup> Prabhath Patnaik, 'Onnam Lakamahayudhathinu Orunoottandu Pinnidunbol' in *Chintha Weekly*, September 12, 2014, pp. 33-36.

the shadow of capitalist intentions and counter movement born against it. The cityscape of Kozhikode also became part and parcel of the global society in a transformed face with the outbreak of the World War in 1914. It was an experience distinct from other cities in colonial India as Kozhikode was the space of conflict between Germany and Britain in a distinct style. The succeeding chapter will explain the involvement of Malabar in the World War in a comprehensive manner.

## Chapter 3

### **The First World War and Malabar**

The First World War provided opportunities to the people of Asia especially those of the colonies to escape from the restrictions imposed by colonialism. The intention of the colonial governments was to win the War utilizing the resources from the colonies. Besides utilizing other resources, the colonial governments began to recruit a large number of people especially those from the identified 'martial classes' and sent them to the war front<sup>1</sup>. These people became instrumental in bringing out changes in the colonial life in the post world war period. In Kozhikode, a large number of men belonging to Nair and Thiyya communities were recruited to the colonial forces, and many of them returned, after the war was over, to their families with rich experiences gained from the war front.

Though a large number of people were recruited to the army during the First World War, most of them joined the force not out of any nationalist sentiments but 'they participated in the War because of the increasing rate of unemployment, poverty, famine etc'.<sup>2</sup> These men understood that their joining the army would generate income resulting in the betterment of the living conditions of their families. The British utilized this opportunity to their advantage using new tricks for recruitment of people to the army<sup>3</sup>. Often

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<sup>1</sup> British tried to make Nairs as martial community like that of Sikhs and Rajputs, but it was a failure as the war necessitated the support of all communities. For details see Kaushik Roy (ed.), *War and Society colonial India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006, P.17-20.

<sup>2</sup> Sekhar Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010, p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> *The Great War*, Humpnrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1920, P.122-123.

women were very much afraid of this recruiting process. This chapter discusses the recruiting activities during the First World War in Malabar.

The colonial government in India started war preparations like recruitment and war propaganda etc., soon after the War started in Europe in 1914. Unlike the British, Indians were not forced to take up military service instead their situation made them join the army. Among so many factors, the availability of food in the army camps mainly led the people to join the military service. Many of the untouchable communities chose army service to escape from the harassment of the upper classes.<sup>4</sup> And also many of the families were affected by poverty and there was no restriction in recruitments; the uneducated illiterates could also join the army. There were no caste and religious restrictions. Attracting and addressing the untouchable youth to the army service, a Madras recruiting officer commented that 'the untouchable soldiers will be able to walk through the Brahmin quarter and spit where you like while in the army service'.<sup>5</sup> This reflects the importance of army recruitment and the social situation in Malabar during the War period.

When the World War broke out, the British Empire was not prepared for a battle with an enemy. Her Navy, though the most powerful in the

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<sup>4</sup> In his *Kozhinja Ilalkal* (Fallen Leaves), Joseph Mundassery speaks about the First World War. The people in that age didn't know much about the War. So they feared that men will be trafficked and people will be forced to join the army. This notion forced the elders to instruct youngsters not to go out unnecessarily. M.K. Gandhi, who indulged in the movement for the Indians in Africa, became so popular among Indians at the time. So when the newspapers reported that he is also trying to recruit men to the War gave more prominence to the instructions of the elders. People began to hide away at the moment they saw the police uniform. See Joseph Mundassery, *Kozhinja Ilalkal* (mal.), vol. I, Mangalodayam, Trissivaperur, 1966, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> The War also provided opportunity for people to go to foreign countries and experience the life of the western middle class. See Gilbert Slater, *Southern India: Its Political and Economic Problems*, nd., np., p. 291.

World, was not intended to attack other nations. It was just sufficient for patrolling the seas, and securing the peace of British possessions in various parts of the globe. The British army though splendidly efficient was very small indeed. The air services were also very small in numbers, and no one dreamt of the day when they would dispute the mastery of the air with the famous German Zeppelin Airships.<sup>6</sup>

In the manufacture of ammunitions, the British could supply herself, and have something over to sell to other countries, but she had no idea, as Germany had, of the immense quantities of shot, shell, cannon and rifles required for modern warfare. Germany, who had been preparing for the War for years, had been slowly accumulating large stores of munitions, and had been laying down the machinery which enabled her to turn out ammunition in tremendous quantities from the moment War was declared. It had been calculated that at the time when War was declared Germany had sufficient munitions of war to kill every human being upon the globe.<sup>7</sup>

### **3.1 The First World War and India's Assistance**

It was when the First World War raging, on 9<sup>th</sup> January 1915 that M.K. Gandhi reached India. It was on Gokhale's instruction that M.K. Gandhi started his journey to India in 1914. He travelled from South Africa to London and then to India. It was on board of the ship to London that he heard of the World War. He crossed the English Channel with mortal fear as the news spread that submarines to blast ships were being used.<sup>8</sup> The fear went away only after reaching London on 8<sup>th</sup> August. A team of

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<sup>6</sup> *War Lecturer's Hand Book*, Published by the Central Publicity Board, Simla, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>8</sup> *Qaumi Report*, March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1919, Madras, TSA.

Bhupendranath Babu, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Lajput Rai were residing in London then, to give a submission to the British Government on behalf of the Indian National Congress. The team was joined by Sarojini Naidu to welcome the revolutionary leader of South Africa, M K Gandhi.<sup>9</sup> In the First World War, Gandhi sided with the British. Gandhi believed in the policy that though the British are enemies, they should be helped in times of danger. Indians can win freedom once the danger is averted.

During the time of First World War there were so many soldiers who went to other countries for participating in the War. The army was very big; it means that so many Indians were recruited and their families also suffered lot of problems in their life, and the condition of children was also very pathetic.<sup>10</sup>

Shrabani Basu wrote in his *For King and Another Country* that, during the time of the First World War Britain also used Indian children for war activities. And she also pointed that, during the War, a boy called Pim of 16

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<sup>9</sup> It is a common saying in South Africa, "you gave us Mohandas, we gave you Mahatma", reports *The South African Gandhi: Stretcher Bearer of the Empire* written by south African academics Ashwin Deshai and Golam Wahid. The book argues that South Africa's resistance against colonialism began long before M K Gandhi. The authors provide many evidences to substantiate that although the time Gandhi spent in South Africa, he remained loyal to the empire. The book talks about a Gandhi who scorned the Africans and distanced himself from them. Deshai argues that Gandhi believed that Indians and British belonged to the same Indo Aryan race. This Aryan brotherhood made him marginalise the blacks. Also, Gandhi was marked by racial prejudices. The authors of the book tries to portray Gandhi as being self-centred, believing that the Indian working class who lived in ignorance gained power to resist only out of his leadership. They argue that Gandhi's loyalty to the empire was best shown during the War. The book also expresses the view that Gandhi visited the Indian villagers to raise men to the imperial army. *Deshabimani*, January 31, Sunday 2016, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Janmi*, vol. VII, no. 4, December 1914, pp. 104-106.

years old got award from British Queen for his activities and he was designated the 'Brave Little Gurkha'.<sup>11</sup>

During the time of War, British used children in War at France and their main job was to supply the medicine and war munitions. Many children were wounded during the war operations. Basu also believes that many children changed their age in order to participate in the war due to the poor family background and they got Rs.10 per month for war service.<sup>12</sup>

In the beginning of 1917, many people were recruited to the army, and when the British realized the fact that, the War is not favourable for them, they recruited many people in the army and they established a recruitment board in India for recruiting to raise the army and collect War Fund.<sup>13</sup>

### **3.1.1 The Indian Collaborator**

At the time of First World War, the British had approached agents in order to defend German entry in the Indian market. It was an outcome of the threat they faced in the global market. America and Germany had produced scientific low cost steel which was a threat for the British government. Britain feared that Indian market will also replace Germany instead of Britain.

For example, the British government had lent every support for Tata and their heirs for their business. At a time when the British government failed to give money, they got the help from Indian princely states. The

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<sup>11</sup> For details see Shrabani Basu, *For King and Another Country: Indian Soldiers on the Western Front, 1914-18*, Bloomsbury, 2015

<sup>12</sup> *Mathrubhoomi*, October 27th 2017.

<sup>13</sup> N. P. Nair, *Jallianwala Durantham* (mal.), D.C Books, Kottayam, 1988, p. 27.



working capital was given by the King of Gwalior. This is a very best instance that gives us a clear evidence of the strong relation between the class of capitalists and the feudal class. Like this, the imperial government in India also was supported by the feudal classes<sup>14</sup>. For the victory of the War, they got the ground support from Indian princely states. And for that the British government returned it in money and power. Their plan was to make use of as much as possible raw materials through this way for the War. The evidences of war contributions and recruitments from southern and northern India show that this colonial endeavor was a great success.<sup>15</sup>

Viceroy Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, articulated that, there was a need of financial support for the War and it was decided to form a central committee for that purpose in India. The members of the committee members were, the Governor of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and the Commander in Chief of the army, Executive members of the Viceroy's council etc. Some Indian rulers were also included in this committee like the king of Bikaner, Begum of Bhopal, the king of Gawalior, Nizam of Hyderabad, the king of Indore, the king of Jayapuram, the king of Jodapur, the king of Kashmir, the king of Mysore, ranees of Patiyala and Udayagiri etc.<sup>16</sup> Along with the central committee there was also an executive committee which recommended that all kings and nobles and Indian traders should protect soldiers and their families associated with the War.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> *Kistnapatrika*, Masulipatanam, March 17<sup>th</sup>, 1917, TSA.

<sup>15</sup> Suneeth Kumar Gosh, *Indian Vankida Muthali Vargham Padanam* (mal.), Pusthaka Prasathaka Sangham, Kodungalloor, 1990, pp. 174-178.

<sup>16</sup> *Janmi*, vol. VII, no. 4. December, 1914, p. 105.

<sup>17</sup> He also articulated that, all money to the War Fund can be paid through the banks like Bank of Calcutta, Bank of Bombay, Bank of Madras, Bank at Simla, Delhi, etc. See *Janmi*, vol. VII, no. 4, December, 1914, p. 105.

According to the landlords, Hardinge had become the favourite viceroy of his subjects due to his administrative excellence and his love, compassion and respect for his subjects. Hardinge was responsible for collecting support of Indians in the World War. It is clear from the telegram he sent to a British company on 8<sup>th</sup> September which commented that

‘the manly and material helps offered by the Indians were listed. Apart from the 700 local kings who became completely ready to protect their kingdom and empty their coffers for war, they became ready to go for war themselves. Out of many kings who willingly offered themselves to go to the war front. The viceroy selected the king of Jodhpur, kings of Bikaner, Krishnagiri, Ratalam, Patiala, Bofal, Sachin, and the cadets of the landlord families.<sup>18</sup>

All of them, with the permission of the Squadron Commander joined the battalion. The kings of Gwalior, Jowra, Dolpur and Palasthar were saddened by the prospect of not being sent to the warfront. When the war began, 27 vast voluntaries which had an army of their own, lend their forces to the India government. The viceroy accepted cavalry, infantry, engineering forces and vehicles from twelve countries and a fleet of Ostriches from Bikaner. Some examples will illustrate the compassion and respect of these kings for the fighting forces, they together arranged a hospital ship called Loyalty. The Maharaja of Mysore is said to have given the India government fifty lakh rupees for the war expenses.

The Maharaja of Gwalior, along with donating his share for the hospital ship, donated huge money to the War Fund. He also promised to give many horses. It is from the Maharaja of Gwalior and the Rani of Bhopal

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<sup>18</sup> Krishna Panikar, *Mahayudha Charitram* (mal.), n.d., p. 121.

that the idea of instituting a hospital ship originated. The kings and lords of Beharu in Punjab, Bela and Kalet in Baluchistan landed camels with mahouts and looked after their expenditure on their own. Many kings promised additional army just in case of necessity. It is seen that economic donations flooded from all feudal states. The Maharaja of Reva was willing to donate not only his army and coffers but even his jewels for the emperor. Apart from donating to Indian help fund, the kings of Kashmir, Bundi, Gwalior and Indore donated huge amounts to the 'Prince of Wales' fund as well.<sup>19</sup>

The Maharaja of Kashmir, unsatisfied by his donation to the Indian fund, spoke before audience of 20000 people in Srinagar and thereby earned huge amounts of money for the Fund. The Maharaja of Holkar sanctioned the permission for the government to use his horses when needed. The government of Nisaar, kings of Bombara and Jamnagar all agreed to lend their horses. Even the distant countries in India expressed their willingness to help the British government as and when required through their letters. Nepal promised great help. Apart from lending their whole army for the use of the British government, the Nepal minister sanctioned three lakh rupees for the purchase of machine guns for the Gurkha force and also donated huge amounts to the Indian funds.

The Dalai Lama of Tibet agreed to give 1000 army men for the use of the British government. He also wrote that all the lamas of Tibet were praying for the victory of the British forces and the peace of the dead. They expressed their respect by showing willingness to go to the warfront. The Viceroy had received many letters and telegrams expressing willingness to

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<sup>19</sup> Krishna Panikar, *Mahayudha Charitram*, n.d., p. 124.

help and fight such was the case with the states. All the letters came from the groups included people from all religions, castes and belief system. Many men were willing to join the army and donate their property in order to express their devotion to the emperor. The Delhi medical team director promised to give the warfront hospital that was given to Turkey during the Balkan war. Bengali students promised medical help and ambulance assistance. The zamindars of Madras promised 500 horses. The other activities to help the government included maintaining peace among the people, controlling the price hike of products and maintaining respect and honour towards the emperor etc. In this way, from all parts of India, money and manpower accumulated in the colonial aid fund.<sup>20</sup>

The year 1914 is an important in the history of the World and in the history of the Indian National Congress. The map of the World was redrawn by the incidents followed the year 1914. The War brought changes in the national ideals of many countries. It changed the structure of the state in many countries. Some countries suffered from extreme poverty, while others became rich. The battles which caused a number of changes in the condition of western countries also had an impact on the ideals and enterprises of India. The political ideals that originated from Europe during that era also inspired the people of India.<sup>21</sup>

Some upheld the War by saying that it was for the progress and freedom of the undeveloped countries. Believing the words of the British Prime Minister, India helped the British empire with all its strength when Britain was struggling hard in the battle. They forgot all their complaints

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<sup>20</sup> *Janmi*, vol. VII, no. 4, December 1914, p. 108 .

<sup>21</sup> Moyyath Sankaran, *Indian National Congress* (mal.), Kerala Sahithya Academy, Trissur, 2010, pp. 92-93.

against the British rule in India. England considered it valuable the help given by India in the form of people and money. The Secretary of State for India, Chamberlain gave a detailed account of the help given by India on 14<sup>th</sup> March 1917 in the House of Commons. He said that there were altogether 2,36,000 soldiers including 78,000 British soldiers and 1,58,000 Indian soldiers in Indian Army prior to the War. Apart from this 18,000 imperial service soldiers also served the War. Indian military fought valiantly in all the wars of France, Egypt, Giden, Souez and Galippolio, East Africa and West Africa.<sup>22</sup> Chamberlain also said that Indian soldiers mainly helped the British in Mesopotamia. According to Moyyarath Sankaran it was a great service done by Indian soldiers to the British. This British parliament remembered that one third of the military came from India. Foremost among the overseas military force was from India. The Indian military had defended Turks in British East Africa; and they were prevented from making further advancement and finally the Turkish troops were defeated and driven out from the Zeus Canal. The credit of fighting back with renewed vigour and achieving comprehensive victory over the enemy, after sustaining initial setbacks and hardships went to the Indian military. This was the character of the Indian Army not only across the Eastern countries but also in all war fronts.<sup>23</sup> There were a large number of Indians in the lower ranks of the

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<sup>22</sup> Defense officers had regular trainings and deployment in the border areas. During this phase they were away from their families and lead a life in highly stressful conditions. Interview with Arya Nair, Research scholar, Department of Psychology, University of Calicut. She is doing her PhD research on the Indian Defense officers of the army. Interview held on June10th friday, 2016, 11.30AM.

<sup>23</sup> The attitude of India towards Europe and its people altered radically and permanently. The Indians generally shed the feeling that the Europeans were superior to them, they are regarded best and most powerful.

Army. But the Indians were not given appointment to the higher ranks in the army.<sup>24</sup>

The British implemented a plan and formed the War Loan Committee at the district level to raise fund for the War. They forced government officials to raise the War Fund and for this they appointed rich people in high salaried posts and they also warned the people with punishments for not supporting it. Later people came to know the bitter experience undergone by the soldiers in the war field when they returned to their villages and home towns.<sup>25</sup> It naturally, turned the people against the British. The real fact was that the Indian Soldiers received only low salaries when compared to the British Soldiers.<sup>26</sup>

### **3.2 Madras and the War**

The War created panic in many parts of the Madras Presidency. Some port cities came under the direct attack of the German army too. In India, Madras was the only Indian city that had to suffer due to the World War in a direct way. On 22 September 1914, a warship named Emden reached the Madras port and started bombing on the oil wells on the land. The enemy fired about 20 times but many didn't hit the target. The missed fires fell on other ships and three children and other 17 were wounded in the city due to the attack.

The citizens of Madras helped the war efforts by sending men to army and also financially. They donated a lot of money to Indian imperial relief

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<sup>24</sup> HFM File for 1916, vol. 26, pp.136-138, TSA.

<sup>25</sup> N. P. Nair, *Jalian Wala Durantham* (mal.), D. C. Books, Kottayam, 1988, p. 28.

<sup>26</sup> It is important to see that the colonial government offered titles to chiefs and landlords for the name sake.

fund and a sum of 14 lakhs to the Madras War Fund. Out of the contribution, a hospital ship named 'Madras' was arranged and it was in service till May 1918. All the doctors and nurses in the ship were Madras citizens.<sup>27</sup>

Madras had sent many war equipments and goods to the allied forces. Leather worth of about 6.5 crores was sent from Madras for war purposes. Hay wood and coconut oil also were sent from Madras in large quantities. The Buckingham Carnatic Mills stopped all other assignments and used all its machines to make Kakki for the soldiers in war. Mills of Coimbatore and Bangalore made fabrics and wool for soldiers Waist coats, foot wears, camp materials, and many such materials were exported from Madras in large quantities.

The soldiers who participated in the war were also remunerated well after the War. The government had ordered that a minimum of five acres of land or ten acres of field was to be freely allocated to the families of soldiers who participated in War. The government had also ordered special consideration for war veterans in other employment opportunities. All the vacancies of posts of salary below Rs.15 were not to be filled until the sepoys returned from the War so that they would be appointed.<sup>28</sup>

### **3.2.1 Rewards for Heroic Acts**

The government was prepared to give prizes to the Indian officers and other soldiers who fought heroically. The members of the army welfare core also were given prizes. The heroic sepoys were granted land worth 3500 rupees. If the land was not sold or pledged, it will remain in force for about

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<sup>27</sup> *Janmi*, vol. XII, no. 7, March 1919, p. 104.

<sup>28</sup> *Janmi*, vol. XII, no. 7, March 1919, p. 105.

two generations. Thereafter too, according to the rules laid down, the land shall be theirs provided they remain loyal to the King. An *Inam*<sup>29</sup> given to an officer was double than the *Inam* given to a sepoy. If a sepoy was doing activity other than the war service, they were paid half of the *Inam* of a sepoy. In some cases, sepoys were paid in money instead of land. For a heroic warrior's family, five rupees per month was given for two generations. The amount for an officer was Rs.10 per month. All this was given in addition to the salaries and pensions they received. In Madras about 900 persons received such grants and presents.

### **3.2.2 Special Assistance to the soldiers and their families**

The government had ordered that the children of the deceased and wounded soldiers were to be admitted to government hospitals and aided primary schools free of charges. The expense for their text books was to be born by the government. Such soldiers were given financial assistance as well. A sum of 3,30,000 rupees was kept apart from the imperial relief fund for this purpose. Families that had no other way were given 300 rupees. Those of better condition were given 250 or 200 rupees. All this was in addition to the other assistances and payments they received. It was decided to distribute such assistances to the deserving hands in December 1919 while celebrations of the War victory was begun.

There was another collection started called 'Uruppika Fund' in with its headquarters at Madras. This was collected to contribute to the Indian imperial Fund and other War expenses. It was to be utilized for the soldiers and their families.

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<sup>29</sup> A gift presented or given by a ruler.



### 3.2.3 Indian Handicrafts and the War

Large quantity of leather was required for boots and bags of soldiers during the War. India was exploited in this respect by the colonial government in an increased manner for this purpose. In addition, coconut oil, and other products were exported in large quantity for the uses of the army. In order to make boxes for various purposes, wood was also exported by them in large quantities.<sup>30</sup> More over local products required for the use of the army were demanded by the British which promoted local industries in a great way during the War.

### 3.2.4 Textile Industry

The Carnatic Mill and the Buckingham Mills spent all their time making *kakki* cloth for the army forces. The mills of Coimbatore also worked towards this aim. The mills of Bangalore worked full time to make woollen dress for the army. Apart from this all the weavers of Mysore were told to involve in this task.

The handicrafts department of Madras also asked the seaside districts to make woollen dress. The weavers of Chinthadripetta also worked for the army. Madras was manufacturing tents for the soldiers. The burnt crud of coconuts was useful to escape from poisonous gas. A company named 'Thatha and Sons' arranged the manufacturing of the same in Ernakulam. And burnt coconut crux worth Rs. 1 lakh was sent to London by ship. Huge quantity of coir also was bought by various companies for war purposes. In this way, in one way or the other, the War seriously affected the life of the people even in the interior places in south India.

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<sup>30</sup> *Janmi*, vol. XII, no. 7, March, 1919, p. 108.

Bamboo and palm trees were sent in huge quantity to Mesopotamia and other places for making huts in the War front. Apart from this, one Lakh tonnes of tiles, 40,000 gallons of oil, 76 tonnes of soaps were sent for war purposes from India. All leather and engineering companies in Madras and Bangalore worked exclusively for the War. The carpenters of Madras were told to engage in War work. Boxes to carry war equipments and different objects for war were to be made by them. All these products were shipped to Europe. The export of leather was done under the supervision of the War Office in Madras during the War. The office had to pay a sum of six crore rupees for this purpose alone. The processing of sheep and goat skins was banned as cattle leather alone was sufficient. The ban was repealed only in 1919 only.<sup>31</sup>

### 3.2.5 Supply of Men

More than 60,000 men from the Madras Presidency served the forces of British emperor in the War. The number of recruits sent from each district in the Madras Presidency is shown below:-

District	Combatants	Non-combatants
Malabar	4,478	2,583
North Arcot	2,906	1,940
Vizagapatam	2,549	1,049
Krishna	2,376	2,197
Tirunalvaly	1,529	861
Madura	1,555	815
Thrichinappally	1,462	678

<sup>31</sup> *Janmi*, vol. XII, no. 7, March 1919, p. 108.

Gudur	1,437	1,215
Ramnad	1,207	762
South Arcot	1,103	570
Coimbatore and Nilgiris	1,053	919
Salem	1,207	762
Tanjore	897	1,182
Madras	841	986
Godavari	756	1,575
Genjam	588	1,217
Kurnool	587	523
Chingaleput	521	1,443
Chittoor	482	501
Bellary	466	318
Cuddapah	358	464
South Canara	342	401
Anantapur	228	247
Nellore	176	211

The soldiers from Madras served the British force in the North, Western Frontier, Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia, Sinai, Palestine, Syria, East-Africa Galipoli, Macedonia, France and Flanderg. The number of Madras men who lost their lives in the War upto was over 1,500.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Recruitment File 1917-1918, Sl. No. 352, KSRAK.

### 3.2.6 Supply of Money

The amount of money contributed by the Madras War Loan is shown below:-

<b>District</b>	<b>Second Loan from District in Rupees</b>
Ganjam	1,57,600
Vizagapatam	2,37,300
Godavari	6,16,800
Kishna	4,41,000
Guntur	6,24,000
Nellore	2,70,600
Guddapah	3,71,000
Anantapur	2,24,100
Bellary	4,13,400
Kurnool	2,30,500
Madras	1,63,58,300
Chingleput	6,45,600
Chittoor	10,40,500
Aroot North	1,33,600
Arooth South	1,78,300
Tanjore	6,71,300
Trichinopoly	3,67,800
Madura	7,49,600
Ramnad	10,90,700
Tirunevelly	8,10,300
Coimbatore	6,30,400
The Nilgiris	12,95,700
Salem	2,08,300
South Canara	3,38,000
Malabar	9,32,500
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,90,37,000<sup>33</sup></b>

<sup>33</sup> The First World War First loans amount 2,83,66,000 Rupees, Recruitment File 1917-1918, Sl. No. 352, KSRAC.

### **3.3 Malabar and the War**

The people of Malabar in India were also affected by the war in multiple ways. Since a colony of the British Empire, India was dragged to the world scenario according to the interest of the colonial master. The enlistment of soldiers from Malabar in the Indian Army started in 1915 during the war period. Although the region was known among the Europeans as Malabar, it was not much popular among the natives in the district. Usually the name 'malayalam' or 'malayam', which means the land of mountains, was used by the natives<sup>34</sup>.

In Malabar, the recruitment began to extent to the Nair, Thiyya, Christian communities also. Since the outbreak of the war, a sum of over two and half lakhs was collected as contribution of the public from the Malabar District.<sup>35</sup> Special War Fund meetings were also held in different parts of the Malabar District. The collaborating elite began to cooperate with the British war efforts in expectation of position in the empire administration and other benefits from the colonial administration.<sup>36</sup>

#### **3.3.1 Army Recruitment in Malabar**

Indian soldiers were working for the emperor in different parts of the world and it created a notion among others that Indians were so courageous in the war front. In order to show their loyalty to the ruler, people voluntarily joined the army and tried to make others to join it. By joining the army they got a status of a soldier of the emperor. This status could be taken over to

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<sup>34</sup> See William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, Madras, 1951, p.21.

<sup>35</sup> Revenue Records, Bundle No. 204, Sl. No.35, KSRAK.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

the future generation also in many respects. The people thus joined the army were expected to get good salary and promotion.<sup>37</sup>

The people who helped in the recruitment of the people to military also got good reward from the government for their service. A person who added more people to the army got the post of Havildar, Naik etc., even though he was not an army member. To get a job of Jumaidar, one had to add 100 people and 50 for Havildar and 30 for Naik. The basic information for join the army is age between 16 to 25 years, Height, 5ft 4 inch, size 32 inch.

### **3.3.2 Monthly Remuneration**

The sepoys got a monthly salary of 11 rupees, a batta of 2 to 4 rupees according to the area where they were in service. Apart from this, they were provided with free food arranged by the government. If it took more time for the arrangement of food, the government offered special allowance to meet the same.

If they were working in faraway places from India, instead of money they were provided with food and more dresses. If they worked for three years without getting convicted, they got a salary of twelve rupees per month and likewise if they worked for six years they got thirteen rupees per month and if they completed ten years, they were offered fourteen rupees per month.<sup>38</sup> Generally, the soldiers initially received sixty rupees for buying uniform and fourteen rupees per year to keep the uniform.<sup>39</sup> Several other offers were also made to attract people to the army service. If a Sepoy goes

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<sup>37</sup> Selected Records, Selected File 54, KSRAK.

<sup>38</sup> Selected Records, Selected File 121, KSRAK.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

to their native place while suffering from disease, he will get a free receipt for his journey.<sup>40</sup>The following table explains the remuneration received by Indian soldiers in the British army during the War.

No.	Position	Monthly Remuneration in Rupees
1.	Nayak	17
2.	Havildar	20
3.	Jumaidur (High qualified position)	60
4.	Subedar	120
5.	Subedar Major	180

### 3.3.3 Special Pension

In addition to these benefits, the soldiers were given special pension by the government. Those soldiers who joined the military service after 8<sup>th</sup> August 1914 were eligible for pension as shown below.

	Position	After 15 years
1	Naik	Rs. 6
2	Havildar	Rs.7
3	Jumaidar	Rs.20
4	Subaidar	Rs.35
5	Subaidar Major	Rs.35

Persons who had a service of more than 15 years and not getting normal pension or special pension and returned from military service wee

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

eligible for three fourth of the pension. These people were qualified for full pension, if it was allowed by the head of the division like the Jumaidar, Subaidar, or the Subaidar Major. A Sepoy retiring after 15 years of service was eligible for a gratuity. The Indian Commission Officer was responsible for grating this benefit..

### 3.3.4 Service and Pension

A person joined the army had to work for four years in the army. After four years, if his company had a strength not less than ten, he could retire from the service. But they couldn't retire if their regiment was ordered to participate in any war. Thus, a person who retired from service after four years could join reserve if he did not complete 32 years of age.<sup>41</sup>

If a Person worked in a Regiment		
(a)	A Sepoy	on completion of 15 years he will get Rs. 5 as Pension and after completing 18 years he will get Rs. 6 as pension
(b)	A Naik	After completing 18 years he will get Rs. 7
(c)	A Havildar	After completing 18 years he will get Rs.9 and after completing 21 years he will get Rs. 11.
(d)	A Jumaidar	After completing 20 years he will get Rs. 24 and after completing 24 he will get Rs 30.
(f)	A Subaidar	After completing 21 years he will get Rs. 40 after completing 24 years he will get Rs. 45.
(g)	Subaidar major	After completing 28 years he will get Rs. 55 as pension. <sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*



If a soldier died, widow, parents, and children was offered a pension from the government. Likewise, the wounded soldier also was eligible for an allowance pension. They would get the service of a doctor and if they had completed fifteen years of service and they were allowed to continue in service, if they prove that they are capable to continue in the military service. People having thirty two years of experience as English school masters or orderly clerk was eligible for the position of Jumaidar and a Pension of fifteen rupees. Indian officers bearing the office of Jumaidar, Subaidar, Subaidar Major could retire from service voluntarily with pension. If they retired even before completing twenty one years of service, accepting pensionary benefit for the completed eighteen years of service, they received a pension similar to that of a subedar or a subedar major.

### **3.3.5 Recruitment in Malabar**

In Malabar, the War recruitment took place in an expanded manner. The officers who were in charge of War recruitment were English and Indian officers. Capt. Hitchcock, Assistant Recruiting Officer was the leader of these recruitments. Narayana Menon, was in charge of the Ponnani and Palakkad taluks in Malabar to conduct recruitments. In Valluvanad, Ernad and Kozhikode, Madhava Menon, was in charge. Ahamed Baig, conducted recruitment programmes in Chirakkal, Kottayam and Kurumbranad taluks.<sup>43</sup> It was decided to provide two hundred and fifty combatants and one hundred non-combatants in each month from Malabar to the war front.

There were instructions regarding the recruitment of combatants. Recruits were to be in between 18 and 30 of age, and a minimum Height 52"

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<sup>43</sup>. Military Recruiting Parties are working under them. Recruitment File 1917-1919, Sl. Number 293, KSRAC.

chest size of 32". They must enlist for a period six months for the war and after they will received eleven rupees, free ration and clothing. They also received seven rupees as batta and an initial bonus of fifty rupees. They were offered wound and injury pensions under the army regulations and also family pensions.

It was also declared that the recruit's children were offered free education in primary schools and at half rates at the secondary level. The children of soldiers who are killed or incapacitated were admitted free in all elementary and secondary schools. When they return from active service combatants were given preferences in government appointments with a salary up to fifteen rupees. They were told to register their names on enlistment and their military service was not counted while calculating their age for government. They were given preference in the disposal of government land and for which applications were to be made through the commanding officers to the collector.

In addition to the offers of the government, the landlords also declared benefits to the soldiers who served the government during the World War. The Rajs of Kollengode offered one hundred special scholarships for the children of the recruited soldiers who were given admission in the Kollengode school. The Mannarghat Mooppil Nayar and the Vengayil Nayanar also offered land to soldiers.

Non-Combatants were recruited in different posts in the military service. They were enlisted for general and overseas service for the period of the war. In addition, labourers, porters, syces, sweepers etc., with a pay of twelve rupees in India and eighteen rupees outside of India was also recruited. Bullock drivers were recruited with a pay of eleven rupees in India.

Recruited soldiers were given leave for one month after the completion of approved overseas service for twelve months. All castes and classes were eligible for enlistment in the army. The minimum age prescribed for labourers was twenty and maximum was thirty five. Recruits were to be physically fit for hard work. There was also a high demand for regimental clerks. A school was opened for training about one hundred and twenty candidates. Preference was given to candidates who knew typewriting. Candidates were to be able to speak and write English fluently and were required to pass an entrance examination. They were graded in three classes according to qualifications.

Any man who brought a recruit to the District Assistant Recruiting Officer or the Assistant Recruiting Officer was entitled to a reward of three rupees. Special certificates and rewards was given to people who do specially good work in recruitment. Those who brought hundred recruits in three months was eligible for a Jumaidar's Commission. Touring revenue officers, especially Thahsildars and Deputy thahsildars were told to help the recruiters and the Collector gave supervision in helping revenue inspectors and *adhigarikal*<sup>44</sup> in army recruitments. The *adhigarikal* played a significant role in finding out able bodied people qualified for military service.

### **3.3.6 The Provincial Recruiting Board**

There was increased demand for soldiers from the colonies and as a result, the Provincial Recruiting Board resolved to increase the number of district assistant recruiting officers and permanent recruiters in the Madras Presidency.<sup>45</sup> This particular provincial management system was necessary to

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<sup>44</sup> *Headman* of a village.

<sup>45</sup> Recruitment File 1917-19, Sl. No. 293, KSRAC.

implement the programme. The following table explains the list of recruitment done in the Presidency.<sup>46</sup>

Districts	Existing scale		Sanctioned scale	
	District Assistant Recruiting Officers	Permanent Recruiters	District Assistant Recruiting Officers	Permanent Recruiters
Malabar	3	12	3	18
South Kanara	1	4	1	4
Madura	1	4	2	12
Ramnad	1	4	2	12
Coimbatore	1	4	2	8
Nilgiris	..	..	..	4
Chittoor	1	4	1	4
Salem	1	4	2	...
North Arcot	1	4	2	..
Madras	1	4	1	4
Chingelput	1	4	2	8
South Arcot	1	4	2	8
Anantapur	1	4	2	8
Bellary	1	4	3	12
Kurnool	1	4	3	12
Cuddapha	1	4	3	12
Nellur	1	4	2	16
Kistna	1	4	2	16
Guntur	1	4	2	16
Vizagapatnam	1	4	3	24
Ganjam	1	4	3	24
Godavari	1	4	2	16
Trichinopoly	1	4	2	16
Thanjore	1	4	2	16
Tirunelveli	1	4	4	32

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

### 3.3.7 Wartime Orders

The War administration issued orders to manage the situation in colonial India. Most of them were issued to control the people in favour of British interests and also to help army recruitments. These were applicable in Malabar too. The Commander in-Chief in India published an army order which was dated 4<sup>th</sup> June 1917 was approved by the India government. It said that

1. The grant of a bonus of fifty rupees to each recruit enlisted into the combatant branches of the Indian army who joined on and after the 4<sup>th</sup> June 1917.
2. The grant of appointments in infantry battalion as jumaidars, havildars and naiks to civilians, or promotion to these ranks in case of serving soldiers, who bring in recruits, subject to the following conditions:-
  - i. A Jumaidar had to bring one hundred recruits and a havildar, fifty recruits and a naik, thirty were to be brought.
  - ii. The above number was to be completed within a period of two months from date of acceptance by army headquarters of the individuals recommended.
  - iii. Candidate, in the case of civilians, was to be certified by the civil head of their districts, and in the case of serving men by their commanding officers, as suitable in every way for the rank for which they wish to qualify, and were to be passed fit for service by a medical officer.

- iv. Civilians were to be between the ages of eighteen and thirty and serving men could not get appointed as jumaidars if he had passed forty years of age.<sup>47</sup>
- v. Serving men, if selected, was to be willing to transfer to any infantry unit as may be required and suitable men were to be encouraged to avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded of earning promotion.
- vi. As there was only a limited number of vacancies for these appointments, the names of civilians recommended were to be submitted by divisional recruiting officers, those of serving men, by their commanding officers. The adjutant-general in India decided the units to which they and the recruits were to be allotted.
- vii. While submitting recruits, the name of father, caste, tribe and residential information were to be submitted. Particulars of family and antecedents and class of recruit were also to be provided.<sup>48</sup>

An individual who joined the army acquires honour as a soldier of the King Emperor and that honour will be remembered by his children. He received good pay and good rewards, and had a chance of obtaining high promotion, so that all other people envied him. The man who helped the government by bringing recruits received many rewards and honours for

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<sup>47</sup> Selected Records, Selected 120, KSRAK.

<sup>48</sup> The order was published on June 4th 1917 by H. Handson (Lieut-General Adjutant General in India).

imperial service. It is known that government granted honours and rewards to many individuals who brought recruits.<sup>49</sup>

The government suffered all expenses connected with the recruitment. A sum of three rupees was given for every recruit and rail fares and the expenses of food of the recruit was also reimbursed.<sup>50</sup> Every recruit was given fifty rupees upto his arrival in the regiment. Every soldier received free ration and fire wood. No civil suits could be proceeded against soldiers because they were not able to attend the courts.<sup>51</sup> Recruits were required for every branch of the service, especially for artillery, sappers, and miners, infantry, and transport.<sup>52</sup>

The government published an order which was signed by A.R. Knapp, who was the Acting Secretary, in 1918. It spoke about the new necessity of recruitment.

- As East Africa and Mesopotamia were annexed and added to the British Empire, their protection was the duty of the British soldiers. So there was an increased need for soldiers in order load and unload people and goods to ships. The government commanded that it was the responsibility of every government officials to make arrangements for the recruitments to army and mercenary forces. The government offered gifts to those who convinced people and helped the government to recruit soldiers. Since the officials and local chieftains encouraged conscription, many youngsters were willing to join army.

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<sup>49</sup> D. Dis 1926/20, 26-6-20, B.No. 25. Sl. No. 24, KSRAC.

<sup>50</sup> Selected Records, Selected 54, KSRAC.

<sup>51</sup> Selected Records, Selected 54, KSRAC.

<sup>52</sup> The men required were two kinds: Combatants, or Sepoys and Non-combatants.

The order says that the men who joined army were satisfied at work, are able to send money home and save an amount for themselves.<sup>53</sup>

- Two types of people were needed in the army. One was the sepoy class who fought wars. They had special rights to own properties in their provinces or other provinces. They were paid a bonus of fifty rupees at the time of joining the army.
- Men were needed in the mercenary forces and they were not sent for gun fight.
- Apart from mercenaries, carters, blacksmiths, carpenters, smiths, cooks, gardeners, sepoy, butchers, men to weigh goods were all needed.
- Those who joined army and mercenary forces were dismissed after the War. The government sponsored their journey to their native place at the time of departure from service.

### 3.3.8 The Nair Regiment

The Nair community in Malabar was believed by the colonial government having a special efficiency in martial arts. Usually a boy from the Nair community was believed to have skilled in *kalari*<sup>54</sup> at the age of six or seven and when he became a matured man become efficient in *kalarippayattu*.<sup>55</sup> The colonial authorities believed that warriors like Hyder Ali and Tipu had feared the mighty swords of these Nair soldiers.<sup>56</sup> The

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<sup>53</sup> *District Gazette Supplement*, March 15, 1918, KSRK.

<sup>54</sup> Centers imparting training traditional martial arts school.

<sup>55</sup> A martial art form learn from the *Kalari*.

<sup>56</sup> There were divisions in the Nair community. The upper group was related to the local landlords, village heads, and the common men. The Veluthedathu Nair did the laundry



flexible body of the Nair warriors was a wonder to the ancient travellers visited Malabar. It was explained that it was not easy to find a Nair without a sword and a sword without a Nair. The travellers such as Barbosa, Newhalf, Buchannan and so on explained the efficiency in martial arts. A number of historical books in many European languages were written in praise of this brilliancy in military. The victory of Hyder Ali and British army over the Malabar region was because of their efficiency in using guns. In brief, when the gun entered into the scene the importance of *kalari* and the Nair troops became diminished.<sup>57</sup>

The British believed in the martial efficiency of the Nair force. Beyond the awareness, they made use of it. It was from the beginning of the First World War, the British began to use this and they wished for a Nair regiment. An information about the Nair Regiment can read from a letter sent by the Karnatic Infantry Commandant on 8<sup>th</sup> September 1915 to the Malabar District Magistrate. The government decided to give Karnatic Infantry the authority to recruit Nair men into the Regiment. The age limit was not to exceed twenty one and was to be born in a well reputed family. It was decided to appoint two officers for the purpose. In order to conduct Subedar Narasimha Perumal was directed to visit Malabar. There plans to absorb Nair men from the existing army battalions for the Regiment. There plans to select Nair peasant with a preference. The peasants were only the group which had the ability to suffer obstacles in the war front. Subedar

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service to the upper class Nair families. The Chakkala Nair was another category. There were poor people in the community. The categorization of Nair people as warrior group is a mistake. See F.Fawcett, *Nayars of Malabar*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1915, P.185-187.

<sup>57</sup> T. B. Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrukam* (mal.), Mathrubhoomi Books, Kozhikode, 2011, pp. 33-34.

Narasimha Perumal reached Malabar for the recruitment work.<sup>58</sup> The notice regarding the Nair regiment reached all government offices in Malabar. The applicants responded were more than the estimated number. Not only the men from Nair community, but also men from many other communities also applied for selection. Among the applications one person named Konthi Menon, belonging to K Menon and Company in the High School Road at Kozhikode claimed that he was a B. A. Degree holder. An application of M. Kunhji Saheb was rejected by saying that the authority had decided to select only non-Muslims to the regiment. He was advised to seek appointment in the Skinner's Army in Madras.<sup>59</sup> The application of P. K. Ravunni Menon of Palakkal House at Panniyankara in Kallayi said:

'I am the son of late Thirumulppadu of Nilambur. P Raman Menon who had founded our family was the Paishkar of Trivandrum. So I kindly request you to select me to the regiment.'

The application of Shivaraman Gurukkal was rejected by showing that he was not a Nair. Another application of G Mahadeva Ayyar from the Southern Entrance of the Vaikom Temple said:

'I ardently wish to be a soldier. I consider the Emperor of Britain as my lord. I am even ready to sacrifice my life for the British Empire. I cannot bear at least a moment without joining in the British army. Hails to His Highness. Let the victory be with Him.'

This application was also rejected for not being a Nair. Many offers were given to those who joined the army. Gifts were given to people who had helped the recruitment to the army regiment. Newspapers like the *West*

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<sup>58</sup> Revenue, Bundle No. 176, Sl. No. 13, KSRAC

<sup>59</sup> Revenue, Bundle No. 176, Sl. No. 13, KSRAC

*Coast Spectator, Lokaprakasam, Manorama, West Coast Reformer* were discussing the Nair Regiment and its recruitment and also about the procedure.

The Nair Regiment came into existence in 1915. In this way, the Nair community had become a part of the First World War.<sup>60</sup> From this, we can understand that the basis of joining the Regiment was not Nationalism. On the contrary, it was their poverty that led them to take such a decision. The British had made use of this situation well.

The military authorities announce that, there were six vacancies in the Carnatic Infantry which they kept open for the Nair people. They were called 'Nair patriots' and they offered their services to their king and country.<sup>61</sup> The government also formed a committee of Indian people to enlist recruits in the Carnatic Infantry. Such a committee was composed of leading men who were able to find a large body of willing men, by using their local experience, knowledge and influence. There were complaints that recruitment was taking place very slowly.<sup>62</sup> The colonial authorities believed that the Nair people were traditionally known to possess martial spirit, and will distinguish themselves by their acts and bring credit to themselves and the country.<sup>63</sup> A resolution passed at the 'Keraleeya Nair Samajam', regarding the formation of a Nair regiment, points out that, the Nairs who are known to be a valiant race, will be properly trained be compatible with any soldiers in the World,

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<sup>60</sup> Nair community had followed *marumakkathayam* in their families which was based on their tarawad. A change in the attitude of the people of the Nair community could be seen in 1840. Although there is no direct influence of matrilineal (*maatrudaayakam*) on their ancient military career, their return from the army made them lazy. (Robin Jeffrey, *Decline of Nair Dominance*, D C Books, Kottayam 2014, p. 42).

<sup>61</sup> *West Coast Spectator*, Calicut, 27th, 1916, TSA.

<sup>62</sup> *West Coast Spectator*, Calicut, August 1st, 1916, TSA.

<sup>63</sup> HFM Volume for 1916, vol. 26, pp. 123-124, TSA

and remarks that they deserve the attention of His Excellency; the Commander in Chief.<sup>64</sup>

After the declaration of the government, Evans, the District Collector and M. Govindan Nair, the District Superintendent of Police, and the Deputy Superintendent were placed in charge of the recruiting work in Malabar. The authorities informed that the information was to be diffused to the widest extent, so that adequate response to the call was expected. It was seen that in the quasi-military department of special police, the Nairs were found in abundance, and the authorities expected the success of the programme.<sup>65</sup>

The colonial authorities had to launch separate programmes to attract the young generation in the Nair community<sup>66</sup>. Evans, the Collector of Malabar District spoke to the students of the Zamorin's College that the educated young men were reluctant to join the army because the particular behavior of the community.<sup>67</sup> Those enlisted from the farm and the field also kept this character.<sup>68</sup> This was to be countered by introducing public propaganda. Initially only one hundred and thirteen Nairs were recruited in the regiments<sup>69</sup>. Later the government passed an order permitting the enlistment of Nairs in the Carnatic Infantry. The recruitment was conducted

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<sup>64</sup> *Lokaprakasam*, Trichur, May 10th, 1915, TSA

<sup>65</sup> *West Coast Reformer*, Kozhikode, April 21, 1916, TSA

<sup>66</sup> Like the Europeans, Indians were also felt pride in their "Martial ethnicity". See Dewitt C Ellinwood, *Ethnic Aspects of the Indian Army in the First World War*, vol. II, Thirty-Ninth Session, Indian History Congress, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1978, p. 829.

<sup>67</sup> The historians have an opinion that the Nair community was the ancient Naga race who came and settled in Kerala through sea and land after their defeat in southern part of India. The Sarpa Kavu near every Nair *tharavadu* in Kerala is explained as an evidence for this. See K. Madhavan Nair, *Nair Pazhama*, Current Books, Thrissur, 2014, p. 35.

<sup>68</sup> *West Coast Spectator*, Calicut, April 25th, 1916, TSA.

<sup>69</sup> *Uppati* (Nair women) Gundert Nigandu, D.C. Books, Kottayam, 1995, P.36.

by Narasimha Perumal. The colonial authorities gave more importance to farmers because they were believed to be more courageous to face difficulties even in the warfront.<sup>70</sup> Unnichathan Nair participated in the First World War and he said to have received a gold medal from Queen Elizabeth. The medal which is kept in his house carries a the following: 'K. Unnichathan Nair, the Great War Civilization 1914-1919'.<sup>71</sup>

A large number of Anglo-Indians were in active service and there is information that forty four boys from St. Joseph's College, Kozhikode went to serve the War in Gallipoli, Mesopotamia, Africa and Palestine in the British Army. Out of these boys, ten were in the Anglo-Indian force, ten in the Telegraph Service and others in the medical and motor unit.<sup>72</sup> Records say that five boys among them died during the military operation. In the voluntary Indian section of the army , about hundred and seven people were enrolled and authorities received further applications even after 1917.<sup>73</sup>

The enlistment of Indians from Malabar in the regular Indian army had not begun until 1915. The opening of the military recruitments opened new opportunities to the Malayalees in Malabar to escape from the unemployment of the war period.<sup>74</sup> The questions of casteism,

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<sup>70</sup> T. B. Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrkam, Op.cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>71</sup> This Medal was personally examined at the house mentioned and reference to this is included in Gangadharan Puthukudi, *Kozhikode Pattana Pradeshgalile Avasa Kendragalk Chuttum*, Kozhikode, 2013, pp. 183-184.

<sup>72</sup> Vasco da Gama landed in Kozhikode in 1498. Later, the Portuguese came in large numbers. The Dutch, French and British followed them. The Samuthiri had permitted them to build warehouses. And the coastal area became the Centre of Europeans activity. The women folk of Kozhikode were sexually abused by these men. The Anglo Indians are believed to be the offsprings of these relations. See *Ibid.*, p. 412.

<sup>73</sup> SI No: 382, Recruitment File Military, 1917-1918, KSRAK.

<sup>74</sup> During the time of the First World War, many people were recruited from Malabar. The war records says that in Malabar about 1, 19, 680, People were recruited to the

untouchability and problems in the joint families of the higher castes forced many young people to cooperate with the war recruitments in Malabar. The recruitment was at first thrown open to Mappilas only and they were enlisted for two different battalions, the 73<sup>rd</sup> Carnatic Infantry and the 88<sup>th</sup> Carnatic Infantry. In August 1915 recruitment from the Nair community was also started begun. The war recruitment was not thrown open, in the beginning, to other castes. This was because of the difficulties in facing caste and language problems. The Nairs were chiefly enlisted into the 7<sup>th</sup> Carnatic Infantry and the 86<sup>th</sup> Carnatic Infantry which were under the control of the British.<sup>75</sup>

In April 1916, the recruitment programme was placed under Captain Hitchcock, the District Superintendent of Police in Malabar. It was extended to six Carnatic Regiments for Nairs and later to the Thiyyar and Christians. The Malayali people enlisted in the Carnatic regiments were kept in separate platoons and had officers of their own castes. Due to the consideration of caste and religious differences, the military authorities sanctioned the constitution of a separate battalion which was called the second and third Malabar Infantry and was consisted entirely of Malayalees.<sup>76</sup> The number of people recruited from Malabar for the Carnatic infantry from April 1916 and July 1918 amounted to about 2500 and majority of the enrolled were Mappilas. Among the recruited about 50 percent belonged to the Nair community, about 25 percent from the Thiyya Caste, about 15 percent from the Mappila and 10 percent from among the Christians in Malabar.<sup>77</sup> The

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army. For details see T. P. Ramakrishnan ed., *Kozhikode Jilla Communist Party Charithram*, Keluettan Padana Gaveshana Kendram, Kozhikode, 2011, p. 149.

<sup>75</sup> *Fort St. George Gazette*, 22nd November 1915, KSRAK.

<sup>76</sup> Selected Records, Selected File 120, KSRAK.

<sup>77</sup> Confidential, D. O. No. 6721-1, KSRAK.

following figures shows the recruitment to the Carnatic regiments from Malabar. There was a recruitment of hundred and twenty two soldiers from Malabar in between April to June 1916.

<b>War Recruitment in the Malabar District</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Nair</b>	<b>Thiyya</b>	<b>Mappilas</b>	<b>Christians</b>
From July to Dec 1916	151	34	26	13
From January to June 1917	269	108	67	23
From July to Dec 1917	332	207	105	29
From January to June 1918	474	378	186	166

Those recruited from regional camps were brought to the recruiting party and they took them to the recruiting officer. These recruits were required for every branch of service like the units of artillery, gangs of Sappers and Miners, Infantry, and Transport. Their age was to be between 18 and 25 and they were to be healthy and without body defect.<sup>78</sup> The main purpose of the recruitment was using them in Asia and Africa where the accommodation of the European army was difficult and defective.<sup>79</sup>

The artillery of the British was ready to accommodate all classes of people except Minors. If recruits were tall and strong, they could be enlisted as gunners and would receive a pay of twelve rupees per month, which was a good remuneration for the Indian soldiers in those days.<sup>80</sup> This monthly income was not imaginable to the individuals of villages in Malabar in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Sappers and Miners included recruits of all agricultural classes, and also included clerks, black smiths,

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<sup>78</sup> Civilians must be between the ages of eighteen and thirty serving men cannot be appointed as Jumaidars if over sixty years of age.

<sup>79</sup> Recruitment File, 1917-18, S1-382, KSRAC.

<sup>80</sup> Selected Records, Selected File 54, KSRAC.

carpenters, masons, leather workers and porters. Thus, the war opened new chances and fresh experiences for the young people in Malabar through the army recruitments.<sup>81</sup>

Those recruits who were strong and stout were enlisted as Sappers, and received pay of eleven rupees per month. There were recruits as labour forces too. These people accepted a pay of about four and half rupees per day according to their fitness in the work.<sup>82</sup> Many were enlisted as drivers of the mules which carried equipment, tools etc., and sometimes they received a pay of eleven rupees per month. The Nairs, according to the colonial understanding were the most suitable community eligible for army service compared to others. According to this understanding, the Nairs dominated over the Mappila community and the Thiyyar. It was also understood by the colonial masters that a Nair was more intelligent than a Moplah and a Thiyyan. The recruiting officers paid special attention to recruit Nairs by assuring them a salary of one hundred and fifty rupees in a month. In spite of these, many of the backward classes like *cherumar*, *kalladkal*, *kanakkar*, *parayar*<sup>83</sup> etc., also participated in the War, regardless of the feudal structure.

According to the recruitment officers, the word 'nayinginte makan' which means 'son of a bitch' was used against the Nair people during the War period by the lower classes. Due to the increased opportunity given to the Nairs in recruitments, the lower castes always looked at the Nair people with

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<sup>81</sup> D. Dis 1926/20, 26.06.20 B. No. 245, S1. No. 24, KSRAC.

<sup>82</sup> Selected Records, Selected File 54, KSRAC.

<sup>83</sup> Slave cast and Agricultural labourers.



aversion and enmity.<sup>84</sup> There is a letter written by F.B. Evans, District Magistrate of Malabar, to the Officer of the 86<sup>th</sup> Carnatic Infantry which says that he had received applications from V. Konthuni Menon, K. P. Karunakara Menon, C. R Balakrishna Menon and M. P. Narayana Menon demanding enlistment in the army.<sup>85</sup> F B Evans gives detailed description of the people points out that all of them demands the post of Subedar in the army.<sup>86</sup> This was the way in which people living in the city reacted to the call of the army.

Records say that around one thousand and five hundred people from Malabar had died in the war field during the First World War.<sup>87</sup> Five acres of land was distributed to the dependants of died in the War. Along with it government jobs having a salary of fifteen rupees was reserved for the dependants of the soldiers who lost their lives. This was a novel experiment in the history of Malabar. Free education for children of these soldiers and financial assistance to buy books, pen and other stationeries required for education was also offered. It is seen that the government had set apart three lakhs and thirty thousand rupees for this work.<sup>88</sup>

The Thiyar<sup>89</sup> community in Malabar raised their protest against the colonial policy of recruiting Nairs in the army. The leader of the Thiyar community, C Krishnan was running a magazine called *Mithavadi* from Kozhikode. It became the platform off the expression of the interests of the community. The *Mithavadi* in an essay, 'Thiyarum Pattalavum' gives a reply

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<sup>84</sup> A letter written by a recruiting officer pointed out this issue. See Revenue Bundle No. 176, Sl. No. 13, KSRK.

<sup>85</sup> Revenue, Bundle No. 176, Sl. No. 13, KSRK

<sup>86</sup> Revenue, Bundle No. 176, Sl. No. 13, KSRK

<sup>87</sup> T. P. Ramakrishnan, *Kozhikode Jilla Communist Party Charithram* (mal.), Keluvettan Padana Gaveshana Kendram, Kozhikode, 2011, p. 149.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* p. 149.

<sup>89</sup> *Toddy Tappers.*

to an article written by P. Karunakara Menon alleging that the Thiyyar in Malabar were inferior to the Brahmins and Nairs due to their standard of life. According to Karunakara Menon, Thiyyar became a polluted caste because they lived in markets selling betel leaves and tobacco which made the Nambuthiris and Nairs to treat them inferior. The *Mithavadi* replied that the Namboodiris kept all inferior castes away from them and it was the reason for the inferior status of the Thiyyar in Malabar. The journal claimed that the ancestors of Thiyyas were soldiers in Ezhathu nation or Ceylon but they were not foolish to offer themselves in service to the British in the First World War, claiming their warrior ancestry.<sup>90</sup> The *Mithavadi* also argued that great warriors in old Malabar like Thacholi Othenan<sup>91</sup> were members of Nair community and the Thiyyar were not ready to serve the colonial authorities by serving the army. This was a protest of the community which expressed its dislike for not considering the community for army recruitment due to inferior caste status.

There were large number of Mappilas serving the army during the War. Most of them were sent back after the War. This returned Mappila soldiers played a significant role in popularizing anti-British spirit among the Mappila people in Malabar. The result was the organized protest of the Mappila community against colonialism and landlordism in 1921. A letter written by P. Kunhi Ahamad dated 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1933 to the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands says he was deported for life time on 20<sup>th</sup> January 1922 during the Mappila Rebellion in Malabar.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> *Mithavadi*, vol. III, no. 12, 1915, pp. 1-5.

<sup>91</sup> The two prominent warrior families in Malabar. Among this the family of Thacholi Othenan belong to Nair community and that of Unniarcha belong to Thiyya community.

<sup>92</sup> Dept. of Revenue, Bundle No. 372, Sl. 10, KSRAC

Prior to conviction, he was a Naik in the Carnatic Infantry and served the army in Mesopotamia during the First World War for three years. Apart from saving the government, he claimed that, he himself as a Naik in the army was instrumental in recruiting many Sepoys to the army from Malabar and he had rendered seven years' service in the army.<sup>93</sup>

S. K. Pottakad in his *Oru Deshathinte Kadha* gives reflection of the First World War in and around the landscape of Kozhikode. Pottakkad displays the arrival and departure of soldiers in big gangs in Kozhikode in a literary way in this novel. The khaki uniform of the soldiers and the locally called 'Kolambi Thoppi' (distinct hat) wore by them, the cane in their hand, the coolie who followed the soldiers and the load they carried etc., became subject matter in his novel.<sup>94</sup> The novel is a pioneering novel explaining the cultural life of the people in the early twentieth century Malabar. In the similar way, the people observed the movements of the army in the town with a curious spirit during the special situation of the War. Soldiers returning from the war front brought interesting objects to the rural areas in Malabar and chief among them was the tin food available in military canteens. Similarly, food items like cheese, butter, and fish preserved in olive oil etc., changed the understanding of food in Malabar. The stories of war experiences spread by the ex-soldiers enlarged the knowledge of the ordinary people about the World in which they lived. Kunjappu, an ex-soldier in *Oru Deshathinte Katha* boasts about his participation in the adventurous fight in Basra during the War. Kunjappu is an interesting figure in the novel with the title 'Basra Kunjappu' which gradually shortened into 'Basra'.

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<sup>93</sup> Dept. of Revenue, Bundle No. 372, Sl. 10, KSRAK

<sup>94</sup> S. K. Pottakkad, *Oru Deshathinte Kadha* (mal.), D. C. Books, Kottayam, 1971, pp. 27-35.

Gradually, the term 'Basra' becomes a synonym for a lie in the novel.<sup>95</sup> The novel attempted to tap all these new objects in the society to represent the cultural practices originated in Malabar with the First World War.

Pottakkad also humorously displays the eagerness of the ex-soldiers to win medals and concessions from the government after the War. In *Desathinte Katha*, Kunjappu is seen as a person recommended for the Victoria Cross Medal for successful service to the British Empire. The Victoria Cross, according to the novelist was the highest achievement in the soldier's life. The Victoria Cross was a prestigious honour to a soldier in colonial India.<sup>96</sup>

*1920 Malabar*, a novel written by Hakkim Cholayil also speaks about the First World War. In this novel he articulates a popular belief that the soldiers would never return from the military during the First World War. When 'Yakoob', a soldier returned from military service after losing his leg, the people ridiculed him for his withdrawal from the army service which was against the religious belief of the community. The Muslims believed that they would get direct entry into heaven by facing death in the war front. Yakoob in this novel joined the military to face this fate and get entry into the heaven. Hakkim introduced Madhavi Amma character in this novel and through her he displays the grievances of women during the War in Malabar.<sup>97</sup> Rairu Nair, Madhavi Amma's husband died in the War but he had

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-35.

<sup>96</sup> K. C. Macartney, 'The Indian Troops in the War' in G. A. Natesan (ed.), *The Indian Review War Book*, Madras: G.A. Natesan and Co, 1915, p. 440.

<sup>97</sup> Mothers of young recruits felt worried in sending their sons to the battle field during the First World War. See Aravind Ganachari, 'First World War: Purchasing Indian loyalties, Imperial Policy of Recruitment and Rewards', vol. 4, no. 8, (February 19-25, 2005), *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 784, <http://www.jstor.org>, accessed on 04,05.2016, 8.40 A.M.

expressed his desire that his son, Kunhikannan to join the army. Yakoob of the novel appears again with the display of the skill of route march during the Khilafat movement in Malabar. Many ex-soldiers were active in the movement against the British. Yakoob with his Malayalam tongue imparts in the novel training to the ordinary Mappila people who became volunteers in the Khilafat Movement. Yakoob, by applying white mark on the right leg and tar (black paint) on the left leg the Khilafat raining of route march was conducted. Thus the local terms 'Nooru Kalu' and the left leg as 'Tarukalu' became popular in the post-World War society in Kozhikode.<sup>98</sup> The Nairs in Kozhikode were were also ridiculed by the lower classes with the terms 'Olakalu' and 'Seelakalu' by connecting with the World War experience.<sup>99</sup>

Mappilas had contributed much in the First World War. A separate Rifle unit called 77<sup>th</sup> Mappila Rifle existed along with 2/73<sup>rd</sup> Malabar Infantry and 88<sup>th</sup> Carnatic Infantry. Muslim regiment was disbanded after the First World War. These soldiers become active in the khilafath movement. They adopted Turkey hat with crescent as their symbol along with Quranic verses as their slogan. There was also much military discipline among them.<sup>100</sup>

Karoor Nilakanda Pilla's *Thiranjedutha Kadhakal* explains the situation appeared in Kerala with the outbreak of the World War in 1917. A character called Kamalakshi declares that the soldiers always did cruel deeds and they

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<sup>98</sup> Hakkim Cholayil, *1920 Malabar* (mal.), D C Books, Kottayam, 2014 p. 306.

<sup>99</sup> Interview with Varghese Samuel of the Regional Archives, Kozhikode, on 11<sup>th</sup> March 10 A M.

<sup>100</sup> Mozhikunnath Brahmadathan Namboodirippad, *Khilafat Smaranakal*, Mathrubhumi Books, 2010, P.21-22.

were unfit for pleasant family life. It shows that general dislike of women towards the soldiers.<sup>101</sup>

From the records, it is clear that large number of soldiers joined the World War after 1914 as members of the British army. Many soldiers did not come back to Malabar after the end of the World War. It is difficult to collect data about these soldiers. Many among them joined army service to escape from the chains of poverty and untouchability in Malabar.<sup>102</sup> The War was an opportunity to escape from these chains. The Nair youth also might have preferred the same way to escape because of the problems in the joint families.

### **3.3.9 The Arrival of New Words**

The First World War transformed the Malayalam literature and language with the introduction of new words. Malayali journalists reported the news of war and they had to use new words in Malayalam literature. The vernacular newspapers like *Kerala Pathrika*, *Kerala Sanchari*, *Keralodayam*, *Manorama* also reported the War with new words and style unseen in literary activity till that day. These vernacular newspaper used English words as Malayalam words as there were no equivalent words in the vernacular press. It included, 'artillery', 'commander', 'captain', 'company', 'troop', 'bomb', 'machine', 'gun', 'court-martial', 'mine', 'steam', 'blood circulation', 'aeroplane', 'jihad', 'cable', 'gasing', 'torpedoing', 'submarine',

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<sup>101</sup> Karoor Nilakanda Pilla, *Theranjedutha Kadhakal*, Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society Limited, Kottayam 2014, pp. 117-125.

<sup>102</sup> Telephonic Interview with Gangadharan Puthukudi on 27.3.2015. at 12.00 Noon.

'bulletin', 'gas bomb', 'shell', 'triple alliance', 'resolution' etc. in their reporting.<sup>103</sup> Some of them are as follows:

- ARMY: consists of two or more Army Corps. Usually three to four Army Corps form an Army.
- BATTALION: A military unit of about 1,000 infantry, with 96 commissioned and non-commissioned officers. It is commanded by a Lt. Colonel, and divided into companies, each under a captain. A battalion is a self contained tactical and administrative unit, with band and medical and ammunition services, etc, and the requisite number of horses.
- CAMPAIGN: The period during which an army keeps the field.
- CAVALRY: Horse soldiers. In a cavalry. 2 Troops =1 Squadron, Strength about 150 men. 4 Squadrons = 1 regiment. Strength about 530 men. Brigade = 3 cavalry regiments. Strength about 1,600 men.
- Division: Four cavalry brigades (with divisional artillery) strength about 10,000 men.<sup>104</sup>
- CAVALRY DIVISION: consists of two to four Brigades of Cavalry and one to four batteries of Horse Artillery, besides mounted engineers and auxiliary services. The normal foreign Cavalry Division has 4,500 men, and a combatant strength of 3,500 sabres, 12 guns, 8 machine guns.
- COLONEL: An officer who has command of a regiment.

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<sup>103</sup> *Mangalodayam*, vol. VIII, no. 3, -1915, pp. 179-191.

<sup>104</sup> G. A.Natesan (ed.), *The Indian Review War Book*, Madras: G. A.Natesan and Co, 1915, p. 378.

- **COMMANDANT:** A title usually given to a military officer in charge of a fortress, military station or military school. A captain-commandant is a captain who is temporarily doing duty of a higher rank.
- **CORPS:** (Kor), - A body of troops.
- **DEPOT:** The headquarters of a regiment.
- **GENERAL:** The commander of an army or division of any army.
- **INFANTRY:** Foot soldiers. A company = 4 sections of 25 men. howitzer is that the former fires shrapnel shell with a flat trajectory, that is to say, as nearly as possible parallel to the ground; the howitzers fire a very heavy shell. It is short in length and its shell goes up very high in the air and descends a steep angle. This enables it to fire on trenches hidden behind hills. The howitzer can fire either shrapnel or a shell filled with a high explosive such as lyddite. We also possess heavy batteries such as the guns firing 30lbs. or 60 lbs. shells. These guns have a long range, 10,000 yards, and are used when the ordinary field gun cannot reach the target.
- **A battalion:** Eight companies or 4 double companies, Strength 1,000 men.
- **A brigade:** Four battalions and strength is 4,000 men,
- **A division:** Three infantry Brigades. (With divisional artillery and mounted troops). Strength 18,600 men,
- **INFANTRY DIVISION** is the smallest tactical unit which possesses all Arms. It is normally of 12 Battalions and has with it from 36 to 72 guns, besides field companies of engineers, medical supply, signal and transport services. The Cavalry with the division is usually two



Squadrons, but in some cases more. The strength of a division is approximately 20,000 men.

- INSURGENTS: Those who rise in rebellion.<sup>105</sup>
- LIEUTENANT: An officer next below a Captain.
- MAJOR – An officer next below a Colonel.
- NON- COMBATANT: A term applied to civilians, men, women and children. Who do not take an active part in war, and who, if found by an enemy engaged in peaceful occupation and not in possession of arms are entitled to the elementary rights of protection according to the established usages of civilized warfare. International law guarantees them their lives and property, and that they shall not be required to take part in the military operation of the enemy.
- RECRUIT: A newly enlisted soldier.
- REGIMENT: A body of soldiers under a colonel; some regiments have five or six battalions.
- SCOUT: A soldier specially trained to act on his own initiative and sent out to gather useful information.
- TRENCH – An excavation which is for use either as a use for concealment of or protection or both.
- TROOP: A subdivision of a Squadron corresponding to a section of the infantry.
- VOLUNTARY: Proceeding from choice or free will.

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<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 380.

- WARRANT OFFICER: An officer in the army or navy who is between the rank of a commissioned and non-commissioned officer. He wears a sword, but is not entitled to a salute.
- WARRIORS: Soldiers, especially good soldiers.<sup>106</sup>

### 3.3.10 War time Products: Exported and Packing Style

In connection with the War, many products were taken from India including Malabar and the following table provides details about the product and their packing style.<sup>107</sup>

Name of Article	Packing Style
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chocolate</li> </ul>	Must be pure and packed in tins in original packets
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dried figs</li> <li>• Dried apricots</li> <li>• Dried apple chips</li> <li>• Dried dates</li> <li>• Raisins</li> </ul>	To be packed separately in tins and soldered. The name of the article to be painted in English on the tins.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pomegranates</li> <li>• Monkey nuts</li> <li>• Walnuts</li> <li>• Pistachio nuts</li> </ul>	These may be packed in boxes or tins.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coconuts</li> <li>• Edible pine seeds</li> <li>• Mineral alum cart Nepal</li> <li>• Crystallized Sugar</li> <li>• Dry ginger</li> </ul>	To be packed separately in boxes on tins. The name of the article should be painted in English on the box or tin.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>107</sup> *District. Gazette Supplement*, November 1914, KSRAK.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Betal nut</li> <li>• Catechan</li> <li>• Slacked lime</li> </ul>	Each item should be packed in separately in small tins which should be enclosed in another large, more large soldered tin.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tobacco leaf</li> <li>• Tobacco compressed</li> <li>• Cigars</li> <li>• Cigarettes</li> <li>• Piper</li> </ul>	To be packed separately in tins, To be packed separately in wooden cases
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• portable hooks material for making hooks</li> <li>• Socks and bed socks</li> <li>• Belts</li> <li>• Hand Kerchiefs</li> <li>• Mittens</li> </ul>	Each kind of these cuticles should be packed separately in well-made wooden boxes and correctly described on the outside. <sup>108</sup>

### 3.3.11 List of rewards presented by the District Recruiting Committee

The following table explains War rewards distributed to Malabar soldiers by the British government.

<b>o</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Nature of Service</b>	<b>Rewards of recognition</b>
1	C. Usuf Baig	non-officials has been a long way the most successful in bringing recruits, has been practically the only man to study the conditions and produce recruits who would be accepted	Watch

<sup>108</sup> *District Gazette Supplement*, November 1914, KSRK

2	Putheri Kuttikrishna Nayar of Feroke	was instrumental in obtaining coal coolies and others for labour corps	Revolver
3	J.L. Joseph L.M.P (Private practitioner in Ottapalam), was formerly a regimental doctor	has examined some 500 recruits and training camp recruiters and he spent much time without remuneration	Watch
4	Olapurath Thomas of Mathilagam	A young man who has sent some of his dependants and has persuaded several in his locality to enlist and has been generally very helpful to recruiters.	Watch
5	PayarayilAhammadAdhikari of Punnarakulam	Has shown considerable interest in recruiting generally and has been fairly successful in getting non-combatant recruits	Watch
6	Chakramakil Joseph of Paluvayil, Chowghat	He has also sent some combatant recruits of a good stamp	Gun
7	Krishna Kurup	Has brought in a few recruits and delivered lectures generally on recruiting	Watch

Many individuals, especially of the upper castes, who helped the recruitment were awarded titles such as Rao Saheb, Rao Bahadur, Khan Bahadur for assistance in recruitment work. Persons belonging to lower social strata who helped the government in recruitment work were rewarded with mementos such as 'sanads' swords, and turbans. Honorary

tittles like colonel, captain, second lieutenant were granted to native chiefs for their contribution to war, especially recruitment.<sup>109</sup>

It led to rivalry with others and many complaints why a certain title was not given to so and so and why to the other. There were official ways of compulsory recruitment enforced by the collectors on many villages. A large amount of cash was also distributed to those who helped recruiting. Many land grants were made to those who did exceptional recruiting work. All these needed sanction from the army department located at Simla. These kinds of correspondences are classified under the heading "rewards" among the archival materials.<sup>110</sup>

### **3.3.12 Contribution of Landlords and the Common people**

In order to support the War efforts of the British government, the Kollengode Raja offered one hundred scholarships in his school to the relations of recruits and similar concessions were made in the Zamorin's College, Kozhikode too. The same was done by other land lords and elites in the Board schools located in various places in Malabar. This was a strategy launched by the colonial government to make the war efforts a necessity of the Indian people and collect resources for the venture. Income to the War Fund came from individuals and temples too. About four and half lakh rupees was collected from Kozhikode which included a lakh from the Guruvayur Temple. Records speak that over a lakh was collected from the

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<sup>109</sup> Aravind Ganachari, 'First World War: Purchasing Indian loyalties, Imperial Policy of Recruitment and Rewards', vol. IV, no. 8, (February 19-25, 2005), *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 786, <http://www.Jstor.org>. accessed on 04.05.2016, 8.40 AM,

<sup>110</sup> Aravind Ganachari, 'First World War: Purchasing Indian loyalties, Imperial Policy of Recruitment and Rewards', vol. IV, no. 8, (February 19-25, 2005), *Economic and Political Weekly*, p. 786, <http://www.Jstor.org>. accessed on 04.05.2016, 8.40 AM,

Palaghat Taluk owing to the efforts of the Kollengode Raja and over half a lakh from Valluvanad due to the efforts of the Kavalappara Nair.<sup>111</sup>

The work of War effort in Kozhikode was entrusted with a committee which is special services rendered to it by Bentley, a Bank agent and Zacharia was its secretary.<sup>112</sup> An amount of one lakh rupees was donated in Kochi by a one European firm. The payments in Thalasseri amounted to nearly two lakhs, collected largely through the efforts of an influential committee headed by Portoeus, a local bank agent who acted as its secretary.<sup>113</sup> The Postal departments and the banks issued cash certificates and bonds in Malabar to collect resources. About one and half lakhs rupees was contributed by way of post office cash certificates. Among the principal Indian subscribers were Somasundaran Chetty, Desamangalath Sankaran Namboodiripad, the Kollengode Raja, the Kavalappura Nayar and Raja Manavedan Raja.<sup>114</sup>

Since the outbreak of the War a sum of over two and half lakhs was contributed from the Malabar District. Half of this amount was paid to the Madras War Fund and out of this about sixty thousand rupees was given in monthly subscriptions and the rest by special efforts from time to time such as the collections of War fund meeting held in Kozhikode. These opportunities were utilized by the new educated middle class in Malabar to air their voice and it resulted in incidents like boycott of the meetings. A new leadership of the young people like that K. P. Kesava Menon, M. P.

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<sup>111</sup> Revenue Records, Bundle No. 204, Si. No. 35, KSRAK,

<sup>112</sup> Sl. No. 293, Recruitment File 1917-1919, KSRAK.

<sup>113</sup> *Fort St. George Gazetteer*, 18<sup>th</sup> July 1918, KSRAK.

<sup>114</sup> *Fort. St. George Gazettes*, 18th July 1918, KSRAK

Narayana Menon emerged in the public sphere of Malabar during the First World War.<sup>115</sup>

While the War of 1914- 1918 was just a War happened in a foreign land to the common people, it was not like that to the people of Malabar. The people of Malabar had participated in it all the way. Most of the soldiers in the British army were people from their colonies. As Kozhikode was under the Madras Presidency, a lot of young people from this region entered into the British army. A letter that the Malabar collector sent to the Madras Governor says that around 77, 680 people were recruited from Malabar to the army. Thus, the Malabar became an integral part of the First World War. This compelled the British government to grant several incentives and financial supports to the dependants of the people who had lost their lives in the War.

A large number of people indirectly took part in the War. The British Govt. had encouraged such people by giving them the gifts such as watches, revolvers etc. Though a large number of people were gifted watches only a few got revolvers as gift.<sup>116</sup> Though the War had severely affected export and import of goods in Malabar, the atmosphere gave boost to some industries and plantations. The military gave orders for tiles, *kakki* cloth<sup>117</sup> and food products from the markets in Malabar.

The British government faced severe financial crisis during the First World War. They identified ways to accumulate money from the colonies. They began to collect money from the public by giving special bonds named

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<sup>115</sup> K. P. Kesava Menon, *Kazhinja Kalam* (mal.), Mathrubumi Books: Kozhikode, 1957, pp. 52-54.

<sup>116</sup> T. B. Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrukam* (mal.), *Op.cit.*, p. 251.

<sup>117</sup> It was a special cloth produced in the weaving mills in Malabar during the War.

'Madras War Loan Fund' issued by the Madras Presidency. The government officials worked for this venture. Among them the district Judges and police officers were in the forefront. People like Jackson, the Malabar District Judge, North Malabar Judge, Police I G, and Sub-Registrar of Koyilandy etc., had collected amounts like 1500, 4800, 2500, and 2100 rupees respectively. The Chairman of the Municipal Council, M. Krishna Kurup and the Munsif of Koyilandy had sent amounts such as 800 and 500 to the authority. From the Malabar region, the government could gather 9,32,500 rupees only. The money thus collected from Malabar was utilized for the expenses of two War ships named Madras and Sikkim to provide hospital facilities, the medical Staff and nurses of these ships were from the Madras Presidency. These ships had sailed to Mombasa and returned five times. Similarly these ships sailed to twenty five times to Basra thirteen times to Zeus, seven times Alexandria and thirteen times Arabia during its life time. These ships carried 5772 officers and 1662 injured soldiers from Alexandria to India. Both the ships were active till May 31, 1918. Along with this, an amount of leather worth around six and half crores was bought and shipped from Malabar to other parts of Madras Presidency for producing leather materials for the War<sup>118</sup>. Uniforms required for the army were produced in Coimbatore and woolen blankets were produced in Bangalore. Records say that women of Bombay alone collected about two half lakh rupees in cash for the War Fund. These records also say that the women in Bengal offered their jewelry for the cause of the British Empire.<sup>119</sup> In short, the British Government received

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<sup>118</sup> T. B. Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrukam* (mal.), *Op.cit.*, p. 251.

<sup>119</sup> G. A. Natesan (ed.), *The Indian Review War Book*, *Op.cit.*, pp. 243-246.



good financial and physical support from all parts of India including the Malabar region.<sup>120</sup>

### **3.3.13 Evidences at the Maranattu Mana in Pandikkad**

The Maranatt Mana, a feudal Brahminical house at Pandikkad in the Malappuram District has kept a large number of archival records of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Many of these records talk about War and their connection with cities like Kozhikode and Madras during the crisis. It includes the following information about the World War.

At the time of First World War, Vengayil Kunhiraman Nayanar, member of the Legislative Council reached Madras to take part in an emergency meeting. In the meeting held on 14 November 1914, Nayanar talked about the loyalty of landlords in Malabar towards the British emperor. He died just after he completed his talk.<sup>121</sup> He said in a resolution presented during the war time that 'chivalry of his caste came back.'<sup>122</sup> Letters sent to the Maranatt Mana by landlords like Kavalappara Muppil Nair requested the elites to vote for him during the elections to the Legislative Council. Among these archival documents, one letter says that persons like Mammed Koya, Municipal Councillor of Kozhikode, C A Kunji Moosa, a magistrate, P S Muhammed, P S Mammukkoya Haji, C V Abdulla Koya, Thoppil Ahammed Koya Haji, President of Imayathul Islam Sabha Khan Bahadur and Malabar District Board Member, AttaKoya Thangal etc., jointly demanded the election of a particular person to the Legislative Council. All of them were from

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<sup>120</sup> T. B. Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrukam* (mal.), *Op. cit.*, p. 253.

<sup>121</sup> Moorkoth Kumaran, *Kerala Basha Pranayikal* Vengayil Kunhiraman Nayanar, (mal.), V. V. Publishers, Thiruvananthapuram, 1933, pp. 187-227.

<sup>122</sup> P. Krishnan Nair, *A Kerala Souvenir of the Visit of the Prince of Wales, 1921-22*, Manorama Printing Works Limited, Calicut, 1922, p. 42.

Kozhikode. This shows that by the end of the World War, the expectation of the participation of Indian members in the government might have speeded up the participation of landlords and elites in political activity. This came true with the introduction of the Montague Chelmsford reforms in 1919.

The are letters talking about the importance of support to the British Government during the War. One among them is a letter from Narayanan Namboothiri of Nadupathu Mana to Maranattu Mana. He says that as there was a War going on under the leadership of his King against Germany and he was bound to support the British Government. Another is a letter is written by J L Xlecus, who was the treasurer of War Fund activity in Malabar. It was a written on 1 June 1915. In the letter he asks landlords to contribute money for the Madras Hospital Ship Hospital as early as possible.<sup>123</sup> Another letter from C A Innes, Collector of the District written on 19 April 1915 sent to Madhavan Namboothiri of the Maranattu Mana also records the War Fund activity in Malabar. The Maranattu Mana along with the Samoothiri, rajas of Kollankode, Eralppadu etc., are provided big amounts to the War Fund. These letters talk about the war situation. It says that around three hundred war horses and thirty motor vehicles were sent to the War front and a hospital ship named Madras was started to function. Landlords in Malabar actively participated in purchasing promissory notes issued by the imperial government. It was a best chance to show their loyalty and that these promissory notes were the best investments offered the best return from the most trusted hands to them.

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<sup>123</sup> These letters are kept in the archival room in the Maranatt Mana at Chembrasserri in Pandikkad. It is located near Manjeri in the Malappuram District of Kerala.

### **3.3.14 Malabar Society in the Post-World War Period**

Important Products like coconut, tea and coffee produced in Malabar were collected in large scale to the War front. This had severe reflection in the Kozhikode city. With regard to timber, the saw mills in Kallai were forced to do continuous work to produce goods for the War due to large orders from the military department. The Calicut Furniture Company distributed immense quantities of timber products of various kinds to the Munitions Department in Bombay and elsewhere and such products were manufactured in Kozhikode by using timber collected from Malabar.<sup>124</sup> It is recorded that during the War, nearly fifty wooden ships of an aggregate tonnage of 8500 tons were built and 24 of an aggregate tonnage of over 5000 tons were under construction during the War due to increasing demand from the forces.<sup>125</sup> This might have created fortunes to many people in the city during the War.

Thus the military recruitments and the World War in Malabar was capable to change the existing social, political and economic character of the society. The ex-soldiers of the War played an important role in the Malabar Rebellion of 1921 and they also expanded the military and geographical knowledge of the people. The intervention of imperialism in the rural and urban spaces created new changes in the colonial society and all these changes transformed even the literary imaginations of the people.

The British government had built a monuments for thirty one Indians who participated in the War. One such marble monument is kept in the back side of the verandah of the Court building built by the British government at

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<sup>124</sup> Revenue Records, Bundle No. 204, Sl. No. 35, KSRAK.

<sup>125</sup> Sl. No. 473 War File (1914-1919), KSRAK.

Malappuram. It is written in it that thirty one soldiers of the village had taken part in the War and among them two had lost their lives. One such monument is seen near the Zoo in Trissur town.<sup>126</sup>

The War changed the life of the people even in the regions which were not directly involved it. In the case of Malabar, the War changed the caste based feudal society in multiple ways. Whole of Malabar including the urban population of Kozhikode town, helped the colonial master by supplying men, money, and material for the War. In return, the War generated new forces of social political and economic forces capable to support and national assemblages. The Kozhikode city was the centre of these government activities in Malabar. Thus, the reflection of the War efforts might have affected the city life in greater way. This is to be explored further.

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<sup>126</sup> In memory of the soldiers participated in First World War, a memorial was built in 1921 at Manjeri. See *Desabhimani*, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2014.

## Chapter 4

### Popular Responses

#### 4.1 Introduction

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> In his *Iratta Mukhamulla Nagaram*, Benyamin talks about the difference between the village and city life. He says that city life is suffocating but village life is a tranquil one. See Benyamin, *Irattamukhamulla Nagaram*, (mal.), (Travelogue), Vattoly Nirmala, Hiprint Pvt. Ltd., Thrissur, 2015, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Lebeure, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, Allen Lave, The Penguin Press, London, 1971, pp. 189-190.

<sup>3</sup> David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital Towards a Critical Geography*, Edinburg University Press Ltd., Edinburg, 2001, pp. 203-204.

they specialise in particular agricultural products such as apple, wheat, cotton etc.<sup>4</sup>

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

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

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<sup>4</sup> James, A. Quinn, *Urban Sociology*, Eurasia Publishing House Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, (n.d.), pp. 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> The Majority of the middle class population is more modest in urban origin. See Sujatha Patel, Kushal Deb (ed.), *Urban Study*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011, p. 146.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23

<sup>7</sup> Herman Vander Wusten, *The City Scapes of European Capital Cities*, Vol. 51, No. 1/2, Springer, <http://www.org/stable>, accessed on 12-7-2016, UTC, p. 130.

<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to find any good definition of a town writing on this subject in the report on the census of 1881, McIver says: 'Town is ordinarily a word of somewhat vague in application, and there is some difference of opinion as to appropriate definition any village over 5,000 inhabitation was termed as a town (Book No.C/33, Si No.1715 census of India, 1891, vol. XIII, Madras, the *Report on the Census* by H. A. Stuart of the Indian Civil Service, Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, Madras, 1893).

to industrialization.<sup>9</sup> According geographers, climate, landform features, vegetation, surface and soil influence urbanization. The interaction between environment and human beings will positively benefit the growth of a city. The interference of people from different walks of life also bring the growth of a city. The presence of foreigners is the one of the factors that supports the culture beyond the urban-rural contact.<sup>10</sup>

In the social system of a city, we can see people of economically rich and socially high class living in the opposite side of the economically poor and socially low classes. It means, an urban society includes two divergent groups and the difference in their standard of living and mutual interest. Naturally, there are two types of cultural patterns. One is leisure class and reflecting a certain degree of refinement and the other of the labouring class reflecting a certain degree of crudeness.<sup>11</sup> hence, the urban culture has to be viewed in different patterns and culture. All the more urbanization is a continuous process which is carrying an even at the present scenario.

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

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<sup>9</sup> David Satterthwaite, Gordon McGrunahan and Cecilia Tacoli, *Urbanisation and Its Implications for Food and Farming*, Philosophical Transactions, Biological Sciences, Vol. 365, No. 1554, Royal Society <http://www.jstor.org/stable.20752980>, accessed on 4.7-2016, 8. 55 AM.

<sup>10</sup> R. Ramachandran, *Urbanisation and Urban Systems in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010, p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

and Brahmins surrounded this area.<sup>12</sup> There were fortifications around this epicenter of religious and political power centre.

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

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

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<sup>12</sup> M. G. S.Narayanan, *Charithram Vyavaharam Keralavum Bharathavum*, (mal.), Current Books, Trissur, 2015, p. 51.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. P. B. Salim, N. P. Hafis Muhammed, M. C. Vasisht (ed.), *Malabar Paithrukavum Prathapavum*, (mal.), Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 2011, pp. 40-41.

<sup>14</sup> K. Balakrishna Kurup, *Kozhikodinte Charithram, Mithukalum Yatharthyangalum*, (mal.), Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode, 2000, p. 157.



Muslims, named *khalasimar* appeared in Kozhikode due to the particular trade activity. The Arabs played an important role in the transformation of Kozhikode into a big city due to their commercial and religious interaction.<sup>15</sup> It is believed that the Muslim religious missionaries, Ibnu Habib and his followers had helped many families in Chaliyam and Beypore to migrate to Kozhikode. Sulaiman, the author of *Sylsilath-Uthavarikka*, notes the Muslim population in Kozhikode as very less. There were a lot number of mosques in Kozhikode, noted Hokkal, the traveler who visited Kozhikode in Tenth century AD.<sup>16</sup> Chempaka Lakshmi in her *Trade Ideology and Urbanization* discusses the tendency of the South Indian vilages to become cities. According to Chempakalaksmi, this was due to the support of kings to trade and commerce. Kozhikode passed through the process of urbanization through the Arab trade.<sup>17</sup>

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

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 157-158.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

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

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Dr. B. Bindu, Department of Anthropology, Kannur University. Interview held on September 2016, Monday at 9.30 A.M.

Later, from the beginning of Ninth to the middle of Twelfth Century, Porlathiri had ruled Kozhikode coastal regions and the areas adjacent to it. From Eighth Century onwards Kozhikode began to acquire the pace of a city. At the end of Ninth Century Porlathiri began to reside Kuttichira near Kozhikode coastal area. He had also built a canal across Kallayi and Varakkal. Later the banks of this canal came to be known as Puzhavakku. Many of Pollathiry's decisions regarding the trade helped to transport pepper and other such commodities from the inner part of Malabar to Kuttichira through Chaliyar River via Kallayi and to improve trade. And the Muslims trades gained a big profit by selling these products to the traders from Arabia, South-East Asia, and China. In Puzhavakku, there were markets named as Marikkarkadavu, Pandarkkadavu, Puzhavakku, Pattutheruvu, and China Bazar. Money lenders and rice merchants from Gujarat began to settle near the North of Kuttichira and the place began to known as Gujarati Street. Muslim elites had built mosques in Puzhavakku. Krishnayer says that Kozhikode city had founded as a complete city in 1304. As the palace situated in the place it came to be known as 'Koyilkodu' by the navigators. And that might be changed to Kozhikode later.<sup>19</sup>

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

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<sup>19</sup> Edakkad, Puthiyangadi, Kurubrakkattusseri, Kacheri, Nedungottooru, Valayanad, Kasaba, Kariyamkunnu, Kalathilkunnu, Nagaram, Panniyankara, these were the popular desam including Calicut City.

the duty of export and import to a Muslim officer Shah Bender Koya.<sup>20</sup> There were Muslim traders in Kozhikode at the time who could able to buy the whole goods that contained in a vessel. When Samoothiri had conquered and settled in the palaces of Porlathiri, Muslim tradesmen had built new houses in both the sides of Valiyangadi.

Both the trade with the Arabs and the support of Muslims made Samuthiri more rich and powerful. Manavavikraman who came into power in 1466 decreed to built a palace in the east of Puzhavakku and west of Mittayitheruvu and named the place as Vikramapuram.<sup>21</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>22</sup> The explorer Barbaroza, who reached Kozhikode in 1502, says about the Nair community of the region; "Nairs are the noble and aristocratic community of the region. They never mingle with the people of low caste people. They themselves know that they are of blue blood. They never have a morsel from any of the houses except another Nair. The untouchables or the lower caste people should give way to the Nairs on the public path otherwise they have the right even to kill the lower caste people. Muslims were the most powerful commune in regarding the trade and commerce in Kozhikode and Nairs were like that in the social life. (K.Balakrishna Kurup, *Kozhikodinte Charithram Mithukalum Yadarthyangalum*, (Mal.), *Op. cit.*, p.164.

wealthy that they could even able to buy the whole goods that came in a vessel. They also described about the security of the Kozhikode port and could able to see many valuable goods of Abysenia, Zinbad, Sansibar etc, in Kozhikode. They also talks about the prominent difference of Kozhikode port with the other ports, that in the other ports when the vessel reaches the port the wind might move it to many other directions and had plundered by the Pirates but in Kozhikode not such incidents happened as it was completely safe. They have noted that commodities like ginger, pepper, various leaves, spices etc, were available in the market. The diplomatic and secularistic attitude of the Samoothiri kings was important in the development of Kozhikode as a prominent commercial town in the World. Thus, along with the growth of trade and commerce, Kozhikode developed as a wealthiest town and renowned city for its exemplified secular character. Kozhikode grew as a major trade city as she was built up with a strong relation of fraternity and fellowship between countrymen of various nations, tongues, castes and creed and which bounded together both eastern and western culture and civilization in the medieval period.<sup>23</sup>

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

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<sup>23</sup> M. G. S. Narayanan, *Charithram Vyavaharam Keralavum Bharathavum*, (mal.), *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

century. The Dutch and French and at last the English also reached Kozhikode after the Portuguese. At last the English East India Company established control over entire Malabar after signing the Treaty of Sreerangapattnam in 1792.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Dr. P. B.Salim, N. P. Hafis Muhammed, M. C.Vasisht (ed.,) *Malabar Paithrukavum Prathapavum*, (mal.), Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikkode, 2011, pp. 281-81.

**The population of the *Nagaram* ascertained by the Census Report<sup>25</sup>**

Year of Census	Number of Industrial Houses	Total Population			Religion			Occupation				Population per 100 acres of occupied land
		Males	Females	Total	Hindus	Muhammadans	Others	Land holders	Labourers	Weavers	Others	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
					Calicut Municipality							
1891	9839	34507	31571	66078	37733	24545	3800	4203	2807	1289	57779	--
1901	10375	39986	36995	76981	42744	30158	4079	1313	1213	631	73824	--

<sup>25</sup> *Survey Settlement Register, Calicut Taluk Desam, No. 38, Nagaram, KSRAK.*

**The Population of the Kasaba<sup>26</sup> ascertained by the Census Report<sup>27</sup>**

Year of census	Number of Industrial Houses	Total Population			Religion			Occupation				Population per 100 acres of occupied land
		Males	Females	Total	Hindus	Muhammadans	Others	Land holders	Labourers	Weavers	Others	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
					Calicut Municipality							
1891	9839	34507	31571	66078	37788	24545	3800	4208	2807	1289	57779	--
1901	10375	39986	36995	76981	42744	30158	4079	1313	1218	631	73824	--

<sup>26</sup> Arab word meaning a town or the capital of a district.

<sup>27</sup> *Survey Settlement Register*, Calicut Taluk Desam, No. 35 Kasaba, KSRAK

### List of Property Holders in the Calicut City

No.	Name of the land`	Government Jenmam (G) Private Jenmam(PJ)	Name of the proprietor or Inam the or Manager of the institution which land belong	Inam No.
1	Panachinkal Parambu	PJ	Kizhakke Kovilakath Valiyathampuratty	3
2	Thiruthiparambath Parambu	PJ	Manavikraman Samoothiri Rajavu	4 <sup>28</sup>
3	Palayathuparambu	PJ	Rarichan Moopan	16 <sup>29</sup>
4	Punar Parambu	PJ	Rarichan Moopan	81
5	Dimarsthalam Parambu	PJ	Ambadi Kovilakath Valiyathampuratty	1 <sup>30</sup>
6	Musliyarakam Parambu	PJ	Rarichan Moopan	81
7	KaruppaMakkante Parambu	PJ	Kizhakke Kovilakathu Valiyathampuratty	46

#### 4.1.1. Financial Problem and other Social Issues in Kerala during the time of First World War

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

<sup>28</sup> *Survey Settlement Register, Calicut Taluk, No. 34, Valayanad Desam, KSRAK.*

<sup>29</sup> *Survey Settlement Register, Calicut Taluk, No. 35, Kasaba Desam, KSRAK*

<sup>30</sup> *Survey Settlement Register, Calicut Taluk, No. 38, Nagaram Desam, KSRAK*



crisis expected during the War.<sup>31</sup> The result was the birth of issues like scarcity of food grains, severe famine, etc. The scarcity in food was partially the result of the world struggle, and every nation faced severe economic problem. In India, this was accentuated by the failure of crops in large areas.<sup>32</sup> The transport of food was retarded by deprivation of rolling stock on the railways and lack of ships. The great advance of wages during the War enabled many to face the crisis without much suffering but there were millions who were unaided and failed to support themselves and their families.<sup>33</sup>

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

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

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<sup>31</sup> H. Stanky Jevons, *Effects of the War on Indian Trade*, in G. A. Natsen and Co, 1915, pp. 176-177.

<sup>32</sup> *Harvest field*, February, 1919, vol. XXXIX.

<sup>33</sup> *Harvest field*, February, 1919, vol. XXXIX.

<sup>34</sup> The Indian states and Travancore among them placed their rich resources in men and money at the service of the paramount power. The people of Thiruvithamcore showed their bravery in many battle fields. See T. K. Velu Pillai, *A History of Travancore*, Trivandrum, vol. I, 1941, p. 210.

recession was also considered an important factor for unemployment<sup>35</sup>. The War affected agricultural and industrial sectors too, and this led to insecure labour conditions because famine and inflation were also badly upsetting their daily life, and this heaved labourers of Thiruvithamcore into a miserable living condition.<sup>36</sup> Incendiary and black market also made the people's life miserable.

#### **4.1.2. Inflation and Export of Food Grains**

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

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<sup>35</sup> See details Sandip Hazareesing, *The colonial city and the challenge of Modernity urban Hegemonies and civic contestations in Bombay (1900-1925)*, Hyderabad: Oriental Longman, 2007, p.95-96.

<sup>36</sup> Madhavan Pillai. K., *Minutes of District of the Report of the Economic Depression Enquiry Committee of the Government of Travancore*, 1931, p. 147.

the year 1919.<sup>37</sup> From these data it is evident that the inflation was not due to the increase in the import of food grains. Increase in the price occurred due to the following reasons:

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

During the period of War, there was an industrial boom, a large number of individual enterprises and companies sprang up without adequate capital, knowledge of business, and management proper organisation etc. But later these industrial enterprises and companies automatically disappeared with whatever they had acquired as soon as the recession started.<sup>38</sup> During this period the new registration of companies also gradually declined. It means the depression affected almost all sections like traders, agriculturalists, owners of small scale and medium size industrial establishments.<sup>39</sup>

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

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<sup>37</sup> *Janmi*, vol. XII, no. VII, February, 1919.

<sup>38</sup> Aswathy. V. Y., 'Travancore During the First World War' in D. Daniel (ed.), *South Indian History Congress Proceedings*, A.V.V.M Sri. Pushpam College, Thanjavur, 2014, p. 132.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

When they declared the age as a good one, the common people dared not to speak against that.<sup>40</sup>

#### **4.1.3. War and Poverty in Travancore Fort**

War affected those countries which were not directly connected and the situation. Thiruvithamcore was also not different from that. Around one lakh people lost their job as the estate owners, British and other business entrepreneurs had started to stop their ventures slowly. Even the labourers in the village were also suffering from the loss of job. Before, the landowners with at least ten or twenty coconut palms and cultivation of pepper and ginger on small scale could live properly with an average financial soundness.<sup>41</sup>

The people who indirectly exported such things had to face a big trouble during the War. Many people lived by selling coir but they also began to face recession and got into trouble. The farmers who led a rich life began to face poverty as the existing economic scenario brought the prices of ginger, pepper, coconut etc., down. Many people had stored these things in bulk quantities and the price decrease troubled them too. Almost all the newspapers reported these changes in the society.<sup>42</sup> The pro-British print media spread news that the both the British and Indian governments were helping merchants in the difficult situation.<sup>43</sup>

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

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<sup>40</sup> Joseph Mundasseri, *Kozhinjallakal*, (mal.), vol. I, Mangalodayam Pvt. Limited, Thiruvivaperur, 1966, p. 16.

<sup>41</sup> *Janmi*, Vol. VII, no. IV, December, 1914.

<sup>42</sup> *Jenmi*, Pusthakam VII, No. IX, December, 1914.

<sup>43</sup> *Jenmi*, Pusthakam VII, No. IV, December, 1914.

and asks for urgent measures from the government to solve these problems. And it is pointed out that, the First World War mainly affected the laymen class such as labourers, peasants, tenants and middle class people. There were a number of factors, for the widespread poverty among the people, like stagnation of foreign trade, closing down of factories, plantations etc.<sup>44</sup> And due to the effective use or deployment of police forces and collection of agricultural goods by the government and the special schemes introduced to protect the pepper, arecanut, coconut and coir products, not only labourers but also agriculture was also affected the First World War and they also wanted protection from poverty. It means that the War created acute crisis in the daily life of people in Travancore.

#### **4.1.4. Malabar Situation**

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

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<sup>44</sup> *Jenmi*, vol.VII, No.IV, 1914, pp.107-112.

<sup>45</sup> *New India*, January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1915, TSA.

<sup>46</sup> P. Narayanan Nair, *Aranoottandilude* (Autobiography), (mal.), Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 1999, p. 32.

Women folk were interested to know about the War and at the same time literates read the news by themselves. When will be the end of this damn War? That was the question of the women folk. Everyone was scared that the hale and hearty people will be forced to join army. Some had gone abscond and no one knew whether they were forced to join in the army or they had joined themselves. Some were ready to join army when they were threatened by poverty<sup>47</sup>. A submarine named Emden began to appear in the territorial waters of India in this time. It became a night mare for Indians of the time as Emden attacked a large number of ships. The bombardment of Madras Port, cannoning of Bombay, sight of fights near the sky of Kochi etc., due to the presence of Emden increased fear in the minds of the people.<sup>48</sup>

#### **4.1.5. Inflation in the Kozhikode City**

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

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

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

reported the pathetic condition of the people in Kozhikode.<sup>49</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>51</sup> *Manorama*, Calicut, 5<sup>th</sup> April, 1918, TSA.

<sup>52</sup> Starvation is the characteristic of some people not having enough food to eat. See Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, p. 1

that they cannot tolerate any artificial price rise. They also gave an information that there were plenty enough of stocks in various godowns which were hoarded by merchants to make the price high.<sup>53</sup>

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

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

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

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<sup>53</sup> *West Coast spectator*, Calicut, January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1916, TSA.

<sup>54</sup> It was the time of the Home Rule political agitation in Malabar with its centre at Kozhikode.

<sup>55</sup> *Manorama*, Calicut, August 24 1917, TSA.

<sup>56</sup> *Manorama*, Calicut, August 24<sup>th</sup>, 1917, TSA.

<sup>57</sup> K. K. N. Kurup, *Kadathanadans Tharavadukal, Jeevinthangal*, (mal.), Malabar Institute for Research Development, Kozhikode, 2012, pp. 36-37.



the people were already suffering by unemployment, high price for necessary articles etc. They were also facing another evil that was false weight and measures. A correspondent told that he himself was victimised twice by a cloth seller whose measuring yard was too short by nearly two inches. The problem of false weight and measure was not new and it had existed for a long time. The officials could not visit local shop keepers to check their weight and measures to solve this problem. There was an officer called Windle who undertook such an operations at West Hill and Nadakavu.<sup>58</sup>

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

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

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<sup>58</sup> *West Coast Spectator*, Calicut, March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1918, TSA.

<sup>59</sup> *Manorama*, Calicut, September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1918, TSA.

<sup>60</sup> *Kerala Sanchari*, Calicut, September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1918, TSA.

would die out of starvation. Rice could not be imported from Rangoon and it also added that the government or the collector did not take any precaution during this crisis.<sup>61</sup>

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

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

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<sup>61</sup> *Desabhakthan* Madras, November,, 12<sup>th</sup> 1918, TSA.

<sup>62</sup> Hakkim Cholayil, *1920, Malabar*, (mal.), D. C. Books, Kottayam, 2014, p. 137.

<sup>63</sup> According to Nehru, during the end of the First World War, it was an air of suppressed anxiety that prevailed in India. The property and glory of the capitalists rose. A number of capitalists in the upper echelons earned more money and might. However majority of the people were not lucky like them. Their aim was to reduce the burden of their life. The peaceful and constitutional protest gained momentum. People started talking with confidence about self rule and self determination. Unrest was prevalent among the multitudes, especially among farmers. The bitter memory of forceful conscription of the Punjabi villagers into the army was still lasting. The action of trapping patriots in conspiracy cases and suppressing them led to detest in everybody. The soldiers who returned from distant war fields were not mere dolls. They grew mentally. There was dissatisfaction among themselves as well. See Prof. C. K Moosad, *K. Madhavan Nair*, (mal.), Mathrubhumi, Calicut, 1987, pp. 48-49.

<sup>64</sup> *West Coast spectator*, Calicut, November, 5<sup>th</sup> 1918, TSA.

The *Manorama* of 17<sup>th</sup> December reported that if the freight between Burma and Madras was reduced, it would help to secure a reduction, of annas in the price of bags of rice and also remarked that the freight to Malabar to be reduced. The merchants were willing to buy paddy and rice from Burma. And it said that when the war was over, the easiest step that could be immediately adopted for safety of the people is to reduce freights at least temporarily.<sup>65</sup>

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

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

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<sup>65</sup> *Manorama*, Calicut, December, 17<sup>th</sup> 1918, TSA.

<sup>66</sup> There was a political conference at Kozhikode in 1917. See the *Andhra Prakashika*, October, 4<sup>th</sup> Madras, 1918, TSA.

<sup>67</sup> *Kerala Sanchari*, Calicut October, 30<sup>th</sup> 1918, TSA.

<sup>68</sup> Uroob was a prominent Malayalam novelist.

<sup>69</sup> Uroob, *Sundarikalum Sundaranmatrum*, (mal.), Current Books, Thrissur, 1996, p. 140.

the hands of Indonesians. The money sent by soldiers from Iran, Iraq, and Mesopotamia stopped. Most of them had returned and faced unemployment. This situation compelled them to sell their dress, boots, trunks and starvation became a part of their life. Thefts and murder increased tremendously. The increased theft and murder gave the lawyers their high time. People believed that British were responsible for the economic crisis and unemployment. After the First World War this led to a grudge towards them. But they also believed that they would get protection.<sup>70</sup> When the government knew about this, they sent more secret investigative agents and more circulars. They took additional steps for protection. Military marches were held in the town to prevent anti-government activities. The First World War made the life of the people miserable to the worst level. It is a fact that famine was one of the main problems faced by the people of Malabar and it was high in the rainy season and it lead ignorant people to crime.<sup>71</sup> The government did not take immediate steps to relieve people from the enormous rise in price of rice, cloth, and kerosene oil and other necessities of life.<sup>72</sup>

The *Kerala Pathrika* pointed to the duty of local legislative councils by cultivating modernization and not to complain about the prices of foreign articles. It also said that even the ordinary people could understand the deterioration of indigenous industries and steps to improve them.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p.141.

<sup>71</sup> *Kerala Pathrika*, Calicut, April, 6<sup>th</sup> 1918, TSA.

<sup>72</sup> *Kerala Sanchari*, March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1919, TSA.

<sup>73</sup> *Kerala Pathrika*, Calicut, April, 6<sup>th</sup> 1918, TSA.

#### 4.1.6. Rise in the price of salt at Kozhikode

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

The *Kerala Patrika* demanded increase in the amount of taxes upon the rich people and cancellation of taxes on necessary goods.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> *Kerala Sanchari*, Calicut January,, 2<sup>nd</sup> 1918, TSA.

<sup>75</sup> *Manorama*, Calicut, March, 4<sup>th</sup> 1916, TSA.

<sup>76</sup> *Kerala Sanchari*, Calicut, March, 1<sup>st</sup>, 1916, TSA.

<sup>77</sup> *Nazrani Deepika*, March 5<sup>th</sup> 1916, TSA.

<sup>78</sup> *Kerala Pathrika*, Calicut, March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1916, TSA.

#### 4.1.7. Rise in the price of kerosene

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

#### 4.1.8. War and Epidemics in the Municipality

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

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<sup>79</sup> *Manorama*, Calicut, February, 25<sup>th</sup> 1919, TSA.

<sup>80</sup> *Manorama*, Calicut, January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1919, TSA.

<sup>81</sup> *Manorama*, Calicut, January, 28<sup>th</sup> 1919, TSA.

<sup>82</sup> *Manorama*, Calicut, September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1918, TSA.

<sup>83</sup> M. Raghavan, *State Failure and Human Miseries, A Study with Special Focus on Famines in British Malabar*, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi, 2016, p. 74.

mortal diseases spreading in the town space. Even though plague was mostly seen in Palakkad town, all other epidemic was seen in Kozhikode.<sup>84</sup> There were many rumours related to the small-pox which broke out during the War. The real situation was far severe than these rumours. Vernacular newspapers clamoured for preventive action by the government.<sup>85</sup>

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

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

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

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<sup>84</sup> *New India*, Madras, March 14<sup>th</sup> 1916, TSA.

<sup>85</sup> *West Coast Reformer*, March 2<sup>nd</sup> 1917, TSA.

<sup>86</sup> *Manorama*, Calicut, March 31<sup>st</sup> 1916, TSA.

hospitals among them accommodated ninety two patients.<sup>87</sup> Due to the outbreak of the epidemic 1659 patients were admitted in the hospital. There were numerous people treated as out-patients. The number of patients increased day by day.<sup>88</sup>

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

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

<sup>88</sup> M. Raghavan, *State Failure and Human Miseries, A Study with Special Focus on Famines in British Malabar*, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi, 2016p. 76.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.



epidemics.<sup>90</sup> Garbage spread all over the street in the city. But the district administration never tried to appoint sweepers to clean the street. The unmoved garbage in the drainage blocked the flow of muddy water.

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

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

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<sup>90</sup> Poverty sustained the period of British rule and many diseases disturbed the city during the First World War. Vide *Gangadharan Puthukudi, Kozhikode Pattanapradesangalile Avasakendrangaalkku Chuttum*, (mal.), Cheruvanur, 2014, p. 340.

<sup>91</sup> *Manorama*, Calicut, July 13<sup>th</sup> 1917, TSA.

The shortage of scavengers made the situation worst. The Kozhikode municipality had announced that it was ready to arrange private scavengers if the required residences were ready to pay them.

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

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

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

#### **4.1.9. Robbery and Black Market**

Another problem faced by Kozhikode during the First World War was theft and robbery.<sup>93</sup> It created socio-economic and political problems in the

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<sup>92</sup> *Keralapathrika, Calicut, January, 5<sup>th</sup> 1918, TSA.*

<sup>93</sup> *West Coast Spectator, Calicut July 18<sup>th</sup> 1915, TSA.*

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

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

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

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<sup>94</sup> *Kerala Pathrika*, Calicut, April 15<sup>th</sup> 1917, TSA.

<sup>95</sup> G. A. Natesan (ed.). *The Indian Review War Book*, Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co, 1915, p. 117.

<sup>96</sup> *Administration Report*, General Summary Part-I, Madras, 1915-1916, Madras, 1916, pp. 1-XXXIII.

and beggars increased in the city and it is reported as a nuisance problem for the city dwellers during the War period.<sup>97</sup>

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

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

#### **4.1.10. Emden Fear**

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

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<sup>97</sup> *West Coast Spectator*, Calicut, September 21<sup>st</sup> 1916, TSA.

<sup>98</sup> Gangadharan Puthukudi, *Kozhikode Pattana Pradesangalile Avasakendraganlkku Chuttum*, (Mal.), Geethanjali Offset Printers, Cheruvannur, 2014, p. 447.

<sup>99</sup> *Malayala Manorama*, September 21, 2014.

This war ship got the name 'Emden' as it was a result of the sponsorship made by the people of Emden in Germany. The Emden Ship was powered by ten canons that could turn 360 degrees and was with two big torpedo tubes. It also had an efficient wireless system that could smell the presence of faraway enemies in the sea. Emden became an asset of the German Navy in 1910.<sup>100</sup>

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

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

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<sup>100</sup> T.B. Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrukam*, (Mal.), Mathrubhoomi Books: Kozhikode, 2011, p. 157.

<sup>101</sup> *Frontline Magazine*, Sept. 5, 2014, p. 94.

<sup>102</sup> *Revenue Records*, Bundle No. 204, Sl. No. 35, KSRAC.

quarters of the Madras Port Trust and the building of the Madras Sailing Club.<sup>103</sup> The thickly populated areas of the Madras city like Binny Road, Poomalli High Road, Vepperi, parts of the George Town, Royapuram and Nunkampakkam in the Madras city were attacked by the shells. The total loss was estimated by the British as high as 30,000 pounds. This was beyond the calculations of the colonial government in South India.

There were losses to human lives also due to the submarine attack. Five people were killed in the attack on September 14 and 26 people were wounded. The attack lasted for two hours and then Emden left the coast. At that time people could not identify the attacking ship or understand the Emden war. They only knew that a ship called Emden attacked them and there was no eye witness to the incident. The media reported the event only two days later as war time censorship was prevailing. This generated huge numbers of rumours in the urban space and thousands of people fled from the city. People feared that Emden could come back at any time.<sup>104</sup> Soon it became a public talk that the Emden was someone which could attack anyone. In the daily life of the people in the coastal areas in Tamilnadu and Kerala, 'Emten' and 'Emendan' were the terms used to refer to the Emden fear.

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

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<sup>103</sup> *Fort St. George Gazette*, Sept. 5, 2014, p. 96.

<sup>104</sup> *Mathrubhumi*, September 17, 2014.

in the ship came out and greeted the Japanese and wished for the victory of the British ruler in the War.<sup>105</sup>

When the threat of Japanese overcame, the navigator changed the colour of ship, and removed the added chimney from it. After a long period of hiding near the Java and Sumatra Islands, the ship entered the Bay of Bengal. Muller had received up to date information about the ships sailing through the seas, through the telegraph.<sup>106</sup>

In the Bay of Bengal, Emden captured six ships and travelers of these ships were transferred to one ship and remaining five ships were drowned in the sea. Muller is said to have showed concern about these people and they were taken to the Hugli River in Bengal and then the Emden continued its journey. A coal ship of Germany named Marcomanies was moving along with Emden. Within two hours from the Hugli River, the Emden captured a British commercial ship after shifting its people to Marcomanies.<sup>107</sup>

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

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<sup>105</sup> K. R. Krishna Pillai, *Europile Yudham* (mal.), (n.d.,) p. 48.

<sup>106</sup> Emden was a German Submarine which became a serious threat for Indians also, after Madras was bombarded, many ships sank and lot of destruction was caused. This news gave rise to terror among the citizens. See P. Narayanan Nair, *Aranooottandiloode* (mal.), Kerala Sahithya Academy: Trissur, 1999, p. 32.

<sup>107</sup> Emden was the first German ship which was competent of giving is powerful competition and threat to the British Navy and 20 British commercial ships were destroyed by it. See E. Sreedharan, K.P. Devadas (ed.), *Loka Charithram* (mal.), Part. II, State Institute of Languages, Thiruvananthapuram, 2007, p. 367.

Port. When the firing started the lights of Emden were turned off in order to escape from the enemies and journeyed towards the South.<sup>108</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>110</sup> Emden was sighted twice in the Arabian sea, in defense of the German Emden, the British had detailed one whole unit of their navy consisting many ships. See P. K. B. Nair, *Vismarikapetta Viplavakari: Dr. Chempaka Raman Pillai* (mal.), Mangalodayam, Trichur, pp. 84-167.



destroyed.<sup>111</sup> Egbert was taken to Cochin Port and Emden continued its journey with the remaining one ship. Emden again reached Eastern Sea and at that time Frank Muller came to know about the news of a Russian ship nearby. This ship was sailing in the sea to capture Emden. Franc Muller once again gave British colour to his ship and added on more chimneys to it. By this time the Emden destroyed the Russian ship by using Torpedo. A French ship which came to help the Russian ship was also destroyed.<sup>112</sup> Even though eighty five people died on other side, Emden escaped the life of two hundred and fifty people.

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

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

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

<sup>113</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 158.

rushed to the city and toured all places immediately after the Emden attack.<sup>114</sup> He also ordered to the police officers including the commissioner of the city that they must be always vigilant about the safety of the town. He also placed two huge ships which was much bigger than the Emden in the Madras Port. Gradually, the people who left the town because of Emden fear began to return to the town. Life in Madras reached to a peaceful state but thousands of people living on the coastal areas still lived in fear.

After travelling for one week in the Arabian Sea, the Emden again reached the Bay of Bengal on the eastern side of India near to the Andaman Island. There was a small island named 'Koko', where there was a telegraph office under the control of Britain. In November 1914, the Emden reached this island and began to destroy the telegraph office. An Australian ship named 'Sydney' was anchored not so far from the Emden. The navigator of Sydney heard about the attack of Emden in Koko Island and within two hours, the Sydney reached Koko Island and resisted the attack of Emden.<sup>115</sup> The Emden was destroyed by the attack of Sydney and more than 200 Germans were killed and thirty people were wounded in this attack. The remaining people were taken as prisoners by the British government.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> K. R. KrishnaPilla, *Europile Yudham*, (mal.), p. 51.

<sup>115</sup> Eric Van Muller, a good strategist was the Captain of Emden. He sent more than 20 ships to safe places. The captured officers were treated well and were provided decent stay and food. They were also given a set of play cards too. This Prussian captain of 41 years of age could thus win the hearts of even his enemies. *Malayala Manorama*, September 21, 2014.

<sup>116</sup> The term Emden became popular among the languages of the South 'Emden' was used to refer to someone was brave and efficient not only that, after the destruction of Emden the family members of the crew on ship started adding the term Emden to their names. See B. Madhava Menon, *Europile Yathrakal* (mal.), Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode, 1998, p. 94.

The *Malayala Manorama* which published the attack of Emden on 30 September 1914 wrote:

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

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

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<sup>117</sup> *Malayala Manorama*, September 30 1914.

Lakshadweep Island doubled the fear. A news in the *Mithavadi* of C. Krishnan in 1914 said:

“On 29<sup>th</sup> November, the four British ships named Tymeric, Kinhlant, Ribera, and Foyan are sunk near Minicoy islands. The two ships Graffiwel and Barasalare captured. An officer of Emden stated: The English will catch us. But we would run away like a devil.”<sup>118</sup>

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

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

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

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<sup>118</sup> T. B. Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrukam* (mal.), Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode, 2011, p. 159.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>120</sup> *Mathrubhumi Supplement*, July 2014, p. 33.

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

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

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

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

<sup>122</sup> P. K. B. Nair, *Chempaka Raman Pillai* (mal.), Mangalodayam, 1967, p. 85.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

By commanding Emden, the fear factor of British Navy, Chempaka Raman had smote blows on the British force many times. He formed a troop of volunteers out of the Indian soldiers imprisoned by the German army and he used it against the British force. But the British army defeated the new Indian troop formed by Chempaka Raman when it reached at the boarder of Turkey.<sup>124</sup>

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

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<sup>124</sup> K. T. Abdul Razak, *Indian Swathanthriya Samara Senanikal*, (mal.), Puthupadi Publication, Nadukunnumal, 2009, pp. 86-87.

<sup>125</sup> P. Ramachandran, *Indian Desheeya Prasthanathile 15 Viplavakarikal* (mal.), Palakassery Publications: West Mundakkal, Kollam, 1990, pp. 6-8.

<sup>126</sup> In his *Jeevitha Samaram*, C. Kesavan writes that the word Emden influenced Malayalam literature. See C. Keshavan, *Jeevitha Samaram* (mal.), Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-operative Limited, Kottayam, 1968, p. 221.

<sup>127</sup> T. B. Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrukam* (mal.), Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode, 2011, pp. 157-159.

the same meaning in other languages like Tamil, Malaya, and many other dialects even today.<sup>128</sup>

#### 4.2. National Movement in Malabar

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

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<sup>128</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 397.

<sup>129</sup> Dr. K. Gopalankutty, 'Malabarilal Deshiya Prasthanam' in Dr. P. B. Salim, N. P. Hafis Muhammed (ed.), *Malabar Paithrukavum Prathapavum* (mal.), Mathrubhumi: Kozhikode, 2011, p. 209.

<sup>130</sup> K. Damodaran & C. Narayana Pillai, *Keralathilal Swathantraya Samaram*, (mal.), Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1957, p. 9.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

#### 4.2.1. The Theosophical Society

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

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

<sup>133</sup> T. G. S. George, *V. K. Krishna Menon* (mal.), Current Books, Thrissur, 1998, p. 56.



As a result of the Home Rule movement, the idea of nationalism and swaraj entered in the small literate circles in Malabar. A branch of the movement was started in the Kozhikode city. The meeting of political groups including the Indian National Congress took place at Palakkad, Kozhikode, Tellichery and Vadakara from 1916.<sup>134</sup> These activities in Malabar were limited to the lawyers, landlords and the literate middle class activists. These people were not full time politicians and they came to these conferences due to the special situation emerged due to the World War. The feudatories and lawyers financed these conferences due to their connection with the political groups involved in the movement.<sup>135</sup> It is also important to say that the Swadeshi movement and the call for *swaraj* also influenced them. T M Nair started *Justice* against *New India* to represent the voice of the Dravidian people in South India. The anti-Brahmins expected the revival of Brahminical feudalism by the achievement of self-rule or *swaraj*. The result was the birth of a new political movement in south India called the Non-Brahmins movement under the leadership of T. M. Nair which stood against the Brahmins and the Indian National Congress.<sup>136</sup> Pentland and his

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<sup>134</sup> T. K. Bheeman Nair, *Keralathinte Karanavar Athava K. P Keshava Menon* (mal.), Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode, 1989, p. 14.

<sup>135</sup> M. P. Manmathan, *Kelapan* (mal.), Current Books, Kottayam, 1984, p. 71.

<sup>136</sup> The Non-Brahmins conducted a conference on 20<sup>th</sup> November, 1916 at the Victoria Public Hall in Madras. This conference was attended by thirty Non-Brahmin headers like C. Natesa Mudaliar, Secretary of the Madras Dravidian Association Etc. It brought together two well-known leaders T. M. Nair and P. Thyagaraja Chetti to form a Non-Brahmin Political action group. And the primary objective of this was the establishment of the 'South Indian Peoples Association and to publish newspapers in Tamil, English, Telugu to highlight the viewpoints of Non-Brahmins in the Madras Presidency. The conference proposed to establish a political association under the banner of the South Indian Liberal Federation and also started to start *Justice*. These people were against Annie Besant and they started to conduct propoganda against the Brahmin dominated political activity. See V. Murali, 'M. C. Rajah and Non Brahmin Movement in Madras' in D. Daniel (ed.), *Proceedings of the South Indian History Congress*, Thanjavur, 2014, p. 133.

friends supported all their behind. All these action were not strong enough to weaken the Home Rule movement.<sup>137</sup>

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

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

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<sup>137</sup> Moyarath Sankaran, *Indian National Congress* (mal.), Kerala Sahithya Academy, Thrissur, 2012, pp. 112-113.

<sup>138</sup> R.H. Hitchcock, *Peasant Revolt in Malabar, A History of the Malabar Rebellion, 1921*, Usha Publications, New Delhi, 1983, P.5-6.

<sup>139</sup> In 1913, the Muslim league had argued for an autonomous government under the British rule. The Home Rule League, under Lokamanya Thilak and Annie Besant, had also advocated for such a requirement. But the government came to know that the Home Rule movement strengthened the nationalist spirit, Annie Besant was arrested in July 1916. As a reaction to this a protest meeting was held by the Congress at Kozhikode in August. See K. Balakrishna Kurup, *Kozhikodinte Charithram: Mithukalum Yatharthyangalum* (mal.), *Op.cit.*, p. 179.

The ideology of the Indian National Congress was first introduced among the people in Malabar through the publications like the *Kerala Pathrika* and *Kerala Sanchaari* as the Bharatha Mahajana Sabha. Chenkulathu Kunhi Rama Menon had attended the Congress conference held at Culcutta in 1886.<sup>140</sup> Elites like T. Manavikraman, C Kunjirama Menon, and Rarichan Mooppan attended the conference held at Madras in 1887. When the Congress conference was held at Madras in 1894, Manava Vikrama Raja had presented a resolution against the interruption of the British government in the private property of the landlords of Malabar. A small Congress District Committee was active in Kozhikode from 1906. It was a committee of lawyers, landlords and other elites in the city.<sup>141</sup> It is seen that a congress conference was held in Kozhikode in 1900 and was attended by Ananda Charlu. There are references to say that Bipan Chandra Pal visited Kozhikode in 1902 and his association with the Brahma Samajam workers in the town.<sup>142</sup> The Luknow Conference held in 1899 decided to do propaganda to spread the Congress ideology all over India. A committee visited Kozhikode in 1904 under the leadership of P Vijayaragavachari. Thus, the congress activity was initiated in Kozhikode. Manjeri Iyer, Appu Nedungadi, C. Krishnan, K. P Raman Menon etc., became active in the movement in Kozhikode town. Later, K P Keshava Menon, K Kelappan, and K Madhavan Nair also joined the group.

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

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<sup>140</sup> P. Sivadasan (ed.), *Kozhikode Nagaravum Jeevithavum* (mal.), Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society Limited, Kottayam, p. 58.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

and the Indian National Congress. Many theosophists under the leadership of Annie Besant, became active in the Indian National Congress. It was a landmark in the political history of India as the Theosophical Society had strong root all over India.<sup>143</sup>

The *swadeshi* movement, which began as a revolt against the Partition of Bengal made strong under currents all over India. Through the Theosophical Society and the Brahmah Samajam, the Indian National Congress also reached Kozhikode city. In the Congress meeting held in the Town Hall at Kozhikode in 1908, the usual Malayalam anthem that was sung in praise of the British raj had made a commotion among the members of the meeting. It was a symptom that shows a national spirit among the people.<sup>144</sup> It is also visible from the secondary records that, E Narayanan Nair also gave leadership in spreading the idea of nationalism through the Indian National Congress in Kozhikode in 1915. The Theosophical Society was active among the elites in the town since the last decade of the nineteenth century. Blavatsky, H S Olcott, Annie Besant, visited the town to connect the city elites with the outside World.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> India demanded Home Rule as freedom was understood as the birth right of every nation. See Annie Besant, *The Besant Spirit*, vol. IV, The Theosophical Publishing House, Adayar, 1939, p. 79.

<sup>144</sup> *West Coast Spectator*, November 11<sup>th</sup> 1908, TSA.

<sup>145</sup> In his 'Ammayude Lokam Dukhamayam' P. Sivadasan. P., is talking about Home Rule movement and Annie Besant. He says that she had played a prominent role in the Indian independence movement and she was even equated with Goddess Saraswathi by the people in Kerala. Along with this he is also discussing the entry of Brahmins in the Indian National Congress. Economic stability will be provided to the movement only with the participation of Brahmins in it. In short both British and Theosophical groups supported Brahmins for economic reasons. This was a strategic political movement. The Society campaigned for the British Ally and stood against German. All the above they spread that only supporting British will benefit Indians. (Dr.Sivadasan speech on the topic *Ammayude Lokam Dukhamayam*, in the UGC National Seminar, *Marginalize and Mainstream: Problematising the Social History of Kerala*, Department of History, University of Calicut held on 24<sup>th</sup> November 2015.

The activities of Theosophy Society had begun in Kozhikode under the leadership of T Govinda Menon and Bamblasserri Ramunni Menon. The pioneers of Theosophy, H S Olcott and H P Blavatsky visited Kozhikode. H S Olcott mentions this in his autobiography *Old Diarly Leaves*. In 1889, the Arya Dharma Theosophical Society came into existence in Kozhikode under the leadership of T Govinda Menon.<sup>146</sup> In 1902, the Shankaracharya Theosophical Society also came into existence in Kozhikode under the leadership Bamblasserri Ramunni Menon.<sup>147</sup> The activities of the Theosophical Society attracted many in the town under the leadership of Hanumanda Rao, Sundara Rama Ayyar, and Manjeri Rama Iyer. This caused to the spread of the idea that the decline of material life in India was due to British imperialism. The Theosophical Society established close connection between the landlords and the educated Brahmins in Malabar.<sup>148</sup> The idea, Theosophy became present in the intellectual work of the elites in Malabar. During the time of the First World War, Annie Besant began to involve in Indian politics and it strengthened political consciousness in places like Kozhikode and Palakkad.

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

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<sup>146</sup> P. Sivadasan (ed.), *Kozhikode: Nagaravum Jeevithavum*, (mal.), *Op.cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>148</sup> The Theosophical Society was known by the name *Brahma Vidhya Sangham* in Malabar.

<sup>149</sup> During the First World War, the British argued that the War was for backward nations like India and the War will bring prosperity to the nation. In this situation, Annie Besant started the Home Rule League to demand self-rule for India. See C. K. Muhammed, *India Swanthantryathinu Mumbum Pinbum* (mal.), Guruvayurappan College Miscellany, 1954-55, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 66.

Annie Besant raised the slogan 'Home Rule' under the British rule. Thus, Kozhikode became the chief center of Home Rule activity in Malabar. The Annie Hall Theosophical Society, the city office of the Society in Kozhikode was inaugurated by Annie Besant on January 23, 1904. Annie Hall became the centre of the Malabar Home Rule League. This helped people like K P Kesava Menon, K. Raman Menon, Moyyarth Sankaran, M P Narayana Menon, Menjeri Rama Iyer etc., to involve in public activity in increased strength.

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

#### **4.2.2. The Political Conference at Kozhikode**

The Home Rule movement created political upheaval against the colonial rule all over the country and its reflections appeared in Malabar also. The discussion about the second session began after the conclusion of the Conference at Palakkad. At a meeting was conducted at Kozhikode to decide the venue and it was planned to conduct the second Malabar Political Conference at Kozhikode in 1917. A fifty member committee was elected for the conduct of the Conference.<sup>150</sup> This reception committee elected K. P. Raman Menon as the president and K. P. Keshava Menon, T. V. Sundarayyar, and P. Achuthan as secretaries. They decided to hold the Conference under the president ship of C P Ramaswami Aiyar on 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> April 1917.

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<sup>150</sup> A.K. Pillai, *Congressum Keralavum*, (Mal.), D.C. Books, Kottayam, 1986, p.259-260.

The request of the committee to conduct the Conference at the Manachira Maidan in the city was rejected by the government. The activities of the Congress and the Home Rule League near the Hajur Office in the town was against the war time restrictions in the urban space. The exhibition of mass strength against the government in Kozhikode alarmed the colonial machinery. When the government rejected the demand, the committee decided to conduct the Conference in the Tennis Court of K P Raman Menon. Annie Besant was a special invitee in the Conference and hundreds of people waited near the railway station to receive her. Annie Besant and the President of the Committee were taken in grand procession along the Kozhikode Town from the railway station.<sup>151</sup>

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

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

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<sup>151</sup> The Home Rule Movement also spread in Malabar with the help of Congress. And their main policy is Self-Rule instead of freedom (Dr.Sivadasan, *Wagon Tragedy Kanal Vazhiyile Koottakuruthi*, (Mal.), Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam, Kottayam, 2015, p.33.

Conference.<sup>152</sup> In his speech, C.P. Ramaswami Aiyer spoke about the heritage of Kerala, the people, the need of India's help to Britain, industrial development in India etc.

#### **4.2.3. Proceedings of the Conference:**

The Conference debated a resolution on the contribution of the people to the War Fund. M. P. Narayana Menon showed his opposition in passing this resolution. He stated his objection in giving money as War loan to the British without interest. Many delegates especially the young showed their discontent and joined with M. P. Narayana Menon. There was strong opposition to the stand of the youngsters and they stood with the government. The President was of the opinion that England was fighting the War for the well being of other small nations and not for their own benefit.<sup>153</sup> Against the opposition of M. P. Narayana Menon, the resolution calling for support to Britain was passed with majority of votes. The Conference at Kozhikode witnessed the birth of a new generation of nationalists in Malabar. They became the heroes of the people and they opened the era of mass nationalism in Malabar. M. P. Narayana Menon argued that he was a well wisher of the king of England and his demand was interest for Indian money received in the form of War Fund by the British government.<sup>154</sup> There was the demands of the landlords for increased membership in the Madras Legislature.<sup>155</sup> The Conference gave a chance to

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<sup>152</sup> The close Relation with Annie Besant had made Ramaswami Ayyer, a Strong Home Rule activist. See the *West Coast Reformer*, March 4, 1917, TSA).

<sup>153</sup> A. K. Pilla, *Congressum Keralavum* (mal.), D. C. Books, Kottayam, 1986, p. 261.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263.

<sup>155</sup> Rarichan Moopan was one of the wealthiest landlord in the Kozhikode city. See Gangadharan Puthukudi, *Kozhikode Pattanapradesangalile Avasakendrangukk Chuttum* (mal.), *Op.cit.*, pp. 398-99.



the landlords and the middle class politicians to represent their demands in the public platform. Considering the request of king Rama Varma of Kadathunad, the Conference concluded with a decision to hold the next Conference at Thalassery in 1918.<sup>156</sup>

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

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

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<sup>156</sup> A. K. Pillai, *Congressum, Keralavum* (mal.), *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

<sup>157</sup> P. Sivadasan (ed.), *Kozhikode Nagaravum Jeevithavu* (mal.), *Op.cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>158</sup> *West Coast Spectator*, March 24, 1917, TSA.

<sup>159</sup> In France, the demands of the third estate composing of common men were opposed by the first and second estates. As a result, in June 1789, the representatives of the third estate declared themselves as the National Assembly of France. They took the oath in the Tennis Court in 1789. The French mob broke the Bastille Prison after the oath. This was the beginning of the revolution. See Garykates (ed.), *The French Revolution, Recent Debates and New Controversies*, Routledge, New York, 2009, pp. 131-135.

One important change occurred during the Conference at Kozhikode was the propaganda activity of the summit.<sup>160</sup> The activity spread political ideas into the lower strata of the society. The propaganda of the British officials in favour of the war had disturbed the civilian life. The Home Rule propaganda was parallel to the war campaigns of the British officials. The Brahma Vidhya Sangham which led the Home Rule agitation did the same type of propaganda in the city and rural sides. They distributed pamphlets and booklets among in the public space.<sup>161</sup> Non-Brahmanism also became active by arguing that the Home Rule would lead to Brahminical hegemony again in the society. It was the time of the Dravidian movement launched by Dr. T. M. Nair in Tamil region. Nair argued that the Malabar District Conference held at Kozhikode was to restore Brahmin elitism in the society.<sup>162</sup> He argued that the elites of the Pattar community of Brahmins and the aristocratic lawyers of Kozhikode are regulating the Malabar District Conference. The anti-Brahmin groups did not support the Conference. It was believed that the Manachira ground was denied to the Conference due to the interest of the non-Brahmins in Kozhikode.<sup>163</sup> C. Krishnan, one of the leaders of the Thiyya community in Kozhikode also had the same opinion.<sup>164</sup> The non-Brahmin activists argued that the Brahmins of Kozhikode is trying to Brahminize the Congress movement through the Home Rule propaganda and that is the reason they brought C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer to preside over the Conference. They even spread that these are the same Brahmins who drove away the non-Brahmins from the public and temple roads as untouchables.

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<sup>160</sup> Dr. Radhika C Nair (ed.), *Kerala Charithrathile Avismarayeena Sambavangal* (mal.), D. C. Books, Kottayam, 2006, p. 29.

<sup>161</sup> *New India*, May 18, 1917, TSA.

<sup>162</sup> *West Coast Bulletin*, May 18, 1917, TSA.

<sup>163</sup> *Justice*, May 5, 1917, TSA.

<sup>164</sup> *Non Brahmin*, April 15, 1917, TSA

The caste system and un-touchability observed at the Tali Temple in Kozhikode was shown as the direct example.<sup>165</sup> C. Karunakara Menon, a leading political activist was avoided from the Conference due to his non-Brahmin stand.<sup>166</sup>

#### **4.2.4. Emergence of New Leadership**

The Malabar District Congress Committee was formed in 1916.<sup>167</sup> K. P. Raman Menon who was a prominent lawyer at Kozhikode and K. P. Kesava Menon became the leaders of this committee. Kesava Menon was also the secretary of the Malabar District Home Rule League. Manjeri Rama Iyer was the president of the District Home Rule League movement. P.A. Kunhahamad was the Assistant secretary of the District Congress Committee and the Home Rule League.<sup>168</sup> Thus, the Home Rule movement and the Indian National Congress joined together in Kozhikode which caused for the emergence of mass political consciousness in Malabar.

C. V. Narayana Menon called a meeting in the Town Hall at Kozhikode which was presided over by the Collector of Malabar, Evans. The leaders of the Home Rule League and Congress, K. Madhavan Nair Manjeri Rama Iyer and K. P. Kesava Menon were present there.<sup>169</sup> Kavalappara Moopil Nair presented the subject of creating a War Fund which was to be handed over to the governor of Madras at the time of his visit to Kozhikode. Diwan Bahadur Kelu Eradi supported the statement. K. P. Kesava Menon who gave

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<sup>165</sup> *West Coast Reformer*, March 10, 1917, TSA.

<sup>166</sup> *Non Brahmin*, February 18, 1917, TSA.

<sup>167</sup> T. V. Gopalan, *Kerala Bardoli* (mal.), Taliparamba, 1998, p. 29.

<sup>168</sup> K.P.Kesava Menon, *Kazhinja Kalam*, (Mal.), Mathruboomi Books, 1957, Kozhikode, p.53

<sup>169</sup> Perunna. K. N Nair, 'Keralathilai Congress Prasthanam' in M.G.S. Narayanan (ed.), *Malabar Mahotsav* (mal.), 1992 Souvenir, p. 464.

a notice to protest against this resolution started to speak in Malayalam. The Collector who was presiding over the function barred him from speaking in Malayalam. But the audience wanted him to speak in Malayalam. As he was not allowed to speak in Malayalam, K. P. Kesava Menon along with his colleagues and a group of audience went out of the Hall. This incident created a great impact all over Malabar.<sup>170</sup> A. Sreedhara Menon also pointed that, this incident happened under the leadership of K. P. Kesava Menon.<sup>171</sup> K. Damodaran in his *Keralathile Swathantrya Samaram* also says that it took place under the leadership of K. P. Kesava Menon.<sup>172</sup> After this incident, Annie Besant appreciated Kesava Menon for his courage.<sup>173</sup>

There arguments that the protest incident in the meeting held at the Town Hall was led by M. P. Narayana Menon. According to E. M. S. Namboothiripad M. P. Narayana Menon was against the collection. This incident shows that young men and the growing middle class were not ready to obey the British ruler anymore. As a representative of the new middle class Narayana Menon protested against giving war debt to the British without interest.<sup>174</sup> M P Narayana Menon tried to accommodate the concept of Hindu- Muslim unity as new ideal of the national movement.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Dr. Radhika C. Nair (ed.,) *Kerala Charitrathile Avismarniya Sambhavangal*, (mal.), D. C. Books, Kottayam, 2006, p. 28 and K. Damodaran, *K. Damodaran Samboorna Krithikal* (mal.), vol. VIII, Prabath Book House, Thiruvananthapuram, 2012, p. 284.

<sup>171</sup> A. Sreedhara Menon, *Keralavum Swathanthriya Samaravum* (mal.), D. C. Books, Kottayam, 1997, pp. 46-47.

<sup>172</sup> K. Damodaran, *Keralathilai Swathanthriya Samaram* (mal.), Kerala Basha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1957, p. 10.

<sup>173</sup> M. R. Manohara Varma, K.P. Kesava Menon, *Keralathinte Gurunathan* (mal.), Vidyarthi Mithram Press, Kottayam, 1991, p. 29.

<sup>174</sup> E.M.S. Namboothirippad, *Keralathilai Deshiya Prashnam*, Prabath Book House, Ernakulam, 1957, pp. 214-215 and also *Keralam Malayalikalude Mathrubhumi*, (mal.), Chintha Publications, Thiruvananthapuram, 1948, p. 261

<sup>175</sup> M. P. S. Menon, *Malabar Samaram: M. P. Narayana Menonum, Sahapravarthakarum* (mal.), Islamic Publishing House, Kozhikode, 2005, pp. 31-32.

M. P. Narayana Menon became a noticeable personality of the government since that incident.<sup>176</sup> This was the reason of his imprisonment in 1921.

The second Malabar District conference was held in Kozhikode in a period where the public spaces began to have discussions on a number of issues with a national spirit. The period began to realize that the government officials and public institution are for public service. A public agitation was raised against the exploitation of the government institutions by the British colonial system. The police, according to the debate were public servants. The Conference pointed out that the government system should be in the way that gives proper protection to the people.<sup>177</sup> Moyyathu Shankaran was an active delegate attending the Conference held at Kozhikode. He had pointed out that this Conference was held in a period when several secret agencies were appointed by the British administration in order to find out any movements that happens against the British administration.<sup>178</sup>

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

“This kind of a Conference that brings the Indians together is exemplary. The involvement of leaders in the conference such as Annie Besant, His Excellence Zamorin of Kozhikode, C. P Ramaswamy Ayyer, K. P. Raman Menon and Rama Aiyer has to be praised.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> *Mathrubhumi*, October 2, 1934.

<sup>177</sup> *West Coast Spectator*, August 1, 1916, TSA.

<sup>178</sup> Moyyathu Sankaran, *Ente Jeevitha Katha*, (mal.), Kozhikode, 1965, p. 85.

<sup>179</sup> *Pauran*, vol. I, no. 1, 1917, pp. 22-23.

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

#### **4.2.5. The Public Space**

The Conference also lit the lamp of direct political action in Kerala. It was connected with the opening of the public sphere irrespective of caste and creed. The liberal public sphere originated as a space for public interest minded critiquing debates between the society and the state. The newspapers, periodicals, radio and television are the media of the public sphere. Public sphere can be defined as a space to formulate public opinion in social life. It works with logical arguments carried out by citizens and the democratic communication formulated through face to face discussions, writings, periodicals, newspapers and other public media.<sup>180</sup> The appearance of the public space was the character of the urban society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century India. Habermas assigns two forms to the Bourgeois public sphere – literate public sphere and political public sphere. Though such magazines explicitly address everybody they were

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<sup>180</sup> Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burdon: Cambridge, 1989 (1962), p. 30.

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

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<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1412.

<sup>182</sup> Shaji Jacob, *Pothumandalavum Malayala Bhavanayum* (mal.), Kairali Books, Kannur, 2014, p. 29.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

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

#### **4.2.6. The City: An Open Public Space**

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

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<sup>184</sup> Interview with Dr. K. N. Ganesh, December 23<sup>rd</sup> Monday, 201, at 10.30 am.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*



town and later it extended to all towns and cities. In the Indian colonial context, this open space was called the 'Maidanam'.<sup>186</sup>

The city administration wanted to control the population where ever they assembled. Along with the growth of the city, the administrations became more sensitive about the *maidanam*. The importance of the *maidanam* in the city increased much more in the later nineteenth century when the city was recognised and refurbished with an increasing Victorian look. The *maidanam* became a breathing space and acted as a center of public activity and the site of hosting events for public entertainment and thus transforming it as an essential feature of the city of life.<sup>187</sup>

*The maidanam* has another identity which is rather distinct. The natives identified the space with the European way of living and perceived the *maidanam* as a metaphor for British occupations. But as a significant number of natives imbibed English educations and culture, they also started making incursions into this space. Over the years, well-do-do sections also started enjoying the flavour of this open space.<sup>188</sup> The *maidanam* became that place to be visited in the afternoon for a leisurely walk or a coach ride, for gawking at the sahibs and the memsahib or to watch the sahib's cricket play or football. The *maidanam* was the place where one would go for enjoying circus shows, bioscopes, do marvel at the launching of hot air balloons, etc.

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<sup>186</sup> Sarmishta De and Bidisha Chakrabarthy, 'Maidan: The Open Space in History' in *Social Scientist*, vol. 38, January-February 2010, p. 11.

<sup>187</sup> Sumanta Banarjee, *The Parlous and the Streets: Elite and Popular Culture in Nineteenth Century, Calcutta*, Seagull: Calcutta, 1989, p. 23.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

#### 4.2.7. The Manachira *maidanam*

The Manachira *maidanam* has a history. The history of public spaces is the history of the people who live around it and who use the space for different purposes. Any discussion on the urban development in Kerala is incomplete without a discussion on the *maidanam*.<sup>189</sup>

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

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

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<sup>189</sup> The term *Manamchira* is related to *Mana Vikraman*, the ruler of Kozhikode. The pond that is situated near the *maidanam* connects the name of the place *Manachira*. The term *Chira* means *Tank*.

was totally different from the conventional system existed during the period of Samoothiri rule in Kozhikode and Malabar. New Public spaces began to emerge in Malabar which violated the traditional caste rules of Pre-Mysorean Malabar.

The defeat of Tipu Sulthan and the Srirangapatnam Treaty of 1792 enabled the East India Company to undertake the administration of Malabar. The whole Malabar region up to the boundary of Kochi was kept under the Bombay presidency in 1800 as a district. The East India Company, to undertake the administration of Malabar kept the whole Malabar region up to the boundary of Kochi under the Bombay presidency and later shifted to the Madras Presidency in 1800 as a separate District.<sup>190</sup> The East India Company didn't discontinue administrative reforms implemented by the Mysorean rulers. But they permitted the expelled feudal forces to reoccupy their land ownership in a new style as the agents of the company. They selected Kozhikode as the centre of Malabar District administration and necessary offices were opened in the same place used by the Mysorean administrators in the city.<sup>191</sup> Interestingly this was Palayam and the space around the newly developed public space which was called *Mananchira maidanam*.

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

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<sup>190</sup> Dr.P.Sivadasan (ed), *Kozhikode Nagaravum Jeevithavum*, (Mal.), *Op.ct.*, p.52.

<sup>191</sup> The Bank office, Asoka Hospital, Palayam Mosque, District Education Office Building, Training College, Washer men's Centre, Cinema theatre, Insurance Office, Mission church etc. were established around the Manachira *maidanam*. These offices and buildings were the central pillars of the modern city of Kozhikode.

*maidanam* space for exhibitions. The camping of touring companies and cinema shows also influenced the people to shape their understanding of the society. The nationalist forces in Malabar began to concentrate their activities in Kozhikode as the headquarters of the Malabar District. The jurists, merchants, lawyers, clerks, teachers and journalists camped in the city to organize an effective movement against colonialism. This movement was also involved in propagating new ideas for social changes in the society. Thus, the new cultural and literary movement in Malabar also had its centre in the Kozhikode city.<sup>192</sup>

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

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

<sup>193</sup> Remya.K., *Manachira Maidanam: The Evolution of Public Space*, P.G. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2012, p.40.

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

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

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

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<sup>194</sup> The *maidanam* is an open ground meant for the assemblage of people for various purposes including sport activities.

<sup>195</sup> The public places like the grounds lost its importance which made the people in the city to opt beaches for leisure activities. This opened up a new beach culture in Kozhikode city life.

This was an important step to effect change in the political activity in Kerala.<sup>196</sup>

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

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

<sup>197</sup> P. Sivadasan, *Kozhikode Nagaravum Jeevithavum* (mal.), *Op.cit.*, p. 66.

untouchable classes.<sup>198</sup> The freedom of the lower classes in public roads in Malabar was the most important subject of discussion in the Conference. In the Conference, a resolution was passed for granting freedom of travel to the untouchables in the public spaces.<sup>199</sup>

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

The hero of the 'Tali incident' was C Krishnan, the chief editor of *Mithavathi*. The entry of the lower class people through the road in front of the Tali Temple at Kozhikode was banned by A. J Thoran, who was the Estate Manager of this property. The Samoothiri had entrusted the management of *kovilakam* properties to the government.<sup>200</sup> The *Mithavathi* in its editorial published:

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

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<sup>198</sup> K. Madhavan Nair, *Janma Sathabdi Smaranika* (mal.), Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 1982, pp. 21-22.

<sup>199</sup> The Indian National Congress in its history met contradictory experiences in dealing with the issues of caste and religion. See K. M. Bahavudeen, *Kerala Samoohya Gatanamattanagal* (mal.), Olive Publications, Kozhikode, 2015, p. 124.

<sup>200</sup> Aromalunni, *Innale Nadanna Vazhikal* (mal.), *Samadarsi*, Thrissur, 1995, pp.116-118.

Reliable sources said that Collector of the District, Evans had also the same opinion. But the police officials had given the instruction to the subordinates not to ban mobility of the people through the road even to the people who belong to 'Cherumakkal' community. Thoran, the Manger and the Samoothiri decided to use this as a chance to implement the Act of Prohibition.<sup>201</sup>

Boards of prohibition were placed at both the ends of the Tali Road on 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1917. The board prohibited the mobility of the castes lower than the Thiyya community. The news spread all over the city.<sup>202</sup> By consulting Manjeri Rama Iyer and C. Krishnan decided to break the Law of Prohibition on the same day. Both of them entered the Tali Road in Krishnan's horse cart named 'Governor's Cart'. By giving them applauses, a group of people followed them. C Krishnan spread tar on both the boards displayed in the road and threw it into the temple.<sup>203</sup>

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

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<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>202</sup> A Board restricting the entrance of the untouchables was erected at the entrance of the road by A. J Thoran. As a reaction against this, C. Krishnan, Manjeri Rama Iyer, K. Madhavan Nair and K. P. Kesava Menon travelled through the road. See K. P. Kesava Menon, *Samakaleenaraya Chila Keraleeyar* (mal.), Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society Ltd, Kottayam, 1974, p.39.

<sup>203</sup> Manjeri Rama Aiyer, Kesava Menon, K. Madhavan Nair and C. Krishnan were prominent citizen in Kozhikode. See K. P. S. Menon (ed.) *Kehava Menon 90*, K. P. Kesava Menon 90<sup>th</sup> Birthday Celebration Committee, Calicut, 1977, p. 8.



was also prohibited to the untouchables. The most interesting thing is that a group of Nair students had also followed the procession in support of the untouchable classes.<sup>204</sup> This shows that the Conference had generated a secular public sphere in Kozhikode under the leadership of the newly educated middle class youth. The prohibition boards disappeared by the end of November 1917 and it marked the beginning of a new renaissance movement in Kerala.

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

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

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<sup>204</sup> See K. R. Achuthan, *C. Krishnan* (mal.), Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam, Kottayam, 1971, pp. 86-87.

<sup>205</sup> *Non-Brahmin*, Madras, April 21, 1917, TSA.

<sup>206</sup> Kelappan Smaraka Grandha Prasathaka Samithi, *Kelappan Smaraka Grandham*, (mal.), Kozhikode, Kelappan Smaraka Samithi, 1972, pp. 108-109.

Tali Road incident and supported progressive changes and modernity in Malabar. The *West Coast Spectator* of 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1917 reported the caste distinctions in Malabar. It wrote that:

"Thiyyas and other lower caste people can't go through the roads along the Tali Temple. But when they become Muhammed or Manual they can go through the same road. So they had impurity only when they belong to Hinduism."<sup>207</sup> Hinduism is based on toleration but in Kerala, we can't see this toleration, instead here we have a travesty of their toleration and a population supporting it. Tali is an important strange hold of Home Rule. The idea of Home Rule and New India influenced the brains of every people. We can see "Home Rule" and "*Vande Matharam*" written on the doors of houses.<sup>208</sup>

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

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<sup>207</sup> *West Coast Spectator*, Calicut, April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1917, TSA.

<sup>208</sup> *West Coast Spectator*, Calicut, April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1917, TSA.

<sup>209</sup> *Non-Brahmin*, Madras, April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1917, TSA.

contempt in equal contempt by the Thiyyar like Brahmins. It said that the Thiyyar must also seek the help of police man to keep out the Brahmin who approach a Thiyya temple. The Non Brahmin argued:

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

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

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

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<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> *Justice*, November 1<sup>st</sup> 1917, TSA.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

restrictions and began a new movement for social change in Malabar.<sup>213</sup> This kind of active political practice attracted many youth to the national movement after 1917. It was the first Civil Disobedience Movement in Kerala. The Conference held at Kozhikode in practice dealt certain issues which were disturbing the minds of the educated middle class and laid foundation for the making of modern Keralam in the later part of the Twentieth century.

#### **4.2.9. Scout Movement and the First World War**

One important activity which made the youth in Kozhikode active in public space was the Scout Movement. Even before the commencement the First World War the idea of Scout message was popular among the people due to the efforts of Theosophists. V. K. Krishna Menon, Manjeri Rama Iyer, etc. were the early leaders of this movement. They joined with the Scout Movement in Thiruvithamcore, Kochi, Allappuzha etc. In the opinion of Annie Besant, the aim of the Scout Movement was inculcation of patriotic feeling among the people of India as *Sons and Daughters of India*. It supported the British government by diverting the Indian youth from revolutionary activity and make them more loyal to the British.<sup>214</sup>

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

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<sup>213</sup> M.R. Manohara Varma, K.P. Kesava Menon, *Keralathinte Gurunathan (mal.)*, *Op.cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>214</sup> P. Sivadasan, *National Consciousness in Kerala: Role of the Theosophical Society, 1880-1920*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Kerala, 2006, pp. 316-317.

Baden-Powell Scout Movement. The Indian realized that by introducing scouting in educational institutions the British were trying to establish the educational institutions as colonial institutions.<sup>215</sup>

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

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

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<sup>215</sup> Dr. Bju. R. I., 'Colonialism and Cultural Space: The Scout Movement in India' in *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XC, 2011, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, p. 240.

<sup>216</sup> I. K. K.Menon, *Mahatmakkal Mahalkrithikal* (mal.), Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 2007, pp. 9-11.

Movement among the Indian elite.<sup>217</sup>

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

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

<sup>218</sup> I. K. K. Menon, *Mahatmakal Mahalkrithikal* (mal.), Kerala Sahithya Academy, Thrissur, 2007, pp. 9-11.

<sup>219</sup> V. K. Madhavankutty, *V. K. Krishna Menon* (mal.), Poorna Publications, Kozhikode, 1991, pp. 29-30.

<sup>220</sup> *Kerala Sanchari*, Calicut, March 14<sup>th</sup> 1917, TSA.

<sup>221</sup> *Keralodayam*, Thrissur, April 3<sup>th</sup> 1917, TSA.

<sup>222</sup> *Jaridah –i-Rozgar*, Madras, March 30<sup>th</sup> 1917, TSA.

<sup>223</sup> *The War and Our Duty* said that the enemy may invade India with the help of Russians and it is our duty to help the British with more men and money. See *Pratidwani*, 1918, Thiruvananthapuram, TSA.

#### **4.2.10. War Fund Stamp**

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

#### **4.2.11. Observing Special Days**

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

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<sup>224</sup> *Kerala Pathrika*, Calicut, March 12, 1917, TSA.

carrying the emblem of the Red Cross Society.<sup>225</sup> The procession passed through the chief streets from the Huzur Office attended by many people. This procession was led by C. M. Rarichan Moopan, P. T. Raman etc. They sold miniature Union Jacks and collected money for the Red Cross Fund. There were student processions from different institutions in the town. Similarly there was a 'Our Day' celebration in the *maidanam* at Ernakulam. Our Day Flags and Button Holes were also sold in different parts of Malabar. A fair was also held in the *maidanam* to attract the people.<sup>226</sup> There were a special functions in Thiruvananthapuram and Allappuzha. In these functions, girl guides collected money in boxes. In Thrissur, with the support of the government, students could collect an amount of 16,046 rupees to the War Fund. Thus, the War Fund collection was not an affair connected with the local people but was extended to all sorts of people in the urban and rural spaces.

#### **4.2.12. Victory Celebration**

The landlords and the people of all areas including Malabar decided to celebrate the victory of Britain in the First World War. The temples, churches and mosques were involved in it. The peace-celebration was a festival of all sections in the society. There was a special committee constituted in the Kozhikode Town for this celebration. Funds were raised for this purpose from Palakkad, Thalasseri and Chalappuram.<sup>227</sup>

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

<sup>226</sup> W-24, *The Madras War Fund: Illustrated Record*, Higgin Bothams: Madras, 1919, KSRAC.

<sup>227</sup> Revenue Bundle No. 233, Sl. 21, KSRAC.



Rao Bahadur V Govindan, Assistant Director of Fisheries requested the collector to donate twenty four bags of rice to supply to the poor people of Thanur as part of the peace celebrations. It was decided to give full meal to poor people on this day. Miniature Union Jack Flags, Button Holes etc., were sold on the day of celebration. Various celebrations took place by the end of the War. E. Parameswaran Namboothiripad from Kurumuthur informed that he had received a letter regarding the peace proclamation rally to be held in Mananchira Ground on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1919. He pointed out that the people of Thaliparamba also wanted to celebrate the same and his presence was essential there. Vasudevan Namboodiri the ruler of Kadannamanna saluted the British King as 'Maharaja Manya Rajashree' and wrote about his plan to celebrate the British victory on 13<sup>th</sup> December 1919. He was planning to give food to three hundred school children and all poor children of the area. He also informed the plan of arranging a procession with the portraits of the British King and Queen on elephant backs. Rao Bhadur M. C. Krishnavarma Raja, M. C. Udayavarama Raja, Vallaba Raja, Thahsildar Venkitti Narayana Ayyer, C. Achutha Menon, Avunjikad Parameswaran Bhattathiripad, Cherumukku Namboodiri etc., decided to take part in the procession held at Mankada in Malabar. School children, teachers and the local people are said to have attended the procession to the Mankada *kovilakam*. These celebrations included competitions and games. In these meetings the patriotic song praising the British King was sung. It was called, *Bhoopala Mangalam*. The Secretary of the Yogakshema Sabha, Bhavadasan Namboodiri of Pulassery Mana at Kulakathur wrote a letter to the District Collector. This letter attested the loyalty of Yogakshema Sabha with the government. Rao Saheb A. L. Shiragavakar, Chairman of the Cochin Municipal Council wrote a letter to the Collect of Malabar. There were sweet

distributions and donation of special fund to help the returning soldiers in Malabar. Special prayers and ceremonies were arranged in the temples and mosques in connection with the celebration<sup>228</sup>.

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

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<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*

## Chapter 5

### Industry, War and Urban Life

The wealth of Kozhikode city attracted Vasco da Gama and other traders during the last part of the fifteenth century. There was significant change in the life of the city under the European trade. Changes in the nineteenth century were more powerful than the earlier period. The intervention of Basel Evangelical Mission schools, hospitals, weaving and spinning units, commercial shops etc., seriously influenced the cultural life of the people in the city. The history of the Kozhikode city is the history of the Basel Mission in the nineteenth century.

The presence of the German Basel Mission and its factories made the town crucial in the history of colonial rule in Malabar. In the beginning of 1914 the Basel Mission had 7500 followers in Malabar. These people were spread over eleven units in Palakkad, Kozhikode, Thalasseri, Kannur etc.<sup>1</sup> The activities of the Basal Mission for eighty years from 1834-1914 and the circulation of its trade enterprises can be divided into three stages.

In the first stage, the Mission gave priority to agricultural activities. An industrial commission was appointed in 1846. This change resulted in the opening of industrial activities of the Mission. In the second stage (1852-1882), many industrial units were started in Malabar.<sup>2</sup> The opening of handloom, tile and printing factories changed the character of Malabar society. In the last stage (1882-1914), the industrial commission of the

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<sup>1</sup> M. G. S. Narayanan (ed.), *Malabar Mahotsav* (mal.), Malabar Mahotsav Committee, Kozhikode, 1993, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Jaiprakash Raghvaiah, *Basel Mission Industries in Malabar and South Canara (1834-1914)*, Gian Publishing House, New Delhi, 1990, p. 28.

Mission became the Mission Trading Company. Till the beginning of the First World War, the Basel Mission achieved great success in the Indian market.<sup>3</sup>

### **5.1. Skill Teaching Centres**

The Basel Mission began its coaching centre at Mangalore in 1846. Evening and after noon training classes attracted the public and school children to learn skills in industrial activity. The aim of the missionaries was to provide the children technical education along with secular education. An institute for book binding was started to teach the trainees book binding and printing job. The Basel Mission was the first institution that began watch making in India. The Mission dealt silk production, founded oil expelling mills etc. The missionaries made an attempt to establish sugar mills by filtering saccharine out of fermented toddy. The Mission also took special care to establish carpentry factories in Kozhikode which was famous for its wood trade. Mission offered training to the people in carpentry work.<sup>4</sup> These were important interventions in the traditional society in Malabar which indirectly spread modernity in the society.

#### **5.1.1. The Mission and Industry**

Modern industries were started in Malabar by Christian missionaries, Textile and tile industries were prominent among them. There were schools run for the depressed classes and Christian converts. These schools were attended by about seven hundred children and over four hundred of them belonged to Kozhikode.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Wilma John, *Basel Missionum Sambathika Navothanavum Malabaril*, Vijana Kairali (mal.), vol. XXIV, Kerala Basha Institute, Trivandrum, 1993, p. 362.

<sup>5</sup> *Sixty Nineth Report of the Basel Mission*, 1909, p. 32.

The industrial units of the Mission were started to find out a livelihood for the converted people in Malabar. The traditional society denied jobs for these converts. The traditional industries in Malabar were not accustomed with the advanced technology existed in Europe at that time. The Mission applied modern technology to it and organized it in the form of modern factories. The tiles of the Basel Mission which were produced using steam were quite different from the traditional tiles. The factories of the Mission at Mangalore and Feroke became popular all over the World.<sup>6</sup> They applied scientific method of dying in their weaving factories. The tile factories of Malabar produced good quality tiles and clothes. The trade ventures of the Mission set a model for the cooperative societies and national capitalists. Thousands of people came to join training programmes offered by the Mission. It was undoubtedly a highly advanced technological move in the period of the non-availability of electricity.<sup>7</sup> The Mission tile units in Kozhikode were located at Puthiyara, Feroke and the city. The two textile units in Malabar were located in the Beach and near Mananchira in Kozhikode. In addition to these, weaving mills were also established at Kozhikode and Kannur.

### **5.1.2. Production of Tile**

Mangalore and Malabar were identified as the suitable places for the production of tiles. George Plebiscite took the lead in starting tile factories in Mangalore by 1865 (George Plebiscite was a printer and had been to Germany to train himself in tile making and pottery). His tiles and pots were

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<sup>6</sup> Adv. Victor Antony Noion, *Nava Vinjana Deepam* (mal.), Punarudharana Samithi Publishers, December 1988, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> K. K. N. Kurup, 'Basel Missionum Malabarile Samuhya Parivarthanavum' in *Vijnana Kairali*, vol. XXIV, Keralabhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1993, p. 357.

of great demand in South India. The British government also made the use of the Basel Mission tiles in its buildings. When Plebiscite retired in 1876, Jacob Bowman, a Swiss expert trained in tile production took charge. He started the famous Aramkallu Tile Factory at Puthiyara in Kozhikode. The tiles manufactured by the Mission earned the praise and prizes of Samoothiri. The Mission not only earned income from tile making but also succeeded in ensuring better living standards for the converts, relying only on themselves. A British who visited Aram Kallu Tile Factory in 1886 recorded that 'the The Germans working there were hard working and good at making others work hard. The German products were quite popular because whatever they did, they did it with perfection.'<sup>8</sup> The Tile factories were producing two lakh tiles a year in 1871 and in 1880 it became a larger industry with 131 laborers producing ten lakh tiles per year. These factories began to use steam engines instead of cattle by 1881. Gas began to be used instead in the furnace and tiles were baked in controlled heat. They also gained expertise in producing variety of tiles, for example along with roofing tiles, they produced chimney tiles, drainage pipes, flower vases, bricks, decorative vases etc. The clay products of the Mission gained market not just inside India but in British East Africa, Eden, Basra, Sumatra, British Borneo, Australia, German colonies in Africa etc.<sup>9</sup> The records of 1914 indicates that 360 labourers were engaged in the tile production in Kozhikode.

A lot of factories sprang up on the west coast, particularly in Malabar. Tile industry became a major group of clay based industry in Malabar. The easy availability of clay and fire wood, cheap transportation facilities through

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<sup>8</sup> Wilma John, *Basel Missionum Sambathika Navodhanavum Malabaril* (mal.), *Vijnana Kairali*, vol. XXIV, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1993, p. 365.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 366.

rivers and backwaters, humid climate suitable for natural drying and skilled labour etc., provided the necessary incentives and led to the rapid growth of tile industry in Malabar.<sup>10</sup> The presence of these infrastructural facilities resulted in the flourishing of this industry in Feroke, Trichur and Quilon in Kerala and provided a reliable source of living to a large number of people.<sup>11</sup>

In the case of tile making, a greater lag appears to have existed in adoption of manufacturing.<sup>12</sup> As early as 1880's, the Basel Mission tile factories have started using steam power in the mixing of clay. The Tile factories which came up in Trichur in 1930's (which can be centred as the first indigenous factories) on the other hand used bullock power, and a technology which was comparable to that of the first factory established by the Basel Mission. Non availability of sufficient capital could be an explanation for the simple technologies used in indigenous factory production.<sup>13</sup>

### **5.1.3. Puthiyara Tile Factory**

The production and trade of tile in and around Kozhikode city increased the importance of the city. It not only changed the character of building architecture but also gave employment to hundreds of people. The *Puthiyara Kallu* factory near Kozhikode was the most important tile factory started by the Basel Mission in Malabar.<sup>14</sup> Along with this, tile factories were opened at Puthiyara, Feroke, Kodakkal and at Olavakkodu in Malabar. Arthur

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<sup>10</sup> K. A. Rajan, *Keralathile Vyavasayangal* (mal.), vol. II, Kerala Bhasha Institute, 1987, p.658.

<sup>11</sup> RDC file, Bundle No. 50, Sl. No. 62, KSRACK.

<sup>12</sup> *SeventyFirst Basel Mission Report*, 1911, Belmetta Archives, Mangalore

<sup>13</sup> The main reason for the growth of Thrissur Tile factory is the availability of clay K. R. Rajan, *Keralathile Vyavasayangal* (mal.), *Op.cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>14</sup> *Janmi*, 1912, vol. IV, no. 20, pp. 83-34.

Lowly in his report says that Malabar and South Canara were the two districts where tiles were made by machines.<sup>15</sup> This shows the progress of this industry in the nineteenth century itself. A large quantity of white clay and pottery clay found in Malabar was suitable for the manufacture of tiles, bricks and pottery.<sup>16</sup> The industry sprang up owing to the endeavours of the Basel Mission establishment.

The Commonwealth Tile Factory was begun in 1865 under the Basel Mission. The Commonwealth Weaving Factory near the Mananchira Square was also begun by the Mission. These companies were begun as a support centre to the poor people in Kozhikode which offered employment to them. The missionaries founded factories and schools to make the lower class people especially the converts literate and self-dependent. These earlier tiles in Malabar were manufactured by the *Andra Nair* people. These tiles were known *narukkodue* and *pathiyode*. The *Andra Nair* people were experts in the production of earthen pottery. But these earthen utensils were completely different from that of the pots made by traditional potters. They were good paddy farmers and had settled in Karaparambu near Kozhikode. They were called *Andra Nairs* as their ancestors came from Andra Pradesh.<sup>17</sup>

The Basel Mission report says that the largest congregation of Malabar was at Kozhikode because a large majority of the people engaged in the weaving works and tile works at Puthiyara. The missionaries conducted

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<sup>15</sup> 1/24, *the Fifth Tour of H. E. the Arthur Lawely, Governor of Madras, Malabar, 1907*, p. 49, RAK.

<sup>16</sup> Kozhikode was the suitable location of tile factories because of its clay availability and transport facility through river channels. See K. R. Rajan, *Keralathile Vyavasayangal* (mal.), vol. I, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 1987, p. 99.

<sup>17</sup> Gangadharan Puthukudi, *Kozhikode Pattanapradesangalile Avasakendranganalkku Chuttum*, (mal.), Geethanjali Offset Printers, Cheruvannur, 2014, p. 282.



prayer meetings meetings in private houses and mission schools.<sup>18</sup> Earlier there were only eighty five Christian men, sixty Christian women, ninety five Hindus and four Mohammedans working in the factory. All these men attended morning prayers daily. Few of their houses which are lying in the low lands were flooded during the rainy season, and these were razed to the ground and new houses were erected in elevated places.<sup>19</sup> Regarding the size of units, level of mechanization, items produced etc, the tile factories, in Kozhikode were at top among all other industries.<sup>20</sup>

#### 5.1.4. Tile Industry at Feroke

The history of tile factories in Kozhikode began in 1873 with the establishment of tile factory at Puthiyarakkallu by the Basel Mission. The second Tile factory *Calicut Tile Company* was established in 1878. The *East India Iron Works* was established at Feroke by George Binton, a Englishman which was later converted into a tile factory in 1894. The present name of this factory is the *Feroke Tile works*.<sup>21</sup>

In Feroke, the Henkai and Company also established a tile factory. Henkai and Company was the first biggest tile factory in Malabar.<sup>22</sup> The *Henkai and Company* also started an industry at Feroke. Then the trained natives also started industries at Kozhikode, Parali etc. Henkai and Company was the biggest tile industry in Malabar. The Basel Missions tiles gained popularity all over South India. It was exported in the name *Mangalore Tiles*

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<sup>18</sup> *The Basel Mission Report, 58, 1898, Mangalore.*

<sup>19</sup> *The Basel Mission Report, 58, 1898, Mangalore.*

<sup>20</sup> Rudolph Fischer, *The Basel Mission Industries in India (1850-1913)*, Surat, 1979, p. 87.

<sup>21</sup> RDC Files, Bundle No.176, SI-14, KSRAC

<sup>22</sup> *Janmi*, vol. IV, no. 2, June, 1912, p. 210.

to Rangoon, Colombo, Singapore and even to the Australian continent. The clay for making the tile is taken from the paddy fields near the river.<sup>23</sup>

The tiles manufactured at Kozhikode were famous all over the country under the label name 'Calicut'. These tiles were exported even to foreign countries like Burma, Ceylon, Malaya and Australia. The reports of the Basel Mission says that the Feroke Tile Company didn't employ many Christians and majority of labourers were Hindus or Mohammedans.<sup>24</sup>

#### 5.1.5. Weaving Mission

The Basel Mission also opened many weaving mills in Malabar to help the missionaries. In these mills the *Kakki*<sup>25</sup> cloth was also manufactured. The Mission factories defeated the other companies through experiments. The *Kakki* cloth was purchased by the British government for their army and police departments. The Webster's *shikar* cloth produced by the mission also earned popularity as they lasted quite long. Weaving was simplified by the use of steam engines in these factories. The power looms arrived in the scene by 1911. The progress made in the weaving industry enhanced the financial status of workers and they could manage their families.<sup>26</sup>

Another enterprise began at later time was machine stitching. It was in the Basel Mission factories that inner wear cloth was produced for the first time in India. Moreover, these factories fostered many women trained in embroidery. Factories were attached with stitching units. There are records

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<sup>23</sup> Janmi, 1912, vol. IV, no. 20, pp. 83-84.

<sup>24</sup> K. R. Rajan, *Keralathile Vyavasayangal* (mal.), *Op.cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>25</sup> It was a soil coloured cloth used mainly at the time of First World War.

<sup>26</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 363.

related to the effort of the Mission to capture markets in Srilanka and Burma. The Mission towels also gained popularity inside and outside India<sup>27</sup>.

The fifth tour report of Arthur Lawley says that weaving was not an important industry in Malabar and there were practically no silk weavers. Major industries in Kozhikode were cap-making, toddy drawing, the manufacture of jaggery from sweet toddy, the manufacture of palm-leaf umbrellas, palm leaf hats, mats, winnowing fans and baskets, and weaving in bell-metal.<sup>28</sup> The opening of factories revolutionized the employment and market culture in Kozhikode and other places.<sup>29</sup>

Records say that Malabar was very popular for its traditional *calico* cloth. There were weavers in all villages in Malabar. When compared to other districts there were very few weavers in Malabar. The Chaliya<sup>30</sup> manufactured clothe only for the use of the people who belonged to the *low caste*. They had to work hard the whole day for getting something to eat. The Mappila traders gave them the thread and other objects for weaving. The colouring of cloth changed with the coming of the Basal Mission in Malabar. The caps were worn by the Muslim were manufactured in Malabar.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> The war necessitated high demand for *Kakki* and it created huge production of kakki an it's demands in world military market was increased. (See details Sandip Hazareesing, *The colonial city and challenge modernity urban Hegemonies and civic contestations in Bombay, (1900-1925)*, Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2007, p.101.

<sup>28</sup> *T/24, the fifth Tour of H.E. Arthur Lawely, Governor of Madras*, Malabar 1907 Regional Archives, Kozhikode, p. 49.

<sup>29</sup> *T/24, Fifth tour of H.E. The Arthur Lawely, Governor of Madras*, Malabar 1907, p. 49, KSRAC.

<sup>30</sup> The caste of weavers .

<sup>31</sup> *Janmi*, vol. XII, no. 7, pp. 185-186.

The Basel Mission united weaving establishments with its administrative office at Kozhikode. The Kozhikode Head Office controlled and directed the activities of all the weaving and tile establishments both in regard to manufacture and sale. Traveling and marketing agents were sent out from Kozhikode to Myanmar, Sri Lanka and other parts of India for publicity and sale of the products.

#### **5.1.6. Dye Houses in Kozhikode**

The dye houses in connection with the weaving establishments at Kozhikode and Kannur were later converted into modern plants. This enabled dyeing of fast colours for materials. This became a well-known specialty of the Basel Mission cloth industries. Some of the works in the weaving industry was done by hand, but owing to the increased demands for products from all parts of India. Steam power was introduced for doing the twisting and winding of threads on bobbins, and for dye works. Accordingly steam engines were introduced. The actual weaving however was done on hand looms.<sup>32</sup> The employees in these firms could understand new techniques of production and marketing in the industries. This enabled the staff to apply these skills in small factories opened by them when they left the Mission firms. This had changed the character of the society in Malabar.<sup>33</sup>

#### **5.1.7. Shikari Cloth**

Another intervention through the Basel Mission industry was the *shikari* cloth in which the colour was designed by Dr. Webster and hence was

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<sup>32</sup> Federick Sunilkumar, *Basel Mission and Social Change Malabar and South Canara: A Case Study (1830-1956)*, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2006, p. 92.

<sup>33</sup> R D Bundle, no.162, Sl. No. 19, KSRAK.

known 'Webster Shikari' which became very popular among the elite classes.<sup>34</sup> The *shikari* cloth was recognized by the cloth market as a superior one. The result was that the Mission could influence the style and fashion of clothing in the city space and elite spaces in South East Asia. The number of people depended upon the industry, trade and related jobs increased day by day in Malabar. All these had direct impact upon the Kozhikode city. The people in Malabar found the city as the symbol of modernity since new products and fashion as the city of new life style. The elite classes accepted these changes and it created transformation in the village circles and elite houses too.<sup>35</sup>

The Mission fabrics was produced mainly for export. Only the elite could access it and thousands of people worked in these factories.<sup>36</sup> In short, the Basel Mission industries rose to a highly competitive international producer by achieving specialization and continuous technological improvement. One important impact of the Basel Mission industries was that it established a marketing channel within the country and outside. The tile industry and weaving materials became the chief supplier of goods in the metropolitan cities in the country as well as to the government organizations like the army, the railway, the postal and telegraph department.<sup>37</sup>

## 5.2. Evangelical Work

The basis for all these activities of the Basal Mission was religious propaganda. The evangelical work liberated the lower class people who were

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<sup>34</sup> K. P. George, *Kozhikode Nagaramudrakal*, Poorna Publications, Kozhikode, 2009, p. 49.

<sup>35</sup> Gangadharan Puthukudi, *Kozhikode Pattanapradesangalile Avasakendranganalkku Chuttum*, (mal.), *Op.cit.*, p. 339.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 490.

<sup>37</sup> From 1851 onwards the Basel Mission introduced weaving factories and then tile factories in Malabar which brought a great transition in the life of people.

subjugated for ages by the upper classes under the yoke of caste and feudalism. The lower caste people took interest to embrace Christianity with the intervention of the Mission in Malabar. Generally, the members of the lower castes and few from the higher classes also accepted the faith. Marriages were permitted between the converted Christians irrespective of their former caste identity. Those who were not converted to Christianity also could become educated through the educational institutions founded by the Christian Mission. These people imbibed a new life style clubbed with European modernity through the Mission schools and other institutions.<sup>38</sup>

The *Prapanchamitran* reported that even though the Basel mission was interested in the spreading of education but their prime motive was religious conversion<sup>39</sup>.

This modernity helped them to keep away from superstitions which existed in Malabar society at that time. The Kozhikode city was an earlier place to accept this modernity and it paved way for the movement of the lower classes to the middle strata in spite of their inferior position in the caste system. All these reflected in the city life during the period of the First World War.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Moorcoth Kumaran was one among the graduate in Malabar. In a Thiyya Conference he said that 'the Congress was an elite organisation which consider the Thiyya as untouchable. If the Congress come into power, the nation will go into the hands of the elite. The rule of British was more beneficial for us than the Congress. He called the *Thiyyar* to resist the movement against the British'. See C. Krishnan was also opposed Indian National Congress (M. Gangadharan, *The Malabar Rebellion (mal.)*, D. C. Books, Kottayam, 2009, p. 44.

<sup>39</sup> Prapanchamitran, Madras, January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1918, TSA.

<sup>40</sup> S. Francis (ed.), *Basel Mission Smaranika*, Kozhikode, pp. 1-3.

### 5.2.1. Other Industries in Kozhikode

Handloom industry was the major industry in North Malabar which was controlled by the Basal Mission. The small handloom factories of the local people could not compete with that of the Basel Mission firms. The Mission was able to extend its handloom factories to many places including the Kozhikode city.<sup>41</sup> The Aron Company started by an ex Mission member competed with the Mission firms. This handloom company could amass huge profit in the early twentieth century Malabar.<sup>42</sup>

With the close of the First World War, the British seized German properties in India which included the Mission firms. The distinct management system formed by the Basel Mission to run the factories could not withstand the intervention of the British government. The government created the Commonwealth Trust to manage these properties of the enemy countries. All industries run by the Basel Mission including the handloom industry did not flourish much until the First World War. The cloth weaved by the Aron Company could utilize this opportunity and they captured the market of the Basel Mission industries during the First World War onwards. They carried goods as head loads or in bullock carts to the markets in the high ranges and Tamilnadu. These products were sold in the plantations and local markets. The First World War thus created a great crisis in the daily life of the people in Kozhikode and whole of Malabar. Huge number of people lived with the income from these industries run by the German Basel Mission.

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<sup>41</sup> The power loom was introduced by the Aron Company in the handloom industry..

<sup>42</sup> C. Samuel Aron, *Jeevitha Smaranakal* (mal.), Deshamithram, Cannanore, 1974, pp.45-46.

Along with the development of industrial centres in Kozhikode different groups of people migrated to Kozhikode. The population in the city increased with the number of industries in the late nineteenth century. The novel *Oru Desathinte Katha* written by S. K. Pottakkad talks about the *kochalimar* who the natives of Thiruvithamcore and they were experts in artisan work. They started spinning centres at Kozhikode and they were regarded as a lower class by the elite. S K Pottekkat talks about the transformation of the caste system in the urban space with the arrival of modernity and related changes. The inter-dining programme of the political conference held at Kozhikode in 1917 was a reflection of this transformation.<sup>43</sup>

There was a revival of the handloom industry after the First World War. This was due to the decrease in imports of cloth material in Indian market. Since the whole of India experienced the same crisis, there were increased demands for the handloom cloth even from North India. The clothes were sold at good prices and they fetched good profits as well. The practice of going around and selling hand spun clothes almost ended. Interestingly, by the outbreak of the First World War, the industrial activities in Malabar gained momentum.<sup>44</sup> Many weaving factories emerged during this period. It is said that with the end of the War there were nearly two hundred weaving factories in Kannur and neighboring areas. The Aaron Mill, the weaving factory of Pandan Karuvan were among them. Most of these companies were founded and flourished in 1916-1917. Apart from textile,

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<sup>43</sup> S. K. Pottakkad, *Oru Desathinte Katha*, (mal.), D.C. Books, Kottayam, 2013, p. 171.

<sup>44</sup> The B. G. M. College was depended largely on financial help from Germany and Switzerland See Sharon Victoria Herbert *Contribution of Basel Evangelical Mission to the Education in Malabar with Special Reference to Cannanore and Calicut*, Calicut, 2003, p. 45.



other industries were also started in the region during the inter war years. The soap and oil factory at Kozhikode established by the government was another major initiative during this period.<sup>45</sup> Against these, the poverty and economic problems caused by the War in central Europe made difficult the payment of wages to workers.<sup>46</sup>

### **5.2.2. The Soap Industry in Kozhikode**

The British supported industrial firms at Kozhikode to meet war requirements. This indirectly helped the progress of the city and the industrial products of Kozhikode got a space in the World market. During the War, the government imparted training to the people to produce handicraft goods which were demanded by the War. In this context a soap factory was started in the city by Frederick Nicolson. This industry was run by the government itself. The War compelled the government to promote these industries which was against the policy followed in colonial India. The possibility of generating soaps from vegetable oils forced the government to impart training to the Indians in the knowledge in soap manufacture. This helped many people to acquire training in small scale industries.<sup>47</sup> The principal raw materials used in the industry were vegetable and animal oils fats, caustic soda, caustic potash, common salt, colours, and perfumery articles as well as packing materials.<sup>48</sup> These were available in Malabar and it encouraged the industry. The government soap factory was started in 1914 at Tanur by Frederick Nicholson as an experimental unit for making fish oil

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<sup>45</sup> Dr. K. N. Ganesh (ed.), *Exercise in Modern Kerala History*, Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society Limited, Kottayam, 2012, p. 123.

<sup>46</sup> Paul David Thottathil, *The Socio-Religious Impacts of the Basel Evangelical Mission in Malabar*, Kottayam, 1995, p. 40.

<sup>47</sup> *Janmi*, vol. XII, no. 7, pp. 185-186.

<sup>48</sup> A. Sreedhara Menon *Kerala District Gazetteers*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1962, p. 340.

Rosin Soap for the eradication of certain pests which infect mango, tea, coffee and rubber plantations. The market in Malabar faced difficulty in the supply of soaps from outside due to stoppage of imports. The government was also in need of these goods in large quantity for use in the army during the War. This was beneficial to the small industries in Kozhikode during the War.<sup>49</sup> The government planned the Kerala Soap Institute was started in a land donated by Rarichan Mooppan.<sup>50</sup> This project did not materialize and M. R. K. Menon started a soap factory at Kozhikode. This 'Çalicut Soap' captured good sale in the market and the Indian Viceroy is also said to have used the soap called the 'Viceregal Lodge Soap', which was produced in Kozhikode. The 'Wellington Soap' was also produced at Kozhikode and it was also a popular soap among the elite in colonial India.<sup>51</sup> The government soap factory flourished under F. A. Nicholson, the Director the of Fisheries Department government.<sup>52</sup> The demand for soaps increased due to changes in the daily life of the people and the possibilities of soap factories increased day by day. Newspapers like the *Loka Prakasam* and *Yoga Khsemam* demanded the government to give training to the youth in soap making during the War.<sup>53</sup> The soap manufacture progressed than the European soap factories due to the availability of vegetable oil instead of animal fats. The Kozhikode soaps had great demand in the world market due to this reason.<sup>54</sup>

A.K. Menon, who started a factory at Kozhikode was called 'Soap Menon' due to his contribution in the particular fieeld. After graduation

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<sup>49</sup> *Vartakamitram*, 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1917, TSA.

<sup>50</sup> T. B. Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrukam* (mal.), Mathrubhumi Books: Kozhikode, 2011, pp. 130- 132.

<sup>51</sup> *Report of the Department of Industries*, 1933, Madras, p. 22.

<sup>52</sup> *Yoga Kshemam*, Trichur, May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1917, TSA.

<sup>53</sup> *Lokaprakasam*, Trichur, November 11<sup>th</sup> 1918, TSA.

<sup>54</sup> *Manorama*, Kozhikode, February 12<sup>th</sup> 1918, TSA.

from the Presidency College at Madras. A K Menon availed a government scholarship in 1909 for higher studies in oil and soap manufacturing. A K Menon and K. P. Kesava Menon who later became the editor of *Mathrubhumi* stayed together in England.<sup>55</sup> A. K. Menon had worked with Lever Brothers, later Unilever Ltd., in U.K and Dralle in Germany. After visiting many European countries he returned to India in 1912 and started working for the Fisheries Department under the Madras government. Subsequently he was appointed as the Oil Chemist by the Madras government. A K Menon headed a research team to study fish oil at Tanur in Malabar. One product of the research project was shark liver oil. He moved to Kozhikode city and established the Kerala Soap Institute as a Department of the Madras government. The Institute produced quality toilet and washing soaps which became popular throughout India. The soap was renamed Lady Wellington. He also served as a member of the Central Coconut Committee and Oil Seeds Committee. A. K. Menon who was also the president of the South India soap manufactures Association, and published many research papers. A. K. Menon can be considered as the 'father of soap industry in India'. He was conferred the title 'Rao Bahadur' by the government for his service in the industrial work in India.<sup>56</sup>

### **5.2.3. Industries During the World War**

The markets in Malabar were filled with goods from different countries during the late nineteenth century onwards. This competition from other countries forced Britain to block the growth of Germany and other

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<sup>55</sup> Details of A.K. Menon is published by the Calicut Heritage Forum on August 20<sup>th</sup>, 2013 See <http://blog, Calicut Heritage.com>.

<sup>56</sup> *Rao Bahadur* was a title of honour issued during the British rule in India to individuals who had performed great service to the Imperial country.

countries, Goods like lanterns, pen knives and many others products from Germany were available in Indian market. The products from Japan also came to India by the beginning of the twentieth century. The *Mithavathi* appreciated the ability of these countries including Japan.<sup>57</sup> Japan and Germany took the lead in revolutionizing the cloth industry. They discovered the synthetic blue which began to be used in the colouring of cloth in industries.<sup>58</sup>

The British government was alarmed by the popularity of the German products in India. The Basel Mission shops gave prominence to the spread of German products in Malabar and it also forced the government to stop the German Mission in Malabar with the outbreak of the War.<sup>59</sup> The property of the Basel Mission was confiscated by the government and it was entrusted with a particular society which later became the Commonwealth Trust. The factories and Mission churches were also undertaken by the government as enemy property. The Common Wealth Trust managed the Mission factories, hospitals and schools after the War. The property owned by German missionaries, industrialists etc., were sold by the government.<sup>60</sup>

#### **5.2.4. Life of Women in the City**

The Basel Mission had transformed the life of women in Malabar. They imparted education to girls of the lower classes and it improved the status of women in the lower classes. The factories in Kozhikode gave employment to women which also changed the daily life of the people in the

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<sup>57</sup> *Mithavathi*, 1915, vol. III, no. 12, p. 5.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>59</sup> *Malayala Basel Mission Sabhayude Charitra Samkshepam* (mal.), 1834 – 1934, Vintage Books, Calicut, 1989, pp. 195-199.

<sup>60</sup> Revenue Bundle No. 195, Sl. No. 51, KSRAK.

city. The city life became different from the rural society and they changed even the usage of time in accordance with the norms of the urban culture. The Mission had established women's hostels in the city which transformed the life of the urban women.<sup>61</sup> These girls became independent and began to demand for their space in the society.

The work *Sukumari* by Joseph Mooliyil explains the story of a Thiyya woman who lived in Kozhikode under the Basel Mission schools and hospitals in the city.<sup>62</sup> Being a subject of the modern culture, *Sukumari* represents the transformed women in Kozhikode.<sup>63</sup> The novel depicts a society in which people converted to Christianity by the Basel Mission live together with other religionists. The novel gives an idea about the impact created by the church schools in Malabar. These schools existed long before the legally schools established by the government.<sup>64</sup> The Kozhikode city had a women schools, hospitals and orphanages run by the Basel Mission. They appointed many women as teachers, boarding school supervisors and helpers. Moreover, there were many women labourers in the weaving and embroidery work units. The missionaries arranged accommodation facilities for them in the city. They proved that such endeavours could help women to earn living and become self-reliant and make them aware of their legitimate rights. Women were employed in large numbers in weaving and tile factories in the city and that made subsequent changes in urban life.<sup>65</sup> These

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p.119.

<sup>62</sup> The father of Joseph Mooliyil, the author of *Sukumari* was a Thiyya convert. Joseph Mooliyil also married a convert *antharjanam*, a Brahmin woman.

<sup>63</sup> Joseph Mooliyil, *Sukumari*, (mal.), Chintha Publishers, Trivandrum, 2013, p. 25.

<sup>64</sup> N. V. Krishna Warriar, *Adyakala Malayala Novel* (mal.), Current Books, Kottayam, 1982, p. 171.

<sup>65</sup> Rudolph Fischer, *The Basel Mission Industries in India, 1850-1913*, Zurret, 1978, p. 87.

factories taught them how to manage labourers, how to give training in various skills, maintenance of attendance, rules in the distribution of wages, division and discipline in the work place, etc. The labourers learned the skill of running mills and factories and undertaking small industrial firms. The liberal attitude of the missionaries was the reason for the peaceful growth of industrial atmosphere during the First World War in Malabar. There were labourers from all religions and the Mission gave equal consideration to them in the industrial firms.<sup>66</sup> According to the Mission records the Feroke Tile Works in Kozhikode had Hindus and Mohammedans labourers and they did attend daily prayers on their own accord. The Mission showed its generosity and expected result in the future.<sup>67</sup> The Mission supported its labourers by giving land, tools for farming, training in watch-making, skill in tailoring, book binding, carpentry etc.<sup>68</sup> These industries were managed with a commercial interest and were not linked with the missionary spirit.<sup>69</sup>

These missionary activities also made possible inter-caste marriages in Malabar. They started orphanages and rehabilitation centre for widows and orphans. The old age people were given a pension scheme and donation

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<sup>66</sup> G.D. Nair, *Keralthile Thozhilali Prasthanathinte Charitram* (mal.), Chintha Publishers, Trivandrum, 2014, p. 24

<sup>67</sup> Dr. B. Sobhanan (ed.), T.B. Premjith Kumar, *The Basel Mission in Malabar: A Study, Journal of Kerala Studies*, vol. XXXV, 2008, pp. 80-81.

<sup>68</sup> The Basel German Evangelical Mission in colonial Malabar generated income by running shops, tile factories, weaving units etc. The Christian missionary groups especially the Basel Evangelical mission in Malabar used technology in its activity not only to spread propaganda but also to generate income for activities. See Dr.Sivadasan.P, 'Wheels of Social Transformation: The Bicycle in Early Twentieth Century Keralam' in the South Indian History Congress, XXXVI Annual Session, Kasthuri Misro Memorial Lecture, 5<sup>th</sup> March 2016, Puduchery, p. 2.

<sup>69</sup> P. Sivadasan, 'The Dawn of Marxism and the Politicisation of Masses in Kerala, 1912-1920: An Enquiry' in the *Journal of Kerala Studies*, vol. XXX III, 2006, p. 147.

boxes called *deenappetti*, were installed to help the aged people.<sup>70</sup> The Leprosy Centre in Chevayur at Kozhikode was great success in the history of the Mission.<sup>71</sup> When the World War broke out, these missionaries were at the peak of their service. All these activities introduced a new outlook in the urban society. This service mission became an enemy Mission in the eyes of the British with the War.<sup>72</sup>

The First World War affected a large number of families in Malabar who depended on the tile factories, spinning, weaving and other industries run by the German Basel Mission. The harassment and the internment of German technicians by the British Government during the War affected these industries of the Basel Mission. Many of these factories were shut down.<sup>73</sup> The result was the plight of labourers and their families to different places. The *New India* reported the miseries of these families in the following words:

"unfortunately, the interned Germans were mainly technical experts without whom the industrial enterprises cannot go on and the present executive has therefore been compelled to dispense with the

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<sup>70</sup> The industrial labour force generated by the Basel Mission was a new development in the social life in Malabar. The workers had to live according to the norms of the factory rules and it changed the conventional life style of labourers. This had seriously affected the life of the ordinary people belonging to various castes and religions. Women labourers employed in the mission firms intensified these changes in the everyday life.

<sup>71</sup> The YMCA was started by George William in 1844 to support young men of England who lost their livelihood due to the industrial revolution. All Christians were permitted to join it. In 1892, a branch of the Y M C A was started at Kozhikode. See Gangadharan Puthukudi, *Kozhikode Pattanapradesangalile Avasakendranganalkku Chuttum* (mal.), *Op.cit.*, p. 345.

<sup>72</sup> The term 'enemy property' meant all property held on behalf the hostile foreigners in British India. See RD, 1916, B-195, Sl. 54, KSRAC.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

service of a large number of workers. One can easily appreciate the attitude of the protestants and even the Hindus who have been thrown out of employment on account of the check created by the Government in the Mission's Commercial and Educational enterprises."<sup>74</sup>

The Theosophical Society and Annie Besant were against the Basel Mission and its activities in Malabar. The speeches of Annie Besant were described in the Reports of the Mission as a force threatening the missionary activity in Kerala. Moreover, the Theosophists opposed the Basel Mission as an agency of Germans who were regarded as the agents of the "Black Powers" during the First World War.<sup>75</sup> The reports in New India advised the land lords and the Home Rulers to start local factories to give employment to the impoverished labourers in Malabar. The Basel Mission factories came under the control of the Common Wealth Trust, which was as part of the ideology suggested by Annie Besant during the period of the First World War.

Thus, a new social space was created in the urban space by the activities of the industrial firms. The public and secular space created in the factories and plantations contributed to the social mobility of the people. The industrial labour force generated by the Basel Mission was a new development in the social life in Malabar. The workers had to live according to the norms of the factory rules and it changed the conventional life style of the labourers in the city. This helped to bring qualitative change in the life of the ordinary people belonging to various castes and religions. Women

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*



labourers employed in the Mission's establishments intensified these changes in the everyday life of the people.<sup>76</sup> This was the character of the cityscape of Kozhikode in between 1914 and 1918.

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<sup>76</sup> K. P. George, *Kozhikode Nagara Mudrakal* (mal.), Poorna Publications, Kozhikode, 2009, p. 49.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

The study of urban society and landscapes help us to understand the growth of urban centres, its peoples, and its decay or development. This thesis is a study of Kozhikode as an urban centre and the life of the people in the city scape during the First World War. It deals with the problems faced by the people in the city during the First World War.

Though the First World War is considered as an exclusive European phenomenon, Malabar especially the Kozhikode city had to take part in the War in an indirect way. The contribution given by the people of Malabar both in the form of men and money was huge. This brought about a significant change in the social, political and economic life of the people Malabar, especially in the Kozhikode city. During the colonial rule, Kozhikode was the headquarters of the Malabar District under the Madras Presidency since 1800. The people in the city were watching the updates about the War and as a result, discussions were regularly held in small clubs, libraries and tea shops. Being the chief town in Malabar, the city was the centre of political awareness during the War.

The First World War can be considered as the final stage of the competition for markets in the nineteenth century. Though the death of Austrian heir-apparent Duke Ferdinand and his wife is considered to be the immediate cause of First World War, the people of Europe expected a war even before that. Though there are social, economic and political reasons for the War, the primary reason is the competition between colonial masters for ownership of colonies and markets. Therefore the First World War can

be considered as an imperial war. Germany's growth as a super power accelerated the competition between the colonial powers. As a result, this War was not confined to Europe. Its repercussions seriously affected the colonies owned by European countries.

The War brought about major changes in Indian society and its cultural. It was the British promise of granting self-rule to India that made Bala Gangadhar Tilak and other political leaders to support Britain in the War. But the people failed to understand that the colonial powers entered into War because they had their eyes on the colonies, natural resources and raw materials.

The hold of the Basel Mission in Malabar, especially in Kozhikode was very strong. The World War was heavily felt in Kozhikode city under the influence Britain. This troubled Britain seriously. Though the landlords of Kozhikode were loyal to the British, the lay population had their loyalty towards Germany. The Basel Mission in the city and its humane activities, forced the people to support them even during the War.

In order to gain favour for them, the British made use of the propagation method. They interfered positively in the public space while taking up the campaign. Installing boards, selling stamps using children, to form public opinion in favour of them by offering training to scouts, campaign through the print media.

Britain tried to exaggerate even its minor victories. This enabled them to create an 'mighty Britain' image which roused a pro-Britain War sentiment. To create public support and favour, Britain, started publishing magazines and books and war time newspapers.

As a result of the Russian revolution, class consciousness rose among the labourers. In Kozhikode, labourers, especially the saw mill workers spread the news of the War. The British were alarmed by the newly born class consciousness among the working classes and political activists. They identified it as a 'Bolshevik threat' in alliance with the Khilafat movement. The British government tried to prevent the publication and spread of notices and pamphlets in support of the Russian revolution during the War.

The Muslims all over the World turned against Britain during the War. The political aim of M K Gandhi through his political movement during the War was to turn the Muslims in favour of the Indian National Congress. This was a strategy to bring the unity of Muslim League and the Indian National Congress in India. It was necessary to strengthen the Indian freedom struggle. It was not the British cruelties against the Khalif that turned them against the British. The Muslims in India, decided to join the freedom struggle due to the penetration of colonialism during the World War. This was viewed by Britain as a Bolshevik-Khilafat alliance.

We can look at the First World War from three perspectives. Firstly, the War was never limited to a particular geographical space. Other European countries and colonies were pulled into it due to the influence of global factors and colonialism. Second reason was the forceful recruitment of people in the colonies to fight for Britain in the War. These recruitments enabled the inhabitants in the colony, to have a better understanding of the World situation. Finally, the growth of the market beyond the boundaries of countries and continents increased the significance of the War. The European forces never forgot to exploit the resources of the colonies for the War. Hence, the war of 1914-18 can be rightly considered as an imperial war.

Being the headquarters of the Malabar District, Kozhikkode became a pivotal centre of War related events and changes in India. The British government gave priority to form a Nair Regiment during the First World War. The attention and special status given to the Nair community in Malabar, the lower classes began to react against the government. By giving preference to the Nairs, the British government attempted to create a casteist division in the society. The usage of *olakalanmar* and *seelakalanmar* to mock the Nairs began in the villages and city of Kozhikkode during this period. Those phrases came into being out of the ignorant Nair practice of using *ola* on one leg and *seela* on the other to symbolize left and right while marching. This was a method identified by them to identify the right and left legs quickly.

With the progress of the War, it became necessary to recruit soldiers beyond the colonial martial race theory. These forced recruitments were not just for soldiers but also for hospital attendants, cart drivers, sweepers, carpenters, tailors, blacksmiths, masons etc. The War gave chances to different groups like the soldiers to become elites in the society. The government provided money and gifts to the agents who supplied soldiers. Kuttikrishnan Nair, Yusuf, Krishna Kurup of Feroke and many others acted as agents of the *rajand* earned money by supplying men for war. These gifts included watch, revolver, gun etc. They were also rewarded by the landlords.

Women and children suffered the most out of the War. They bid farewell to the men of their families with great grief when they left to fight for Britain. There were times when the youth couldn't even step out of their houses into the public roads. Those who returned after the army service

were received by the local people. The city mob and villagers gathered around the ex-service men to listen to their exaggerated tales of the War and heard them with great excitement.

The Home Rule Movement and District Political Conference held during the War spread political consciousness among the people. These movements gave focus to politicization of the masses. Through these political gatherings, the people came to know about the War and British imperialism and it opened up debates in the public spaces. These movements spoke about the opening of libraries in public spaces to promote reading and debates. The World War was debated in the Malayalam language and literature and people came to know about England and other European nations and it reflected in different walks of daily life. While narrating the War tales, people took sides with Germany or Britain. Kaiser had a heroic image in these discussions. Through these debates, Malabar society developed a reading culture of its own. P.Narayanan Nair, in his autobiographical work *Aranoottandiloode* talks about women who showed interest in news about the War.

It was during First World War that many words unknown to Keralites entered into the Malayalam language and literature. K.M. Panikar wrote that 'the war brought drought and never before had Kerala suffered such hardship'. Vallathol Narayana Menon in his poem, *Unnanilluduppanilla* written in 1918 talks about the poverty experienced by the people during the War. The poem portrays the sad picture of a family that lived in all its glory two years back stepping into sheer poverty during the War. The poem talks about a woman who committed suicide. She had no dress to cover herself when her nephew came to visit her.

The Kozhikode city promoted print culture due to the existence of a reading public in Malabar. The town had become a place of newspapers and monthly publications in Malayalam. The *Mithavathi*, a leading monthly publication was subscribed by huge number of people in Malabar. These vernacular publications played a significant role in spreading the news of the War. Though newspapers like *Kerala Sanchari*, *Kerala Manorama*, and the *West Coast Spectator* reported the hardships and crises of the common people before the government. The ordinary people in Kozhikode town familiarized with countries like Mesopotamia and Germany during the War through these publications. Most of these publications were printed in the Empire Press located in the city.

The World War produced rumours and fear in the daily life of the people. One such rumour was the threat of the Emden Ship in the Arabian Sea. The threat made impact in the day to day life in the city markets including in the Valiyangadi at Kozhikkode. The shops of the city closed early in the evening in the days of fear. The word 'Emden' made a deep impact upon the life of the people in Kerala since the World War.

The national movement reached the city and villages in Malabar during the World War. It was easy to make way for the news of nationalism due to the relation between the war time news and relevance of national interests. The Second Malabar District Political Conference held at Kozhikkode in 1917 became a remarkable event in the history of the freedom struggle in Malabar. The Conference proved that the issue of national consciousness was not a mere political issue but a cultural one necessitating the transformation of the Indian society. The imperial government did not permit the anti-British political meeting in the

Kozhikkode city. The public space in Kozhikkode, the Mananchira *maidanam* had become a significant space in the city to exhibit the power of the masses and the government. The request to sanction the Mananchira *maidanam* was denied by the government as it was the spot of military parades during the War. The government knew that C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, Annie Besant, K.P. Keshava Menon, K.P. Raman Menon, Manjeri Rama Iyer, P.Achuthan and others were attending the Conference to represent the masses. The denial increased the relevance of the Political Conference. K.P. Raman Menon converted his private Tennis Court into the venue of the Conference and hence the political meeting came to be called the Tennis Court Conference in Malabar. The Tennis Court Oath had initiated the French Revolution in 1789. Similarly, the District Conference started on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1917 lit the lamp of political changes in Malabar. The Conference also witnessed the political effort to bring social changes in Kerala. The inter-dining and the movement to get the public road near the Tali Temple in the city opened for the marginalized were new initiatives to the people of Kerala. The Dravidian groups in Kozhikkode also used the opportunity to bring the Tamil born movement into Kerala. The result was the sudden disappearance of the Brahmin dominated political activities in Malabar since 1917.

The Kozhikkode city was a space of imperial conflict due to the existence of the Basel German Evangelical Mission. Most of the institutions including the factories of the Mission existed in the Kozhikkode city. Being the institutions of the enemy country, the British government confiscated these firms and expelled all missionaries from India. Being a Christian Mission, the Basel Mission was running orphanages, schools, hospitals, tile factories, leprosy centres, shops, weaving units etc., in Kozhikkode. All these firms were closed down which closed all medical, industrial, educational and



humanitarian work in the town. The result was the sudden blockage of daily life in the city.

The collaborators and big merchants exploited the situation and amassed huge wealth through black marketing and sale of goods in increased rates. The government was not caring these in the initial years and the attempts in the later period were useless. The army recruitments brought fortunes to a limited number of people. A large number of people were recruited into the army. The government promoted the production of war related goods in the local industries and it brought income to them. The wood industry in Kozhikode was receiving huge orders for products required for the army.

The World War brought a huge number of pressure groups in full active mode in the public spaces in Malabar. The city experienced the installation of public boards, advertisements in the print media, speeches by trained lecturers etc., in support of the War. These were arranged by the British government to collect the support of the people. Moreover, the Scout Movement was opened for the Indian children through Annie Besant to ensure the support of the youth in favour of Britain. The Scout Movement became active in Kozhikode town under the leadership of V K Krishna Menon and others to popularize the War and collection of resources for Britain. Similarly, the Theosophists undertook propaganda work to ensure the victory Britain in the war. They launched Home Rulers in Kozhikode to speak for self-rule for India after the War. The Home Rule Movement wanted people to help Britain in the War and receive the reward after the success of Britain. The Home Rule Movement spread political consciousness in the city especially among the elites. The Home Rule Movement was called the

*Malayala Samsthana Swayam Bharana League* in Malabar and Kozhikkode city was the headquarters of the Movement in Malabar.

Thus, the first city scape in colonial Malabar to open the modern political movement with the support of the people was the Kozhikode town. It took place during the First World War. It was the beginning of mass movement for the realization of a democratic and independent society in all respects.

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## APPENDIX I



**Monument at Manjeri**

(Source: *Mathrubhoomi*, July 28, 2014 )

## APPENDIX II



**Gold Medal presented by Queen Elizabeth to Unnichathan Nair of Kozhikode**

Source: Photos kept at Kondottil Unnuchathan Nair's House at Kozhikode. Collected on 18<sup>th</sup> January, 2016.

### APPENDIX III



**Police Parade in *Mananchira maidanam* in the early part of the  
Twentieth century.**

Source: [www.bmarchives.org](http://www.bmarchives.org).

## APPENDIX IV



**Manavikraman Raja alias Vidwan Ettan Raja**  
(Samoothiri of Kozhikode 1912-1915)

Source: Photos taken from the P.K.S. Raja Museum, Kozhikode  
on 4<sup>th</sup> November, Friday 2016



## APPENDIX V



**Maharaja P C. Manavikraman Raja alias Kuttunni Raja**  
(Samoothiri of Kozhikode 1915-1928)  
Source: Photos taken from the P.K.S. Raja Museum, Kozhikode  
on 4<sup>th</sup> November, Friday 2016